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The Grammaticalization of BE Perfects and beyond: Case Studies in Lithuanian, Bulgarian and Barese

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Danguolė Kotryna Kapkan

BŪTI perfektų gramatinimas ir jo paribiai: Bario dialekto, bulgarų ir lietuvių kalbų atvejų tyrimai

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person	M	masculine
2	2nd person	N	neuter
3	3rd person	NEG	negation
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
ADJ	adjective	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
ADV	adverb	PFV	perfective
AOR	aorist	PL	plural
ASH	Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy	POSS	possessive pronoun
COMPL	complementizer	PAP	past active participle
CONJ	conjunction	PN	proper name
CR	current relevance	PPP	past passive participle
DAT	dative	PQ	polar question particle
DEF	definite	PREP	preposition
DEM	demonstrative	PROX	proximal
DIM	diminutive	PRS	present tense
DIST	distal	PST	past tense
F	feminine	PTC	particle
GEN	genitive	PVB	preverb
ILL	illative	REL	relative pronoun
IMP	imperative	RFL	reflexive
IMPF	imperfect	SUP	superlative
INSTR	instrumental	SG	singular
IPF	imperfective	VOC	vocative
LOC	locative	WH	wh-pronoun

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Tasks of this Dissertation

The main research question of this thesis is what are the common features, visible in synchronic data, of the development of the three BE (or quasi-BE) perfects chosen for this study, and how these differ from the grammaticalization chains of possessive HAVE perfects. The aim of this thesis is twofold. First, it is to conduct an analysis of the semantic values of Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese perfects, as they are used in the data collected for this thesis. Second, it is to propose a grammaticalization chain for the BE perfects, based on the semantic values of these perfects, ranging from closest to their source construction, to the most distant and the most grammaticalized.

In order to achieve this aim, the following tasks have been outlined:

1) Define the perfect construction as the object of this thesis, based on research available to date in descriptive linguistics on Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese, as well as in the typology and in the grammaticalization of the Perfect.
2) Discuss the most relevant aspects of the grammaticalization theory, in order to show how diachronic developments can also be studied in synchronic data.
3) Select and gather the data needed for the study, process and annotate it, as well as prepare it for quantitative analysis.
4) Conduct case studies on the Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese perfects, involving both qualitative and quantitative analysis.
5) Conduct a comparative analysis of the three perfect constructions.

1.2. Novelty of this Dissertation

The *Perfect category* has been a popular topic in linguistics both due to its complex and unstable semantics (and pragmatics) (Anderson 1982; Klein 1992; Michaelis 1994; Alexiadou, Rathert & Stechow 2003; Ritz 2012; Mittwoch 2008, 2021; Eide & Fryd 2021, *inter alia*), and to its typology and grammaticalization (Dahl 1985; Bybee & Dahl 1989; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Lindstedt 2000; Thieroff 2000; Dahl & Hedin 2000; Майсак, Плунгян & Семёнова 2016; Crellin & Jügel 2020, *inter alia*), which in a range of languages gives rise to perfective past tenses (‘aorist drift’). However, while there are plenty of case studies on European perfects with the

HAVE and HAVE/BE auxiliaries (McCoard 1978; McCawley 1981; Bertinetto & Squartini 1996; Heine & Kuteva 2006; Squartini & Bertinetto 2000; Drinka 2017; Broekhuis 2021; Klis, Bruyn & de Swart 2021, *inter alia*) perfects employing exclusively the BE auxiliaries have so far received much less attention. This study is the first one, to the best of the knowledge of the author of this thesis, to look specifically into the grammaticalization of the BE perfects cross-linguistically. Regarding non-comparative studies on particular languages, the Lithuanian and Bulgarian perfects were researched and described in a range of studies (see references in, respectively, Sections 2.1 and 3.1), while there are virtually no studies of the Barese perfect, which is only briefly referred to in studies encompassing broader samples of Romance varieties. A welcome exception has been Andriani's studies (2017, 2018) which focus on the Barese syntax, including the perfect.

A further novelty of this dissertation comes from the fact that it uses a kind of data rarely employed in comparable studies: *Facebook* comments for Lithuanian and Bulgarian, and written texts in the Barese vernacular. All the data is also analyzed quantitatively, including statistical analyses of certain aspects of the perfect use.

1.3. Structure of this Dissertation

This dissertation contains four chapters. In the first (introductory) chapter, I discuss the Perfect category as such and define the perfect as the object of this study (1.5), survey some of the most relevant ideas of the grammaticalization theory (1.6), and review the literature to date on the grammaticalization of the HAVE and BE perfects, with a particular focus on the European languages, in line with the doculects chosen for this study (1.7). Next, in the first chapter, I undertake to discuss and motivate the choice of the Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese perfects (1.8) and define the perfect grams in each of the three languages (1.9). The first chapter also includes a detailed presentation and description of the data employed for this dissertation and its treatment (1.10).

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are dedicated, respectively, to the case studies of Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese perfects. Their order of presentation only reflects the chronological order by which my research actually progressed. These three chapters are structured in a parallel way: after an overview and introductory remarks on the perfect in each doculect, all the semantic values distinguished in the data are discussed one by one. The semantic values are loosely ordered from the least grammaticalized to the most, though the reader should not directly take the order of the subchapters as a grammaticalization

cline, but rather refer to the figures and tables on the Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese perfect grammaticalization, presented in the text.

Finally, Chapter 5 contains two concluding sections: a comparative analysis of the three case studies, with a proposed grammaticalization cline for the BE perfects (5.1), and a short summary of the main findings of the dissertation in Conclusions (5.2).

1.4. Theses to be Defended

1. BE perfects have a grammaticalization path of their own, distinct from that of possessive perfects. This grammaticalization path accounts for a set of their features and specific usage types.
2. Statives, defined as copular constructions with adjectival participles that express a state of the subject without necessarily implying a change of state, constitute the first stage of the BE perfect grammaticalization from the 'X is Y' copular ascriptive construction in all the three doculects investigated.
3. Subject-oriented resultatives, defined as perfects with intransitive perfective or telic verbs that convey a change of state of the subject resulting from a prior event, are a prototypical value of the BE perfects from which other, more grammaticalized, semantic values can be derived.
4. Experientials are a central value for the BE perfects, derived directly from subject-oriented resultatives, and should not be seen as a secondary value developing from the CR perfects which may be marginal in BE perfects.
5. In Bulgarian and Lithuanian, the usage of the auxiliary becomes more regular with cross-linguistically common semantic values of the Perfect, while it is less frequent in less grammaticalized contexts as well as with evidential meanings.
6. The Barese BE/HAVE perfect with a person-based auxiliary selection pattern shows an expansion of the BE auxiliary usage. It does not strictly adhere to the person-based E-E-H-E-E-H pattern especially in contexts that coincide with the initial stages of the BE perfect grammaticalization cline. Apart from the person-based pattern, the division of labor between the HAVE and BE auxiliaries is influenced by a range of factors, including the diachronic origins of the HAVE and BE verbal periphrases, the grammaticalization tendencies for the HAVE and BE perfects, the lexical input as well as usage-related factors.

7. In all the three doculects investigated, the BE auxiliary is disfavored in 3rd person contexts: in Bulgarian and Lithuanian, it tends to be omitted, whereas in Barese it is in certain contexts replaced by the HAVE auxiliary. This outcome is related to the usage and pragmatic constraints on certain values of the construction, such as the Bulgarian evidentials, and it may also be connected to the elevated frequency of the 3rd person, which results in the reduction of 3rd person marking, made possible by the light semantic load of BE as an auxiliary, in contrast with the possessive auxiliary.

1.5. Defining the Perfect as a Cross-Linguistic Category

The object of the research conducted for this thesis is the grammatical category of the Perfect in the Lithuanian language, in the Bulgarian language, and in the Barese dialect (the city of Bari, Apulia region, Italy). When it comes to defining a grammatical category in a cross-linguistic corpus-based study, the dichotomy between form-based and meaning-based approaches to the definitions of grammatical categories, including the Perfect, must be considered. The meaning-to-form approach begins by generalizing the meaning of the gram-type across different languages. First, certain core, prototypical semantic features or criteria that a category labelled 'perfect' is supposed to satisfy, need to be identified. The next step is then to check whether a given language or dialect does indeed have a construction used with these values. The form-to-meaning approach, on the other hand, commences with the formal features of the grammatical category, presupposing that grams composed of similar elements will share certain semantic relatedness. Alternatively, it applies specific algorithms in parallel corpora to identify verb forms used in the same contexts. The form-to-meaning approach is an inevitable point of departure in studies that rely on the analysis of tokens extracted from linguistic corpora.

The goal of this section is to give a definition of the category of Perfect, applied further in this thesis, and to discuss the features on the basis of which the particular languages and their particular constructions have been chosen to be investigated in detail. Given the fact that this is a corpus-based study, both semantic and formal features of the perfect are necessary in order to define the object of the study. I will start with the semantics of the perfect, by giving a brief overview of the most relevant studies on the matter, and then move on to the definition of the perfect based on its form, which is an inevitable step in any cross-linguistic corpus-based study.

Explanations of the semantics of *Perfect* as a category go back to Reichenbach's (1947) classic illustration of the English tense system based on three points on the axis of time: the speech time, the event time, and the reference time. While the former two terms are self-explanatory, the point of reference is clearest in Reichenbach's visualization of the past perfect tense where all three points are strictly necessary in order to account for the sequence of events.

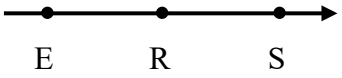

Figure 1. The past perfect timeline (Reichenbach 1947: 290)

However, in Reichenbach's system, the point of reference is kept up for all the other tenses, as well – it differentiates the simple tenses from the perfect tenses, as, in the case of the simple tenses, the point of reference coincides with the point of event, while, in the perfect tenses, it is transferred elsewhere (Reichenbach 1947: 289). This is also the case with the difference between the (present) perfect and the past (simple): the point of reference coincides with the point of event in the case of the past, and, with the point of speech, in the case of the perfect. Thus, in a comparison between the Simple Past and the Present Perfect, the transfer of the 'R' point from the past to the present emerges. This transfer has inspired many subsequent studies of the perfect semantics.

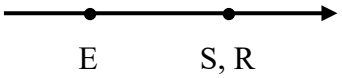

Figure 2. The present perfect timeline (Reichenbach 1947: 290)

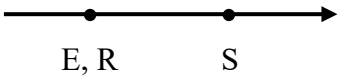

Figure 3. The past simple timeline (Reichenbach 1947: 290)

Later studies on the semantics of the perfect have been assigned to one out of four major theories, termed the *indefinite-past* (ID), the *embedded-past* (EB), the *extended-now* (XN), and the *current-relevance* (CR) approaches, respectively. After a brief description of the first three theories, a more detailed discussion of the CR theory will follow, as this is the one that suits

the goals of this thesis best of all, and therefore will be applied further in this study.

The *indefinite past* (ID) theory is rooted in the traditional as well as structuralist theories of grammar that oppose the past tenses to the present tenses. According to the ID theory, the perfect is an indefinite past, as opposed to the definite preterite (Binnick 1991: 264). It relies on the observation that the past events referred to by the perfect are incompatible with time-specifying adverbials, even if this specific restriction holds only for some languages. The main objection to the ID theory lies with the observation that "definiteness is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for the choice of tense-form" (McCoard 1978: 76). It is true indeed that the sentences in the perfect may convey past events with an indefinite past time reference, however, it seems to be just a collateral feature of some uses of the perfect, and it does not lend itself well to a detailed analysis of the perfect values cross-linguistically.

The *embedded past* (EB) theory, according to which the past event is embedded as a sentential subject of a present tense predicate, is a purely syntactic approach that treats the perfect "as a form which conveys the meaning of the past when that meaning is within the scope of another tense" (Binnick 1991: 103), thus not assigning to the perfect form any special meaning, apart from the compositional meaning that comes out of the sum of the past and the present.

The *extended 'now'* (XN) theory is based on the idea that the perfect does not differentiate between the past and the present, by encompassing the past event into a single interval with the present (Binnick 1991: 103). XN characterizes the perfect primarily in terms of the tense, but it does not account for such cases where the verb in the perfect is non-stative and does not last an interval, but rather refers to a single point in time (Ritz 2012: 887). The XN theory was espoused by McCoard in his book on the perfect (1978).

According to Binnick (1991: 103), XN, being primarily a semantic theory, coincides partly with the CR theory as far as certain pragmatic aspects are concerned. This brings us to the CR theory, which has probably been the most influential. Referring back to Reichenbach's schemes, the focus would be on the transfer of the point of reference from the point of the event in the past to the point of speech in the present, thereby illustrating how a past event itself, its direct result, or a more general consequence is somehow relevant to the point of speech, i.e., the present. Thus, the CR theory is pragmatic in nature, although, at the same time, the nature of CR is also related to the type of the verb in the sentence. For instance, with change of state verbs, the implication is that the resultant state will hold at the moment of speech, while,

with atelic verbs, the perfect will acquire a different reading where the consequences of a past event will depend on pragmatic factors.

Criticism of the CR theory has been directed towards the vagueness of the concept: "a number of alternative interpretations of 'current relevance' have been proposed, giving the impression that everyone knows that the perfect implies 'current relevance' but nobody knows what that is supposed to mean" (Dahl & Hedin 2000: 391). It has also been pointed out that different types of CR apply only to a restricted class of verbs. However, the flexibility and the gradability of CR might also be seen as one of its advantages when dealing with the multiplicity of meanings of the perfect and its well-known instability.

The notion of CR has been applied by McCawley (1971, 1981), and by Comrie (1976) in defining different values of the perfect. McCawley's account is based on the English present perfect, while Comrie includes examples from a broader variety of languages. They both distinguish four different values of the perfect ('types of perfect')[1], and, in each of them, CR (the 'present relevance' in Comrie's terms) manifests itself in a slightly different way. Although the list is not exhaustive, the following still appear in many studies on the values of perfects in various languages. Therefore, it is worth describing each of them briefly here as well:

1. The perfect of result is "one of the clearest manifestations of the present relevance of the past situation," because a direct result of a past action still holds at the moment of speech. In this group, both resultatives with change of state verbs and, more generally, resultative perfects with a broader lexical input (sometimes termed the 'CR perfects') are included. Comrie provides such examples from Ancient Greek as *tethnēkénai* 'be dead', or *hestánai* 'be placed (upright)' for resultatives, where the result is lexically encoded, but also sentences like English *I have taken a bath*, entailing a more context-determined, general type of consequence.
2. The experiential perfect, whose meaning is defined as that of a situation that has held at least once in the interval leading up to the moment of speech, such as in *Bill has been to America*, where the subject is said to have a certain experience (hence, 'experiential'). The interval can be given a specific anterior limit such as 'since the war', but there is no restriction on how many times such a situation has held. In McCawley's terms, it is named 'existential', as it deals with the existence of a certain type of event. It is also noteworthy that experientials are noticeably more

[1] In what follows, Comrie's terms for the 'types of perfect' are used.

frequent in questions, negated sentences, and in non-assertive contexts in general. In experientials, the experience the subject has or a more general existence/occurrence of a certain type of event is said to have the current relevance,

3. The perfect of persistent situation is characteristic of English in sentences like *We've lived here for ten years* that indicate a situation that started in the past and continues up to the present. Comrie notes that many other languages (French, German, Russian) use the present tense in these contexts (Comrie 1976: 60). In Portuguese, a similar reading is possible not only with stative verbs, but then it acquires a frequentative reading such as in *Tenho visitado a avò* 'I have been [repeatedly] visiting my grandmother'. CR here represents the continuation of the said situation, or a continuous repetition of the event, up to the moment of speech.
4. The perfect of recent past is illustrated by the 'hot news' perfect usage in English, or the usage of the compound past vs. the synthetic past in the Romance languages – French, Spanish, Italian. Comrie mentions, however, that this 'type of perfect' might be a sign of "gradual reduction of the presentness of the relevant forms, which finally become purely past" (Comrie 1976: 61). The pure recentness of the past event in such uses is a sufficient condition for the current relevance.

The different readings that the perfect can acquire in various languages already show the variability of the notion of CR. Along with the studies on grammaticalization of the perfects, this feature of the CR theory has turned out to be helpful in the descriptions of perfect semantics ranging from strictly resultative constructions with a limited lexical input to a variety of different values which the perfects can acquire, developing towards the past tenses with the relaxation of the CR requirements.

The notion of the CR was given a broader significance with Dahl and Hedin's contribution (2000). The authors distinguish between the type-focusing (event-type) and token-focusing (specific occurrence of an event) references to discourse referents, applying these notions to noun phrases as well as verb phrases, independently of the perfect usage – or even its availability – in a language. Cross-linguistically, experientials are the clearest example of type-focusing, while, for example, resultative perfects are token-focusing. The authors show that type-focusing event references do not need any anchoring in time and space and are thus only compatible with interval-denoting time adverbials that indicate periods of time lasting up to the present, and not finished in the past. On the other hand, resultative perfects, being token-focusing, do need to be anchored, and the way it is done is via the current relevance. In strictly resultative constructions, anchoring (CR) is

provided by the continuance of the result that is part of the inherent meaning of the verb, while, with other types of predicates, a wider interpretation of the CR becomes necessary. This wider interpretation is related to the way an event is presented by the speaker – not as a statement of fact (which would be a type-focusing, experiential reading), but rather as a condition on discourse where the event is presented as having specific consequences for the addressee. They show that "a better understanding both of the meaning of tense-aspect categories such as the perfect and of temporal reference in general can be obtained if we see 'current relevance' as a graded concept, where the 'continuance of a result' criterion is the strongest among a number of possible delimitations. Furthermore, the grammaticalization processes that involve the perfect may at least partly be interpreted in terms of a gradual relaxation of the requirements on current relevance" (Dahl & Hedin 2000: 391). In sum, Dahl and Hedin introduce a more complex, graded notion of the CR. In resultative constructions, it can be a specific lasting result-state that brings about the CR, while, in other cases, with verbs that do not entail any clearly defined state as part of their lexical meaning, the consequences of the event may be context-dependent. Dahl and Hedin provide a gong example: 'The gong has sounded'. The sounding does not leave any lasting physical result, but it may be understood to mean that it is, for instance, time for dinner. Gradedness of the CR allows for, and is compatible with, the process of grammaticalization, whereby the perfect becomes a past tense.

However, as far as the semantic definitions of the perfect go, Dahl's most recent definition of the perfect appears the most precise, and it does not (at least explicitly) reference the CR: "A central function of perfects is to speak of how the present is different from the past, especially from the immediate past. A perfect typically relates how a past state of affairs changes into the present one, thus involving two different states and one connecting event. But the perfect is neither exclusively stative nor exclusively dynamic – it tends to focus on the relationship between the two states as a change, rather than as an event" (Dahl 2022: 280).

It is obvious that a semantic generalization of the perfect meaning becomes continuously more complex, and however useful the expanded notion of CR might be for the description and analysis of the perfect values, it is of limited applicability in defining the perfect as a cross-linguistic category. Thus, it is not surprising that, in the *EUROTYP* project (Dahl (2000) on tense and aspect) a slightly different approach was taken. As Lindstedt writes in the chapter of the volume dedicated to the perfect, referring to *The Perfect Questionnaire* employed in the project for data collection, "definitions have not been operationalized – a language possesses a perfect if it has a gram,

associated with a verb, that is used in most of the first seven examples – which illustrate different kinds of CR [current relevance] of past situations – but is *not* used in the following four examples, consisting of short narratives" (Lindstedt 2000: 366). So, instead of a metalinguistic definition of what should qualify as an instance of a perfect in a language, a series of constructed sentences are given. Nevertheless, it is of importance to note that the path leading to the choice of these constructed sentences is still based on the metalinguistic notion of the CR, even though it is not overtly expressed. Thus, in the first seven examples of the questionnaire, we find two experiential contexts, one resultative context with a change of state telic verb, two resultative perfects with a perception verb, and two resultative perfects that require a broader pragmatic understanding of the current relevance.

In order to have a concise and adequate way of identifying perfects cross-linguistically in broader typological studies, a definition semantically similar to that in *EUROTYP* was adopted in the perfect section of the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (*WALS*, Dryer & Haspelmath (2013)) by Velupillai & Dahl (2013). This definition in essence summarizes what had been illustrated with the typical perfect contexts in the *EUROTYP* questionnaire. For the purposes of WALS, for a gram from a certain language to qualify as a perfect, it needs to have at least two exact semantic values: the resultative and the experiential. The resultative perfect conveys an event that happened in the past, but which has a result that still holds at the reference time, while the experiential perfect conveys an event that has occurred at least once during an interval ending at the reference point. Perfects can also assume other semantic values, but, in order not to confuse them with general past tenses, a further negative criterion is added – if a gram has the values mentioned above but can also be used in narrative contexts, it should *not* be considered a perfect. It is clear that this definition grows out of the need to draw a line somewhere in order for typologists to establish a convention and be able to compare their data. The approach taken here is close to what Haspelmath (2010, 2018, *inter alia*) describes as comparative concepts – conventional definitions of cross-linguistic categories, a tool specifically designed for use by linguists, that should not be identified with language-particular descriptive categories, too diverse to summarize in one definition. However, the negative criterion suggested in *WALS* is disregarded here, as two out of three perfect grams do in fact appear in narrative contexts (see Chapters 3 and 4).

At this point, we move on to form-based ways of defining the perfect in cross-linguistic studies. The most recent, computationally-oriented and parallel corpus-based studies on the perfect, such as Dahl & Wälchli (2016),

or Klis, Bruyn & de Swart (2021), "sidestep the theoretical debate, and abstract away from pre-conceptualized meanings" (Klis, Bruyn & de Swart 2021: 6) by using a technique called *multidimensional scaling* in order to find patterns of variation in a multilingual dataset.

In Dahl & Wälchli (2016), the goal is to investigate the grammatical space of perfects and iamitives[2], and the source of the data is the New Testament translations in 1107 languages with different ISO 639-3 codes. The procedure is to segment the texts not only into verses but also into smaller segments that consist of a verb with all its syntactic dependents. These segments are then linked to each other, thus creating an alignment of translational equivalents.

In the study, a gram-type is seen as "a cluster of grams represented as points in grammatical space where the distance between two grams depends on the degree of similarity between their distributions" (Dahl & Wälchli 2016: 330). In order to find such clusters of grams, the first step is "to choose a set of 'seed grams', that is, a set of grams with known distributions that based on our prior knowledge can be assumed to be members of the same cluster" (Dahl & Wälchli 2016: 330). This is the point where a form-to-meaning approach becomes necessary, as each 'seed gram' must be defined formally by using specific grammatical markers in each language. Based on the 'seed grams', generalized distribution (the probability for a member of the set to be represented in each location in the corpus) is calculated, and then several different statistical measures are applied in order to calculate the similarity of various grams across the generalized distribution.

As the goal of the study is to understand the relationship between perfects and iamitives, for the set of 'seed grams', the authors choose several 'uncontroversial' perfects from 5 European languages (English, Estonian, Finnish, Swedish, and Spanish), as well as 10 iamitives based on a study by Olsson (2013). Subsequently, the search is iterated based on the generalized distribution so that other, even initially distant-seeming, grams can be included in the result, based on translational equivalents. However, the starting point remains a (comparatively) small number of grams, fed into the algorithm based on their formal markers. In the case of perfects, the constructions are relatively similar, consisting of an auxiliary (*have* for

[2] Iamitives (from Latin *iam* 'already') are "forms and constructions that (i) are used both with dynamic and stative predicates with a sense similar to that of English *already* and that (ii) show a tendency to be grammaticalized in natural development contexts" (Dahl & Wälchli 2016: 328).

English, Swedish, and Spanish, the copula for Estonian and Finnish), and a participial verb form. All of these perfects were previously identified as clear examples of the cross-linguistic gram-type *PERFECT* in Dahl (1985). Regarding the European languages, which are the focus of this dissertation, Russian *uže* and Portuguese *já* eventually make it into the group of iamitives, suggesting an initial stage of grammaticalization. It is of interest to note that neither Russian nor Portuguese have specific grams used as resultatives and experientials, as per the definition of the perfect in Velupillai & Dahl (2013). This would go into the direction of demonstrating the competition between perfects and iamitives, although Dahl & Wälchli do not say anything about the ability of a language to have both types of grams. Regarding the relationship between perfects and iamitives in general, the study shows that "while perfects and iamitives can be argued to be separate at the gram type level, a significant part of their members cannot be identified as belonging only to one of them. In terms of [the] grammatical space, the two types occupy overlapping regions without sharp boundaries anywhere" (Dahl & Wälchli 2016: 338).

A study by Klis, Bruyn & de Swart (2021) on the European HAVE perfects recognizes Dahl & Wälchli (2016) as a clear precursor of their work. This is a second study on perfects using the multidimensional scaling technique, with the main difference being the number of languages investigated – Klis, Bruyn & de Swart (2021) choose a small number of European grams instead of a large sample of the world languages in a full-blown typological study such as Dahl & Wälchli (2016). The data in Klis, Bruyn & de Swart (2021) is the translation of *L'Étranger* by Albert Camus from French into every language included in the sample (Italian, German, Dutch, European Spanish, British English, and Modern Greek), thus creating a parallel corpus. The decision to investigate only a small number of languages makes it possible to manually annotate and analyze each token at a language-specific level, but it does not preclude the visualization of the data via multidimensional scaling.

The authors of the study express their awareness of having adopted a form-based approach as a starting point. They define the perfect as a construction combining a *have/be* auxiliary and a past participle, and thus include, for instance, the French *Passé Composé* or the Italian *Passato prossimo*, which would not be considered perfects according to Velupillai & Dahl (2013), as well as according to most other previous CR-based definitions, as these two grams can be freely used in narratives. Hypotheses, also formulated based on the formal features of the European perfects, suggest

presupposed translational equivalents of the perfect from one language to the other.

Differently from Dahl & Wälchli (2016), there are no calculations of generalized distribution or iteration of the search based on similarity between grams. The dataset for the analysis consists of 7-tuples of the French *Passé Composé* and its translations to all the languages in the sample.

The form-to-meaning approach gives interesting insights into the semantics of the perfect as well as the division of labor between the perfect and various pasts of the sample languages, only some of which are in line with what has been said previously in typological studies on the 'aorist drift' of the perfect. Klis, Bruyn & de Swart (2021) find that the sample languages can be put in a line based on the proportion of how many perfects translate the French *Passé Composé* (French/Italian – German – Dutch – Spanish – English – Greek), and the perfects of each language on the right form a subset of the perfects of the language on the left, i.e., the perfect-to-past continuum is scalar in nature.

The authors also investigate all the cases where the preceding language uses a perfect, and the subsequent opts for a different verb form, thus establishing certain borderlines that seem to be related to a variety of features, and not to a single feature. For instance, the German translator chose *Perfekt* in most cases where it is found in French or Italian (no substantial difference between these two languages has been found regarding the use of *Passé Composé* and *Passato Prossimo*), except for the ones where a stative or perception verb is involved, thus establishing the first feature to which the perfect is cross-linguistically sensitive: *stativity* vs. *dynamicity*. It is very important to highlight that the same holds for all the other languages to the right of German on the scale – they also do not use perfect in the same contexts. Next, Dutch (as well as other languages to the right) does not tolerate perfect in clearly narrative contexts. Spanish blocks out perfects with a past time reference, having a hodiernal requirement (inclusion of the event into the 'extended-now' interval). In English, not only does the past event have to have the current relevance, it has to be hearer-new (Klis, Bruyn & de Swart 2021: 448), in line with the findings by Michaelis (1994), involving also pragmatics into a cross-linguistically robust semantics of the perfect.

Unfortunately, there is not much to be said in the study on the Greek perfect, as only one example of it appears among the translations of the French *Passé Composé* (an experiential perfect with negation). This is symptomatic of the understudiedness of the Eastern European perfects.

All in all, this study once again problematizes the descriptions of the semantics of the perfect, by showing that a set of multiple features is necessary

in order to adequately describe not only the cross-linguistic category of the perfect, but also the process of its secondary and primary grammaticalization: the authors conclude that "[i]f we were dealing with a dichotomy between PAST and PERFECT-oriented languages, we would expect a single linguistic criterion to drive the opposition." In contrast, their results indicate that the perfect is sensitive to lexical semantics (stative vs. dynamic verbs), compositional semantics (boundedness), dynamic semantics (narration), and pragmatics (deixis and information structure) (Klis, Bruyn & de Swart 2021: 454).

In what was discussed above, we have seen how studies commencing with generalizations of the perfect semantics aim to identify specific perfect constructions in individual languages, seeking to draw a boundary between perfects and non-perfects (pasts, resultative constructions, iamitives, evidentials, etc.). In recent years, along with the shift towards data-driven studies, studies starting from form-based identifications of perfects follow an opposite path, whose destination is a complex scheme of the perfect semantics along with some factors generally considered outside the scope of semantics (i.e., pragmatics).

Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge the inherent interconnection of these two approaches as it is impossible to select a certain structure based on its formal features only without having certain presuppositions in mind about what structures are hypothesized to be similar and/or different. In other words, specifically in the case of the European languages, the choice of a combination of an auxiliary and a participle is informed by the extensive prior debate on the semantics of perfects in particular languages as well as cross-linguistically.

Furthermore, the choice of an auxiliary and a participle only narrows down the selection of constructions across languages, but still leaves a number of candidate grams for perfects with sometimes rather similar meanings, as frequently a language can have different constructions with both BE and HAVE auxiliaries. The number of constructions increases if these auxiliaries can combine with different types of participles.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the first step in defining the perfect construction aligns with the form-based approach, facilitated by the fact that all three doculects studied belong to the European language area where analytic perfects consisting of a combination of an auxiliary and a participle are extremely widespread, and motivated by the data-driven approach, as is usual in corpus-based studies. However, the definition of the perfect as a combination of an auxiliary and a participle functioning as the main predicate of a sentence is insufficient, simply because a language can have more than

one such construction. Therefore, the second step in defining the perfect turns back to the semantics of the category and sets the requirement for this construction to be used to express at least the two core meanings of the perfect, as per Velupillai & Dahl (2013). However, regarding the possible variety of the perfect values, no upper limit is set, such as the ban on perfect grams being used in narratives. This choice is informed by the cross-linguistic tendency of perfects to develop into pasts or evidentials, which brings us to the next section on grammaticalization, without which no description of the perfect is complete.

1.6. What is Grammaticalization and how can it be Studied in Synchronic Data?

Research on grammaticalization, especially in the last few decades, has had a significant impact on the linguistic theory. As a language-change phenomenon, grammaticalization can be defined as "the way grammatical forms arise and develop through space and time" (Heine 2002: 575). This development is analyzed as the steps whereby particular items, or constructions with particular lexical items in them, become more grammatical (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 2; Bybee 2003: 602). The change of linguistic items from less grammatical and more lexical to more grammatical and less lexical, which is considered unidirectional, is a wide-reaching linguistic process, considered one of the main theories on how grammatical categories develop. The grammaticalization theory proposes that this cognitive strategy, motivated by the aim to communicate successfully, "consists in using linguistic forms for meanings that are concrete, easily accessible, and/or clearly delineated to also express less concrete, less easily accessible, and less clearly delineated meaning contents" (Heine 2002: 578).

A grammaticalizing item is commonly affected by processes such as semantic bleaching with a consequent use in new contexts, as well as loss of morphosyntactic properties along with phonetic reduction (Heine 2002: 579). Studies on grammaticalization have shown that items developing from equivalent lexical items cross-linguistically undergo similar developments. These developments are referred to as grammaticalization clines (Hopper & Traugott 2003), paths or pathways (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Bisang 1996), or chains/channels (Lehmann 2002; Heine 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2006). Heine's chain term highlights the overlap that occurs between an earlier and a later stage, where, for a certain period, both uses of a construction in grammaticalization coexist, while possibly also creating ambiguity. Grammaticalization clines are best viewed as continua, involving a wide range

of phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic changes, because no clear boundaries can be drawn between lexical and grammatical elements, between 'lexical words' and 'function words'. Accounts on what counts as these concrete 'steps' vary, and grammaticalization clines are best understood as approximations or generalizations of a linguistic change in progress, which is realized through the mechanisms of analogy and reanalysis, and it takes place in micro-steps, which are gradual diachronically and can be observed through gradience between categories synchronically (Traugott & Trousdale 2010).

Grammaticalization is relevant not only as a diachronic phenomenon: it also helps to account for synchronic gradience. The essential contribution of grammaticalization to the general linguistic theory is that it "provides a conceptual framework for a principled account of the relative indeterminacy of language and of the basic non-discreetness of categories" (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 2). First, the gradual development from 'lexical' to 'grammatical' does not presuppose any clear boundaries between the two, but rather only two opposite ends of a continuum. Secondly, grammaticalization chains also have a synchronic dimension. While the diachronic dimension follows change that can be observed by comparing linguistic data from distinct moments in time, the synchronic dimension manifests itself through variation. As Andersen puts it, "all change progresses through synchronic variation" (Andersen 2001a: 225), i.e., innovative patterns of language use can first be observed as marginal uses synchronically, which, at a later point in time, may become central. Thus, language change can be seen as "a projection of synchronic variation onto the diachronic axis" (Andersen 2001b: 10), and all diachronic changes were once manifested in synchronic variation (Andersen 2001: 228). It has even been proposed that diachronic developments can be reconstructed from synchronic variation (Heine 2002), although grammaticalization processes cannot account for all synchronic variation, and represent but a small part of the variation observed synchronically, while not the whole grammaticalization chain might be visible in synchrony: grammaticalization is a slow process, thus the source item might be no longer used, or would no longer be a variant of the grammaticalizing construction (Traugott & Trousdale 2010). Nevertheless, there is at least a part of synchronic variation that does reflect diachronic grammaticalization processes. Of course, the relationship between synchronic variation and changes observed diachronically is not direct.

This study deals with synchronic data only (described in more detail in Section 1.6), and aims to see the reflection of a development that is also diachronic. The analysis presented in the following chapters proceeds from

uses of the perfect construction closest to its lexical source, to those more grammaticalized, at the other end of the continuum, following a line of expected development from less grammatical and more lexical, to more grammatical and less lexical. Further research on relevant diachronic data is necessary in order to verify the claims, and to see if different instances found in the synchronic data do accurately reflect the historic development. However, it is also beneficial to keep in mind that just as language presents extensive variation synchronically, depending on the type of the data chosen for a study, in the same way the available diachronic data may differ not only due to diachronic language change, but also due to its type, i.e., genre, register, sociolinguistic and other factors.

1.7. The Grammaticalization of the Perfect Grams in European Languages: HAVE and BE Perfects

One of the goals of this study is to identify possible steps in the grammaticalization of the BE perfects, as opposed to possessive HAVE perfects, already analyzed both cross-linguistically and in a series of case studies for particular languages and language families, including a wealth of literature on the English perfect. This section is dedicated to a brief review of the main findings on the grammaticalization of the Perfect cross-linguistically, with a particular emphasis on the European languages and their HAVE and BE perfects.

Perfect grams are relatively frequent in the languages of the world. According to the sample used in Bybee & Dahl (1989), they are found in 25–35% of the world's languages. Based on Dahl (1985:129), in 85% of these cases, perfects are formed periphrastically. This is especially evident in the European languages, where, synchronically, no synthetic perfects are found. Perfects are usually composed of a form of a lexical verb, most frequently a participle, and an auxiliary. Auxiliaries may be derived from a few different lexical sources. Bybee & Dahl (1989) distinguish the following:

1. Verbs meaning BE;
2. Verbs meaning HAVE or other possessive constructions;
3. Particles meaning ALREADY;
4. Other verbs, meaning FINISH, COME FROM, or THROW.

In Europe, the first two lexical sources for perfect auxiliaries are predominant. The spread of the HAVE perfects in Europe is likely also contact-induced (Drinka 2017), and is considered one of the defining features of Standard

Average European, as it is virtually absent outside Europe (Haspelmath 2021; Drinka 2003).

Studies on the grammaticalization of perfects in the languages of the world (Dahl 1985, Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Kuteva 2004, Lindstedt 2000, Thieroff 2000) show a common grammaticalization chain, whose simplified version is shown in Figure 4.

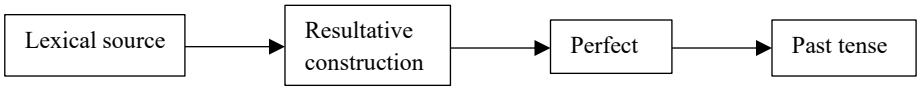

Figure 4. Grammaticalization chain for perfect grams in the languages of the world

Thus, lexical sources develop into resultatives constructions, which then grammaticalize into perfects. The difference between a resultative and a perfect is a subtle one, as both imply a certain relevance of the result of a past event for the reference time (present). This distinction will be referred to and investigated in the following chapters, but generally it can be said, following Dahl (1985: 132), Bybee & Dahl (1989: 68–69), and Dahl & Hedin (2000), that with resultatives, it is the lexical verb itself that directly defines the result of the past event, while a perfect may also refer to a more general consequence. This is also related to the expansion of the lexical input of the construction in grammaticalization, and to the broadening of the CR concept. The English perfect is often taken as an example of a prototypical perfect gram, functioning with all the central uses of the perfect (i.e., Comrie's (1976) 'types of perfect', Section 1.1). The notion of CR is also used to explain the further development of perfects to past tenses. Bybee & Dahl (1989: 73–74) distinguish three directions in which perfects may develop: towards evidential functions, towards past or perfective markers, and towards the uses of perfects to express remoteness distinctions. If a perfect develops towards a past, in this last stage, it tends to take over the uses of the previous past tense, which then goes out of usage. When the perfect has become a past, a language may start developing a new perfect from another resultative construction. Thus, the perfect grammaticalization chain may also be cyclic: such developments have been observed in Latin and the Romance languages, where the synthetic aorist, currently almost pushed out of use in some Romance varieties (Northern Italian, French) by the 'new' periphrastic perfect, itself once developed from the Latin *perfectum*. In most Slavic languages, the preterite developed from a perfect, and currently some possessive resultative constructions show signs of

grammaticalization towards the perfect (Wiemer & Giger 2005; Arkadiev & Wiemer 2020).

There are some areal tendencies to be observed in the development of the European perfect. First, Thieroff (2000: 284–285) surveys the stages of grammaticalization of the European perfects and shows that languages in the center of the continent (or the nucleus of the European linguistic area), such as German, French, or Italian[3], employ perfects already affected by the aorist drift, while the perfects which do not show signs of the drift towards the past (English, Greek, Baltic languages, some Southern Romance varieties) are located on the 'fringes of the continent'. Second, Drinka (2017: 2–3) describes a BE/HAVE perfects' isogloss and demonstrates how, in the Western and Central European languages, perfects are mainly formed with HAVE (possessive perfects), or both HAVE and BE auxiliaries (split-auxiliary perfects), while languages on the Eastern side of the continent tend to use the BE auxiliary exclusively (BE or copular perfects). A more detailed perfect grammaticalization chain than the one in Figure 4 above needs to take into account the different lexical sources of the perfects.

The research on possessive perfects demonstrates how, starting from the Possession schema (Heine 1993), a gram undergoes a range of changes, encompassing semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, and morphological phenomena. Heine and Kuteva (2006) describe a scale of evolution of possessive perfects, including both primary grammaticalization and the 'aorist drift' in European languages. They distinguish a set of intermediate stages of the development from a possessive construction, via a resultative construction, on to a perfect, and then towards a past tense. The analysis is based on various linguistic parameters, including the valency of the lexical verb in the perfect. In the initial stages, the construction admits only transitive verbs, and the overt object is obligatory. In the subsequent stages, when a resultative construction becomes a perfect, intransitive verbs are also possible (Heine & Kuteva 2006: 152).

The development of the BE perfects from this point of view would be exactly inverse: in the initial stages, the gram should only admit intransitive verbs, and only in the later stages should it reach the possibility of being used with transitive verbs. Studies conducted on the perfect show that grams formed with the copula and a past active participle may undergo similar developments to possessive perfects, having resultative constructions as their

[3] See Map 3 'Development of present anteriors' in Thieroff (2000: 285) with detailed indications which also include regional varieties of these languages.

starting point, prototypical perfect grams in the middle, and past tenses at the end of their grammaticalization chain (Dahl 1985; Bybee & Dahl 1989; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Drinka 2017; and Lindstedt 2000 in particular, with reference to Bulgarian and the grammaticalization of the perfects towards evidentials). However, we do not yet know which parameters are involved in the process and what intermediate stages can be distinguished in the grammaticalization chains of the BE perfects. The goal of this thesis is to begin filling in this gap.

Meanwhile, some important observations have already been made on the grammaticalization and typology of the BE perfects. Firstly, it is important to note that, while with possessive perfects, the gram has to undergo a desemanticization of the possessive auxiliary, it has been under debate whether anything comparable happens with copular perfects (cf. Heine & Reh and Dik 1987). If the copula is merely an element that turns a nominal into a predicate (Lehmann 2015: 23), it does not seem to have any independent semantic content, as argued by Dik (1987). This is also compatible with the optionality of the copula – the possible absence of it is incompatible with the idea that the copula has a semantic contribution to make to the content of the expression. Dik concludes that the copula is a supportive verb which is inserted into predications with non-verbal predicates under certain conditions. Under this interpretation, the semantic content of copular constructions is conveyed by the second element of the construction (Dik 1987: 80). In the case of the BE perfects, this means that the primary element of the gram, carrying its semantic content, is the (active) participle, while the copula is secondary. Its exact role is one of the questions that will be addressed in this thesis.

It will also be crucial for the subsequent analysis of the Bulgarian and Lithuanian perfects that BE perfects are modelled on the Equation schema 'X is Y' (Anderson 1973: 32–33). In essence, the source model of a BE perfect is a copular construction, which equates the subject X with a predicate Y, or assigns a property Y to the subject X. The Y element within this schema tends to be encoded like an adjectival entity – typically, it is an adjective, but it can also be a participle. In grams that develop from the Equation schema, participles (Y elements) often exhibit agreement with the subject (X element) (Heine 1993: 35–36). Interestingly, agreement can be observed not only with perfects that employ the BE auxiliary exclusively, such as in Bulgarian or Lithuanian, but also in highly grammaticalized split-auxiliary perfect systems that are well underway towards becoming past tenses, such as the French *Passé Composé* or the Italian *Passato prossimo*. In such systems, the choice of the auxiliary, whether HAVE or BE, depends on the semantics of the verb

(Sorace 2000). Originally, participles derived from HAVE-selecting verbs displayed agreement with the object, while those derived from BE-selecting verbs exhibited agreement with the subject. Over time, however, possessive auxiliary-selecting participles have largely lost their agreement with the object, whereas BE-selecting participles still necessitate agreement with the subject in terms of the number and gender.

In a study by Sitchinava (Сичинава 2016), which is based on parallel corpora of a sample of European languages and *NeighbourNet* visualizations of similarity between perfect grams in different languages (see Waldenfels (2014) on *NeighbourNet*), all BE perfects (Macedonian, Bulgarian, Lithuanian, Latvian) cluster in the same area, which indicates a certain closeness. Plungian & Urmanchieva (2018) mention that this result from Sitchinava (2016) might be due to their being BE perfects, as opposed to split-auxiliary system or possessive perfects from other European languages. This thesis seeks to contribute to answering the question what is it that BE perfects may have in common.

To conclude this section, it is interesting to note the similarities and the relatedness of the HAVE and BE auxiliaries, following Drinka (2017: 87–89). While the **h1es*- root in existential and copular functions across IE languages is well-attested and considered ancient, Proto-Indo-European did not have any single lexical item to express the lexical content of HAVE. On the other hand, BE was used with **-to/-no* verbal adjectives to form passives and the BE perfects, which later served as a template for possessive perfects (Drinka 2017: Ch. 5). Also, conceptually, BE and HAVE are not so different: BE can be used to express possession (Latin, Latvian, Russian), and HAVE can acquire an existential meaning (Bulgarian, French). BE and HAVE are both stative verbs, one of which conveys an intrinsic relationship between two entities, while the other one indicates an extrinsic one.

1.8. Language Choice: Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese Perfects

Among the European languages that employ BE perfects that do not seem to be strongly affected by the aorist drift (i.e., their perfects are not taking over the functions of the pasts) quite a few languages could be cited (Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, Macedonian, Georgian, Armenian[4], and a few Italo-

[4] Georgian and Armenian technically should not be considered European languages, but they are quite regularly included in typological samples of European languages, cf. Kortmann 1998; Thieroff 2000; Haspelmath 2001).

Romance dialects (Loporcaro 1988; Loporcaro 2009), if BE + past participle constructions from split-auxiliary system perfects are excluded). Bulgarian, Lithuanian, and Barese in particular[5] deserve a comparative study for several reasons.

First, their perfects seem to represent three different stages of perfect grammaticalization: the Lithuanian perfect seems to be closer to a resultative construction with the perfective lexical input, and specializing as an experiential with imperfective atelic verbs (Sližienė 1964; Servaitė 1985, 1988; Geniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988; Wiemer & Giger 2005; Sakurai 2016; Arkadiev & Daugavet 2016, 2021; Arkadiev & Wiemer 2020). The Bulgarian perfect seems to have a wider range of perfect-like values, including the CR perfects and perfects of persistent situation, and expanding towards evidentials (Маслов 1981; Friedman 1978, 1982, 1986, 1994, 2002; Lindstedt 1985, 1994, 2000; Ницолова 2013; Nicolova 2017; Fielder 1995, 2002; Hristov 2020; Aikhenvald 2006). The Barese perfect preliminarily seems to resist the aorist drift which has already affected Standard Italian (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000). However, this hypothesis is based on regional Italian data from the surrounding area, namely, Naples, Potenza, and Lecce (Bertinetto & Squartini 1996), as there are no analyses of the semantics of the Barese perfect. Data from Barese and from the surrounding *altomeridionali* (according to Loporcaro's (2009) terminology and classification) dialects is usually taken into account in studies on Romance in general or on Italian dialects more specifically (Rohlfs 1966; Manzini & Savoia 1998, 2005; Loporcaro 1988, 2009, 2022, *inter alia*, Cennamo 2001; Štichauer 2022; Bach & Štichauer 2022), but studies dedicated exclusively to this variety are not common. Andriani's (2017) dissertation on the Barese syntax is a rare and pleasant exception.

Hypothetically, a study of three perfects representing different stages of grammaticalization could give a more comprehensive view of the lesser studied (quasi) BE perfects, because a wider spectrum of perfect values should be taken into account.

Second, although this thesis comprises three case studies from languages spoken in Europe only, and as it excludes the rest of the world, it is of importance to note that the three varieties can be considered geographically

[5] It is also of importance to admit that the selection of doculects represents a convenience sample of BE-perfect employing languages that are more (Lithuanian, Barese) or less (Bulgarian) accessible to me up to a level that allows to conduct a case study based on significant quantities of non-annotated data.

peripheral with respect to the diffusion of possessive perfects and the aorist drift in Western/Central Europe, which may also have areal or contact-induced similarities (Drinka 2017). It is nevertheless important to note that two out of the three varieties included in this study share more similarities, and the third one, Barese, is somewhat an outlier. Although the following features are not exclusive to the two languages in question, Bulgarian and Lithuanian share a similar participial system, including a range of active and passive participles, with active past participles being used for the perfect, and passive participles being used in object-oriented resultative constructions, as well as a Slavic-style aspectual system with a distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs, even though the Lithuanian system is less grammaticalized. While the Bulgarian aspectual system is fully grammaticalized, i.e., the absolute majority of verbs regularly have perfective/imperfective pairs, with only a limited amount of biaspectual verbs, out of which most in my data are morphologically adapted loanwords (*демонстрирам* 'demonstrate', *коментирам* 'comment', *стресирам* 'stress out [transitive]'), the status of the Lithuanian aspectual system is under debate. Doubts have been expressed on whether the Lithuanian system is grammatical, or rather not grammaticalized (yet), while prefixes on the Lithuanian verbs are better viewed as telicizing rather than perfectivizing, and if "[t]he ability of Lithuanian verbs of different types to combine with perfective or imperfective viewpoint or with both is reducible to the lexical semantics of verbs" (Arkadiev 2011: 88). The position adopted in this thesis is more in line with Holvoet (2023) and Holvoet, Daugavet & Žeimantienė (2021) which emphasize the increasing regularity of aspectual distinctions in Lithuanian, along with their generalization throughout the lexicon, and claim that "the Baltic aspect has crossed the threshold of grammaticality" (Holvoet 2023: 10). Signs of the increasing degree of grammaticalization are especially evident in spoken and less formal language varieties, such as the one used for this study. The interaction between different TAM forms, including the perfect, and the aspectual system in Lithuanian is an important topic that requires additional investigation, which is outside the scope of this dissertation. As far as the present study is concerned, the Lithuanian and Bulgarian aspectual systems are considered comparable, as the difference between them is "one of the degree, rather than of essence" (Holvoet 2023: 1), but, of course, not isomorphic. As it can be seen in the following sections, the perfective/imperfective distinctions in the lexical input can be relevant to the distinctions of different semantic values of the perfect in both Bulgarian and Lithuanian.

Barese, on the other hand, like the other Romance languages, employs a single past participle that was passive diachronically, but can assume an active or passive interpretation depending on the verb. Given that the focus of this thesis is on the BE perfects, and not on the BE perfects with active participles, the comparison between two perfects with active participles and one with passive/ambivalent participle may give results that will be relevant for a broader range of grams in other languages of Europe and the world. The Barese aspectual system in the past sphere is also different from Bulgarian and Lithuanian: Barese distinguishes formally between perfective and imperfective in the past only, by using an imperfect tense versus two perfective past tenses, namely, the synthetic past and the periphrastic perfect. Thus, the aspectual distinction that is relevant for the Barese perfect is not that of *perfective versus imperfective* verbs, but rather that of *telic versus atelic* verbs that can be used as the lexical input for the perfect.

A certain genealogical (Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family) and areal relatedness in general cannot be excluded between Bulgarian and Lithuanian. However, etymologically, the active past participles are of different origins: Bulgarian uses the -l form, absent from Lithuanian, whereas Lithuanian uses the participles deriving from IE *-*wos*. Latvian past active participles are derived from this form, while cognate -*vši* forms have turned into converbs in other Slavic languages, but have been lost in Bulgarian. Contact-induced similarities in the perfect are also very unlikely, as both Lithuanian and Bulgarian seem to be successfully resisting the perfect-to-past change that took place in most Slavic languages, including Russian[6].

On the other hand, all the three languages in question have the availability of the possessive auxiliary, which is only marginally used in perfect-like grams[7], and are in intense contacts with other languages with

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[6] Unless contact-induced divergence (Khachaturyan et al. 2024) is taken into account. However, extensive studies would be required to confirm or deny such a hypothesis, and it is not clear if the necessary data would be available.

[7] Both Bulgarian and Lithuanian have a resultative construction with a possessive verb (Bg. *imam*, Lit. *turėti*) and a past participle, which seem to be in the initial stages of the possessive perfect grammaticalization according to the grammaticalization stages distinguished by Heine & Kuteva (2006: 144–145). In Bulgarian, the passive past participle is used in this construction (Nicolova 2017: 379; Hristov 2020), like in other Slavic languages possessing comparable grams, while in Lithuanian both passive and active participles are possible (Wiemer 2012; Spraunienė & Brudzyński 2021). It seems that the more frequent choice is with the active participle.

comparable perfects that have developed into pasts (Russian for Bulgarian, Russian, Belarussian and Polish for Lithuanian, Italian for Barese).

Finally, an explanation is in order regarding the Barese perfect not being a BE perfect *sensu stricto*. Barese employs a periphrastic perfect made from the auxiliary and the past participle. The auxiliary paradigm is person-based: generally, it takes the ESSE type copular auxiliary in the first and second persons, and the HABEO type auxiliary in the 3rd person, with some possible variations or alternative patterns (Andriani 2017: 154–159, in more detail – see Section 4.1). However, it is essential to note that the verb deriving from the Latin HABEO (*avè*) has lost its possessive meaning, which has been replaced by *tené*, and is mainly used to denote deontic future with the infinitive or as a lexical verb meaning 'to receive'. Most importantly, as will be shown in the presentation of the data in the following sections, Barese does not always adhere to the EEHEEH[8] pattern, as the BE auxiliary does appear in certain contexts in the 3rd person, as well. It is thus possible that, in Barese, the BE auxiliary is generalizing and expanding, and thus the Barese perfect is a BE perfect 'in the making'.

Person-based auxiliation systems are common in the dialects of Italy, and there are some studies on the matter (Loporcaro 1998, 2007, 2022; Štichauer 2022; Bach & Štichauer 2022) in the context of other Romance languages, but they have not been studied in the cross-linguistic context of other European perfects and their grammaticalization tendencies. Štichauer (2022), as a brief remark at the very end of his paper, makes an 'audacious comparison' between the person-based auxiliation systems in Italian dialects and Czech, as well as Slovak, languages which use a past tense that developed from a perfect, with the BE auxiliary which is present in 1st and 2nd persons, but which is absent in the 3rd person. The author suggests a certain similarity of the pattern between the two, as, essentially, the BE auxiliary does not occur in the 3rd person – in Italian dialects with person-based auxiliation in the perfect it is replaced by the possessive auxiliary, while in both Czech and

[8] Here and henceforth, person-based auxiliation systems are referred to by an abbreviation of six letters: with 'E' for the verbs deriving from Latin *esse*, and 'H' for the verbs deriving from Latin *habēre*. The first three letters of such an abbreviation correspond to, respectively, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular, whereas the last three letters, also respectively, correspond to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural. Thus, *EEHEEH* stands for a person-based pattern where the auxiliary deriving from *esse* is used in the 1st and 2nd person, both in singular and plural, while the auxiliary deriving from *habēre* is used in the 3rd person (both in singular and plural).

Slovak it is omitted altogether. One might add Bulgarian here as well, as the absence of the BE auxiliary in the 3rd person again is what (supposedly) differentiates the Bulgarian perfect from its evidential extensions. One of the goals of this thesis will be to show that such a comparison, even though audacious, does in fact make sense. In general, the comparison of two 'classic' BE perfects with a mixed-auxiliary perfect, such as Barese, can show which features, characteristic of the Lithuanian and Bulgarian perfects, apply to Barese, and which ones do not.

Regarding the choice of Lithuanian and Bulgarian, one more similarity between these two languages should be taken into account, namely, that both languages belong to areas in which morphosyntactic marking of evidentiality is common (Baltic, Balkans). Coincidentally, the perfects of both Lithuanian and Bulgarian seem to have evidential extensions. However, it is important to note that a certain level of confusion seems to be present with reference to the relationship between the perfect and the evidential categories in both languages under consideration. Standard grammars of Bulgarian and Lithuanian postulate a formal distinction between the two: namely, the presence (with the perfect) or absence (with the evidentials) of the BE auxiliary in the 3rd person. While discussing Lithuanian evidential constructions, Wiemer makes the following reference to Bulgarian: "the empirical situation is far less clear than normative grammars, textbooks and most articles on this topic want us to believe. The descriptive problem is exactly the same as in the case of Bulgarian so-called 'preizkazn[o]to naklonenie': active past participles used predicatively often occur without a copula in contexts that are undoubtedly not evidential; this is consonant with a general tendency of the language to avoid (or 'drop') the copula with nominal predicates. Consequently, a zero copula does not allow us to induce evidential meaning. In practice, in this case evidential readings are strengthened by context factors, pragmatic background and encyclopedic knowledge" (Wiemer 2011: 38). The inconsistency of the auxiliary drop in Bulgarian has been discussed by Friedman (1978, 1982, 2002), Fielder (1995, 2002), Lindstedt (1985, 1994, 2000), and in Hristov's (2020) diachronic corpus-based study on various stages of Bulgarian, as well as allowed with certain values of the gram in one of the most recent Bulgarian grammars by Nicolova (2017). Most researchers exploring Bulgarian seem to agree that the auxiliary may be a *boojum* (Friedman 2002), or an optional "irrelevant feature for determining the status of individual *l*-forms" (Макарцев 2014: 92), but, as Lindstedt (2000: 376) admits, no definitive solution has been reached yet. Exactly the same can be said about Lithuanian.

1.9. Defining the Perfect Grams in Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese

In this dissertation, the first step in choosing the exact constructions for the analysis coincides with the form-based approach – the grams studied are all combinations of an auxiliary and a past participle. However, in all three doculects chosen for this study, more than one single construction with an auxiliary and a participial verb form can be found, thus demonstrating one of the challenges for the form-based approach towards defining the perfect and the need for an additional semantic approach.

1. Lithuanian. Apart from the present perfect with the copula in the present tense and the past active participle, Lithuanian also has a range of other, in some ways similar, constructions. Interestingly, what formally can be defined as a past perfect, with the same past active participle and the copula in the past tense, can sometimes have meanings similar to what is considered typical for the present perfect, even experiential meanings. Although a comparative corpus-based study of these two grams is in order, it remains outside the scope of this study.

The work of Spraunienė & Brudzynski (2021) is a study on the passive perfect in Lithuanian, formally consisting of the present copula with a past passive participle. Wiemer (2012) has also described the possessive verb perfect-like construction in Lithuanian, which is an unlikely combination of the HAVE auxiliary with the past active participle, as opposed to passive participles.

2. Bulgarian. Bulgarian has a BE perfect formed with the conjugated copular auxiliary *sâm* and an active past participle (the *-l* form), which is a perfect with evidential extensions (Nicolova 2017), as well as a possessive resultative construction with *imam* + past passive participle, which seems to be grammaticalizing towards the perfect. This possessive resultative has been studied by Hristov (2019) in comparison to that of English, by using diachronic data. Although it can be used in resultative perfect-like functions and is showing some features of grammaticalization (desemanticization of the auxiliary, loss of agreement with the subject), the gram does not admit intransitive verbs or inanimate subjects; thus, it cannot be considered a fully-fledge possessive perfect (yet) (Hristov 2019: 256).

3. Barese. Apart from the periphrastic perfect with the person-based auxiliary selection between ESSE and HABEO verbs, the past participle in Barese can also combine with the possessive verb *tené* inflected in the present tense to express a possessive resultative construction, as well as with *stà* ‘stand/stay/be’ to form a stative passive.

However, there is only one construction in each language that can be used both as a resultative and as an experiential. These are:

1. Lithuanian: BE + active past participle:

Lith.

(1.1)

Donatas	*labai*	*Ingute*	***yra***	***izeid-es***,
PN.NOM.SG.M	very	PN.ACC.SG.F	be.PRS.3	offend-PAP.SG.M

[kad tik jis ir niekas negali laimeti.]

'Donatas has deeply offended Ingutė, [[by saying] that only he can win, and nobody else.]'[9]

2. Bulgarian: BE + active past participle:

Bg.

