

Multiple periphrastic perfectives: another case of “boulder perfectivization”

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1. Perfectives, periphrastic perfectives and multiple periphrastic perfectives

Periphrastic, or analytical, forms exist in many, if not all, languages. A widest range of auxiliaries is attested in languages that use them, and a widest range of meanings can be expressed by such forms.

What we are accustomed to in SAE languages are, basically, two things:

- it is almost exclusively verbs like BE, BECOME or HAVE that are used as auxiliaries, and

- each meaning which is expressed by (one of) periphrastic forms, usually corresponds to only one of them (i.e. in English progressive aspect is expressed by “BE + *-ing*” construction, perfect is expressed by “HAVE + *-en*” construction, and so on).¹

The situation we would like to discuss in the present paper differs radically from the one usually observed in SAE languages. Firstly, we shall concentrate on the use of auxiliary verbs of a rather unusual kind: among the auxiliaries we shall look at are GO, COME, TAKE, GIVE, PUT, THROW, FALL and others, of which only motion verbs like GO and COME are found regularly as auxiliaries in Europe.

Secondly, we shall address ourselves to cases when a number of periphrastic forms in a language (with auxiliaries like those mentioned above) perform basically one and the same function. This function consists in the expressing **perfective aspect**; a few words about perfectivity would be in place here before we turn to examples.

According to a famous Comrie’s definition, perfective aspect, as opposed to imperfective, “denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal constituency” (Comrie 1976: 12). The following researches, of which (Dahl 1985), (Bybee & Dahl 1989) and (Bybee et al. 1994) are especially important, have shown that perfective meaning is not homogeneous and that we should rather speak of a whole “family” of meanings comprising perfective and a number of other values usually interrelated in languages and linked by paths of diachronic development.² Even perfective proper is not identical in its semantic content across languages (that will be a point of discussion in section 3).

An important typological observation made in (Dahl 1985) concerns the marking types of different grammatical meanings. For perfective it was noted that it usually has bound, and not periphrastic, expression (85% of languages in Dahl’s sample; see discussion in (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 56 et pass.)). However, periphrastic perfectives do also exist, an obvious example being the French construction “AVOIR / ÊTRE [in present tense] + participle”. Such forms usually develop from perfects, or anteriors (Bybee et al. 1994: 81 et pass.), which indicate the continuing present relevance of a past situation, like in *Bill has just arrived*.

¹ There can be exceptions, of course: thus, in English auxiliaries *will*, *shall* and *be going to* all deal with the expression of future (with a slight difference in meaning); however, there can hardly be found examples of more than 2-3 forms belonging to the same domain of meanings.

² These meanings, studied in (Bybee et al. 1994: ch.3), include perfective and past, as well as completive, resultative and anterior (= perfect). Dahl (1985: 95) also discusses “conclusive” which is close to completive in Bybee et al.’s sense.

We shall speak about **multiple periphrastic perfectives** (or MPPs) in a case when several modifiers (up to a dozen or more) are used in a language to express perfective meaning. Some examples of verbal systems making use of multiple periphrastic perfectives will be demonstrated in section 2. In section 3 we shall discuss problems of MPPs' meaning, and in section 4 a comparison of auxiliaries used in MPPs will be undertaken and a problem of their distribution will be touched. Finally, section 5 contains some conclusions about the grammatical status of MPPs, and points at some possible ways of their further grammaticalization.

2. Overview of some MPPs systems

Systems of multiple periphrastic perfectives are wide spread in the languages of Asia, viz. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, Daic, Altaic and probably others. It is very probable that parallels exist in languages outside Eurasia as well, but in the present paper no attempt is made to draw such parallels.

What we present in this section is by no means new factual data, but rather a summary of informaton available from existing sources; we rely mainly on descriptions published in U.S.S.R. / Russia.

2.1. Indo-Aryan variant

Verbal compounds are typical of Indo-Aryan languages, and there has been a considerable number of works both treating compound verbs in particular languages (see e.g. (Hook 1974) on Hindi, (Dasgupta 1977) on Bengali, etc.) and comparing them in the languages of the family (Vale 1948, Masica 1976: ch.5, Hook 1991, Singh 1998).³

Multiple periphrastic perfectives form an important subset of compound verbs, or constructions with "vector verbs" (or simply "vectors"), as non-typical auxiliaries are usually called in Indo-Aryan tradition. The range of vectors is similar accross different languages of the family, the most widely used being GO and COME, GIVE and TAKE, THROW and FALL, as well as RISE, SIT, MOVE and others. Usually as much as 10-15 vectors are used. Compound verbs comprise the finite form of one of the vectors following a non-finite form of a main or primary (also called "polar") verb.

Consider some examples of the use of vectors in Hindi and Marathi, taken from (Hook 1991: 66, 70):⁴

(1) Marathi
to purtaats **gOndhaLun** **gela.**
he completely **confuse** **WENT**
He became completely confused.

(2) Marathi
tyaana katsraa **Taak-un** **dilaa.**
he-ERG trash **throw-CP** **GAVE**
He threw out the trash.

(3) Marathi

³ Among other Indo-Iranian languages, at least some representatives of the Iranian branch (e.g. Tajik) and of the Dardic branch (e.g. Kashmiri) are also reported to have similar systems of compounds. Note that what we mean here by "compound verbs" are constructions with auxiliaries only, and not "lexical compounds", i.e. combinations of two verbs which function as a new lexical item.

⁴ In the cited examples original morpheme analysis, translation and abbreviations are retained in most cases; translation of examples from Russian sources and the emphasis of periphrastic forms is ours. Examples from Turkic languages and some languages of Southeast Asia are given in Cyrillic graphics or transliteration used in the cited descriptions.

sagLe kaadag mi **phaaRun Taakle.**
 all papers I **tear THREW**
I tore up all the papers.

- (4) Hindi
 ek aadmii ne apnii patnii ko ain mauqe par **pakaR liyaa.**
 one man ERG his wife DAT right moment at **catch TOOK**
A man caught his wife red-handed...

It is important to note here that (A) the combination of vector and primary verb denote one situation (and not two successive situations), and (B) vector verbs do not change the semantics of primaries, but add a certain aspectual characteristics.

This characteristics has been claimed to be perfectivity in the sense of “viewing an action or process as (summed into) a whole vis-a-vis some specific moment or interval of time” (Hook 1991: 63). Constructions with vectors are semantically opposed to simple verbs, which are aspectually unspecified.

2.2. Dravidian variant

In Dravidian languages the situation with MPPs is similar to one in Indo-Aryan: in the majority of languages there exists a considerable number of periphrastic forms (up to 40) with all kinds of auxiliaries. However, a number of forms with perfective meaning is usually lesser than in Indo-Aryan.

Thus, in Tamil “completeness of a situation” can be expressed by constructions with the auxiliaries GO, LEAVE, PUT, THROW, PUSH and FINISH (Andronov 1960, 1987). In Malayalam, 12 of the 19 periphrastic forms are said to denote completed event (Sekhar & Glazov 1961: 62-64), among them other sources mention at least those with auxiliaries GO, PUT, THROW, LET GO and FALL (Andronov 1993: 169-173). Similar periphrastic forms are found in Telugu (cf. Petrunicheva 1960: 76-79).

Consider some typical examples:

- (5) Tamil [Andronov 1987: 221]
 pas **vantu viTTatu.**
 bus COME.CONV LEAVE.PST
The bus arrived.
- (6) Tamil [Andronov 1960: 59]
 avan **irantu pōnān.**
 he die.CONV GO.PST
He died.
- (7) Tamil [Lehmann 1993: 224]
 paanai **uTai-ntu pooy-ir-ru.**
 pot break-CONV GO-PST-3SG.N
The pot got broken.
- (8) Malayalam [Andronov 1993: 172]
 paTTaNam **nasziccu pooyi.**
 town destroy.CONV GO.PST
The town was destroyed.
- (9) Malayalam [Andronov 1993: 172]

avan **pooyi-iTTu.**
 he **go.CONV-PUT.PST**
He left (= went away).

- (10) Malayalam [Andronov 1993: 172]
 avan **pooy-kkaLanhnu**
 he **go.CONV-THROW.PST**
He ran away (= escaped).

2.3. Turkic variant

Periphrastic forms with all sorts of auxiliaries are abundant in Altaic languages; let us look at some examples of MPPs in a few representatives of the Turkic family.

In Tatar (which belongs to the Kipchak branch of the family) about 15 periphrastic constructions with perfective meanings are mentioned in (Zakiev (ed) 1993: 186-190). Among the auxiliaries we find GIVE, TAKE, THROW, LEAVE, STAY, PUT, DESCEND, PASS, GO OUT, REACH and some other verbs. Constructions with these verbs are reported to denote completeness of the action, sometimes with additional semantic nuances like “suddenness” or “intensivity”. Consider some examples from (Zakiev (ed.) 1993: 198-199):

- (11) Tatar
 ЯЛГЫШ-ЫН **сиз-еп** **ал-ды.**
 mistake-ACC **feel-CONV** **TAKE-PST**
He felt his mistake.

