

Russian Prefixes and Domain Boundaries

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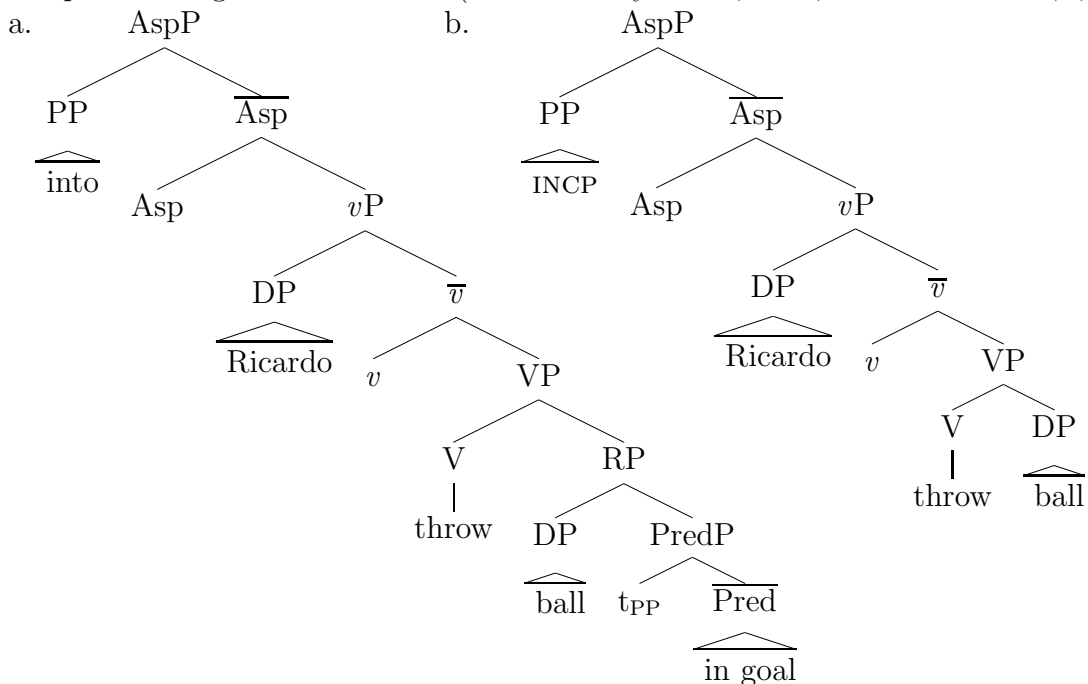
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1 Two places for prefixes

(1) Spatial, idiomatic, and ‘superlexical’ meanings of prefixes

- a. Helder *za-brosil* mjač v vorota angličan.
Helder into-threw ball in goal English
 ‘Helder kicked the ball into the English goal’
- b. David *sovsem za-brosil* futbol.
David completely into-threw soccer
 ‘David completely gave up soccer’
- c. Ricardo *nervno za-brosal* mjač.
Ricardo nervously INCP-threw ball
 ‘Ricardo began to nervously throw the ball’

(2) The claim: spatial and idiomatic prefixes originate in complements of V; superlexical prefixes originate outside *vP* (Babko-Malaya 1999; 2003, Svenonius 2004c;d;e)



(3) Some arguments:

- a. Structure in the clause is organized in a strict hierarchy, according to a *functional sequence* (f_{seq} , Starke 2001)

- b. Argument structure and such meaning components as manner, process, result, motion, location, direction, etc. are expressed by functional structure relatively low in the clause (Borer 2005, Ramchand 2005)
 - c. Idiomatic, listed meanings are restricted to this same low domain, corresponding approximately to *vP* (Marantz 1984, Svenonius 2005)
 - d. Tense, Aspect, Modality and related adverbial notions are expressed by functional structure in the T domain, outside the verb phrase (Cinque 1999)
 - e. Quantificational notions such as distributivity and quantity belong to this intermediate domain, which is not part of the verb phrase (Williams 2003, Borer 2005, Svenonius 2004b)
- (4) Hence, spatial and idiomatic prefixes are part of the lower domain, and aspectual and quantificational prefixes are part of the higher domain

