

James Gallant

Russian Verbal Prefixation and Semantic Features

An Analysis of the Prefix *vz-*

Verlag Otto Sagner München · Berlin · Washington D.C.

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James Gallant - 9783954792856

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PETER REHDER

Band 135



VERLAG OTTO SAGNER
MÜNCHEN

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RUSSIAN VERBAL PREFIXATION
AND SEMANTIC FEATURES:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE PREFIX **VZ-**



VERLAG OTTO SAGNER · MÜNCHEN
1979

ISBN 3-87690-168-5

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Abteilung der Firma Kubon & Sagner, München

Druck: Alexander Grossmann

Fäustlestr. 1, D-8000 München 2



To the memory of Alexander Isačenko

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FOREWORD

0.1 This study advances a theory that verbal prefixation is a device for displaying the action of the verb in relationship to an abstract conceptual system which can be represented in geometric terms as a framework consisting of two primary axes, a horizontal and a vertical, plus derivative planes and volumes. This conceptual framework constitutes an integral system of limits, describable in terms of semantic features, which in combination with other features of the verbal base are interpretable as spatial, temporal or quantificational surfaces, limits or thresholds. A prefix is described as consisting of one or more *frame features* (expressing that part of the conceptual geometry it invokes) plus one *relational feature* (expressing the relationship of the action to the frame). The idea of a coherent *prefixal framework* provides the basis for a description of all prefixes in terms of one relatively small, integral set of semantic features and compels one to view the metaphorical range of a given prefix in terms of a single, invariant set of semantic features.

An important element of the theory is the idea that prefixes do not add meaning to the verbs with which they occur, but rather represent the specification of features already contained in the verbal base. This idea is substantiated by the fact that in many cases unprefixated verbs can be used to refer to the same reality as prefixed verbs, the difference being one of explicitness. A formal analysis of this phenomenon provides some insight into the way semantic features are marked: either specified [+ feature] or left unspecified [0 feature], the preclusion of a feature from the message [- feature] arising only through rules of entailment.

The hypothesis that prefixation represents the specification of features of the verbal base enables one to view the group of verbs that occur with a given prefix as partially synonymous: only certain kinds of verbs can be related to the conceptual framework in a given way.

0.2 In this study I will examine the combination of one frame feature and one relational feature, [+ horizontal + transgression]: *bs-*, and the

class of verbs which contain those features in their semantic matrices. The corpus is taken from the *Словарь современного русского литературного языка*: examined are all *вз-* verbs in all those usages, literal and figurative, which are listed in the dictionary. All but a few *вз-* verbs can be classified according to whether they represent the violation of a literal, physical surface (cf. Section II: verbs of 'plowing', 'cutting', 'swelling', 'disorder', 'suffusion', 'beating'); the transgression of an abstract surface (cf. Section III: verbs of 'scolding', 'growth', 'appearance', 'awareness'); the transgression of a physical threshold (cf. Section IV: verbs of 'boiling', 'agitation'); or the transgression of an abstract threshold (cf. Section V: verbs of 'sound/expression', 'excitation'). The interpretation of the [horizontal] as a surface or a threshold is dependent upon the nature of the verb, whether it describes an action (relative to a surface) or a general state of activity (relative to a threshold of activity). Only in the case of those verbs which denote motion in a certain direction (cf. Section VI: verbs of 'directed motion') can the features [+ horizontal + transgression] be interpreted as representing 'upward (direction)', i.e., violation of the normal flow.

The idea that all verbs occurring with a given prefix are partial synonyms to one degree or another is corroborated by the fact that with very few exceptions all usages can be viewed in terms of these closely interrelated semantic groups: the literal and figurative semantic range of any *вз-* verb does not extend beyond this limited set of verbal meanings.

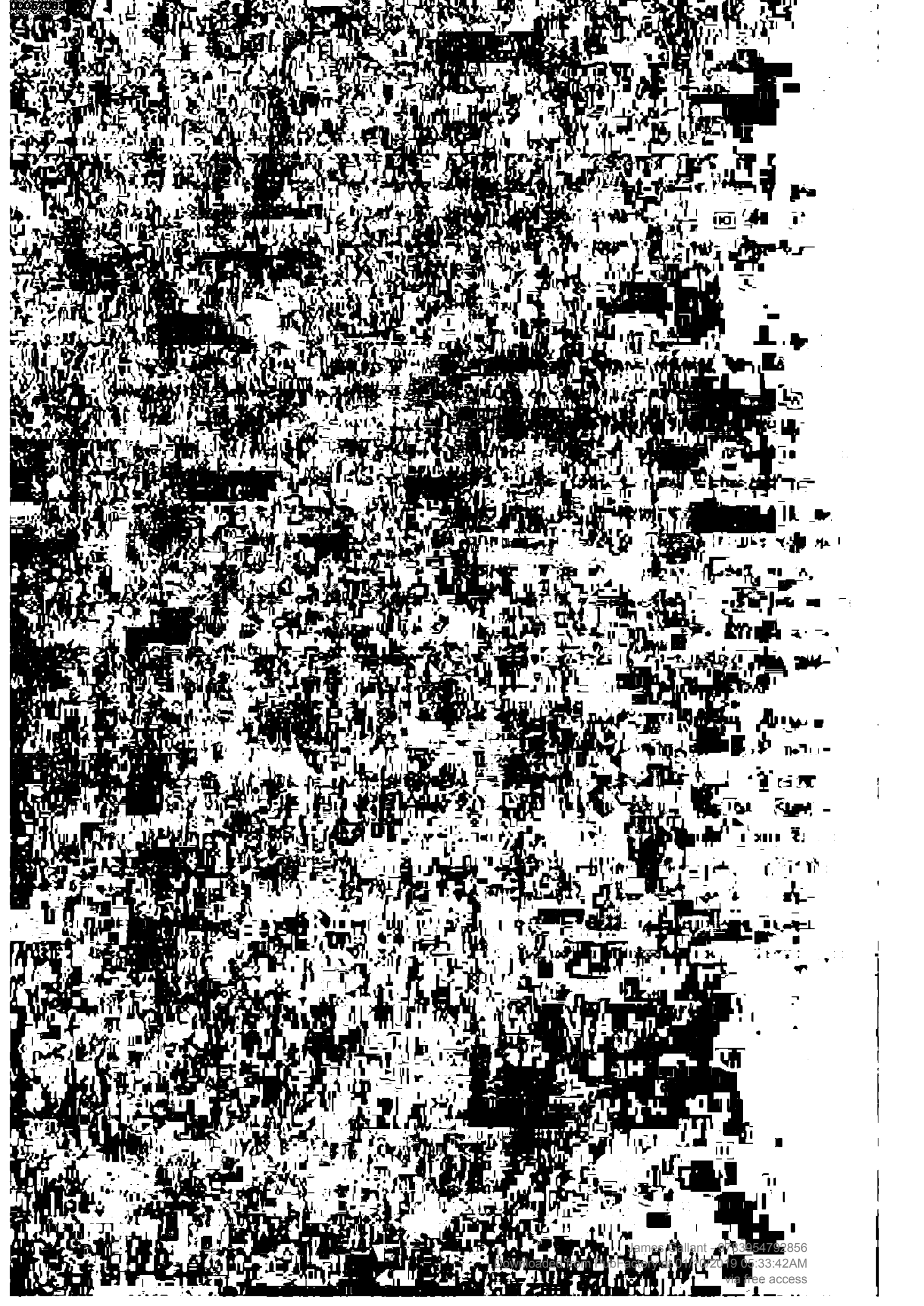
0.3 Section VI 'Determination and Directionality' presents evidence indicating that the category of determination is not limited to the traditional group of thirteen paired imperfectives known as the "verbs of motion" but also includes other pairs of imperfectives (e.g., *валить/валять*) as well as perfective/imperfective pairs such as *кинуть/кидать* and *бросить/бросать*. In these pairs a general view of the action (*ходить, валять, кидать, бросать*) is contrasted with a more specific view of the action, either as a coherent process (*идти, валить*) or as a single gesture (*кинуть, бросить*). In all pairs of verbs in which each of the members can be prefixed, the prefixed determined form (e.g., *перейти, перевалить, перекинуть, перебросить*) is

usually directional, while the prefixed nondetermined form expresses a quantificational or limitational notion (e.g., переходить все окрестности; перевалить все котлеты; перекидать, перебросить все камни).

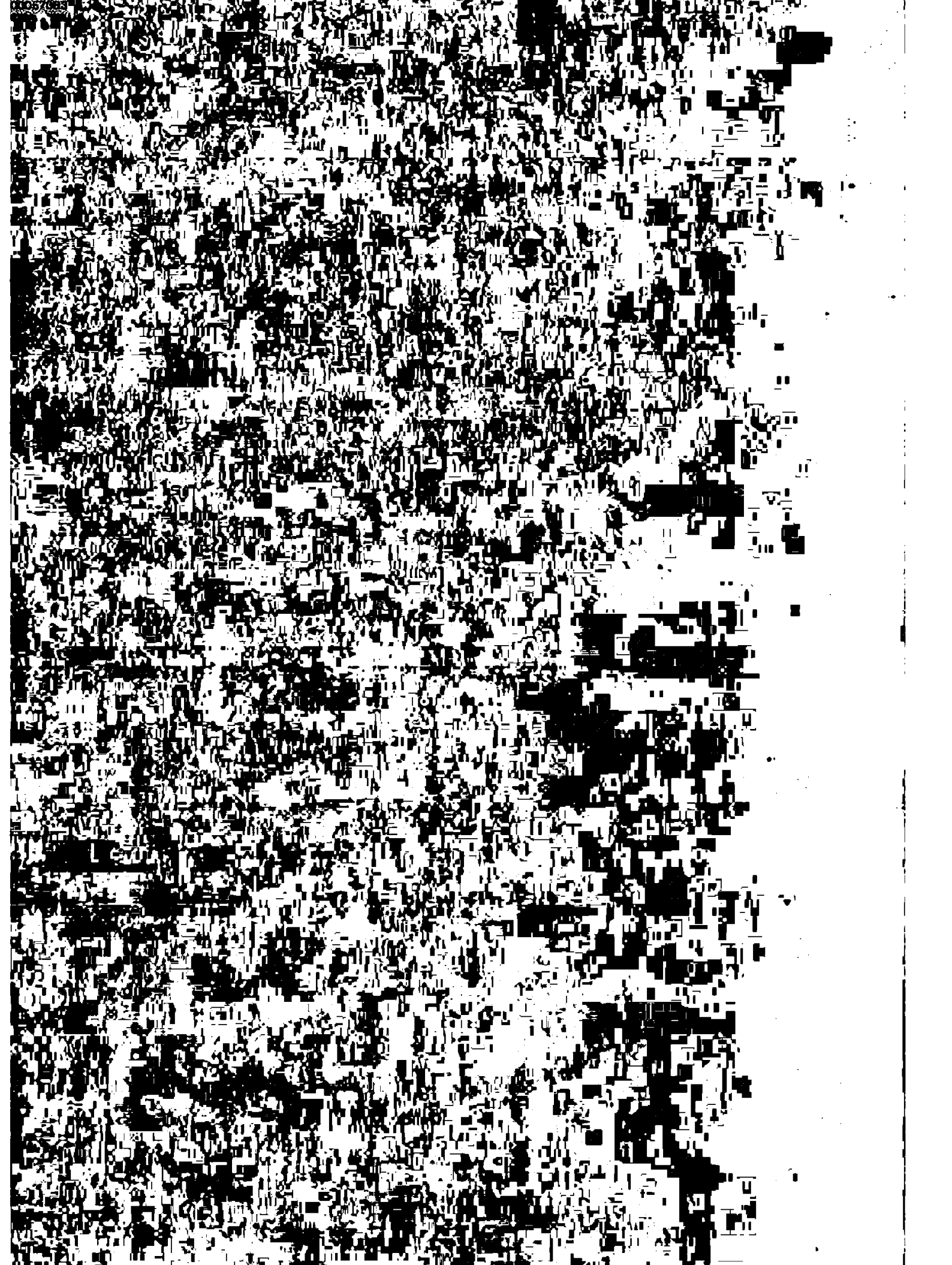
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The present work represents an extensive revision of my dissertation (UCLA, March, 1977). Many people have helped me greatly during my work on this project. I wish to thank my teachers: Dean Worth, for the kindness and criticisms that guided me through the dissertation; Michael Flier, for his enthusiastic and perceptive discussions of these ideas; and Henrik Birnbaum, for his encouragement and patience while I was revising the dissertation for publication. I also wish to thank those who have read the manuscript in later stages: Valerie Tumins, Nancy Ickler and Johanna Nichols, whose detailed comments have helped me to formulate these ideas more clearly. I am grateful to Marsha Gauntt for typing both the dissertation and the revision and to Randy Bowlus for finishing up the last chapters.

Alexander Isačenko once said: "You know, if you just look at the data long enough, they will tell you their secret." In spite of all the revisions, this work remains tentative and incomplete. I wish, nevertheless, to dedicate it to the bright memory of this wonderful friend and magical teacher: to the memory of all the walks and all the conversations that lasted into the dark, all the boisterous excursions through the mountains of Carinthia ("Bei mir brauchen Sie kein Reisebüro!"), and the time he laughed so hard at a joke he was telling that he fell off his chair; to the memory of his brilliance in the classroom, his clarity and his kindness, and the Saturday morning sunlight on his desk.



SECTION I: INTRODUCTION



I. INTRODUCTION

Prefixation. Verbal prefixation is usually described as a derivational process whereby new elements of meaning are introduced into the semantics of the simplex verb through the addition of prefixal morphemes: the prefix adds its meaning to that of the verbal base. For example:

"The addition of a prefix to a simple verb makes it perfective (in addition to possibly altering its meaning in other ways)... The meanings added to simple verbs by prefixes are extremely varied, ranging from the spatial meanings of the prepositions from which the prefixes were originally derived, to 'abstract' nuances expressing the speaker's view of the action denoted." (Forsyth 1970:18)

"Основная цель присоединения приставки заключается во внесении какого-то нового момента в лексическое значение исходной основы." (Bondarko & Bulanin 1967:41)

"In the usual type of perfective verbal compound, then, the result of prefixation is double: prefixation *in abstracto* as opposed to absence of prefixation perfectivizes, whereas the concrete prefix, as opposed to other possible prefixes, contributes its own lexical meaning." (van Schooneveld 1958:159)

"В качестве семантического 'квалификатора' бесприставочного глагола может выступать любая приставка. Глаголы *разорвать*, *сорвать*, *оторвать*, *вырвать* и т. п. семантически уже и в то же время 'полнее' простого глагола *рвать*. Приставки *раз-*, *со-*, *ото-*, *вы-* квалифицируют значение глагола *рвать*, так сказать, с внешней стороны, т. е. прибавляют к исходному значению глагола *рвать* еще дополнительные, уточняющие оттенки значения. (Isačenko 1960:222-223)

"Все лексические элементы слова (напр. префиксальные или суффиксальные морфемы) вносят в основное значение слова определенные оттенки, ср. *писать* - *дописать*, *гореть* - *разгореться* и т. п." "...соотношения типа *писать* - *переписать*, *писать* - *дописать*, *писать* - *потписать* (некоторое время) не сводятся только к чистовидовым отличиям: каждый из приведенных приставочных глаголов содержит еще какие-то добавочные 'оттенки' именно лексического значения." (Isačenko 1960:156-157)

The prefixes themselves are usually treated as polysemous lexicogrammatical morphemes capable of adding a variety of different meanings to a verb. The *Грамматика современного русского литературного языка* (Gr 1970), for example, assigns 163 meanings or "типы значений" to the 28 prefixes it treats; *за-* alone is said to have ten meanings (Gr 1970:259-260).

Later in this chapter (1.4) I will present a somewhat different notion of prefixation: (1) that prefixes do not add meaning to the verbs with which they occur, but rather express the specification of semantic features already contained in the verbal base; and (2) that prefixes are not polysemous but always represent the selection of the same set of underlying semantic features.

1.1 *The Relationship of Prefix and Verbal Base.* Most theoretical studies devoted to prefixation as such (and not merely a discussion of the meanings or типы значений of individual prefixes) address the question of the relationship of prefix to verbal base and attempt to classify prefixes according to the relative salience of their semantics with respect to that of the verb.¹

Many scholars distinguish essentially two kinds of prefixes: full prefixes, those which add new elements of meaning to the verbal base, and empty prefixes, those which serve merely to perfectivize the verb.² The opposition

¹Gr 1970 does not discuss the semantic relationship of prefix to verbal base, but rather "все те семантико-словообразовательные, синтаксические и видовые различия между мотивирующим (в одном из его значений) и мотивированным глаголами, которые обусловлены наличием префикса у мотивированного глагола" (p. 253), i.e., the semantic difference between the unprefixed and prefixed verb. Gr 1970 does discuss the meanings of individual prefixes ("типы значений, выражаемых префиксами" [254, 274-275]); and its definitions of prefixed verbs are worded in such a way as to indicate that the prefix is primary, the verbal base secondary or circumstantial, e.g.,

"Глаголы с префиксом *вз-* делятся на четыре типа. 1) Глаголы со значением 'поднять(ся) вверх, наверх с помощью действия, названного мотивирующим глаголом': *взлететь* -- 'летя, подняться вверх'..." (256)

²Cf. Vey (1952), writing about prefixation in Czech:

"Dans la plupart de ces composés, le préverbe, tout en perfectivant le simple, en modifie en même temps la signification (*o-píše* 'il copiera', *za-píše* 'il enregistrera', *u-píše* 'il souscrira', etc.): il est alors dit *préverbe plein*. Toutefois, dans l'un (ou plusieurs) des composés préverbaux d'un imperfectif donné, le préverbe n'a pas d'autre fonction que de déterminer l'aspect perfectif (*na-píše* 'il écrira') sans modifier sensiblement la signification du simple: il est ce qu'on appelle un *préverbe vide*." (Vey 1952:82)

is also defined as that between *lexical* (лексические) and *grammatical* (чисто-видовые) prefixes.

1.1.1 *Grammatical prefixes.* When comparison of a prefixed perfective verb and the same verb without the prefix yields no discernible semantic difference except that of aspect, the prefix is said to be grammatical, purely aspectual in meaning (cf. Tixonov 1964:42-43). The grammatical prefix serves as a formal marker of perfectivity (Gr 1970:338). A prefixal aspectual pair like *делать/сделать* is lexically identical (Gr 1970:338) but grammatically non-identical in meaning. The perfective verb presents the action as approaching its limit (предел действия); "наиболее абстрактным значением предела действия является значение внутреннего качественного предела, т.е. такой границы или 'критической точки', по достижении которой действие должно исчерпать себя и прекратиться: *делать - сделать ...*" (Gr 1970:337). If the grammatical function of *с-* in *сделать* is perfectivization, the grammatical meaning is 'предельность действия'. In its discussion of verbs in *с-*, Gr 1970 notes the following meaning: "'с о-вер-шить (д о-вести д о-р е-з у-л-т а-т а) д е-й-с-т-в-и-е, названное мотивирующим глаголом': *сделать* -- 'совершить, довести до результата действие по глаголу *делать ...* Тип продуктивный" (p. 272). The phrase "совершить (довести до результата) действие" is the meaning Gr 1970 assigns to grammatical prefixes: it is given as one of the meanings of *вз-* (productive), *воз-* (unproductive), *вы-* (productive), *за-* (productive), *из-* (productive), *на-* ("тип проявляет продуктивность; он синонимичен высокопродуктивным типам глаголов с префиксами *по-, с-, о-, об-, про-, за-*" [p. 261]), *о-* (productive), *об-* (productive), *от-* (unproductive), *по-* (productive), *под-* (unproductive), *при-* ("тип проявляет продуктивность; он синонимичен высокопродуктивным типам глаголов с префиксами *по-, с-, о-, об-, про-, за-*" [p. 269]), *про-* (productive, "особенно в глаголах со значением звучания"), *раз-* (productive, "главным образом среди глаголов, означающих приведение в какое-л. состояние"), *с-* (productive), and *у-* (productive). According to Gr 1970, then, the verbs

(productive)	(unproductive)
вскипеть	воспрепятствовать
выстроить, вылечить	отомстить
зарегистрировать	подмести

(productive)

испугать, излечить
 напугать
 беспокоить
 обменивать
 понравиться
 примерить, примирить
 прокричать
 разбудить
 сделать, сфабриковать
 укомплектовать

differ from their unprefixated bases only in aspect. In the meaning 'perfectivity', the prefixes за-, на-, о-, об-, по-, при-, про-, and с- are said to be synonymous. Although it does list вылечить/излечить and испугать/напугать as purely perfective counterparts to лечить and пугать, Gr 1970 does not otherwise list a single verb with any two of the prefixes it considers synonymous. Yet according to the description presented in Gr 1970, one should be able to use any one of eleven productive prefixes to perfectivize an imperfective base (про- and раз- being restricted to verbs of 'sound' and 'change of state' verbs, respectively). The problem, of course, is that these allegedly "empty" prefixes do not combine freely with various kinds of verbal bases: one cannot, e.g., use на- in place of its "synonyms" по- (*нанравиться), с- (наделать 'do, make a quantity of'), о- (*набеспокоить, *нагрубеть), об- (наменять 'quantity'), про- (накричать 'quantity' scold'), or за- (*нарегистрировать, *нагустеть).

The central problem with the traditional theory of empty prefixes is that empty prefixes, although identical in function (they all perfectivize without introducing additional shades of meaning), cannot be considered synonyms: each prefix must contain information concerning the kinds of verbs it perfectivizes (cf. the definitions of the "empty" prefixes про- and раз-).

1.1.1.1 The usual solution to this problem is to consider grammatical prefixes not empty of meaning, but rather "emptied" of meaning.

Vinogradov (1947:533-534) speaks of processes whereby derivational

prefixes (словообразующие приставки) are transformed into inflectional prefixes (формообразующие префиксы):

"...некоторые глагольные приставки превращаются в чистовидовые префиксы и служат простым грамматическим средством образования форм совершенного вида. Из словообразующих приставок они становятся формообразующими префиксами. В этом кругу явлений следует различать процессы двух родов. В одних случаях ослабление и утрата реальных значений приставок является следствием индивидуального изменения лексических значений данного глагола. Такого рода процессы не ведут к превращению приставки в видовой префикс, так как в сочетании с другими глаголами, с другими глагольными основами та же приставка сохраняет свои реальные значения (например: *сниться* - *присниться* ..., с одной стороны, и *мирить* - *примирить* - и *помириться* ... с другой). [Note that Vinogradov considers the *при-* in *примирить* to be a lexical prefix, while Gr 1970 (p. 269) considers it to be empty.]

В иных случаях утрата реальных значений приставки становится закономерной, обязательной для глаголов определенного морфологического строя или лексического состава. Здесь можно говорить о превращении приставки в формообразующий префикс совершенного вида. В качестве таких формообразующих префиксов выступают чаще всего приставки *о-* и *по-*, особенно в отыменных глаголах."

Grammatical prefixes thus come into being through a weakening of their original concrete (реальные) meanings in certain environments: the nature of the verbal base determines whether a given prefix will be lexical or grammatical. Vinogradov does not really explain just how and why prefixes lose their original meanings in certain contexts.

In an article on prefixation in Czech, Marc Vey (1952:82) proposes an explanation:

"... le préverbe dit 'vide' est celui qui entraîne une modification de signification nulle (ou presque nulle) du simple. Et l'on peut aussi en déduire *a priori* que sera employé comme 'vide' le préverbe dont la signification propre coïncide avec celle du verbe ou s'en approche suffisamment."

Using the verb *psáti* as an example, Vey notes that the constellation of prefixal forms associated with it serves to express various "modalities" of one and the same process. The speaker selects that prefix which corresponds to the modality which he wishes to express in each particular case, e.g., *о-пíše* 'copies', *за-пíše* 'registers', *у-пíše* 'signs', and *на-пíše*,

"s'il agit d'écrire 'sur' (une feuille de papier, par exemple) -- et comme on écrit toujours sur quelque chose (mais non toujours

pour 'copier', pour 'enregistrer', pour 'souscrire'), c'est *na-přise* qui est le perfectif dont la signification coïncide le plus avec celle de *prire*, auquel par suite il sert de perfectif synonyme, *na-* étant ici ce qu'on appelle un préverbe 'vide'. (82-83)

A corollary of Vey's theses that "l'attribution d'un préverbe vide est fonction de l'appartenance sémantique du verbe qu'il perfective" (84) is that "des verbes synonymes entre eux ou de sens voisin ont le même préverbe vide" (84). He notes that "tous les verbes de 'bruits' ou tous les verbes de 'mouvements' forment leur perfectif synonyme au moyen du préverbe 'vide' *za-*; que les causatifs et inchoatifs (verbes de 'changement d'état') prennent en general *z-*, alors que ceux qui se rapportent a des états personnels prennent *o-*, etc." (84). This is an important point, because it suggests that affixes and roots serve as signals of one another: the semantics of the prefix implies that of the verbal base and vice-versa.

An additional indication that verbs occurring with the same prefix are partially synonymous is the fact that they are often defined in terms of other verbs with that same prefix. Vey notes (84 fn.) that

"...on ne peut manquer d'être frappé du fait que souvent les synonymes glosant un perfectif composé commencent tous par le même préverbe. Ainsi sous *nabíti (komy)* figurent 17 verbes commençant tous par *na-*; sous *rozčertiti se*, 11 verbes, tous en *roz-*; sous *spolčiti se*, 5 verbes, tous en *s-*; sous *uklidniti*, 5 verbes, tous en *u-*; etc. Dans ces cas, et d'autres analogues, on constate qu'on a affaire en général à des préverbes vides."

While it seems correct to say that all verbs with the same prefix are partial synonyms, it does not seem correct to infer from that that the effect of the prefix in such cases is null. For example, the SRJa defines *выбросить* in terms of four other verbs in *вы-*: *выкинуть*, *выпустить*, *выдвинуть* and *выслать*. One cannot say that the effect of the prefix *вы-* in these five verbs is null: none of them is synonymous with its unprefixated base in more than one usage.

In his survey of all the Czech prefixes which occur as empty markers of perfectivity, Vey operates with polysemous prefixal morphemes. As noted above, the prefix *za-*, according to Vey, occurs as an empty prefix with verbs of 'noise' and with verbs of 'movement'. It also, however, occurs as an empty prefix with verbs of 'closure, fixation', 'sensations, attitudes of mind',

'tactile sensations', 'visual sensations', 'olfactory sensations' and 'gustatory sensations' (104-107). What this means is that there are at least eight kinds of *za-*: either *za-* in eight meanings or nuances (eight ways ambiguous), a polysemous *za-*; or eight prefixes whose phonological representation happens to be [za], eight homonyms. To represent it graphically:

za ⁻¹	+	hnáti 'chase', jeti 'drive', jíti 'go'; klátiti 'wave'; kouleti (se) 'roll'
		[movement] [movement]
za ⁻²	+	baliti 'wrap', haliti 'veil', věšeti 'hang' ('fixer au mur')
		[closure] [closure] [fixation] [fixation]
za ⁻³	+	cítiti 'feel', bažiti 'aspire'; mrzeti 'vex', slzeti 'tear'; lahoditi 'please'; lháti 'lie', simulovati 'pretend'
		[sensation] [sensation] [attitude] [attitude]
za ⁻⁴	+	brněti 'become numb'; topiti 'drown'; dušiti 'stifle'
		[sensation] [sensation] [tactile] [tactile]
za ⁻⁵	+	bečeti 'bleat'; hvízdati 'shistle'; blaboliti 'murmur'; bubnovati 'drum'; hrmiti 'thunder'
		[sensation] [sensation] [auditory] [auditory]
za ⁻⁶	+	blikati 'wink'; temniti 'darken'; pršeti 'rain' ('phénomènes météorologiques [temps couvert]')
		[sensation] [sensation] [visual] [visual]
za ⁻⁷	+	čpěti 'stink', páchnouti 'stink'; voněti 'smell'
		[sensation] [sensation] [olfactory] [olfactory]
za ⁻⁸	+	chutná (mi) 'tastes good'; žluknouti 'sour'
		[sensation] [sensation] [gustatory] [gustatory]

In calling the verbs which take *za*⁻³ through *za*⁻⁸ verbs of 'sensations', Vey attempts to suggest some kind of natural semantic interconnection within

a variety of verbs wide enough to include *cítiti* 'feel' and *lháti* 'lie' (in the same group) and *brněti* 'become numb', *dušiti* 'stifle', *bečeti* 'bleat', *blinkati* 'wink', *čpěti* 'stink' and *chutnati* 'taste good'. This scale of 'sensations' is so great that he is forced to treat the prefixes in terms of two features.¹ Vey admits that he cannot explain by means of a semantic analysis the interconnection between *za*-₃ through *za*-₈ [sensation] and *za*-₁ [movement] and *za*-₂ [closure, fixation](85 fn.):

"Il ne paraît pas légitime de considérer comme 'sens' des préverbes autre chose que leur valeur la plus concrète. On comprend bien que *za*-, impliquant, comme préverbe 'plein', l'idée de 'fermeture', ait convenu comme préverbe vide aux verbes qui signifient 'fermer, bar- rer, etc.' - mais pourquoi les verbes de 'désir' prennent-ils *za*-? En expliquant cette constatation par un 'mouvement de l'esprit' (*za*- convient aussi aux verbes de 'mouvement'), on quitterait un terrain solide pour s'engager dans les spéculations hasardeuses. Encore moins explicable, le fait que *za*- convient aux verbes de 'bruits', etc. L'essentiel est de s'en tenir à des faits et de constater, par la méthode statistique, qu'effectivement un certain nombre de verbes de 'bruits' (en l'espèce tous sans exception) prennent *za*-."

Although Vey's theory can explain why certain prefixal formations seem to involve an empty prefix (the prefix merely doubles the meaning of the verbal base), it cannot explain why certain verbs cooccur with certain prefixes. Van Schooneveld (1958) comes to a similar conclusion, viz., that "the preverb merely perfectivizes if it indicates the natural outcome of the process given in the lexical meaning of the verb. In other words, the preverb gives the impression of being devoid of meaning..." (1958:160). He notes that "each given 'préverbe vide' has affinities for different groups of verbal lexical meanings: *c*- occurs with verbs meaning to bring something into being or to achieve a single feat: (с)делать, (с)ыграть роль, (со)стряпать, (с)петь, (со)грешить, (с)трусить, (с)глупить, (с)жалиться, (съ)есть, (с)честь, (со)жрать" (p. 160). The meaning of the prefix is not neutralized in the presence of the same semantic material in the verb, but is added to the meaning of the verb: the result is a "typical case of redundancy" (p. 161).

¹Vey does not speak of semantic features as such but merely defines each usage of the prefix. I have taken the elements of his definitions and represented them as features.

According to Vey and van Schooneveld, the solution to the problem of empty prefixes is to say that there are no empty prefixes. All prefixes add meaning to the verbal base; in some cases the added meaning overlaps with that of the verb (the addition results in a redundancy), and no semantic difference is felt.

1.1.2 *Lexical prefixes.* Lexical or "full" prefixes are those which are said not only to perfectivize the verbal base but also to add meaning to it. We have seen in the preceding section that it is probably best to assume that all prefixes have meaning. The difference between "empty" and "full" prefixes lies, then, in the relative salience of the meaning of the prefix after it is added to that of the verbal base. For example, за- [fixation] would seem to add nothing new to the semantics of the verb регистрировать [fixation] ('record, fix in writing'), and therefore seems to disappear: Gr 1970 defines the prefix in зарегистрировать as 'совершить (довести до результата) действие, названное мотивирующим глаголом'. If, however, за- [fixation] is added to the verb писать [write], its meaning remains distinct: записать 'note, record, fix in writing'. Although such a line of reasoning can explain why a prefix in combination with a verbal base can seem to lose meaning, it cannot explain how prefixal morphemes acquire the meanings which are ascribed to them. One prefixal morpheme, e.g., за-, seems to be capable of adding a variety of different meanings to one verbal base:

за- ₁	[fixation]	+ писать → записать:	он записал свои мысли в тетради
за- ₂	[covering]	+ писать → записать:	он записал всю страницу каракулями
за- ₃	[beginning]	+ писать → записать:	после долгого перерыва он снова записал

When added in combination with the affix -ся, the prefix is capable of two additional meanings:

за- ₄ ...	-ся [absorption]	+ писать → записаться:	он записался, не заметил времени
за- ₅ ...	-ся [exhaustion]	+ писать → записаться:	я записался, шея болит

If one treats prefixation as a process of simple addition, then one is forced

to operate with a number of prefixal homonyms. When one considers the fact that a prefix can be described as adding to verbs not only all of the meanings it is said to double as an empty prefix (cf. Vey's eight kinds of empty за-) but also all of the meanings it is said to introduce as a full prefix, then the number of prefixal homonyms becomes rather large.

1.1.2.1 In his extensive monograph on Russian verbal prefixation, Bogusławski (1963) illustrates the enormous range of meanings of which Russian prefixes are capable. He treats 24 prefixes (including foreign prefixes such as де[з]- and пе-) as well as 15 discontinuous prefixes (such as за-...-ся) and ascribes to them 355 meanings.¹ For example, за- is said to have 24 meanings:

- (1) "approaching something ...; in addition, characterizes the process as occurring 'by accident', 'by the way', and the performer as staying in the place for a brief time" (47): занести
- (2) "approaching a place characterized as distant from the starting point, which, at the same time, is the point of view from which the localization expressed by the verbs is viewed" (48): забрести
- (3) "approaching something ...; in addition, characterizes the localization as 'on the side' and the translocation leading to the location as involving 'a change in direction', 'a turn'" (48): заехать
- (4) "covering the surface of something in a manner compatible with the kind of process signified by the base" (52): заблевать
- (5) "acquiring" (54): завоевать
- (6) "eliminating something undesirable or rendering it imperceptible or hardly perceptible" (55): замьть

¹The figure of 355 prefixal meanings is arrived at by adding up all the meanings each prefix is said to have and including as "meanings" the various verb classes a prefix is said to combine with as an empty prefix, cf. below. Of course, there are, according to Bogusławski, a great number of synonymous prefixes; the meaning 'inchoative', for example, is said to be expressed by 11 prefixes:

вз⁻³, воз⁻⁴, за⁻¹⁵, за-...-ся⁵, о⁻¹⁵, пере⁻¹³, по⁻³, при⁻⁹, про⁻¹⁵, раз⁻¹¹, and у⁻¹².

I have assigned Bogusławski's definitions of each use of a prefix numbers based on the order of their appearance in his book.

- (7) "augmenting the action connected with the object in the Acc. with the action following it, which is signified by the base and which is connected with the object in the Instr." (57): **заесть, запитъ** (and probably only these two)
- (8) "causing maximal harm to the object as the result of performing the action signified by the base intensively and for a long period of time" (62): **заездить**
- (9) "killing" (63): **застрелить**
- (10) "sharpening the end of the object" (65): **запилить**
- (11) "meaning like that of **вы-** ["obtaining something"], except that the obtaining is characterized as reward or recompense" (66): **заработать**
- (12) "bringing the object into a lasting state, compatible with the meaning of the base, and preparing it thus for certain purposes (for use in the future, for remaining in that state for a long time, etc.)" (66): **заварить**
- (13) "fixing the image of the object" (67): **записать**
- (14) "becoming totally covered with something" (75): **зарасти**
- (15) "inchoative formant" (79): **завыть**
- (16) "meaning like that [of **над-** "insignificant result limited to a small portion of an external part or side of the object"], except that it also involves bending part of the object to the side" (84): **завыть, загнуть**
- (17) "result reaching deep, far" (84): **зарезать**
- (18) "characterizing the action as public-official-ceremonious" (90): **зачитать, заслушать** (limited probably only to these two)

Bogusławski says that **за-** with bases of the meanings listed below forms "verbs which we consider simple perfective prefixal verbs" (113); since its use as an empty marker of perfectivity is dependent upon the semantics of the base, these usages of **за-** must be counted as meanings (in the sense of prerequisites for its use):

- (19) "covering-veiling-filling" (114): **заасфальтировать**
- (20) "killing" (114): **заколотъ**
- (21) "goal-related processes involving the use of the object in the future, imparting permanence, etc." (114): **загрунтовать**
- (22) "changes of a negative character" (114): **закоченеть**
- (23) "actions of a relatively abstract character of a 'goal-oriented, future-oriented' nature" (115): **забронировать**

(24) "mental processes performed methodically" (115): законспектировать

Note that of these "empty" uses only (19) and (20) can be said to duplicate meanings that за- has as a "full" prefix ([4] and [9], respectively).

According to Bogusławski, the "discontinuous formant" за-...-ся has five meanings, only one of which it shares with за-:

- (1) "complete absorption of perception" (74): заглядеться
- (2) "complete absorption of the performer in the process signified by the base and characterized as longlasting and intensive, viewed negatively by the performer (leading or possibly leading to undesirable consequences)" (77): забегаться
- (3) "reaching a state of exhaustion, tiredness, fatigue, etc., as a result of the longlasting process signified by the base" (78): занервничаться
- (4) "permanent acquisition of features (negative) connected with the process signified by the base, in their highest intensity, as a result of the longlasting and intense process signified by the base" (79): забрызжаться
- (5) "inchoative formant" (79): загореться (cf. за-₁₅)

In Bogusławski's system all prefixes have meaning except for those which mark only perfectivity. (But as we have seen, even those prefixes must contain some notation of the kinds of bases they perfectivize.)

In his introduction concerning the nature of verbal prefixation (22-35), Bogusławski establishes three kinds of relationship existing between prefix and base: *selection*, *determination* and *interdependence*.

Of the 355 prefixal meanings discerned by Bogusławski, 228 describe prefixes which are in a relationship of selection with the verbal base. For example, за-₁ through за-₁₅ are selectional prefixes: the prefix is semantically primary, describes a process, like the main verb of a sentence, while the base is semantically secondary, like a complement of manner (34), cf. Karcevski (1939:233-234). This means that за-₉ denotes the process of 'killing', the manner of execution being specified by the bases -грызть, -клевать, -когтить, -кусать, -сечь, -спать, -стегать, -стрелить (63). In this relationship the prefix is said to "connote" the base in the "secondary syntagmatic perspective" (27-28).

In fewer cases (46 out of 355), the relationship is one of determination: the base is semantically primary, and the prefix specifies various circumstances of the process (spatial, quantitative, qualitative, relationships to other processes) (84). $3a_{-16}$ through $3a_{-18}$ are examples of determinative prefixes. For example, the bases *-читать*, *-слушать* describe processes which are further characterized by the prefix $3a_{-18}$ as 'public-official-ceremonious'. In this relationship, the prefix is said to 'connote' the base in the same syntagmatic perspective (28).

The relationship of interdependence (81 cases) is defined as mutual connotation of the prefix and the base (cf. p. 133). These are "empty" prefixes, e.g., $3a_{-19}$ through $3a_{-24}$, and prefixes which describe 'delimitation', e.g., *по-говорить*.

The kinds of relationships between prefix and base posited by Bogusławski can be represented graphically as follows:

Selection:

$3a_{-9}$	+	<i>-грызть</i>	→	<i>загрызть</i>	
[process kill]		[gnaw]		[process kill gnaw]	'to kill by gnawing'

Determination:

$3a_{-17}$	+	<i>-резать</i>	→	<i>зарезать</i>	
[result deep]		[cut]		[cut result deep]	'to cut, going deep'

Interdependence:

$3a_{-20}$	+	<i>-резать</i>	→	<i>зарезать</i>	
[perfective (verbs of 'killing')]		[kill]		[kill perfective]	'kill (perf.)'

In selection, the base qualifies the prefix: *-грызть* specifies the method of 'killing'. In determination, the prefix qualifies the base: $3a_{-17}$ specifies the kind of result produced by 'cutting'. In interdependence, there is a match between $3a_{-20}$ 'perfective (verbs of 'killing')' and

-резать 'kill'.

A central problem with Bogusławski's system is that it presupposes a tremendous number of prefixal homonyms. In order that the addition of prefix to base produce the correct result, he must operate with 24 varieties of за-, 18 вы- morphemes, 13 из- morphemes, 17 на- morphemes, 21 о- morphemes, 19 об- morphemes, 22 пере- morphemes, 26 по- morphemes, etc. It also presupposes a great number of prefixal synonyms, cf. the eleven 'inchoative' prefixes quoted at the beginning of this section.