- (12) Tatar
 УТЫН **яр-ып** **куй-ды-к.**
 firewood **chop-CONV** **PLACE-PST-1PL**
We chopped the firewood (completely).

- (13) Tatar
 Су **ж,ылын-ып** **ж,ит-те.**
 water **become.warm-CONV** **REACH-PST**
The water became warm.

- (14) Tatar
 Агач-лар **яшеллqн-еп** **кит-те.**
 tree-PL **become.green-CONV** **LEAVE-PST**
The trees became green.

Here is also a pair of similar sentences with difference in additional meaning: while construction with GIVE is said to denote the action fulfilled for the benefit of someone (but not the subject of the situation), construction with THROW indicated that the action was carried out dynamically and impetuously (Zakiev (ed.) 1993: 199):

- (15) Tatar
 Бабай-га хат **яз-ып** **бир-де-м.**
 grandfather-DAT letter **write-CONV** **GIVE-PST-1SG**
I wrote (cp. Russ. napisal) a letter to the grandfather.

- (16) Tatar

Бер хат **ЯЗ-ЫП** **АТ-ТЫ-М.**
 one letter **write-CONV** **THROW-PST-1SG**
I quickly wrote (*≈ tossed off*; cp. Russ. *nakatal*) *one letter.*

In Chuvash (the Bolgar branch) the situation is similar: periphrastic forms with perfective meaning are formed by means of the auxiliaries GIVE, TAKE, GO, COME, SEND, SIT, PUT, FALL, THROW, etc. with converbs in *-sa/se* (Jegorov 1957: 177-182).

(17) Chuvash

кай GO: *çунса кай* ‘burn down’ (< ‘burn’), *тунсе кай* ‘dry up’ (< ‘dry’), *вилсе кай* ‘die’ (< ‘die’), *çывăйрса кай* ‘fall asleep’ (< ‘sleep’)

ўк FALL: *çиленсе ўк* ‘get angry’ (< ‘be angry’), *хараса ўк* ‘get frightened’ (< ‘be afraid’)

ил TAKE: *вуласа ил* ‘read through’ (< ‘read’), *палласа ил* ‘learn, find out’ (< ‘know’)

лар SIT: *хăрса лар* ‘dry up’ (< ‘dry’), *шăнсе лар* ‘freeze through’ (< ‘freeze’)

нар GIVE: *вуласа нар* ‘read (to me)’ (< ‘read’), *лесçe нар* ‘take to smn.’ (< ‘carry’)

яр LET / SEND: *кулса яр* ‘burst out laughing’ (< ‘laugh’), *юрласа яр* ‘start singing’ (< ‘sing’), *çисе яр* ‘eat up’ (< ‘eat’).

Finally, in Khakas (the Uyghur branch) ten auxiliaries are reported to be used as means of expressing perfectivity: the most important constructions are those with auxiliaries SEND, PUT, GO, TAKE and GIVE, less frequent are forms with COME, STAY, DESCEND, THROW and SIT (all the data are taken from (Karpov 1975: 183-186)). Consider some examples of periphrastic forms (in construction with converbs):

(18) Khakas⁵

ыс- SEND: *синѐб ыс-* ‘to measure (off)’, *санаб ыс-* ‘to count’, *парыб ыс-* ‘to arrive’

сал- PUT: *ит сал-* ‘to make’, *хас сал-* ‘to dug out’

нар- GO: *майых нар-* ‘to get tired’, *өл нар-* ‘to die’, *үзил нар-* ‘to tear (to pieces)’

ал- TAKE: *тынанын ал-* ‘to get some rest’, *санап ал-* ‘to count (for oneself)’, *үзренип ал-* ‘to teach oneself’

пур- GIVE: *нас пур-* ‘to write’, *ырлап пур-* ‘to sing’, *төзеп пур-* ‘to ake a bed (for smn.)’

* * *

We are passing on now to a brief characterization of MPPs in languages of Southeast Asia; as representatives of the area, we shall take Vietnamese, Chinese⁶ and Thai.

Verbal compounds play an especially important role in these isolating languages. Among the compounds, one type is the most important in regards to the category of aspect. This type is usually (at least in Russian orientalist tradition; see also (Anderson 1985: 51-52)) called “resultative compound verbs”: the term “resultative” here points that in such compound forms, the first component indicates a certain action, and the second refers to the result of this action. Examples of “resultative compounds” are presented in (19-21).

(19) Thai [Osipov 1969: 77-78]

⁵ Compound forms are translated in Russian using perfective verbs; it is not always possible to render their meaning in English shortly, so it should be kept in mind that characterizations like ‘completely’ or ‘to the end’ could be added to almost all the English translations.

⁶ What is below referred to as Chinese (with examples from Jaxontov 1957; Gorelov 1984, 1989) is the official literary form of the language.

<i>кха-май</i> ≈ 'kill dead'	⇐ <i>кха</i> 'to kill'	+ <i>май</i> 'to die'
<i>ом-май</i> 'starve to death'	⇐ <i>ом</i> 'to hunger'	+ <i>май</i> 'to die'
<i>кхен-кха</i> ≈ 'kill dead'	⇐ <i>кхен</i> 'to beat'	+ <i>кха</i> 'to kill'
<i>май-хэнг</i> 'to get dry'	⇐ <i>май</i> 'to die'	+ <i>хэнг</i> 'to be dry'
<i>нгог-сунг</i> 'to grow high'	⇐ <i>нгог</i> 'to grow'	+ <i>сунг</i> 'to be high'

(20) Chinese [Gorelov 1989: 53]

<i>shūo-míng</i> 'explain'	⇐ <i>shūo</i> 'say'	+ <i>míng</i> 'clear'
<i>suō-xiǎo</i> 'diminish, reduce'	⇐ <i>suō</i> 'squeeze'	+ <i>xiǎo</i> 'small'
<i>dǎ-dǎo</i> 'overthrow'	⇐ <i>dǎ</i> 'hit'	+ <i>dǎo</i> 'fall'

(21) Vietnamese [Solncev et al. 1960: 50]

<i>tìm thấy</i> 'find'	⇐ <i>tìm</i> 'look for'	+ <i>thấy</i> 'see'
<i>chạy trốn</i> 'ran away'	⇐ <i>chạy</i> 'ran'	+ <i>trốn</i> 'ran away'

Unlike simple verbs which are usually said to be neutral with respect to aspect, “resultative compound verbs” refer to situations with a certain result, or end-state, thus having a certain aspectual value. It is most common for “resultative verbs” to denote completed situations; sometimes such compounds even can not be used at all in imperfective forms (e.g. present tense).

It is thus obvious that “resultative compounds” can be regarded as a case of MPPs. What is important, however, is the fact that modifiers of such compounds form an open list: almost any verb or adjective may be used as a second part of a “resultative verb”, the only condition being that such verb or adjective should indicate a possible result of the situation referred to by the first, or “main”, verb. It is also reported that most of the “resultative verbs” are close to free word combinations in that they are “freely generated in the process of communication”, and are not special lexical compounds (as lexicon items). Their meaning is totally compositional and entirely clear from the meaning of parts of a compound (see e.g. discussion in (Jaxontov 1957: 84 et pass.)).

However, some verbs are found especially frequently as second parts of “resultative compounds”. They have become modifiers, having both undergone semantic emptying and loss of autonomy. Such verbs can already be regarded as auxiliaries: they can co-occur with a wide range of primary verbs, and they often demonstrate formal properties of non-autonomous words (like loss of accent or etymological tone).

The number of such “resultative modifiers” is different in different languages; we shall look at some examples, starting from not very rich systems.

2.4. Vietnamese variant

In Vietnamese, according to Panfilov (1993: 182-195), four motion verbs are used as productive “resultative modifiers”. These verbs are *đi* ‘go’, *ra* ‘go out’, *lại* ‘come’, and *lên* ‘rise’ (the latter is only used to denote the beginning of the situation). They form compound constructions with perfective meaning, co-occurring not only with verbs but also with adjectives, cf. (22).

(22) Vietnamese [Panfilov 1993: 186-195; VRS 1961: 181]

a. <i>tìm</i> ‘look for’	+ GO OUT	⇒ <i>tìm ra</i> ‘find’
<i>ti`nh</i> ‘be awake’	+ GO OUT	⇒ <i>ti`nh ra</i> ‘wake up’
<i>chết</i> ‘die’	+ GO	⇒ <i>chết đi</i> ‘die’
<i>mang</i> ‘carry’	+ GO	⇒ <i>mang đi</i> ‘carry away’
<i>hát</i> ‘sing’	+ RISE	⇒ <i>hát lên</i> ‘start singing’

	<i>ú</i> ⁷ <i>c</i> ‘be offended’	+ RISE	⇒ <i>ú</i> ⁷ <i>lên</i> ‘take offence’
b.	<i>gãy</i> ‘thin’	+ GO	⇒ <i>gãy</i> <i>đi</i> ‘grow thin’
	<i>tre</i> ⁷ ‘young’	+ COME	⇒ <i>tre</i> ⁷ <i>lại</i> ‘grow young’
	<i>run</i> ‘trembling’	+ RISE	⇒ <i>run</i> <i>lên</i> ‘start trembling’

It is also noted in (Solncev et al. 1960: 50) that auxiliary verbs *đu*⁷*ợ*⁷*c* ‘get, obtain’ and *nỗ*⁷*i* ‘can’ as “resultative modifiers” can combine with almost any main verb: e.g. *mua* *đu*⁷*ợ*⁷*c* ‘buy’, *tìm* *đu*⁷*ợ*⁷*c* ‘find’, *tìm* *nỗ*⁷*i* ‘find’ (compare with (21) and (22) above), etc.

