

The perfect in Lithuanian: an empirical study

Perfekts lietuviešu valodā: empīrisks pētījums

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This paper presents observations regarding the meanings and functions of the analytic perfect forms (in the active voice), traditionally called “compound tenses” (Lith. *sudurtiniai laikai* or *sudėtiniai laikai*), consisting of the verb *būti* ‘be’ and adjectival past participles in Lithuanian. The status of Lithuanian analytic forms is quite a controversial theme in Lithuanian linguistics, and its relation to finite verb forms has been widely discussed. However, the discussions about the perfect in Lithuanian from the semantical and typological perspective are still insufficient. Therefore, the main purpose of the research is to observe the functional-semantic content of the Lithuanian analytic perfect forms from the typological viewpoint by analyzing how this content correlates with aspectual properties of verbs, and to analyze the divisions in the usage domain of the simple tense forms and the analytic perfect forms. By referring to the contrastive analysis with Russian, I will try to provide a more detailed explanation of the meanings and functions of the Lithuanian analytic perfect forms. Moreover, I will offer an analysis of the divisions in the usage domain of the simple tense forms and the analytic perfect forms in Lithuanian, based on the results of a survey conducted in Lithuania.

Keywords: Lithuanian, Russian, aspect, tense, perfect, telicity.

1. Introduction

According to normative “academic” grammars (LKG, GLJa, DLKG and LG) or related studies that follow this tradition (see particularly Ambrazas 1984, 1990), analytic perfect forms denote “a state resulting from a previous action which is relevant at a certain moment in the present, past or future” (LG, 248), yet, “in Lithuanian linguistics it has not been customary to regard tense forms as aspect forms as well, though the meanings of some of the tense forms are more or less related to aspects” (Sližienė 1995, 217). On the other hand, the perfect in Lithuanian, unfortunately, has not yet been discussed in detail in the typological studies so far (cf. Dahl 2000). Geniušienė & Nedjalkov (1988), the pioneers of the typological study on this issue, have analyzed the perfect in Lithuanian mainly in connection with the resultative constructions. Wiemer (2012) has focused on the resultative constructions with the auxiliary ‘have’ in Lithuanian. In this paper, I will try to contribute to a better understanding of perfect in Lithuanian by referring to the contrastive analysis with Russian and providing empirical data based on the results of a questionnaire which I conducted in Lithuania.

In Lithuanian, the meaning of <perfect> is expressed by the analytic forms consisting of the auxiliary verb *būti* ‘be’ in the present, simple past, past habitual or future tenses and the adjectival past participle agreeing with the nominative subject.¹ The auxiliary *būti* ‘be’ may be dropped in the present tense, especially in the case of the third person. In this paper, the examples of the present and simple past tense, i. e., the present and past perfect, are used. See (1).² The so-called “possessive construction” with the auxiliary *turėti* ‘have’ and the past participle can also be used to express the meaning of perfect, however, it is not included in the analysis of this paper, as it occurs quite rarely (Geniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988: 385-386). See (2).

- (1) *J-is jau seniai [yra / buv-oj] mir-ęs.*
 he-NOM already for a long time [be.PRS-/PST.3] die-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
 ‘lit. He has/had (already) been dead for a long time (He has/had long been dead).’
- (2) *J-is tur-i nu-si-pirk-ęs nam-q.*
 he-NOM have-PRS.3 PREF-REFL-buy-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM house-M.SG.ACC
 ‘lit. He has bought a house.’

Before the detailed discussion, I will now provide the terminology in this paper. “Perfect” is regarded here as a complex tense-aspect category, representing the relationship between the preceding time and the following time, and denoting that the preceding situation has left some kind of result or effect upon the following situation. I will use the term “perfect” in a wider sense, the same as Maslov (1962). Accordingly, instead of the terms “resultative” and “proper perfect” used by Nedjakov (1988) and others, I will use “statal perfect” and “actional perfect,” respectively. The latter is also called “anterior” (Bybee, Perkins & Paguliuca 1994, 54). The semantic definition of <perfect> typically contains both <completedness> of the preceding telic action (or event, in other terminology) and <durativity> of the resultant state (e. g., *he has already done his homework*). In this paper, I will call it “perfect of result”. Moreover, in the case when the preceding action is atelic, it just denotes <totality> of the action and <durativity> of the effect of that action. I will call it “experiential-indefinite perfect” (e. g., *he has lived there once*). These two types belong to <actional perfect>. While <statal perfect> expresses mainly <durativity> of the resultant state, which starts at the point of time when the action is accomplished (e. g., *he has been dead for two years*). <Simple state>, i. e., natural or primary state, differs from <statal perfect>.

¹ The main tense forms in Lithuanian are synthetic forms of present, simple past (non-habitual), past habitual and future. Traditionally called “compound forms” of each tense, i. e., analytic forms, with both active and passive past participles denote <perfect> (the angle brackets < > are used in this paper to indicate a semantic feature, whereas the term “perfect form” – the analytic perfect form in Lithuanian). (Genjušene 1990; Geniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988; Sakurai 1997, 2010).

² Basically, the example sentences originated from the native consultants and the author of this paper, which were then checked by native informants.

i. e., secondary state, by requiring no preceding change, or action, as nothing changes while they hold (e. g., *he is so thin and pale*). Whereas <simple action>, i. e., action proper, differs from <actional perfect> by requiring no resultant state nor effect, which is relevant to the sequential situation (e. g., *he has just arrived*).