Bogusławski consistently discerns more prefixal meanings than Gr 1970. And one feels that the search for individual meanings could be extended almost indefinitely, producing ever more refined definitions covering ever fewer cases (cf. за-₇ 'wash down' and за-₁₈ 'ceremonious', which apply to two verbs each). If one applies Bogusławski's method, one can add at least four more selectional за- prefixes:

- за-_I 'inclining to favor': за-дарить, -добрить, -купить
- за-_{II} 'psychological influence': за-говорить, -ворожить, -чаровать,
-колдовать, -интересовать, -манить
- за-_{III} 'apprehension': за-арканить, -арестовать, -держать, -цапать,
-хватить, -хапать
- за-_{IV} 'closure': за-крыть, -щелкнуть, -хлопнуть

The most crucial defect of Bogusławski's system, however, is that it does not attempt to account for the numerous restrictions governing the addition of prefixes to verbal bases. For example, one can add за-₁ 'stop by', за-₂ 'go far' and за-₃ 'deviate from path' to determined bases such as ехать (за-₁ехать в магазин, за-₂ехать в глушь, за-₃ехать за угол) but not to non-determined bases such as ездить (*он за-₁ездил [pf.] в магазин, *он за-₂ездил [pf.] в глушь, *он за-₃ездил [pf.] за угол). On the other hand, one can add за-₈ 'injure' and за-₁₅ 'begin' to nondetermined bases such as ездить (за-₈ездить [pf.] лошадь, за-₁₅ездить [pf.] 'начать ездить') but not to determined bases such as ехать (*он за-₈ехал трех лошадей, *трамвай за-₁₅ехали 'начали ехать'). Restrictions such as these show that if one conceives prefixation as involving the simple addition of a prefixal lexeme

(e.g., any one of the 24 *za-* prefixes) to a verbal lexeme, then one must include in the semantic description of each prefix information about the kinds of bases to which it can be added. In some cases, the restrictions require the specification of rather detailed information. For example, Bogusławski indicates that the prefix *про-*₂ 'pass by' (45, 47) can be added not only to verbs denoting movement (e.g., *проехать*), but also to verbs denoting sounds: *про-*₂ *жужжать* ('пролететь жужжа'), *-шыхтеть*, *-свистать*, *-скрипеть*, *-стучать* (45). There are indeed many formations of this type, e.g., *про-выть* (мина), *-греметь*, *-громыхать*, *-грохать*, *-грохотать*, *-петь* (пуля пропела над плечом), *-свистеть* (снаряд), *-шелестеть*, *-шуметь* (машина) (examples from the SRJa). But one notices an interesting restriction: *про-*₂ 'pass by' cannot be added to all verbs denoting sound but only to those depicting sounds produced by objects; the producer of the sound must be non-personal. One cannot use *про-*₂ with verbs denoting sounds produced exclusively by animates, e.g., *проговорить*, *прохохотать*, *пролаять* (**мимо него проговорили люди*, **прохохотал старик*, **пролаяла собака*). *Про-*₂ can be added to verbs denoting sounds produced by inanimate objects, e.g., *мимо пропыхтел паравоз*, *проскрипела повозка*. And *про-*₂ can be added to verbs depicting sounds produced by animates or inanimates (e.g., *выть*, *петь*, *свистеть*), only if the actual producer of the sound is inanimate: e.g., *провыла*, *пропела*, *просвистела пуля мимо него* (but not **провыла собака мимо него*, **пропела девушка мимо него*, **просвистел человек мимо него*). One could say *мимо просвистел человек* in reference to a body falling through the air, but not in the meaning 'went by whistling (a melody)'. The nature of this restriction is discussed in detail in 15.2.6.

The existence of restrictions such as those outlined above indicates that one cannot freely add prefixes to verbal bases. Bogusławski's exhaustive compilation of prefixal homonyms contains no information on how a native speaker knows which prefix to add to a verb (e.g., *за-*₁ + *-ехать* [but not *за-*₈], *за-*₈ + *-ездить* [but not *за-*₁]) or how a native speaker knows how to interpret a given prefixal form (e.g., *просвистел человек*).

1.1.2.2 In a series of articles devoted to the role of prefixation in the formation of aspectual pairs in Czech, Ivan Poldauf (1942, 1954) offers a

theory to explain the choice of prefix.

Poldauf distinguishes two kinds of prefixation, lexical (*slovotvorný*) and grammatical (1954:49). *Lexical prefixes* are those which when added to verbal bases form new words (1954:49), e.g., *přede-psati*, *se-psati*, *u-psati*, *od-dělati*, *za-dělati* (1942:2).

Grammatical prefixes added to verbal bases produce no change in meaning. According to Poldauf, this happens for one of two reasons. Either the meaning of the prefix is *totally incompatible* with that of the base (and the prefix is empty, purely aspectual), or the meaning of the prefix is *totally compatible* with that of the base (and the prefix is empty in that it merely "classifies" [*zařaduje*] the verb according to one of its salient features). For example, in the case of *promluvit* 'utter', Poldauf says that

"...the prefix [is not] compatible with the meaning [of the verb] (*pro-* expresses 'penetration'; 'penetration' and 'speech' are incompatible, hence *pro-mluvit*)... In this case it is not clear (at least at this stage of linguistic development) why just this prefix was chosen; it is a matter of linguistic tradition and an unproductive phenomenon: it makes no sense to ponder the meaning of the prefix; it is *purely aspectual*." (1954:50)¹

In the case of *provrtať* 'bore through', however, Poldauf says that "the prefix [is not] capable of adding anything to the base because it [expresses] something obviously given by the meaning (*pro-* 'penetration' and 'boring' are in a relationship of broad and narrow, general and specific, hence *provrtať*)" (1954:50):

"...the meaning of the prefix [is] clear; it is clear why it was chosen; and in forming new words of similar meaning one would make use of it again. This case represents a productive phenomenon; the [prefix] classifies [*zařaduje*] the action according to a general concept (which

¹As described by Poldauf, the use of *pro-* here does seem to be arbitrary: the meaning he ascribes to it ('penetration') has nothing to do with the idea of 'speech', neither in *pro-mluvit*, *pro-hlásit* (verbs which it perfectivizes without changing the meaning) nor in *pronést* 'pronounce', *pro-slovit* 'pronounce', *proslavit* 'glorify', *proklít* 'damn' (*verba dicendi* in which it appears as an "inseparable" prefix). Although *pro-* is certainly not productively associated with verbs of speech or sound, there is, nevertheless, a small group of *pro-* verbs in Czech denoting 'speech'.

is, of course, highly abstract). Therefore we will call it *classificatory* ... A classificatory prefix highlights [*vytýká*] a salient feature in the meaning of the verb ('penetration' in the meaning of 'boring', 'hindering access' in the meaning of 'suffocation', 'separation from oneself' in the meaning of 'division', etc., cf. *pro-vrtat*, *za-dušit*, *od-dělit*). This highlighting [*vytýkání*] loses semantic character; its expression, the prefix, merely fulfills a grammatical role in relation to the verb itself: it distinguishes the perfective form." (1954:50)

Classificatory (*řadící*) prefixes classify groups of verbs according to their common salient feature; they subsume the actions described by a number of verbs under one common feature. This is why Poldauf also terms them "subsumptive" (*předpona subsumační*) (1942:2).

Poldauf notes that verbs of locomotion present a somewhat special case, in that the action they describe cannot be classified according to one single feature: the prefix used to perfectivize *jít* 'go' depends on the particular direction the speaker has in mind, e.g., *(do)šel pro vodu*, *(do)šel (až) k pumpě*, *(na)šel by sem kouř*, *(obe)šel kolem stromu*, etc. (1954:50). Although one can say that the unprefixated and prefixed verbs are practically synonymous (i.e., can be used in reference to the same objective reality), the force of the prefix is not negligible, because it represents a specific choice as to direction.¹ Poldauf deals exclusively with the cases where there is absolute synonymy between unprefixated and prefixed form (1954:51).

Unlike most scholars, Poldauf attempts to define the general meaning of the empty prefix. He does not, however, insist on one meaning for a given prefix:

"A classificatory prefix is the expression of the abstraction of a common dominant feature of the action. Its content may thus be approximated; but one cannot define it fully, just as one cannot completely capture in words the conceptual content of most words. Even in the case of prefixes, the union of semantic content with form does not exclude polysemy and homonymy. Prefixes differ also in semantic range. What is in one case differentiated [*nuancované*] is in another case undifferentiated [*nerozlišeno*]." (1954:51)

¹"The imperfective forms of these prefixed verbs are more descriptive synonyms of the simplex *šel* (*docházel*, *vcházel*, *vycházel*, etc.), i.e., their meaning includes a judgment as to the relationship of the movement to spatial circumstances." (1954:50)

In his analysis of the prefix *vy-* (1954:53-57), for example, Poldauf says that it classifies actions which have to do with the interior of something:

"In this case the action involves the interior of something. It may involve an interior space or an interior surface, may involve addition, elimination, removal, which may occur at once or gradually or involve individual entities. The action may proceed from within, may begin or arise somewhere within." (53)

Such a general definition ('action proceeding from within') allows Poldauf to view a great variety of verbs as partial synonyms, e.g., (53):

(1) <i>vy-čalounit</i>	'wallpaper'
<i>-kloktat</i>	'gargle'
<i>-malovat (místnost)</i>	'paint (a room)'
<i>-smolit (sud)</i>	'tar (a barrel)'
<i>-klestit</i>	'castrate'
<i>-plundrovat</i>	'devastate'
<i>-rabovat</i>	'rob'
(2) <i>vy-dlabat</i>	'hollow'
(3) <i>vy-blinkat</i>	'vomit'
<i>-cenit (zuby)</i>	'bare (one's teeth)'
<i>-tisknout (knihu)</i>	'print (a book)'
(4) <i>vy-klubat se</i>	'hatch'
<i>-rudnout</i>	'fade'
<i>-studovat školu</i>	'graduate'
(5) <i>vy-děsit</i>	'frighten'
<i>-dráždit</i>	'excite'
<i>-provokovat</i>	'provoke'
(6) <i>vy-asfaltovat</i>	'asphalt'
<i>-tetovat (paži)</i>	'tattoo (an arm)'

According to Poldauf, in all these verbs the prefix *vy-* expresses a "common dominant feature" (the fact that they all denote action having to do with an

interior) and therefore can be said not to have added meaning, to be empty. There are, however, some problems with this interpretation. First, one can say that the feature 'interior' is a dominant one only in certain meanings of these bases. For example, *malovat místnost* 'paint a room' (53) is prefixable in *vy-*, because it refers to an interior; but *malovat plot* 'paint a fence' must take *na-*, because it refers to a surface. The same is true of *klestit*, which takes *vy-* only in the meaning 'castrate (remove the testes)' but not in the meaning 'chop': *oklestit* 'chop off'. In order to be able to speak of prefixes which classify verbs according to a "common dominant feature," one must posit a number of verbal homonyms, e.g., *malovat*₁ 'paint an interior', *malovat*₂ 'paint a surface'; *klestit*₁ 'chop', *klestit*₂ 'castrate'. Reducing the amount of homonymity in the prefix tends to increase it in the verb. Another problem lies in the formulation of the metaphorical definition of the prefix. It is difficult to feel 'interiority' in the actions described by *tisknout knihu*, *studovat školu*. Poldauf explains the verbs in group (5) by saying that they denote 'get out of a state of rest' ("*dostat z klidu, z normalu*") and the verbs of group (6) by saying that geometric surfaces can be conceived as interiors: "a surface delineated distinctly, especially geometrically, can be conceived as an interior (one says *na zahradě* and *v zahradě* ['in the garden'])" (53). In the case of verbs of excitation (5) the state of rest must be conceived as an interior for the prefixation to occur. In the case of verbs having to do with covering a surface (e.g., tattooing), the surface must be conceived as an interior. These extensions of his metaphor do not seem intuitively correct, and Poldauf does not explain further the mechanism of the metaphor.

Although he says that the meaning of *vy-* is very broad and undifferentiated ("*velmi široké, nenuancové*" [53]), Poldauf is forced to posit what seems to be a distinct *vy-*₂ in the meaning 'removal', which classifies actions "which involve attaining an intended state, especially an ideal, abstract state" (55), e.g., *vy-brousit* 'polish, cut'; *vy-fintit* 'dress up!'; *vy-cvičit*, *vy-trenovat*, *vy-učit* 'train, instruct'. His metaphorical explanations, especially of the last group ("elimination of ignorance, inability") seem forced.

Nevertheless, Poldauf's approach has great advantages over the theories of Vey and Bogusławski, in that it reduces the number of prefixal homonyms and compels one to discern common features in a great variety of forms. Poldauf's theory has been criticized by Isačenko (1960:164-165) as involving circularity. For example, *rabovat* 'rob' is said to involve 'interiority' and therefore to be prefixable in *vy-*; but one can also say that it is its prefixability in *vy-* that lends the nuance of 'interiority' to *rabovat*. The real reason, according to Isačenko, that *rabovat* takes *vy-* is that it is borrowed from German (*aus*)*rauben*; the semantics of 'rob' (in Slavic) does not necessarily include 'interiority', cf. Russian *ograbit*', *razgrabit*'. The reason that Poldauf's explanation seems inadequate is that the metaphor of 'interiority' is much too specific. cf. 1.4.

A more serious deficiency of Poldauf's theory is that it treats only one kind of empty prefixation. As we have seen, however, there are usually several ways of "classifying" a verb, e.g., (50) *vyhlodat dutinu* 'gnaw out a cavity', *ohlodat kost* 'gnaw a bone'; *vybilit sklep* 'whitewash a cellar', *nabilit plot* 'whitewash a fence'. One must either say that there are separate verbs involved (and the prefix is semantically redundant) or that the classifiers represent the choice of different points of view and are therefore not really empty in effect.

1.1.2.3 A more comprehensive and sophisticated analysis of the relationship of prefix and base lies in the theory of modes of action, presented most definitively in the work of A. V. Isačenko (1960:209-308).

Isačenko takes the position that most unprefixated imperfective verbs are without aspectual pairs, are *imperfectiva tantum* (172-173). One can speak of aspectual pairs only in the case of verbs distinguished by suffixes: unprefixated pairs like бросить/бросать and prefixal pairs открыть/открывать (174). The action denoted by such uniaspectual (одновидовые) imperfectives as кричать and читать cannot be stylized as perfective, cannot be presented as an "entire, closed event" (целостное, сомкнутое событие), unless

"...простой глагол д е т е р м и н и р у е т с я и этим самым приобретает дополнительные лексические значения, связанные с индивидуальным значением приставки или суффикса -нуть. Эти дополнительные значения могут

быть весьма 'абстрактными', 'обобщенными': они могут выразить 'однократность' (*крикнуть*), 'начало действия' (*закричать*, *вскричать*), 'законченность' или 'результативность действия' (*прочесть*), но ни одно из этих значений полностью не кроется с грамматическим значением **п е р ф е к т и в н о с т и** ('целостное, сомкнутое событие')." (173)

Unprefixed imperfective verbs are characterized by the fact that they are more general, diffuse or indeterminate in meaning than their prefixed forms (222). Prefixation has the effect of determining the meaning of the base.¹ The determination or narrowing (сужение) of meaning resulting from the addition of a prefix may be viewed in terms of semantic *qualification* or *modification* of the meaning of the base (222).

Isačenko defines semantic *qualifiers* as those prefixes which qualify the meaning of a verb from without ("с внешней стороны"), which introduce additional, more precise shades of meaning into the semantics of the base (222-223). The additional nuances introduced by qualificational prefixes are

"...настолько существенны, что приставочные глаголы этого типа отрываются от своего исходного глагола, образуя новые, самостоятельные глаголы-лексемь типа *разорвать/разрывать*, *сорвать/срывать*, *оторвать/отрывать*, *вырвать/вырывать*." (223)

Qualificational prefixes can be said to represent features external to the semantics of the base: they add new features.

Isačenko's definition of semantic *modification* must be quoted in full, for it provides the foundation for ideas which I will elaborate in 1.3 and 1.4:

"Вторым возможным приемом семантического сужения простого беспроставочного глагола является сосредоточение внимания на каком-либо в н у т р е н н е м признаке протекания действия, выраженного беспроставочным глаголом. Формальным средством такого рода семантического сужения простого глагола служат все те же приставки (а также и суффиксы), выступающие в данном случае в функции 'модификаторов' значения исходного

¹Cf. Meillet (1934):

"L'adjonction d'un préverbe à un verbe tend à donner à ce verbe un aspect 'déterminé': lat. *ad-uenire* 'arriver' est tout autre chose que *uenire* 'venir'; la considération du terme du procès y intervient." (291)

глагола. В отличие от приставок-квалификаторов, характеризующих процесс с его внешней стороны (напр. *рвать* - *вырвать*, *разорвать* и т. д.), приставки-модификаторы не затрагивают индивидуальной семантики исходного глагола: действие, выражаемое, например, русскими глаголами *заговори́т* 'начать говорить' или *поговори́т*, абсолютно тождественно с действием, выражаемым простым глаголом *говори́т*. Специфика таких глаголов, как *заговори́т* или *поговори́т* заключается лишь в том, что эти глаголы сосредотачивают внимание на одном из фазисов действия, выражаемого глаголом *говори́т* ..." (223)

Semantic modifiers, then, do not introduce additional semantic features but serve to highlight features already inherent in the verbal base. What is added is a specific focus.

Both qualification and modification are conceived as additive processes. They may be represented graphically as follows:

*Semantic Qualification:*¹

идти (за дерево) [go]	+ за ₋₁ [behind]	→ зайти/заходить [go behind]
мазать (платье грязными руками) [smear]	за ₋₂ + [harm]	→ замазать/замазывать [smear] 'soil' [harm]
резать (курицу) [cut]	+ за ₋₂ [harm]	→ зарезать/зарезывать [cut] 'slaughter' [harm]
мазать (хлеб маслом) [smear]	+ на ₋₁ [onto]	→ намазать/намазывать [smear] [onto]
резать (хлеб) [cut]	+ на ₋₂ [quantity]	→ нарезать/нарезывать [cut] 'slice' [quantity]

¹All except the first example represent restatements of Isačenko's own examples (pp. 169-171) in terms of semantic features.

рвать (цветы) [tear]	+ на ₋₂ [quantity]	→ нарвать/нарывать [tear quantity] 'pick'
рвать (цветок) [tear]	+ с ₋₁ [off]	→ сорвать/срывать [tear off] 'pluck'
резать (мяч в теннисе) [cut]	+ с ₋₂ [down]	→ срезать/срезывать [cut down] 'slice'

When the features expressed by qualificational prefixes are added to those of the verbal base a new concept is created, a new verb possessing both aspectual forms. Isačenko takes care to note that the different uses of the unprefixated verb do not represent different homonymous verbs, but rather different meanings of one verb (170). Different uses of the same prefix, however, are considered instances of homonymy (cf. 307-309, 339-344).

*Semantic Modification:*¹

ходить [go phase]	+ за ₋₃ [inchoative]	→ заходить/ ∅	(224): 'начать ходить'
кричать [yell phase]	+ за ₋₃ [inchoative]	→ закричать/ ∅	(225): 'начать кричать'
кричать [yell phase]	+ вз- [inchoative intensive]	→ вскричать/ ∅	(230): 'громко, возбужденно сказать'

¹The subscript numbers distinguish these usages of за-, на- and с- from those just discussed. The numbers in parentheses are page references to Isačenko (1960). Definitions for the prefixed verbs are taken from the SRJa.

кричать [yell phase]	+ раз-...-ся [evolutive]	→ раскричаться/ ∅	(233): 'начать долго и сильно кричать'
кричать [yell phase quantity]	+ на- ₃ [resultative partitive cumulative]	→ накричать/ ∅	(248): 'наговорить [сказать много] чего-л. гром- ким, повышенным го- лосом'
кричать [yell phase quantity]	+ на-...-ся [resultative saturative]	→ накричаться/ ∅	(246): 'вдоволь, много по- кричать'
ходить [go phase]	+ с- ₃ [semelfactive] (one phase)	→ сходить/ ∅	(271): 'пойти куда-л. и, по- быв там, вернуться обратно'

When the features expressed by modificational prefixes are added to those of the verbal base no new concept is created. Features such as [inchoative] and [resultative] specify more narrowly the [phase] of the action, and features such as [cumulative] and [saturative] comment on aspects of its [quantity]. Such prefixal formations are traditionally called *modes of action* or *Aktionsarten*. Isačenko terms them *совершаемости* глагольного действия, because they specify how the action is realized (как действие совершается [210]). (Forsyth translates *совершаемость* as 'procedural' [1970:19ff.].)

It is clear that the semantics of mode-of-action prefixes is different from that of lexical prefixes: mode-of-action prefixes focus on the phase, limit or quantity of the action expressed by the verb. Since semantic modification does not produce a new concept, the prefixed verb is a *perfectivum tantum*, associated with the unprefixed verb. There are, however, prefixes, such as до- 'final phase', which semantically are obviously modifiers

but which consistently form secondary imperfectives: Isačenko notes that догореть/догорать mirrors разгореться/разгораться (250-251).

Lexical prefixes are said to qualify the action by introducing new features such as directionality ('behind', 'onto', etc.). And yet, if one looks at the examples listed above under *Semantic Qualification*, one finds that these prefixes do not seem to have added features to the verb which are really new: e.g., the present tense of он зарезал курицу can be either он зарезывает курицу or (less explicit) он режет курицу. Isačenko notes (171-172):

"Приведенные...примеры говорят о том, что простые беспривставочные глаголы в семантическом отношении более 'диффузны', чем соответствующие приставочные глаголы. Глагол *резать* как бы совмещает в себе все те значения, которые выявляются у глаголов совершенного вида при помощи приставок *раз-*, *пере-*, *на-*, *за-*, *ви-* или *с-*. Простые глаголы несовершенного вида семантически е м ч е приставочных глаголов совершенного вида. Можно утверждать, что простой глагол (типа *резать* или *бить*) сам по себе имеет менее 'определенное' значение, чем приставочный глагол (скажем *вырезать* или *пробить*). Вот почему многие грамматисты связывают процесс префиксации простых глаголов с понятием 'определенности' (детерминированности, 'určenosti') этих глаголов." Cf. Meillet (1934: 291), quoted above.

What is suggested here is that both kinds of prefixes, lexical and mode-of-action, can be viewed as focusing on semantic features already inherent or potential in the verbal base. Lexical and mode-of-action prefixes seem different in force, in that the former have to do with the kind of action (e.g., 'slaughtering' as opposed to 'cutting'), while the latter present views of the action, highlighting its phase, limit or quantity. Yet if the semantics of зарезать 'slaughter' can be said to be a potentiality of the unprefixated form резать 'cut' (in various senses, including 'slaughter'), then it would seem that neither lexical nor mode-of-action prefixes actually add new semantic features to the verbal base.

If these observations are true, then it seems possible to view prefixation not as the addition of semantic features to a verb but rather as the specification of features already contained in the verbal base. I will elaborate such a view in 1.4. But before doing so, I will offer some brief com-

ments on the nature of semantic relationships (1.2) and the fashion in which semantic features are specified (1.3).

1.2 *Semantic relationships.* The central problem for the semanticist is that of ambiguity. It has been said that "ambiguity is not the exception but the rule in natural languages" (Worth 1972:120). In its most general and nontechnical sense, the term ambiguity can be used to describe relationships between linguistic forms and their meanings in which there is no one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning.¹ These relationships can be classified according to two points of view: synonymy (the speaker's point of view) and homonymy (the listener's point of view).

Synonymy, as described by Apresjan (1974) and Mel'čuk (1974), denotes a relationship in which there is said to be one meaning corresponding to several linguistic representations. The phenomenon of synonymy represents a dilemma for the speaker, who must choose among a variety of linguistic expressions to represent a given meaning. The extent of the dilemma becomes clear when one considers that the paradigm of possible choices includes not only sets of lexical equivalents, e.g., (examples from Apresjan 1974:224, 226, 228):

"throw": бросать - кидать

"look": глядеть - смотреть

"be idle": бездельничать - бить баклуши

"press, corner": загнать в угол кого-л. - припереть к стене кого-л.

"fall silent": замолкнуть - умолкнуть - смолкнуть

"fall asleep": заснуть - уснуть

"exchange": менять - обменивать (квартиру)

"explode": рвать - взрывать (мост),

but also sets of paraphrastic equivalents or conversives, e.g., (Apresjan 1974:257):

"ownership": А имеет В - В принадлежит А

¹I will offer a formal definition of meaning in 1.3.

"expenditure": у нас вышли все деньги - мы истратили все деньги
 "winning/losing": он выиграл матч у чемпиона - чемпион
 проиграл ему матч.

Apresjan notes that conversives express a difference in logical accent but insists that they are nevertheless synonymous in that they refer to one and the same extralinguistic reality:

"Хотя...конверсивы служат для выражения различий, имеющих семантическую природу, эти различия связаны исключительно со способом осмысления говорящим некоторой ситуации; сама ситуация, например, ситуация выигрыша-проигрыша, остается при этом неизменной. Следовательно, с помощью слов типа *выигрывать* - *проигрывать* оказывается возможным строить перифрастические ряды - предложения, ситуативно равнозначные друг другу, хотя сами эти слова и не являются лексическими синонимами в собственном смысле слова." (1974:258)

According to Mel'čuk, the number of representations of one meaning (one семантическое представление, cf. 1974:303ff.) can be astronomical. For example, the sentence Смит не сумел перевести этот текст только из-за того, что в нем оказалось много специальных терминов is said to admit of more than one million synonymous paraphrases:

"Все эти перифразы имеют одинаковый (в пределах принятой точности) смысл, точнее - обозначают одну и ту же ситуацию, но могут различаться коммуникативной организацией (актуальным членением). Две перифразы считаются разными только при условии, что в них есть разные слова и/или разные синтаксические конструкции; различия в порядке слов во внимание не принимаются." (1974:31)

The broad concept of synonymy developed in the works of Mel'čuk and Apresjan seems based on a conception of meaning as representing not so much the semantic content of individual linguistic forms as features of the extralinguistic reality they are used to refer to. Both Mel'čuk and Apresjan are, however, careful not to equate the meaning of a form with its extralinguistic reference. Apresjan distinguishes the reference (denotation) of a sign from its meaning (what it signifies) as follows: "денотатом знака называется класс обозначаемых им фактов, а сигнификатом — общие признаки всех фактов этого класса" (1974:60). Mel'čuk (1974:10) likewise distinguishes the reference of a sign ("нечто, имеющее место в реальной действительности, в част-

ности — предмет, событие и т. д.") from its meaning (смысл), which for him is not the common features of those realities which the sign can refer to but rather the common features of all those utterances (тексты) which can be used to refer to a given reality:

"...смысл есть, по определению, инвариант всех синонимических преобразований, т. е. то общее, что имеется в равнозначных текстах. Таким образом, смысл предстает как конструкт — пучок соответствий между реальными равнозначными высказываниями, фиксируемый с помощью специальной символики — семантической, или смысловой, записи; здесь имеется полная аналогия с реконструкцией праформ в сравнительно-историческом языкознании" (Жолковский — Мельчук 1969:7). (1974:10-11)

Mel'čuk bases his theory of meaning on the phenomenon of synonymous relationships because he considers synonymy to be a crucial design feature of both human and artificial languages:

"Синонимия, т. е. возможность выразить одно и то же содержание разными способами или, иначе, возможность равнозначных преобразований, есть характернейшее, конституирующее свойство любых языков — не только естественных, но и искусственных. Например, тождественные преобразования в алгебре и логике: выражения $(a + b)c = ac + bc$ или $\overline{a \vee b} = \overline{a} \wedge \overline{b}$ суть тривиальные примеры синонимии; вообще, математические теоремы часто представляют собой, по сути дела, утверждения о синонимичности двух выражений. Мы не можем сейчас дать четкий ответ на вопрос о причинах обязательности синонимии и ее столь важной роли в языке, хотя одна из них очевидна: синонимия используется для осуществления эстетической (в смысле Р. Якобсона) функции естественного языка, хотя бы потому, что она позволяет избегать назойливых повторений — аналогично местоимениям-заменителям (он — она — оно — они), не говоря уже о том, что жанро-стилевое разнообразие речи было бы невозможно без синонимии.

Однако для нас здесь важно лишь следующее: синонимия — это одно из характернейших явлений языка, и именно ее следует ставить в центр любых семантических (и, шире, — вообще лингвистических) исследований. Владение языком во многом есть владение его синонимическими средствами: мы тем лучше знаем язык, чем больше мы знаем способов выражения но нем одной и той же мысли." (1974:45) (cf. also Apresjan 1971:9)

Both Mel'čuk and Apresjan rely on the notion of situational equivalence (ситуативная равнозначность, cf. above and Apresjan 1974:22) in determining the synonymy of different expressions. It would seem, however, that the crucial quality of equivalent expressions is not their identity of reference but rather their semantic differences. For example, the distributive function $(a + b)c = ac + bc$ cited by Mel'čuk as an example of identical

transforms (тождественные преобразования) is a mathematically interesting equation not merely because the two expressions are equivalent (i.e., yield the same result) but because they are semantically distinct (i.e., each expression describes a different operation): the equation is nontrivial because each expression serves to elucidate the other. The aesthetic effect attributed to texts which play on the paraphrastic possibilities of the language is difficult to explain if one does not view such parallelisms as involving a tension between referential equivalence (the paradigm of tokens of the same reality) and semantic differentiation (the slightly different interpretations of the reality conveyed by each of the tokens), cf., Shapiro 1976:79ff.

If these observations are correct, then Apresjan and Mel'čuk's assertion that linguistic competence is revealed in one's ability to express the same idea in many different ways¹ can be paraphrased as follows: linguistic competence is revealed in one's ability to express many different aspects of the same idea, i.e., in one's ability to interpret the same reality in many different ways and to express those distinctions in language.

In this work I will operate on the assumption that although words, phrases and even whole texts can be said to be functionally synonymous in that they can be used to refer to the same objective reality, they cannot be considered structurally synonymous, if they differ in form: a difference in form always reflects a difference in semantic structure. In agreement with Mel'čuk, I will assume the possibility of an ideal system of semantic descriptions capable of capturing the semantic distinctions expressed in each different form:

"Подчеркнем, что понятие тождественности означаемых, а следовательно синонимии, относительно: оно существенным образом зависит от системы описания означаемых, которой пользуется исследователь... Смыслы выражений X и Y, тождественные при достаточно грубом описании, могут не оказаться таковыми при введении более тонких различий... Разумеется,

¹Cf. Apresjan 1971:9: "Итак, шкала умений, из которых складывается в совокупности то, что мы называем свободным и гибким владением данным языком, венчается способностью перифразировать свою мысль многими различными способами."

идеальное семантическое описание стремится отразить в с е наблюдаемые различия, поэтому отмеченная относительность синонимии — врѐменная: она навязывается несовершенством и неполнотой наличных семантических описаний. В принципе она имеет объективный предел: при идеальном семантическом описании выражения, признанные синонимичными, не противопоставляются по смыслу ни в одном контексте." (1974:46-47)

The assumption that a difference in form always signals a difference in meaning obliges one not only to discern semantic distinctions in pairs of lexical and paraphrastic equivalents but also to account for the fact that such expressions can be interpreted as referentially equivalent. In this work I will be dealing with expressions involving pairs of unprefixated and prefixated verbs such as *рвать (мост)/взрывать (мост)* and attempt to show why they can be interpreted as referential equivalents (because they contain the same semantic features) even though they are semantically distinct (in that their features are differently specified), cf. 1.3.

I noted above that synonymy represents the dilemma of the speaker, who is faced with the task of interpreting and expressing the ambiguities of extralinguistic reality, who must, as it were, choose among a thousand words to describe the picture before him. The dilemma of the speaker arises from the ambiguity of the situation to be described. The dilemma of the listener, however, arises from the ambiguity of the linguistic sign, its potential homonymy.

Homonymy. In its most general sense, the term homonymy describes a relationship in which one linguistic form corresponds to several meanings. Homonymy can be purely lexical, involving two totally distinct words which happen to have the same phonetic realization, e.g., *I put your [flaʊər] on the table* ('flower'/'flour'). Or it can involve two underlying syntactic structures with the same surface realization, e.g., (Mel'čuk 1974:32), *мужу изменить нельзя* ('a husband must not be unfaithful' [dative subject]/one must not be unfaithful to one's husband' [dative object]). Or it can involve a combination of lexical and syntactic ambiguity, e.g., (Zwicky & Sadock 1974: 1974:3), *they saw her duck* ('her [possessive] duck [animal]'/ 'her [objective] duck [action]').

The phenomenon of homonymy presents serious problems for the

semanticist not only because homonyms display different degrees of semantic differentiation but also because the degree of differentiation depends upon the kind of semantic description assigned. The scale of semantic differentiation extends from cases of absolute homonymy, etymologically distinct forms which share no semantic features, e.g., брак₁ 'marriage'/брак₂ 'defect', to cases of polysemy, etymologically identical forms used to depict a number of different realities, e.g., рвать: 'pull, yank' (гвозды, зубы), 'pluck' (цветы), 'break' (нитку), 'tear (up)' (письмо), 'blow up' (скалу), 'break off' (отношения).

It is difficult to distinguish precisely cases of different meaning (homonymy) from cases of different usage (polysemy). Pairs such as брак₁/брак₂ and град₁ 'hail'/град₂ 'city (poetic)' are totally distinct in meaning, even though they share, trivially, the feature [noun] (a better example of absolute homonymy would be the pair жюри 'jury'/жури 'scold [imperative]'). Homonyms such as топить₁ (печь, комнату) 'heat up'/топить₂ (олово, сало) 'melt, render'/топить₃ (судно, человека, горе) 'sink, drown', however, are not so distinct. Топить₁ and топить₂ share the feature [heat] (and happen to be etymologically related, cf. Vasmer IV:78-79); the SRJa treats them as homonyms, while Ušakov treats them as different usages of the same word. Топить₂ and топить₃ also share a common feature, viz. [liquid], cf. Апресян 1974:185fn., but are, nevertheless, always treated as homonyms (perhaps because they are considered etymologically distinct).

The usages of рвать quoted above provide an example of polysemy. It is easy to understand why these usages are treated as instances of the same word: they can all be viewed as the same action (whose semantics might be something like 'forcible disunion') applied to a variety of concrete and abstract entities. It is difficult, however, to see why one of the impersonal usages of рвать ('о жгучей боли, испытываемой кем-л.', e.g., нарыв сильно рвет) is treated as one of the meanings of the verb рвать, while the other impersonal usage ('о рвоте', e.g., его сильно рвало) is treated by all dictionaries except Dal' as a separate verb: of the two, the latter usage seems closer to the notion of 'forcible disunion' which seems to underlie all other senses of the verb.

The extent of homonymy displayed by a particular form depends upon the way in which usages of the form are described. For example, Bogusławski's treatment of the prefix за- (cf. 1.1.2.1) depicts what seem to be 24 homonymous prefixes which happen to have the surface realization за-. Some meanings seem totally distinct, e.g., 'killing' (застрелить) and 'inchoative' (застрелять); others seem related, e.g., 'harm' (заездить) and 'killing' (зарезать); others seem practically identical, e.g., 'covering the surface' (заблевать) and 'becoming totally covered with something' (зарасти). Semantic descriptions which favor homonymy over polysemy are based on the idea that treating the usage of a single surface form in different contexts as manifestations of different underlying lexical items permits a simpler description of each usage, cf. Apresjan 1974:90ff. A problem with such an approach is that it multiplies the number of units in the lexicon. For example, a semantic analysis of the verb идти seeking to provide a distinct description of each usage and nuance would have, like the SSRJа, to list over 130 meanings and submeanings, i.e., several dozen homonymous verbs, e.g., идти₁ 'walk' (человек идет), идти₂ 'extend' (лес идет до реки), идти₃ 'sell' (товар хорошо идет), идти₄ 'be in progress' (идут переговоры), идти₅ 'run' (станок идет, часы идут), etc. Splitting up the meaning of a form (расщепление значений) into multiple homonyms can result in an enormous disparity between form and meaning: Bogusławski, in effect, discerns 355 verbal prefixes in Russian which happen to have only 39 different surface realizations. Apresjan, defending the notion of the fundamental nonuniqueness of semantic descriptions (принципиальная неединственность семантических описаний [1974:94]), sees no problem in the multiplication of lexical items:

"...словарь является по самой своей природе незамкнутой, открытой системой, и поэтому увеличение числа лексических единиц никакими серьезными последствиями для описания не грозит." (1974:92)

To be sure, the lexicon of a language represents an open set in that new terms (new forms, e.g., дизайн, компьютер, хиппи) can be introduced at any time. It would seem, however, that the real power of the lexicon lies rather in the freedom with which its existing forms can be used to refer to new situations (e.g., товарищ, спутник, лунник, стыковаться, пленка).

The surface structure of language combines unity of form with diversity of reference. This can be seen in the fact that from the point of view of the listener practically every utterance is ambiguous (i.e., in the sense that every utterance is open to further specification) and in the fact that most words, in isolation (e.g., in citation form), are multiply ambiguous. For example, the verb *гореть* is associated with a variety of physical and abstract activities, e.g.,

дрова горят	'is burning'
огонь горит	'is burning'
лампа горит	'shines'
голова горит	'is feverish'
уши горят	'are flushed'
он горит ненавистью	'is inflamed with'
глаза горят	'sparkle, shine'

In view of the fact that the verb *гореть* does not seem to represent precisely the same action in any two of these phrases, one could assign a distinct semantic description to the verb in each case. In discussing the first two examples, Apresjan (1974:94) notes that *гореть*, when predicated of *дрова*, means 'выделять огонь'; but when predicated of *огонь*, it serves merely as the normal function of the noun (symbolized as (Func)noun, cf. p. 46), representing the fact that the phenomenon depicted by the noun takes place. Because of this difference, Apresjan posits two distinct semantic descriptions, i.e., *гореть*₁ 'выделять огонь' and *гореть*₂ '(Func)огонь'.

Although Apresjan argues in favor of distinct analyses of different usages of the same form (1974:90ff.), he demonstrates at one point how the different semantic descriptions of one form can be related. Discussing the regular polysemy of verbs such as *выбивать* which can depict 'treatment' ('обработка': *выбивать ковер*) or 'removal' ('удаление': *выбивать пыль*), he analyzes the two meanings as follows (204):

выбивать В из С Х-ом	'каузировать В переставать находиться в С, ударяя по С Х-ом'
выбивать С Х-ом	'ударять по С Х-ом, каузируя В переставать находиться в С'

Apresjan's analysis of *выбивать* shows that the two usages represent not a difference in semantic content but merely a difference in the organization of the elements used to describe the two usages. The descriptive unity of these two analyses, the fact that they employ the same set of semantic features (in this case, the same элементарные предикаты) mirrors the unity of their expression, the fact that both meanings are conveyed by the same verb.

In this work I will operate on the assumption that each surface morpheme can be described in terms of an invariant set of underlying semantic features — except in cases like брак₁ 'marriage'/брак₂ 'defect', where the etymologies are totally distinct, and cases like вспылить₁ 'flare up'/вспылить₂ 'raise dust', where the etymological connection (cf. Vasmer III:418) is so remote as to be negligible. The purpose of such an assumption is to reduce the number of lexical items to an absolute minimum. An approach which seeks to describe each morpheme in terms of an invariant set of features is based on the idea that true homonymy is a relatively marginal, accidental phenomenon, while polysemy reflects the operation of spontaneous and productive linguistic processes whose results can be explained rather than merely listed in an ever expanding inventory of lexical items.

1.3 *Semantic features.* The following remarks outline assumptions about semantic structure which will serve as a framework for the study of verbal prefixation.

I will adopt as a working hypothesis that all morphemes of a language express some semantic features, that there are no morphemes without semantic content. I will assume that a morpheme always expresses one and the same invariant set of semantic features. These invariant features are probably very few and very abstract, because a single morpheme can usually stand for a great variety of realities. For example, the morpheme {rez} ["cut"]¹ is capable of representing the following actions (examples from Ušakov):

¹I will use quotation marks to indicate words used as shorthand for bundles of actual semantic features.

'cut'	резать сукно, металл
'slice'	резать хлеб
'ability to cut'	Нож не режет
'slaughter'	резать кур
'trim'	резать волосы, ногти (Dal')
'lance'	резать нарыв
'operate on'	Его сегодня режут в больнице
'dissect'	резать труп, лягушек (SSRLJa)
'plow'	Мы плугом землю режем, бросаем семена
'grave'	резать по дереву
'carve'	резать из кости (Dal')
'inflict sharp pain'	Ветер режет лицо
'irritate, grate on'	Этот цвет режет глаз. Его голос режет слух.
'flunk (trans.)'	резать кого на экзамене
'speak freely, without hesitation'	Так и режет, так и режет!
'speak sharply'	резать правду в глаза
'slice a ball'	резать мяч
'cut a ball'	Режу в среднюю (т. е. таким ударом направляю шар в среднюю лузу)

It is, of course, very difficult to formulate the semantic invariant here; it seems to be something like "violate surface" or "negate integrity". What is clear is that there is one sign (the morpheme {rez}) corresponding to many "situations". The SSRLJa lists *резать* in 13 meanings plus 27 secondary meanings and nuances: a total of 40 meanings or types of context for the verb alone. One must either list several verbs in the lexicon, all with the stem {reza-}¹, several adjectives with the stem {rez#k-}, an adjective with the stem {rez#n-}, several nouns with the stem {rez#k-}, several with the stem

¹The number of stems listed increases enormously when one includes all prefixed stems, e.g., {zareza-₁} through {zareza-₅}, {perereza-₁} through {perereza-₈}, etc.