2.5. Thai variant

Motion verbs are common as “resultative modifiers” in many, if not all, Daic languages (Morev 1991: 160 et pass.), where they can also co-occur both with verbs and adjectives. Three pairs of motion verbs are most commonly used as auxiliaries, viz. GO ~ COME, RISE ~ DESCEND, ENTER ~ GO OUT. Different main verbs prefer different modifiers; two modifiers may be used at the same time, the second one being one of the two deictic verbs GO or COME. Cf. (23):

(23) Daic [Morev 1991: 163-164]

Lao	<i>khyt3 mmk5</i> ‘think of smth.’	= ‘think’	+ GO OUT
Lao	<i>fang2 maa2</i> ‘hear’	= ‘hear’	+ COME
Lü	<i>lym4 paj1</i> ‘forget’	= ‘forget’	+ GO
Lü	<i>tyn2 maa2</i> ‘wake up’	= ‘wake up’	+ COME
Sui	<i>laaw4 tang1</i> ‘enlarge’	= ‘big’	+ COME
Thai	<i>nyk4 khyn3</i> ‘recall’	= ‘reflect’	+ RISE

However, these modifiers are not unique means of expressing perfectivity (we are not talking about free “resultative compounds”, see above). Thus, in Thai perfectivity is also expressed by means of auxiliary elements *luuw* ‘finish’ and *daj* ‘get, reach’⁷ (Morev 1991: 159, 168; Plam 1965: 51-60, 85-86). A more specific meaning with emphasis on the attainment of the inherent limit of the situation is expressed by almost desemantized markers *set*, *mot*, *cop* (sometimes translated as ‘exhaust itself’), and also by auxiliaries *sia* ‘go bad, break, loose, disappear’ and *vaj* ‘keep, strengthen’ (Plam 1965: 24-25; Morev 1991: 168-169). The problem of distribution of all these markers is not investigated.

2.6. Chinese variant

Chinese possesses a very rich system of “resultative verbs”. There are about 20 auxiliaries that are described as productive “resultative modifiers”; sometimes these auxiliary elements are even called “derivational elements”, or “resultative suffixes” (Gorelov 1984: 76).

Gorelov (1984, 1989) divides resultative modifiers into two main groups, viz. “resultative-directional” and “resultative proper”. The first group of modifiers comprises eight verbs of movement: *shàng* ‘rise’, *qǐ* ‘rise, go up’, *xià* ‘descend’, *chū* ‘go out’, *jìn* ‘enter’, *guò* ‘pass’, *huí* ‘go back’, *kāi* ‘move aside, every which way’. They co-occur with a wide range of main verbs, not necessarily with spacial semantics; cf. some examples:

(24) Chinese [Gorelov 1984: 80-81; 1989: 54]

RISE:	<i>zhù shàng</i> ‘live a life’, <i>ài shàng</i> ‘fall in love’, <i>kuā shàng</i> ‘mount a horse’
RISE, GO UP:	<i>shuō</i> ⁷ <i>qǐ</i> ‘start talking’, <i>huí</i> ⁷ <i>yǐ</i> <i>qǐ</i> ‘recall, remember’

⁷ Auxiliary *daj* is often mentioned as a means of expression of past tense; however, Plam (1965: 51-60) shows that this marker has rather aspectual meaning, although in 75% of cases it is used to refer to situations in the past.

DESCEND:	<i>fàn xià</i> ‘accomplish, commit’, <i>bō xià</i> ‘sow’
GO OUT:	<i>xiǎng chū</i> ‘think of smth., invent’, <i>zuò chū</i> ‘do, fulfil’
ENTER:	<i>mǎi jìn</i> ‘buy, acquire’
PASS:	<i>shuǐ guò</i> ‘sleep through till’, <i>shèng guò</i> ‘surpass, excel’
MOVE ASIDE:	<i>xiào kāi</i> ‘burst out laughing’, <i>diào kāi</i> ‘turn away’
GO BACK:	<i>jiù huí</i> ‘save’

Among other modifiers, about a dozen is used most frequently, like *dào*, *de*, *zháo* (all three meaning ‘reach’), *zhù* ‘live’, *jiàn* ‘see, notice’, *hǎo* ‘good’, *chéng* ‘turn out well’, *wán* ‘finish’ and others (Jaxontov 1957: 86, Gorelov 1989: 53). Perfective aspect is also expressed in Chinese by means of a particle *le* (< ‘finish’), usually used to describe situations in the past.

Motion verbs (especially *shàng* ‘rise’ and *xià* ‘descend’) as perfectivizing modifiers seem to have gone further than others in the process of grammaticalization; thus, according to Jaxontov (1957: 87), they lose accent and tone, being used in compound forms.

* * *

The use of numerous auxiliaries has been often mentioned as an areal feature of languages of South and Southeast Asia, as well as Altaic languages (cf. Masica 1976: ch.5, among others).⁸

We would like to emphasize, however, that what we are referring to here is not just the use of many auxiliary verbs, but the use of several auxiliaries with the function of expressing perfective meaning. This latter case has attracted much lesser attention of the researchers, though some interesting parallels can be drawn here.

There seem to be no MPPs in European languages, although it is possible that similar cases exist outside Eurasia (isolating languages of Western Africa are especially “suspicious” in this respect).

Another example of MPPs, that has not been discussed in the literature before, is found in Bagulal, a language spoken in Daghestan (Andi group of North Caucasian languages).

2.7. Bagulal variant

In Bagulal the MPPs system is not very rich, resembling rather the Dravidian variant. The auxiliaries used are *b=eyi* ‘GO’, *b=ô* ‘COME’, *b=eta* ‘LEAVE’, *b=uVu* ‘STAY, REMAIN’, *b=ihî* ‘TAKE’, *q’ani* ‘EAT’ and *b=uyu* ‘FINISH’. The presense of the perfectivizer meaning ‘to eat’ is almost unique; at least, it is not mentioned for any of the languages with MPPs discussed above.⁹

Formally, it is both “prototypical” periphrastic forms (comprising finite auxiliary and non-finite primary verb) and serial-like combinations (of the two or more finite forms) that are used as periphrastic perfectives. Cf. (25)-(30), taken from (Kibrik (ed.) forthc.)¹⁰:

(25) kawa	qini=b=o	b=eyi.
gates	break=N=CONV	N=WENT
	<i>The gates broke completely.</i>	

⁸ It has been claimed in the literature that compound verbs are innovation in Indo-Aryan, where they may represent a calque on corresponding Dravidian or Altaic structures (Hook 1991: 60-61). The same has been said about the emergence of periphrastic constructions in Tajik under Turkic influence (Krjuchkova 1995: 200).

⁹ The only close parallel we are aware of is “the Satisfactual Completive” in Chepang, Tibeto-Burman family — the lexical source is translated as ‘to eat, devour, ingest’ (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 58).

¹⁰ I’m grateful to Sergey Tatevosov for these examples.

- (26) samalJot **eta** *b=ô*.
plane **flew** N=CAME
The plane arrived.
- (27) u=w ga>i]nik <alamatli *w=uVu...*
that=M policeman **was.surprised** M=STAYED
The policeman was surprised...
- (28) din **b=e]da** *b=eta=b-q'aryir...*
religion N=let.go N=LEAVE=PART.N-when
When religion was permitted (again)[after the Soviet era had finished]...
- (29) o=b **b=ihî** *q'ani* b=isA.
this=N N=took ATE N=found.out
I turned out that (they) had already bought it.
- (30) hur **r=ukA** **r=uyu.**
firewood.PL N.PL=burnt N.PL=FINISHED
The firewood burnt to the end.

It should be again noted here (see also 2.1) that what compound forms denote in these examples are completed events, whereas forms of simple past (like *qini* 'broke' in (25), *eta* 'flew' in (26), *b=ihî* 'took' in (29), etc.) can refer to both actions which are completed or viewed in its totality or repeated actions (habitual aspect).

3. Discussion of MPPs' meaning

Multiple periphrastic perfectives represent an interesting phenomenon, of which both formal and semantic peculiarities deserve careful study.

Formal properties of compound verb forms (of which MPPs form a subset) have been discussed by a number of researchers, trying to formulate criteria distinguishing "Primary + Auxiliary verb" sequences from other "Verb + Verb" sequences. A summary of findings in this area is given in (Singh 1998), based on the data from South Asian languages. It is pointed out by U. N. Singh that applying different formal tests proposed in the literature (like insertion of a dummy verb DO, verb interrogation, reversibility of word order, etc.) to one and the same construction can often lead to different results. That is why it is preferable to apply a "Multiplex compound verb test", which would point to a degree to which a given construction approaches a "prototypical" compound verb (ibid., 171-172).

