

Chapter VI

PERE-

Perěagnī, perěskači, perěleti, pere-
što xočeš'

Step over, jump over,

Fly over, whatever-you-like over

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Pere- is by far the most versatile of the four prefixes dealt with in this dissertation. The central configuration (numbered 1) is very simple, allowing more submeanings to be associated with it and more configurations to be derived from it than was the case for *za-*. In about two-thirds of its submeanings, *pere-* performs approximately the same function as the English verb particle *over*.

6.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE NETWORK AND CONFIGURATIONS OF PERE-

Figure 11: The Configurations of PERE-

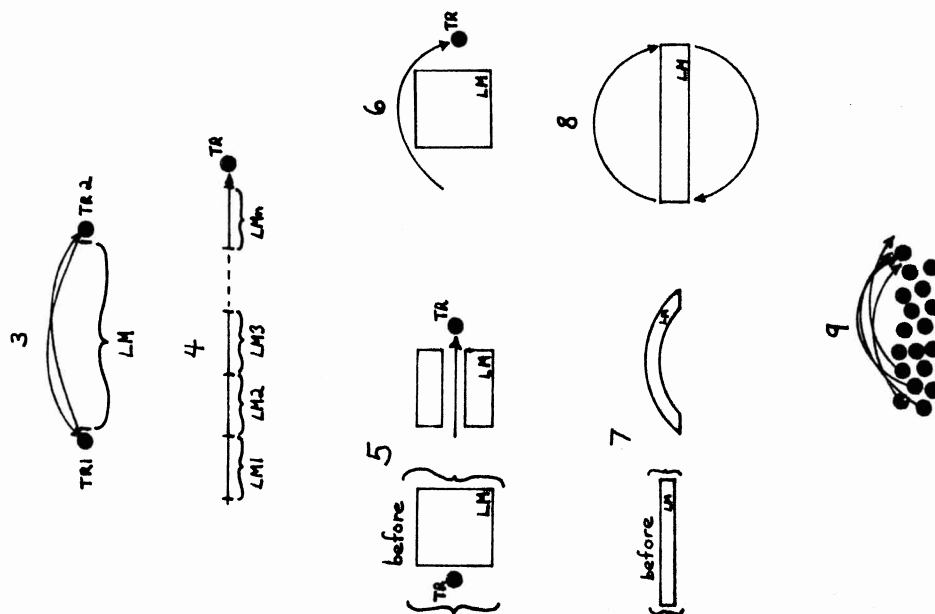
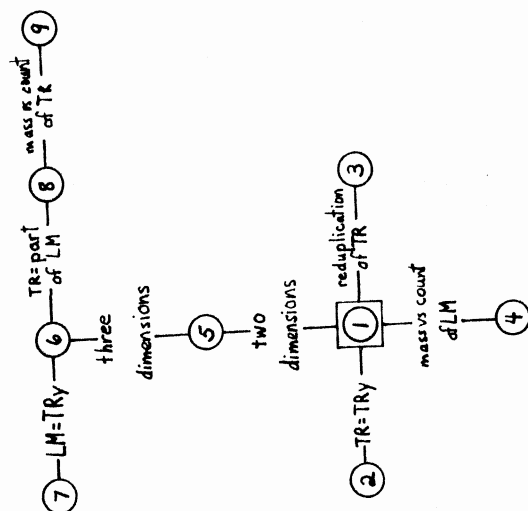


Figure 12: The Network of PERE-



Like those of *za-*, the configurations of *pere-* have their own family tree, the root of which is numbered 1. In this one-dimensional configuration, which is associated with the submeanings <transfer>, <duration>, <thorough>, <superiority>, <excess>, and <redo>, the trajectory traverses the length of the landmark, a stretch of unidimensional cognitive space which may refer to physical distance, time, an object or an act. The same transformation that separates configurations 1 and 3 of *za-* is responsible for the difference between configurations 1 and 2 in this network: the trajectory is

identified with the trajectory, and therefore realized as a continuous object, which in this case bridges the landmark (hence the caption <bridge> for this configuration). In addition to configuration 2, configurations 3, 4, and 5 are directly related to configuration 1. Reduplication of the trajectory in configuration 1 results in mirror-image twin trajectories moving in opposite directions across the landmark, as in configuration 3, which is associated with the submeaning <interchange>. If a transformation is performed instead on the landmark, dividing it into a series of landmarks rather than a single one, the resulting configuration is 4 (<seriatim>). Configuration 5 is derived by increasing the dimensionality of the landmark, which is thus transformed into a two-dimensional figure which the trajectory bisects in the submeaning <division>. Configuration 5 in turn engenders configuration 6 by a further expansion of dimensionality. In configuration 6 (<over>), the landmark is a three-dimensional object which must be vaulted. When the landmark and trajectory of this configuration are identified with each other, the product is an object bent into the shape of the trajectory, as seen in configuration 7 (<bend>). Returning to configuration 6, if the trajectory is identified with one edge of the landmark, that edge will trace the trajectory, causing the landmark to flip over, and thus is configuration 8 (<turn over>) produced. If this landmark is subsequently disintegrated into a group of objects, then the objects on one end (where LM = part of TR) will be shuffled in among the remaining objects, which is what we see in configuration 9 (<mix>).

