"VCHERA NASOCHINYALSYA VOROH STROK": PRODUCTIVE CIRCUMFIXAL INTENSIFYING PATTERNS IN RUSSIAN

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The current paper addresses verbal circumfixal derivation patterns in modern Russian. The discussion is focused on a series of circumfixes which trigger the intensified usage of the basic verb (~'*keep doing P too much*'). Derivatives built up by adding a prefix and a reflexive -*ся* to an imperfective verb are examined. Although each prefix adds specific shades of meaning to the verb, such patterns are, however, claimed to share common features at different levels of linguistic analysis, such as morphology, syntax, and semantics. Furthermore, such patterns are highly productive in modern language; once certain constraints are fulfilled, an intensified derivative can be formed from any imperfective verb. This fact, along with the patterns in question sharing certain common features, allow us to argue that they can be considered inflectional, rather than derivational.

Keywords: verbal prefixation, intensifying patterns, actional classes, semantics

"Майор полиции на Камчатке заигрался в Джеймса Бонда"
"Белорусский зайчик допрыгался до девальвации"[1]

1. Introduction

The productivity of circumfix derivation is a common linguistic phenomenon which is typical for many languages. Among other derivation models, patterns that derive new meanings using both a prefix and a suffix are common for Slavic languages, cf. Rus. *город* (*city*) → *пригородный* (*suburban*), *боль* (*pain*) → *обезболить* (*anaesthetize*), *смех* (*laugh*) → *насмехаться* (*mock*) and so on. In Hlaváčová-Nedoluzhko (2013), the series of Czech circumfixes with the prefixes *roz-, po-, za-, na-, vy-* and *u-* and the reflexive morpheme *se* together with their Russian equivalents were brought up in discussion. The question of whether a combination of a verbal prefix with the reflexive -*ся* can

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[1] "A police major in Kamchatka has immersed into playing James Bond"; "The Belarusian zaichik ('bunny') jumped so hard that it ended up jumping into devaluation"

be called a circumfix is somewhat controversial; we will use this term below, as our point is that the prefix and the suffix are used to build up the pattern simultaneously.

Being added to a verb together with a reflexive morpheme, each of these prefixes forms a new meaning that specifies the semantics of the basic verb. However, this modification does not change the meaning of the verb itself, but rather its intensity. The productivity of this intensification pattern has been made use of for automatic lemmatization of verbs. However, its grammatical properties were not elaborated on in detail.

Upon observing these intensification patterns in Czech and comparing them to Russian, we can see that they are used similarly, but not in the same way. First of all, the prefixation derivation with *no-* does not require a reflexive morpheme in Russian. Moreover, the delimitative *no-* can be combined with other prefixes under analysis (cf. *понасмотреться*[2], *поиписаться* and so on). For these reasons, we do not consider this prefix part of our intensification pattern. On the other hand, unlike Czech and Slovak, another two Russian prefixes, *из-* and *до-,* together with the reflexive *-ся* may obtain the intensification meaning.

In our paper, we focus on Russian data in more detail. We argue that the prefixes *раз-, за-, на-, вы-, у-, из-* and *до-* together with the reflexive morpheme *-ся (-сь)* can combine with a large majority of imperfective verbs, forming new verbs with intensified meanings. Cf. the intensification pattern applied to the verb *плавать* (*swim*): *расплаваться — заплаваться — наплаваться — выплаваться — уплаваться — исплаваться — доплаваться.*

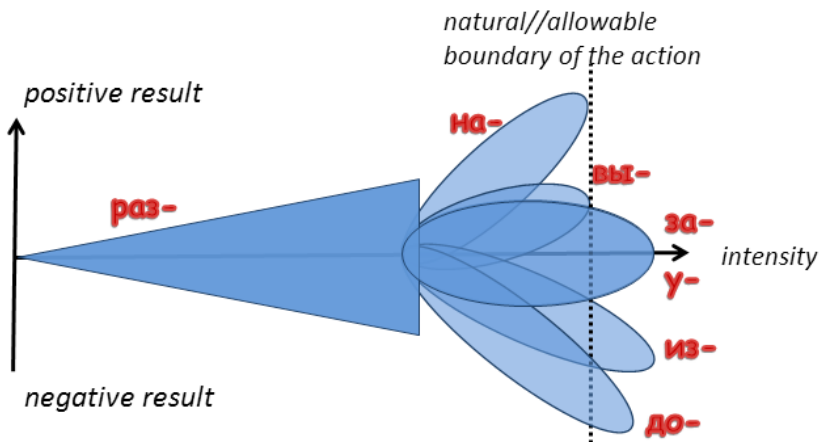If represented in a diagram, the common semantics of the intensifying patterns looks as shown in Figure 1[3]:

Fig. 1. Common semantics of the intensifying patterns

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[2] This example is borrowed from Zaliznjak—Shmelev (2000). The authors claim that together with *понахвататься, понабраться* etc, this verb gets the intensified saturative meaning.