2 Meanings of Russian prefixes

- (5) Russian ‘lexical’ prefixes have the same lexico-thematic properties as English particles (Svenonius 2004c:e, Rojina 2004)

	SPATIAL EXAMPLES	IDIOSYNCRATIC EXAMPLES
a.	za-katitj <i>into-roll</i> ‘roll in’	za-kusitj <i>to-bite</i> ‘eat after drinking’
b.	ot-nesti <i>away-carry</i> ‘carry away’	ot-rabotatj <i>away-work</i> ‘practice’
c.	pere-brositj <i>across-throw</i> ‘throw across’	pere-varitj <i>across-boil</i> ‘digest’
d.	na-gruzitj <i>on-load</i> ‘load’	na-bratj-sja <i>on-take-RFX</i> ‘get drunk’
e.	is-pustitj <i>out.of-let</i> ‘emit’	iz-bratj <i>out.of-take</i> ‘elect’
f.	v-kopatj <i>in-dig</i> ‘bury’	vo-plotitj <i>in-flesh</i> ‘realize (a plan)’
g.	vy-sušitj <i>out-dry</i> ‘dry up’	vy-dumatj <i>out-think</i> ‘invent’
h.	pro-kolotj <i>through-prick</i> ‘prick through’	pro-datj <i>through-give</i> ‘sell’
i.	pod-kinutj <i>under-throw</i> ‘throw up’	pod-pisatj <i>under-write</i> ‘sign’
j.	pri-katitj <i>by-roll</i> ‘roll up’	pri-kinutj <i>by-throw</i> ‘assess’
k.	s-kinutj <i>from-throw</i> ‘throw away’	s-vjazatj <i>from-knit</i> ‘tie up’
l.	do-kinutj <i>up-throw</i> ‘throw up’	do-nesti <i>up-carry</i> ‘report’
m.	ras-kinutj <i>around-throw</i> ‘throw around’	raz-jestj <i>around-eat</i> ‘corrode’
n.	u-katitj <i>at-roll</i> ‘roll away’	u-goretj <i>at-burn</i> ‘get smoke poisoning’

- (6) Higher prefixes in Russian
- a. *za-* INCEPTIVE
 - b. *ot-* TERMINATIVE
 - c. *pere-* DISTRIBUTIVE
 - d. *na-* CUMULATIVE
 - e. *pere-* EXCESSIVE
 - f. *po-* ATTENUATIVE
 - g. *iz-* COMPLETIVE
 - h. *pere-* REPETITIVE
- (7) Examples of idiomatic meanings of *iz-*
- a. *iz-gnatj out-chase* ‘drive away’
 - b. *iz-lučitj out-shine* ‘emit’
 - c. *iz-ložitj out-put* ‘put into words’
 - d. *iz-litj out-pour* ‘pour out [soul, emotions]’
 - e. *iz-bratj out-take* ‘elect’
 - f. *iz-datj out-give* ‘publish’
 - g. *iz-motatj out-spin* ‘exhaust [e.g. nerves]’
- (8) Examples of superlexical *pere-*
- a. *pere-kidatj DSTR-throw* ‘throw one by one’
 - b. *pere-kusatj DSTR-bite* ‘bite one by one’
 - c. *pere-bitj DSTR-beat* ‘beat one by one’
 - d. *pere-žečj DSTR-burn* ‘burn one by one’
 - e. *pere-pačkatsja DSTR-sully* ‘sully one by one’
- (9) Generally, lexical prefixes allow secondary imperfectivization, while superlexical prefixes disallow it
- a. On *na-kolol* *orexov*.
he CMLT-cracked^P nuts
‘He cracked a sufficiently large quantity of nuts’
 - b. *On *na-kalyval* *orexov*.
he CMLT-cracked^I nuts
(‘He was cracking a sufficiently large quantity of nuts’)
 - c. On *na-kalyval* *klijentov*.
he on-cracked^I clients
‘He was cheating the clients’ (Russian)
- (10) *na-jestj* ‘NA-eat’: ‘eat a lot’ allows a secondary imperfective. But closer examination reveals that this is not a cumulative *na-* but an idiomatic one
- a. V *otpuske v Grecii on na-jel ogromnoje brjuxo*.
in vacation in Greece he on-ate huge belly
‘On his vacation in Greece he ate his belly huge’
 - b. On *na-bral* *olivok*.
he CMLT-gathered olives.GEN
‘He gathered a sufficiently large quantity of olives’
 - c. *On *na-jel* *olivok*.
he CMLT-ate olives
(‘He ate a sufficiently large quantity of olives’)

