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The Yiddish Subjective Resultative Construction Based on the Adverbial Participle: Convergences and Divergences with Co-Territorial Languages

Abstract: This paper discusses an understudied construction in Yiddish, Polish and Russian, namely the subjective resultative construction based on the adverbial participle (AP). The semantic verb classes with subjective resultative meaning denote movements of the body or body parts, the arrangement of clothing and other objects close to the body, mental states and the human condition in general. In contrast to Russian, Yiddish and Polish both allow variation in conveying the subjective resultativity of mutative verbs: both the participle I and II or both imperfective and perfective adverbial participle respectively can be used. The major divergence between Yiddish and its co-territorial languages is the existence of a construction employed exclusively with intransitive mental verbs and specified for subjective resultativity, active voice and direct evidentiality in the latter languages.

Keywords: Subjective Resultative, Adverbial Participle, Yiddish, Polish, Russian

1 Introduction

Yiddish is usually considered a Germanic language, whereas (most of) its historic co-territorial languages are Slavonic ones. The aim of this paper is to explore the con- and divergences of the Yiddish subjective resultative construction based on the adverbial participle (henceforth AP) with its co-territorial languages Russian and Polish.

The subjective resultative is a diathesis in which “the underlying subject of the state (which is expressed by the surface subject of the stative predicate) is co-referential with the underlying subject of the preceding action [resulting in the state described by the stative predicate – S. B.]” (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 9, see example (1-2)).

- (1) YID ongeboygn iber ir, iz geshtanen an alte
 bend-AP.PST over her be-AUX.3SG stand-PTCP.PST an old-NOM
 froy ...
 woman-NOM
 ‘Bending over her, stood an old woman...’ (*Forverts* 2007.03.23)

- (2) YID *gezesn un geshlofn iz men oyfn dil,*
 sit-PTCP.PST and sleep-PTCP.PST be-AUX.3SG one on floor
oystsiendik di fis.
 stretch-AP.PRS the feet-ACC
 ‘They sat and slept on the floor, stretching out their feet.’ (*Forverts*
 2007.03.16)

For Yiddish, they are an interesting research object for several reasons: Firstly, no research has been conducted on Yiddish resultative constructions so far.

Secondly, from a typological perspective, passive past participles are considered to be one of the most widespread means for expressing resultativity. This applies also for German (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988) as well as the North Slavonic languages (cf. Wiemer & Giger 2005). Yet German and North Slavonic differ fundamentally with respect to the productivity of the passive past participle formative: in German, the passive past participle can be formed of any verb (as it is needed to form, among others, the perfect tense; a discussion of the term *passive past participle* will follow below) whereas in North Slavonic it is semantically restricted mainly to transitive verbs. Thus, German draws exclusively on the passive past participle for expressing subjective resultativity, whereas Russian and Polish resort to two strategies – the adverbial participle (cf. Birzer 2010: 85–107 for an account of Russian) and the passive past participle (cf. Wiemer & Giger 2005: 13–14 for Russian and 2005: 69 for Polish). Just like German, Yiddish has no semantic restrictions on forming the passive past participle, but as we will see, it nonetheless employs both the past participle (1) and the adverbial participle (2) for expressing subjective resultativity.

Thirdly, the subjective resultative construction based on the adverbial participle conjoins two phenomena which are per se considered peripheral, but play a pivotal role for each other: the subjective resultative per se is claimed to be undeveloped in many languages of the world, among them Russian (cf. Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 9), i.e. one of the co-territorial languages of Yiddish. The adverbial participle, on the other hand, is often ascribed peripheral morphosyntactic significance, as it is considered to be an infrequent inflectional form (cf. Feret 2005: 37 for Polish; Švedova et al. 1980: § 1591 for Russian) used mainly in the formal register.

On the basis of corpus data, we will explore which morphosyntactic and semantic contexts trigger the usage of the two Yiddish subjective resultative constructions, and which con- and divergences with Russian and Polish can be found therein.

The paper is organized as follows. Following the Introduction, the second section will give a survey on the state of the research on the adverbial participle, including the terminological question attached to it, and on subjective resultative constructions. The third section describes methodological issues of

retrieving the corpus data that will be analyzed in section 4. The concluding section 5. then discusses the con- and divergences of the Yiddish subjective resultative constructions with Russian and Polish.

2 State of the Art

As resultative constructions describe the state resulting from a preceding action, we will at first give a survey of the formants and the taxis meanings of adverbial participles in our object languages. In the second subdivision of this section the current state of research on (subjective) resultative constructions in our object languages and German will be discussed. In both subsections we will set out with the co-territorial languages and German in order to make the specificities of Yiddish clearly discernible against this background.

2.1 Adverbial Participles and Their Taxis Meanings

As *adverbial participle*¹ we define non-finite inflectional verb forms with adjunct status that serve as secondary predication, modify their matrix verb, are in a taxis relation to the matrix verb and are co-referential with an argument of the matrix verb (see also Haspelmath 1995: 3–8 for defining criteria).

The two Slavonic object languages, Polish and Russian, form only active adverbial participles. As a rule (with some rare exceptions), the aspect of the given verb determines which formant is used: the suffixes *-ąc* and *-a(ja)* respectively are employed for the imperfective adverbial participle marking simultaneity (3–4), whereas the perfective adverbial participle is formed with the suffixes *-wszy* and *-v(ši)* respectively and denotes anteriority (5–6).²

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- 1 In different linguistic traditions, this kind of verb forms is denoted by different terms, some of which denote different linguistic concepts in various traditions. For example, in linguistic typology *converb* is used to denote the item under investigation in this paper, whereas in Yiddish linguistics, *converb* denotes detachable verbal prefixes (for more terminological ambiguities concerning our item under investigation see Haspelmath 1995: 2–3). To avoid such ambiguities, we opted for the term *adverbial participle*, which reflects the functional and morphological status of the item.
 - 2 In order to secure a consistent glossing of the adverbial participle, we decided to distinguish between adverbial participles denoting simultaneity (SIM) and anteriority (ANT), as the grammatical categories that determine the taxis distinction vary across our object languages. Please note that the default taxis meaning conveyed in the glossing and the actual reading in certain contexts do not necessarily coincide; this divergence will be commented upon in the corresponding places. If not indicated otherwise,

- (3) POL Obudziłem się, leżąc na czymś twardym.
wake_up-PST.1SG.M lie-AP.SIM on something hard.
'I woke up, lying on something hard.' (E. Białołęcka. 2004. *Tkacz iluzji*.)
- (4) RUS Stjuardessa, leża v šezlonge, čitala "Mumu".
stewardess-NOM recline-AP.SIM in chaiselongue read-PST.3SG.F Mumu-ACC
'The stewardess, reclining in a chaiselongue, read "Mumu".'
(S. Dovlatov. 1984. *Inaja žizn'*)
- (5) POL Anna wstawszy od fortepianu podeszła do okna.
Anna-NOM stand_up-AP.ANT from piano go-PST.3SG.F to the window
'Having stood up from the piano, Anna went to the window.'
(W. Szymański. 2001. *Niedźwiedź w katedrze*)
- (6) RUS Napisav zajavlenie, Maksimus položil
write-AP.ANT petition-ACC Maksimus-NOM put-PST.3SG.M
ego na stol ...
it-ACC onto the table
'Having written the petition, Maximus put it onto the table.'
(G. Sadulaev. 2008. *Tabletka*.)

In both Russian and Polish the normative rule for the co-reference of the adverbial participle is that the covert subject of the adverbial participle be co-referent with the first argument of the matrix sentence, although instances of co-reference with other matrix verb arguments can be observed if the semantic context provides for the corresponding reference tracking (cf. Feret 2005: 84 for Polish and Yokoyama 1984 and Rappaport 1984 for Russian).

Feret states for Polish that the type number of adverbial participles in *-wszy* is decreasing; they are being replaced by adverbial participles in *-ąc* (cf. Feret 2005: 37). Therefore, one aim of our corpus analysis will be to check whether this tendency also affects the subjective resultative construction: as it marks the state resulting from a preceding action, one would expect this action to be encoded by a perfective adverbial participle and thus *-wszy*. For Russian no similar tendency has been attested.

German also features two adverbial participles. In Zifonun et al. (1997: 2214–2230) they are called participial constructions ("Partizipialkonstruktionen") and defined as

"unflektierte Partizipien I oder II, die um mindestens ein Komplement oder Supplement erweitert sind und die als Teil einer KM [kommunikativen Minimaleinheit – S.B.] verwendet werden, jedoch nicht als K_{PRD} " [Prädikativkomplement].

all examples in this paper are taken from the Corpus of Modern Yiddish, the Polish National Corpus and the Russian National Corpus.

[uninflected participles I or II, which are accompanied by at least one complement or adjunct and are used as part of an utterance, but not as complement of the primary predication – S. B.] (Zifonun et al. 1997: 2214)

In the adverbial construction the participle I denotes (partial) simultaneity (7; cf. Zifonun et al. 2219).

- (7) GER Das Kind lief lachend davon.
 the child-NOM run-PST.3SG laugh-AP.SIM away
 ‘Laughing, the child ran away.’

