

ИСКЛЮЧИТЕЛЬНЫЕ СЛУЧАИ ГЕРМАНСКИХ И РУССКИХ СТАТИВНЫХ ПРИЧАСТИЙ С ПРИСТАВКАМИ

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В данной статье рассматриваются несколько причастий с неэргативными корнями и приставками, которые выказывают признаки стативности и являются скорее прилагательными, чем глагольными формами. Предлагается возможный анализ для таких причастий в норвежском и русском языках.

Ключевые слова: причастия, неэргативные глаголы, лексическая категория, частица, приставка, функциональная последовательность.

EXCEPTIONAL ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLES WITH PREFIXES IN GERMANIC AND RUSSIAN

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This article studies a small group of prefixed participles containing unergative roots and behaving like target-state adjectival structures rather than eventive verbal formations. A possible analysis for such participles is offered for Norwegian and Russian.

Keywords: participles, unergatives, lexical category, particle, prefix, functional sequence.

1. Introduction

Resultative particles in Mainland Scandinavian are characterised by the following systematic behaviour with respect to incorporation:

- a) the particles optionally incorporate into motion verbs and transitive verbs;
- b) the particles optionally incorporate into the participles corresponding to the motion verbs and transitive verbs;
- c) the particles are obligatorily free with intransitive verbs;
- d) the particles are obligatorily incorporated into the participles corresponding to intransitive verbs;
- e) not all the participles with incorporated particles have corresponding verbs.

In Russian, the situation with incorporation is outwardly uniform in all the above cases, for in this language verbal prefixation is obligatory in spite of the fact that Germanic particles and Slavic prefixes is basically the same phenomenon (references). However, Russian, too, has prefixed participles with roots of intransitive verbs but without a respective verb with the same prefix. Moreover, both in Norwegian, and in Russian the participles in question contain roots of unergative verbs. In this paper, I will show that in both languages (and possibly in some other languages as well) different mechanisms are at work when prefixes/particles incorporate into eventive structures, and when they incorporate into stative structures. For this end, I will use the latest developments in the nanosyntactic approach to the analysis of morphology.

2. Data

As was noticed in the Introduction, Norwegian particles are free with intransitive verbs ((1–3)a), but bound with participles derived from intransitive verbs ((1–3)b). A special focus here is given to unergatives.

- (1) a. *Han* *åpnet* *armene* *sine* *og*
 he open.PAST arms.DEF self's and
- lot* *henne* *få* *gråte* *ut* / < **utgråte* > *sin* *sorg*.
 let.PAST her.OBJ get cry.INF out out.cry.INF self's grief
- ‘He opened his arms and let cry out her grief.’
 (Jeanette Semb *Løgn og fortielse*)

b. *Speilbildet viste ei utgrått / <*gråte ut> jente*
 mirror.picture.DEF show.PAST a out.cried.PP cried.PP out girl

med mascara i striper på kinnene og bustete hår.
 with mascara in stripes on cheeks.DEF and tangled.PP hair

‘The reflection showed a tear-stained girl with stripes of mascara on her cheeks and tangles hair.’ (<http://mairho.blogg.no>)

(2) a. *Natten i sentrum hadde forløpt forholdsvis fredelig:*
 night.DEF in centre have.PAST past.PP relatively peaceful

en håndfull drukkenbolter
 a handful drunkard.PL

*som måtte sove ut / <*utsove> rusen*
 that must.PAST sleep.INF out outsleep hangover.DEF

i fyllearresten...
 in jail.DEF

‘The night in the centre was relatively peaceful: a handful of drunkards who had to sleep off their hangover in jail.’

(Lotte og Søren Hammer *Ensomme hjerter*)

b. *En utsovet / <*sovet ut> og nyvasket*
 a outslept.PP slept.PP out and newwashed.PP

Elling <...> satser på nytt.
 Elling gamble.PRES on new

‘Well-slept and freshly washed Elling bets again.’

(<https://espenhilton.com/2016/12/11/nobelkonserten-2016>)

(3) a. *De har fått melding om en bil*
 they have get.PP message about a car

*som har kjørt ut / <*utkjørt> av veien...*
 that have drive.PP out outdrive.PP out.of.way.DEF

‘They have received a report about a car that has driven out of its way.’