If we compare *pere*'s network with that of *za-*, we notice that all of the transformations present in the latter appear in the former as well: 2 > 3 dimensions, mass versus count of trajector, and identification of the trajector with the trajectory. Already a pattern of links (further discussed in "On linkage") is emerging.

6.2 CONFIGURATION 1

Transfer, Duration, Thorough
Superiority, Excess, Redo



In this configuration, the landmark consists of two boundaries and an intervening one-dimensional space. The size of this cognitive space is context-dependent; when it refers to real space, it may be any measurable magnitude of distance. The trajector proceeds from one end-point of the landmark to the other.

Transfer

POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

PATTERN A	
intrans subj	
-or-	= TR
DO	beings, objects, focus of vision, sensations
PP	
-or-	= LM
inc. in verb	distance, loyalty (i.e., metaphorical distance)

POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

PATTERN B	
trans subj	= TR
DO	beings
	= LM
	distance, objects

Cognitive space indexes real distance between two points of reference in concrete instantiations of this submeaning. The trajector is physically transported across the intervening distance and arrives at the terminal boundary of the landmark. Concrete uses of this submeaning include familiar phrases such as *perejti* (*pere*-walk') *ulicu* 'cross the street', *peresest'* (*pere*-sit down') *na tramvaj* 'transfer to the tram' and *peredat'* (*pere*-give') *sol'* 'pass the salt'.

85) *Kak istinnyj mužtina, passažir otkazalsja ot pomoščj i sam perenes* (*pere*-carry') *v komnatu svoj tjaželyj žemodan, tašča*

ego ne bez vidimogo naprijaženija, neskol'ko izognuvšis', kak nesut vedro, polnoe doverxu.

Like a real man, the passenger refused to let anyone help him and *carried* his heavy suitcase into the room himself, dragging it with noticeable strain, bent over the way people are when they carry a full bucket.

86) Ne uspela ja prizemlit'sja i zarulit' samolet na mesto zapravki, kak podošla Beršanskaja. Ona prikazala nemedlenno *pereletet'* (*pere*-fly') na druguju ploščadku, raspoloženiju vblizi kakogo-to zavoda.

I had just landed and was taxiing in to refuel when Beršanskaja came up to me. She ordered me to *fly* immediately to another airfield located near some factory.

The trajector need not be a physical object, such as a suitcase or a person, it may also represent things, such as the focus of a person's eyes or a sensation, which can be recognized as entities only in a metaphorical sense.

87) Ėtogo šaga ždali ot nego vse prisutstvujučie, v ŗti minuty traura vse smotreli na ženu načal'nika, a s nee *perevodili* (*pere*-lead') vzor na nego.

Everyone present was expecting him to take that step and during those moments of mourning everyone looked at the boss's wife and then *transferred* their gaze from her to him.

88) Slaboe zdorov'e (načal'nik byl amputirovan vsledstvie gangreny ešče v molodyx godax i do six por stradal *pereležajučimsja* (*pere*-between-reflex) onemeniem raznyx častej tela) ne pozvoljalo emu nepreryvno zanimat'sja delami.

His poor health (the boss had had an amputation because of gangrene when he was young and still suffered from numbness which *moved* from one part of his body to another) prevented him from working continuously.

89) Zanimajas' delami izo dnja v den' mnogo let, on ne mog ne sčitat' ix neobxodimymi, i ėto oščuščenie neobxodimosti i suguboj pol'zy *pereдавatos'* (*pere*-give-reflex) storonnemu zritelju.

Having worked every day for many years, he could not help but consider his work necessary, and this sense of necessity and great efficacy was *communicated* to the bystander.

Note that since the invention of radio and television the usage of *pere-dat'* *pere*-give' ('pass' and 'communicate' in the examples above) has expanded to include 'transmit, broadcast'. The trajector in the above example is a feeling which the boss gives to others. In other contexts, however, the communication can involve infectious disease or messages.

<Transfer> can metaphorically refer to a change in associations or loyalty, as in when an employee is transferred from one office to another. Usually some relocation in physical space accompanies this

action and the notion of <transfer> is apparent on both the concrete and metaphorical levels.

90) Raskova provodila polk do frontovogo aerodroma i, *peredavaja* (*pere-'give'*) ego v sostav 218-j nočnoj bombardirovočnoj divizii, na proščanie skazala: "Svoju predannost' Rodine vy dokazali v učebe, teper' dokažite ee v boju."

Raskova accompanied the regiment to the airport at the front and, *transferring* it to the 218th bombing division, she said in parting, "You have proven your devotion to the Motherland in your studies, now prove it in battle."

Duration

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj = TR beings, objects,

instrumental NP

-or- = LM durations

inc. in verb

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj = TR beings

DO = LM durations

In this submeaning, cognitive space refers to time and therefore the landmark is a period of time during which the trajector pursues a given activity. The trajectory represents the progress of the trajector in this activity through time. The activity usually involves waiting or killing time in some way.

There are three versions of this submeaning, differentiated by the kind of base verb involved. In the first type, the base verb directly names a period of time that must be waited out, for example *perezimovat' pere-'winter'* 'spend the winter'.

91) Odetá ona byla teplo, byl u nee xlebušek v meške -- tak što *perenočevat'* (*pere-'spend the night'*) na stupen'kax v obnimku s dušistym meškóm tože ne očen'-to strašno, xotja i dolga osennjaja noč', liš' by doždja ne nagnalo.

