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Slavistisches Kolloquium

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*Unity behind diversity
among tense-aspect uses in the non-past domain
of Slavic languages*

Roadmap

1. Premises
 - conceptual
 - diachronic
2. Distribution: usage types of PFV.PRS (across Slavic in space and time)
3. A road from 'inactual present' into future
4. South-North split meets West-East cline: what about narrative present tense?
5. The northeastern peripheral elephant (= Russian): what might be considered special?
6. Some conclusions

1. Premises I: concepts

1.1. Why have a future?

- many languages feel good without (and speakers can yet communicate about future events)
- obviously, so did speakers of Common Slavic (see Premises II)
- “the routinization processes behind tense markers are motivated by strategies of validating the relevance of propositions for the moment of speech” (Detges & Waltereit 2016: 641)

1.2. What is a future tense?

- future vs inactual present

[1] (a) **For comparative purposes, a marker (gram, construction) can be considered a sufficiently conventionalized future if among its core, or default, functions we find reference to a single (episodic) situation that is posterior to a reference interval.**

(b) In the prototypical case, this reference interval is the current moment of speech (deictic time reference), but posteriority may also hold with respect to another time interval (shifted, or anaphoric, time reference).

Compare with Bybee et al. (1994: 244):

[2] “We regard the focal use of future as equivalent to a prediction on the part of the speaker that the situation in the proposition, which refers to an event taking place after the moment of speech, will hold.”

Relation between denoted situation (= event time) and the moment of speech needs to be specified.

Cf. Reichenbach (1947: 295f.) on the **simple future** (also Lindstedt 1985: 31f., 75f.), Klein's (1994) terms are added:

(1a) *I shall go now.* $S = R > E$ (TU = TT > TSit)

(1b) *I shall go tomorrow.* $S > R = E$ (TU > TT = TSit)

Bulgarian

(2a) *Samuil otvărna oči ot nego i se obărna kam gotvača:*

– **Šte prigotviš**^{PFV} samo edno jadene.

‘Samuil took his eyes off him and turned to the cook:

– You **will prepare** only one meal.’

(Lindstedt 1985: 255, with reference to Stankov 1981: 68)

volition-based: **intention** — prediction

(2b) **Šte napišeš**^{PFV} li doklada v opredelenija srok?

‘**Will / Can you write** the talk by the deadline?’

(Lindstedt 1985: 257, with reference to Stankov 1969: 135)

cognition-based: intention — **prediction**

PFV.PRS — What else if not future?

1. directive/optative utterances: no propositional content volition-related (world-to-word)
2. representative illocutions: propositional content cognition-related (word-to-world)
 - narrative: time-located (with single reference intervals)
 - habitual: non-time-located (no single reference intervals)
 - ▷ non-deontic modal meanings

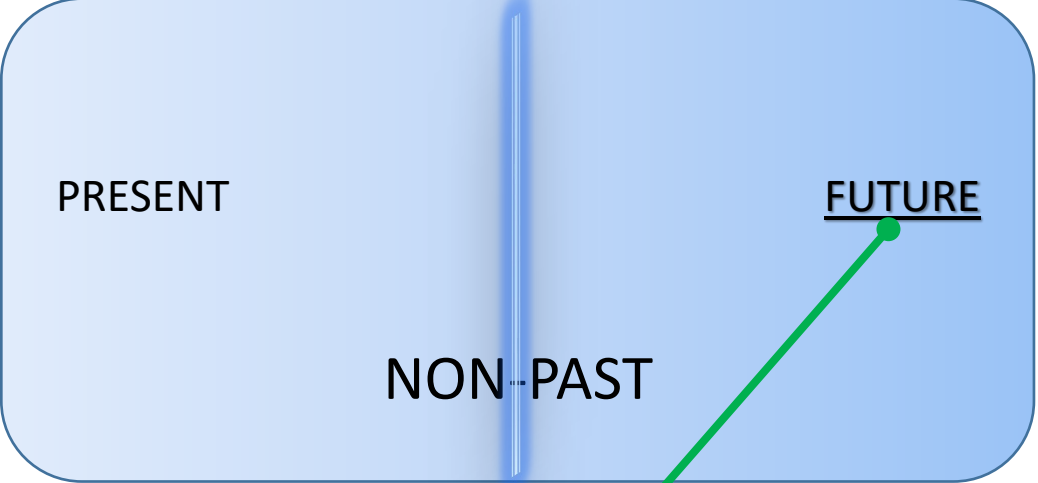
„inactual present“: refers mainly to habitual and associated meanings

- **irrealis**: a state of affairs belongs “to the realm of the imagined or hypothetical, and as such it constitutes a potential or possible event but it is not an observable fact of reality”
(Elliott 2000: 66f.); cf. also Mauri/Sansò (2012: 99; 2016)
▷ future as creating a subset of irrealis?