[3] This diagram is a modified version of the diagram presented in Hlaváčová—Nedoluzhko (2013).

According to the figure, the situation exceeds its natural intensity level and thus becomes abnormal for the patterns with the prefixes *за-, у-, из-* and *до-*. For instance, *заплаваться* literally means 'keep swimming for so long (or with such intensity) that swimming is already considered (either by the swimmer or by the speaker) as too intensive'. For the patterns with *на-* and *вы-*, the situation reaches the natural boundary of the action but does not exceed it. For the *раз-ся* circumfix, the meaning deals with the increasing intensity with no relation to the allowable boundary. We argue that the meanings of the circumfixal patterns are common for all the verbs to which they can be applied. We will also prove that all the circumfixes have common morphological, syntactic, and semantic features.

The paper is structured as follows: the shades of meaning for each prefix are specified in (3). In (2) and (4), respectively, we observe previous research on the subject and analyse the morphological features of the intensification pattern. The syntactic restrictions on the use of the intensification pattern are listed in (5). The main focus of our paper is the analysis of semantic constraints, see (6). The results and the conclusion are provided in (7).

2. Previous Research and the Aims of the Current Paper

Apart from the paper by Hlaváčová-Nedoluzhko (2013), whose ideas we are planning to extend in this work, our subject is addressed to in Zaliznjak—Shmelev (2000). The circumfix patterns in question are observed in their book within the word-formative category of action modes. The meanings of the patterns are classified according to different labelled modes and provided with examples, e.g. *раз- + -ся* derivation refers to ingressive and evolutive modes, *на- + -ся* refers to saturative mode, *до- + -ся* and *за- + -ся* refer to intensive-resultative mode. The circumfixes *вы- + -ся*, *из- + -ся* and *у- + -ся* are also mentioned within the intensive-resultative mode (Zaliznjak—Shmelev 2000, s. 106–118). Some useful remarks on meanings of the verbal derivatives in focus may be also found in Isachenko (1960).

Unlike academic dictionaries of Czech and Slovak[4], the Dictionary of Russian Language (1999) contains many common and not very common intensification meanings. For example, the dictionary describes the intensified usage of such relatively uncommon verbs as *набедствоваться, натолковаться, набороться, набродиться, наваляться, нажиться*, etc. However, it does not include *набрызгаться, навертеться, наплеваться*. The saturative meaning of *наплаваться* is presented, but not *наныряться* and so on.

The most significant novelty of our work as compared to previous research is that we put these highly productive circumfixes together and examine common formal syntactic and semantic properties of the derivation pattern as a whole, rather than try to give an exhaustive semantic definition of each circumfix. We argue that it is the productivity of this pattern that explains the existence of a large number of derivatives not represented in dictionaries.

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4   As referred in Hlaváčová-Nedoluzhko (2013)

Our work addresses the field of verbal semantics, aspect and verbal actionality (aktionsart). For this reason, the classifications provided in Paducheva (1996, 2004) and Tatevosov (2002) are made use of (see 6.1.)

3. Definitions of Prefixes Combining with the Intensification Pattern

The following section presents an overview of the meanings[5] of the circumfixes under discussion. The letter P stands for an imperfective verb. By adding the given prefix and the reflexive morpheme to the verb we get the respective intensified form. Our definitions of the meanings are tentative. A more precise understanding can be obtained from examples that accompany every prefix entry.

