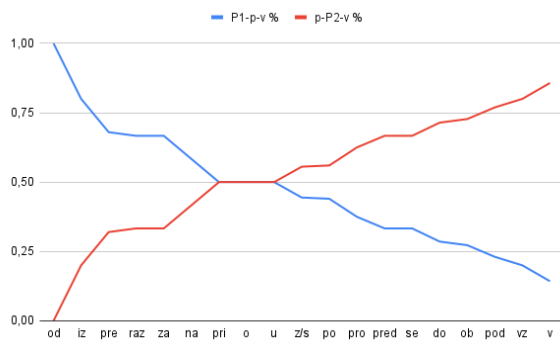


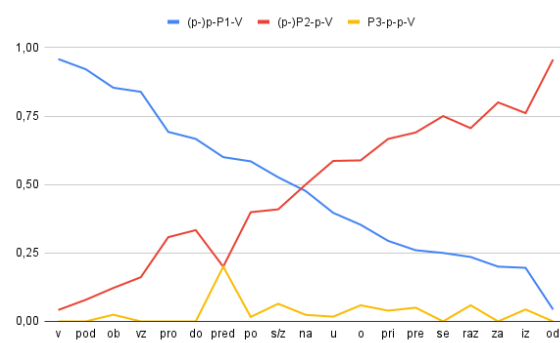
**The (un)expectedly stacked prefixes in Slovenian**  
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It has been observed that when Slavic verbal prefixes stack, i.e. when a verb hosts more than one prefix, their ordering does not seem to be random, but it rather reveals certain restrictions of a fairly formal character. Two types of ordering restrictions have been observed when it comes to Slavic prefixes. Firstly, prefixes can be classified into two (or three) groups: lexical and superlexical prefixes, with lexical prefixes always ordered closer to the verbal root (Babko-Malaya 2003, Svenonius 2004, Tatevosov 2008, a.o.). One property separating lexical from superlexical prefixes is their ability to stack: a verb can only host one lexical prefix, while superlexical prefixes can stack. And secondly, superlexical prefixes, when stacked on a verbal stem, follow a fixed order (Istrakova 2004, Wiland 2012, Endo and Wiland 2014, a.o.).

We set out to test these two descriptive statements by investigating a sample of verbs extracted from the *Gigafida 2.0* corpus of written Slovenian (Čibej et al. 2019). We examined 507 multiply-prefixed verbs with at least 100 occurrences in the corpus. Figure 1 shows the relative amount of prefixes that a prefix can appear with either when it comes first in a pair of prefixes or second, while Figure 2 shows the frequency of prefixes relative to their position in a multiply prefixed verb.



**Figure 1**



**Figure 2**

On the one hand, the data in Figures 1 and 2 are consistent with the two descriptive statements from above (superlexical prefixes indeed precede lexical ones, so for instance *v-*, for which the literature has not identified any superlexical uses, almost never stacks; superlexical prefixes seem to appear in a certain order). On the other hand, lexical prefixes exhibit some unexpected behavior that we focus on in this talk, namely, no prefix appears exclusively in the position attached immediately to the verbal root (at this point we ignore the difference between the observed order of prefixes in Slovenian (either one from Figs. 1 and 2) and the orders reported in Endo and Wiland 2012). So even though prefixes such as *vz-*, *s-/z-*, *pod-* etc. are said to be (nearly) exclusively lexical prefixes (Šekli 2016), they appear in approximately 20% of multiply prefixed verbs stacked over another prefix.

One of the defining properties of lexical prefixes is their inability to stack on top of other prefixes. This, together with their idiosyncratic or spatial resultative meaning, is taken as a motivation for analyzing them as originating inside the VP, for example as heads of a Result Phrase (Svenonius 2004) from where they undergo movement to the VP. Since a verb cannot have more than one resultative complement (Rappaport & Levin 2001, Ramchand 2008, a.o.), the verb will only be able to have one lexical prefix. Probing into our data sample described above, however, we find a small group of verbs that appear to contain more than one lexical prefix. Some examples are provided in (1)-(3) (and see Romanova 2004, drawing on Isačenko 1960, for Russian data similar to (1) and (2)).