The participle II or past participle is polyfunctional. Before turning to its function in the adverbial participle construction, let us consider its main functions, namely that of constitutive element of the (analytical) perfect tense and the passive. The perfect tense is formed with the help of the auxiliaries *sein* ‘be’ or *haben* ‘have’ and the participle II. Transitivity is the general criterion for the distribution of the two auxiliaries: transitive verbs usually take *haben* ‘have’ and intransitive verbs *sein* ‘be’. Yet it has to be pointed out that for several intransitive verbs denoting the position of animate bodies, such as *stehen* ‘stand’, *sitzen* ‘sit’ etc. the auxiliary assignment is subject to regional variance: in the Northern varieties of German the auxiliary *haben* ‘have’ is preferred, and *sein* ‘be’ in the Southern varieties (Zifonun et al. 1997: 1874). Note that these stative verbs may be considered the lexicalized expressions of agentive subjective resultatives which are anteceded by an agentive and terminative action (cf. Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988:7), e.g. *aufstehen* ‘stand up’ → *stehen* ‘stand’ or *sich (hin)setzen* ‘sit down’ → *sitzen* ‘sit’. German grammaticography traditionally distinguishes the so-called *Vorgangspassiv* (dynamic passive; 8), formed with the auxiliary *werden* ‘become’ and the participle II, and the *Zustandspassiv* (stative passive; 9), formed with the auxiliary *sein* ‘be’ and the participle II. It is assumed that the stative passive can be formed only of verbs that also allow the dynamic passive, whereas

“als **allgemeine sein-Konverse** [...] diejenigen Konstruktionen [gefasst werden], die zwar zu entsprechenden Aktiv-Konstruktionen konvers sind, zu denen jedoch **kein** entsprechendes *werden*-Passiv existiert.” (ex. 10; Zifonun et al. 1997: 1817)

[as **general sein ‘be’-conversion** are defined all those constructions, which constitute a conversion of the corresponding active constructions, but for which no corresponding dynamic passive exists.]

- (8) GER Das Haus wurde 1923 fertiggestellt.
 the house-NOM become-PST.3SG erect-PTCPII
 ‘The house was erected in 1923.’

- (9) GER Das Haus ist fertiggestellt.
 the house-NOM be-PRS.3SG erect-PTCPII
- (10) GER Seine Stirn war gerunzelt
 his brow-NOM be-PST.3SG crinkle-PTCPII
 'He frowned (lit. his brow was crinkled).' (cited after Zifonun et al. 1997: 1818)

Note that for the German resultative also “[d]ie wichtigste Konstruktion ist *sein* + Partizip II [...], auf die alle anderen zurückgeführt werden können.” (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 2).³

Let us keep this observation in mind if we now turn to the adverbial participle construction based on the participle II: it always marks anteriority of the denoted action (11–16; cf. also Zifonun et al. 2219), but since it does not require an auxiliary, it abstracts from the deictic category of tense (cf. especially (11), where the adverbial participle is formed from a non-terminative and non-transformative transitive verb that implies no resulting state; anteriority of the denoted action is prominent here), from the dichotomy of active vs. passive (cf. 12 vs. 14) and the distinction of stative passive vs. *sein*-conversion (cf. 12 vs. 13).

- (11) GER Die Zeitung gelesen, ging er in die Arbeit.
 the newspaper-ACC read-AP.ANT go-PST.3SG he to the work
 'Having read the newspaper, he went to work.'
- (12) GER Vor langer Zeit fertiggestellt, steht das Haus
 before long time complete-AP.ANT stand-PRS.3SG the house-NOM
 noch_immer.
 still
 'Erected a long time ago, the house is still standing.'
- (13) GER Die Stirn gerunzelt, betrachtete er das Bild.
 the brow-ACC crinkle-AP.ANT gaze-PST.3SG he the picture-ACC
 'Frowning, he gazed at the picture.'
- (14) GER Vom Sofa aufgestanden reichte sie dem Besucher.
 from sofa-DAT get_up-AP.ANT shake-PST.3SG she the visitor-DAT
 die Hand.
 the hand-ACC
 'Having gotten up from the sofa, she shook hands with the visitor.'

German also witnessed normative tendencies to prescribe that the covert subject of the adverbial participle be co-referent with the first argument of the matrix sentence (cf. Bungarten 1976: 58 ff. mentioned in Zifonun et al. 1997: 2216), but

3 [the most important construction is *sein* ,be' + participle II, to which all other [constructions] can be traced back – S.B.].

more recent grammaticographic works describe the adverbial participle to be co-referent predominantly with the first argument of the matrix sentences, but also with other arguments (cf. Zifonun et al. 1997: 2219). The German adverbial participle is considered to be a phenomenon of formal registers (cf. Zifonun et al. 1997: 2229–2230)⁴ and thus differs from the usage of the Yiddish adverbial participle.

The Yiddish participles have the same functional domains as the German ones. When used in the adverbial participle construction, the Yiddish participle I (called *gerundive* in Yiddish grammaticography) denotes simultaneity (15). In comparison to some other Germanic languages, Yiddish has reduced the number of tenses. The auxiliary *hobn* ‘have’ or *zayn* ‘be’ and the uninflected participle II (called *partitsip*) form the past tense. As Mark (1978: 277) notes, the number of verbs forming the past tense with the help of *zayn* ‘be’ is decreasing; *hobn* ‘have’ is used instead. Mark (1978: 277–279) explicitly mentions twelve verbs that form the past tense with *zayn* ‘be’, among them the stative verb *blaybn* ‘remain’, the verbs *zitsn* ‘sit’, *lign* ‘lie’, *shteyn* ‘stand’, which all denote positions of (animate) bodies, and the transformative verb *shtarbn* ‘die’. If one considers that Yiddish distinguishes between the “true” passive with *vern* ‘become’ + participle II from the so-called apparent passive with *zayn* ‘be’ + participle II (16; cf. Hall 1967: 30) that marks the resultative, it seems that Yiddish is developing towards a crystallization of functions via the specialization of the auxiliaries *hobn* ‘have’ (past tense), *vern* ‘become’ (passive) and *zayn* ‘be’ (resultative).⁵ When the participle II is used in the adverbial participle construction, it marks anteriority (17; cf. Mark 1978: 343). As in German, the adverbial participle construction is abstracted from tense and diatheses due to the absence of the corresponding auxiliaries.⁶

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- 4 It would be worth testing how native speakers of German judge the acceptability of sentences containing adverbial participles. From my own intuition as a native speaker I would expect subject resultative constructions denoting the position of body parts of type (13) to get the highest acceptability score, and the mere marking of anteriority, as in (11), to get the lowest score. This might be an indicator that the adverbial participle construction with the participle II develops towards a marker of subjective resultativity.
 - 5 Since the subjective resultative construction based on the adverbial participle does not employ an auxiliary, this hypothesis cannot be tested in this paper.
 - 6 In this context, it should also be mentioned that an ellipsis of the auxiliary is possible in Yiddish (cf. Mark 1978: 342–343). Mark’s examples feature several participles detached by commas to be followed by a finite verb form, but it remains unclear whether this is typical for the elliptical construction and thus excludes the interpretation as an agglomeration of adverbial participles.

- (15) YID ... lakhndik hot dos yungvarg porlveyz
 laugh-AP.SIM have-AUX.3SG the young_people-NOM in_pairs
 zikh tshotn ibern vald ...
 REFL disperse-PTCPII across woods
 ‘Laughing, the young people in pairs dispersed over the woods.’
 (Y. Opatoshu. *In poylishe velder*)
- (16) YID ... di shtot iz geboyt oyf a barg ...
 the town-NOM be-AUX.3SG build-PTCPII on a hill
 ‘The town is built on a hill.’ (Forverts 2008.06.06)
- (17) YID opgegesn hobn mir zikh oysgetsoygn
 eat_up-AP.ANT have-AUX.1PL we REFL stretch_out-PTCPII
 oyfn veykhn zamd ...
 on soft sand
 ‘Having eaten, we stretched out on the soft sand.’
 (S. Borenshteyn. *Die Havai Inzlen.*)

In Yiddish, semantic traceability (cf. Mark 1978: 337) and the syntactic position, i.e. linear closeness to the referent in question (cf. Mark 1978: 337–338), determines the co-reference of the adverbial participle. In this respect Yiddish is much less normative than the other languages.

2.2 Research on Subjective Resultatives

As a type of diathesis, the resultative has received attention from many sides, among them language typologists. The Leningrad/St. Petersburg School of Linguistic Typology dedicated one volume edited by Nedjalkov (original publication in Russian 1983; cited in this paper in the English translation from 1988) to the resultative, which laid the ground for the exploration of resultative constructions in various individual languages, among them the languages co-territorial to Yiddish (most notably Wiemer & Giger 2005 on the North Slavonic and Baltic languages) and German (Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988). To the best of our knowledge, there have been no publications in this vein on Yiddish.

As the aim of this paper is to describe the specificities of the subjective resultative construction based on the adverbial participle, this section will give a short general survey on the different types of resultatives and resultative constructions and will then relate the state of research for our languages of interest, with a special focus on subjective resultative constructions. On this basis our research questions will be formulated.

In their definition of resultative, Nedjalkov and Jaxontov make the following distinction between resultative and stative:

“The term resultative is applied to those verb forms that express a state implying a previous event. The difference between the stative and the resultative is as follows: the

stative expresses a state of a thing without any implication of its origin, while the resultative expresses both a state and the preceding action it has resulted from.” (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 6)

Thus there exist “pairs” of verbs, one of which denotes an action resulting in a certain state, such as YID *zikh zetsn* ‘sit down’, and the other one expressing the state, such as YID *zitsn* ‘sit’.

The resultative as such is then subcategorized in object resultative and subject resultative:

“In the case of the subjective resultative, the underlying subject of the state [...] is co-referential with the underlying subject of the preceding action, while in the case of the objective resultative it is co-referential with the underlying object of the latter.” (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 9)

As we have seen in the preceding subsection, co-referentiality is also an issue with adverbial participles. Therefore we will shortly discuss the implications co-referentiality has on the verb semantics and thus on the semantic roles of the arguments, since this may give some hints as to the lexical domains that allow for the subjective resultative construction based on the adverbial participle.

The subjective resultative is usually derived from intransitive verbs and the objective resultative from transitive ones. Since, speaking in the terms of semantic roles, the objective resultative focuses on the state of the patient, it is not too surprising that in many languages the prototypical resultative construction displays some structural parallels to the passive diathesis (compare e.g. the polyfunctionality of the German participle II above; cf. also Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 17–22). Therefore, potential candidates for the objective resultative are transitive telic verbs denoting transformations. Due to the fact that with the subjective resultative the underlying subject of the state is co-referent with the subject of the preceding action, an animate subject has to be assumed; the most probable semantic roles for it are thus agent and experiencer.