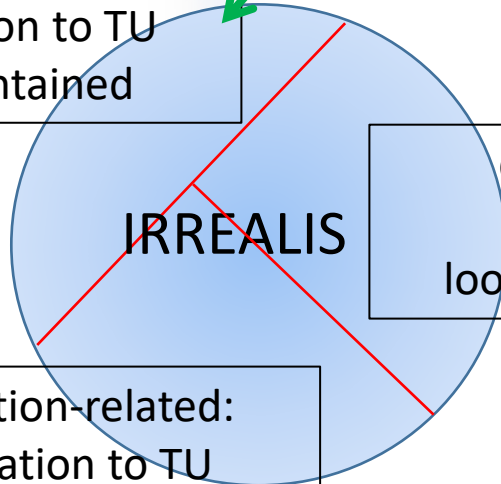
≈ **weakening of assertivity**: an “assertive utterance makes a statement about a certain time span by identifying a point on the time line in which the respective proposition is true.”

(Nikolaeva 2013: 113)

- rather refers to cognition-related utterances

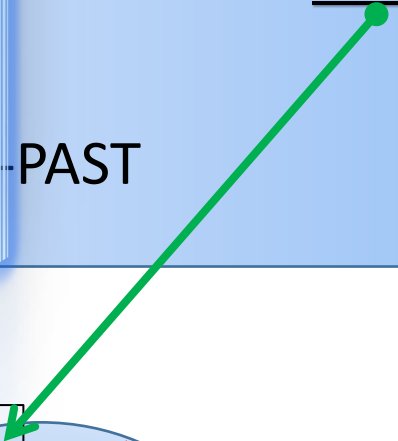


relation to TU
maintained



cognition-related
relation to TU
(loosened or irrelevant)