(1.2)

Набра-л	***съм***	*им*	*две*	*кила*	*кисели*	*джанки*
Nabra-l	***sâm***	*im*	*dve*	*kila*	*kiseli*	*džanki*
collect-PAP.SG.M	be.PRS.1SG	3PL.DAT	two	kilograms	sour.PL	plum.PL

[да кажат къде да ги отнеса]
[da kažat kâde da gi otnesa]

'I have collected two kilograms of sour plums for them, [let them tell me where to take them]'

3. Barese: BE/HAVE + past participle:

Bar.

(1.3)

Velàse, ce		***si***	***ffatte***	*le*	*scole*	*fattìzze*	*pe*
PN	REL	be.PRS.2SG	do.PP	DEF	school.PL	large	PREP

parlà	*ndeghelètte*	*u*	*tagliane*	*sporche?*
speak.INF	smug.ADV	DEF.SG.M	Italian	dirty

'Velàse, have you done your high studies to speak smugly in broken [dialectal] Italian?'

Regarding perfect-to-past secondary grammaticalization, the preliminary hypothesis is that the Barese perfect can sometimes be used in various types of narratives, and the Bulgarian perfect does actually occur in non-first-hand narratives; so, from this side, the requirements for the perfects are slightly

[9] Here and henceforth, all the examples provided are from the *Facebook* comment doculects described in Section 2, unless indicated otherwise. I have not edited spelling and orthography, but, wherever possible, I tried to avoid quoting rude language.

relaxed, taking an approach similar to that in Klis, Bruyn & de Swart (2022) by not disqualifying the perfects that are further grammaticalized and which verge towards pasts or evidentials.

Hypothetically, such an approach could give a more comprehensive view on these lesser studied BE perfects, because a wider spectrum of perfect values should be included. More specifically, the Lithuanian perfect seems to be closest to resultative, only expanding towards a proper perfect: even though it is grammatical with any verb, data shows that there is a certain reluctance to use it certain contexts. The Bulgarian perfect seems to be closest to the prototypical perfect as such, clearly differentiated from the resultative but not usurping the perfective past sphere. The Barese perfect then seems to be verging towards a past, a process possibly sped up by the division of labor between *passato prossimo* and *passato remoto* in Standard Italian, where *passato remoto* seems to be ever more restricted in usage.

1.10. Data and Methodology

1.10.1. Data selection

The cross-linguistic comparison of grammatical structures initially operated with secondary data sources – mainly descriptions present in grammars of different languages. In Dahl (1985), Bybee & Dahl (1989), and in the *EUROTYP* project (Dahl 2000), questionnaires were used as a way to obtain primary data directly from the speaker. However, the language variety of a questionnaire is likely to be somewhat artificial and formal because of the unnatural situation linguistic data extraction takes place in.

Lately, however, and also thanks to the new technologies that allow researchers to process larger amounts of text, there has been a significant shift towards primary data analysis also in typology, and not only in descriptive linguistics (see, for example, Kortmann (2003) and Szmercsanyi & Wälchli (2014)). The most convenient source for such studies is morphologically and syntactically annotated parallel corpora. Parallel aligned corpora allow for a direct comparison between linguistic structures, without having to rely on metalinguistic definitions, at least to a certain extent. In Dahl (2014) and Dahl & Wälchli (2016), Bible translations into a wide sample of the world languages have been used as a source to investigate the relationship between perfects and iamitives, while Klis, Bruyn & Swart (2022) use translations of *L'Étranger* by Albert Camus in a study on the European perfects.

In their 2012 article on motion verbs, Wälchli & Cysouw introduce the notion of a doculect, meaning "any documented language variety, be it as raw

data (e.g., a sound file), primary data (e.g., a transcribed text or wordlist), or secondary data (e.g., a glossed text or a grammatical description) of whatever size" (Wälchli & Cysouw 2012: 673). The term serves as a "replacement for the notion of language" and is used in order to emphasize that what is studied (or, in typological studies, compared) is merely an empirical sample of language, "rather than assume that any particular sample fully represents a language" (Wälchli & Cysouw 2012: 706). This is the approach adopted in this dissertation as well: instead of claiming to have obtained any fully representative sample of a language, my analysis will be carried out on three doculects from Barese, Bulgarian, and Lithuanian. The term 'doculect' will also help to escape the necessity to keep referring to the latter two as 'languages' and to the former one as 'a dialect', bearing in mind that the distinction between a language and a dialect is not a linguistic one by its nature, and has no place in a study purely on grammatical structures.

Upon assuming such a stance, it also becomes particularly clear that, despite the prominence of usage-based approaches (Bybee 2013, 2017, *inter alia*), data-based and token-based (Levshina 2019) typological studies, as well as ever more frequent turns towards naturally occurring data (Maschler & Pekarek Doehler 2023; Digesto 2022), and data variation (Engel & Szmrecsanyi 2022), in a fair amount of literature on grammatical categories in general, standard, written, and formal doculects are overrepresented, at the expense of spoken, regional and informal doculects. The Lithuanian perfect has been studied along with the Latvian counterpart by Daugavet & Arkadiev (2021), in a standard written-language corpus-based study, whereas Hristov (2019) dedicated a chapter to the Bulgarian BE perfect in a diachronic study based on literary and historic texts from different periods, while there have been no corpus-based studies on the Barese perfect yet, to the best of the author's knowledge. Especially in typology, more often than not researchers are concerned with written standard varieties of European languages, while non-standard and spoken language data is often overlooked (Kortmann 2003; Szmrecsanyi & Wälchli 2014).

A case in point can be the category of perfects, as Miller (2003) points out in his article on perfects and resultatives in non-standard and spoken English and Russian language data. The author stresses that "[w]here languages have standard written varieties and non-standard spoken varieties typological work usually focuses on the former and ignores the latter," and, as a consequence, "[c]urrent typologies of tense and aspect are weakened by their neglect of non-standard varieties and spontaneous spoken language." This is because "non-standard varieties of a given language may differ in many (sometimes surprising) respects from the standard variety," and "even the

spontaneous spoken language of speakers of standard varieties offers many constructions unrecorded in reference grammars." Miller shows that, based on his data, the English perfect, so often taken as an impeccable example of a standard perfect category, may not be so standard in the spoken language, as some of its uses draw it closer to a past tense, while the spoken varieties of Russian, a language that is often cited as lacking a perfect, do have certain constructions that may actually qualify as perfects. Thus, studies based exclusively on informal, spoken, or non-standard doculects should be seen as only counterbalancing a disproportionate amount of studies based on standard, formal, and written data.

Another reason to look into less formal and more spontaneous style doculects has to do with the features of the perfect category itself – namely, its grammaticalization tendencies and relative instability. Given the perfect's tendency to change, such styles seem even more interesting to use as data – as shown in detail by Labov (2007: 158): "[o]nly in spontaneous speech will we find the most advanced tokens of linguistic change in progress, and we will need these to establish the direction and path of the change." Moreover, in Labov's terms (Labov 2006: 436), grammaticalization can be considered a 'change from below' – it is a very slow process that can stay for a long time below the level of awareness of the speakers, until the very last stage, when a change has already happened. As this type of language change occurs without speakers realizing it, changes from below have a high probability of going to completion (Claes 2015: 2–3), which is also the case with grammaticalization. Moreover, per their definition itself, perfects cross-linguistically should not be frequent in narratives, but can abound in dialogues or direct speech (see, for instance, Drinka (2017: 302–303) or Hristov (2019: 276) on the OCS/Old Bulgarian perfect).

However, including less formal and more spontaneous language data into the samples is easier said than done – most high-quality corpora, especially for relatively 'smaller' and understudied languages, are restricted to standard and written language varieties. Thus, if most typological studies are not focusing on non-standard or spoken language data, this might mainly be due to practical reasons – none or very few spoken, informal, or non-standard language corpora are available, especially if we are looking for morphologically annotated or syntactically parsed ones. The case of Lithuanian is a perfect example – the only two morphologically annotated corpora, to the best of the knowledge of the author of this thesis, are DLKT, which is 99.7% composed of literary, journalistic and administrative texts written in standard language, and *ltTenTen*. The latter is an interesting resource built by using the same method in various languages, including

Lithuanian and Bulgarian. The corpus formation is done automatically, excluding duplicated content and spam and including any linguistically valuable material from the web, as long as it is longer than one sentence and shorter than a document of many thousands of words, so as to raise a suspicion that it might not be a standard webpage (Jakubíček et al. 2013). However, the content of the genre 'webpages' is so diverse that it is hard to define or describe in some way. If we are looking for informal and spontaneous language, it is impossible to say how much of it, if any, could be found in *ltTenTen* and *bgTenTen*. The *EUROPARL* corpus provides some spoken language data of parliamentary speeches, but the genre it belongs to can hardly be considered informal or spontaneous.

For Bulgarian, one of the main resources available is the *Bulgarian National Corpus* (*BulNC*), which also mainly consists of written texts (97.35%), part of which were originally written in Bulgarian, while part of these are translations. In *BuINC*, the focus is on webpages, as most texts were obtained by automatic crawling or manual downloading. Here, the same considerations apply as in case of *ltTenTen* and *bgTenTen* corpora.

Regarding the Barese dialect, no corpora whatsoever, or any kind of larger collections of texts, for that matter, were publicly available at the time of writing. As is often the case with dialects, existing studies rely on the author's own native knowledge, sometimes enriched by evidence collected from small groups of other native speakers available to the author of a given study. A recent study of this dialect is a PhD thesis by Andriani (2017), which belongs to the generative framework.

The narrow choice of resources available shows the necessity for a practical and realistic method of data collection and processing. This led to the decision to choose a particular type of the internet language and to create a specialized corpus for the analysis of the Bulgarian and Lithuanian perfects – namely, the comments from public news media outlet pages on *Facebook* (a visual illustration is given in Figure 5 below).

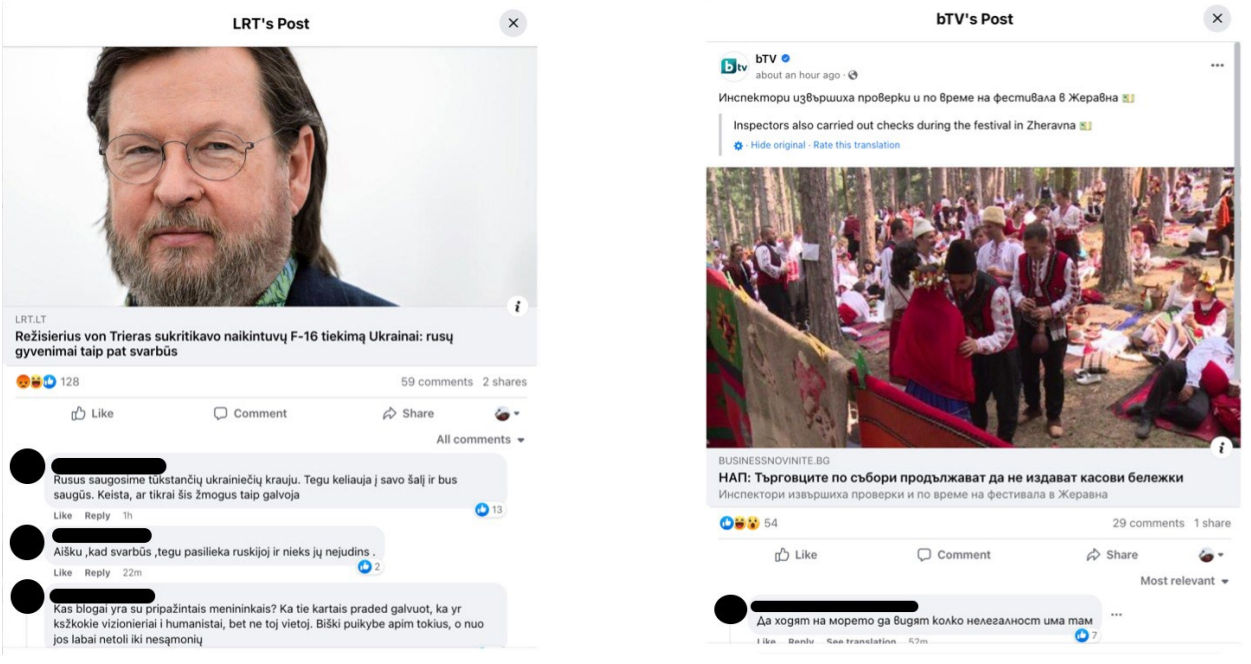

Figure 5. Screenshots from the *Facebook* pages of *LRT.LT* and bTV with the comments

The genre of comments on the social media is a valuable resource in this context for several reasons. First, and most importantly, it represents a written-language variety that is highly interactive and spontaneous – these are features that draw it closer to spoken language, as discussed by Crystal (2011: 16–35). Secondly, having in mind the difficulties described in the preceding paragraphs in finding large amounts of data of informal language, comments on social media stand out because they are extremely widespread and readily available in many European languages, so as to additionally give the possibility of creating genre-parallel corpora for a possible comparative study as well. Third, the comments from public pages on the most widespread social network, *Facebook*, are easy to extract and process due to them already being fairly structured and available in a digital format.

Obviously, the private pages and their contents on *Facebook* cannot be used without explicit consent from the owner of the page or the profile, so, out of the public pages, an interesting possibility, chosen for this dissertation, is to select the main media outlets in the country, which always have their own *Facebook* pages that are publicly available even to users not registered on the social network. The content of such pages is almost exclusively composed of posts with links to news articles on the official webpage of the news outlet. Under such posts, social media users subscribing to the page often leave comments, expressing their views on the subject matter of the article as well as on related (and sometimes also unrelated) issues. These comments can be short and laconic phrases and sentences, little opinion pieces and, more often than not, interactive dialogues and discussions.

The posts in such news outlet pages are often accompanied by a sentence or two summarizing the article. The important distinction here is that such accompanying introductory texts in the post should not be included if the goal is to create a corpus of comments by users, as the post itself contains a text written by a journalist or a social media manager and is very different from the unedited and informal variety used by the commenters.

To summarize, the corpus created from such comments would be a doculect that could be described as having a fair degree of spontaneity, which is positioned halfway between what has been traditionally considered a dichotomy between speech and writing, although, as pointed out by Crystal (2011: 34), the internet medium should not be identified with either of the two, and should rather be considered in its own terms. The comments genre is often close to chat or text message language, and it reflects a contemporary and highly informal language variety.

Before moving on to the description of the data from Barese, a sociolinguistic parenthesis is in order. The sociolinguistic situation and,

consequently, the availability of the data is very different for Barese, a dialect spoken in the city of Bari in the Apulian region of Italy and belonging to the *altomeridionali* dialect group. When talking about the Italian dialects, it is fundamental to distinguish between three labels for language varieties used in most parts of Italy: Standard Italian, regional Italian, and local dialects, stemming from Latin directly in a parallel way with Standard Italian which, as is widely known, is based on one of these dialects – namely, the Florence vernacular. For the reasons of clarity, what follows are the definitions of these three language varieties (adapted from D'Achille (2002: 26)):

• Dialect – a language that has developed from Latin in a particular area of Italy, spoken exclusively in this area, and lacking an established written tradition (with some exceptions, i.e., Neapolitan);

• Regional Italian – a variety of Italian spoken in a certain geographical area that, on separate levels of linguistic analysis and in a systemic way, differs both from Standard Italian and from other regional Italian varieties.

• Standard Italian as a term may be used to refer to:

- the Italian language based on the vernacular of Florence, as described in grammars of the Italian language;

- the Italian language 'purified' from regional elements and mainly used by people of a medium or high level of education in written genres;

- the Italian language as taught in acting or on TV and radio presenter schools and courses, mainly used by professional actors and presenters on TV and radio (however, in recent years, more and more regional elements can be heard on country-wide TV programmes, indicating a possible revival of regional Italian varieties along with some elements from the dialects).

Up until the 20th century the inhabitants of the territory of the contemporary Italy had very limited contact with Standard Italian, if any at all. Only along with the expansion of the scholarization and, later, with the enhanced availability of nation-wide TV and radio channels, Standard Italian has been established in virtually all parts of the country. A side effect of the unitarian language policy has been, unsurprisingly, a certain stigmatization of the dialects, their association with the lower classes of society, and with a low level of education. Nevertheless, the dialects are still widely spoken up to this day by people of all ages at home (with family and friends), as well as in public (in local communities). Meanwhile, regional Italian is used in all other contexts – at work, in schools, and even at universities, as well as in other more formal settings and when communicating with Italians from other regions. D'Achille summarizes the relationship of the three language varieties by saying that "if dialects of Italy are 'Latin dialects' and form independent linguistic systems, all of them stemming from *latino volgare* under strong

influence of various languages of the local populations ruled by the Romans, so the regional Italian languages should be viewed as stemming from Standard Italian under the influence, analogous to that of a substrate, exercised by the local dialects (D'Achille 2002: 27). Thus, the three language varieties are in a closely intertwined relationship, constantly influencing each other. Generally, the influence of the dialect on regional Italian is more evident in intonation, phonetics, and phraseology, whereas the influence of Italian on the dialects is clearest in morphology, while influences in both directions can be seen in syntax and vocabulary. Although it is generally possible to identify a piece of linguistic material with a dialect, regional Italian, or Standard Italian, it is also worth keeping in mind that the whole spectrum from the most formal and written Standard Italian towards the most informal spoken dialect data is rather a continuum, and sometimes it can be fairly difficult to draw precise boundaries. It is also clear that the more formal is the extra-linguistic situation, the more standard is the language variety, and, oppositely, the more intimate and informal is the extra-linguistic setting, the more impact of the dialect can usually be found.

Barese, being mainly a spoken language variety, has a very limited written tradition and no firmly established orthography. The speakers of the dialect might insert some dialectal elements in their writing in electronic communication, but they tend *not* to write on the internet consistently in the dialect, and rather switch to regional Italian, thus making the task of obtaining Barese genre-parallel data with Lithuanian and Bulgarian from social networks virtually impossible. In general, the sources of written language in Barese are scarce, and mainly consist of books translated from Italian and some poetry collections written originally in the dialect. Most written texts in the dialect appear out of conscious efforts by groups of dialect speakers to promote Barese. The dialect is alive and well-used as the spoken language, and spoken language corpora would be another good option for a source of data for this study; however, the work needed in order to collect and process it would be excessively time-consuming, given the limited time and resources available for this dissertation.

Thus, for the purposes of this study, two different kinds of Barese doculects have been selected. The first one is the translation of *Le petit prince* by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry into Barese from Italian by Vito Signorile. The second one is a monthly newspaper in Barese, *U Corrìire de BBàre*, published in the city of Bari from 2009 to 2012. In total, 32 issues of the newspaper were published, all of which are available online on the website of the association of *Centro Studi Baresi* in the PDF format. The newspaper consists of various articles and sections, most written originally in Barese, although some are in

Standard Italian as well as regional Italian. Figure 6 shows the front page of *U Corrìire de BBàre*.

Given this multilingual nature of the newspaper and the lack of conventionalized orthography in Barese, the decision was taken not to try to automatize the process of the extraction of perfect constructions, as it was done for Bulgarian and Lithuanian (see the description of the process provided below), but, instead, to collect the data manually. The same applies to the translation of *Le Petit Prince* (*U Prengepìne*).

Thus, the collection of texts used a source of data for this study consists of all the texts in Barese, excluding articles in Standard or regional Italian, taken from the 32 issues of *U Corrìire de BBàre*, along with the full text of *U Prengepine*. The number of perfect tokens obtained this way is 743 (123 from *U Prengepìne*, and 620 from *U Corrìire de BBàre)*. Some tokens from *U Corrìire,* however, had to be excluded, as they were verb conjugations presented in the newspaper as pieces of the dialect grammar, and thus were not instances of natural language used in context. The final sample for Barese thus consists of 673 tokens, which is lower than the amount of data used for Bulgarian and Lithuanian, but a sufficient quantity for the needs of the present research nonetheless.

a.II n°3
Màrze
2010
iè n-dune

U Corrìire de BBàre

Av'arrevà la dì acquànne le melanise s'honn'a sendì de fotte de nonn-èsse barise

pe ddà na mane a pelzà BBàre

Colìne e Mariètte e l'èlèzzióne

Colìne iève u màsque de case, ìidde e Mariètte facèvene nu quàrte de sèguele ca s'avèvene spesàte e facèvene le nozze d'argìinde. Colìne pe prengibbie iève gelùse, pe natùre iève ngazzùse, ìind'a nnùdde nge pegghiàvene le cìnghe menùte. Nzòmme, nu tìpe a la pagghiùsa manère, nu mìinze carghe a chiàcchiere, de chìdde ca oggn'e ttànde s'àcchiene da

A SSan Gesèppe iè ggià Pàsque

Arrevàve san Gesèppe? Mèh! Le uaggnùne se scherzeuàvene le mane perchè le màmmere, chèdda dì, facèvene zèppre e frittue.
Stèvene chìdde, ca le scèvene vennènne pe la tèrre e, le mettèvene ìind'o fennìne. Le venneròle le vennèvene a la vanga lore nzìime a sgagliòzze, popizze, lepìne, ciggere, semiinde e ttànd'àlde cose.
La sère pò oggn'e iùne mettève nu stèzze de lìona so o ngòcch'e sarceniidde e se facève nu bbèlle mendròne.
Arrevàte a na bbèll'aldèzze se mettève fuèche e s'appecciàvene tottе le lìone e le vàmbe acchemenzàvene a salì en-àrie. Le fascìdde vuàvene da dò e da dà. Le uaggnùne zembàvene da na vànne all'àlde, facènne u sguàrre che le gamme. E ttutte le sedetùre de nnànde a ceùdde fame s'aunìvene e oggn'e iùne decève la so. Cèrte vòlde assèvene fore rìsce percè, come u ffuèche acchemenzàve a ffernèssee,

Parle come t'ha ffatte màmmete

(Vocaboli baresi: v - z)

vammàsce s.f. [gr. 'bambakion' e tardo lat. 'bambax, -acis']. - Bambagia, (voce partita dall'India e giunta nel Mediterraneo attraverso l'Egitto). Cotone d'inferiore qualità appena torto; cascàme della filatura, residuo di scarto del cotone. Ovatta. Un tempo era molto adoperato nella lavorazione di coperte imbottite ("la v. pe ffà la chevèrte mbottite"). Nel linguaggio traslato

Figure 6. A front page from *U Corrìire de BBàre* (3/2010)

Although the Bulgarian, Lithuanian, and Barese doculects chosen for this study clearly differ, what unites all the three of them is their position somewhere half-way between written and spoken language, or, more precisely, with these being an attempt to capture a mainly spoken variety in a written document.

1.10.2. Data extraction process (Lithuanian and Bulgarian)

Having chosen the genre of the data for the corpus, the process of data extraction was the following. First, four of the most popular news outlets in Lithuania and Bulgaria were selected (*LRT.LT*, *DELFI.LT*, *15MIN*, and *LRYTAS* in Lithuania, and *bTV*, *24 ЧАСА*, *БНТ*, and *ТРУД* in Bulgaria) based on the number of followers of their pages on *Facebook*, in order to get the most active pages and gather a sufficient amount of data. The extraction was done by using the *Facepager* software (Jünger & Keyling 2019). Given a link to a page on *Facebook*, the *Facepager* allows a specified extraction of the particular kind of text (post, comment, or both) or other types of content, accompanied by certain features, such as the number of reactions or responses, date, the name of the author and so on. The data is extracted in a structured way, so that each comment can be linked back to the post it was referring to, which can be useful in the case of some brief comments entering into a dialogue directly with the title of the news article, or the post might otherwise be incomprehensible. Only the comments were extracted, leaving out the posts, as they represent a rather different language variety. The data was anonymized immediately after extraction.

The size of the Lithuanian corpus, formed in this manner, was 2 million words. In order to gather the required amount of data, the software begins with the latest post and 'scrolls' down to get the comments under the posts published in the last 3 years. Given that the extraction for Lithuanian was done at the beginning of 2020, the timespan of the data is approximately from 2017 to 2020. For Bulgarian, a much smaller amount of text was sufficient for the purposes of this study, consisting of just under 200 000 words. The extraction for Bulgarian was performed in 2022, and the oldest data in the corpus is from 2021.

Naturally, such corpora are just raw text data without any annotation; hence, the perfect solution here would have been to use a morphological tagger in order to identify perfect constructions. However, the only morphological tagger available for Lithuanian (created by the *Center for Computational Linguistics* of Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania) is not suitable for the language of the comments, as, on the internet, a slightly different version of the Lithuanian orthography is often used. Namely, certain specialized Lithuanian characters of the Latin alphabet – *ą, č, ę, ė, į, š, ų, ū,* and *ž* – are more often than not replaced with *a, c, e, e, i, s, u*, *u,*

and *z*, respectively[10]. The morphological tagger cannot recognize a text written this way, so the process of identification of the perfects had to be done in a semi-automated way – by creating a textual search string, and then by filtering the results manually.

As shown in example (1.1) in Section 1.9, the Lithuanian perfect consists of the auxiliary *būti* (the copula) and a past active participle of the lexical verb. When using the method of data extraction described below, the fact that the auxiliary in Lithuanian perfect constructions (as in most other contexts of copular constructions) is optional is of crucial importance. In his study on the copular constructions in Lithuanian, Mikulskas notes that "[e]xcept for clear cases of presentational identification or general statements, the presence or absence of the verbal copula in Lithuanian present tense constructions is not important; most often it is conditioned by reasons related to style or prosody" (Mikulskas 2017: 208). However, although this may generally be the case, it is reasonable to assume that, in informal language, such as in a *Facebook* comment, the copula may often be omitted, at least for reasons of brevity. This implies the necessity to identify not only perfects with an auxiliary, but also the ones without it. A decision to create a more restrictive search string, low in recall but high in precision, containing two elements – the auxiliary and the participle – would have made the process easier but would have produced a smaller sample, thereby leaving out a significant amount of possibly interesting data.

The latter consideration left only one possibility – namely, to simply identify all past active participles present in the corpus, thus yielding a search strategy very high in recall, but low in precision. Next, the tokens were manually filtered to include only those used predicatively in perfect

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[10] In most laptop keyboards, the specialized Lithuanian characters can be found in the upper row of the keyboard, where, when typing in English, the numbers are placed. Because of such (some would say, unfortunate) placement, the user is forced to choose between being able to type the numbers and being able to type the special Lithuanian characters listed above. Generally, a solution is to have two keyboards installed (for example, the Lithuanian one and the English one) and to switch between them when needed. However, this is time-consuming, so many users choose to avoid the Lithuanian upper-row characters altogether, especially in informal contexts. Similar considerations hold for typing with a smartphone – it may, of course, depend on the model of the smartphone and the software; however, more often than not, at least from the author's personal experience, typing with these characters is considerably more time-consuming. Perhaps surprisingly, texts written without these characters are almost always perfectly comprehensible.

constructions, thereby excluding all other contexts of participle usage. The solution was to create a search string identifying all words containing the suffixes characteristic of the past active participles, including masculine, feminine, both singular and plural, as well as their orthographic 'internet language' versions and two very common orthographic 'mistakes' (Table 1). The search was limited to words at least 4 characters long, in order to avoid the pronouns and other highly frequent words with the same endings, while a few of the participles shorter than 4 characters, such as *ėmę* (take.PAP.PL.M) or *ėję* (go.PAP.PL.M) were searched for separately. The search yielded 40 000 results, to which text-string-based filters were applied manually in order to eliminate the most common noise generators (i.e., the most common words with the same endings as the participles (cf. Table 1): for example, verb forms such as *galime* 'we can' or surnames based on suffixes such as *-aite*).

Table 1. Past active participle suffixes in Lithuanian – *sakyti* 'to say'

	masculine singular	feminine singular	masculine plural	feminine plural
standard	-ęs *sakęs*	-usi (-us) *sakiusi* *(sakius)*	-ę *sakę*	-usios *sakiusios*
internet	-es *sakes*		-e *sake*	
orthographic 'mistakes'	-ias *sakias*		-ia *sakia*	

After filtering out the non-participles, 12 000 tokens were identified. However, past active participles in Lithuanian, apart from the perfect, have a rather wide range of other uses. They can be used as attributes in noun phrases, as well as in what Ambrazas (1979) defines as semipredicative usage, where the participle is not part of the main predicate of the sentence; in the past tense of the subjunctive mood; with copula in the past tense to form the pluperfect (which has a range of specific meanings and is outside the scope of this study, but which was included in the comparative study with Latvian by Arkadiev and Daugavet (2021)); as well as in the future resultative with the future tense copula and with the past habitual tense copula for a specific resultative. Some other constructions can be added to this list, such as the evidential. All of these had to be manually eliminated as well in order to get the final sample, consisting of 2018 perfect constructions from a 2-million-word corpus. This yields a frequency of 1 construction per 991 words in the sample.

For Bulgarian, morphological taggers are available (Koeva, Obreshkov & Yalamov 2020; Straka 2020), but, like any other natural language

processing application available today, their efficiency is not 100% regarding both recall and precision. Fortunately, the process of extracting in a semi-automatic way, based on the set of participle suffixes, turned out to be much easier than in the case of Lithuanian, thus affording the possibility to avoid the usage of morphological taggers without too many complications.

In Bulgarian, the BE perfect (*минало неопределено време*) is formed with the present tense of the verb 'to be' *съм* and the active aorist past participle (the *-л* participle). According to most reference grammars (Antova 2002; Nicolova 2007), the auxiliary is obligatory in the perfect, as its omission would yield an evidential structure. However, according to Wiemer (2011: 38), "the empirical situation is far less clear than normative grammars, textbooks and most articles on this topic want us to believe. Active past participles used predicatively often occur without a copula in contexts that are undoubtedly not evidential. Consequently, zero copula does not allow us to induce evidential meaning. In practice, in this case, evidential readings are strengthened by context factors, pragmatic background and encyclopaedic knowledge" (Wiemer 2011: 38). The author also draws a parallel here with Lithuanian. However, for this section, it should suffice to motivate the choice during data extraction to select all active past participles, instead of drawing the limit at combinations of the auxiliary and the participle.

Thus, the search string to get all perfects from the text was based exclusively on past active participle suffixes (Table 2).

Table 2. Past active participle suffixes in Bulgarian – *da piša* 'to write'

	masculine singular	feminine singular	neuter singular	plural
standard	*-л* *писал*	*-ла* *писала*	*-ло* *писало*	*-ли* *писали*

Having in mind the fact that some comment authors might choose to write in the Latin alphabet, the search was implemented so as to cover both Latin and Cyrillic versions; however, there was only one token identified with the *-lo* ending (in the Latin alphabet), and it did not correspond to a perfect. The search yielded thousands of results, which were then filtered to exclude frequent words with similar endings, until the final sample was obtained, comprising 1830 participles.

According to Bulgarian grammars, the active past participle can be used not only in the perfect, but also in other compound tenses, the conditional mood, as well as in non-predicative structures. The description is very similar to Lithuanian, however, while, in Lithuanian, out of 12 000 participles

identified only 2018 were actually in perfect structures, in Bulgarian, non-perfect participles were extremely few – specifically, only a few tokens had to be eliminated as they corresponded to past perfect or conditional structures. This seems to suggest that the predominant function of past active participles in Bulgarian is the perfect construction.

Not surprisingly, the frequency of the perfect in the Bulgarian doculect is far higher, too – as mentioned above, only around 200 000 words were necessary in order to get 1830[11] tokens of the perfect, and thus to reach the same quantity of data as for the Lithuanian doculect. This yields the frequency of approximately 1 perfect per 100 words.

The database of each collection of perfect tokens was then manually annotated with the features relevant for the study. The databases can be accessed by using the following link: http://linguistics.flf.vu.lt/be-perfects.

[11] Initially, during the data extraction process, the Bulgarian constructions with *da* + BE +PAP were included, so the perfect token count was a little higher – around 1890. However, at a later stage, I decided to exclude these constructions, as they seem to have rather specialized meanings, and it is not clear if they should still be considered perfects, perfects in the subjunctive, or another type of gram.

2. THE LITHUANIAN PERFECT

2.1. Overview

As already shown in example (1.1) in Section 1.9, repeated here as (2.1), the Lithuanian perfect is formed from the present tense of the verb *būti* 'to be' (the copula), functioning as an auxiliary, and the past active participle of the lexical verb. As it can be seen from the example, the participle agrees with the subject in number and gender.

(2.1) *Donatas* *labai* *Ingute* ***yra*** ***izeid-es,***
PN.NOM.SG.M very PN.ACC.SG.F be.PRS.3 offend-PAP.SG.M
[kad tik jis ir niekas negali laimeti.]
'Donatas has deeply offended Ingutė, [[by saying] that only he can win, and nobody else.]'

Lithuanian has a binary gender distinction both in the singular and plural (sg. m. *-ęs*, sg. f. *-us(i),* pl.m. *-ę*, pl. f. *-usios*); however, in spoken and informal language varieties, the feminine plural *-usios* is sometimes replaced by the default agreement or neuter suffix *-ę* (2.2), which is syncretic with the masculine plural suffix. Although there is no specific neuter participle suffix in Lithuanian, neuter pronouns and adverbials in the subject position (2.3) as well as non-nominative subjects of both genders (2.4) also select the default agreement or neuter suffix. In the *Facebook* comment doculect, the proportions of *-usios* and *-ę* in tokens with plural feminine subjects are, respectively, 58 and 31 – thus, it is not a marginal phenomenon. The lack of the gender distinction in the plural draws the system from this point of view closer to the Slavic languages. It is also noteworthy that the substitution of *-usios* with *-ę* constitutes phonological reduction and can be considered a case of agreement erosion, which, in this case, can be seen as one of the symptoms of grammaticalization of the perfect, because such masculine and feminine suffix conflation does not happen with adjectives or in other Lithuanian verbal paradigms.

(2.2) *Aciukas* *jum* *mano* *mergaites* *ir* ***pavalg-e***
Thanks 2PL.DAT my girl.NOM.PL.F and eat-PAP.PL.M

ir *priziuretos*
and take_care.PPP.PL.F

'Thank you, my girls are not hungry and well taken care of'

(2.3) *Kaip* *čia* ***susij-ę*** *su* *jos* *nelaimingu* *atsitikimu?*
how here relate-PAP.PL.M PREP 3SG.F.GEN unfortunate accident
'How is this related to her accident?'

(2.4) *vau...* *kiek* *vienoi* *vietoi,* *ozio*
wow WH one.LOC.SG.F place.LOC.SG.F buck.GEN.SG.M

vilnos ***prisirink-e*** *!*
wool.GEN.SG.F gather-PAP.PL.M

'Wow, so much buck's wool [*aka* supporters of V. Putin] has gathered in one place!'

The Lithuanian perfect has been discussed in several studies (Sližienė 1964; Servaitė 1985; Servaitė 1988; Geniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988; Sakurai 2016), and in some works also in comparison to Latvian (Arkadiev & Daugavet 2016, 2021), as well as in the context of Baltic and Slavic languages (Wiemer & Giger 2005; Arkadiev & Wiemer 2020). Lithuanian was not included in the sample of European perfects in the *EUROTYP* project (Dahl 2000), but is discussed in a recent account of the European periphrastic perfects by Drinka (2017) from the point of view of the language contact. However, the only corpus-based studies on the Lithuanian perfect so far have been Arkadiev & Daugavet (2016) and (2021). The sources of data in their studies were questionnaires and the parallel Lithuanian and Latvian corpus (LiLa), which comprises literary fiction and non-fiction translated from one Baltic language to the other, as well as EU documents. This shows that the Lithuanian perfect in less formal language varieties has not been studied at all, and one of the aims of this chapter is to fill this gap.

2.2. Statives

The term 'stative' (or 'stative perfect') in this chapter is used to refer to instances of the BE + past active participle construction that denotes a current state of the subject. The reference to a prior event, conveyed by the participle, with statives is vague, as the past event that gave rise to the state is strongly backgrounded. Differently from subject-oriented resultatives (Section 2.3), statives convey a state, but not a change of a state. They do not say anything about whether there existed a preceding state of the world where the state of the subject was different. Example (2.5) with two statives does not provide us any information on a possible preceding state of the subject (vegans) that might or might not have been healthy-looking before. If we assume that there must have been a change at some point in the past, this comes from extra-linguistic knowledge, as (2.5) is equally compatible with the interpretation that vegans are always skinny and pale.

(2.5) *Veganai* ***yra*** ***issziuv-e,*** ***perbal-e,***
vegan.PL.M be.PRS.3 dry_out-PAP.PL.M become_pale-PAP.PL.M

[pajuodusiais paakiaia ir pavandenijusiomis akimis]

'Vegans are skinny, pale, [with dark under-eye circles and watery eyes.]'

Similarly, in (2.6–2.8), we can assume that there must have been a past event of, respectively, becoming arrogant, going crazy or getting tired, but this comes again from the general knowledge of the world, and not from statives as such. In fact, the participles in (2.6–2.8) are used as characterizations of the subject. These are highly frequent participles which do not have any common alternative(s) in the adjective class.

(2.6) *Kad* ***pa-si-kėl-ęs,*** *tai taip,* *menininkai* *visi* *keistoki*
that PVB-RFL-lift-PAP.SG.M PTC yes artist.NOM.PL all.NOM.PL strange.NOM.PL
'That he is arrogant [lit. 'lifting himself'], it's true, all artists are rather strange.'

(2.7) *Šiuolaikiniai* *tėvai* *visai* ***išprotėję,***
modern.NOM.PL.M parent.NOM.PL.M totally go_crazy.PAP.PL.M

[duoda vaikams tokius vardus]

'Modern parents are totally crazy, [they give such names to their children.]'

(2.8) *Bet* *Ineta* *matosi* ***pavarg-usi****...*
but PN.NOM.SG.F see.PRS.3.RFL tire-PAP.SG.F

[nieko issimiegos po kokiu metu... 💔*]*

'But Ineta is obviously tired… [It's all right, she can sleep off in a year or so.]'

The participles in (2.6–2.8) are display signs of lexicalization towards adjectives, while the participle *nevykęs* 'lame' in (2.9) can be considered completely lexicalized, as its semantics are absent from the base verb *(ne)vykti* '(not) to take place, (not) to proceed'. Such BE + adjectivized participle tokens were also subsumed here under the label of statives. Although the lexicalization of participles into adjectives and the grammaticalization of perfects are two different processes, conceptually, cases such as (2.5) and (2.9) can be similar. It seems that, in Lithuanian, lexicalized participles tend to lose the entailment of a prior event, as in (2.9), but (2.5–2.8) and (2.9) all convey a current state of the subject, without providing any information about its change. Therefore, both adjectivized and non-adjectivized stative participles from the data were included in the group of statives.

(2.9) *Egle* *nuostabi,*
Christmas_tree.NOM.SG.F amazing.NOM.SG.F

bet *reportazas* ***nevyk-es***
but report.NOM.SG.M NEG.take_place-PAP.SG.M

'The Christmas tree is amazing, but the report is lame'

There is no doubt about the resultative etymology of the past active participle suffix, which imparts a resultant-state meaning to the participle. According to Ambrazas, the resultant-state meaning of the Lithuanian past active participle comes directly from the old derivational meaning of the suffix *-us*, which is itself derived from the Indo-European perfect participle suffix **-wos*. Such examples as *rūgęs pienas* 'sour.PAP.SG.M milk' 'soured milk', or *lūžusi koja* 'break.PAP.SG.F leg' 'broken leg' with attributive participles made from 'atelic'[12] verbs without any prefix that could express resultativity show that the resultant-state meaning is due precisely to the suffix (Ambrazas 2006: 171). Similar examples were also discussed by Servaitė (1985) who defined them as 'quasiresultatives' (in line with Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 14). However, resultant-state meaning, characteristic of the past active participle suffix, should be distinguished from the resultative meaning, characteristic of the construction as a whole and implying not only the current state, but also a change of a state with the prior action which generated the current state. In resultatives (Sections 2.3, 2.4, 2.5), the current state is seen as a direct result of the past event.

Ambrazas also notes that, with some prefixed intransitive verbs, the meaning of the 'resultant quality' is so strong that almost no connection to a prior action can be conceived of – for example, *pasiutęs* (go_wild.PAP.SG.M) *šuo* 'rabid dog', *sustiręs* (stiffen.PAP.SG.M) *sijonas* 'stiff skirt', *išdykęs* (become_naughty.PAP.SG.M) *vaikas* 'naughty child', *apsiblausę* (dim.PAP.PL.M) *akys* 'bleary eyes' – in such cases, the participles convey permanent qualities that cannot be semantically related to any prior event

[12] The concept of telicity here adopted by Ambrazas is closer to the so-called 'Western view' – a verb is considered *telic* if and only if it entails both the 'T property' and the 'P property', as discussed by Dahl (1981). The verbs cited here – *lūžti* 'to break.IPFV' and *rūgti* 'to sour.IPFV' – could be more precisely termed imperfective. They form an opposition with perfective prefixed verbs *sulūžti* 'to break.PFV' and *surūgti* 'to sour.PFV'. In other words, the participle suffix can impart the 'P property' to a bare form of an imperfective verb that in itself only has the 'T property'.

(Ambrazas 1979: 39). Similarly, in (2.9) and many other examples from the data chosen for this study, the past event that generated the current state or quality can hardly be presupposed.

This is especially obvious with defective verbs lacking some finite past tense forms altogether (2.10) as well as with verbs whose finite past tense forms are very infrequent (2.11) or have a different meaning (2.9). Past tense forms of the verbs used in (2.10) and (2.11), *susijo* and *išpruso*, do not have any instance of usage in the *Facebook* comments corpus of this study, and, in the 208-million-word *DLKT* corpus, they present only 10 and 14 instances, respectively, in the 3rd person, and none in the 1st or 2nd singular or plural. At the same time, the past active participle forms of the same verbs are rather frequent – for instance, there are 23 instances of *susijęs* in the data used for this study, which makes it the 7th most frequent verb in the perfect sample of the Lithuanian doculect, and more than 10 thousand items in *DLKT*. The other frequent participles of the same type are imperfectives *linkęs* 'inclined, one that tends to' (example (2.14), 14 tokens), and *pratęs* 'used to' (6 tokens).

(2.10) *O* *musu* *istorija* *visgi* ***susij-usi***
CONJ 1PL.GEN history.NOM.SG.F nevertheless relate-PAP.SG.F

su *CCCP*
with USSR

'Our history is nevertheless related to the USSR.'

(2.11) *labai* *negražu* *kramtyt* *gumą,* *kokia* ***ne-išprus-us***
very NEG.nice chew.INF gum.ACC how.SG.F NEG-educate-PAP.SG.F
'It's not nice to chew gum, she's so uneducated.'

Although 93% of the Lithuanian statives are formed from perfective verbs, there are nevertheless 47 participles (7%) among statives that are seemingly derived from imperfective verbs. However, the 7 verbs they are derived from are defective and predominantly used as past active participles. Their other forms, such as infinitives, present or past tenses, are either extremely rare or non-existent, while the participles are quite frequent. For example, the concept of 'being used to something' is very frequently expressed by using a stative in the Lithuanian doculect – along with seemingly imperfective *pratęs*, there are its prefixed, formally perfective counterparts: *pripratęs* (8 tokens) and *įpratęs* (7 tokens). There are no semantic differences between these three participles, just formal ones – *priprasti* and *įprasti* are formed with perfectivizing prefixes, and they possess full paradigms – they regularly occur in all tenses and moods. If grouped together, all the three *-prat-* stem verbs would make it

to the top ten (out of the total of 861 different verbs) of the perfect verb frequency list.

There are only three Lithuanian examples in the dataset where the participle is made from a fully functioning imperfective verb (2.12, 2.13, 2.14). However, in these cases, the participle is lexicalized with a specific meaning of the base-verb, and possibly also together with the negation prefix (2.9, 2.12, 2.13). Thus, statives with imperfective verbs can be explained by reduction, which is due to the adjectivization of the participles having gone one step further than with perfective verbs by getting rid of the perfectivity markers, such as prefixes.

(2.12) *O* *jau* *roza..* *matosi* ***ne-ed-es***
PTC already face.NOM.SG.F see.PRS.3SG.RFL1 NEG-eat-PAP.SG.M

tai *nuvare* *i* *medziokle..*
so go.PST.3SG to hunt.ACC.SG.F

'What a face.. Apparently he's hungry so he went on a hunt..'

(2.13) *Š. C.* *ar* *tikrai* ***ne-gėr-ęs?*** 😜
PN PQ really NEG-drink-PAP.SG.M

[*Ir tu į šitą reidą papuolei* 😜]

'Š. C. are you really sober? You too have gotten into this police raid'

(2.14) *Darbdaviai* *visada* ***link-ę*** *nepermokėti :)*
employer.PL.M always bend-PAP.PL.M NEG.overpay.INF
'The employers are always inclined not to overpay.'

In the Lithuanian doculect, 6% (41 tokens) of statives are transitive. All of them are quite similar to what in the following sections will be described as possessive resultatives, namely, where the object is closely related to the subject, is part of the subject, or where the object can easily be omitted, given its strong collocation with the verb. Mainly, these examples in the doculect consist of ingestive verbs meaning 'inebriated' in one way or another, with the deleted object being a particular substance which is irrelevant (or uninformative, Rosemeyer & Grossman 2021) in these contexts, as the variety of such participles is used to convey a specific state that the subject is in:

(2.15) *Vedeja* *turbut* ***ipies-us***
Presenter.NOM.SG.F probably draw_in-PAP.SG.F
'The presenter is probably a little tipsy'

(2.16) *Jis* *gal* ***pri-pis-es*** *biške?*
3SG.M.NOM maybe PVB-fuck-PAP.SG.M a_little
'Is he a bit wasted, maybe?'

Statives are the most frequent value of the perfect in the Lithuanian doculect: they amount to 720 instances out of 2025 participles used predicatively (~36%) (Table 3). At least in part such frequency is due to the past active participles being a productive derivational pattern in Lithuanian, which is also common in slang (Kudirka 2021).

Table 3. Proportions of statives in the Lithuanian data

	Lithuanian	
	tokens	%
Statives	**720**	**36**
(other values)	1305	64
Total	2025	100

As explained in the previous sections, for Lithuanian, all past active participles used predicatively with the present tense copula or without it were considered. One of the goals of this choice was to see if auxiliary usage can be related to a specific value of the perfect construction. In Lithuanian, the auxiliary with statives is predominantly omitted – it is absent in 683 instances out of a total of 720 (~95%) (Table 4). This aligns with similarly large proportions of auxiliary omission in the Lithuanian present tense passive (Nau, Spraunienė & Žeimantienė 2020). However, as will be shown in the following sections, the auxiliary omission is not specific to the statives in the Lithuanian doculect – the auxiliary is prevalently omitted with most perfect values.

Table 4. Auxiliary omission proportions with Lithuanian statives

	Lithuanian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	37 (5%)	683 (95%)

Table 5 shows the Lithuanian statives arranged by person and number. Statives are predominantly used in the 3rd person.

Table 5. Proportions of statives in Lithuanian arranged by person and number

	Statives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	72 (10%)		40 (6%)		608 (84%)		720 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	57	15	23	15	389	208	720 (100%)

The possibility to convey a state by using the construction of BE + past active participle, be it adjectivized or not, is lexically restricted, i.e., verb idiosyncratic. Most verbs used as lexical input for statives are intransitive and perfective, similarly to subject-oriented resultatives (see Section 2.3). Subject-oriented resultatives convey changes-of-states arising from backgrounded past events. However, the distinction between statives and subject-oriented resultatives is not always straightforward. Some cases remain vague between the adjectival interpretation (statives) and the verbal interpretation (subject-oriented resultatives). Still, there are certain features that draw the interpretation closer to a stative, such as the following:

- Occurrence of the participle in the dictionaries as a separate entry (2.5, 2.8, 2.13, 2.14);

- Defectiveness of the verb in other forms of the paradigm, or a significantly higher frequency of the participles as compared to past tense forms (2.10, 2.11);

- Co-occurrence with certain groups of adverbs. There is a range of adverbials modifying the participle that may trigger the stative interpretation. First of all, these are the adverbials and pronouns indicating gradability, such as *itin*/*labai* 'very' (2.17), *labai* 'very' (2.18), *toks/tokia* 'so, so much' (2.19), *koks/kokia* 'how, how much', *per daug/pernelyg* 'too much' (2.20). Naturally, statives, which convey the current state, are more compatible with elements that convey the intensity of the state, rather than with subject-oriented resultatives, primarily conveying changes.

(2.17) *Ir* *prancūzai* *politologai* *ir*
and French.NOM.PL.M political_scientist.NOM.PL.M and

tyrėjai *itin* ***sunerim-ę***
researcher.NOM.PL.M very become_concerned-PAP.PL.M

'French political scientists and researchers are also very concerned'

(2.18) *Šimašius* ***labai*** *jau* ***įsitemp-ęs***
PN.NOM.SG.M very PTC tense_up-PAP.SG.M

[nelieskit manęs ir panasiai kas per jautrumas?]

'Šimašius is very tense, [don't touch me and so on, why so sensitive.]'

(2.19) *ziauru* *ko* ***toks*** ***nusimin-es***.
cruel-NA INT-GEN so gloom-PAP.SG.M
'It's awful, why are you so gloomy.'

(2.20) *Dažniausiai* *mokytojai* *per* *jautrūs,*
usually teacher.NOM.PL.M too sensitive.NOM.PL.M

pernelyg ***atsidav-ę*** *darbui.*
too dedicate-PAP.PL.M work.DAT

'The teachers are usually too sensitive, too dedicated to their work.'

Another group of adverbials testifying in favor of the stative interpretation are the ones indicating stability and continuity, such as *pastoviai* 'constantly' (2.21), or *visa laiką* 'all the time', expressing a stable quality. Interestingly, a stable quality can also be conveyed by a different form of the copula – namely, the habitual *būna* (2.22).

(2.21) [*Reikia dar daugiau* *parduotuvių,]* *juk* *visi* ***pastoviai***
PTC all.NOM.PL.M constantly

peralk-ę, ***ištrošk-ę,*** *pikti,* *nepakantus.*
starve-PAP.PL.M thirst-PAP.PL.M angry.PL.M impatient.PL.M

'[We need even more shops,] as everyone is constantly starving, thirsty, angry, impatient.'

(2.22) *Vestuvėse* *žmonės* ***būna*** *labai* ***pasipuoš-ę***.
wedding.PL.LOC people.PL.M.NOM be.HAB.PRS.3 very dress_up-PAP.PL.M
'At weddings people are very dressed up.'

- Apart from the adverbials, another element of the sentential context licensing the stative interpretation is the possibility of coordination with adjectives, such as in (2.23, 2.24). This criterion is not absolute, because it is possible to find more grammaticalized instances of the perfect that, due to their morphology and agreement rules, can be coordinated with adjectives. However, in vague cases, the coordination with adjectives may draw the construction closer to the adjectival interpretation.

(2.23) [*Jeigu bendrakeleivis samoningai seda i auto, zinodamas,]*

kad *vairuotojas* ***isger-es /*** ***girtas -*** *[taip, jis bendrininkas.]*
COMPL driver.NOM.SG.M drink-PAP.SG.M drunk.SG.M

'[If a passenger consciously gets into the car while knowing] that the driver is tipsy/drunk – [yes, he is an accomplice.]'

(2.24) *[Tokios prezidentės tikrai nebeturėsime,]*

Visada ***pasitemp-usi****,* *sąžininga,* *nekonfliktiška,* *mokanti*
Always gather-PAP.SG.F fair.SG.F NEG.feuding.SG.F know.PRS.PA.SG.F

daug *kalbų,* *niekur* *nepadarė* *gėdos* *Lietuvai.*
a_lot language.GEN.PL nowhere NEG.do.PST.3 shame.GEN Lithuania.DAT

'[No way we will ever have such a president again – she is always smart, fair, non-feuding, knows many languages, nowhere has she caused embarrassment for Lithuania.'

The Lithuanian participles assigned to the group of statives are also frequently used adjectivally, i.e., in a prenominal position inside the noun phrase. When used in a predicative position, stative uses resemble ascriptive copular constructions with adjectival participles, which are formally identical to the Lithuanian perfect. In Lithuanian, past active participles can also be used as attributes. Participles, as well as other attributes, can appear in the default prenominal modifier position (2.25) as well as in the marked postnominal modifier position inside a noun phrase (2.26).

(2.25) *Iš* *aukštybių* *žiūri* ***išbal-ęs*** *mėnuo.*
PREP height.PL.GEN look.PRS.3 become_pale-PAP.SG.M moon.NOM.SG.M
'A pale moon looks down from above.' (DLKT)

(2.26) [*Tokia graži mergelė, o cholera vadinas.]* *Tos* *akys*
DIST.PL.F eye.NOM.PL.F

degančios *ir* *tie* *veidai*
burn.PRS.PA.PL.F and DIST.PL.M cheek.NOM.PL.M

išbalę*,* [*tokia graži mergelė.]*
become_pale-PAP.SG.M

'[Such a beautiful girl, but her name is cholera.] Those burning eyes, those pale cheeks, [such a beautiful girl].' (https://www.musuzodis.lt/)

Such noun phrases can also function as independent clauses – ascriptive copular constructions, as a modifier becomes a predicate. The copula can be omitted (2.27) or made explicit (2.28) – this does not affect the semantics in any significant way.

(2.27) *Akys* *beprasmiškos,* *veidas*
eyes.NOM.PL.F senseless.NOM.PL.F face.NOM.SG.M

išbal-ęs*,* *pagelt-ęs*
become_pale-PAP.SG.M become_yellow-PAP.SG.M

'The eyes are senseless, the face is pale, yellowed.' (DLKT)

(2.28) *Pavasarį* *dažnas* *vaikelis* *yra*
spring.ACC frequent.NOM.SG.M child.NOM.SG.M be.PRS.3

išbal-ęs, *[ką jam rekomenduotumėte?]*
become_pale-PAP.SG.M

'In spring, many children are pale, what would you recommend to them?' (DLKT)

On the other hand, a participle used predicatively can appear not only in the default postnominal predicate position, but also before the noun phrase (2.29).

(2.29) ***uzsisedej-e*** *mokytojai* *klasese*
oversit-PAP.PL.M teacher.PL.M.NOM classroom.PL.F.LOC

[tegu grinam ore pabuna i sveikata jiems]

'The teachers have been staying in the classrooms for too long, [let them stay outside for a while, it will be healthy for them.]'

The vagueness that remains between the adjectival interpretation (stative perfects) and the verbal interpretation (subject-oriented and possessive resultatives, see the following sections) is taken to be indicative of the grammaticalization of the Lithuanian BE perfect, given that they are modelled on what corresponds to the Equation schema 'X is Y' (Anderson 1973: 32–33; Heine 1993: 35–36) in the context of copula auxiliarization.

Thus, formally, the perfect constructions in Lithuanian are identical to copular ascriptive constructions with adjectival participles/statives. The post-copular position in the construction is not exclusive to participles – this is where other nominal parts of the predicate appear, among them – adjectives. The Y position is typical of property-ascribing elements. A prototypical property-ascribing element is an adjective, but an adjectival or stative participle is a good fit here, too. This is why adjectival and stative participles are especially fit to appear in this context and to build a bridge between the source construction and the first stage of a BE perfect grammaticalization: semantically they are adjectives, but formally they are participles derived from verbs. Stative perfects show the intermediate stage of a BE perfect grammaticalization from the source copular construction to a resultative, when a stative or adjectivized participle can be inserted into the adjective's position and assign a property or a state to the subject.

2.3. Subject-Oriented Resultatives

Subject-oriented resultatives are defined as resultative perfects, formed with intransitive and mainly perfective verbs, expressing a change of state of the subject, derived from a prior event, as per Nedjalkov & Jaxontov's (1988: 9) definition. For Lithuanian, this value has already been singled out and discussed by Geniušienė & Nedjalkov (1988) and Daugavet & Arkadiev (2021).

The classes of lexical input are thus essentially the same as with statives, but, in subject-oriented resultatives, the participle has a verbal interpretation where it is always possible to presuppose a prior event, implying two states-of-affair, differing by the state of the subject. Subject-oriented resultatives convey a direct result of a past event on the subject. This result generates a circumstantial state, directly relating to a prior event, unlike with statives. While it is easy to imagine what a *pavargęs* 'tired' or *išprotėjęs* 'crazy' person looks like, the same cannot be said about a person who is *atvykęs* 'arrived'. Subject-oriented resultatives represent the subsequent stage of the BE perfect grammaticalization, when the subject is assigned a verbal property of having participated in some prior event.

Lithuanian subject-oriented resultatives thus predominantly convey a change of state of the subject that is usually animate. The change of state can be physical (2.30) or psychological (2.31), as well as general, with verbs such as 'to become' (2.32) or 'to change' (2.33), 'to appear' or 'to disappear' as well as reflexive verbs meaning 'to begin' (2.34, 2.35) and 'to end' (2.36, 2.37).

(2.30) *Tai* *mes* ***atsibud-e*** *[ir ner uz ka balsuot]*
PTC 1PL.NOM wake_up-PAP.PL.M
'Well, we're awake, [and there's no one to vote for.]'

(2.31) *[Kalbu, kaip kirpėja-]* *šiandien* ***su-si-šukav-ęs*** *gražiai*
today PVB-RFL-comb-PAP.PL.M pretty.ADV
'[I speak as a hairdresser,] you have done your hair nicely today'

(2.32) *[buvusi gana kukli] –* *mergina* *greit* ***isdrasej-usi****,....* 🧐🤔
girl.NOM.SG.F quickly become_brave-PAP.SG.F
'The girl that used to be quite modest has quickly become confident.'

(2.33) *[Europos pozicijos dar nėra,]*

nes	*ji*	***yra***	***tap-usi***	*situacijos*	*įkaitė.*
because	3SG.F	be.PRS.3	become-PAP.SG.F	situation.GEN	hostage.NOM

'[Europe doesn't have a position yet,] because they have become hostages of the situation.'

(2.34) *[Galit komentuoti apie policija gerai, blogai, bet faktas tas,]*

kad	*policija*	*labai*	***pasikeit-us***	*i*	*geraja*
COMPL	police.NOM.SG.F	very	change-PAP.SG.F	PREP	good.ACC.SG.F.DEF

puse, [nebetie pareigunai , kas buvo pries 10 metu]
side.ACC

'[You can say anything you want about the police, but the fact is] that the police has changed a lot towards the good side, [the officers are not the same as 10 years ago.]'

(2.35) *[sako su metais proto padaugėja bet čia matosi]*

marazmas	*žmogui*	***prasidėj-es***
marasmus.NOM.SG.M	person.DAT.SG.M	begin-PAP.SG.M

'[They say people acquire intelligence with age, but here it's obvious that] for this person dementia has set in.'

(2.36) *[Ar valanda ar penkios minutės likę,]*

kol	*darbo*	*laikas*	***ne-pasibaig-ęs***	*[turi priimti ateinančius]*
until	work.GEN	time.NOM.SG.M	NEG-finish-PAP.SG.M	

'[It doesn't matter if there's an hour or five minutes left,] as long as the working hours are not over, [they have to accept those who are coming.]'