However, there also exists a subvariety of the subjective resultative derived from transitive verbs:

“A resultative form may be derived from a transitive verb and have subjective diathesis if the underlying object of the previous action refers to a body part or possession of the underlying subject or to something in immediate contact with the latter. In these cases the result of the action affects the underlying subject rather than the immediate patient of the action.” (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 9)

The affectedness of body parts or possessions of the subject makes an agentive subject most probable, yet the possible range of objects in immediate contact

with the subject make predictions on the semantic domains of corresponding verbs very difficult. This once again underlines the necessity of a corpus study.

The term *possessive resultative*, which Nedjalkov and Jaxontov use to denote the kind of resultative mentioned last, takes us right into the discussion of the research on individual languages, because in their linguistic traditions the term is usually associated with just one specific phenomenon that falls under the definition of Nedjalkov and Jaxontov, but does not mirror the whole picture.

Wiemer and Giger (2005) provide a description of the resultative constructions in the Northern Slavonic and Baltic languages from a geolinguistic and contact linguistic perspective (cf. Wiemer & Giger 2005: i). They claim their research to be data-oriented (this and the following see Wiemer & Giger 2005: i), as they use “alle aus der Sekundärliteratur sowie der eigenen Forschung verfügbaren Daten”⁷. One has to be aware that this choice of data may suffer from imbalances (as Wiemer and Giger (2005: i) mention themselves), since individual papers reflect the research interests of their authors. Again, this underlines the necessity of a corpus-based study.

For Standard Russian Wiemer and Giger (2005: 13) claim that both subjective and objective resultatives can be formed only with the help of the perfective participle passive (cf. also the examples given by Knjazev 1988: 344–345); the broad majority of the subjective resultatives may be considered bidiathetical, as they can be traced back both to an transitive (19) and an intransitive verb (20) with the same stem that is formed with the help of the reflexive marker *-sja* (18; cf. Wiemer & Giger 2005: 13).

- (18) RUS On vzvolnovan. (cited after Wiemer & Giger 2005: 13)
 he-NOM worry-PTCP.PERF.PASS.M.SG
 ‘He is worried.’
- (19) RUS Plochie novosti vzvolnovali ego.
 bad-NOM.PL news-NOM worry-PST.PERF.PL him
 ‘The bad news worried him.’
- (20) RUS On vzvolnovalsja.
 he-NOM worry-PST.PERF.SG.M
 ‘He worried.’

The usage of the adverbial participle for the expression of the subjective resultative is mentioned only for the Russian substandard and for the North(West) Russian dialects. In the substandard the subjective resultative based on the adverbial participle is considered to be unproductive (cf. Wiemer & Giger

7 [all data from the secondary literature and from own research work. – S. B.].

2005: 27), whereas in the North(West) dialects it is used productively to mark both subjective and objective resultatives (cf. Wiemer and Giger 2005: 29–35 and Trubinskij 1988: 392–395). Trubinskij (1988: 394) discusses two examples for the possessive resultative (21), yet their missing contextual embedding makes it difficult to judge as to whether the speaker indeed intended to express resultativity. (21) implies the state ‘he is in possession of the money’, which is relevant if the person eventually buys something with the money or gets robbed, i.e. if the succeeding event recurs on the result, but not if the person afterwards switches on the TV or answers the phone. Trubinskij claims that “this structure is found, [sic!] only occasionally, mostly in the dialects spoken outside the area where the subjective resultative is regularly used.” (1988: 394). Quite interestingly, neither Wiemer and Giger nor Knjazev or Trubinskij discuss examples of the kind (22–23), although they contain a transitive verb denoting an action whose result without doubt affects the underlying subject more than the patient object. Birzer (2010: 103) classifies the analyzed verbs as subjective-resultative ones, which can be divided into two semantic subgroups: the first subgroup denotes movements of body parts and the second one the arrangement of clothing. One aim of this paper will be to explore whether such subjective-resultative verbs also occur in Polish and Yiddish, and whether the subgroups to be established for each language coincide or not.

- (21) RUS On den'gi polučivši (cited after Trubinskij 1988: 394)
 he-NOM money-ACC receive-AP.PERF
 ‘He has received the money.’
- (22) RUS – Nu, da, – opustiv golovu, priznalsja on.
 Well yes droop-AP.ANT head-ACC admit-PST.3SG.M he-NOM
 ‘“Well, yes,” he admitted, drooping his head.’
 (I. Grekova, *V vagone*. cited after Birzer 2010: 103)
- (23) RUS Potom ja ... stal chodit', sgorbivšis' i
 then I-NOM start-PST.1SG.M walk-INF hump_back-AP.ANT and
 opirajas' na ... palku.
 prop-AP.SIM on walking_stick-ACC
 ‘Then I started to move, humping my back and propping myself on a
 walking stick.’
 (V. Kaverin. *Pesočnye časy*. cited after Birzer 2010: 103)
- (24) RUS Lžesvidetel' stojal odin na trotuare,
 false_witness-NOM stand-PST.3SG.M alone-NOM.SG.M on pavement-LOC
 zapachnuv rubašku
 make_overlap-AP.ANT shirt-ACC
 ‘The false witness stood alone on the street, keeping the ends of his shirt
 overlapping.’
 (V. Tokareva, *Odin kubik nadeždy*. cited after Birzer 2010: 103)

The information on the subjective resultative constructions given in Wiemer and Gieger (2005) is somewhat contradictory: in the section dedicated to Polish they state that subjective resultatives formed with the help of the passive participle⁸ are highly frequent (and give examples only of this construction type, cf. Wiemer & Giger 2005: 69), but in the synoptical table of resultative constructions at the end of the book it is indicated that Polish also features a subjective resultative construction based on the perfective adverbial participle (Wiemer & Giger 2005: 123). Generally, the line between the passive and the resultative is drawn with the help of auxiliaries: *zostać* ‘become’ marks the passive (25), whereas *być* ‘be’ is used in the resultative construction (26) – note the parallel to Yiddish *vern* ‘become’ and *zayn* ‘be’. The construction *mieć* ‘have’ + participle passive (27) is discussed as the only option to form the possessive resultative, although (28) undoubtedly also denotes a situation where the result of the actions affects rather the subject than the object and involves the movement of body parts, which – together with the arrangement of clothing – is explicitly mentioned by Wiemer and Giger (2005: 79) as a typical instance of the possessive resultative.

- (25) POL Samochód akurat został naprawiony.
 car-NOM right_now become-PST.3SG.M repair-PTCP.PASS.PERF.NOM.SG.M
 ‘The car has just been repaired.’
 (cited after Wiemer & Giger 2005: 70)
- (26) POL Samochód jest już naprawiony.
 car-NOM be-PRS.3SG already repair-PTCP.PASS.PERF.NOM.SG.M
 ‘The car is already repaired.’
 (cited after Wiemer & Giger 2005: 70)
- (27) POL Od tygodnia mam samochód zepsuty.
 from week-GEN have-PRS.1SG car-ACC break-PTCP.PASS.PERF.NOM.SG.M
 ‘For a week my car is broken.’
 (cited after Wiemer & Giger 2005: 72)
- (28) POL Chwyciwszy się pod boki i ostro odrzuciwszy
 grasp-AP. ANT REFL under flank-ACC.PL and sharply throw-AP. ANT
 głowę, elfka zadrobiła nogami.
 head-ACC elf-NOM stomp-PST.3SG.F foot-INSTR.PL
 ‘Arms akimbo and having her head sharply turned aside, the elf started to
 stomp her feet.’ (A. Sapkowski. 2001. *Chrzest ognia*)

For German, Litvinov and Nedjalkov (1988) offer the most comprising description of the resultative constructions. Their findings are on an empirical basis,

8 We refrain from describing the interaction of aspect and voice with Polish participles and the implied readings, as this is not relevant for answering the research question of this paper.

as they asked native speakers of German to judge the acceptability of examples (and/or their transformations) from the *belles lettres* (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 15–23). However, it has to be mentioned that quite many of the test items are from the 19th or the first half of the 20th century and thus do not necessarily reflect the current language use. Furthermore, in case the informants rejected the test item, they were not asked what exactly provoked the rejection, so it might well be that some items have been rejected on other grounds than the inacceptability of the resultative construction. “Die Konstruktion *sein* + PartII [Partizip II – S. B.] ist [...] die kategoriale Basis des deutschen Resultativs”⁹ (Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 2). Moreover they note that “[d]as deutsche Perfekt mit *sein* neigt viel stärker zur resultativen Bedeutung als das Perfekt mit *haben*; anders gesagt, das Resultativ übergreift das Perfekt mit *sein* paradigmatisch”¹⁰ (Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 2). This complies very nicely with the observation made in section 2.1. that verbs denoting the position of body (parts), i.e. subjective-resultative verbs, form their perfect tense either exclusively with *sein* ‘be’ or display regional variation. Additionally, Litvinov and Nedjalkov point out the proneness of verbs of motion and of change of place or position to form subjective resultatives (1988: 33–34). For the possessive resultative Litvinov and Nedjalkov (1988: 40) state that

“[a]ls possessiv-resultativisch werden gewöhnlich [...] Aussagen gedeutet, in denen Bezeichnungen von Körperteilen, Kleidungsstücken und anderen Gegenständen aus dem Bereich der „natürlichen Zugehörigkeit“ in charakteristischer Weise vorkommen.”
[those utterances are usually interpreted as possessive resultatives in which lexemes denoting body parts, pieces of clothing and other objects from the realm of “natural belonging” figure in a characteristic way.] (translation – S. B.)

