

PREFIXES IN REFLEXIVE RESULTATIVES

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Prefixes

1. Babko-Malaya (1999, 2003), Svenonius (2004a, b), DiSciullo and Slabakova 2005, Ramchand (2004, 2008), Richardson 2006, Istratkova 2006, Romanova (2004, 2007) convincingly showed that Slavic prefixes fall into two major types: lexical/internal and superlexical/external.

In what follows I am going to focus on Russian prefixes.

Lexical/internal (LP): *do-*, *pod-*, *vy-* among many others

do-beža-t' do dom-a
LP-run-INF to house-GEN.SG
'reach a house by running'

pod-beža-t' k dom-u
LP-run-INF to house-DAT.SG
'come to a house by running'

vy-beža-t' iz dom-a
LP-run-INF from house-GEN.SG
'leave a house by running'

Superlexical/external (SLP), according to Romanova 2007: *za-* 'inceptive', *na-* '(ac)cumulative', *ot-* 'terminative', *po-* 'delimitative', *pri-*, *pod-*, *po-* 'attenuative', *pere-*, *po-* 'distributive'

za-begat'
'start running'

na-vari-t' varen-ja
SLP-cook-INF jam-GEN.SG
'cook a quantity of jam'

ot-pljasat'
'stop dancing'

po-guljat'
'walk for a while'

pod-pet'
'sing slightly'

pere-čita-t' vse knigi
SLP-read-INF all books.ACC
'read all the books (one by one)'

2. Tatevosov (2007, 2008) argued for a more detailed classification of Russian prefixes: supersuperlexical, superlexical, intermediate and lexical.

Supersuperlexical (SSLP): distributive *po-*

po-brosa-t' kamni
SSLP-throw-INF stones.ACC
'throw stones (one by one)'

Intermediate (ITMP): repetitive *pere-*, completive *do-*

pere-krasi-t' sten-u
ITMP-paint-INF wall-ACC.SG
'repaint the wall'

do-pe-t' pesn-ju
ITMP-sing-INF song-ACC.SG
'finish singing a song'

Supersuperlexical, superlexical and intermediate prefixes in Tatevosov's classification belong to superlexical ones in the framework by Romanova et al. mentioned above. Lexical prefixes are the same in both theories.

Motivation for distinguishing SSLPs and ITMPs

	supersuperlexical	superlexical	intermediate	Lexical
compatibility with prefixes of the same type	no <i>*po-po-brosat'</i>	no <i>*po-na-guljat'</i> (DEL-CUM)	yes <u>do-pere</u> <i>do-pere-pisat'</i> <u>pere-do</u> <i>pere-do-pisat'</i>	no <i>*do-pere-bežat'</i> (LP-LP)
Meaning	Distributive	compositional: temporal or quantified	compositional: <i>pere</i> – repetition <i>pere-pisat' pis'mo</i> <i>do</i> – completion <i>do-pisat' pis'mo</i>	spatial or idiosyncratic
argument structure ¹ of a stem	no change <i>brosat' kamni</i> (throw stones) – <i>po-brosat' kamni</i>	no change <i>pisat' pis'mo</i> (write a letter) – <i>po-pisat' pis'mo</i>	no change <i>pere-pisat' /</i> <i>do-pisat'</i> <i>pis'mo</i>	change <i>pisat' pis'mo</i> – <i>is-pisat' ručku/*pis'mo</i> (use up a pen/*letter)
lexical	no restrictions	imperfective	no restrictions	(1) <i>telic² kinut'</i> 'throw' –

¹ If an argument structure changes it can mean (i) addition of new participants, (ii) participants deletion, (iii) change of an argument's semantic role (that is not accompanied with a change in morphosyntactic encoding of arguments).

