Deriving doubling, non-doubling and argument-changing prefixes

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Prefix Verbs: The Impact of Preposition-like Elements on the Syntax and Semantics of Verbs

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Introduction

Slavic prefixes and Germanic particles have been subject to extensive linguistic study (den Dikken 1995, Ramchand and Svenonius 2002, Žaucer 2002, Svenonius 2004, Ramchand 2008, Romanova 2007).

Slavic prefixes and Germanic particles have similar properties (Spencer and Zaretskaya 1998, Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2002, Lindvall 2001, Rojina 2004).

Particles, prefixes and prepositions belong to the same category P (Emonds 1985, Matushansky 2002, Asbury et al. 2007, Tolskaya 2008).

Identity of prefixes/particles and prepositions

Many prefixes/particles are identical to prepositions.

in the house	come in	English
aus dem Haus	aus gehen	German
out of the house	*go out*	
do dərvoto	do ticha	Bulgarian
at the tree	*run to smth*	
pod divanem	pod -lízat	Czech
under the sofa	*crawl under*	

Doubling prefixes/particles

Consequently, one often finds the same exponent appearing twice: once as a particle/prefix and once as a prepositon.

(1) Der Zug kommt am Hauptbahnhof an .
     the train comes at.the Central.Station at
     'The train arrives at Central Station.'   German

(2) Topkata ot-skochi ot stenata.
     the.ball from-jumped from the.wall
     'The ball jumped off the wall.'   Bulgarian

Doubling prefixes/particles

Doubling prefixes/particles are identical to prepositions.

The doubling prefixes/particles do not *have to* double, though.

(3) Er kommt im Studio an .
     he comes in.the studio at
     'He comes in the studio'   German

Non-doubling prefixes/particles

Other prefixes/particles differ from the corresponding preposition.

They can still bear similarities to the preposition.

in dem Haus	ein gehen	German
in the house	*go in*	
tot het huis	toe-sturen	Dutch
to the house	*send to*	

They can also be totally different from the preposition.

iz doma	vy-chodit	Russian
out of the house	*go out*	

Non-doubling prefixes/particles

Non-doubling prefixes/particles have a different from from their prepositional counterpart.

Argument-changing prefixes/particles

Argument-changing prefixes/particles have an effect on the complement of
the verb they combine with: it can appear without a preposition.

> (4)   Deteto   pre-ticha   prez   ulicata.
>   *the.child across-ran across the.street*
>   'The child ran across the street.'

> (5)   Deteto   pre-ticha   ulicata.
>   *the.child across-ran the.street*
>   'The child ran across the street.'

Without the prefix, however, the complement cannot be a bare DP.
It must be introduced by a preposition.

> (6)   *Deteto   ticha ulicata.
>   *the.child ran   the.street*

> (7)   Deteto   ticha   prez   ulicata.
>   *the.child ran   across the.street*
>   'The child ran across the street.' (imperfective)

Research questions

- Why do argument-changing prefixes/particles allow for the complement to appear without a preposition?

- Why are non-doubling prefixes/particles different from the corresponding preposition?

- Why are doubling prefixes/particles identical to the corresponding preposition?

The proposal

The variation is the result of the specific shape of the lexical entries.

The syntactic structure is the same, but it is spelled out differently by the three types of prefixes/particles.

Prefixes in syntax

Prefixes/particles originate in a position within the PP and move to the verbal domain (Ramchand 2008, Svenonius 2004, Romanova 2007).

Analysis in Svenonius (2004)

On vy-šel iz-za stola.
he out-went out.of-behind table
'He got up from the table.'
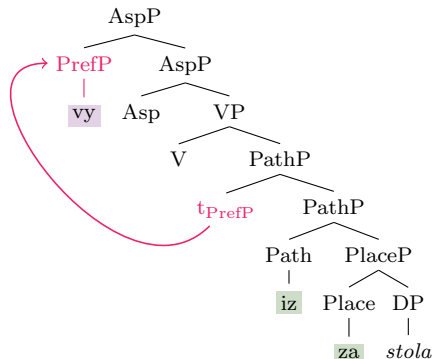
- Russian prefixes are phrasal.