In detail, these verbs form the following semantic classes: 1) arrangement of clothing on the body (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 41); 2) arrangement of hair (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 42); 3) result affecting the (human) body (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988:46); 4) undesired result (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 44) and 5) configuration of a mechanism (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 44); 6) picture or label on the surface (of the subject) (cf. Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 47). The first

9 [the construction *sein* ‘be’ + participle II is the categorical basis for the German resultative – S. B.].

10 [the German perfect tense formed with *sein* ‘be’ is much more prone to a resultative meaning than the perfect tense formed with *haben* ‘have’; in other words, the resultative forms the paradigmatic superstructure for the perfect tense formed with *sein* ‘be’ – S. B.].

three classes (29–30) strongly correspond to the classes of subjective-resultative verbs identified by Birzer (2010: 103) for Russian, but for the latter two classes it is not discernible how the result of the action affects the subject (31–32).

- (29) GER hatte Handschuhe über die Finger gezogen
 have-PST.3SG glove-ACC.PL over the finger-ACC.PL cover-PTCPII
 ‘He had covered his fingers in gloves.’
 (cited after Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 41)
- (30) GER wenn man die Hände gebunden hat
 if one-NOM the hand-ACC.PL bond-PTCPII have-PRS.3SG
 ‘If one’s hands are bonded’
 (cited after Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 46)
- (31) GER Er [sc. der Roboter] hat keine
 it-NOM robot-NOM have-PRS.3SG NEG.PRON
 Schutzreaktion vorprogrammiert
 protection_mechanism-ACC program-PTCPII
 ‘The robot has no protection mechanism installed’
 (cited after Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 46)
- (32) GER Sie schlagen vor, dass jene gerufen werden, die du
 They suggest to call those REL.PRON.ACC.PL you-NOM
 auf deinem Fries abgebildet hast
 on your frieze-DAT depict-PTCPII have-PRS.3SG
 ‘They suggest to call those whom you have depicted on your frieze.’
 (cited after Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988: 47)

Since Litvinov and Nedjalkov are mainly interested in the interrelationship between resultative and other diatheses, they do not discuss adverbial participles, although they can also express resultativity, as examples (12–14) show.

Regarding Yiddish resultative constructions, to the best of our knowledge no research has been conducted so far. Although Mark’s grammar of Yiddish is very comprehensive and describes the formation of the past tense (cf. section 2.1) in detail, he pays much less attention to the passive and does not address the resultative at all. This is probably due to the fact that grammarians of Yiddish consider the passive construction clumsy and advise to avoid it (cf. Mark 1978: 286), which possibly results also in lack of attention for other diatheses closely related to the passive. As has already been mentioned above, the only hint to be found in the literature is Hall’s (1967: 30) statement that Yiddish distinguishes an “apparent passive” formed with *zayn* ‘be’ and a “true passive” formed with *vern* ‘become’. However, this is not the only strategy to convey resultative meaning, as examples (33–34) with an adverbial participle show. (34) is of special interest, since the participle I, usually signaling simultaneity, is used, but the context allows only a resultative reading. By the way, the verbs in both examples may be considered subjective-resultative.

- (33) YID *tsunoyfgedrikt* *di finger* *in a foyst,*
press_together-AP.ANT *the finger-NOM.PL* *into a fist-DAT*
hot *grishe* *aroysgeshtelt* *di rekhte* *hant.*
have-AUX.3SG *Grishe-NOM* *thrust_out-PTCPII* *the right-ACC* *arm-ACC*
 ‘Clenching a fist, Grise thrust out his right arm.’
 (*Forverts* 2009.01.23)
- (34) YID *Rashel* *hot* *oyfgeschlosn* *di tir* *un,*
Rashel-NOM *have-AUX.3SG* *unlock-PTCPII* *the door-ACC* *and*
aribertrendik *di shvel,* *zi* *tsugehaltn* *fun ineveynik.*
pass-AP.SIM *the threshold-ACC* *it-ACC* *keep_shut-PTCPII* *from inside*
 ‘Rashel unlocked the door and, having passed the threshold, kept it shut
 from inside.’ (*Forverts* 2006-2010)

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to explore with the help of corpus data

- a) which kind of resultativity is expressed by Yiddish adverbial participles;
- b) which semantic classes of verbs figure in the resultative construction with the adverbial participle;
- c) whether the usage of participle I vs. participle II correlates with other factors (e.g. verb semantics) or is a phenomenon of mere variation;
- d) which con- and divergences with co-territorial languages can be observed.

3 The Corpus Search

The empirical data for Yiddish stems from the Corpus of Modern Yiddish, which consists of a newspaper corpus containing roughly 3.1 million tokens, a balanced corpus containing 268 texts (1.4 million tokens) mainly from the first half of the 20th century, and a collection of 64 texts (200,000 tokens) by Nokhem Shtif (for a more detailed description of the Corpus of Modern Yiddish cf. Birzer 2014). The search for the participles I and II in the function of adverbial participle was conducted as follows. The search engine does not allow to distinguish between inflected (attributive) and uninflected forms of the participle, so we searched for any instances of the participle I and then manually cleaned the matches from inflected forms. Due to the polyfunctionality of the participle II and the fact that the corpus search engine does not allow to exclude certain lexemes (in our case, the auxiliaries *zayn* ‘be’ and *vern* ‘become’) from the search, we decided to search for the participle II only in sentence-initial position, as this is the position where an anterior adverbial participle is most likely to occur. The matches were then post-processed manually.

For Polish and Russian the search was easier, as the adverbial participles have dedicated forms. It was thus sufficient to search the Polish and the Russian

National Corpus for the perfective and the imperfective adverbial participle. The search in the Russian National Corpus was restricted to texts from the main corpus written after 1950. In the case of the imperfective adverbial participle we excluded the lexemes POL *mówić* ‘say, speak’ and RUS *govorit’* ‘say, speak’ from the search, since they do not imply a change of state and their adverbial participles form the basis for a whole range of frequently used, lexicalized discourse structuring elements. The matches were then post-processed manually.

4 The Data

4.1 Yiddish

The Yiddish corpus data allows to identify seven semantic classes of verbs that form resultative constructions with the adverbial participle. Four of them concern the (human) body, one the mental state, one class comprises states of non-human bodies, and the last class denotes missing results.

Of the four verb classes concerning the (human) body we will first discuss those classes where the resulting state pertains to the whole body. The first verb class denoting positions of the body is characterized by an agentive first argument that controls the body movement leading to the resulting position. Although the majority of instances is formed with the participle II (35–36), the usage of the participle I is also attested in a context requesting a resultative reading (37). The verbs denoting positions or movements of the body all have an agentive first argument, which makes the usage of the participle I possible in the first place. If we then compare examples (35–36) with example (37), episodicity makes the difference: the former two examples are episodic, whereas the latter one is non-episodic and rather generic, i.e. the described actions may occur repeatedly with different persons. We may thus assume that the participle I is chosen to mark iterativity of the action *zikh shteln af di kni* ‘to get on one’s knees’ and the resulting state.

- (35) YID ongebeygn over ir, iz geshtanen an alte froy.
 bend-AP.ANT above her be-AUX.3SG stand-PTCPII an old woman-NOM
 ‘Bending over her, stood an old woman.’ (*Forverts* 2007.03.23)
- (36) YID avekgeleygt zikh oyf der sofe un farleygt
 lie_down-AP.ANT REFL on the sofa-DAT and fold-AP.ANT
 di hent ahintern aksl, kukt an ore’n.
 the arm-ACC.PL behind shoulder-DAT look-PRS.3SG at Ore-DAT
 ‘Having laid down on the sofa and folded his arms behind the shoulders,
 he looks at Ore.’ (Kobrin Leon, *Dramatische shriftn*)

- (37) YID pruvt zikh der gezeshaflekher mentsh tsu farbindn
 try-PRS.3SG REFL the social-NOM human-NOM to link-INF
 di ekn, [...] shtelndik zikh af di kni
 the extremity-ACC.PL get REFL on the knee-DAT.PL
 far zeyn eygener shafung.
 for his own-DAT creation-DAT
 ‘The social man tries to link together the extremities, getting on his knees
 for his own creation.’ (*Hantbukh far antireligiezer propaganda*)

With the verbs denoting physical states only the participle II is attested (38–39). Example (38) features a context that implies the repeated occurrence of the state ‘being black and tired’, but in contrast to (37), the subject has the status of patient with both *farshvartsn* ‘become black’ and *oysmatern* ‘exhaust’, which makes the usage of the participle I impossible. Unfortunately, the corpus search did not provide examples of verbs denoting physical states that require an agentive argument, which then becomes the subject of the adverbial participle construction.

- (38) YID farshvartst un oysgematert, flegt er
 become_black-APANT and exhaust-APANT be_used-PRS.3SG he
 zikh [...] opbodn in der [...] balye.
 REFL take_a_bath-INF in the tub-DAT
 ‘Sooty and exhausted, he is used to taking a bath in the tub.’
 (*Forverts* 2007.03.02)
- (39) YID geblibn aleyn, hot dos kind zikh
 remain-APANT alone have-AUX.3SG the child-NOM REFL
 farklibn in der lozhe ...
 hide-PTCPII in the loge-DAT
 ‘Having remained on his own, the child hid in the loge.’ (*Forverts*
 2008.01.04)

The verbs denoting the positioning of body parts require the ‘owner’ of the body parts as agentive first argument, and the body parts as patient second argument, usually encoded as direct object. Interestingly, roughly half of all evidenced instances with resultative meaning are formed with the help of the participle I (40–44). Some verbs, namely *aroplozn* ‘let down’ and *ayngrobn* ‘dig in’ are attested with the participle I (but not the participle II) several times, so at first glance one might assume that they are lexicalized petrifications. However, they occur with different object lexemes (40–41), and *aroplozn dem kop* ‘hang (lit. let down) one’s head’ even has the synonym *aropleygn dem kop* ‘hang (lit. put down) one’s head’ (42), which is also used in the form of participle I. On second inspection, it turns out that all verbs used as participle I are mutative, i.e. in comparison to the starting point, a change of state and thus a result can already be observed even when the action leading to the result has not yet

reached its end. Therefore, the action leading to the respective result, the result of the (already partially executed) action and the action denoted by the matrix verb may take place simultaneously. With the verbs in the form of participle I (45–47), in contrast, the change of state and thus the result does not take place until the respective telic action has come to its end. This difference may explain why the former group of verbs may occur with the participle I in the function of adverbial participle, whereas the latter group features the participle II in the same function.