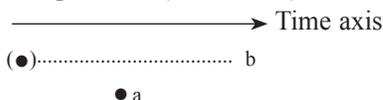
Furthermore, I hold on to the most general definition of “perfective” as a reference to a situation without regard to internal temporal structure, viewing a situation in its entirety as a single whole, and “imperfective” – as a reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, to a situation without any internal structure, or to the repeated situations. In the current paper, the terms <perfective> and <imperfective> are used as semantic properties, whereas the terms “verbal aspect”, “perfective verb” and “imperfective verb” – as grammatical-morphological category (cf. Comrie 1976).

To describe the aspectual peculiarities of Lithuanian verbs, I use the terms “telic/atelic (bounded/nonbounded)”. According to the traditional definition, a “telic verb” is a verb conveying in its inherent lexical meaning the notion of boundaries and revealing a situation as moving towards those boundaries, while an “atelic verb” is a verb that does not convey such a notion and reveals a situation as not having any boundaries (see Maslov 1948; Garey 1957). However, in this paper the terms “telic/atelic”, adopted from Lehmann (1994), are used in a wider sense: a telic verb (phrase) or predicate denotes a situation that is bounded at the start (ingressive), at the end (terminative), or both at the start and at the end (delimitative or punctual), while an atelic verb (phrase) or predicate denotes a situation that is open at both sides (durative or atemporal) (see also Krifka 1998).

In addition, in this paper I use the general definition of “taxis”, i. e., temporal order (or perspective), to denote an external temporal relation of one situation to another situation. The term “taxis” was introduced by Jakobson (1957, 4) as follows: “Taxis characterizes the narrated event in relation to another narrated event and without reference to the speech event”. Later, Maslov (1978, 1984) and others suggested that the concepts of <simultaneity>, <anteriority>, and <posteriority> regularly appear as a result of interaction among aspectual forms (see also Bondarko 1987; Xrakovskij 2009; on taxis in Lithuanian particularly Wiemer 2009). Speaking of the aspectual opposition of <perfective/imperfective>, typically <perfectivity> is related to taxis through the concept of <sequence>, while <imperfectivity> is related through <simultaneity>. The taxis relation is regarded as one of the most important functions of aspect. <Actional perfect> and <statal perfect> are related to the complex taxis through the concept of <anteriority> (+ <simultaneity>) and <simultaneity> (+ <anteriority>), respectively. When choosing tense meanings in discussion, the perfect refers both to <preceding time> and <following time>, i. e., <present perfect> refers to <past + present> and <past perfect> refers to <preceding past + following past>.

The schematic illustrations of the aspectual meanings defined above are shown in the diagrams in Figure 1.

1) <Statal perfect> (resultative)

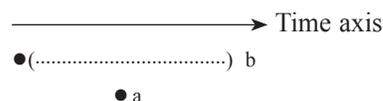


<simultaneity> (+ <anteriority>)

(a) I came back to Lithuania last year. (b) He had been dead for two years.

2) <Actional perfect>

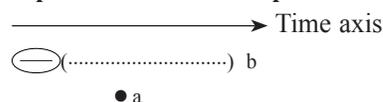
I) Perfect of result



<anteriority> (+ <simultaneity>)

(a) I came back to Lithuania last year. (b) He had finished university.

II) Experiential-indefinite perfect



<anteriority> (+ <simultaneity>)

(a) I bought a book for him yesterday. (b) He had read it before.

Figure 1. Schematic illustrations of <perfect>.

Traditionally, it was assumed that the system of ‘verbal aspect’ that employs prefixes and suffixes to serve as markers of aspect has developed in Lithuanian the same way like in Russian. However, despite the similarities in the forms of verbs, there are remarkable differences between Lithuanian and Russian. Perfective/imperfective verbs in Russian typically relate to the taxis relation <sequence/simultaneity> independently of tense, whereas telic/atelic verbs in Lithuanian are not directly related to the taxis. The most important thing is that, unlike in Russian, the semantic distinction of <perfective/imperfective> in Lithuanian usually becomes evident through the combination of telic/atelic meanings of verbs and tense forms. Consequently, the grammatical <perfective/imperfective> and <perfect> meanings and functions obviously exist only in the tense-aspect system in Lithuanian, where the tense forms have a larger functional load compared to Russian. Thus, contrastive analysis with Russian is provided in this paper to clarify the characteristics of perfect in Lithuanian.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of problems in previous studies pertaining to the Lithuanian analytic perfect, Section 3 outlines my empirical data from the survey conducted in Lithuania, Section 4

deals with the expressions of state by the simple tense and the analytic perfect forms in Lithuanian, Section 5 – with the expressions of action, and Section 6 provides summary and conclusions.

2. Previous studies and the remaining problems

As noted previously, the theoretical and typological discussions about tense and aspect in Lithuanian, including perfect, are still not sufficient. In “academic” grammars, the meaning of the analytic perfect forms are described as “both resultative and relative” (LG, 249), however, these terms here are used without clear definitions and it is rather obscure if they are conceptually the same as the contemporary cross-linguistic terms. Whereas, according to Geniušienė & Nedjalkov (1988, 371-379), who have analyzed aspect and perfect in Lithuanian from the typological viewpoint, “In the Lithuanian verb, there are two aspects, perfective and imperfective, analogous to the Russian aspects”, “the meaning of resultant state develops only in perfect forms of terminative perfective verbs”, and, “Perfect forms of perfective verbs [...] can render both resultative and actional meanings [...]. The actional meaning alone is expressed by perfect forms of imperfective” (see also Geniušienė [Genjušene] 1974, 1990).