(2.37)

Dar	***ne-si-baig-ęs***	*teisminis*	*procesas*
yet	NEG-RFL-finish-PAP.SG.M	judicial.NOM.SG.M	process.NOM.SG.M

[jis jau kandidatas i klaipėdos merus]

'Trial is still pending, [and he's already running for the Mayor of Klaipėda City]'

However, the largest lexical class in the group of subject-oriented resultative perfects in the Lithuanian data is formed with various verbs of motion (2.38, 2.39), inhibited motion (2.40–2.42), and changes in spatial configuration in general, also including figurative ones (2.40, 2.42, 2.43, 2.44).

(2.38) *[niekas nenori pirkti net ledines masinos]*

nes	*ji*	***nuvazev-usi***	*300tukstanciu*	*o*	*ne*	*240*
because	3SG.F.NOM	go-PAP.SG.F	300thousand	CONJ	NEG	240

'[Nobody wants to buy even a very cool car] because it's covered 300 thousand km, and not 240.'

(2.39)

Nesvarbu,	*kad*	***issideklarav-es -***	*isvyk-es.*
NEG.important.NA	COMPL	declare_out-PAP.SG.M	leave-PAP.SG.M

[Elektronine bankininkyste reikia tureti]

'It doesn't matter, even if you have cancelled your residence or left the country. [You still need to have online access to your bank account.]'

(2.40) *Bet* *deja* *dar* *atsilik-usi,* ***užstrig-usi***
but alas still lag_behind-PAP.SG.F stuck-PAP.SG.F

laike *ta* *Lietuva*
time.LOC DEM.NOM.SG.F Lithuania.NOM.SG.F

'But alas, Lithuania is still lagging behind, still stuck in time.'

(2.41) *[Vienos šalys dekriminalizuoja arba legalizuoja,]*

o *mes* *vis dar* ***užstrig-ę*** *laike*
CONJ 1PL.NOM still get_stuck-PAP.PL.M time.LOC

'[Some countries are decriminalizing or legalizing it,] and we are still stuck in time'

(2.42) *faktas* *kad* *gali* *agzistuoti* *ateiviai,* *tik*
fact.NOM.SG.M that can.PRS.3SG exist.INF aliens.NOM.PL.M just

ko gero ***ne-pri-ej-e*** *prie* *technologiju* *amziaus*
WH good.GEN NEG-PVB-go-PAP.PL.M PREP technology.GEN.PL time.GEN.SG

[kad galetu pakilti i kosmosa :)]

'It's a fact that aliens can exist, they just haven't reached the technological times yet, so that they could go into space :)'

(2.43) *O* *dar* *Bavarija* ***neisir-us****?*
CONJ yet PN.NOM.SG.F dissolve-PAP.SG.F
'But hasn't *Bavarija* (music band) dissolved yet?'

(2.44) *Pas[a]lpiniu* *karta* ***nuvaziav-e***
benefit-receiver.GEN.PL generation.NOM drive_away-PAP.PL.M

stogai *del* *girtavimo*
roof.NOM.PL.M PREP drinking.GEN

'A generation of social benefit-receivers, gone insane because of drinking problems'

The meaning of subject-oriented resultative perfects with motion verbs can be generalized as follows: the subject has (or has not, in case of negation) changed its location in space from point A to point B, and is now located in point B. Participles derived from such verbs necessarily involve a clear past action, namely, the completed (or, with verbs such as *likti* 'stay, remain', inhibited) motion.

Additionally, broader diachronic and typological connections can be drawn. From the typological point of view, the lexical input of subject-oriented resultatives belongs to the same groups of verbs which, in those European languages that have split-auxiliary systems in the perfect (or in the

former perfect, i.e., the compound past), select the BE auxiliary[13]. These BE-selecting verbs in syntactic analyses of split auxiliary systems are referenced as unaccusative verbs (Perlmutter 1989), or 'E' verbs (Aranovich 2007), as opposed to unergative verbs, or 'A' verbs that select the HAVE auxiliary. Sorace (2000), instead of a twofold categorical distinction, proposed a gradient scale from the most consistently BE-selecting verbs to the most consistently HAVE-selecting verbs (auxiliary selection hierarchy, ASH), based on data from Italian, French, Dutch, and German. Verbs assigned to subject-oriented resultatives correspond to the first two steps of the most consistently BE-selecting verbs in ASH: change of state and change of location verbs. Of course, in these Western European split-auxiliary systems, the BE auxiliary is also selected in other contexts which do not coincide with Lithuanian and Bulgarian subject-oriented resultatives. In other words, subject-oriented resultatives do not cover all the contexts where BE auxiliaries are employed in split systems. However, change of state and location verbs are clearly among the most prototypical examples of BE-selecting verbs.

To summarize, three essential features of subject-oriented resultatives can be distinguished: 1) resultativity; 2) subject-orientation; and 3) indefiniteness of the prior event.

The first two features stem directly from the lexical input of subject-oriented resultatives, i.e., perfectivity and intransitivity. Resultativity thus cannot be considered a feature of the Lithuanian perfect as such, because resultativeness is already present in the perfective lexical verb as such. The subsequent analysis of other perfect values will show how imperfective lexical input yields non-resultative values, thereby leaving the attribution of a verbal property to the subject the essential meaning of the construction. Regarding the third feature, if statives did not necessarily imply a prior event, with resultatives it is always presupposed, but remains situationally unanchored, i.e., lacking a temporal and situational reference, as per Holvoet (2020, 2022). This way, the focus stays on the current state of the subject, while the prior event remains backgrounded.

In the Lithuanian doculect, there are a few examples with the verb *gimti* 'to be born' that should be grammatical with an anchoring in time, but they still fall short of denoting an exact date: in (2.45), the comment-writer is

[13] This observation is closely related to the idea that split-auxiliary perfects contain a BE perfect that can be studied independently, an insight Östen Dahl brought up in a conversation on perfects at the *Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Undevigesima* (Salos Manor, Lithuania, July 24–30, 2022), for which I am grateful.

explaining why the current day is special, and not talking about the specific date of birth of the child. In (2.46), the indicated year of birth serves the writer's goal to stress his age and experience.

(2.45) *[Ši diena ypatinga todėl, nes tai mano trijų vaikučių Gabrielės, Mykolo ir Rapolo vardadieniai ir šaunus sutapimas,]* *mažasis* *Rapoliukas*
little.NOM.SG.M.DEF Rapoliukas.NOM.SG.M

gim-ęs *rugsėjo* *29 d. :D* *[šventė dviguba :*]*
be_born-PAP.SG.M September 29 day

'[This day is special because it's the name day of my three children Gabrielė, Mykolas, and Rapolas, and a nice coincidence is that little Rapoliukas was born on September 29th, [double celebration :*]'

(2.46) *Esu* ***gim-ęs*** *1963* *metais*
be.PRS.1SG be_born-PAP.SG.M 1963 year.INSTR

[ir nuo tada, kaip jau kažką galėjau suprast, tai tik Iranas ir Irakas pastoviai kariauja ir kelia sumaištį visame pasaulyje...]

'I was born in 1963, [and since I could already understand something, only Iran and Iraq are constantly at war and causing havoc around the world…]'

Moving on to the quantitative data, subject-oriented resultatives are the second most frequent value in the Lithuanian doculect, after statives (Table 6). Having in mind the lexical input of statives and subject-oriented resultatives, it is worth noting that around two thirds of all the occurrences of the Lithuanian perfect are formed with perfective intransitive verbs.

Table 6. Proportion of subject-oriented resultatives in the Lithuanian data

	Lithuanian	
	tokens	%
Statives	720	36
Subject-oriented resultatives	**586**	**29**
(other values)	719	35
Total	2025	100

The auxiliary omission with subject-oriented resultatives is still predominant (Table 7), but it is slightly lower than with statives. Regarding the division of the tokens by person, 3rd person resultatives are again by far the most frequent,

even more so than with statives, though the difference is not statistically significant[14].

Table 7. Auxiliary omission proportions with Lithuanian subject-oriented resultatives

	Lithuanian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	37 (5%)	683 (95%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	56 (10%)	530 (90%)

Table 8. Proportions of subject-oriented resultatives in Lithuanian arranged by person and number

	Subject-oriented resultatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	32 (5%)		40 (7%)		514 (88%)		586 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	15	17	34	6	285	229	586 (100%)

To conclude, subject-oriented resultatives can be considered a prototypical value of the Lithuanian perfect. If the schema on which the Lithuanian BE perfect is modelled is the Equation schema 'X is Y' (Heine 1993), then statives are the intermediate value conceptually, as they include verbal morphology in the 'Y' position, but no (or very little) verbal semantics. Subject-oriented resultatives then appear as soon as a verbal participle expressing a change of state is used instead of the adjectival one. The semantic value of subject-oriented resultatives is almost compositional and closely related to their perfective and intransitive lexical input – it can be paraphrased as 'X is having-done-Y'.

2.4. Possessive Resultatives

Possessive resultatives, as defined by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 9), are perfects with transitive verbs where "the result of the action affects the underlying subject rather than the immediate patient of the action." The object of such clauses is usually conceptually related to the subject – for instance, it may be in the possession of the subject, or be a part of the subject itself. Thus, although the verb is transitive and an object that can be considered the patient is present, possessive

[14] Here and henceforth, to check for statistical significance Pearson's chi-squared test with Yates' continuity correction was applied.

resultative perfects express a change of state of the subject (agent), while the object (patient) is given a marginal role, whenever present. Such analysis of perfects with transitive verbs is in line with the gradient view of transitivity as a multifaceted phenomenon: formally, transitive verbs are understood as those that require a second argument (object), but semantically there is a continuum from more to less prototypically transitive (in line with Hopper & Thompson 1980).

The value of possessive resultatives has been applied to the Lithuanian perfect by Geniušienė & Nedjalkov (1988), as well as by Arkadiev & Daugavet (2021) as a subtype of the subject-oriented resultative.

The lexical input for this class of perfects is perfective transitive verbs expressing an event that affects the subject in one way or another. Possessive resultative perfects are most frequently formed with verbs that belong to the following semantic groups:

- Verbs conveying the subject's coming into possession of something or losing something:

(2.47) *[Jam iki sąjudžio kurimo, kaip peėsčiam iki Šanchajaus.]*

visus	*nuopelnus*	*yra*	***pasisąvin-es***.
all.ACC.PL.M	merit.ACC.PL.M	be.PRS.3	appropriate-PAP.SG.M

'[For him to establish Sąjūdis would be like walking to Shanghai.] All his merits are stolen.'

(2.48) *Fotografai* *juosteliu* ***prisipirk-e***
photographer.NOM.PL.M film.GEN.PL.F buy_plenty-RFL.PAP.PL.M

urmu
wholesale.INSTR

'Photographers have bought plenty of films at wholesale.'

- Verbs describing changes in the looks of the subject, such as getting dressed, putting something on:

(2.49) *ruda* *kostiuma* ***apsivilk-ęs***
brown.ACC.SG.M suit.ACC.SG.M put_on-PAP.SG.M

[kad nieks nepastebetu kaip meluoja]

'He has put a brown suit on, [so that nobody would notice when he's lying.]'

(2.50) *Nesvarbu,* *kad* *brilijantais* ***apsikarsci-us***,
NEG.important.NA COMPL sparkler.INSTR.PL.M hang-RFL.PAP.SG.F

[bet sneket nemoka]

'Doesn't matter that she has got sparklers on, [but she can't speak [properly]].

- Verbs conveying the subject's movement of body parts or changes in posture, such as lowering one's head, raising one's hand and so on:

(2.51) *Labai žemai* ***nuleid-usi*** *galvą*
very low.ADV lower-PAP.SG.F head.ACC.SG.F
'She has sunk her head very much.'

(2.52) *Jau visai smegenis* ***pašal-e*** 😳
already totally brain.ACC.PL.F freeze-PAP.PL.M
'Their brains are totally frozen already (=They are not thinking straight.)'

- Some verbs of acquisition or state of knowledge, such as learning or forgetting something, acquiring a skill:

(2.53) *Juk ji išsilavin-usi. Raštinga.* ***Baig-usi***
PTC 3SG.F.NOM educate-RFL.PAP.SG.F literate.SG.F finish-PAP.SG.F

aukštaji. ***ivaldži-usi*** *kompiuterines programas.*
high.ACC.SG.M.DEF master-PAP.SG.F computer.ADJ.ACC.PL.F program-ACC.PL.F

'After all, she is educated, literate, she has got higher education, she has mastered computer programs.'

(2.54) *[Valdininkai gyvena savo pasaulyje,] o apie paprastus*
CONJ about simple.ACC.PL.M

žmones jie ***pamirš-ę***
people.ACC.PL.M 3PL.M.NOM forget-PAP.PL.M

'[The clerks live in their own world,] they have completely forgotten about the common people.'

- Idioms where the object is figurative, so that the whole verb phrase with the object refers to the subject:

(2.55) *Tamsta truputeli* ***nuleid-us*** *gara [po prezidentes pasisakymo]*
2SG.NOM.F a_bit let_off-PAP.SG.F steam.ACC
'You have let off some steam [after the President's speech.]'

(2.56) *[Parasė patarejai kalbą, nes pats bijo grybo pripjaut,]*

nes jau taip yra ***prisipjov-ęs***
because already PTC be.PRS.3 cut_plenty-PAP.SG.M

'[His advisors wrote his speech, because he's afraid to talk nonsense,] because he already has talked plenty of nonsense.' (lit. 'has picked his fill [of mushrooms]'; a colloquial idiom for 'talk nonsense')

However, the most salient group of verbs in this category are ingestive verbs. The most prototypical examples of these are the verbs meaning ‘to eat’ (2.57) and ‘to drink’, while, in the data from the *Facebook* comments corpus, many verbs have been identified to be denoting various modes and ways of consuming psychoactive substances (2.58).

(2.57) *lasiniu* *mužikelis* ***privalg-ias***
lard.GEN.PL.M churl.DIM.NOM.SG.M eat_plenty-PAP.SG.M
‘The churl has eaten a lot of lard.’

(2.58) *Raimondai* *nusišneki* *gal* ***padar-ęs*** *gramą?*
PN.VOC.SG.M talk_nonsense.PRS.2SG maybe make-PAP.SG.M gram.ACC.SG.M
‘Raimondas, you’re talking nonsense, maybe you’re a little drunk?’ (lit. ‘maybe you have had a gram [of alcohol]?’)

Sentences with ingestive verbs correspond to what Næss (2007: 51–84) describes as cases of Affected Agent. According to her, ingestive verbs are not prototypical examples of transitivity, despite being often exemplified as such. Clauses with Affected Agent deviate from the semantic prototype of transitivity, as “the distinctness of the semantic roles of the participants in a two-participant event is a crucial factor in semantic transitivity” (Næss 2007: 51), while clauses with ingestive verbs cannot be considered such. Eating is an action performed for the sole purpose of obtaining an effect on the agent, not the patient. The agent volitionally instigates the event but has the additional property of being itself affected by the event (Næss 2007: 53).

Næss shows that, as a result, ingestive verbs cross-linguistically often demonstrate ‘intransitive behavior’ – they tend to be expressed in formally intransitive clauses. This account can also help to explain why while in the data the proportion of perfects with transitive verbs is relatively small (cf. the following section), the category of possessive resultatives is fairly large, thus suggesting that this use of the Lithuanian perfect is more common. The line of development of the Lithuanian perfect can be seen as leading from the basic non-grammaticalized copular constructions with adjectival participles, expressing states and qualities of the agent and not necessarily related to a prior event, towards resultative perfects with transitive verbs where the main element of the meaning is the past event put in place by the agent and affecting mostly the patient. In such a scale, the possessive resultative perfects represent the ‘middle ground’ – the clauses are formally transitive, but both the initiator of the action and the affected entity is the agent.

Næss explains that “[i]f one wishes to focus on the effect on the agent, then this effect can be construed as measuring out the event. On such a

construal, the agent is cast as the endpoint of the event, and the event is completely described once the agent has been specified – both the initiating entity and the endpoint of the action are included in the description of the event, since they are both the same entity. When the event is construed in this way, reference to the patient is simply superfluous, since the event already has a delimiting argument" (Næss 2007: 57). In fact, in some cases, the superfluous object in such possessive resultatives with ingestive verbs may be deleted, because it is easily inferred from the verb. The participles derived from transitive verbs with deleted uninformative (Rosemeyer & Grossman 2021) object often are used adjectivally, like the ones formed from perfective intransitive verbs, discussed in Section 2.2 – they are frequently coordinated with adjectives (2.59), accompanying adverbials testify in favor of the adjectival interpretation (2.60, 2.61), although a past action of consumption, of course, can always be presupposed, and they do not lack past tense forms. Very similar examples have been given in Section 2.2 on statives – see (2.15, 2.16). In fact, it is not always a straightforward task to decide whether the participles verge more towards an adjectival or towards a verbal interpretation. Similar considerations apply as the ones regarding the distinction between intransitive subject-oriented resultatives and statives (see Section 2.3).

(2.59) *a* *jie* *durni* *ar* ***ne-da-ėd-ę***.
whether 3PL.M crazy.PL.M whether NEG-PVB-eat-PAP.PL.M
'Are they [just] crazy or are they starving?'

(2.60) *Truputi* ***pri-lup-es***
slightly PVB-guzzle-PAP.SG.M
'He is slightly pissed.'

(2.61) *Jis* *gal* ***pri-pis-es*** *bišk*e?
3SG.M maybe PVB-fuck-PAP.SG.M a_bit
'Is he a bit wasted, maybe?'

The orientation towards the subject in possessive resultatives can often be emphasized by the reflexive/middle marker *si*. The reflexive/middle marker usually signals that the subject is coreferential with the direct object of the clause. Instances of direct reflexives are to be expected among intransitive clauses – in fact, 290 (41%) of statives and 217 (37%) of subject-oriented resultatives are reflexive in the Lithuanian data. However, a quick look at the data shows that the reflexive/middle marker with intransitives can also have other functions apart from subject-object coreferentiality (2.62).

(2.62) *[Čia jau bus pasaulio pabaiga,]* *visi* *valdininkai*
all.NOM.PL.M official.NOM.PL.M

gobšus, *savanaudžiai,* *ir* ***ap-si-vog-e***
greedy.NOM.PL.M selfish.NOM.PL.M and PVB-RFL-steal-PAP.PL.M

iki *ausu*
PREP ear.GEN.PL.F

'[This will be the end of the world,] all officials are greedy, selfish and have stolen up to their ears.'

Table 9. Proportions of reflexive markers with statives, subject-oriented and possessive resultatives

	Lithuanian		
	+RFL	-RFL	Total
Statives	297 (41%)	423 (59%)	720 (100%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	216 (37%)	370 (63%)	586 (100%)
Possessive resultatives	90 (36%)	157 (64%)	247 (100%)

However, when the reflexive/middle marker appears with transitive verbs, subject-object coreferentiality can be excluded, and other reflexive/middle semantics become relevant. These can include various values (Kulikov 2013; Geniušienė 1987; Holvoet 2020). A more detailed analysis of the reflexive/middle markers with BE perfects would be in order, but, for the purposes of this study, the relevant generalization is that the presence of the reflexive/middle marker in transitive clauses does not indicate the subject as the direct object of the clause, but, in one way or another, it draws the focus towards the subject, thereby indicating the subject not only as a mere agent, but also as an experiencer or recipient of the event (action) designated by the lexical verb. As Kulikov puts it in his survey on middles and reflexives, semantically, middles 'focus' the activity expressed by the base verb on the first argument (Subject).

As it can be seen from Table 9, the middle-reflexive marker persists also with transitive verbs in the possessive resultatives group. The proportion is quite impressive, as it does not differ from the first two intransitive groups.

In some contexts, such as with verbs of 'grooming' or 'dressing', or with other specific meanings, the middle-reflexive marker is obligatory, as its omission changes the argument structure of the verb, but, in other cases, it is similar to what has been described as weak autobenefactives for the Lithuanian middle-reflexive (Panov 2020). What has been denoted by this term is a middle-reflexive marking that is not obligatory, and its omission does

not drastically change the meaning of the clause, thus providing only a weak reference to the subject that somehow benefits from the action or is affected by it (Panov 2020: 349):

(2.63) *Kodėl* *pertraukinėja* *svečią,* *kurį*
why interrupt.PRS.3 guest.ACC.SG.M REL.ACC.SG.M

pa-si-kviet-ę *į* *studiją?*
PVB-RFL-invite-PAP.SG.M PREP studio.ACC.SG.F

'Why are they interrupting the guest whom they have invited to the studio?'

In general, possessive resultative perfects can be described as formally transitive clauses that are still subject-oriented, despite the presence of the patient which/who is closely related to the subject or is a part of the subject. Possessive resultative perfects are closely related to the prototypical examples of the Lithuanian perfect – subject-oriented resultative perfects with intransitive verbs. Possessive resultative perfects are somewhere in the middle of the continuum of the perfect's grammaticalization from the basic non-grammaticalized copular constructions expressing the subject's qualities towards the loss of a clear affectedness of the agent in other more grammaticalized perfect constructions.

Regarding the three essential features of subject-oriented resultatives as prototypical Lithuanian perfects, namely, (1) resultativity, (2) subject-orientation, and (3) indefiniteness of the prior event, the one that gets modified in the passage from subject-oriented to possessive resultatives is the subject-orientation. With possessive resultatives, the subject-orientation is still present, but, given the formally transitive lexical input, it is weaker, as the second actant is introduced into a clause.

Possessive resultatives are the third most frequent value in Lithuanian, as it can be seen from Table 10. Thus, together with statives and subject-oriented resultatives, the proportion of Lithuanian perfect tokens which essentially convey qualities, states, or changes of states of the subject via perfective and intransitive or semantically intransitive lexical input is 77%.

Table 10. Proportion of possessive resultatives in the Lithuanian data

	Lithuanian	
	tokens	%
Statives	720	36
Subject-oriented resultatives	586	29
Possessive resultatives	**247**	**12**
(other values)	480	23
Total	2025	100

Regarding the auxiliary usage, in the passage between subject-oriented and possessive resultatives, a similar tendency can be observed as the one between statives and subject-oriented resultatives: the auxiliary is, again, omitted less frequently, even though the omission percentage is nevertheless high.

Table 11. Auxiliary omission proportions with Lithuanian possessive resultatives

	Lithuanian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	37 (5%)	683 (95%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	56 (10%)	530 (90%)
Possessive resultatives	**42 (18%)**	**205 (82%)**

The data on the distribution of the possessive resultatives by person and number is in line with statives and subject-oriented resultatives – the differences of the proportions of the 3rd person forms with each of the three values are not statistically significant.

Table 12. Proportions of Lithuanian possessive resultatives arranged by person and number

	Subject-oriented resultatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	17 (7%)		21 (9%)		209 (84%)		247 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	5	12	15	6	132	77	247 (100%)

2.5 Transitive Resultatives

Transitive resultatives are here defined as perfects conveying a change of state and formed with prototypically transitive verbs where the subject is entirely distinct from the object and not directly related to it, differently from the possessive resultatives. Constructions with such lexical input cannot be said to convey solely the change of state of the agent, as the past action expressed by the participle affects the patient as much as the subject, and the focus shifts away from the current state towards the past event itself.

From the point of view of the grammaticalization of the Lithuanian perfect, transitive resultatives are a crucial step forward, as, with this value, the gram loses its subject-orientation: due to the transitivity of the lexical verb, the subject is now the agent, while the verb designates a change of state of the object. The focus shifts away from the subject's state, which is now given a marginal role. This happens when the perfect construction is formed with a

more prototypically transitive verb that has a distinct subject and a distinct object, unrelated to the former and not functioning as any part of it.

Transitive resultative perfects are here defined as perfects with verbs that are prototypically transitive (partly in line with Hopper & Thompson 1980) and perfective, i.e., resultative. They convey a past event and a change of state of the object which is indefinite (not anchored in time and space), and whose result is considered relevant at the moment of speech. More prototypical transitivity of the lexical input distinguishes transitive resultatives from possessive resultatives.

The main lexico-semantic classes of verbs occurring in Lithuanian transitive resultative perfects are the following:

- Verbs designating various changes in spatial configuration, which can also be metaphorical, of the object, performed by the subject, or 'send' verbs (Levin 2015):

(2.64) *Turiu* *foto* *ir* *video* *kaip* *labia* *didelis*
have.PRS.1SG photo and video how very big.NOM.SG.M

prabangus *namas* *i* *nemuna*
luxurious.NOM.SG.M house.NOM.SG.M to PN.ACC.SG.M

vamzi ***nuties-es*** *:D* *[pm kas turi galimybiu nubaust]*
pipe.ACC.SG.M lay-PAP.SG.M

'I have photos and videos of how a very big and luxurious house has extended a [sewer] pipe into the Nemunas River. [Message me if you have a possibility to punish them]'

- Verbs of general changes of state of the object (Fillmore 1970):

(2.65) *O* *šita* *itakinga* *nuomonės* *formuotoja*
CONJ PROX.NOM.SG.F influential.NOM.SG.F opinion.GEN.SG.F maker.NOM.SG.F

yra *pamokas* ***padari-us*** *bent jau :))*
be.PRS.3 homework.ACC.PL.F do-PAP.SG.F at_least

'Has this influential influencer at least done her homework'

(2.66) *[štai ponas Gadeikis džiaugiasi grįžtamuoju ryšiu, kaip vertybe,]*

o *LRT.lt* *portalas* *visiškai* ***atjung-ęs*** *tokią*
CONJ PN website.NOM.SG.M totally switch_off-PAP.SG.M such.ACC.SG.F

galimybę *[ir džiaugiasi tuo bei didžiuojasi]*
possibility.ACC.SG.F

'[Here's Mr. Gadeikis welcoming the feedback as an asset], while LRT.LT website has totally disabled such a possibility, [and is glad and proud of it]'

(2.67) *Filmuok* *normaliai.* *Pusę* *veido* ***nukirt-ęs****...*
film.IMP.2SG normally half.ACC.SG.F face.GEN.SG.M cut_off-PAP.SG.M
'Can you film properly. You have got half the face cut off…'

- Communication verbs of the type 'say' or 'write':

(2.68) *[Ar bent jau vienas iš jūsų domėjotės ir domitės]*

kokius *pasiūlymus,* *teisės* *aktus*
what.kind.ACC.PL.M proposal.ACC.PL.M law.GEN.SG.F act.ACC.PL.F

yra *pasiūl-ęs* *vienas* *ar* *kitas*
be.PRS.3 offer-PAP.SG.M one.NOM.SG.M or other.NOM.SG.M

seimo *narys?*
PN.GEN.SG.M member.NOM.SG.M

'[Has at least one of you taken any interest or are you taking any interest in] what proposals, what legislation one or another member of the parliament has proposed?'

Table 13. Proportion of transitive resultatives in the Lithuanian data

	Lithuanian	
	tokens	%
Statives	720	36
Subject-oriented resultatives	586	29
Possessive resultatives	247	12
Transitive resultatives	**126**	**6**
(other values)	346	17
Total	2025	100

Although transitive resultatives in Lithuanian are grammatical, as the perfect can in theory be formed with any verb, it is obvious from the quantitative data that perfects with prototypically transitive verbs are not that frequent – they only represent 6% of the total (Table 13). This can be explained by considering transitive perfects as an extension of the prototypical subject-oriented resultative perfects. Out of the three main distinctive features of subject-oriented resultatives, already highlighted in the previous sections – resultativity, subject-orientation, and indefiniteness – transitive resultatives maintain resultativity and indefiniteness, but lose subject-orientation.

The resultative change of state meaning is not necessarily present with weakly grammaticalized statives, with the verb *to be* functioning as a copula and not yet as an auxiliary, and with stative participles. Conversely, in the case of perfects with transitive verbs, the resultative meaning is essential, while the necessity to convey exclusively the state of the subject has to be rendered marginal, given the distinctness of the object from the subject. The low

frequency of the transitive resultative perfects shows that the tendency of the orientation towards the subject is not readily abandoned.

The tendency of the Lithuanian perfect to draw the focus towards the subject could also explain why the tendency to include the middle-reflexive marker *-si-* persists even with transitive predicates where subject and object coreferentiality is excluded (Table 14). These verbs can be lexicalized with the reflexive, yielding a meaning absent from the base verb (2.69), indicate the subject as the recipient of the action (2.70) or function as weak autobenefactives (Panov (2020), see Section 2.4), where the reflexive marker provides an additional reference to the subject, thus enabling the retention of at least some orientation towards the subject (2.71).

(2.69) *[Sukelianti nostalgija si daina, teko jau girdeti,]*

net ***esu*** ***pa-si-dalin-usi****:)* ❤️
even be.PRS.1SG PVB-RFL-share-PAP.SG.F
'[This song makes me nostalgic, I have already heard it,] and even shared it.'

(2.70) *kad* *patis* *tai* *nekuo* *maziau* ***pri-si-stat-e***
PTC 3PL.M PTC not_much less PVB-RFL-build-PAP.PL.M

is-si-asvaltav-e..
PVB-RFL-asphalt-PAP.PL.M

'But they have built and paved roads no less themselves'

(2.71) *Bufetava* *labai* *gobsa.* *Kiekviena*
café_server.NOM.SG.F very greedy.NOM.SG.F every.ACC.SG.M

centa ***su-si-skaiciav-us***
cent.ACC.SG.M PVB-RFL-count-PAP.SG.F

'The café server [aka a Lithuanian ex-president's wife] is very greedy, she has got every penny counted'

Table 14. Proportion of reflexive markers in the Lithuanian data

	Lithuanian		
	+RFL	-RFL	Total
Statives	297 (41%)	423 (59%)	720 (100%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	216 (37%)	370 (63%)	586 (100%)
Possessive resultatives	90 (36%)	157 (64%)	247 (100%)
Transitive resultatives	28 (22%)	98 (78%)	126 (100%)

Regarding the auxiliary omission, again, the same tendency persists: the auxiliary with transitive resultatives is omitted less frequently than with other values discussed so far.

Table 15. Auxiliary omission proportions with Lithuanian transitive resultatives

	Lithuanian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	37 (5%)	683 (95%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	56 (10%)	530 (90%)[15]
Possessive resultatives	42 (18%)	205 (82%)[16]
Transitive resultatives	**33 (26%)**	**93 (74%)**[17]

The distribution of the tokens by person again demonstrates a strong prevalence of the 3rd person, although transitive resultatives are used slightly more frequently with the 1st or the 2nd person, although the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 16. Proportions of Lithuanian transitive resultatives arranged by person and number

	Transitive resultatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	12 (7%)		13 (10%)		98 (78%)		126 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	6	9	9	4	68	30	126 (100%)

Considering that it was the statives, whose function is to convey a state of the subject without necessarily implying a change, that served as a source of the Lithuanian perfect, resultative perfects with transitive verbs seem the ones so far most distant from the source model, and thus highly grammaticalized, even when compared to the experiential perfects to be discussed further in this thesis.

2.6. Experiential Perfects

The experiential reading of the perfect has been defined in the literature as conveying an event in the past that has occurred at least once (but possibly more times) during an interval of time ending at the moment of speech (or writing). In the cross-linguistic definitions of perfects, it is the second value set as a requirement for a gram to qualify as a perfect (Velupillai & Dahl 2013). For perfects developing from resultative constructions, it shows a step

[15] Statistically significant with respect to +AUX with STAT
[16] Statistically significant with respect to +AUX with SubjRES
[17] Not statistically significant with respect to +AUX with PossRES

forward in the scale of grammaticalization, as resultativity is abandoned. The past event is not situationally anchored, and it is presented as part of the subject's experience.

In Lithuanian, experiential perfects can be clearly distinguished from all other types of perfects due to their lexical input – while all other perfects, and even statives, are formed with perfective verbs, if an imperfective verb of state or activity appears in its place, the perfect immediately acquires an experiential reading:

(2.72) *taip* *keista,* ***ne-gyven-usi*** *Lietuvoje,*
so strange.NA NEG-live-PAP.SG.F Lithuania.LOC

o *taip* *dzukuoja,* *saunuole*
CONJ so speak_Dzukian.PRS.3 great_person.NOM

'It's so strange, she has never lived in Lithuania, but she speaks Dzukian so well, she's great.'

(2.73) *tik* *toks* *klausimas:* *o* *Zukas*
just such.NOM question.NOM CONJ PN.NOM.SG.M

yra ***kariav-es****?*
be.PRS.3 be_at_war.PAP.SG.M

'Just a question: has Zukas been at war?'

However, some constructions with perfective verbs can also have the experiential reading (Table 17).

Table 17. Aspect of verbs used with Lithuanian experiential perfects

	perfective	imperfective	biaspectual	total
Experientials	48	215	30	293

If a verb is biaspectual or perfective, there are certain sentential or contextual elements that can induce an experiential reading. First, these can be adverbials such as *nei karto* 'not a single time' (2.74) or *niekada* 'never' (2.75) that introduce an interval of time during which the event denoted by the verb has occurred (or rather, has not occurred, in the case of negated experientials – which are quite frequent). Second, the experiential reading can also be induced by certain modifiers on other clausal elements, such as in (2.76), where it is the superlative degree of the adjective that helps exclude the resultative meaning by inducing the meaning which, in the English translation, could be rendered by the adverbial 'ever'. Without it, the example would be ambiguous between resultative and experiential. Third, it can be broader contextual

knowledge that excludes the resultative meaning and induces the experiential one. For example, in (2.77), we understand from the second clause of the comment that the comment-writer does not currently have his fingers frost-bitten, and is not talking about the current situation of his fingers, but rather about a certain mountaineering experience that may validate his opinion.

(2.74) *Visą* *gyvenimą* *kerpuosi* *nei* *karto*
whole.ACC life.ACC cut.RFL.PRS.1SG NEG time

nesu ***gav-usi*** *kasos* *čekio.*
NEG-be.PRS.3 get-PAP.SG.F cashier.GEN receipt.GEN

I've been getting haircuts all my life, not once have I gotten a receipt.

(2.75) *Kas* *idomiausia* *jog* *tie* *"tradiciniu"* *paziuru*
what interesting.SUP COMPL DIST.PL.M traditional.PL.GEN view.PL.GEN

turbut *niekada* ***n-era*** ***nu-ej-e*** *i* *kaire*
probably never NEG-be.PRS.3SG PVB-go-PAP.PL.M PREP left.ACC

'What's most interesting is that those of 'traditional' views probably have never been unfaithful [lit. gone to the left]'

(2.76) *Pati* *graziausia* *daina,* *kokia* ***esam*** ***is-siunt-e*** *i* *EV*
most beautiful.SUP song which be.PRS.1PL PVB-send-PAP.PL.M PREP PN
'[This is] the most beautiful song that we have sent to the Eurovision song contest'

(2.77) *[Irenos pastebejimai yra teisingi]*

kalnuose ***esu*** ***nu-šal-es*** *9 rankų* *pirštus*
mountain.PL.LOC be.PRS.3 PVB-freeze-PAP.SG.M 9 hand.PL.GEN finger.PL.ACC

[Chirurgai gazdino ,bet gangrena nepagriebe]

'[Irena's observations are correct.] In the mountains I have had nine fingers frost-bitten. [The surgeons were worried, but the gangrene did not set in.]'

Table 18. Proportion of experientials in the Lithuanian data

	Lithuanian	
	tokens	%
Statives	720	36
Subject-oriented resultatives	586	29
Possessive resultatives	247	12
Transitive resultatives	126	6
Experientials	**293**	**14**
(other values)	52	3
Total	2025	100

As it can be seen from Table 18, the experiential perfects in the data are rather frequent, and, in particular, significantly more frequent than both groups of resultative perfects with transitive verbs. Confronting the experiential perfects with the prototypical subject-oriented resultative perfects, it is essential to note that, out of the core features of the latter, namely, resultativity, subject-orientation, and indefiniteness, in order to obtain an experiential reading, only resultativity has to be abandoned, while the orientation towards the subject stays in focus. Experiential perfects still convey a state of the subject, which can be generalized as 'having a certain experience' due to performing a certain action or participating in some event at some point in the past. The situational anchoring of such event is absent. The whole focus is, again, on the state of having a certain experience that is being assigned to the subject:

(2.78) *jaunu* *zmoniu* *reikia* *kurie* ***pa-buv-e***
young.GEN.PL people.GEN.PL need.PRS REL.NOM.PL.M PVB-be-PAP.PL.M

yra *europoje* *ir* *zino* *kas* *vyksta*
be.PRS.3 Europe.LOC CONJ know.PRS.3 what happen.PRS.3

'We need young people that have been in Europe and know what is happening.'

In this sense, the experiential perfect seems to be less distant from the subject-oriented resultative perfect than the transitive resultatives. The frequency of the experientials in the Lithuanian data testifies to the idea that, in the case of the Lithuanian perfect, the resultative meaning can be abandoned more readily than the orientation towards the subject.

In the studies on the grammaticalization of perfects, experientials are normally considered a highly grammaticalized value – for instance, Lindstedt argues that "[a]lthough the experiential meaning may become dominant in the perfect, historically it is usually secondary and derives from the CR meaning" (Lindstedt 2000: 370). However, the definition of CR adopted in this thesis is more restrictive (see Section 2.7), and thus the development of the experientials from CR meanings does not apply to Lithuanian. The experiential meaning is generated once a perfective lexical input in the perfect construction has been replaced by an imperfective one. Thus, for the Lithuanian BE perfect, given the perfective-imperfective opposition, experiential perfects arise from resultative perfects only in the sense that perfect constructions are first formed with perfective verbs, and the possibility to insert imperfectives is a subsequent step.

Nevertheless, there are some exceptional features distinguishing the experiential from other perfect values. The first one is the limited lexical input. Although it is grammatical to use any imperfective verb in the construction,

in the data, the lexical input is very restricted. Instances of only two verbs – *būti* 'to be' and *matyti* 'to see'– account for as many as 36% of all experientials. If *girdėti* 'hear' (24) and *gauti* 'get' (13) are added, the four verbs make up even 60% of all the experientials. This is exceptional compared to other groups discussed so far, where no particular verb can be said to dominate in the lexical input to such an extent, but, in the case of the experientials, it is probably not that surprising, as these are precisely the verbs most frequently used in order to convey a certain experience of having been somewhere or having seen something:

(2.79) ***Esu*** *ir* *Gruodi* *žaibu* ***mat-es***.
be.PRS.1SG too December.ACC lightning.GEN.PL see-PAP.SG.M
'I have seen lightning(s) even in December.'

(2.80) *Didžioji* *dauguma* *lietuvių* *prie* *Baltijos*
big.NOM.SG.DEF majority.NOM Lithuanian.GEN.PL.M PREP PN.GEN
jūros ***nėra*** ***buv-ę*** *[nes ant kuro neturi]*
sea.GEN NEG.be.PRS.3 be-PAP.PL.M
'The great majority of Lithuanians haven't been to the Baltic Sea [because they can't afford the fuel.]'

Second, there is a formal feature that differentiates the experientials from other perfects – it is the frequent occurrence of the auxiliary. While, with other perfect values, the auxiliary is either rare (statives and subject-oriented resultatives), or infrequent (possessive and transitive resultatives), there is a clear difference in the group of the experientials, where the auxiliary is present in two tokens out of three (Table 19).

Table 19. Auxiliary omission proportions with Lithuanian experientials

	Lithuanian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	37 (5%)	683 (95%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	56 (10%)	530 (90%)
Possessive resultatives	42 (18%)	205 (82%)
Transitive resultatives	33 (26%)	93 (74%)
Experiential	**195 (67%)**	**98 (33%)**

Regarding the distribution of the experientials by person, with respect to all the values discussed so far, there is a significant increase in the uses of the 1st person singular, which amounts to 41% (Table 19). A closer look at the quantitative data reveals that the use of the auxiliary is related to person

distinctions: while, with the 3rd person experientials, the auxiliary is included in 74 cases out of 138 (53%), with the 1st person experientials it is present in 101 cases out of the total of 121 (83%).

Table 20. Proportions of Lithuanian experientials arranged by person and number

	Experientials						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	**121 (41%)**		34 (12%)		138 (47%)		293 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	**108**	13	18	16	96	42	293 (100%)

In summary, experientials are a well-established and frequent value in Lithuanian. This can be explained having in mind that the experiential allows a strongly subject-oriented construction to maintain the orientation towards the subject, while losing resultativity instead. The predominant/prototypical lexical input for experientials is intransitive imperfective predicates, but the experiential semantic value is so distinct and well-established that it is also possible to form experientials with transitive and perfective verbs. Lithuanian experientials should not be seen as deriving from the CR value, which is marginal in Lithuanian (see Section 2.8.1), but rather as stemming from subject-oriented resultatives, replacing a perfective verb by an imperfective one. Experientials continue the line of undefined past events and pave the road for cumulative perfects and perfects of persistent situation.

2.7. Cumulative Perfects

Another subtype of the Lithuanian perfect is the cumulative perfect. Values similar to what will be described in this section have been discussed by Nau, Spraunienė & Žeimantienė (in the passive, 2020) and by Dahl (2020). In their article on the passive in Lithuanian, Nau, Spraunienė & Žeimantienė (2020: 51–55) describe a cumulative passive construction conveying subsumed experience and referring to "actions in the past of the life of a person or a group of persons which are either recurrent or which took a long time," while the iterativity is additionally expressed by using such adverbials as *tiek* 'so much', *kiek* 'how much', *kiek daug* 'how much', *tiek kartų* 'so many times' (2.81).

(2.81) *[Kur norėtumėte groti, kad klausytojų būtų daugiau?*
Labiausiai aišku užsienyje. Nes čia viskas yra tas pats.]

Visą	*gyvenimą*	*čia*	***gyven-t-a,***	***gro-ta,***
whole.ACC.SG	life.ACC.SG	here	live-PST.PP.NA	play-PST.PP.NA

ei-t-a	*į*	*koncertus.*
attend-PST.PP.NA	PREP	concert.ACC.PL

'[Where would you like to play in order to have more listeners? M: Most of all of course we would like to play abroad. Because here everything is the same.] Here we have lived, played and gone to concerts all our lives.'
(Nau, Spraunienė & Žeimantienė 2020: 51–52)

Dahl (2020) has observed a similar value of the Lithuanian perfect in the data from the Lithuanian translations of the Bible, referring to them as "retrospective uses" and describing them as instances where "the speaker looks back at the past, generalizing over it or referring in one way or other to events or sets of events that tend to be presupposed rather than asserted" (Dahl 2020) (2.81).

(2.82)

Eikite	*pažiūrėti*	*žmogaus,*	*kuris*	*pasakė*	*man*
go.IMP.2PL	see.INF	man.GEN.SG	REL.NOM.SG	say.PST.3	1SG.DAT

viską,	*ką*	***esu***	***padari-usi****.*
everything.ACC	REL.ACC	be.PRS.1SG	do-PAP.SG.F

'Come, see a man who told me all the things that I have done.' (Dahl 2020)

Although not very frequent, such uses can also be found in the data derived from *Facebook* comments: a total of 40 tokens can be assigned to this group. Differently from the passive cumulative construction, for which Nau, Spraunienė & Žeimantienė (2020: 51–55) note that it is usually formed with atelic intransitive verbs but can also occur with telic and transitive ones, the cumulative-retrospective perfects are mainly formed with perfective transitive verbs. Based on their lexical input, they could be assigned to the resultative perfects discussed in the previous section; however, they convey not a past action with its relevant result, but rather a summarized past experience comprised out of multiple occurrences of events.

(2.83) [*Kas kas, bet Maskva patylėti turi...]*

Kiek	*ji*	***yra***	***nukov-usi***	*ar*	***nužudži-usi****?*	*Pvz:*
how_much	3SG.F	be.PRS.3	crush-PAP.SG.F	or	kill-PAP.SG.F	e.g.:

Afganistane	*1989*	*metais*	*iššudyta*	*visa*	*šeima,*
Afghanistan.LOC	1989	year.PL.INSTR	kill_off.PPP.NA	all.SG.NOM	family.SG.NOM

[sustatyti savi komunistai, Čečenijos genocidas...]

'[More than anyone else, Moscow should shut up…] How many have they slaughtered or put to death? For example, in Afghanistan in 1989 a whole family was killed, [their own communists have been installed, then the genocide in Chechnya…]'

(2.84) *Ji* *fantastiška.* *Tiek* *žmonių* ***padėj-usi***
3SG.F fantastic.NOM.SG.F so_much people.GEN.PL help-PAP.SG.F

[stebuklinga televizijos galia ir ji EDITA!!!]

'She is fantastic. She has helped so many people. [Miraculous power of television and her, Edita!!!]'

Thus, differently from experientials, the focus in cumulative-retrospective uses of the perfect is not so much on the 'state of experience' of the subject, but rather on the 'accumulation' of past events that tend to be presupposed. (2.83) has an exclamative interpretation which highlights the presupposition of the 'accumulation' of events, and the cumulative perfects are followed by the passive cumulative construction in the next sentence of the same comment, thus maintaining the line of cumulative predicates. In (2.84), the most plausible interpretation is that the second sentence of the comment gives grounds for the writer's opinion on the subject, conveyed in the first sentence. In other words, the presupposed 'accumulation' of events gives rise to the conclusion, namely, to assign a quality (conveyed by the adjective) to the subject.

An important distinction to make is that between cumulatives (i.e., pluractional values of the perfect), such as the ones described here, and perfects that can be considered pluractional constructions, according to the definition of pluractionality by Mattiola (2020), such as the one in Portuguese (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000; Cabredo Hofherr & Laca 2010). Pluractionality requires that the modification on the verb conveys plurality of the situations *primarily* (Mattiola 2020: 164, emphasis mine), which is not the case with the Lithuanian perfect. The Lithuanian perfects themselves do not convey iterativity – the pluractional meaning is rendered by the adverbials or quantifiers that go along with it (*tiek* 'so much'*, kiek* 'how much'*, kiek daug* 'how much'*, tiek kartų* 'so many times'). Thus, lexical reinforcement by adverbials or quantifiers is needed in order for the cumulative interpretation to arise. Secondary imperfectives can also appear in this context, although they are not frequent (only two instances have been found in the dataset) (2.85). As the iterative meaning would be present with a secondary imperfective even in the Lithuanian preterite, it must be the case that cumulative perfects themselves cannot convey iterativity.

(2.85) *[Ponas Malinauskai kodėl meluojat]*

visi	*nei*	*durni*	*nei*	*akli*	*ir*	*po*
everyone	NEG	stupid.NOM.PL.M	NEG	blind.NOM.PL.M	and	PREP

marga	*svietą*	***pa-važ-inėj-e***
colourful.ACC.SG.M	world.ACC.SG.M	PVB-drive-IPFV-PAP.PL.M

'[Mr. Malinauskas, why are you lying], no one is stupid nor blind, and everyone has been travelling around the world'

Table 21. Proportion of cumulatives in the Lithuanian data

	Lithuanian	
	tokens	%
Statives	720	36
Subject-oriented resultatives	586	29
Possessive resultatives	247	12
Transitive resultatives	126	6
Experientials	293	14
Cumulatives	**40**	**2**
(other values)	13	1
Total	2025	100

Table 22. Auxiliary omission proportions with Lithuanian cumulatives

	Lithuanian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	37 (5%)	683 (95%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	56 (10%)	530 (90%)
Possessive resultatives	42 (18%)	205 (82%)
Transitive resultatives	33 (26%)	93 (74%)
Experiential	195 (67%)	98 (33%)
Cumulatives	**14 (38%)**	**26 (62%)**

Table 23. Proportions of Lithuanian cumulatives arranged by person and number

	Cumulatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	3 (8%)		4 (10%)		33 (82%)		40 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	2	1	3	1	28	5	40 (100%)

Conceptually, cumulative perfects are closely related to experientials. Experientials also allow contexts where the past event has occurred more than once, but the focus is on the bare fact that it *did* actually occur, rather than on the sheer number of the occasions it did occur. With cumulatives, the focus switches towards the multiplicity of such occasions.

However, it does not seem that the Lithuanian cumulatives stem from the experientials, first of all, because of their exclusively perfective lexical input. Quantitative data on the auxiliary omission (Table 21) and distribution by person (Table 22) also locates cumulatives closer to resultatives, as the auxiliary percentage drops, and as they are again predominantly used in the 3rd person.

2.8. Other Marginal Values

There are some other values of the Lithuanian perfect tokens from the *Facebook* comment doculect that do not fit into any of the values described above, but quantitatively they are marginal. They will be briefly defined and described below, as they conform to the perfect values found in other doculects of this study (Chapters 3 and 4), and as they are common semantic values of the Perfect cross-linguistically.

2.8.1. Current relevance perfects

Current relevance (CR) perfects are defined, for the purposes of this thesis, as perfects similar to resultatives, but differing from them due to the situational anchoring of the prior event. The need to redefine what is normally understood by the CR perfect (the resultative perfect) arises from the necessity to differentiate the resultative semantics of perfective verbs from the resultative nature of the perfect construction as such. When a specific event is being referred to by a perfective lexical verb in a Lithuanian perfect construction, the focus shifts away from the resultant state to the prior event itself, and that specific and situationally anchored prior event is presented as having a broader CR (Dahl & Hedin 2000). Such usage does not cancel the resultative nature of the lexical verb, but adds a further layer of resultativity to it, as not only 'the result holds', but 'it is particularly relevant that it holds'. For a wider discussion of the CR perfects, the reader is referred to Section 3.6 on Bulgarian, as, in the Lithuanian doculect, only one example that satisfies the criteria set for the CR perfects has been identified (2.86), where the specificity of the past event is conveyed by the noun phrase *per krizę* 'during the crisis', meaning the 2008–2009 economic crisis, when the retirement pensions were lowered by the country's Government.

(2.86) *Grąžinkit* *pensijas* *kurias* *per* *krizę*
restore.IMP.2PL pension.ACC.PL.F REL.ACC.PL.F PREP crisis.ACC.SG.F

nurėž-ę, *[nei daug nei mažai – 190 litų į mėnesį 4 metams, štai taip!!!!]*
cut-PAP.PL.M

'Restore the pensions you have cut down during the crisis, [it's not too much and not too little – 190 litas a month for 4 years, that's what I say!!!]'

The other two doculects used for this study present more examples of the CR perfects – they are discussed in the following chapters.

2.8.2. Evidential extensions

Arkadiev & Daugavet (2016: 2) mention that bare past active participles are ambiguous between the perfect and the evidential. Although, according to Lithuanian grammars, a bare past active participle can in fact acquire an evidential reading, this seems to be rare, at least in the kind of data chosen for this study. Evidentials are widely used, for instance, in news texts, but, possibly also because of their ambiguity with the perfect, the evidential construction with a bare participle tends to be replaced with a structure consisting of a main verb, such as *sako(si)* 'says' (2.87) or *teigia* 'claims' (2.88), with a participial complement clause (see Arkadiev (2012)) for a detailed description of participial complementation in Lithuanian). Another structure with a similar function can be formed from the reportative marker *esą* and the participle (2.89) (see Wiemer (2010) for an analysis of this heterosemic marker and its functions).

(2.87) *A. Veryga* ***sako*** ***ne-žinoj-ęs,*** *[kad būtų galėjusios dingti*
PN.NOM.SG say.PRS.3 NEG-know-PAP.SG.M

apsaugos priemonės.]

'A. Veryga says he didn't know [that the protective equipment could have disappeared.]' (kaunodiena.lt)

(2.88) *Jonas Pinskus* ***teigia*** ***ne-turėj-ęs*** *[nieko bendra*
PN.NOM.SG claim.PRS.3 NEG-have-PAP.SG.M

su cigarečių kontrabanda.]

'Jonas Pinskus claims he didn't have [anything to do with the cigarette smuggling.]' (lrt.lt)

(2.89) *Tokio snygio gegužę* ***esą*** ***ne-buv-ę*** *jau keliolika metų.*
Such snowfall May.ACC EVD NEG-be-PAP.SG.M already 11-19 year.PL
'Apparently, there hasn't been such a snowfall in May in around 15 years.' (xxiamzius.lt)

In the data chosen for this study, none of the cases of past active participles functioning as a main predicate in the sentence without an auxiliary seem to have a clearly evidential meaning. However, some instances may be considered ambiguous. It is essential here to note the conceptual relatedness between the resultative and the inferential values. As Lindstedt (1985: 265) puts it, "[i]nferentiality is resultativity the other way round: in resultativity, a present state derives from a past event; in inferentiality, a past event is inferred from the present state of affairs." With both inferentials and resultatives, the past event is undefined and unspecified: it is either not observed by the speaker (inferentials), or not focused (resultatives), i.e., "both categories present an event not in itself, but via its results" (Comrie 1976: 110). The closeness of the inferential and the resultative, as opposed to the radically different concept of the experiential, was also discussed by Aikhenvald (2006: 112).

(2.90) [*Ukrainiečiams nieko nėra neimanoma.]*

Juk	*jie*	*Juodają*	*jūrą*	***iškas-ę***
PTC	3PL.M.NOM	Black.ACC.SG.F.DEF	sea.ACC.SG.F	dig_out-PAP.PL.M

ir	*Karpatų*	*kalnus*	***supyl-ę***
and	Carpathian.GEN.PL.M	mountain.ACC.PL.M	pour_out-PAP.PL.M

'[For Ukrainians there's nothing impossible.] After all, they have dug out the Black Sea and poured out the Carpathian Mountains.'

(2.91) *[Konkurencijos taryba tikrai galimai susijusi su prekybos tinklais,]*

nes	*matosi,*	*kad*	***ijung-usios***	*stabdzius.*
because	see.PRS.3SG.RFL	COMPL	turn_on-PAP.PL.F	brakes.ACC.PL.M

'[The Competition Council is really possibly linked to the retailers] because you can see that they have slammed on the brakes.'

However, the distinction might be quite subtle. In (2.90, 2.91), the speakers clearly did not witness the past events conveyed by the participles – they are inferring the events from the present states-of-affairs. However, the resultative interpretation would be that the core meaning is the present state of affairs, resulting from this unwitnessed past event, while the inferential would require the core meaning of the construction to be the marking of the inference made by the speaker as a non-first-hand information source (Aikhenvald 2006). Not every instance of a resultative where the context or the general knowledge allows us to assume that the speaker did not witness the past event counts as an inferential. Thus, both (2.90) and (2.91) tend more towards the resultative meaning, and no separate inferential group in Lithuanian has been distinguished for the purposes of the present analysis.

Daugavet & Arkadiev (2021) and Daugavet (2022), when analyzing the Lithuanian and Latvian perfects, showed that the 3rd person transitive resultatives are not easy to distinguish from evidential values. It is clear from the data presented in Daugavet (2022) compared to that used for this study, that, in Lithuanian, different types of evidentials (reportatives, hearsay, some types of narratives) are a common value of bare past active participles in the formal or literary language (*LiLa* corpus), but not in the data from *Facebook* comments. While Daugavet (2022) shows both transitive (2.92) and intransitive (2.93) examples of participles with evidential values, in the Lithuanian *Facebook* comment doculect, a marginal inferential meaning can be hard to exclude only with a handful of transitive resultatives, such as (2.89) or (2.90).

(2.92) *Dolma* ***palaiminusi*** *Gotsampa ir* ***išnykusi*** *liepsnojančioje uoloje.*
PN bless.PAP.SG.F Gotsampa and disappear.PAP.SG.F blazing.LOC cave.LOC
'Dolma blessed Gotsampa and disappeared into the blazing cave.' (Daugavet 2022)

(2.93) *ponia Sapiegienė, nors ir ištekėjo už Sapiegos,*
lady.NOM Sapiegienė.NOM even though marry.PST.3 PREP Sapiega.GEN
buvusi *to vyro didelė meilė*
be. PAP.F DIST.GEN man.GEN great.NOM.SG.F love.NOM.SG.F
'Lady Sapieha, even though she married Sapieha, is rumored to have been this man's great love' (Daugavet 2022)

Wiemer (2011: 38) argued that, in Lithuanian, "a zero copula does not allow us to induce evidential meaning. In practice, in this case evidential readings are strengthened by context factors, pragmatic background and encyclopaedic knowledge." This is confirmed by Daugavet (2022) and the present study on the Lithuanian perfect, which includes as the data all past active participles used predicatively, both with and without the copula. Keeping in mind the types of data used in the two latter studies (*Facebook* comments in the former, and the *LiLa* corpus, comprised mainly of fiction and the EU documents, in the latter), it seems that evidential values in the modern Lithuanian can appear in formal contexts, but are virtually absent from at least some informal doculects. Wiemer (2011: 46) also noticed that Lithuanian evidential constructions are restricted to folklore and some media genres. Although there are no diachronic data-based studies on the matter, to the best of the knowledge of the author of this thesis, it seems likely that the evidential values have grown weaker in the modern Lithuanian, but they used to be more prominent in the earlier stages of the language. A good example is a well-known Lithuanian poem *Anykščių šilelis* by A. Baranauskas, published in

1861, where bare past active participles are regularly used, among other perfect-like and evidential functions, for non-first-hand narration:

(2.94) *Miškas* *žmonių* ***pasgail-ęs,*** *rasa* ***apsiverk-ęs,***
forest.NOM.SG.M people.GEN pity-PAP.SG.M dew.INSTR cry_out-PAP.SG.M

Aukštas *sav* *viršūnes* *debesin* ***įmerk-ęs***
tall.ACC POSS top.ACC cloud.ILL dip-PAP.SG.M

Ir ***sušuk-ęs****:* *"Broliukai,* *ginkitės* *nuo* *bado!*
and shout-PAP.SG.M brothers.VOC defend.IMP.2PL.RFL PREP famine.GEN

Palaiminta *toj* *ranka,* *ką* *kirvį* *išrado!"*
blessed DIST hand WH axe.ACC invent.PST.3

'The forest pitied them, dew tears it shed
And wet its crowns in grey clouds overhead.
"My starving brothers all!" it cried. "Fight back!
A blessing on the hand that wields an axe!" '[translation by Peter Tempest]

2.8.3. Durative perfects

Another related value is the durative perfect, defined as conveying a continuous or lasting event that started in the past and continues into the present (Comrie 1976: 60). Such contexts are sometimes also referred to as universal readings of the perfect (Dahl 2021), or perfects of persistent situation (Comrie 1976). Dahl (2021) shows that contexts that are usually treated under these labels are not uniform, as clauses with duration-quantifying adverbials (i.e., equivalents of the English *for* as in *I have lived here for two years*) and with left-boundary-indicating adverbials (i.e., equivalents of the English *since* as in *I have lived here since Christmas*) involve a 'transition to a new scene' (see also Dahl & Wälchli 2016) and imply a different preceding state of affairs, while the contexts of perfects with adverbials meaning *always* do not imply any change, and thus may not carry current relevance. Dahl (2021) also shows that, cross-linguistically, the former and the latter contexts are distinguished by contrasting marking. In this thesis, however, the group of 'durative perfects' is distinguished primarily regarding the possibility of a perfect to refer to a lasting event that takes place during an interval of time and persists into the present. Thus, the three readings of a universal perfect are treated together here. In what follows, the focus will be on whether the perfect can convey a lasting event on its own, or if it needs an interval-denoting adverbial, be it an equivalent of *always*, *for*, or *since*.