- (40) YID aroplozndik dem kop [...] oyf di farfetste latsn,
 let_down-AP.SIM the head-DAT onto the torn-DAT lapel-DAT
 hot er zikh ongehoybn aroptsulozn
 have-AUX.3SG he REFL begin-PTCPII let_down-INF
 fun di balemer-treplekh.
 from the lectern_stairs-DAT
 ‘Bowing his head to the torn lapel, he began to step down from the lectern stairs.’
 (Vaysenberg Itshe Meyer, *Geklibene verk*)
- (41) YID ... zey hobn zikh opgeshtelt, aroplozndik
 they have-AUX.3PL REFL stop-PTCPII let_down-AP.SIM
 zeyere fligen.
 their wing-ACC.PL
 ‘They stopped, letting down their wings.’ (Yehoyesh, Tanakh: *Yekheskl*)
- (42) YID aropleygdik zayn kop iz aropgefaln
 put_down-AP.SIM his head-ACC be-AUX.3SG fall_down-PTCPII
 dos dekl fun zayn tfilen-shel-yad ...
 the lid-NOM of his tefillin_case-DAT
 ‘Putting down his head, the lid of his tefillin case fell down.’
 (Katlé Kanye, *Der shirem*)
- (43) YID ... flegt reytschel [...], shoynt zitsndik oyfn divandl,
 be_used-PRS.3SG Rachel-NOM already sit-AP.SIM on sofa-DAT
 ayngrobn dik zikh mit di fis in der bernfel,
 dig-AP.SIM REFL with the foot-DAT.PL into the bearskin-DAT
 zikh posmakeven mit dem biterlekhn getrank [kave – S. B].
 REFL taste-INF with the bitter-DAT drink-DAT
 ‘Already sitting on the sofa, digging her feet into the bearskin, Rachel is used to tasting the coffee.’ (*Forverts* 2008.03.14)
- (44) YID ... oyfafenendik di halb-oysgeloshene oygnt,
 open-AP.SIM the half_going_out-ACC eye-ACC.PL
 hot zi mit shrek gekukt oyf undz.
 have-AUX.3SG she with fear-DAT look-PTCPII at us
 ‘Opening the half-dying eyes, she looked at us in fear.’
 (Perets Yitskhok-Leyb, *Briv un redes fun Y.L. Perets*)

- (45) YID farshteilt mit beyde hent di bakn,
 cover-AP.ANT with both hand-DAT.PL the cheek-ACC.PL
 azoy vi di tseyn voltn im vey_geton.
 as if the tooth-NOM.PL would-3PL him hurt-PTCPII
 ‘The cheeks covered with both hands, as if his teeth hurted.’
 (Kobrin Leon, *Dramatishe shriftn*)
- (46) YID tsuoyfgedrikt di finger in a foyst,
 press_together-AP.SIM the finger-NOM.PL into a fist-DAT
 hot grische aroysgeshtelt di rekhte hant.
 have-AUX.3SG Grische-NOM thrust_out-PTCPII the right-ACC arm-ACC
 ‘Clenching a fist, Grische thrusted out his right arm.’ (*Forverts* 2009.01.23)
- (47) YID Liusi shloft oykh, arayngerukt ir vild
 Lucy-NOM sleep-PRS.3SG also slip_in-AP.ANT her wildly
 tsheshoybert kepl tsvishn der mame'n un
 tousled-ACC little_head-ACC between the mother-DAT and
 der mume'n [...]
 the aunt-DAT
 ‘Lucy is also sleeping with her tousled little head slipped between mother
 and aunt.’ (Khaver-Paver, *Klinton strit*)

The verbs denoting the arrangement of clothes have an agentive first argument and the clothes as patient object, which allows the participle I in the function of adverbial participle. Its covert subject is co-referent to an agentive argument of the matrix verb. The arrangement of clothes is a non-mutative action, i.e. the result is discernible only after completion of the action. With the exception of example (48), which describes a situation taking place repeatedly, all instances of these verbs feature the participle II (49–51); the usage of the participle I as adverbial participle clearly marks the simultaneity of the actions (52).

- (48) YID ...flegt zi, aropnemendik dem vaysn khalat,
 be_used-PRS.3SG she take_off-AP.SIM the white-ACC coat-ACC
 shpanen mit shtile trit vi shvebdnik
 stride-INF with gentle-DAT.PL step-DAT.PL like float-AP.SIM
 fun der laboratorye tsum es'tsimer [...]
 from the laboratory-DAT to\the dining-room-DAT
 ‘Taking down the white coat, she usually strides with gentle steps, as floating,
 from the laboratory to the dining- room.’ (*Lebns-Fragen* 2006.11-12)
- (49) YID farrokhtn oyfn kop zayn hitl, hot er
 place-AP.ANT on/the head-DAT his hat-ACC have-AUX.3SG he
 zikh gelozt tsu der tir [...]
 REFL move-PTCPII to the door-DAT
 ‘Having placed his hat on his head, he moved towards the door.’
 (*Forverts* 2007.03.02)

- (50) YID farviklt in shmates, geyen zey bakumen dos
 clad-AP.ANT in rags-DAT go-PRS.3PL they get-INF the
 bisl pamoyes eyn_mol in tog [...]
 bit_of slop-ACC once in day-DAT
 ‘Clad in rags, they go to get the bit of slop once per day.’ (*Forverts*
 2007.01.12)
- (51) YID ongeton in a khasene`kleyd ligt zi oyf der erd [...]
 clad-AP.ANT in a wedding_dress-DAT lie-PRS.3SG she on the floor-DAT
 ‘Clad in a wedding dress, she is lying on the floor.’ (*Forverts* 2008.12.12)
- (52) YID ontuendik dem ontsug, hot er getrakht,
 put_on-AP.SIM the suit-DAT have-AUX.3SG he think-PTCPII
 az er hot nokh bay zikh toyznt rubl [...]
 that he has with him a thousand roubles
 ‘Putting on the suit, he thought that he has on him a thousand roubles.’
 (Bergelson Dovid, *In a fargrebter shtot*)

The verbs denoting mental states figure in the form of the participle II, which is not too surprising given their bidiathetical status (see the discussion of bidiathetical resultatives on the basis of example (18), which also denotes a mental state).

- (53) YID fartift, er zet mikh nisht.
 absorb-AP.ANT he see-PRS.3SG me not
 ‘Absorbed, he does not notice me.’
 (Perets Yitskhok-Leyb, *Der meshugener batlen*)
- (54) YID dershtoynt muz ikh aroysrufn:
 stun-AP.ANT must-PRS.1SG I cry_out-INF
 oykh du brutus — Et tu Brute?
 And you too, Brutus – Et tu Brute?
 ‘Stunned, I need to cry out: And you too, Brutus – Et tu Brute?’
 (*Forverts* 2006-2010)
- (55) YID dershiteret fun dem alem farlozt er di shtub [...]
 shock-AP.ANT from this-DAT all-DAT leave-PRS.3SG he the room-ACC
 ‘Shocked by all this he leaves the room.’ (*Lebns-Fragn* 2008.03-04)

Of the verb class denoting states that do not pertain to the human body or mind only very few examples are attested, but it is very interesting that in cases where the first argument of the matrix sentence is patient of the action denoted by the adverbial participle construction, the duration of the resulting state is stressed by forming an adverbial participle of the auxiliary *zayn* ‘be’ from the prototypical resultative construction *zayn* + participle II (56). If the semantic role of the respective argument is located closer to agentivity, the participle I is chosen to mark duration of the given state (57).

- (56) YID zeyendik filishtendik tseshtoybt un opgerisn eyner fun
 be-AP.SIM completely disperse-PTCPII and cut_off-PTCPII one from
 tsveytn, [...] hobn dokh di puelitseyen tseentrn [...]
 second-DAT have-AUX.3PL yet the Poyle-Tsiyen center-NOM.PL
 areysgerukt enlekhe hanokhes [...]
 bring_forward-PTCPII similar premise-ACC.PL
 ‘Being completely dispersed and cut off from one another, the Poyle-
 Tsiyen centers nonetheless made available similar premises.’
 (Zrubovl Yankev, *Yidisher arbeter pinkes tsu der geshikhte fun der Poyle-
 Tsiyen bavegung*)
- (57) YID ... dan flist zayn vaser [...] tsvishn di shteyner [...],
 then flow-PRS.3SG its water-NOM between the stone-DAT.PL
 zikh badekndik mit a vaysn shoym.
 REFL cover-AP.SIM with a white foam-DAT
 ‘Then its water flows between the stones, covered in white foam.’
 (Khayimson M., *Fizishe geografye driter un ferter lernyor*)

The last group which marks missing results is a “mixed bag” in the sense that any telic verb implying a transformation and accompanied by the negation *nit* ‘not’ becomes a member of this group. The missing result is usually encoded with the help of the participle I functioning as adverbial participle (58).

- (58) YID yashe hot [...] zikh mit a zayt aroysgeshart funem
 Yashe-NOM have-AUX.3SG REFL with one side get_out-PTCPII from(the)
 tsimer, nisht opraysndik fun der baleboste
 room-DAT not tear_away-AP.SIM from the landlady-DAT
 di oygn [...] the eye-ACC.PL
 ‘Yashe moved out of the room with one side of his body, not tearing his eyes away from the landlady.’ (*Forverts* 2008.03.07)

To summarize, seven semantic classes of verbs express resultativity with the help of the adverbial participle. Which participle is chosen depends on the semantics of the verb and thus the semantic roles of its arguments as well as on the *aktions-art*. Regarding semantic roles, agentivity of the covert subject of the adverbial participle makes the occurrence of the participle I more likely, whereas the semantic role of patient fosters the usage of the participle II.

