

Chapter IV
A MODIFIED STRUCTURALIST ANALYSIS OF RUSSIAN
VERBAL PREFIXES

Chapters 4 through 8 will describe the networks that form the categories of *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-*. The description is intended to be thorough, but by no means exhaustive. With few exceptions, it should be possible to identify every instantiation of a given prefix with one of its configurations.

4.1 PRELIMINARIES

Before beginning the analysis of the prefixes, I will briefly outline the basic concepts and structures involved. This organization of configurations and networks is largely consistent with that worked out by Lindner (1982), Lakoff (1982), and Rudzka-Ostyn (1983a, 1983b).

4.2 "COGNITIVE" SPACE

The meanings of prefixes will be captioned by configurations drawn in space. This is not necessarily three-dimensional space as it is understood by post-Einsteinian physicists, but rather our mental perception of it. In order to maintain this distinction,¹⁴ I will refer

¹⁴ Although this distinction may seem obvious and trivial, I stress it because the confusion of "real" space with "cognitive" space can lead to inferences grossly out of proportion with natural human language, cf. Brøndal (1950), who attempted to base a theory of

to this space as "cognitive" space. Cognitive space may have one, two or three dimensions. One- and two-dimensional space is conceptually easier to handle and higher dimensions can be derived from them; witness the derivation of three dimensions from two-dimensional art forms such as drawing, painting and film. In addition, cognitive space may, through metaphorical extension, refer to some entirely different domain such as time, existence, emotion. In *The Psychology of Time*, Fraise states that "this transcription (from space to time) is natural, because temporal order often coincides with spatial order and distances correspond to durations of movement." Metaphoric identification of time in terms of space is pervasive in collocations like *on Monday*, *in the months ahead*, and vivid in expressions like *Christmas seemed far away*. Metaphoric extensions into other domains, specifically perception, existence, and social interaction have been examined by Rudzka-Ostyn (1983b).

the spatial relations indexed by prepositions on the unified field theory of space-time, quoting Minkowsky and Einstein. If these two conceptions of space were to be confused, it would be very difficult to understand how the configurations below match the given examples.

4.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE CONFIGURATION

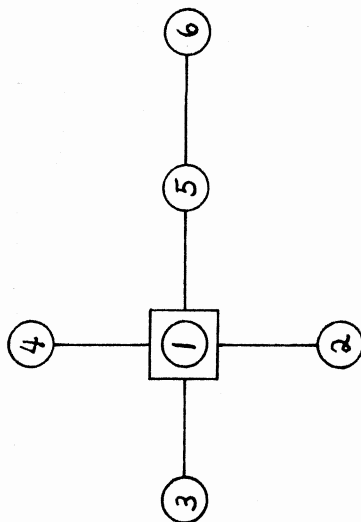
Prototypically a configuration consists of a *landmark* (LM, sometimes called a domain) and a *trajector* (TR) which moves in relation to it. The *trajectory* is a profile of this movement, usually with respect to time. In designating a landmark or domain, its complement, an *extradomain* is often established as well. The landmark and trajector may take a range of different shapes and relative sizes. The landmark may be a one-dimensional line, representing a cognitive space or a scale (ordered from left to right in diagrams), or may be a two-dimensional closed figure. The trajector is usually a one-dimensional point, but may also be a closed figure or may be identified with the landmark (in which case instead of moving with respect to an independent landmark, it moves with respect to itself). The landmark and/or trajector may be multiple or may represent a group of objects. The landmark and trajector can also be one and the same thing. The movement of the trajector can be growth or spreading rather than relocation. The variations or transformations available to the elements of a configuration are strictly limited, all chosen from a set of three basic transformations on the dimension, quantification, and identity of these elements. For a discussion of this closed set of transformations, see the section entitled "On linkage" which follows the analysis of the prefixes. Landmarks and trajectors have the same chameleon-like qualities that cognitive space does: they can refer to many things other than physical objects. The landmark, for example, can be an abstraction (such as memory)

or a state (health, freedom), and the trajector can be an activity. In the analysis of the prefixes below all of these types of configurations will be represented.

4.4 THE STRUCTURE OF THE NETWORK

Each prefix has several configurations, each of which may in turn signal one or several submeanings. If a configuration is associated with more than one submeaning, usually one submeaning is spatial and the rest are metaphorical extensions of that submeaning, created by varying the referents of the landmark and the trajector. Some base verbs may be associated with more than one configuration and are therefore said to be multiply motivated. Of the configurations associated with a given prefix, one is central or prototypical. It serves as an ICM for the entire category of the prefix. All of the other configurations are connected or related to this central configuration by means of a series of links. These links represent the minor transformations by which the configurations differ from one another. Examples of minor transformations include: difference in dimensionality of landmark and/or trajector; identity of trajector with the landmark or some part of it. (Again, a fuller discussion of the links involved is to be found at the close of the analysis of the prefixes.) The resulting structure of configurations gathered about their prototypical representative is called a *network* (see Figure 7). A square identifies the prototypical member.