3 Idioms do not span a ‘domain’ boundary

- (11) Idioms can contain *vP*-internal material (Marantz 1984)
- kick the bucket* ‘die’
 - pass muster* ‘meet with approval’
 - pass the buck* ‘shirk responsibility’
 - pass the hat* ‘request donations’
 - bring down the house* ‘stimulate an audience to an enthusiastic response’
 - call off the dogs* ‘stop threatening’
 - call the shots* ‘be in charge’
 - climb the walls* ‘become agitated with boredom’
 - lay an egg* ‘put on a lackluster performance’
 - gum up the works* ‘slow down or complicate operations’
 - miss the boat* ‘be too late’
 - fly the coop* ‘escape’

- (12) They can even contain subjects, presumably introduced within *vP*
- Heads will roll* ‘people are going to be punished’
 - The shit hit the fan* ‘a seriously bad thing happened’
 - All hell broke loose* ‘the situation became chaotic’
 - The cat is out of the bag* ‘the secret has become known’
 - The jig is up* ‘the deception has come to an end’

- (13) P and following NP or DP can be listed

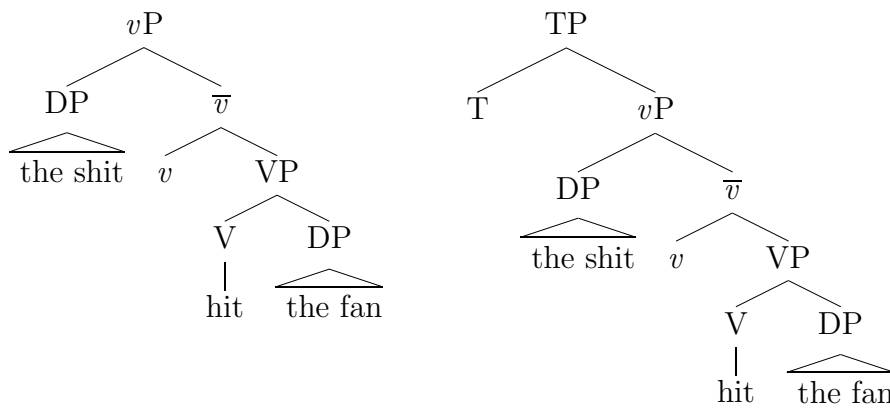
- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | <i>at will</i> | <i>at a loss</i> |
| b. | <i>at work</i> | <i>under the weather</i> |
| c. | <i>at best</i> | <i>up a creek</i> |
| d. | <i>below par</i> | <i>in a pickle</i> |
| e. | <i>in limbo</i> | <i>on the take</i> |
| f. | <i>in love</i> | <i>on the run</i> |
| g. | <i>in luck</i> | <i>in the hole</i> |
| h. | <i>in gear</i> | <i>for the birds</i> |
| i. | <i>on time</i> | <i>to the letter</i> |
| j. | <i>by hook or by crook</i> | <i>by no means</i> |