Verb stems with bidiathetical potential, such as the mental state verbs, take the form of the participle II. The usage of the participle II is also in line with the punctuality of the denoted action, e.g. *farshrekn* ‘frighten’, which does not allow to observe the process of change and thus makes the usage of the participle I rather unlikely.

On the other hand, mutative verbs, which allow to observe the change of state, seem to prefer the participle I. Just as well, missing results and states other than those of the human body or mind are prototypically encoded with the participle I, which stresses the duration of the respective (missing) state. All other discussed verb classes prototypically use the participle II in the function of the adverbial participle to express resultativity and seem to resort to the participle I only in cases where an interactive or generic reading needs to be marked.

4.2 Polish and Russian

The Polish and Russian corpus data allowed to identify eight verb classes that form their subjective resultative with the help of the adverbial participles. Among them are the seven classes already described for Yiddish, namely four classes concerning the (human) body, mental state, states of non-human bodies and missing results. The class not attested for Yiddish is constituted by verbs denoting actions with objects that are (being) positioned close to the (human) body (one might discuss whether this class can be merged with the class denoting the arrangement of clothing). Thus this class may be integrated into the ‘inner circle’ of subjective resultative verb classes denoting states pertaining to the human body. Let us now consider which adverbial participle is used to convey resultativity.

The verb class denoting the position of the (human) body conveys the subjective resultative predominantly with the perfective adverbial participle marking anteriority of the action (59–62).

- (59) POL doktor, siadłszy przy biurku,
 doctor-NOM sit_down-AP.ANT at writing_DESK-LOC
 rozkładał na właściwych miejscach okulary,
 spread-PST.3SG.M in corresponding-LOC.PL place-LOC.PL glasses-ACC
 notatki i lekarskie przyrządy
 notes-ACC and medical-ACC.PL equipment-ACC.PL
 ‘Having sat down behind the writing desk, the doctor spread his glasses,
 notes and medical equipment in the corresponding places.’
 (I. Jurgielewiczowa. 1990. *Ten obcy*)
- (60) POL Włączył dyktafon i wychyliwszy się
 switch_on-PST.3SG.M voice_recorder-ACC and lean_OVER-AP.ANT REFL
 za balustradę, powoli opuścił go
 over balustrade-ACC slowly let_down-PST.3SG.M it-ACC
 ‘He switched on the voice recorder and, leaning over the balustrade,
 slowly let it down.’ (Z. Górniak. 2009. *Siostra i byk*)

- (61) RUS ... sev na nižnjuju svoju kojku,
 sit_down-AP.ANT on lower-ACC POSS.REFL.ACC bunk-ACC
 on šljapu snjal.
 he hat-ACC take_off-PST.3SG.M
 ‘Having sat down on the lower bunk, which was his, he took off the hat.’
 (I. Grekova. *V vagone* (1983))
- (62) RUS Ustal i zasnul,
 get_tired-PST.3SG.M and fall_asleep-PST.3SG.M
 prislonivšis' k stvolu.
 lean-AP.ANT to trunk-DAT
 ‘He got tired and fell asleep, leaning on a trunk.’
 (A. Dorofeev. *Ėle-Fantik // «Murzilka»*, 2003)

In Russian, the imperfective adverbial participle is used only in non-resultative contexts, i.e. when two actions take place simultaneously (63), and in those rare cases where the iterativity of the resulting state needs to be stressed (64).

- (63) RUS — Vy peškóm? — sprosil, sadjas' na narach.
 you on_foot ask-PST.3SG.M sit_down-AP.SIM on pallet-LOC
 ‘“You’ve walked?” he asked, sitting down on the pallet.’
 (V. Remizov. *Volja vol'naja // «Novyj mir»*, 2013)
- (64) RUS Sadjas' užinat' v gostjach, Šachurina
 sit_down-AP.SIM have_dinner-INF at guest-LOC.PL Šachurina-NOM
 pervym delom perevoračivala tarelku i
 first-INSTR deed-INSTR turn_over-ITER.PST.3SG.F plate-ACC and
 zagljadyvala ej «v zadnicu»: čto za serviz?
 look_on-ITER.PST.3SG.F she-DAT into buttocks-ACC what for set-NOM
 ‘Whenever Šachurina was invited for dinner and sat down at the table, she would turn over the plate and look “at its buttocks”: what set of crockery was it?’ (A. Terechov. *Kamennyj most* (1997-2008))

The Polish corpus data provides several instances with the imperfective adverbial participle that make a simultaneous or iterative reading rather unlikely (65–66). This complies with Feret’s finding that that the type number of the perfective adverbial participle is decreasing in favor of the imperfective one (cf. Feret 2005: 37). Indeed, a very provisional corpus search for the adverbial participles *siadając*-IPF vs. *usiadłszy*-PF ‘sitting/having sat down’ and *wychylając*-IPF vs. *wychyliwszy*-PF ‘leaning/having leant out’ (irregardless of the function in the given contexts) showed that the ratio is roughly 8.7 : 1 and 3.6 : 1 respectively. Another issue with the aspectual pair *siadać*-IPF/*usiąść*-PF is the irregular perfective adverbial participle *usiadłszy*-PF, which might foster the preferred usage of the regular imperfective adverbial participle. From a semantic point of view, *wychylać* ‘lean out’ is a gradual action and maintaining the degree of the gradual

action takes the same effort as reaching it. These factors might also favor the usage of the imperfective adverbial participle.

- (65) POL - Serwus! - zawołała Pestka, siadając na parapecie
 Hello call-PST.3SG.F Pestka-NOM sit-AP.SIM on window_sill-LOC
 i przerzucając nogi na zewnątrz.
 and toss-AP.SIM feet-ACC to outside
 'Hello!' Pestka called, sitting on the window sill and tossing her feet out
 on the street.' (I. Jurgielewiczowa. 1990. *Ten obcy*)
- (66) POL Zdaje się, że był jakiś wypadek – powiedział
 seem-PRS.3SG that was some-NOM accident-NOM say-PST.3SG.M
 Marczyński, wychylając się przez drzwi.
 Marczyński-NOM lean_out-AP.SIM REFL through door-ACC
 'It seems there has been an accident,' Marczyński said, leaning out of the
 door.' (M. Wolski. 2003. *Alterland*)

With verbs denoting the position of body parts the situation is roughly the same as above. In Russian, only the perfective adverbial participle of telic verbs is used to mark resultativity (67–69); the imperfective adverbial participle signals the simultaneity of actions (70) or the iterative occurrence of a certain result (71). With the atelic verb *chmurit'sja* 'frown' the effort of maintaining the facial expression is the same as initializing it, which may explain the usage of the imperfective adverbial participle (72).

- (67) RUS Korytin słušal opustiv golovu i
 Korytin-NOM listen-PST.3SG.M let_down-AP.ANT head-ACC and
 prikryv ladon'ju glaza.
 cover-AP.ANT palm-INSTR eye-ACC.PL
 'Korytin was listening with his head hanging down and his eyes covered
 by his palm.' (B. Ekimov. *Pimočet* (1999))
- (68) RUS Ja, zakryv glaza, mogu na oščup'
 I-NOM close-AP.ANT eye-ACC.PL can-PRS.2SG on feeling-ACC
 skol'zit' pal'cem po nosu ...
 slide-INF finger-INSTR along nose-DAT
 'With my eyes closed, I can slide my finger along the nose just on feeling.'
 (S. Spivakova. *Ne vsë* (2002))
- (69) RUS Podnjav ruku, ona doždalas',
 raise-AP.ANT hand-ACC she wait-PST.3SG.F
 kogda avtomobil' ostanovitsja ...
 when car-NOM stop-FUT.3SG
 'Raising her hand, she waited until the car would stop ...'
 (A. Gelasimov. *Dom na Ozernoj* (2009))
- (70) RUS Rastjagivajte šeju, opuskaja golovu
 stretch-IMP.2PL neck-ACC let_down-AP.SIM head-ACC

- vse niže i niže na grud'.
 ever lower and lower onto breast-ACC
 'Stretch your neck, letting your head ever lower and lower down on your breast.' (S. Makeev. *Pro družbu s golovoj* (2002) // «Domovoj», 2002.08.04)
- (71) RUS Zakryvaja glaza, on bez osobogo truda
 close-AP.SIM eye-ACC.PL he without special-GEN effort-GEN
 vosproizvodil ee v pamjati.
 reproduce-ITER.PST.3SG.M she-ACC in memory-LOC
 'Closing his eyes, he would reproduce her image in his memory without any special effort.' (E. Suchov. *Delu konec -- sroku načalo* (2007))
- (72) RUS Daže mama vidit, što što ne vs'er'ez,
 even mummy-NOM see-PRS.3SG that this-NOM not seriously
 i, chmurjas', ulybaetsja.
 and frown-AP.SIM smile-PRS.3SG
 'Even mummy understands that this is not meant seriously and smiles frowning.' (I. Grekova. *Fazan* (1984))

In Polish, the semantic criterion of taking maintenance efforts seems to outweigh the telicity criterion, as both atelic (73) and telic (74–75) verbs may occur in the imperfective form. With *wtulac* 'cuddle' it is unclear whether efforts need to be taken to maintain the situation; interestingly, this verb is also attested in both the imperfective (76) and the perfective (77) form. Telic verbs that require different efforts for initializing and maintaining the situation (or none at all for the latter) are attested in the form of perfective adverbial participle only (78–79).

