Effects of a pluractional suffix. Evidence from Lithuanian

Problem. In Lithuanian, the internal argument DP does not induce a telic interpretation of the VP as a whole. For example, the presence of a DP is does not cause the contradiction with an adverse clause (cf Verkuyl 1989), as shown in (1).

(1) Ona kalė vinį, bet neįkalė.
    Ona kal -ė   vin-į   bet ne -į -kal   -ė
    Ann hammer-PAST3G nail-ACC.SG but NEG-pref-hammer-PAST3SG
    'Ann hammered in the nail, but did not hammer it in.'

It is the prefix on the verb that determines telicity of the whole VP; prefixed predicates are infelicitous with adverse clauses (Armoskaite 2006):

(2) #Ona **į**kalė vinį, bet neįkalė.
     Ona **į-**kal   -ė   vin-į   bet ne -į -kal -ė
     Ann **pref**-hammer-PAST3G nail-ACC.SG but NEG-pref-hammer-PAST3SG
     'Ann hammered in the nail, but did not hammer it in.'

Traditionally, it has been argued that suffix *-inė-* is aspectual and is used as the means of secondary imperfectivization of telic perfective predicates (Ambrazas et al 1997:236-37). As expected, adverse clauses do not cause the contradiction when the suffix is introduced.

(3) Ona **į**kal*inė*jo vinį, bet neįkalė.
    Ona **į-**kal   *-inė*-jo   vin-į   bet ne -į -kal   -ė
    Ann **pref**-hammer-SUF PAST3G nail-ACC.SG but NEG-pref-hammer-PAST3SG
    'Ann hammered at the nail many times, but did not hammer it in.'

However, the question is why (3) needs a specification that the event occurred *many times* – i.e., there imperfectivization necessarily includes multiple events. Moreover, the supposedly imperfectivizing suffix applies to predicates that already are imperfective: the imperfective predicate in (4) is a suffixed version of the imperfective predicate in (1).
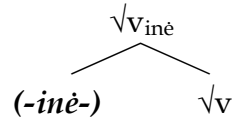
(4) Ona kal*inė*jo vinį, bet neįkalė.
    Ona kal   *-inė* -jo   vin-į   bet ne -į -kal   -ė
    Ann hammer-SUF PAST3G nail-ACC.SG but NEG-pref-hammer-PAST3SG
    'Ann hammered at the nail many times, but did not hammer it in.'

Proposal Lithuanian suffix *–inė-* is a root level modifier of √v (cf Wiltschko 2005). Specifically, it is primarily a pluractional marker (cf Lasersohn 1995, Yu

2003, van Geehoven 2004), and its aspectual effects are epiphenomenal (Armoskaite-Sherkina-Lieber 2008).

(1) √v modifier: pluractional modifier

$$\sqrt{v}_{inė}$$

(-inė-)   √v

Given that **–inė-** attaches very low, its effect percolates upwards through √root, to VP and CP.
First, I show that the suffix interacts with the root meaning and Aktionart. Next, I show that the suffix is object oriented and is sensitive to the number on the internal argument. Finally, I show how particular diminutive, pejorative and lexical interpretations can be attributed to the mismatch between the pluractional impact of the suffix, verbal root, and world knowledge.

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