She was warmly dressed and had some bread in her bag, so it would not be absolutely terrible to *spend the night* on the steps, clutching her fragrant bag, even though the autumn night would be long -- provided it did not rain.

The filler activity is named by base verbs of the second type, e.g., *perekurit'* 'pere-'smoke' 'smoke during a break', *perekusit'* 'pere-'bite' 'snack during a break', *pereždat'* 'pere-'wait' 'wait (for something to be over with)'. The duration is fixed by external circumstances and once it is completed, the trajector abandons the activity.

- 92) *Kogda samolet prizemilsja, vrag otkryl po nemu sil'nyj ogon'.* Podrugij otpolzil v storonu, žtoby *pereždat'* (*pere-'wait'*) obstrel.

When the airplane landed, the enemy opened fire on it. The girls crawled off to one side to wait for the firing to finish.

Base verbs of the third type name a state or activity which will eventually be brought to a close.

- 93) *Točno tak že dajaki (Indonezija), perebolev (pere-'hurt') lixoradkoj ili drugoj tjaželoj bolezni, vsjakij raz po vyzdorovlenii menjajut imja.* Delaetsja eto, žtoby izbavit'sja ot svoej prežnej ličnosti, k kotoroj bolezni uže uznala dorogu.

In the same way, *dajaks (Indonesian)*, when they have gotten over a fever or other serious illness, always change their name after recovering. They do this in order to rid themselves of their former identity, which disease has already found its way to.

In this example, as in the examples above, the trajector has no control over the duration, it cannot choose to stop being ill whenever it wants, cf. also *peregoret'* 'pere-'burn' 'stop burning' and *perebrodit'* 'pere-'ferment' 'stop fermenting'. There are two verbs for which the element "to stop" outweighs <duration>: *perestat'* 'pere-'become' 'stop (doing something)' and *prekratit'* 'pere-'shorten' 'cease'.

- 94) *Ežže sejčas nekotorye plemena menjajut imja zabolevšemu rebenku.* Skažem, bolen mal'čik Varanga. Ego tut že *perestajut* (*pere-'become'*) nazyvajut žtim imenem, i on polučaet novoe -- Mauri.

Even today in some tribes people will change the name of a child who has fallen ill. Let's say that a boy named Varanga is ill. They will immediately stop calling him by this name and he will get a new one -- Mauri.

Thorough

POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

PATTERN A

intrans subj	= TR	beings, objects
inc. in verb	= LM	conditions (of beings or objects)

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj	= TR	beings
DO	= LM	beings, objects, their conditions

This submeaning is very similar to <duration> in that the trajectory is the activity line of the trajectory. The landmark, however, refers to some object, all of which is subjected to the action of the trajectory.

95) B pole stojala neprolaznaja grjaz'. I kogda Katja vdrug poskol'znulas' i upala, to peremazalas' (pere-'smear'-reflex) osnovatel'no.

The field was covered with unnavigable mud. When Katja suddenly slipped and fell, she got herself completely dirty.

Katja is the trajectory in this example, and the cleanliness of her body, which becomes smeared with mud from head to toe, is the landmark.

96) V kabinete sidel v kresle passažir, vse jaščiki pis'mennogo stola byli vydvinuty, on razvjazyval papki, perelistyval (pere-'leaf') tolstye učetnye knigi.

The passenger sat in the armchair in the office, all of the desk-drawers were pulled out, and he was opening the files and leafing through the thick accounting books.

The covers of a book define the endpoints of a landmark subjected to page-turning.

This submeaning also has metaphorical applications in which the landmark is a condition which is thoroughly affected: perežabnut' pere-'feel cold' 'get chilled through', peremoknut' pere-'get wet' 'get drenched', perepugat' pere-'scare' 'scare completely', perevolnovat' pere-'upset' 'upset completely', peretrusit' pere-'be a coward' 'become altogether cowardly'. These verbs, all of which are colloquialisms, are relegated to a separate submeaning, "intensivno soveršit' dejstvie, nazvannoe motivirujuščim glagolom" 'intensive completion of the action named by the motivating verb', in the Academy Grammar. Again, as was seen above in the subsection on za-, the compilers of the Academy Grammar identified a coincidental element ("intensity") in the semantic make-up of a group of verbs as a feature essential for their classification. These verbs are, however, clearly examples of the <thorough> submeaning, which, as will be shown below, is a member of the pere- network.

PATTERN B	Superiority	POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
trans subj	= TR	beings, personified objects
DO	= LM	performers or performances of actions, deadlines

The landmark in this submeaning is usually a given performance or performer of an activity. It acts as a quantitative scale against which the activity of the trajector is measured. This scale may be either of intensity or of duration. Since the trajector crosses the endpoint of the landmark, it exceeds the performance referenced by the landmark. Verbs in this submeaning compare the trajector's performance with that of another agent, cf. *perekričat'* 'pere-'shout' 'outshout', *perep/iasat'* 'pere-'dance' 'outdance', *perexitrit'* 'pere-'be cunning' 'outsmart'.

97) Derevenskaja literatura *perežila* ('pere-'live') svoj rascvet i daže svoj zakat.

Country literature has *outlived* its flowering and even its decline.

98) Ešče v Kievskoj Rusi, žtoby zastavit' gostja vypit' kak možno bol'še, ego vyzvali na svoeobraznoe sostjazanie -- kto kogo *perep'et* ('pere-'drink').