The problems encountered in the previous studies could be summed up as follows:

- 1) The definitions of aspect itself and of aspectual properties of Lithuanian verbs have not been appropriate.
- 2) No uniformity has been achieved in the aspectual interpretation of <perfect>.
- 3) Investigations on how the usage of the perfect forms differs from that of the simple tense forms have not been sufficient.

Regarding the first problem, it was assumed by Mustejkis (1972) and others that the system of “verbal aspect” which employs prefixes and suffixes to serve as markers of aspect has developed in Lithuanian in the same way as in Russian. However, in my opinion, although Lithuanian telic/atelic verbs are superficially similar to Russian perfective/imperfective, they are essentially different in relations to tense and taxis (Sakurai 1997, 1999a, b, 2002, 2008, 2010, 2015; Wiemer 2001; Arkadiev 2009, 2011, 2012). Most importantly, all Lithuanian verbs have both present and future tense forms and the prefixation to the present form of unprefixated verbs such as *skaityti* ‘read’ does not render the resultant future tense form. That is, the prefixed verbs such as *per-skaityti* ‘read through, finish reading’ have a present tense form unlike Russian perfective verb such as *pro-čitat’* ‘read through, finish reading’, which has a future tense form, but not a present tense form. In relation to this, perfective/imperfective verbs in Russian typically relate to the taxis relation <sequence/simultaneity> independently of tense, whereas telic/atelic verbs in Lithuanian are not directly related to the taxis. In other words, the most important thing is that, unlike in Russian, the semantic distinction of <perfective/imperfective> in Lithuanian usually becomes evident through the combination of telic/atelic meanings of verbs and these tense forms.

Concerning the second problem, I consider the continuum of aspectual meanings of Lithuanian perfect forms as follows:³

<simple state> – <statal perfect> – <actional perfect> – <simple action>
 (resultative) (perfect proper) (simple past)

This synchronic continuum of meanings of <perfect> may overlap with the historical development process of grammaticalization of the perfect forms presented by Maslov (1984). That is, the forms originally expressed <simple state> turned out to be <statal/actional perfect> and after gradual loss of its meaning of <perfect> changed into the expression of <simple past>. This cross-linguistic phenomenon is observed in a variety of languages (for instance, in Slavic and Romance languages). In Russian, from the diachronic perspective, the original meaning of present perfect transformed into the meaning of simple past. I will use this hypothesis for a better understanding of the functional-semantic content of the Lithuanian perfect forms.

Relating to the third problem, which is closely related to the first two, I will try to clarify it by differentiating the usage of the perfect forms from that of the simple past forms. The results of my questionnaire-based research show that in many cases of the expressions of <perfect> the perfect forms may even be optional and the simple tense forms (most commonly, the simple past forms) are more dominantly used in Lithuanian. Section 3 to 5 investigate this problem in detail.

3. Data: the questionnaire

As remarked above, in Lithuanian, the meaning of <perfect> is expressed not only by the analytic perfect forms, but also by the simple tense forms. Therefore, the questions will be as follows: in what case and in what degree of appropriateness, are the simple tense forms or the analytic perfect forms used in the expressions of <perfect>? Furthermore, how are telic/atelic meanings of verbs related to this problem? It should be said that previous studies on Lithuanian do not sufficiently discuss these issues. Therefore, I have made an attempt to analyze the distribution of simple tense forms and analytic perfect forms based on the results of my questionnaire research in Lithuania (2008–2009).

The basic details concerning the questionnaire are as follows:

- (a) Informants (respondents): 282 Lithuanians (53 informants aged 10 to 20; 35 informants aged 20 to 30; 31 informants aged 30 to 40; 48 informants aged 40 to 50; 34 informants aged 50 to 60; 38 informants aged 60 to 70; 32 informants aged 70 to 80; 11 informants aged 80 to 90; 127 male informants; 155 female informants).
- (b) Directions for completing the questionnaire: informants were asked to evaluate some sentences by entering symbols representing the degree of appropriateness, using the symbol (++) to mean “very natural”, (+) to

³ Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) present similar hypothesis of the process of the grammaticalization as follows:

be/have → resultative → anterior (perfect) → perfective/simple past
 ↘ inference from result → indirect evidence

mean “natural”, (?) to mean “unnatural”, (??) to mean “very unnatural” and (*) to mean “grammatically incorrect”. The criterion for assessment was the question “Is the expression usually used in everyday life?”

The questionnaire was distributed to informants whose parents are native Lithuanian speakers. Those mostly from Vilnius (capital of Lithuania), Kaunas (located 103 km west of Vilnius) and Panevėžys (145 km north of Vilnius) participated in this research. All of these cities are located in the Highland Lithuanian region where standard Lithuanian is spoken, although there might be a certain dialectal or regional influence in Panevėžys. Significant differences between dialects have not been identified, as far as the results of this research are concerned.