A number of tests have been proposed as well for defining the meaning of compound verbs. Let us summarize the criteria that prove that compound forms have perfective value:¹¹

- = they are often not allowed in construction with modal and phasal verbs;
- = they are often not permitted under negation;
- = they often can not appear in clauses which are dependent on expressions of fear and anxiety;
- = they are usually preferred in clauses which are dependent on expressions meaning 'until';
- = in complex sentences where the time of occurrence of a pair of actions is contrasted, periphrastic form expresses the prior action;

¹¹ To our knowledge, the tests summarized below have been only applied to Indo-Aryan construction with vectors (cf. Hook 1974, 1991; Singh 1998). However, similar tests are used by Steever (1983) in his research on Tamil auxiliary system.

= in complex sentences, the first clause can not have a periphrastic form if the second one **contradicts** the action described in the first clause;

= in complex sentences, the first clause can not have a periphrastic form if the second one indicates that the action described in the first clause was **not completed**;

3.1. Two types of perfectives

Many of the diagnostic tests explicitly refer to properties of perfective forms in Russian and other Slavic languages: it turns out that Indo-Aryan compound verbs behave in a fashion clearly parallel to the use of Slavic perfective forms, even as far as secondary aspectual functions are concerned.¹² But is such comparison reliable enough?

It had been assumed for a long time that aspectual opposition between perfective and imperfective, as it is presented in Slavic languages, can serve a paradigm example of aspect as such: it was expected that a certain language can only be acknowledged to possess a category of aspect if aspectual opposition is organized in a way similar to one in Slavic. It was due to insightful works of Ö. Dahl that this view was shown to be oversimplified. From the typological point of view, a so-called “Slavic-style aspect” turned out to be a rather idiosyncratic representative of aspectual category, with not so much similar systems found beyond the Slavic family (Dahl 1985: 84-89, Bybee & Dahl 1989: 85-89). Slavic type systems represent one of the two trends in the organization of perfective/imperfective distinction: perfective forms in such systems emphasize the presence of a limit or end-state of a process. Formally, such systems tend to be non-inflectional in nature in that they employ special morphological devices (like derivational verbal affixes) which are grammaticalized into aspectual markers.

Another type, known as “tripartite tense-aspect systems”, is based on the opposition between perfective past and imperfective (past and non-past), and seems to occur much more frequently (“in about every second language of the world”, according to (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 83)). It is in such systems, typical of SAE languages, that perfective aspect emphasizes the total view of the situation: the situation is viewed in this case within its temporal boundaries as a whole. This is the case that corresponds directly to Comrie’s canonical definition of perfectivity.

So, characterization of certain forms as expressing perfectivity is not the whole story; it should be kept in mind that there is no one and only perfective, and that different languages prefer different views at perfectivity.¹³

3.2. Perfective, completive, inchoative and the “turning-point”

It is clear that labelling MPPs “perfectives” is not enough; a deeper understanding of their place in the typology of aspectual systems is needed. Thus, we would like to have now a closer look at the semantic properties of periphrastic forms which are in the focus of the present study.

To start with, the terminology used in the literature to describe what we call here MPPs varies to a considerable degree. Some authors prefer neutral terms, speaking of “modified verbal expressions” (Pořízka 1967-1969), “explicator compound verbs” (Masica 1976), or simply “compound verbs” or “constructions with vectors”. Usually such labels refer to the whole set of periphrastic forms, not necessarily with perfective value.

The term “perfective” with reference to meaning of a particular subset of auxiliaries is used explicitly in the Indologists’ writings in English (e.g. Pořízka 1967, Hook 1991, Singh 1998). In Russian papers one meets with the labels like “terminative” or “completive”, both being explained as describing completeness of the action and pointing at the reaching of the end-point (cf. Katenina 1960, 1963; Liperovsky 1984, 1997). In (Liperovsky 1984: 164 et pass.) Hindi constructions with vectors are described as expressing the category of “telicity” (or

¹² For example, P. Hook (1991: 79) even mentions that “in both Russian and Hindi-Urdu, non-perfective forms in the imperative are felt to be more polite”.

¹³ This point has been emphasized recently in Plungian (1998).

“boundedness”): periphrastic forms are claimed to be “telic” in contrast to simple verbs which “are not marked with respect to telicity”.

In Russian works on the languages of Southeast Asia the term “resultative” is usually used (Jaxontov 1957; Gorelov 1984, 1989; Panfilov 1993, etc.). The use of this term here has nothing to do with “resultative” in the sense of (Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988); it is rather meant that compound forms serve to indicate the attainment of resultant stage of a situation, which is actually the same that the notion of “end-point” or “limit”.

All these terms, no matter how diverse they may be, basically point at one and the same, viz. at perfectivity (in the broad sense of the word) as one of the main aspectual meanings. On the other side, what we call MPPs here have been also described as serving to express Aktionsart (different “modes of action”) rather than aspect. It is common to place Turkic periphrastic forms under “Aktionsart” label (*sposoby dejstvija*, in Russian). The same idea is found in (Dasgupta 1977: 77) where constructions with vectors in Bangla (Bengali) are claimed to express not aspect but a specific category “vection”, or “manner”. We shall discuss a problem of Aktionsart-like “nuances of meanings” later, in section 4.2.

However, the terminology is certainly of lesser importance than the meaningful characterization of a certain phenomenon. In the case of periphrastic construction we are interested in, it can be easily seen that their function in different languages is often explained in very similar words.

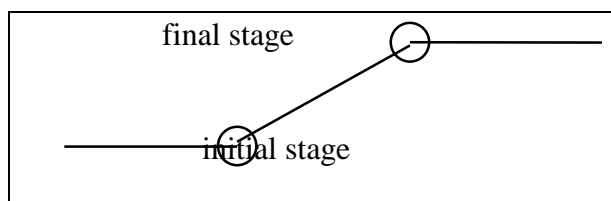
For example, forms with “resultative modifiers” in Chinese are said to refer “not to the action as such, but to a particular turning-point (*perelomnyj moment*) of this action — usually the moment of attaining a certain result” (Jaxontov 1957: 91). In Vietnamese complex forms with certain modifiers are used to indicate “a turning-point in the development of the event or in the existence of the feature” (Panfilov 1993: 186). In Khakas periphrastic forms serve to refer to “actions which have attained some result (*resul'tativnye*) or are restricted by a certain limit” (Karpov 1975: 183). See also above a quote from Liperovskij (1984) on Hindi with the same idea of telicity or boundedness.

It is thus obvious that “perfective” periphrastic forms do not express perfectivity just in the sense of “presenting the totality of the situation referred to” (cf. Comrie 1976: 3). It is pointed again and again that periphrastic forms in question indicate completeness of the situation and attaining of its end-point rather than its “totality” and “entirety”. In this respect, what such forms express is rather **completive** which is one of specific meanings from the perfective “family”.

It is also important that these periphrastic forms do not necessarily point at the end of the situation (i.e. its final stage). As it was mentioned above, what they point at is a turning-point of the situation. The notion of “turning-point” is crucial here. It would be a mistake to identify a turning-point with the finish of a situation. Rather, a turning-point is any moment in which the development of a situation changes. Two particular cases of such a point can be indicated: the very beginning, or emergence of the situation (when a state when the situation does not take place changes to a state when it takes place) and the end, or attaining a limit (when a state when the situation takes place changes to a state when it “exhausts itself” and does not take place any longer).

Schematically, the development of a typical telic situation (with two turning-points) can be shown as follows:

(This picture is used in the works of Jelena Paducheva (cf. Paducheva 1996: 91 et pass.), who refers to Alan Timberlake as the one who used such schematic images first.)



Which of the two turning-points will be emphasized, depends on the verb, namely on its aspectual class.¹⁴ Thus, for telic verbs that denote situations that have an inherent end-point (or limit), it is exactly the attainment of this end-point which is indicated by a completive form. For atelic or stative verbs, which denote situations which development is not directed at reaching of any specified limit, the emergence of a situation is pointed at. Finally, there are also punctual verbs which denote situations that are momentary and do not have any duration (their initial and final stages can be said to be rolled in one) — in this case completive forms just point at the realization of the situation.¹⁵

The twofold (or even threefold) nature of completive markers has been noted in the descriptions of MPPs. Thus, Hook (1991) gives examples of constructions with vectors in Indo-Aryan which have different meaning depending on the “inherent aspectual value of the proposition”. Compound verbs indicate culmination of Accomplishments (in Vendler’s terms; = telic verbs), inception of Activities or States, as in (31), and are also compatible with Achievements (= punctual verbs), as in (4).

(31) Hindi [Hook 1991: 71]

is kalpanaa ke Dar mE Duubaa mAI so gayaa.
 this idea GEN fear in drowned I sleep WENT
Sinking in fear at this thought I fell asleep.