Even in the Kievan period, in order to force a guest to drink as much as possible, they used to challenge him to participate in a competition to see who *could outdrink* whom.

In the first example, the landmark is the period in which a certain style of literature was undergoing interesting development and was esthetically valid. Writers did not, however, abandon it when it lost its momentum or even when the possibilities it offered had been

exhausted. Instead, they continued to write "country" literature, perpetuating it beyond the bounds which it deserved. The second example is more typical of this submeaning; it compares the performance of a victor (trajector) with that of his competitor (landmark).

Excess

PATTERN A	POSSIBLE REFERENCES:
intrans subj	food, animals, people
-or-	= TR (objects needing preparation
DO	or maintenance)
inc. in verb	= LM acts (normative completion
	of action named in simplex)

<Excess> is identical to <superiority> except for the fact that the performance which the landmark refers to is an ideal, canonical, or prescribed performance rather than a specific performance of an agent. Because the trajector oversteps this limit, the action described by verbs in this submeaning is evaluated as excessive.

Base verbs which denote actions connected with food preparation are typical components of this submeaning. The proper completion of an action (landmark) is dictated by recipe, instructions, or common practice. Any action applied in excess can produce undesirable results, cf. *peresolit'* 'pere-'salt' 'oversalt', *pereparit'* 'pere-'steam' 'oversteam'.

99) Kak tol'ko obed, zavtrak ili užin budet gotov, ego nado totčas že podavat' na stol, inache on ostynet, poterjaet vkus, ot del'nye bljuda mogut okazat'sja perevarennyymi (pere-'boil') ili perežarennyymi (pere-'fry').

As soon as a lunch, breakfast, or dinner is ready, it should be put on the table right away. Otherwise it will get cold, lose its flavor, and certain dishes might become *overboiled* or *overfried*.

100) Perezrelye (pere-'ripen') i poterjavšie tverdosť plody raspolzajutsja pri rezke i mnutsja pri sortirovke.

Overripened fruit which has lost its firmness falls apart when it is cut and gets squashed when it is sorted.

101) Pri okurivanii neobxodimo pomnit', što lučše nedookurit', žem pereokurit' (pere-'sulfurate') potomu, što sil'noe okurivanie seroj pridaet plodam i ovoščam neskol'ko neprijatnyj zapax, gor'kovatyj privkus i neprijatnyj melovoj cvet.

When sulfurating one must remember that it is better to undersulfurate than to *oversulfurate*, because strong sulfuration gives fruits and vegetables a rather unpleasant smell, bitter aftertaste, and unpleasant, chalky color.

Inanimate objects other than food can also be subjected to excess treatment (cf. *perekrazmalit'* pere-'starch' 'overstarch', *perevertet'*

pere-'twist' 'turn too far'), as well as animals (*peredoit'* pere-'milk' 'overmilk', *perepoit'* pere-'give to drink' 'overwater') and people (*pereležit'* pere-'cure' 'overcure', *perexodit'* pere-'walk' 'carry a child too long in the womb').

102) -- Počemu očistit'? -- sprosil on gromko. -- Čto očistit'?

-- Gostinica *perepolnena* (pere-'fill'). Vam pridetsja očistit' mesto.

"Why should I clear out?" he asked loudly. "What should I clear out?"

"The hotel is too full. You have to clear out."

In this example, the amount of filling designated by the landmark is directly determined by the size of the hotel. <Excess> causes overflow, as this unfortunate individual was forced to realize.

103) Nastojazšie synov'ja i dočeri pozabotjatsja o tom, žtoby ix mat' ne pereutomljalas' (pere-'exhaust'-reflex), žtoby u nee ostavalos' vremja dlja otdyxa, kotoryj ona zasluživaet bol'še vsej drugix členov sem'i.

Proper sons and daughters will ensure that their mother does not get *overtired* and that she has the time to rest, which she deserves more than all other members of the family.

104) Xorožo vovremja poet' dosyta (no ne peregružajas' (pere-'load'-reflex)) -- važno dlja zdorov'ja, vašej rabotosposobnosti.

It is important for your health and working capacity to eat well, regularly, and to satiety (but not to overload yourself).

105) Možno sčítat', čto i Dobrynin, posol SSSR v SŠA, tože *peresidel* (*pere-'sit'*) v Vašingtoně?

Could one also say that Dobrynin, the Soviet ambassador to the USA, has been sitting around too long in Washington?

The landmark in these examples is not a prescribed quantity, but rather an ideal or norm applied to the given activity. The norm involved may be one imposed by society as well, as in *peremudrit' pere-'be clever' 'be too clever', peremodnižat' pere-'be fashionable' 'be too fashion-conscious', perestarat'sja pere-'try'-reflex 'try too hard'.*

Verbs in this submeaning can be used metaphorically, as in the ironic example below.

106) Kompanii zabili trevogu. Nužno bylo ubedit' ženščin, što im sleduet nosit' šliapy. Po zakazu šliapnyx magnatov kompozitory i počty sočinili dve pesenki, kotorye v tečenie mnogix nedel' bukval'no "viseli" v éfire. Tekst étix pesenok ne byl peregružen (pere-'load') bolšim filosofskim soderžanijem.

The companies sounded the alarm. It was necessary to convince women that it was becoming to them to wear hats. Under orders from the hat magnates, composers and poets wrote two songs which for many weeks literally "hung" in the air. The lyrics of

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these songs was not overburdened with great philosophical content.