- (1) a. pri-j-e-ti      b. o-pri-j-e-ti      (2) a. vz-p-e-ti      b. po-vz-p-e-ti  
 at-√-TV-INF.PFV      around-at-√-TV-INF.PFV      up-√-TV-INF      on-up-√-TV-INF  
 ‘to hold’      ‘to clasp’      ‘to climb’      ‘to climb’
- (3) a. po-stav-i-ti      b. vz-po-stav-i-ti  
 after-√-TV-INF.PFV      up-after-√-TV-INF.PFV  
 ‘to put/stand’      ‘to establish’

In examples (1)-(3), the outer prefixes *o-*, *po-* and *vz-* do not carry a ‘superlexical’, adverbial meaning, but rather a spatial, (1b), or idiosyncratic, (3b), meaning typical of lexical prefixes. In some cases, (2b), the contribution of the additional prefix is unclear, i.e., we cannot find a context where only (2a) or only (2b) could be used. Now, these prefixes are not pure perfectivizers, since i) they can combine with a prefixed verb that is already perfective, as in (1)-(3), and ii) unlike standard lexical prefixes, such as *pri-* ‘at’ in (4b), this “second” lexical prefix does not perfectivize when occurring on a secondary imperfective, as in (5b). These verbs also cannot straightforwardly be analyzed as verbs with a complex-path prefix string analogous to complex-path prepositions, such as *izpod* ‘from under’ (e.g. *iz-pod-makniti* ‘move sth from under sth’). And if one were to argue that verbs like *s-pri-jeti* only have a single lexical prefix, *s-* (while *prij-* is an indecomposable root), the perfectivity of *pri-jeti* and the existence of the potential root *-j-* with various other prefixes (e.g. *na-jeti* ‘to hire’, *ob-jeti* ‘to hug’, *pre-jeti* ‘to receive’, *za-jeti* ‘capture’, etc.) suggest that this is not the right analysis.

- (4) a. teči      b. pri-teči      (5) a. pri-jeti      b. pri-jemati      c. s-pri-jemati  
 run.IPFV      at-run.PFV      at-hold.PFV      at-hold.IPFV      with-at-hold.IPFV  
 ‘to run’      ‘to run up’      ‘to hold’      ‘to hold’      ‘to stick’

Furthermore, while doubly prefixed verbal strings like (6b) have already been argued to contain two resultative prefixes (Žaucer 2009), the prefixes under discussion here differ from these in that, among other things, they do not introduce unselected objects (in relation to the singly-prefixed verb). Examples (6) (based on Žaucer 2009) and (7) show this contrast.

- (6) a. za-vezovat (\*se) gojzarje      b. na-za-vezovat se gojzarjev  
 behind-tie refl boots.ACC      on-behind-tie refl boots.GEN  
 ‘be tying up boots’      ‘get one’s fill of tying up boots’
- (7) a. pri-jeti se veje      b. o-pri-jeti se veje  
 at-hold refl branch.GEN      around-at-hold refl branch.GEN  
 ‘to hold a branch’      ‘to clasp a branch’

While at first glance our data with double lexical prefixes could be taken as an argument for verbs being able to host more than one result, we will not argue for such an analysis as the “second” lexical prefix does not introduce a new argument or a new sub-event. Rather, we will argue that some of our data may have arisen from structures with a result prefix and a result-modifying prefix in the sense of Žaucer (2013), and some should be analyzed similar to den Dikken’s (1995) double particle constructions such as *I’ll send the letter on over to Grandma’s house*, or PPs embedded under particle verbs, e.g., *throw out the trash onto the lawn*. We will therefore argue that in our verbs with more than one lexical prefix the resultative part contains a single PP (cf. den Dikken 1995, Svenonius 2004).

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