The same is true for other examples of MPPs cited above. Thus, in (24) from Chinese there are clear examples of periphrastic forms indicating completion in combinations with telic verbs. Compare these with cases of signalling inchoation of states and atelic processes, like ‘fall in love’, ‘start talking’, ‘burst out laughing’. The same is true for Vietnamese examples in (22), like ‘wake up (=start to be awake)’, ‘start singing’, ‘take offence (=start to be offended)’. Note that compound forms based on the adjectives also denote beginning of a state, namely acquisition of a certain feature: ‘grow thin’, ‘grow fat’, ‘grow young’, etc.

It is therefore clear that the function of completive here is wider than just indicating completion in the sense of “termination, reaching the end”. The function of completive is to indicate the event (not a process or state), and it does so by emphasizing one of the turning-points of the situation. Which of the turning-points is emphasized, depends on the situation itself. But it is important that in the case of completive it is not true that “the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle and end rolled into one” (Comrie 1976: 3). The latter characterizes perfective of the tripartite systems, while perfective of the Slavic-style systems corresponds to completive in the broad sense just discussed.¹⁶

MPPs express completive in this broader sense, so it may be wiser to label them not “MPPs” but rather “MPCs”, “multiple periphrastic completives”. In this respect, the comparison of MPPs with perfectivity in Slavic turns out to be even more telling than it intended to be (by the authors who used such comparison).

Completive nature of MPPs meaning can also explain the label “intensive” which is sometimes used in Russian descriptions of Indo-Aryan compound verbs. Thus, e.g. in (Katenina 1960: 70; 1963: 68) a group of compound verbs is said to indicate “intensive mode of action”, pointing at the deviation from a usual development of the situation. In fact, according to (Bybee

¹⁴ We leave out here the discussion of the problem of identification of aspectual classes in a particular language, as well as the problem of attribution of inherent aspectual value to a verb (as a lexical item) vs. the proposition as a whole.

¹⁵ We would like to point out here that the discussed subvarieties (viz. pointing at the limit of a telic process, the emergence of atelic process or state, or the realization of a momentary situation) are not distinct meanings but variants of one completive meaning. They are expressed by one and the same means, the choice of particular variety depending on the nature of the (main) verb.

¹⁶ Cf. Plungian (1998: 376-377), where perfective of Slavic-style systems is called “the perfective of completive type”.

et al. 1994: 57-60), emphatic value is typologically characteristic of completive forms. MPPs here just support the common trend: what they express is completive (and not “intensity”), but sometimes emphatic semantic nuances can be added to this aspectual value (see also discussion in section 4.2 below).

Another interesting question concerning the MPPs’ meaning can be formulated as follows: are MPPs, expressing “the perfective of completive type”, in principle incompatible with the expression of “the perfective of a total view”? This question should be answered negatively at least for some systems of MPPs.

Expression of a total view of the situation by means of periphrastic forms can be also found, though it is a much more marginal phenomenon. Thus, it is mentioned for Khakas that construction with *sal-* ‘throw’ can be used in the context of temporal modifiers of duration, like in (32):

(32) Khakas [Karpov 1975: 184]

Завод-та	ікі	чыл	тоСын	сал-Сан.
factory.LOC	two	year	work.CONV	THROW-PST

He worked at a factory for two years.

(32) is clearly an example of a perfective of “a total view”, though such function is usually not characteristic of MPPs.

The situation here is similar to one observed in Russian, for example: perfective in Russian is a typical example of “Slavic-style” completive, but among perfectivizers there is a couple of special markers (viz. the prefixes *po-* and *pro-*) expressing “a total view of the situation”. Similar examples with MPPs show that it is really the case that the two types of perfective systems are not opposite in principle but rather “differ with respect to the weight they give to different components of prototypical perfectivity” (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 88).

Finally, we would like to emphasize that our understanding of completive “in the broad sense” should not be confused with the notion of “phase”. Phasal meanings, especially ‘to begin’ and ‘to finish’, may seem to be analogous to the indication of inchoation vs. completion discussed above. In fact, such similarity is only superficial. While phasal modifiers can point freely to beginning, continuation or end of any situation (e.g. *to begin writing ~ to stop writing, to begin to sleep ~ to stop sleeping*, etc.), the function of completive modifiers is “to spotlight” a certain crucial point of change of the situation, the nature of that point being determined by the nature of the situation itself. What is more important, while the function of completive is to indicate a certain point of the internal temporal structure of the situation, phasal meanings have little to do with the internal temporal structure: what they indicate is rather “the existence or non-existence of a situation at several moments, as compared to some other moments” (Plungian 1999: 315).

4. MPPs: modifiers and their distribution

As we have seen in section 2, up to 10 or even more auxiliary verbs can be used in a language as means of expression of perfectivity. The meaning of periphrastic constructions with such verbs is characterized in section 3 more precisely as perfective of completive type (or Slavic-style perfective). Still a number of important questions is left unanswered: to what extent is the range of auxiliaries used in MPPs similar across languages, and why these auxiliaries are used with such function? why so many perfective modifiers are needed, and is there any difference between various auxiliaries? These problems are dealt with in the present section.

4.1. Perfective auxiliaries as “bounders”

The comparison of auxiliary verbs used as perfective modifiers in the MPPs systems discussed above reveals remarkable cross-linguistic similarity. Though there is a considerable variation in the number of auxiliary modifiers, the range of items is very close across languages as far as the original lexical semantics of the verbs is concerned.¹⁷

Among the auxiliaries recurring most often we find:

1. Verbs of motion: GO, COME, ENTER, GO OUT, RISE, DESCEND, FALL.
2. Verbs of causation of motion or location: GIVE, TAKE, THROW, PUT, PLACE.

Other dynamic verbs of change found in MPPs more rarely include SIT DOWN, LEAVE, REACH, PASS, PUSH, SEND, MOVE, DROP, HOLD, STAY, TAKE OUT, DIE, KILL, LOOSE, EAT, etc.

Such similarity observed across languages in the choice of perfective modifiers can not be accidental. There must be something in common between these auxiliary verbs, something that makes them particularly suitable for pointing at the moment of change of some other situation.

And indeed such common feature can be easily seen: all the verbs used as perfective auxiliaries are dynamic verbs denoting a change in location or an action entailing such a change. All these verbs are, so to say, typical verbs of change themselves; most of them are punctual or telic (or, at least it is probable that they will be punctual or telic in particular languages). As lexemes, they all belong to basic and frequently used items, which are generally more subject to the grammaticalization processes (see Traugott & Heine 1991: 7-9, Bybee et al. 1994: 5, Lessau 1994: 71-72, etc.).

Being used in the construction with other (main) verb, they indicate the change in the situation denoted by this verb, like “tear-THROW” in (3) indicates that the situation ‘tear the papers’ has come to its natural limit, and the papers are now all torn to pieces. Perfective auxiliaries imply a definite limiting point of a process, thus “making the process denoted by the verb ‘bounded’ (‘telic’)” (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 85). What Bybee & Dahl refer to are not MPPs, but perfectivizing bound morphemes like suffixes or prefixes. However, what they tell about such morphemes seems to be applicable to perfectivizing auxiliaries as well.

Morphemes that have a semantic effect of making a process bounded, or telic, are called “bounders” in (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 86); the same term is used in (Bybee et al. 1994: 87-90). Examples of bounders are verbal prefixes in Slavic or free particle in Germanic languages, like *up*, *down*, *out* (in *eat up* or *write down*) in English (see Dahl 1985: 85-86). Although counterparts to such modifiers (usually with spatial meaning) can be found in many languages¹⁸, in some of them bounders have become grammaticalized as aspectual markers, verbs with bounders being interpreted as perfective. Examples of “bounder perfectivization” by means of prefixes or suffixes is found in Slavic and Baltic languages, as well as in Hungarian, Georgian, Margi, one of Chadic languages, and in Kusaiean and Mokilese in Micronesia (see Comrie 1976: 88-94, Chung & Timberlake 1985: 235-239, Dahl 1985: 86-89, Bybee et al. 1994: 87-90).

To our opinion, MPPs present another case of **bounder perfectivization**. What perfectivizing auxiliaries do is basically the same what is done by perfectivizing prefixes: they both indicate a turning-point, or moment of change in the development of the situation. In a sense, these perfectivizing modifiers change the aspectual class of the verb, be it by means of prefixes (like perfective *na-pisat’* ‘to write down’ from the imperfective *pisat’* ‘to write’ in Russian) or auxiliaries (cp. *nac nup-* ‘write + GIVE’ in (18) above).¹⁹ Like perfectivization by

¹⁷ At least judging by a one- or two-word translations available in descriptions.

¹⁸ See (Talmy 1985) for the treatment of such verbal modifiers (which he calls “satellites”); the use of spatial “satellites” for expressing aspect is briefly discussed in (Talmy 1985: 115-117).

¹⁹ Comparison of periphrastic forms with Russian perfectivizing prefixes is found in many of the cited works, like (Jaxontov 1957: 92), (Katenina 1960: 70), (Morev 1991: 173), etc.

means of prefixes, auxiliary perfectivization also utilizes a set of several modifiers with (predominantly) locative meaning.