Redo

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj = TR beings

$$= TR$$

DO = LM products of completed acts

$$M7 =$$

(objects, plans, ideas)

The landmark of the <redo> submeaning refers to the product of a completed act. In this case, a previously executed act is repeated. The original results of the act either are insufficient or have become defective with time. The trajectory traces the path of this action and goes a bit beyond it, making corrections and changes. The product of the action (landmark) is either repaired or changed fundamentally.²¹ In the latter instance, there is some overlap with <thorough>; both signal the methodical application of action to the whole landmark.

107) Passažir s gordost'ju proiznes svoju familiju. K neščast'ju, xrap brodjagi zaglušil ego golas, i oni ne sumeli kak sleduet rassliv'xat'. *Peresprašivaj' (pere-'ask')* bylo neudobno.

²¹ This interpretation is modeled after that of *pere- <repetition>* in Flier 1984.

The passenger proudly pronounced his surname. Unfortunately, the tramp's snoring drowned out his voice and they could not make it out properly. It would have been awkward to ask again.

108) Дыр прібавітсја, прідэтсја плоскості *peretjagivat'* (*pere*-pull'), a togda nasidimsja bez dela.

There will be more holes and the wings will have to be recovered, and then we will be sitting around with nothing to do.

In both of these examples a secondary force (snoring, enemy bullets) has rendered the landmark (pronunciation, wing covering) inadequate and a *pere*-prefixed verb is used to describe the requisite remedy.

109) Kogda francuzskaja koroleva Marija Antuanetta, ožidaja naslednika, stala nosit' širokie narjady, skradyvavšie ee figuru, vsja Francija vdrug napolnilas' "beremennymi" ženščinami. Vygljadet' "beremennoj" stalo modno. Sročno rasparyvalis' i perešivalis' (*pere*-sew'-reflex) jubki i pljat'ja.

When the queen of France, Marie Antionette, was expecting an heir and started wearing loose apparel which hid her figure, all of France was suddenly filled with "pregnant" women. Skirts and dresses were immediately ripped apart and resewn.

The evaluation made of the clothing in this example is purely subjective and the *pere*-prefixed verb enacts more than a repair; it actually transforms the garments, changing their basic appearance. This element of transformation is common to many <redo> verbs, e.g. *peredumat'* *pere*-think' 'change one's mind', *perelit'* *pere*-pour' 're-cast (a metal object)'.

110) -- A kogo vy bol'she ljubite -- grekov ili turok? -- sprosil drugaja. Bspredmetnyj i tomitel'nyj dlja vsech razgovor prodolžalsja ešče kakoe-to vremja, poka Čexov sam ne *perestroil* (*pere*-build') ego, zavedja reč' o veščax bolee prostyx i blizkix ego sobesednicam. -- Ja ljublju marmelad.

"But who do you like better, the Greeks or the Turks?" another asked. This abstract conversation which everyone found wearisome continued for some time until Čexov himself *restructured* it, directing the discussion to things simpler and closer to his interlocutors. "I like marmalade."

111) Prismotrevšis' k dejstvijam našix nočnikov, gitlerovcy *perestroili* (*pere*-build') svoju sistemu protivovozdušnoj oborony.

After taking a close look at what our night-flyers were doing, the hitlerites *restructured* their system of anti-aircraft defense.

In the verb *pererabotat'* *pere*-work' 'rework' the notion of transformation is so pronounced that a previous action may be inferred only indirectly; in the example below it may be nothing more than the "work" already performed by nature.

112) Takim obrazom prinjataja zavodom pestraja smes' različnyx po razmeru, cvetu i kačestvu, k tomu že zagriaznennyx, plodov *pererabatyvaetsja* (*pere*-work'-reflex) v standartnyj produkt vysokogo sorta.

Thus the motley mixture of fruits, which are of various size, color, and quality, and some of which are dirty as well, received at the factory *is reworked* into standard high-grade produce.

In addition to the obvious ties these verbs have to the <redo> submeaning, they are also motivated by a metaphorical extension of <transfer> (in which cognitive space separates two states rather than two locations) and of <turn> (see below).

6.3 CONFIGURATION 2

Bridge



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Bridge

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

DO = TR boards, bridges (real or figurative)

PP = LM gaps of space or time

In this configuration, the trajectory and trajectory are one, forming a solid object which spans the cognitive space between the endpoints of the landmark. The trajectory progresses, extending itself across a gap, and leaving a solid path. Cognitive space may refer either to space or to time, as in the examples below.

113) Dija vzleta služila nebol'šaja ploščadka, okružennaja s trex storon glubokimi kanavami. Čtoby možno bylo vykatit' samolety na vzletnuju ploščadku, čerez kanavy prišlos' *perekinut'* (*pere*-'throw') mostki.

A small field, surrounded on three sides by deep ditches, served as a runway. Platforms had to be placed across the ditches so that the planes could be rolled out onto the runway.

114) *Perekinut'* (*pere*-'throw') mostik v buduščee ne udaetsja -- prosto nekuda.

One cannot put down a bridge into the future -- it just does not have anywhere to go.

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This submeaning may be considered a variant of <across> in which the advancing edge of the bridge is the trajector. <Bridge> is a minor submeaning, very dependent on context. The verb used in both of the above examples, *perekínut'*, is, in most instances, a member of the <across> submeaning, meaning 'throw over'. It requires the specification of an object spanning the landmark to express <bridge>.