- (14) All of the above can be listed as constituents in the lexicon

- (15)
- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <pre> graph TD VP1[VP] --- V1[V] VP1 --- DP1[DP] V1 --- call[call] DP1 --- D1[D] DP1 --- NP1[NP] D1 --- the[the] NP1 --- shots[shots] </pre> | <pre> graph TD VP2[VP] --- V2[V] VP2 --- AP[AP] V2 --- break[break] AP --- DP2[DP] AP --- A[A] DP2 --- all_hell[all hell] A --- loose[loose] </pre> | <pre> graph TD PP[PP] --- P[P] PP --- DP3[DP] P --- at[at] DP3 --- will[will] </pre> |
|--|---|--|

- (16) Tense is not part of verbal idioms, even those in which the subject is included
- The shit hits the fan
 - The shit hit the fan
 - The shit has hit the fan
 - The shit will hit the fan
 - The shit might hit the fan

(17) T merges outside *vP*



3.1 Things which are not part of verbal idioms

(18) **Verbal idioms:** idioms with ‘lexical’ verbs, with content such as manner, result

(19) Tense: No verbal idioms restricted to one tense (cf. (16))

(20) Modality: No verbal idioms that include some modality

a. **have eyes on* meaning ‘might eat’:

#The cat has eyes on the cheese if you don’t put it away.

b. **leave the lights on* meaning ‘must be home’:

#They leave the lights on, so I’ll call.

(21) Temporal/Aspectual operators: No verbal idioms with these, either

a. **buy matches* meaning ‘smoke often’

#She buys matches (*occasionally).

b. **put a dent in* meaning ‘knock on repeatedly’:

#We put a dent in their door until they answered.

(22) Quantificational meanings: No verbal idioms which include quantification

a. **measure out* meaning ‘eat a lot of’:

#You should chip in extra since you measured out the pizza.

b. **cover with a napkin:* ‘take a little of’:

#I only covered the pizza with a napkin.

4 Argument positions within idioms can be ‘open’

(23) Possessors

a. *DP’s head spin* ‘be bewildered’

b. *DP’s blood boil* ‘be infuriated’

c. *bend DP’s ear* ‘talk a lot to DP’

d. *clip DP’s wings* ‘restrict DP’s freedom’

e. *cramp DP’s style* ‘interfere with DP’

f. *breathe down DP’s neck* ‘put pressure on DP’

g. *get under DP’s skin* ‘irritate DP’

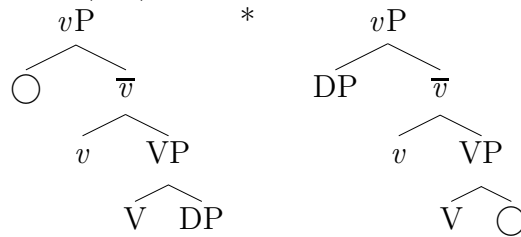
h. *bet DP(self)’s bottom dollar* ‘be certain’

i. *drown DP(self)’s sorrows* ‘drink to relieve depression’

- (24) Objects followed by other material
- drop DP a line* ‘contact DP’
 - nip DP in the bud* ‘put an end to DP at an early stage’
 - haul DP over the coals* ‘reprimand DP’
 - know DP from Adam* ‘have any familiarity with DP’ (NPI)
 - get DP across* ‘communicate DP’

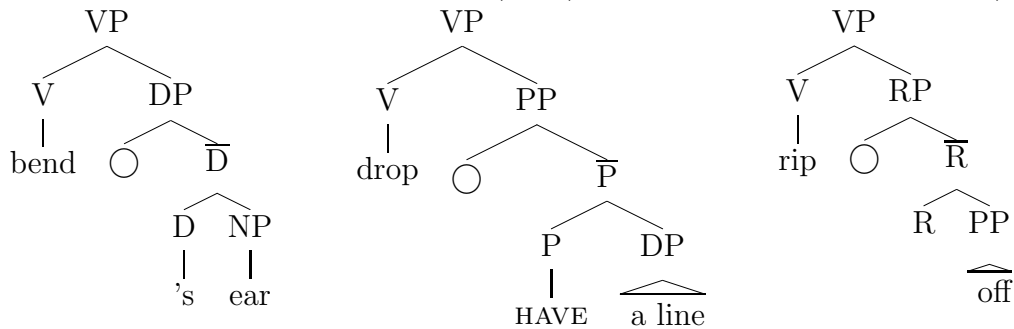
- (25) Objects in verb-particle constructions
- rip DP off* ‘plagiarize DP’
 - take DP on* ‘challenge DP’
 - clue DP in* ‘inform DP’
 - crack DP up* ‘amuse DP’
 - live DP down* ‘become dissociated from DP’
 - put DP out* ‘inconvenience DP’