For a durative interpretation to arise in Lithuanian, perfects do need an interval-denoting time adverbial. In the Lithuanian data, a total of 12 such contexts were found, with perfects formed mainly with perfective verbs. They

either denote a lasting event or a lasting state via bare interval-denoting noun phrases (2.95), or are formed with verbs that convey the continuative meaning via the prefixes *pra-* (2.96) or *iš-* (2.97), which are also perfectivizing. In fact, (2.95) is not a subject-oriented resultative exactly because of the adverbial: a definite time adverbial would be *prieš 2 metus* '2 years ago', which would yield a subject-oriented resultative reading, while the adverbial *2 metai* '2 years' in this example is interval-denoting. The literal translation of (2.95) would be 'the smell has appeared for two years already'.

(2.95) *Smarve* *prie* *forumo* *jau* *2metai* ***atsirad-usi***..
bad_smell.NOM.SG.F PREP forum.GEN already 2_years appear-PAP.SG.F
'The bad smell near the forum has been there for two years already…'

(2.96) *[Pwz pas mus skotijoj]* *nu* *kiek* *as* *cia*
PTC WH 1SG here

12 metu ***pra-gyven-es*** *[tai visados zmones pades]*
12 year.GEN.PLPVB-live-PAP.SG.M

'[For example, where I am in Scotland], and I have lived here how many, say 12 years, [people will always help you]'

(2.97) *[Dabar jau perejau dirpti i imone padirbus kuri laika susirgau gavau nedarbingumo*

lapeli paaiskejo jok man nemokes uz ji] *nes* ***esu***
because be.PRS.1SG

ne-is-dirb-usi *triju* *menesiu*
NEG-PVB-work-PAP.SG.F three.GEN month.GEN.PL

'[Now I have switched jobs, after working for a while, I fell ill and got a sick note, it turned out that I will not get paid for it] because I have worked for less than three months'

In Lithuanian, both cumulative and durative perfects are not strongly distinctive – they heavily depend on the lexical reinforcement by adverbials or quantifiers denoting iterativity, or, alternatively, by verbal prefixes conveying durativity. Nevertheless, they are a noticeable type, and still more numerous than the virtually non-existent CR perfects.

2.9. Conclusions for Lithuanian

The goal of this chapter was to assign the Lithuanian perfect tokens to semantic values, ranging from the least grammaticalized, closest to the 'X is Y' copular construction model (Anderson 1973; Heine 1993), to the most grammaticalized values, typical for perfects cross-linguistically, such as the

current relevance or experiential perfects (Velupillai & Dahl 2013). The whole range of meanings identified in Lithuanian is given in Table 24. The semantic values in the table are ordered from the closest to the source construction to the most distant. Only the clearly distinguished values were included, thereby leaving out the ones that are marginal in the data chosen for this study (Section 2.8).

Table 24. Stages of grammaticalization of the Lithuanian BE perfect

Stage		*Value*		*Paraphrase*	
Stage 0		Copular ascriptive construction with an adjective		Subject S has property Y	
Stage 1		Stative (copular ascriptive construction with a participle)		Subject S has verbal property V	
Stage 2		Subject-oriented resultative		Subject S is having-done-V	
Stage	*Value*	*Paraphrase*	*Stage*	*Value*	*Paraphrase*
Stage 3A	Possessive resultative	S is having-done-V-to-O/S	Stage 3B	Experiential	S has experience of V
Stage 4A	Transitive resultative	S is having-done-V-to-O	Stage 4B	Cumulative	S has repeated experience of V

About a half of all the constructions consisting of the (usually omitted) copula and the present active participle of an intransitive or low-transitivity verb with the object deletion convey a state of the subject without necessarily presupposing a change of state. In such cases, termed statives (Stage 1 in Table 24), the participles are used adjectivally and they are compatible with the interpretation of a permanent state, denoted by the construction. Statives are frequently accompanied by adverbials that highlight the stability of the state or quality, and are freely coordinated with adjectives. They can also be derived with the habitual form of the copula *būna*, suggesting a constant or repetitive state or quality. The possibility of the verb to be used as a stative is limited lexically. The lack of connection to any prior action with some verbs has been already identified or mentioned by Ambrazas (1979), Holvoet & Pajėdienė (2004), and Mikulskas (2009, 2017). However, the informal-language data-based approach taken in this study has shown that copular constructions with adjectival participles form a significant part of all constructions that formally correspond to the Lithuanian perfect. Therefore, they cannot be relegated to a margin of accidental cases involving only a few participles, but they rather need to be integrated into the whole picture of the development of the Lithuanian perfect.

In the light of the BE perfects being based on the Equation schema ‘X is Y’, where the Y element is typically an adjective, statives formed with

adjectival participles constitute an intermediate stage of grammaticalization towards a perfect. The hypothesis of the ascriptive copular construction as a source for the perfect would explain the ambiguity that may sometimes arise between the verbal and the adjectival interpretation of the past active participle. Drawing on Heine's *Overlap Model* (1993: 48–53), such cases represent the point of ambiguity characteristic of the grammaticalization of auxiliaries, where more and less grammaticalized structures that are formally identical coexist in a language synchronically.

Subject-oriented resultatives (Stage 2 in Table 24) were described as a prototypical instance of the Lithuanian perfect that conveys a change of state of the subject stemming from a prior event. The meaning of the subject-oriented resultative is composed of two elements – the current state of the subject, and the prior event that has generated such a state. Of these two elements, the focus is on the state of the subject, while the prior event or action that has generated it remains backgrounded.

From Stage 3 (Table 24), the development of the Lithuanian perfect is seen as diverging into two directions: the first one (Stages 3A and 4A) is based on the inclusion of transitive lexical input, resulting in the gradual loss of subject-orientation. For possessive resultatives (Stage 3A in Table 24), similar considerations hold as for subject-oriented resultatives. Although formally transitive, ingestive verbs, verbs of possession, verbs conveying body movements or changes in the outward appearance of the subject, when used in a perfect construction, express the change of state of the subject, but not that of the object, and thus they are closer to the subject-oriented resultatives than to the transitive perfects. The second direction of development, i.e. the experientials (Stage 3B) is based on the inclusion of imperfective lexical input, resulting in the loss of resultativity, despite the fact that the experiential meaning in Lithuanian can also appear with perfective verbs. Cumulatives (Stage 4B) are semantically closer to the experientials than to the resultatives, again despite their perfective lexical input.

Keeping in mind the statives as the least grammaticalized value of the Lithuanian perfect, it is not surprising to find that almost all instances of the perfect identified in the dataset, even the ones with prototypically transitive verbs and experientials, which are normally considered a 'further step' in the development of a perfect, are still affected by the source construction. The influence of the basic, non-grammaticalized construction can be felt in the persistent orientation of the Lithuanian perfect towards the subject and its state, which testifies that the Lithuanian perfect is weakly grammaticalized. This is confirmed by the following observations:

1. Apart from statives (not-yet-perfects), the most frequent value is the subject-oriented resultative, followed by the possessive resultative, which is formally transitive but still conveys a change of state of the subject, but not that the object.

2. Perfects with transitive verbs or transitive resultatives (Stage 4A in Table 24) are infrequent, as they are the most distant from the grammaticalization source. The presence of a clearly distinct object moves the focus away from the subject, as it is no longer possible to say whose state has changed as a consequence of a preceding event – that of the subject, or that of the object.

3. The middle-reflexive marker is present in a large proportion of perfects with transitive verbs (both possessive and transitive resultatives), where subject and object coreferentiality is excluded, and the middle-reflexive marker performs other functions which draw the focus back to the state of the subject in one way or another. Such verbs are a more natural input to the Lithuanian perfect, given its tendency towards the subject orientation, even with transitive verbs where the subject and the object are clearly distinct.

4. Experiential perfects (Stage 3B) are significantly more frequent than transitive resultatives (Stage 3A). Although the Lithuanian perfect is based on a resultative construction, the experiential value is better established than transitive resultative perfects. The CR perfects are almost non-existent in Lithuanian, and so the grammaticalization cline of the Lithuanian perfect cannot be said to first pass through the CR value in order to expand towards experientials. This is at odds with, for instance, the development of the Romance *have* perfects (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000), where, first of all, the CR meaning is firmly established, and the experiential value is a second, or even a third, step in the development. In the case of Lithuanian, the experiential value is less distant from the grammaticalization source, as, in order to obtain the experiential meaning, there is no need to abandon a clear orientation towards the subject.

At the same time, it is of importance to note that experientials do differ in some ways from all other perfect values. Experientials are distinguished by an elevated frequency of the auxiliary usage in the perfect construction (Figure 7)[18]. This coincides with the sharp increase in the 1st person usage with

[18] Figure 7 also includes the marginal durative value of the Lithuanian perfect (12 occurrences in our data), but not the CR perfect, as only 1 instance of it was identified in the data.

experientials. Parallels for this tendency can be found cross-linguistically (cf. Chapters 3 and 4 on Bulgarian and Barese).

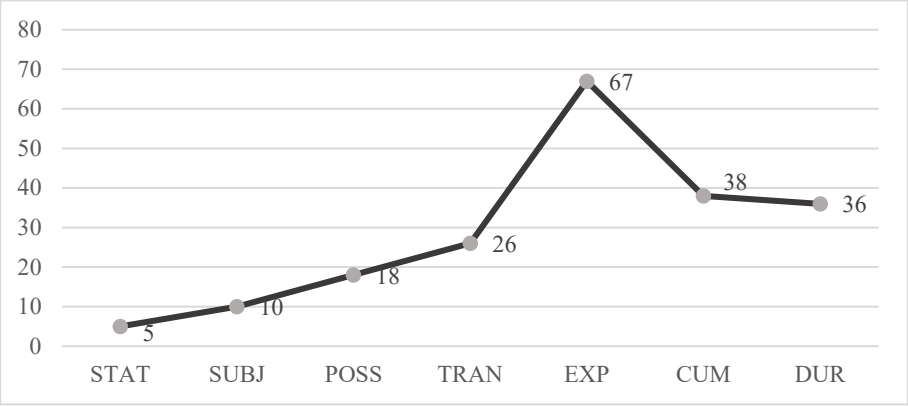

Figure 7. Percentages of auxiliary usage with different perfect values in Lithuanian

Figure 7 shows how the auxiliary (copula) in Lithuanian is rarely used with weakly grammaticalized values, and that there is a sharp increase in its usage with experientials. The auxiliary usage curve can be seen as indicative of the perfect grammaticalization, as it develops specific meanings as a perfect gram that includes both the auxiliary and the participle, in opposition to those contexts which are closer to copular constructions, where the copula can also be dropped.

To check for significance of the auxiliary usage proportion with each semantic value, a logistic regression model has been applied for the Lithuanian dataset. The model included a predictor categorical variable, denominated 'Perfect-ness rank', ranging from 'Rank 1' to 'Rank 5', and an outcome binomial categorical variable of the auxiliary usage (+AUX and -AUX). The 'Perfect-ness rank' is based on the grammaticalization stages given in Table 24 – cross-linguistically typical Perfect values, such as experientials have been assigned higher ranks, whereas the values closer to statives have been assigned lower ranks. The ranking adopted for the purposes of the logistic regression is given in Table 25. Logistic regression results are given in Table 26.

Table 25. 'Perfect-ness rank' – explanatory categorical variable for a logistic regression model

'Perfect-ness rank'	Values
Rank 1	Stative
Rank 2	Subject-oriented resultative
Rank 3	Possessive resultative
Rank 4	Transitive resultative
Rank 5	Current relevance Experiential Cumulative Durative

Table 26. Logistic regression results for Lithuanian data

Concordance index C	0.807 (excellent discrimination)		
	Coefficient	Standard errors	p-value
Intercept	-2.9156	0.1688	<0.0001
rank=2	0.6681	0.2196	0.0024
rank=3	1.3302	0.2391	<0.0001
rank=4	1.8795	0.2637	<0.0001
rank=5	3.3865	0.2018	<0.0001

The higher is the coefficient in Table 26, the more the rank indicated increases the chances of +AUX (Intercepts corresponds to Rank 1). The logistic regression model shows that the log-odds of obtaining the second level of the outcome variable (+AUX) increase with each higher rank of the predictor variable. All the p-values show statistical significance. Figure 8 plots the predicted probabilities of +AUX with each level of the 'Perfect-ness rank'. The gradual increase of the auxiliary usage follows the grammaticalization stages proposed in Table 24, based on conceptual relations between the semantic values of the Lithuanian perfect. While the auxiliary is used slightly more frequently with transitive predicates (Ranks 3 and 4), comparing to the intransitives (Ranks 1 and 2), a spike in its usage can be observed with experientials (Rank 5). The increasing regularity of the auxiliary usage can be interpreted as the periphrasticization of a construction under grammaticalization.

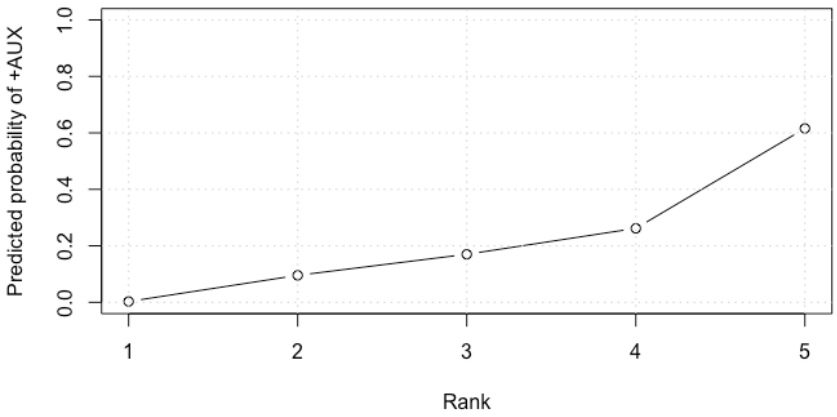

Figure 8. Predicted probabilities of +AUX with each level of the 'Perfectness rank' in the Lithuanian data

In conclusion, the quantitative distribution of the Lithuanian perfect tokens across the semantic values shows that the Lithuanian perfect is predominantly used in weakly grammaticalized contexts, i.e., statives, subject-oriented resultatives, and possessive resultatives. Thus, the Lithuanian BE perfect can be considered a weakly grammaticalized perfect gram. The analysis of the doculect chosen for this study, the 2-million-word *Facebook* comments corpus, showed that the vast majority of the Lithuanian perfect tokens are used with perfective intransitive verbs (statives and subject-oriented resultatives) or low-transitivity verbs (possessive resultatives). Experientials are also prominent, as the only value of the perfect possible with imperfective verbs. Other perfect values, such the CR or durative perfects, as well as the evidential extensions, are marginal in the doculect. The frequency of the auxiliary usage becomes more regular with each step in the grammaticalization cline, thus confirming the cline proposed on the basis of conceptual connections.

3. THE BULGARIAN *BE* PERFECT

3.1. Overview

In Bulgarian, the BE perfect is formed from the present tense of the verb 'to be' (*sâm*), functioning both as the copula and the auxiliary, along with the past active participle (the *l*-form) of the lexical verb. As it can be seen from the example (3.1), the participle agrees with the subject in number and gender. In Bulgarian, the grammatical gender system is ternary in the singular (sg. m. *-l*, sg. f. *-la*, sg. n. *-lo*) and neutralized in the plural (pl. m/f/n *-li*).

(3.1)	***Набра-л***	***съм***	*им*	*две кила*	*кисели*	*джанки*
	Nabra-l	***sâm***	*im*	*dve kila*	*kiseli*	*džanki*
	collect- PAP.SG.M	be.PRS.1SG	3PL.DAT	two kilograms	sour.PL	plum.PL

[да кажат къде да ги отнеса]
[da kažat kâde da gi otnesa]

'I have collected two kilograms of sour plums for them, [let them tell me where to take them]'

According to the available literature on the Bulgarian perfect (Маслов 1981; Friedman 1982; Friedman 1986; Friedman 1994; Friedman 2002; Fielder 1995; Fielder 2002, Lindstedt 1985, 1994, 2000; Ницолова 2013; Nicolova 2017; Hristov 2019; Aikhenvald 2006; Макарцев 2014, *inter alia*), it seems to have a wide range of perfect-like values, including the CR perfects, experientials, and durative perfects, as well as a range of evidential extensions. Perfects and evidentials in Bulgarian are considered two separate paradigms, distinguished formally by the presence or absence of the auxiliary in the 3rd person (Antova 2002; Nicolova 2007). However, as discussed by Friedman (1978, 1982, 2002), Lindstedt (1994), Wiemer (2011), Макарцев (2014), and Hristov (2019), the empirical situation is fuzzy, as the evidential meanings can sometimes appear with the auxiliary, while at least some perfect values are possible without it.

Bulgarian has a rich TAM system, including a grammaticalized perfective/imperfective opposition for every verb, as well as a wide range of past tense forms, including the synthetic aorist and imperfect tenses, and the periphrastic perfect with evidential extensions. It is claimed that the aorist is used for witnessed events, while unwitnessed events are assigned to the *l*-participle, with or without the BE auxiliary. The Bulgarian BE perfect has been recently investigated by Hristov (2019) in a diachronic corpus-based study, in parallel with the Bulgarian *imam* + passive participle construction

and the English HAVE perfect. Regarding the Bulgarian BE perfect, Hristov shows how it originated from the 'X is Y' equation schema and was found even in the earliest Old Church Slavonic (OCS) texts (Hristov 2019: 242). The author traces the differentiation of the Bulgarian BE perfect and the synthetic aorist, the rise of the evidential meanings, and the incipient HAVE perfects in a selection of Old Bulgarian texts from the 14th to the 18th centuries. Hristov observes a clear differentiation between the witnessed aorist and the unwitnessed evidentials with the *l*-participle without the auxiliary in the *Slavonic-Bulgarian History* by Paisius of Hilendar from 1762 (2019: 302–318), but concludes that "[t]here are also indications that even in Present-Day Bulgarian, omission of the auxiliary in third-person evidentials is not consistent, so some things have changed very little since mediaeval times" (Hristov 2019: 326). However, Hristov concentrates on the rise of the possessive resultative construction in Bulgarian. The present chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the Bulgarian BE perfect in the contemporary language, by adopting a synchronic corpus-based approach.

3.2. Statives

As discussed in Section 2.1, statives convey a current state of the subject, as opposed to a change of state, which is characteristic of resultatives. Statives do not say anything about a preceding state of the subject, although they might be compatible with the assumption of a past event that generated the said state. However, they are equally compatible with the permanent state interpretation. Thus, in some instances of the (omitted) BE auxiliary and the past participle construction, the state conveyed by the participle can hardly be related to any preceding event on semantic rather than morphological grounds, as the participles are used adjectivally.

Statives can be found in Bulgarian as well. In (3.2), the participle does not mark a prior action performed by the subject, but rather ascribes a property to the subject. In (3.3), the prior event is strongly backgrounded, and the focus is on the current state of the subject.

(3.2) *Браво! Умен* *u* ***успя-л,***
Bravo Umen *i* ***uspja-l***
bravo smart.SG.M and succeed-PAP.SG.M

знаещ *u* *можещ..!*
znaešt *i* *možešt*
know.PRS.PA.SG.M and can.PRS.PA.SG.M

'Bravo! Smart and successful, knowledgeable and capable'

(3.3) ***Омръзна-ло*** *ни* *е* *да* *си* *играете*
Omrâzna-lo *ni* *e* *da* *si* *igraete*
sicken-PAP.SG.N 1PL.DAT be.PRS.3SG da RFL play.PRS.2PL

със *съдбата* *на* *народа*
sâs *sâdbata* *na* *naroda*
with fate PREP nation

'We are sick of you playing with the fate of the nation.'

Maslov in his classical Bulgarian grammar includes such instances in 'perfects of state' (Маслов 1981: 253), and Lindstedt, in his dissertation on Bulgarian, writes about the vagueness of the reference to a prior event as well as about the similarity of these instances to copular constructions with adjectives (Lindstedt 1985: 96). More recently, in Bulgarian grammar studies, instances where the speaker observes only the result of the past action, not the past action itself, have also been called 'stative perfects' by Nicolova (Ницолова 2013: 60). Similarly, the Bulgarian grammar by Nicolova (2017: 421) identifies a 'state perfect' where "the perfect puts stronger emphasis on the result of the activity rather than on the activity itself."

Statives in the Bulgarian data are not particularly frequent: only 58 instances out of 1802 (~3%) have been assigned to this group (Table 27).

Table 27. Proportions of statives in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	**58**	**3**
(other values)	1744	97
Total	1802	100

As explained in the previous sections, for the Bulgarian (as well as the Lithuanian) doculect, all past active participles used predicatively with the auxiliary or without it were considered. One of the goals of this choice was to see if the auxiliary usage can be quantitively related to a specific value of the perfect construction. With statives, in Bulgarian, the copula is omitted in 16 instances out of 58 (~32%, Table 28). Examples (3.4, 3.5) show how it may be optional even with the same verb.

(3.4) *ББ* ***се*** ***загрижи-л*** *ще* *има* *ли* *служебното* *правителство* *пари*
ВВ ***se*** ***zagriži-l*** *šte* *ima* *li* *služebnoto* *pravitelstvo* *pari*
PN RFL concern-PAP.SG.M FUT have.3SG PQ provisionary government money
'BB is concerned if the caretaker Government will have any money'

(3.5) *Много* ***сте*** ***се*** ***загрижи-ли*** *за* *България!*
Mnogo ***ste*** ***se*** ***zagriži-li*** *za* *Bâlgarija!*
much be.PRS.2PL RFL concern-PAP.PL PREP Bulgaria
'You are so concerned about Bulgaria!'

Table 28. Auxiliary omission proportions with Bulgarian statives

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)

Regarding Bulgarian statives, Nicolova notes that this value in particular can frequently occur without the auxiliary in the 3rd person (Ницолова 2013: 60). The data analyzed for this study shows that Bulgarian statives (not unlike the Lithuanian ones) prevalently occur in the 3rd person (Table 29).

Table 29. Proportions of statives in Bulgarian arranged by person and number

	Statives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	6 (16%)		6 (10%)		43 (74%)		58 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	0	9	3	3	29	14	58 (100%)

The absolute majority of verbs that appear as the lexical input of statives in Bulgarian are perfective. In the Bulgarian doculect, there are only 2 participles that seem to be derived from imperfective verbs – *gnil* 'rotten' (3.6) and *smel* 'brave' (3.7). Their relation to the verbs *smeja* 'to dare' and *gnija* 'to rot' might be at most etymological, as they are lexicalized as adjectives, and are also listed as such in dictionaries (for example, in the *Bulgarian Science Academy Dictionary* (BAN 1977–2014)). Bg. *smel* 'brave' has also undergone a stem vowel change (participles *smjal, smjala, smjalo, smeli* vs. adjectives *smel, smela, smelo, smeli*), and is not related synchronically to the verb, while *gnil* can still be classified as a participle (Nicolova 2017: 177).

(3.6) *Здравната* *система* *е* ***гнила***.
Zdravnata *sistema* *e* ***gnila.***
health.ADJ.SG.F.DEF system.SG.F be.PRS.3SG rot.PAP.PL.F
'The healthcare system is rotten.'

(3.7) *Чакаме да видим, дали са* ***смели***
Čakame da vidim, dali sa smeli
wait.PRS.1PL *da* see.PRS.1PL if be.PRS.3PL dare.PAP.PL.F

[само на приказки или ще предприемат нещо на практика.]
[samo na prikazki ili šte predpriemat nešto na praktika.]

'Let's wait and see if they are brave [only with words, or if they will undertake anything in practice']

Thus, similarly as in Lithuanian (see Section 2.2), the Bulgarian statives cannot regularly be formed from imperfective verbs, either. Their presence can only be explained by early lexicalization. Transitive verbs also do not appear as the lexical input for the Bulgarian statives[19]. In general, similar considerations hold as those for the Lithuanian statives: the interpretation in some cases is vague between a subject-oriented resultative (see the following Section 3.3) and a stative. The distinction is determined lexically for each individual participle. For the purposes of this dissertation, the following features have been taken to reinforce the adjectival (stative) interpretation:

- The presence of the participle as a separate entry in dictionaries, especially if it is marked as an adjective. This criterion was only applied to some Bulgarian adjectivized participles (*smel*, *gnil*).
- Verb defectiveness in other forms of the paradigm or a significantly higher frequency of the participles as compared to the Bulgarian aorist. This applies, for example, to *izperkal* 'crazy' (3.8) or *zakârnjal* 'stunted' (3.9).

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[19] Ницолова (2013: 61) cites an example with a transitive verb:

[Като чу – ангелът камбаните на Рождество, спусна се от небето и право в Цепилото. То цялото е будно през великата нощ на Рождество.]

Чист, хубав сняг го ***покрил,*** *[грейнали светлинки по прозорците.*
clean nice snow 3SG.M.ACC cover.PAP.SG.M

'[When the angel heard the bells of the Nativity, he descended from heaven and went straight to the Cleft. It is all awake on the great night of the Nativity.] Clean, nice snow covered it, [shining lights on the windows]'

However, this does not qualify as a stative perfect according to the definition adopted in this thesis, as the participle conveys a change of state. This particular case is more similar to the 'setting the scene' function (Daugavet & Arkadiev 2021), and, according to the categorization of the perfect values adopted in this thesis, would be assigned to transitive resultatives.

(3.8) *Млад* *мъж* *а* ***изперка-л***
Mlad *mâž* *a* ***izperka-l***
young.SG.M man.SG.M but become_insane-PAP.SG.M
'A young man, but perverted'

(3.9) *Усещането* *за* *срам* ***закърня-ло***
Useštaneto *za* *sram* ***zakârnja-lo***
feeling.SG.F.DEF for shame.SG.M stunt-PAP.SG.N
'The feeling of shame is stunted'

The *Bulgarian National Corpus* (BNS) yields a total of 73 tokens of present active participles of *изперкам*, and only 8 aorists, considering all the persons, and also the fact that the aorist singular 2nd and 3rd persons are homophonous with the singular 3rd person of the present tense. For *закърнея*, the equivalent data is 136 participles versus 2 aorists.

- Co-occurrence with adverbs indicating gradability:

(3.10) *щом* ***са*** ***се*** ***възпали-ли*** *толкова,*
štom ***sa*** ***se*** ***vâzpali-li*** *tolkova,*
if be.PRS.3PL RFL inflame-PAP.PL so_much

[очевидно в това "нищо", май има нещо...]
[očevidno v tova "ništo", maj ima nešto...]

'If they are so excited, apaprently there is something in this "nothing"...'

In conclusion, similar considerations apply to the syntax of the Bulgarian participles as in the case of Lithuanian. Past active participles (*l*-forms) can also be used as attributes, and they can appear in the default prenominal modifier position (3.11), as well as in the marked postnominal modifier position inside a noun phrase (3.12). Such noun phrases can also function as independent clauses – ascriptive copular constructions, as a modifier becomes a predicate (3.13). While in ascriptive constructions the copula is obligatory, with the Bulgarian statives, the copula/auxiliary can be omitted, even though it is more often present. However, this does not affect the semantics of the statives in any significant way.

(3.11) *[Той се обърна, но видя само Джюйлин Сандар, който изглеждаше така,]*
[Toj se obârna no vidja samo Džjujlin Sandar kojto izgleždaše taka]

сякаш *беше* *глътнал* ***гни-ла*** *слива.*
sjakaš *beše* *glâtnal* ***gni-la*** *sliva*
as_if be.IMPF.3SG swallow.PAP.SG.M rot.PAP-SG.F plum.SG.F

'He turned, but saw only Juilin Sandar, who looked as if he had swallowed a rotten plum.' (BNC)

(3.12) *Вътрешността разкрива червея в сърцевината* ***гни-ла***
Vâtrešnostta razkriva červeja v sârcevinata ***gni-la***
inside reveal.PRS.3SG worm PREP core.SG.F rot-PAP.SG.F
'The inside reveals the worm in the rotten core' (BNC)

(3.13) *Васко да Гама не вижда, че цялата португалска*
Vasko da Gama ne vižda če cjalata portugalska
PN NEG see.AOR.3SG that whole Portuguese

колониална държава ***е*** ***гни-ла***
kolonialna dâržava ***e*** ***gni-la***
colonial state be.PRS.3SG rot-PAP.SG.F

'Vasco da Gama couldn't see that the whole Portuguese colonial state was rotten' (BNC)

Thus, the Bulgarian statives also show all the features characteristic of the 'X is Y' scheme (Heine 1993), on which the BE perfects are modelled. The Y position is typical of property-ascribing elements – the grammaticalization of a BE perfect begins once a typical property-ascribing element, an adjective, has been replaced with a participle. With statives, which are the first step of this grammaticalization cline, the participle is used adjectivally, by conveying the current subject's state, and it does not have a clear verbal interpretation. With subject-oriented resultatives, the participle does have a verbal interpretation, by virtue of conveying a change of the state of the subject, and thus a perfect gram implies both semantic elements of the Perfect: (1) a current state of affairs, and (2) a prior event that has generated the current state of affairs.

3.3. Subject-Oriented Resultatives

Subject-oriented resultatives are defined as resultative perfects, formed with intransitive and mainly perfective verbs expressing the change of state of the subject, derived from a prior event, as per Nedjalkov & Jaxontov's (1988: 9) definition. Differently from statives, the participle in subject-oriented resultatives has a clear verbal interpretation. The core features are thus (1) resultativity, (2) subject-orientation, and (3) indefiniteness of the prior event (cf. Section 2.3).

For Bulgarian, different labels have been applied to this value: the distinction is made based on different criteria, as the points of view adopted are not relative to specific grammaticalization of the BE perfects. Some researchers draw the line between the stative perfect and the actional perfect (Маслов 1981; Nicolova & Stamenov 2017; Ницолова 2013), while

Lindstedt (1985) distinguishes between resultative, existential, and inferential values. Subject-oriented resultatives would mainly fit under actional perfects in the former classification, with some more ambiguous instances in the stative perfect, and under resultative perfects in the latter one.

Subject-oriented resultatives are the most frequent perfect value in the Bulgarian doculect (319 tokens out of the total of 1803, see Table 30). This can be taken as further evidence of the prototypicality of this value for the BE perfects (cf. Section 2.3 on subject-oriented resultatives and their frequency in Lithuanian).

Table 30. Proportion of subject-oriented resultatives in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	**308**	**17**
(other values)	1436	80
Total	1802	100

The auxiliary drop occurs in Bulgarian subject-oriented resultatives in 22% of all tokens (Table 31). The omission is less frequent than with statives, and the difference is statistically significant. Regarding the distribution by person, subject-oriented resultatives again occur overwhelmingly more frequently in the 3rd person (Table 32), thus following the tendency established for resultatives in the Lithuanian data (see Chapter 2).

Table 31. Auxiliary omission proportions with Bulgarian statives

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)

Table 32. Proportions of Bulgarian subject-oriented resultatives arranged by person and number

	Subject-oriented resultatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	9 (3%)		24 (8%)		275 (89%)		308 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	1	8	17	7	175	100	308 (100%)

The subjects are usually animate, and the lexical verbs convey changes in their states or locations. The lexico-semantic classes of verbs in subject-oriented resultatives are not unlike those in Lithuanian (Section 2.3), and these can be:

- Mental or bodily changes of the state of animate subjects:

(3.14)

Поуспокои-л	*се*	*е*	*преди*	*беше*	*проблем*
Pouspokoi-l	*se*	*e*	*predi*	*beše*	*problem*
calm_down-PAP.SG.M	RFL	be.PRS.3SG	before	be.IMPF.3SG	problem.SG.M

'He has calmed down, there were problems before'

- General changes of state, with animate and inanimate subjects (verbs meaning 'become', intransitive verbs meaning 'begin' or 'finish'):

(3.15)

Този	***е***	***стана-л***	*на*	*мамут!*
Tozi	***e***	***stana-l***	*na*	*mamut*
DEM	be.PRS.3SG	become-PAP.SG.M	PREP	mammoth.SG.M

'He has become a mammoth!'

(3.16) *[Ама този филм ще покаже ли]*
[Ama tozi film šte pokaže li]

от	*кога*	***е***	***започнала***	*войната*
ot	*koga*	***e***	***započnala***	*vojnata*
from	when	be.PRS.3SG	begin-PAP.SG.F	war.SG.F.DEF

'But will this film show when the war started'

- Changes in location or special disposition with motion (or inhibited motion) verbs:

(3.17) [*Добре ще направиш да се върнеш]*
[Dobre šte napraviš da se vârneš]

там	*от*	*където*	***си***	***дошъ-л***.	*Чао,чао!*
tam	*ot*	*kâdeto*	***si***	***došâ-l***,	*Čao, čao*
there	PREP	where	be.PRS.2SG	come-PAP.SG.M	bye bye

'[You will do well to go back] where you have come from. Bye bye!]'

The lexical input is thus perfective (resultativity) and intransitive (subject-orientation), the same as with statives, but, in subject-oriented resultatives, the participle has a verbal interpretation that allows a presupposition of a prior event, unlike with statives. This means that both elements of the perfect meaning are present – a current state and a prior event, and that subject-oriented resultatives represent the first stage of the BE perfect grammaticalization, where the subject is assigned a verbal property of having actually participated in some prior event.

Diachronically, the prototypicality of subject-oriented resultatives as the first stage of the Bulgarian BE perfect grammaticalization is also supported by the data from Old Church Slavonic (OCS), which is not only one of the few available sources of data on the diachronic development of a BE perfect that has become a general past tense in most contemporary Slavic languages, but also a language closely genetically related to Bulgarian (and even to the Bulgarian perfect as such, as it uses the same *l*-participle).

It is known that the *-l* participle was historically related to deverbal adjectives (Vaillant 1966: 83–84, via Lindstedt 1994: 32), which relates to Section 3.1 on statives, and that the BE + *l*-participle constructions originated in intransitive contexts, i.e., it was clearly subject-oriented (Drinka 2017: 297). Plungian & Urmanchieva (2018: 432) also agree that the source construction for the OCS perfect was intransitive, and later expanded to transitive contexts. Given the active nature of the participle and the availability of past participles for object-oriented contexts, this should not be surprising. It is also known that the *l*-participle itself was originally derived only from non-durative verbs, although eventually its formation expanded to durative verbs (Trost 1972: 83). This shows that the two essential features of the lexical input of the subject-oriented resultatives – intransitivity and perfectivity – were present from the earliest known stages of the OCS BE perfect.

Plungian & Urmanchieva (2017, 2018) distinguish three distinct semantic values of the OCS perfect: experientials, 'characterizing', and 'interpretative' perfects. 'Characterizing' perfects are defined as perfects formed with predicates indicating actions that are significant not in themselves, but as characteristics of the subject or a wider topic of the discourse. This description aligns closely with what is described in this thesis as statives and subject-oriented resultatives, even though Plungian & Urmanchieva cite mainly examples with transitive verbs. The authors express doubts as to whether the OCS perfect had any resultative usage at all. However, it seems that by 'resultative' they mean the CR perfects, typical of English and other Western European languages with exclusively HAVE or split-system BE/HAVE auxiliaries. In this thesis, the term 'resultative' is understood in a different sense, and such instances as subject-oriented resultatives discussed in this section as well as Plungian & Urmancheva's characterizing and interpretive OCS perfects would be assigned to resultatives under the present

classification. After all, a 'characterization' of the subject based on a past event can also be seen as a result of the past event for the subject[20].

However, as the lexical input of subject-oriented resultatives is almost exclusively perfective, it is not possible to attribute resultativity to the perfect construction as such, because resultativeness is already present in the perfective lexical verb. The subsequent analysis of other Bulgarian perfect values will show how imperfective lexical input yields non-resultative values, thus leaving the attribution of a verbal property to the subject as the essential meaning of the construction.

Another important feature of subject-oriented resultatives in the Bulgarian doculect, which is common to perfects typologically, is the indefiniteness in time and space of the presupposed prior event, conveyed by the participle. Drinka identifies this non-specificity among the older and more conservative OCS perfect features – in older OCS sources, the typical value is retrospective, in the sense that "agentive speakers focus on the effect of past events on themselves or their co-conversants" (Drinka 2017: 303) (for more insight into this particular value, see Sections 2.7 and 3.8). The indefiniteness of subject-oriented resultatives in the Bulgarian data is quite similar – because the past event is presented as a property of the subject, and not as the past event *per se*, the presupposed prior events are indefinite in time and space. It is essential to note that indefiniteness is not exclusive to subject-oriented resultatives – with some exceptions (cf. Sections 3.6 and 3.11 on the Current relevance perfects and Evidential values), it is characteristic of all other perfect values in the Bulgarian data.

Lindstedt (1985: 102) distinguishes between two types of specificity in the Bulgarian perfect: that of the experiential perfect, and that of the resultative perfect, and notes that resultatives can sometimes be used even when there is a definite temporal adverbial or with other kinds of anchoring in time and space, thus identifying the resultative indefiniteness as somehow 'weaker'. I would argue that even when co-occurring with a definite time adverbial, the prior event in the resultatives is viewed from the perspective of

[20] In general, what the authors identify as the three essential functions of the OCS perfect aligns very well with the present analysis of the Lithuanian and Bulgarian perfects. In fact, Plungian & Urmancheva (2018) include a comparative analysis with Bulgarian and Macedonian perfects, where the similarities are highlighted. The same papers also hypothesize that the semantic features are due to the structural type of the OCS perfect, that is, the BE auxiliary, and a 'characterizing' (or, rather, subject-oriented) participle, as opposed to the Western European possessive perfects, which are object-oriented and resultative (2018: 437).

the property ascribed to the subject, rather than as a specific event in a sequence of events (narrative), thereby maintaining its indefiniteness. In the Bulgarian data, temporal adverbials with subject-oriented resultatives may denote a period of time, as in (3.18), 'since' and 'not yet' are common, but no subject-oriented resultatives with adverbials denoting a specific past moment or occasion have been found.

(3.18) *[Онзи ден бяха 51/49 да няма избори, което го разбирам,]*
[Onzi den bjaxa 51/49 da njama izbori, koeto go razbiram,]

но	*сега*	***се***	***вдигна-ли***	*с*	*цели*	*7*	*процента*	*за*	*два дни.*
no	*sega*	***se***	***vdigna-li***	*s*	*celi*	*7*	*procenta*	*za*	*dva dni.*
but	now	RFL	go_up-PAP.PL	PREP	whole	7	percent.PL	PREP	two days.

'[The other day there were 51/49 [votes] for not having an election, which I understand,] but now it went up by a whole 7 percentage points in two days.'

Even on the rare occasions where the event seems somehow anchored in time and space, the focus is still on the consequences of the event on the subject, not on the event itself. In (3.19), the writer is talking about a specific election (marked by the definite article on the noun), but 'not having been standing in the elections as an independent candidate' becomes a feature of the addressee (subject):

(3.19) *[Щом напускаш партията напускаш и парламента,]* *защото* *на*
[Štom napuskaš partijata napuskaš i parlamenta,] *zaštoto* *na*
because PREP

изборите	***не***	***си***	***се***	***яви-л***	*като*	*независим!*
izborite	***ne***	***si***	***se***	***javi-l***	*kato*	*nezavisim*
elections.DEF	NEG	be.PRS.2SG	RFL	stand-PAP.SG.M	as	independent.SG.M

'[Once you leave the party you leave the Parliament,] because you didn't stand in the elections as an independent!'

3.4. Possessive Resultatives

Possessive resultatives, as defined by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 9) and described in Section 2.4 on Lithuanian, are perfects with perfective transitive verbs where "the result of the action affects the underlying subject rather than the immediate patient of the action." The object of such clauses is usually conceptually related to the subject – for instance, it may be in the possession of the subject or a part of the subject itself. Thus, although the verb is transitive and an object that can be considered the patient is present, possessive resultative perfects express a change of state of the subject (agent), while the

object (patient) is given a marginal role. Such analysis of perfects with transitive verbs is in line with the gradient view of transitivity as a multifaceted phenomenon: formally, transitive verbs are understood as those that require a second argument (object), but semantically there is a continuum from more to less prototypically transitive verbs (in line with Hopper & Thompson (1980)).

In descriptions of the Bulgarian perfect, instances of possessive resultatives would be subsumed under a broader label of 'actional perfect' (cf. Маслов 1981; Ницолова 2013; Nicolova & Stamenov 2017), or under resultative perfects (Lindstedt 1985). Possessive resultative is the second most frequent value in the Bulgarian perfect, although the quantitative difference in the frequency between subject-oriented resultatives and possessive resultatives is not statistically significant (Table 33).

Table 33. Proportion of possessive resultatives in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	**289**	**16**
(other values)	1147	64
Total	1802	100

Regarding the distribution of the values by person and by auxiliary usage, similar tendencies can be observed as in the shift between the statives and the subject-oriented resultatives: Bulgarian mainly includes the auxiliary, and it is more frequent than with the other two values described in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 (Table 34), while the 3rd person is predominant, although its frequency is slightly lower (this difference is statistically significant) (Table 35).

Table 34. Auxiliary omission proportions with Bulgarian possessive resultatives

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)

Table 35. Proportions of Bulgarian possessive resultatives arranged by person and number

	Possessive resultatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	17 (6%)		36 (12%)		236 (82%)		289 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	5	12	17	19	144	92	289 (100%)

The following lexico-semantic classes of verbs used in perfect constructions have been assigned to possessive resultatives based on Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988), and they apply to Bulgarian as well:

- Various types of verbs related to possession: verbs conveying a subject's coming into possession of something or losing something, as well as verbs of 'future having', such as 'to promise' or 'to deserve':

(3.20) ***Набра-л*** ***съм*** *им* *две кила* *кисели* *джанки*
Nabra-l ***sâm*** *im* *dve kila* *kiseli* *džanki*
collect-PAP.SG.M be.PRS.1SG 3PL.DAT two kilograms sour.PL plum.PL

[да кажат къде да ги отнеса]
[da kažat kâde da gi otnesa]

'I have collected two kilograms of sour plums for them, [let them tell me where to take them]'

(3.21) *Макрон* ***е*** ***обеща-л*** *да* *свали* *цените* *на*
Makron ***e*** ***obešta-l*** *da* *svali* *cenite* *na*
PN.SG.M be.PRS.3SG promise-PAP.SG.M *da* lower.3SG price.PL PREP

горивата *с* *30* *еврoцента* *[и така ще се изравнят с нашите цени.]*
gorivata *s* *30* *evrocenta* *[i taka šte se izravnjat s našite ceni.]*
fuel PREP 30 eurocent.PL

'Macron has promised to cut fuel prices by 30 cents [and so they'll be on par with our prices]'

- Transitive verbs conveying changes in the outward appearance, such as putting on clothes, and verbs of personal grooming:

(3.22) *Дали* ***си*** ***е*** ***изми-л*** *косата* 🧐
Dali ***si*** ***e*** ***izmi-l*** *kosata*
PQ RFL be.PRS.3SG wash-PAP.SG.M hair.DEF
'Has he washed his hair?'

- Transitive verbs conveying changes in the posture and movements of body parts:

(3.23) *Много* ***си*** ***наду-л*** *бузките,* *братиньо*
Mnogo ***si*** ***nadu-l*** *buzkite,* *bratin'o*
very be.PRS.2SG blow_up-PAP.SG.M cheeks.PL.F.DEF brother.DIM
'You have blown up your cheeks a lot, brother'

- Verbs of acquisition of a state of knowledge, such as learning or forgetting something, acquiring a skill:

(3.24) *Пенсионерския* *клуб,* *просто* ***са*** ***забрави-ли***
Pensionerskija *klub,* *prosto* ***sa*** ***zabravi-li***
pensioners.ADJ.DEF club just be.PRS.3PL forget-PAP.PL

да си *сложат* *вратовръзките,* *тия* *старчоци* *наакани*
da si *složat* *vratovrâzkite,* *tija* *starčoci* *naakani*
da RFL put_on tie.PL.M.DEF DEM old.PL geezer.PL

'[It's a] pensioners' club, they just forgot to put their ties on, these old geezers.'

(3.25) *[С изказванията си Калоянов се доближава до Петков!]*
[S izkazvanijata si Kalojanov se dobližava do Petkov!]

Явно ***са*** ***завърши-ли*** *едно* *и* *също* *училище!*
Javno ***sa*** ***zavârši-li*** *edno* *i* *sâšto* *učilište!*
clearly be.PRS.3PL finish-PAP.PL one and same school.SG.N

'[With his statements Kaloyanov comes close to Petkov!] Obviously, they graduated from the same school!'

- Idioms where the object is figurative, so that the whole verb phrase with the object actually refers to the state of the subject:

(3.26) *[В такъв случай трябва да екстрадираме първо простото Кире!]*
[V takâv slučaj trjabva da ekstradirame pârvo prostoto Kire!]

Докато ***не*** ***е*** ***на-дроби-л*** *още* *каши,*
Dokato ***ne*** ***e*** ***na-drobi-l*** *ošte* *kaši,*
as_long_as NEG be.PRS.3SG PVB-do-PAP.SG.M more porridge.PL.F

[които ние да сърбаме в последствие!]
[koito nie da sârbame v posledstvie!]

'In that case we should extradite the simple Kire first! As long as he hasn't made more problems for us to solve later!' (lit. 'made more porridge for us to slurp down', from the idiom *на-дробя каша* 'make porridge', i.e., 'make a mess')

- Ingestive verbs, for which the same considerations apply regarding the notion of the Affected Agent (Næss 2007), as explained in Section 2.4:

(3.27) *Пак* ***си*** ***пи-л*** *в* *работно* *време.*
Pak ***si*** ***pi-l*** *v* *rabotno* *vreme.*
again be.PRS.2SG drink-PAP.SG.M PREP work.ADJ.SG.N time.SG.N
'You have been drinking during working hours again.'

- Uses of transitive verbs such as 'to give' and 'to take' as light verbs:

(3.28) *Във* *манифестацията* *водена* *от* *тати* *на* *Киро*
Vâv *manifestacijata* *vodena* *ot* *tati* *na* *Kiro*
PREP demonstration.SG.F.DEF lead.PPP.SG.F PREP dad PREP Kiro

са ***взе-ли*** *участие* *и* *брат'чедите,*
sa ***vze-li*** *učastie* *i* *brat'čedite,*
be.PRS.3PL take-PAP.PL participation.SG.N and cousin.PL.DEF

onija *novonaznačenite!*
ония *новоназначените!*
DEM.PL.M newly_appointed.PL.M

'In the demonstration led by Kiro's daddy, the cousins, those newly appointed, also took part!'

(3.29) *Щом* *си* *в* *България* *и* ***си*** ***да-л***
Štom *si* *v* *Bâlgarija* *i* ***si*** ***da-l***
if be.PRS.2SG in Bulgaria and be.PRS.2SG give-PAP.SG.M

клетва *изпълни* *я*
kletva *izpâlni* *ja*
oath fulfill.IMP.2SG 3SG.F.ACC

'Since you are in Bulgaria and you have given an oath, keep it'

Regarding other relevant features, possessive resultatives are indefinite (or non-specific) as to the anchoring of the prior event in time and space. Similarly as with the subject-oriented resultatives, in some cases this holds true even when there is a temporal adverbial, like in (3.30). The function of the adverbial *prez 90* 'in the 90s' is not to single out a specific occurrence of the event at that time, but rather to define the past event as not just 'wearing nappies', but specifically 'wearing nappies in the 90s', which serves to describe the interlocutor as a young person.

(3.30) *[Чудя се как знаеш за мутрите]*
[Čudja se kak znaeš za mutrite]

през	*90*	*като*	***си***	***носе-л***[21]	*памперс*
prez	*90*	*kato*	***si***	***nose-l***	*pampers*
during	90s	when	be.PRS.2SG	carry-PAP.SG.M	Pampers

'[I'm surprised you know about the thugs] during the 90s when you were wearing nappies'

The lexical input with possessive resultatives is also virtually always perfective. There are only two examples in the Bulgarian doculect with an imperfective but telic 'to promise':

(3.31) ***Обещава-л*** *по* *3* *милиона, [че той може ли да брои до толкова*
Obeštava-l *po* *3* *miliona, [če toj može li da broi do tolkova*
promise-PAP.SG.M PREP 3 million

на български или Лена и Елена ще помагат]
na bâlgarski ili Lena i Elena šte pomagat]

'He has promised 3 million each, [can he count to that much in Bulgarian, or will Lena and Elena help him]

The orientation towards the subject in Bulgarian possessive resultatives can often be emphasized by the reflexive/middle markers *se/si*. Bulgarian distinguishes morphologically between direct and indirect reflexive marking (indirect reflexive *si* as opposed to direct reflexive *se*). Direct reflexive/middle markers mainly mark that the subject is coreferential with the direct object of the clause. Instances of direct reflexives are to be expected among intransitive clauses – in fact, 16 (29%) of statives and 97 (30%) of subject-oriented resultatives are reflexive in the Bulgarian dataset. Additionally, 3 statives and 5 subject-oriented resultatives are marked with the indirect reflexive *si* (Table 36).

[21] The participle *nosel* is formed by using the imperfect stem of the verb instead of the usual aorist stem. In my data, a total of 40 imperfect-stem *-l* participles are present. 37 of them occur in contexts typical for imperfective and atelic lexical input (19 evidentials, 9 perfects of persistent situation, and 3 experientials).

Table 36. Proportions of reflexive markers with statives, subject-oriented and possessive resultatives in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian			
	+RFL		-RFL	Total
	ACC	DAT		
Statives	19 (33%)	6 (10%)	33 (57%)	58 (100%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	89 (29%)	4 (1%)	215 (70%)	308 (100%)
Possessive resultatives	23 (8%)	24 (8%)	242 (84%)	289 (100%)

However, when the reflexive/middle marker appears with transitive verbs, subject-object coreferentiality can be excluded, and other reflexive/middle semantics becomes relevant. The reflexive/middle marker in transitive clauses does not indicate the subject as coreferential with the direct object of the clause, but, in one way or another, draws the focus towards the subject, indicating the subject not only as a mere agent, but also as an experiencer or recipient of the event (action) designated by the lexical verb. As Kulikov (2013) puts it in his survey on middles and reflexives, semantically, middles 'focus' the activity expressed by the base verb on the first argument (Subject).

As it can be seen from Table 36, the middle-reflexive markers persist also with transitive verbs in the possessive resultatives group. The percentage of reflexives with possessive resultatives is lower, but still significant. In particular, it is of interest to notice that the direct reflexive marker in Bulgarian appears also with transitive verbs – in these cases, it can also assume a function similar to that of the indirect middle-reflexive marker:

(3.32) *Те* *милите* ***са*** ***се*** ***за-мисли-ли*** *как*
Te *milite* ***sa*** ***se*** ***za-misli-li*** *kak*
3PL dear.PL be.PRS.3PL RFL.ACC PVB-THINK-PAP.PL how

да *изглеждат* *по* *мъжествени. ?!?*
da *izgleždat* *po* *mâžestveni*
da look.PRS.3PL more masculine

'Have those sweethearts thought [to themselves] about how to look more masculine?!?'

In these contexts the function of the middle-reflexive marker is similar to what has been described as the ethical dative for the Bulgarian *si* (Nicolova 2017: 235):

(3.33) [*С 230 евро ще си отпочинете и ще се напазарувате,]*
[S 230 evro šte si otpočinete i šte se napazaruvate,]

заслужи-ли ***сте*** ***си*** *го.*
zasluži-li ***ste*** ***si*** *go.*
deserve-PAP.PL be.PRS.2PL RFL.DAT 3SG.N.ACC

'[With 230 euros you will relax and shop,] you deserve it'

Another feature 'focusing' the construction on the subject is that possessive resultatives frequently occur with the object deletion. This happens not only in the contexts of ellipsis, when the object is clear from the previous sentences in the post-comment dialogue, but also when, even though no immediate reference to the object has been made, the verb has such a strong collocation with a specific object noun that its expression becomes superfluous (3.34).

(3.34) *Тея* *палячовци* *нали* *уж*
Teja *paljačovci* *naliuž* *už*
DEM.PL.M clowns.PL.M PTC supposedly

са ***завърши-ли*** *в* *Америката,*
sa ***završi-li*** *v* *Amerikata,*
be.PRS.3PL finish-PAP.PL in America.DEF

[как пък един да не може да свърже едно изречение като хората]

'These clowns have supposedly graduated in America, [how come not even one of them can form a decent sentence]'

The data presented and discussed in this section is assumed to show that: (1) in Bulgarian, too, a clear group of possessive resultatives can be distinguished in clauses that are formally transitive, but in which both the initiator of the action and the affected entity is the agent; and (2) Bulgarian possessive resultatives are an intermediate stage between less grammaticalized subject-oriented resultatives, expressing the subject's states and qualities, and the loss of a clear affectedness of the agent in other more grammaticalized (transitive) perfect constructions (cf. the following Section 3.5).

3.5. Transitive Resultatives

Transitive resultatives, namely, resultatives with prototypically transitive verbs that have a distinct subject and a distinct object, unrelated to the former and not functioning as any part of it, as opposed to possessive resultatives, are a crucial step in the grammaticalization cline of the BE perfects with an initially intransitive lexical input. Once a BE + active participle construction can be used with these verbs, it loses its subject-orientation: due to the transitivity of the lexical verb, the subject is now the agent, while the verb designates a change of state of the object. The focus shifts away from the subject's state, which is now given a marginal role.

Transitive resultative perfects are also indefinite (i.e., they are *not* anchored in time and space). This is a feature which distinguishes them from what is defined in Sections 2.8.1 and 3.6 as the current relevance (CR)

perfects. The main lexico-semantic classes of verbs occurring in transitive resultative perfects are the following:

- Verbs designating various changes in spatial configuration, which can also be metaphorical, of the object, performed by the subject, or 'send' verbs (Levin 2015):

(3.35) *[Уважавам много руснаците, заради историята,]*
[Uvažavam mnogo rusnacite, zaradi istorijata,]

заради	*това*	*че*	***са***	***ни***	***освободи-ли***
zaradi	*tova*	*če*	***sa***	***ni***	***osvobodi-li***
because	PROX.SG.N	COMPL	be.PRS.3PL	1PL.ACC	free-PAP.PL

от	*турско*	*робство. [Обаче съм против войната.]*
ot	*tursko*	*robstvo. [Obače sâm protiv vojnata.]*
from	Turkish	slavery.

'[I respect the Russians a lot, because of history,] because they freed us from Turkish slavery. [However, I am against the war.]'

- Verbs of general changes of state of the object, such as 'break' verbs (Fillmore 1970), as well as 'begin', 'do', or 'stop':

(3.36)

Сценаристите	***са***	***си***	***свърши-ли***	*добре*	*работа!!*
Scenaristite	***sa***	***si***	***svârši-li***	*dobre*	*rabota!!*
scriptwriter.PL.M	be.PRS.3PL	RFL	complete-PAP.PL	well	work.SG.F

'The scriptwriters have done a good job!!'

(3.37)

първо	*на*	*България*	***спря-ли***	*газта;*
pârvo	*na*	*Bâlgarija*	***sprja-li***	*gazsta;*
first	PREP	Bulgaria	stop-PAP.PL	gas

[освен на нас, Полша, Дания, Финландия, Литва, Латвия и Естония, не спряха на никого газта]

'First they stopped the gas for Bulgaria; apart from us, for Poland, Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, they did not stop any gas'

- Communication verbs of the type 'say' or 'write':

(3.38)

Когато	*видя,*	*че*	*в-к*	*"Труд"*	***е***
Kogato	*vidja,*	*če*	*v-k*	"*Trud*"	***e***
when	see.PRS.1SG	COMPL	newspaper.SG.M	PN	be.PRS.3SG

публикува-л	*нещо,*	*[въобще не го чета]*
publikuva-l	*nešto*,	*[vâobšte ne go četa]*
publish-PAP.SG.M	something	

'When I see that the newspaper "Trud" has published something, [I don't read it at all]'

As it can be seen in Table 37, transitive resultatives in the Bulgarian doculect are less frequent than subject-oriented and possessive resultatives. However, they are twice as frequent as in Lithuanian (see Section 2.5).

Table 37. Proportion of transitive resultatives in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	289	16
Transitive resultatives	**232**	**13**
(other values)	915	51
Total	1802	100

As it can be seen in Table 38, the auxiliary usage with Bulgarian transitive resultatives is more frequent than with less grammaticalized values, Also, with each step forward on the grammaticalization cline from statives to transitive resultatives, the auxiliary usage continues to increase in frequency. It seems that, in the non-grammaticalized (or weakly-grammaticalized) source construction in Bulgarian, the auxiliary usage is optional. With transitive resultatives, it becomes regular. In line with other resultatives, transitive resultatives also predominantly occur in the 3rd person (see Table 39).

Table 38. Auxiliary omission proportions in the data

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)
Transitive resultatives	**210 (91%)**	**22 (9%)**

Table 39. Proportions of Bulgarian transitive resultatives arranged by person and number

	Transitive resultatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	11 (5%)		19 (8%)		201 (87%)		232 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	5	6	4	15	102	100	232 (100%)

As described in Section 2.4, Lithuanian seems to employ the middle-reflexive markers as a strategy to keep the focus on the subject if the BE perfect is used with transitive verbs. Some similar examples of the reflexive possessive dative, which is a feature typical of the Balkan Sprachbund, can also be found in the Bulgarian doculect (3.39). However, the proportion of direct and indirect middle-reflexive marking in the Bulgarian data is insignificant (Table 40), and it is also in line with other highly grammaticalized perfect values (experientials, durative perfects). Thus, it seems that the Bulgarian perfect does not (need to) employ this strategy of maintaining the orientation towards the subject.

(3.39) ***Не*** ***са*** ***си*** ***пода-ли*** *документите*
Ne ***sa*** ***si*** ***poda-li*** *dokumentite*
NEG be.PRS.3PL RFL.DAT give-PAP.PL document.PL.M.DEF

да се регистрират като партия,
da se registrirat kato partija,
da RFL.ACC register as party.SG.F

[но пък се изживяват като единствени и незаменими.]
[no pâk se izživjavat kato edinstveni i nezamenimi.]

'They haven't filed the papers to the register as a political party, [but they still claim to be the only and indispensable ones.]'