6.4 CONFIGURATION 3

Interchange



Interchange

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subjs = TRs beings

(intervening = LM distance space)

As in configuration 1, the landmark is a gap in cognitive space. The trajector is reduplicated, causing the verbal action to be volleyed back and forth across the landmark. The reciprocity of the

trajectories is marked on all verbs of this submeaning by the reflexive particle *-sja*. The exchange of actions depicted in configuration 3 is a minimal unit which is repeated, as the cooccurrence of the iterative suffix *-ivaj-* with this submeaning indicates. <Interchange> is used most frequently with verbs denoting communication, as in the familiar example *perepisyvat'sja pere-* 'write'-reflex 'correspond'.

115) Vse byli čeresčur vozbuždeny, ležali s otkrytymi glazami i libo tixon'ko *peregovarivalis'* (*pere-* 'talk'-reflex), libo molča predavalis' svoim dumam.

They were all overexcited, lying with their eyes open and either quietly *conversing* or silently mulling over their thoughts.

116) Ljudi v sele ežče ne spali i smotreli, naverno, televizory. V vetrenom žume *pereiaivalis'* (*pere-* 'bark'-reflex) sobaki.

The people in the village were not asleep yet and were probably watching television. In the roar of the wind the dogs *barked at each other*.

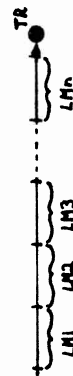
It may at first glance appear odd that this submeaning is restricted to imperfective aspect. The semantics of <interchange> are compatible only with iterative actions and are therefore excluded from the perfective. A single exchange of letters cannot be termed correspondence unless there is a strong intention to continue. Likewise, if two actors appeared on stage and each pronounced a

single line and then exited, we would be hard put to characterize their performance as a conversation. There are few actions of which a single exchange constitutes a realistic and potentially useful unit. Conceivably a single exchange of greetings could constitute a perfective version of <interchange>. *Pozdorovat'sja po-'greet'-reflex* 'exchange greetings', however, already fills this slot and *perezdorovat'sja pere-'greet'-reflex* 'exchange greetings (with all in a series)' is an example of <seriatim> rather than <interchange>.

There is really no need to search for the "missing partners" of the <interchange> verbs, since their aspectual paradigm is inherently defective. These verbs are not derived imperfectives, but rather iteratives formed directly from base verbs by the addition of both prefix and suffix (and particle) at once. This unusual formation is motivated by the objective reality of actions which are similar in process to those associated with *pere-* yet inherently iterative.

6.5 CONFIGURATION 4

Seriatim



Seriatim

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj = TR beings (usually human)

DO = LM beings, objects

Configuration 4 differs from configuration 1 only in that the landmark is multiplied a finite number of times. The set (LM1, LM2...LMn) represents all of a series of objects, each of which is subjected to the action of the verb. The landmarks are dealt with one after the other and these separate units are summed up as one large landmark, all of which has been affected. The <seriatim> submeaning is closely related to <thorough>; here the landmark is a group of objects rather than a single mass.

117) Objasni ty mne, Maša, požalujsta, počemu u vas noč'ju predmety padajut? Vy vse v dome tak perebudite (*pere*- 'waken').

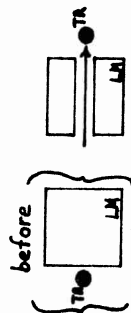
Please explain to me, Maša, why do objects fall in your place at night? You *will* wake up everybody in the building that way.

118) U nas somy -- vot takie! Kak krokodilov perebili (*pere*- 'beat'), tak i somy pošli.

The sheatfish here are this big! When the crocodiles were killed off the sheatfish population really took off.

6.6 CONFIGURATION 5

Division



Division

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENCES:

trans subj = TR beings, cutting tools
DO = LM objects, bodies, spaces,
lines, activity lines

When configuration 1 is extended to two dimensions, the landmark is transformed from a one-dimensional line to an object, which the trajector cuts across. Since the landmark is two-dimensional, but the trajectory is merely a line, the trajectory makes a one-dimensional cross section of the landmark. Landmarks which occupy real space are, of course, actually three-dimensional, although they are treated like two-dimensional objects in the <division> submeaning. Most of the base verbs that combine with *pere-* in this submeaning denote cutting, although other types of division are possible, cf. *peregryzt'* 'gaw' 'gnaw in two', *perekusit'* 'pere-'bite' 'bite in two', *pereplit'* 'pere-'saw' 'saw in two', *pererubit'* 'pere-'chop' 'chop in two'

but *pereteret'* 'pere-'rub' (*verevku*) 'divide (a string) in two by rubbing', and *peregorodit'* 'pere-'fence' 'divide (with a wall)' (note the similarity between this example and the <bridge> submeaning).

119) -- A što že vy ne slušate?

-- A ničego ne slyšno, žego slušat'-to.

-- Počemu ne slyšno?

-- A my provoda *pererezali* (*pere-'cut'*).

"Why can't you hear anything?"

"We can't hear anything, what's to hear."

"Why can't you hear?"

"We cut the wire."

120) *Perelomit'* (*pere-'break'*) *xleb...*

To *break* bread...

121) Rodstvenniki nav'jučili na nego ogromnyj, tjaželennyj rjukzak s varen'em. Xaligaliya tut žut' ne lišilas' svoego lučšego druga, ibo mešok edva ne *perelomil* (*pere-'break'*) konsul'tanta popolam.