(<https://www.dagsavisen.no/roganytt/bil-har-kjort-ut-av-veien-1.1572586>)

b. *Så vi har vært ganske utkjørte / <*kjørte ut> foreldre.*
 so we have been fairly out-driven driven out parents

‘So we have been quite exhausted parents.’ (<https://forum.klikk.no/>)

In Russian, we find the exact counterparts of the Norwegian participles¹.

- (4) *Našla?* — *sprašival sonnyj za-plakannyj rebenok.*
 find.PAST.SG.F ask.PAST.3SG.M sleepy.SG.M PREF-cried.SG.M.PRTCPL child.NOM
 “‘Have you found it?’ asked the sleepy tear-stained child.’ (<http://ruscorpora.ru/>)

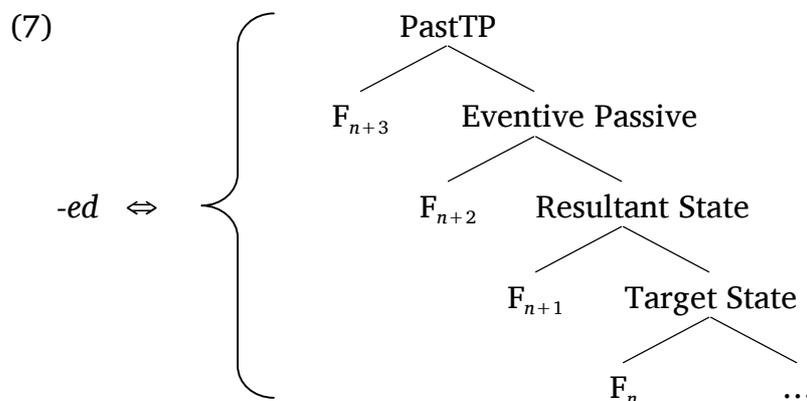
- (5) *Na poroge voznik za-spannyj mal’čik...*
 on threshold.LOC emerge.PAST.3SG.M PREF-slept.SG.M.PRTCPL boy.NOM
 ‘There appeared a sleepy boy in the door.’ (<http://ruscorpora.ru/>)

- (6) *Za-begannyj ostankinskij žurnalist*
 PREF-run.SG.M.PRTCPL ostankino.ADJ journalist.NOM

pereježžajet k podruge v derevnju.
 move.PRES to girlfriend.DAT in village.ACC

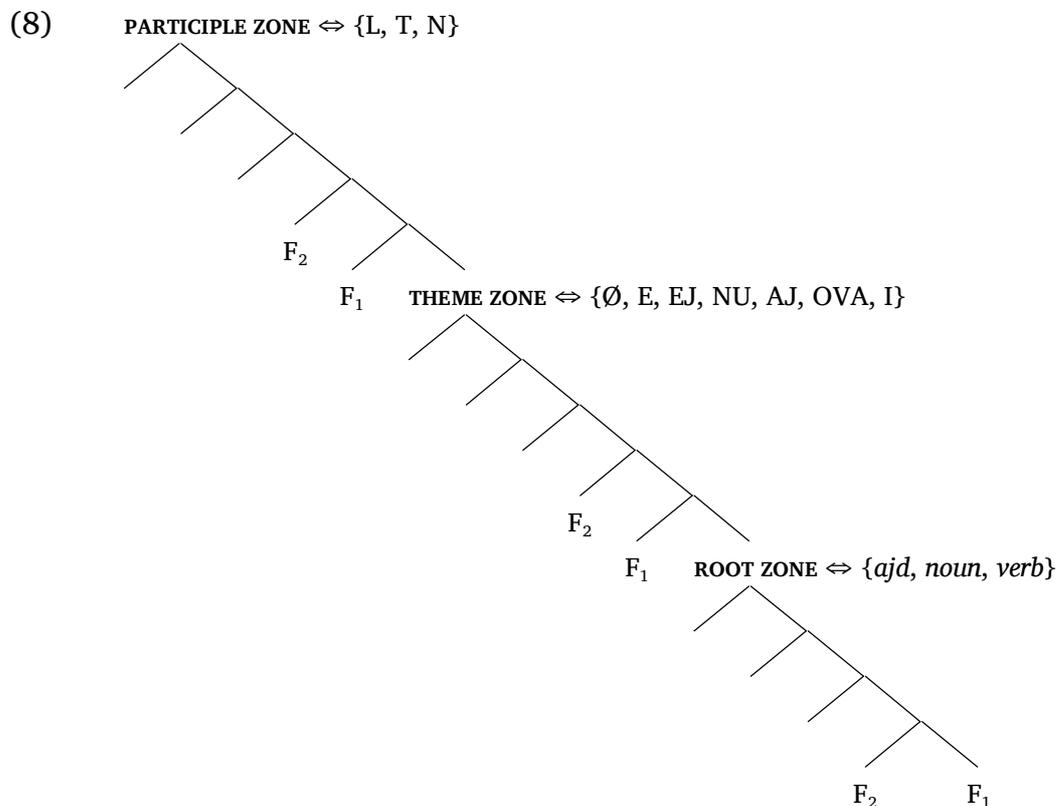
‘An exhausted journalist from Ostankino moves to his girlfriend in the country.’
 (<http://newslab.ru/article/312308>)