Figure 7: Idealized Network



This network of configurations easily accommodates the two properties of prefixal semantics, unity and diversity, which were irrevocably diametrically opposed in traditional and structuralist descriptions (cf. chapter 2). The network achieves a unified view of the prefix in that all of the configurations (and via them, submeanings) bear a relationship to the prototype. They are held together as a group by the links. At the same time, the submeanings remain distinct and the internal semantic structure of the prefix is not obscured. The network structure can handle a category of superficial diversity without sacrificing variety to unity or vice versa.

4.5 ROLE OF PREFIXAL SEMANTICS IN THE MEANING OF A VERB

The meaning of the prefix is not just added to that of the base verb, but rather, as Flier (1975) has suggested, it interacts with the meaning of the base verb. Of the two, the meaning of the prefix is often the dominating member in this semantic relationship. There are cases in which the meaning of the verb is so nearly subjugated to that of the prefix that it is no longer perceptible (recall the verbs cited in 2.1.3). Even the so-called empty and fused prefixes, although they do not always dominate the semantics of the prefixed verb, are indeed very consistent and regular examples of given submeanings of prefixes, as the examples below will show. The prefix acts as a semantic organizer in a verb: it sets the stage and gives a general plot to the verbal activity. The semantics of the verbs identify the actors and fill in details of the setting. Extending this metaphor of a theatrical play, the configuration depicts the contribution of the prefix: the landmark set in cognitive space is the stage, the trajector is the main character, and the trajectory is the plot. Each verb which can combine with the prefix will designate the referents of the landmark and of cognitive space and assign the role of trajector to an appropriate person, object, or whatever. Thus the play outlined by a prefix can be endlessly rehearsed, its variation limited only by the available base verbs.

The assignment of the roles of landmark and trajector follows the strict patterns given in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Mapping of Predicate Arguments onto

Pattern A:

intrans subj
-or- = TR
DO
PP or indirect = LM
specification

Pattern B:

trans subj = TR
DO = LM

According to pattern A, which is the dominant pattern, either the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object of a transitive verb serves as the trajector and the landmark is either the object of a prepositional phrase or is indirectly specified, by incorporation in the verb, information in another clause, or extralinguistic knowledge. (160) and (154) from the analysis of *ot-*, excerpts of which appear below, can be used to illustrate this pattern. Both are examples of the <away> submeaning in which one object (the trajector) is removed from another (the landmark).

From (160): Russkaja literatura otxodila (ot-'walk') ot privyčnogo realizma.

Russian literature departed from customary realism.

From (154): Vy ne zabudete otodvinut'(ot-'move') ee stul (ot stola).

Don't forget to pull out her chair (from the table).

In (160), *Russian literature*, the subject of the intransitive verb *depart*, is the trajector which has left the landmark named in the prepositional phrase, *customary realism*. Similarly, the trajector in (154) is the direct object *her chair*, whereas the landmark is *the table*.

Only transitive verbs participate in pattern B, their subjects acting as trajectors and their direct objects as landmarks, as exemplified in (65).

From (65): Oblaka zavalakivali (za-'drag') nebo.

Clouds covered the sky.

The verb *zavalakivat'* *za-'drag'* 'cover', belongs to the <cover> submeaning of *za-*, in which the trajector, here the subject *clouds*, covers the landmark, the object *sky*.

In cases where the verb appears in a passive form (past passive participles, impersonal expressions and uses of the reflexive *-sja*

where the logical subject is deleted) it is necessary to render the sentence in the active voice in order to recover the predicate argument relationships that map onto the elements of the configuration. Thus, for example, in order to identify the trajector and landmark in (18) *izvlekat' ostatki piščji, zastrijavšje (za-'stick') v zubax* 'pick out bits of food that have gotten stuck between the teeth' and (66) *mogilu zasypalo (za-'pour') snegom* 'the grave was covered with snow', these utterances must be rephrased as *ostatki piščji zastrijali (za-'stick') v zuby* 'bits of food got caught between the teeth' and *sneg zasypal (za-'pour') mogilu* 'snow covered the grave', respectively.

The distribution of the two patterns among the submeanings of the prefixes *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-* (themselves described in detail in the analysis that follows) is outlined in Table 7.