His relatives loaded him with a huge, heavy knapsack full of jam. At that point Xaligaliya almost lost its best friend, for the bag almost *broke* the consultant in half.

In the first of the above examples there is clearly a trajector (presumably clippers) which is dividing the landmark (telephone

wire). The trajectories of the two instances of *perelomit'* 'pere-'break' 'break' can be identified only metaphorically as some "breaking activity" which is cutting across the landmark. Alternatively, it might be equally appropriate to consider *perelomit'* an instance of <bend> (see below) in which the landmark is relatively brittle.

Metaphorically, <division> may refer merely to travel rather than to the actual bisecting of the landmark, cf. English *cut across*, which means literally 'move across'. This metaphorical use of <division> overlaps with the <across> submeaning.

122) I vot my v vozduxe. *Peresekaem* (*pere-'cut'*) liniju fronta, proxodjaščuju po reke Mius.

And then we were in the air. We *cut across* the front line which followed the Mius river.

The reflexive particle *-sja* adds reciprocity to the semantics of *peresekat'* *pere-'cut'* 'cut across', generating *peresekat'sja* *pere-'cut'-reflex* 'intersect'.

123) Sfery populjarnosti počti ne *peresekajutsja* (*pere-'cut'-reflex*). Možno ešče predstavit' želoveka, gorjačo ljubjaščego i Abramova, i Maksimova.

Spheres of popularity almost never *intersect*. One can still imagine that a man might ardently love both Abramov and Maksimov.

By metaphorical extension, the landmark may be identified as as ongoing activity, which the trajector intrudes on. If the landmark is the continuous verbal output of some individual, any violation of it by another agent could be described by the verb *perebit'* *pere-'beat'* 'interrupt' (cf. Eng. *cut in on someone*, *cut someone off*).

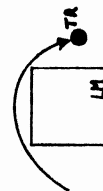
124) Razgovarivaja ili sporja s kem-nibud', vy vseгда vyслуšaete sobesednika do konca, ne stanete ego *perebivat'* (*pere-'beat'*), povyšať golos, ne dopustite grubyx slov ili žestov.

When conversing or arguing with someone, always hear your interlocutor out, don't start *interrupting* him and raising your voice and don't use any coarse words or gestures.

Although <division> does not have a large repertoire of base verbs, it is a well-established submeaning, as the metaphorical uses indicate. It is interesting to note the close correspondence in metaphorical extensions of <division>/cut between Russian and English.

6.7 CONFIGURATION 6

Over



Over

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj = TR beings

DO = LM objects with vertical dimension, thresholds, bounds

When Configuration 5 <division> is further extended to three dimensions, the trajector no longer has to cut through the landmark in order to reach the other side; liberated from the two-dimensional plane, the trajector can leapfrog over the landmark. The landmark is a solid object, of which we see only a cross section in the configuration.

125) Samolet kaŋnulo, i on jurknul vniŋ, slovno provallisja v jamu. Pravda, vskore Duse udalos' vyrovnjat' maŋinu. No moŋŋnye nixodjaŋŋie potoki vozduxa neumolimo priŋimali malen'kij U-2 k zemle. Stalo jasno, ŋto teper' pereskoŋit' (pere-'leap') gornuju grjadu ne udaetsja.

The plane pitched and then whizzed downward as if it had fallen into a pit. Dusa soon managed to level it out, but the powerful downdrafts inexorably pressed the little U-2 to the ground. It became clear that we would not be able to leap over the mountain ridge.

126) Konŋilas' uŋeba, naŋinaetsja boevaja strada. My pereŋagnuli (pere-'step') porog vojny. Tak zakonŋilisja eŋŋe odin period v moej letnoj biografii i naŋalsja drugoj, boevoj.

Our studies were over, the harvest of combat was beginning. We crossed the threshold of war. Thus yet another episode in my flying history came to an end and a new one began, one of combat.

The only difference between <over> and <across> lies in the fact that <over>'s landmark is a barrier rather than just a space. Since the trajectory of <over> overcomes this barrier by utilizing the third dimension, the base verbs of necessity signal movement that specifies a vertical component, such as flying (*pereletet' pere-'fly' 'fly over'*), jumping (*pereskoŋit' pere-'leap' 'jump over'*), stepping (*perestupit' pere-'step' 'step over'*), and climbing (*perelezt' pere-'climb' 'climb over'*). The barrier need not be physical; note the metaphorical extension of *perestupit' pere-'step' 'commit a crime'*, in which the landmark refers to a law (cf. Eng. *overstep the bounds of society*). Verbs denoting horizontal movement in contact with some surface, such as walking (*perejt' pere-'walk' 'walk across'*) and sailing (*pereplyt' pere-'sail' 'sail across'*) likewise must be relegated to the <across> submeaning since their trajectors are free to move only in two dimensions.

6.8 CONFIGURATION 7

Bend



Bend

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj

-or- = TR flexible objects: bodies,

DO (/LM) paper, sticks

Configuration 7 is derived directly from Configuration 6 by the identification of the landmark with the trajectory. The landmark bends, conforming to the shape of the trajectory of <over>.

127) Znaeš', tolstuju bumagu peregibaj tak i aťak. I sto raz peregneš'. Ona vse der-žit'sja, a peregneš' (pere-'bend') sto pervyj raz, i ona razojdetsja. L. Tolstoj, AD 9:514.