What looks immediately suspicious in Russian, is not so obvious in Norwegian: namely, the form of a participle. In examples (4–6), all participles contain the suffix *-n-*, which alongside with *-t-* is a marker of the passive voice. Remember though that the participles seem to have been derived from intransitive (unergative) verbs. In Norwegian the difference between perfect and passive participles is externally indiscernible. Compare: *Bilen har kjørt ut* ‘Car-the has driven out’ or *Bilen ble kjørt ut* ‘Car-the was driven out’. The same case of morphological syncretism in English was first accounted for by M. Starke in Nanosyntax seminar cited in [Taraldsen Medová, Wiland 2018]:



¹ Glosses for the Russian examples are simplified.

Thus, in English the same exponent *-ed* can lexicalize different chunks of the verbal functional sequence (or, from now on, fseq), beginning from the smallest allocated to target state participles, ending with the largest past tense (finite) fseq. In Norwegian, the situation is almost identical, slightly marred by the form of the past tense (*-te* rather than *-t-* as on the other levels). In Slavic, we cannot boast by even the Norwegian-style uniformity in morphological realization of the functional sequence of verbs and participles. [Taraldsen Medová, Wiland 2018: 312] divide it into three different zones: root zone, theme zone and participle zone:



The division of the larger fseq into zones is justified by a more complicated morphosyntactic structure found in Slavic participles: to turn a categoriless root into a verb, one first has to merge it with a theme vowel, which is not just a phonological embellishment or a marker of “eventivity”, but a full fledged morpheme responsible for the argument structure of its verb. Above this level, a participle can form Specifically, in the West Slavic languages, there are at least three participial exponents: *-l-* for unaccusative stems (coinciding with the

past tense marker), *-n-* or *-t-* for transitive or unergative stems. Analysing different inputs of different participial suffixes, [Taraldsen Medova, Wiland 2018: 324] come to the following conclusions: 1) the hierarchical relation between participial fseqs supported by argument structures is the following: unergative > transitive–accusative > unaccusative; 2) accordingly, verb stems that spell out as unergatives form a bigger fseq zone than verb stems that spell out as unaccusatives. In the proposed hierarchy transitive-accusative stems take an intermediate position between them. The difference between unergative and unaccusative fseqs in Polish and Czech is reflected morphologically: only unergative and transitive verbs can form *n/t*-participles, whereas unaccusatives form *l*-participles (where *n-*, *t-* and *l-* literally stand for consonants present in a particular participle: *kopnięty* ‘kicked’, *wykopany* ‘dugged out’, *zmarły* ‘dead’). Thus, participles containing unaccusative stems will pass tests for target state participles, and participles containing unergative stems should not.

3. The problem

Let us return to the participles under discussion. Contrary to the expectation deduced from the paper by [Taraldsen Medova, Wiland 2018], they pass the stativity test [Anagnostopolou 2003] (9–11), which makes them non-eventive, adjectival participles.

(9) Prenominal use

- a. *Utgrått jente / zaplakannaja devočka* ‘tear-stained girl’
- b. *Utsovet Elling / zaspannyj mal’čik* ‘well-slept Elling / sleepy boy’
- c. *Utkjørte foreldre / zabegannyj žurnalist* ‘exhausted parents / journalist’

(10) Complements of act, become, look, remain, seem, sound:

- a. *Han virker utvilt.*
 he seem.PRES out-rested.PRTCPL
 ‘He looks well-rested.’
- b. *Ona vygljadit za-spannoj.*
 she.NOM look.PRES.3SG PREF-slept.PRTCPL.SG.F.INSTR
 ‘She looks sleepy.’