restrictions of a verbal stem	<i>po</i> -[<i>brostat</i> '] ^{IPF} <i>po</i> -[<i>nabrosat</i> '] ^{IPF}	atelic <i>na</i> -[<i>kidat</i> '] ^{IPF}	<i>pere</i> -[<i>zapisat</i> '] ^{PF} <i>do</i> -[<i>zapisat</i> '] ^{PF} <i>pere</i> -[<i>pisat</i> '] ^{IPF} <i>do</i> -[<i>pisat</i> '] ^{IPF}	<i>na</i> -[<i>kinut</i> '] ^{PF} , (2) atelic imperfective <i>teret</i> ' ('wipe') – <i>s</i> -[<i>teret</i> '] ^{IPF}
verbs of directional/ non-directional motion	non-directional <i>po-za-begat</i> '	non-directional <i>za-begat</i> '	non-directional <i>do-begat</i> '	Directional <i>za-bežat</i> ' 'run into'
compatibility with prefixes of other types	SSLP-SLP <i>po-na-brosat</i> ' <i>po-pere-streljat</i> ' (po-pere-shoot)	SLP-ITMP <i>po-pere-pisyvat</i> '	ITMP-LP <i>pere-za-pisat</i> '	*LP-SLP * <i>vy-na-brasyvat</i> ' *LP-ITMP * <i>za-pere-pisyvat</i> ' *LP-SSLP * <i>za-po-brosat</i> '
secondary imperfective	no * <i>po-bras-yva-t</i> '	systematic restrictions <i>na-varit</i> (na-cook) – <i>na-var-iva-t</i> ' vs. * <i>na-otkry-t</i> ' (na-open) <i>na-otkry-va-t</i> ' (<i>dverej</i>) 'open a lot of doors'	yes <i>pere-za-pis-yva-t</i> ' <i>do-za-pis-yva-t</i> '	yes (with some lexical restrictions) <i>pro-čit-yva-t</i> '
nominalizations	no * <i>po-brosanie kamnej</i>	systematic restrictions <i>na-varivanie</i> vs. * <i>na-ot-kryvanie</i>	yes <i>do-risovka</i> / <i>pere-risovka</i> <i>kartinok</i> (finishing drawing/ redrawing of pictures)	yes <i>ot-kryvanie dverej</i> <i>ot-krytie dverej</i> 'doors opening'

Below I list all Russian SSLPs, SLPs, and ITMPs.

prefix	Meaning	example	type of prefix
za	inceptive (INC)	<i>zapet</i> ' 'start singing'	superlexical
po	delimitative (DEL)	<i>poguljat</i> ' 'walk for some time'	superlexical
po	distributive (DISTR)	<i>pobrosat</i> ' 'throw' (about many people)	supersuperlexical
na	cumulative (CUM)	<i>nabrat</i> ' 'collect'	superlexical
pere	distributive (DISTR)	<i>perelovit</i> ' 'catch one by one'	superlexical
pere	repetitive (REP)	<i>perepisat</i> ' 'rewrite'	intermediate
pere	excessive (EXC)	<i>pereest</i> ' 'overeat'	superlexical
ot	terminative (TERM)	<i>otrabotat</i> ' 'finish working'	superlexical
do	terminative (TERM)	<i>dopisat</i> ' 'finish writing'	intermediate
pro	perdurative (PERD)	<i>prosidet</i> ' 'spend the time sitting'	superlexical
iz	completive (COMPL)	<i>izranit</i> ' 'cover with wounds'	superlexical
pri	attenuative (ATT)	<i>priotkryt</i> ' 'open slightly'	superlexical
pod	attenuative (ATT)	<i>podzabyt</i> ' 'forget partially'	superlexical

² If a verb has also an atelic stem: *kinut* ^{PF} – *kidat* ^{IPF} 'throw'.

Most prefixes can have a different status depending on what meaning they express and to which verbal stem they attach.

pere-

pere-bežat ‘run across’ (LP) – **pere-pisat** ‘rewrite’ (ITMP) – **pere-rabotat** ‘overwork’ (SLP);

po-

po-stroit ‘build’ (LP) – **po-pisat** ‘write for some time’ (SLP) – **po-brosat** (kamni) ‘throw (stones)’ (SSLP);

do-

do-letet ‘reach smth. by flying’ (LP) – **do-sporit** ‘finish arguing’ (ITMP);

pro-

pro-jti 5 km ‘pass 5 kilometers’ (LP) – **pro-sidet** bityj čas ‘spend the time sitting one solid hour’ (SLP).

Reflexives

Tatevosov 2009, Žaucer 2009 made an explicit parallelism between English reflexive resultatives in (1) (see Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995, 2001) among others) and Russian prefix + reflexive verbs in (2).