Table 40. Proportions of reflexive markers with statives, subject-oriented, possessive, and transitive resultatives in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian			
	+RFL		-RFL	Total
	ACC	DAT		
Statives	19 (33%)	6 (10%)	33 (57%)	58 (100%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	89 (29%)	4 (1%)	215 (70%)	308 (100%)
Possessive resultatives	23 (8%)	24 (8%)	242 (84%)	289 (100%)
Transitive resultatives	6 (3%)	11 (5%)	215 (93%)	232 (100%)

Some Bulgarian resultatives can be ambiguous with inferentials (cf. Lindstedt's characterization on inferentiality being resultativity the other way round on p.61). With both inferentials and resultatives, the past event is undefined and unspecified: it is either not observed by the speaker (inferentials), or not focused (resultatives), i.e., "both categories present an event not in itself, but via its results" (Comrie 1976: 110). The closeness of the inferential and the resultative, as opposed to the radically different concept of the experiential, was also discussed by Aikhenvald (2006: 112) and Guentchéva (1993) for Bulgarian.

In contrast, the inferential value is evident in the Bulgarian doculect (see Section 3.11.1 dedicated to Inferentials in the Bulgarian data). Earlier descriptions of the Bulgarian perfect also discuss the inferential perfect and (or) the perfect of supposition, where "the speaker may reason by abduction that an activity has taken place" and identify the inferential perfect as one of the values that pushed the grammaticalization of the perfect towards other evidentials (Ницолова 2013: 62–63). In the *Facebook* comment doculect, too, there is a substantial group of tokens with the inferential as their core meaning. Although some contexts are ambiguous between the resultative and the inferential, the two values differ, as (1) not every instance of an unwitnessed change of state counts as an inferential – in some cases, the core meaning can be the observed result, and not the inference; (2) inferentials can also have intransitive and imperfective verbs as their lexical input; (3) they can be used in sequences, as inferred past event descriptions. For a more detailed description with examples, the reader is referred to Section 3.11.1. Relevant for the conclusion of this section on transitive resultatives is the possibility of ambiguity between the transitive resultative and the inferential, which is taken to be a sign of reanalysis, characteristic of the passage from one stage of grammaticalization to the other.

We have already discussed the first context of ambiguity with the BE perfects, between adjectival and verbal participle interpretation. We have already shown how it signified a shift from the source construction towards a perfect. Another context of ambiguity, diagnostic of yet another grammaticalization shift (reanalysis), that of the extension towards evidentials, can be identified between transitive resultative and inferential meanings.

3.6. Current Relevance Perfects

The notion of current relevance (CR) is probably the most widespread concept in definitions of perfect semantics. Though it has no doubt proven useful, its vagueness and the lack of criteria to establish what in fact counts as CR can also be seen as problematic. This was at least in part resolved by Dahl & Hedin (2000), a contribution that has given CR a broader significance outside the semantics of the perfect, and introduced gradedness into it. The authors distinguish between the type-focusing (event-type) and token-focusing (specific occurrence of an event) references to discourse referents, applying these notions with noun phrases as well as verb phrases, independently of the perfect usage or even its availability in a language. Cross-linguistically, the experiential perfects are the clearest example of type-focusing, while

resultative perfects are considered token-focusing. In the paper, Dahl & Hedin show that type-focusing event references do not need any anchoring in time and space and are thus only compatible with interval-denoting time adverbials indicating periods of time lasting up to the present, and not finished in the past. On the other hand, resultative perfects, being token-focusing, do need to be anchored[22], and the way it is done is via current relevance. In strictly resultative constructions, anchoring (CR) is provided by the continuance of result that is part of the inherent meaning of the verb, while with other types of predicates, a wider interpretation of CR becomes necessary.

The notion of CR applied in the present thesis is close to the interpretation above, with regard to resultative perfects being token-focused and requiring a graded understanding of CR. There is no doubt about the fact that, with subject-oriented, possessive, and transitive resultative perfects (Sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.3), it is a lasting result-state that brings about the narrower CR. However, it is of importance to keep in mind that we are dealing with two doculects that have a more (Bulgarian) or less (Lithuanian) grammaticalized perfective/imperfective aspect opposition, and all of the resultatives (apart from very few exceptions, mentioned in the preceding sections) are formed with perfective verbs. Thus, it is essential to distinguish where resultativity comes from a perfective lexical verb, and where it becomes part of the perfect gram as such. For Lindstedt (2000: 371), with resultative perfects in general (i.e., not only strict resultatives as categorized in this thesis), it is the perfectivity, and not the perfect, that brings about CR. When distinguishing between experientials and resultative (CR) perfects, Lindstedt says that "what look like CR perfects are always instances of the Perfective Aspect."

However, strict resultatives can be distinguished from the CR perfects: with the CR perfects, which can be formed with both perfective and imperfective verbs (3.40, 3.41), the prior event is specific and situationally anchored (as opposed to situational unanchoring (Holvoet 2020, 2022)). In the case of resultatives formed with perfective verbs, the result-state is an inherent part of the lexical meaning of the verbs. The 'continuance of a result' criterion for CR is the strongest among a number of possible delimitations (Dahl & Hedin 2000: 391). Thus, perfective resultatives (subject-oriented, possessive, and transitive) require a narrower CR, brought about by the lasting direct result of the prior event. Even though the prior event is connected to the

[22] Dahl & Hedin (2000) employ a different interpretation of 'anchoring', understood as the link between the prior event and the moment of speech, provided directly by the continuation of the results.

moment of speech by the lasting result, the event itself is viewed as not anchored in time and space, and this is what separates resultatives from the CR perfects described in this section.

When a specific event is being referred to by a perfective lexical verb in a Lithuanian or a Bulgarian perfect construction, the focus shifts away from the resultant state to the prior event itself, and that specific and situationally anchored prior event is presented as having a broader CR. Such usage does not cancel the resultative nature of the lexical verb, but it adds a further layer of resultativity to it, as not only 'the result holds', but 'it is particularly relevant that it holds'.

(3.40) *[Решението за експулсиране на руски дипломати е нищожно и юридически, и*
[Rešenieto za ekspulsirane na ruski diplomati e ništožno i juridičeski, i

административно. Взето е без решение на Министерския съвет, външният
administrativno. Vzeto e bez rešenie na Ministerskijat sâvet, vânšnijat

министър не е уведомен,]		*а*	*заместникът*	*му*	
minister ne e uvedomen,]		*a*	*zamestnikât*	*mu*	
		and	deputy.SG.M.DEF	3SG.M.DAT	
е	***действа-л***	*в*	*отсъствието*	*на*	*Генчовска,*
e	***dejstva-l***	*v*	*otsâstvieto*	*na*	*Genčovska*
be.PRS.3SG	act.IPFV-PAP.SG.M	PREP	absence.DEF	PREP	Genčovska

[без да има право да подписва нотата,]		*при*	*това*	*зам.-*	*министърът*
[bez da ima pravo da podpisva notata,]		*pri*	*tova*	*zam.*	*ministârât*
		PREP	DIST	deputy	minister.SG.M.DEF
е	***връчи-л***	*нотата*	*на*	*руския*	*посланик*
e	*vrâči-l*	*notata*	*na*	*ruskija*	*poslanik*
be.PRS.3SG	hand_in.PFV-PAP.SG.M	note.SG.F.DEF	PREP	Russian	ambassador

[без санкцията на прекия си принципал, само по устно нареждане от премиера
[bez sankcijata na prekija si principal, samo po ustno nareždane ot premiera

карикатура на диктатор Кики Педкоф.]
karikatura na diktator Kiki Pedkof.]

'[The decision to expel Russian diplomats is legally and administratively null and void. It has been taken without a decision of the Council of Ministers, the Foreign Minister has not been notified,] and his deputy has acted in the absence of Gentschovska, [without having the right to sign the note,] moreover the deputy minister handed in the note to the Russian Ambassador [without his direct principal's permission, only on verbal orders from the Prime Minister caricature of dictator Kiki Pedkof.]'

(3.41) *[Това ли,ти е била мечтата -- да съсипеш всиичко !!!]*
[Tova li ti e bila mečtata – da sâsipeš vsiičko !!!]

Не	*гласувах*	*за*	*теб*	*и*	***не***	***съм***	***сбърка-ла*** *!!!!*
Ne	*glasuvax*	*za*	*teb*	*i*	***ne***	***sâm***	***sbârkala*** *!!!!*
NEG	vote.AOR.1SG	PREP	2SG.ACC	and	NEG	be.PRS.1SG	mistaken.PFV-PAP.SG.F

[Was this your dream -- to ruin everything !!!] I didn't vote for you and I haven't made a mistake !!!!

For example, in (3.40), the comment-writer starts off with a consequence (the decision to expel Russian diplomats being null), and then proceeds to list the reasons (i.e., prior events) that lead to this consequence. There are two CR perfects used among these reasons, one with a transitive perfective verb (*e vrâčil)*, and one with an intransitive imperfective (*e dejstval*). The perfective one (handing in the note) refers to a very specific and definite event. It differs from a transitive resultative, because the construction itself does not give us any information about the current whereabouts of the note – i.e., we do not know if the note is still with the Ambassador, and this is not relevant. What matters and what provides CR is that such an event has occurred, i.e., the ambassador has been handed the note by the deputy Minister without permission from the Minister herself, thus making the decision to expel the diplomats null, according to the comment-writer. A translational equivalent of this Bulgarian example in Lithuanian could only be understood as a transitive resultative, providing information on the current whereabouts of the note – we would be led to understand that the note is currently with the Ambassador. It would be a good answer to a question about who has the note at the moment, but the prior event itself would be backgrounded, and not seen as an event having some other broader consequence.

In (3.41), the comment-writer refers twice to the same event of her not voting for the addressee politician by using two different forms in the same sentence: the aorist serves as a statement of fact, while the perfect must be interpreted as a CR perfect, as the writer presents herself as not-having-been-mistaken on that particular occasion. The exact consequence (CR) of the writer not having been mistaken is not verbalized in the comment, but it is easy to suppose that she is presenting herself as being a sensible person, due to having taken this decision in the past. Translated into Lithuanian, this sentence would yield an experiential – the writer would be perceived as saying that she has *never* been mistaken on any occasion, even without any lexical enforcing.

The CR perfects can also be formed with imperfective verbs – in such cases, it is again the specificity of the prior event that excludes the experiential

reading. It is clear, even without a broader context, that, in (3.50), specific events are being referred to.

(3.50) *С постъпката си доказа, че ръководството*
S postâpkata si dokaza, če râkovodstvoto
PREP act.SG.F.DEF RFL prove.AOR.3SG COMPL leadership.SG.N.DEF

*на Възраждане **е** **има-ло** пълно основание*
*na Vâzraždane **e** **ima-lo** pâlno osnovanie*
PREP Revival be.PRS.3SG have-PAP.SG.N full.SG.N reason.SG.N

да я ограничава, [да я държи далеч от медии и да не
da ja ograničava, [da ja dârži daleč ot medii i da ne
da 3SG.F.ACC restrict.PRS.3SG

ѝ дава трибуна да се изявява.]
j dava tribuna da se izjavjava.]

'With her act, she proved that the leadership of Revival has had every reason to restrict her, to keep her away from the media and not to give her a platform to express herself'.

Thus, the CR perfects for the purposes of this thesis are defined as the perfects with perfective or imperfective verbs which refer to a situationally anchored prior event, employing a pragmatic notion of CR. Such uses can be considered highly grammaticalized, as the resultativity is conveyed not (only) by the perfective lexical verb, as it was with resultatives, but by the perfect construction as such where the lexical verb is imperfective. The CR perfects *do* actually appear in Bulgarian, even though they are rather infrequent (see Table 41). Lithuanian translational equivalents of most Bulgarian CR perfects yield resultatives or experientials, as, in Lithuanian, it is hardly possible to refer to a specific past event by using the perfect instead of the preterite.

Table 41. Proportion of CR perfects in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	289	16
Transitive resultatives	232	13
CR perfects	**110**	**6**
(other values)	805	45
Total	1802	100

In Bulgarian, the CR perfects can and do appear with specific time adverbials (3.42). Even when there is no temporal adverbial explicitly verbalized in the

sentence, the situational anchoring of the past event is available thanks to the surrounding discourse. With *Facebook* comments, it is usually given by the news article the writer is commenting under. In some cases, a wider discourse has to be taken into account, i.e., previous events in the news story, sometimes along with the whole public discussion of the topic.

(3.42) *Никой ли* ***не*** ***е*** ***видя-л?***
Nikoj li ***ne*** ***e*** ***vidja-l?***
no_one PQ NEG be.PRS.3SG see-PAP.SG.M

Не ***са*** *ли* ***мина-ли*** *хора* *по* *това* *време?*
Ne ***sa*** *li* ***mina-li*** *xora* *po* *tova* *vreme?*
NEG be.PRS.3SG PQ pass-PAP.PL people.M.PL PREP PROX time

'Did nobody see? Didn't people pass by during that time?'

As for the usage of the auxiliary, Table 42 shows how, in Bulgarian, the tendency persists of including the auxiliary more regularly with perfect values that are more advanced on the perfect grammaticalization cline, such as the CR perfects.

Table 42. Auxiliary omission proportions in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)
Transitive resultatives	210 (91%)	22 (9%)
Current relevance	**101 (92%)**	**9 (8%)**

Table 43. Distribution of Bulgarian CR perfects by person and number

	CR perfects						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	5 (4.5%)		12 (11%)		93 (84.5%)		110 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	3	2	8	4	66	27	110 (100%)

The CR perfects remain in line with resultatives regarding the distribution of the tokens by person, where the 3rd person is again largely predominant (cf. Table 43).

As with other values discussed so far, the CR perfects can also be ambiguous in some contexts. Since they refer to a specific past event, with the 3rd person in cases where the general knowledge allows for the assumption

that the comment-writer did not witness the event, the inferential interpretation cannot be excluded with certainty (3.43).

(3.43) *[Значи американците са замислили нещо]* *Това* *не* *е*
[Znači amerikancite sa zamislili nešto] *tova* *ne* *e*
PROX.SG.N NEG be.PRS.3SG

току *така* *изведнъж* ***са*** ***се*** ***притесни-ли***
toku *taka* *izvednâž* ***sa*** ***se*** ***pritesni-li***
ADV ADV suddenly be.PRS.3PL RFL get_worried-PAP.PL

'[So the Americans are up to something.] It's not like they suddenly got worried'

3.7. Experientials

Experiential perfects refer to an event in the past that has occurred at least once (but possibly more times) during an interval of time ending at the moment of speech (or writing). In cross-linguistic definitions of perfects, it is the second value set as a requirement for a gram to qualify as a perfect (Velupillai & Dahl 2013). The past event is not situationally anchored and is presented as part of the subject's experience.

In Bulgarian, experiential perfects are as frequent as in Lithuanian (see Table 44) and can be formed with both perfective and imperfective, transitive and intransitive verbs; however, the most typical context for an experiential is with an imperfective intransitive verb, denoting an activity or state (3.44). This is confirmed by quantitative data as well (see Table 45).

(3.44) *Всички* *тук* ***са*** ***би-ли*** *дипломати*
Vsički *tuk* ***sa*** ***bi-li*** *diplomati*
Everyone here be.PRS.3PL be-PAP.PL diplomat.PL.M

или ***са*** ***работи-ли*** *по* *посолствата...*
ili ***sa*** ***raboti-li*** *po* *posolstvata...*
or be.PRS.3PL work-PAP.PL PREP embassy.PL.N.DEF

'Everyone here has been a diplomat or worked in embassies…'

Table 44. Proportion of experientials in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	289	16
Transitive resultatives	232	13
CR perfects	110	6
Experientials	**253**	**14**
(other values)	552	31
Total	1802	100

Table 45. Aspect of verbs used with Bulgarian experiential perfects

	perfective	imperfective	biaspectual	total
Bulgarian	54 (21%)	194 (77%)	5 (2%)	253 (100%)

Experiential meaning can also be induced with biaspectual or perfective verbs, as in Lithuanian (Section 2.6), by certain sentential or contextual elements. It can be adverbials such as *досега* (3.45) 'so far' that introduce an interval of time during which the event denoted by the verb has occurred (or, rather, has not occurred, in case of negation, as in (3.45)), or other clausal elements, such as in (3.46), where the indefinite pronoun *никакви* 'any' excludes the resultative or CR readings[23]. In (3.47), broader contextual knowledge along with other non-resultative perfects in the preceding clauses and the modifier *нито една* 'not one' excludes the resultative meaning and induces the experiential one.

(3.45) *Толкова много поразии, за толкова кратко*
Tolkova mnogo porazii, za tolkova kratko
so much damage PREP so short

време никой друг досега ***не*** ***е*** ***вършил***.
vreme nikoj drug dosega ***ne*** ***e*** ***vâršil***.
time noone else so_far NEG be.PRS.3SG do-PAP.SG.M

'No one else has done so much damage in such a short time'.

[23] CR reading is always excluded by the indefiniteness/lack of situational anchoring of the past event.

(3.46) *[Ясно е за всички кой не желае да спазва европейските ценности, не е*
[Jasno e za vsički koj ne želaje da spazva evropejskite cennosti, ne e

направил абсолютно нищо за намиране на решение,]
napravil absoljutno ništo za namirane na rešenie,]

дори	***не***	***е***	***положи-л***	*никакви*	*усилия*
dori	***ne***	***e***	***položi-l***	*nikakvi*	*usilija*
even	NEG	be.PRS.3SG	put.PFV-PAP.SG.M	any	efforts

[за покриване на Копенхагенските критерии за човешките права.]
[za pokrivane na Kopenhagenskite kriterii za čoveškite prava.]

'[It is clear to everyone who does not want to respect European values, he has done absolutely nothing to find a solution,] he has not even made any efforts [to meet the Copenhagen criteria for human rights.]'

(3.47) *[Аз също съм карал бусове дълго време и зад мен е имало спрели*
[Az sâšto sâm karal busove dâlgo vreme i zad men e imalo spreli

по-тесни коли,]	*как*	*пък*	***не***	***съм***	***закачи-л***
po-tesni koli,]	*kak*	*pâk*	*ne*	***sâm***	***zakači-l***
	how	PTC	NEG	be.PRS.1SG	hitch-PAP.SG.M

нито	*една*	*приманевра?!*
nito	*edna*	*pri* *manevra?!*
not_even	one PREP	manoeuvre

'[I have also been driving vans for a long time and there have been narrower cars stopped behind me,] how come I haven't hitched one when manoeuvring?!'

In studies on the grammaticalization of perfects, experientials are normally considered a highly grammaticalized value – for instance, Lindstedt argues that "[a]lthough the experiential meaning may become dominant in the perfect, historically it is usually secondary and derives from the CR meaning" (Lindstedt 2000: 370). However, as already discussed in Section 2.6 on Lithuanian experientials, considering a more restrictive CR perfect definition adopted in this study, Bulgarian experientials, too, cannot be said to have developed from the CR perfects. Additionally, in the Bulgarian doculect, experientials are 2.5 times as frequent as the CR perfects, and also more frequent than transitive resultatives.

The experiential meaning is generated once a perfective lexical input in the perfect construction has been replaced by an imperfective one. Therefore, for the kind of the BE perfects under scrutiny, in those languages which have a perfective-imperfective opposition, experiential perfects arise from resultative perfects only in the sense that perfect constructions are first formed with perfective verbs, and the possibility to insert imperfectives is a subsequent step.

Thus, considering the pragmatic understanding of CR adopted in this thesis, it rather seems more likely that, with the BE perfects, the experiential value arises before the CR interpretation, and is better established as well as more prominent. For the BE perfects, subject-orientation is an essential feature, originating from the source construction and preceding resultativity. The experiential interpretation does not require the loss of subject-orientation – it requires the loss of resultativity, which, absent from statives and appearing with subject-oriented resultatives, is once again abandoned with experientials (see Section 2.6 on experientials in Lithuanian). Arguably, this holds for Bulgarian, which has all the same features of a perfect stemming out of strongly subject-oriented contexts.

Regarding the usage of an auxiliary, the quantitative data is once again in line with the hypothesis that, in both doculects, the more grammaticalized is the perfect value, the more frequent is the auxiliary. In Bulgarian, the auxiliary omission percentage is very similar to that of the CR perfects (Table 46). All Bulgarian experientials without the auxiliary are in the 3rd person, and most of these seem to be due to typographical errors or else due to the reduction of the 3rd person singular *e* in the negative contexts after the same vowel in the negative particle *ne*, as in (3.48).

Table 46. Auxiliary omission proportions with Bulgarian experientials

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)
Transitive resultatives	210 (91%)	22 (9%)
Current relevance	101 (92%)	9 (8%)
Experiential	**240 (95%)**	**13 (5%)**

(3.48) *толкова тъпо, нагло и некомпетентно*
tolkova tâpo, naglo i nekompetentno
so stupid.SG.N insolent.SG.N and incompetent.SG.N

правителство ***не*** ***има-ла*** *България...*
pravitelstvo ***ne*** ***ima-la*** *Bâlgarija…*
government.SG.N NEG have-PAP.SG.F Bulgaria.SG.F

'Bulgaria has never had such a stupid, insolent and incompetent Government...'

It was described in Section 2.6 on the Lithuanian experientials how the lexical input for experientials can be quite repetitive. Again, similar considerations apply to Bulgarian: in the Bulgarian doculect, *vidja* 'see.PFV' and *viždam* 'see.IPFV' (21) and *sâm* 'be' (30) are relatively frequent: *imam* 'have' has 40

occurrences, as it is used not only in possessive but also in existential contexts (3.49). If *čuvam* 'hear' (12), *kaža* 'say.PFV' and *kazvam* 'say.IPFV' (12) are added, the seven verbs, including three pairs of verbs with very similar meanings in this context (*sâm-imam, vidja-viždam, kaža-kazvam*), reach 47%. Thus, in both doculects, experientials are very frequently used with a narrow set of specific verbs.

(3.49) *По голям мафиот от кирчо*
Po goljam mafiot ot kirčo
PTC big.SG.M mafioso PREP Kirčo.SG.M

няма и ***не е имa-ло***
njama i ***ne e ima-lo***
NEG-have-PRS.3SG and NEG be.PRS.3SG have-PAP.SG.N

'There is not and has never been a bigger mafioso than Kircho'

Table 47 shows how, with experientials, there is a sharp increase in the 1st person clauses (both singular and plural), comparing to other values described so far for the Bulgarian perfect. The 3rd person is still the most frequent, as it is usually manifested in most types of texts, but, considering also that the same, and even stronger, tendency can be seen in Lithuanian (see Section 2.6), it can be argued that, with experientials, the 1st person is especially salient.

Table 47. Distribution of Bulgarian experientials by person and number

	Experientials						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	63 (25%)		19 (7.5%)		171 (67.5%)		253 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	32	31	11	8	135	36	253 (100%)

To conclude this section, experientials are a well-established and fairly frequent value in Bulgarian. The predominant/prototypical lexical input for experientials is intransitive imperfective predicates, but the experiential semantic value is so distinct and well established that it is also possible to form experientials with transitive and perfective verbs. Bulgarian experientials should not be seen as deriving from the CR value, but rather as stemming from subject-oriented resultatives, once the lexical input expands to imperfective verbs. Experientials can be seen as the crossroads in the BE perfect grammaticalization – they continue the line of undefined past events and pave the road for perfects of persistent situation, or cumulative perfects (see the following sections).

3.8. Cumulative Perfects

Another perfect value present in Bulgarian is the cumulative (iterative, retrospective, or pluractional) perfect, which refers to a past event that has occurred a number of times in the period lasting up to the moment of speech (writing). In the literature on Bulgarian, they are referred to as iterative perfects (Nicolova & Stamenov 2017; Ницолова 2013), denoting a repeated activity, mainly formed with (secondary) imperfective verbs, but also occurring with perfective ones, which is also the case in the Bulgarian *Facebook* comment doculect. Secondary imperfective verbs convey iterativity on their own (3.50), while other types of verbs in cumulative perfects in Bulgarian need lexical reinforcement (3.51, 3.52):

(3.50) *[Поредицата от събития е очеизваждаща. 1. Спиране на трафика на*
[Poredicata ot sâbitija e očeizvaždašta. 1. Spirane na trafika

наркотици на границата с Турция към Европа,]				*които*	***са***	
na narkotici na granicata s Turcija kâm Evropa,]				*koito*	***sa***	
				which	be.PRS.3PL	
преминава-ли	*с*	*камионите*	*с*	*плодове*	*и*	*зеленчуци.*
preminava-li	*s*	*kamionite*	*s*	*plodove*	*i*	*zelenčuci.*
cross-PAP.PL	PREP	trucks	PREP	fruit	and	vegetables

'[The sequence of events is obvious. 1. Stopping drug trafficking at the border with Turkey to Europe,] who have been crossing with the fruit and vegetable trucks'.

(3.51)

Този,	*за*	*когото*	***си***	***направи-л***	*много,*
Tozi,	*za*	*kogoto*	***si***	***napravi-l***	*mnogo*
PROX.SG.M	PREP	WH.SG.M.DEF	be.PRS.2SG	do.PFV-PAP.SG.M	a_lot

[в критични моменти спасява себе си чрез предателство.]
[v kritični momenti spasjava sebe si črez predatelstvo.]

'The one for whom you have done a lot, in critical moments saves himself through betrayal'.

(3.52) [*Не можахте да разберете че като пуснеш хороto и се качиш на друго]*
[Ne možahte da razberete če kato pusneš horoto i se kačiš na drugo]

винаги	***си***	***отиш-ла***	*последна.*	
vinagi	***si***	***otiš-la***		*posledna*
always	be.PRS.2SG	go_away-PAP.SG.F	last.SG.F	

'You couldn't understand that when you let go of the choir and get on another one, you're always [lit. you have always been] the last to go.'

There are two aspects that show the relatedness of cumulative perfects to experientials. The first one is that experientials also allow contexts where the past event has occurred more than once, but the focus is on the bare fact that it *did* actually occur, rather than on the sheer number of the occasions on which it did. With cumulatives, the focus switches towards pluractionality. Second, in Bulgarian, it is the predominantly imperfective lexical input.

The difference between the Bulgarian cumulative perfects with secondary imperfective verbs and pluractional perfects, such the one in Portuguese (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000; Cabredo Hofherr & Laca 2010), is that pluractionality is conveyed in Bulgarian by a secondary imperfective verb, and not by the perfect gram as such. The pluractional meaning would also be present in other forms of a secondary imperfective verb.

As it can be seen from Tables 48–50 below, cumulative perfects in Bulgarian are not a frequent value. They are used exclusively with the auxiliary in all persons, though they mainly occur in the 3rd person.

Table 48. Proportion of cumulative perfects in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	289	16
Transitive resultatives	232	13
CR perfects	110	6
Experientials	253	14
Cumulatives	**39**	**2**
(other values)	513	29
Total	1802	100

Table 49. Auxiliary omission proportions in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)
Transitive resultatives	210 (91%)	22 (9%)
Current relevance	101 (92%)	9 (8%)
Experiential	240 (95%)	13 (5%)
Cumulatives	**39 (100%)**	**0 (0%)**

Table 50. Proportions of Bulgarian cumulatives arranged by person and number

	Cumulatives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	5 (13%)		4 (10%)		30 (77%)		39 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	2	3	4	0	14	16	39 (100%)

3.9. Sufficitives

Apart from cumulative perfects, there is a related value in the Bulgarian doculect that stands out both formally and semantically. There are 40 occurrences of perfects similar to cumulatives, but almost all of these were found to occur in the 2nd person (Table 52), accompanied by the adverbial *стига* 'enough'. They are defined here as sufficitives, which is a term borrowed from Matisoff (1969). The meaning of these tokens can be paraphrased as 'you have done X enough [so many] times that you should now stop' (3.53, 3.54). The almost exclusive usage of the 2nd person draws this value towards a directive interpretation, as the focus is not on the exact number of times the event has occurred, but rather on the desire of the comment-writer for the event not to occur in the future any more.

(3.53) *Хайде* ***стига*** *вече* ***сте*** *я* ***показва-ли***
Xajde ***stiga*** *veče* ***ste*** *ja* ***pokazva-li***
PTC enough already be.PRS.2PL 3SG.F.ACC show.IPF-PAP.PL

и ***слуша-ли*** *да говори глупости!*
i ***sluša-li*** *da govori gluposti!*
and listen-PAP.PL *da* speak nonsense.PL

'Come on, you have been showing her and listening to her talk nonsense enough already!'

(3.54) ***Стига*** ***сте*** ***се*** ***гърчи-ли***, *[по-бързо да отиваме на избори]*
Stiga ***ste*** ***se*** ***gârči-li***, *[po-bârzo da otivame na izbori]*
enough be.PRS.2PL RFL convulse-PAP.PL
'Stop convulsing, [let's go to elections quicker]'.

However, sufficitives maintain the directive meaning even in the few cases where they are not used in the 1st or 3rd person plural (3.55, 3.56).

(3.55) *Стига* ***сме*** ***ходили*** *на избори по 3 пъти в годината.*
Stiga ***sme*** ***hodili*** *na izbori po 3 pâti v godinata*
enough be.PRS.1PL walk.PAP.PL PREP elections PREP 3 time.PL PREP year
'Enough of going to elections 3 times a year'.

(3.56) [*Bravo excellent job me така се прави]* ***стига са яли***
[Bravo excellent job te taka se pravi] ***stiga sa jali***
enough be.PRS.1PL eat.PAP.PL

шопска	*салата*	*кюфтета*	*изпиха*	*вадката*	*на*	*България*
šopska	*salata*	*kjufteta*	*izpiha*	*vatkata*	*na*	*Bâlgarija*
PN	salad	meatballs	drink	vodka	PREP	Bulgaria

'Bravo excellent job, that's how it's done,] enough of them eating the Shopska salad and meatballs, drinking the Bulgarian vodka'

Sufficitives are formed with imperfective verbs, often, but not exclusively, with secondary imperfectives (3.53). Arguably, the form *стига* itself hardly conveys iterativity, so when a secondary imperfective is not present, it must be the construction itself that conveys pluractionality. However, some sufficitives can convey continuity rather than pluractionality – this happens when the construction is used with the state or activity denoting verbs, such as in (3.57). This is in contrast to what has been said on cumulatives and their distinctness from pluractional perfects (cf. the case of Portuguese). Such cases are not frequent in the data, though – only a few similar examples can be found, comparing to a few dozens of sufficitives involving pluractionality.

(3.57) *Стига сте* ***вярва-ли*** *на тия медийни пропаганди.*
Stiga ste ***vjarva-li*** *na tija medijni propagandi*
enough be.PRS.2PL believe-PAP.PL PREP that media.ADJ.PL propaganda.PL
'Enough of believing this media propaganda'.

Interestingly, some features of cumulative and sufficitive perfects coincide with what some researchers (Lindstedt 1994; Słoński 1926) mention as older, more conservative features of the OCS perfects: namely, the presence of the auxiliary, 2nd person predominance, and a specific retrospective meaning where "agentive speakers focus on the effect of past events on themselves or their co-conversants" (Drinka 2017: 303). The latter description of the semantic value of the OCS perfect is also close to what Plungian & Urmancheva (2017, 2018) describe as 'interpretative' usage. The authors oppose the usage of the aorist to describe past events, and the usage of the perfect to interpret the effects of past events (2018: 425). Thus, it seems likely that this particular value of the Bulgarian perfect, although not the most frequent, is well-established, and it is not a recent development.

As shown in Table 53, the auxiliary both with cumulatives and sufficitives in Bulgarian is always used. In case of sufficitives, this coincides with almost absolute absence of the 3rd person (Table 52). Table 51 shows that sufficitives in Bulgarian are even more frequent than cumulative perfects.

Table 51. Proportions of sufficitive perfects in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	289	16
Transitive resultatives	232	13
CR perfects	110	6
Experientials	253	14
Cumulatives	39	2
Sufficitives	**44**	**2**
(other values)	469	27
Total	1802	100

Table 52. Distribution of Bulgarian sufficitives by person and number

	Sufficitives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	2 (13%)		41 (10%)		1 (77%)		44 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	0	2	11	30	0	1	44 (100%)

Table 53. Auxiliary omission proportions with Bulgarian cumulatives and sufficitives

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)
Transitive resultatives	210 (91%)	22 (9%)
Current relevance	101 (92%)	9 (8%)
Experiential	240 (95%)	13 (5%)
Cumulatives	**39 (100%)**	**0 (0%)**
Sufficitives	**44 (100%)**	**0 (0%)**

3.10. Durative Perfects

Another value of the Bulgarian perfect is the perfect of persistent situation, or the durative, defined as conveying a continuous event which started in the past and persists into the moment of speech (writing). Equivalent considerations hold regarding the distinction between the clauses with universally-quantifying adverbials such as *always*, and with left-boundary-indicating

(*since*) or interval-denoting adverbials (*for*), as discussed in Section 2.8.3. The three cases, which cross-linguistically may exhibit contrasting behavior (Dahl 2021), are here treated together. For a durative interpretation to arise in Bulgarian, the perfects *do* need an interval-denoting time adverbial.

The lexical input in Bulgarian is similar to that of experientials – imperfective verbs, denoting mainly states or activities, accompanied by adverbials, such as *досега* 'until now', or *винаги* 'always', *цял живот* 'all one's life' (3.58), or others, denoting a time period (3.59). Durative perfects can be seen as related to cumulative and experiential perfects – the imperfective lexical input is typical of experientials, and conceptually there is a clear path from repeated events (cumulatives, sufficitives) to a single lasting event (duratives).

(3.58)

Цял	*живот*	*сме*	*били*	*предатели*
Cjal	*život*	***sme***	***b-ili***	*predateli*
whole.SG.M	life.SG.M	be.PRS.1PL	be-PAP.PL	traitor.PL.M

[и такива ще си останем]
[i takiva šte si ostanem]

'All our lives we have been traitors, [and we will remain such]'

(3.59) *[А средната стои на едно място ,]*
[A srednata stoi na edno mjasto ,]

защото	*там*	*хората*	***са***	***работи-ли***	*по*	*45*	*години*
zaštoto	*tam*	*xorata*	***sa***	***raboti-li***	*po*	*45*	*godini*
because	there	people.PL	be.PRS.3PL	work-PAP.PL	PREP	45	year.PL

и	***са***	***си***	***плаща-ли***	*осигурителните*	*вноски !!!*
i	***sa***	***si***	***plašta-li***	*osiguritelnite*	*vnoski !!!*
and	be.PRS.3PL	RFL	pay-PAP.PL	insurance.ADJ	payment.PL

'[And the average stays the same ,] because there, people have been working for 45 years and have been making insurance payments !!!'

Table 54 shows the proportion of duratives in the Bulgarian data: with 112 tokens, this semantic value is relatively frequent. Duratives mostly occur in the 3rd person (Table 55), while the share of the omitted auxiliary is similar to that of the CR perfects (Table 56).

Table 54. Proportions of durative perfects in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	289	16
Transitive resultatives	232	13
CR perfects	110	6
Experientials	253	14
Cumulatives	39	2
Sufficitives	44	2
Duratives	**115**	**6**
(other values)	354	20
Total	1802	100

Table 55. Distribution of Bulgarian duratives by person and number

	Duratives						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	20 (17%)		11 (10%)		84 (73%)		115 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	11	9	5	6	44	40	115 (100%)

Table 56. Proportions of auxiliary omission with Bulgarian duratives

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)
Transitive resultatives	210 (91%)	22 (9%)
Current relevance	101 (92%)	9 (8%)
Experiential	240 (95%)	13 (5%)
Cumulatives	39 (100%)	0 (0%)
Sufficitives	44 (100%)	0 (0%)
Duratives	**105 (91%)**	**10 (9%)**

3.11. Evidential Extensions

The occurrences of perfects in evidential contexts and the conceptual relations between certain values of the perfect and the values that extend into the domain of evidentiality have been discussed cross-linguistically in studies on perfects and grammaticalization by Comrie (1976: 110), Dahl (1985: 152–153), Bybee et al. (1994: 96–97), Lindstedt (2010: 376–377), *inter alia*. As already mentioned in Section 3.5 on transitive resultatives, there is a clear

semantic link between resultative perfects and inferential values: inferentiality is resultativity 'the other way round' (Lindstedt 1985: 265).

Aikhenvald (2006: 112–116) also describes evidential extensions of perfects and resultatives as stemming from the meaning of the result of a past action or state (Stage 1), towards inferences based on visible traces (Stage 2), on to inferences based on assumptions or hearsay (Stage 3), and, finally, to a general range of non-first-hand meanings (Stage 4). These changes, especially Stage 4, can also be seen as bringing "the gram closer to signaling a simple past action" (Bybee et al. 1994: 97), as it is common with perfects in general. A well-described path of the perfect grammaticalization towards a past tense is that of Western European languages, such as in the standard varieties of French, Italian, or German. The proposed grammaticalization path 'Resultative → Perfect → Evidential → Past tense' (Lindstedt 2000: 378) is an alternative path that can (but not necessarily does) lead to the same destination.

The two linguistic areas in Europe where grammaticalized evidentiality distinctions are common are the Baltic region (Lithuanian, Latvian, Livonian, and Estonian), and the Balkan area around the Black Sea and beyond into Central Asia (Lindstedt 2000: 375), represented respectively by two languages chosen for this study (see Section 2.8.2 on Evidential extensions in Lithuanian). There is no data connecting the Baltic region with the Balkans, but it is arguably relevant that both areas are also united by the perfects with the (omitted) BE auxiliary.

Regarding Bulgarian, the distinction (or lack thereof) between the Bulgarian perfect (with the overt auxiliary) versus 'renarrated aorist', a member of the separate 'reported or renarrated mood' paradigm is a well-known and extensively debated topic. The traditional view, proposed by Andrejczin (1938), Stankov (1980), and in its essence upheld by Nicolova (2017), is that these are two distinct categories, homonymous in the 1st and the 2nd person (auxiliary/copula + *-l* participle, although 'renarrated' paradigms, of course, would be rare in the 1st and the 2nd persons), and distinguished in the 3rd person by the absence of the auxiliary. The view that the bare absence of the auxiliary in the 3rd person constitutes a separate paradigm has been opposed by Friedman (1982, 1986, 2002) and Fielder (1995, 2002). Friedman convincingly argues that "auxiliary omission in the Bulgarian perfect (indefinite past) [is] not constitutive of a morphologically marked reported mood," and that " 'reportedness' [is] in fact a contextual variant meaning of the unmarked past" (Friedman 2002: 2). Fielder (1995), drawing on Bakhtin's theory for literary analysis, has shown how, in narratives, the auxiliary is excluded for foregrounded events, and included for backgrounded events.

Lindstedt (2010) argues that Bulgarian evidentials do not always omit the auxiliary, but that "if the auxiliary is omitted, the form is better classified as an indirect past tense [*aka evidential*] and not as a Perfect."

In the present thesis, the gram-based approach is adopted, and the grammaticalization theory is extensively used, which means that the form of the gram is seen as inseparable from its content, and that all of the gram's values are viewed as developing one from the other via grammaticalization. Along similar lines, the development of the Bulgarian evidentials from the perfect has been studied by Guentchéva (1993). Moreover, the quantitative data from the *Facebook* comment doculect confirms what has been said by Friedman (and Lindstedt, to some extent): the auxiliary omission in Bulgarian evidentials is not consistent, and the auxiliary is not always present with perfects: varying proportions of perfects of all values occur without it, and evidential values can also occur with it (see the quantitative data presented in Table 60).

If counting all three evidential extensions of the Bulgarian perfect (inferentials, reportives, non-first-hand narratives) together, they would be the most frequent value in the Bulgarian data (Table 57). The usage of the gram in narrative contexts shows that the Bulgarian perfect has reached the last stage of 'Resultative → Perfect → Evidential → Past tense' (Lindstedt 2000: 378) grammaticalization cline; however, instances from every step of the cline are still visible in the synchronic data, namely, *Facebook* comments chosen as the data source for this study.

Table 57. Proportion of evidentials in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	tokens	%
Statives	58	3
Subject-oriented resultatives	308	17
Possessive resultatives	289	16
Transitive resultatives	232	13
CR perfects	110	6
Experientials	253	14
Cumulatives	39	2
Sufficitives	44	2
Duratives	115	6
Evidentials	**354**	**20**
Other values	0	0
Total	1802	100

Table 58. Distribution of Bulgarian evidentials by person and number

	Evidentials (inferentials + reportives + narratives)						
Person	1st		2nd		3rd		Total
Tokens	4 (1%)		7 (2%)		343 (97%)		354 (100%)
Number	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl	
Tokens	0+1+0	0+2+1	2+2+0	0+3+0	59+118+61	20+59+26	354 (100%)

Coming back to the analysis of the data, 353 tokens were deemed to require an evidential interpretation in Bulgarian. These can be categorized into three different types, along the lines of Aikhenvald's scale of evidential extensions for perfects (Aikhenvald 2006: 116): inferentials (Stage 2), reportives (Stage 3), and evidentials used in narratives (Stage 4). Their proportions are shown in Table 59. It hardly requires further comment that the values for evidentials are unlikely to occur in the 1st or the 2nd person (see Table 58).

Table 59. Proportions of different types of evidentials in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian evidentials
Inferentials	81 (23%)
Reportives	185 (52%)
General non-first-hand (narratives)	88 (25%)
Total	354 (100%)

3.11.1. Inferentials

As already mentioned in Section 3.4 on transitive resultatives, perfective inferentials are not always easy to distinguish from resultatives. Some of the factors drawing the token closer to inferential interpretation are the following:

- The forms can appear in a succession, similar to a small narrative where not one event, but a whole situation is inferred:

(3.60) *Старата лисица Ердоган НАТО му* ***е*** ***направи-ло***
Starata lisica Erdogan NATO mu ***e*** ***napravi-lo***
old.DEF fox Erdogan NATO.SG.N 3SG.M.DAT be.PRS.3SG make-PAP.SG.N

предложение на което не може да откаже!
predloženie na koeto ne može da otkaže!
offer.SG.N PREP REL NEG can.PRS.3SG *da* refuse.PRS.3SG

Вероятно	***са***	***си***	***замълча-ли***	*за*	*претенциите*		
Verojatno	***sa***	***si***	***zamâlča-li***	*za*	*pretenciite*		
Probably	be.PRS.3PL	RFL	be_silent-PAP.PL	PREP	claims		

към	*Гърция,*	*интереса*	*му*	*към*	*Сирия*	*а*	*може* *и*
kâm	*Gârcija,*	*interesa*	*mu*	*kâm*	*Sirija,*	*a*	*može* *i*
PREP	Greece,	interest.PL	his	PREP	Syria	and	maybe and

България	*да*	***са***	*му*	***обеща-ли,***		*защо*	*не*
Bâlgarija	*da*	***sa***	*mu*	***obešta-li,***		*zašto*	*ne*
Bulgaria	COMPL	be.PRS.3PL	3SG.M.DAT	promise-PAP.PL		why	NEG

'The old fox Erdogan. NATO made him an offer that he couldn't refuse. Probably they didn't mention his claims against Greece, his interest in Syria, and maybe it is also Bulgaria that they promised him, why not?'

- The inferential interpretation is strengthened by certain adverbials, such as *вероятно* 'probably' (3.60), *може би* 'may be' (3.62), *на 100 процента* '100 percent', *явно* 'evidently' (3.62), *значи* '[it] means [that]', *задължително* 'definitely', *предполагам* 'I suppose', *сигурно* 'surely' (3.63).
- The form is used in a rhetorical question, insinuating that some past event did in fact occur:

(3.61)

Дали	*пък*	*Плевнелиев*	*нещо*	***не***	***е***	***подсказа-л***
Dali	*pâk*	*Plevneliev*	*nešto*	***ne***	***e***	***podskaza-l***
PQ	PTC	Plevneliev	something	NEG	be.PRS.3SG	say-PAP.SG.M

на	*ушенце*	*на*	*Ралица?*
na	*ušence*	*na*	*Ralica?*
PREP	ear	PREP	Ralitsa

'Hasn't Plevneliev suggested something in Ralitsa's ear?'

In some cases, not only the textual, but also the visual context is essential to establishing an inferential interpretation. In (3.62), the comment-writer is commenting on a news article about a collapsed ceiling in a building in Plovdiv, accompanied by a picture of the site. The comment-writer is inferring the situation that led to the result visible in the picture from what they see in it:

(3.62)

[Ами със тия кръгчета много ясно, че ще падне]						*Явно*	***е***		
[Ami sâs tija krâgčeta mnogo jasno, če šte padne]						*javno*	***e***		
						clearly	be.PRS.3SG		

има-л	*търпение*	*да*	*си*	*играе*	*или*	*да*	*ги*	*брой....*
ima-l	*târpenie*	*da*	*si*	*igrae*	*ili*	*da*	*gi*	*broj....*
have-PAP.SG.M	patience	*da*	RFL	play.PRS.3SG	or	*da*	3PL.ACC	count.PRS.3SG

А може би ***е*** ***икономисва-л*** *на лепило.* 👌 🤩 🤷‍♀️ 🤦 *]*
A može bi ***e*** ***ikonomisva-l*** *na lepilo*
and maybe be.PRS.3SG save-PAP.SG.M PREP glue

'[Well, with these circles, it's very clear that it will fall] he clearly had the patience to play or count them.... And maybe he was saving on glue'.

Unlike resultatives, the inferred event can be anchored in time and space. This does not necessarily need to happen via time adverbials, but, if a specific situation is the topic of the discourse, it is clear that the comment-writer is inferring that particular situation, as in (3.63), a comment under an article about a group of representatives of a political party having attended consultations with the President:

(3.63) *Разговорът сигурно* ***е*** ***започна-л*** *с: ["Сърдечно ви*
Razgovorât sigurno ***e*** ***započna-l*** *s: ["Sârdečno vi*
conversation surely be.PRS.3SG begin-PAP.SG.M PREP

благодаря от името на митрофанова, че свършихте работата на копейкин!"]
blagodarja ot imeto na mitrofanova, če svâršixte rabotata na kopejkin!"]

'The conversation surely started with: ["On behalf of Mitrofanova, I sincerely thank you for doing the work of a bastard!]'

The inferential value is closer to the perfect than reportives or non-first-hand narratives. This is also signaled by the usage of the auxiliary, which is included in 74% of Bulgarian inferentials (Table 54).

3.11.2. Reportives

Reportives, which are the most frequent evidential value in our data, are a relatively typical context in the Bulgarian *Facebook* comment doculect. Two of their distinctive functions in the discourse are the following:

1) When the comment-writers wish to specify what the rest of the comment will be referring to, they may use reportives to cite some specific phrase from the news article or to re-cite the protagonist of the article (3.64). In these contexts, reportives are 'neutral' as to the position of the writer towards the reported content:

(3.64) [Headline:]
Петков: За мен ***беше чест*** *да водя правителство, свалено от Пеевски, Борисов, Трифонов и Митрофанова. Това бяха първите думи на премиера след вота на недоверие*

*Petkov: Za men **beše čest** da vodja pravitelstvo, svaleno ot Peevski, Borisov, Trifonov I Mitrofanova. Tova bjaxa pârvite dumi na premiera sled vota na nedoverie*

'Petkov: It was an honor for me to lead a Government overthrown by Peevski, Borisov, Trifonov and Mitrofanova. These were the Prime Minister's first words after the no-confidence vote'

[Comment:]

За	*теб*	***е***	***би-ло***	***чест,***
Za	*teb*	***e***	***bi-lo***	***čest,***
PREP	2PL.ACC	be.PRS.3SG	be-PAP.SG.N	honour

за	*нас*	*позор*	*и*	*sram*
za	*nas*	*pozor*	*i*	*срам*
PREP	1PL.ACC	shame	and	disgrace

'For you it was an honor, for us a shame and a disgrace'.

2) Reportives may acquire dubitative readings in sarcastic contexts, as the words said by the protagonist of the article are reported by the comment-writer using the *-l* participle. The grammatical means is usually enough to express the position of the writer to the effect that the reported content is unlikely to be true. Gvozdanović (1996: 63) and Aikhenvald (2006: 138) refer to epistemic overtones in Bulgarian reportives that can be used to create some distance between the speaker and the reported content. For example, the comment in (3.65) appears under an article about a member of the Bulgarian Parliament pressing the wrong button during a parliamentary vote. In (3.66), the comment-writer is referring to a photo that was published along with a news article on an upcoming TV show. In the photo, a crowd can be seen in a gathering, but the square in front of a building is still half-empty. The comment-writer is presumably referring to someone in the public discourse claiming that 'a million people gathered' for the protest, although this is not immediately present in the post or the article.

(3.65)

После	*ние*	***сме***	***би-ли***	*прости,*	*те*	*умни* 😂
Posle	*nie*	***sme***	***bi-li***	*prosti,*	*te*	*umni*
Then	1PL	be.PRS.1PL	be-PAP.PL	stupid.PL	3PL	smart.PL

'And they say that we are stupid, while they are smart'

(3.66)

Боже	*те*	***би-ли***	*цял*	*милион,*	*бря бря....*
Bože	*te*	***bi-li***	*cjal*	*milion,*	*brja brja*
god	3PL	be-PAP.PL	whole	million	PTC PTC

'My God, they were a whole million, blah blah'

3.11.3. Narratives

Around a third of the *-l* forms with non-perfect values appear in various types of narratives, from historical to jokes (3.67). It is understood that *Facebook* comments are not a kind of doculect where we could expect to find extensive narration; however, some *-l* forms, with or without the copula, *do* still appear and signal general non-first-hand events (Aikhenvald's Stage 4).

(3.67) *В балон **лете-ли** американец руснак и българин.*
*V balon **lete-li** amerikanec, rusnak i bâlgarin.*
PREP balloon fly-PAP.PL American Russian and Bulgarian

*Балонът **почна-л** да пада и всеки*
*Balonât **počna-l** da pada i vseki*
Balloon.DEF begin-PAP.SG.M *da* fall and everyone

***трябва-ло** да хвърли най-любимото си. Американецът*
***trjabva-lo** da xvârli naj-ljubimoto si. Amerikanecât*
need-PAP.SG.N *da* throw_out favorite POSS American.DEF

изхвърли-л** парите, руснакът **хвърли-л
izxvârli-l** parite, rusnakât **xvârli-l
throw_out-PAP.SG.M money.DEF, Russian.DEF throw_out-PAP.SG.M

*водката, а българинът - **изхвърли-л** руснака* 😅
*vodkata, a bâlgarinât – **izxvârli-l** rusnaka*
vodka.DEF and Bulgarian.DEF throw_out-PAP.SG.M Russian.DEF

'An American, a Russian and a Bulgarian were flying in a balloon. The balloon began to fall and everyone had to throw out his favorite thing. The American threw out his money, the Russian threw out his vodka, and the Bulgarian threw out the Russian.'

As expected, evidential values are almost exclusively used in the 3rd person (330 out of 341 tokens). There is one reportive in the 1st person singular, and three more in the 1st person plural, where the comment-writers use it as a substitute for 'Bulgarians' or 'Bulgaria' in historical narratives, or else they view themselves as part of the general public versus the political class (as in (3.75)). The 2nd person is equally infrequent (only 7 tokens in total, 4 reportives, two inferentials, and one in a non-first-hand narrative).

The auxiliary omission is prevalent, but not consistent. As it can be seen from Table 60, with inferentials, the +AUX percentage is similar to resultatives. With reportives, it falls quite dramatically. In narration, the auxiliary is mostly absent.

Thus, the fluctuations of the auxiliary usage proportions in Bulgarian continue to form a curve, rising along with the grammaticalization of the gram values towards the perfect, and then falling again in evidential extensions: less

so with inferentials, which are conceptually closer to the perfect, more with reportives, as a tertiary value, and dramatically in non-first-hand narratives, distant from the perfect.

Table 60. Proportions of auxiliary usage with evidential values in the Bulgarian data

	Bulgarian	
	+AUX	-AUX
Statives	42 (72%)	16 (28%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	240 (78%)	68 (22%)
Possessive resultatives	237 (82%)	52 (18%)
Transitive resultatives	210 (91%)	22 (9%)
Current relevance	101 (92%)	9 (8%)
Experiential	240 (95%)	13 (5%)
Cumulatives	39 (100%)	0 (0%)
Sufficitives	44 (100%)	0 (0%)
Duratives	105 (91%)	10 (9%)
Inferentials	**61 (75%)**	**20 (25%)**
Reportatives	**51 (28%)**	**134 (72%)**
Narratives	**19 (22%)**	**69 (78%)**

3.12. Conclusions for Bulgarian

The goal of this chapter was to conduct an analysis of the semantic values of the Bulgarian perfect, including its evidential extensions, and to put these values into the perspective of grammaticalization of the Bulgarian *-l* perfect as a BE perfect, with the hypothesis of possible similarities to the Lithuanian perfect (Chapter 2) in mind. The full range of meanings identified in Bulgarian is given in Table 61, which assigns each value to a grammaticalization stage, based on the conceptual distance from the 'X is Y' basic event schema.

Table 61. Stages of grammaticalization of the Bulgarian BE perfect

Stage	*Value*	*Paraphrase*
Stage 0	Copular ascriptive construction with an adjective	Subject S has a property Y
Stage 1	Stative (copular ascriptive construction with a participle)	Subject S has a verbal property V
Stage 2	Subject-oriented resultative	Subject S is having-done-V

Stage	*Value*	*Paraphrase*
Stage 3A	Possessive resultative	S is having-done-V-to-O/S
Stage 4A[I]	Transitive resultative	S is having-done-V-to-O
Stage 4A[II]	Current relevance	S has done V (to O)
Stage 5A	Inferential	S apparently is-having-done-V (to O)
Stage 6A	Reportive	S reportedly has done V (to O)
Stage 7A	Narrative	S has done V (to O) [non-first-hand]

Stage	*Value*	*Paraphrase*
Stage 3B	Experiential	S has experience of V
Stage 4B[I]	Cumulative	S has repeated experience of V
Stage 4B[II]	Sufficitive	S has excessively repeated experience of V
Stage 5B	Durative	S began V, and V still lasts

The analysis has shown that the Bulgarian perfect displays a wide variety of meanings, ranging from those weakly grammaticalized, which are also present in Lithuanian, to a set of cross-linguistically typical perfect values, to evidential extensions of the perfect, which, in typological studies on perfects (Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985; Bybee et al. 1994; Lindstedt 2000; Aikhenvald 2006) have been shown to pave a path for the secondary grammaticalization of the perfect to a past tense marker.

Statives (Stage 1), which are the values closest to the source construction, are present in Bulgarian, although they are significantly less common than in Lithuanian. Subject-oriented resultatives (Stage 2), assigning a verbal quality to the subject and conveying the change of state of the subject stemming from a past event, are the most frequent value, while possessive resultatives (Stage 3A), formed with low-transitivity verbs, display the same lexico-semantic classes as in Lithuanian, with the addition of a subgroup of light verb constructions with Bulgarian verbs meaning 'to give' and 'to take'. Transitive resultatives (Stage 4A[I]), formed with more prototypically transitive verbs, and no longer subject-oriented, are freely used in Bulgarian, as the Bulgarian perfect is grammaticalized enough to be frequently used in non-subject-oriented contexts.

Thus, all the values described for Lithuanian (Chapter 2) can also be observed in Bulgarian, but the Bulgarian perfect is not limited to the narrower set of meanings characteristic of the weakly-grammaticalized Lithuanian perfect (see Table 24 in Section 2.9). The Bulgarian perfect includes a full range of cross-linguistically typical perfect values, not only experientials (Stage 3B) and cumulatives (Stage 4B[I]), the only two values from this group substantially present also in Lithuanian, but also sufficitives (Stage 4B[II]), duratives (Stage 5B), and the CR perfects (Stage 4A[II]). In this study, the CR perfects are distinguished from strict resultatives based on the concept of situational anchoring (Holvoet 2020, 2022): it is argued that, in languages such as Bulgarian, employing Slavic-style aspectual distinction systems on all (or most) verbs, it is necessary to distinguish the resultative meaning in perfect constructions which originates from the perfective lexical verb, and which is also present in other verb forms, versus the resultative meaning of the CR perfects, where the concept of CR is broader, and where the past event is understood as having more general consequences. Such CR perfects, similar to those widespread in Germanic or Romance languages (also defined as 'resultative perfects'), in Bulgarian can be formed with both perfective and imperfective verbs; they are generated when the past event is situationally anchored, as this draws the focus to the event itself at the expense of the current state, which is the focus of (strict) resultatives.

Nevertheless, the CR perfects are less frequent in Bulgarian than experientials, subject-oriented, possessive, transitive resultatives, or even durative perfects. It was proposed that, for the BE perfects such as in Bulgarian or Lithuanian, experientials should not be seen as deriving from this specific context, but rather as being more central and developing from subject-oriented resultatives, once the imperfective lexical input has been admitted into the construction. This is reflected in Table 61 in the distinction from Stage 3 of two separate directions of the development: the first one is based on the abandonment of subject-orientation via the inclusion of the transitive lexical input, whereas the second one is based on the abandonment of resultativity via the inclusion of the imperfective lexical input.

Other values of the perfect described in this chapter include cumulative perfects, which are considered an extension of the experiential meaning, and durative perfects, which, formed with imperfective verbs, denote a lasting event and are well-established in Bulgarian. Additionally, a verbal periphrasis of perfects used with the adverbial *stiga* 'enough' with a meaning close to a directive, were distinguished and termed sufficitive (Stage 4B[II]).

The Bulgarian perfect stands out due to the presence of evidential extensions, which take up around a fifth of all *-l* participles, with or without the auxiliary, used predicatively in our data set. The Bulgarian evidential extensions of the perfect can be categorized into inferentials (Stage 5A), which can be ambiguous with resultatives ('resultativity the other way round', Lindstedt 1985: 265), reportives (Stage 6A), and non-first-hand narratives (Stage 7A). Following Aikhenvald (2006), inferentials are considered closest to the perfect, reportives are seen as developing from inferentials, and the narratives uses are seen as third-stage evidential values.

The quantitative analysis of the data used for this study showed that the auxiliary omission in Bulgarian evidentials is not consistent, and the auxiliary is not always present with perfects: varying proportions of perfects of all values occur without it, and evidential values can also occur with it. Interestingly, the data on the usage of the auxiliary with the Bulgarian perfect exhibits a pattern up to a certain point similar to that observed for Lithuanian. While the copula usage patterns in Lithuanian in Bulgarian differ significantly (in Lithuanian, it is optional and prevalently omitted in all copular constructions (cf. Nau, Spraunienė & Žeimantienė 2020), while in the Bulgarian predicative contexts it is obligatory), the auxiliary may be omitted with most semantic values of the perfect. Figure 9 shows how, with statives, the auxiliary omission occurs more frequently than with subject-oriented resultatives, and so on, following the grammaticalization stages distinguished in Table 61. The auxiliary usage curve can be seen as indicative of the

grammaticalization of the perfect, as it develops specific meanings as a perfect gram that includes both the auxiliary and the participle, in opposition to contexts closer to copular constructions, where the copula can also be dropped.