- They move to an aspectual projection above the VP.

Incorporated null Ground

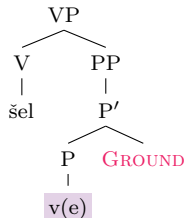Germanic particles incorporate an abstract GROUND element (Svenonius
1996; 2004)

On the basis of the parallel between German particles and Slavic prefixes, I
assume that Slavic prefixes involve an abstract Ground as well.

(8)   He came in .

```
        VP
       /  \
      V    PP
      |    |
    came   P'
          / \
         P  GROUND
         |
         in
```
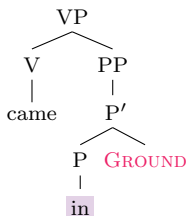
(9)   On ve-šel.
       he in-came
       'He came in.'   Czech

```
        VP
       /  \
      V    PP
      |    |
     šel   P'
          / \
         P  GROUND
         |
        v(e)
```

Interim summary

Basic assumptions

- Slavic prefixes are phrasal (Svenonius 2004; 2008).

- They originate in a position inside the PP, from where they move to the verbal domain (Ramchand and Svenonius 2002, Svenonius 2004).

- They incorporate an abstract GROUND element (Svenonius 2004; 1996).

The emerging structure:
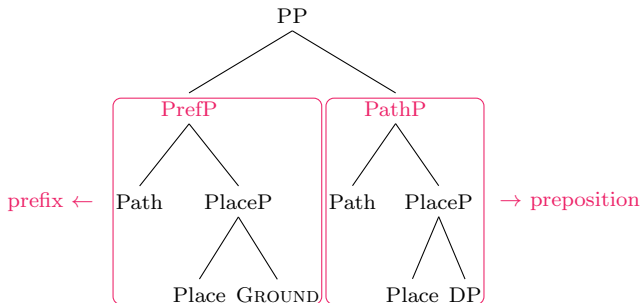
Lexicalization assumptions in Nanosyntax

- Lexical entries store entire syntactic trees.
- Phrasal Spell-out: lexical insertion targets phrasal nodes (Starke 2011, Caha 2009, Neeleman and Szendrői 2007, Fábregas 2009, ao).
- The Superset Principe: A lexical entry can be inserted in a given node, if this node is a subconstituent of the tree stored in the entry, ignoring traces (Starke 2005-2011, Caha 2009).
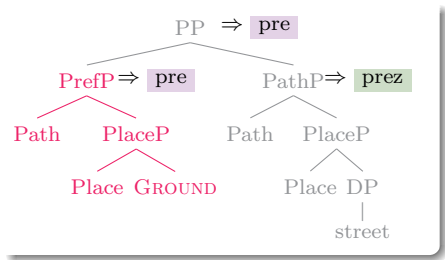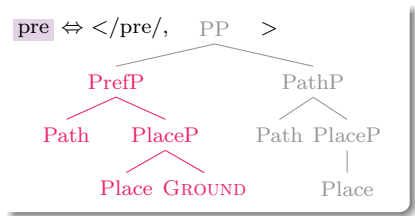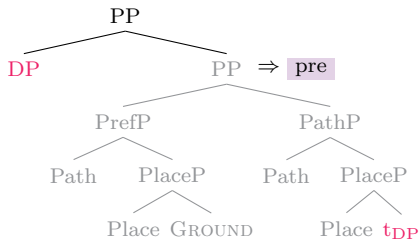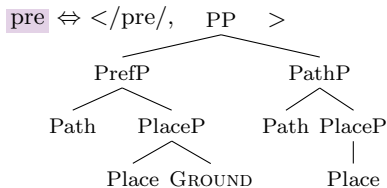

(10) Deteto   pre-ticha ulicata.
     the.child across-ran the.street
     'The child ran across the street.'

(11) Deteto   pre-ticha prez   ulicata.
     the.child across-ran across the.street
     'The child ran across the street.'

