

PREFIXES IN REFLEXIVE RESULTATIVES

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Overview. It has been widely recognized that Slavic prefixes fall into two major types: **lexical/internal** vs. **superlexical/external** (cf. Babko-Malaya (1999, 2003), Svenonius (2004a, b), DiSciullo and Slabakova 2005, Ramchand (2004, 2008), Richardson 2006, Istratkova 2006, Romanova (2004, 2007)). Tatevosov (2007, 2008) argued for a more detailed classification of Russian prefixes: **supersuperlexical** (SSLP), **superlexical** (SLP), **intermediate** (ITMP) and **lexical** (LP).

The second topic relevant to the current investigation is 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) made in Tatevosov 2009, Žaucer 2009. 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).

Proposal. In this paper, I want to show that prefixes in Russian prefix + reflexive verbs that I call reflexive resultatives are superlexical. 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’ whereas *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. The diagnostics elaborated in previous approaches (Svenonius (2004a, b), Romanova 2007, Tatevosov (2007, 2008)) evidences the superlexical status of prefixes claimed above.

First of all, the prefixes attach to verbal stems which contain a lexical and/or intermediate prefix. Hence, they merge above lexicals and intermediates (cf. (3) and (4)). On the other hand, they are incompatible with superlexicals and occur outside supersuperlexicals (see (5) and (6)). 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)).

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

Thirdly, prefixes in reflexive resultatives never change argument structure whether a verb is transitive or intransitive (see (8) and (9A,B)). 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 (9A,B)). Except for lexicals, 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 *yva* 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’). Lexicals and intermediates regularly form nominalizations, supersuperlexicals never do it.

Examples.

(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

‘The searchers yelled themselves hoarse’

(3) prefix-LP

A. **Do-vy-kap-yva-l-sja** do togo, što gluboko zanozi-l lap-u koljučk-oj.
SLP-LP-dig-IPF-PAST-REFL to that that deeplyget.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, što 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 togo **na-pere-čit-yva-l-sja**, što 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’

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

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

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

- (8) A. čitat’^{IPF} knig-u B. **za-čitat’**^{IPF}-sja knig-oj C. **za-čit**-yva-t’-sja knig-oj

read book-ACC SLP-read-REFL book-INSTR SLP-read-IPF-INF-REFL book-INSTR

‘read a book’ ‘get involved in reading a book’

- (9) A. letat’^{IPF} fly B. **na-letat’**^{IPF}-sja SLP-fly-REFL C. ***na-ljot**-yva-t’-sja SLP-fly-IPF-INF-REFL

‘fly’(non-dir) ‘fly a lot’ ‘fly a lot’
 D. letet’ fly E. ***na-letet’**-sja SLP-fly-REFL
 ‘fly’(dir) ‘fly a lot’

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