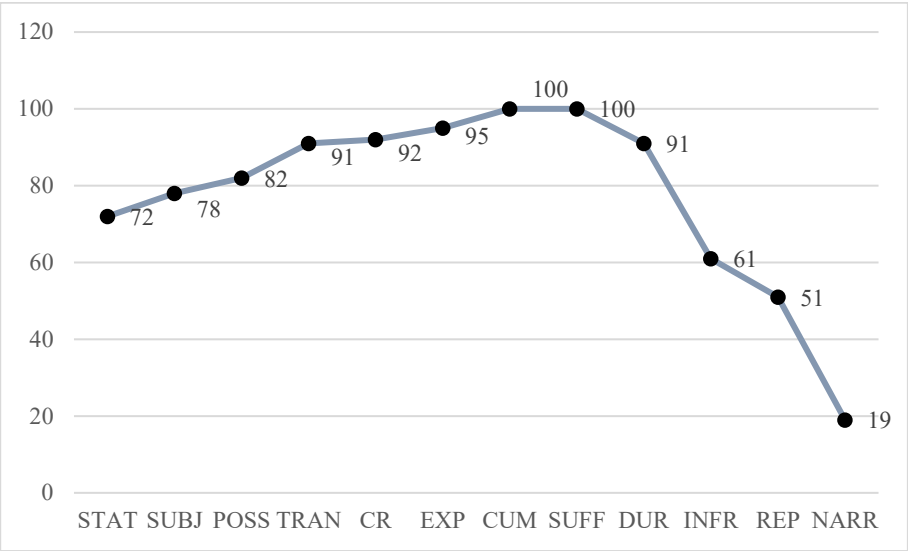

Figure 9. Percentages of auxiliary usage with different perfect values in Bulgarian

In an equivalent way as it was done for Lithuanian in Section 2.9, with the objective to check for the significance of the auxiliary usage proportion with each semantic value, a logistic regression model was fitted. The model included a predictor categorical variable, denominated 'Perfect-ness rank', ranging from 'Rank 1' to 'Rank 5', and an outcome binomial categorical variable of the auxiliary usage (+AUX and -AUX). The 'Perfect-ness rank' is based on the grammaticalization stages given in Table 55, where cross-linguistically typical Perfect values, such as experientials, have been assigned higher ranks, whereas values closer to the source construction ('not-yet-perfects') as well as the evidential meanings ('no-longer-perfects') have been assigned lower ranks. The ranking adopted for the purposes of the logistic regression is repeated in Table 62. The logistic regression results for Bulgarian are given in Table 63. The higher is the coefficient in Table 63, the more the rank indicated increases the chances of +AUX (Intercept corresponds to Rank 1).

Table 62. 'Perfect-ness rank' – explanatory categorical variable for a logistic regression model

'Perfect-ness rank'	Values
Rank 1	Stative Narrative
Rank 2	Subject-oriented resultative Reportive
Rank 3	Possessive resultative Inferential
Rank 4	Transitive resultative
Rank 5	Current relevance Experiential Cumulative Sufficitive Durative

Table 63. Logistic regression results for Bulgarian data

Concordance index C	0.768 (acceptable discrimination)		
	Coefficient	Standard errors	*p*-value
Intercept	-0.3318	0.1678	0.0480
rank=2	0.6968	0.1912	0.0003
rank=3	1.7522	0.2131	<0.0001
rank=4	2.5878	0.2476	<0.0001
rank=5	3.1370	0.2476	<0.0001

Again, the logistic regression model shows that the log-odds of obtaining the second level of the outcome variable (+AUX) increase with each higher rank of the predictor variable, and all *p*-values show statistical significance. The intercept is close to the level of statistical significance, and this is not unexpected, as the Bulgarian Rank 1 includes statives and narrative contexts, which, when grouped together, yield a predicted probability of the auxiliary at about 0.5, which corresponds to approximately one instance with the auxiliary out of 2. Figure 10 plots the predicted probabilities of +AUX with each level of the 'Perfect-ness rank'. The gradual increase of the auxiliary usage follows the grammaticalization stages proposed in Table 61, based on conceptual relations between the semantic values of the Bulgarian perfect. The increasing regularity of the auxiliary usage can be interpreted as the periphrasticization of a construction under grammaticalization, while the diminishing usage of the auxiliary with evidential values represents a reduction of the formal expression of the construction under secondary grammaticalization from a perfect towards an evidential, which is a path that can also lead to a non-marked past tense expression.

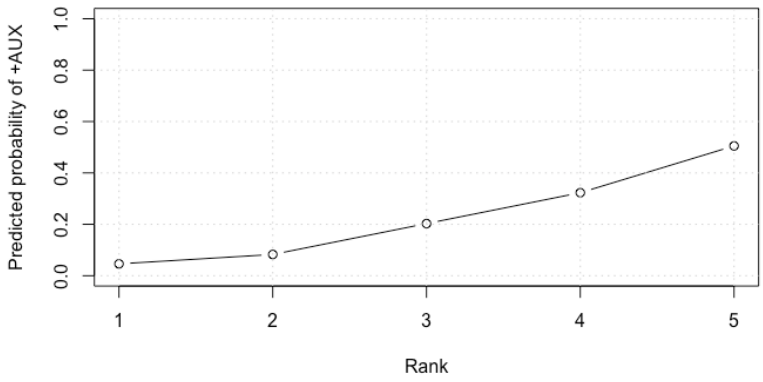

Figure 10. Predicted probabilities of +AUX with each level of the 'Perfectness rank' in the Bulgarian data

The findings of this study suggest that the Bulgarian perfect and evidential meanings expressed by the (possibly omitted) auxiliary and *-l* participle construction should be seen as a continuum. They reinforce the understanding of the Bulgarian perfect and evidentials as instances of the same gram that can be used both with the values closest to its lexical source (statives) and with those most distant from it (evidentials). The Bulgarian BE + *-l* participle construction shows a wide variety of more grammaticalized as well as less grammaticalized values and diagnostic ambiguous contexts in our synchronic data, thus illustrating the absence of clear boundaries between paradigms with and without the auxiliary, in line with the concept of gradient categories in the stative to resultative, resultative to perfect, and perfect to evidential grammaticalization chain.

4. THE BARESE *BE/HAVE* PERFECT

4.1. Overview and Preliminaries

Although no detailed corpora- or token-based studies on the semantics of the Barese perfect have been carried out yet, there are good reasons to suppose that the Barese perfect has not been strongly (or definitely) affected by the aorist drift. Andriani (2017: 155, 2018: 374) generalizes that the Barese perfect is used "to describe those past actions or events that display 'present relevance' to the moment in which they are uttered by the speaker." This is visible in examples like (4.1), where the synthetic past is contrasted with the perfect in the second clause:

(4.1) *u* ***decì,*** *ma* *ìì* *non* *nge* ***àgghie*** ***credùte***
3SG.M.ACC say.PST.3SG but 1SG.NOM NEG DEM HABERE.PRS.1SG believe.PP
'He said it, but I did not believe [and I still don't]'

Studies on genealogically and areally close language varieties allow us to assume that the Barese perfect maintains cross-linguistically typical perfect semantics as per Velupillai & Dahl (2013). Italo-Romance varieties employ three different past tenses: the imperfect and two perfective pasts: *passato prossimo* ('recent', or compound/periphrastic past, i.e., the perfect), and *passato remoto* ('remote', or synthetic past). According to Squartini & Bertinetto (2000), in Standard Italian, the perfect has expanded up to what they define as Stages 3 or 4 of the 'aorist drift', while the usage of the synthetic past is restricted, especially in spoken language. This is in line with Northern Italian varieties having almost lost the distinction between the two perfective past tenses. Meanwhile, based on Squartini & Bertinetto's (1996) research with spoken Italian data from different regions ('regional Italian', as defined in Section 1.6 of this thesis), in the Southern varieties, the distinction between the perfect and the synthetic past has been maintained. The regional varieties of Italian are expected in this respect to reflect structures from the local dialects. More importantly, elicited questionnaire-based data from Squartini & Bertinetto (1996) showed that speakers of Italian from the areas geographically closest to Barese[24] (Naples, Potenza, Lecce) make the least use of *passato prossimo* in aoristic contexts, comparing to the other regions of the country (North, Centre, Sicily, and Sardinia). The authors note that "the

[24] Regional Italian from Bari did not make it into the sample for Bertinetto & Squartini's (1996) study.

spontaneous behaviour of the North and South, when heavily influenced by the respective vernaculars, would appear to be even more extreme than that elicited by our questionnaire" (Bertinetto & Squartini 1996: 384)[25]. This can be taken as an indication that the regional varieties of Italian do reflect an equivalent distinction between the two perfective past tenses in the vernaculars proper, and the distinction is stricter in Southern Italo-Romance. In fact, Squartini & Bertinetto (2000) assign the southern Italian dialects of Sicilian and Calabrian to Stage 1 of the perfect-to-past development, as their periphrastic pasts are less subject to the anterior-preterite shift.

At the same time, it may be significant that Barese is in intense contact with Standard Italian, and, as a less prestigious variety, it is under heavy influence of Standard Italian, which has a perfect that has drifted further towards the aorist. Thus, if there were any tendencies of the aorist drift in the Barese perfect, they may also be regarded as contact-induced grammaticalization. However, preliminarily, it is fair to say that the usage of the synthetic past in this vernacular is wide, while the periphrastic perfect is used in specific contexts. The subsequent chapter will primarily be dedicated to the semantic analysis of the Barese perfect values in order to check the claims about its usage on a corpus data. However, before that, there are certain other aspects of the Barese perfect to be discussed.

The Barese perfect employs both HAVE and BE auxiliaries, as already mentioned in Sections 1.4 and 1.5. In order to discuss their usage, a wider Romance context needs to be taken into account. The periphrastic pasts (perfects) of the Romance languages developed from two distinct Latin constructions, and this development is relevant for the features that can synchronically be observed in Barese.

The ESSE + participle construction is said to have originated in the Latin passive *perfectum*, which eventually started admitting deponent verbs (Vincent 1982; Cennamo 2008). Cennamo (2008: 121–123) explains how there were some major changes happening in the passage from Latin to Romance, including the loss of the Latin case system and voice distinctions. Once these distinctions had become blurred, the original Latin passive *perfectum* (ESSE + participle) came to be used in the active function. As long as the nominative-accusative case system was still in place, the verbal arguments could still be differentiated. According to Cennamo, for a certain period, ESSE + participle could be used with all verbs, both transitives and intransitives. However, at some point historically, the accusative could also

[25] The translation from Italian was made by the author of the thesis.

mark the subject of transitive verbs, thus no longer consistently marking the object. Meanwhile, with intransitive verbs, involving only one argument, this did not result in ambiguity, whereas, in comparison, with transitives, the grammatical relations became unclear. This can be related to the rise of the HAVE + participle + object construction.

The resultative with HAVE was attested already in archaic Latin (Cennamo 2008: 116), but its usage was restricted. In the earliest attestations it is weakly grammaticalized: the construction is biclausal and is used only with transitive verbs, while the auxiliary retains its lexical meaning. The construction had a resultative value, expressing the state of the object stemming from a former event in which it was involved (Pinkster 1987: 197). In the aforementioned context of the ESSE + participle uses with transitive verbs resulting in ambiguous clauses with non-clearly distinguished verbal arguments, the HAVE + participle construction took over the transitive contexts, signaling the active role of the subject. However, according to Cennamo (2008: 126), the usage of HAVE + participle with a subset of intransitive verbs, where the role of the subject is active (agentive), is a substantially later development.

These historical developments explain the division of labor between the two auxiliaries in the perfects of those Romance languages (most notably, Standard Italian and Standard French) that feature split-auxiliary systems. Synchronically, these Romance perfects are considered one and the same construction that, depending on the lexical verb, requires a HAVE or a BE auxiliary. HAVE is used with all transitive verbs, while intransitive verbs feature a split – some of them are used with HAVE, and some with BE. A famous account of split intransitivity in the generative framework has been Permutter's (1989) Unaccusative Hypothesis, based on Italian data, which proposes that the subject of those intransitive verbs that require BE is actually an underlying object of the clause. Unaccusativity initially presupposed a categorical division between sets of verbs, but Sorace (2000, 2011) has since shown how the phenomenon is not categorical, but rather gradient, based on its manifestations in other languages with split auxiliary systems in the perfect, such as Dutch, German, and French. Similarly, semantic theories of split intransitivity more in line with the approach adopted for this thesis (Aranovich 2007) allow for variation and gradience in split intransitivity across and within languages (not only Romance, but also Germanic). Aranovich (2003) suggests for Old Spanish, where HAVE has taken over BE in all contexts, that those verbs that resisted the encroachment of HAVE the longest are the ones that have the most patient-like subjects. Shannon (1990: 486) proposes that there are prototypes for both transitive and mutative clauses (single participant,

undergoer subject, perfective (punctual), non-causative change of state predicates), and that they are directly related to the use of HAVE and BE as the perfect auxiliaries in Germanic. Although Barese selects the perfect auxiliaries based on other features, it can be considered under an influence of the Standard Italian split-auxiliary system with a division of intransitive verbs.

However, split intransitivity is not the only auxiliary selection system in Romance. In some varieties, one of the auxiliaries is generalized throughout the whole system. Most notably, it was the HAVE auxiliary that went this way, such as in Spanish, or in Romanian. In some Central Italo-Romance varieties, BE is generalized as the only auxiliary for the perfect (Tuttle 1986). The Portuguese perfect also employs a single auxiliary *tener* which synchronically has the same meaning as HAVE, but is of a different lexical origin (originally meaning 'to hold'). This lexical shift of the possessive verb is shared between the Ibero-Romance languages and some Italo-Romance varieties, including Barese, which uses *avè* (deriving from Latin *habēre* 'to have') mainly as an auxiliary to form the perfect and the future, or as a lexical verb meaning 'to receive', while the regular possessive verb is *tenè* (deriving from Latin *tenēre* 'to hold'). It has even been proposed (Lois 1990) that the loss of the possessive meaning in HABERE-derived verbs is a necessary prerequisite for its generalization throughout the perfect paradigm as the only auxiliary. This might generally be the case, although Loporcaro (2007: 176) cites an exception: in the dialect of Trebisacce (Calabria), a HABERE-derived verb functions both as the only perfect auxiliary and the main possessive verb. Interestingly, Barese also uses a periphrastic resultative construction with *tenè* + participle + object, which seems to be weakly grammaticalized and reminds of the *habēre* + participle + object construction in Latin, as described by Cennamo (2008). A more detailed account of its usage and development remains a topic for future studies, and is outside the scope of this thesis.

Meanwhile, in a range of Italo-Romances varieties, including Barese, a completely different split auxiliary system can be observed, where the HAVE or BE auxiliaries are used depending on the person. One of the theories proposed for how to account for person-driven auxiliation systems is presented by Loporcaro (2007) who argues that they should be viewed as a suppletive paradigm without any semantic relatedness between the person and the auxiliary, because each auxiliary-person-number combination is employed in at least one Romance variety. Loporcaro (2007) describes person-based auxiliation in Italo-Romance as not essentially different from the situation in Spanish, where one of the auxiliaries has completely taken over the sphere of the other one. He classifies Romance perfect auxiliation patterns into one-way, two-way, and three-way, or triple, auxiliation systems. A one-way system

selects, with all verbs, the same auxiliary (Spanish, Terracinese) or the same person-based auxiliation pattern (EEHEEH, HEHHHH, or any other), which, according to the author, is not semantically motivated. Two-way systems, such as Standard Italian or French, select the auxiliary based on the lexical verb, while, in 'triple auxiliation' systems, a set of lexical verbs selects BE, another set selects HAVE, and a third set has a person-based mixed pattern. The author suggests an implicational scale of the types of predicates, which expands the split intransitivity division with a classification of reflexive verbs into three types. Loporcaro's (2007) implicational scale ranges from unaccusative verbs (which select BE), via reflexives (which exhibit person-based patterns) to unergative and transitive verbs (which select HAVE). Based on the scale, if HAVE is used with unaccusative verbs, it will also be used with all reflexive as well as transitive and unergative verbs. Thus, the data presented in Loporcaro (2007) seems to show that if a person-based pattern occurs only with one set of verbs, it will occur with those on the breaking point of 'split intransitivity', such as reflexive verbs[26].

The Barese perfect auxiliation system has been recently described by Andriani (2017, 2018) as employing an EEHEEH pattern with all verbs. Andriani describes two more, receding, person-based patterns HEHEEH and EEH-E/H-E/H-H, the latter one with 'free variation' of the BE and HAVE auxiliaries in the 1st and the 2nd person plural. According to Andriani, the patterns and the variation within them do not depend on the semantics of the verb. Thus, the Barese system would be categorized as a one-way system, in terms of Loporcaro (2007).

As to the two currently receding Barese patterns HEHEEH and EEH-E/H-E/H-H, which Andriani (2017, 2018) describes as employed by the older and the middle-aged generation, respectively, Štichauer (2022) highlights a trend in a wider context of other Italo-Romance dialects: namely, that the most common pattern, and also the pattern towards which other person-driven systems seem to be converging (such as in Barese), is precisely EEHEEH (Štichauer 2022: 74). Such a pattern marks the opposition between the 1st and the 2nd persons versus the 3rd person. Generative accounts of the EEHEEH phenomenon include Manzini & Savoia (2005) who explain mixed auxiliation systems as driven by a "person ergativity split," and Ledgeway (1998) who

[26] A similar scale has been proposed by Loporcaro (1998) for the past participle agreement patterns in Romance. In fact, the two phenomena are closely related in the Romance perfects.

formulates the distinction based on the 'strong features' of the 1st and the 2nd person subjects, which lead to the selection of the BE auxiliary.

Tuttle (1986) proposed a functional explanation that can even be defined as an early usage-based account: the near synonymity of the HAVE and BE constructions and their formal blending in Late Latin provided a "background for speakers to move towards one auxiliary – presumably settling on the one more frequent with each person" (1986: 276). The frequency of the auxiliaries with each person, according to Tuttle, was related to the classes of verbs occurring with the auxiliaries. BE was used with Latin middle descendants (reflexive verbs) and semantically similar verbs (intransitive change of state and motion verbs), while HAVE was used with transitive verbs. However, most transitive verbs could receive the "dative of interest": a reflexive pronoun whose usage would then require switching the auxiliary from HAVE to BE (Tuttle 1986: 278). Tuttle observes that this is attested as a very frequent stylistic device in the dialects of Central Italy (cf. the references provided in Tuttle (1986: 277)), and notes that, even synchronically, in Standard Italian, *me lo sono mangiato* [the BE auxiliary and the reflexive pronoun] vs. *l'ho mangiato* [the HAVE auxiliary] "carries enhanced personal, psycho-physical subject participation than its flatter, more declarative non-pronominal equivalent" (Tuttle 1986: 277). Tuttle then entertains the possibility that the 1st and the 2nd persons, speech-act participants, are most frequently human and animate, with reference to Benveniste's (1966) 3rd person as 'non-personne'. Typological parallels of systems marking the opposition between the participants and the non-participants of the communicative situation can be found in, for example, Dyirbal (Lakoff 1987).

To sum up, Tuttle's account seems plausible, but it does not explain why it is the 2nd person, and not the 1st person, that initially or exclusively requires the BE auxiliary, both in Central Italian dialects discussed by Tuttle, and in the Barese data, as it will be shown below. Additionally, it still remains unclear how this pattern, which manifests itself only in the perfect, might be related to the perfect category as such, or to its grammaticalization.

The data analyzed in this chapter will show that, contrary to the situation described by Andriani (2017, 2018), the variation between the BE and HAVE auxiliaries occurs in all persons, apart from the 2nd person singular, which consistently employs BE. This might be due to different varieties of Barese: Andriani's data comes from his work with the informants in the field, while the data used for this study is quantitative and represents the written counterpart of the dialect. The full Barese perfect auxiliary paradigms, as

extracted from the data described in Section 1.6, and including all versions of non-standardized orthography, are given in Table 64.

Table 64. Barese *jèsse* and *avè* perfect auxiliaries, as observed in the data

	jèsse auxiliaries	*avè* auxiliaries
1sg	so, sò, ssò, zò	àgghie, agghie, ho, ai, aggio, àgghi'
2sg	si, sì, ssì, zì	-
3sg	è, iè, e	ha, av', ave, àve, èv'
1pl	sìme, sim, siam	avìme, avìm', am', amme, ame, àme, hamme, amm'
2pl	siete[27]	avìte, avìt'
3pl	sò, ssò	hanne, honne, avònne, avonne

A few considerations are in order. The first one concerns the 3rd person singular forms of the two auxiliaries. There are 4 examples in the data where the auxiliary fuses with the initial vocal of an adjacent word and does not have any orthographic expression, as in (4.2, 4.3):

(4.2) *la* *giografì* *m'* ***aietàte*** *assà*
DEF geography.SG.F 1SG.ACC help.PP a_lot
'Geography has helped me a lot'

(4.3) *E* ***fernùte*** *che* *la* *mèsse / [Stèv'a crèssce la uascèzze.]*
and finish.PP COMPL DEF mass
'And when the mass ended [the joy was growing]'

In (4.2), the adjacent vocal after a pronominal clitic is [a], and we can guess that the intended auxiliary is most likely *avè*. In (4.3), the most likely position of the auxiliary is after the relative pronoun *che*, thus, fused with the final [e], it can be considered part of the *jèsse* paradigm. Cennamo (2008: 133, footnote

[27] The regular 2nd person plural of *jèsse* would be *sìte* (Andriani 2017, 2018). The Standard-Italian-sounding form in the data collected for this thesis appears here as the only possibility because the 2nd person plural with the BE auxiliary is used only once throughout the dataset, in the following phrase, which seems to imitate a dialect speaker trying to speak Standard Italian:

Pircè *siete* *fatto* *questro* *mbrovvise* *dietro* *fronde*
why be.PRS.2PL do.PP.SG.M PROX.SG.M sudden back forth

a *la* *sighirdura?*
PREP DEF spontaneity.SG.M

'Why have you suddenly gone back and forth all of a sudden?'

6) notes that, in Sorrento (Campania), vernacular 3rd person forms of the BE and HAVE auxiliaries are identical and can be distinguished only by syntactic doubling (if the verb following the HAVE 3rd person singular form starts with a consonant, it will be doubled, while the same does not happen with the BE 3rd person singular form). It is possible that, also in Barese, the same forms can in some contexts be not clearly distinguished, both being reduced to [ə], although a more detailed investigation of the spoken data would be necessary.

The second consideration concerns the participle agreement in Barese. Andriani (2017: 185–187), Loporcaro (1998), Tuttle (1986), *inter alia*, describe the metaphonetic gender agreement with the subject on the participle in the Central and Southern Italian dialects. Some Barese participles (namely, the 'strong' forms) can mark the gender of the subject on the stem vowel, i.e., *bənədìttə* [masculine] vs. *bənədèttə* [feminine] 'blessed', *cuèttə* [masculine] vs. *còttə* [feminine] 'cooked', which is also visible in the written data used for this study (4.4, 4.5).

(4.4) *Acquànne u- aggnìiddde iè* ***ccuètte***
when DEF.SG.M lamb.M be.PRS.3PL cook.PP.M

[s'ammènene trè o quatt'òve sbattùte prìme iìnd'a nu piàtte]

'When the lamb is ready, [you put three or four beaten eggs into a plate]'

(4.5) *Acquànne la carne iè* ***ccotte*** *[se lève e se mètte a ttàuue.]*
when DEF meat.F be.PRS.3SG cook.PP.F
'When the meat is ready, you take it off, and you serve it.'

However, this is valid only for a small group of participles[28]. In some cases, the same form of the participle is used with both genders, even though the marked form would in theory be available. Thus, the metaphonetic gender agreement does not seem to be systematic, and it cannot be related to the grammaticalization of the perfect in Barese, or, rather, the Barese perfect is to be considered grammaticalized up to the point where the morphosyntactic expression of the construction is stable. In fact, Andriani (2017: 189) recognizes that "[t]he Barese predicates which may (marginally) exploit strong participial forms are the only ones which mark overt (gender) agreement through metaphonetic alternation; this implies that Barese participial agreement is limited morpholexically. Hence, only metaphonetic

[28] The participles that show metaphonetic gender agreement in the data are the following: *benedìtte/benedètte, apìirt/apìrt, cuètte/còtte, mmuèrt/mmòrte*, although the latter one also occurs as *mmùurte*.

past participles, e.g. *cuèttə*[M]/*còttə*[F] ‘cooked’, *muértə*[M]/*mòrtə*[F] ‘dead’, *rùttə*[M]/*ròttə*[F] ‘broken’, can mark gender agreement with direct objects of transitives and Undergoer subjects of unaccusatives, regardless of their syntactic position.”

With all the preceding considerations in mind, the following chapter will be structured similarly as the two preceding ones. The semantic values of the Barese perfect will be discussed starting from statives and finishing with perfects used in narrative contexts, although the Barese perfect development is a lot less linear due to the usage of the HAVE auxiliary. The following analysis is predominantly focused on those uses of the perfect that most frequently occur with the BE auxiliary. Consequently, its goal is also to note which contexts, features, and verbs favor the BE auxiliary, in order to see if the complex and varied Barese data correlates in any way with the grammaticalization tendencies of the BE perfects, proposed in Chapters 2 and 3.

4.2. Statives

In Chapters 2 and 3, the stative perfects were defined as in instances formally identical to the perfect where participles assume an adjectival interpretation and convey a state, but not a change of state of the subject, a prior event that generated the said state being strongly backgrounded or not implied at all. An equivalent semantic value can also be seen in the Barese data. With statives, the participles do not really mark a prior action committed by the subject, but rather ascribe a property to the subject which either does not stem from any prior event (4.6, 4.7), or else the prior event is strongly backgrounded, and the focus is on the current state of the subject (4.8, 4.9) which may or may not be temporary.

(4.6) ***So*** *ssèmbe tutte* ***aunìte,*** *felìsce* *e* ***chendìinde***
BE.PRS.3PL always all unite.PP happy and satisfied

[e cce fàscene na cose la fàscene tutte nzìime]

‘They **are** always **united**, happy, and **content**, [and if they are doing something, they are doing it all together’]

(4.7) *So* *capessciùte,* *non* ***zò*** *mìche*
be.PRS.1SG understand.PP NEG be.PRS.1SG NEG

rembambbìte *com'* *a* *ttè!!*
become_childlike.PP as PREP 2SG

‘I understand, I’m not out of my mind like you are!!’

(4.8) *E* *oggn'e* *ttande* *s'* *attèndene* *e* *s'* *assàbbrene* *pe*
and each many RFL check.PRS.3PL and RFL t aste.PRS.3PL PREP

vedè *ce* ***ssò*** ***ccuètte***.
see.INF if be.PRS.3SG cook.PP.M

'And once in a while you check them and taste them to see if they **are ready**.'

(4.9) [*Tocche o nnon docche,]* ***hanne*** ***matràte*** *le* *vremecòcche*
HABERE[29].PRS.3PL mature.PP DEF apricots

'Touching or not touching, the apricots **are ripe**'

Rosemeyer (2022), while discussing anteriors and resultatives in Old Spanish that employed both auxiliaries, before HAVE took over the contexts of BE, refers to the concept of the 'event-result metonymy'. In order to differentiate Old Spanish anteriors (perfects) from resultatives, he suggests that certain predicates semantically entail not only an event, but also a resultant state, and that speakers can exploit it to foreground or background either the event or the state (2022: 151). This distinction applies not only to the following sections on resultatives, but also to statives: with statives, the predicate itself (in any form) may entail both an event and a state, but in its uses in the perfect construction (auxiliary + participle), the event is backgrounded to the point where it is no longer clear if it is implied at all. Thus, the participles used in the stative contexts function semantically as adjectives and convey a current state of the subject, without implying anything on whether the state has changed or not. An equivalent value, termed 'copula and predicative adjective construction', has been distinguished for Old Spanish by Pountain (1985) as one of the four functions of *ser* 'be' + participle construction, with the following example:

(4.10) *Si* *màs* *nonla* *onrrase,* ***seriè***
If more NEG 3SG.F.ACC honour.PST.SBJ be.COND.3SG

desmesurado[30].
become_immoderate.PP

'If he did not do her more honor, he would be lacking in respect'.

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[29] As the Barese *avè* auxiliary grammaticalized from Latin *habere* with the possessive meaning, but synchronically *avè* as a lexical verb can only mean 'to get', which is a later development, unrelated to the grammaticalization of the Barese perfect, the *avè* auxiliaries here and henceforth are glossed with reference to the Latin *habere*.

[30] The auxiliary in this example is in the conditional; therefore, it does not correspond to our definition of the perfect, but the example still shows the possibility of participles used adjectivally, with strongly backgrounded or not presupposed prior events.

Rosemeyer (2022) also concludes that the Old Spanish BE auxiliary did not undergo a grammaticalization process comparable to that of HAVE, and thus the uses of Old Spanish *ser* 'be' + participle (statives and intransitive resultatives) are to be considered weakly grammaticalized (which would align with the weakly grammaticalized values of the two Balto-Slavic perfects; see Chapters 2 and 3).

Another function of the Old Spanish *ser* + participle construction, distinguished by Pountain (1985) and relevant also for Barese, is the 'resultant state passive'. As discussed in the preceding section, the ESSE + participle construction was once a passive (of *perfectum*, i.e., the perfective past, as opposed to the synthetic present passive in *-r*) in Latin, before its use expanded to deponent verbs (Flobert 1975; Vincent 1982), and then to all verbs (Cennamo 2008). Still, it can be observed in the Barese data (and, likely, in a range of other Romance varieties), how in the perfects with the stative value and with the BE auxiliary, the participle, if derived from a transitive verb, carries traces of its origin and can sometimes be ambiguous with the passive or perceived as a passive. This depends on the event-result metonymy and on how strongly the event implied by the verb is backgrounded.

For example, in (4.11), the participle *lauriàte* 'graduated' is derived from Lat. *laureare* 'to crown with laurels, to honor', but Latin reference dictionaries (such as Shorrock & Butterfield 2007; Lewis 2000; Niermeyer & Van de Kieft 2002) do not list it as verb, but only present it as a participle *laureate-us*/*-a*/*-um*, indicated as an adjective, while the verb *laureare* is only to be found in the most comprehensive Latin dictionaries (such as Howlett 1997), with examples provided mainly of its usage as an adjectival participle. This testifies that the participle was lexicalized already in Latin, and the passive meaning is only derivational. Synchronically, in Barese, the adjectivized participle merely means 'with a university degree', and morphologically it would be derived from the transitive verb *laurià* 'to graduate [somebody]', but the latter verb is not in use, while its reflexive counterpart *laurià-se* functions as the usual intransitive verb meaning 'to graduate [from university]'.

(4.11) *Felìsce Ggiòvene, u figghie d' Alfrète, iè*
PN PN DEF.SG.M son PREP PN BE.PRS.3SG

nnàte a Bbàre u 1947, iè Acquàrie, ***iè***
be_born.PP PREP Bari DEF.SG.M 1947 BE.PRS.3SG Aquarius BE.PRS.3SG

lauriàte,	*iè*	*nzràte,*	*e*	*ttène*	*du*	*figghie.*
graduate.PP	BE.PRS.3SG	marry.PP	and	have.PRS.3SG	two	children

'F.G., son of A., **was born** in Bari in 1947, he is an Acquarius, he **has a university degree**, **he is married**, and he has two children.'

In (4.8), the ambiguity with the passive is stronger: the subject *la carne* 'meat' is clearly the patient, and thus the stative can be ambiguous with the passive, depending on the interpretation of the participle: 'cooked [by someone]' or 'ready'. In the given context, the second translation is more appropriate.

Similarly as in Lithuanian or Bulgarian, where the interpretation of the active value participles, derived from intransitive verbs, may be vague between a stative and a subject-oriented resultative, also in Barese there are certain contextual features (but not definitive criteria) that draw a given token closer to a stative interpretation, such as adverbs indicating gradability (4.12).

(4.12)

Ma	*u*	*periggue*	*de*	*le*	*baobab*	***iè***
but	DEF.SG.M	danger	PREP	DEF	baobabs	be.PRS.3SG

acchesì	***scanesciute,***
so	not_know.PP

[e le uà che avèssa passà ciunghe se perdèsse sop'a n'asteroide, iè acchesì forte, ca na volda tande sò fatte n'eccezione.]

'But the danger of the baobabs is so unknown, [and the troubles that one would have to go through if they got lost on the asteroid are so considerable, that for once I made an exception.]'

The possible ambiguity with the passive is also testified by the possibility to insert a prepositional phrase expressing the demoted agent (4.13). However, only one such case occurred in the data used for this study, and it happens to be a rhyme, which suggests that the prepositional agent phrase could have been included for metalinguistic reasons.

(4.13)

Viv'	*a*	*Ppàsque*	*e*	*la*	*Pasquètte /*	*Da*	*Gesù*
hooray	PREP	Easter	and	DEF	Easter_Monday	PREP	Jesus

so	***benedètte*** */* [*Benedètte iè la famìgghie / Ch'u-attàne, mamm'e ffigghie.*]
be.PRS.3PL	bless.PP

'Hooray for Easter Sunday and Monday, they are blessed by Jesus, [blessed is the family with the father, the mother and the children]'

It is also worth noting that while Standard Italian does distinguish between a present tense stative perfect and a past passive is composed of conjugated

essere in the present tense + the past participle of *essere* + the lexical past participle (e.g., *la carne è cotta* 'the meat is cooked/ready' vs. *la carne è stata cotta* 'the meat was/has been cooked'), in Barese, the double participle passive is infrequent, although still possible. In the data used for this study, it occurs only three times: an example is given in (4.14).

(4.14) *E* *nnù,* *du* *Corrìire,* ***sìme*** ***state*** ***mbetàte,***
and 1PL PREP C. be.PRS.1PL be.PP invite.PP
a *dìsce* *ngòcch'e* *ccose*
PREP say.INF some things
'And we from *Corrìire* have been invited to say a few things'

The ambiguity with the passive is excluded with those participles that are derived from synchronically intransitive verbs which already in Latin had both transitive and intransitive meanings, such as in (4.9). Similarly, in (4.15), the lexical verb is used only as a participle, whereas other forms of the lexical verb are not available. In general, statives formed with participles derived from intransitive verbs are not frequent in our Barese data: out of 40 statives, only 9 are intransitive. Included in this number are also such participles that are lexicalized with a particular meaning, absent from the other forms of the transitive source verb, such as in (4.16).

(4.15) *Ce* *nom* *bbasse* *nnand'* *a* *tutte,* *nonn'* ***è*** ***chendènde***
if NEG pass.PRS.3SG ahead PREP all NEG be.PRS.3SG satisfy.PP
'If he doesn't pass in front of everyone, he's not happy'

(4.16) *Ma* *nonn-* ***è*** ***ddìtte*** *ca* *[non z'àv'a petè parlà com'a totte l'àlde*
but NEG be.PRS.3SG say.PP COMP
cose c'avònne seccìsse ddò.]
'But it's not a sure thing that [you're not supposed to talk about it the same way [you talk]] about anything else'

Additionally, statives in Barese can also be formed with *sta'* 'stand/be/stay' as an auxiliary (4.17). A total of 4 such tokens were found, all of them with participles derived from intransitive verbs. The *sta'* auxiliary does not appear with other values of the Barese perfect, and it seems that the states conveyed by this construction are more temporary, relating to the semantics of the auxiliary verb.

(4.17) *Tu* ***st'*** ***attrassàte***
2SG stay.PRS.2SG be_late.PP
'You're late'

As described in Section 4.1, the Barese perfect is said to follow the EEHEEH pattern, with some variation possible in the 1st person singular and the 1st as well as the 2nd persons plural, where the HAVE auxiliary might appear in some cases, but this variation is said not to be semantically motivated (Andriani 2017, 2018; Loporcaro 2007, 2022). As a careful reader will already have noticed from the Barese examples provided, with the statives in the data used for this study, the default auxiliary is BE in all persons, including both the singular and plural 3rd person (see Table 65). The only instance with the HAVE auxiliary, in the 3rd person plural, is given in (4.9).

Table 65. Distribution of Barese statives by auxiliary, person, and number

Perfect value	Auxiliary	Person/number	Tokens
Stative	ESSE	1sg	4
		2sg	1
		3sg	23
		1pl	-
		2pl	-
		3pl	11
	HABERE	1sg	-
		2sg	-
		3sg	-
		1pl	-
		2pl	-
		3pl	1

As described in the preceding section, the HAVE auxiliary can also appear in 1SG as well as in 1PL and 2PL, but, in our data, all 1SG statives appear with BE, while there were no 1PL or 2PL statives. Regarding the division of the tokens by person, in general, it is important to note that statives in the 1st or the 2nd person are infrequent[31]. Thus, at least with statives, the presence of the BE auxiliary does not seem to be related to the 1st and the 2nd person frequency as per Tuttle (1986). The presence of the BE auxiliary with transitive verbs also does not align with Loporcaro's (2007) scale, nor can it be explained by the influence of Standard Italian. Rather, it can be related to the Lithuanian and Bulgarian statives as the least grammaticalized value of the BE perfect. The passive or active interpretation of the construction requires a presupposition of a prior event, which, with statives, is either very vague and

[31] Of course, this quantitative data might only be meaningful in comparison with other perfect values, on which the corresponding numbers will be presented in the following sections.

strongly backgrounded, or completely absent. Thus, although the Balto-Slavic and Romance participles originate from opposite voice forms (active versus passive), because, with statives, the vague prior event is irrelevant, i.e., it is irrelevant if 'the subject has done something' or 'something has been done to the subject', the focus being on the subject's current state, as opposed to a change of state, the Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese statives feature the same semantic value.

4.3. Subject-Oriented Resultatives

Subject-oriented resultatives have been defined in previous chapters as resultative perfects expressing the state of the subject, derived from a prior event, as per Nedjalkov & Jaxontov's (1988: 9) definition. While the Lithuanian and Bulgarian subject-oriented resultatives could also be defined based on their intransitive and perfective lexical input, for Barese, due to a different model of the aspectual system, only the criterion of intransitivity applies. However, semantic classes of verbs used as the lexical input for subject-oriented resultatives are essentially the same (see the discussion below).

The tokens with a semantic value that here is described as the subject-oriented resultative are normally, in analysis of the Romance perfects, assigned to a broader group of resultative (or CR) perfects, that hosts tokens with both transitive and intransitive verbs. In order to define subject-oriented resultatives as separate from both resultatives with transitive verbs (Section 4.4) and the CR perfects (Section 4.5), it is useful here again to refer to Rosemeyer's (2022) notion of the event-result metonymy. With resultatives, both a prior event and a resulting subject's state are implied, but the event is backgrounded, and the focus is still on the subject's state, as opposed to the CR perfects (see Section 4.5, or 'anteriors' in Rosemeyer (2022)). Differently from resultatives with transitive verbs, subject-oriented resultatives convey a (change of) state of the subject, not that of the object.

Mittwoch (2008: 329–330) offers certain restrictions that apply to resultatives, which also help for the resultative versus the CR perfect distinction. These restrictions derive precisely from the fact that, with resultatives, the event, as opposed to the state, is backgrounded. Consequently, "semantic material that belongs only to the event component of the verb cannot be focused" (Mittwoch 2008: 328). For instance, the resultative interpretation is incompatible with manner adverbials that modify the event part of the meaning (4.18, 4.19; see also the English examples in Mittwoch

(2008: 328–330). Essentially, because the event is backgrounded, it cannot be modified, as this would draw the focus to the event at the expense of the state, thereby yielding a different semantic value of the perfect.

(4.18) *A* *bbuène* *a* *bbuène,* *Colìne* ***ha*** ***gneuesscìùte***.
PREP well.ADV PREP well.ADV PN HABERE.PRS.3SG faint.PP
'All of a sudden, C. [has] fainted.'

(4.19) *Colìne* ***ha*** ***gneuesscìùte***[32]
PN HABERE.PRS.3SG faint.PP
'C. has fainted [and is still unconscious]'

Verbs used in subject-oriented resultatives are often referred to in the literature as 'unaccusatives'. The term comes from the generative syntactic theory (Perlmutter 1989), but verbs assigned to this class can also be defined semantically, as belonging to certain semantic classes. Sorace (2000) redefined the category of unaccusative verbs, previously considered uniform, as gradient. According to her *Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy* (ASH), 'inherently telic verbs' which refer to a change of location or a change of state (other than the change of location) cross-linguistically in the case of split-auxiliary most consistently select the BE auxiliaries. Sorace describes the change of location verbs as "expressing a change of location, which involves a concrete displacement from one point in space to another," and having "the highest degree of dynamicity and telicity" (Sorace 2000: 863). In our Barese data, subject-oriented resultatives with the change of location verbs include such verbs as *sscì* 'to go', *arrevà* 'to arrive', *cadè* 'to fall', *ternà* 'to return', *menì* 'to come' or *assì* 'to come out/go out' (4.20 – 4.25).

(4.20) *Chèdda* *giacchètte, addò* ***è*** ***ssciùte****?* *A* *la* *uèrre?*
DIST.SG.F jacket where be.PRS.3SG go.PP PREP DEF war
'Where **has** this jacket **been**? To war?'

(4.21) ***Am'*** ***arrevàte*** *a* *ll'* *òssre*
HABERE.PRS.1PL arrive.PP PREP DEF bones
'We **have finished** all our resources [lit. We are down to the bones]'

(4.22) *ce* *tu* ***sì*** ***cadùte*** *e* *sstà* *n-* *dèrre,*
if 2SG be.PRS.2SG fall.PP and stay.PRS.2SG PREP ground
[te mèttene le pìite n-gape]
'If you **have fallen** and you are [lying] on the ground, [they stomp you with their feet]'

[32] Constructed.

(4.23) *Settèmbre: se repìgghie, **honne** **ternàte** le*
September RFL resume.PRS.3SG HABERE.PRS.3PL return.PP DEF

tomòble e le ngevìle de le barìse.
cars and DEF indecent PREP DEF people_of_Bari

'September: [the usual life] resumes, cars and the indecent people of Bari **are back**.'

(4.24) *[Velàse fùsce và a chiàmm'a la vammàre,]*

*a megghièrde nge **hònne** **menùte** le dògghie.*
PREP wife.POSS.2SG DEM HABERE.PRS.3PL come.PP DEF contractions
'[V., quickly, go call the midwife] your wife's contractions **have started**.'

(4.25) *Cudde frugne ca t' **av'** **assùte***
DIST pimple COMPL 2SG HABERE.PRS.3SG come_out.PP

nestèrze sop' a la pèchiòcche, vène
day_before_yesterday above PREP DEF chin come.PRS.3SG

trè ddì prime de merì.
three days before PREP die.INF

'That pimple that **came out** on your chin the other day, it comes out three days before dying.'

The next step of the ASH is the change of state verbs, other than those of the change of location, such as *devendà*, *ffà(se)* 'to become' (4.26), *cangià* 'to change' (4.27), or *fernì* 'to end' (4.28), which "express a change in a particular direction without specifying a telic endpoint" (Sorace 2000: 864). Inherently telic verbs *merì* 'to die' and *nasscì* 'to be born' (4.29), along with *crepà* 'to die [pejorative]' and *rescescetà* 'resurrect' (4.30), are also assigned to this group.

(4.26) *Bbàre **s'** **ha** **ffàtte** brùtte*
Bari RFL HABERE.PRS.3SG make.PP ugly
'Bari **has become** ugly'

(4.27) *Mò?... Mò tutt' **e** **cangiàte**.*
now now all be.PRS.3SG change.PP
'Now?... Now everything **has changed**.'

(4.28) *Scherdàmenge le tìimbe d' apprìme, la pàcchie **ha***
forget.IMP.1PL DEF times PREP before DEF easy_times HABERE.PRS.3SG

***fernùte**, l' arie iè amàre.*
finish.PP DEF air be.PRS.3SG bitter

'Let's forget the old times, the leisurely life **is over**, things are complicated.'

(4.29) *"Sì, iè vère" repennì dolgemènde u fiore,*
yes be.PRS.3SG true reply.PST.3SG sweet.ADV DEF.SG.M flower

***"so nate** 'nzim' sole…"*
be.PRS.1SG be_born.PP together sun

‘ “Yes, it’s true,” the flower replied sweetly, “I **was born** together with the sun...” ’

(4.30) *Gesù* ***ha rescescetàte*** *e*
Jesus HABERE.PRS.3SG resurrect.PP and

u diàuue ***ha crepàte****.*
DEF.SG.M devil HABERE.PRS.3SG die.PP

‘Jesus **has resurrected**, and the devil **has died**.’

The verb *ffà* in Barese normally functions as a transitive verb meaning ‘to do, to make’, while its reflexive counterpart can acquire the meaning ‘to become’ such as in (4.26). However, the reflexive is not strictly necessary for intransitivization with this verb, as it can also be used without it with the meaning ‘to become’, as in (4.31), along with other reflexive verbs.

(4.31) *Se mètte sop' o ffuèche, appène le cepòdde*
RFL put.PRS.3SG above PREP fire as_soon_as DEF onion

***ha ffatte** bbiònde,*
HABERE.PRS.3SG make.PP blonde

[s'ammène nu picche de carne mascenàte e se fasce sfrìsce.]

‘You put it on the heat, as soon as the onions **have become** yellow, [you add a bit of minced meat, and you let it fry.’

The third step of ASH is verbs denoting the continuation of a pre-existing condition, such as ‘to stay’, ‘to remain’, or ‘to survive’). These were previously referred to in this thesis as ‘verbs of inhibited motion or inhibited change of state’, and they entail a negation of change (Sorace 2000: 867). From this group, among the Barese subject-oriented resultatives we only find *ramnì* ‘to remain’ (4.32).

(4.32) *Come* ***sì ramnùte****?*
how be.PRS.2SG remain.PP
‘What **have you** agreed on?’

Cennamo (2008) slightly redefines the ASH steps based on data from Campanian dialects, in which the expansion of the BE auxiliary can be observed. The case of these Campanian dialects is somewhat equivalent to that of Barese. Cenamo explains that, while in Neapolitan, the generalization

of HAVE in all persons and with all verbs was nearly complete by the end of the 15th century (Cennamo 2008: 130), the surrounding dialects of Pompei, Sorrento, and Portici kept the BE auxiliary in the 1st and the 2nd person, as well as, in certain contexts, in the 3rd person. Currently, an expansion of BE at the expense of HAVE can be traced in different speaker class and age varieties of the dialects. Pompei, Sorrento, and Portici dialects all follow the same person-based auxiliary selection pattern as Barese: namely, EEHEEH. However, Cennamo shows that the BE auxiliary can also appear in the 3rd person with verbs which essentially coincide with Sorace's first three steps of ASH. The order that Cennamo observes for the BE expansion, which she assigns to the influence of Italian (Cennamo 2008: 133), in Pompei, Sorrento, and Portici is slightly different, though: the BE auxiliaries start appearing first with the change of state verbs, and only then with the change of location verbs.

In Barese, an equivalent process can be observed. With subject-oriented resultatives, i.e., with resultative perfects with the change of state or the change of location verbs, the BE auxiliary in the 3rd person can replace HAVE both in singular (4.19, 4.27) and in plural (4.33).

(4.33)	*Acquànne*	*le*	*maccarùne*	*e*	*le*	*cime*	*de*	*rape*
	when	DEF	pasta	and	DEF	peak	PREP	turnip
	so	***arrevàt'***	*a*	*la*	*ggiùsta*	*chettùre,*		<…>
	be.PRS.3PL	arrive.PP	PREP	DEF	right	cooking.N		

'Once the pasta and the turnip greens **have reached** the right cooking point, <…>'

As it can be seen from the quantitative data given in Table 66, 26 out of the total of 84 3SG forms of subject-oriented resultatives appear with the BE auxiliary. In 3PL, this proportion is lower (6 out of 33), but still significant. Among the person/number combinations that may display variation (1SG, 1PL, 2PL), the BE auxiliary is prevalent. Regarding the general division of the tokens by person, similarly as with statives, the 3rd person is significantly more frequent than the 1st or the 2nd person, and thus the presence of the BE auxiliary does not seem to be related to the 1st and the 2nd person frequency, as per Tuttle (1986).

Table 66. Distribution of Barese subject-oriented resultatives by auxiliary, person, and number

Perfect value	Auxiliary	Number	Count
Subject-oriented resultatives	ESSE	1sg	17
		2sg	14
		3sg	26
		1pl	2
		2pl	-
		3pl	6
	HABERE	1sg	1
		2sg	-
		3sg	58
		1pl	1
		2pl	-
		3pl	27

The classes of verbs used with HAVE are not essentially different from those used with BE: they can all be subsumed under the labels of the change of state, the change of location, and the inhibited change of state or location verbs (4.23 – 4.28, 4.31). It seems that there might be a range of factors influencing the selection of the auxiliary in the 3rd person, and it is not easy to pinpoint the most important one. Morphosyntactic factors seem to influence the choice between the different available forms on the singular 3rd person HAVE (cf. participles with initial consonants in 4.26, 4.28, 4.30, 4.31 (*ha*) vs. the participle with an initial vowel in 4.25 (*av'*)), but not between HAVE and BE.

Reflexive verbs do not seem to attract BE: among reflexive subject-oriented resultatives, only 2 out of the total of 24 3rd persons appear with BE. It seems then that there is indeed free variation between the auxiliaries, as subject-oriented resultatives accept both BE and HAVE in the 3rd person, although BE is more likely to replace HAVE in the singular.

The two most frequent verbs in our sample are *ffà(se)* 'to become' (21 occurrences) and *sscì* 'to go, to leave' (10 occurrences). *Sscì* is predominantly used with BE in the 3rd person singular (4.20, 4.34), while the plural constantly retains HAVE (4.35).

(4.34) *Se* *decève* *"Uaffliò,* *da* *ddò* ***è*** ***ssciùte*** *la*
RFL say.IMPF.3SG man PREP where be.PRS.3SG go.PP DEF

breggessiòne?" *Da* *dà* ***è*** ***ssciùte"***
procession PREP there be.PRS.3SG go.PP

'They would say, 'Hey bro', where has the procession gone?' It has gone there'

(4.35) *La* *sòlete,* *chèdde* *da* *tènene* *prenotàte* *(manghe*
DEF usual DIST.SG.F there have.PRS.3PL book.PP lack.PRS.3SG

fòsse *u* *palche* *o* *Pedrezzìille)* *iìdde* *e* *Iàngeue,*
be.SUBJ.3SG DEF.SG.M stage PREP PN 3SG.M and PN

chembbàgne *de* *gevendù,* <…> *nzìime,* *pure* *mò*
friend PREP youth together even now

c' *avònne* *sciùte* *m-* *benzióne.*
COMPL HABERE.PRS.3PL go.PP PREP retirement

'The usual [bench], that one there, they've got it booked (as if it were Petruzzelli [theatre] stage), him and Angelo, friends from youth <…>, together even now that they're retired.'

Ffà(se) appears exclusively with HAVE (4.26, 4.31). The only two verbs that are used with BE consistently in the 3rd person are the definite change of state verbs *merì* 'to die' and *nasscì* 'to be born'. Although the data from subject-oriented resultatives is not yet sufficient to make any sound conclusions, it seems that an influential factor in the choice of the auxiliary in the 3rd person is the lexical verb itself: namely, some frequent verbs may tend to favor one auxiliary over the other. Similar conclusions were obtained by Digesto (2022) for the usage of the Italian subjunctive.

4.4. Resultatives with Transitive Verbs

All resultatives (both transitive and intransitive, i.e., subject-oriented) imply both an event and a state that derives from said event, but, as opposed to other semantic values of the perfect, the event part of the meaning is backgrounded, and thus cannot be focused (that is, Mittwoch's (2008) restrictions on modification of the event part of the meaning apply). As opposed to the subject-oriented (intransitive) resultatives, described in the preceding section, resultatives with transitive verbs differ by their lexical input. They cannot, however, be termed object-oriented resultatives, as the agent in the subject position is overt, and, in many cases, it is both the subject's and the object's change of state that resultatives with transitive verbs convey. With some verbs, even though they have two arguments, such resultatives convey the subject's change of state.

In the preceding chapters on Lithuanian and Bulgarian, a group of resultatives with transitive verbs was defined as possessive resultatives, i.e., where the object is not fully distinct from the subject, as it is part of the subject, in the subject's possession, or otherwise closely related to the subject, and the whole construction conveys a change of state of the subject, which makes

possessive resultatives subject-oriented. Possessive resultatives in the chapters on exclusively BE perfects were discussed separately, as they constitute an important step in the expansion of the lexical input of the BE perfects from the exclusive use with intransitive verbs to transitives, along with the loss of the subject orientation. In Barese (as well as in other Romance varieties), this expansion need not occur, and it is not to be expected, because the construction with the HAVE auxiliary, which is transitive in origin, is available and grammaticalized enough for these contexts. In fact, as described by Pinkster (1987) and Cennamo (2008), the verbal periphrasis with HAVE entered into the Latin-Romance perfect sphere precisely in such contexts that can also be defined as possessive resultatives, i.e., with perception and cognition verbs. The HAVE + participle + object construction, initially biclausal, used with the transitive verbs of accomplishment (4.36), in some contexts could be perceived as ambiguous as to the agent identity of both the participle and the auxiliary (4.37). It became monoclausal with the cognition and communication verbs (Pinkster 1987: 213), where, due to the semantics of the lexical verb itself, the agent of both the auxiliary and the participle is necessarily the same (4.38).

(4.36) *qui* *habet* *curam* *peregrinorum* *deputatam*
who have.PRS.3SG care.ACC pilgrim.GEN.PL assign.PP.ACC
'(a monk) who has received the task of taking care of foreign visitors'[33]

(4.37) *habeo* *cibum* *coctum*
have.PRS.1SG food.ACC cook.PP.ACC
'I have food which has been cooked (not necessarily by me)'[34]

(4.38) *perfidiam* *Haeduorum* *perspectam* *habebat*
wickedness Haedui.GEN.PL perceive.PP.F.SG.ACC have.IMPF.3SG
'He had perceived the Haedui's wickedness'[35]

Pinkster (1987: 212–213) also suggests that the overlap in meaning between the Latin synthetic perfectum and the HAVE + participle + object construction can be identified in the resultative perfect contexts with inalienable objects, as well as with the perception and cognition verbs whose objects semantically could not be objects of HAVE, such as in (4.38). The development of the HAVE perfect in Romance undoubtedly was also influenced by the changes

[33] Example from Pinkster (1987: 201), Cassian. Inst. 4,7 – A. D. 426, gloss added.
[34] Example from Pinkster (1987: 212), gloss added.
[35] Example from Cennamo (2008: 117), Caes. Gall. 7.54.

of the voice system and the loss of case marking, while the expansion of the HAVE periphrasis to intransitive verbs seems to be a relatively late phenomenon. Cennamo (2008: 126) shows that the HAVE + participle construction was available already in classical Latin, and the auxiliarization of HAVE was already complete at the time, but the construction remained weakly grammaticalized, and was thus used only in transitive resultative contexts for quite a while, before grammaticalizing further, expanding towards other cross-linguistically typical perfect values, and accepting both transitive and intransitive verbs. This expansion seems to have occurred with verbs that can function both as transitive and intransitive (*scriptum habemus* 'we have written'), or with transitive verbs with clausal complements (*praeceptum habeamus ut* <…> 'we have ordered that <…>') (Pinkster 1987: 204).

Further analysis of the grammaticalization of the possessive Romance perfect is outside the scope of this study, but it is still relevant for the interpretation of the Barese data that the HAVE periphrasis entered into the perfect sphere starting from transitive resultative contexts, where it could still be understood as biclausal, then grammaticalized further via possessive resultative contexts, which were essential for the auxiliarization of HAVE. In Barese, the fully grammaticalized, monoclausal HAVE + participle construction is used in resultatives with transitive verbs, such as 'send', 'break' (Fillmore 1970), other verbs of the change of state of the object (4.39, 4.40), communication verbs (4.41), as well as in subject-oriented contexts of possessive resultatives (with the verbs of perception and cognition (4.42), verbs of coming into possession (4.43), and ingestive verbs (4.44), among others).

(4.39) *[Tu però tìne le capidde du chelòre du uòre]* *e* *na* *vòlde* *ca*
and INDEF.SG.F time COMPL

me ***sì*** ***addomàte,*** *u* *grane,* *ca* *ièe* *doràte,*
1SG.ACC be.PRS.2SG tame.PP DEF.SG.M grain COMPL BE.PRS.3SG golden.PP

m' *ava* *fa* *penzà* *a* *tè.*
1SG.OBJ HABERE.PRS.3SG.PREP make.INF think.INF PREP 2SG.OBJ

'[But you have gold-colored hair], and once you **have tamed** me, the grain, which is golden, will make me think of you.'

(4.40) *Parle* *come* *t'* *ha* *ffatte* *màmmete*
speak.IMP.2SG how 2SG.OBJ HABERE.PRS.3SG make.PP mother.POSS.2SG
'Speak like your mother made you [i.e., in your native vernacular]'

(4.41) *[Mène, mène, Marì Luìse] /* *T'* ***hamme*** ***dìtte*** *bbuène*
2SG.OBJ HABERE.PRS.1PL say.PP good

Natàle / *[E ttu dànge le terrìse.]*
Christmas

'Come, come, M. L./ We **have wished** you Merry Christmas, and you should give us the money.'

(4.42) *[Bbròte de vìcce, granerìse e vvèrze a la paisàne (o che le vremecìidde fatte a menezzìgghie)]*

com' *u* ***avìm'*** ***ammezzàte*** *da* *le* *màmmere* *nòste.*
how 3SG.OBJ HABERE.PRS.1PL learn.PP PREP DEF mother.PL 1PL.POSS

'[Beef broth, rice, and country-style cabbage (or with vermicelli pasta broken into little pieces)], the way we **have learned** to cook them from our mothers.'

(4.43) *Buèngiorne,* *cusse* *iè* *l'* *ordene* *ca* ***so*** ***avute***
good_day PROX.SG.M be.PRS.3SG DEF orders COMPL be.PRS.1SG get.PP
'Hello, these are the orders that I **have received**'

(4.44) *capasce* *ca* *la* *peghere* *s'* ***ha*** ***mangiàte*** *u* *fiore…*
possible COMPL DEF sheep RFL habere.PRS.3SG eat.PP DEF.SG.M flower
'It's possible that the sheep has eaten the flower…'

Table 67. Distribution of Barese transitive resultatives by auxiliary, person, and number

Perfect value	Auxiliary	Number	Count
Transitive resultatives	ESSE	1sg	28
		2sg	40
		3sg	1
		1pl	1
		2pl	-
		3pl	1
	HABERE	1sg	10
		2sg	-
		3sg	63
		1pl	20
		2pl	5
		3pl	33

As it can be seen from Table 67, the BE auxiliary appears almost exclusively with those person/number combinations where it is foreseen by the person-based pattern: with 2SG (only BE) and 1SG (mainly BE). In the 3rd person, where a previously non-described variation was observed with statives and subject-oriented resultatives, with transitive resultatives there are only two tokens with BE, given in (4.45) and (4.46). Both of them can be defined as

possessive resultatives that convey a change of the state of the subject, despite the transitivity of the involved lexical verbs: (4.45) is a figurative expression which means 'to become upset', while, in (4.46), a dative reflexive is used with a verb of coming into possession.