- (26) Generalization: complements cannot be ‘free’ positions in idioms
- Many (DP)-verb-object idioms, no subject-verb-(DP) idioms

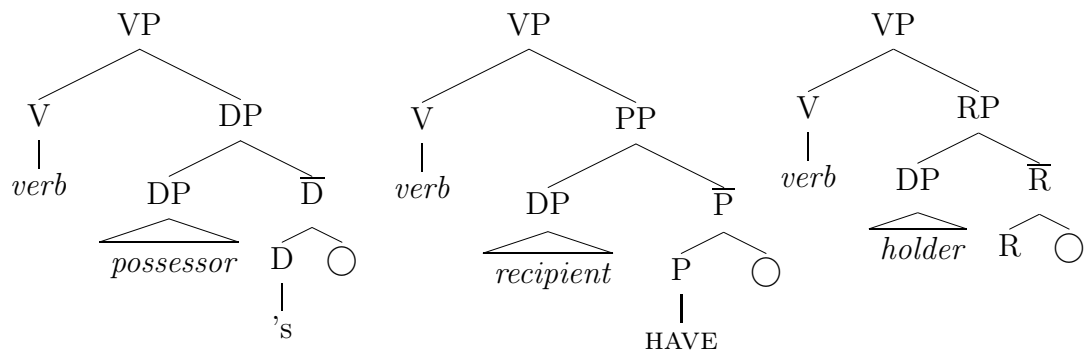


- Many verb-(DP)-possessed idioms, no verb-possessor-(NP) idioms
- Many verb-(DP)-predicate idioms, no verb-DP-(predicate) idioms
- Many verb-(DP)-particle idioms, no verb-P-(DP) idioms

- (27) Good idiomatic structures (assuming Abney (1987) on possessives, Harley (1995) on HAVE, Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) on verb-particle constructions)



- (28) Bad idiomatic structures



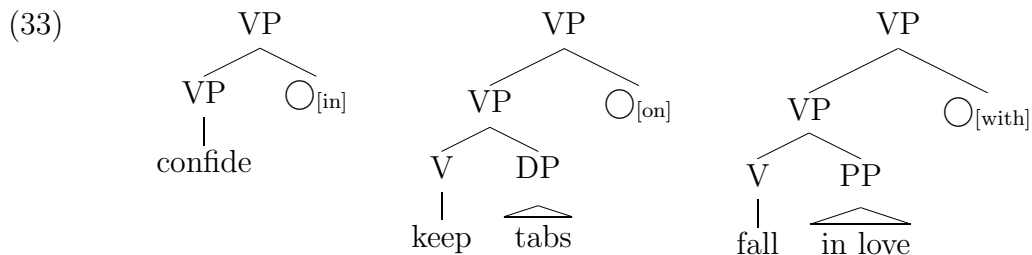
- (29) PPs
- keep tabs on DP* ‘keep apprised of DP’s actions’
 - part company with DP* ‘leave DP’
 - close ranks behind DP* ‘collectively support DP’
 - close the door on DP* ‘rule out DP’
 - fall in love with DP* ‘develop intense emotional obsession with DP’
 - fly in the face of DP* ‘run counter to DP’
 - hold a candle to DP* ‘compare favorably to DP’ (NPI)