- (73) POL ... spoglądał właśnie w niebo,
 look-PST.3SG.M just in sky-ACC
 mrużąc oślepięone słońcem oczy.
 squint-AP.SIM blind-PTCP.PASS.ACC.PL sun-INSTR eye-ACC.PL
 '... he just looked at the sky, squinting his eyes blinded by the sun.'
 (I. Jurgielewiczowa. 1990. *Ten obcy*)
- (74) POL Zabijcie mnie... - jęczał rwanymi
 kill-IMP.2PL me groan-PST.3SG.M disrupted-INSTR.PL
 wyrazami, rozwierając nabrzmiałe wargi
 phrase-INSTR.PL open-AP.SIM swollen-ACC.PL lip-ACC.PL
 'Kill me,' he groaned in disrupted phrases, opening his swollen lips.'
 (Zd. Smektała. 2006. *Chcica czyli Billie Holiday to kurwa: poemat romantyczny*)
- (75) POL Wyglądała tak, jakby... zasnęła,
 look-PST.3SG.F so as_if fall_asleep-PST.3SG.F
 wtulając twarz w piasek.
 cuddle-AP.SIM face-ACC into sand-ACC

- 'She looked as if she had fallen asleep, cuddling her face into the sand.'
(M. Krajewski; M. Czubaj. 2009. *Róże cmentarne*)
- (76) POL ... koniokrad dławił się szlochem,
 horsethief-NOM gag-PST.3SG.M REFL sobbing-INSR
wtuliwszy twarz w ściółkę.
cuddle-AP.ANT face-ACC into litter-ACC
'The horsethief gagged on sobbing, cuddling his face into the litter.'
(A. Sapkowski. 2001. *Chrzest ognia*)
- (77) POL ... odchyliwszy głowę do tyłu
 throw_back-AP.ANT head-ACC to back_of_the_head-GEN
zaniósł się rechotliwym śmiechem.
start-PST.3SG.M REFL croaking-INSR laughter-INSR
'Throwing back his head he started to laugh croakingly.'
(M. Tomaszewska. 2001. *Zorro, załóż okulary!*)
- (78) POL ... podniósłszy prawicę do góry,
 raise-AP.ANT right_hand-ACC to height-GEN
zanucił słabym, starczym głosem: ...
start_humming-PST.3SG.M weak-INSR senile-INSR voice-INSR
'With his right hand raised, he started to hum with a weak, senile voice.'
(Z. Kossak. 1996. *Przymierze*)

With resultative meaning, the class of verbs denoting the arrangement of clothes is evidenced only in the form of the perfective adverbial participle in both Russian (79–80) and Polish (81–82).

- (79) RUS Ona šla k domu, razmachivaja po-mal'čišeski
 she go-PST.3SG.F to house-DAT wave-AP.SIM boyishly
rukami, raspachnuv pal'to, pogljadyvaja na
 hand-INSR.PL unbutton-AP.ANT coat-ACC look-AP.SIM at
svoë letnee plat'e.
 POSS.REFL.ACC estival-ACC dress-ACC
'She went to the house, waving her hands like a boy, her coat unbuttoned, looking at her summer dress.' (V. Grossman. *Žizn' i sud'ba*, časť 2 (1960))
- (80) RUS ... zamševye perčatki možno stirat' v tëploj
 buckskin-ACC.PL glove-ACC.PL can wash-INF in warm-LOC
myl'noj vode, nadev ich na ruki.
 soap-LOC water-LOC put_on-AP.ANT them onto hand-ACC.PL
'Buckskin gloves can be washed in warm soap water, putting them on one's hands.' (*Vopros -- otvet // «Daša»*, 2004)
- (81) POL Narzuciwszy płaszcz na ramiona
 throw-AP.ANT trenchcoat-ACC onto arm-ACC.PL
kobieta staje w loggii ...
 woman-NOM stand-PRS.3SG in loggia-LOC
'The trenchcoat thrown on her arms, the woman stands in the loggia.'
(St. Mrozek. 2004. *Jak zostałem filmowcem*)

- (82) POL ... *zdyjawszy* *beret* *poklonilem* *się* *głęboko* ...
 take_off-AP.ANT *cap-ACC* *bow-PST.1SG.M* *REFL* *deeply*
 ‘Having taken off my cap, I made a deep bow.’ (J. Krzysztoń. 1983. *Oblęd*)

The same holds also for the verbs denoting the contact with objects close to the human body (83–84), which is more evidence for their closeness to the verbs denoting the arrangement of clothing.

- (83) POL ... *sięgnawszy* *po* *kubek* *zaczął* *pić*
 grasp-AP.PF *after* *cup-ACC* *start-PST.3SG.M* *drink-INF*
 małymi *łykami.*
 small-INSTR *gulp-INSTR*
 ‘Having grasped the cup, he started to drink in sips.’
 (I. Jurgielewiczowa. 1990. *Ten obcy*)
- (84) RUS No *ona, schvativ* *ego za* *ruku,*
 but she *grasp-AP.ANT* *him after* *hand-ACC*
 ne pustila.
 not let_in-PST.3SG.F
 ‘But she, grasping his hand, did not let him in.’
 (Ju. Trifonov. *Dom na naberežnoj* (1976))

For the verbs conveying mental states only perfective adverbial participles are attested with resultative meaning (85–88), probably because changes of the mental state take place rather momentarily. Quite obviously, the construction consisting of the auxiliary POL *być* ‘be’ and RUS *byt’* ‘be’ respectively as adverbial participle and the participle passive of the main verb stresses the durativity of the resulting situation, but this construction deserves special attention also for another reason. A small excursus will explain why.

The combination of auxiliary and participle passive is the prototypical objective resultative construction in many languages of the world. As we have seen above, Yiddish, just like German, features verb pairs that differ regarding reflexivity and thus (in)transitivity and that both form their resultative with the help of this construction, which is then called bidiathetical. Wiemer and Giger claim the same for the Slavonic languages (2005: 13; cf. also section 2.2.), and examples (89–91) substantiate this.

However, in contrast to Yiddish and German, this is not the only way how the reflexive verb can express (subjective) resultativity – it may also recur to the adverbial participle (92–94). Since the adverbial participle is perfective, we may also exclude a transposition of the Slavonic dynamic passive, as it may occur only with the imperfective aspect. Note also that the state conveyed by the adverbial participle is evoked by active involvement in the preceding situation, i.e. the situation is related in the mode of direct evidentiality, whereas this remains

unspecified with the passive participle. Therefore, we may state that the construction with the adverbial participle is specified for subjective resultativity, active voice and direct evidentiality, whereas the construction with the passive participle lacks such specifications.

- (85) POL Opanowawszy się wstała
 regain_control-AP.ANT REFL stand_up-PST.3SG.F
 i podeszła do okna.
 and go-PST.3SG.F to window-GEN
 'Having regained control over herself, she got up and went to the window.'
 (I. Jurgielewiczowa. 1990. *Ten obcy*)
- (86) POL Joanna pogodziwszy się z otoczeniem
 Joanna-NOM resign-AP.ANT REFL with surroundings-INST
 nie szukała ze mną wspólnego języka.
 not seek-PST.3SG.F with me common-GEN language-GEN
 'Joanna, having resigned herself to the circumstances, did not seek a
 common language with me.' (Ja. Głębski. 2006. *Droga do Ite*)
- (87) RUS Porazivšis' i smutivšis' ...,
 be_astonished-AP.ANT and be_bewildered-AP.ANT
 ja ničego ne otvetila ...
 I nothing-GEN not answer-PST.1SG
 'Astonished and bewildered, I did not answer.'
 (O. Zueva. *Skaži, čto ja tebe nužna... // «Daša», 2004*)
- (88) POL Inni dumnie obnosili wypielegnowany brąz,
 Other-NOM.PL proudly display-PST.3PL well_tended-ACC bronze_tone-ACC
 będąc przekonani o swej
 be-AP.SIM convince-PTCP.PASS.NOM.PL of POSS.REFL.LOC
 atrakcyjności.
 attractiveness-LOC
 'Other people flaunted their well-tended bronze tone, being convinced of
 their attractiveness.' (M. Krajewski; M. Czubaj. 2009. *Róże cmentarne*)
- (89) POL Piotr, przekonawszy się, że te zarzuty
 Peter-NOM convince-AP.ANT REFL that these accusation-NOM.PL
 dotarły do wszystkich gmin rzymskich,
 reach-PST.3PL to all-GEN.PL parish-GEN.PL Roman-GEN.PL
 postanowił skończyć z nimi raz na zawsze.
 decide-PST.3SG.M stop-INF with them once for ever
 'Peter, having convinced himself that these accusations had reached all
 Roman parishes, decided to do away with them once and for all.'
 (Jan Dobraczyński. 1946. *Święty miecz*)
- (90) RUS Tret'jakov pristupil k sobiratel'stvu ...,
 Tret'yakov-NOM commence-PST.3SG.M to collecting-DAT
 buduči ubežden, čto iskusstvo Rossii
 be-AP.SIM convince-PTCP.PASS.M that art-NOM Russia-GEN

- nachoditsja na poroge nacional'nogo samoutverždenija
 be_situated-PRS.3SG on verge-LOC national-GEN self-affirmation-GEN
 'Tretyakov commenced his collection being convinced that the Russian
 art is on the verge of national self-affirmation.'
 (Ja. Bruk. «Sobrat' russkiju školu, kak ona est'...». *K 150-letiju Gosudarstvennoj Treťjakovskoj galerei* // «Nauka i žizn'», 2006)
- (91) RUS ... ubedivšis', što ego nikto ne taščit
 convince_oneself-AP.ANT that him nobody-NOM not drag-PRS.3SG
 na dno, on poplyl k protivopoložnomu pomostu.
 to ground-ACC he swim-PST.3SG.M to opposite-DAT rack-DAT
 'Having convinced himself that nobody was dragging him to the ground,
 he swam to the opposite rack.' (F. Iskander. *Moj kumir* (1965-1990))
- (92) RUS ... neskol'ko ran'se ja perestal s nim zdorovat'sja,
 a_bit earlier I stop-PST.1SG.M with him greet-INF
 budući razozlen gruboj stat'ej
 be-AP.SIM incense-PTCP.PASS.M rude-INSTR article-INSTR
 v «Litgazete» ...
 in Litgazeta-LOC
 'Somewhat earlier I had stopped to greet him, being incensed by a rude
 article in the "Litgazeta."
 (S. B. Rassadin. *Kniga proščanij. Vospominanija o druž'jach i ne tol'ko o nich* (2004-2008))
- (93) RUS Razozlivšis', passažiry zarezali mužčinu ...
 become_incensed-AP.ANT passenger-NOM.PL stab-PST.3PL man-ACC
 'Incensed, the passengers stabbed the man.'
 (Ju. Muchina. *Taksistov grabila «zolataja molodež'»* (2002) // «Večernjaja Moskva», 2002.05.16)

The next class of verbs denotes various states that can be subsumed under the label human condition. Only perfective adverbial participles are attested with this verb class. This may be explained by the fact that (probably with the exception of *zmęczyć się* 'get tired' (94)) the manifestation of the resulting state is not scalar (i.e. you are either widowed or not (95), have rested well or not (96), etc.) and the underlying change is thus either considered unimportant or is not perceived as a gradual, mutative process.