(4.45) *[Eh! Non zà stà a la sciòggue.] Ci-* ***è*** ***pegghiàte*** *u* *musse?*
what be.PRS.3SG take.PP DEF.SG.M snout
'[Ah, you can't play along.] **Are you offended**?'

(4.46) *E* *non* ***ze*** *la* ***so*** ***arrebàte,*** *pìinze* *nu* *pìcche*
and NEG RFL 3SG.F.OBJ be.PRS.3PL steal.PP think.IMP.2SG INDEF.SG.M little
'And can you imagine, they **haven't stolen** it'

Thus, the diachronic development of the HAVE verbal periphrasis is reflected in the synchronic Barese data: transitive resultative contexts pertain to the sphere of the HAVE auxiliary, and no expansion of BE can be observed. Virtually all resultatives with transitive verbs adhere to the E(H)-E-H-E-E-H scheme, with very limited variation.

4.5. CR Perfects

The current relevance (CR) perfects[36] are one of the cross-linguistically prototypical semantic values of the perfect (Comrie 1976; McCawley 1981; McCoard 1978; Squartini & Bertinetto 2000; Lindstedt 2000; Velupillai & Dahl 2013; Broekhuis 2021, *inter alia*). As discussed in Section 3.6 on the Bulgarian CR perfects, with reference to Dahl & Hedin's (2000) notions of type- and token-focusing, CR should be understood as a graded phenomenon. With resultatives (subject-oriented, possessive, and transitive), the requirements for CR are strict: the result of the past event must hold at the moment of speech, and the focus is on the state that derives from it, not on the event itself. With the CR perfects, the focus shifts away from the state towards the past event, conveyed by the lexical verb. The modification of the past event by way of temporal and other adverbials (Mittwoch 2008; Rosemeyer 2022) may now be allowed. Thus, the requirements for CR are relaxed: the result of the past event is not strictly required to be valid at the moment of speech, but some more general consequence should be relevant (as explained by Dahl & Hedin (2000: 392)).

[36] The CR perfects are often called 'resultative' perfects. This term is preferably avoided here, in order not to create confusion with the 'strict' resultatives.

In Barese, perfects with a semantic value such as defined in the preceding paragraph and shown in (4.47, 4.48) make up 13% of all the perfect constructions in the data (89 tokens in total).

(4.47) *[ièdde asselute iè cchiù 'mbortànde de tutte vu,]*

percè	*a*	*iedde*	*nge*	***sò***	***date***	*iacque, la*	
because	PREP	3SG.F	DEM	be.PRS.1SG	give.PP	water	3SG.F.OBJ

so	***misse***	*sott'*	*a*	*na*	*cambane*	*de*	*vidre,*
be.PRS.1SG	put.PP	under	PREP	INDEF.SG.F	bell	PREP	glass

la	***so***	***reparate***	*do*	*vìnde*
3SG.F.OBJ	be.PRS.1SG	shelter.PP	PREP.DEF.SG.M	wind

'[She alone is more important than all of you,] because I have given her water, I have put her under a glass bell, I have sheltered her from the wind'

(4.48) *[Allore la matìne ca de sò canesciute, ca tu stìve sule sule 'mmènz'o desèrte,]*

stìv'	*a*	*scì*	*o*	*punde*	*addò*	***sì***	***cadute****?*
stay.IMPF.2SG	PREP	go.INF	PREP.DEF.SG.M	point	where	be.PRS.2SG	fall.PP

'[So the morning I met you, when you were all alone in the middle of the desert,] were you going to the place where you had fallen?'

As it can be seen from the examples presented above, the CR perfects can be used with the same classes of verbs as the strict resultatives (see Sections 4.3 and 4.4). Both the intransitive change of state or change of location verbs and the transitive verbs expressing a change of the object's state verbs can also appear as the CR perfects, but their direct result does not have to hold at the reference point, while a more general consequence is implied. If the direct result is no longer valid at the reference point, and if the focus has shifted to the event part of the event-state metonymy, they acquire a CR reading due to the focus on the event, at the expense of the state. However, the CR perfects can also be formed with atelic state or activity verbs, as in (4.49, 4.50).

(4.49)

Iàneme	*sènza*	*core,*	***sì***	***ffàtte***	*u*	*dessciùn'*	*a*
soul	without	heart	be.PRS.2SG	make.PP	DEF.SG.M	fast	PREP

ssanda	*Necòle?*
saint	Nicholas

'Soul without a heart, **have** you **fasted** on Saint Nicholas Day?'

(4.50)

t'	***ha***	***piaciùte***	*u*	*becchìire*	*de*	*mìire?*
2SG	HABERE.PRS.3SG	like.PP	DEF.SG.M	glass	PREP	wine

-	*sìne,*	*damme*	*n'*	*aldùne*
	yes	give.IMP.2SG.1SG.DAT	INDEF.SG.M	another

'**Did** you **like** that glass of wine? – Yes, give me another one'

The Barese group of the CR perfects also includes cases of hodiernal past (hot news), where CR may be provided merely by the recentness of the past event. Hodiernal past uses of the perfect were discussed by (Bertinetto & Squartini 1996) as one of the contexts where the Southern regional Italian varieties preferred the perfect (compound past).

(4.51) ***So*** ***saputе*** *che*
be.PRS.1SG know.PP COMPL

[tutte chidde che s'honne pegghiàte le Escort stonne a passà nù sacche de uà]

'I've learnt that [all those who bought Ford Escorts are going through a lot of trouble]'

(4.52) *Ce* - ***iè*** ***secciìsse?***
what be.PRS.3SG happen.PP
'What happened?'

Contexts such as (4.51, 4.52) are the ones where the requirements for CR become rather vague, and the notion itself starts losing its significance. These contexts clearly show the path of the secondary grammaticalization of the perfect towards a past tense, a process that is well underway in Barese (see also Section 4.8 on narrative uses).

With the CR perfects, there is again some variation regarding the two auxiliaries (see Table 68). Apart from the usual variation of the BE and HAVE auxiliaries in 1SG as well as in 1PL and 2PL, we can see that a fair amount of the CR perfects in 3SG appear with the BE auxiliary.

Table 68. Distribution of Barese CR perfects by auxiliary, person, and number

Perfect value	Auxiliary	Number	Count
CR	ESSE	1sg	20
		2sg	11
		3sg	11
		1pl	1
		2pl	1
		3pl	-
	HABERE	1sg	7
		2sg	-
		3sg	23
		1pl	2
		2pl	2
		3pl	8

A closer look at these examples reveals that the BE auxiliary is used with a narrow set of frequent intransitive change of state verbs *merì* 'to die', *nasscì* 'to be born', *seccète* 'to happen', and with the stative verb *jèsse* 'to be'. The

usage of the BE auxiliary with *jèsse* can be explained by syntactic priming, but let us see also the following section on experientials for more examples of the perfect with atelic state- and activity-denoting verbs. As to the three change of state verbs, they are prototypical members of the subject-oriented resultative category, but here they are used with a different semantic value of the perfect (4.53), similarly as illustrated in example (4.48).

(4.53) *Ci-* ***è*** ***mmuèrte****? Cudde ca non velève*
who be.PRS.3SG die.PP.M DIST.SG.M COMPL NEG want.IMPF.3SG

cambà cchiù. Ah sì? E a cce- iòre ***è*** ***mmuèrte****?*
live.INF more ah yes and PREP what hour be.PRS.3SG die.PP.M

A ll' òre d' aiìre a chèss' òre.
PREP DEF hour PREP yesterday PREP PROX.SG.F hour

'Who **died**? The one that didn't want to live any longer. Really? And at what time **did** he **die**? At yesterday's time at this hour [nonsensical reply].'

In (4.53), the focus is on the past event due to the foregrounding of the agent in the initial clause, and due to the temporal modification in the following clause. Such examples show that, at least with some frequent verbs, the BE auxiliary is selected despite the semantic value of the perfect construction.

4.6. Experientials

Summarizing what has been said on experientials in the preceding chapters, they refer to a past event that is viewed from a perspective of having occurred at least once within an interval of time that ends at the moment of speech/writing. In simpler terms, experientials can be understood as referring to past events as part of the subject's experience. In this sense, experientials are conceptually close to subject-oriented resultatives, because the subject can be understood as being in a state of having a certain experience. Differently from the CR perfects, the past event is not situationally anchored, i.e., it is undefined regarding its location in time and space.

In Barese, experientials make up around 7% of the total of the perfect tokens (49 occurrences). As it is usual cross-linguistically, and as observed for both Lithuanian and Bulgarian, they are mainly formed with atelic state or activity verbs (4.54), both transitive and intransitive, but, in certain contexts, the experiential reading may be forced onto a telic change of state or change-of-location verb (4.55). This normally happens by way of adverbials or by other sentential elements, as described in the previous chapter (see Section 3.7 on Bulgarian experientials).

(4.54) *Non* ***ha*** ***velute*** *mà* *bène* *a* *nesciune.*
NEG HABERE.PRS.3SG want.PP never well PREP nobody
'S/he **has** never **loved** anyone.'

(4.55) *[Sò cinguandaquatt'anne ca iàvete sop'a stu pianete e]*

m' ***avonne*** ***desterbàte*** *asselute* *trè* *volde.*
1SG.ACC HABERE.PRS.3PL disturb.PP only three times
'[I have lived on this planet for 54 years, and] I **have been disturbed** only three times.'

Regarding the distribution of the tokens by the auxiliary (Table 69), with experientials, only some variation and diversion from the default person-based based model can be observed. In particular, there is one 1SG and one 1PL token that appear with the auxiliary BE. The verbs used in these contexts are, as with the CR perfects, the ones that seem to attract the BE auxiliary despite the semantic value of the perfect: namely, the stative verb *jèsse* 'to be' and the change-of-location verb *sscì* 'to go' (4.56, 4.57).

(4.56) *Ci-* *iè* *ssciùte* *mà!!!*
who be.PRS.3SG go.PP never
'Nobody has ever been there!!!'

(4.57) *cusse* *libbre* *u* *dèddeche* *o* *pecceninne*
PROX book 3SG.M.ACC dedicate.PRS.1SG PREP.DEF.SG.M little.N

ca *cusse* *crestiàne* *granne* *iè* *state*
COMPL PROX person big be.PRS.3SG be.PP

'I dedicate this book to the child that this grown-up person has once been'

Table 69. Distribution of Barese experientials by auxiliary, person, and number

Perfect value	Auxiliary	Number	Count
EXP	ESSE	1sg	21
		2sg	7
		3sg	2
		1pl	1
		2pl	-
		3pl	-
	HABERE	1sg	2
		2sg	-
		3sg	10
		1pl	2
		2pl	5
		3pl	3

Interestingly, in 1SG, where variation is foreseen by the default person-based model, the BE auxiliary is clearly predominant (18 tokens with BE vs. 2 tokens with HAVE). Such distribution is close to statives (all 1SG tokens with BE) or subject-oriented resultatives (16 with BE vs. 1 with HAVE), and it contrasts with the prominently more balanced proportions of the HAVE and BE usage as 1SG auxiliaries with transitive resultatives and the CR perfects. The usage of BE as the 1st person auxiliary does not seem to be motivated by intransitivity, as 16 out of 19 1st person experientials with BE contain transitive verbs (4.58).

(4.58) *Non* *zò* *mà* *chendàte* *a* *nesciune* *chessa* *storie.*
NEG be.PRS.1SG never narrate.PP PREP no_one PROX.SG.F story
'I have never told anyone this story.'

Additionally, experientials stand out from all other perfect semantic values due to the 1st person frequency: while statives and strict resultatives predominantly occur in the 3rd person (see Tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4), and with the CR perfects the 1st person usage rises only slightly (see Table 4.5), with experientials, the 1st person (22 tokens) is more frequent than the 3rd person (15 tokens). This tendency, that can also be observed in Bulgarian and Lithuanian (see Sections 2.6 and 3.7), can probably be explained by pragmatic factors and the possibility provided by the experiential to assign positive qualities to the subject indirectly, by way of drawing attention to the experience, such as in (4.59):

(4.59) *Le* *canosceche* *bùne,* *le* *so* *chiamendàte*
3PL.ACC know.PRS.1SG well 3PL.ACC be.PRS.1SG watch.PP

bèlle *bèlle* *da* *vecìne*
pretty pretty PREP close

'I know them well, I've seen them from very close'

A broader look at the auxiliaries with all persons and with all the perfect values reveals that experientials have the second highest share of the BE auxiliary after statives, that are used with BE almost exclusively (Table 4.2). However, the usage of experientials shows how there are multiple factors as to how the BE auxiliary comes about: while its usage in 3SG and 3PL seems to be motivated by certain values of the perfect, and, by extension, by certain lexical verbs, in 2SG, the BE auxiliary appears constantly, as if it were a morpheme, in the sense of Loporcaro (2007, 2022, *inter alia*). With experientials, the frequency of the BE auxiliary is due to the 1SG frequency, which is due to usage.

4.7. Durative Perfects

There are 25 tokens (around 4% of the total) in the Barese doculect that were interpreted as durative perfects, i.e., the perfects that convey a continuous event that started in the past and persists into the moment of speech (writing). In Barese, they are often accompanied by an interval-denoting adverbial that reinforces the durative reading, such as *sèmbe* 'always' (4.60), or *pezzing'a mò* 'so far' (4.61), but do not strictly require lexical interpretation for a durative reading to arise (4.62)[37]. Some tokens that were assigned a durative interpretation, but which appear without lexical reinforcement, may be seen as ambiguous with cumulative perfects (see Sections 2.7 and 3.7), as in (4.62–4.64), although, overall, cumulatives do not seem to be prominent in the Barese doculect. This ambiguity is not surprising, given the conceptual relatedness between the cumulative and durative perfects.

(4.60) *Nge* *am'* *arrangià* *come* ***sìme*** *sèmbe* ***fàtte***
1PL.ACC HABERE.PRS.1PL arrange.INF as be.PRS.1PL always do.PP
'We have to get by as we have always done'

(4.61) *Pezzing'* *a* *mò* *tu* ***si*** ***scecuàte*** *asselute* *che* *la*
until PREP now 2SG be.PRS.2SG play.PP only with DEF

dolgèzze *de* *le* *tramònde.*
sweetness PREP DEF sunset

'Until now you have only played with the sweetness of the sunset.'

(4.62) *[E gràzzie a cchìdd'e qquàtte affezzionàte lettùre nèste,]* *ca* *nge*
COMPL 1PL.ACC

avònne ***abbeggiàte*** *e* ***recreiàte*** *che* *le* *lore* *lèttere,*
HABERE.PRS.3PL support.PP and entertain.PP with DEF 3PL letters

telefonàte *e* *chemblemìinde.*
phone_calls and compliments

'[And thanks to those few loyal readers of ours] that **have supported** and **entertained** us with their letters, phone calls, and compliments'.

---

[37] The three 'universal' readings distinguished in Dahl (2021), i.e., the perfects with left-boundary-indicating adverbials, the perfects with duration-quantifying adverbials, and the perfects with universally-quantifying adverbials, are here treated together, same as in Lithuanian and Bulgarian, as discussed in Sections 2.8.3 and 3.10.

Similarly as in Bulgarian, durative perfects in Barese are formed mainly with verbs denoting states (4.63) or activities (4.61).

(4.63) *[E am'a dìsce gràzzie cchiù cchiù a ttrè o quàtte bbuène crestiàne,]*

c'	***avònne***	***avùte***	*fète*	*e*	*nge*
COMPL	HABERE.PRS.3PL	have.PP	faith	and	1PL.ACC

honne	*aitàte,*	*[e speriàme ca chendìnuene a ffàauue.]*
HABERE.PRS.3PL	help.PP	

'[And we have to say a big thank you to three or four people] who have believed [in us] and have helped us, [and hopefully will continue to do so.]'

Additionally, (4.64) shows a durative perfect with the verb *sscì* 'to go' that is combined with a reduplicated gerund of the lexical verb to reinforce the continuous reading of the event[38].

(4.64)

Le	*candedàte*	*e*	*cchìdde*	*de*	*l'*	*ambiende*	*lore*
DEF	candidates	and	their	PREP	DEF	surroundings	3PL

honne	***sciute***	*spennènne*	*e*	*spennènne*	*terrìse*
HABERE.PRS.3PL	go.PP	spend.GER	and	spend.GER	money

e	*cchiù*	*nom*	*bbozze*
PREP	more	NEG	can.PRS.1SG

'The candidates and those close to them **have been** continuously **spending** all the money they could reach'

[38] The GO + gerund construction that has progressive semantics with GO having lost its lexical meaning is also possible in other tenses in Barese:

Checcàzz	*và*	*maccànne?*
what_dick	go.PRS.3SG	do.GER

'What the hell are you doing?'
(example from https://comanacosaellalde.forumattivo.com)

Its behavior thus seems rather grammaticalized, while cross-linguistic parallels of GO as a progressive auxiliary have long been known (Heine 1993; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994).

Table 70. Distribution of Barese durative perfects by auxiliary, person, and number

Perfect value	Auxiliary	Number	Count
Durative	ESSE	1sg	7
		2sg	3
		3sg	1
		1pl	2
		2pl	-
		3pl	1
	HABERE	1sg	-
		2sg	-
		3sg	2
		1pl	-
		2pl	-
		3pl	9

As Table 70 shows, the adherence of the durative perfects to the default person-based model is again not strict: there are two instances of the 3rd person with BE, given in (4.65) and (4.66). As with other perfect values, these are formed with the same BE-attracting verb *jèsse* 'to be'.

(4.65) *Munne* ***è*** ***stàte,*** *munne* *iè,* *e* *munne*
word be.PRS.3SG be.PP world be.PRS.3SG and world
av' *a* *ièsse*
HABERE.PRS.3SG PREP be.INF
'The world has been, the world continues to be, and the world will be'

(4.66) *Gràzzie* *a* *cchìdde* *ca* ***so*** ***sstàte*** *bbuène*
thanks PREP those COMPL be.PRS.3PL be.PP good
asselùte *a* *parlà;* *[e angòre, pàrlene, pàrlene e le fàtte… acquànne?.]*
only PREP talk.INF
'Thanks to those who **have** only **been** good with words; [and still they talk, they talk, [and what [about] their actions… when [will we see them]?'

All 1st person duratives also happen to be formed with BE, however, as the durative is not a very frequent semantic value, the data at our disposal is not sufficient to make any sound generalizations. However, the limited data at hand shows a behavior which is very similar to that of the experientials, to which the durative perfects relate not only conceptually, but also by way of similar types of the lexical input (atelic transitive and intransitive verbs denoting states or activities).

Around 16% of the Barese perfect occurrences in the dataset are used in narrative contexts. These uses are no longer distinguished by the perfect semantics, i.e., they do not convey an event along with a state resulting from it, with its direct result or with a more general consequence, but rather an event in a succession of events (a narrative), entirely similar to the uses of a perfective past tense. Such uses can sometimes be distinguished by adverbials highlighting the succession of events, as in (4.67), but not necessarily, as in (4.68). The secondary grammaticalization of perfects towards past tenses is usually referred to in the literature as the 'aorist drift' (see Sections 1.3 and 4.1).

(4.67)

Apprime	***sì***	***remanute***	*sorprèse*	*ma*	*po'*	*de*	***sì***
at_first	be.PRS.2SG	remain.PP	surprised	but	then	2SG.ACC	be.PRS.2SG

misse	*a*	*rite*	*e*	*me*	***sì***	***ditte****: <…>*
put.PP	PREP	laugh.INF	and	1SG.ACC	be.PRS.2SG	say.PP

'At first you were surprised, but then you started to laugh and you said to me: <…>'

(4.68)

Dottò,	***so***	***ternàte***	*da*	*le*	*fèrie*	*e*	***honne***
doctor	BE.PRS.1SG	return.PP	PREP	DEF	holidays	and	HABERE.PRS.3PL

fernùte	*le*	*medecìne*	*e*	*ccùdde*	*prònde,s'*	***ha***
end.PP	DEF	medicine	and	DIST.SG.M	ready	RFL	HABERE.PRS.3SG

mmìse	*m-*	*bbàcce*	*o*	*combiutèrre*	*e*
put.PP	PREP	face	PREP.DEF.SG.M	computer	and

s'	***ha***	***mmìse***	*a*	*bbàtte*	*che*	*le*	*dìscete,*	*come*
RFL	HABERE.PRS.3SG	put.PP	PREP	tap.INF	with	DEF	fingers	as

ce	*fosse*	*nu*	*piànefòtte*
DEM	BE.SBJ.3SG	INDEF.SG.M	piano

'Doctor, I came back from the holidays, and my medicine was finished, and he sat right away in front of the computer and started tapping [the keyboard] with his fingers, as if it were a piano'

The HAVE/BE + participle construction in our data is not the main tense used to convey perfective past events in narratives. In a narrative text used for this study, *U Prengepìne*, only 19 HAVE/BE + participle constructions were found in narrative contexts. This shows that the main aoristic narrative tense is the synthetic past, as, for example, in (4.69).

(4.69) *Tand' e tand' anne fa, acquànne tenève sè iànne, <…>*
many and many year ago when have.IMPF.1SG six year

vedìbbe *nu bèlle desègne. <…> Me* ***metìbb'*** *a*
see.PST.1SG INDEF.SG.M beautiful drawing 1SG.ACC put.PST.1SG PREP

penzà all' avvendure de la giungle. E jì stèsse
think.INF PREP.DEF adventure PREP DEF jungle and 1SG same

facibbe *u prime desègne.*
make.PST.1SG DEF first drawing

'Many many years ago, when I was six years old, <…> I **saw** a beautiful drawing. <…> I **started** to think about the jungle. And I **made** my first drawing.'

A contrastive study on related language varieties (regional Italian) by Bertinetto & Squartini (1996: 406–407) showed that, in contrast to the speakers from Northern Italy, Southern Italians used similar proportions of the perfect in all types of narratives (autobiographical, impersonal, and historic). Thus, it is possible that the contrast between the perfect and the synthetic past in narratives has some other discourse function. The impression that comes from the data used for this study (especially in *U Prengepìne*) is that the perfect might sometimes be used to differentiate the direct speech, as in (4.70), where (4.48) is repeated with its surrounding context, with perfects in bold and synthetic pasts underlined. The topic requires further analysis; a more detailed investigation of the competition between these two grams would be outside the scope of this thesis.

(4.69) *Me sendìbbe n'alda volde u chiccherichì o core e nge addemannàbbe: „Allore la matìne ca de* ***sò canesciute****, ca tu stìve sule sule 'mmènz'o desèrte, stìv'a scì o punde addò* ***sì cadute****?"*
U prengepine facì arrète russe. <…> "Ah!" nge decìbbe, "allore ***so andevenàte****…"*

'I felt again how my heart trembled, and I asked: "So the morning I **met** you, when you were all alone in the middle of the desert, were you going to the place where you **had fallen**?"
The little prince blushed. <…> "Ah!" he said, "so you **guessed**…" '

Regarding the usage of the auxiliaries (Table 71), 1SG is used mainly with BE, while the tokens that occur with BE in 3SG contain the same lexical verbs that have already been described in the previous section as having a strong preference for BE: *jèsse* 'to be' (3 tokens), *merì* 'to die' (2 tokens), and *sscì* 'to go' (4 tokens).

(4.70) *Ci-* ***iè*** ***ssciùte*** *o* *màre,* *ci-* ***iè*** ***ssciùte***
who be.PRS.3SG go.PP PREP.DEF.SG.M sea who be.PRS.3SG go.PP

a *la* *mendàgne,* *ci-* ***iè*** ***ssciùte*** *d'* *acchià* *le*
PREP DEF mountain who be.PRS.3SG go.PP PREP see.INF DEF

parìinde, *le* *figghie,* *ci-* ***iè*** ***ssciùte*** *fore* *de* *Bbàre,*
relatives DEF children who be.PRS.3SG go.PP outside PREP Bari

e *ccì,* *fore* *de* *la* *Pùgghie* *e* *dall'* *Itàglie*
and who outside PREP DEF Apulia and PREP.DEF Italy

'Some people went to the beach, some went to the mountains, some went to visit their relatives or children, some went outside Bari, and some went outside Apulia and outside Italy'

Table 71. Distribution of Barese perfects in narrative contexts by auxiliary, person, and number

Perfect value	Auxiliary	Number	Count
Narratives	ESSE	1sg	38
		2sg	10
		3sg	9
		1pl	1
		2pl	-
		3pl	-
	HABERE	1sg	2
		2sg	-
		3sg	33
		1pl	3
		2pl	-
		3pl	14

To sum up, it seems that the Barese perfect can be used in narrative contexts, but it is not the main narrative tense, while the distribution of the auxiliaries according to the person-based model does not differ significantly from that observed for other highly grammaticalized semantic values of the perfect, discussed in the preceding sections.

4.9. Conclusions for Barese

The analysis of the data shows that the Barese perfect encompasses a wide range of semantic values from statives (not-yet-perfects) to narratives (no-longer-perfects) (Table 72). The most frequent values are resultatives – both with transitive and intransitive verbs. The more grammaticalized and cross-

linguistically typical perfect values, i.e., the CR perfects, experientials, and durative perfects, are also used in Barese. As the Barese perfect can be, and frequently is, used in the narrative contexts, it is to be considered affected by the aorist drift. Nevertheless, the analysis of the Barese perfect presented in this chapter confirms the intuition by Bertinetto & Squartini (1996) that the use of the Italian *passato prossimo* in regional Italian reflects the competition between the perfect and the synthetic past in the vernaculars proper. Indeed, the use of the perfect in the narrative contexts in Barese is limited (16%), and it is mainly employed in contexts reflecting the semantics of the cross-linguistic Perfect category: its meaning includes a past event along with its direct result or a more general consequence.

Table 72. Proportions of the semantic values of the Barese perfect

Barese		
Values	**tokens**	**%**
Statives	40	6
Subject-oriented resultatives	152	23
Transitive resultatives	202	30
CR perfects	86	13
Experientials	53	8
Duratives	25	4
Narratives	110	16
(other values)[39]	4	0
Total	672	100

As to the reflections of the BE perfect grammaticalization in Barese, the Barese perfect is to be seen as a fusion between two different constructions (ESSE and HABERE periphrases). Synchronically, the Barese perfect can be considered a single gram with the BE/HAVE auxiliaries and a past participle. As alluded in the introductory Section 4.1, the Barese perfect does not strictly follow the EEHEEH person-based auxiliation pattern (or any of the other two described by Andriani (2017, 2018)). Variation occurs with all persons, except for 2SG, which is used with BE exclusively, independently from the perfect value or the lexical verb. Nor does the Barese perfect strictly follow a split-intransitivity model of Standard Italian or the French type, which would be

[39] The four tokens that have not been assigned to any of the values discussed in this chapter are impersonal *si* constructions with passive semantics (Cennamo 2014):

non	***ze***	***so***	***vviste***	*le*	*vìggele*	*rubbàne, addò*	*stònne?*
NEG	RFL	be.PRS.3PL	see.PP	DEF	warden	urban	where	stay.PRS.3PL

'The traffic policemen are nowhere to be seen, where are they?'

purely based on the semantics of the lexical verb. The auxiliary choice depends on multiple factors, among which also the grammaticalization of ESSE and HABERE periphrases is observed. These factors can be summarized as follows:

1) Person-based patterns. Barese can be said to generally follow the EEHHHH pattern in the sense that this scheme indicates the most frequent auxiliary for each person/number combination. However, variation occurs in all persons except for 2SG (Table 73), and a single person-based pattern or even three competing person-based patterns are not sufficient to account for the variation observed. The person-based auxiliary variation pattern does not coincide with the ones previously described by Andriani (2017, 2018), as there is more variation in 3SG and 3PL (not foreseen) than in 1PL and 2PL (foreseen). Around 40% of the 3SG tokens occur with the BE auxiliary, BE is also predominant in 1SG, and it is exclusively used in 2SG; thus, it would seem that BE is taking over the singular, while, in plural, mainly HAVE is used.

Table 73. Auxiliary proportions with each person/number combination in the Barese data

Person/number	BE tokens	HAVE tokens
1SG	**135**	22
2SG	**86**	-
3SG	73	**191**
1PL	8	**28**
2PL	1	**12**
3PL	21	**95**

2) Diachronic origin of the construction. The BE + participle construction originates from the Latin passive *perfectum*, and it continues to be almost exclusively used with the value of the perfect closest to the source construction: the statives that do not necessarily presuppose a past event, or where it is strongly backgrounded, and the passive or active interpretation of the participle becomes irrelevant. With statives, person-based patterns cease to have any effect. Meanwhile, the HAVE periphrasis came into the system via resultative constructions with transitive verbs, and it is still largely predominant with transitive resultatives: this value has the highest proportion of the HAVE auxiliary (Table 74). The BE tokens with transitive resultatives occur with 1SG and 2SG, as per the person-based pattern, while there is virtually no penetration of BE into the 3rd person (cf. Table 67 in Section 4.4).

Table 74. HAVE and BE auxiliaries with each semantic value of the Barese perfect

Perfect value	BE tokens	HAVE tokens
Statives	**39 (97%)**	1 (3%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	65 (43%)	**87 (57%)**
Transitive resultatives	71 (36%)	**131 (64%)**
CR perfects	**44 (51%)**	42 (49%)
Experientials	**31 (59%)**	22 (41%)
Duratives	**14 (56%)**	11 (44%)
Narratives	**58 (53%)**	52 (47%)

3) Perfect grammaticalization. The expansion of the sphere of the BE auxiliary can be observed following the non-foreseen uses of BE with the 3rd person tokens. This explains a larger proportion of BE with subject-oriented resultatives. Cennamo (2008) describes an equivalent process in Campanian dialects, while attributing the expansion of BE to classes of lexical verbs. However, an approach based on the development of a BE perfect with cross-linguistic parallels can account for the presence of BE not only with subject-oriented resultatives, but also with statives. As discussed in the two preceding chapters on Lithuanian and Bulgarian, subject-oriented resultatives seem to be the second step in the grammaticalization cline for the BE perfects, and the Barese data reinforces this hypothesis. With subject-oriented resultatives, the expansion of BE related to the grammaticalization of the BE perfect supersedes the person-based pattern which does not foresee BE in the 3rd person. Meanwhile, the uses of BE + participle in Barese do not seem to follow the further steps of the BE perfect grammaticalization (i.e., experientials or transitive resultatives). Transitive resultatives are a clear sphere of the HAVE perfect, which has grammaticalized further in Italo-Romance and in Barese. The development of the Barese BE + participle construction is thus peculiar: it takes place within a perfect construction which, thanks to the HAVE periphrasis, is already strongly grammaticalized and affected by the aorist drift. A schematic representation of the fusion and development of the HAVE and BE perfects in Barese is given in Table 75. The two constructions should have fused at Stage 2 (resultatives), where the person-based systems come about, and, from there on, develop as a single gram.

Table 75. Development of the Barese perfect

Stage	*Value*	*Paraphrase*	*Stage*	*Value*	*Paraphrase*
Stage 0	HAVE + O + PP	S has O. O is V-ed	Stage 0	ESSE + PP (*perfectum*)	S was/is V-ed
Stage 1	HAVE + O + PP	S has O. S V-ed O.	Stage 1	Stative (copular ascriptive construction with a participle)	S has a verbal property V
Stage 2A	Transitive resultative	S is having-done-V to O	Stage 2A	Subject-oriented resultative	S is having-done-V
Stage	*Value*		*Paraphrase*		
Stage 2B	Resultative		S is having-done-Y (to O)		
Stage 3	Current relevance		S has done V (to O)		
Stage 4	Experiential		S has experience of V		
Stage 5	Durative		S began V, and V still lasts		
Stage 6	Narrative		S did V (to O)		

4) Lexical input. There are certain verbs which prefer the BE auxiliary despite the person, and also despite the semantic value of the perfect. These are mainly frequent intransitive verbs expressing a definite change of state or a change of the location of the subject, such as *merì* 'to die' (9 tokens, all with BE), *nascì* 'to be born' (9 tokens, all with BE) or *sscì* 'to go' (25 with BE, 12 with HAVE). The stative verb *jèsse* 'to be' also attracts the BE auxiliary (23 tokens with BE, 3 tokens with HAVE). Meanwhile, there are no verbs that would demonstrate the same tendency to prefer HAVE. This might be related to the fact that *avè* 'to have' in Barese has lost its possessive verb semantics.

5) Usage. The auxiliary proportions for each semantic value of the perfect given in Table 4.11 above are also influenced by the usage-determined frequency of each person, which carries over its associated auxiliary as per the person-based model. For example, the statives and subject-oriented resultatives are predominantly used in the 3rd person (see Table 4.13 below). The presence of the 3rd person boosts the chances of HAVE. In the light of this, the high percentage of BE with subject-oriented resultatives reinforces the explanation given in (3) above, regarding the grammaticalization steps of the BE perfects. Meanwhile, experientials stand out as the only value with which the 1st person is the most frequent (cf. also the general person frequency in the bottom row of Table 76). With experientials, there is little or no penetration of BE into the 3rd person, but the BE auxiliary frequently occurs with this value because experientials especially frequently feature the 1st person. A similar explanation holds for the narrative uses of the perfect: narration is unlikely to occur in the 2nd person, but the 1st person and the 3rd person are more or less equally apt to narrate past events. This explains the high frequency of the 1st person and of the BE auxiliary in the narrative contexts.

Table 76. Proportions by person with each semantic value of the perfect in the Barese data

Perfect value	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	Total %
Statives	4 (10%)	1 (2.5%)	**35 (87.5%)**	40 (100%)
Subject-oriented resultatives	21 (14%)	14 (9%)	**117 (77%)**	152 (100%)
Transitive resultatives	59 (29%)	45 (22%)	**98 (49%)**	202 (100%)
CR perfects	30 (35%)	14 (16%)	**42 (49%)**	86 (100%)
Experientials	**26 (49%)**	12 (23%)	15 (28%)	53 (100%)
Duratives	9 (36%)	3 (12%)	**13 (52%)**	25 (100%)
Narratives	44 (40%)	10 (9%)	**56 (51%)**	110 (100%)
Total	193 (29%)	99 (15%)	**376 (56%)**	668 (100%)

In order to better understand the quantitative results of the preceding analysis, a logistic regression model was fitted, taking a two-level factor variable AuxType (*jèsse* or *avè* auxiliaries) as the dependent variable, and a set of predictors:

- PerfectValue: the semantic value of the perfect, as per the analysis presented in this chapter.
- PersNo: six person/number combinations.
- Source: the data source that a given token comes from (*U Prengepìne* and *U Corrìire*) in order to account for the possible influence of the idiolects.
- Tel: the telicity of the lexical verb.
- Refl: presence or absence of the reflexive marker.
- Trans: transitivity of the lexical verb.
- VerbType: the semantic class of the verb, such as a change of the subject's state, a change of the subject's location, a change of the object's state, perception, ingestive, communication, stative, etc.

The results of the logistic regression are shown in Table 77 below. As 2SG occurs exclusively with the BE auxiliary, this constitutes a 'quasi complete separation' (Levshina 2015: 273), i.e., the 2SG level of the PersNo variable always correctly predicts the AuxType outcome. To solve this problem, Firth penalized regression was applied. In Table 4.14, the negative coefficients indicate that the level of the variable given in the corresponding row boosts the chances of BE, while the positive value corresponds to greater chances of HAVE. As discussed above, there is no single variable that would be solely responsible for the outcome of the AuxType. Rather, there are three statistically significant parameters of different variables that boost the chances of BE, and 7 that boost the chances of HAVE. For BE, it is the statives and

1SG/2SG. As mentioned above, 2SG perfectly predicts the AuxType outcome, and the statives are similarly influential. The coefficient (the log odds ratio) for 1SG is closer to zero (which represents equal odds of both outcomes of the AuxType variable) than 2SG or the statives, but it is still higher than any of the parameters boosting the chances of HAVE. For HAVE, the statistically significant parameters are 3SG and 3PL, communication verbs (such as *ddì* 'to say' or *respennì* 'to reply'), the transitivity and telicity of the lexical verb, and reflexive marking, but their influence is somewhat limited. In general, the results of the statistical analysis align with the hypothesis that the selection of the auxiliary in Barese is complex, and influenced by multiple factors.

Table 77. Firth penalized logistic regression results for Barese AuxType

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI	Chi-square	p-value
(Intercept)	-0.6518	0.8729	-2.4905	1.1510	0.5056	0.4771
PersNo1sg	-3.6294	0.5549	-4.8290	-2.5638	53.1468	< 0.0001
PersNo2sg	-7.2686	1.4148	-12.1793	-5.0181	Inf	0.0000
PersNo3pl	2.5948	0.6395	1.3153	3.9549	15.7012	0.0001
PersNo3sg	1.3622	0.5609	0.2230	2.5491	5.4694	0.0194
PerfectValueSTAT	-6.6569	1.0440	-9.178	-4.7689	Inf	0.0000
Trans1	1.4189	0.5540	0.2996	2.6228	6.2653	0.0123
Refl1	0.8571	0.3916	0.0860	1.6827	4.7737	0.0289
VerbTypeComm	1.9886	0.8956	0.2148	3.9566	4.9004	0.0268
Tel1	0.9247	0.3363	0.2504	1.6189	7.2609	0.0070

5. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE THREE CASE STUDIES – TOWARDS A GRAMMATICALIZATION SCALE OF *BE* PERFECTS

The goal of this thesis was to assign the perfect tokens to semantic values, ranging from the least grammaticalized, closest to the 'X is Y' copular construction model (Anderson 1973; Heine 1993), to the more grammaticalized values, typical for perfects cross-linguistically, such as the current relevance or experiential perfects (Velupillai & Dahl 2013), and then on to evidential extensions and past tenses. The whole range of meanings identified in the data with the grammaticalization stages assigned to them is given in Table 78.

Case studies based on three doculects from three different language varieties have been presented in the preceding chapters. Two of them use exclusively the BE perfects (Lithuanian and Bulgarian), and show a development that, in certain stages, differs from the grammaticalization clines described for the HAVE perfects, while the third one (Barese) has a mixed system, with the BE and HAVE auxiliaries used according to a set of different factors. The Barese perfect has developed from a fusion of two different constructions, and has adopted a person-based auxiliary selection pattern. In Chapter 4 on Barese, we have tried to disentangle the fusion of BE and HAVE verbal periphrases by discerning the contexts in which Barese selects the BE auxiliary, and which coincide with the key observations on the grammaticalization of the BE perfects made for Lithuanian and Bulgarian. The analysis showed that the Barese perfect still exhibits some features of a BE perfect.

Table 78. Stages of grammaticalization of 'X is Y' schema BE perfects

Stage		*Value*		*Paraphrase*	
Stage 0		Copular ascriptive construction with an adjective		Subject S has a property Y	
Stage 1		Stative (copular ascriptive construction with a participle)		Subject S has a verbal property V	
Stage 2		Subject-oriented resultative		Subject S is having-done-V	
Stage	*Value*	*Paraphrase*	*Stage*	*Value*	*Paraphrase*
Stage 3A	Possessive resultative	S is having-done-V-to-O/S	Stage 3B	Experiential	S has experience of V
Stage 4A[I]	Transitive resultative	S is having-done-V-to-O	Stage 4B[I]	Cumulative	S has repeated experience of V
Stage 4A[II]	Current relevance	S has done V (to O)	Stage 4B[II]	Sufficitive	S has excessively repeated experience of V
Stage 5C (fused with HAVE)	Aorist	S did V (to O)	Stage 5B	Durative	S began V, and V still lasts
Stage 5A	Inferential	S apaprently is-having-done-V (to O)			
Stage 6A	Reportive	S reportedly has done V (to O)			
Stage 7A	Narrative	S has done V (to O) [non-first-hand]			

First, statives, defined as instances of the BE + participle constructions with adjectival participles, conveying a state of the subject without necessarily implying a change of state, have been identified as the first stage of the BE-perfect grammaticalization in Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese. Statives either do not imply a prior event at all, or the prior event is strongly backgrounded, and the focus is on the state of the subject. Due to the lack of focus/implication of the prior event, statives formed with active participles (Lithuanian and Bulgarian), and those formed with diachronically passive/synchronically ambivalent participles (Barese) have equivalent semantics and are directly comparable. The weakly grammaticalized Lithuanian perfect displays a very high proportion of statives. Statives are also found, although in much lower numbers, in the highly grammaticalized Bulgarian perfect, as well as in Barese which uses the BE auxiliary with all

persons in stative contexts, in violation of the person-based auxiliary selection pattern that applies with most other semantic values of the Barese perfect.

I have argued that the vagueness between the adjectival interpretation in the stative perfects and the verbal interpretation in the subject-oriented and possessive resultatives is indicative of a reanalysis and further grammaticalization of the Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese BE + participle constructions. Subject-oriented resultatives are considered a prototypical value of the BE perfects – they develop first, as soon as a participle in an 'X is Y' schema has acquired a verbal interpretation, they are the most frequent perfect value in all the three doculects used for this study (excluding the highly productive Lithuanian statives that are considered not-yet-perfects), and they are also common with the BE auxiliaries cross-linguistically, including the split-auxiliary systems. Subject-oriented resultatives exhibit all the essential features of a BE perfect – they are intransitive, resultative, and indefinite, i.e., they are not anchored in time and space. For the Lithuanian and Bulgarian BE perfects, all other semantic values develop when one of these three features – resultativity, subject-orientation, indefiniteness – is somehow modified or left out. Of course, the formation of more grammaticalized semantic values cannot be reduced, in a somewhat structuralist way, to this narrow set of three features, but their gradual loss can still be followed throughout the proposed grammaticalization cline.

For Barese, after the statives, the subject-oriented resultatives are a semantic value that includes the highest proportion of the BE auxiliary, again in violation of the person-based pattern. An equivalent expansion of BE at the expense of HAVE was described by Cennamo (2008) for the Campanian dialects, based on the lexical classes of predicates, along the lines of ASH (Sorace 2000). This thesis builds on these ideas, by grouping the majority of the BE-favoring predicates (roughly the same in the Campanian dialects described by Cennamo (2008) and in Barese) with the subject-oriented resultatives, and relating them to the grammaticalization of the BE perfects.

As illustrated in Table 78, I propose to view the development of the BE perfects as diverging into two directions from subject-oriented resultatives: the first one based on the abandonment of the subject-orientation (Stages 3A–7A), and the second one based on the loss of resultativity.

In the first direction, the abandonment of the subject-orientation takes place via a gradual inclusion as the lexical input of transitive verbs that are first less prototypically transitive (Possessive resultatives, Stage 4A), and then also more prototypically transitive (Transitive resultatives, Stage 4A[I]). Possessive resultative perfects, identified in clauses that are formally transitive, but where both the initiator of the action and the affected entity is

the agent, are once again an intermediate stage between the less grammaticalized subject-oriented resultatives, expressing the subject's states and qualities, and the loss of a clear affectedness of the agent (Næss 2007) in other more grammaticalized (transitive) perfect constructions.

Transitive resultative perfects are infrequent in Lithuanian, thereby demonstrating its weak grammaticalization and strongly maintained orientation towards the subject. In Bulgarian, they occur more regularly, but are still less frequent than the subject-oriented or possessive resultatives. In both languages, transitive resultatives can be considered unstable, as with the prototypically transitive verbs the perfect conveys the state of the object. Both Bulgarian and Lithuanian do have the passive versus the active participle opposition, and these two languages employ a range of passive constructions to convey the changes of the state of the object. In Barese, the distinction between the possessive and transitive resultatives is not relevant, as the transitive verb contexts pertain to the sphere of the HAVE verbal periphrasis; hence, the auxiliary selection adheres to the person-based pattern, and therefore no expansion of BE in possessive resultative contexts can be observed.

In Bulgarian, transitive resultatives play a role in the further (secondary) grammaticalization of the perfect. Once a clear orientation towards the subject's state has been abandoned, resultatives can be ambiguous with inferentials (Stage 5A). The reanalysis here happens when the focus shifts away from a present state that derives from a past event, to a past event itself that is inferred from the present state of affairs (Lindstedt 1985: 265). A further extension into the sphere of evidentiality is reportives, where a past event is inferred no longer from a present state of affairs, but from hearsay (Stage 6A). Along the same lines, evidentials can also be used in non-first-hand narratives (Aikhenvald 2006).

In this first direction of the BE perfect grammaticalization, the Lithuanian data shows instances up to Stage 4, possibly with some ambiguous contexts of inferentials, while the Bulgarian data employs a full range of meanings, including evidentials in non-first-hand narratives. However, evidential values in Lithuanian are found in the more formal varieties (Daugavet 2022), as well as in older fictional texts. Further studies using diachronic corpus data are needed on the topic, but the preliminary hypothesis would be that the development of the Lithuanian perfect towards evidential values has somehow been arrested. Bulgarian exhibits a clear tendency to drop the auxiliary with evidentials, and it is likely that a similar tendency could be observed in Lithuanian as well, but additional data from different doculects would be required. The data currently at hand shows that the evidential values in

Lithuanian are so infrequent or so specific to certain kinds of genres that they do not occur at all in the substantial quantity of the text (around 2 million words) used for this analysis.

The current relevance perfects are defined in this thesis as the perfects with the perfective or imperfective verbs that refer to a specific/definite prior event, anchored in time and/or space, and employing a wider pragmatic notion of CR. They differ from resultatives due to the situational anchoring (token-focusing, Dahl & Hedin 2000) of the past event, as the resultativity is conveyed not (only) by the perfective lexical verb, as it was the case with resultatives, but by the perfect construction as such. It is the situational anchoring that shifts the focus away from the current state and towards the past event in the event-result metonymy (Rosemeyer 2022). The CR perfects do appear in Bulgarian, even though they are rather infrequent, comparing to the other values, but, in the Lithuanian doculect, they are almost non-existent. They are well established and widely used in Barese, but in Barese they are the result of the fusion of the two auxiliaries: with the CR perfects, Barese adheres to the person-based pattern, except for a few intransitive change of state verbs that keep preferring the BE auxiliary in all persons, as described by Cennamo (2008). In Barese, the CR perfects pave the way for aoristic uses of the perfect (Stage 5C). This happens when the requirements for CR are relaxed.

The second direction of development from the subject-oriented resultatives is based on the abandonment of resultativity in the form of the perfective (Lithuanian and Bulgarian) or the telic (Barese) lexical input. The inclusion of imperfective verbs in the perfect leads to experiential interpretations (Stage 3B). Experientials are a well-established and frequent value in all the three doculects – for Lithuanian, this is especially evident in the absence of the CR perfects. Experientials are also widely used in Bulgarian, while in Barese they represent a context with the third-highest proportion of the BE auxiliary. This time, the BE auxiliary does not appear in violation of the person-based pattern (apart from a few of the same BE-favoring as with the CR perfects), but rather it is carried over by the person-based pattern due to the frequency of the first-person contexts. Similar observations hold for Bulgarian and Lithuanian, as the experientials are frequent in the first person in all the three doculects.

Although in some grammaticalization clines of the perfect experientials (and also conceptually related cumulative and durative perfects) are considered a secondary value, deriving from the CR perfects, it is proposed that this is not the case for the Lithuanian and Bulgarian BE perfects. Experientials should not be seen as deriving from the CR perfects, more or

less marginal in both doculects and also conceptually distant from it, but rather as stemming from the subject-oriented resultatives.

Further extensions in this second non-resultative direction lead to the cumulative perfects with the focus on multiple occurrences of the past event, and to the durative perfects. In Bulgarian, an additional distinctive context with the adverbial *stiga* 'enough' can be distinguished. The meaning of this value, termed sufficitive (Stage 4B[II]), is close to a directive, as the focus shifts from the multiplicity of the past events towards its excessiveness. Notably, instances of durative perfects, a highly grammaticalized perfect value (Stage 5B), can be identified not only in Bulgarian, but also in Lithuanian. This is especially striking due to the absence of the Lithuanian CR perfects: along with what has been said on the experientials, it seems that, in terms of a supposed successful grammaticalization towards a more stable perfect with a range of cross-linguistically typical perfect meanings, the second direction (Stages 3B–5B) is more felicitous for the BE perfects. The first direction either does not develop (Lithuanian), leads to evidentials (Bulgarian), or a past tense (Barese).

The data for Lithuanian and Bulgarian from the *Facebook* comment doculects show that, contrary to what has been postulated in the normative grammars in both languages, the auxiliary/copula is not consistently present with all the perfect values, and is not consistently dropped with evidentials. However, the quantitative frequency data on its omission demonstrates that, in both doculects, there is a clear tendency to include the auxiliary more often with more perfect-like values, and to drop it not only with evidential extensions in Bulgarian, but also with the less grammaticalized perfect values, such as statives and subject-oriented resultatives, the same as it happens in Lithuanian (Figure 11). This tendency holds despite the different general copula usage and auxiliary drop tendencies in the two languages: in Lithuanian, the auxiliary/copula is used less frequently, whereas in Bulgarian it is included more often.

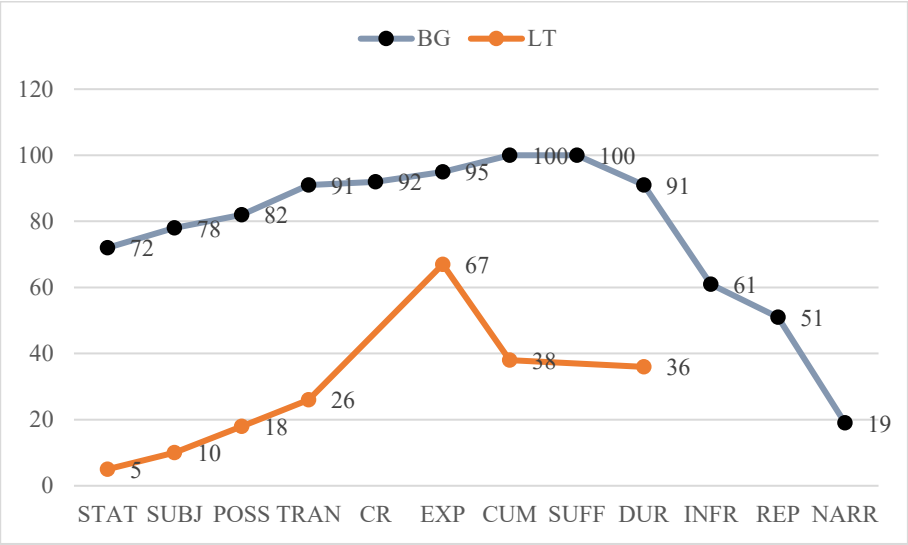

Figure 11. Percentages of auxiliary usage with different perfect values in Bulgarian (BG) and Lithuanian (LT)

The auxiliary usage curves can be seen as indicative of the perfect grammaticalization, as it develops specific meanings as a perfect gram that includes both the auxiliary and the participle, in opposition to the contexts closer to copular constructions, where the copula can also be dropped. The significance of these quantitative results has been confirmed by statistical analysis (see Sections 2.9 and 3.12). The results of the statistical analysis are illustrated in Figure 12, which plots the predicted probabilities of +AUX with each level of the 'Perfect-ness rank', a variable summarizing the different semantic values by assigning each of them to a rank from '1' to '5', based on how close (5) or distant (1) they are from the cross-linguistically prototypical values of the Perfect, such as experientials or the CR perfects.

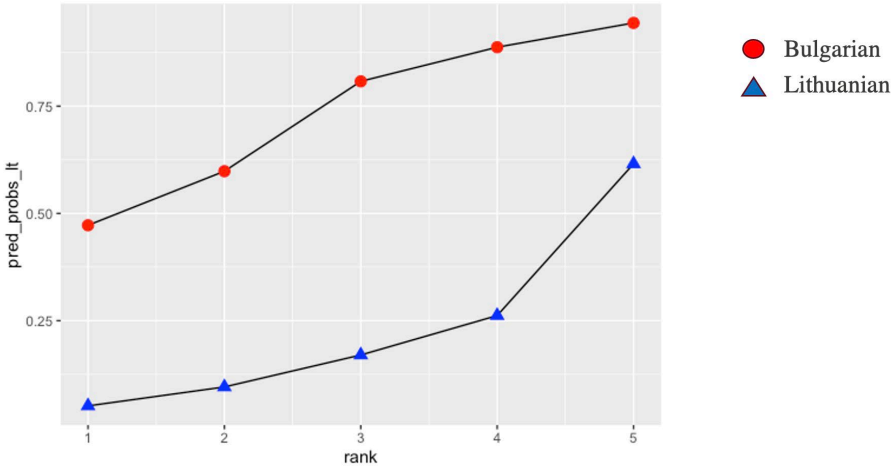

Figure 12. Predicted probabilities of +AUX with each level of the 'Perfectness rank'

When comparing all the three case studies, a similarity emerges: namely, that the BE auxiliary tends to disappear, be omitted, or not allowed in the 3rd person perfects. In Barese, the person-based auxiliation pattern foresees HAVE for the 3rd person, and this is violated only in weakly grammaticalized BE perfect contexts (statives and subject-oriented resultatives), or with a narrow set of BE-attracting verbs (involving definite changes of the state and the verb 'to be' itself). In Bulgarian, evidential meanings, which predominantly occur in the 3rd person, have a strong tendency to omit the auxiliary. Lithuanian which has a general tendency to omit not only BE as the perfect auxiliary, but also BE as the copula, acquires a strong inclination to include it with experientials that, coincidentally, stand out due to the 1st person's frequency at the expense of the 3rd person. This is confirmed by a statistical analysis in the form of a logistic regression model with +AUX and -AUX as the dependent variable, and two predictor variables: a full range of perfect values and person/number combinations. It shows that, taking all the occurrences of the Lithuanian and Bulgarian perfects in the data, the 3rd person diminishes the chances of the auxiliary to be included in a statistically significant way (see Tables 79 and 80).

Table 79. Logistic regression results for AUX+/- with perfect values and person/number combinations as predictor variables for the Bulgarian data[40]

Concordance index C	0.821 (excellent discrimination)		
	Coefficient	Standard errors	*p*-value
Intercept	2.8265	0.7806	0.0003
PerfectValueR=CR	1.9638	0.4931	<0.0001
PerfectValueR=EXP	2.1485	0.4127	<0.0001
PerfectValueR=NAR	1.0039	0.3586	0.0051
PerfectValueR=PERS	1.7522	0.4588	0.0001
PerfectValueR=PossRES	0.9322	0.3319	0.0050
PerfectValueR=REP	1.5367	0.3434	<0.0001
PerfectValueR=SubjRES	0.7780	0.3250	0.0167
PerfectValueR=TransRES	1.5312	0.3617	<0.0001
PersNo=3pl	-2.3509	0.7496	0.0017
PersNo=3sg	-2.4820	0.7453	0.0009

Table 80. Logistic regression results for AUX+/- with perfect values and person/number combinations as predictor variables for the Lithuanian data[41]

Concordance index C	0.840 (excellent discrimination)		
	Coefficient	Standard errors	*p*-value
Intercept	-1.8522	0.3289	<0.0001
PerfectValueR=EXP	3.2986	0.2163	<0.0001
PerfectValueR=PERS	1.6491	0.6860	0.0162
PerfectValueR=PossRES	0.9322	0.3319	0.0050
PerfectValue=PossRES	1.4458	0.2468	<0.0001
PerfectValue=Cuml	2.4687	0.3846	<0.0001
PerfectValueR=SubjRES	0.7817	0.2261	0.0005
PerfectValueR=TransRES	1.9213	0.2733	<0.0001
PersNo=3pl	-1.2354	0.3145	<0.0001
PersNo=3sg	-1.4984	0.3057	<0.0001

Parallels to the BE auxiliary loss initially or exclusively in the 3rd person can be found in OCS, Polish, or Czech. In part, these developments can be explained by usage: the 3rd person is the most frequent in general, and, consequently, its marking tends to undergo reduction (Seržant & Moroz 2022). In case of perfects, it is also related to the nature of BE as an auxiliary: it does not carry any strong semantics, and thus it can acquire a zero expression in the most frequent context, while the 1st and the 2nd person forms keep on to explicitly mark the less frequent contexts. The same does not apply to HAVE, which carries a heavier semantic load and cannot be omitted in possessive

[40] The table lists only statistically significant predictor levels.

[41] The table lists only statistically significant predictor levels.

perfects. In the EEHEEH person-based patterns, whose frequency does not seem accidental in the Italo-Romance dialects, as remarked by Štichauer (2022), the semantic lightness of the BE auxiliaries may explain their absence in the 3rd person, while the presence of HAVE in the 3rd person may be explained by analogy, available in a gram that is a fusion of two different constructions. These insights, made possible by the comparison between the three case studies, constitute a promising topic for future studies in Italo-Romance.

CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation, a complete spectrum of the Bulgarian and Lithuanian BE perfects and of the Barese BE/HAVE perfect semantic values from selected doculects have been identified and put into perspective of grammaticalization. The analysis reveals that all the three perfects do reveal a specific BE perfect grammaticalization scenario, thereby setting them apart from the grammaticalization trends observed in the possessive HAVE perfects.

Although the Barese perfect results from a fusion of the HAVE and BE verbal periphrases, it still shows features that, along with the Lithuanian and Bulgarian BE perfects, are rooted in the 'X is Y' copular construction model. This source construction extends its influence into other, more grammaticalized values of the BE perfects, imparting subject-orientation to an array of the values. First, statives were identified as the first stage in the BE perfect grammaticalization chain, which holds despite different voices in the origins of Baltic, Slavic (active), and Romance (passive) participles. Second, subject-oriented resultatives in our data emerged as the prototypical and the most frequent semantic value. The thesis also expects to have shown how other values develop when one of the three essential features of the subject-oriented resultatives – resultativity, subject-orientation, and indefiniteness – is modified or left out.

I have proposed two directions of development for the BE perfects in question: the first one involves the abandonment of the subject-orientation and is less stable in terms of the BE perfect acquiring a range of cross-linguistically typical perfect semantic values. In Bulgarian, this direction leads to evidential extensions that are possible but marginal in Lithuanian, where perfects with prototypically transitive verbs are also not common. The 'arrested development' of evidentials in Lithuanian, which may be present in other language varieties, but is absent in our data, represents one of the topics for further research. The relative infrequency of transitive resultatives can be explained by the weak grammaticalization of the Lithuanian perfect in general, and by the distance of transitive resultatives and the CR perfects from the source construction. In Barese, the perfects with transitive verbs constitute the sphere of the HAVE auxiliary, and lead to the CR perfects where the current relevance requirements are relaxed, thereby paving the way for the aorist drift.