Table 7: Distribution of Mapping Patterns

Pattern A	
submeaning	variations on pattern
<i>za-</i> :	
deflection	EX specified, LM its complement
fix	EX specified, LM its complement
change of state	EX specified, LM its complement
excess	EX specified, LM its complement
inchoative	EX specified, LM its complement
<i>pere-</i> :	
transfer	
Pattern B	
	EX specified, LM its complement
<i>za-</i> :	
exchange	
cover	
splatter	
fill	
<i>pere-</i> :	

thorough
duration
excess
bridge
bend
interchange
turn over
mix
do-:
reach
excess
add
ot-:
away
retribution
closure
sever
excess

E specified by PP
E specified by PP

transfer
duration
thorough
superiority
redo
division
over
seriatim

do-:

reach E specified by PP

ot-:

closure

Given the minor variations, due on the one hand to the importance of the extradomain (EX) in certain submeanings of *za-*, where it is specified and thereby the landmark is defined as its complement, and on the other hand to the salience of point E on the landmark in some submeanings of *do-*, all submeanings use these two patterns. Thus, the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs are never identified with the landmark, being restricted to the function of the trajector, but the direct object of a transitive verb may be either the trajector or the landmark, depending on the pattern.

As is evident from the table, most submeanings (twenty-six out of a total of thirty-one) use only one of the two patterns. Of the five submeanings that use both patterns, *pere-* <duration>, *pere-*

<thorough>, and *do-* <reach> use only intransitive verbs in pattern A. For *ot-* <closure> the use of transitive verbs in pattern A is rare, and for *pere-* <transfer>, the use of pattern B is rare. Therefore there is almost never any question as to what role should be assigned to the direct object of a transitive verb and the two patterns are in a relationship of virtual complementary distribution.

The existence of these two patterns suggests the division of transitive verbs in two sets: those whose direct objects have a configurational function equivalent to that of subjects of intransitive verbs and those whose subjects serve this function. These sets of verbs will be henceforth referred to as "para-ergative" and "non-ergative," respectively. Below is a sample list of these verbs, compiled from the examples in the analysis.

Table 8: Para-ergative and Non-ergative Verbs

Para-ergatives

(DO = TR, simplex transitive)

zapustit' *za-* 'let' 'let loose'

zabirat' *za-* 'take' 'take away'

zavalit' *za-* 'topple' 'turn over'

založit' *za-* 'lay' 'tuck behind'

zaprjatat' *za-* 'hide' 'hide away'

zapomnit' *za-* 'remember' 'commit to memory'

zasolit' *za-* 'salt' 'pickle'

zakrepit' *za-* 'fortify' 'fortify'

peredavat' *pere-* 'give' 'convey'

peregruzit' pere-'load' 'overburden'
perek'nut' pere-'throw' 'toss over'
dobav'jat' do-'add' 'add'
dodumat' do-'think' 'add by thinking'

Non-ergatives

(subj = TR, simplex transitive or intransitive)

*indicates transitivity

**zarabatyvat' za-'work' 'earn'*

**zaslužit' za-'serve' 'deserve'*

**zavoevat' za-'war' 'win'*

zavolaktivat' za-'drag' 'cover'

zaglušat' za-'deafen' 'drown out'

zagorodit' za-'fence' 'block'

**perežit' pere-'live' 'outlive'*

perepit' pere-'drink' 'outdrink'

**perežit' pere-'sew' 'resew'*

**perezabotat' pere-'work' 'rework'*

perebivat' pere-'beat' 'interrupt'

**perekščit' pere-'leap' 'jump over'*

**perečagnut' pere-'step' 'step over'*

perebit' pere-'beat' 'kill off'

doslušat' do-'listen' 'hear out'

otpet' ot-'sing' 'sing to end'

The subjects of para-ergative verbs do not actually participate in the event captioned by the configuration, but rather serve to set the direct object into motion. The subjects of non-ergative verbs, on the contrary, are more actively involved in the verbal action, allowing them to serve as trajectors. It is characteristic that verbs which are intransitive as simplexes but become transitive when prefixed (a fairly common phenomenon, which has its parallels in English as well, cf. *laugh* (intrans), *laugh out* (trans)), but which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation) follow the B pattern, probably due to the close relationship between the newly-transitivized subject and the verbal action.

This description, and the descriptions of networks and configurations in this introductory section, give only general outlines, intended to serve as guidelines for the following discussion of the verbal prefixes *za-*, *pere-*, *do-*, and *ot-*.

In each case, the structure of the network will be discussed first and then the configurations and the submeanings associated with them will be treated one after another. The examples given are for the most part taken from literature and other materials printed in Russian within the past twenty years, with the exception of a few examples quoted in the Academy Dictionary, which are referenced as such. Each time a submeaning is introduced, there will be a summary of the pattern of mapping predicate arguments onto configurational elements and a partial list of possible referents of these elements.