Chapter VII

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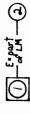
The semantic category signalled by the prefix do- is much less elaborate than those of za- and pere-. In all of its submeanings, do-focuses only on the last part of an action. The verbal action is measured against some scale.

7.1 AN OVERVIEW OF DO-

FIGURE 13: The Configurations of DO-



Figure 14: The Network of DO-



174

In both configurations of do- the landmark is a scale of the activity expressed by the base verb. They differ in the presence of an end point (E). In 1 (<reach>, <excess>) the end point figures as an important component of the configuration, whereas in 2 (<add>> the end point loses its salience, being absorbed as a part of the landmark.

7.2 CONFIGURATION 1

Reach, Excess



The landmark is a scale which measures the progress of the trajector (which is an action). The letter E stands for a particular point along this scale, the end point reached by the trajector.

Reach

POSSIBLE REFERENTS: PATTERN A

beings = TR intrans subj

(activities in which traveling, waiting progress is made) **∑** " inc. in verb Ьb

places, times, things, u "

(end points)

POSSIBLE REFERENTS: PATTERN B

beings = TR trans subj

things requiring attention W = 8

end H H ЬР

In this submeaning, the end point is an externally determined point which the trajector reaches. As in the example below, the landmark may be a scale of distance. Gorjučego v bankax ostavalos' malo, i ja rešila nabrat' vysotu, Čtoby v slučae Čego dotjanut' (do-'pull') do berega na planirovanii. 136)

There was not much fuel in the tanks and I decided to gain altitude so that if something happened I could make it to shore by gliding.

176

In this example the shore is the end point.

Cognitive space may represent time, in which case the end point is located on a temporal scale. 137) "Gospoda," obraščaja k "prostym ljudjam," nazyvali ix ne inače kak toľko po imeni. Sadovniki, slugi, švejcary i pročie podnevoľnye ljudi doživali (do-'live') do glubokoj starosti, prodolžaja ostavat'sja vsego liš' Ivanami i Vasilijami. The "lords," when addressing "simple people," called them only by their first name. Gardeners, servants, porters and other laborers lived until advanced old age, remaining merely Ivans and Vasilijs. 138) "Čudesa," -- podumal passažir, kupil bilet, perevel časy u sebja na ruke i pošel dosiživat' (do-'sit') na obluplennoj skamejke neizvestno otkuda vzjavšiesja tridcat' minut.

reset his wristwatch and went to wait out the thirty minutes "Wonderful," thought the passenger, and he bought a ticket, that had appeared from nowhere on the chipped bench. Intensity and creativity can also serve as the domains of the landmark in metaphorical uses of the <reach> submeaning.

do svoej 139) Ideja pravdopodobija, načataja v načale 60-x Aksenovym, kul'minacii - i odnovremenno krizisa -- u Trifonova. Balterom, Gladilinym, Efimovym, došla (do-'walk') poiski inyx putej.

177

The idea of credibility, instigated in the early sixties by Aksenov, Balter, Gladilin, and Efimov, reached its culmination -- and at the same time its crisis -- in Trifonov. The search for other ways began.

140) Togdašnie obitateli Meksiki ne znali, naprimer, povozok, ne dodumalis' (do-'think') daže do kolesa. No im bylo uže isvestno o značenii slova, i ničto ne cenilos' u nix tak, kak umenie vesti besedu.

At that time Mexico's inhabitants did not know any vehicles, for example, they had not even *invented* (lit. reached by thinking) the wheel. But they already knew the great significance of words and valued nothing more than the ability to carry on conversation.

As in the examples above, the prefix do- cooccurs with the reflexive particle -sja in many <reach> verbs. In these verbs the notion of successful or satisfactory reaching of the end point is stressed. The contribution of -sja in these verbs is comparable to its contribution to verbs prefixed by na-, cf. naest'sja na-'eat'-reflex 'eat to satiety' and napit'sja na-'drink'-reflex 'drink to satiety'. The domain which the landmark finds itself in may be time, as in 141.

141) Raskova vyletala v Moskvu s dokladom. *Dožidajas'* (do-'wait') ee vozvrasčenija, my tščatel'no izučali maršrut predstojaščego bol'šogo i trudnogo pereleta.

Raskova flew to Moscow with the report. While awaiting her return, we carefully studied the route of the long and difficult flight that lay ahead.

In the next three examples cognitive space refers to information reached in various manners.

142) -- Marinka, -- kriknula Kljueva, -- tak ved' oni svoix istrebitelej navodjat na nas. Potomu i zentčiki molčat, čtoby v svoix ne ugodit'! Ja i sama uže događalas' (do-'guess'-reflex) ob ètom.