(1) The searchers yelled themselves hoarse. Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2001:26
‘The searchers caused themselves to become hoarse by yelling’ (paraphrase)

(2) Iskateli **na-kriča-l-i-s’** do xripot-y.
Searchers PREFIX-yell-PAST-PL-REFL till hoarseness-GEN.SG
‘The searchers yelled themselves hoarse’

Reflexive *sja* (with an allomorph *s* after a vowel) is treated as an ‘unselected’ object in terms of Spencer and Zaretskaya (1998a, b): it is an argument of a prefix (see Filip (2004, 2005), Perelstvaig 2006, Romanova 2007).

Reflexive resultatives

Proposal

In this paper, I want to show that prefixes in Russian prefix + reflexive verbs that I call reflexive resultatives are superlexical in Tatevosov’s sense.

Basically, I conducted a thorough examination of four prefixes: *do*, *ob*, *na* and *za*.

do+sja is interpreted as ‘reach an undesirable state with V-ing’,
ob+sja expresses an intensifying meaning (‘V-ing a lot’),
za+sja is responsible for ‘get involved while V-ing’,
na+sja denotes ‘get one’s fill of V-ing’.

Remarkably, all these meanings are closely connected to each other in that V-ing effects an agent and causes some state usually undesirable for him.

Evidence

First of all, the prefixes attach to verbal stems which contain a lexical and/or intermediate prefix. Hence, they merge above LPs and ITMPs (cf. (3) and (4)).

(3) prefix-LP

- A.** **Do-vy**-kap-yva-l-**sja** do toho, čo **gluboko** zanozi-l lap-u koljučk-oj.
 SLP-LP-dig-IPF-PAST-REFL to that that deeply get.a.splinter-PAST paw-ACC thorn-INSTR
 ‘As a result of digging (smth.) (it) got a splinter in its paw’
- B.** Po-moemu, ty **za-vy**-dum-yva-l-**sja**.
 To.my.mind you SLP-LP-think-IPF-PAST-REFL
 ‘To my mind, you got deeply involved in thinking up’
- C.** Za to **vremja**, poka byl internet, uspe-l **na**-pozdravljat’-**sja** i
 For that time since was internet have.time-PAST SLP-congratulate-REFL and
na-vy-sluš-iva-t’-**sja** pozdravlen-ij.
 SLP-LP-listen-IPF-INF-REFL congratulations-GEN
 ‘For the time that (he) had an access to the internet (he) made a lot of congratulations and listened to many congratulations’
- D.** Zato **ob**-vystupa-l-**sja** i **ob**-za-pis-yva-l-**sja**.
 On.the.other.hand SLP-speak.in.public-PAST-REFL and SLP-LP-write-IPF-PAST-REFL
 ‘On the other hand, (he) spoke in public for a long time and made a lot of notes’

(4) prefix-ITMP

- A.** Ja **do**-pere-čit-yva-l-**sja** do takoj stepeni, čo uže nača-l putat’**sja**.
 I SLP-ITMP-read-IPF-PAST-REFL to that degree that already begin-PAST become.entangled
 ‘I reached an undesirable state while rereading (smth.) that I became entangled’
- B.** Izbirkom uže **za**-pere-pis-yva-l-**sja**,
 Election.committee already SLP-ITMP-write-IPF-PAST-REFL
 uže ne znaj-ut, kak zakonno vybory provesti.
 already not know-3PL.PRES how legally elections conduct
 ‘The election committee took a long time for rewriting (smth.), they don’t know the way how to conduct elections legally’
- C.** Ja do toho **na**-pere-čit-yva-l-**sja**, čo sta-l **ritoričeskie** voprosy zadavat’.
 I to that SLP-ITMP-read-IPF-PAST-REFL that begin-PAST rhetorical questions ask
 ‘I reached an undesirable state while rereading (smth.) that I began asking rhetorical questions’
- D.** My s vami možem **ob**-pere-smatr-iva-t’-**sja** po svoim pozicij-am.
 We with you can SLP-ITMP-consider-IPF-INF-REFL on our.DAT positions-DAT

‘We can take a long time on reconsidering our views’

On the other hand, they are incompatible with superlexicals and supersuperlexicals (see (5) and (6)).