(11) Negative prefix *un-*:

Uutsovet / *nezaspannyj* ‘not slept enough/not sleepy’

Moreover, they also pass a test for Target State participles [Kratzer 1996, 2000].

(12) The use of the adverbial *still*:

a. *ennå utsovet* / *vsjo ešče zaspannyj* ‘still well-slept/sleepy’

b. *ennå utgrått* / *vsjo ešče zaplakannyj* ‘still tear-stained’

c. *ennå utkjørt* / *vsjo ešče zabegannyj* ‘still exhausted’

Thus, the issues to solve are:

1. Why do we find unergative stems in adjectival target state derivations?
2. Where do the incorporated particles/prefixes originate?

4. One solution

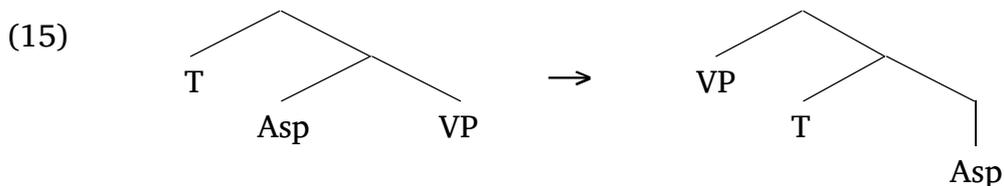
There might be several possible ways to answer the first question, but only one will be considered here. The analysis proposed below raises a problem of lexical categories and their distribution in syntax. The chosen approach lies within the framework of nanosyntax.

Remembering the analysis suggested by [Taraldsen Medová, Wiland 2018], we must pay attention to the fact that before we derive verbs we have three separate fseq zones the lowest being that of roots. Suppose, roots never raise to the themy fseq zone in Slavic or to the position responsible for the introduction of the external argument and/or event argument in other languages. What consequences can that have? One is that roots and special participial morphology together lexicalize adjectival/target state chunk of structure leaving the verbal domain beyond it. This idea finds support in [Lundquist 2013: 12], where we see that “all participles have the distribution of adjectives”. In fact, participles are adjectives.

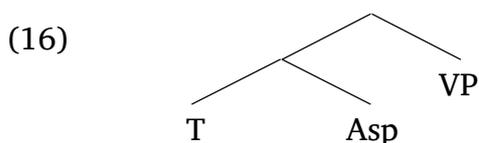
The difference between adjectives and verbs is addressed in detail in [Baker 2003]. According to Baker, it is found in the timing of lexical insertion. Verbs, being predicative structures by default, should merge with the functional projection headed by Pred(icate), and they should do it early in the derivation. Adjectives merge to combine with adjectival morphology before Pred even appears in the structure.

- (13) a. A
 b. [AP A (PP)]
 c. Pred [AP A (NP)] Merge
 d. A_i + Pred [AP t_i (NP)] Move
 e. like/hunger_i [AP t_i (NP)] Vocabulary insertion
 f. [VP NP like/hunger_i [AP t_i (NP)]] Merge
 g. [NP_j Tense [VP t_j like/hunger_i [AP t_i (NP)]]]
- (14) a. A
 b. [AP A (PP)]
 c. [AP hungry/fond (NP)] Vocabulary insertion
 d. [Pred [AP hungry/fond (NP)]] Merge
 e. [PredP NP Pred [AP hungry/fond (NP)]] Merge
 f. [PredP NP \emptyset [AP hungry/fond (NP)]] Vocabulary insertion
 g. [NP_i be_j + Tense [AuxP $t_i t_j$ [PredP t_i [AP hungry/fond (NP)]]]]]

The second question from the previous section is similar in its fundamental nature, since it is concerned with the categorial status as well. As [Starke 2018] puts it, prefixes and suffixes should have different structures and origins. Suffixes involve spell-out driven movement, requiring certain material (VP in (15)) to move out of the way of T-Asp so that the latter could be realized as a constituent.