"Marinka," shouted Kljueva, "they are sending their fighter planes after us. That is why the anti-aircraft guns are silent, so they will not hit their own men!" I had already guessed this myself.

143) -- A vot ty sama, kogo by ty mogla nazvat' geroem?

-- Nu, tak xotja by... -- Ženja zamjalas'.

-- Tak kogo že? -- dopytyvalas' (do-'ask'-reflex) Nataša.

"And what about you, what sort of person would you call hero?"

"Well, gee, uh..." Ženja hesitated.

"Well, who?" Nataša probed further.

Dopytyvat'sja do-'ask'-reflex 'ask further' assumes that there is some information Nataša wants from Ženja, and that she keeps asking questions until she can elicit it.

The next example combines a measure of both information and agreement in the end point.

144) Naverno, Marija sčitaet, čto Kuz'ma uže u brata i obo vsem dogovorilsja (do-'talk'-reflex). Surely Marija thinks that Kuz'nia is already at his brother's place and has arranged everything (lit. made an agreement).

In the absence of any more specific goal, cognitive space may simply refer to success and the end point may be a personal aim in the domain.

145) -- Nu-nu, vyše golovu, istrebiteľ! -- laskovo požurila ona. -- Na proščanie skažu vam: kto očen' xočet, tot objazateľno *dob'etsja* (*do*-'beat'-reflex)! Želaju uspexa.

"Hey, hold your head high, fighter!" she scolded affectionately. "In parting let me say that he who really wants something will certainly get his way! I wish you success."

When do- prefixed verbs are used in contexts without direct reference to a non-terminal end point, the end point is simply the end of the action.

146) Papirosy *dokurilis'* (*do-*'smoke'-reflex). Počti v odno vremja oni brosili ix sebe pod nogi i ešče pomolčali.

The cigarettes were finished. Almost in unison they threw them underfoot and remained silent for awhile.

147) Spasibo tebe, Mark Bernes, za prostuju pesenku. Ja ne doslušala (do-'listen') ee do konca, no to, čto slyšala, vošlo v menja i napolnilo serdce bol'šoj ljubov'ju.

Thank you, Mark Bernes, for the simple song. I did not listen to it to the end, but what I heard entered my heart and filled it with great love.

Excess

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj = TR human beings, personified

animals

inc. in verb = LM activities that are harmful if pursued carelessly

PP/inc. in verb≈ E undesirable state

A significant group of verbs identifies the landmark as a scale of the patient's tolerance for the activity named in the base verb. Point E is reached when, due to excessive performance of the verbal activity, the patient finds itself in an undesirable state or situation. This realization is sudden and unexpected, as if no attention is paid to the scale represented by the landmark until it is too late and E has

already been reached. The 'excess' submeaning is strongly associated with the reflexive particle -s/a, so for most verbs the patient and the subject are one and the same individual.

In some cases point E is a state of physical harm, as in the examples below.

148) Èto ty sebe nervy rasstroil. Govorila ja tebe: ne zanimajsja tak mnogo. Sidiš' po nočam, vot i *dosidelsja* (do-'sit'-reflex). Veres., AD 3:1019. You have upset your nerves. I told you: do not study so much. You sit up all night and now you have sat too much (lit. harmed yourself by sitting).

149) --Pljaši. -- Rad by, da ne mogu, nogi ne služat. Bylo vremja, pljasival ja. Pljasal, pljasal, da i dopljasalsja (do-'dance'-reflex). Salt., AD 3:991.

"Dance!"

"I would like to , but I cannot: my legs cannot do it. There was a time when I used to dance. I danced and danced and overdanced myself (i.e., ruined my legs)."

Frequently, E is simply a difficult situation as defined by the context. Often the patient is in trouble with other members of his society who have formed a low opinion of him. This accounts for the high frequency in this submeaning of base verbs which denote

over their misfortunes (cf. the personification of the dragonfly in fact, the patient must be animate. Within the category of animate patients, consultants report that human beings are strongly preferred since animals do not think and cannot therefore recognize and sorrow trouble'). Because the <excess> submeaning of this verb requires the patient to wind up in some sort of trouble and usually to regret this dofilosofstvovat'sja do-'philosophize'-reflex 'philosophize one's way to doxoroxorit'sja do-'swagger'-reflex 'swagger one's way to trouble'), and talking (doto/kovat'sja do-'talk'-reflex 'talk one's way to trouble', 'blabber one's way to trouble', doxoxotat'sja do-guffaw-reflex guffaw one's way to trouble'), joking (došutit'sja trouble', (dosmejat'sja doxixikat'sja do-'play trouble do-'gossip'-reflex 'gossip one's way do-joke -reflex joke one's way to trouble', do*šalit'sja* \$ way to tricks'-reflex 'get into trouble by playing tricks'), laughing trouble', do-giggle-reflex giggle one's way to trouble', way (doxvalit'sja do-'praise'-reflex 'boast one's doxvastat'sja do-'brag'-reflex 'brag one's potentially annoying behavior, such as 2 way do-'laugh'-reflex 'laugh one's doboltat'sja do-'blabber'-reflex trouble', dospletničat'sja the example below).