- (30) Verbs with prepositions
- confide in DP* ‘share a secret with DP’
 - grow on DP* ‘become attractive to DP’
 - get to DP* ‘begin to irritate DP’
 - toy with DP* ‘manipulate DP’
 - guard against DP* ‘be wary of DP’
 - gun for DP* ‘have hostile intentions toward DP’

(31) When the form of P is predictable from the meaning of the collocation, then P is not a frozen part of the idiom

- toy with DP* *depend on DP*
- play with DP* *rely on DP*
- mess with DP* *count on DP*
- fuck with DP* *lean on DP*
- fool with DP* *call on DP*
- fight with DP* *hinge on DP*
- lock horns with DP* *base DP on DP*
- pick a fight with DP* *build on DP*

(32) So even some of the examples in (30) are not Verb-Preposition idioms, just verbal idioms which appear with PPs



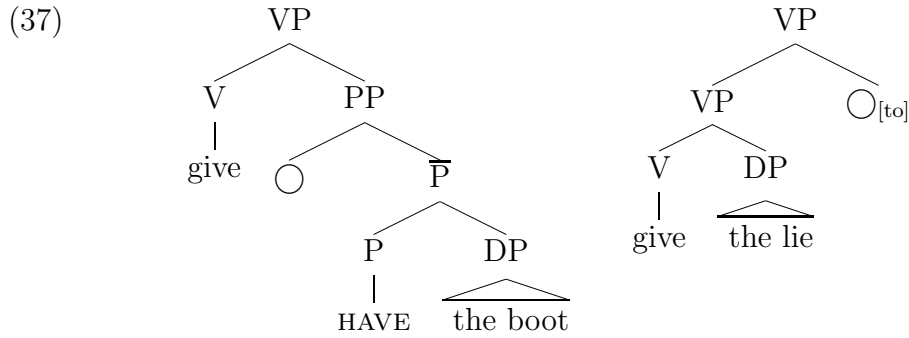
(34) The case of *give* (Larson 1988, Richards 2001)

(35) *give*-(DP)-DP: 89 examples (Spears 2000)

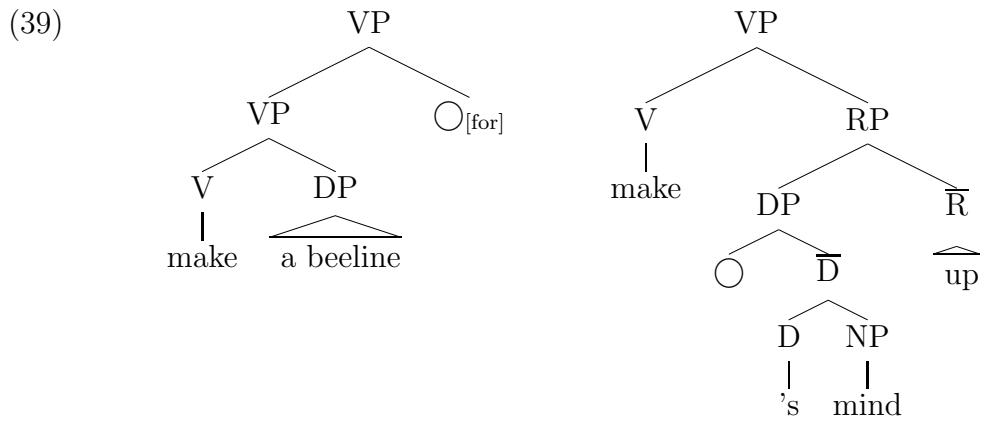
- give DP the boot* ‘evict DP’
- give DP the creeps* ‘cause DP to be nervous’
- give DP flak* ‘chastise DP’
- give DP shit* ‘complain to DP’
- give DP a bum steer* ‘give DP bad advice’

(36) *give*-DP-(to DP): 7 examples (Spears 2000)