{rez#b-}, with the stem {rez#n,-}, etc., — or attempt to motivate the ability of one morpheme {rez} to accept certain verbal and nominal suffixes and certain prefixes.

I will assume that Russian possesses a finite number of semantic features constituting an abstract, coherent conceptual system, the interrelationships of whose members can be stated as rules of implication or entailment. A rule of implication expresses a relationship of possibility. For example, one can say that the feature [motion] implies the feature [directional] but does not entail it: e.g., the verb метать 'pitch' denotes [motion] and can be used to refer to motion in a certain direction (метать сено на воз) but is not obligatorily specified [+ directional] (метать сено 'складывать'). A rule of entailment, on the other hand, expresses a relationship of necessity. Two features can be said to exist in a relationship of entailment if specification of one feature (marking it +) necessarily and automatically causes the specification (marking + or -) of the other feature. For example, there seems to be a rule of entailment existing between the (bundles of) feature underlying the prefixal views of the action expressed by a verb: specification of one prefixal view (marking + the feature underlying one prefix) entails the specific nonspecification (marking -) of the features underlying most other prefixal views of the action. The verb двоить, whose invariant semantics may be nothing more than [+ verb + "two"], can be interpreted as meaning 'double' (make two out of one) or 'divide' (make one into two). If more features are expressed, the ambiguity is resolved. Specification of the features underlying the prefix с- (сдвоить 'double, join together') entails the explicit nonspecification of the features underlying раз- (раздвоить 'divide in two'), cf. 3.2.4.2.

I will treat semantic features as constitutive, i.e., as features selected by the speaker to constitute the semantics of his message. I will assume, with Chafe (1970:96ff.), that the verb is the control center of the sentence, that the semantics of the verb governs the choice of the kinds of actants participating in the action.

The generation (formation) of a sentence might be conceived in the following fashion. The speaker, operating on a hierarchically ordered list

of the semantic features of his language, delineates the global contours of his message by specifying the most general features of the verbal notion he wishes to express (e.g., [action], [state], [relationship], etc.), gradually defining the argument (the verb itself) and its terms (e.g., [agent], [patient], etc.) as well as his view of the action (e.g., [perfective], [prefixal features]). I will assume that the speaker performs only one kind of operation, viz. specifying (marking +) the features which will constitute his message. The presence of features selected by the speaker can, by rules of entailment, cause other features, as yet unspecified, to become marked, i.e., as [+ feature] (explicitly included in the message) or [- feature] (explicitly excluded from the message). Features not selected by the speaker or marked through the operation of rules of entailment remain unspecified, i.e., [0 feature] (not explicitly included in the message or excluded from it).

To see how this process might work, let us consider a specific example.¹ The speaker, having specified a sufficient number of features, e.g., [+ verb + "write"], to select the morpheme {p,is-a-} from the lexicon, is still free to select (mark +) or leave unexpressed ([0 feature]) such features as [activity], [state], [patient]², [product]², [agent], [instrument], [perfective], etc. The selection of some of these variable features precludes the selection of others, and they become excluded from the message.

¹The semantic matrices presented here have been simplified for the purpose of the present discussion. A more detailed treatment of semantic features is presented in chapters 14, 15, 16 and 17. In chapter 16 I attempt to formalize some specific rules of entailment.

²For the present I will be using the feature [patient] to represent an affected object or the subject of a stative verb. The feature [product] represents an effected object or subject.

(1)
$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ verb} \\ + \text{ "write"} \\ 0 \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ state} \\ + \text{ patient} \\ 0 \text{ product} \\ - \text{ agent} \\ - \text{ instrument} \\ - \text{ perfective} \end{bmatrix}$$

он пишет по
профессии

('is a writer')

(2)
$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ verb} \\ + \text{ "write"} \\ 0 \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ state} \\ + \text{ patient} \\ + \text{ product} \\ - \text{ agent} \\ - \text{ instrument} \\ - \text{ perfective} \end{bmatrix}$$

он пишет романы

('is a writer of
novels')

(3)
$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ verb} \\ + \text{ "write"} \\ + \text{ activity} \\ 0 \text{ state} \\ - \text{ patient} \\ + \text{ product} \\ + \text{ agent} \\ 0 \text{ instrument} \\ 0 \text{ perfective} \end{bmatrix}$$

он пишет письмо

('is writing a
letter')

(4)
$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ verb} \\ + \text{ "write"} \\ + \text{ activity} \\ 0 \text{ state} \\ 0 \text{ patient} \\ 0 \text{ product} \\ + \text{ agent} \\ + \text{ instrument} \\ 0 \text{ perfective} \end{bmatrix}$$

он пишет пером

('is writing with
a pen')

(5)
$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ verb} \\ + \text{ "write"} \\ 0 \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ state} \\ 0 \text{ patient} \\ + \text{ product} \\ - \text{ agent} \\ - \text{ instrument} \\ - \text{ perfective} \end{bmatrix}$$

буква "д" пишется
хвостом вниз или
вверх

('is characteris-
tically written')

These matrices represent a small sample of the possibilities of specifying the morpheme {p,is-a-}. Matrix (1) presents the verb писать as a state of affairs characterizing its subject. It seems to be the case that specification of the features [+ state + patient] precludes specification of the features [agent], [instrument] and [perfective]. It does not, however, seem to preclude specification of the features [activity] and [product]: the sentence он пишет по профессии can be interpreted as a state of activity involving a product, an effected object. Matrix (2) presents a state, its patient and its product: он пишет романы 'he is a novelist'. If the features [activity] and [agent] were selected, then the sentence would represent not a characteristic but an ongoing activity ('he is writing novels'). Matrix (3)

presents an activity involving an agent and a product. Specification of the features [agent] and [product] precludes specification of the feature [patient]; the sentence can still be interpreted as involving an instrument and as depicting the action in its entirety (perfective). Matrix (4) presents an activity, an agent and an instrument. The sentence он пишет пером can be interpreted as an activity involving an unspecified product or as a state characterizing a patient ('he uses a pen'). Matrix (5) presents a state and its product, explicitly nonagentive, noninstrumental and nonperfective. The subject can be interpreted as a product effected by the action of the verb or as a patient to which a characteristic is ascribed.

This informal sample of the semantic range of {p,is-a} omits many details. It is meant to show that it may be possible to discuss the semantics of several meanings of one item as involving the same set of features specified in different ways. If the set of semantic features of a language can be likened to a keyboard offering almost limitless melodic possibilities, then the semantic structure of the predicate can be compared to the structure of a harmonic series, involving a fundamental (the invariant features) and a series of partials (the variable features): as more notes are struck, the tone does not change, but becomes only richer; the selection of certain chords precludes the selection of others.

The meaning of an individual lexical item can be defined as its small set of invariant features, i.e., those features which the speaker must specify in order to select the item from the lexicon. In absolute isolation, a lexical item explicitly expresses only its set of invariant features. The variable features of a lexical item are those features which are not precluded by rules of entailment in the presence of the invariant features. This is not as strong a claim as it sounds. For example, the feature [+ state] in a stative or relational verb like стоять precludes prefixal views. Specification of one prefixal view, e.g., сдвонуть, precludes other prefixal views. There are, of course, areas of seemingly infinite possibilities. For example, the verb бросить can take as its patient any physical object. When specified [+ abstract], it is more limited in the kinds of nonphysical objects it can accept as patients; they are limited to persons, places and

activities, e.g., бросить друзей, бросить место, бросить курить. While the patients of the [+ abstract] бросить must be "abandonable", the patients of the [0 abstract] бросить can be any object that can be caused to fly. This is not to say that all the features of every throwable object are variables in the matrix of бросить. What is present in its matrix are features delineating in general terms the *kind* of acceptable patient. How the patient slot can be further elaborated is thus limited in *kind* but not in the *number* of specific ways. The morpheme {брос} itself does not, therefore, contain all the features of possible patients such as камень, карандаш, etc. but only their most general features, e.g., [physical].

In general, it seems that the number of possible interpretations of a word is very quickly limited by the specification of variable features. For example, the phrase бросить родной дом is theoretically ambiguous (from the point of view of the listener). It can be a [+ abstract], i.e., a figurative expression representing 'abandonment': Он бросил родной дом и поступил в университет. Or it can be [0 abstract], i.e., a non-figurative expression representing the rapid movement through space of a physical object ('throwing'): Кинг-Конг бросил родной дом на налетающие самолеты. The context may be mythological (King Kong does not exist), but the sentence is concrete: the house flies through the air. As soon as the action is specified as having a goal (на что), the phrase is interpretable only as a physical action involving a concrete object.

The roles of the speaker and listener differ primarily in that the speaker can choose to leave much information inexplicit while the listener is free to build into his interpretation of the message features not specifically precluded by those which are explicitly specified and represented in the surface structure. Both the speaker and the listener, however, can be said to participate in the same message (the set of specified features). For example, the speaker can in the course of conversation generate the following semantic structure:

+ verb] ¹
+ motion	
+ "disunion"	
+ patiential	
+ patient	
+ agentive	
0 agent	
0 instrument	
0 "prefixal view"	
0 past	
0 perfective	

он их рвет

Unspecified here, among other things, are all features underlying prefixal views of the action. The speaker can intend — and the listener can interpret — the utterances to be an inexplicit token of the notion он их взрывает, e.g., (как только мы строим новые мосты), он (= немец [= немецкие солдаты]) их рвет: [+ agent + "prefixal view"]. Or he can intend the sentence to be a description of the capabilities of a shell, e.g., (пулеметные дзоты противника бывают хорошо забронированы, но) он (= снаряд нового типа) их рвет: [+ instrument]. The sentence can stand for dozens of "situations" (cf. 1.2), e.g., plucking flowers, tearing paper, pulling teeth, etc. Usually confusion does not arise, because normal speech situations are rich in prior linguistic extra-linguistic detail: in the examples above, prior linguistic context has to do with bridges and Germans or with machine-gun nests and shells; not reflected linguistically is the fact that speaker and listener are officers at a strategy meeting.

Even though the speaker can use the same utterance in a variety of situations and the listener, even in the context of one situation, can inter-

¹The feature [patiential] describes the semantic quality of a verb which allows it to take a [patient] or a [product]. An [agentive] verb is one which expresses some notion of causation, either through an [agent] or an [instrument]. I suspect that рвать is inherently patiential but variably agentive, cf. the following sentences, which do not necessarily express causation: снаряд рвется, он рвется в бой, эта бумага не рвется. The features [patiential] and [agentive] are introduced and discussed in greater detail in chapters 14-16.

pret the utterance in a variety of ways, it seems wrong to build the speaker's possible *intentions* and the listener's possible *interpretations* into a description of the *semantic structure* of the utterance: the only linguistic elements which the speaker and listener can be said to share are the simple and very abstract invariant features of the morphemes appearing in the surface structure of the message.

With these ideas in mind, let us proceed to a discussion of the nature of verbal prefixation.

1.4 *Verbal prefixation.* In this study I will treat verbal prefixation as a device for viewing the action of the verb in relationship to an abstract conceptual framework. The framework will be described in geometric terms as consisting of two axes, a horizontal and a vertical, as well as derivative planes and volumes. This cognitive geometry does not deal exclusively with spatial relationships but rather represents an integrated system of limits: these limits, depending upon the nature of the action denoted by the verb, can be interpreted as spatial, temporal or quantificational surfaces, limits or thresholds. The idea of a coherent *prefixal framework* allows one to describe all prefixes in terms of one relatively small, integral set of semantic features. I will describe prefixes as consisting of one or more *frame features* (denoting that part of the conceptual geometry which they invoke) plus one *relational feature* (denoting the way in which the action is viewed with respect to the framework). Prefixes will thus be described as consisting of a minimum of two semantic features. I will treat prefixes not as separate lexical items but rather as manifestations of the selection of variable features of the verbal base.

1.4.1 *The prefixal framework.* The features [horizontal] and [vertical] name the central coordinates of the framework. The interpretation of these features as surfaces, limits or thresholds depends upon the kinds of other features specified in the predicate. The [horizontal], for example, is interpretable as a literal, physical surface with verbs denoting physical actions having to do with a surface, e.g., 'plowing' (пахать, бороздить), 'cutting' (резать, пороть), 'swelling' (пухнуть, пузырять); but it is interpret-

able as a limit or threshold with verbs denoting liminal actions (cf. chapters 11 and 12) or activities in general (cf. chapters 13 - 16), e.g., 'awareness' (видеть, думать), 'appearance' (блеснуть), 'sound' (кричать), 'agitation' (волновать), 'excitation' (тревожить). Besides the frame feature [horizontal], these verbs contain the relational feature [transgression]: the actions they describe can all be viewed as transgressing (violating) a surface or crossing a threshold. Selection of these two variable features [+ horizontal + transgression] is signaled by the appearance of the prefix *вз-* in the surface structure: *вспахать, взрезать, всплунуть*, etc. Some of these verbs also contain the relational feature [application], which when selected with the feature [horizontal] is manifested in the prefix *на-*: *напахать, набороздить* ('plow, furrow in quantity'); *нарезать* ('thread' [impose a cut on a surface]; quantity)¹, *напороть* ('wound'; quantity); *напунуть* (quantity [increase in size])²; *надумать* (quantity); *накричать* ('attack'; quantity).

The [vertical] can also be interpreted as a surface, limit or threshold. Its selection with the relational feature [transgression] is signaled by the prefix *за-*: *запахать* (cover surface [affect surface to a certain extent]; 'begin' [cross threshold of activity]); *зарезать* ('cut deep'; 'kill'); *запунуть* (cover surface); *завидеть, задумать* (attain perception); *заблестеть* ('begin'); *закричать* ('begin'); *заволновать* ('begin'). The features [+ vertical + application] yield the prefix *об-*³: *опахать* ('around'); *обрезать* ('trim'; 'wound'); *обдумать* ('consider' [apply thought to]); *окрикнуть* ('call to').

¹The gloss 'quantity' refers to the cumulative or saturative nuances found in verbs prefixed with *на-* (cf. Isačenko 1960:246ff.), e.g., *нарезать хлеба* 'slice a quantity of bread', *нарезать свиней* 'slaughter a quantity of pigs'.

²Compare *всплунуть* 'become distorted in configuration', cf. chapter 4.

³Treating *об-* as [+ vertical + application] is probably an oversimplification; Flier (1975:223) treats it as involving the notion of a [plane], cf. 1.4.2.

To gain an understanding of how prefixal features interact with other features of the predicate, let us examine the following example. The morpheme {rez} ["cut"] must have a very simple, abstract set of invariant features in order to be capable of representing the great varieties of separate realities listed in 1.3. Part of its semantic structure could be represented as follows

0	verb	
0	activity	
0	state	
0	noun	
+	"cut"	
0	horizontal	
0	vertical	
0	transgression	
0	imposition	
0	perfective	¹

Selection of the features [+ verb + activity + "cut"] yields the verbal stem {rez-a-}. If the speaker does not choose to specify the action further, the output would be something like the infinitiveрезать, an ambiguous form which can be interpreted in dozens of ways (the SSRLJa lists 13 main definitions, cf. 1.3). The speaker may, however, further select variable features which manifest his view of the action as related to a limitational framework. The choice of one view precludes the choice of other views:

¹This matrix represents the features underlying the bare morpheme {rez}. The feature [verb] is left unspecified, because there is no overt marker for it in the morpheme itself. This is not a very satisfying solution, because one feels that the root is inherently verbal. It would be nice, however, to be able to distinguish the root {rez} from the explicitly verbal stem {rez-a-}.

+ verb + activity - state - noun + "cut" + horizontal - vertical + transgression - application + perfective	+ verb + activity - state - noun + "cut" + horizontal - vertical - transgression + application + perfective	+ verb + activity - state - noun + "cut" - horizontal + vertical + transgression - application + perfective	+ verb + activity - state - noun + "cut" - horizontal + vertical - transgression + application + perfective
--	--	--	--

взрезать

нарезать

зарезать

обрезать

Now each of these forms is still ambiguous from the listener's point of view:

взрезать: *взрезать* арбуз, пакет, конверт
 (violate 'cut open'
 [surface]
 integrity)

взрезать теленка, труп
 'operate on, dissect'

The listener's interpretation of the action is suggested by the nature of the patient (i.e., by further specification of the predicate). But note that *взрезать теленка* is still ambiguous as to 'surgical operation'/'dissection', cf. 4.2.2.

нарезать: *нарезать* винт
 (application) 'thread'

нарезать гравюру
 'engrave'

нарезать (о ремне, веревке)
 'chafe'

нарезать хлеба, тарелку ветчины
 'slice up (a quantity)'

нарезать веток, букет цветов
 'cut up (prepare in quantity)'

нарезать участки под подкосы
 'cut up (divide)'

нарезать свиной, кур
 'kill in quantity'

The features [+ horizontal + application] are ambiguous as to the notions 'application to surface' ('thread', 'engrave', 'chafe') and 'application to limit (norm)' (quantification). Note the varieties of quantification: *нарезать* can mean 'make one into many' (*нарезать хлеба*) or 'many into one' (*нарезать букет цветов*) or 'perform the action (killing) in quantity' (*нарезать кур*).

<i>зарезать</i> : (transgress limit)	<i>зарезать</i> 'begin cutting' (Dal' I:631) ¹
	<i>зарезать</i> 'cut too deep, far' ²
	<i>зарезать</i> сукно 'spoil a piece of cloth' ³
	<i>зарезать</i> человека 'kill (with a sharp instrument)'
	<i>зарезать</i> домашнее животное 'slaughter'
	<i>зарезать</i> (о хищных животных) 'bite to death'
	<i>зарезать</i> лошадь 'drive to exhaustion'
	<i>зарезать</i> (без ножа) человека 'ruin, destroy'

The features [+ vertical + transgression] present the action as exceeding or violating a limit. Depending upon how the action is conceived, the limit is

¹Dal' (I:631) gives 'начать резать' as the first meaning of *зарезать*. Although that usage is not listed in other dictionaries, it seems possible to native speakers I've questioned; one provided an example: *вчера резальная машина была испорчена, но сегодня она опять зарезала*.

²The SRJa ascribes this meaning only to the secondary imperfective *зарезать* (it does not list *зарезывать*). Bogusławski, however, ascribes it to the perfective *зарезать* (1963:83-84).

³Cf. Dal' (I:631): "испортить вещь в кройке, врезаться за черту. *Не зарезывай, дай еще раз смерть. Зарезал сукно по целому, и не выходит рукава.*"

interpretable as the threshold of the activity itself, the limit of the extent of the action ('too far'), or the integrity of the patient of the action. Note that while 'kill' is the most immediate reading of *зарезать*, it is not the only possible interpretation.

обрезать:
(application) *обрезать* лист бумаги, ногти, книгу, деревья
'trim'

обрезать землю нашу (Dal' II:618)
'mark off'

обрезать крылья кому
'clip (fig.)'

обрезать кого
'circumcise'

обрезать кого на первом слове
'cut off'

обрезать мясо с костей
'trim'

The features [+ vertical + application] present the action as affecting or effecting a surface or limit. The action is seen as applied to a surface (literal or abstract), defining its contours.

This cursory view of *резать* in combination with four of its 18 prefixes is meant to show how the abstract notion of 'cutting' can be viewed by the speaker in its relationship to the primary axes of the conceptual geometric system which I have termed the prefixal framework.

It is important to note that the [horizontal] and [vertical] coordinates do not represent literal surfaces extending left/right and up/down. Rather, they represent *kinds* of surfaces (kinds of limits or thresholds). The [horizontal] seems to represent a *natural* (as opposed to *conventional*) surface. The features [+ horizontal + transgression] i.e., *вз-*) are variables of [0 abstract] verbs having to do with violation of integrity ('plowing', 'cutting'), disfigurement ('swelling', 'surface disorder'), eruption ('sweating'), injury ('beating'); with these verbs the [horizontal] seems to represent a natural surface or surface order which is violated. These fea-

tures are also variables of [+ abstract] verbs depicting 'scolding', 'growth' (achievement of maturity), 'appearance' and 'awareness' (where the horizontal represents the threshold of perception or consciousness). Transgression of the horizontal represents the threshold of activity in [0 abstract] verbs of 'boiling' and turbulence ('agitation'), and in [+ abstract] verbs of '(loud, expressive) sound/expression' and 'excitation'. In verbs of 'directed motion' the [horizontal] represents the natural course of motion, which is violated: the features [+ motion + directional + horizontal + transgression] depict motion proceeding contrary to the normal flow, i.e., upward. The [vertical], on the other hand, seems to represent a conventional surface or limit. The features [+ vertical + transgression] (i.e., 3a-) are variables of many more verbs and seem to serve most often as a measure of the extent or limitation of the action: onset of activity (practically any kinds of activity, not just turbulent or expressive ones), degree (e.g., 'cover the entire surface'), excess ('too much', 'too far'), extent of motion (movement beyond, too far, deviation from course).

Much more research is needed to determine the real difference between the horizontal and vertical coordinates. Nevertheless, it seems correct to assume as a working hypothesis that the [horizontal] is the marked axis: the emblem of its transgression, 3a-, occurs with very few bases (200) and is consistently described in terms of "intensity" or "expressiveness" (cf. chapter 2).

1.4.1.1 It is clear, then, that the prefixal framework is not literally geometric but evaluative in nature: the [horizontal] represents the axis of natural order (surface calm, the threshold of perception or consciousness, the normal flow of movement); the [vertical] represents the axis of conventional relations (extent or degree). The idea of a cognitive geometry representing evaluative limits finds some degree of corroboration in the work of psychologists examining conceptual strategies for handling logical problems involving interrelated data. DeSoto, London & Handel (1965) and (1968) have developed a theory of "spatial paralogic" to explain the way subjects order the information contained in linear syllogisms (e.g., "A is better than B, B

is better than C") along horizontal and vertical axes in conceptual spatial representations. First of all, they (and Huttenlocher [1968]) find that subjects consistently array the items compared along horizontal and vertical axes, i.e., use a conceptual geometric system to represent the relationships between items. Second, they find that subjects consistently "learn orderings better in one direction than in the other" (DeSoto, *et al.* 1965:515): along the vertical, items are arrayed from top to bottom; along the horizontal, they are arrayed from left to right.¹ Most importantly, they find that there is a qualitative difference in those relationships that are conceived of as arrayed from top to bottom (i.e., related to the horizontal) and those arrayed from left to right (i.e., related to the vertical): "... evaluative relations are indeed tied to a vertical axis in most people's thinking. 'Better than' proceeds from top to bottom, and 'worse than' from bottom to top, whenever they are presented. Hair-color relations are not so tied ..." (DeSoto, *et al.* 1965:517). The evaluative relations "better-worse", "father-son" and "more-less" are consistently arrayed with respect to the horizontal (i.e., along the vertical axis), while the comparative relations "earlier-

¹"In our culture, people think downward or rightward more easily than upward or leftward. Thus *Tom is above Bill* or *Tom is to the left of Bill* is more easily apprehended than *Bill is below Tom* or *Bill is to the right of Tom*. In applying this principle to novel relation words, we must first determine their preferred spatial representation. For example, the premise *John is cleaner than Carl* proceeds downward if the 'cleaner' person is visualized at the top of the vertical axis, but it proceeds upward (and is harder to apprehend) if the 'dirtier' person is visualized at the top" (Handel, *et al.* 1968:352). The concept of conventional directionality, that locomotion customarily proceeds from left to right or from top to bottom, is central to an understanding of the prefix *вз-*. With verbs of 'directed motion' (chapter 17), *вз-* [+ horizontal + transgression] denotes movement contrary to the natural (horizontal) axis: the integration of the features [+motion + direction + horizontal + transgression] can thus be read as 'upward movement' or 'contrary movement', cf. *взойти, взвести курок 'cock', взвести суда 'take upstream'*. The notion of 'contrary movement' is preserved in the prefix *воз-*, e.g., *возвратить 'return'*.

later", "cause-effect", "faster-slower", "farther-nearer" and "lighter hair - darker hair" are arrayed with respect to the vertical (along the horizontal) (Handel, *et al.* 1968:354-355). What this means is that *evaluative relations* are conceived with respect to the *natural axis* (the horizontal), while *comparative relations* are conceived with respect to the *conventional axis* (the vertical). The idea that the horizontal represents the natural, the vertical the conventional axis is corroborated by their findings that left-right syllogisms are more difficult to solve than vertical ones (subjects hesitate more in representing them) (DeSoto, *et al.* 1965:519), (Handel, *et al.* 1968: 357).

"The unpredicted result, the general difficulty of left-right syllogisms, may also support it [the hypothesis that people rely on spatial representations in thinking about orderings]. Momentary inability to decide which direction is left and which is right is a common failing — certainly more common than ignorance of which way is up and which down." (DeSoto, *et al.* 1965:519)

1.4.2 So far in our discussion of the prefixal framework we have dealt exclusively with the two cardinal axes. In order, however, to describe all verbal prefixes as expressing relationships to the elements of a coherent geometrical (if paralogical) framework, we must consider derivative planes and volumes. A major step in that direction has been taken in Flier (1975), where geometric features are used to describe the invariant semantics of *no-*, *nepe-*, *no-*, and *o6-*. His findings can be paraphrased in terms of my concept of the prefixal frame and the specification of semantic features, as follows:

$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ plane} \\ + \text{ lateral} \\ + \text{ domain} \\ + \text{ spanning} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ plane} \\ + \text{ lateral} \\ 0 \text{ domain} \\ + \text{ spanning} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ plane} \\ 0 \text{ lateral} \\ + \text{ domain} \\ + \text{ spanning} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ plane} \\ 0 \text{ lateral} \\ 0 \text{ domain} \\ + \text{ spanning} \end{bmatrix}$
<i>no-</i>	<i>o6-</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>nepe-</i>

All four prefixes contain the frame feature [plane] and the relational feature [spanning]: the action is viewed as spanning a plane (rather than merely a line). Two of the prefixes, *no-* and *o6-*, also contain the frame feature

[lateral]: for these, the lateral dimensions of the [plane] are significant. Two of the prefixes, *по-* and *про-*, also contain the frame feature [domain], i.e., they make reference to the interior dimension of the plane.

The least marked (specified) prefix is *пере-* [+ plane + spanning]: it "characterizes the action as proceeding from inceptive to terminal limit by figuratively leaping over the domain" (Flier 1975:220). The prefix *про-* [+ plane + domain + spanning] "takes on a dimensionality or import not seen with *пере-*" and therefore can "connote 'thoroughness', 'depth', 'importance', 'penetration'", e.g., *студенты пересидели/просидели там два часа* (221-222).

The prefix *об-* makes reference to lateral limits but not to the interior of the plane: hence "its capacity to restrict verbal action to the periphery of all domainial limits" and its ability to connote "change in at least the extremities (external appearance) of a domain" (223).

The prefix *по-* is specified for all features [+ plane + lateral + domain + spanning]: "the prefix *по-* is often considered the perfectivizing prefix par excellence, and understandably so; its feature hierarchy traces the inceptive, lateral, and terminal limits of a domain, thus likening it to + PERFECTIVE in its totalizing role" (224).

Flier's work is the first successful attempt to describe the meanings of several prefixes in terms of interrelated features. It illuminates a significant part of the prefixal framework and provides evidence for the notion that prefixes can manifest multiple frame features but always only one relational feature.

1.4.3 In this study I shall limit myself to an investigation of one frame feature and one relational feature, [+ horizontal + transgression]: *вз-*, and the class of verbs which contain those features in their semantic matrices. My objective will be to examine the relationship of prefixal features to other features of the base in an attempt to explain why certain kinds of verbs are prefixable with *вз-* and why the prefixed verb is interpretable in certain specific ways.

2. *ВЗ-*

In the following chapters I will analyze groups of Russian verbs occurring with the prefix *вз-*.¹ I have chosen to examine this peculiar prefix because, although it is productive in modern Russian (cf. Gr 1970:256-257), it occurs with fewer verbal bases than any other productive prefix. The SSRLJa lists exactly 200 *вз-* verbs. (A *вз-* verb is defined as *вз-* plus one verbal root: e.g., the forms *взкрикнуть*, *вскричать*, *вскричатся*, *вскрикывать* count as one.) Working with such a small corpus provides an opportunity to examine not merely the primary meanings of each verb but also the secondary and figurative meanings as well.

The SSRLJa gives more than 600 definitions for verbs prefixed with *вз-*. The object of this study will be to organize all this material into a coherent pattern and show that all *вз-* verbs are partial synonyms not merely because they contain the *вз-* features [+horizontal + transgression], but also because they share other features as well. We shall see that there are numerous semantic relationships among the different kinds of verbs which occur with *вз-*. An examination of these relationships will be important for the study of the metaphoric capabilities of these verbs: one finds that the metaphoric range of individual verbs does not extend beyond the semantic range of *вз-* verbs as a whole.

2.1 Before proceeding to an outline of my approach, I will review briefly some previous analyses of *вз-*. All of these treatments view *вз-* as a polysemous lexicogrammatical morpheme which adds meaning to verbal bases or merely perfectivizes them (cf. chapter 1). I will analyze the prefix *вз-* as always manifesting the selection of the same set of semantic features. It is important, however, to review all the "meanings" said to be added by the prefix, because my approach will have to account for the ways native speakers interpret verbs in *вз-*.

¹Verbs in *воз-* are excluded, because *воз-*, although etymologically the same as *вз-*, survives in modern Russian only as a remnant of Church Slavic and is totally unproductive.

Most scholars assert that *вз-* denotes either 'motion in an upward direction' (its literal meaning) or, figuratively, 'intense, sudden, abrupt onset or conclusion of activity': e.g., Gr 1970 (256-257):

"Глаголы с префиксом *вз-* делятся на четыре типа.

- (1) Глаголы со значением 'поднять (ся) вверх, наверх с помощью действия, названного мотивирующим глаголом': *взлететь* — 'летя, подняться вверх', *взлезть*, *взмести*, *взойти*, *вскарabкаться*, *встациить*. У некоторых глаголов направление действия вверх выражено мотивирующей основой: *взложматить*, *вскосматить*, *встопорщить*. Ряд глаголов мотивируется глаголами сов. вида: *взбросить*, *вздернуть*, *взмахнуть*, *взметнуть*, *вспригнуть*. Тип продуктивный."

In chapter 17 I will show that only certain of these verbs (e.g., *взлететь*, *взбросить*) indeed denote 'upward motion'. Others (e.g., *взложматить*, *встопорщить*) do not necessarily denote upward motion at all, but rather 'disorder (deviation from a plane)', cf. chapter 6.

- "(2) Глаголы со значением 'интенсивно или резко, внезапно совершить действие, названное мотивирующим глаголом': *взвизгнуть* — 'резко, внезапно визгнуть', *вскрикнуть*, *вздоросать* — 'сильно подорожать', *взмокнуть*. Часть глаголов мотивируется глаголами сов. вида. Тип проявляет продуктивность в разговорной речи и просторечии."

In chapter 15 we will find that it is only *вз-* verbs derived from semelfactive bases that can be interpreted as 'perform the action'. Most *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' depict intense activities with or without the prefix. The verb *взмокнуть* does not necessarily denote intense, abrupt or sudden action at all (cf. 7.2.2: "На дворе непрерывно сеял мелкий дождь; земля *взмокла*").

- "(3) Глаголы со значением 'интенсивно или резко, внезапно начать действие, названное мотивирующим глаголом': *взволноваться* — 'сильно заволноваться', *взвыть* — 'сильно, внезапно завывать', *взречь*. Тип проявляет продуктивность в разговорной речи и просторечии."

In chapter 14 we shall see why *взволновать* is usually given a resultative interpretation (cf. AGr [1953:I:579], likewise Baranovskaja [1974:122], Golovin [1965:130]), while the reflexive form is felt to be inchoative. In chapter 15 I will attempt to explain why *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' derived from

imperfective bases are consistently interpreted as inchoatives, while those derived from semelfactive bases (see above) are not.

"(4) Глаголы со значением 'совершить (дovести до результата) действие, названное мотивирующим глаголом': *взрастить* — 'совершить, довести до результата действие по глаголу *растить*', *взбесить*, *вскипеть*, *вскормить*, *вспотеть*. Тип продуктивный."

We will see in chapter 10 that *вз-* does not merely perfectivize verbs such as *растить*, *кормить*, but presents a view of their activity with respect to an abstract threshold of development. Similarly, *вспотеть* is not merely perfective to *потеть*, but views the action as erupting on a physical surface (cf. chapter 7). The verb *вскипеть/вскипать*, listed here as resultative, is interpreted by the SSRLJa as inchoative: 'начинать кипеть; приходить, прийти в состояние кипения'. In chapter 13 I will offer an explanation of these different interpretations.

2.1.1 Some scholars discern a few more meanings of the prefix. Both Bogusławski (1963:48-49) and Rutkowska (1967:125) treat 'movement upward' and 'movement upward plus localization on the surface of the object' as separate meanings of the prefix. In chapter 17 we will find that the prefix *вз-* itself does not denote either 'movement', 'upwardness' or 'localization'.

Bogusławski (1963:84) asserts that *вз-* can mean 'result touching the object's upper side, splitting it at the same time'. Rutkowska (1967:129-130) divides this meaning into two nuances: 'open, destroying the intactness (of the object) by means of an action (a) affecting the upper side of the object (*вспороть рукав, платье, юбку; взрезать кожу*) or (b) penetrating the object (*взломать ящик, сейф; взрезать брюхо зверю, ананас; вспороть матрас*)'. In chapter 4 we shall see that these nuances arise exclusively from the nature of the patient of the action (whether or not it is a surface or a volume).

2.1.2 It is important to point out that none of the meanings ascribed by these scholars to verbs prefixed with *вз-* is really incorrect. They are, however, inadequate, because they tend to define the entire verb phrase at once, cf. Bogusławski's definition of *вспрыгнуть* as "transposition in an upward direction and localization on the surface of the object (the notion of

'whither' being expressed by на + Acc.)" (1963:48). Such a definition can describe the verb phrase *вспрыгнуть на что-либо* but not other uses of the same verb, e.g., *она вспрыгнула от радости* and especially such figurative usages as "Мелькнула синяя запаска, огненная лента... Сердце в нем [Ониське] вспрыгнуло" (SSRLJa). I will attempt to define all usages of a given verb form in terms of the same set of semantic features.

2.2 In the following chapters I have organized all the definitions of *вз-* verbs given in the SSRLJa in such a fashion as to show what kinds of "semantic groups"¹ *вз-* verbs can belong to. For example, the verb *взволновать* is defined not only in terms of physical 'agitation' ('привести в движение поверхность воды, всколебать') but also in terms of mental 'excitation' ('привести кого-л. в тревожное, нервное состояние, в беспокойство, в смятение'). In its first meaning, *взволновать* can be said to belong to a group of *вз-* verbs having to do with the agitation of some physical entity: *взбаламутить, всколебать, взболтать*, etc. In its second meaning, it can be said to belong to a group of partially synonymous *вз-* verbs depicting 'excitation': *встревожить, взбодрить, взъярить(ся)*, etc. One finds consistently that the semantic range (of secondary meanings, transferred or figurative meanings) of practically every *вз-* verb coincides in part with the semantic range of several other *вз-* verbs. This strongly suggests that these verbs display a degree of partial synonymy much greater than that consisting in their ability to take the prefix *вз-*: these verbs must share not only the *вз-* features [+ horizontal + transgression] but also sets of features which imply the *вз-* features.

I have taken all the meanings ascribed by the SSRLJa to verbs in *вз-* and organized them into fifteen semantic groups. A semantic group is formed of verbs which in one of their meanings are defined in terms of one another or in common terms. No semantic group is composed of verbs belonging exclusively to that group: as we shall see, the semantic groups themselves are interrelated in terms of shared features.

¹The term "semantic group" refers to groups of verbs defined in a similar fashion by the dictionary, cf. 2.2.2.

2.2.1 The material is organized according to the kind of action depicted by the verbal base:

Section II (chapters 3 - 8) discusses all those cases where the verb (in one of its meanings) describes action affecting a physical surface: 'plowing', 'cutting', 'swelling', '(surface) disorder', 'suffusion' and 'beating'. In these verbs the features [+ horizontal + transgression] portray the violation of a literal surface.

Section III (chapters 9 - 12) discusses [+ abstract] verbs having to do with figurative surfaces: 'scolding', 'growth', 'appearance' and 'awareness'. In these verbs the B3- features show the action in relationship to an abstract surface or threshold.

Section IV (chapters 13 and 14) discusses verbs which describe activities (multiple movements) rather than single, discrete actions: 'boiling' and 'agitation'. In these verbs, the B3- features represent the threshold of physical activity.

Section V (chapters 15 and 16) deals with [+ abstract] verbs denoting activities: 'sound/expression' and 'excitation'. In these verbs the B3- features manifest the threshold of activity.

Section VI (chapter 17) deals with verbal bases denoting 'directed motion', attempting to show that it is only these verbs which can be said to denote upward movement. In addition, chapter 17 presents a theory of determination in the Russian verb, relating it to the category of number in the substantive, and attempts to show that determined verbs (usually thought to be a closed class of fourteen "verbs of motion") form a potentially open class in Russian.

Section VII (chapter 18) discusses problems and exceptions.

2.2.2 The names given to the fifteen semantic groups ('plowing', 'cutting', 'swelling', etc.) are not semantic features but merely cover terms to describe the definitions given by the SSRLJa for the verbs appearing in the group.

For example, 32 of the 200 B3- verbs in the corpus have as one of their definitions the notion of physical activity or 'agitation' (cf. chapter 14). The fact that most of the verbs are defined in terms of verbs of at

least one other group suggests that they share more than just the features underlying *вз-*: the verbs *взбаламутить*, *взбунтовать*, *взбуровить*, *взрябить*, *взболтать*, *взмутить* are defined with the word *(вз)волновать*; *встрепенуться*, *встрепыхаться*, *взболтать*, *вздогнуть*, *взмотнуть* and *вскидываться* are defined in terms of *трясти*, *встряхивать*; *взбунтовать*, *взволновать*, *взвезть*, *вздогнуть* and *всколыхать* are defined in terms of *(вс)колебать*, cf. 14.1.

There are not only multiple relationships among verbs of one semantic group but also many relationships among the groups themselves. Of the 32 verbs of 'agitation' only eight are defined exclusively in terms of 'agitation'. The following chart can illustrate the semantic range of verbs which appear in the 'agitation' group:

	EXCITATION	DIRECTED MOTION	FLOWING	SOUND/EXPRESSION	SCOLDING	APPEARANCE	DISORDER	SUFFUSION	AWARENESS	SWELLING	BEATING	GROWTH	BOILING
AGITATION ¹													
взбаламутить	[X]												
[взбесить]	X												
[взбудоражить]	X						[X]						
[взбунтовать]	X												
[взбуровать]			X										
взвезать		[X]											
взволновать	[X]												
взгомозиться	[X]												
взмотнуть		[X]											
[взмахнуть]		X											
[взметнуть]	[X]	X	[X]			[X]						[X]	
взмутить	[X]												
взыграть	[X]			[X]		[X]							
[вскинуть]	[X]	X			[X]				[X]				
[вскипеть]	[X]												X
всколебать	[X]												
всколыхнуть	[X]												
вскружить	[X]												
[всплеснуть]		[X]		X				[X]					
[вспрыгнуть]		X				[X]				[X]			
[встревожить]	X												
встрепенуться	[X]												
встрепыхаться	[X]												
встряхнуть	[X]				[X]						[X]		

¹Here as throughout I will use the perfective to stand for the entire verb, perfective/imperfective, nonreflexive/reflexive.

Listed above are those verbs of 'agitation' which are also defined in terms of other semantic groups. The verbs not enclosed in brackets are treated as primarily verbs of 'agitation', e.g., *взбаламутить* is a verb denoting [motion]¹ which when specified [+ abstract] can stand for 'excitation', cf.

14.3. The verbs enclosed in brackets are not primarily verbs of 'agitation': e.g., *взбесить* 'enrage' denotes 'excitation' ([+ abstract + motion], cf. 14.3); but when specified in such a way ([0 abstract + motion]) that it can take a physical object as its patient, it can be used to represent physical agitation.

I will attempt throughout to treat all the usages of a particular verb in terms of the same underlying set of features and to show that the ability of one verb to stand for different realities can be described as reflecting different specifications of the same set of features. For example, the verb {vz-m,ot-} — i.e., *взметать(ся)/взметнуть(ся)/взметывать(ся)* — must be classified as a verb of '(directed) motion', cf. chapter 17. Its invariant semantics might be roughly paraphrased as "quick movement": [+ verb 0 abstract + motion 0 directional + horizontal + transgression].² Although

¹Which of the meanings of a verb is primary and which is secondary presents difficult problems for the semanticist. The dictionaries themselves disagree. For example, the SSRJа defines *взбаламутить* first in terms of physical agitation ('Взмутить воду, жидкость; привести в сильное волнение'), second in terms of excitation ('Переносно. Встревожить, взволновать кого-нибудь'). Less than a decade later, however, the SRJа defines the same word primarily as a verb of 'excitation', secondarily as a verb of 'agitation': '1. Встревожить, взволновать. "—Боже мой, Ларион увязался! — воскликнула бабушка. — И его взбаламутили". 2. Взмутить, взволновать (воду, какую-л. жидкость)'. It seems clear that the relative salience of one meaning over another depends not only on linguistic but also on extralinguistic context, cf. 14.3.