This submeaning requires rather elaborate contexts which describe the trouble which the patient gets into. Given an <excess> verb, native consultants must construct very detailed narratives in order to give sufficiently motivated examples of how such a verb might be used. In response to the verb dotancevat'sja do-'dance'-reflex 'dance

one's way to trouble', my consultants conjured up the following scenarios:

1) A young woman went to a ball with her husband. A strange man asked her to dance. Instead of dancing with him just once and then returning to her husband, she dances with him many times, in spite of the obvious annoyance of her husband. There is probably some embarassing scene when her husband can no longer control his anger and now the whole town is talking about her shameless behavior.

2) An unmarried girl has gotten into the habit of flirting with soldiers at balls. She goes to as many balls as possible and dances with all the soldiers, often wandering off with them into the night as well. Suddenly she discovers that she is pregnant and before long everyone in town finds out about it, too. She is the subject of vicious gossip.

Bussian as the dragonfly and the ant, serves as an appropriate Bussian as the dragonfly and the ant, serves as an appropriate backdrop. The lazy and foolish dragonfly danced all summer long, not bothering to prepare herself a winter home and stock it with provisions, despite the warnings of the diligent ant. When winter came and she was cold and hungry, she went to the ant to beg for food and shelter, but the ant, disgusted by her senseless behavior, refused her any assistance and left her to perish. (In this example it appears that it is the personification

of the insect characters that makes the do- <excess> verb applicable.)

The verb dostreljat'sja do-'shoot'-reflex 'shoot one's way to trouble' also elicited a complex environment for its possible use:

A trigger-happy hunter is in the habit of shooting everything that moves. One day, however, because of his carelessness, he acidentally shoots his favorite hunting dog.

Likewise, in examples of <excess> verbs found in literature, the

do- prefixed verb serves as the culmination point of a story built up over the course of several or more paragraphs.
150) Obyčno v vozduxe, poka vse ostavalos' spokojnym, my so

150) Obyčno v vozduxe, poka vse ostavalos' spokojnym, my so šturmanom peregovarivalis'. Ne znaju, možet, èto otvlekalo ot mračnyx myslej, a možet, prosto pomogalo korotať vremja. V ètot raz Kljueva zatjanula naš gvardejskij marš, ja podxvatila. Tak my letetli, bespečno napevaja. I vdrug slux moj rezanul toroplivyj krik Oľgi:

-- Marinka, bystree žmi vniz! Fašist dogonjaet.

Instinktivno pribavila gaz, otdala ručku ot sebja, i U-2, vzrevev motorom, ustremilsja k zemle. Nad nami razdalsja voj vražeskogo "messera," i tut že snarjady proporoli vozdux rjadom s pravoj ploskost'ju. Poka gitlerovskij letčik razvoračivalsja dlja sledujuščego zaxoda, ja izmenila kurs i snizilas' ešče. Fašist poterjal nas i, sdelav paru krugov, umčalsja otyskivat' druguju žertvu.

-- Dopelis' (do-'sing'-reflex) "artistki"! -- serdito brosila ja v Peregovornyj apparat.

Usually when we were airborne and everything was going smoothly, I conversed with the navigator. I do not know why, maybe because it diverted our attention from gloomy thoughts or maybe just because it helped to kill time. That time Klujevaja struck up our Guards' march and I sang along. Thus we flew along, singing in a carefree way as we went. Suddenly Ol'ga's hurried shout struck my ears.

"Marinka, take it down fast! A fascist is going to catch up with

Instinctively I stepped on the gas, pressed the stick away from Above us resounded the roar of an enemy "messer," and just and dropped altitude. The fascist lost us and, after circling hitlerite pilot turned to make the next strike, I changed course myself and the U-2, its motor roaring, headed for the ground. about a couple of times, rushed away to find another victim. then shells rent the air next to our right wing.