Bounder perfectivization by means of prefixes, suffixes or particles is one of the grammaticalization paths of “perfective of completive type”. This path leads from adverbial sources: certain verb-adverb combinations “may become very widespread in a language, with the adverbs becoming grammaticized and generalized to occur with many verbs” (Bybee et al. 1994: 87). Bounder perfectivization by means of auxiliary verbs is another grammaticalization path, which have not been discussed in detail in the literature. It was only the path leading from periphrastic perfect to perfective that was mentioned as a possible way of development of periphrastic forms into forms with perfective meaning (ibid., 81-87). However, MPPs present the case when perfective is expressed by periphrastic forms which never expressed perfect.

4.2. The problem of distribution

In a case when a number of markers is used in a language with the same function, a question of the distribution of such markers inevitably arises. In the present section we would like to present parameters which seem to us relevant for the distribution of auxiliaries in MPPs systems.²⁰

4.2.1. First of all, different perfective periphrastic forms may differ in their **additional meanings**.

It is not uncommon to find in descriptions indications of certain “semantic nuances” associated with this or that form in addition to their “basic” meaning (cp. discussion of emphatic value, or “intensivity”, in section 3.2 above). Such situation is typical of markers which are not fully grammaticalized: their original lexical semantics is still retained to a great extent, and that displays itself in the existence of some special additional meanings ultimately connected with the original lexical meaning.

Thus, it is often reported that perfective forms with verbs like THROW or FALL as auxiliaries express “suddenness” or “unexpectedness” of the action. Periphrastic forms with PASS usually indicate that the situation is realized “casually” or “in passing”, at the same time with some other situation. (See examples from Tatar in (Zakiev 1993: 186-190).)

The difference between periphrastic perfectives with GIVE and TAKE is usually described as follows: construction with GIVE is used when the action referred to is accomplished for the benefit of the subject of the action himself, while construction with TAKE points that it something is done for the benefit of someone else. Cf. example (33) from Hindi; similar cases can be found in examples from Khakas and Tatar above.

(33) Hindi [Katenina 1960: 70]

nikal lenā ‘drag out (for oneself)’ = ‘drag’ + TAKE

nikal denā ‘drag out (for someone else)’ = ‘drag’ + GIVE

Interestingly, in Malayalam there is also a difference between the two verbs meaning ‘give’: one is used to describe the action for the benefit of the speaker, and another — for the benefit of a third person (Sekhar & Glazov 1961: 62).

Auxiliaries like PUT or HOLD may signal that the subject is interested in keeping the results of the action; on the contrary, auxiliaries expressing motion away, like LEAVE, emphasize the idea of “liberation” after fulfilment of what had to be done. Cf. (34):

²⁰ The problem of distribution of perfective markers is not less important for languages with perfectivizing prefixes or suffixes. It is not obvious, why, for example, in Russian perfective form *na-pisat’* ‘to write down’ is derived by means of the prefix *na-* (‘on’), *pro-čitat’* ‘to read’ by means of *pro-* (≈‘through’) or *s-delat’* ‘to make’ by means of *s-* (≈‘together’). This problem is far from being solved, though it lately has attracted more and more attention; see discussion in (Krongauz 1998: 55-98).

(34) Hindi [Katenina 1960: 70]

likh rakh^anā ‘write down (in order to keep a note)’ = ‘write’ + HOLD

likh chor^anā ‘write down (and get rid of writing)’ = ‘write’ + LEAVE

Compare also examples (9) and (10) from Malayalam: in both sentences the same main verb meaning ‘go’ is used; however, in (9) construction with PUT expresses the completion only, whereas in (10) construction with THROW is translated as “escaped”. According to (Andronov 1993: 171-172), which is the source of these examples, periphrastic form with PUT is a rather neutral means of expressing perfectivity, while construction with THROW has additional meaning of “deliberatness” or “irreversibility” of the action.

A difficulty with periphrastic perfective constructions with additional “nuances of meaning” lies in the status which may be attributed to such constructions in particular descriptions. Apart from being described as perfective constructions with additional meaning, such forms are sometimes treated as expressing these additional meanings, and their aspectual function in such descriptions pales into insignificance.

Thus, Andronov (1960, 1987) characterizes Tamil constructions with the auxiliaries GO, LEAVE, PUT, THROW, PUSH and FINISH as expressing “completeness of a situation”. Construction with *vai-* ‘put’ is said to indicate the subject’s interest in keeping the results of the action, whereas construction with *pooTu-* translated as ‘throw’ points at “extravagant” or “irreversible” nature of the situation (Andronov 1987: 222). The perspective is quite different in (Steever 1983, Lehmann 1993): many of the auxiliaries mentioned above as aspectual are described as “attitudinal”, i.e. expressing the speaker’s subjective evaluation of the narrated event. Thus, according to Steever (1983), construction with *poo-* GO is used to express the negative opinion of the speaker (“the change is for worse”); construction with *taLLu-* ‘push’ signals the speaker’s opinion “that the activity named by the main verb takes place at an accelerated rate”; construction with *pooTu-* (translated as ‘cast down, put, draw, set in position, drop’) expresses the speaker’s opinion that the subject does not care about the consequences of the action, etc.

It is thus a problem of semantic description of periphrastic forms: it is not generally accepted that their perfectivizing function is basic, other additional meanings being just “nuances”. However, we would like to note again that there is nothing unusual in the situation when a marker which is not fully grammaticalized has some specific used connected with its original semantics. As for completive markers, it has been shown in cross-linguistic studies that additional semantic nuances are particularly characteristic of them; see esp. (Bybee et al. 1994: 57-61).²¹

4.2.2. The distribution of perfectivizers is often **determined by the semantics of the main verb**.

If all perfective modifiers in MPPs systems were semantically different, one could expect that each auxiliary verb would freely co-occur with any main verb, the difference between constructions being in the presence of certain “semantic nuances” of a given auxiliary.

In fact, the situation is far from being so simple; it is almost a commonplace in all descriptions of MPPs systems that not all the combinations of auxiliary + main verb are possible. Thus, according to (Singh 1998: 180), in different Indo-Aryan languages only 17-35% of theoretically possible combinations can be realized. Languages of Southeast Asia also provide examples showing that this or that auxiliary can combine with certain groups of main verbs only.

The presence of lexical restrictions is often mentioned as a feature typical of not fully grammaticalized items: thus, progressives at early stages of development can only apply to

²¹ Note that markers of “derivational perfective” like Slavic prefixes, also often add meanings other than perfectivity.

dynamic verbs; futures from verbs like ‘to want’ are initially used to refer to upcoming situations which are desired by the speaker, and so on.

What we see in the case of MPPs is a kind of division of main verbs into several semantic groups according to the compatibility with a certain perfectivizing auxiliary: thus, one group of verbs co-occurs with the auxiliary AUX₁, another group with AUX₂, while still other group is possible with AUX₃, and so on. Such classification are usually absent in descriptions in strict and clear form, what is available are characterizations of most general semantic “preferences” of auxiliaries.

Thus, it is often mentioned that the verb GO as a perfectivizing auxiliary co-occurs predominantly with the verbs denoting disappearance, departure, diminution or destruction. And indeed, examples like (6-8) above confirm the truth of such observation.

Liperovsky (1984: 167 et pass.) points that in Hindi verbs meaning ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘look’ or ‘think’ form periphrastic perfectives by means of the auxiliary TAKE, whereas the verbs meaning ‘say’, ‘loose’ or ‘throw’ can only combine with GIVE.

It is probably MPPs systems of the languages like Vietnamese, Thai or Chinese that are particularly interesting in this respect. In languages of Southeast Asia spatial oppositions like ‘to’ ~ ‘from’, ‘up’ ~ ‘down’ or ‘in’ ~ ‘out’ are usually involved in the MPPs systems. These orientational oppositions are expressed by motion verbs GO / COME, RISE / DESCEND, ENTER / GO OUT, etc. When such motion verbs co-occur with other verbs denoting movement in space (like ‘run’ of ‘fly’), the direction of this movement (running or flying, respectively) is indicated. However, motion verbs as perfective modifiers can also combine with other sorts of verbs: in this case, some spatial characteristics is still being attributed to the situation denoted by such verb.

Thus, each situation (even those of non-spatial nature) is thought of as developing in this or that direction. The crucial point is that such direction is determined for every situation (and certainly has some cognitive motivation), though it is usually hardly predictable.²²

For example, in Thai the verb meaning ‘forget’ forms perfective construction with the modifier GO and is impossible with COME. On the other hand, verbs meaning ‘say’, ‘speak’ and ‘sneeze’ are only compatible with a complex modifier GO OUT + COME; it is impossible to use with them auxiliaries ENTER + GO, or even ENTER + COME (Plam 1965: 28). Such distribution, to our opinion, is motivated by cognitive conceptualization of the situation: thus, the situation of speaking can be easily thought of as a situation of something (the words) “going out” of somewhere (the mouth of the addressee) and “coming” to the speaker. Similarly, the situation of forgetting may be presented as something moving away (and disappearing) from the subject: what is moving away are the facts which are being forgotten. On the other hand, more specific evaluational mechanisms may be involved in the distribution: thus, only GO (and never COME) is used to describe a departure from the expected normal state, e.g. ‘go out of order’, ‘forget’, ‘faint’, ‘go crazy’, etc. (Gandour 1978: 383).