- (94) POL ... zmęczywszy się odjął stopę ...
 become_tired-AP.ANT REFL take_away-PST.3SG.M foot-ACC
 'Having become tired, he lifted his foot.'
 (Z. Kossak. 1952. *Przymierze*)
- (95) POL Znałem wielu wspaniałych ludzi, którzy
 know-PST.1SG.M many-ACC amazing-ACC people-ACC REL.NOM.PL
 owdowiawszy, żenili się powtórnie ...
 widow-AP.ANT marry-PST.3PL REFL again

I knew many amazing people who, having been widowed, married again.
(J. Grzegorzcyk. 2009. *Chaszcze*)

- (96) RUS Inogda ona, vyspavšis' v siestu,
Sometimes she rest_well-AP.ANT in siesta-ACC
bodrstvovala noč'ju ...
be_awake-PST.3SG.F at_night
'Sometimes, having rested well during the siesta, she was awake at night.'
(T. Orlova. *Lovuška dlja jaščeric // «Oktjabr'»*, 2003)

Finally, the last group of missing results is again a mixed bag in the sense that verbs of any semantics and aspects may occur, given they are negated. For the states resulting from gradual processes, both the perfective (97–98) and the imperfective (99–100) adverbial participle is possible, whereas states involving punctual changes are attested only with the perfective adverbial participle (101); the imperfective adverbial participle signals iterative absence of the respective result (102).

- (97) POL Nie kolaboruję z agresorem –
not collaborate-PRS.1SG with aggressor-INST
odparła, nawet się nie odwróciwszy.
answer-PST.3SG.F not_even REFL not turn_around-AP.ANT
'I do not collaborate with the aggressor,' she answered, not even turning
around.'
(R. Urbański; J. Kondracki. 2009. *Operacja „Dunaj”*)
- (98) RUS Do svidanija, — skazala Ksenija ne obernuvšis',
Goodbye say-PST.3SG.F Ksenija-NOM not turn_around-AP.ANT
'"Goodbye," Ksenija said, not turning around.'
(A. Volos. *Nedvižimost'* (2000) // «Novyj Mir», 2001)
- (99) POL ... nie odwracając się, z trudem wyszeptał: ...
not turn_around-AP.SIM REFL with effort-INSTR whisper-PST.3SG.M
'Not turning around, he whispered with effort: ...'
(Ja. Iwaszkiewicz. 2006. *Brzezina i inne opowiadania Kościoł w Skaryszewie*)
- (100) RUS — Sejčas étot pridët, — ne oboračivajas'
now that-NOM come-FUT.3SG not turn_around-AP.SIM
skazala montažnica.
say-PST.3SG.F fitter-NOM
'"Now that one is coming," the fitter said, not turning around.'
(G. Ja. Baklanov. *V meste svetlom, v meste zlačnom, v meste pokojnom* (1995))
- (101) RUS ... ona v polumrake načinala novyj den',
she in half_light-LOC start-iter.PST.3SG.F new-ACC day-ACC
ne vyspavšis' ...
not rest_well-AP.ANT
'In the half-light she used to start the new day, not having rested well...'
(V. Grossman. *Žizn' i sud'ba*, čast' 3 (1960))

- (102) RUS ... emu prichodilos' ... rano vstavat',
 him be_inevitable-ITER.PST.3SG.N early stand_up-INF
 ne vysypajas' normal'no ...
 not rest-AP.SIM decently
 'He had to get up early, not having rested decently.'
 (E. Šklovskij. *Prostoj čelovek Vasilij* (1990-1996)]

To summarize, we may state some differences but also convergences in the usage of the adverbial participle in Polish and Russian. Firstly, both languages prefer the perfective adverbial participle for conveying resultative meaning. Yet the distinction between resultativity and iterativity is more clear-cut for Russian than Polish, as Russian employs the imperfective adverbial participle exclusively for marking iterativity (also of results) or the simultaneity of two actions. The fact that Polish expresses resultativity also with the help of the imperfective adverbial participle complies with Feret's finding that in Polish the token number of the perfective adverbial participle is decreasing in favor of the imperfective one (cf. Feret 2005: 37). If we took Feret's observation as the (only) explanation for the existence of imperfective adverbial participles with resultative reading, the usage of perfective and imperfective adverbial participles with resultative reading would be characterized as an instance of variation. However, verb semantics, namely the denotation of a gradual change of state, determines the usage of the imperfective adverbial participle, so we are dealing with a rule-based phenomenon. An interaction with the increasing general token number of the imperfective adverbial participle, e.g. with analogy as motivating factor, cannot be excluded.

Both Russian and Polish feature several pairs of mental state verbs that are formed with the same morphological stem but differ regarding (in)transitivity. The intransitive verb carries a reflexive marker and has two options for forming the resultative: as with the transitive verb, the bidiathetical construction with auxiliary and participle passive may be used, or the construction with the (perfective) adverbial participle. The latter is employed exclusively with the intransitive verb and is specified for subjective resultativity, active voice and direct evidentiality, whereas the construction with the passive participle lacks such specifications.

Let us now consider the con- and divergences between Yiddish and its co-territorial languages Polish and Russian.

5 Conclusion

All three object languages have a prototypical construction for conveying subjective resultative meaning: for Yiddish the usage of the participle II is prototypical,

both in the construction consisting of finite auxiliary and participle II and as “plain” participle in the function of adverbial participle. Thus, for marking subjective resultativity, Yiddish draws on the same polyfunctional item figuring in two different constructions (of which the latter may be considered an (elliptic) derivation of the former). The Slavonic languages prototypically feature the perfective adverbial participle for expressing subjective resultativity. Very probably, the abstraction from tense and from the active-passive dichotomy makes the adverbial participle – a non-finite verb form that expresses taxis, not tense – prone to express resultativity (cf. Maslov 1988: 67–69 on the interaction between aspect, actionality and voice).

The semantic verb classes with subjective resultative meaning coincide for all three languages. Across all languages, the general tendency can be observed that punctual verbs prefer the participle II or perfective adverbial participle respectively; whereas the likelihood for the usage of the participle I or imperfective adverbial participle is higher for verbs denoting gradual changes. Additionally, in Yiddish, the choice of participle I or II depends on the semantics of the verb and thus the semantic roles of its arguments as well as on the *aktionsart*. Regarding semantic roles, agentivity of the covert subject of the adverbial participle makes the occurrence of the participle I more likely, whereas the semantic role of patient makes the participle II more likely.

Concerning the functional distribution of (adverbial) participles, Russian is the strictest language, as it allows only the perfective adverbial participle for marking resultativity; Polish also features some imperfective adverbial participles with resultative reading. We may thus state a convergence between Yiddish and Polish. Since verb semantics determines in both languages whether the imperfective adverbial participle may bear a subjective resultative reading or not, a convergence by mere accident is rather unlikely. One possible explanation is the daily face-to-face contact of Yiddish and Polish during several centuries. Russian, on the other hand, was the H-language in the Russian Empire, but not necessarily that of daily face-to-face contact with Yiddish, as the Pale of Settlement stretched mainly over Polish, Belarusian, Ukrainian and Lithuanian speaking territories (cf. Bunčić 2006: 81 on the historic language situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Empire). It may be assumed that language contact on a daily face-to-face basis makes convergences much more likely than (literacy) contact with an H-variety hardly used in daily interaction.

Finally, one striking divergence between Yiddish and the other object languages has to be mentioned: all three languages feature several mental state verbs of the same morphological stem that differ regarding (in)transitivity. The intransitive verb has a reflexive marker. In Yiddish, just like in German, these

intransitive verbs take exclusively the participle II to mark the subjective resultative; since the transitive verbs use this construction as well to mark the objective resultative (also called stative passive), this construction is bidiathetical. One might interpret this as an underspecification regarding voice, as the resultative may be traced back both to the active perfect of the intransitive verb and the passive of the transitive verb. In our Slavonic objectives languages, however, the intransitive mental state verbs have two options for forming the resultative: as with the transitive verb, the bidiathetical construction with auxiliary and participle passive may be used, or the construction with the (perfective) adverbial participle. The latter is employed exclusively with the intransitive verb and is specified for subjective resultativity, active voice and direct evidentiality, whereas the bidiathetical construction with the passive participle lacks such specifications – just as in Yiddish. The absence of the second, specified subjective resultative construction for mental state verbs in Yiddish is a trait characteristic of the Germanic language family, which has not been overcome even in the century-long language contact with Slavonic.

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