²The semantics of {vz-m,ot-} is discussed more extensively in chapter 17. The feature matrix offered here includes only those items which are relevant to the present discussion. The interpretation of the vz- features depends on the marking of the feature [directional]. In the [0 directional] form *взметать(ся)* the feature [+ horizontal + transgression] can be interpreted as referring to a threshold of activity (e.g., *Псы завьли и взметались до потери всякого повиновения*"); in the [+ directional] form *взметнуть(ся)* they are interpreted as referring to upward direction (e.g., "[Ядра] углубились далеко в землю, взорвав и взметнув высоко на воздух черную землю").

the basic meaning is something like 'cast up', we shall encounter it in a number of metaphorical usages, e.g., representing a verb of 'plowing' (взметать пар 'распахивать землю под пар', cf. 3.2.3), of 'growth' (взметать стройки, cf. 10.3.1), of 'appearance' (прожекторы взметнулись, cf. 11.4.6), of 'agitation' (взметнуть головой, cf. 14.4.2.2.2), and of 'excitation' (взметаться 'начать суетиться', cf. 16.8). The mechanism of the metaphors, why a verb denoting one kind of action can be used to stand for other realities, is discussed on a case by case basis. In most cases I can offer only a discussion of what happens rather than a precise description in terms of feature specifications. In one case, however, the metaphoric mechanism seems rather clear. Verbs of 'agitation' seem to be related to verbs of 'excitation' according to the specification of the feature [abstract]. If the action, the [motion], is not specified as [+ abstract], the verb is free to be further specified for [+ physical] patients, i.e., concrete objects, e.g., взволновать воду. If the action is specified [+ abstract], then the patient cannot be [+ physical], e.g., взволновать человека: the patient is a person, not a body. These relationships are discussed in 14.3 and 10.2.3.1.

The chart illustrating the semantic range of verbs defined by the dictionary in terms of 'agitation' displays a complex network of semantic relationships, some of which are close ('agitation'/'excitation') and some of which are distant (встряхнуть as a verb of 'agitation'/'scolding'/'beating'). The fact that verbs of one group can stand for the actions explicitly denoted by verbs of other groups suggests that there is a coherent relationship between all the semantic groups, that no group is totally unrelated to the others and that all в3- verbs are to one degree or another partial synonyms.

This coherent interrelationship is also manifested in the fact that with very few exceptions (cf. chapter 18) all figurative usages of any one verb are classifiable in terms of the fifteen semantic groups discussed below. Virtually every usage of any one в3- verb has some parallel: there is a limitation in kind to the sorts of actions that a verb containing the в3- features can represent.

APPENDIX: THE CORPUS

The following appendix displays the 200 verbal bases listed in the SSRLJa under the prefix *вз-*. The verbs are listed alphabetically, the perfective or semelfactive form standing for all the others, e.g., *взбодрить* (*взбодриться*, *взбадривать*, *взбадриваться*), *взметнуть* (*взметнуться*, *взметать*, *взметаться*, *взметывать*, *взметываться*).

The fifteen semantic groups, representing the kinds of definitions given in the SSRLJa for verbs prefixed with *вз-*, are listed in the order in which they will be discussed in the following chapters.

Each verb is listed with an indication of the semantic groups to which it belongs. I have used *X* to indicate the primary or etymological meaning of the verb and [*X*] to indicate the usage of the verb to represent actions denoted by other kinds of *вз-* verbs. The chart, which displays 339 definitions (200 *X*s, or one primary definition for each verb, plus 139 [*X*]s, indicating secondary usages), represents a simplification of the more than 600 definitions listed in the dictionary. For example, the verb *вскинуть* (*вскинуться*, *вскидывать*, *вскидываться*) is listed in the SSRLJa with eleven definitions (I have simplified some of the sample quotations):

- ВСКИНУТЬ/ВСКИДЫВАТЬ:**
- (1) *Перех.* Кидать вверх; взбрасывать на что-либо.
"в. мешок на спину, в. грабли на воз."
 - (2) Надеть быстрым движением.
"в. очки на нос."
 - (3) Быстро поднимать, взбрасывать (ноги, лапы и т. п.).
 - (4) "Собака вскидывала ему лапы на живот и грудь."
 - (4) Быстро устремлять, устремить глаза кверху (на кого, что).
"Вдова вскидывала на майора удивленные глаза."
 - (5) *Неперех.* Вскидывать, вскинуть на кого-либо глазами — то же, что вскидывать, вскинуть глаза на кого-либо.
"Камышев вскинул на меня своими добрыми глазами и тихо засмеялся."

- ВСКИНУТЬСЯ/ВСКИДЫВАТЬСЯ:**
- (6) Подпрыгивать; взлетать; быстро подниматься вверх.
 "[Ватаги] рвались вперед, увлекаемые каким-нибудь сорванцом, который, размахивая платком, вскидывался на воздух или расстилался перед толпой в присядку."
- (7) Образно.
 "За мокрым стеклом [парохода] бесконечно льется мутная, пенная вода. Порою она, вскидываясь, лижет стекло."
- (8) Вскидываться, вскинуться на дыбы (о лошади) - вставать, встать на задние ноги.
 "Гнедой мерин неожиданно вскинулся на дыбы и с размаху грохнулся, ломая оглобли,"
- (9) Сотрясаться (от рыданий, сильного смеха).
 "Наташа не переменяла положения, но только все тело ее стало вскидываться от беззвучных, судорожный рыданий, которые душили ее."
- (10) Встревожиться, взволноваться.
 "Заскрипели ступени. Софья вскинулась, пронзительно глядя на дверь."
- (11) Переносно. Набрасываться на кого-либо с гневными вопросами, бранью, упреками, угрозами.
 "— Что ты суешь? что ты мне суешь? — вскидывается он на Ваньку."

The eleven dictionary definitions represent the kinds of contexts in which the verb *вскинуть* has been attested. I have reclassified these definitions according to those usages which are typical of *вз-* verbs in general. The usages noted in definitions (1), (2), (3), (6) and (7) are all discussed under the rubric 'directed motion' (transposition through space in an upward direction). I take 'directed motion' to be the basic meaning of *(вс)кинуть*. The other definitions reflect usages of this verb to stand for more specific actions which are more explicitly denoted by other *вз-* verbs. Definitions (4) and (5) show *вскинуть/вскидывать* used in phraseologisms depicting 'awareness' (the attainment of perception, cf. *взглянуть*). Definition (8) shows *вскинуться/вскидываться* used in a

phrase depicting movement into an upright position ('erection', a subclass of verbs of 'disorder', cf. *вздыбиться, встопорщиться, встопыриться*). Definition (9) shows *вскидываться* used to depict random movement in place ('agitation', cf. *вздрагивать, взматывать, встряхиваться*). Definition (10) shows *вскинуться* used to depict a sudden state of excitement ('excitation', cf. *встревожиться, взволноваться*). Definition (11) shows *вскинуться/вскидываться* used to depict verbal abuse ('scolding', cf. *взлаться, взъестся, вскрикнуть на кого*). The chart, then, displays six usages of *вскинуть*:

D	S	A	A	E	D M
I	C	W	G	X	I O
S	O	A	I	C	R T
O	L	R	T	I	E I
R	D	E	A	N	C O
D	I	N	T	A	T N
E	N	E	I	T	E
R	G	S	O	I	D
		S	N	O	
				N	
вскинуть	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]	[X]

The usages displayed in the chart represent the possible usages of one or another of the forms of a verb but not necessarily all of the definitions given for it in the SSRLJa.

The notation [X] under the *problems* column stands for usages which do not fit any of the fifteen semantic groups. The notation X marks those verbs, such as *вскрыть*, which can be classified according to several of the semantic groups but are discussed only in chapter 18 ('Problems') as well as those verbs, such as *вздешеветь*, which are truly anomalous.

Two verbs, *взять* and *встать*, have only one mark, in spite of the fact that they display usages typical of many of the semantic groups. The one mark (X, under 'directed motion') reflects the fact that all their usages are discussed in a separate section of chapter 17.

A G I T A T I O N	S/E O X U P N R D E S S I O N	E X C I T A T I O N	D M I O R T E I C O N T E N T	p r o b l e m s
---	--	--	---	--------------------------------------

		X		
X	X	[X]	X X	
[X]		X X		
X		X		[X]
	X			
X			X X	[X]
[X]		X		
[X]		X		
[X]		X		

THE CORPUS

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A	B
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W	O
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A	I
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R	L
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	E	I
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	N	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	E	G
		G	R	O		G		N	S	
				N				C	S	
								E		

V E R B

взалка́ть										
вза́хаться										
взбаламу́тить										
взбара́хтаться										
взбежа́ть							[X]			
взбеленя́ть										
взбеся́ть										
взбить				X						
взблесну́ть								X		
взбодря́ть	[X]								[X]	
взболтну́ть ₁										
взболтну́ть ₂										
взборозди́ть	X								[X]	
взбороня́ть	X									
взбрести́								[X]		
взбро́сить										
взбры́знуть				X	[X]					
взбры́кнуть										
взбугри́ть			X							
взбудя́ть									[X]	
взбудора́жить				[X]						
взбунтова́ть										
взбура́вить	X									
взбутетя́нить						X	[X]			
взбу́хнуть		X								
взбу́чить		X				[X]	[X]			

B O I L I N G	A G I T A T I O N	S/E O X U P N R D E S I O N	E X C I T A T I O N	D M I O R T E I C O T N E D	p r o b l e m s
	X			X	
X				X	
			X		X
	X			X [X]	
		X	[X]		[X]
	X	[X]		[X]	
	X		[X]		
				X X	
		X			
					X
	X	X	[X]		
		X	[X]		
		X			
				X	

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	E
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	E
		G	R	O		G		N	S
				N				C	S
								E	

VERB

взбушевать									
взвалить						[X]			
взварить									
взвезть									
взвеселить									
взвѣснить									
взвестить						[X]	[X]		[X]
взвѣять									
взвйдеть									X
взвйзгнуть									
взвинтить				X					
взвить				X				[X]	
взвйхрить									
взвихрить				X					
взволновать									
взволочь									
взворотить	[X]			[X]					
взворошить				X					
взвыть									
взгадать									X
взглянуть									X
взгнездиться									
взговорить									
взгомозить									
взгомонить									
взгорбить					X				
взгремѣть									
взгрестъ									

A G I T A T I O N	S/E O X U P N R D E S I O N N	E X C I T A T I O N	D M I O R T E I C O T N E D	p r o b l e m s
			X	
		X	X	
			X	X
			X	
				X
	X	[X]		[X]
X	[X]			X
			[X]	[X]
		X		
			X	X
	X			
			X	
			X	
	[X]		X	
		X		

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A	B
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W	O
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A	I
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R	L
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	E	I
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	N	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	E	G
		G	R	O		G		N	S	
				N				C	S	
								E		

V E R B

взгреть						[X]	[X]			X
взгромоздить								[X]		
взгрустить										
вздв́инуть										
вздвóить	[X]									
вздёрнуть										
вздеть										
вздешевéть										
вздорожáть										
вздохнúть										
вздремнúть										
вздрóгнуть										
вздуть		X	[X]			[X]				
вздúмать										X
вздурй́ться										
вздýбить				X						
взды́мать		[X]	[X]					[X]		[X]
взимáть										
взлáять							[X]			
взложй́ть										
взлезть										
взлелéять								X		
взлетéть				[X]						
взломáть	X									
взлохмáтить				X						
взлупй́ть						X				
взлупцевáть						X				
взлюбй́ть										

A G I T A T I O N	S/E O X U P N R D E S S I O N	E I C I T A T I O N	D M I O R T E I C O N T E N T	p r o b l e m s
X				
[X]		X		
[X]		[X]	X	
	X			
X			X	
X		[X]		
	X			
		X		X
	[X]		X	[X]
	[X]	X		X
			X	
			X	
			X	
			X	
		[X]		
	X			
		X		
	X			

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A	B
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W	O
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A	I
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R	L
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	R	I
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	E	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	N	G
		G	R	O		G		N	S	
				N				C	S	
								E		

V E R B

взлягну́ть										
взма́нть										
взмахну́ть										
взметну́ть	[X]							[X]	[X]	
взмо́кнуть				X						
взмо́лть										
взмо́стть										
взмотну́ть										
взмо́чь				X						
взмуты́ть										
взмы́кивать										
взмы́лить				X		[X]				
взмы́ть										
взненави́деть										
взнести́								[X]	[X]	
взнузда́ть										
взны́ть										
взобра́ться								[X]		
взогна́ть										
взодра́ть	[X]					[X]				
взойти́		[X]						[X]	[X]	
взопрéть					[X]					X
взорва́ть				X						
взрасти́								X		
взрасти́ть								X		
взревéть										
взревновáть										
взрéзать	[X]	X								
взры́дть										

B	A	S/E	E	D M	p
O	G	O X	X	I O	r
I	I	U P	C	R T	o
L	T	N R	I	E I	b
I	A	D E	T	C O	l
N	T	S	A	T N	e
G	I	S	T	E	m
	O	I	I	D	s
	N	O	O		
		N	N		

	X				
			X		
			[X]		
			[X]		
				X	
			X		
		X		X	
	X	[X]	[X]		X
				X	
				X	
X	[X]		[X]	X	
X	[X]		[X]		
X			[X]		
		X			
	X				
	X		[X]		

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	E
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	E
		G	R	O		G		N	S
				N				C	S
								E	

VERB

взрыть	X								
взрыхлѣть	[X]		X						
взрябѣть									
възерепѣнить					[X]				
възеробѣшить			X						
възершѣть			X						
възѣсться						X			
възѣхатъ									
възярѣться									
взять									
воззвѣть									
воззрѣть									X
взыгрѣть								[X]	
взыскѣть									
вскарѣбкатъся									
вскатѣть									
вскѣнуть			[X]			[X]			[X]
вскипѣть									
вскипятѣть									
вскѣснуть									
всклепѣть						X			
всклѣкнуть									
всклокотѣть									
всклокѣчить			X						
всклѣчить			X		[X]				
всколебѣть									
всколѣть		X							
всколупнѣть		X							

A	S/E	E	D M	p
G	O X	X	I O	r
I	U P	C	R T	o
T	N R	I	E I	b
A	D E	T	C O	l
T	S	A	T N	e
I	S	T	E	m
O	I	I	D	s
N	O	O		
	N	N		

X		[X]		
			X	
X	X	[X]		
		X		X
	X			
			X	
		X		
	X			
	X			
[X]	X	[X]	[X]	
			X	
		X		
			X	
		X		X
				X
				X

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A	B
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W	O
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A	I
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R	L
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	E	I
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	N	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	E	G
		G	R	O		G		N	S	
				N				C	S	
								E		

V E R B

вскопáть	X									
вскормíть							X			
вскольхáть										
вскорóбить		X								
вскосмáтить			X							
вскочíть		[X]								
вскрíкнуть							[X]			
вскружíть										
вскручíниться										
вскрыть										
вскрjáкнуть										
вспáрить				[X]	[X]					X
впасть								[X]		
вспахáть	X									
вспéнить			X	[X]						
вспетушíться										
вспеть										
всплáкать										
вспламенíть								X		
всплеснúть				[X]						
всплыть								[X]		
вспойть							X			
вспока́яться										
всползтí							X			
всполоснúть										
всполошíть										
вспóмнить									X	
вспомóчь										
вспомоществовáть										

B	A	S/E	E	D M	p
O	G	O X	X	I O	r
I	I	U P	C	R T	o
L	T	N R	I	E I	b
I	A	D E	T	C O	l
N	T	S	A	T N	e
G	I	S	T	E	m
	O	I	I	D	s
	N	O	O		
		N	N		

			[X]	X	
				X	
[X]		[X]	[X]	X	[X]
			[X]	X	
			X	[X]	
			X		
		[X]	[X]		
				X	
				X	
				X	
			[X]		
			X		
[X]			X		
			[X]		
	X		[X]		
	X		[X]		

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	E
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	E
		G	R	O		G		N	S
				N				C	S
								E	

V E R B

вспорóть	X			[X]		
вспорхнúть		[X]				
вспотéть				X		
вспры́гнуть		[X]				[X]
вспры́снуть				X	[X]	
вспря́нуть						
вспугнúть						
вспузýрить		X				
вспúтать			X			
вспúхнуть		X				
вспúчить		X				
вспушúть	[X]		X		[X]	
вспы́лúть ₁						
вспы́лúть ₂			X			
вспы́хнуть						X [X]
вспя́лить						
встать						
всташúть						
встопóрщúть			X			
встопы́рить			X			
встормошúть			X			
встоскнúться						
встревóжить						
встрепáть			X		[X] [X]	
встрепенúться						
встрепыхнúться						

A	S/E	E	DM	<i>p</i>
G	OX	X	IO	<i>r</i>
I	UP	C	RT	<i>o</i>
T	NR	I	EI	<i>b</i>
A	DE	T	CO	<i>l</i>
T	S	A	TN	<i>e</i>
I	S	T	E	<i>m</i>
O	I	I	D	<i>s</i>
N	O	O		
	N	N		
<hr/>				
X		[X]		
	X		X	
	X			[X]

P	C	S	D	S	B	S	G	A	A	B
L	U	W	I	U	E	C	R	P	W	O
O	T	E	S	F	A	O	O	P	A	I
W	T	L	O	F	T	L	W	E	R	L
I	I	L	R	U	I	D	T	A	E	I
N	N	I	D	S	N	I	H	R	N	N
G	G	N	E	I	G	N		A	E	G
		G	R	O		G		N	S	
				N				C	S	
								E		

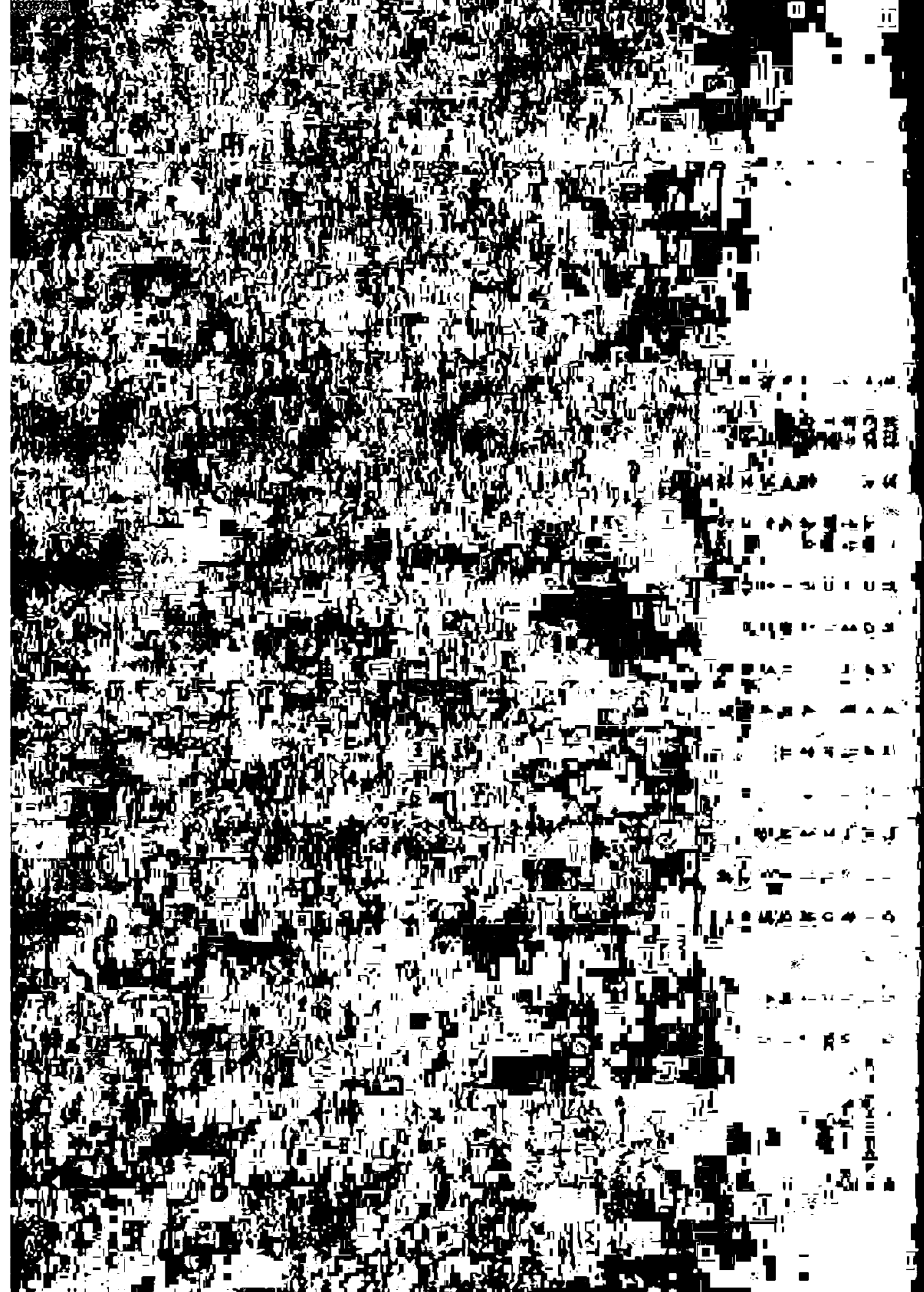
VERB

встрянуть
встянуть
всхлипнуть
всхолмить
всхохлатить
всхрапнуть

[X] [X]

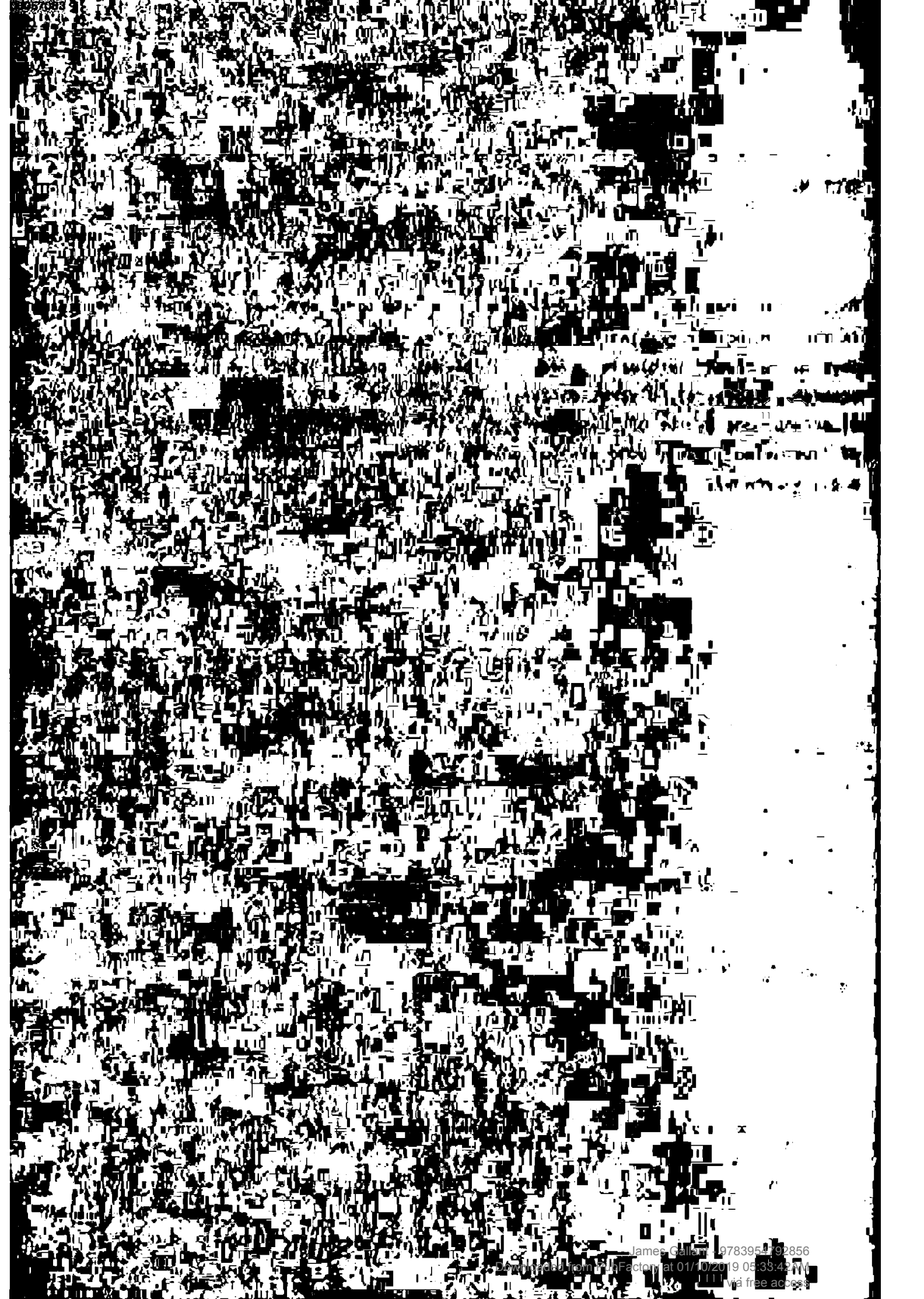
X

X



SECTION II: P H Y S I C A L S U R F A C E S

This section examines verbs denoting actions related to physical surfaces. In these verbs the *вз-* features highlight the notion of transgressing a physical surface: violation (verbs of 'plowing' and 'cutting', e.g., *вспахать, взрезать*), distention (verbs of 'swelling', e.g., *вспухнуть*), disarrangement (verbs of 'disorder', e.g., *встормозить*), suffusion (verbs of 'suffusion', e.g., *вспотеть*) or physical injury (verbs of 'beating', e.g., *взлупить*).



3. P L O W I N G

Perfective only:

взбороздить

взборонить

взбуравить (взбуровить)

[вспушить(ся)]

Paired:

[взбодрить]

[взворотить]

[вздвойть]

[вздорать]

[взметать]

[взрывать]

взрыть

[взрыхлить]

вскопать(ся)

вспахать(ся)

[взбадривать]

[взворачивать]

[вздваивать]

[вздирать]

[взмётывать]

[взрезывать (взрезать)]

взрывать(ся)

[взрыхлять(ся)]

вскапывать(ся)

вспахивать(ся)

3.1 Each of these fourteen verbs is defined by the SSRLJa as depicting, among other things, the action of 'plowing'. According to the dictionary, they all can represent plowing up the earth (земля or its more explicit equivalents почва, чернозем, пар, поле, нива, пашня, etc.); two of them (взрезать and взрыхлить) can also depict plowing or furrowing the surface of water; one (взрыть) can also be used to describe the formation of facial wrinkles. Among *вз-* verbs denoting physical actions disturbing a concrete surface ('plowing', 'cutting', 'swelling', 'disorder', 'suffusion' and 'beating') these verbs form a natural subset, in that they are used to describe a specific kind of disruption (plowing) of a physical surface.

The verbs listed in brackets are not considered primarily verbs of

'plowing': they are verbs whose semantic features are such that they can be used figuratively or in certain phraseological combinations to suggest the notion of 'plowing', cf. 3.2.

3.1.1 The following chart shows that all these verbs are defined in terms of at least one other verb of the group:

	п	р	р	к	б	р	(п
	а	ы	ы	о	о	е	о
	х	х	т	п	р	з	д
	а	л	ь	а	о	а	н
	т	и		т	н	т	и
	ь	т		ь	и	ь	м
		ь			т		а
					ь		т
							ь)
взбороздить						Х	
взборонить		Х					
взбуравить			вз				
вспушить		вз					
взбодрить	вз	Х		Х			
взворотить	вз						
вздвоить	вз						
взодрать	вз						
взметать	Х						
взрезать	вз						
взрыть		вз		вз			Х
взрыхлить	Х				вз		Х
вскопать		Х					
вспахать		вз	вз				

In this and other such charts the notation *вз* indicates that the verb is defined in terms of another *вз*- verb; the notation *Х* indicates that the verb is defined in terms of the root of a verb of the same group, e.g., *взбороздить* ('провести, прорезать борозды'), *взбуравить* ('взрыть воронкой'), *взбодрить* ('обрабатывать землю *вспашкой* или *копанием*, делая *рыхлой*, *возвышая*').

This chart suggests that these verbs have a number of semantic ele-

ments in common without, however, revealing what they are. The morphemes {-пах-} and/or {-рихл-} occur in the definitions of all the verbs except *взбороздить* and *взбуравить*. The verbs *вспахать* and *взрыхлить* are defined in terms of one another.

It might be argued that central to the meaning of all these verbs is the notion of 'motion in an upward direction': the verb *поднимать* occurs in the definitions of *взрыть* and *взрыхлить* and in one of its usages (*поднимать пар, целину*) is defined as '*вспахивать*'. Bronowski (1973:74) notes that "we think of the plough as a wedge dividing the soil... But the plough is also something much more fundamental: it is a lever which lifts the soil, and it is among the first applications of the principle of the lever". Basic, then, would be the idea of lifting up the soil in order to loosen it.

On the other hand, in view of the fact that one has to cut into the earth in order to lift it, one can argue that 'cutting' or 'incision' is the linguistically primitive notion. Vasmer (1964:I:196) considers *борозда* and *борона* possibly related to Lat. *forare* 'bore' and notes that *пахать* might originally have denoted pushing the earth aside so as to make a furrow (cf. the Bronowski quote above): "если принять во внимание характер великорусск. вспашки сохой, которая своим отвалом отодвигает разрыхленную землю в сторону, то напрашивается отождествление **пахати* 'пахать' и **махати* 'мести, махать'" (1971:III:220).

3.1.2 The crucial question here is that of directionality. In order to argue that verbs of 'plowing' mean 'lift (the soil)', i.e., 'cause (the soil) to move in an upward direction', one must conceive the verbs as denoting motion in a particular direction. In chapter 17 we shall see that the meaning 'movement in an upward direction' is an integration of the features underlying *вз-* with other features, [motion] and [directional], of the verbal root: [+ motion + directional + horizontal + transgression]. Verbs not having [+ directional] in their feature matrices cannot specifically denote 'upward motion' when specified for the *вз-* features. One can determine whether a verb is [+ directional] by examining how the dictionary defines it

in combination with various prefixes. Put in traditional terms, a [+directional] verb will take prefixes in their "directional meanings", e.g., *воротить* (impf.) 'turn (in a certain direction)': *заворотить* 'back, to the side', *наворотить* 'onto', *отворотить* 'away, to the side', *переворотить* 'over', *поворотить* 'change direction (set off in new direction)', *проворотить* 'through'. But if the verb is not specified for directionality, it will take prefixes in their "Aktionsart meanings", e.g., *ворочать* 'turn, move (in a series of movements)': *заворочать* 'begin', *наворочать* 'quantity', *отворочать* 'finish', *переворочать* 'repetition, thoroughness', *поворочать* 'a while', *проворочать* 'for a certain time'. (The distinction is not always clear-cut, cf. *наворотить*, which can also denote 'quantity'.)

None of the verbs of 'plowing' appears to be inherently directional. The three verbs *пахать*, *бороздить* and *боронить* are never directional with prefixes; their prefixed forms invariably express a quantification or limitation of the action. The verbs *рыть*, *копать* and *буравить*, however, can be directional with some prefixes, especially when explicitly intransitive. The following chart, consisting of examples taken primarily from Ušakov, summarizes these observations. The partial glosses present informal interpretations of the prefixed verbs serving primarily to distinguish directional from nondirectional usages. Examples of *рыть* can serve also as examples for *копать*. Asterisked are those phrases rejected by native speakers.

	<i>DIRECTIONAL</i>	<i>NONDIRECTIONAL</i>
ВЫ-	<i>'out of'</i>	<i>'extent'</i>
	*выпахать три рубля из этого участка	выпахать три полосы этот участок совсем вы- пахался выпахать три рубля за день ('do three rubles' worth of plowing') выбороздить кровельный тес для стока воды выборонить поле до конца

DIRECTIONAL

- ВЫ- 'out of'
- *выпахать камень из почвы
 - *откуда вы выпахали этот клад?
 - *откуда он выбуравил отверстие?
- вырыть клад из земли
крот вырылся на поверхность

- ДО- 'up to'
- *куда допахали участок?
- дорыться до источника

- ЗА- 'behind, far, deep'
- *куда запахали навоз?
- зарыть клад в песок
зарыться в одеяло

- *запахать за межу

NONDIRECTIONAL

- 'acquisition' (uncovering an object, creating a form)
- выпахать камень, картофель, клад
где вы выпахали этот клад?
выбуравить круглое отверстие
вырыть канаву, колодец
вырыть клад в саду

- 'termination, extent'
- допахать поле ('кончить пахать')
- допахать участок до межи
допахаться до изнеможения
- дорыть канаву
дорыть до двух метров глубины

- 'inchoative'
- запахали ранним утром ('начали пахать')
- зарыли землю
Яков зарылся у себя в карманах, достал грош

- 'covering'
- запахать навоз
заборонили паровое

- 'acquisition'
- запахать чужую землю

- 'extent'
- лошадь пала, запахалась (Dal')

	<i>DIRECTIONAL</i>	<i>NONDIRECTIONAL</i>
ИЗ-	<i>'out of'</i> ¹	<i>'totality'</i> испахали все поле морщины избороздили его лоб крот изрыл весь огород
НА-	<i>'onto'</i> *напахали на бугор	<i>'quantity, extent'</i> трактор напахал свыше двухсот гектаров они напахались за день слесарь набуравил дыр в доске нарыть картофеля, канав
О-	<i>'around'</i> *опахать вокруг картофеля	<i>'surrounding'</i> опахать огородный участок, картофель
ОБ-	<i>'around'</i> *обрыть вокруг яблони	<i>'surrounding'</i> обрыть картофель, яблоню (окучить)
ОТ-	<i>'away from'</i> *отпахать от межи	<i>'termination, extent'</i> отпахать участок в срок отпахать два дня отборонили поле ('кончили боронить') отрыть (Ušakov: 'кончить рытье')
	отрыть снег от забора	<i>'acquisition'</i> отрыть кости в саду отрылась старая монета

¹The prefix из- in the directional meaning 'out of' survives as a remnant of Church Slavic; the Russian equivalent is вы-: e.g., извлечь 'extract', but выволочь 'drag out'.

	<i>DIRECTIONAL</i>	<i>NONDIRECTIONAL</i>
ПЕРЕ-	<i>'across'</i>	<i>'entirety, series'</i>
	*они перепахали через поле	они перепахали все поле перебороздить весь участок крот перерыл весь огород он перерыл все ящики в столе
	*перерыть через дорогу	<i>'spanning'</i> перебороздить океан перерыть дорогу канавой
		<i>'repetition'</i> перепахать поле еще раз переборонить заново перерыть землю снова
ПО-	<i>'set off'</i> ¹	<i>'delimitation'</i>
	*куда поехали?	поехали с полчаса и пошли домой видать, что [пароход] уже пожил на все, побороздил океаны порыли канаву и бросили
ПОД-	<i>'under, up to'</i>	<i>'attenuation, supplementation'</i>
	*подпахать к лесу	подпахать еще немного у леса
	*куда подрыли окоп?	подрыли окоп, глубже сделали
		<i>'undermining'</i>
	крот подрылся под камень	свинья подрыла корни у дерева

¹Directional verbs in combination with the prefix *no-* depict a departure from the rest ('setting off') or a departure from course ('setting off in a new direction'). Nondirectional verbs with *no-* depict a delimitation of the activity. For example (cf. chapter 17): *пойти* 'set off', but *походить* 'walk a while'; *поворотить голову в сторону* 'turn one's head to the side', but *поворочать головой по подушке* 'roll one's head on the pillow'; *подвинуть стол к окну* 'move the table over to the window', but *подвигать пальцами* 'move one's fingers a bit'.

	<i>DIRECTIONAL</i>	<i>NONDIRECTIONAL</i>
ПРИ-	'up to' *припахать к лесу	'acquisition' ныне он ко ржаному припахали еще полосу (Dal')
		'entirety' припахать все поляшко (Ušakov)
ПРО-	'through' *пропахать через межу Терек прорылся сквозь обвал	'thoroughness' хорошо пропахать гряды, борозды пробороздить поле морщины пробороzdили лоб его пробороздить линию, след, черту прорыть всю канаву
	сверло пробуравилось сквозь стену	'spanning' лодка пробороzdила озеро пробуравить стену штопором прорыть ('проредить') сахарную свеклу (Ušakov)
		'duration' пропахать весь день поле проборонить целый день яму прорыли целый день
РАЗ-	'different directions' *они распахали в разные стороны *куда он разрыл все мои бумаги?	'entirety' распахать новь, целину разборонить поле свиньи разрыли гряды он разрыл все мои бумаги

DIRECTIONAL

- C- 'down from'
- *спахали вниз по наклону
долину
- *откуда срыли бугор?

NONDIRECTIONAL

- 'destruction, elimination'
- спахали все бугорки
- срыть бугор, крепость

Verbs of 'plowing' do not have a directional sense when prefixed with *вз-*. They represent not the translocation of the object through space but rather a violation of its surface:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>ВЗ- 'up'</p> <p>*вспахать землю вверх</p> <p>*куда { взбороздили
взборонили } почву?</p> <p>*{ взрыли
вскопали } землю на что</p> <p>*ветре взбуравил снег в воздух</p> | <p>'violation of surface'</p> <p>вспахать землю</p> <p>{ взбороздили } почву
{ взборонили }</p> <p>{ взрыли } землю ('обработали
вскопали' землю')</p> <p>ветер взбуравил снег</p> |
|--|--|

I will assume that verbs of 'plowing' (*взбороздить, взборонить, взбуравить, взрыть, вскопать, вспахать*) do not denote lifting up the soil but rather the disruption of a surface altering its configuration. Unlike verbs of 'cutting' (chapter 4), which may denote not only the disruption of the surface but also the complete breaking up of the object, verbs of 'plowing' leave the object intact.

3.2 If disruption (of surface integrity) is *the* common feature of verbs of 'plowing', one must ask how the verbs listed in brackets at the beginning of the chapter (*вспушить, взбодрить, взворотить, вдвоить, вздрать, взметать, взрезать, взрыхлить*) fit into this group.

3.2.1 The two verbs (*вс*)пушить 'fluff up' and (*вз*)рыхлить 'loosen up' do not denote an action disrupting a surface but rather a change of state ('сделать пушистым', 'сделать рыхлым') dealing with the internal consistency of the object. I treat them, therefore, as verbs of 'disorder' (chapter 6) which may be further specified in such a way as to stand for the notion of plowing. For example, if a verb phrase containing (*вз*)пушить or (*вз*)рыхлить is further spe-

cified for the patient земля or почва, the entire phrase can be interpreted as referring to the cultivation of the soil. The complex notion of 'loosening up the soil', conceived as an abstraction, can admit further combinations, e.g.:

"Чтоб душой был каждый прям и молод,
Мы взрыхлили жизни чернозем.
Шелком вышитые серп и молот
Мы на нашем знамени несем."

In this case it is the entire phrase взрыхлить чернозем that is treated abstractly and expanded: (взрыхлить чернозем) жизни.

3.2.2 The verbs вздрать 'rip up' and взрезать 'cut up' do denote the violation of surface integrity. But is only in phrases such as вздрать почву and взрезать землю, грудь земли that they are interpretable more specifically as verbs of 'plowing'. In the case of драть there seems to be no definition of the unprefixated verb matching that of the prefixed verb:

ДРАТЬ: 'scratch, scrape'

'Царапать, скоблить'

"Матросы...как львы, дерущие
землю, раздирали веслами
влагу."

ВЗДРАТЬ/ВЗДИРАТЬ: 'tear up'

'Вспахивать твердую землю или новь'

"В ту же осень двадцать тягол от-
правились в Бугурусланский уезд,
взяв с собою сохи, бороны и
семянной ржи: на любых местах
вздодали они девственную почву."

Both verbs can represent the violation of the surface of the earth. The definition of the prefixed verb is really a definition of its context in this particular quote, a context in which the subjects, equipped with plows and harrows, perform an action upon virgin soil. The semantics of вздрать is discussed further in 17.4.2.1; взрезать is discussed in the next chapter (4.2.2).

3.2.3 The verbs взворотить 'turn up' and взметать 'cast up' (cf. 2.2.2) are really verbs of 'directed motion' (chapter 17). Their invariant meaning is something like 'move an object (in a certain direction)'. They are capable of standing for the action of plowing in such phrases as взвороченные лемехами пласты тучного чернозема 'layers of rich black earth turned up by plowshares' and (вз)метать пар 'to fallow (i.e., cultivate a field by performing a series of digging and pitching movements)'. The semantics of взметать is discussed in

17.5.2.1. Взворотить deserves special comment because there is no definition of воротить specifically matching that of взворотить:

ВОРОТИТЬ: 'turn'

'Поворачивать в сторону,
сворачивать'

ВЗВОРОТИТЬ/ВЗВОРАЧИВАТЬ:

'Вспахивать'

"За хутором призывно чернела
освобожденная от снега зябь.
Взвороченные лемехами пласты
тучного чернозема курились на
сугреве паром."