volition-related:
relation to TU
maintained

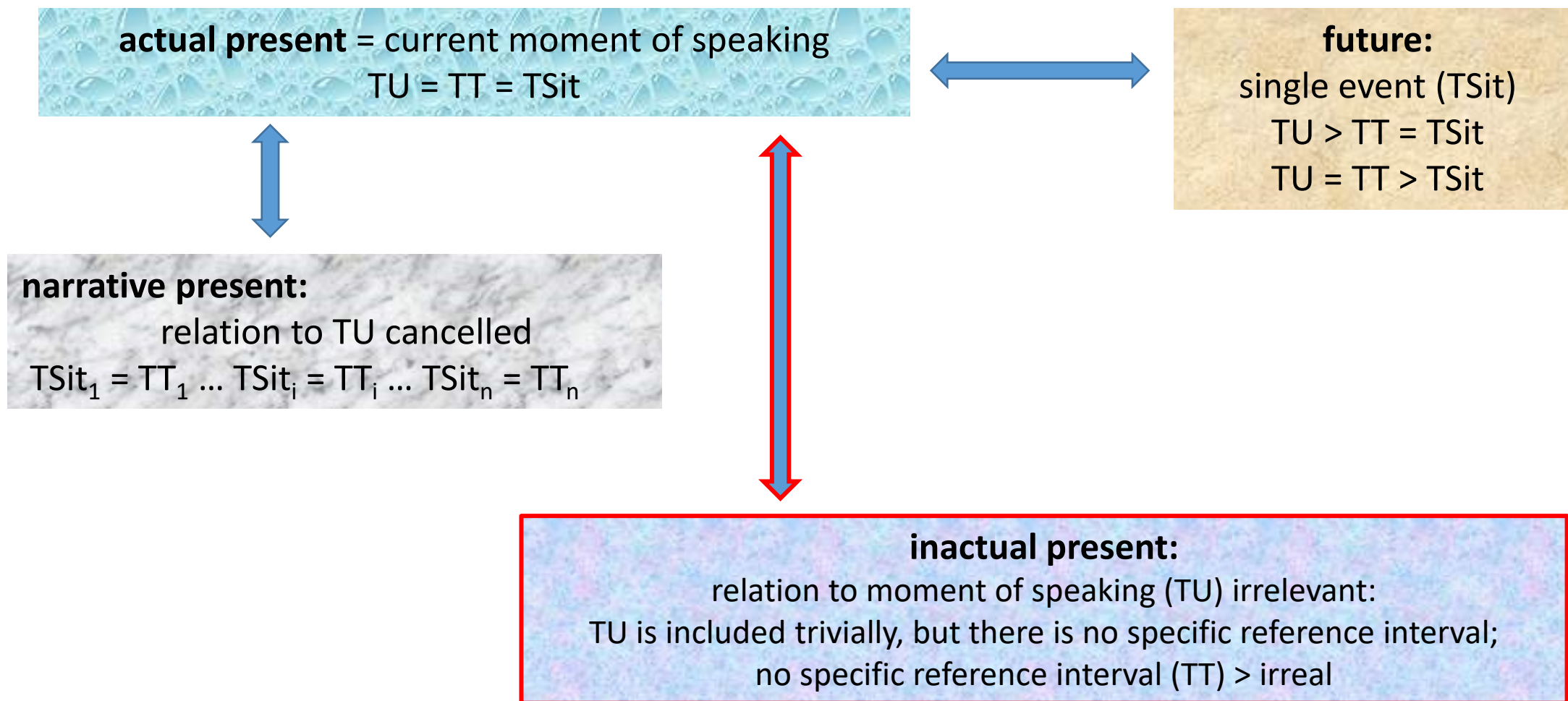


2. Distribution: usage types of PFV.PRS (across Slavic in space and time)

- narrative
- associated with directive, or optative, illocutionary force
- external pluractional (habitual), connected to
 - modal: dispositional, circumstantial
 - gnomic
 - conditional
- other:
 - performative (social vs mental/textual)
 - frustrative ('present of frustrated expectation')
 - illocutionary negative polarity (advise, reproach)

Actual present as ‘basic temporal meaning’ of a Present Tense:

“to indicate that a situation holds at the present moment, and possibly, but not necessarily, beyond (depending on the context)” (De Wit 2017: 15), also Comrie (1985: 37-39), among many others.



VOLITION-BASED ILLOCUTIONS

directive

Old Church Slavonic

(10) *pišetъ bo g[ospod]ju b[og]u svoemu **pokloniši**^{PFV} sę* no single event

‘for it is written: you shall **worship** the Lord your God’ (Matthew 4:10)

(Zograf; Kamphuis 2020: 108)

(11) *vъzljubiši podrugа svoego. i vъznenavidiši vragy svoję* single event

‘**love** your friend, and **hate** your enemies’

(Matth 5:43; Večerka 1993: 176)

Polish

(12) *Teraz **opowiesz** mi wszystko dokładnie, a potem **pójdiesz** do domu i pięknie ją **przeprosisz**.*

‘Now you will **tell** me everything carefully and then you will **go** home and **apologize** to her beautifully.’

(PNC; Samo życie, odcinek 259. 2002-2010)

single event (> relation to TU)

Macedonian (Tomić 2012: 370f.)

(13) *Da gi prečekate!* command, request (directive)

‘You should meet/welcome them!’

(14) *Da pukneš!* wish (optative)

‘May you burst!’

(15) *Ti ostani таму, а вие **да дојдете**.*

‘You remain.IMP.SG there, but you.PL (should) **come**.PFV.PRS here!’

„MIXED“, or AMBIGUOUS cases

instructions: description, or prescription?

- recipes (see 19)
- stage instructions (see 20-22),

Czech

- (19) *Strouhané brambory ochutíme^{PFV} solí a pepřem. Přidáme^{PFV} vejce, majoránku, podle potřeby mouku a mléko (...).*
‘Season [lit. **we season**] the grated potatoes with salt and pepper. Add [lit. **we add**] eggs, marjoram, flour and milk as needed.’ (K. Brankačec, p.c.)