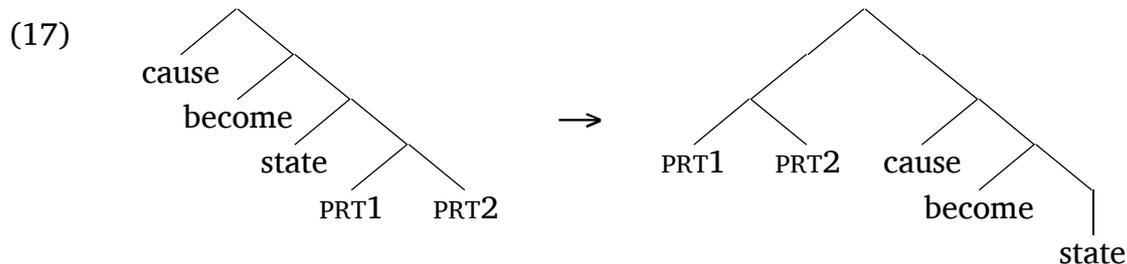


When T-Asp is a prefix, it is merged in situ as a complex head or a variety of a specifier. Nothing has to undergo spell-out driven movement and the lexicalization of the whole construction is straightforward:

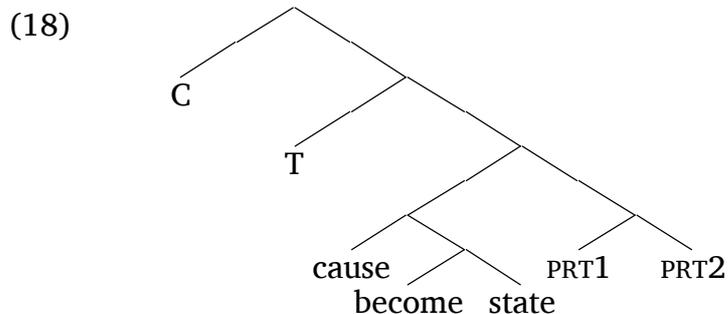


When prefixes are the classical ResultP constructions, the approach in [Starke 2018: 244] is unproblematic for Slavic-style languages, but runs into a challenge with English-style languages. Thus, Starke's verb decomposed a lá First Phase Syntax [Ramchand 2008] is followed by two particles both of

which are in the way of the verbal fseq lexicalization and therefore have to be removed. They are raised and spelled-out as a prefix:



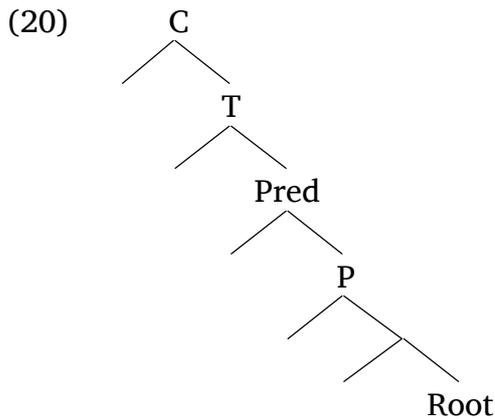
As for the English-style languages (the ones with postverbal particles), they do not involve any spell-out movement, but rather build their verb-particle constructions on the basis of in-situ PP.



Now the issue of the categorial status comes to the foreground. Thus, in English and other Germanic languages nouns and adjectives (including adjectival participles) show a strong tendency for P incorporation.

- (19) a. *their **outplaying** of the home team*
 b. *the river's **overflowing** of its banks*
 c. *the **voting out** of the government (*the voting of the government out)*
 [McIntyre 2013]

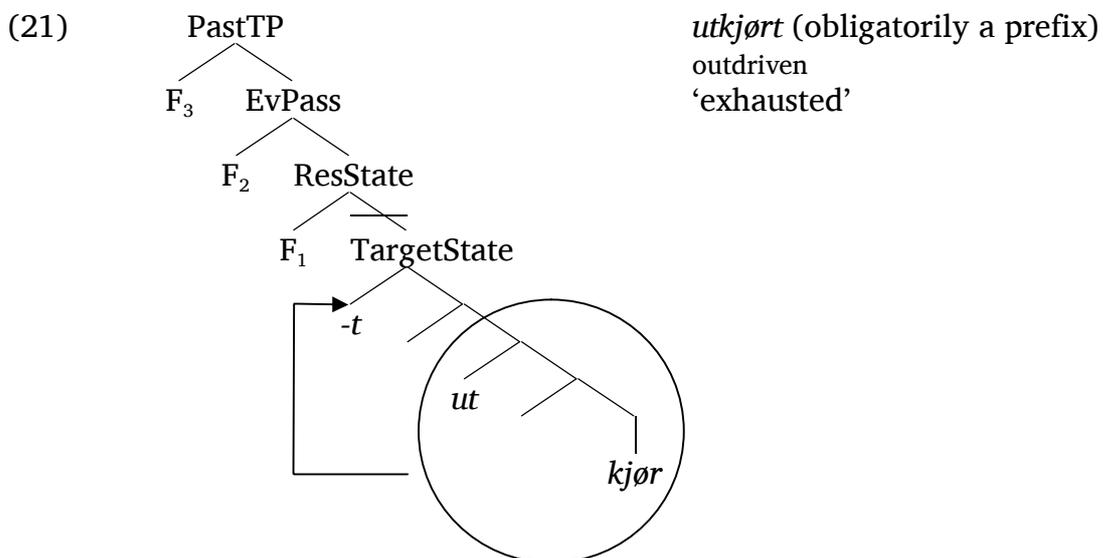
Considering the picture at hand, the analysis in (17)–(18) seems to be problematic, since it demands the preliminary “knowledge” on the part of the P-element of the categorial status of the stem it is going to attach to. What if it still works in the old way when P is in the position of the complement of the so-called principal verbal spin rather than a head located next to a complex specifier-like verb? Following [Taraldsen Medová, Wiland 2018], I could add an fseq zone between the theme and the root zones, which would be the P-zone. A very schematic structure of a sentence would then look like (20):