This is another case where the prefixed verb has been defined too specifically. Воротить 'turn' describes motion in one direction (unlike ворочать 'turn in various directions, roll'). The directed motion it denotes when combined with the notion of crossing the horizontal (i.e., взворотить) signifies no more than motion in an upward direction, 'turn up'. The semantics of взворотить is discussed in 17.3.3.

3.2.4 The verbs взбодрить 'liven up' and вдвоить 'double' (вдвоить пар 'twifallow') present interesting problems. Although their invariant semantics has nothing at all to do with 'plowing', they are found in phrases which are interpretable as having to do with the cultivation of the soil: взбодрить землю 'liven up the soil', вдвоить пар 'do the field twice'.

3.2.4.1 Whereas the unprefixated бодрить represents only the notion of 'invigoration' ('придавать силы, повышать настроение, веселить'), the prefixed verb взбодрить is defined in one of its usages as '(Прост.) Обрабатывать землю вспашкой или копанием, делая рыхлой, возвышая'. The sample quotation is taken from Gorkij, *Лето*: "Я, ребята, людей этих, китайцев, японцев, близко видел — и которые воют, и которые землю пашут... Ну, как они землю свою *взбадри-вают!*..." Dal' does not list бодрить with this prefix, and the SSRLJa is the only modern dictionary to attest it in this usage.

This is one of the rather rare cases where there seems to be absolutely no correspondence between a meaning of the prefixed verb and any of the meanings of the unprefixated verb. As an *ad hoc* solution one might say that here also the prefixed verb has been too specifically defined and that what it

really means is something like 'cause to be vigorous'. The IE root **weg-/*wig-* has a semantic range similar to that of Slavic *brd(r)-*: Lat. *vegere* 'enliven, arouse, invigorate', LLat. *vegetare* 'be animated, (of plants) to grow'; Lat. *vigere* 'thrive, flourish'; Engl. *wake, watch*. The idea seems to be one of imparting life to or making fertile a life-supporting medium like soil: the *ESSJa* (III:111) reports a dialectal usage of the adjective *бодрое* in the meaning "'хорошее, полное, свежее (о семени)' (Ярославская область)". Such a hypothesis assumes that the semantic features of *(вз)бодрить* in dialects or просторечие are such that it can take not only animate patients but also inanimate patients such as 'earth', 'soil', in themselves inanimate, but having animating or life-giving qualities such as fertility. *(Вз)бодрить* could thus, in spite of the dictionary definition, be treated also in this usage as a verb of 'excitation' (cf. chapter 16). It would not denote a physical activity performed on a physical object but rather the metaphorical arousal of a quasi-animate object. This analysis, nevertheless, remains very speculative and must await corroboration from native speakers who have this word as part of their active vocabulary. Other usages of this word are discussed in 18.1.1.

3.2.4.2 Both *двоить* and *вздвоить* can be used with the nouns *пар* and *земля* in the sense of 'twifallow (plow for the second time)':

ДВОИТЬ пар, землю: 'twifallow'

'Вторично пахать землю, уже
вспаханную раньше'

ВЗДВОИТЬ/ВЗДВАМВАТЬ пар, землю:

'Вторично вспахивать'

Here again the dictionary defines the verb in terms of its context. The semantics of the verb itself is much simpler. *Двоить* can mean (1) 'make two (out of one)', e.g., 'split' (*двоить кожу*), 'present double' ("каналы и бассейны жадно ушивались отблесками..., перенимали узоры, двоили их"); and (2) 'make two (into one)', e.g., 'double' (*двоить нитку, двоить материю*). Stated most simply, *двоить* has the features [+ verb + "two" + product]: that is, an action whose semantics is 'two' producing an object. In both cases the object is double, either a split entity consisting of two parts or a combined entity consisting of two. That 'split' ('twain') and 'double' are not two separate meanings of *двоить* but rather two possible readings of one set of features is supported by

the fact that when native speakers (who are not carriers) were questioned as to the meaning of the phrase *двоить кожу* their first response was 'put two hides together to make a double thickness'. The third meaning of *двоить* ('repeat, do twice') involves a [patient] rather than a [product]: the action does not produce a double object but merely affects, twice, an existing object. This meaning is limited to certain phraseological contexts: 'Делать, производить что-либо вторично, два раза. В специальной терминологии. Сел.-хоз. Двоить пар, землю ('twifallow')... Техн. Производить вторичную перегонку ('double [distill]')...' It might be best to treat these as bound phraseological units and say that it is the whole phrase *двоить пар, землю* that is prefixed with *вз-*: [+ verb + "two" + patient (+ physical + surface + soil, etc.) + horizontal + transgression].

3.2.5 We have noted in this section that the dictionary tends to define verb forms in terms of their contexts. As we shall see in subsequent chapters the semantics of these verbs is neither so specific nor so complex as their dictionary definitions would imply; it is the very simplicity of its semantics that permits a verb like *двоить* or *метать* (cf. 2.2.2) to appear in so many different contexts. Furthermore, as I noted in 2.2, the contexts in which a verb can appear is limited in kind; and it seems to be a general rule that verbs with relatively simple or abstract semantic structures (e.g., *взворотить*, *взметать*, *вздвоить*) can stand for the more complex actions denoted by verbs of more specific semantic structures (e.g., *вспахать*).

3.3 In 3.2 we noted that it is occasionally difficult to find a usage of the unprefix verb corresponding to that of the prefixed verb. Usually, however, if one compares the meanings of the prefixed with the unprefix verb, one finds that their definitions match: the prefix has not added new information (new semantic features) but only new emphasis (the explicit specification of features inherent in the base):

БОРОЗДИТЬ: 'furrow'

'Прорезывать, проводить, оставлять
после себя борозду, рытвину;
пахать'

ВБОРОЗДИТЬ:

'Провести, прорезать борозды'

БОРОНИТЬ: 'harrow'

'Производить обработку вспаханной земли, разрыхляя ее бороною'

БУРОВИТЬ: 'drill, furrow'

'Сверлить, взрывать землю... бороздить снег и т. п.'

"Крепкий верховой ветер сильно буровил здесь и там снежную равнину."

ВЗБОРОНИТЬ:

'Разрыхлить, обработать бороною пашню'

ВЗБУРАВИТЬ (ВЗБУРОВИТЬ):

'Взрыть воронкой...'

"Вот налетел круговой вихрь, с визгом взбуравил снежную пелену."

(The unprefixd буравить means only 'drill' [делать отверстие буравом, сверлить'].)

КОПАТЬ: 'dig'

'Разрыхлять, разрывать землю...; рыть'

ПАХАТЬ: 'plow'

'Взрыхлять (землю)'

РЕЗАТЬ: 'cut'

'Скользя по...твердой поверхности, врезаясь в нее, оставлять следы, борозды'

"Стальные режут землю лемеха..."

'Плывя, летая, раздвигать в стороны, бороздить (водную поверхность, воздух)'

РЫТЬ: 'dig'

'Копать, разрывать что-либо рыхлое, сыпучее'

"...Каждый из них получил по лопате, встали в длинный ряд рабочих и принялись рыть землю."

"И начал он [барс] Серdito лапой рыть песок."

"Он видит, Терек своенравный Крутые роет берега."

ВСКОПАТЬ/ВСКАПЫВАТЬ:

'Копая, разрыхлять (землю)'

ВСПАХАТЬ/ВСПАХИВАТЬ:

'Взрывать, вхрыхлять землю'

ВЗРЕЗАТЬ/ВЗРЕЗЫВАТЬ землю, грудь земли:

'Вспахивать землю'

"...он пахал и, налегая...ладонями на соху, взрезывал упругую грудь земли."

'Взрезать/взрезывать водную поверхность, воду и т. п.'

ВЗРЫТЬ/ВЗРЫВАТЬ:

'Вскапывать, взрыхлять, рыть, поднимая вверх'

"...Под огурцы одни он взрыл с полсотни гряд."

"Пристяжные лошади, взрывая копытами снег, ..."

"Одно ядро взрыло землю в двух шагах от Пьера."

'Образно'

"...Угрюмые, взрытые морщинами
лица безучастно кольхались в
газовом свете."

In all these cases the prefixed verb expresses more explicitly something not emphasized in the unprefixing verb: the fact that all these actions represent violations of a surface. The highlighting of the features [horizontal] and [transgression] has several effects. For example, the unprefixing рыть can be used in various senses, depending on how one chooses to elaborate the predication: 'dig (up) a surface' (with nouns denoting surfaces), 'dig a hole' (with nouns such as картофель, клад, черви which denote objects found within another medium), 'dig in (rummage)' (with nouns such as архивы, бумаги which can represent a complex medium). But once the action is specified as transgressing the horizontal, only the first usage is possible. Another effect of specifying prefixal features is an occasional alteration of the transitivity of the verb. Both the unprefixing and perfective prefixed verbs listed above can be used without overtly specifying the object. The prefixed verb, however, has a greater tendency to be transitive because it specifies the relationship of the action to a surface: once the action is viewed as transgressing a surface, the nature of that surface must be explained, unless it is clear from the immediate linguistic or extralinguistic context. While the unprefixing imperfective can be used absolutely, as "name of the action", the prefixed imperfective cannot be so used without an object:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| - | Что вы делали вчера? | "What were you doing yesterday?" |
| - | { Мы пахали.
Мы вспахивали поле.
*Мы вспахивали. } | { "We were plowing."
"We were plowing up the field."
*"We were plowing up." } |

The situation is the same in English, except that the restriction is more absolute. The verb-particle phrase in this case cannot be used without an object:

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| - | Вы кончили этот участок? | "Did you finish that section?" |
| - | { Да, вспахали его.
Да, вспахали. } | { "Yes, we plowed it up."
*"Yes, we plowed up." } |

See 15.2.6 for further discussion of the relationship between prefixation and transitivity.

4. C U T T I N G

Paired:

взломáть(ся) (взломíть)		взлáмывать(ся)
взрѣзать		{ взрѣзывать(ся)
		(взрезáть[ся])
всколóть(ся)		вскáлывать(ся)
	всколупнúть	всколúпывать
вспорóть(ся)		вспáрывать(ся)

Here and in chapters to follow the left column will list verbs derived from imperfective bases, the center column verbs derived from perfective and semelfactive bases, and the right column secondary imperfectives.

4.1 What these five verbs seem to have in common is the notion of 'incision', of breaking through the surface of an object to get at what is inside. These verbs, together with verbs of 'plowing', have been said by some scholars to involve a distinct special meaning of the prefix *вз-*, cf. 2.1.1. According to Bogusławski (1963:84), the meaning of *вз-* with these verbs is 'result touching the object's upper side, splitting it at the same time' (взломать). According to Rutkowska (1967:129-30), *вз-* here means 'open, destroying the intactness (of the object)' and can, more specifically, denote 'action affecting the upper side of the object' (вспороть рукав, взрезать кожу) or 'penetration' (взломать ящик, взрезать ананас, вспороть матрас).

Examples, however, would indicate that the action does not always necessarily affect the object's upper side but can proceed from beneath or within: "Или взломав свой синий лед, Нева к морям его несет..."; "Когда зверь шел на нее, разинув пасть, она била его...н, сунув нож в пасть, вспарывала горло медведю". Furthermore, as Rutkowska's examples demonstrate, the same verbs when prefixed with *вз-* can denote either 'affect the surface' or 'penetrate (affect the surface of a volume)': вспороть рукав/матрас;

взрезать кожу/ананас. Of course, the 'surface/volume' distinction Rutkowska ascribes to the prefix is also to be discerned in the object: рукав, кожа (surface); матрас, ананас (volume).

It seems more logical to say that whether it is the upper or underside (the outside or inside) that the action affects and whether the object is conceived as a surface or as a volume depends upon the specification of other semantic features of the predicate than those highlighted by the prefix *вз-*. The prefix *вз-* in itself reflects no more than the specification of the features 'horizontal' and 'transgression', signaling that the speaker conceives the action as related to a (physical) surface and conceives the relation as one of transgression, ("incision" in this case). The features 'horizontal' and 'transgression' do not, of course, stand alone. In formulating the semantic content of his message the speaker specifies a number of semantic features of the language, invariant features underlying the root morpheme of the predicate (e.g., something like [+ verb + negate + integrity] "cut, break") and variable features (e.g., [abstract], [intransitive], [past], [perfective], [horizontal], [transgression]). Although in isolation these features may be highly abstract, they assume as a syntagm of specified features a more palpable reality. Thus [horizontal] and [transgression] combine with other specified variable features (e.g., [physical], [surface], [contact]) and invariant features of a verb (e.g., [+ verb + negate + integrity] plus whatever other features are needed to constitute the semantics of "cutting") to form the complex notion "(transitive) (physical) action negating the integrity of a (physical) object viewed in its transgressive relation to the surface of the object". If the object is further specified as a volume, the composite notion assumes the character of "penetration".

To assert that *вз-* expresses only the specification of the features 'horizontal' and 'transgression' of these verbs is to say that there is no special prefixal meaning involved here, that the meaning of the prefix with verbs of cutting is the same as its meaning with all other verbs that take it. To claim that *вз-* has a special meaning with verbs of cutting and plowing ("destroy the intactness of the object by affecting its [upper] surface or penetrating it") is to read into the semantics of the prefix features of

the verb (cutting) or the object (volume).

All the verbs of this group, with or without the prefix, can denote an action which destroys the integrity of a physical object. A determination of precisely which semantic features constitute this meaning and which features distinguish one verb of cutting (incision) from another is beyond the scope of this book. We can, however, say that all these verbs are partial synonyms in that they share the features 'horizontal' and 'transgression', the specification of which is manifested by the prefix *vs-*.

4.2 In most cases the definition of the prefixed verb corresponds to one of the definitions of the unprefixing verb:

4.2.1

ЛОМАТЬ: 'break up'

'Сгибая или ударяя с силой, отделять части чего-либо или разделять что-либо на части, куски'

"Гигантский вал ломал метровые плиты льда..." (SRJa)

"Лед...каждый день ломало и понемногу выносило в море."
(SRJa)

ВЗЛОМАТЬ/ВЗЛАМЫВАТЬ:

'Ломать, разворачивая; разбивать, открывать что-либо запертое'

"Или взломав свой синий лед, Нева к морям его несет."

"Лед разом взломало..."

4.2.2

РЕЗАТЬ: 'cut, open'

'Разрезать для обнаружения внутренностей...; вскрывать...'

"Резать нарыв, опухоль"

'Делать операцию..., анатомировать'

"Тогда приходилось...врачу резать кошек, собак, кроликов..."

ВЗРЕЗАТЬ/ВЗРЕЗЫВАТЬ:

'Делая надрез, обнажать внутренние части чего-либо, содержимое какой-либо оболочки'

"Взрезать арбуз, пакет, конверт."

'Делать операцию, вскрытие'

"На лекции физиологии взрезали теленка."

When used to mean 'cut open', the unprefixing *резать* seems more limited in the range of objects it takes than the more specific *взрезать*. Sometimes one finds that unprefixing verbs used in the same meaning as their prefixed counter-

parts do have a somewhat phraseological or even terminological character (e.g., рвать 'explode', cf. 1.3). The reason for this is perhaps that such usages can arise only among groups of speakers that deal with such activities so frequently that overt specification of the exact nature of the activity is not necessary. This may be the case with the second "meaning" given above: 'делать операцию, анатомировать'. In all examples given for the use of резать and взрезать in this meaning the context clearly shows that the topic is either surgery or physiology. What this suggests is that here too the actual meaning, the specific semantic content, of резать and взрезать is no more than 'cut (up)' and that it is only the broader linguistic context (the specification of subject as physician or physiologist, the object as patient or corpse) or the immediate speech situation that further specifies the general notion of 'cutting (up)'. Furthermore, it is only further specified context which lets the listener know whether it is surgery or dissection that is being performed: "Тогда приходилось любознательному врачу резать кошек, собак, кроликов и по аналогии воссоздавать внутреннее устройство человеческого тела". Without further context, "приходилось ему резать кошек, собак, кроликов" could mean that a man had either to slaughter, operate on, dissect or carve some animals. If the man is further specified as an inquisitive physician who "cuts" animals in order then to reconstruct by analogy the internal structure of the human body, then the entire predication can be said to have to do with dissection. But by itself резать specifically communicates only the idea of "cutting".

My working hypothesis (cf. 1.3) is that, taken in isolation, a given form explicitly conveys the specification of only a given set of semantic features but may imply any feature whose specification is not thereby precluded. Thus the semantic features explicit in the morpheme {rez} 'cut' do not preclude a further specification of the action as 'plowing', 'slaughtering', 'operating', 'dissecting' or 'carving' (cf. 1.3). Likewise, the verb волновать, in isolation, is ambiguous as to 'agitation' or 'excitation' (cf. 2.2), and there is disagreement among speakers as to which meaning is primary. It seems that any natural-language definition of a form amounts to a combinatory reading of explicit and implicit features: the dictionary

offers not one definition of {рез} but a multitude of definitions of *резать* and *резать* as used in various kinds of contexts. It may be that there is a 'hierarchy of readings', starting with those readings which correspond to the least number of feature specifications and ending with readings corresponding to the greatest number. This is to say that more semantic features would have to be made explicit for *резать* unambiguously to denote 'dissection' than would need to be specified for it to denote 'slicing'. This linguistic 'hierarchy of readings' need not correspond to any psychological hierarchy of meanings. The primacy or immediacy of one meaning as compared to another may vary among groups of speakers and even with one speaker at different times. For example, the primary meaning of *двоить* (cf. 3.2.4.2) may be different to a currier ('split'), a distiller ('double [distil]'), a farmer ('twifallow'), a seamstress ('double [thread]', 'put two together [threads; pieces of material]'), etc. It is conceivable that to a psychiatrist on a cruise *волновать* might temporarily have more immediately to do with waves than with states of the mind. In these cases, it is features of extralinguistic context or of linguistic context beyond the scope of the given utterance that condition one reading as opposed to another.

4.2.3

КОЛОТЬ: 'break up'

'Раздроблять, рассекать на куски что-либо твердое'

"Матвей берет в обе руки лом и начинает колоть лед..."

ВСКОЛОТЬ/ВСКАЛЫВАТЬ:

'Раскалывать, расколоть сверху'

"Вскалывать лед."

The prefixed verb is defined with the adverb *сверху* 'on top', indicating that it makes more explicit reference to the surface of the object. The quotation given for the unprefixated verb, however, can as well be interpreted as action affecting the upper side of the object.

4.2.4

(КОЛУПАТЬ):

КОЛУПНУТЬ: 'pick'

'Ковыряя, отделять часть чего-либо'

ВСКОЛУПНУТЬ/ВСКОЛУПЫВАТЬ:

'Колупая, отдирать'

"Ерошка колупал толстым пальцем
струпья на руках..." (no example)

4.2.5

ПОРОТЬ: 'rip up'

'Разрезать, разъединить по швам
сшитое'

"Элдар достал из-под кинжала
ножичек и стал пороть подкладку
бешмета."

'Наносить рану чем-либо острым,
вспарывать'

"...корова стояла как бы в раз-
думье, стоит ли пороть рогом
этот отяжелевший старческий зад."

ВСПОРОТЬ/ВСПАРЫВАТЬ:

'Вскрывать, разрезать покровы или
части тела или что-либо зашитое,
сшитое'

"Оказалось: валяется воротник за
сундуком, подкладка вспорота,
денег нет."

(no separate definition)

"Когда зверь шел на нее, разинув
пасть, она била его...и, сунув
нож в пасть, вспарывала горло
медведю."

4.2.6 In all these cases the prefix can be seen not to add meaning to the verb that it does not have already: these verbs without the prefix can represent the violation or penetration of a surface; specifying them explicitly as denoting [+horizontal + transgression] limits them to that meaning.

4.3 One verb of 'cutting' does not seem to work in the same way: вскрыть(ся)/вскрывать(ся). It is discussed in 18.2.5.

5. SWELLING

Perfective only:

взбугрѣть (ся)
 взбѹчить
 взгѹрбить (ся)
 вскорѹбить (ся)
 всхолмѣть (ся)

Imperfective only:

[вздымѣть (ся)]

Paired:

взбѹхнуть		взбухѣть
вздѹть (ся)		вздувѣть (ся)
[взойтѣ]		[всходѣть]
	[вспорхнѹть]	[вспѣрживать]
	[вспрыгнѹть]	[вспрыгивать]
вспузѣрить (ся)		вспузѣривать (ся)
вспѹхнуть		вспухѣть
вспѹчить (ся)		вспѹчивать (ся)
[вскочѣть]		[вскѣкивать]

5.1 Unlike verbs of 'plowing' and 'cutting', these verbs (in the particular meanings discussed below) describe not the disruption, but rather the distention, of a surface. 'Swelling' might tentatively be defined as the distention or enlargement of form relative to substance. Like other *вз*-verbs depicting changes undergone by physical objects, these verbs can be said to represent the violation of a surface. Here, however, it is the normal configuration of the surface which is affected; the surface itself is not broken.

5.2 Except for *взбугрѣть*, *взгѹрбить*, *вспрыгнѹть* and *вспорхнѹть*, all these

verbs are defined in terms of at least one other verb of the group:

	б	б	г	д	в	к	п	п	х	(п	(у
	у	у	о	у	э	о	у	у	о	о	в
	г	х	р	т	д	р	ч	х	л	д	е
	о	н	б	ь	ы	о	и	н	м	н	л
	р	у			м	б	т	у		я	и
		т			а	и	ь	т		т	ч
		ь			т	т		ь		ь)	и
					ь	ь					т
											ь)
(взбугрить)										Х	
взбухнуть				вз		вз					
взбучить						вз					Х
(взгорбить)										Х	
вздуть	Х	вз	Х				Х	вз	Х	Х	Х
вздымать				Х						Х	Х
взойти					вз	вз				Х	Х
вскоробить	Х		Х			вз					
(вспорхнуть)											
(вспрыгнуть)										Х	Х
вспузырить				вз							
всплунуть		Х		вз							
вспучить		Х	Х	вз		Х				Х	Х
вскочить				вз							
всколмить	Х									Х	

Although *взбугрить(ся)* and *взгорбить(ся)* are not defined in terms of any other verb in this group, the morphemes {bug#r} and {gorb} appear in the definitions of several of these verbs: *вздуть(ся)/вздувать(ся)*, and the noun *вдутие*, *вскоробить(ся)*, *вспучить(ся)/вспучивать(ся)* and *всколмить(ся)*.

The verb *поднять(ся)/поднимать(ся)* appears in the definitions of eight of the fifteen verbs of this group. This fact would suggest that the semantics of these verbs includes the notion of 'upward direction'. An examination of their usage, however, shows this not necessarily to be the case. The surface of the object may be distended vertically or horizontally, the

literal direction being up, down or outward. Sentences quoted under *вздут(ся)/вздувать(ся)* may serve as examples. In the sentences "Лед на воде вздулся..." and "...так и вздулись сердитые волны..." the surface is seen to swell upward. In the sentence "Потолок был оклеен когда-то белой бумагой, она вздулась пузырями...", however, the actual direction of the swelling is downward. In the sentences "Ветер треплет его [нищего] лохмотья, вздувает пазуху..." and "Паруса вздулись" the actual direction of the swelling would seem to be outward (horizontal).

When prefixed with *вз-*, verbs of swelling do not, then, denote movement in a particular direction but rather the distortion or, more specifically, the distention of a surface. The object is not displaced or caused to move in a particular direction; it is the configuration of the surface that is affected. The semantics of 'swelling' might be something like [+ verb + large + form + potential]. Further specification of the features [+ horizontal + transgression] present the action as related to a surface and states the relationship to be one of "transgression". The feature [horizontal], in combination with the feature [form], denotes a literal physical surface without regard to its actual attitude or orientation in real space. The feature [transgression], in combination with the features [+ verb + large + form + potential], denotes a violation of normal (surface) configuration.

5.3 In most cases one can find examples suggesting that these verbs can be used without the prefix to convey implicitly what they explicitly denote with the prefix:

5.3.1

БУГРИТЬ: 'mound'

'Производить бугры на поверхности, вздымать поверхность буграми'

ВЗБУГРИТЬ:

'Поднять буграми, придать вид бугров'

5.3.2

ГОРБИТЬ: 'hunch, hump'

'Изгибать горбом'

"Горбить спину."

ВЗГОРБИТЬ:

'Изогнуть горбом, поднять кверху'

"Здесь когда-то подземные огненные силы вздумали пошутить и взгорбили океанское дно на

	огромнейшем пространстве."
ГОРБИТЬСЯ: 'loom'	ВЗГОРБИТЬСЯ:
'Торчать, подниматься горбом'	'Изогнуться горбом, подняться вверх'
"Верстах в десяти вверх по течению Исети горбились крыши деревни Чазевой."	"Недалеко от станции угрюмо взгорбился каменный остов здания."

In the SRJa we find a similar definition and quotation for горбиться: 'подниматься горбом, выгибаясь, образуя выпуклость': "...около [паровой машины] горбились крыши двух казарм." The words used in dictionary definitions are ambiguous as to process/state, cf. торчать ('выдаваться, выступать над поверхностью' [process] vs. 'стоять, резко выделяясь на поверхности' [state]); подниматься ('перемещаться вверх' vs. 'выделяться своей высотой'). One would assume that горбиться/взгорбиться is capable of the same ambiguity (i.e., that it has 'state' as a variable feature), in spite of the fact that the quotations given seem only to describe states.

5.3.3

КОРОБИТЬ: 'warp'	ВСКРОБИТЬ:
'Кривить, делать неровным, изгибать'	'Вспучить, выгнуть горбом, буграми; перекосить'
"Жар коробит сырые доски."	"Прибывшая вода вскоробила лед на реке."

5.3.4

ХОЛМИТЬСЯ: 'swell, be(come) hilly'	ВСХОЛМИТЬСЯ:
'Быть, становиться холмистым'	'Стать холмистым, принять холмистый вид (о поверхности)'
"Берег слегка холмился и уходил в предвесеннее сизое марево."	(no quotation)
"На горизонте степь поднималась, холмилась."	
'Подниматься, возвышаться. О холмах'	
"На горизонте холмились ... горы."	
'О волнах'	

"...Холмилась и росла
лиловая волна..."

The SSRLJa lists a transitive *всколмить* ('поднять холмом, покрыться холмами; принять вид холма') and notes that it is used usually in the form of the past participle. Only the first phrase of the definition, however, could be the paraphrase of a transitive verb; the latter two (*покрыться*, *принять*) can paraphrase only an *intransitive* verb, viz. *всколмиться* ('принять холмистый вид'). A transitive **холмить* is not attested. It is conceivable that a **холмить* could, like *всколмить*, possibly be formed to stylize the action as transitive. On the other hand, it is more likely that *всколмить*, and especially *всколмлю*, *всколмишь*, are not really attested forms but only linguistic potentialities, and that *всколмленный* is not really a past passive participle, but a *participium staticum*. The SRJa, which lists neither *всколмить* nor *всколмиться*, lists *всколмленный* as an adjective.

The SSRLJa offers a second definition for *всколмить* ('О воде или песке — взволновать, поднять буграми') without supplying a sample quotation. The definition is misleading in that it implies that *всколмить* involves motion. In chapters 14 and 16 I will analyze *волновать/взволновать* as a verb of 'agitation' and 'excitation'. As a verb of 'agitation', *волновать* describes physical activity, *взволновать* the transgression of the threshold of activity. As a verb of 'excitation', *волновать* describes mental activity, *взволновать* specifying a focus on the threshold of activity. Both verbs have the feature [motion], which is ambiguous with respect to literal, physical activity or abstract, mental activity. Neither the SSRLJa nor the SRJa offer examples indicating that *волновать* or *взволновать* can mean merely 'cause to assume the configuration of a wave'. The difference, then, between *взволновать* and *всколмить* is that the former specifically denotes motion while the latter does not. Thus the sentence "ветер взволновал воду" specifies a kind of motion (from which the listener may infer that the surface of the water has assumed a certain shape), while the sentence "ветер всколмил воду" specifies a surface configuration (from which the listener may infer that motion may have been involved).

5.3.5

БУХНУТЬ: 'swell'

'Расширяться, впитывая в себя влагу; набухать, пухнуть'

"Рамы бухнут от сырости."

ВЗБУХНУТЬ/ВЗБУХАТЬ:

'Вздуваться, разбухать, вспучиваться'

"Земля, не принимая больше влаги, взбухла..."

5.3.6

ДУТЬ: 'swell, blow up'

'Прост. и обл. Раздувать, надувать'

"А, чай, дует живот вода?"

(по equivalent)

ВЗДУТЬ/ВЗДУВАТЬ:

'Раздувать, расширять, наполнять воздухом'

"Ветер треплет его [нищего] лохмотья, вздувает пазуху..."

'Сильно поднимать, возвышать (о ценах)'

"Вздутые цены, вздутый курс акции." (SRJa)

The metaphor of inflation requires a specification of the action as [+ abstract]. The unprefixd verb cannot be used in the same way. Two other verbs of the group, *вспрыгнуть* and *вскочить*, can be used with reference to price levels, cf. 5.4.3, 5.4.4. Cf. also *взвинтить*, 18.1.6.

ДУТЬСЯ:

'Раздуваться, наполняться воздухом; становиться толще'

"...рубашка...дуется парусом."

ВЗДУТЬСЯ/ВЗДУВАТЬСЯ:

'Вспухать, раздуваться'

"...на шее его...вздулись два огромных карбункула."

'Взбухать, подниматься горбом'

"Потолок был оклеен...бумагой, она вздулась пузырями..."

'Наполняться воздухом'

"Паруса вздулись."

The unprefixd transitive *дуть* is, in the meaning 'swell', a marginal, stylistically marked form. We have seen before (4.2.2) that the meaning primarily and explicitly conveyed by the prefixd verb is sometimes a very secondary, terminological, phraseological, or stylistically marked meaning of the corresponding unprefixd verb. The usage of the unprefixd verb as an elliptic

token of the more specific prefixed verb seems to gain currency primarily among those for whom the concept is so usual or immediate that it need not be specified in detail. Ellipsis, the conscious use of a semantically less specified form in place of a more explicit one, can occur when the speaker can rely on features of the speech situation to disambiguate for his listener an otherwise inexplicit message. The stylistic marker assigned to a form seems to depend on the character and/or size of the group that uses it. In terms of the kind of constitutive semantic features we are discussing, however, it might not be possible to express differences in acceptability, because these differences seem to have more to do with sociological factors than with the semantic structure of a form.

5.3.7

ПУЗЫРИТЬ: 'bubble, swell'

'Образовывать пузыри, покрывать, вздувать пузырями'

ПУЗЫРИТЬСЯ:

'Вздуться, пучиться от... пузырей'

ВСПУЗЫРИТЬ/ВСПУЗЫРИВАТЬ:

'Вздувать пузырями'

ВСПУЗЫРИТЬСЯ/ВСПУЗЫРИВАТЬСЯ:

'Вздуться пузырями, пузырьками'

5.3.8

ПУХНУТЬ: 'swell'

'Становиться пухлым; распухать; увеличиваться в объеме, вздуваться; набухать' (SRJa)

ПУЧИТЬ: 'swell, distend'

'Раздуть, вздымать; вспучивать, поднимать'

"...Больно лед стало пучить."

"...и от кумыса пучит живот."

'Таращить (глаза)'

"Пучить глаза."

ВСПУХНУТЬ/ВСПУХАТЬ:

'Вздуться, опухать, распухать'

ВСПУЧИТЬ/ВСПУЧИВАТЬ:

'Горбить, коробить, поднимая кверху; делать выпуклым; вздувать'

"Вода вспучила лед."

"...у...внучки...брюшко немного вспучит..."

'Делать выпуклым, вытаращенными (о глазах)'

"Вспученные глаза."

5.3.9 Several verbs require special comment. Взбучить 'действием сырости увеличить в объеме, вспучить что-либо' does not seem to be related to бучить

'стирать белье в щелочке'. The latter, according to Vasmer (I:235, 256), is ultimately a borrowing from Germanic: Middle Low German *būken*, Eng. *buck*, *bowk* 'wash in lye', which in turn derive from *beech* (tree), "lye being originally made from beech ashes" (Partridge:44). I suspect that *взбучить* 'swell' may ultimately be related to *букать* 'moor, roar', *бучать* 'hum, moo', onomatopoeic verbs related to Lat. *bucca* 'puffed cheek' (Vasmer I:236, 256). Many of these verbs of 'swelling' seem to be either onomatopoeic in origin (*пучить* ~ *пукать* 'burst': Vasmer III:404, 415) or have to do with 'blowing, puffing: *пух*(нуть) ~ *пуз*(ырить) (Vasmer III:414, 403). Although these verbs may not all be etymologically related, one is tempted to see a phonological pattern in *взбучить*, *взбужнуть*, *вспучить*, *вспухнуть*, *вспузырить*: bilabial + *u* + (reflex of) velar. As a matter of fact, Šanskij, *et al.* (1971:79) do correlate *бучить* and *пучить*:

"*Взбучка*. В русск. литер. яз. пришло из диалектов в XIX в. Образовано с помощью суффикса *-ка* от *взбучить*, префиксального производного от *бучить*, восходящего в свою очередь к *бук* ['trough'] (ср. *бучило* 'пучина ['gulf, depths of the sea, buckle (in a road)'], водоворот, омут') и являющегося 'звонким' вариантом к *пучить* (см.)."

Ultimately, however, *взбучить* must be treated as an indivisible unit containing the *вз-* features as invariant ones.

5.4 The five verbs listed in brackets at the beginning of this chapter can represent the notion of 'swelling' without actually denoting [+ verb + large + form]. The verbs *вздымать*, *вспорхнуть*, *вспрыгнуть*, *вскочить* and *взойти* are actually verbs of 'directed motion', cf. chapter 17. When specified for transgression of horizontal, they denote translocomotion through space in an upward direction. Used figuratively, viewed as abstractions, they can be interpreted as verbs of 'swelling'. As we shall see, this interpretation is possible usually only when the verb is prefixed and only when the predication as a whole has been narrowly enough specified to make it clear that the features [+ abstract + motion + directional + horizontal + transgression] explicitly expressed by the verb have to do not with literal translocomotion through physical space but with 'swelling'.

5.4.1

ВЗДЫМАТЬ: 'swell, rise; loom'

'Раздувать, расширять'

"Лошадь, вздымая бока и фыркающая, ..."

"Глаза его беспорядочно блуждали, грудь вздымалась."

'Возвышаться над чем-либо'

"Влево, насколько хватал глаз, то вздымаясь буграми, то спадая в яры, раскинулось ржаное поле."

Here the semantics of motion through space is used to stand for the notion of change in configuration. Historically, *вздымать* is derived from *вздутъ*: *вздымати* + *воздѣти* + *дѣти*, *дѣмо*, cf. Vasmer I:558. Already in Old Russian, however, *воздымати* had ceased to mean 'swell' and had come to denote upward motion in general, cf. Sreznevskij I:355, 282. In the modern language it stands alone, as a verb of 'directed motion' unrelated to *дуть*, cf. 17.4.7. This is one case where a more narrowly specified verb has lost a number of features and come to denote a more abstract activity. The general principle of metonymy, that a part can stand for whole or member for class, seems not, however, to be the rule in the case of prefixed verbs: prefixed verbs of motion more usually stand for more specific activities, like 'plowing' (cf. *взметать пар*, *взворотить* [cf. 3.2.3, 3.2.5]), 'swelling', etc., than vice-versa.

5.4.2

ВСПОРХНУТЬ: 'soar'

'В образной речи'

"Повеял ветерок, море заструилось, и паруса вспорхнули."

The sails do not actually soar off, but swell in the wind. The inanimacy of the subject as well as extralinguistic knowledge of the situation serves to elicit this interpretation.

5.4.3

ВСПРЫГНУТЬ: 'jump'

'Переносно. Резко увеличиваться, подниматься'

"Спрос со стороны общественного сектора сельского хозяйства сразу вспрыгнул очень сильно..."

Here rapid movement stands for rapid change in configuration, e.g., прыжок уровня воды, прыжок цен (SSRLJa). Cf. "Он даже картошку придерживает, ждет, когда цена выше прыгнет."

5.4.4

ВСКОЧИТЬ: 'jump up'

'В выражении. Вскочить во что — дорого обойтись (о ценах)'

'Переносно. В просторечии. Быстро возникать, вздуться (о прыщах и т. п.)'

"Он хотел взглянуть на прыщик, который вчерашним вечером вскочил у него на носу."

In the first usage the prefixed verb is somewhat correlatable with a usage of the unprefixated verb: цены скачут 'prices rise and fall in rapid succession'. The second usage is possible only with specification of [+ horizontal + transgression]. Viewed abstractly, rapid motion stands for rapid change (of configuration).

5.4.5

ВСХОДИТЬ/ВЗОЙТИ: 'rise'

'Подниматься, увеличиваясь в объеме; вздыматься (о тесте)'

"...не посмотреть ли нам, как всходят пироги?"

This usage presents an interesting problem. There does exist an unprefixated counterpart in ходить '(разг.) бродить; подниматься во время брожения': "Тесто ходит. Опара ходит. Пиво ходит. Вино ходит", cf. Germ. *der Teig geht*. On the basis of these dictionary definitions one might say that всходить/взойти 'rise, expand; swell' is derived from ходить in the meaning 'ferment; rise, swell'. Всходить, however, is imperfective, derived not from ходить but from взойти 'вздуться, подняться (о тесте)' (SRJa). The question then is: what is the derivational base of взойти? As we shall see in chapter 17 ('Directed Motion'), вз- verbs formed from verbs of (loco)motion are all derived from the determined or unidirectional stem. For example, идти (determined imperfective) yields взойти (pf.); всходить (impf.) is not derived from the non-determined ходить, but is a secondary imperfectivization of взойти (cf. 17.2.2): both взойти and всходить (impf.) retain the feature of directionality inherent in their derivational base. It is for this reason

that we cannot derive *взойти/всходить* in this usage from *ходить* ('бродить, подниматься во время брожения' [SSRLJa 17:286], 'закисая, бродить, подниматься' [SRJa 4:837]), but must derive it from *идти* 'move (develop or extend) in a certain direction', cf. the following sentences, acceptable to native informants:

"Смотри, тесто идет через край."

"В процессе брожения тесто идет вверх, постепенно наполняя кастрюлю."

Since it denotes motion without direction, *ходить* can stand for various kinds of generalized activity or agitation (cf. SSRLJa 17:284-286), including that produced in the process of fermentation. The fermentation of dough and of alcoholic beverages can be stylized as motion without regard to direction ("Тесто ходит. Опара ходит. Пиво ходит. Вино ходит." [SSRLJa 17:286]); but only the fermentation of dough can be stylized as motion in a certain direction, because it rises (extends or swells) during the process.

6. D I S O R D E R

Perfective only:

взвихрѣть (ся)
 взворошѣть
 взъершѣть
 вскосмѣть (ся)
 вспушѣть (ся)
 встопо́ршѣть (ся)
 встопо́рѣть (ся)
 встормошѣть (ся)

*Imperfective only:**Paired:*

взбѣть (ся)		[вздыма́ть (ся)]
	взбры́знуть (ся)	взбива́ть (ся)
[взбудора́жить]		взбры́згивать (ся)
взвинти́ть		[взбудора́живать]
взвѣть (ся)		взвѣнчива́ть
[взворо́чать]		взвива́ть (ся)
[вздутъ]		[взворо́чивать]
взды́бить (ся)		[вздува́ть]
[взлетѣ́ть]		взды́бливать (ся)
взлохмѣ́ть (ся)		[взлета́ть]
взорва́ть (ся)		взлохмѣ́чивать (ся)
взрыхлѣ́ть		взрыва́ть (ся)
взъеро́шить (ся)		взрыхля́ть
всклокóчить (ся) (всклокóтитъ)		взъеро́шивать (ся)
всклóчить (ся)		всклокóчивать (ся)
вспѣ́нить (ся)		всклóчивать (ся)
	[вскї́нуться]	вспѣ́нивать (ся)
		[вскї́дыва́ться]

Paired:

вспутать(ся)

вспылить₂

встрепать(ся)

всхохлатить

вспутывать(ся)

вспыливать

встрёпывать(ся)

всхохлачивать

6.1 These 30 verbs can, according to context, be subclassified in the following way.

The majority (17) can depict ruffling, tousling or fluffing hair or fur: взвихрить волосы, шерсть; взершить волосы; вскосматить волосы, бороду; вспушить пух, шерсть; встопорщить щетину, волосы; встопырить щетину, волосы; встормошить волосы; взбить волосы, кудры, шерсть; взвинтить усы; вздыбиться (волосы); вслохматить волосы, бороду, кудры, усы; взерошить волосы, шерсть; всклокочить волосы, бороду; всключить волосы; вспутать волосы; встрепать волосы; всхохлатить волосы.