раз-Р-ся (with orthographic variants *разо-*, *разъ-* and *рас-*)
the action P, once started, has gradually increased and reached a high level of intensity, e.g. *разбаловаться, разлакомиться, разыграться*
*...конь мой вороной **разрезвился, расплясался, разыгрался** подо мной //* my black steed ***began romping about, dancing around, playfully jumping*** *under me*

за-Р-ся
the action P has exceeded its natural or allowable boundaries, e.g. *заговориться, замечтаться, засидеться, зачитаться*
Засиделся *в гостях у печали, Что-то горек её крепкий чай //* I ***stayed way too long*** *at sadness' place, Oh how bitter is her strong tea*

на-Р-ся
the action P has held for so long/with such intensity that its subject feels satisfied/annoyed with it, e.g.: *наговориться, нагуляться, насидеться, наслушаться*
*Караул!! Ребенок **наслушался** страшных историй!! //* Oh no! The child ***heard too many*** *scary stories!*

вы-Р-ся
the action P has been carried out with such intensity that it has led to complete exhaustion of its (semantic) object, e.g.: *выплакаться, выспаться, выговориться*
*Дождь под вечер **выплакался** наспех, Скользкий ствол орешины намок //* The rain ***cried its eyes out*** *in the evening, the slick hazel stem got wet*

у-Р-ся
the action P has been carried out with such intensity that it has led to an excessive result, e.g.: *упариться, упечься, упиться;*

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[5] The meanings of the circumfixes are initially borrowed from the entries of the prefixes in the Dictionary of Russian Language (MAC, 1999) and then adapted to our corpus examples. The meanings in MAC for some prefixes (*за-, у-*) are also provided for non-reflexive verbs.

*Норвежский турист **упился** до состояния багажа // The Norwegian tourist **drank himself into** a stupor*

из-Р-ся

the action P has been carried out with such intensity that it has led to complete exhaustion of its subject (cf. *вы-Р-ся*), or to loss of a quality, e.g.: *извериться, изнервничаться, изолгаться*.

*«Газпром» **изнервничался**, ожидая, когда Украина назовет цену за «трубу» // Gazprom **were at their wit›s end,** as they waited for Ukraine to name a price for the "pipe"*

до-Р-ся

the action P has held for so long/with such intensity that it has led to a certain result, often a negative one, e.g.: *добудиться, дозвониться, дозваться, допрыгаться, доболтаться, добегаться*.

*Первоклашка **добегался** до перелома ноги // The first-grader **ran around so much** that he **ended up** with a broken leg*

The provided examples illustrate the intensified usage only. However, with the means of the verb intensification, verbs can be formed that already exist in common vocabulary of a language, but have a different meaning. Let's take the Russian verb *догадаться* as an example. In the Dictionary of Russian Language (1999) this lexeme is interpreted as 'make a guess, figure out by guessing'. This meaning is essentially different from the "intensified" meaning 'tell fortunes too much' which is formed by means of prefixation-postfixation and is not represented in the dictionary. Compare the following examples:

*А тут девушка сама гадает. И **догадалась** до того, что к ней пришел сам черт! (internet) // Here the girl was **telling fortunes** herself. And she **ended up** with the devil itself coming to her!*

*Из речей девушек я **догадался**, что дело шло о сыне соседки моей, богатой московской барыни. [П. Ю. Львов. Даша, деревенская девушка] // From the girls' talks I **guessed** that it was about my neighbor's, a rich moskovite lady's son.*

Other possible homonymic pairs are e.g. *разрешаться* ('resolve' and 'keep deciding too much'), *нажиться* ('make a fortune' and 'get tired of living somewhere for too long'), *извиниться* ('apologize' and 'be completely exhausted by blaming oneself') and so on.

4. Morphological Features of the Intensification Pattern

In Russian, there exist several ways of building derivatives with both a prefix and *-ся*, namely: adding one of the intensifying prefixes and the reflexive morpheme *-ся* to an imperfective non-reflexive verb (*решать—разрешаться)*; building

a decausative derivative from a perfective non-reflexive verb (*разрешать—разрешаться*); building a prefixal derivative from an imperfective reflexive verb (*решаться—разрешаться*). Below, we only appeal to derivatives that are built up by adding a prefix and a reflexive morpheme to an imperfective verb, and only in intensified usage. Because the original verb must be imperfective, the following verbs cannot be used as intensified: *извернуться* (*wriggle*), *наброситься* (*attack*), *раздаться* (*resound, expand*), *дотронуться* (*touch*), etc.

The resulting intensified verb is always perfective. For example, the verb *находиться* can have a saturative meaning only in perfective interpretation ('to walk too much'). If imperfective, it means 'be situated' or 'be found'.