In addition, Friedman’s test is adopted in order to detect significant differences of acceptance levels. In this paper, the term ‘statistical significance’ is used in the sense of p-value and a fixed number $p = 0.05$ (5%) is regarded as a significance level. Thus, the differences of acceptance levels are referred to as statistically ‘significant’ at the $p < 0.05$ level. According to Friedman’s test, all tables in Sections 4 to 5, which present the results of the questionnaire, are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Also, in this paper Scheffé’s method is used for a single-step multiple comparison procedure, which applies to the set of estimates of all possible contrasts among the factor level means. The results of tests by Scheffé’s method are appended to the bottom of the tables.

4. Expressions of state

4.1. <Simple state>

In Lithuanian, analytic forms, consisting of the verb *būti* ‘be’ and adjectival past participles of telic verbs are used in order to express <simple state>. To be exact, this might be regarded as an adjectival use of past participles. The meaning of <simple state> becomes clearer when it accompanies pronouns or adjectives. In Russian, adjectives are usually used in this case. The sentences, where analytic forms were replaced by simple past forms were identified as unnatural or grammatically incorrect by many informants (Further figures in the table represent the numbers of informants and their percentages). See (3), (4) and Table 1, 2.

- (3) Russ. *On sliškom mnogo rabota-et, poetomu tak-oj xud-oj, bledn-yj.*
 he.NOM too much work-PRS.3SG that is why such-M.SG.NOM
 thin-M.SG.NOM pale-M.SG.NOM
- Lith. *J-is per daug dirb-a, todėl tok-s lies-as, {išbal-o / [yra] išbal-ęs}.*
 he-NOM too much work-PRS.3 that is why such-M.SG.NOM
 thin-M.SG.NOM pale-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] pale-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
- ‘He is working too much, so that is why he is so thin and pale.’

(3)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>išbal-o</i> (pale-PST.3)	2	14	76	25	165	282	1%	5%	27%	9%	59%
2. [<i>yra</i>] <i>išbal-ēs</i> ([be.PRS.3] pale-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	237	45	0	0	0	282	84%	16%	0%	0%	0%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 17$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 1. The acceptance level of example (3).

- (4) Russ. *Posmotri, kak-oj on uže star-yj i*
 look how-M.SG.NOM he.NOM already old-M.SG.NOM and
ustal-yj.
 tired-M.SG.NOM
 Lith. *Pažiūrėk, kok-s j-is jau sen-as ir*
 look how-M.SG.NOM he-NOM already old-M.SG.NOM and
{pavarg-o / [yra] pavarg-ēs}.
 get.tired-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] get.tired-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
 ‘Look, how old and tired he already is.’

(4)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>pavarg-o</i> (get.tired-PST.3)	1	2	59	27	193	282	0%	1%	21%	10%	68%
2. [<i>yra</i>] <i>pavarg-ēs</i> ([be.PRS.3] get.tired-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	236	45	0	1	0	282	84%	16%	0%	0%	0%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 86.5$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 2. The acceptance level of example (4).

4.2. <Statal perfect> (resultative)

Predicates which express <statal perfect> collocate with adverbials expressing limited duration. In Russian, the basic tense forms of perfective (lexically telic) verbs are used to express it.⁴ In Lithuanian, <statal perfect> is expressed by analytic perfect forms or simple tense forms of telic verbs. In the case of <statal perfect>, analytic perfect forms were generally considered quite natural. The sentences where present perfect forms were replaced by simple past forms as in (5) were also generally evaluated as natural. See (5) and Table 3.

⁴ Also, in Russian past passive participles in the short forms can be used in order to express the meaning of <statal perfect>. See the following example:

e. g., Russ. *On uže davno ženat.*
 he.NOM already for a long time marry-PST.PP.M.SG
 Lith. *J-is jau seniai [yra] ved-ēs*
 he-NOM already for a long time [be.PRS:3] marry-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
 ‘He has been married for a long time.’

- (5) Russ. *On uže davno umer.*
 he.NOM already for a long time die.PST.M.SG
- Lith. *J-is jau seniai {mir-ė / [yra] mir-ęs}.*
 he-NOM already for a long time die-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] die-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
 ‘lit. He has (already) been dead for a long time (He has long been dead).’

(5)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>mir-ė</i> (die-PST.3)	111	133	27	2	9	282	39%	47%	10%	1%	3%
2. <i>[yra] mir-ęs</i> ([be.PRS.3] die-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	144	104	23	3	8	282	51%	37%	8%	1%	3%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 5836.5$) is not significant ($p = 0.0628$).

Table 3. The acceptance level of example (5).

However, to imply the relative <anteriority> to the simple past forms, more informants indicated past perfect forms as more natural. In this case, the sentences where the past perfect forms were replaced with simple past forms were indicated as unnatural or grammatically incorrect by most informants. See (6) and Table 4.

- (6) Russ. *Kogda ja nakonec vernu-l-sja v Vilnius,*
 when I.NOM finally come.back-PST.M.SG-REFL to Vilnius
- on uže umer.*
 he.NOM already die.PST.M.SG
- Lith. *Kai aš pagaliau grįž-au į Vilnių,*
 when I.NOM finally come.back-PST.1SG to Vilnius
- j-is jau {mir-ė / buv-o mir-ęs}.*
 he-NOM already die-PST.3 / be-PST.3 die-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
 ‘lit. When I finally came back to Vilnius, he had been dead (was already dead).’