In Vietnamese, according to Panfilov (1993: 190-193), a certain opposition exists between the auxiliaries GO (*đi*) and GO OUT (*ra*). While GO combines with verbs denoting departure or loss (like ‘forget’, ‘die’, ‘kill’, ‘break’, ‘loose’) and with adjectives indicating some feature evaluated as “negative” (‘bad’, ‘old’, ‘weak’, ‘thin’, ‘dark’), the auxiliary GO OUT co-occurs with the verbs denoting mental processes (usually referring to keeping or obtaining of information, like ‘remember’, ‘understand’, ‘know’, ‘hear’) and with adjectives indicating “positive” features: ‘good’, ‘young’, ‘fat’, ‘strong’, ‘bright’, etc. Similar “ethic” distribution is found in Thai, where the choice of COME carries the positive connotation, whereas GO carries with it a neutral or negative connotation (Gandour 1978: 384).

²² Such situation resembles distribution of classifiers: in a language that has classifiers, lexical items (in this case, nouns) are also divided into classes according to possibility of co-occurrence with a particular classifier. In the case of MPPs, however, it is particularly important that a certain modifier does not only follow the verb, but attributes a certain aspectual characteristics to a situation referred to.

Other examples of idiosyncratic combinations of perfective modifiers with motion verbs can be seen in (22)-(24) above.

One of the general principles underlying the distribution of auxiliaries can be formulated as follows: original lexical meaning of the auxiliary should semantically correspond to (or agree with) the meaning of the main verb. Meaning of the auxiliary can be said to “harmonize” with the meaning of a primary verb, or even it can double the meaning of the primary. It is not uncommon to find cases when auxiliaries co-occur with synonymous primaries (35a), or even with the same verb used as a primary (35b):

(35) Hindi [Barannikov & Barannikov 1956: 137]

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| a. | gir-parṇā ‘to fall down (PF)’ | = ‘fall’ | + FALL |
| | cauṅk-uṭhnā ‘to jump up (PF)’ | = ‘go up’ | + RISE |
| b. | de-denā ‘to give (PF)’ | = ‘give’ | + GIVE |
| | le-lenā ‘to take (PF)’ | = ‘take’ | + TAKE |

At the same time, particular co-occurrence restrictions and the very principles of categorization on which they are based differ considerably from language to language. It would be an interesting goal to compare such principles across languages and to estimate the limits of variation. It can turn out that the variation of categorization principles is in fact limited and some principles have universal value, reflecting some universal cognitive mechanisms. However, such comparison is unrealizable at present, as the necessary data are usually lacking; a detailed analysis of distribution of perfective auxiliaries with the classification of a representative number of main verbs can be hardly found in existing descriptions.

We would also like to note that idiosyncrasy in the combination of modifiers with words they modify is characteristic of bounded perfectivization in principle; this fact is always mentioned with respect to perfectivizing prefixes or suffixes (see e.g. Bybee & Dahl 1989: 86). The problem of distribution of perfective modifiers is not lesser important for languages with “derivational perfectives”, where “the choice of bounded for a particular verb is usually unpredictable or at least heavily dependent on the meaning of the verb” (ibid., 86).²³ But even for such systems, the problem of distribution is far from being solved.

4.2.3. It could be expected that some other properties of main verbs (apart from their lexical semantics) would be involved in the distribution of auxiliaries vis-a-vis primaries.

A possible candidate for such property could be the “inherent aspectual value” of verbs (see also section 3). In this imaginary case certain auxiliaries would co-occur, say, with telic verbs only, another auxiliary would be appropriate with punctual verbs and so on. However, we are not aware of any cases when the distribution of perfectivizing auxiliaries would be interpreted in such terms (one has to admit, at the same time, that aspectual value of predicates is not often taken into account by authors of descriptive grammars).

One feature of verbs which undoubtedly plays an important role in the distribution of perfective auxiliaries is **transitivity**. It is a standard rule at least for Indo-Aryan languages that transitive auxiliaries like GIVE and TAKE co-occur only or predominantly with transitive main verbs, whereas intransitive auxiliaries like GO and COME are used with intransitives (this is noted in (Barannikov & Barannikov 1956: 128 et pass.) for Hindi, (Bykova 1966: 91) for Bengali, etc.).

²³ Cp. Comrie’s note about perfectivizing prefixes in Russian: at an earlier period of development these prefixes, being semantically non-empty, could “reiterate some inherent semantic feature of the verb, as with *na-pisat’* (i.e. ‘write on’), *pro-čitat’* (i.e. ‘read through’)” (Comrie 1976: 89). The hypothesis of semantic harmony between the meaning of a prefix and verbs it can co-occur with was put forward in 1950s by M.Vey and C.H. van Schooneveld; see discussion in (Krongauz 1998: ch.6).

This phenomenon is called “Transitivity Harmony” in Dasgupta 1977: he notes that in Bengali vector verbs form synonymous pairs with difference only in transitivity. Thus, meaning of auxiliaries GO / GIVE, COME / BRING, RISE / RAISE, STAY / KEEP, FALL / DROP, DIE / KILL is the same, but first members of pairs combine with intransitive primaries and their second members with transitives. Cf. (36):

(36) Bengali [Dasgupta 1977: 82]

a. boktrita Suru **hoe** **gElo.**
 speech beginning **happen** **WENT**
*The speech **began**.*

b. tumi boktrita Suru **kore** **dile.**
 you speech beginning **do** **GAVE**
*You **began** the speech.*

* * *

Summarizing the present section, we would like to point out that the interrelation between auxiliary and main verbs in MPPs systems is complex, and several factors influence their compatibility.

First of all, the choice of a particular auxiliary verb may depend on the primary: its lexical semantics (or cognitive conceptualization of the situation denoted by the verb) or inherent properties (like transitivity). In this case, a particular auxiliary corresponds to a particular class of main verbs, but the function of different auxiliaries corresponding to different classes can be identical, viz. expressing perfectivity.

On the other hand, the interpretation of periphrastic construction may depend heavily on the auxiliary, when in addition to perfectivity it expresses some other aspectual (or evaluational) meaning. In this case, the choice of a particular auxiliary verb depends on the intention of the speaker to emphasize a certain characteristics of the development of the situation.

Such state of things is not specific for periphrastic perfectives, but can be observed ever and again in the course of development of grammatical markers. The properties of perfectivizing auxiliaries discussed above are generally characteristic of items on early stages of grammaticalization. These properties, like co-occurrence restrictions or the presence of additional semantic nuances, are ultimately manifestations of a low degree of grammaticalization of auxiliaries and reflect “details of their lexical history” (cf. a principle of Persistence in (Hopper 1991: 22); see also (Bybee et al. 1994: 15-17)). The discussion of MPPs’ status from the point of view of grammaticalization process(es) concludes our paper.

5. Conclusion on MPPs’ status

5.0. Let us summarize the main properties of the phenomenon which has been in the focus of our attention in sections 1 to 4.

(1) There are languages where certain sets of auxiliaries are being used for a special purpose: periphrastic constructions with such auxiliaries express *perfective aspect*. We call such constructions “multiple periphrastic perfectives” (MPPs).

(2) Among such auxiliaries (the number of which varies from 4-5 up to 15 and more) *dynamic verbs of change* are usually found, like verbs of motion and causative verbs of change in location or posture.

(3) Semantically, MPPs present a case of expressing perfectivity of the so-called “Slavic-style” aspectual systems: they point at a turning-point, a moment of change in the development of the situation (rather than express “a total view of the situation”). This meaning is therefore closer to *completive* (in a broad sense of the word).

(4) MPPs can be compared to “Slavic-style” systems on formal grounds as well: like perfectivization by means of prefixes or suffixes, auxiliary perfectivization also utilizes a *set of several modifiers* with (predominantly) locative meaning.

(5) Modifiers of both derivational perfectives (in languages like Slavic, Baltic, Georgian, etc.) and MPPs may be called “*bounders*” using Östen Dahl’s term: what they do is, basically, presenting the process denoted by the main verb as “bounded”, or telic. That means that, in a sense, perfectivizing modifiers change the aspectual class of the verb.

(6) Auxiliaries used in MPPs, like modifiers of bounder perfectivization in general, are *not fully grammaticalized markers*: traces of their original lexical meaning display themselves in the presence of additional meanings and constraints on the distribution of particular periphrastic forms.

It has been noted many times that derivational perfectives usually have a marginal grammatical status, though the languages where they can be found vary in the degree of development of aspectual opposition (see e.g. Comrie 1976: 93-94, Bybee & Dahl 1989: 86).²⁴ The same is true for MPPs: although they play an important role in expressing perfectivity, they can by no means be treated as “genuine” grammatical markers. Like “derivational perfectivization” by means of prefixes or suffixes, bounder perfectivization by means of auxiliaries does not create proper inflectional categories, but rather “grammaticalized lexical categories”, as Dahl (1985: 89) put it. In this respect, MPPs stay, so to say, somewhere between lexical verbal compounds and “true” (grammaticalized) periphrastic forms.