It is crucially important that a verb to which the intensification pattern is applied already exists in the language. For this reason, intensification meanings are not available for such verbs as *изловчиться* (no or very rare *ловчить* or *ловчиться* in Russian), *измениться* (no *менить* or *мениться*), *наполниться* (no *полнить* or *полниться* in this meaning), *разверзнуться* (no *верзнуть* or *верзнуться*), *разлучиться* (no *лучить* or *лучиться* in this meaning) and so on. However, some exceptions can be occasionally found in the corpus[6]. Mainly, these are lexicalized usages that only confirm the rule. E.g. *До старта мы прожили в Гааге четыре дня и успели прилично* **измочалиться**, *загоняя себя на тренировках. [Наталья Бестемьянова и др. Пара, в которой трое]* '*Before the start, we spent four days in Hague and* **were completely exhausted with training**.'

In case a circumfix is added to a verb that is already reflexive, -*ся* is not further doubled: *злиться* (be angry)- *разозлиться* (get angry), *смеяться* (laugh)—*насмеяться* (laugh enough), *купаться* (swim)—*укупаться* (be exhausted by swimming), *докупаться* (swim too much with a negative result) etc.

Intensifying derivation with a certain prefix can be applied to a verb which already contains this prefix (*заниматься* ('be occupied with smth')—*зазаниматься* ('be occupied with smth for a long time, with a possible negative result'), *разливаться* ('overflow')—*разразливаться* ('start overflowing with high intensity'), *заправляться* ('supply oneself with smth')- *зазаправляться* ('supply oneself with smth for a long time, with a possible negative result'), etc.).

Circumfixal derivatives with intensified meaning sometimes allow secondary imperfectivization (*разыграться* 'start playing (intensively), pfv'—*разыгрываться* 'start playing, imfv', *засидеться* 'sit for too long, pfv'—*засиживаться* 'sit for too long, pfv'). Supposedly, secondary imperfectivization of intensified derivatives is only possible under the condition that the same stem without the reflexive -*ся* and either without prefix or with another prefix (usually delimitative *по*-) allows such imperfectivization. E.g.: *засиживаться* is possible, as *сиживать* exists in the language, as well as *накуриваться: покуривать, дозваниваться: позванивать*, but not **размычиваться*, as **мычивать, *помычивать* (derived from *мычать*: 'moo').

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5. Syntactic Constraints on the Intensification Pattern

5.1. Active Voice

The intensification pattern can usually only be applied to verbs in active voice. Thus, the intensification meaning is hardly available in case the reflexive morpheme is used as a passive or medial marker, e.g.:

*Разговор **раздробился**, запутался, и вскоре никому уже не было понятно, как вытаскивать загубленное предприятие. [Александр Солженицын. В круге первом, т. 1, гл. 26–51 (1968) // «Новый Мир», 1990]. // The conversation **got scattered**, mixed up, and it became already unclear how to save the ruined venture.*

Counterexamples are occasional and only possible in specific contexts. See, for example, the title of the current paper.

5.2. Object Generalization

Once the intensifying pattern is applied to a verb, it becomes intransitive. This is a purely syntactic constraint, as reflexive verbs in Russian are mainly intransitive. Cf. *читать книгу* (read the book)—*учитаться до смерти* (be totally exhausted by reading), but not **учитаться книгу до смерти* (be totally exhausted by reading the book). The semantic object can usually be expressed as an oblique object, in Genitive and sometimes also Instrumental case: *бросил камень — разбросался камнями; читал книгу — начитался книг.*

There is a remark in Zaliznyak and Shmelev concerning *на-* prefix: they point out that such derivatives can either take a Partitive object, or a combination with a quantitative word, such as 'many'. The latter possibility is not available for the intensifying pattern, but the former one is, as was shown above (*наловить рыбы\ наловиться рыбы*).

However, even if expressed within the same clause, the object usually gets generalized and loses its discrete semantics. One can say *разбросался камнями*, but never **разбросался камнем*, as one stone is something specific and cannot be used in the intensified context. For this reason, for instance, **убиться* is impossible in intensified usage: *бить* 'to beat' only allows a specific object.

Derivatives with *вы-* do not usually take oblique objects, given to the fact that the meaning of this circumfix (see 3) is that of complete exhaustion of its object. Neither do *из-* derivatives, for the reason that they imply complete exhaustion of the subject, thus the object is beyond the scope of their meaning.

Overall, the generalization of intensified derivatives' objects can be explained with the fact that the main focus of their meaning is the intensification of the action in current of time, which also implies iterativity and makes referring to a single or specific object troublesome.