(6)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>mir-ė</i> (die-PST.3)	8	25	90	30	129	282	3%	9%	32%	11%	46%
2. <i>buv-o mir-ęs</i> (be-PST.3 die-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	220	59	2	0	1	282	78%	21%	1%	0%	0%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 185$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 4. The acceptance level of example (6).

5. Expressions of action

5.1. <Actional perfect>

5.1.1. <Perfect of result>

Predicates which express <perfect of result> collocate with adverbials of punctual time. In Russian, <perfect of result> is expressed by perfective (lexically telic) verbs. In Lithuanian, it is expressed by analytic perfect forms of telic verbs or by simple tense forms. The acceptance level of analytic perfect forms depends on whether the resultant state of preceding situation can be visual and/or actual. When the resultant state is visual and/or actual, more informants consider analytic perfect forms as natural. See (7) and Table 5.

- (7) Russ. *On zadernu-l zanesk-i, vidno, sp-it.*
 he.NOM draw-PST.M.SG curtain-F.PL.ACC probably sleep-PRS.3SG
 Lith. *J-is {užtrauk-ė / [yra] užtrauk-ęs} užuolaid-as,*
 he-NOM draw-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] draw-PST.APM.SG.NOM curtain-F.PL.ACC
matyt, mieg-a.
 probably sleep-PRS.3
 ‘He has drawn the curtains; probably he is sleeping.’

(7)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>užtrauk-ė</i> (draw -PST.3)	95	114	41	8	24	282	34%	40%	15%	3%	9%
2. <i>[yra] užtrauk-ęs</i> ([be.PRS.3] draw-PST.APM.SG.NOM)	115	101	42	7	17	282	41%	36%	15%	2%	6%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 10097$) is not significant ($p = 0.1358$).

Table 5. The acceptance level of example (7).

In the case of the subordinate clause, there is no significant difference between the appropriateness of present perfect forms and simple past forms. See (8) and Table 6.

- (8) Russ. *On est to, čto prinjos iz doma.*
 he.NOM eat.PRS.3SG thing what.ACC bring.PST.M.SG from home
 Lith. *J-is valgo tai, k-q iš namų.*
 he-NOM eat-PRS.3 thing what-ACC
{atsineš-ė / [yra] atsineš-ęs} iš namų.
 bring-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] bring-PST.APM.SG.NOM from home
 ‘lit. He is eating what he has brought (he brought) from home.’

(8)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>atsineš-ė</i> (bring-PST.3)	121	131	17	2	11	282	43%	46%	6%	1%	4%
2. <i>[yra] atsineš-ęs</i> ([be.PRS.3] bring-PST.APM.SG.NOM)	123	116	33	4	6	282	44%	41%	12%	1%	2%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 8878$) is not significant ($p = 0.5856$).

Table 6. The acceptance level of example (8).

On the other hand, to express the relative <anteriority> to the simple past forms, more informants indicated past perfect forms as more natural. See (9) and Table 7.

- (9) Russ. *On e-l to, čto prinjos iz doma.*
 he.NOM eat-PST.M.SG thing what.ACC bring.PST.M.SG from home
 Lith. *J-is valg-ė tai, k-q*
 he-NOM eat-PST.3 thing what-ACC
{atsineš-ė / {buv-o atsineš-ęs} iš namų.
 bring-PST.3 / be-PST.3 bring-PST.APM.SG.NOM from home
 ‘He was eating what he had brought (he brought) from home.’

(9)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>atsineš-ė</i> (bring-PST.3)	104	149	21	2	6	282	37%	53%	7%	1%	2%
2. <i>buv-o atsineš-ęs</i> (be-PST.3 bring-PST.APM.SG.NOM)	188	81	8	2	3	282	67%	29%	3%	1%	1%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 4617.5$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 7. The acceptance level of example (9).

However, in general, the appropriateness of perfect forms was generally lower than that of simple past in the case of <perfect of result>. See (10) and Table 8.

- (10) Russ. - *Vj uže kupi-l-i bilet?*
 you.NOM already buy-PST-M.PL ticket.M.SG.ACC
 - *Net, ja eščjo ne kupi-l biliet-a.*
 no I.NOM yet NEG buy-PST.M.SG ticket-M.SG.GEN
 Lith. - *Ar jau {nusipirk-ote / es-ate nusipirk-ęs}^{(1)}*
 whether already buy-PST.2PL / be-PRS.2PL buy-PST.APM.SG.NOM
biliet-q?
 ticket-M.SG.ACC
 - *Ne, aš dar {ne-nusipirk-au / nes-u nusipirk-ęs}^{(2)} biliet-o.*
 no I.NOM yet NEG-buy-PST.1SG / NEG.be-PRS.1SG buy-PST.APM.SG.NOM ticket-M.SG.GEN
 ‘Have you bought the ticket?’
 ‘No, I have not bought the ticket yet.’