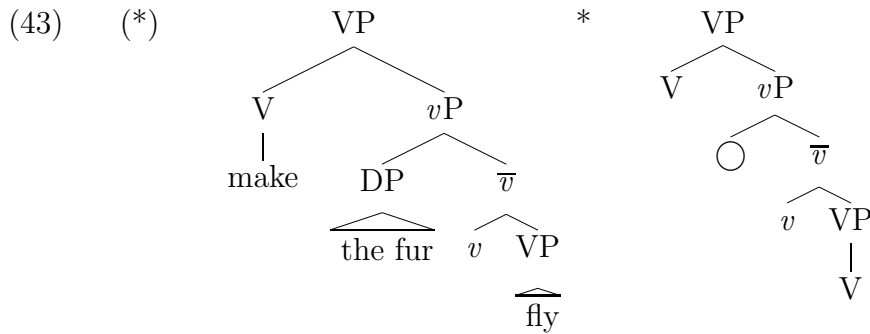
- give chase to DP* ‘chase’
- give rise to DP* ‘cause’
- give way to DP* ‘be replaced by’
- give the lie to DP* ‘reveal’



- (38) Compare the distribution of *make*
- make a killing* ‘earn lots of money’
 - make a night of* ‘spend the night doing’
 - make a run for it* ‘escape’
 - make a beeline for* ‘go straight to’
 - make a pass at* ‘direct a romantic overture at’
 - make light of* ‘downplay’
 - make fun of* ‘mock’
 - make X(self) scarce* ‘be absent’
 - make hamburger of* ‘mess up’
 - make off with* ‘abscond with’
 - make sense* ‘be coherent or understandable’
 - make waves* ‘create a stir’
 - make out* ‘neck’
 - make X’s mind up* ‘decide’



- (40) **make DP verb* (where *verb* is part of the idiom)
- (41)
- make the fur fly* ‘start a fight’
 - make X’s blood boil* ‘infuriate X’
- (42)
- The fur really flew after that comment!
 - My blood began to boil when I read the review.



(44) Conclusion: Idioms cannot span a verb phrase boundary; they do not include both material from within a verb phrase (e.g. manner, result, argument structure) and material from outside a verb phrase (tense, modality, a causative verb)

(45) So Russian idiomatic prefixes are within the verb phrase. If superlexical prefixes were, too, then there should be at least some idiomatic examples

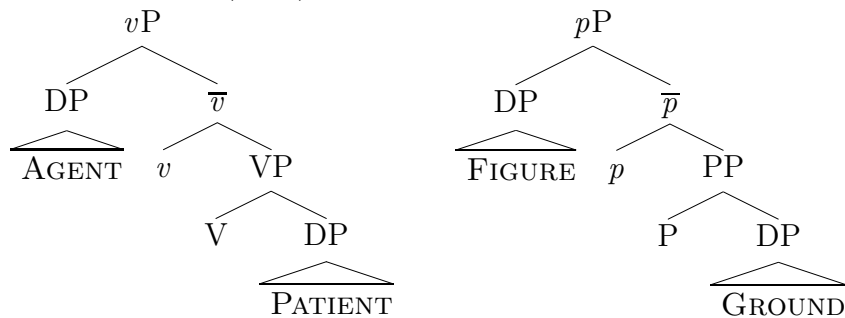
5 Particles and Prepositions

(46) Basic Figure–Ground asymmetry in prepositional semantics (Talmy 1978, Talmy 2000, Svenonius 1994, Svenonius 2004a)