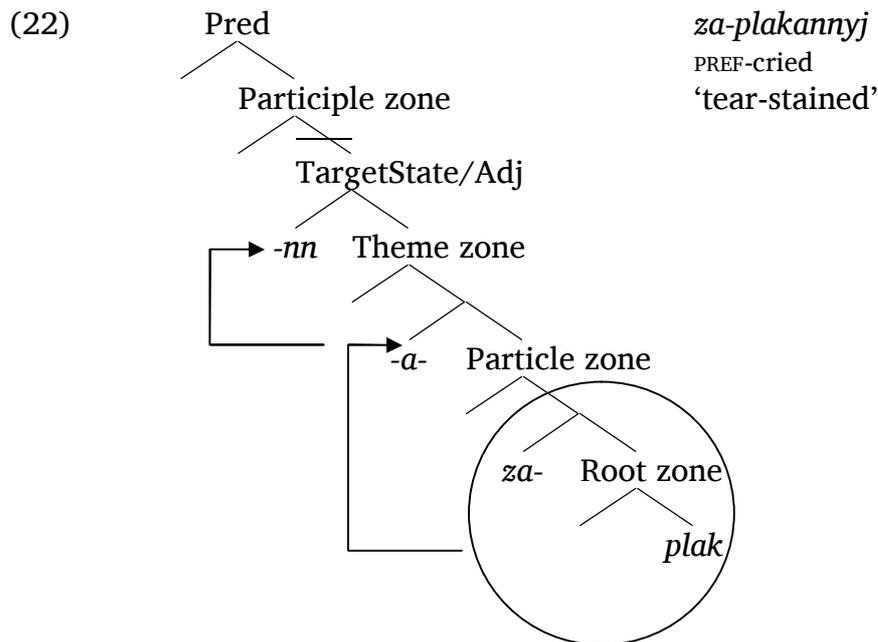


In (20) target state / adjectival agreement position is in between Pred and P. P, of course, has a much more branching structure, considering the latest findings in the fseq of this category (e.g. [Pantcheva 2011]). The diagram is so schematic because I only have to demonstrate that P raises to the prefix position just when the root merges with Pred. When Pred remains beyond the main lexical derivation, P attaches directly to the root, demonstrating some preposition-like behaviours. At this point I do not know how and why exactly the meaningful presence of Pred in the stem of a prefixed or particled construction is responsible for the raising of P and its participation in the makeup of the eventive derivation.

Here is the idea.

In adjectival derivation, that is, when Pred is not merged yet, P incorporates into the root first, and only then the P-root combo raises to the upper position in the tree to lexicalize the part of the structure responsible for the adjectival target-state interpretation. The direction of this derivation is the same in Germanic and in Russian:





When Pred is merged, the root is immediately attracted to it and ends up as a verb. Then, depending on a language, P either stays behind or raises to incorporate into the derived V. That is how the derivation would look like if I followed [Baker 2003]:

- (23) a. [P Root]
 b. Pred [P Root] Merge
 c. Root_i + Pred [P t_i] Move
 d. kjore [P ut t_i] Vocabulary insertion
 e. [VP kjore [P ut t_i]] Merge
 f. [Tense [VP kjort [P ut t_i]]]