(10)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>nusipirk-ote</i> (buy-PST.2PL)	224	56	0	0	0	280	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%
(1) 2. <i>es-ate nusipirk-ęs</i> (be-PRS.1PL buy-PST.APM.SG.NOM)	43	120	82	13	22	280	15%	43%	29%	5%	8%
3. <i>ne-nusipirk-au</i> (NEG-buy-PST.1SG)	226	53	1	0	0	280	81%	19%	0%	0%	0%
(2) 4. <i>nes-u nusipirk-ęs</i> (NEG.be-PRS.1SG buy-PST.APM.SG.NOM)	56	130	71	9	14	280	20%	46%	25%	3%	5%

Statistical significance: The differences of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 300.4570$) and 3 : 4 ($\chi^2 = 226.6556$) are significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 8. The acceptance level of example (10).

In order to express an interruption of duration of a resultant state (“a cancelled action” by Geniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988; in another terminology, “antiresultative” by Plungian & van der Auwera 2006), in Russian the past forms of imperfective verbs are usually used, while in Lithuanian the past perfect forms or the simple past forms of telic verbs are used. In sentences where an interruption of continued resultant state in the past is expressed, the past perfect forms are more accepted than the simple past forms in Lithuanian. See (11) and Table 9.

- (11) Russ. *On* **priežā-l** *k nam* *včera*.
 he.NOM come-PST.M.SG to our place yesterday
 No *ne* *xote-l* *menja ždat’*. *Čerez čas* *uexa-l*.
 but NEG want-PST.M.SG to wait for me an hour later leave-PST.M.SG
- Lith. *J-is* **{atvažiav-o / buv-o atvažiav-ęs}** *pas mus*
 he-NOM come-PST.3 / be-PST.3 come-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM to our place
vakar.
 yesterday
 Bet *ne-norėj-o* *manęs laukti*, *po valandos* *išvažiav-o*.
 but NEG-want-PST.3 to wait for me an hour later leave-PST.3
 ‘lit. He had come (came) to our place yesterday. But he did not want to wait for me and left an hour later.’

(11)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>atvažiav-o</i> (come-PST.3)	114	137	16	5	10	282	40%	49%	6%	2%	4%
2. <i>buv-o atvažiav-ęs</i> (be-PST.3 come-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	198	66	5	5	8	282	70%	23%	2%	2%	3%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 4170.5$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 9. The acceptance level of example (11).

5.1.2. <Experiential-indefinite perfect>

Predicates which express <experiential-indefinite perfect> collocate with adverbials expressing indefinite time. In Russian, <experiential-indefinite perfect> is expressed by imperfective (lexically atelic) verbs (traditionally, it is included in the meaning of so-called <general fact>). In Lithuanian, it is expressed by analytic perfect forms or simple past forms of atelic verbs.⁵

In general, the appropriateness of the present perfect forms was lower than that of the simple past in the case of <experiential-indefinite perfect>. See (12) and Table 10.

⁵ Incidentally, analytic perfect forms in Lithuanian are not used to express the meaning of so-called ‘perfect of persistent situation’ or in another terminology ‘inclusive’ meaning (cf. Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985), as it is seen in English. It is usually expressed by simple tense forms in Lithuanian as in the following example.

e. g., *J-is* *čia* *gyven-a* *dešimt metų*.
 he-NOM here live-PRS.3 for ten years
 ‘He has lived here for ten years.’

- (12) Russ. *On* *kogda-to* *slyša-l* *et-u* *pesn-ju.*
 he.NOM once hear-PST.M.SG this-F.SG.ACC song-F.SG.ACC
 Lith. *J-is* *kažkada* *{girdėj-o / [yra] girdėj-ęs}*
 he-NOM once hear-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] hear-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
ši-q *dain-q.*
 this-F.SG.ACC song-F.SG.ACC
 ‘He has heard this song once (before).’

(12)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>girdėj-o</i> (hear-PST.3)	143	124	14	0	1	282	51%	44%	5%	0%	0%
2. <i>[yra] girdėj-ęs</i> ([be.PRS.3] hear-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	96	127	41	4	14	282	34%	45%	15%	1%	5%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 11482.5$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 10. The acceptance level of example (12).

On the other hand, to express the relative <anteriority> to the simple past forms, the acceptance level of past perfect forms was almost the same as that of simple past forms. See (13) and Table 11.

- (13) Russ. *On* *kogda-to* *slyša-l* *et-u* *pesn-ju,*
 he.NOM once hear-PST.M.SG this-F.SG.ACC song-F.SG.ACC
no ne mog vspomnit' ejo nazvan-ie.
 but NEG can.PST.M.SG remember its title-N.SG.ACC
 Lith. *J-is* *kažkada* *{girdėj-o / buv-o girdėj-ęs}*
 he-NOM once hear-PST.3 / be-PST.3 hear-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
ši-q dain-q, bet ne-galėj-o atsiminti jos pavadinim-o.
 this song-SG.ACC but NEG-can-PST.3 remember its title-M.SG.GEN
 ‘He had heard this song once (before), but he could not remember its title.’

(13)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>girdėj-o</i> (hear-PST.3)	128	132	15	0	7	282	45%	47%	5%	0%	2%
2. <i>buv-o girdėj-ęs</i> (be-PST.3 hear-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	149	99	22	5	7	282	53%	35%	8%	2%	2%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 6861.5$) is not significant ($p = 0.7982$).

Table 11. The acceptance level of example (13).