It is important to remember, however, that systems of MPPs are constantly developing, so what is said above characterizes, strictly speaking, only a certain phase of their evolution. The fate of MPPs is not determined once and forever; it can be expected at least for some cases that “real” grammatical categories will develop on the basis of MPPs systems.

What follows are some observations concerning gradual changes in the grammatical status of MPPs.

5.1. First of all, let us look at the ways of development of the **auxiliaries** themselves.

We have noted above that constraints on the distribution of auxiliaries are a manifestation of a low degree of their grammaticalization: there are many *co-occurrence restrictions* for particular auxiliaries, depending on their original lexical meaning. However, it is usual for items undergoing grammaticalization to extend their distributional possibilities as their meaning becomes more and more general. Examples of such extension can be found in the descriptions of MPPs systems.

Thus, it was mentioned above that the verb GO as perfectivizing auxiliary tends to occur primarily with main verbs denoting disappearance, departure or destruction. When the traces of original meaning of the auxiliary begin to fade, it becomes possible for it to occur in situations of approach or coming to exist. Cf. example (37) from Hindi, where the vector verb GO co-occurs with the main verb meaning ‘come’:

(37) Hindi [Hook 1991: 67]
idhar **aa** **jaao !**
here **come** **GO**
Come here!

²⁴ Even in Slavic, which are commonly assumed to have gone further towards such development, perfectivizing prefixes can not be said to *express perfectivity* directly, at least because secondary imperfective verbs may be formed on the basis of perfective prefixed verbs. So, perfectivizing prefixes make a (simple) verb perfective, but they do not express perfective aspect by themselves.

In Hindi only about 40% of periphrastic constructions with GO may be interpreted as going away in this or that sense (on the contrary, in Marathi, where periphrastic auxiliaries are less grammaticalized, GO is used in such cases in 60%, see (Hook 1991: 80)).

Other examples of the same phenomenon can be found in (5) above from Tamil, where the auxiliary LEAVE combines with the main verb meaning ‘come’, or in (38) from Bengali, where the auxiliary SIT which indicates movement downwards co-occurs with the verb ‘rise’ denoting movement upwards.

- (38) Bengali [Bykova 1966: 92]
 taratari ũhiya bɔʃa
 hastily rise.CONV SIT
 to **stand up** hastily

Turning to sentences with non-motional semantics, we find the auxiliary GIVE co-occurring with the main verb ‘take’ in (39):

- (39) Hindi [Hook 1991: 67]
 is mE us ne teraa naam le diyaa.
 this in he ERG your name take GAVE
He implicated you in this.

In all these examples, auxiliary verb form periphrastic construction with main verbs which meaning is almost opposite to the original lexical meaning of the auxiliary. The fact that they still can combine shows that there’s not so much original meaning retained in the auxiliary, and that it is close to become a pure perfectivizing marker.

Another peculiarity of MPPs is that several auxiliaries with different semantic nuances are being used with one (perfectivizing) function. Such situation is typical of early stages of grammaticalization; what happens later is called “specialization” by Hopper (1991: 22). That means that the number of modifiers may become smaller, with the remaining one or few forms assuming more general grammatical meaning.

In the ideal variant, only one perfectivizing modifier, with most general meaning and with no co-occurrence restrictions, should “survive” in the course of development. Though we are not aware of such examples, we can present some data showing that specialization does really happen in MPPs systems.

Thus, according to Hook (1991: 74-75), specialization in the sphere of MPPs can be observed in Hindi-Urdu where the system of perfectivizers is more developed, in comparison to other Indo-Aryan languages like Marathi. For example, in Hindi text corpus, 10 auxiliaries were attested, whereas in a similar Marathi corpus there were 14 of them. The five most important auxiliaries in Hindi sample account for 92% of periphrastic forms, which corresponds to only 82% in Marathi. The most common auxiliary GO accounts for 44% in Hindi sample, but only 32% in Marathi. All that shows that smaller number of auxiliaries in Hindi has a higher ratio of occurrence than their counterparts in Marathi.

Singh (1998: 178-180) also presents statistics showing which of the auxiliary verbs co-occur most freely with the majority of main verbs. Thus, in Indo-Aryan languages TAKE, GIVE and GO as perfectivizing auxiliaries are the most common; each of them can co-occur with more than 50% of main verbs. Among other verbs, COME, SIT, FALL, RISE, DIE are reasonably frequent, although there is some cross-linguistic variation. On the other hand, in Dravidian languages GO seems to be even more grammaticalized than in Indo-Aryan: thus, in Telugu it occurs with 86% of main verbs, whereas in different Indo-Aryan languages the percentage is about 55-79%.

The information available for Indo-Aryan languages shows that in different languages systems of MPPs are developed to different degrees, and therefore represent “successive phases along a developmental continuum” (Hook 1991: 62). There is evidence that MPPs systems become more and more elaborate with time in the history of language (ibid., 79).

5.2. Another way of looking at the development of MPPs systems is comparing the degree of grammaticalization of the **aspectual opposition** itself. The grammaticalization of aspectual meaning is obviously connected with the grammaticalization of its means of expression, i.e., in our case, auxiliary verbs.

Different languages show different degrees of “advancement” in the use of MPPs as an essential part of the aspectual system. Let us indicate some parameters of variation, relying basically on the data available for Indo-Aryan languages (all the information used below is taken from (Hook 1991)).

First of all, there is a wide variation in text frequency of perfective compound verbs. Thus, in Hindi one finds approximately one compound verb in every eight clauses, whereas in Marathi the corresponding figure is one in thirty-two.

The frequency of use depends on the conditions under which the periphrastic perfective form may or must be used. Such conditions also vary considerably in different languages.

For example, it was mentioned above that it is usual for perfective auxiliaries to be used with main verbs which meaning is as closer as possible to the original lexical meaning of the auxiliary. That is why it is sometimes possible for an auxiliary to be used with the same verb, i.e. the auxiliary lexical source (roughly, “with itself”), cf. (35b) above from Hindi. Such combinations like *de-denā* ‘to give (PF)’ are normal in Hindi where perfective auxiliaries have undergone lexical emptying to a great extent. On the other hand, such combinations are not possible in languages where auxiliaries still retain their lexical meaning, as in Marathi. In Marathi combinations like *de-denā* are felt to be semantically redundant; it is not like that in Hindi where there is no redundancy, because GIVE as an auxiliary has a modifying function only and expresses only perfectivity.

In languages when periphrastic perfectives are not fully grammaticalized, they are usually used only in cases when it is necessary to emphasize the completeness of the action. When the verb itself is most likely to be interpreted as referring to the completed situation, perfective form does not appear. That is why in such languages (Marathi being an example of them) compound forms are only used with verbs inherently unspecified with regard to completeness. Punctual or telic verbs like ‘catch’, ‘arrive’, ‘begin’, etc. do not come in periphrastic perfective forms, nor do periphrastic perfectives are used when the context itself supports completive reading.

The situation is quite opposite in languages with a high degree of grammaticalization of compound forms (like Hindi). Perfective forms appear especially frequently with primary verbs denoting situations with inferrable culminations (about 70% of propositions, comparing with 50% in Marathi). They can be used freely not only with telic, but even with punctual verbs, which “by themselves” always indicate completed events.

A similar observation in regard to Chinese compounds is made by Jaxontov (1957: 94): he notes that the main perfectivizing auxiliaries *shàng* ‘rise’ and *xià* ‘descend’ do not co-occur very often with telic verbs, although the number of telic verbs which form compound perfective forms is constantly increasing (it is greater in modern literary Chinese than in the language of “old novels”, and still greater in conversational speech and in some dialects).

In languages like Hindi, perfective compounds tend to appear obligatorily in contexts that refer to completive conceptualization of the situation. This is a crucial evidence showing that the role of MPPs in the aspectual system of such language has changed from marginal to principal. The absence of perfective forms becomes meaningful: it comes close to have a conventional interpretation of imperfectivity. Thus, the opposition of simple and periphrastic forms more and more becomes a fully grammaticalized aspectual opposition.

We have characterized the use of multiple periphrastic forms with perfective meaning in a number of languages of Eurasia. There seems to be enough evidence for treating what we call MPPs in different languages as a manifestation of one and the same phenomenon, although there certainly exist some language-specific peculiarities. Systems of MPPs in different languages, if not being representation of one type of expression of perfectivity, at least belong to one “family” of systems with periphrastic perfectives.

We think that this “family” of periphrastic perfectives systems has much in common with systems of “derivational perfectives”, and our aim was to draw attention to this parallel between the two cases. Unfortunately, derivational perfectives themselves have not been studied carefully and in detail in the typological perspective. The present paper may be seen only as a rough and preliminary summary of the existing data together with a few basic generalizations. We hope that a comprehensive study of these types of aspectual systems will be possible in the near future and will provide new insights for aspectual typology in general.

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Abbreviations

1 = first person	LOC = locative (case)
3 = third person	M = masculine gender
ACC = accusative	N = neutral gender
CONV = converb	PF = perfective aspect
CP = conjunctive participle	PL = plural
DAT = dative	PST = past tense
ERG = ergative	SG = singular
GEN = genitive	

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