
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 nominalizatons
(navorivanie ‘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-IPF
SLP-LP-dig-IPF-PAST-REFL to that that deeplyget.a.splinter-PAST paw-ACC
‘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-pozdravljet’-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, čto uže nača-l putat’-sja.
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 alreadySLP-ITMP-write-IPF-PAST-REFL
uže ne znaj-ut, kak zakonno wybory 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
consider elections legally’
C. Ja do togo na-pere-čit-yva-l-sja, čto sta-l ritoričeskie voprosy zadavat’.
SLP-LP-read-IPF-PAST-REFL to that begin-PAST rhetorical
question 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'-sjaj, *po-do-vy-kap-yva-t'-sjaj
   SLP-SLP-LP-listen-IPF-INF-REFL SLP-SLP-LP-dig-IPF-INF-REFL
   *po-ob-za-pis-yva-t'-sjaj *po-za-vy-dum-yva-t'-sjaj
   SLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-REFL SLP-SLP-LP-think-IPF-INF-REFL

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

B. *na-po-vy-sluš-iva-t'-sjaj, *do-po-vy-kap-yva-t'-sjaj
   SLP-SLP-LP-listen-IPF-INF-REFL SLP-SLP-LP-dig-IPF-INF-REFL

(7) A. *do-na-za-pis-yva-t'-sjaj-sja, B. *do-na-za-pis-yva-t'-sjaj
   SLP-SLP-LP-write-IPF-INF-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'-sjaj knig-oj
   'read a book’ 'get involved in reading a book’

(9) A. letat’IPF B. na-letat'IPF-sja C. *na-ljot-yva-t'-sjaj
   fly SLP-fly-REFL SLP-fly-IPF-INF-REFL
   'fly’(non-dir) ‘fly a lot’ 'fly a lot’

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

Literature