5.2. <Simple action>

The perfect forms in Lithuanian can be used for the meaning of the recent past, which might be intermediate between perfect and simple past. As Comrie (1976, 60–61) noticed, the degree of recentness required varies among languages that allow the perfect forms to express a recent past time reference. As stated above, the perfect forms historically supplanted the simple past forms in Russian, while the development that has taken place in Russian can be seen as a gradual

reduction of presentness of the relevant forms, which finally became simple past without the meaning of <perfect>. See (14). In this example, A asked ‘*Are Tomas and Ona here?*’ and B answered ‘*Tomas has come (arrived) an hour ago. He is in my room now.*’ In this case, the meaning of the sentence ‘*Tomas has come (arrived) an hour ago*’ is <perfect of result> with the adverbials of the recent past time. While the acceptance level of the present perfect form in the following sentence with the adverbials of the more/immediately recent past time ‘*And Ona has just come (arrived)*’ is significantly lower than the former. See (14) and Table 12.

- (14) Russ. A: - *Tomas* *i* *On-a* *zdes’?*
 Tomas.M.SG.NOM and Ona-F.SG.NOM here
 B: - *Da, Tomas* *prišjo-l* *uže čas nazad.*
 yes Tomas.M.SG.NOM come-PST.M.SG already an hour ago
On seičas u menja v komnate.
 he.NOM now in my room
 A *On-a* *tol’ko čto* *priš-la.*
 and Ona-F.SG.NOM just come-PST.F.SG
 Lith. A: - *Ar Tom-as ir On-a yra?*
 whether Tomas-M.SG.NOM and Ona-F.SG.NOM be.PRS.3
 B: - *Taip, Tom-as {atėj-o / [yra] atėj-ęs}*⁽¹⁾
 Yes Tomas-M.SG.NOM come-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] come-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
jau prieš valandą.
 already an hour ago
 J-is dabar [yra] mano kambaryje.
 he-NOM now [be.PRS.3] in my room
 O *On-a {atėj-o / [yra] atėj-usi}*⁽²⁾ *ką tik.*
 and Ona-F.SG.NOM come-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] come-PST.AP.F.SG.NOM just
 A: ‘Are Tomas and Ona here?’
 B: ‘lit. Tomas has come (arrived) an hour ago. He is in my room now. And Ona has just come (arrived).’

(14)		++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
(1)	1. <i>atėj-o</i> (come-PST.3)	203	72	4	0	2	281	72%	26%	1%	0%	1%
	2. <i>[yra] atėj-ęs</i> ([be.PRS.3] come-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	73	126	44	14	24	281	26%	45%	16%	5%	9%
(2)	3. <i>atėj-o</i> (come-PST.3)	221	57	2	1	0	281	79%	20%	1%	0%	0%
	4. <i>[yra] atėj-usi</i> ([be.PRS.3] come-PST.AP.F.SG.NOM)	26	97	74	35	47	279	9%	35%	27%	13%	17%

Statistical significance: The differences of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 118.16$), 3 : 4 ($\chi^2 = 365.55$), and 2 : 4 ($\chi^2 = 45.51$) are significant ($p < 0.001$), while the difference of 1 : 3 ($\chi^2 = 2.26$, $p = 0.5202$) is not significant.

Table 12. The acceptance level of example (14)

Moreover, in Lithuanian, the present perfect cannot be naturally used in order to express “(hot) news” (Dahl & Hedin 2000). See (15) and Table 13.

- (15) Russ. *Oj, kak-uju mašin-u kupi-l naš sosed!*
 oh what-F.SG.ACC car-F.SG.ACC buy-PST.M.SG our neighbor.M.SG.NOM
 Lith. *Oi, kok-iq mašin-q {nusipirk-o / [yra] nusipirk-ęs}*
 oh what-F.SG.ACC car-F.SG.ACC buy-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] buy-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM
mūsų kaimyn-as!
 our neighbor-M.SG.NOM
 ‘lit. Oh, what a car our neighbor has bought (our neighbor bought)!’

(15)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>nusipirk-o</i> (buy-PST.3)	228	54	0	0	0	282	81%	19%	0%	0%	0%
2. <i>[yra] nusipirk-ęs</i> ([be.PRS.3] buy-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	23	101	94	28	36	282	8%	36%	33%	10%	13%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 29723.5$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 13. The acceptance level of example (15).

<Simple action> is a basic meaning of the simple tense forms both in Russian and Lithuanian. The analytic perfect forms are not usually used to express this meaning. The acceptance level of the perfect form is significantly lower than the simple tense form especially in the case of the expression of situations occurring in a chain (or one after another). See (16) and Table 14.

- (16) Russ. *On zakry-l okn-o, zadjornu-l*
 he.NOM close-PST.M.SG window- N.SG.ACC draw-PST.M.SG
zanasvesk-i i zasnu-l.
 curtain-F.PL.ACC and go to sleep-PST.M.SG
 Lith. *J-is {uždar-ė/ [yra] uždar-ęs} lang-q,*
 he-NOM close-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] close-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM window-M.SG.ACC
{užtrauk-ė / [yra] užtrauk-ęs} užuolaid-as ir
 draw-PST.3 / [be.PRS.3] draw-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM curtain-F.PL.ACC and
užmig-o.
 go.to.sleep-PST.3
 ‘He closed the window, drew the curtains and went to sleep.’