6.   Semantic Constraints on the Intensification Pattern

The set of semantic constraints for the intensifying pattern under discussion is somewhat more complicated.

On the one hand, we assume that the pattern is common for all the abovementioned prefixes, which is supported by the fact that all of them are subjects of the same morphological and syntactic constraints (see 4 and 5). Their common behavior seems to be natural if we agree that they all have similar semantics, namely that of intensification. In this chapter, we will try and prove that they do have certain semantic similarities as well.

On the other hand, it is beyond discussion that all prefixes have their specific meanings that overlap with the common intensification meaning and impose certain specific restrictions on the common pattern: for instance, one can say *налюбоваться*, but not **разлюбоваться*, as the verb *любоваться* ('admire the sight of') does not include the meaning of higher or lower intensity in its semantics. The prefix *раз-* requires such meaning from the verb, whereas *на-* does not.

We will provide an analysis of common distributive features of intensified derivatives, of the compatibility of the pattern with verbs of different actional classes, as well as of some semantic features not related to the class of a verb.

6.1. Compatibility with Verb Classes

One striking semantic feature of the intensifying pattern is its capability to combine with verbs of different classes with different results. Some classes appear to be highly productive, whereas the pattern can only occasionally be applied to the others. This is understandable given that the intensity of an action has to do with some limit that the action exceeds and thus it is crucially important what kind of lexical aspect class the verb belongs to.

In this section, we will examine this feature in more detail.

6.1.1. Telic Verbs

The intensifying pattern is only occasionally applied to all kinds of telic verbs. In such cases, a telic verb obtains the iterative meaning:

*Половина зала — мужская, умирала от смеха, корчась. Один так **разумирался**, что забыл, уходя, свой бумажник в отверстии для стаканов в кресле. [internet] // A half of the audience—the masculine one—was dying of laughter, making faces. One of them **got so much into dying** that he left his wallet in the glass-holder of his armchair upon leaving.*

Difficulties with deriving an intensified form from a telic verb are not without reason: the intensifying model, whatever the prefix is, always has a tint of exceeding some natural limit of the action. With telic verbs, a natural endpoint is included in the semantics of the verb and cannot be exceeded. Cf. in the example above the "natural

endpoint" of the verb *умирать* ('die') is the death itself, so one cannot "die with too much intensity, exceeding the limit". Therefore, such usages of telic verbs are occasional and are only felicitous in a specific context, like in the example above. Once applied to the verb, the intensifying pattern imparts an iterative meaning to it, turning one single action into a series of actions.

Thus, if an action cannot be iterated, it cannot undergo intensification: cf. **разлишаться (лишаться*: be deprived of).

6.1.2. Atelic Verbs

As atelic verbs do not include the semantics of a natural endpoint of the situation, they are more likely to be compatible with the intensification pattern. However, different classes of atelic verbs behave differently in this regard.

We have borrowed the classification of atelic verbs from Paducheva (1996). Her classification includes atemporal properties, inherent states, temporal states, processes, activities, occupations, and behaviors. Verbs are divided into classes according to a number of parameters. We have examined the ability of each class of atelic verbs to be intensified and obtained the following results:

- <u>atemporal properties</u> are not intensified[7], due to the fact that an atemporal property, according to its definition, cannot undergo any changes in process of time and thus cannot be a subject of the intensifying pattern.
- <u>inherent states</u> should be further divided into two classes: emotional states and others. While emotional states do get intensified (cf. *разгордился, заревновался)*, others do not. Another reason for separating emotional states from other states is that they usually combine with the delimitative prefix *no- (*which is one of the parameters of the classification).
- <u>temporal states</u> get intensified (in case all other conditions, such as presence of an animate subject, are successful, see below). Cf. *развеселился, изнервничался, намерзся.*
- <u>processes</u> do not get intensified for the reason described below: in Paducheva's classification, they are only processes with an inanimate subject, which contradicts the important constraint on the animacy of the subject.
- <u>activities</u> and <u>occupations</u>, unlike processes, tend to have an animate subject and are compatible with the intensification pattern. Cf. *расплакался, заработался, накувыркался, завоевался, испьянствовался, укомандовался.*
- <u>behaviors</u> do not usually undergo intensification except for *до-* and *на-.* The most probable reason for that is that behaviors, like atemporal properties, remain unchanged in current of time and thus do not include the meaning of higher or lower intensity in their semantics.