The thesis argues that the second direction of the BE perfect development, which involves the abandonment of resultativity through the inclusion of the imperfective lexical input, is, in terms of a BE perfect

remaining a perfect, more felicitous. This is related to the source construction of a BE perfect whose main feature is subject-orientation. Resultativity is absent with statives, and it is more easily lost with experientials. This non-resultative pathway leads to a broader array of cross-linguistically common perfect values, including experientials, cumulative, and durative perfects. Experientials were especially prominent, well-established, and frequent in all the doculects used for this study, and correlated with the usage of the BE auxiliary in Barese, owing to the frequency of the 1st person in the experiential contexts. Unlike the grammaticalization patterns observed for the HAVE perfects, experientials in the BE perfects should not be perceived as deriving from the CR value, which may be more or less marginal in the presence of well-established experientials and even of a possibility of duratives, as in Lithuanian. Instead, experientials are better understood as stemming directly from the subject-oriented resultatives.

The grammaticalization cline of the Bulgarian and Lithuanian perfects was initially delineated, with each value defined and linked to a preceding one based on conceptual connections and reanalyses of ambiguous contexts. Additionally, the statistical analysis of the auxiliary usage frequency provided further substantiation which supports the grammaticalization cline. Specifically, the thesis has demonstrated how auxiliary obligatorification increases with grammaticalization. Both perfects exhibit a tendency to include the auxiliary more frequently with meanings that are prototypically more perfect-like, resulting in an analytic perfect, which is cross-linguistically common. Thus, the copular auxiliary plays a structural role rather than a semantic one.

The semantic lightness of the BE auxiliary can also help explain the most common person-based auxiliary selection pattern in Italo-Romance, postulated also for Barese. The absence of BE in this pattern, which foresees BE in the 1st and the 2nd person, and HAVE in the 3rd person, may be explained by usage: the 3rd person is the most frequent, and thus its marking tends to be reduced. This is made possible by the semantic lightness of the BE auxiliary, and attested in both Bulgarian and Lithuanian, where the auxiliary is also statistically significantly less frequently used in the 3rd person. By adding other cross-linguistic parallels to the 3rd person perfect/past tense BE omission in other Slavic languages, this constitutes an interesting area for future research. For now, regarding the Barese perfect, it has been shown that it does not strictly adhere to the person-pattern, and that the division of labor between the HAVE and BE auxiliaries cannot be cut down to a single factor. It is influenced by a range of factors, including not only the person-based pattern,

but also the diachronic origins of the HAVE and BE periphrases, cross-linguistic grammaticalization tendencies, lexical input, and usage.

Concerning the comparison between the analyzed perfects, it has been demonstrated that the Barese and Bulgarian perfects are more advanced on the grammaticalization scale, comparing to the Lithuanian perfect. They both exhibit a broader spectrum of meanings in higher grammaticalization stages, whereas the Lithuanian perfect is primarily employed for less grammaticalized meanings.

Directions for further research encompass conducting equivalent, data-based case studies of other European languages employing the BE perfects: Latvian, Macedonian, Finnish, Estonian, Georgian, Armenian, as well as other Italo-Romance dialects. Beyond that, broader typological investigations of the perfect constructions formed with copular auxiliaries and participles, incorporating non-European languages, are essential to corroborate or refine the BE perfect grammaticalization cline outlined in this thesis, thereby enabling robust typological conclusions.

Another direction for further research should include studies grounded in diachronic data. Exemplary studies in this context are Plungian & Urmanchieva's (2017, 2018) investigations of the OCS perfect, whose conclusions align with the findings of this thesis. It underscores that the resultative or current relevance perfects, typical in the possessive perfects of the Western European languages, may constitute a marginal value in the BE perfects like those in Bulgarian or Lithuanian.

Further research of the perfect sphere in Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Barese includes the interaction and division of labor between the present perfect grams, pluperfects, and future perfects, as well as with other participial constructions, including passive participles and not only the BE, but also the HAVE auxiliaries.

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SANTRAUKA

Šios disertacijos tyrimo **objektas** yra perfekto gramatinė kategorija lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbose bei Bario (Italija) dialekte. Tyrimui pasirinkti perfektai, sudaromi su pagalbiniu veiksmažodžiu BŪTI, siekiant išskirti bendras jų raidos ypatybes ir sudaryti BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo skalę, pagrįstą pasirinktų dokulektų (Wälchli & Cysouw 2012) duomenimis.

Disertacijos tyrimui pasirinkta duomenimis grįsta prieiga, todėl perfektas apibrėžiamas pagal formaliuosius jo požymius, remiantis prielaida, kad ekvivalentiškos kalbinės raiškos konstrukcijos turės panašią reikšmę. Kita vertus, formaliųjų perfekto požymių išskyrimas nebūtų įmanomas be jo semantikos tyrimų (Anderson 1982; Klein 1992; Michaelis 1994; Alexiadou, Rathert & Stechow 2003; Ritz 2012; Mittwoch 2008, 2021; Eide & Fryd 2021, *inter alia*). Perfekto semantiką galima apibendrinti kaip pokytį: „Pagrindinė perfektų funkcija yra kalbėti apie tai, kuo dabartis skiriasi nuo praeities, ypač nuo nesenos praeities. Perfektas paprastai nurodo, kaip praeities būsena pasikeičia į dabartinę, taigi apima dvi skirtingas būsenas ir vieną jungiamąjį įvykį. Tačiau perfektas nėra nei išimtinai statyvinis, nei išimtinai dinaminis – jis sutelkia dėmesį į dviejų būsenų sąryšį kaip į pokytį, o ne kaip į įvykį“ (Dahl 2022: 280). Perfekto semantinių verčių analizei taip pat dažnai pasitelkiama aktualumo dabarčiai sąvoka (Comrie 1976, McCoard 1978, McCawley 1981, Binnick 2012, Klein 1992, Dahl & Hedin 2000, Ritz 2012, *inter alia*). Tuo tarpu formaliųjų perfekto požymių atžvilgiu perfektai dažnai pasižymi perifrastiškumu. Europos kalbiniame areale ypač paplitę perifrastiniai perfektai, t. y. perfektai, sudaryti iš BŪTI pagalbinio veiksmažodžio bei dalyvio, vartojami ir visuose trijuose šioje disertacijoje tiriamuose kalbiniuose variantuose (angl. *language varieties*).

Taigi, formaliuoju požiūriu šios disertacijos objektas apibrėžiamas kaip gramema, sudaryta iš pagalbinio veiksmažodžio BŪTI ir dalyvio. Tačiau vien forma pagrįstas apibrėžimas yra nepakankamas, todėl antruoju žingsniu apibrėžiant perfekto konstrukciją grįžtama prie kategorijos semantikos – perfektais laikomos tokios pagalbinio veiksmažodžio ir dalyvio konstrukcijos, kurios gali būti pavartotos bent dviem tarpkalbiniu atžvilgiu perfektams būdingomis reikšmėmis – rezultatine ir eksperiencine. Tokį reikalavimą perfektais laikomoms gramemoms kelia Velupillai & Dahl (2013) tarpkalbinis perfektų apibrėžimas Pasaulio kalbų struktūrų atlase (WALS, Dryer & Haspelmath 2013). Šis apibrėžimas taip pat numato, kad perfektais laikomos gramemos negali būti vartojamos pasakojimuose, nes tai reikštų, kad perfektas gali būti virtęs būtuoju laiku. Tačiau šios disertacijos tyrime, kuriame

akcentuojamas taip pat ir antrinis perfektų gramatinimas į evidencines gramemas ir būtuosius laikus, šios sąlygos atsisakyta.

Disertacijoje nagrinėjamos trys konstrukcijos, atitinkančios pateiktą perfekto kategorijos apibrėžimą. Lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų perfektai yra sudaryti iš pagalbinio veiksmažodžio BŪTI esamojo laiko formų (liet. *būti*, bulg. *съм*) ir veikiamosios rūšies būtojo laiko dalyvio, kuris gimine ir skaičiumi derinamas su subjektu (A, B), o Bario dialekto perfektas sudarytas iš pagalbinių veiksmažodžių BŪTI (bar. *jèsse*) arba TURĖTI (bar. *avè*) esamojo laiko formų ir nederinamo ambivalentinio dalyvio (C).

Liet.
(A) *Pati graziausia daina, kokia* ***esam issiunte*** *i EV*

Bulg.

(B)	***Набра-л***	***съм***	*им*	*две*	*кила*	*кисели*	*джанки*
	Nabra-l	***sâm***	*im*	*dve*	*kila*	*kiseli*	*džanki*
	pririnkti-PAP.SG.M	būti.PRS.1SG	3PL.DAT	du	kilogramai	rūgščios	slyvos

[да кажат къде да ги отнеса]
[da kažat kâde da gi otnesa]

'Esu jiems pririnkęs du kilogramus rūgščių slyvų, [tegu pasako, kur jas nunešti]'

Bar.

(C)	*Iàneme*	*sènza*	*core,*	***sì***	***ffàtte***	*u*	*dessciùn'*	*a*
	siela	be	širdis	būti.PRS.2SG	daryti.PP	DEF.SG.M	pasninkas	PREP

ssanda	*Necòle?*
šventas	Mikalojus

'Siela be širdies, ar pasninkavai per šventą Mikalojų?'

Gramatinimas kaip kalbos kaitos reiškinys yra „gramatinių formų atsiradimo ir raidos būdas erdvėje ir laike" (Heine 2002: 575). Ši raida suprantama kaip leksinių kalbos elementų ar konstrukcijų virsmas gramatiškesniais, vykstantis tam tikrais etapais (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 2, Bybee 2003: 602). Gramatinimo tyrimai yra atskleidę, kad iš ekvivalentiškų leksinių elementų besivystantys kalbiniai elementai skirtingose ir viena su kita nesusijusiose kalbose vystosi panašiai. Šie pokyčiai vadinami gramatinimo skalėmis (Hopper & Traugott 2003), keliais (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Bisang 1996), grandinėmis ar kanalais (Lehmann 2002; Heine 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2006). Kalbos elementų vienakryptė kaita iš mažiau gramatinių ir labiau leksinių į labiau gramatinius ir mažiau leksinius yra laikoma viena pagrindinių gramatinių kategorijų atsiradimo ir raidos teorijų. Gramatinimas yra kognityvinė strategija, kurią motyvuoja siekis sėkmingai komunikuoti. Ši

strategija gali būti apibendrinta kaip „kalbinių formų, kurios vartojamos lengvai prieinamoms ir (arba) aiškiai apibrėžtoms reikšmėms reikšti, vartojimas taip pat ir mažiau konkrečioms, sunkiau prieinamoms ir ne taip aiškiai apibrėžtoms reikšmėms“ (Heine 2002: 578).

Perfektų tyrimai pasaulio kalbose (Dahl 1985, Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Kuteva 2004, Lindstedt 2000, Thieroff 2000) yra atskleidę, kad perfektai yra gramatinami iš keleto skirtingų leksinių šaltinių (veiksmažodžiai, reiškiantys BŪTI, TURĖTI, BAIGTI, IŠMESTI, ATEITI, dalelytės, reiškiančios JAU ir kt.), jie virsta rezultatinėmis konstrukcijomis (rezultatyvais), kurie vėliau, plečiantis perfekto leksinei įvesčiai, įgyja ir antrąją perfektui būdingą – eksperiencinę – reikšmę. Toliau perfektai yra linkę virsti būtaisiais laikais. Perfekto gramatinimas į būtąjį laiką yra susijęs su aktualumo dabarčiai samprata. Perfekto konstrukcija nusakomo praeities įvykio aktualumas dabarčiai palaipsniui suprantamas vis plačiau, kol konstrukcijos gramatinimas pasiekia tokį lygmenį, kuriame bet kuris praeities veiksmas suprantamas kaip aktualus dabarčiai, ir gali būti įvardijamas perfektu, kuris tokiame etape jau yra virtęs būtuoju laiku.

Tokia gramatinimo skalė (leksinis šaltinis – rezultatyvas – rezultatinis perfektas – eksperiencinis perfektas – būtasis laikas) atitinka posesyvinių perfektų, paplitusių Europoje ir sudaromų su TURĖTI pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais, raidą, kuri jau yra išsamiai aprašyta remiantis romanų, germanų bei kitų Europos kalbų duomenimis (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000, Heine & Kuteva 2006, Broekhuis 2021, Drinka 2017). Tuo tarpu BŪTI perfektai iki šiol nagrinėti nedaug (Heine & Reh 1982; Dik 1987), trūksta lyginamųjų tarpkalbinių jų tyrimų. Šis tyrimas disertacijos autorės žiniomis yra pirmasis, kuriame nagrinėjamas būtent BŪTI perfektų gramatinimas skirtingose kalbose. Aprašomųjų lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų perfektų tyrimų jau būta (žr. nuorodas atitinkamai 2.1 ir 3.1 disertacijos poskyriuose), o Bario dialektas tik trumpai minimas platesnės apimties studijose apie romanų kalbas, jo perfekto tyrimų beveik nėra. Nesena išimtis yra Andriani tyrimai (2017; 2018), kuriuose daugiausia dėmesio skiriama Bario dialekto sintaksei, įskaitant ir perfektą.

Manytina, kad BŪTI perfektai nuo TURĖTI (arba posesyvinių) perfektų skiriasi keletu aspektų:

1. Vienas iš parametrų, kurio kaita pagrįsta posesyvinių perfektų raidos skalė, yra juose vartojamų leksinių veiksmažodžių valentingumas. Silpnai sugramatintos posesyvinės rezultatinės konstrukcijos vartojamos tik su tranzityviniais veiksmažodžiais ir reiškia objekto būsenos pokyčius. Kai tokia rezultatinė konstrukcija virsta perfektu, ją galima vartoti ir su intranzityviniais veiksmažodžiais (Heine & Kuteva 2006: 152). Šiuo požiūriu, BŪTI perfektų

su aktyviniais dalyviais raida yra priešinga: iš pradžių jie vartojami tik su intranzityviniais veiksmažodžiais, o vėliau leksinė įvestis išsiplečia ir apima ir tranzityvinius.

2. Vienas iš būtinų posesyvinių perfektų raidos etapų yra pagalbinio veiksmažodžio TURĖTI desemantizacija. Tačiau abejotina, ar atitinkamas procesas vyksta ir su BŪTI perfektų pagalbinio veiksmažodžio vaidmenį atliekančia jungtimi (Heine & Reh 1982; Dik 1987). Jei jungties funkcija yra vardažodį paversti predikatu (Lehmann 2015: 23), jungtis laikytina neturinčia nepriklausomo semantinio turinio. Tai dera su jungties neprivalomumu – jungtis kai kuriose kalbose gali būti praleidžiama, bet tokiu atveju jungties konstrukcija vis tiek išsaugo visą turėtą semantiką (Dik 1987). Vadinasi, jungties konstrukcijoje visa semantinė našta priskirtina antrajam konstrukcijos elementui (BŪTI perfektų atveju – dalyviui). Konkreti BŪTI perfektų pagalbinio veiksmažodžio funkcija yra vienas iš šios disertacijos tyrimo klausimų.

3. Posesyviniai perfektai yra pagrįsti Nuosavybės schema „X turi Y“, o BŪTI perfektų modeliu laikoma „X yra Y“ tipo Lygybės schema (Anderson 1973: 32–33), t. y., jungties konstrukcija, kuria X subjektas prilyginamas Y predikatui, arba kuria X subjektui priskiriama Y savybė. Šioje schemoje Y elementas paprastai yra būdvardis, tačiau tai taip pat gali būti dalyvis.

Iš Europos kalbų BŪTI perfektų, kurie dar nevirto būtaisiais laikais, be šioje disertacijoje nagrinėjamų kalbų, pažymėtinos suomių, estų, latvių, makedonų, kartvelų, armėnų kalbos bei keletas Vidurio ir Pietų Italijoje vartojamų dialektų (Loporcaro 1988, Loporcaro 2009). Būtent lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų bei Bario dialekto lyginamąjį tyrimą atlikti verta dėl keleto priežasčių. Visų pirma, dėl prielaidos, kad jų perfektai atstovauja skirtingiems perfekto gramatinimo skalės etapams. Lietuvių kalbos perfektas yra silpniau sugramatintas, artimesnis rezultatinei konstrukcijai (Sližienė 1964, Servaitė 1985, 1988, Geniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988, Wiemer & Giger 2005, Sakurai 2016, Arkadiev & Daugavet 2016, 2021, Arkadiev & Wiemer 2020). Bulgarų kalbos perfektas pasižymi platesne perfektui būdingų reikšmių įvairove (Маслов 1981, Friedman 1978, 1982, 1986, 1994, 2002, Lindstedt 1985, 1994, 2000, Ницолова 2013, Nicolova 2017, Fielder 1995, 2002, Hristov 2020, Aikhenvald 2006) ir gramatinimo į evidencialumo sferą požymiais. Bario dialekto perfektas dar vis atsispiria „dreifavimo aoristo link“ tendencijai, kuri jau yra paveikusi bendrinę italų kalbą (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000. Andriani 2017). Taigi, tokia tris skirtingus perfekto gramatinimo proceso etapus reprezentuojanti kalbų imtis, tikėtina, suteikia pilnesnį BŪTI perfektų raidos vaizdą.

Antra, lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų bei Bario dialekto perfektai laikytini periferiniais, jei turėsime galvoje, kad Europos posesyvinių perfektų (anglų, ispanų, portugalų kalbos) bei perfektų, kuriuose BŪTI ar TURĖTI pasirinkimas priklauso nuo veiksmažodžio (vokiečių, olandų, prancūzų, italų kalbos), plėtra gali būti susijusi ir su kalbų kontaktais bei arealinėmis tendencijomis (Drinka 2017). Kontaktai tarp šiai disertacijai pasirinktų kalbinių variantų laikytini mažai tikėtinais.

Trečia, lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų perfektai sudaromi su veikiamosios rūšies dalyviais, o Bario dialekto perfekto dalyvio kilmė yra pasyvinė. Tokios lyginamosios studijos rezultatai gali būti reikšmingi ir kitų kalbų BŪTI perfektams su įvairiomis dalyvinėmis formomis.

Vis dėlto, reikia pripažinti, kad lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbos viena kitai tam tikrais aspektais yra artimesnės, nei romanų kalbų šeimai priklausantis Bario dialektas. Bulgarų ir lietuvių kalbas sieja panaši veikslo sistema (perfektyvinių ir imperfektyvinių veiksmažodžių opozicija, kuri lietuvių kalboje sugramatinta silpniau, tačiau yra to paties tipo (Holvoet, Daugavet & Žeimantienė 2021)), o Bario dialekte veikslo kategorijos skiriamos skirtingomis gramemomis būtajame laike (imperfektas, perfektas, aoristas). Lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų perfektai taip pat panašūs dar vienu atžvilgiu – abi šios kalbos gali į perfektą labai panašiomis konstrukcijomis reikšti evidencines reikšmes. Tiek lietuvių, tiek bulgarų kalbų normatyvinės gramatikos suponuoja, kad šias dvi kategorijas galima skirti pagal tai, ar pagalbinis veiksmažodis yra pavartotas (perfektas), ar praleistas (evidencinės reikšmės). Tačiau panašu, kad empirinė situacija yra kur kas sudėtingesnė, nes ne visuomet atitinka šią taisyklę (Wiemer 2011).

Galiausiai svarbu atkreipti dėmesį, kad Bario dialekto perfektas nėra grynai BŪTI perfektas. Remiantis esamais aprašymais (Andriani 2017: 154-159), Bario dialekto perfektas formuojamas su pagalbiniais veiksmažodžiais BŪTI ar TURĖTI priklausomai nuo asmens kategorijos: BŪTI yra būdingas pirmam ir antram asmeniui, o trečiame asmenyje vartojamas TURĖTI (B-B-T-B-B-T schema). Tačiau šios disertacijos tyrimo duomenys rodo, kad tokios schemos ne visada laikomasi, nes BŪTI pagalbinis veiksmažodis bent kartais vartojamas ir trečiajame asmenyje. Taigi, gali būti, kad Bario dialekte vyksta BŪTI plėtra į TURĖTI sferą. Dviejų išskirtinai BŪTI perfektų ir vieno mišrios sistemos perfekto lyginamasis tyrimas gali padėti atskleisti, kurie BŪTI perfektų bruožai yra bendri visiems trims tyrimo kalbiniams variantams ir suponuoja tarpkalbinę tendenciją.

Taigi, šio darbo **tikslai** yra, pirma, atlikti lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų bei Bario dialekto perfektų semantinių verčių analizę, remiantis šiam darbui surinktais duomenimis, ir, antra, šias semantines vertes išdėstyti BŪTI

perfektų gramatinimo skalėje, pradedant nuo leksiniam BŪTI perfektų šaltiniui artimiausių reikšmių ir baigiant labiausiai nuo šio šaltinio nutolusiomis reikšmėmis, kurios yra labiausiai sugramatintos.

Šiam tikslui pasiekti suformuluoti tokie **uždaviniai**:

1) Apibrėžti perfekto konstrukciją, šio darbo objektą, remiantis iki šiol atliktais lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų bei Bario dialekto aprašomosios kalbotyros darbais bei lingvistinės tipologijos ir gramatinimo tyrimais.

2) Aptarti svarbiausius gramatinimo teorijos aspektus ir parodyti, kaip diachroniniai pokyčiai gali būti tiriami remiantis taip pat ir sinchroniniais duomenimis.

3) Pasirinkti ir surinkti tyrimui reikalingus duomenis, juos apdoroti ir anotuoti bei paruošti kiekybinei analizei.

4) Atlikti Bario dialekto, lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų perfektų atvejų tyrimus, pasitelkiant kiekybinius ir kokybinius tyrimo metodus.

5) Atlikti lyginamąją šių trijų perfekto konstrukcijų analizę.

Šios disertacijos tyrimas yra paremtas duomenimis ir vartosena grįsta prieiga – jame derinami kiekybiniai ir kokybiniai lyginamieji bei tekstynų lingvistikos **metodai**, pasitelkiant kalbų tipologijos įžvalgas, o tyrimo rezultatai taip pat orientuoti į tarpkalbinių, tipologijų tendencijų paiešką. Tyrime akcentuojami gramatinimo procesai, kurie dažniausiai suprantami kaip diachroniniai, tačiau tyrimui pasirinkti išskirtinai sinchroniniai duomenys. Toks pasirinkimas motyvuojamas tuo, kad gramatinimas yra taip pat ir sinchroninis reiškinys, nes padeda paaiškinti sinchroninį laipsniškumą (angl. *gradience*) tarp skirtingų kategorijų. Esminis gramatinimo indėlis į bendrąją kalbos teoriją yra tas, kad gramatinimas suteikia konceptualų pagrindą argumentuotai paaiškinti santykinį kalbos neapibrėžtumą (angl. *indeterminacy*) ir griežtų ribų tarp skirtingų kategorijų nebuvimą (angl. *non-discreetness of categories*) (Hopper, Traugott 2003: 2). Laipsniškas leksikos vystymasis į gramatiką nesuponuoja jokių aiškių jų tarpusavio ribų, nebent tik kraštutinius polius kontinuume nuo prototipiškai leksinių iki prototipiškai gramatinių kalbos elementų. Be to, ir pačios gramatinimo skalės pasižymi sinchroniniu aspektu. Diachroninis matmuo nurodo pokyčius, kuriuos galima pastebėti lyginant kalbinius duomenis iš skirtingų laikotarpių, o sinchroninis matmuo pasireiškia per variantiškumą, t. y., visi pokyčiai kalboje pirma pasireiškia kaip sinchroninis variantiškumas (Andersen 2001a: 225). Inovatyvūs kalbos vartojimo modeliai pirmiausia pastebimi kaip šalutiniai vartosenos atvejai, kurie vėlesniu laiko momentu gali tapti pagrindiniais. Taigi, kalbos kaitą galima laikyti „sinchroninio variantiškumo projekcija į diachronijos ašį“ (Andersen 2001b: 10), be to, visi diachroniniai pokyčiai kažkada yra pasireiškę kaip sinchroninis variantiškumas (Andersen 2001: 228). Tai reiškia, kad diachroninius pokyčius

įmanoma rekonstruoti iš sinchroninio variantiškumo (Heine 2002). Nors gramatinimo procesai ir negali paaiškinti viso sinchroninio variantiškumo kalboje, tačiau bent dalis variantų atspindi diachroninius gramatinimo procesus.

Taigi, šioje disertacijoje nagrinėjami tik sinchroniniai **duomenys**. Disertacijoje pateikiama analizė pradedama nuo perfekto konstrukcijos vartosenos atvejų, kurie yra artimiausi leksiniam perfekto šaltiniui. Labiau sugramatintos konstrukcijos reikšmės toliau aprašomos viena po kitos pagal BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo skalės etapus, kurie yra pagrįsti konceptualiais ryšiais nuo vienos iki kitos semantinės vertės. Tiesa, norint patvirtinti, kad siūloma gramatinimo skalė atitinka realią diachroninę perfekto raidą, būtini tolesni tyrimai, pasitelkiant ir diachroninius duomenis. Tačiau taip pat pravartu nepamiršti, kad kaip kalba pasižymi plačiu sinchroniniu variantiškumu, kuris gali priklausyti ir nuo tyrimui pasirinktų duomenų tipo, taip ir prieinami diachroniniai duomenys gali skirtis ne tik dėl diachroninės kalbos kaitos, bet ir dėl duomenų tipo, t. y., žanro, registro, sociolingvistinių ir kitų veiksnių.

Disertacijai pasirinkti duomenys įvardijami kaip dokulektai, t. y., bet kurio tipo dokumentuotos kalbos imtys (Wälchli & Cysouw 2012). Šis terminas vartojamas norint pabrėžti, kad jokia empirinė kalbos imtis negali pilnavertiškai reprezentuoti visos kalbos, todėl šis terminas vartojamas vietoj kalbos ar dialekto sąvokų, turint omenyje ir tai, kad iš fundamentaliosios kalbotyros perspektyvos kalba ir dialektas yra lygiaverčiai reiškiniai. Lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų imtis sudaro žanro atžvilgiu paraleliniai Feisbuko komentarų tekstynai, surinkti iš viešų naujienų portalų puslapių šiame socialiniame tinkle. Duomenims rinkti naudotasi „Facepager“ programine įranga (Jünger & Keyling 2019). Tuo tarpu Bario dialekto dokulektas yra rašytinių tekstų rinkinys (A. de Saint-Exupéry „Mažojo princo“ vertimas į Bario dialektą (vert. Vito Signorile) ir 32 Bario miesto mėnraščio „U Corrìire de BBàre“ numeriai). Šių dokulektų pasirinkimas atspindi siekį tirti mažiau formalius ir labiau spontaniškus kalbos variantus, kurių dar vis trūksta lyginamuosiuose kalbų tyrimuose. Tai prisideda prie disertacijos tyrimo naujumo.

Iš kiekvieno dokulekto buvo išrinkti visi perfekto pavartojimo atvejai, pusiau automatiniu būdu atliekant tekstinę paiešką pagal dalyvių galūnes. Lietuvių kalbos duomenis sudaro 2025 perfekto pavartojimo atvejai, bulgarų kalbos duomenis – 1803, o Bario dialekto – 673. Bario dialekto duomenų yra mažiau, nes dėl standartizuotos rašybos nebuvimo perfektų paieška tekstuose buvo atlikta daugiausiai rankiniu būdu. Šie duomenys buvo anotuoti, išskiriant tyrimui esminius kiekvieno pavartojimo atvejo požymius, ir susisteminti duomenų bazėse, kurios yra pasiekiamos interneto adresu

www.linguistics.flf.vu.lt/be-perfects. Kiekvienam pavartojimo atvejui pagal apibrėžtus požymius priskirta semantinė vertė. Šios semantinės vertės paeiliui nuo mažiausiai sugramatintos iki labiausiai sugramatintos aprašytos kiekvienai kalbai atskirai (2–4 disertacijos skyriai), atlikta kiekybinė duomenų analizė. Tuomet atliktas lyginamasis lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų bei Bario dialekto dokulektų tyrimas.

Tyrimo **rezultatai** rodo, kad galima išskirti tam tikrus bendrus bulgarų bei lietuvių kalbų ir Bario dialekto perfektų bruožus, kurie gali būti aiškinami BŪTI perfektams būdinga raida. Pasirinktų dokulektų duomenimis pagrįsta BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo skalė pateikiama toliau esančioje lentelėje.

81 lentelė. ‘X yra Y’ schemos BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo fazės

Fazė	*Reikšmė*	*Parafrazė*
0 fazė	Askriptyvinė jungties konstrukcija su būdvardžiu	S subjektas turi Y savybę
1 fazė	Statyvas (Askriptyvinė jungties konstrukcija su dalyviu)	S subjektas turi veiksmažodinę V savybę
2 fazė	Subjektinis rezultatyvas	S subjektas yra padaręs V

Fazė	*Reikšmė*	*Parafrazė*	*Fazė*	*Reikšmė*	*Parafrazė*
3A fazė	Posesyvinis rezultatyvas	S subjektas yra padaręs V objektui O/S	3B fazė	Eksperiencinis perfektas	S turi V patirtį
4A[I] fazė	Tranzityvinis rezultatyvas	S subjektas yra padaręs V objektui O	4B[I] fazė	Kumuliatyvinis perfektas	S turi kartotinę V patirtį
4A[II] fazė	Aktualumo dabarčiai perfektas	S subjektas padarė/yra padaręs V (to O)	4B[II] fazė	Suficityvas	S turi perteklinę V V patirtį
5C fazė (susiliejus su TURĖTI)	Aoristas	S subjektas padarė V objektui O	5B fazė	Duratyvas	S pradėjo V ir V dar tęsiasi
5A fazė	Inferencinis perfektas	S, matyt, yra padaręs V (objektui O)			
6A fazė	Reportatyvas	S esą padaręs V (objektui O)			
7A fazė	Perfektas perpasakojime	S padarė V (objektui O) [perpasakojimas]			

Pirmuoju perfekto gramatinimo proceso etapu laikytini statyvai (0 fazė), apibrėžiami kaip BŪTI ir dalyvio konstrukcijos su būdvardiškai vartojamais dalyviais. Statyvai reiškia subjekto būseną, o ne būsenos pasikeitimą, todėl esamą būseną sugeneravusio praeities įvykio implikacija yra šalutinė jų reikšmės dalis (angl. *backgrounded*) arba tokios implikacijos visai nėra. Dėl praeities įvykio implikacijos silpnumo ar jos nebuvimo tiek statyvai, sudaryti su veikiamosios rūšies dalyviais (lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbose), tiek statyvai, sudaryti su diachroniškai neveikiamosios rūšies/ambivalentiniais dalyviais (Bario dialekte), pasižymi ekvivalentiška semantika ir tiesioginiu palyginamumu. Silpnai sugramatintas lietuvių kalbos perfektas itin dažnai vartojamas kaip statyvas. Nors ir mažiau, tačiau statyvų taip pat randama stipriai sugramatintame bulgarų kalbos perfekte. Bario dialekto statyviniuose kontekstuose su visais asmenimis vartojamas pagalbinis veiksmažodis BŪTI, o tokia vartosena neatitinka asmens kategorija grįsto pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pasirinkimo taisyklės, kuri galioja daugumai kitų Bario dialekto perfekto reikšmių.

Kai kurie tirti pavyzdžiai buvo dviprasmiški – jiems galima ir statyvams būdinga būdvardinė dalyvio interpretacija, ir subjektiniams bei posesyviniams rezultatyvams būdinga veiksmažodinė dalyvio interpretacija. Šis dviprasmiškumas aiškintinas reanalize (perinterpretavimu), kuri yra tipinis gramatinimo proceso fenomenas. Subjektiniai rezultatyvai (1 fazė), formuojami su intranzityviniais ir perfektyviniais veiksmažodžiais bei reiškiantys subjekto būsenos pasikeitimą, kylantį iš praeities įvykio, laikytini prototipine BŪTI perfektų reikšme. Jie susiformuoja vos tik „X yra Y“ schemoje esantis dalyvis įgauna veiksmažodinę interpretaciją ir jie yra dažniausia tirtų BŪTI perfektų reikšmė. Subjektiniai rezultatyvai taip pat dažnai pasitaiko su BŪTI pagalbiniu veiksmažodžiu tose kalbose, kuriose BŪTI/TURĖTI pagalbiniai veiksmažodžiai vartojami priklausomai nuo leksinio veiksmažodžio. Ši reikšmė pasižymi visais esminiais BŪTI perfektų bruožais – subjektine orientacija, rezultatyvumu ir praeities įvykio neapibrėžtumu laiko ir erdvės atžvilgiu. Kitos perfekto reikšmės, be kitų joms būdingų semantinių ypatybių, taip pat pasižymi vienos iš šių trijų esminių savybių trūkumu ar modifikacijomis. Būtent šiais pokyčiais iš dalies grindžiama ir siūloma BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo skalė.

Bario dialekte subjektiniai rezultatyvai trečiajame asmenyje taip pat vartojami su BŪTI pagalbiniu veiksmažodžiu, pažeidžiant asmens kategorija grįsto BŪTI/TURĖTI pasirinkimo taisyklę. Tokia vartosena pasitaiko rečiau nei su statyvais, tačiau dažniau, nei su kitomis Bario dialekto perfekto reikšmėmis. Analogišką BŪTI sferos išsiplėtimą TURĖTI vartosenos sąskaita yra aprašiusi Cennamo (2008) kai kurioms Kampanijos regiono (Italija)

tarmėms, kuriose taip pat galioja panaši asmens kategorija grįsta pagalbinio veiksmažodžio vartosenos sistema. Cennamo (2008) analizė yra pagrįsta predikatų leksinėmis klasėmis pagal Sorace (2000) aprašytą pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pasirinkimo hierarchiją. Šioje disertacijoje BŪTI pagalbinio veiksmažodžio vartosenos plėtimasis taip pat aiškinamas minėtas leksines klases priskiriant subjektiniams rezultatyvams ir siejant šį reiškinį su BŪTI perfektų gramatinimu.

Subjekto orientacijos rezultatyvų tolesnėje raidoje įžvelgiamos dvi kryptys, anksčiau pateiktoje lentelėje pavaizduotos 3–7 fazių stulpelių grupėmis. Pirmoji, 3A–7A, kryptis grindžiama orientacijos į subjektą praradimu, o antroji, 3B–5B kryptis – rezultatyvumo praradimu.

Pirmosios krypties atveju perfekto konstrukcija subjektinės orientacijos palaipsniui netenka, kai perfekte pradedami vartoti tranzityviniai veiksmažodžiai. Posesyvinių rezultatyvų (4A fazė) atveju leksinė įvestis yra mažiau prototipinio tranzityvumo veiksmažodžiai, o 4A[I] fazėje, su tranzityviniais rezultatyvais, vartojami ir daugumą prototipinio tranzityvumo kriterijų atitinkantys veiksmažodžiai. Posesyviniais rezultatyvais laikomi BŪTI perfektai su formaliai tranzityviniais veiksmažodžiais, kurių subjektas yra ir veiksmo iniciatorius, ir paveiktasis agentas (Næss 2007). Jie laikytini tarpine faze tarp silpniau sugramatintų subjektinių rezultatyvų, reiškiančių subjekto būsenas ir savybes, ir stipriau sugramatintų tranzityvinių rezultatyvų, kurių subjektas nebėra aiškiai paveiktas praeities įvykio.

Tranzityviniai rezultatyvai lietuvių kalboje yra reti, o tai rodo silpną lietuvių kalbos perfekto sugramatinimo laipsnį ir konstrukcijoje išliekančią stiprią subjektinę orientaciją. Bulgarų kalboje tranzityvinių rezultatyvų yra daugiau, tačiau jie vis dėlto retesni nei subjektiniai ar posesyviniai rezultatyvai. Abiejose kalbose tranzityviniai rezultatyvai yra nestabili semantinė vertė, nes su prototipiškai tranzityviniais veiksmažodžiais perfektas reiškia objekto būseną. Objekto būsenai reikšti bulgarų ir lietuvių kalbose vartojamos kitos konstrukcijos su neveikiamosios rūšies dalyviais, todėl veikiamosios rūšies perfektas tam nėra parankiausia priemonė. Bario dialekte posesyvinių ir tranzityvinių rezultatyvų skirtis neaktuali, nes tranzityvinių veiksmažodžių kontekstai priklauso konstrukcijos su TURĖTI sferai. Su šiomis perfekto reikšmėmis Bario dialekte laikomasi asmens kategorija grįsto pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pasirinkimo sistemos, ir BŪTI pagalbinis veiksmažodis į trečiąjį asmenį nesiplečia.

Bulgarų kalboje tranzityviniai rezultatyvai vaidina svarbų vaidmenį antriniame perfekto gramatinime evidencinių reikšmių link. Kai konstrukcija yra netekusi aiškios subjektinės orientacijos, rezultatyvai gali būti dviprasmiški – jie gali būti interpretuojami ir kaip inferenciniai perfektai (5A

fazė). Perinterpretavimas čia pastebimas tuose kontekstuose, kuriuose dėmesys sutelkiamas nebe į būseną, kuri kyla iš praeities įvykio, bet į patį praeities įvykį, kuris inferuojamas iš esamos būsenos (Lindstedt 1985: 265). Toliau šia kryptimi išdėstomos reportatyvinės reikšmės (6A fazė), kurių atveju praeities įvykis inferuojamas nebe iš esamos padėties, bet iš persakymo (angl. *hearsay*), bei perpasakojamieji kontekstai (angl. *non first-hand narratives*, Aikhenvald 2006) (7A fazė).

Iš pirmosios BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo krypties reikšmių lietuvių kalbos dokulekte pasitaikė kontekstų iki 4 fazės, taip pat rasta keletas tranzityvinių rezultatyvų, kuriuos galima būtų interpretuoti ir kaip inferencinius perfektus, o bulgarų kalboje vartojamos visos šios krypties vertės (išskyrus tik Bario dialektui būdingą aoristą). Tačiau yra žinoma, kad evidencinės vertės lietuvių kalboje vartojamos formalesnėse kalbos atmainose (Daugavet 2022) bei senesniuose literatūriniuose tekstuose. Tolesni tyrimai, pagrįsti diachroninių tekstynų duomenimis, galėtų parodyti, ar iš tiesų lietuvių kalboje evidencinių perfekto plėtinių vystymasis yra sustojęs ir kokiu būdu tai įvyko.

Aktualumo dabarčiai perfektai šioje disertacijoje apibrėžiami kaip perfektai su perfektyviniais ar imperfektyviniais veiksmažodžiais, kurie reiškia konkretų, apibrėžtą praeities įvykį, fiksuojamą laike ir erdvėje. Tokių perfektų reikšmės dalis yra platesnė, pragmatinė aktualumo dabarčiai samprata. Nuo rezultatyvų jie skiriasi būtent praeities įvykio situaciniu apibrėžtumu (Holvoet 2020; 2022). Rezultatyvumas tokiuose kontekstuose reiškiamas ne tik perfektyviniu veiksmažodžiu, kaip rezultatyvų atveju, bet ir pačia perifrastine perfekto konstrukcija. Būtent situacinis apibrėžtumas perkelia reikšminį dėmesio centrą nuo esamos padėties į praeities įvykį įvykio-rezultato metonimijos (Rosemeyer 2022) atžvilgiu.

Aktualumo dabarčiai perfektai vartojami bulgarų kalboje, tačiau lietuvių kalboje jie labai reti. Bario dialekte aktualumo dabarčiai perfektai taip pat vartojami, bet jie laikytini dviejų pagalbinių veiksmažodžių konstrukcijų susiliejimo rezultatu. Su aktualumo dabarčiai perfektais Bario dialekte laikomasi asmens kategorija grįsto modelio, išskyrus keletą intranzityvinių veiksmažodžių, kurie visuose asmenyse ir visomis reikšmėmis vartojami su BŪTI, kaip ir Cennamo (2008) aprašytose Kampanijos dialektuose. Bario dialekte aktualumo dabarčiai perfektai nutiesia kelią aoristinei perfekto vartosenai (5C fazė). Tokia vartosena galima dar labiau išlaisvėjus aktualumo dabarčiai reikšmei keliamiems reikalavimams.

Antroji subjektinių rezultatyvų vystymosi kryptis yra pagrįsta rezultatyvumo praradimu. Konstrukcija rezultatyvumo netenka, kai yra imama vartoti su imperfektyviniais (lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbose) ar ateliniais

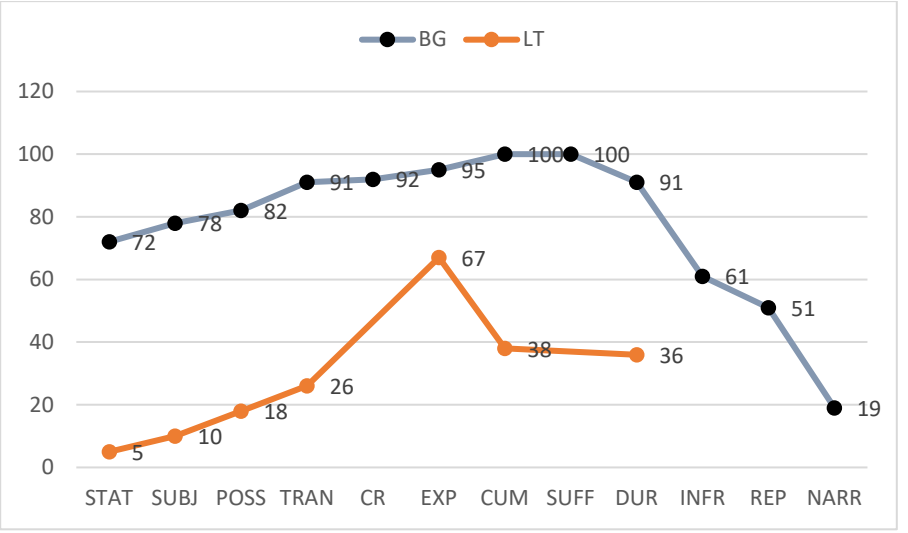
(Bario dialekte) veiksmažodžiais. Imperfektyvinių veiksmažodžių kaip perfekto leksinės įvesties galimumas veda link eksperiencinių reikšmių (3B fazė). Eksperienciniai perfektai yra gerai įsitvirtinusi ir dažna vertė visuose trijuose dokulektuose – lietuvių kalboje tai ypač akivaizdu, turint omenyje aktualumo dabarčiai perfektų stoką. Eskperienciniai perfektai taip pat dažnai vartojami bulgarų kalboje, o Bario dialekte tarp jų pasitaiko daugiausiai BŪTI pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pavartojimo atvejų, jei skaičiuojame visus asmenis kartu. Su eksperienciniais Bario dialekto perfektais asmens kategorija grįstas modelis nėra pažeidžiamas – BŪTI pagalbinis veiksmažodis čia atsiranda todėl, kad eksperienciniai perfektai itin dažnai pasitaiko su pirmuoju asmeniu, kuris pagal asmens kategorija grįstą modelį reikalauja būtent BŪTI. Ta pati pirmo asmens dažnumo su eksperienciniais perfektais tendencija pastebima ir lietuvių bei bulgarų kalbose.

Posesyvinių ir mišraus pagalbinio veiksmažodžio perfektų gramatinimo skalėse eksperiencinės reikšmės (o taip pat ir su jomis susiję kumuliatyviniai bei duratyviniai perfektai) laikomi antrinėmis vertėmis, besiformuojančiomis iš aktualumo dabarčiai perfektų. Šioje disertacijoje teigiama, kad toks raidos modelis netinka lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų BŪTI perfektams. Eksperienciniai perfektai šiose kalbose negali būti laikomi susiformavusiais iš aktualumo dabarčiai perfektų, kuriems yra konceptualiai tolimi ir kurie abiejuose dokulektuose nefigūruoja tarp pagrindinių reikšmių (arba apskritai nėra aptinkami). Eksperiencinius BŪTI perfektus siūloma laikyti kylančiais tiesiogiai iš subjektinių rezultatyvų.

Toliau šia antrąja perfekto raidos kryptimi semantinės vertės plečiasi į kumuliatyvinius perfektus (4B[I] fazė), kurių atveju dėmesys sutelkiamas į kartotinių praeities įvykių sankaupą, bei į duratyvinius perfektus, žyminčius tęstinį, praeityje prasidėjusį ir dabartyje besitęsiantį įvykį (5B fazė). Bulgarų kalboje išskirta papildoma semantinė vertė, aptikta kontekstuose su adverbialu *stiga* „gana“ – suficityvas (4B[II] fazė). Suficityvuose dėmesys perkeliamas nuo kartotinių praeities įvykių gausos į jų perteklių, taip generuojant direktyvams artimą reikšmę. Iš šių verčių pirmąja perfekto raidos kryptimi silpnai sugramatintame lietuvių kalbos perfekte aptikta ne tik kumuliatyvų, bet ir duratyvų, kurie laikomi stipriai sugramatinto perfekto reikšme. Tai rodo, kad gramatinimo link stabilaus perfekto, pasižyminčio tarpkalbiškai tipinėmis šios kategorijos vertėmis, atžvilgiu, BŪTI perfektai intensyviau vystosi būtent šia, rezultatyvinėmis reikšmėmis nepasižyminčia kryptimi. Pirmoji (A) kryptis lietuvių kalboje nesivysto, bulgarų kalboje veda link evidencinių, o ne perfektinių reikšmių, o Bario dialekte pereina į aoristui būdingas funkcijas.

Lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbų duomenys iš Feisbuko komentarų dokuletų parodė, kad, priešingai nei teigiama abiejų kalbų normatyvinėse gramatikose,

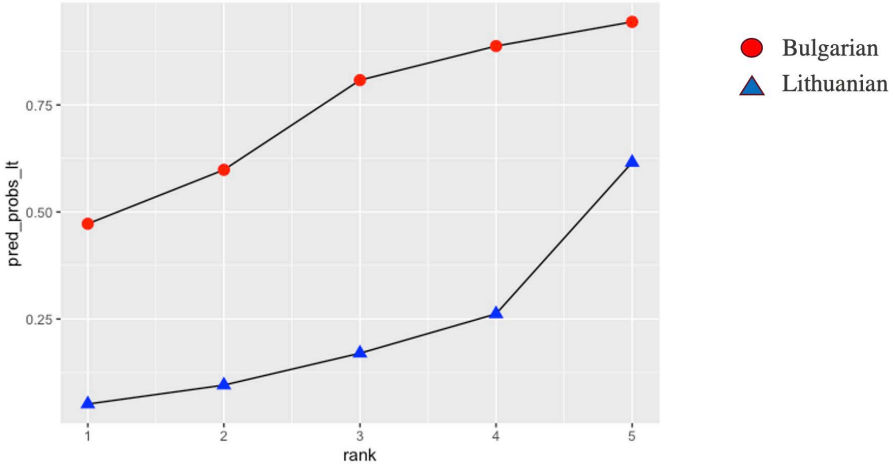
pagalbinis veiksmažodis BŪTI nėra nuosekliai vartojamas su visomis perfekto reikšmėmis ir nėra nuosekliai praleidžiamas evidenciniuose kontekstuose. Kiekybiniai pagalbinio veiksmažodžio praleidimo dažnumo duomenys rodo, kad tai – labiau tendencija, nei taisyklė. Abiejuose dokulektuose pagalbinis veiksmažodis dažniau vartojamas su tarpkalbiniu atžvilgiu tipinėmis perfekto reikšmėmis ir dažniau praleidžiamas ne tik su evidencinėmis reikšmėmis, bet ir su mažiau sugramatintomis perfekto semantinėmis vertėmis, pavyzdžiui, su statyvais ar subjektiniais rezultatyvais. Šis fenomenas aiškiai matomas abiejose kalbose, nepaisant to, kad lietuvių kalboje BŪTI kaip pagalbinis veiksmažodis ir kaip jungtis vartojama gerokai rečiau, o bulgarų kalboje – gerokai dažniau.



13 paveikslas. Pagalbinio veiksmažodžio vartosenos dažnumas procentais su skirtingomis perfekto reikšmėmis bulgarų (BG) ir lietuvių (LT) kalbų dokulektuose.

Čia pateiktame grafike matomos pagalbinio veiksmažodžio vartosenos dažnumo kreivės atspindi anksčiau pateiktoje lentelėje esančią BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo skalę. BŪTI ir dalyvio konstrukcijoje pagalbinis veiksmažodis vartojamas dažniau perfektui plėtojant specifines, tarpkalbiniu požiūriu būtent perfektams būdingas reikšmes. Tuo tarpu jungties konstrukcijoms artimesniuose kontekstuose pagalbinis veiksmažodis dažniau praleidžiamas. Šių kiekybinių rezultatų reikšmingumą patvirtina statistinė analizė (2.9 ir 3.12 poskyriai). Apibendrinti statistinės analizės rezultatai pateikiami toliau esančiame grafike, kuriame pavaizduotos +AUX (pagalbinio veiksmažodžio buvimo) prognozuojamos tikimybės su kiekvienu „perfektiškumo rango“

lygmeniu. „Perfektiškumo rango“ kintamasis apibendrina skirtingas perfekto reikšmes, kiekvienai iš jų priskiriant rangą nuo 1 iki 5 pagal tai, kaip arti (5) ar toli (1) jos yra nuo tarpkalbiškai prototipinių perfekto reikšmių, tokių kaip eksperienciniai ar aktualumo dabarčiai perfektai.



14 paveikslas. +AUX prognozuojamos tikimybės su kiekvienu „perfektiškumo rango“ lygmeniu lietuvių ir bulgarų kalbose.

Lyginant visus tris atvejų tyrimus, išryškėja vienas jų panašumas: tendencija pagalbinį BŪTI veiksmažodį praleisti būtent su trečio asmens perfektais. Šią tendenciją patvirtina ir statistinė analizė – pritaikytas logistinės regresijos modelis, kuris rodo, kad trečias asmuo visuose trijuose dokulektuose statistiškai reikšmingai sumažina pagalbinio dalyvio pavartojimo tikimybes (5 skyrius). Bario dialekte trečiajame asmenyje, išskyrus aprašytus atvejus, vartojamas TURĖTI pagalbinis veiksmažodis. Bulgarų kalboje su evidencinėmis reikšmėmis, kurios dėl savo semantikos dažniausiai vartojamos trečiuoju asmeniu, pagalbinis veiksmažodis taip pat daugiausiai praleidžiamas. Lietuvių kalba, kuri apskritai yra linkusi BŪTI pagalbinį veiksmažodį praleisti dažniau, įgyja stiprų polinkį jį vartoti su eksperiencinais perfektais, kurie išsiskiria pirmo asmens dažnumu būtent trečio asmens sąskaita.

Pagalbinio veiksmažodžio BŪTI išnykimo pirmiausia ar išimtinai trečiame asmenyje paralelių galima rasti senojoje slavų kalboje, lenkų ar čekų kalbose. Iš dalies šiuos pokyčius galima paaiškinti vartosena: trečias asmuo apskritai yra dažniausias, todėl jo žymėjimas linkęs į redukciją (Seržant ir Moroz 2022). Tačiau perfektų atveju tai taip pat susiję su BŪTI kaip pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pobūdžiu: jis neturi stiprios semantikos, todėl

dažniausios, trečiojo asmens formos gali įgyti nulinę išraišką, o pirmojo ir antrojo asmens forma ir toliau aiškiai žymi ne tokius dažnus kontekstus. Šitoks procesas nėra įmanomas su TURĖTI pagalbiniu veiksmažodžiu, kuris turi didesnį semantinį krūvį ir posesyviniuose perfektuose negali būti praleidžiamas. Taigi, pagalbinio veiksmažodžio vaidmuo BŪTI perfektuose laikytinas struktūriniu.

Atsižvelgiant į disertacijos tyrimo rezultatus, formuluojami tokie ginamieji teiginiai:

1. BŪTI perfektams būdinga specifinė gramatinimo skalė, kuri tam tikrais aspektais skiriasi nuo posesyvinių perfektų gramatinimo skalės. Ši specifinė BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo skalė nulemia tam tikras jų ypatybes ir jiems būdingus vartosenos kontekstus bei semantines vertes.
2. Statyvai, t. y. jungties konstrukcijos su būdvardiniais dalyviais, kurios reiškia subjekto būseną ir nebūtinai implikuoja šią būseną sąlygojusį praeities įvykį, laikytini pirmuoju BŪTI perfektų gramatinimo etapu, artimiausiu „X yra Y“ schemą atitinkančiai aspkriptyvinei jungties konstrukcijai, visuose trijuose tirtuose dokulektuose.
3. Subjektiniai rezultatyvai, t. y. perfektai su intranzityviniais perfektyviniais ar teliniais veiksmažodžiais, perteikiantys subjekto būseną ir implikuojantys prieš tai buvusį įvykį, kuris sukėlė minėtą būseną, yra prototipinė BŪTI perfektų semantinė vertė, iš kurios išvedamos kitos, labiau sugramatintos reikšmės.
4. Eksperienciniai perfektai yra viena pagrindinių BŪTI perfektų reikšmių, išvedama tiesiogiai iš subjektinių rezultatyvų, ir neturėtų būti laikoma antrine reikšme, kylančia iš aktualumo dabarčiai perfektų, kurie BŪTI perfektuose gali būti šalutinė semantinė vertė.
5. Bulgarų ir lietuvių kalbose pagalbinio veiksmažodžio BŪTI vartojimas yra reguliaresnis su tarpkalbiškai tipinėmis perfekto reikšmėmis, tuo tarpu mažiau sugramatintuose kontekstuose bei su evidencinėmis reikšmėmis jis vartojamas rečiau. Tai atitinka perifrastinių perfektų dažnumo pasaulio kalbose tendenciją.
6. Bario dialekto perfekte su asmens kategorija grįstu pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pasirinkimo modeliu BŪTI vartojimas plečiasi į TURĖTI sferą. Tirtame dokulekte griežtai nesilaikoma asmens kategorija grįsto B-B-T-B-B-T modelio, ypač tuose kontekstuose, kurie sutampa su pradiniais perfekto gramatinimo skalės etapais. Be asmens kategorijos, pagalbinio veiksmažodžio pasirinkimą Bario dialekto perfekte lemia keletas skirtingų veiksnių – tai BŪTI ir TURĖTI konstrukcijų diachronija, šių tipų perfektų gramatinimo tendencijos, leksinė perfekto įvestis bei su vartosena susiję veiksniai.

7. Visuose trijuose tirtuose dokulektuose pagalbinis veiksmažodis BŪTI rečiau vartojamas su trečiuoju asmeniu. Bulgarų ir lietuvių kalbose jis čia dažniau praleidžiamas, o Bario dialekte jį čia dažniau pakeičia pagalbinis veiksmažodis TURĖTI. Šią tendenciją galima paaiškinti vartosenos ir pragmatiniais apribojimais tam tikroms konstrukcijos reikšmėms, pavyzdžiui, pirmojo ir antrojo asmens evidencinėms reikšmėms, bet taip pat tikėtina ir trečiojo asmens dažnumo įtaka, dėl kurios redukuojamas trečio asmens žymėjimas. Tokia redukcija, skirtingai nuo posesyvinių perfektų, yra įmanoma dėl nežymaus BŪTI pagalbinio veiksmažodžio semantinio krūvio. Taigi, BŪTI perfektuose pagalbinio veiksmažodžio vaidmuo yra struktūrinis, o ne semantinis.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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Danguolė Kotryna Kapkan studied Musicology, Lithuanian Philology, and Linguistics at the Lithuanian Music and Theater Academy, Vilnius University, Royal Holloway (London, UK), Bari University (Italy), the Portuguese Catholic University (Lisbon, Portugal), and Antwerp University (Belgium). She graduated from Bari University in 2016 with a BA in Foreign Languages and Communication. At Bari University, she studied English and Portuguese, but learned Italian along with some of the local dialects instead. She received her MA degree in General Linguistics from Vilnius University in 2018, with an MA thesis on perfects, under the guidance of Prof. Axel Holvoet, and continued in this field of research during her PhD studies. She is an active member of the *Academia Salensis* association, and, since 2023, has been one of the main organizers of the annual *Academia Grammaticorum Salensis* linguistics summer school and conference.

PhD summer schools

2019 – Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Sexta Decima (Salos, Lithuania)
2019 – Aspect across Languages and Linguistic Schools (Tromsø University, Norway)
2020 – Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Septima Decima (Salos, Lithuania)
2021 – Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Duodevigesima (Salos, Lithuania)
2022 – Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Undevigesima (Salos, Lithuania)
2023 – Naturally Occurring Data in and beyond Linguistic Typology (Bologna University, Italy)
2023 – Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Vigesima (Salos, Lithuania)
2024 – Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Vigesima Prima (Antalieptė, Lithuania)

Conference presentations

2018 – "Lithuanian perfect in context" (*Bridges in the Baltics*, Tartu University, Estonia)
2019 – "The Lithuanian perfect from the 16th century texts until *Facebook*: a comparative study of two empirical sources" (*Bridges in the Baltics*, University of Latvia, Riga)
2021 – "The perfect in Lithuanian: a case study based on data from *Facebook* comments" (*Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Duodevigesima*, Salos, Lithuania)
2023 – "BE perfects and grammaticalization in Bulgarian and Lithuanian: A study based on data from *Facebook* comments" (*Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Undevigesima*, Salos, Lithuania)
2023 – "BE perfects and grammaticalization in Bulgarian and Lithuanian: A study based on data from *Facebook* comments" (*56th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, the National Capodistrian University of Athens*, Greece)
2023 – "The centrality of the subject and how to get away from it: a *Facebook* comments-based study on BE perfect grammaticalization in Bulgarian and Lithuanian" (*Topic, focus, subject: between grammatical necessity and information-structural load*, Osnabrück University, Germany)
2024 – "Elements of BE-perfect grammaticalization in the person-based auxiliation system of Barese" (*57th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea,* Helsinki University, Finland)
2024 – "Grammaticalization of BE perfects and the role of token frequencies: some insights from Barese, Bulgarian, and Lithuanian" (*The 21st International Congress of Linguists*, Poznań University, Poland)

Publications

"Features of BE-perfect grammaticalization in the person-based auxiliation system of Barese", *Kalbotyra*, 2024 (under review)

"BE perfects and grammaticalization in Bulgarian and Lithuanian: a study based on data from *Facebook* comments", *Studies in Language*, 2023 (under review)

"Perfect in Lithuanian: A case study based on the data from Facebook comments",
Baltic Linguistics, 2021, 12(12), 21–71, https://doi.org/10.32798/bl.921

"La fraseologia calviniana in lituano: Il caso di *Perplėštas vikontas*", In *Si dice in molti modi. Fraseologia e traduzioni nel Visconte dimezzato di Italo Calvino*, Sabine E.
Koesters Gensini and Andrea Berardini (eds.), Sapienza Università Editrice, Roma, 2020
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