These same verbs and others can depict ruffling or stirring up (objects on) a surface: вздымать волны, снег, пыль; взбить воду, волны, пену; взбрызнуть воду; взвиться (пыль); вздуть пыль, листья; вздыбиться (волна, земля); взрыхлить реку; вспенить воду; вспылить дорогу.

A smaller number can depict shuffling or ruffling objects, disarranging them: взворошить сено, бумаги, белье; взбить рукав; взбудоражить товар; взрыхлить груды тряпья и пуха; взворочать ворох нарядов; взерошить бумаги.

The verb взорвать and the phrase взлететь на воздух can depict the violent disruption of any object.

What these verbs have in common is the notion of an activity which alters the normal configuration of an object by disarranging its components or altering its attitude in space. In most cases the object is a particulate mass — hair, fur, bristles, curls, a beard, hay, straw, papers; piles of linen, clothing, rags; snow, water, earth — the disturbance of which alters its arrangement, leaving it in a state of disorder (usually, but not always, cf. the discussion below of взбить). Like verbs of 'agitation' (chapter 14),

these verbs denote the disturbance of a body, but they do not denote activating it, setting it into independent motion. Like verbs of 'plowing' and 'cutting', these verbs can denote the disruption of a surface, but they are not restricted to affecting only a surface or surface unity. Like verbs of 'swelling', verbs of 'disorder' can denote the alteration of the configuration of an object, but have more specifically to do with the disarrangement of its internal components than with the distention of its surface.

6.1.1 Although their etymologies differ rather widely, there is a measure of semantic cohesion among these verbs, shown by the fact that most of them are defined in terms of at least one other verb of the group:

	(п	(б	б	е	л	т	к	к	п	в	в
	о	е	и	р	о	р	л	л	е	о	з
	д	с	т	о	х	е	о	о	н	р	р
	н	п	ь	ш	м	п	к	ч	и	о	ы
	я	о		н	а	а	о	и	т	ш	в
	т	р		т	т	т	ч	т	ь	и	
	ь)	я		ь	и	ь	и	ь		т	
		д			т		т			ь	
		о			ь		ь				
		к)									
взвихрять	Х				вз	Х					
(взворошить)	Х										
взъершить				вз							
вскосматить		Х	вз		вз		вз				
вспушить			вз								
(встопорщить)	Х										
(встопырить)	Х										
встормошить		Х					Х				
(вздымать)											
взбить	Х	Х		вз					вз		
взбрызнуть	Х		Х								
взбудоражить		Х								Х	
(взвинтить)	Х										
(взвить)	Х										
(взворочать)		Х									

	(п	(б	б	е	л	т	к	к	п	в	в
	о	е	и	р	о	р	л	л	е	о	з
	д	с	т	о	х	е	о	о	н	р	р
	н	п	ь	ш	м	п	к	ч	и	о	ы
	я	о		и	а	а	о	и	т	ш	в
	т	р		т	т	т	ч	т	ь	и	
	ь)	я		ь	и	ь	и	ь		т	
		д			т		т			ь	
		о			ь		ь				
		к)									
<hr/>											
(вздутъ)	Х										
(вздыбить)	Х										
взлететь	Х										Х
вздохматить		Х	вз			Х					
(взорвать)											
(взрыхлить)											
взъерошить	Х				Х			вз			
всклокочить				вз	вз						
всклочить				вз	вз						
вспенить			вз								
вспутать	Х	Х		вз							
(вспылить)	Х										
встрепать	Х	Х	вз								
вскохлатить			вз		вз						

6.1.2 Exactly half of the verbs of this group are defined in terms of *поднять(ся)/поднимать(ся)*. We shall see, however, that none of them, in the usages to be discussed below, denotes 'translocation through space in an upward direction' and that only two of them, *вздымать(ся)* and *взлететь*, are invariantly [+directional].

Most verbs of 'disorder' denote 'disarrangement' (6.2.1):

взъерошить, *взъершить* (6.2.1.1); *всклокочить*, *всклочить* (6.2.1.2);

вскосматить, *вздохматить*, *вскохлатить*, *вспушить*, *взрыхлить* (6.2.1.3);

вспенить, *вспылить*₂ (6.2.1.4). These verbs do not denote motion and are inherently [-directional]; they are never directional with prefixes, cf.

3.1.2. Some of the verbs denote multiple movements which have the effect of

disarranging the patient of the action: взворошить, встрепать, встормошить, взворочать (6.2.1.5). These verbs are likewise nondirectional. Other verbs of this group are derived from bases which are variably directional: взбить, взбрызнуть, взвинтить, взорвать, вспутать, взвить, вздуть (6.2.1.6). In the usages discussed below, these verbs are [0 directional]. I find that only two of them, взвить(ся) and вздуть, can be directional when prefixed with вз-, cf. 17.4.5. The two [+ directional] verbs вздывать and взлететь are discussed in 6.2.1.7. One verb, взбудоражить, is a verb of 'excitation' (inherently [- directional]) used to represent physical disorder (6.2.1.8).

A few verbs more specifically denote 'erection' (change of attitude, deviation from plane) (6.2.2): взвихрить, встопорщить, встопырить, вздыбить. We shall see that these verbs are also inherently [- directional].

6.2 In most cases it is possible to show that the unprefixed verb can be used to represent the action more explicitly denoted by the prefixed verb.

6.2.1 'Disarrangement'. The 25 verbs discussed in this section depict an alteration of the structure of the patient.

6.2.1.1

ЕРОШИТЬ: 'tousle, ruffle'

'Всклочивать, путать (волосы, бороду)'

'Ерошить шерсть, перья — поднимать кверху'

"При появлении людей беркут грозно топорщится, ерошит на спине перья."

ВЗЪЕРОШИТЬ/ВЗЪЕРОШИВАТЬ:

'Всклочивать, лохматить (обычно о волосах)'

'Взъерошить шерсть — поднимать кверху'

"...[Кот] вскочил, выгнул спину в дугу, задрал хвост, взъерошил шерсть и тоже зашипел."

'(Образно)'

"Губернатор...устрелил грустный взор на...реку, тоже как-то мрачно взъерошенную осенним ветром."

ЕРОШИТЬСЯ:

'Торчать в разные стороны, вихриться; подыматься дыбом, топорщиться'

ВЗЪЕРОШИТЬСЯ/ВЗЪЕРОШИВАТЬСЯ:

'Лохматиться, всклочиваться, подыматься вверх'

ЕРШИТЬ: 'ruffle'

'То же, что ерошить (напр. волосы, перья, мохнатую материю и т. п.)'

ВЗЪЕРШИТЬ:

'То же, что взъерошить'

"Ершил взъершил хохолок, первым приходит на лекцию."

These verbs can represent 'erection' as well as 'disarrangement'. Like взрыхлить, взъерошить (especially its past passive participle) can represent the fluffiness of clouds (взъерошенные облака), the ruffling of the surface of water (река, взъерошенная ветром) or the shuffled, jumbled state of a heap of disorderly objects (груда взъероженных бумаг). These different usages do not reflect different meanings of the verb. In each case the verb specifically denotes the disarrangement of the components of a particulate mass, and the prefix specifies that the action is disruptive ('transgression') of a normal surface configuration ('horizontal').

6.2.1.2

[КЛОКОТИТЬ:] 'ruffle, fluff'

'Рвать или взбивать клочьями, ерошить; мять или сваливать в клочья; приводить в беспорядок' (Dal' II:300)

КЛОЧИТЬ: 'ruffle, fluff'

'Путать, сбивать в клочья, приводить в беспорядок'

[КЛОЧИТЬСЯ:]

'Стрд. и возвр. по смыслу' (Dal' II:300)

ВСКЛОКОЧИТЬ (ВСКЛОКОТИТЬ)/

ВСКЛОКОЧИВАТЬ:

'Взломачивать, взъерошивать (о волосах человека, шерстом покрове животного)'

ВСКЛОЧИТЬ/ВСКЛОЧИВАТЬ:

'Взломачивать, взъерошивать'

ВСКЛОЧИТЬСЯ/ВСКЛОЧИВАТЬСЯ:

'1. Сваливаться в клочья; взломачиваться, взъерошиваться'

'2. В просторечии и обл. Всклочить (о посевах)'

"Взошло все густо и сильно, всклочилось так, что...земля была укрыта сплошной, рослою зеленью."

'3. Страд.'

Both these verbs have to do with forming hair or fur into tufts or wisps: *клок* 'пучок, торчащая прядь (волос, шерсти, травы)' (SRJa). The second definition given for *всклочиться*, 'come up, sprout', does not seem correctly stated. *Всклочиться* is not a verb of directed motion; the meaning is the same here as in other contexts — 'become fluffy'. The nature of the "fluffiness" (formation of new growth) is revealed in the context. Note a similar use of the verb *пушиться*: "У березы порозовели ветви и начали набухать почки, верба кое-где уже пушилась."

6.2.1.3 The following five verbs are derived from adjectives denoting various states of disorder. In spite of the fact that the prefixed verbs are defined with terms implying motion (*взбить*, *растрепать*, *переворачивать*, *перерывать*), I think that they denote states of disarrangement conceived with respect to an idea of normal surface configuration. Since they do not involve motion, they cannot involve directionality.

КОСМАТИТЬ: 'shag, make shaggy'

'Делать косматым'

КОСМАТИТЬСЯ:

'Быть, становиться косматым, взлохмаченным'

ЛОХМАТИТЬ: 'tousle'

'Делать лохматым, растрепанным'

"[Денисов] начал обеими руками с короткими пальцами лохматить ...черные густые волосы."

ЛОХМАТИТЬСЯ:

'1. Становиться лохматым. Быть лохматым, торчать в разные стороны. 2. Страд.'

ХОХЛАТИТЬ:

'Взлохмачивать, делать хохлатым'

ВСКОСМАТИТЬ:

'Сделать косматым; беспорядочно взбить, взлохматить (волосы)'

ВСКОСМАТИТЬСЯ:

'Сделаться косматым; всклокочиться, взлохматиться'

ВЗЛОХМАТИТЬ/ВЗЛОХМАЧИВАТЬ:

'Делать лохматым; взбивая, растрепать, привести в беспорядок'

"Был Дунаев растрепан, и волосы на голове и курчавая борода — взлохмачены."

ВЗЛОХМАТИТЬСЯ/ВЗЛОХМАЧИВАТЬСЯ:

'1. Сделаться лохматым. 2. Страд.'

ВСХОХЛАТИТЬ/ВСХОХЛАЧИВАТЬ:

'Взбивать хохлом, взлохматить волосы'

ПУШИТЬ: 'fluff'

'Делать пушистым (волосы, шерсть, перья)'

ПУШИТЬСЯ:

'Быть, становиться пушистым'

РЫХЛИТЬ: 'ruffle, jumble, fluff'

'Делать рыхлым [неплотным]'

ВСПУШИТЬ:

'Взбить пух, шерсть'

'Взбить (шерсть, волосы), сделав пушистым' (SRJa)

ВСПУШИТЬСЯ:

'Взбиться, стать пушистым (о шерсти, волосах и т. п.)' (SRJa)

ВЗРЫХЛИТЬ/ВЗРЫХЛЯТЬ:

'Переворачивать, перерывать'

"Рыскали [погромщики] по комнатам, бегло шарили по углам и уходили навьюченные, оставив сзади взрыхленные груды тряпья и пуха, распоротых подушек и перин."

The sense of this usage of взрыхлить seems to be 'loosen up, fluff, jumble', 'сделать рыхлым' ('internally loose, not compact, fluffy', as in the expression рыхлое облако, рыхлая туча). Like other verbs of 'disarrangement', взрыхлить in this context has to do with affecting the internal consistency of the object. Although I cannot find рыхлить used in a similar context, it is perfectly possible to say "рыхлые (~ взрыхленные) груды тряпья и пуха".

'Делать рыхлым [рассыпчатым]'

'Делать рыхлым... Образно'

"[Ветерок] гнул вершины верб и тополей, взрыхлял Дон."

Like взбить and взерошить, взрыхлить can represent the ruffling of a liquid surface. Whether it is used to depict 'plowing' or 'disorder' (fluffing, jumbling or ruffling), the semantic features underlying the base and the prefix remain the same: [+ verb + "loose" + horizontal + transgression].

6.2.1.4 The verbs (вс)пенишь 'turn into foam' and (вс)пылить₂ 'turn into dust' are derived from nouns. Although the dictionary defines them more explicitly, I think that their invariant semantics is probably no more than [+ verb + "foam"] and [+ verb + "dust"]. An examination of these two verbs can offer further insight into the nature of dictionary definitions.

6.2.1.4.1

ПЕНИТЬ:

'Вызывать пену на поверхности жидкости, делать пенистым'

"Его удалая дружина пенила веслами широкий Днепр..."

'пенить что, взбивать, обращать в пену...' (Dal' III:549)

'пениться. Белок не пенится, не сбивается.' (ibid.)

ВСПЕНИТЬ/ВСПЕНИВАТЬ:

'...производить пену, обращать в пену'

"Мое весло вспенивает воду, и лодка причаливает к берегу."

'Вспенивать сливки, яичный белок -- взбивать до появления пены'

"Вода кипела белыми, как вспененное молоко, буграми."

ВСПЕНИТЬСЯ/ВСПЕНИВАТЬСЯ:

'Обратиться в пену, покрыться пеною' (SRJa)

"Пиво вспенилось."

"Вспенилась, взлетела брызгами вода на перекате."

Both the unprefixated and prefixated verbs are defined in terms of *взбить/взбивать*. *Вспенить* and *взбить* (cf. 6.2.1.6.1) can be functional equivalents in that both can be used to depict the same objective reality (*взбить, вспенить воду, сливки, белки*). The fact that they both contain the features underlying *вз-* and that they both appear in contexts having to do with an alteration in consistency of the object suggests a degree of synonymity. I think that they may be synonymous only to the extent that they both contain the *вз-* features:

БИТЬ	ПЕНИТЬ
+ verb + motion + contact + patiential . . . 0 directional 0 horizontal 0 transgression	+ verb + "foam" + patiential 0 horizontal 0 transgression

Бить is an action or activity involving (repeated) forceful contact with an

object, an action which may optionally be viewed as having a "disruptive" (вз-) effect upon the object. Пенить is interpretable as involving the transformation of the object into a certain consistency, an aggregate of minute bubbles. This transformation may optionally be viewed as "disruptive", in that it involves a disarrangement of the internal components of the object, a violation of normal configuration. While one can only speculate as to what specific features are explicitly conveyed by these two verbs, it seems likely that they express quite different features and that they both contain the вз- features for different reasons (i.e., [+ verb + motion + contact + potential] and [+ verb + "foam"] imply "transgression of horizontal" by different rules of implication). They may thus be synonymous (semantically equivalent) only in terms of two features, their pragmatic or functional equivalence stemming from the fact that one and the same objective reality can be stylized in a variety of (semantically) different ways.

'Change of consistency' is only one possible interpretation of the feature [+ verb + "foam"]. Depending upon how the predication is elaborated, the same features can imply 'causing foam to appear on or exude from' (вспенить лошадь) or 'causing foam to cover' (вспенить бокал), cf. 7.2.5. The relation of the foam to the object is not explicitly expressed by the verb. (Вс)пенить explicitly expresses only the notion of verbality and 'foam'; it is the semantic features of different objects such as water, horses and goblets (as well as the listener's practical experience with them) that suggest such relationships as 'transform into', 'make erupt in' or 'cover with'.

6.2.1.4.2

ПЫЛИТЬ₁: '(raise) dust'

'(Неперех.) Поднимать пыль'

"По обочине изрытого проселка брел, пыля развалившимися сапогами, обросший окопный солдат."

ВСПЫЛИТЬ₂/ВСПЫЛИВАТЬ:

'(Перех.) Поднять пыль'

"Видна по дороге женская фигура в лохмотьях... Ноги полопались, вспылывая горячую дорогу."

The verb пылить, like пенить, does not denote motion in an upward direction, but something more abstract like [+ verb + "dust"].

The dictionary definition is usually not merely a natural-language paraphrase of just those features expressed by the verbal base but an integration of those features with features underlying the various terms of the predication. Definitions for a given verb differ by and large according to which argument it is that stands as subject in the surface structure. For example, using sentences from the SSRLJa (XI:1791-1792):

	PATIENT	AGENT	INSTR.	SOURCE	GOAL	LOCATION	PATH
(a)	<i>(Patient)</i>						
	пылит						
	пылил						
	пылили						
[не пылит]	пылит						
пылится							
(b)				<i>(Source)</i>			
	пылят						
	пылят						
(c)					<i>(Goal)</i>		
	пылились						
	пылятся						
(d)		<i>(Agent)</i>					
	пылят						
	пылят						
	пыля						
	пылил						
	пылить						
	пылить						
(e)			<i>(Instr.)</i>				
	пыля						
	пыля						

In each group the argument standing as subject in the surface structure is marked with parentheses. In group (a) the patient is in subject position, and the predication is therefore intransitive. Here the verb, with or with-

out -ся, is defined as 'выделять (со своей поверхности) пыль'. In group (b) the source is subject, and the verb is defined as 'выделять пыльцу'. In group (c) the goal of the action is subject, and the verb is defined in such a way as to reflect the probable relationship between action and goal: 'покрываться пылью'. In group (d) the agent is subject. In the absence of any indication of goal in the surface structure, the verb is defined as 'поднимать пыль'. If there is a goal in the form of a prepositional phrase expressing destination, the verb (variably directional) is defined as 'идти, ехать, поднимая пыль'. If the goal takes the form of a direct object, the verb, therefore transitive, is defined as 'покрывать, засыпать пылью'. Finally, in group (e) it is an underlying instrumental that is subject (cf. Babby and Brecht 1975:361). It is not separately defined: 'пылить снегом, брызгами и т. п.'.

The dictionary is not incorrect in defining the verb differently as it occurs specified for different variable features (i.e., those underlying the terms of the argument it expresses). The semantics of the verbal base, however, remains unchanged. The verb пылить alone means no more than "dust" plus "verbality" — [+ verb + "dust"]. It should also be pointed out that the integration of these inherent features with different specified variable features does not change the character of any of these features. I would reject the theory of feature transference (cf. Weinreich 1966:429-432 and Šmelev 1973:161), according to which a word tends to absorb the semantic nature of its context, changes meaning in context. I think that пылить does not obtain the meaning 'cover surface' in the environment of goals such as книги or мебель. Nor does it become a verb of locomotion in the context of a goal of destination (в город). The actual relationship of the activity involving dust and its various terms is not explicit in the linguistic signal.

6.2.1.5 Unlike the preceding verbs, the following four verbs do denote motion and, therefore, could be thought to involve directionality. In spite of the fact that two of them are defined in terms of upward movement, we shall see that all four denote multiple, nondirected motion.

6.2.1.5.1

ВОРОШИТЬ: 'mix up, rumple'

'Переворачивать, шевелить,
разгрести (о сене)'

'Ворочать, трогать шевелить,
пошевеливать, потрогивать,
копаться или рыться в чем,
перерывать, перекидывать вещи
не на место' (Dal' I:246)

"Ворошить сено. Ветер
ворошил бумаги на столе."
(Usakov I:367)

ВЗВОРОШИТЬ:

'Поднять ворохом ([куча] чего-либо
сваленного в беспорядке); пере-
ворошить'

"Взворошить уложенное в корзине
белье."

Although взворошить is defined in terms of upward motion, ворошить (related to Lat. *verro* 'sweep', Germ. *wirren* 'tangle', cf. Vasmer I:355) is not inherently directional, cf. its usage with other prefixes in their "nondirectional" meanings: заворошить 'begin', наворошить 'quantity', переворошить 'all, many', поворошить 'a bit'.

6.2.1.5.2

ТРЕПАТЬ: 'tousle, tease'

'Перебирая рукой, пальцами,
мять, приводить в беспорядок
что-либо; непрерывно дергать,
теребить'

"Косьма Васильич трепал и
теребил свою великолепную
бороду, неистово запуская в
нее белые, выхоленные пальцы."

ВСТРЕПАТЬ/ВСТРЁПЫВАТЬ:

'Трепаньем взбивать что-нибудь,
приподнимать в беспорядке'

"...сер[ые], сух[ие] волос[ы],
встрепанн[ые] самым неистовым
образом."

Although the prefixed verb is defined in terms of 'raising', the sense here too is that of disarrangement causing a change in surface configuration. That трепать is an inherently nondirectional verb can be seen in the fact that it is never directional with prefixes, e.g., вытрепать лен 'exhaustative', дотрепать лен 'finish', дотрепать книгу 'wear out', натрепать льну 'quantity', перетрепать весь лен 'thoroughness; repetition'.

6.2.1.5.3

ТОРМОШИТЬ: 'tousle'

'Шевелить, трепать что-либо'

"[Мангусы] переворачивают чернильницу, стаканы, выгребают из цветочных горшков землю, тормошат дамские прически."

ВСТОРМОШИТЬ:

'Привести в беспорядок, растеребить, растрепать'

"Я обхвачу его руками, я встормошу его волосы."

Since it lacks directionality, тормошить with this as well as with other prefixes never denotes movement in a specific direction, cf. затормошить 'begin; excessive degree', перетормошить 'all, many', потормошить 'a while, a bit', растормошить 'disorder; disturbance (awaken)'.

6.2.1.5.4

ВОРОЧАТЬ: 'rummage in, ruffle'

'Переключивать, переворачивать с одной стороны на другую, перевертывать'

ВЗВОРОЧАТЬ/ВЗВОРАЧИВАТЬ: 'ruffle up'

'Ворочая, переключивая, приводить в беспорядок'

"[Наталья] оглядывала взвороченный в сундуке ворох нарядов."

This verb is discussed in detail in 17.3.3, where I attempt to show that взвороченный, in spite of the spelling, is derived not from the directional взворотить but from the nondirectional взворочать, cf. 3.1.2.

6.2.1.6 The seven verbs discussed in this section are derived from bases which are variably directional. We shall see, however, that in the usages, examined below they cannot be considered to represent motion in any particular direction.

6.2.1.6.1

БИТЬ: 'beat'

(no equivalent)

ВЗБИТЬ/ВЗБИВАТЬ: 'fluff'

(1) 'Поднимать, вздымать ударами, делая пушистым, мягким (о подушках, перинах и т. п.)'

'Легкими ударами сделать пыльным' (SRJa)

- "...высоко взбита постель..."
- "Как сладко ему...будет сейчас вытянуться усталым телом на высоко взбитой охапке соломы."
- "В саду, под грушей, с вечера была приготовлена постель. Ниловна взбила и без того мягкие пуховые подушки..."
(SRJa)
- '*Бить шерсть* — разрыхлять, трепать шерсть особыми инструментами или приспособлениями (для приготовления из нее различных изделий)' (SSRLJa I:465)
- (2) 'Взбивать, взбить волосы, кудри, локоны и т. п. — делать пышную прическу'
- "Взбить пух, шерсть." (SSRLJa, under вспушить)
- "Над узким лбом красиво вились черные волосы, и она...часто взбивала их быстрым жестом маленькой и тонкой руки."
- "Потом, покорствуя природе, Дружатся с ней..., к себе ведут,
Целуют, нежно руки жмут,
Взбивают кудри ей по моде."
- (no equivalent)
- (3) 'Взьерошивать, приводить в беспорядок (о волосах)'
- '*Бить масло*: а) особыми аппаратами или приспособлениями взбалтывать сливки, сметану, чтобы из них получать масло; сбивать'
(SSRLJa I:465)
- (4) 'Вспенивать что-либо (вращением, ударами и т. п.)'
- "Взбивать сливки."
- "Взбить яичные белки." (SRJa)
- "Колеса [парохода] взбили зеленую пенистую воду." (SRJa)
- "...на волнах, взбитых колесами парохода..."
- "...пена, взбитая волной..."

- (5) 'В сравнении'
 "...шляпа — пыльная, кружевная, взбитая, как яичный белок..."
- БИТЬСЯ:
 (no equivalent)
- ВЗБИТЬСЯ/ВЗБИВАТЬСЯ:
 (1a) 'Подниматься, вздыматься от ударов, делаясь мягким, пушистым'
 'Стать пыльным под действием ударов' (SRJa)
- (no equivalent)
- (3a) 'Взъерошиваться, в беспорядке подниматься вверх'
 "[Лизавета Зиновьевна] оправила на сестре взбившийся кисейный рукав."
 "[Софи] лежала в постели с лицом пылающим, вся разметавшаяся и со взбившимися волосами."
- (no equivalent)
- (4a) 'Вспениваться'
 "Сливки взбились." (SRJa)

All of the usages of *взбить(ся)/взбивать(ся)* are presented above. The general sense seems to be 'to fluff': to strike the object repeatedly such as to alter the arrangement of its components. The resultant fluffy state can be positively or negatively evaluated, cf. (2), (3) and (3a). In spite of the fact that the dictionary treats several of these usages in terms of 'upward direction' (*поднимать, вздымать*), I think the real meaning is 'activity affecting the configuration of the object' and not 'activity causing the object to move in a certain direction'.

The verb *бить* does have [directional] as a variable feature, cf. *бить (вбить) сваи в землю* 'drive piles into the ground'. In the absence of explicit directionality — *взбить* [+ verb + motion + contact + potential 0 directional + horizontal + transgression] — the features [horizontal + transgression] must be read as something like "disturbance" [transgression] of normal (surface) configuration [horizontal]. The reason that *взбить* cannot be [+ directional], cannot denote sending an object up into the air, may have to do with the fact that *бить* usually denotes repeated blows ('наносить

удары', as opposed to ударять 'наносить удар/удары'). An object may be propelled 'into', 'out of', 'onto', 'off of' by one or a succession of blows, depending on how readily the object moves; it may move somewhat and stop, requiring a follow-up blow to propel it forward: *вбить гвоздь в стену, выбить стекло из рамы, набить обруч на бочку, сбить замок с двери*. But it is unusual for an object to be propelled upward into the air by more than one blow, because the force of gravity returns the object so that the second blow is not a follow-up but a repetition of the first. The same restriction seems to hold in English: one can say *hit the ball up (into the air)* but not **beat the ball up (into the air)*.

A further problem here is the seeming lack of semantic correspondence between the prefixed and unprefixed verbs. As we have seen previously in the case of *резать* (4.2.2) and *дуть* (5.3.6), the usage of the unprefixed verb to stand for activities more explicitly conveyed by the prefixed verb is sometimes unusual or stylistically marked. Thus, although it is possible to say *бить шерсть* 'tease' (- *взбить шерсть, волосы*) and *бить масло* 'churn' or *бить белки* 'whip' (- *взбить белки, сливки*), the dictionary considers them phraseologisms or "специальные выражения" (SSRLJa I:465). According to one native speaker it is possible to say *она бьет подушку (перину)*, although another finds it "barely possible". Finally, while most native speakers surveyed find *бить сливки* highly unusual, marginal, slangy or impossible, *битые сливки* 'взбитые в пену сливки' (SRJa) is a standard expression. I think these correspondences, marginal or restricted though they may be, are enough to suggest that *бить* and *взбить/взбивать* exist in a relationship of unspecified/specified.

6.2.1.6.2

(БРЫЗГАТЬ):

БРЫЗНУТЬ: 'spray'

'(Неперех. и редко перех.)
Быстро отбрасывать или вы-
брасывать мелкие частицы
жидкости'

"В рюмке светлой предо мною
Брызжет, пенится вино."

ВЗБРЫЗНУТЬ/ВЗБРЫЗГИВАТЬ:

'(Перех.) Разбивать в брызги,
поднимать в виде брызг...'

'(Перех.) Брызжет воду'

"Забыв и рошу и свободу,
Невольный чижик надо мной
Зерно клюет и брызжет воду."

"И на лавки порядком
Сели гребцы, и канат отвязав от
причального камня,
Разом ударили в весла и
взбрызнули темную влагу."

Although the unprefixd verb can be used in a directional sense, e.g., слезы брызнули из глаз, кровь сильной струей брызнула в морду лошади, the sense of both the unprefixd and the prefixd verb here is one of disorder ('atomize') rather than one of motion in a certain direction.

6.2.1.6.3

ВИНТИТЬ: 'screw'
(no equivalent)

ВЗВИНТИТЬ/ВЗВИНЧИВАТЬ: 'twist up'
'Поднимать винтообразно вверх;
скручивать что-либо, поднимая
вверх и т. п.'

"[Лёнька] самодовольно взвинтил
свой левый ус вверх."

Винтить is a variably directional verb: ввинтить 'into', вывинтить 'out of', подвинтить 'under', свинтить 'off of' [+ directional]; but подвинтить 'завинтить добавочно', свинтить 'испортить (резьбу)' [0 directional].

Взвинтить is consistently nondirectional. I think it means 'twist up' in the sense of 'cause to have a twisted shape', cf. its [+ abstract] usages: взвинтить кого 'get someone wound up', взвинтиться 'get wound up' (affect one's attitude of mind) (cf. chapter 16) and the problematic взвинтить цену 'cause a price spiral' (cf. 18.1.6).

6.2.1.6.4

РВАТЬ: 'explode'
'Разрушать взрывом; взрывать,
подрывать'

"Аксенов взорвал и сжег самый
крупный мост. Там не было
охраны, и рвал он его почти
без боя."

ВЗОРВАТЬ/ВЗРЫВАТЬ:

'Разрушать что-нибудь взрывом,
производить взрыв чего-либо'

"[Гузий] пустил под откос эшелон
противника и взорвал железно-
дорожный мост."

РВАТЬСЯ:

'Взрываться, распадаться на части от взрыва'

"Часто бомба пролетала и рвалась близко от погреба."

ВЗОРВАТЬСЯ/ВЗРЫВАТЬСЯ:

'Разрушать от взрыва; разрываться, распадаться на части (о снарядах)'

"Упала утром бомба, весом в тонну. Упала, не взорвавшись."

Both рвать and взорвать can denote the violent disruption of an object, including an abstract one, cf. "...эсероменьшвики пытались взорвать революцию изнутри." The prefixed verb can also be used with animate patients as a verb of 'excitation'. Although this verb, especially in its reflexive form, can be used directionally with some prefixes (e.g., дорваться куда 'добраться, получить доступ' vs. дорваться 'износиться'), it is never directional with the prefix вз-. With вз- it is limited to the meaning 'explode', although this apparently was not always the case; the SRJa XI-XVII vv. lists a quotation from the late 17th century showing it used in the more general sense of 'disrupt a surface': "И по той стѣнѣ...взорвало кровли вѣтромъ съ одну сторону на штидесять на штисаженьяхъ съ аршиномъ... Вышепомянутая взарваня кровля покрыта новымъ тесомъ" (II:159-160).

6.2.1.6.5

ПУТАТЬ: 'tousle, tangle'

'Приводить в беспорядок, в спутанное состояние (нити, шерсть, волосы)'

"Он был без шапки, ветер путал его седые космы, седую бороду."

ВСПУТАТЬ/ВСПУТЫВАТЬ:

'Спутывать, поднимая вверх; приводить в беспорядок, взъерошивать (о волосах)'

"Седая голова старика...была художественно вспутана, как голова беловласого Юпитера."

Путать is a variably directional verb, cf. напутаться на что 'беспорядочно намотаться' vs. напутаться 'запутаться в каком-либо количестве'. With the prefix вз-, however, it is only nondirectional.

6.2.1.6.6

ВИТЬ: 'whirl'

'(Устар.) Взвивать, поднимать кверху'

ВЗВИТЬ/ВЗВИВАТЬ: 'whirl up'

'Сообщить, придать чему-н. стремительное вращательное движение кверху' (SRJa)

"Тогда сей Марсов сын не
медля ни часа,
Стремится; латники вьют
пыль под небеса...
Летят без робости, исполнены
надежды."

"Ветер взвил пыль."

"Вот вихрь ворвался в деревню...
взвил юбку у крестьянки..."

ВИТЬСЯ:

'Подниматься, носиться,
кружиться в воздухе (о пыли)'

"[Мать] молча смотрела, как
вилась пыль под копытами
его лошади"

(по equivalent)

ВЗВИТЬСЯ/ВЗВИВАТЬСЯ:

'Стремительно подниматься'

"Ветер шумел и качал деревья; по
селу пастухи гнали скотину. На
дороге взвивалась клубами
пыль."

'(О лошади) Взвиваться, взвиться
(на дыбы) — подняться на задние
ноги'

"Кучер Карениной...с трудом
удерживал прозябшего левого
серого, взвивавшегося у
подъезда."

Вить(ся) is also a variably directional verb. It seems that its basic meaning involves shape or configuration and that the directional meaning it can have with some prefixes is secondary, cf. 17.4.5. With the prefix *вз-* it can be directional (e.g., "Взвил залпом на Запад — я пепел незваного гостя") or nondirectional, as in the usages above. The first quotations under (*вз*)вить may be directional; it is hard to tell. The second quotation is not directional, having more to do with configuration or attitude in space than translocation from one place to another. The quotations under (*вз*)виться describe the configuration of the dust (its whirling shape) and the attitude of the horse in space, cf. the discussion of *вздыбить(ся)* below.

6.2.1.6.7

ДУТЬ: 'blow'
(no equivalent)

ВЗДУТЬ/ВЗДУВАТЬ: 'blow up'
'Дуновением воздуха поднимать что-
либо вверх'

"Вблизи полыхали два больших костра. Налетавшие со стороны Москвы-реки вихри пригибали пламя к земле, вздували тучи искр."

"Изредка перепадали крупные капли дождя; ветер вздувал по степи пыльные столбы, и телега моя неслась будто на перегонку с ними."

I have discussed (вз)дуть as a verb of 'swelling' (5.3.6). It also occurs as a verb of 'beating' (8.2.9). One can find an unprefixated transitive дуть in those meanings (SSRLJa IV: 1171-72). There is, however, no transitive дуть in the meaning exemplified above: 'blow, whirl up, create a swirl of'.

The semantic structure of the intransitive дуть might be something like [+ verb + motion + "air" 0 directional 0 patient 0 agent]:

+ verb
+ motion
+ "air"
0 directional
0 patiential
0 agentive

дует в комнате

+ verb
+ motion
+ "air"
+ directional
0 patiential
0 agentive

дует из сеней в
открытую дверь

+ verb
+ motion
+ "air"
0 directional
+ patiential
0 agentive

ветер дул свежий,
попутный

+ verb
+ motion
+ "air"
+ directional
+ patiential
0 agentive

ветер дул с
севера

+ verb
+ motion
+ "air"
0 directional
0 patiential
+ agentive

она шумно пила с
блюдечка чай, дую
и отфыркиваясь

+ verb
+ motion
+ "air"
+ directional
0 patiential
+ agentive

он наставил
самовар и начал
дуть в трубу

+ verb
+ abstract
+ motion
+ "air"
+ directional
+ patiential (anim)
0 agentive

возьми четырех бойцов,
и дуйте вы в штаб на
дрезине (SRJa)

The patient, if expressed at all, is what could be called an "inner patient": it is restricted to the notion of 'air' or 'wind'. If the verb is specified [+ abstract], it can take an animate patient (who moves as quickly as the wind), cf. the last example.

As a transitive verb (where both patient and agent are expressed)¹, the verb дуть is still very restricted in the kind of patient it can take. All the transitive usages quoted in the SSRLJa are stylistically marked; many are phraseologisms. The object of the verb can be a [product], an effected object, produced by inflation (дует колбы, бутылки) or by exhalation (an utterance, e.g., дуть песню, стихи). Or it can be an affected object, a [patient]: an object which is inflated (живот дует вода, дуй тебя горой), an object which is inhaled (дует сивуху 'inhale, consume rapidly or in quantity', cf. Engl. *blow a beer, blow an egg*), or an object which is affected as though with the force and swiftness of the wind (дует кого, дуть лошадь в хвост и в гриву 'lash'). Most of these expressions are elliptic versions of what is more usually and more explicitly expressed by prefixed forms of the verb, e.g., выдуть бутылки, живот раздуло, выдуть пять стаканов чаю, отдуть лошадь.

English *blow* describes not only the movement of air and its use in effecting or affecting certain objects (*blow bubbles, blow a whistle*) but also the action of air in propelling a variety of objects in different directions (*blow ashes out of one's pipe, blow dust off an old book*). Russian дуть, however, is essentially an intransitive verb describing the movement of air or wind; the choice of patient is so restricted that it is often not expressed. Дуть can represent the action of air upon other objects (effecting, affecting or propelling them) usually only when prefixed, that is, when the general notion of [+ motion + "air"] is viewed against a spatial or limitational framework. Transitivity and directionality are, however, not necessarily introduced by prefixation, cf. the intransitive задуть 'начать дуть' and the nondirectional forms выдуть бутылку, выдуть трубку (vs. the directional выдуть пепел из трубки). With вз-, дуть is always transitive and can be either directional, e.g., ветер вздул листья к небу, where an affected object is moved in a certain direction, or nondirectional, as in the examples above: вихри вздували тучи искр, ветер вздувал пыльные столбы, where the action of wind effects a disorderly mass form.

¹The notion of transitivity and its expression in terms of semantic features will be explored in greater detail in 14.5.1.

6.2.1.7 The two verbs discussed in this section are [+ directional] verbs used in phraseologisms to stand for the idea of 'disarrangement'.

6.2.1.7.1

(no equivalent)

ВЗДЫМАТЬ: 'raise'

'Вздымать волны, снег, пыль и т. п.'

"С моря набегал славный свежий ветерок, опахивал прохладой и летел в степь, вздымая маленькие вихри песчаной пыли."

The object, вихри (песчаной пыли), is not an affected object caused to move through space, but rather an effected object. Вздымать, a verb of 'directed motion', is used here to stand for a verb of 'disorder' ("cause swirls of sandy dust").

6.2.1.7.2

ЛЕТЕТЬ: 'fly'

ВЗЛЕТЕТЬ/ВЗЛЕТАТЬ: 'explode, perish'

'С силой устремляться вверх, в стороны. О частицах чего-либо — воды, земли'

'Взлететь на воздух — быстро, с силою подняться вверх от взрыва'

"Комки и крохи мерзлой земли летели вверх и врозь..."

"Сведения Горшкова оказались точные. Один за другим немецкие склады взлетали на воздух."

(no equivalent)

'(Переносно) Погибнуть, бесследно исчезнуть (о мечтах, планах и т. п.)'

"...и все взволновано, и идеал непрерывной тишины взлетел прахом на воздух."

"Самые сладкие надежды, кои веселили меня, взлетели на воздух."

The image here is not one of translocation through space where the object moves from one place to another, but rather that of dispersion in space where the object loses its integrity and assumes a different character. Whether it refers to physical objects or abstractions, взлететь in this phraseologism is

used figuratively, is [+ abstract]. The notion of rapid locomotion transgressive of a horizontal is used as an emblem of disruption of normal arrangement; the features [+ verb + abstract + motion + directional + transgression + horizontal] are all read together as an abstraction. Compare the following:

[0 abstract]

Самолеты взлетели в воздух
'translocation', hence
Самолеты теперь в воздухе

[+ abstract]

Самолеты взлетели на воздух
'dispersion, change in character'
*Самолеты теперь на воздухе

The [+ abstract] sentence cannot be transformed into a locative expression, because no change in location has really taken place. The abstractness of the verb motivates the choice of the preposition на: the phrases на воздух, на воздухе are both figurative in meaning.

6.2.1.8

БУДОРАЖИТЬ: 'disarrange, mix up'
'Приводить в беспорядок...'

"Это ты [Анисья] что у меня тут все будоражишь по-своему, а?... Я нарочно сложил все в один угол, чтоб под рукой было, а ты разбросала все по разным местам?"

ВЗБУДОРАЖИТЬ/ВЗБУДОРАЖИВАТЬ:

'Приводить в беспорядок, разворашивать (об уложенных, поставленных на свое место вещах, о материалах, которые можно измять, скомкать и т. п.)'

"Что станешь с ними делать, с бабами-то? подхватил он [торгаш], потряхивая головой над грудями взбудораженного товара."

(Вз)будоражить is primarily a verb of 'excitation' used also to depict physical 'agitation' or 'disorder'. Its interpretation depends on the nature of the patient, whether it is animate ("Григорий, будоража собак, шагал мимо редких дворов" [excitation]), an inanimate patient capable of independent motion ("Ветер попрежнему будоражил море, подгонял зардевшиеся волны" [agitation]) or an inanimate patient not set in motion, but merely disarranged, as in the quote above. It is an inherently nondirectional verb.

6.2.2 'Erection'. Unlike the preceding verbs, which denote primarily the

disarrangement of the internal components or the surface configuration of the object, the four verbs discussed below have more specifically to do with the attitude of (components of) the object with respect to a surface plane. We shall see that none of them necessarily denotes upward directed movement.

6.2.2.1

ВИХОРИТЬ: 'dishevel'

'Вздымать вихром'

ВИХОРИТЬСЯ:

'Вздыматься вихром'

ВЗВИХРИТЬ:

'Поднять вихрами, растрепать что-либо (волосы, шерсть и т. п.)'

"Пафос мне не свойствен по природе.

Буря жестов. Взвихренные волосы.