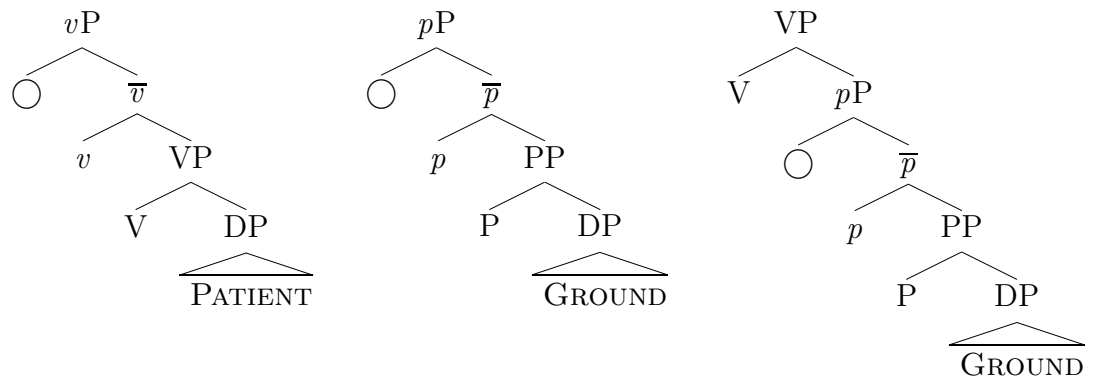
- a. fly the firefighters up (*the firefighters* = FIGURE)
- b. fly up the mountain (**the mountain** = GROUND)

- (47)
- a. roll *the car* down **the slope**
 - b. stick *the knife* in **the butter**
 - c. slide *the envelope* under **the door**
 - d. dribble *honey* all over **the manuscript**

(48) From Svenonius (2003)



(49) Idioms

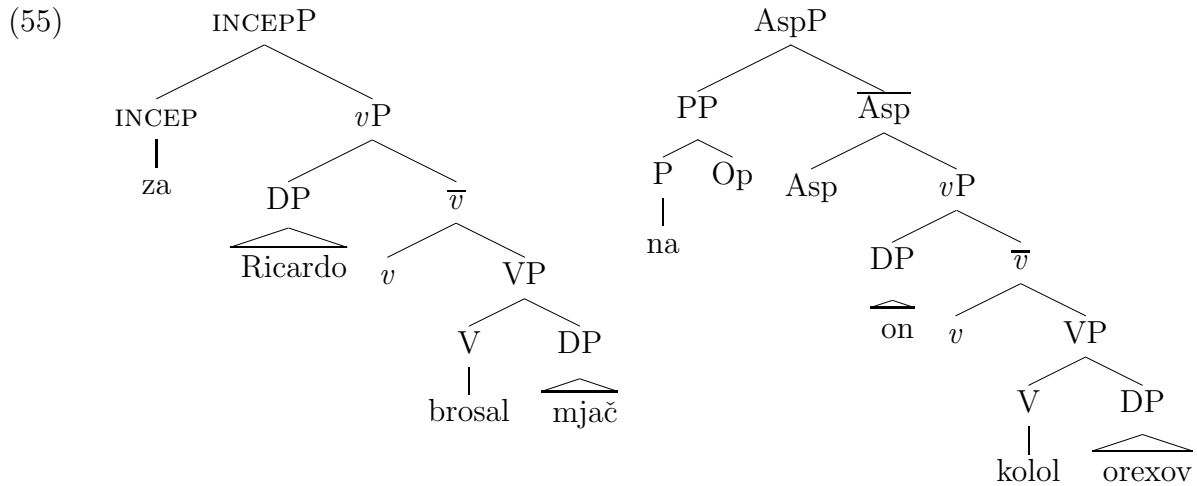


DP fly the coop

DP under the weather

haul DP over the coals

- (54) a. Ricardo nervno za-brosal mjač.
Ricardo nervously INCP-threw ball
 ‘Ricardo began to nervously throw the ball’ (Russian)
- b. On na-kolol orexov.
he CMLT-cracked^P nuts
 ‘He cracked a sufficiently large quantity of nuts’



7 Conclusion

- (56) a. Structure in the clause is organized in a strict hierarchy, according to a *functional sequence*
- b. Argument structure, manner, process, result, motion, location, direction, etc. are expressed by functional structure in *vP*
- c. Idiomatic, listed meanings are restricted to *vP*
- d. Tense, Aspect, Modality and related adverbial notions are expressed by functional structure in the T domain, outside *vP*
- e. Quantificational notions such as distributivity and quantity are located outside *vP*
- (57) Hence, spatial and idiomatic prefixes are in *vP*, and aspectual and quantificational prefixes are outside *vP*

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