Spell-out driven movement

A twist: pre cannot be inserted at the PP node, because it is not a subconstituent of the tree stored in its lexical entry.
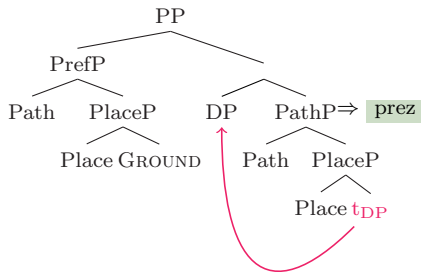

Spell-out driven movement

The shape of a lexical item can trigger movement of a syntactic constituent such that the maximally matching configuration for insertion is obtained
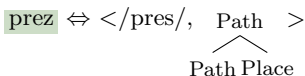(Starke 2011, Pantcheva 2011, Caha 2011)

The shape of prepositions

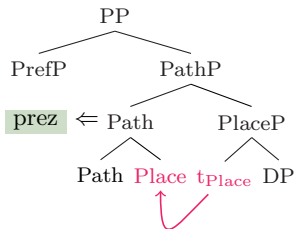Inserting the preposition prez at PathP node necessitates evacuation of DP.

Problem: The order is postpositional.

Caha (2011) suggest that prepositions have the following shape:

They trigger head movement of Place to Path.
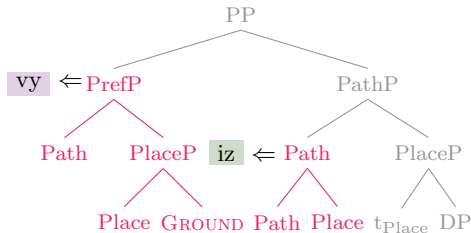
Non-doubling prefixes

The shape of the lexical entries for non-doubling prefixes is:

- The prefix can therefore be inserted at the PrefP node.
- But it cannot spell out PathP, due to the GROUND node.
- The prepositional structure can be lexicalized by a preposition.

(12)   Jussi vy-pal iz okna.
         Jussi out-fell from widnow
         'Jussi fell out from the window.'   Russian

Doubling prefixes

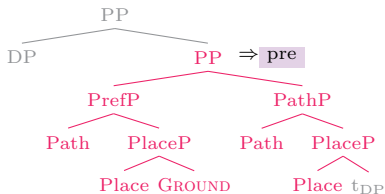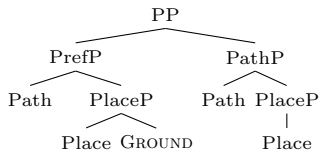The shape of the lexical entries for doubling prefixes is:
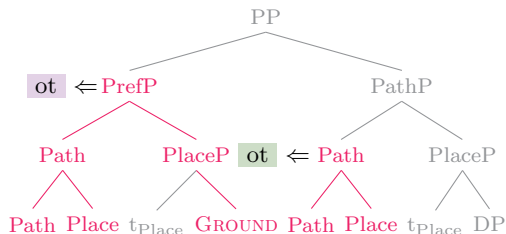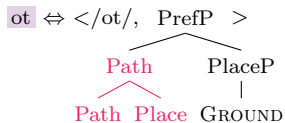
- The prefix can therefore be inserted at the PrefP node.
- It can also spell out the complex Path head under PathP (by *Superset*).
- When it does, we have doubling.

(13)   Topkata ot-skochi   ot   stenata.
        the.ball   from-jumped   from   the.wall
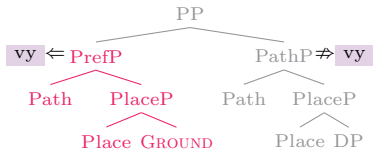   'The ball jumped off the wall.'   Bulgarian
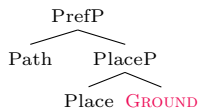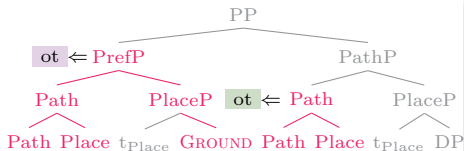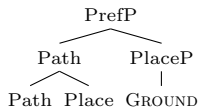
Summary

Argument-changing prefixes

Non-doubling prefixes

Doubling prefixes

Conclusion

- The syntactic structure underlying the three types of prefixes is the same.
- The differences between them are the result of the different tree structures stored in the lexical entries for the three types of prefixes.

Thank you.

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