Serbian

- (20) Serbian *Glavari **skinu** kape i svi mu **se zahvale**.*
‘All the chiefs **take off** their hats and everyone **thanks** him.’
(Mihailović 1962: 62)

- (21) Czech ***vytáhne** z náprsní kapsy papírový nos.*
‘**Pulls** a paper nose out of his breast pocket’ (Wiemer 2021b: 70)

- (22) OCS *°ppъ (...) strižetъ i °glę sice (...) i **poimotъ** i čръnъci. i **postrigotъ** i vь paprьtě*
‘the pop cuts the hair and says this (...) and the nuns **take** him and **cut** his hair in the hallway’
(E 96b 1-14; Večerka 1993: 153)

„MIXED“, or AMBIGUOUS, cases

illocutionary negative polarity

- (23) Russ. *Počemu ty ne podstrižeš'sja?*
Pol. *Czemu nie obetniesz sobie włosów?*
Slk. *Prečo si neostriháš vlasy?*
Bulg. *Zašto ne se podstrižeš?*
Mac. *A zošto ne se potšišaš?*
Croat. *(Pa) što se ne ošišaš (nakratko)?*
'Why don't you cut your hair?'

(i) advise (> volition-related), or (ii) reproach (> cognition-related)?

frustrative (презентс напрасного ожидания)

- (24) Russ. *Vsë zasnežennoe, beloe, pušistoe... èx, zaviduju, što vy edete tuda, a my vsë nikak **ne soberemsja**.*
'All snow-covered, white, fluffy ... Eh, I envy that you are going there, but we still **won't/can't get ready** for the trip.' (RNC; Zaliznjak 2015: 299)

- (25) Czech *Mladí **vhánějí**^{IPFV} se tím do oposice, a při tom **se s otázkou zaměstnání nehne**^{PFV} **a nehne**, trpí^{IPFV} se přeloužilci.*
'The young are being driven into the opposition, and the question of employment **is not being touched upon**, and the over-aged are tolerated.' (Seidel 1939-1940: 13)

expected + desired + low epistemic support for result?

EXTERNAL PLURACTIONALITY > NON-DEONTIC MODALITY (modern Polish examples)

habitual

→ observed repetition (unlimited): 'it (still) often happens that...'

- (26) (...) *potem nastąpiła epoka 3D (do teraz czasami **sobie w nie pogram**^{PFV}, ale już nie cieszą tak jak kiedyś)*
'(...) then came the era of 3D (up until now I sometimes **play with them myself**, but I don't enjoy it as I used to)'
(PNC; forum.historia.org.pl, 2008)

dispositional

→ dispositional: 'a(ny) violent convict is such that...'

- (27) *Gwałtowni skazańcy nigdy **nie powiedzą**^{PFV} sami z siebie, że byli krzywdzeni lub zaniedbywani.*
'Violent convicts (will) **never** independently **say** that they were either hurt or neglected.'
(PNC; W. Osiatyński, *O zbrodniach i karach*, 2003)

circumstantial

→ circumstantial: 'this mess is such that...'

- (28) *W tym bałaganie każdy **się pogubi**^{PFV}.*
'In such a mess everybody **gets lost**.'

frequent overlap of habitual and modal function

- (29) *A bywa, że z żalu po człowieku i pies zaraz **umrze**^{PFV}.*
'And it happens that out of grief for the man [dogholder] the dog **dies** at once as well.'
(PNC; W. Myśliwski, *Traktat o łuskaniu fasoli*. 2007)

gnomic contexts

- (30) Croatian *Za koje vreme **dospe**^{PFV} sunčana svetlost do Zemlje?*
Czech *Za jakou dobu **dorazí**^{PFV} sluneční světlo k Zemi?*
'In what time **does** the sunlight **arrive** to the ground?'
(Wiemer 2008: 401)
- (31) Czech *Gotština přestává na..., kde němčina **neobejde se** bez ...*
'Gothic stops... where German **does not / cannot do** without ...'
*Kulturnost lidí **se** ovšem neomylně **pozná**.*
'However, one **recognizes** people's cultural level without mistake.'
(Seidel 1939-1940: 10, 18)
- (32) OCS *vsěko ubo drěvo ploda svoego **poznaetъ se**.*
'for each tree is known by its own fruit' (lit. '... **comes to know** its own fruit')
(Luke 6:44; Kamphuis 2020: 110)
- coordinated with explicit indication of non-deontic possibility:
- (33) OES *vešč' bo sunklitova sica e ni ognь možetъ vžešči jego. ni želězo jego **primetъ**.*
'the material is of chintz, and neither can fire burn it, nor does iron **take** it'
(Tale of Bygone Years, Lavr.; 1096 g.)

conditional contexts

Russian

- (34) *Prjamoj, esli čto-to poobeščal^{PFV.PST}, objazatel'no **vypolnit**^{PFV.PRS}, no vot dobit'sja ot nego ètogo obeščanija nelegko.*
'He is direct, if he promised something, he will definitely **fulfill** it. However, it is not easy to get such a promise from him.'
(RNC; *Naši deti: Podrostki*. 2004)