5. Repercussions

In Russian, there are nouns with a non-verbal stem which can carry the same prefixes as verbs do (although in this line of reasoning, this might be a redundant piece of information):

- (24) a. Adjectives: *zauunnyj* 'high-brow/mind-bending', *priokonnnyj* 'by-window', *nastol'nyj* 'desktop'
 b. Nouns: *zau*' 'educators/sophistry', *podpol* 'cellar', *otzvuk* 'echo', *priznak* 'feature'

In (24), the prefixes on nouns attract stress. This pattern is never observed on verbs apart from the stress bearing prefix *vy-*. However, with participles in a number of cases stress is shifted from the root onto the prefix:

(25) *zaspannyj* ‘sleepy’ vs *zaspat’sja* ‘oversleep’ (stress pattern)

If prefixes with verbs and prefixes with other (traditionally nominal) categories have different structural properties, one would expect this phenomenon to be reflected in phonology. The structural properties in question can differ either in their general position, like in [Starke 2018], or in relation to the categorial status of P itself. In the presence of Pred, P is firmly integrated in the verbal spine and participates in its aspectual build-up. In the absence of Pred, P is a preposition which precedes a nominal (or categoriless) root and directly incorporates into it. Addressing phonology again, we could find a lot of examples of prepositions carrying the stress of phonological words they are part of:

(26) *za morem* ‘overseas’, *pod polom* ‘under the floor’

Yet, this is true that the stress pattern like this can also be found on other participles (27), which only supports the claim in [Lundquist 2013] that all participles have adjectival distribution, and by adjectival distribution he means the absence of Pred at a certain moment of derivation.

6. Some alternative ideas for future research

As stated above, the analysis proposed in this paper is just one possible way to account for the existence of prefixed particles with unergative roots. Another way would be to look at them still from a verbal perspective.

The participles under discussion are comparable to regular passive participles formed from transitive verbs, for example, *nadorvat’ paket* ‘tear a package slightly’ vs *nadorvannyj packet* ‘a slightly torn package’. The stress pattern demonstrated by the prefixed participle is the one described for some non-verbal prefixed derivations above, but the fact that the participle modifies the resultant state of the nominal referent indicates that we are actually dealing with the eventive participle. If the unergative-based participles are derived in the same way, there must be some source for their passivization. It is possible to imagine that their verbal counterparts are transitive to some extent, like verbs

with PPs in English serving the basis for pseudopassivization. In the Russian examples above, the most popular prefix is *za-*, which is described as passivizing in some works [Romanova 2007]. It may play a certain role in the new derivation. Indeed, *zaplakannaja devočka* ‘a tear-stained girl’ is understood as a girl covered in tears as a result of her own crying.

We might also be witnessing some shift in the participle formation algorithm, and this is connected with a new participial morpheme replacing a more complex old one and coming to remind of the English *fseq* for *-ed*. More and more frequently instead of *vyspavsijsja* ‘having had enough sleep’ and *najevsijsja* ‘having satiated oneself’ their colloquial variants are produced: *vyspannyj* and *najedennyj*. They don’t contain the reflexive postfix *-sja* as the right forms do, but they certainly must imply that it is the agent itself that holds the resultant state.

7. Conclusions

Strange behaviour of certain prefixed participles in Norwegian and in Russian is explained by their special categorial status and their relations with P falling out of that status. If participles are always considered to be adjectives rather than verbs, the following puzzles are explained:

- obligatory incorporation in Germanic (here exemplified mainly by Norwegian);
- the stress shift onto the prefixes in Russian;
- the target-state interpretation of the participles in spite of their unergative roots.

The problematic nature of categorization is well described in [Baker 2003]. Recent findings in neurolinguistics is additional evidence for the complexity of this issue. Thus, the amplitude of the event-related brain potential component, P200, described in [Błaszczak et al. 2018], is smaller for finite verbs than converbs and verbal nouns. Considering that the words involved in the experiment in the aforementioned paper had identical semantics and only differed in category-related morphology, the results must be an indication that understanding what lexical categories are and how they interact with different functional sequences, requires more research.

Abbreviations

3 — 3rd person; ACC — accusative case; ADJ — adjective; F — feminine; DAT — dative case; DEF — definite; INF — infinitive; INSTR — instrumental case; LOC — locative case; M — masculine; NOM — nominative case; OBJ — objective case; PAST — past tense; PEF — prefix; PRES — present tense; PRTCPL — participle; PP — past participle; PL — plural; SG — singular.

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