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[7] However, due to the productivity of intensifying patterns (as was mentioned above), one can find examples of intensified derivatives of almost any verb, including atemporal properties, inherent states, and others, especially on internet blogs, cf.: Собака *находится весь день во дворе и это называется «гуляет»? Вы тот двор не видели...Угуляться можно — Нееее... Это не «угуляться».... Это — «унаходиться» — Лишь бы не «удиваниться» в ожидании вечерней прогулки..*

6.2. Animate Subject Constraint

One interesting semantic feature of the intensifying pattern is that it only applies to verbs with an animate subject. The form *разболеться (болеть*—be sick) is quite common, whereas the form **размутиться (мутить*—feel sick, dizzy) is almost impossible because *мутить* is an impersonal verb.

At first glance, one can probably assume that this constraint has to do with the ability of the subject to control the action, i.e. with presence of an animate agent, but a more detailed analysis shows that this is not the case. Indeed, the pattern applies to agents (*разговориться: говорить*—talk), to experiencers (*расчувствоваться: чувствовать*—feel), and even to objects (*распадаться: падать*—fall down). What is important is that the subject, whatever theta-role it gets, is animate. Inanimate subjects do not allow intensifying: it is hard to imagine a form like *?размерцаться (мерцать*—blink, twinkle) because a human being can hardly twinkle. Cf. also **Одежда насушилась (The clothes dried enough*: the example is borrowed from Tatevosov (2009)). When applied to a verb with an inanimate subject, the pattern slightly changes its meaning, i.e., the subject obtains traits of an animate creature, cf.: *вьюга разбушевалась (*the blizzard enraged *), лампа раскоптилась* (the lamp started smoking too much).

A confusing example of a dichotomy between a controlled and a noncontrolled action are pairs like *видеть — смотреть* (see—watch), *слышать — слушать* (hear—listen), where *засмотреться, заслушаться* are felicitous while **завидеться, *заслышаться* are not. Again, the first supposition that comes to mind upon looking at such pairs is that it depends on whether the action is controlled. However, as we have proved above, this parameter does not hold for all verbs, so another explanation must exist for this phenomenon. We suggest that the clue for it lies in the sphere of actional classes: *смотреть, слушать* are processes while *видеть, слышать* are states. We would be grateful to our readers for further suggestions on the subject.

6.3. Verbs of Oriented Motion

Verbs of oriented motion cannot be intensified: one can say *разлетаться, расходиться,* but never *разлететься, разойтись* in the intensified usage. The difference between *летать* and *лететь,* as well as between *ходить* and *идти* is that of oriented/non-oriented motion. *Летать* means to fly to and fro, while *лететь* means to fly in a specific direction. A similar observation has been made for one particular case, namely *до-ся,* in Zaliznyak&Shmelev (2000): they claim that this prefix is rarely combined with verbs that do not include the aim of the action in their semantics. We argue that this is true for all the prefixes in the scope of our discussion.

7. Conclusion and Perspectives

With our work, we wanted to highlight the fact that the circumfixes in question have a lot of common features at all levels of linguistic analysis, namely morphological and syntactical constraints, compatibility with different actional classes, the constraint on the animate subject etc.

Another striking peculiarity of the intensifying pattern is its productivity: even though we have tried and figured out certain semantic constraints on the original verb, while collecting data we kept facing the fact that intensified derivatives of almost any imperfective verb can be found on the internet, though those that violate the constraints may sound too colloquial.

These two features of the intensifying pattern allow us to argue that the category of intensification can be considered inflectional rather than derivational in modern Russian. The category fulfills the essential conditions on an inflectional model: it is productive and can be considered homogeneous with regard to its morphology, syntax, and semantics.

As we have pointed out above, the circumfixes differ slightly in their semantics: *раз-* triggers the meaning of gradual increase of intensity whereas *на-* and *у-* do not; *вы-* and *из-* differ in whether the object or the subject lies in the scope of the verb's meaning, and so on. We are planning to further develop the analysis of specific meanings of the circumfixes under discussion in the future.

One of the most exciting directions of our future research is comparing our results to other Slavic languages such as Czech, Slovak and Croatian. Some work in this direction has been already done, our task now is to carry out a more detailed semantic analysis of Czech and Slovak intensification patterns, which seem to be comparable to those in Russian but still have some challenging distinctions.

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