У меня, по-моему, выходит лучше то, что говорю вполголоса."

ВЗВИХРИТЬСЯ:

'Подняться вихрами, взлохматиться'

The two nouns *вихор*, *вихра́* 'tuft' and *вихрь* (*в́ихорь*), *в́ихря* 'whirl(wind)' are both related to *вить*. The first noun depicts a form, the second not only a form but also a movement. The verb derived from *вихор* is *вихорить*, rather than the expected **вихрять*; the verb derived from *вихрь* is *в́ихрить* (SRJa lists *вихрять* as a variant). With prefixes both verbs have the form *-вихрить*, with fixed stress either on the stem or the desinence, the etymological stress being the preferred one: *взвихрить(ся)*, *завихриться* 'dishevel'; *взв́ихрить(ся)*, *зав́ихрить(ся)* 'whirl, swirl'. (*Вз*)*в́ихрить(ся)* is a verb of 'agitation', discussed in 14.4.1.5.

ТОПОРЩИТЬ: 'bristle'

'Раздвигая в стороны (волосы, шерсть и т. п.), ставить торчком, вздымать'

"— Не смей меня ревновать! — крикнул тогда он, топорща усы и багровея."

"Почуяв близость зверя, Пыж [пес] весь настораживается,

ВСТОПОРЩИТЬ:

'Поднимать, ставить стоймя (щетину, волосы)'

"В конце слободки его догнал бритый человек, глянул на него, насмешливо встопорщил усы и положил на плечо руку."

"Когда же приблизился шум от собак и от ловчих,

топорща шерсть и вздрагивая."

ТОПОРЩИТСЯ:

'Раздвигаясь, разъединяясь,
становиться торчком, подниматься
вверх'

"Ребенок был полный, широко-
грудый... Спутанные волосы,
высыхая, топорщились вихрами;
мать приглаживала их ладонью."

ТОПЫРИТЬ: 'stick out, bristle'

'Поднимать торчком, топорщить'

"Карпентий тоже вернулся к
столу, нагнув шишковатую
голову, топырил космы густых
бровей."

ТОПЫРИТЬСЯ:

'Подниматься торчком, топорщиться'

"Он весьма гордился ими [усами],
хотя росли они некрасиво,
топырясь во все стороны." (SRJa)

Быстро бежавших, кабан им на-
встречу из дикого лога
Прянул; щетину встопорщив
ужасно сверкая глазами."

ВСТОПОРЩИТЬСЯ:

'Подниматься стоймя (о волосах,
щетине)'

"У хозяина задергалось правое
веко, сидящие на висках волосы
встопорщились."

ВСТОПЫРИТЬ:

'Поднимать, ставить стоймя
(щетину, волосы)'

ВСТОПЫРИТЬСЯ:

'Подниматься стоймя'

Like взвихрить, these verbs do not denote movement in a certain direction, but rather 'erection' (dislocation or deviation from a plane). The meaning, with or without the prefix, is 'erect, stick up or out'; the actual direction may be vertical (встопорщить усы) or horizontal (волосы на висках встопорщились) or both (встопорщить щетину).

6.2.2.2

ДЫБИТЬ: 'raise, make rear'

'Заставлять встать на задние
ноги, поднимать на дыбы'

"И дыбил коня на опушке
казак..."

ВЗДЫБИТЬ/ВЗДЫБЛИВАТЬ:

'Поднимать на дыбы (о лошади)'

"...вздыбливая жеребца..."

'Поднимать дыбом'

"Буря дыбит снег, быстро
вьется мрак.

ДЫБИТЬСЯ: 'rear, stick up'

'Становиться дыбом, стоять
торчком, топорщиться'

"[Волосы] над ушами торчали
горизонтально и дыбились
над его белым лбом."

"[Старуха] принесла тарелку,
салфетку, накрахмаленную до
того, что дыбилась, как
засохшая кора."

'(О лошади) Становиться на дыбы'

'Подниматься на дыбы'

"Попала в конскую грудь горячая
пуля — вздыбил бешеный конь,
грянулся о землю и задавил под
собой всадника."

'(Образно)'

"Окопы были разворочены, ходы
сообщения в десятках мест
прерваны прямыми попаданиями
бомб и снарядов, многие
блиндажи выломлены и
вздыблены."

ВЗДЫБИТЬСЯ/ВЗДЫБЛИВАТЬСЯ:

'(Образно) Волна, земля вздыби-
лась, волосы вздыбились'

"...вихрастые волосы его
вздыбились..."

"Поднятая взрывом волна
вздыбилась на высоту до пяти-
десяти футов и рухнула на
корабль."

'Подняться вверх, стать на дыбы'

This verb occurs only with the prefix *вз-*. It is inherently nondirectional and denotes 'disorder' in the sense of 'deviation from plane' (erection). Because it is an entity capable of independent movement, the horse in the quotations above might be conceived as moving in a certain direction. I think, however, that the truer sense is that of changing attitude with respect to a plane, rather than translocation from place to place. In chapter 17 (17.5.3.5.1), I attempt to show that the verb *(в[с])стать* used in the definitions above is likewise a verb not of locomotion but of 'erection/disorder'.

6.2.2.3

КИНУТЬСЯ:

(no equivalent)

ВСКИНУТЬСЯ/ВСКИДЫВАТЬСЯ на дыбы:
'rear'

'Вставать, встать на задние ноги'

"Гнедой мерин, казавшийся ночью
вороньм, неожиданно вскинулся
на дыбы и с размаху грохнулся,
ломая оглобли."

This verb of 'directed motion' (cf. 17.5.2.3.3) can, when prefixed with *вз-*, be used in a phraseologism to indicate movement into an upright position. The fact that the phrase *лошадь вскинулась на дыбы* does not answer a *куда-* question (*Куда вскинулась лошадь? — *На дыбы*) indicates that the verb is not directional in this sense, but rather part of a phraseologism standing for the notion of 'erection'.

7. S U F F U S I O N

Perfective only:

[взопрéть]

вспотéть

[всплесnúться]

Paired:

[взбры́знуть]

[взбры́згивать]

взмóкнуть

взмóкáть

взмóчить(ся)

взмáчивать(ся)

взмýлить(ся)

взмýливать(ся)

[взпáрить(ся)]

[вспáривать(ся)]

[вспéнить(ся)]

[вспéнивать(ся)]

вспры́снуть(ся)

вспры́скивать(ся)

7.1 All these verbs describe the action of liquids upon a surface. Most of them are ambiguous as to the specific relation of liquid to surface. The liquid may be exuded from the surface, applied to the surface or infused into the surface.

Six verbs of the group can be used to represent the effusion of liquid from surface ("sweating"): *взопреть*, *вспотеть*, *взмокнуть* (потом), *взмýлить* (лошадь) 'cause (a horse) to lather', *вспарить* (лошадь) and *вспенить* (лошадь).

Seven verbs can describe the affusion of liquid to surface: *вспотеть* (об очках) ('condensation'), *взбрызнуть* ('sprinkle'), *взмочить*, *взмýлить*, *вспенить* (бокал), *вспрыснуть*, *всплеснуться*.

Finally, five of these verbs can represent the infusion of a surface with a liquid: *взмокнуть* (земля от дождя), *взмочить* (лен), *взмýлить* (воду), *вспрыснуть* ('inject').

To describe the range of usages of these verbs I have chosen 'suffusion' as a cover term to stand for the more specific notions of effusion,

affusion and infusion. Whether the liquid exudes from the surface, covers it or soaks it – central here is the notion of 'violation of a surface', made explicit in the selection of the *vs-* features.

7.1.1 Most of these verbs are defined in terms of at least one other verb of the group:

	(п	п	м	п	п	п	б	м	м
	о	о	ы	а	р	е	р	о	о
	к	т	л	р	ы	н	ы	к	ч
	р	е	и	и	с	и	з	н	и
	ы	т	т	т	н	т	н	у	т
	т	ь	ь	ь	у	ь	у	т	ь
	ь				т		т	ь	
	[с				ь		ь		
	я])								
	<hr/>								
взопреть	Х	вз							
вспотеть	Х	Х		Х					
взбрызнуть					вз		Х		
(взмокнуть)								Х	
(взмочить)	Х								Х
взмьлить	Х	вз	Х	Х		Х			
вспарить		вз	вз	Х					
вспенить	Х		вз						
вспрыснуть	Х				Х		Х		
(всплеснуться)									

7.2 In most cases it can be shown that the prefix merely manifests the selection of potential or variable features of the base.

7.2.1

ПРЕТЬ: 'sweat'

'Потеть, покрываться потом, испариной'

"Жара смертная, ...они в шубах преют..."

ПОТЕТЬ: 'sweat'

'Выделять пот; покрываться потом, испариной'

ВЗОПРЕТЬ:

'Покрываться потом, сильно вспотеть'

"..., покуда обсушивал ветер взопревших лошадей."

ВСПОТЕТЬ:

'Покрываться потом, испариной'

"Потеть от жары."	"Шагаев поздоровился, и Букреев ощутил его полную, немного вспотевшую руку."
'Покрываться влажным налетом'	'Покрываться влагой или каплями осевшего пара; запотеть (о предметах)'
"От жара двух огромных очагов потели высокие полукруглые окна и...зеркала."	"Мимо меня пробегают девицы, которых я не различаю в своих вспотевших очках." (SRJa)

As we have seen in the case of verbs of 'cutting' (4.1), the notion of violating a surface expressed by the prefix is ambiguous as to whether the violation or alteration proceeds from within or without: the relational feature [transgression] does not describe the "flow of the action" (протекание действия) but the effect it has upon the surface [horizontal] to which it is related.

7.2.2

МОКНУТЬ: 'become wet, soak'	ВЗМОКНУТЬ/ВЗМОКАТЬ:
'Пропитываться, покрываться влагою, сыростью; становиться мокрым, влажным'	'Становиться мокрым, намочить'
"...В отъезде поле он гарцует,...	"[Пантелей Прокофьевич] зарозвел от смущения и сразу взмок потом."
Бранится, мокнет и пирует Опустошительный набег."	
"Одежда моя стала мокнуть от росы."	"На дворе непрерывно сеял мелкий дождь; земля взмокла."

Both verbs are ambiguous as to the "direction" of the moisture with respect to the surface (выделять - вбирать влагу). The inherent features express the notion "become wet", either through effusion (рана мокнет ['exudes pus'] - он взмок потом) or through infusion.

МОЧИТЬ: 'wet, soak, ret'	ВЗМОЧИТЬ/ВЗМАЧИВАТЬ:
'Делать мокрым, влажным'	'Размачивать; покрывать жидкостью'
'Держать в воде, пропитывая влагой, готовить для чего-либо'	
"В тебе молодичи мочили холсты, Вьюнов головастых ловили дети."	"Взмачивать холст, лен."

"Мочить лен, белье." (SRJa)

Both verbs are ambiguous as to whether the moisture is applied to the surface (affusion) or infused into it, cf. *вспрыснуть* below.

7.2.3

МЫЛИТЬ: 'lather up'

'Натирать мылом...'

(no equivalent)

(no equivalent)

(no equivalent)

МЫЛИТЬСЯ:

'Страд. к мылить'

'Покрываться мылом (во 2-ом знач.); *взмывливаться*'

"Наступил жар неодолимый:
бедные бурые коньки его...
мылились, потели и были жалко."

'Растворяясь в воде, давать пену'

"Это мыло хорошо *мылиться*'

ВЗМЫЛИТЬ/ВЗМЫЛИВАТЬ:

(1) 'Делать мыльным, *намыливать*; покрывать мыльной пеной'

"...густо *взмывленн[ая]* пен[а]."

(2) 'Доводить до сильной испарины; заставить вспотеть, покрыться пеной (о лошадях)'

"Андрей на *взмывленном* коне при- скакал под вечер в хутор"

"...*взмывленная* тройка."

(2a) '(Образно. В сравнении)'

"Как коня быстрый бег и усталость кроют седым мылом, так и Осипа *взмывлило* время седной."

(2b) '(Переносно)'

"...проповедника, добродетели которого ему казались более чем сомнительными и патриотизм *взмывленным*..."

ВЗМЫЛИТЬСЯ/ВЗМЫЛИВАТЬСЯ:

(1) 'Покрываться мыльной пеной, *намыливаться*'

(2) 'Покрываться пеной от сильной испарины (о лошадях)'

"Лошади стали *взмывливаться*, люди покраснелись."

(3) 'Поднять, повысить уровень воды в сосуде за счет мыльной пены'

Although the reflexive forms of this verb correspond in usage, the nonreflexive ones do not. Although there is one example (2a) of a finite form of the

transitive *взмылить*, it seems to be used mainly as a past participle. The SRJa lists *взмывленный* separately as a past passive participle from *взмылить* in the meaning 'сделать мыльным, покрыть мыльной пеной' and as an adjective in the meaning 'покрытый пеной, в сильной испарине (о лошади)'. The noun *мыло* can mean either 'soap' or 'lather' (in both senses: 'пена, получаемая от растворения [мыла] в воде' or 'белая пена пота [у лошади]'). The adjective *мыльный* corresponds to all senses of the noun and can mean 'covered with soap', 'containing soap', 'formed of soap' (e.g., *мыльная пена*), or 'lathered' (*мыльный конь*). Thus *мыло*, *мыльный*, (*вз*)*мылиться* and *взмылить* (*взмывленный*) are relatively consistent semantically.

Whereas the noun and adjective can refer to a concrete substance (hard or liquid) with certain chemical and cleansing properties, the verb seems only to refer to its lather: 'cause lather' (in either sense). Perhaps, however, one could still say that the verb means something like [+ verb + "мыло"] and is ambiguous in all the ways the noun is. The features could be interpreted as 'use soap on (apply soap to)', 'create *мыло* (soap foam)', or 'create *мыло* (lather)'. Or one could, perhaps more correctly, derive the verb from the adjective, in which case it would mean [+ verb + "мыльный"]: 'make soapy (covered with soap, formed of soap, lathered)'.

I cannot explain the lack of a transitive *мылить* in the meaning 'cause (a horse) to lather', except to say that even the prefixed transitive seems rarely to be used as a finite verb and may exist primarily as a participial adjective (*participium staticum*). In view of the semantic consistency of other forms containing this root, the reason one finds a gap here does not seem to lie in the nature of prefixation as such. Interestingly enough, the same restriction seems to exist in English. The transitive verb *lather (up)* represents 'affusion' (*lather [up] one's face*), 'beating' (*lather someone's hide*) or 'excitation' ("used to *lather up* the floor clerk to the point of frenzy") (examples from Webster's Third). The intransitive verb *lather (up)*, on the other hand, can refer to the properties of soap ("good soap *lathers* profusely and quickly") and to the sweating of a horse, cf. an example from the OED I:1577: "Harvester...lathered a good deal before being saddled." Although it does not seem strange to me to say *lather a horse* in the sense of

'cause to sweat', it does to other speakers; and such a usage of the transitive verb is not listed in the dictionary.

As far as the two figurative usages (2a and 2b) are concerned, the first presents a straight comparison of an effusion of gray hair with an effusion of gray lather; the second (*взмыленный патриотизм*) has, I think, less to do with lathery sweat (the meaning from which it is said to be "transferred") than with the insubstantial nature of lather: an attitude of mind is conceived as froth rather than substance. One native speaker defined *взмыленный патриотизм* as 'patriotism characterized by or resulting from a state of overexcitement or excessive enthusiasm'; another interpreted it to be insubstantial or meaningless, like so much "*взмыленная пена*". Both interpretations can be considered correct; and the fact that there can be two reasonable interpretations of the same phrase demonstrates once again the fundamental abstractness and ambiguity of the linguistic sign. If one takes (*вз*)*мылить*(ся) to mean no more than [+ verb + "lathery"], then it becomes clear why this one verb, in combination with different objects, can stand for such a range of different objective realities. In the phrases *взмылить руку*, *взмылить воду*, *взмылить пену*, *взмылить лошадь* the objective relationship between the action of "lathering up" and its objects is not explicitly expressed in the linguistic sign. The verb does not contain semantic features expressing the notions of 'cover surface', 'dissolve in, suffuse', 'create (foam)', or 'cause to exude (sweat)' — nor does it "borrow" such features from its objects. The verb can stand for a variety of different relationships just because it does not explicitly express any one of them. The semantics of the object is often specific enough to enable the listener to exclude all but one interpretation. This is, however, by no means always the case: *взмылить лошадь* can conceivably mean either 'soap up (cover with soap lather)' or 'cause to lather (sweat)'.

7.2.4

ПАРИТЬ: 'steam up'

'*Парить лошадей*, вгонять их в пот, в пар и в мыло' (Dal' III:21)

ВСПАРИТЬ/ВСПАРИВАТЬ:

'Вгонять в пот, вызывать испарину. Взмылить, вгонять в пот (о лошадях)'

"[Смотритель:] Парень [ямщик],
впрочем, хороший. Хмельком
иногда зашибает: ну, да это дело
молодое... А какую хотите тройку
вспарит."

ПАРИТЬСЯ:

ВСПАРИТЬСЯ/ВСПАРИВАТЬСЯ:

'Сильно вспотеть, упариться;
утомиться от ходьбы'

"Небойсь испаришься, когда дороги-
то сам не знаешь."

Here too there is some lack of correspondence between the prefixed and unprefixed verb. See the summary discussion of (вс)парить in 8.2.4.

7.2.5

ПЕНИТЬ:

'Покрывать пеной'

'(Разг.) Наполнять пенистой
жидкостью'

'*Пенить коней*, гонять до мыла'
(Dal' III:549)

ВСПЕНИТЬ/ВСПЕНИВАТЬ:

'Покрывать пеной'

'Вспенить бокалы — наполнить
пенящимся вином'

'То же, что взмылить (во 2 знач.)
[довести (лошадь) до сильной
испарины, заставить покрыться
пеной]' (SRJa)

ПЕНИТЬСЯ:

'Покрываться пеной (в 1-м знач.);
наполняться пенистой жидкостью'

'Покрываться пенистой слюной при
усталости, заболеваниях, а также
в минуты гнева, злобы и т. п.'

'Конь, лошадь пенится'

ВСПЕНИТЬСЯ/ВСПЕНИВАТЬСЯ:

'(Страд.)'

'Покрываться пеной'

In 6.2.1.4.1 this verb was discussed in the meaning 'froth, turn to foam (вспенить воду, сливки). Here we find it in the meanings 'froth (fill with foaming liquid, cf. OED I:1087)' and 'make froth, sweat'. Both sets of usages, 'disorder' and 'suffusion', can be seen to reflect the same underlying semantics: [+ verb + "foam" (+ horizontal + transgression)]. The same verb can represent the activity of causing foam with respect to water, egg whites, goblets and horses — without ever stating explicitly the precise relationship between verb and object ('disrupt the surface, turning to foam', 'whip up as a mass of foam', 'cover or fill with something foaming', 'cause to exude foam').

7.2.6 The verbs discussed in this section, всплеснуться, взбрызнуть and вспрыснуть, are derived from bases which are variably directional.

7.2.6.1

(ПЛЕСКАТЬСЯ):

ПЛЕСНУТЬСЯ: 'splash'

'Плескаться чем-либо на себя...'

"Сторожев плескался водой,
пыхтел, натирал тело мыльной
мочалкой."

ВСПЛЕСНУТЬСЯ:

'Обдать, облить себя водой'

"[Михайло Захарыч] подошел к
умывальнику, всплеснулся один
только раз водой из него."

Although the dictionary lists only плескаться in the meaning given above, a native speaker informs me that using плеснуться in both these quotes does not seem odd. The verb (вс)плеснуть(ся) is variably directional, cf. 17.5.2.3.5.

7.2.6.2

(БРЫЗГАТЬ):

БРЫЗНУТЬ: 'sprinkle'

'(Перех. и неперех.) Вспрыскивать, опрыскивать какой-либо жидкостью; обрызгивать'

"[Свидригайлов] брызнул на нее
воды. Дунечка вздрогнула и
очнулась."

ВЗБРЫЗНУТЬ/ВЗБРЫЗГИВАТЬ:

'...окатывать брызгами, вспрыскивать'

"Мать его [Ивана-царевича] достала мертвую и живую воду, ... подкатила его голову к туловищу и давай взбрызгивать."

(ПРЫСКАТЬ):

ПРЫСНУТЬ: 'spray, squirt'

'Опрыскивать какой-либо жидкостью'

"И поили бабу травами,
И в горячей бане парили,
И с угля водою прыскали,
Да злой немочи не сбавили."

ВСПРЫСНУТЬ/ВСПРЫСКИВАТЬ:

'Покрывать брызгами, прыскать на кого или на что'

"Чтобы он [ястреб] не скоро заснул и не крепко спал, то надобно его раза три вспрыснуть водою: ястреб не заснет до тех пор, пока не провянут перья..."

'(Фолькл.) Вспрыснуть мертвой, живой водой — оживить волшебной водой'

"И стал над рыцарем старик,
И вспрыснул мертвою водою,
И раны засияли вмиг,

И труп чудесной красотой
Процвел..."

'О дожде'

"Незадолго пред этим сад был
вспрыснут дождем, на освещенной
листве весело сверкали в лучах
заката разноцветные капли."

'(Устар. и простореч.)
Вспрыскивать'

'В просторечии. То же, что
впрыснуть. В выражении.
Вспрыскивать (лекарство) —
вводить (лекарство) под кожу, в
вену, в мышцу и т. п. подсред-
ством шприца'

"Он стал меньше и меньше; ему
давали опиум и начали прыскать
морфином"

"Каждый час ей [Саше] вспрыски-
вали камфору..."

"Если его не вспрыскивали
морфином, он не был бы в
состоянии спать."

We have seen *взбрызнуть* to be a verb of 'disorder' (6.2.1.6.2), to denote the atomization of a liquid. Here it is used to represent the affusion of liquid to a surface. While the unprefixated *прыснуть* can likewise refer to the atomization of a liquid or to its application to a surface, the prefixed *вспрыснуть* seems limited to the notion of application, when it refers literally to liquids. Both *прыснуть* and *вспрыснуть* can, in addition, be used to represent the suffusion of an object with a liquid ('injection', cf. Engl. *shoot up*). Although this is a rare usage (the normal term being *впрыснуть*), it does not seem unmotivated when one considers other verbs, such as *взмочить* and *взмылить*, which can depict either application to or suffusion of a surface.

7.2.6.2.1 Since we shall encounter *вспрыснуть* not only as a verb of 'suffusion' but also as a verb of 'beating', 'sound/expression' and 'excitation', it would be worthwhile to discuss its semantics in more detail at this point.

As an intransitive verb, *прыскать/прыснуть* describes the eruption of its patient into a multitude of particles or particulate movements, cf. the following examples (SSRLJa XI:1584-1585):

("spray")

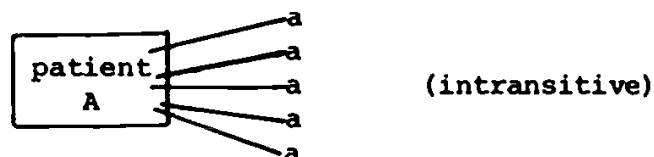
Навстречу прыщет мне пена...

	Фонтанами влага багряная прыснет. Прыснул дождичек... Прыщут стрелы дождем по щитам...
("shoot")	Из-под пня так и прыснули молодые побеги. Этот молодой лес так и прыскал, так и выпирал густыми гребнями, буйною гривой.
("be bursting with")	...те минуты дня, которые прыщут деятельностью и бодростью... ...здоровье, казалось, так и прыскало с лица его ...[крепкие, румяные щеки], которые так и прыщут здоровьем
("burst into sound")	прыскать смехом
("burst into activity": 'бросаться бежать; делать быстрые прыжки, прыжок')	...пискари оттого так быстро прыснули в разные стороны, что испугались шуки ...конь съехался в ком, затем прыснул по-кошачьи и выскочил из станка на луговину

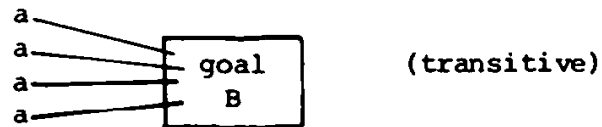
The noun прыск can denote "multiple form" ('брызги, мелкие частицы чего-либо'), "multiple movement" ('скачок, прыжок') or "multiple sound" ('топот [лошадей]).

As a transitive verb, прыскать/прыснуть denotes showering or suffusing a surface, e.g., sprinkling or suffusing with a liquid (cf. the quotes in 7.2.6.2) or showering with blows (8.2.6).

The constant here seems to be the notion of "eruption", action overcoming a threshold and involving the disintegration of its patient. This idea can best be symbolized pictorially: in the intransitive verb



the patient [A] (liquid, person/animal, abstraction) erupts in a multitude [a] of particles (брызги, молодые побеги), a multitude of movements (быстрые прыжки), complex sound (прыснуть смехом, cf. chapter 15), a superabundance of a quality or qualities (прыскать деятельностью и бодростью, прыскать здоровьем). In the transitive verb



the patient, multiple [a] (shower of liquid, injection of drug, shower of blows, shower of "cold words" [cf. 16.7]), is inflicted upon a surface ([goal]) [B]. In both the intransitive and the transitive usages the action is seen as transgressing a literal surface or an abstract threshold.

8. B E A T I N G

Perfective only:

[взб́учить]

взлуп́ить

взлущевáть

[взъерепéнить]

Paired:

взбутетéнить

[взд́уть]

[взодрáть(ся)]

[взгрéть]

[всклóчить]

[вспáрить]

[вспорóть]

[вспрýснуть]

([встрепáть])

[встряхн́уть]

взбутетéнивать

[вздувáть]

[взди́рать(ся)]

[взгревáть]

[всклóчивать]

[вспáривать]

[вспáрывать]

([встрéпывать])

[встря́живать]

The verb listed in parentheses is represented in this meaning only by its derived noun forms: *встрепыванье*, *(за)дать встрепку кому-либо*.

8.1 These verbs, as well as those which I will term verbs of 'scolding' (chapter 9), differ in several respects from the usual pattern displayed by verbs containing the features underlying *вз-*.

First of all, none of these verbs (except *взлущевать* and *взбутетенить*) is defined in terms of any other verb of the group. What binds them together semantically is the fact that practically all of them, in the usages to be discussed below, are defined in terms of the three closely related verbs *бить* (*побить*, *избить*), *колотить* (*поколотить*, *отколотить*) and *сечь* (*высечь*).

Second, none of these verbs specifically denotes 'beating'. Al-

though etymologically a verb of 'beating' (cf. 8.3.2), (вз)бутетенить now denotes "punishment", either corporal or verbal. (Вз)лупцевать, defined only as 'beat', is originally probably derived from лупить (cf. 8.2.1), which like (вс)пороть denotes the violation of a surface ('cutting, tearing, flaying'). Verbs whose semantic features probably do denote [+ motion + contact], e.g., бить, do not take вз- in that meaning; there is no *всколотить, *в[с]сечь, *всхлестать in the meaning 'deliver blows'. Dal' (I:271) does list a всхлестать/всхлестывать, but only in the meaning of взбить ('whip up'): "всхлестать пену, взбить, поднять жлеца".

The verbs treated here as verbs of 'beating' actually represent a variety of different semantic feature matrices (e.g., those underlying the notions of 'heating', 'cutting', 'agitation', cf. below), which, because they have to do with disturbing an object or affecting its surface, can represent punishment or beating, if the predication is elaborated in such a way as to suggest it. For example, (вс)парить (cf. 8.2.4) actually denotes something like 'heat' (hence, "cook", "steam", "sweat"). It can represent the notion of 'beating' only indirectly: (вс)парить ударами веника (моющего в бане) "make it hot for someone" by switching him with a besom.

8.1.1 Even though these are not verbs of 'beating' as such, they can be seen to form a kind of semantic family on the basis of their dictionary definitions:

	(б	(к	(с	(н	(х	л	д
	н	о	е	а	л	у	р
	т	л	ч	к	е	п	а
	ь)	о	ь)	а	с	н	т
		т		з	т	т	ь
		и		а	а	ь	
		т		т	т		
		ь)		ь)	ь)		
взбучить	X	X					
вздутъ	X	X					
(взодратъся)							
взлупить	X	X					
взлупцевать							вз

(б	(к	(с	(н	(х	л	д
и	о	е	а	л	у	р
т	л	ч	к	е	п	а
ь)	о	ь)	а	с	и	т
	т		з	т	т	ь
	и		а	а	ь	
	т		т	т		
	ь)		ь)	ь)		

(взъерепенить)

взбутетенить	X	X				X
взгреть	X	X		X		

(всклочить)

вспарить			X			
вспороть			X			
вспрыснуть				X	X	
встрепать	X					
встрягнуть	X					

8.2 In most cases it is possible to show that the definition of the prefixed verb corresponds to one of the definitions of the unprefixated verb.

8.2.1

ЛУПИТЬ: 'flay'

'Сильно бить, колотить кого-, что-либо'

"Каждое утро, когда я шел в гимназию, ...мне встречался мальчишка... Он бросался на меня и начинал лупить."

ВЗЛУПИТЬ:

'Побить, отколотить'

"Я не выносив был на поби, взлупят меня, я — бежать!"

The actual meaning of this verb is something like 'have a disruptive effect upon a surface': hence 'tear off, peel, husk' (сдирать), 'rip off' (лупить с кого большие деньги), 'tear off' (perform quickly). Since it denotes a quick, disruptive action, лупить can represent, indirectly, the action of 'beating', cf. Vasmer (II:535): "Знач. 'бить' неотделимо от 'лупить, чистить, грабить' ..." Cf. Engl. *flay*.

ЛУЩЕВАТЬ: 'beat'

'Бить, стегать, лупить...'

ВЗЛУЩЕВАТЬ:

'То же, что взлупить'

The etymology of this verb is not discussed in Vasmer. It seems to have originated in dialects (SSRLJa VI:400) and may, like лупснуть, be an expansion of лупить (Vasmer II:535).

8.2.2

ЕРЕПЕНИТЬ:

'ерепенить кого, бить, сечь, наказывать телесно; позадоривать, поджигать' (Dal' I:521)

ВЗЪЕРЕПЕНИТЬ:

'Вызвать раздражение, причиняя сильную боль (в грубой игре)'

"После двадцати щипчиков [щипков] рука...сильно покраснела...
— Любо ли — спрашивает Тавля, заглядывая ему в глаза. Противник молчит. — Взъерепень, взъерепень его! — говорят окружающие."

This substandard and dialectal word also has no clear etymology. The ultimate sense seems to be 'irritate, anger', i.e., 'excitation', cf. chapter 16.

8.2.3

БУТЕТЕНИТЬ: 'beat'

'Колотить кого-либо, драть за волосы' (Vasmer I:253)

ВЗБУТЕТЕНИТЬ:

'Сильно избить, отколотить кого-нибудь'

(See the discussion under взбучить, 8.3.2)

8.2.4

ПАРИТЬ: 'switch, beat'

'Хлестать горячим веником (моющего в бане)'

"Забравшись в бане на полку, Арефа блаженствовал часа два, пока монастырские мужики нещадно парили его свежими вениками."

'(Прост.) Сечь, пороть'

"В гимназии огромных трудов стоило ему заучивать уроки, и его часто парили."

ВСПАРИТЬ/ВСПАРИВАТЬ:

'(Прост.) Вспарить кого в бане (ударами веника)'

'(Прост.) Больно высечь'

"[Иван Иванович] был убежден, что ребенка хотя раз в месяц следует вспарить, но, имея мягкую натуру, он парил их редко."

(Вс)парить occurs as a verb of 'boiling' ('steam') (chapter 13), of 'suffusion' ('[cause] to steam, sweat') and of 'beating'. The related verb (вс)преть shares the first two meanings. The original sense of пар- seems to have been 'heat', cf. Sreznevskij: *парити* (смягчать на огне, плавить) (cited in SSRLJa IX:192); and Vasmer (III:207), who compares the related Lith. *perėti, periti* 'высиживать (птенцов)', cf. Dal' (III:21): "*парить яйца* (о птице, особенно о курице), сидеть на яйцах, *высиживать*." The same root is present in пар 'fallow (field)' (Vasmer III:203), the connection being that between heat and decay, as in преть. Dal' (III:268) cites *вспарить* in the meaning 'вспахать под пар' (cf. chapter 3). In CSR par_1 'steam' and par_2 'fallow' must be treated as two separate lexemes. But par_1 and the various meanings of парить and *вспарить* can be treated in terms of the same underlying features: парить [+verb + "heat" 0 "moist"] – 'apply steam to' (парить бочку, дерево), 'heat in a moist environment' (парить ногу, кости), 'stew' парить репу, 'steam (to death)' (парить клопов), 'make steam(ing hot)' (парить лошадей), 'make steaming hot (i.e., "make it hot for someone")' (парить кого), 'be hot and moist' (солнце, зной, полдень парит). As we have seen in the cases of *вспенить* (6.2.1.4.1), *вспылить* (6.2.1.4.2) and *взмылить* (7.2.3), the objective relationship between the activity described by the verb and the entities engaging in or subjected to the activity is not explicit in the linguistic sign.

8.2.5

ПОРОТЬ: 'lash, slash'

'(Разг.) Сечь, бить'

"...Меня в полку пороли, чтоб
не пил я. Стегали, стегали..."

ВСПОРТЬ/ВСПАРЫВАТЬ:

'(Прост.) Вспороть кого-либо –
высечь'

"Видать, заезжий. Там уже
вспорют – узнаешь, за какими
песнями в Москву ездят"

The dictionary lists this meaning of *пороть* as a separate lexical item, but both meanings of *вспороть* 'cut; beat' are treated under the same heading. Usakov, SRJa and SSRLJa all treat *сечь* in both these meanings as one item. It seems, therefore, that one can treat (вс)пороть as one lexical item – a verb of 'cutting', which because of its general meaning of violation of surface can represent the notion of 'beating', cf. Engl. *slash*.

8.2.6

ПРЫСНУТЬ: 'shower blows'

'*прыснуть* кого чем, обрызгать или хлестнуть, ударить' (Dal' III:530)

ВСПРЫСНУТЬ/ВСПРЫСКИВАТЬ:

'(Прост.) Хлестать, бить. (В сравнении и образно)'

"Как он [ямщик] гаркнет, как присвиснет

Горячо по всем по трем, —
Вороньх он словно всприснет
Вдохновительным кнутом."

'(Доревол.) Наказывать розгами'

"...вот как шестьдесят человек
березовой кашей всприснут, так
до новых веников не забудут!"

As we have seen in 7.2.6.2.1, (вс)прыснуть as a transitive verb denotes 'affecting a surface', either with a shower of liquid droplets or with a spray or spurt of liquid (such as medicine injected from a syringe). Its usage here represents the same activity, the surface receiving a shower of blows instead of liquid.

8.2.7

ТРЯХНУТЬ:

'(Перех. Разг.) Наказать кого-либо, расправиться с кем-либо'

"— Попался! — Кричал народ:
тряхни его! Тряхни лучше!
Ничего!"

ВСТРЯХНУТЬ/ВСТРЯХИВАТЬ:

'(Прост.) Побить'

"— Ты, Македошка, не смей бить ее
[шарманщицу], а то, говорит, я
тебя так встряхну, что ты ноги
протянешь..."

Neither the unprefixd nor the prefixed verb necessarily means 'beat' in this usage, cf. (вс)тряска, задать (вс)тряску: 'сильное воздействие, наказание; трепка, потасовка' (SSRLJa), or 'наказание, строгий выговор; нагоняй' (SRJa).

(Вс)тряхнуть 'shake (up)' is a verb of 'agitation' (cf. 14.4.1.13) which denotes a disturbance ([+ motion 0 directional]) which can be physical or mental, depending on the marking of the feature [abstract]. Specified for an animate patient, the phrases *трясти/тряхнуть кого* and *встряхнуть/встряхивать кого* can stand for different activities depending on how the patient is conceived. The difference between an animate being (a body, a physical entity)

and a person (a personality, an abstract entity) can also be treated in terms of the feature [abstract]. If the predication is [0 abstract], the activity involves physical motion and the animate (human) patient is a physical entity; the activity is interpretable as 'agitation' ("Пьер схватил...Анатолия за воротник...и стал трясти из стороны в сторону") or as 'corporal punishment (shaking, beating or any physical disturbance)' ("Что! Ты дубиной грозиться? — Тряхну хорошенько, только тебе и житься!" [SRJa IV:579], cf. the quotes above). If the predication is [+ abstract], the activity involves figurative disturbance and the animate patient is an abstraction, a personality; the activity is interpretable as 'excitation' ("Началось это в апреле, ночью, года три спустя после мятежей, встряхнувших терпеливый народ" [SRJa I:309], cf. 16.3.1) or as 'verbal punishment (scolding)' ("— Я перед уходом высказал офицерам свои взгляды... После моего ухода пулеметчиков, несомненно, будут трясти" [SSRLJa XV:1079], cf. 9.4). These distinctions are further discussed in 9.3 and 10.2.3.1.

8.2.8

ДРАТЬ: 'beat, lash'

'Пороть, сечь кнутом, розгами'

ВЗОДРАТЬ(СЯ)/ВЗДИРАТЬ(СЯ):

'(Устар.) О телесном наказании'
(по quotation)

Like лупить, драть denotes the disturbance of a physical surface, cf. 3.2.2 and 17.4.2.1.

8.2.9

ДУТЬ: 'lash'

'Бить, колотить, хлестать кого-л.'

"Велел его [частный] высечь.
Я пришел — дуют его, кричит
благим матом."

ВЗДУТЬ:

'Сильно побить'

"Очень я на тебя давеча рас-
сердился, и ежели бы ты не упал,
вздул бы я тебя, брат, за твою
дерзость."

This usage was discussed in 6.2.1.6.7. The sense of it seems to be 'lash as though by means of the wind', cf. also прыснуть 'shower blows'.

8.2.10

КЛЮЧИТЬ: 'rough up'

'Сбивать в клочья, трепать' (Ušakov)

ВСКЛЮЧИТЬ/(ВСКЛЮЧИВАТЬ): 'pull
(hair)'

'Всклочить — оттаскать за волосы'

'Клочку дать кому-либо. Побить, избить кого-либо'

ТРЕПАТЬ: 'beat'

'Наносить' побои кому-либо'

ТРЕПКА:

'Побои (обычно с тасканием за волосы, за уши)' (SRJa)

"[Инспектор] схватил Тавлю за волосы и дал ему трепку.

'Задать всклочку — оттаскать за волосы'

ВСТРЕПАТЬ/ВСТРЕПЫВАТЬ:

(no equivalent)

ВСТРЕПКА, ВСТРЕПЫВАНЬЕ:

'Побои, потасовка; жестокий выговор, несдержанная брань'

The actual sense of both of these verbs is 'disorder', cf. 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.1.5.2. The punishment implied by *всключить* is not strictly limited to hair-pulling. The expressions *(за)дать (вс)клочку*, *(вс)трепку кому* represent a special use of the features denoting 'disorder' ("ruffling", "scutching") to stand for physical punishment: a general "roughing up" which can involve beating, cuffing, hair-pulling or ear-tweaking — without being limited to any one means specifically. In addition, *трепка* is ambiguous as to physical or verbal punishment.

8.3 There are two verbs which have no equivalent meaning without the prefix.

8.3.1

ГРЕТЬ:
(no equivalent)

ВЗГРЕТЬ/ВЗГРЕВАТЬ: 'punish, beat'
'Строго наказать, отколотить, побить'
'Сильно побить или сильно выругать' (SRJa)

Like *встрягнуть* (*встряска*) and *(вс)трепка*, *взгреть* can represent punishment either corporal ('beat') or verbal ('scold'). The SRJa lists a usage of *греть* corresponding only to the latter meaning of *взгреть* (cf. 9.2.2). It is interesting to note that other verbs of similar semantic content ('heat') can be used to represent 'beating': *ожечь* (cf. *огреть*), *жигануть*.