"We songstresses' sang our way into trouble!" I angrily shouted into the speaking apparatus.

such as in this case singing, creates the potential for disaster. Here Bomber pilots must watch out for faster and more mobile emeny craft. Any activity which reduces their ability to concentrate on this fact, E is a state of careless diversion which a foe can take advantage of.

profilja... A zadnij -- predatel'. Za porciju kompota on skazal 151) Četvero kazakov vedut menja na dopros. Zatylok, dva "Razbojnika pojmali!.. Vokrug rebjata. im, kde ja prjačus'. Razbojnika pojmali!.."

-- A vaša vožataja, -- govorju ja, -- fizkul turnikom zažataja!

-- A tvoja vožataja -- zavxozom zažataja, -- govorit zatylok.

-- A ugadaj, čto segodnja na užin? -- sprašivaju ja.

-- Mannaja kaša, -- otvečaet zatylok.

-- Kaša mannaja, noč' tumannaja! -- vykrikivaju ja dovol'nyj tem, Kto podlovil ego.

Rebjata zakatyvajutsja. Odin ot smexa padaet s dereva.

-- Dosmeeš'sja (do-'laugh'-reflex)! -- zło Kepeljavit zatylok.

two profiles... And one in behind -- the betrayer. For one portion of compote he told them where I was hiding. People all Four Cossacks led me to the interrogation. A back of a head, around. They've caught the "They've caught the scoundrel!.. scoundrel!.."

"And your lady leader is in the embrace of a collective farm "Your lady leader," I said, "is in the embrace of a gymnast!"

'Guess what is for dinner today?" I asked.

officer," said the back of the head.

'Hot cereal" answered the back of the head.

186

"Hot cereal -- foggy night!" I cried out, satisfied by the fact that I had set him up.

The guys began to roll (with laughter). One laughed so hard that he fell out of a tree. "You will laugh your way to trouble!" angrily hissed the back of the head. This example comes from a story about a man whose joking and laughter anger the authorities, who decide to interrogate him. In this scene, as he is being led away, he continues to make jokes (the nonsensical lines about the lady leader and the hot cereal are amusing rhymes in Russian) for the bystanders and one of his escorts warns him that he will regret his light-hearted behavior if he keeps it up. Indeed he does keep it up and is as a result taken to executioner's block.

Due to the specific type of contexts required to justify the use of It is, however, productive (cf. dofilosovstvovat'sja the <excess> submeaning, it is much less frequent than the <reach> to trouble'), do-'philosophize'-reflex 'philosophize one's way particularly in colloquial speech. submeaning.

7.3 CONFIGURATION 2

Add



Add

POSSIBLE REFERENTS: PATTERN A

spices, embellishmnets food, descriptions = TR 8

W :

ЬР

not add some as he chooses. The additions in the two following examples serve as metaphorical spices, or embellishments, of existing along the LM axis, and the trajectory is interpreted as an addition to the preexisting point of progress where the trajector was located. A typical example of this submeaning is dosolit' do-'salt' add some salt'. Since saltiness is a matter of personal preference, a cook may or may this submeaning is employed there is no specific canonical end point to the verbal action. The do- prefixed verb signals a small increment in an activity. E is, however, absent, since in the contexts in which Again the landmark is a scale which measures the trajector's progress descriptions.

189

152) K tomu *že dobavljaem (do-*'add'), čto starik Močenkin dal synu v ruki vernuju professiju: naučil kastrirovat' jagnjat i porosjat, možno skazat', obespečil po grob žizni.

To this we add the fact that old Močenkin gave his son a reliable profession: he taught him how to castrate lambs and piglets, one could say that he provided for him unto the grave.

There is no canonical or predetermined limit specifying a set amount of description of the things that old Močenkin did for his son. Nor is there any realistic absolute terminus for this activity -- presumably the description could be (for human purposes) infinitely long. The author has already given a short list of favors done by Močenkin for his son and has decided to add just one more fact to his description.

153) Nastojaščie kolxoznye krest'jane nikak ne xoteli poxodit' na opernyx mužikov derevenskoj literatury. Èto ne značit, čto "derevenščiki" pisali nepravdu ili čast' pravdu skryli. Oni prosto nemnogo dodumali (do-'think') za sovremennoe rossijskoe krest'janstvo, vedomye blagorodnymi namerenijami i svetlym primerom Turgeneva.

Real peasants on collective farms did not at all want to simulate the operatic men of country literature. This does not mean that the "countryists" wrote untruths or that they hid part of the truth. They just added (by thinking) a little something to contemporary Russian peasantry, guided by noble ideals and by Turgenev's bright example.

190

This example likewise deals with description, which has no inherent nor externally prescribed limits.

The <add> submeaning is quite limited. Dobavit' do-'add' 'add' is the only verb that consistently and regularly instantiates <add>.

With other base verbs, <add> is dependent on the absence of a limit in a given context.