Old East Slavic

- (35) *zakonъ po(d)benъ jestъ paučině ... aže vъ nju **vъletitъ** muxa ili komarъ, to **uveznetъ** vъ nei.*
'the law is like a spider web... when a fly or a mosquito **flies** into it, it **gets bogged down**.'
(Pčela, 351)

Slovene

- (36) *Če pritisneš na gumb, **pozvoni**.* potentially ambiguous (see §5)
'If you press the button, it **rings**.'

covertly conditional (and gnomic)

- (37) OCS *azъ že g[lagol]jъ vamъ. ěko vъsěkъ iže **vъzbrity**^{pfv.prs} na ženъ sъ roxotijъ. uže ljuby sъtvori^{aor} sъ nejъ.
vъ srъdъci svoemъ [Z, M]
'but I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lust for her has already committed
adultery with her in his heart'
(Matthew 5:28; Kamphuis 2020: 162)*
- (38) OES *ne preimai že učen'ja ot latynъ. ixъ že učen'e razъvraščeno. vlězъše bo vъ crk(vъ) **ne poklanětъsę**^{pfv}
'don't accept the Latin [*sc.* Catholic] faith, for their doctrine is corrupt. when they come into the
church, they **don't bow** [before the Mother of God].'
(Tale of Bygone Years, Lavr. spisok, late 14th c.; Mišina 2020b: 114)*
- in a recension composed 100 years later, ipfv. *ne poklanějutъsę* occurs instead

All pluractional readings work irrespective of the time level.

Russian

- (39) *U vas na tral'sčike disciplina byla tverdaja, a vse ž net-net da i **spotknetsja** kto-libo iz matrosov.* PFV.PRS
'We had a solid discipline in our trag, and yet someone from the sailors definitely **falls / will fall.**'
(L. Pasenjuk, 1956; Panzer 1963: 46)

Serbian

- (40) *to je / bio takav čovek: izjutra **će da ustane**, nešto **će da prezalogaji*** PFV.FUT
'he is / was such a guy: he **will get up** in the morning, he **will have a snack**'
(Ivić 1983: 48)

in Balkan Slavic: past-related chains of habitual events

- *da* + PFV + imperfect

What does perfectivity (> boundedness) have to do with this?

Russian

- (43a) *Rebenok uže xodit*^{IPFV}. IPFV, dispositional, [-condition] \supset [-bounded]
'The child already walks [= can/is able to walk].'
- (43b) *Rebenok prosto tak / bez podderžki ne poxodit*^{PFV}. PFV, dispositional, [+condition] \supset [+bounded]
'The child doesn't walk without support.'
- (44a) *U nas tut ne kurjat*^{IPFV}. / *My tut ne kurim*^{PFV}. IPFV, deontic [-bounded]
'We don't smoke here.'
- (44b) *Tut my ne pokurim*^{PFV}. PFV, circumstantial [+bounded]
(*Sliškom nespokojno. / Nas srazu vygonjat.*)
'We aren't able to / won't smoke here. (It's too hectic. / They will drive us out immediately.)'
- (45a) *Pri detjax ne kurju*^{IPFV}. IPFV, normative (\supset deontic) [-bounded]
'I don't smoke in the presence of children.'
- (45b) *Pri detjax ne pokurju*^{PFV} / *ne zakurju*^{PFV}. PFV, circumstantial [+bounded]
'I don't / won't smoke (lit a cigarette) in the presence of children.'

What does perfectivity (> boundedness) have to do with this?

other minimal pairs

(46) *Ona nikogda ne vret*^{IPFV} / *sovret*^{PFV}.

'She never lies.'

(46) *Sytyj golodnogo ne ponimaet*^{IPFV} / *ne pojmet*^{PFV}.

'The well-fed doesn't understand the hungry one.'

(47) *Pesnej solov'ja ne nakormiš'*^{PFV} / ? *ne kormjat*^{IPFV}.

'You can't feed the nightingale with a song.'

(48) *S toboj ne posporiš'*^{PFV} / *ne sporjat*^{IPFV}.

'One doesn't / people don't argue with you.'

Random occurrences as representatives of the respective situation type.