(16)	++	+	?	??	*	Total (100%)	++	+	?	??	*
1. <i>uždar-ė, užtrauk-ė</i> (close, draw-PST.3)	229	53	0	0	0	282	81%	19%	0%	0%	0%
2. <i>[yra] uždar-ęs, užtrauk-ęs</i> ([be.PRS.3] close, draw-PST.AP.M.SG.NOM)	0	16	92	35	139	282	0%	6%	33%	12%	49%

Statistical significance: The difference of 1 : 2 ($\chi^2 = 39340$) is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 14. The acceptance level of example (16).

6. Summary and conclusions

In this paper, I have continued with the perspective of contrastive analysis with Russian and clarified the aspectual properties of verbs and analytic perfect forms in Lithuanian. Expression of <perfect> in Russian and Lithuanian discussed in this paper is summarized in Tab. 15 below:

	1) <simple state>	2) <statal perfect>	3) <actional perfect> <result/effect>	4) <simple action>
Taxis:	<simultaneity>	<simultaneity> (+<anteriority>)	<anteriority> (+<simultaneity>)	<sequence/ simultaneity>
Co-occurring adverbials:		duration –	punctual/indefinite time	
Russ.				PFV/IPFV verbs past/future forms
Lith.		telic verbs		telic/atelic verbs simple past/future forms
			analytic perfect forms	

□ : more basic meaning

→ : scope of more peripheral meaning

Table 15. Expression of <perfect> in Russian and Lithuanian.

In both Russian and Lithuanian, the meanings from <perfect of result> of 3) <actional perfect> to the left are linked with lexical <telicity> of the verbs.

Based on the questionnaire conducted in Lithuania, I have analyzed the distribution of the usage of analytic perfect forms and simple past forms. The result of the analysis is illustrated in Table 16.

	<present>	<past>
1) <simple state>	analytic perfect forms	
2) <statal perfect>	analytic perfect forms are dominant	analytic perfect forms are dominant
3) <actional perfect>	simple past forms are dominant	
4) <simple action>	simple past forms are dominant	

Table 16. The distribution of the usage of analytic perfect forms and simple past forms in Lithuanian.

As a result of the analysis, it became clear that:

- 1) In the expressions of the meaning of <perfect>, the analytic perfect and the simple tense forms are largely used in a complementary fashion in Lithuanian.

- 2) There is a tendency in Lithuanian to use the analytic perfect forms to express <state> including <statal perfect> and to use the simple past forms to express <action> including <actional perfect>.
- 3) The past perfect forms in Lithuanian are more broadly used in the expressions of <action> than the present perfect forms.

From the results reported above, I have drawn the following conclusions. In Lithuanian, the meaning of <perfect> is generally expressed both by the analytic perfect forms and by the simple tense forms. It seemed that the perfect in Lithuanian is not so grammaticalized, for instance, as that in English, which might be a typical example of cross-linguistic gram of perfect. The uses of Lithuanian present perfect forms for the meanings of <perfect> are usually optional and can be freely replaced by the simple past forms in many cases. From the diachronic perspective, the so-called ‘be’ perfect, i. e., copula-based perfect, which is common in European languages, is originally the expression of state. Regarding the level of grammaticalization, the analytic perfect in Lithuanian is not so developed as the gram of perfect, that it cannot be called “perfect”, if the term “perfect” does not include “statal perfect”, i. e., “resultative”.

Although it has not been mentioned in the current paper, analyzing the results of the questionnaire, it has become clear that the informants of the younger generations (aged 10 to 30) tend to use analytic perfect forms more often in comparison to the informants of the older generations (aged 40 to 80). It is possible that the perfect forms are in a new stage of grammaticalization. In this respect, further research and verification is necessary. I would like to continue observing and describing the actual situation of the tense-aspect system in Lithuanian carefully, not only from the viewpoint of the cross-linguistically hypothesized processes of grammaticalization, but also from the perspective of changes through linguistic contacts with other languages, such as Russian.

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
AP	active participle
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
Lith.	Lithuanian
M	masculine
N	Neutral
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PP	passive participle
PREF	prefix
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
Russ.	Russian
SG	singular

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Kopsavilkums

Šajā pētījumā tiek piedāvātas atziņas par lietuviešu valodas perfekta analītisko formu nozīmi un funkcijām (aktīvā). Lietuviešu valodniecībā šīs formas tradicionāli sauktas par „saliktajiem laikiem” (liet. *sudurtiniai laikai* vai *sudėtiniai laikai*), tās veido darbības vārds *būti* ‘būt’ un adjektīvēti pagātnes divdabji. Šo formu statuss lietuviešu valodniecībā ir strīdīgs temats, jo plaši tiek diskutēts par šo formu attieksmēm ar darbības vārdu finitajām formām. Tomēr joprojām ir pārāk maz diskusiju par lietuviešu valodas perfektu semantiskā un tipoloģiskā aspektā. Tādējādi raksta galvenais mērķis ir aplūkot lietuviešu valodas perfekta analītisko formu funkcionāli semantisko saturu tipoloģiski, kā arī analizēt, kā šis saturs korelē ar verba veidu. Aplūkota arī vienkāršo laika formu un perfekta analītisko formu lietojuma proporcija, kas pamatojas uz Lietuvā veiktas anketēšanas rezultātiem. Izmantojot krievu valodas sastatāmu analīzi, iecerēts sniegt detalizētu lietuviešu valodas perfekta analītisko formu nozīmju un funkciju skaidrojumu.