You know, you (can) fold a thick piece of paper this way and that. You fold it a hundred times even. It still holds together, but you fold it for the hundred and first time and it falls apart.

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128) Koška podnimaetsja, vytiagivaet xvost, peregibaet (pere-'bend') spinu i žmuritsja. Čex., AD 9:515.

The cat gets up, stretches out its tail, hunches up its back and scrunches up its eyes.

129) Kim, peregnuvšis' (pere-'bend') čerez stol, što-to delal s ego šeej, što-to uminal i massiroval, rastopyriv lokti.

Kim, bending over the table, did something with his neck, squeezed and massaged something, sticking his elbows out.

This last example is arguably multiply motivated. In addition to <bend>, Kim's action exemplifies <transfer> since he has spanned the width of the table.

The expression peregnut' (pere-'bend') palku 'go too far' (lit. overbend the stick) combines the submeaning <bend> with that of <excess>.

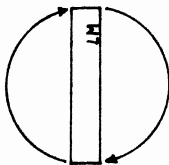
130) My proizvedem obyski i rekviziruem u škuroderov vse tovary. Dopustit', što by rabočie dal'se golodali, my ne možem. Tovarišč Ignat'eva predupreždaet, što by my ne peregnuli (pere-'bend') palku. Ėto, ja skažu, u nee intelligentskaja mjaškotelost'. N. Ostr., AD 9:515

We will conduct searches and requisition all the goods of those who are hoarding them. We cannot let the workers starve any longer. Comrade Ignat'eva warns us not to go too far. I say that this evidences in her the spinelessness of the intelligentsia.

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6.9 CONFIGURATION 8

Turn over



Turn over	
PATTERN A	POSSIBLE REFERENTS:
intrans subj	
-or-	= TR bodies, objects,
DO	(/LM) established order

Like that of configuration 6, the landmark here is a solid object (relative length versus width of the landmark are irrelevant to the configurations and are determined by context). Instead of having a separate existence, the trajectory is identified with the landmark, or more precisely, with one end of the landmark. The trajectory traced by the end of the landmark is the same as that of the trajectory in configuration 6 and it causes the solid object to turn about its own axis, flipping over. The opposite end of the landmark is forced to reciprocate the action. <Turn over> is a minor submeaning limited to base verbs which already denote 'turn'.

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131) Okolo ust'ja reki voda slovno zakipela. Tysjači malen'kix fontanov podnimalis' nad nej. Ryby vyprygivali, perevertyvajas' (pere-'turn'-reflex) v vozduxe.

Near the mouth of the river the water literally began to boil. Above it rose thousands of little fountains. Fish leapt up, *flipping over* in the air.

132) Pri posadke U-2 zacepilsja kolesami za električeskie provoda, perevernulsja (pere-'turn'-reflex) v vozduxe i upal na zemlju.

While landing the wheels of the U-2 got caught on the electrical wires and it *flipped over* in the air and fell to the ground.

The landmark of <turn over> can also refer metaphorically to a way of life, as in the example below.

133) No imenno v ètot den' proizošlo sobytie, kotoroe v odno mgnovenie perevernulo (pere-'turn') ustojavšujusja žizn' polustanka: udaril kolokol -- načal'nik, kotoryj s utra ne vyšel na rabotu, skončajsja.

That very day an event occurred which instantly *upset* (lit. 'turned over') the stagnant life of the railway station. The bell rang -- the boss, who had not gone to work that morning, had died.

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Mix



Mix

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj

-or- = TR groups of objects: chopped

DO (/LM) food, fibers, letters

Configuration 9 is directly related to configuration 8, of which it is a degenerate version. Rather than a single solid object, the landmark is a number of objects (cf. the difference between the <cover> and <splatter> configurations of *za-*). The objects behave like the edge of the landmark of configuration 8, tracing the trajectory and thereby becoming shuffled or mixed up.

134) *Čtoby uderžat' ix, narezannye koren'ja i luk kladut na razogretyju s nebol'šim količestvom žira skovorodu, xorošo peremešivajut (pere-'mix') i slegka podžarivajut do obrazovanija svetloj plenki, no ne dopuskaja pojavlenija na nix temnoj okraski.*

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In order to keep them, sliced spices and onion are placed in a heated frying pan with a small amount of fat, *mixed* well and lightly sauteed until transparent without allowing them to brown.

In a minimal case, the number of objects is only two and they are merely transposed.

135) V kakom že prestuplenii byl povinen d'jak Semen Sorokin? Neskol'ko dnei nazad, perepisyvaja donesenie senatu, on dopustil opisku. V slovak "Blažennýja dostojnyj pamjati Petr I" on *pereputal* (*pere-'confuse'*) bukvi i napisal "Pert I." Naprasno kljalsja on, što što vsego liš' ošibka. Senat postanovil prigovorit' deržkogo d'jaka k pletjam.

What crime was the court scribe Semen Sorokin convicted of? A few days ago, while copying over a report for the senate, he made an error. In the words "Worthy of blessed memory, Petr I" he *mixed up* the letters and wrote "Pert I." In vain he swore that it was merely an error. The senate resolved to sentence the impertinent scribe to be whipped.

If the objects involved are fibers or strips, this type of mixing results in weaving or braiding, as in the verb *pereplesti pere-'plait'* 'interlace, interweave'.

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