Boundedness makes occurrences more easily distinguishable.

habitual

repeated observations

> generalisation and/or knowledge transfer
(Krifka et al. 1995, Tatevosov 2004)

> **modal: dispositional / circumstantial**

> assignment of properties to individuals or situations

> realisation always possible

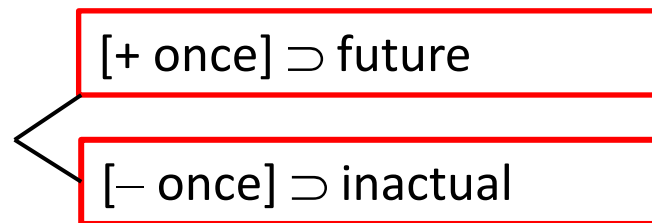
> **epistemic** (via abduction)

> *If A \supset B (in general),
B (since A applies in the current instance).*

> **future**

> anchored to a specific reference interval (TU > TSit = TT)
(cf. Tatevosov 2004, Šluinskij 2005; 2006, Sonnenhauser 2008)

PFV (= closed interval) + PRS (vs PAST)



irreal
proposition suspended

HABITUAL > MODAL (properties of individual / situation)

CONDITIONAL

> EPISTEMIC > FUTURE

SINGLE EVENT, anchored in S

6. Some conclusions (I)

From a conceptual point of view, the future is the last member in a chain of implicatures that led to the conventionalization of future meaning (by default) in North Slavic.

Considering the simple PAST : NON-PAST contrast in Common Slavic, future reference had already been a necessary part of the meaning range of NON-PAST before dedicated future markers became entrenched (via grammaticalization), regardless of aspect (the perfectivity opposition). With the rise of the latter, PFV.PRS was driven into the irrealis domain ('inactual present'), and in **North Slavic** future readings increasingly superseded other irrealis readings. (It is an open question whether this happened by outnumbering in discourse.)

The PFV.PRS > PFV.FUT shift is a **default** that can be cancelled relatively easily, even in East Slavic (and Polish). In the eastern part of South Slavic, in turn, PFV.PRS is now accompanied by verbal proclitics (*da*, *šte/će*) or other „irrealis indicators“ (e.g., *ako* 'if') almost without exception. Marking with *šte/će* (considered FUT) encroaches onto the „irrealis territory“, particularly in the cognition-related domain (but also for directive speech acts).

From a diachronic point of view, this development is very hard to reconstruct in detail.

However, assumptions about this development are supported by the inner-Slavic **distribution of irrealis functions and future readings** and various diachronic facts.

Irrealis readings are much more fundamental and time-stable. This is why it comprises the entire Slavic-speaking area, although its consistency varies.

6. Some conclusions (II)

In North Slavic, the default future-shift for PFV.PRS is accompanied by a strengthening of the implicature **[+ bounded] \supset [+ once]**, which forms an east>west cline. Jointly, these two changes cause effects of ‘temporal definiteness’ (cf. Dickey 2000).

Concomitantly, there is a general west>east-cline of narrative use of PFV.PRS (which has become impossible in the „eastern half“, both North and South). Narrative use of PFV.PRS is conditioned by a dominance of actionality-based features over external pluractionality. This is in line with Dickey (2000). However, narrative present cancels the relation to TU, though it is not unreal; it therefore should be considered ‘temporally definite’, although for another reason than in East Slavic (see east>west cline).

We therefore get **two clines of temporal definiteness** on a west-east axis, which, as it were, run into one another.

Either of these clines is orthogonal w.r.t. to the north-south split of marking future (respectively, of whether present and future are distinguished with pfv. stems).

6. Some conclusions (III)

At no time has the [+ **bounded**] feature of **pfv. stems** been affected by any of these processes; in fact, it has itself been the **crucial trigger** of these processes.

Changes in the distribution of pfv. and ipfv. stems can be evaluated only probabilistically. This concerns in particular PFV.PRS functions in North Slavic, and primarily the relation between future and contexts with suspended propositions resulting from lacking localization to TU.

After all, what needs to be accessed in operational terms is the predictability of pfv. vs ipfv. stems for clearly defined types of context.

Low predictability conditions surprise effects, which appear to be particularly salient for PFV.PRS in non-futurate contexts in modern standard Russian (= northeastern periphery). By the same token, the predominance of the future reading narrows down the interpretational range of potentially ambiguous readings; it forces interlocutors to eliminate narrative readings and causes „observer“ effects (cp. экземплярная наглядность).