(5) * **prefix-SLP**, * **SLP-prefix**

- A. ***po-na-vy-sluš-iva-t’-sja**, SLP-SLP-LP-listen-IPF-INF-REFL ***po-do-vy-kap-yva-t’-sja**
SLP-SLP-LP-dig-IPF-INF-REFL
- ***po-ob-za-pis-yva-t’-sja** ***po-za-vy-dum-yva-t’-sja**³
SLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL SLP-SLP-LP-think-IPF-INF-REFL
- B. ***na-po-vy-sluš-iva-t’-sja**, SLP-SLP-LP-listen-IPF-INF-REFL ***do-po-vy-kap-yva-t’-sja**
SLP-SLP-LP-dig-IPF-INF-REFL
- ***ob-po-za-pis-yva-t’-sja** ***za-po-vy-dum-yva-t’-sja**
SLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL SLP-SLP-LP-think-IPF-INF-REFL

(6) * **prefix-SSLP**, * **SSLP-prefix**

- A. ***po-na-vy-sluš-iva-t’-sja**, SSLP-SLP-listen-IPF-INF-REFL ***po-do-vy-kap-yva-t’-sja**
SSLP-SLP-LP-dig-IPF-INF-REFL
- ***po-ob-za-pis-yva-t’-sja** ***po-za-vy-dum-yva-t’-sja**
SSLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL SSLP-SLP-LP-think-IPF-INF-REFL
- B. ***na-po-vy-sluš-iva-t’-sja**, SLP-SSLP-listen-IPF-INF-REFL ***do-po-vy-kap-yva-t’-sja**
SLP-SSLP-LP-dig-IPF-INF-REFL
- ***ob-po-za-pis-yva-t’-sja** ***za-po-vy-dum-yva-t’-sja**
SLP-SSLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL SLP-SSLP-LP-think-IPF-INF-REFL

Secondly, since double reflexives are strongly non-grammatical (cf. (7A)) any attempt to construct reflexive resultatives with stacking prefixes fails (demonstrated in (7B)).

- (7) A. ***do-na-za-pis-yva-t’-sja-sja**
SLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL-REFL
- B. */?? **do-na-za-pis-yva-t’-sja**
SLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL
- */?? **na-do-za-pis-yva-t’-sja**
SLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL
- ***do-na-bega-t’-sja**
SLP-SLP-run-INF-REFL

³ It is worthy to note that there are two different meanings of prefix *po* in Russian: the first is delimitative and is structurally superlexical (cf. (5)) whereas the second has a distributive interpretation and has a supersuperlexical status (see (6)).

***na-do-bega-t'-sja**
SLP-SLP-run-INF-REFL

Thirdly, prefixes in reflexive resultatives never change argument structure of neither transitive nor intransitive verbs (see (8) and (9A,B)).

- (8) A. čitat'^{IPF} knig-u
read book-ACC
'read a book'
- B. **za-čitat'^{IPF}-sja** knig-oj
SLP-read-REFL book-INSTR
'get involved in reading a book'
- C. **za-čit-yva-t'-sja** knig-oj
SLP-read-IPF-INF-REFL book-INSTR
'get involved in reading a book'
- (9) A. letat'^{IPF}
fly
'fly'(non-dir)
- B. **na-letat'^{IPF}-sja**
SLP-fly-REFL
'fly a lot'
- C. ***na-ljot-yva-t'-sja**
SLP-fly-IPF-INF-REFL
'fly a lot'
- D. letet'
fly
'fly'(dir)
- E. ***na-letet'-sja**
SLP-fly-REFL
'fly a lot'

Generally speaking, prefix + reflexive complex adjoins unergatives but never unaccusatives. The support comes from the fourth argument: non-directional verbs of motion are traditionally viewed as unergatives ((9B) exists) while directional verbs of motion are reckoned among unaccusatives ((9E) sounds pretty odd).

Fourthly, prefixes are compatible with non-directional verbs of motion (see (9B)). Except for LPs, all other Russian prefixes do not adjoin directional verbs of motion (cf. (9E)).

Fifthly, attachment of prefixes is restricted to imperfective verbal stems (cf. (8B, 9B)).

Finally, prefixes merge below secondary imperfective (y)va if there is any at all ((8C) vs. (9C)).

Since Russian verbs with reflexive *sja* do not allow for nominalizations I omit the appropriate characteristic. Nonetheless, among the four kinds of prefixes discussed in the

literature only superlexicals exhibit variety: some verbal stems allow for nominalizations (*navarivanie* ‘cooking a lot’) whereas others totally exclude this possibility (**naotkryvanie* ‘opening a lot’). LPs and ITMPs regularly form nominalizations, SSLPs never do it.

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