8.3.2

БУЧИТЬ:
(no equivalent)

ВЗБУЧИТЬ: 'beat; [scold]'
'Сильно поколотить, побить'

This verb means both 'cause to swell, puff up' (5.3.9) or 'beat'. The noun *взбучка* (cf. *встряска, встрепка*) denotes either 'beating' (нанесение побоев) or 'scolding' (строгий выговор, нагоняй). Vasmer (I:310) rejects Sobolevskij's claim that *взбучить* and *буча* 'noise, turmoil' are related to *взбугетеничь* and relates the latter to *бут* 'rubble, quarry stone' and to Bulg. *бутам* 'knock', Sln. *būtati* 'beat', *būtiti* 'strike' (I:252). (Вз)бугетеничь, then, is ultimately a verb of 'beating'. *Взбучить*, however, seems to be of onomatopoeic origin (cf. 5.3.9): the basic idea seems to be 'blow, puff, make a loud noise, roar'. Related forms are *бужать* 'puff, roar, moo' (Vasmer I:236) or 'knock' (Vasmer I:258), *бык* 'bull' (ibid.), *бучать* 'hum, moo' (Vasmer I:256) and *буча* 'alarm, turmoil' (ibid.). Dal' (I:147) defines *буча* as 'шум, возня, крик многих голосов; ссора, драка'. The idea of 'beating' or 'fighting' seems thus derived from that of loud noise or turmoil. The SSRJа lists *взбучить* 'cause to swell' and 'beat' as one item. The SRJа treats these meanings as separate items: *взбучить*₁ 'сильно поколотить или сильно выругать' and *взбучить*₂ 'вспучить'.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

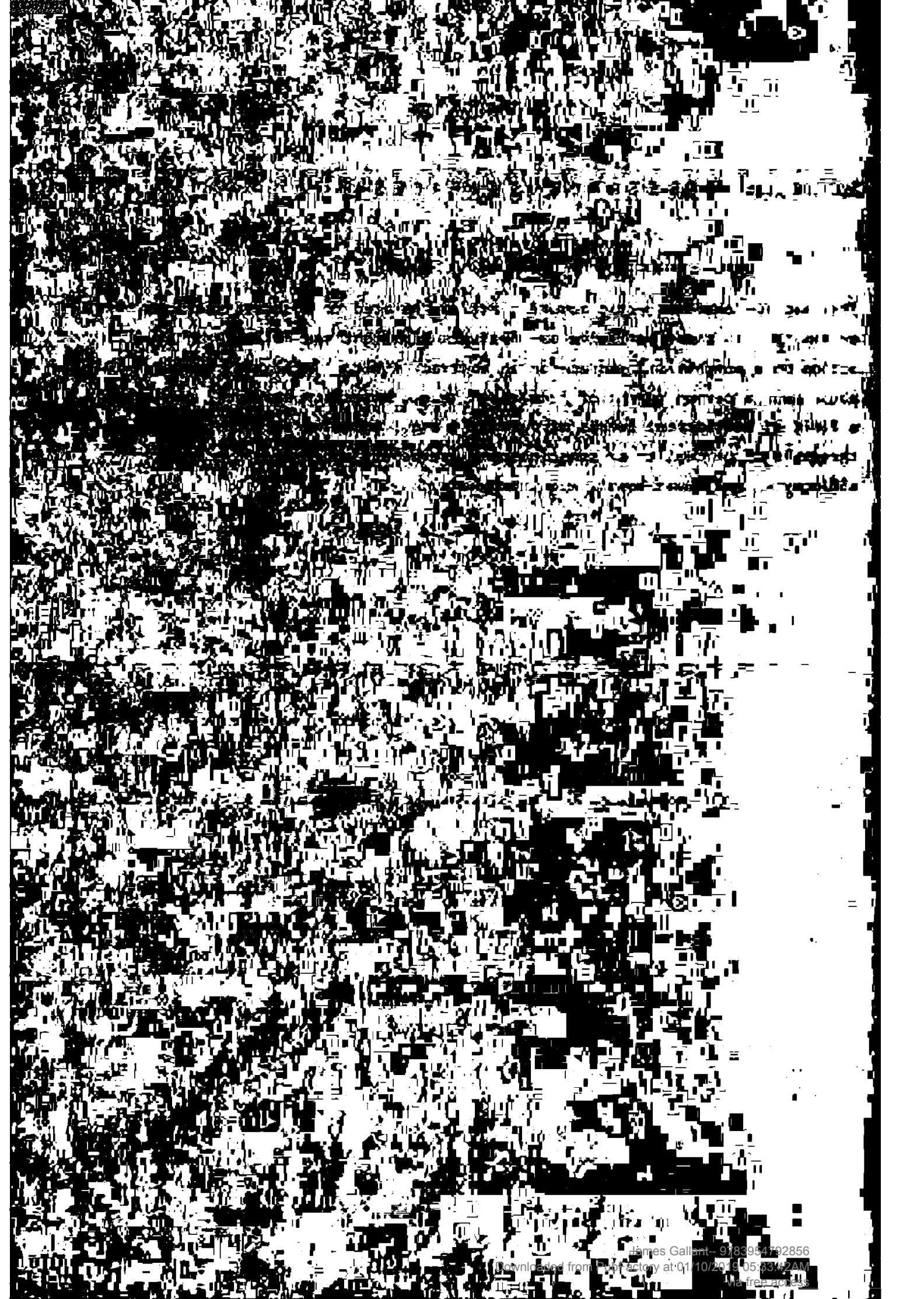
In the second section, the author details the various methods used to collect and analyze the data. This includes both manual and automated processes. The goal is to ensure that the data is as accurate and reliable as possible.

The third part of the document focuses on the results of the analysis. It shows that there is a clear trend in the data, which is consistent with the initial hypothesis. This finding is significant as it provides strong evidence for the proposed model.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the findings and a list of recommendations. It suggests that further research is needed to explore the underlying causes of the observed trends.

SECTION III: A B S T R A C T S U R F A C E S

This section examines verbs denoting actions related to abstract surfaces or limits. In these verbs the *вз-* features highlight the relation of the action to a nonphysical surface or an abstract limit: inflicting verbal abuse upon a person (verbs of 'scolding', e.g., *взъестся на кого*), crossing a limit of development (verbs of 'growth', e.g., *взрасти*) or crossing the threshold of perception or consciousness (verbs of 'appearance', e.g., *взблеснуть*, and 'awareness', e.g., *вздумать*).



9. SCOLDING

Perfective only:

([взбучить])

[вспушить]

Paired:

[взбутетёнить]

[взвалить]

[взвестить]

[взгреть]

[взлаять (ся)]

[взмьлить]

взъестся

[вскйнуться]

всклепать

[вскрикнуть]

([встрепать])

([встряхнуть])

[взбутетёнивать]

[взваливать]

[взводить]

[взгревать]

[взлаивать (ся)]

[взмьливать]

взъедаться

[вскйдываться]

всклёпывать

[вскрикивать]

([встрёпывать])

([встряхивать])

The verbs listed in parentheses are represented only by their derived noun forms: *взбучка, встрепка, встряска*, cf. 9.4.

9.1 These verbs, in the usages to be discussed below, all describe some form of verbal abuse or punishment. As we have seen in the previous chapter, very few *вз-* verbs are defined exclusively in terms of 'beating' or 'scolding': *взлупить, взлупцевать* ('beating'); *взбутетенить* ('beating', 'scolding'); *взъестся, всклепать* ('scolding'). Of these, only *взбутетенить* is etymologically a verb of 'beating'. The other eighteen verbs which can represent physical and/or verbal abuse represent a variety of feature matrices denoting different kinds of disturbance:

'cutting'	вспороть (взлупить, взлупцевать, взъесться)
'swelling'	взбучить, вздуть
'disorder'	всклочить, вспушить, встрепать
'suffusion'	взмьлить, вспрыснуть
'boiling (heat)'	взгреть, испарить
'agitation'	встряхнуть
'sound/expression'	взлаять, вскрикнуть
'excitation'	взъерепенить
'directed motion'	взвалить, взвести, взодрать, вскинуться (всклепать)

The ability to imply physical or verbal abuse is limited to only a few isolated verbs of each group; the relationship is not nearly as automatic as, for example, that between verbs of 'agitation' and 'excitation'. Nevertheless, since eighteen verbs (nine percent of the corpus) are capable of the metaphor, they should be treated as distinct groups of 'beating' and 'scolding' verbs, even though only five verbs (2 1/2 percent) are actually defined as such.

9.1.1 Verbs whose semantics really does have to do with verbal abuse, e.g., бранить, ругать, do not take вз-. None of the verbs of 'scolding' listed above is defined in terms of any other verb of the group. Like the verbs of 'beating', however, they do cohere semantically in that they are defined for the most part in terms of the same few verbs: (сделать) выговор, (раз)-бранить, (вы-, об-)ругать.

	(д	(б	(р	(н	(н	(д
	е	р	у	а	а	а
	л	а	г	к	к	т
	а	н	а	и	а	ь
	т	и	т	н	з	
	ь	т	ь)	у	а	н
		ь)		т	т	а
	в			ь	ь)	г
	ы			с		о
	г			я)		н
	о					я
	в					й)
	о					
	р)					
взбучить	X					X
вспушить	X	X				
взбутетенить	X	X			X	
взгреть	X		X			
взлаять		X	X	X		
взмышлить	X					
взъестся		X		X		
(всклепать)						
(вскрикнуть)						
встрепать	X	X				
встрягнуть	X				X	X

9.2 In the majority of cases the prefixed form differs from the unpre-
fixed only in terms of specificity. This is true also for stems represented
only as verbal nouns, e.g., трепка ~ встрепка, cf. 9.4. Here too, the prefix
specifies the action as "eruptive" or "disturbing a surface". While verbs of
'beating' affect a physical surface, a body, verbs of 'scolding' affect an ab-
stract surface, a person, cf. 8.2.7.

9.2.1

ПУШИТЬ: 'scold'

'Сильно бранить кого-либо;
распекать'

ВСПУШИТЬ:

'Сделать гневный выговор кому-
либо, разбранить кого-либо'

We have already encountered this verb as a verb of 'plowing' (пушить землю)
and 'disorder' (пушить волосы, шерсть). In those two cases, and here, as a

figurative abstraction, (вс)пушить has to do with attacking (ruffling) a surface.

9.2.2

ГРЕТЬ: 'scold'

'Порицать, делать выговор;
ругать, поносить'

"[Соглашатель (вздутый, плачется):] Как начали греть!
Как начали крыть! Легче помереть, чем их помирить." (SRJa)

ВЗГРЕТЬ/ВЗГРЕВАТЬ:

'Сделать кому-либо строгий выговор, обругать'

"— Опять сверла послали скверные, надо взгреть кого следует! — ..."

The prefixed form is said by the dictionary to represent punishment either corporal or verbal. The only dictionary (SRJa) that lists such a usage of the unprefix form defines it only as verbal punishment. If one treats the base as manifesting consistently the same inherent features ("make hot"), then греть/взгреть кого should be maximally ambiguous — "make it hot for someone, punish". The ambiguity is, however, not evenly "balanced" in that the notion of 'scolding' is by far the more immediate interpretation.

9.2.3

ЛЯТЬ: 'scold'

'(Перех.) Бранить, ругать кого-либо'

ЛЯТЬСЯ: 'scold'

'Браниться, ругаться'

"Лаяться на кого."

ВЗЛЯТЬ/ВЗЛАИВАТЬ:

'Обругать, выругать'

ВЗЛЯТЬСЯ/ВЗЛАИВАТЬСЯ:

'Вдруг накинуться на кого-либо с бранью'

The actual sense of this verb is "bark" [+ verb + "sound/expression" + "canine"], cf. chapter 15. The verb, as well as the noun лай, can denote both barking and verbal abuse (ругань, брань). With a personal subject, the transitive лаять/взлять кого means 'to subject someone to verbal abuse'. The intransitive лаяться/взляться на кого represents the same action in a slightly different fashion: 'be verbally abusive with respect to someone', i.e., 'be in a state characterized by loud verbal expression directed at (на) someone'. As in the case of other verbs of 'sound/expression', the вз- features specify the relationship of the activity to a threshold, cf. chapter 15.

If one assumes that "caninity" is an inherent feature of the morpheme {-laj-}, then in the environment of a personal subject (of the verb) or modifier (of the noun) there is always a kind of implicit comparison – a person's loud verbal expression is represented in terms of loud canine expression. I think, however, that "caninity" is a variable feature of the verb. Used with human subjects, the verb would be [0 "canine"], only optionally interpretable as a comparison. This seems to be true of English: "*the drill sergeant barked out the orders*" may or may not be interpreted as a comparison of man and dog; likewise, the [+ "canine"] sentence "*the lead dog barked orders to the rest of the pack*" may or may not denote a comparison of dog and man.

9.2.4

МЫЛИТЬ голову кому: 'scold'

ВЗМЫЛИТЬ/ВЗМЫЛИВАТЬ голову кому:

'Сильно бранить кого-либо; делать строгий выговор; распекать'

'Сделать строгий выговор'

The verb of 'suffusion' (вз)МЫЛИТЬ can represent 'punishment' only in this set phrase. It is interesting to note that the English and Czech equivalents *lather* and *mydlit koho, vymydlit koho, namydlit komu* can refer only to beating: *he lathered him with a cane, (z)mydlil ho opaskem*. The similar expression МЫТЬ голову кому 'scold' does not occur in English or Czech but can be found, with the same meaning, in German and French: *einem den Kopf waschen, laver la tête à quelqu'un*. (There is no *ВЗМЫТЬ голову кому, cf. the discussion of ВЗМЫТЬ in 18.2.10.) What these examples show is that the action of lathering someone or soaping up someone's head can be used as a picture of punishment, 'beating' or 'scolding', depending on the language. This figure of speech can be explained by saying that both the literal and the figurative usage express a disruptive action directed upon a surface (suffusion [with soap; with blows; with words]), cf. Engl. *soak*: "1. To saturate with a liquid; to drench... 5. *Slang*. a. To sock; punch" (Webster's Collegiate [5th ed.]); "6: to beat or punish severely (the jury comes in loaded to - an anarchist and a foreigner - Maxwell Anderson)" (Webster's Third). Note that the sentence парикмахер (вз-, на-)МЫЛИЛ ей голову is conceivably ambiguous as to lathering or scolding (some informants consider it ambiguous, some do not). The real problem here for the semanticist is whether or not to consider МЫЛИТЬ голову кому 'an idiom (an indi-

visible phrase whose meaning is not the sum of the semantic features of its constituents, cf. Weinreich 1966:450 and Mel'čuk 1974:105, 141, note 1).

Treated as an idiom, *мылить голову* would be listed separately in the lexicon as a unit composed of features like [+ verb + "scold"], a unit of the paradigm of such verbs as *бранить* and *ругать*. The prefixation of such a unit – *вз-* (*мылить голову*), *на-* (*мылить голову*) – would present some problems in that verbs with the features [+ verb + "scold"] do not take the prefix *вз-*: **взбранить*, **взругать*. On the other hand, one could argue, as I have done above, that *мылить голову* explicitly signals only [+ verb + "lather" (+ head)] and that those features can be interpreted literally or as a figurative abstraction. This approach keeps the metaphor "alive" and allows one to say that the reason that *мылить* takes the prefix *вз-* is that it is a verb of 'suffusion' (literal or abstract), cf. *вспрыснуть* 'shower (with water, with blows)' (8.2.6). The problem with the latter approach is that even though its meaning can be understood as the sum of the meanings of its constituents, (*вз-*, *на-*)*мылить голову кому* remains a fixed phraseological unit: it would seem that the summary meaning 'scold' arises only when these particular constituents come together and are added up. This, then, would seem to be a case of semantic addition. Yet one can hardly say that the items *голову кому* add the meaning 'scold' to *мылить*. If one were to say that (*вз-*, *на-*)*мылить* in conjunction with one of its range of objects, *голову* (not *мыло*, *воду*, *руку*, *лицо*, *лошадь*), forms a phrase having not only the expected concrete meaning 'lather' but also a figurative meaning 'scold', then the ability of this one phrase to be used abstractly would have to be noted in an *ad hoc* fashion in the lexicon, i.e., as an idiom. The idiom, however, is not totally opaque. One native speaker informs me that one can also say (*вз-*, *на-*)*мылить чуб кому* in the meaning 'scold' and that a slangy, nonce formation like *они взмылили его хорошенько* 'chewed out' is possible, though unusual. If that is true, then one could say that the meaning 'scold' is really a potentiality of the features underlying the verb *мылить* – one of the objective realities it can represent because of the general nature of its semantics: 'suffusion' (disturbance of a surface).

9.2.5

ЕСТЬ: 'chew out'

'Попрекать, бранить, изводить, не давать покоя' (SRJa)

"[Надя:] Мне житья не будет. Агнесса Ростиславовна будет гневаться. Все они будут есть меня." (SRJa)

"Вы два года ели меня за то, что я не выхожу замуж." (SRJa)

ВЗЪЕСТЬСЯ/ВЗЪЕДАТЬСЯ: 'get angry at, scold'

'Рассердившись, накидываться на кого-либо с бранью, укорами; преследовать, притеснять'

"Житья не было от прикащика: взелся на меня за то, что я не снял шапки перед его писарем, и ну придираться!"

The verb *есть* both in literal and in figurative usages can be said to involve the violation of a surface, consuming the object entirely or only partially: cf. "Ржа железо ест, злая жена мужа" (Dal' IV:662). The unprefixes and prefixed verbs are structurally not parallel in that the unprefixes verb is transitive, while the prefixed is not: there is neither a **есться на кого* (only *есться 'изъедать друг друга'* [Dal' IV:662]) nor a transitive **взъесть кого*. Whereas *есть* describes a direct action ("consuming") upon the object, *взъестся* describes a resultant state ("be consumed with vexation"), either absolutely (e.g., "...Ишь как взелся. Злой тоже.") or with reference to another person (*взъестся на кого*). The lack of **есться 'be vexed, tormented'* and **взъесть 'chew out'* seems accidental in view of the perfect parallelism exhibited by *лаять* (usually intransitive): (*вз*)*лаять* кого, (*вз*)*лаяться* на кого, cf. 9.2.3.

9.2.6

КЛЕПАТЬ: 'accuse of, pin on'

'Ложно обвинять кого-либо в чем-либо'

"Однако без вины [командир] не наказывал — клепать нечего." (SRJa)

ВСКЛЕПАТЬ/ВСКЛЕПЫВАТЬ:

'Наговаривать, возводить на кого-либо небылицу, клевету'

"...Идут предлога, чтоб бесчестие на нее всклепать и за это выгнать ее."

The original sense of this verb seems to have been 'strike' (cf. Engl. *clap*): "Др.-русск. въсклепати (ударить во что — в било, в клепало и т. п.; обвинить)" (SSRLJa). The idea of striking or affixing by striking ("clap onto", cf. *клепать* in its concrete modern sense 'rivet') can, as a figurative abstraction, represent the affixation of blame. It is interesting to follow the history of

Engl. *clap* to see to what extent it has undergone the same semantic developments as the similar onomatopoeitic form *клепать*: (all English examples from the OED I:425) *clap* (noun) 'a rattle used to summon people to church...' (= *клепало* 'доска, в которую били, призывая к церковной службе...'), *clap* (verb) 'strike, beat...; (12b *fig.*) to lay the blame or responsibility of (*obs.*)' (1641. "He set on fire the Edifices...and...clapt the wicked fact upon the backs of Christians.").

9.2.7

КРИКНУТЬ: 'scold'

'на кого. Бранить кого-л. повышенным голосом'

ВСКРИКНУТЬ/ВСКРИКИВАТЬ:

'на кого. Покрикивать, прикрикнуть на кого-либо, выражая угрозу или недовольство'

As we shall see in chapter 15, (вс)крикнуть denotes the utterance of a loud cry. If this act is set in relationship to an abstract "surface" (на кого), the composite is interpretable as verbal abuse.

9.2.8

БУТЕТЕНИТЬ: 'beat'

(no equivalent)

ВЗБУТЕТЕНИТЬ/ВЗБУТЕТЕНИВАТЬ:

'scold'

'Строго наказывать, бранить'

Cf. 8.2.3 and 8.3.2. Etymologically, (вз)бутетенить means only 'beat'.

9.3 A few verbs of 'directed motion' can, when prefixed and specified [+ abstract], depict abuse:

ВАЛИТЬ: 'lay (blame)'

'на кого. Слагать, перелгать ответственность, вину на кого-л.' (SRJa)

"Если вы хотите знать, то пятилетний план станицы составлен по моему предложению и с моим участием... И нечего все валить на Савву."

ВЕСТИ: 'take'

('Направлять...')

ВЗВАЛИТЬ/ВЗВАЛИВАТЬ:

'Несправедливо обвинять в чем-либо, приписывать кому что-нибудь порочное, позорное'

"Взвалить чужую вину на кого-либо."

ВЗВЕСТИ/ВЗВОДИТЬ: 'take, put on'

'Переносить на кого-либо вину, несправедливо приписывать что-либо

(no equivalent)

КИНУТЬСЯ: 'hurl oneself'

'на кого-либо. Стремительно набрасываться, нападать на кого-либо' (literal, physical movement)

"Перед нами уже не тот вспыльчивый старик, который, в упоении самовластья, кидался с мечом на вернейших своих слуг."

"Алачинец дико застонал, стиснул зубы и, нагнувшись, как бык, кинулся на казака."

предосудительное'

"Что это за страсть у тебя, Куницын, разные мерзости на себя взводить!"

"Крестьянин позвал в суд Овцу: Он уголовное взвел на бедняжку дело."

ВСКИНУТЬСЯ/ВСКИДЫВАТЬСЯ:

'Набрасываться на кого-либо с гневными вопросами, бранью, упреками, угрозами'

"— Что́ ты суешь? что́ ты мне суешь? — вскидывается он на Ваньку."

"...Что ты, дядюшка? Белены объелся! Да я знать не знаю, за что ты на меня вскинуться изволил."

What happens in these cases is that the specification of the verb as [+ abstract] causes all terms of the predication to be figurative. From the listener's point of view, the abstractness of the predication is manifested in the abstractness of at least one of its terms, e.g.:

X	взвалить	Y	Z
[+ agent + person]	[+ verb + abstract + motion + directional + transgression + horizontal]	[+ abstract + patient + pejorative]	[+ goal + person + imposition]
Он	взвалил	вину	на него

All the above features are features of the verb *взвалить*, i.e., the fact that it has a patient, goal and agent. It is only the inherent abstractness of the noun *вина* that signals to the listener that the entire predication has been specified as [+ abstract]. A sentence like *он взвалил свое бремя на него* could be interpreted by the listener either concretely or figuratively. In the [+ abstract] sentences the agent and goal are interpreted as persons

rather than bodies (a person heaps blame/burden upon another person). In the [0`abstract] sentence one man literally moves a physical object, a burden, onto another man's body.

9.4 In several cases, according to the dictionary, it is only the deverbal noun that is capable of denoting both corporal and verbal punishment. Взбучить, встрепать and встряхнуть are defined by the SSRLJa as verbs of 'beating'. The deverbal nouns взбучка and встрепка are said to mean both 'beating' and 'scolding'; the SSRLJa defines встряска only as 'beating', while the SRJa defines it only as 'scolding'. As we have seen, however, трясти/тряхнуть and взбучить can represent either verbal or corporal punishment (cf. 8.2.7 and 8.3.2). I cannot find (вс)трепать used as a verb of 'scolding', although the deverbal nouns are clearly capable of such a meaning:

ТРЕПКА:

'Нагоняй, выговор' (SRJa)

"[Григорий:] Вишь, расселись.
Вы смотрите: барыня узнает, она
вам такую задаст трепку, не хуже
утрешнего." (SRJa)

ВСТРЕПКА:

'Жестокий выговор, несдержанная
брань'

"[Михрюткин:] Пропала моя
головушка... И Раиса Карповна
— задаст она мне встрепку
теперь!"

9.5 Without exception, all the usages discussed in these last two chapters are labeled 'substandard' by the SSRLJa. The material in these two groups seems to represent a sampling of slang usages from different eras (cf. the obsolete всклепать, всключка) and perhaps from different dialects. They may, thus, be only a sampling of linguistic possibilities. It is difficult to tell whether the gaps we have encountered in this "expressive" area of vocabulary are systematic or accidental.

10. G R O W T H

Perfective only:

взлелéять

Imperfective only:

[вздымáться]

Paired:

[взбежáть]

[взбегáть]

[взвестí]

[взводíть]

[взгромоздíть]

[взгромождáть]

[взметáть (pf.)]

[взнести́сь]

[взноси́ться]

[взобращáться]

[взбирáться]

[взойтí]

[всходíть]

взрастí

взрастáть

взрастíть(ся)

взра́щивать(ся)

вскормíть

вскáрмливать

вспойть

вспáивать

[всползтí]

[всползáть]

10.1 The five verbs not in brackets — взлелеять, взрасти, взрастить, вскормить and вспоить — form a small group of verbs denoting the process of achieving a state of maturity. They denote 'growth' not in the sense of physical enlargement or extension in space but in the sense of achieving a certain norm or level of development. The activity they describe is thus an abstract one; and the *вз-* features they contain must also, therefore, be taken abstractly: not as 'upward direction', but as 'crossing a threshold' (achieving a norm), cf. below.

10.1.1 These five verbs are actually only a subset of the total number of *вз-* verbs capable of representing 'growth'. Nine other verbs — взбежать, взвести, взнести́сь, всползти, взойти, and вздыматься, взобрат́ься, взгромоздить,

взметать (verbs of 'directed motion') — can also be said to represent 'growth'. Verbs of 'directed motion' used to depict 'growth' are discussed below in 10.3. These verbs are different from verbs like *взрасти* in that they specifically denote motion in a certain direction, which in combination with the *вз-* features [+ verb + abstract + motion + directional + horizontal + transgression] can represent extension upward in space, cf. chapter 17.

10.1.2 An indication that the five non-directional verbs probably share more than just the features underlying *вз-* is the fact that all except *взрасти* ('*вырасти*') are defined in terms of at least one other member of the group:

	<u>(воспитать)</u>	<u>растить</u>	<u>кормить</u>
влелеять	X	вз	
(взрасти)	X		
взрастить	X		вз
вскормить	X	X	
вспонить	X	X	вз

10.2 In most cases it is possible to find usages of the unprefixated verb similar to those of the prefixed verb.

10.2.1

ЛЕЛЕЯТЬ: 'foster'

'Нежить, холить кого-либо;
оказывать ласковыми заботами'

"Мать лелеяла и баловала его
как балуют единственное чадо."

"Но тот блаженный, о Зарема,
Кто, мир и негу возлюбя,
Как розу, в тишине гарема
Лелеет, милая, тебя."
(SJaP II:467)

'С удовольствием, отрадой пре-
даваться чему-н. (какой-н.
мысли, чувству)' (Usakov)

"Лелеять надежду."

ВЗЛЕЛЕЯТЬ:

'Воспитать, взрастить заботливо,
бережно, с лаской и нежностью'

"Взлелеять дочь." (SRJa)

"И то сказать: в Полтаве нет
Красавицы, Марии равной.
Она свежа, как вешний цвет,
Взлелеянный в тени дубравной."

'Выносить в себе (мысль, чувство)'
(SRJa)

"Издавна умысел ужасный
Взлелеял тайно злой старик
В думе своей."

Of onomatopoeitic origin, лелеять, like the related Eng. *lull*, *loll*, seems originally to have meant 'soothe, caress (by singing or rocking to sleep)', cf. Vasmer II:579, 545-46. In modern Russian its sense is only abstract: 'care for, cherish, foster'. There are quotations which suggest that the nuance of rocking motion has retained some force: "...ветерок, Струи лаская, тихо веял, И парус пурпурный лелеял" (Žukovskij), "Зефир скользит и тихо веет В ветрила гордых кораблей И челны на волнах лелеет" (Puškin) (SSRLJa VI:150). These usages, however, can perhaps be treated in terms of the more abstract interpretation offered below.

Invariant in the semantics of лелеять is the notion of tenderness or caring. The notion of "fostering the development of" seems to be a variable. The semantic structure of лелеять might be something like [+ verb + abstract + "caring, tenderness" 0 "grow, develop" 0 horizontal 0 transgression...]. The features [+ verb + abstract + "caring, tenderness"] could, I think, account for usages of лелеять in the sense of 'ласкать': лелеять кого 'cherish, caress', ветерок лелеет парус 'caress, be tender to' (cf. the quote above), лелеять воспоминание, любовь, счастье 'cherish, hold dear', лелеять слух, душу 'caress'. Unlike ласкать, лелеять seems to have a variable feature (or group of features) having to do with growth or development. The features [+ verb + abstract + "caring, tenderness" + "grow, develop"] could account for such usages as лелеять кого 'foster, care for the development of', лелеять замыслы, мысль, надежду 'nurture (любовно вынашивать)'. It is only in these latter usages that лелеять can be prefixed in вз-. What this means is that the вз- features cannot be specified unless the "growth, development" feature is. Note that ласкать, which has no "growth" feature, lacks the вз- features. Взлелеять [+ verb + abstract + "caring, tenderness" + grow, develop" + horizontal + transgression] would mean 'care for the development of such as to cross a threshold (achieve a norm) of development'.

10.2.2

РАСТИ: 'grow (up)'

'Становиться старше, взрослее, развиваться'

"Малютка растет; он уже бегает

ВЗРАСТИ/ВЗРАСТАТЬ:

'Вырастать'

"Скоро девочка взрастет. Я

по комнате, лепечет несвязные слова."

'Находиться, иметься. О произрастающих растениях'

"В саду росли старые бесплодные яблони, высокие березы..."

'...развиваться в каком-либо месте, в каких-либо условиях'

"Девочка росла у бабушки в Финляндии..."

спрашивала...знакомых кухарок и других баб — нет ли места где для девочки?"

(по separate definition)

"Остров малый На взморье виден... Не взросло Там ни былинки..."

'Воспитываться'

"Да и тебе, Иван Петрович, стыдно; кажется, в нашем доме взрос и отеческие ласки от всех у нас видел."

The verb *расти* can have directionality as a variable feature, cf. "ноготь врос в тело", "дерево доросло до крыши дома" (SRJa I:292, 585). That it is not inherently directional is shown by the fact that it allows prefixal derivations in non-directional senses (cf. 3.1.2), e.g., *взрасти* 'grow up (= mature)', *вырасти* 'idem' (exhaustive), *зарасти* 'cover surface' (not 'behind'), *нарасти* 'grow in quantity' (not 'onto'), *перерастить* 'outgrow, grow bigger' (not 'across'). The usages of *взрасти* to be found in the dictionary display no directionality and match the non-directional and abstract usages of *расти* given above: development to maturity, ability to develop and the process of development.

10.2.3

РАСТИТЬ: 'grow'

'Способствовать росту чего-либо; выращивать'

"Хоронил я тебя и, тоскуя,
Я растил на могиле цветы."

'Воспитывать, заботясь о развитии, здоровье и т. п.'

"Растили родители Никифора, ум-
разуму учили, на всякое дело
наставляли, как следует."

'Способствовать развитию, совершенствованию чего-либо'

ВЗРАСТИТЬ/ВЗРАЩИВАТЬ:

'Растить, помогать росту, выращивать'

"...Я, так сказать, человек
маленький, жизнь у меня мелкая,
но каждый огурец взращен мною
собственноручно."

'Вскармливать, воспитывать'

"...Старуха в бедности взростила
его и собрала в казаки."

'(Образно)'

"У вас есть талант, берегите его,
растите его!"

"Наталья работала у свекра и
жила, возвращая бессознательную
надежду на возвращение мужа."

Here again there is no directionality involved, but rather the process of bringing the object to a certain norm of development. As is the case with all these verbs of 'growth', the entire predication is [+ abstract]: [+ verb + abstract + agentive + "grow, develop" 0 horizontal 0 transgression]. The abstractness of the predications in the second set of quotations can be seen in the nature of the animate (personal) patient: it is not physical bodies that are involved but persons. The first set of quotations are more problematic. Flowers and especially cucumbers do not share with human beings the classical distinction of body and soul, physicality and spirituality. Even here, however, the objects seem to be abstract, in the sense that they are not so much physical bodies undergoing a physical action (being enlarged) as living entities being brought to a state of maturation by cultivation.

10.2.3.1 This last statement is pure speculation and requires further elaboration. In 8.2.7 and 9.3 I discussed a distinction in animate nouns between those conceived as abstractions (persons, personalities) and those conceived as concrete objects (physical bodies). This distinction has been treated by Fillmore and Wierzbicka (summarized in Apresjan 1974:26, 33-34) in terms of the features [person]/[nonperson] ('лицо'/'нелицо'). Apresjan (1974:34) argues that the distinction is more properly that between [animate] and [inanimate], pointing out that whereas animates can be beneficiaries, inanimates cannot. One can say (his examples):

either	Иван поцеловал Елену в руку	or	поцеловал руку Елены
	ранить медведя в ухо		ранить ухо медведя
	схватить рыбу за хвост		схватить хвост рыбы
	погладить жука по спинке		погладить спинку жука
	Иван поцеловал покойника [animate]		поцеловал лоб покойника
	в лоб		
	John kissed the deceased on the		kissed the forehead of the
	forehead		deceased

but not *Иван поцеловал труп [inanimate]	only	поцеловал руку трупа
в руку		
*John kissed the corpse on the		kissed the hand of the corpse
hand		
*Иван поцеловал ящик в крышку		поцеловал крышку ящика
*John kissed the box on the lid		kissed the lid of the box

Describing this difference in syntactic behavior in terms of whether the noun denotes [person] or [nonperson] does not seem satisfactory to Apresjan:

Существительное *покойник* (в отличие от *труп*) в русском и некоторых других языках трактуется как одушевленное, и поэтому конструкция типа *поцеловать покойника в лоб* с ним вполне возможна, хотя *покойник*, как и *труп*, вряд ли может быть описан как разумное, наделенное волей и способное к целесообразным реакциям существо. По-видимому, не имеют этих атрибутов и животные [e.g., *медведь*, *рыба*], насекомые [e.g., *жук*] и т. п., но синтаксически соответствующие названия ведут себя в точности так же, как существительные со значением 'человек'. (p. 34)

I would agree that if one takes the feature [person] to signify 'endowed with mental or psychological properties' it is difficult to explain why insects, animals and the dead behave as "persons" and that the feature involved is probably a more abstract one, i.e., the "семантически не слишком содержательная, сильно грамматикализованная составляющая 'одушевленность'" (p. 34).

But perhaps one can go further and treat the difference simply in terms of the feature [abstract], which when specified causes terms to be conceived notionally rather than physically. The difference between the terms *покойник/deceased* and *труп/corpse* is that the former denote notions of death (i.e., refer to the dead in terms of qualities: 'a man in a state of rest' [покойный человек] or 'a man who has departed this life') while the latter denote physical objects.¹

The distinction between body and person (object and notion) is discernible in the case of semantically and grammatically animate nouns because their syntactic behavior is different than that of inanimates. But one might be able to make a similar distinction in the case of inanimate nouns. In the sentences

¹Like *покойник*, the terms *мертвец/dead man* are nominalizations of a quality and are grammatically "animate": Иван поцеловал мертвеца в руку/руку мертвеца, *John kissed the dead man on the hand/the hand of the dead man.*

[+ abstract]

- (a) он пишет книги
он составляет письмо
он растит цветы

[0 abstract]

- (b) он переплетает книги
он разрывает письмо
он срывает цветы

the objects in the first set (a) do not seem to be quite the same as those in the second (b). The objects in (b) are physical entities (books, a letter, flowers); the objects in (a) are abstractions (literary compositions; a text or message; cultivatable organisms). This distinction may be only a philosophical, not a linguistic one. I cannot think of a grammatical construction where the difference would be crucial. Both the concrete and the abstract concepts are conveyed by the same words – but that is not at all unusual, cf. волновать 'agitate' - 'excite'. One can conjoin the two sentences with the result that the object and its pronominalization refer to different realities (e.g., он пишет книги и переплетает их, он составляет письмо и разрывает его). But one can also conjoin sentences with animate (personal) and "corporeal" objects: люби жену как душу, трясси ее как грушу.

10.2.4

КОРМИТЬ: 'nurture, nurse, raise'

'Вскармливать, питать ребенка, детеныша...'

"Жила она в том уездном городе, в котором зять имел последнее место, и там кормила семью: и дочь, и самого больного, неврастеника зятя, и пятерых внучат." (SRJa)

ВСКОРМИТЬ/ВСКАРМЛИВАТЬ:

'Кормя, выращивать (о животных, птицах)'

'Выращивать, воспитывать (о детях и детенышах)'

"... Вскормленный в неволе орел молодой,
Мой грустный товарищ, махая крылом,
Кровавую пищу клюет под окном."

"Она, мать, вскормила, вырастила дочь, не жалея ничего..."

'О растениях. Питая, выращивать'

"Много труда стоило их корням
вскормить такие огромные
стволы, отягощенные толстыми
мохнатыми ветвями."

'Кормить грудью'

"Она его Зорабом назвала,
Его сама кормила грудью."

'*Поить (и) кормить*... Содержать
кого-либо на своем иждивении'
(SSRLJa X:810)

"...угощай этого доброго человека,
— он меня три года поил, кормил,
от смерти выходил."

'(Образно)'

"Я [Терек] родился у Казбека,
Вскормлен грудью облаков."

'(В сочетании с глаголом *вспоить*)'

"Не Владимир ли пекся обо мне в
моем младенчестве? Не он ли
вспоил и вскормил меня?"

Like лелеять, кормить seems to have ["grow, develop"] as a variable feature. The invariant semantics is "feed" (transfer nutriments in a variety of ways not explicitly stated by the verb). The unprefix verb can also have the sense of 'foster the development of'. Here too, it seems that specification of the *вз-* features presupposes specification of the 'growth' features: [+ verb + "feed" + "grow, develop" + horizontal + transgression] 'nurture, raise with respect to a norm of development'.

10.2.5

ПОИТЬ: 'nurture'

'Выкармливать молоком'

"Решено было дать теленку солид-
ное домашнее воспитание, то есть
отпаивать. Сначала поили его
молоком матери, потом стали поить
от двух коров."

'*Поить-(и) кормить* — добывать, давать
пропитание; содержать' (SRJa)

"Говорит, что я забыла ее хлеб-
соль, — что она нас поила-кормила."

ВСПОИТЬ/ВСПАИВАТЬ:

'Вскармливать молоком, пойлом'

"Вспоить теленка."

'Вырастить, воспитать (употр.
обычно в сочетании с глаголом
вскармить)'

"Поставила Никитична домик о край
деревни, ...отыскала где-то
троюродную племянницу, взяла ее
вместо дочери, вспоила,
вскармила, замуж выдала."

"Его [зернышко] вспоит, вскормит
Мать-земля сырая." (SSRLJa,
under вскармливать)

The dictionary distinguishes seven usages of поить: 'give to drink, water' (поить лошадей), 'serve a [non-alcoholic] drink' (поить чаем, кофе, молоком), 'give to drink, raising the drink to one's lips' ("Матрена поила барина чаем с

блюдечка..."), 'serve an [alcoholic] beverage' ('давать пить вино, водку и т. п., угощать ими'), 'water, wash' ("...тучи...поят землю дождем"), 'raise on milk' (поить теленка молоком) and 'support, provide for, raise' (поить-кормить кого). I would describe the invariant semantics of поить as [+ verb + "drink" + patiential + agentive 0 "grow, develop"]. The nature of the "drinker" — animal, sick person, guest, plants, earth — is variable, as is the nature of the drink (water, tea, coffee, milk, wine, vodka, mother's milk). The verb itself does not explicitly state the manner in which the drinker receives the liquid. He can bend down to lap it up, drink it out of a glass or cup, have it poured over his lips, drink it out of a goblet or shot-glass or suckle it from his mother's breast. Like кормить, поить can denote not only the transfer of nutrients but also the fact that this causes the "drinker" to develop. It is only in this abstract usage that поить can be specified as involving a threshold or norm of development. Specification of the вз- features presupposes specification of the variable 'growth' features [+ verb + abstract + "drink" + patiential + agentive + "grow, develop" + horizontal + transgression] 'nurture, raise with respect to a norm of development.

10.2.6 Throughout this section we have seen that verbs denoting various kinds of activities — лелеять 'caress, cherish', кормить 'feed', поить 'give to drink' — must be conceived as liminal (involving limits) in order to be prefixable in вз-. The limit lies in the realm of the patient; it is the limit of development the patient undergoes when nurtured. Note that the prefix does not add the notion of limit; it is rather the liminality of the verb that implies the features underlying the prefix.

10.3 Unidirectional verbs of motion are frequently used to represent the growth or extension of plants or inorganic structures (cf. взвести below). What these verbs really denote is movement in a single direction, cf. 17.2.1.

БЕЖАТЬ: 'run'

'Тянуться, далеко простираться в каком-нибудь направлении (преимущественно о дорогах, тропинках)'

ВЗБЕЖАТЬ/ВЗБЕГАТЬ: 'run up'

'Тянуться вверх, извиваясь; высоко подниматься (о растениях)'

"...И зеленою плетью вились,
То взбегая, то падая вниз,
По руинам живые листья."

ПОЛЗТИ: 'creep;

'Стлаться, виться по чему-либо, обвивать что-либо, какую-либо поверхность. О вьющихся растениях'

ИДТИ: 'go'

'Расти, вырастать' (SSRLJa V:72)

"У пня, разбитого грозой,
Смотри, как свежую лозой
Навстречу ветра и дождей
Идет семья живых ветвей."

"Лучи его [солнца] — незаходящие
и мягкие — заставляют глазом
разглядеть, как идет из земли
трава."

"Хмель, ...пробежавший потом по
верхушке всего частокола,
взбегал, наконец, вверх и
обвивал до половины сломленную
березу."

"Какая прелесть в этих видах: ...
В живой стене, крутом утесе
И в молодом красивом лесе,
Который по ступенькам скал
С отважной легкостью взбежал."

ВСПОЛЗТИ/ВСПОЛЗАТЬ: 'creep up'

'(Образно)'

"...дикого винограда, взползав-
шего с земли до крыши по на-
тянутым бичевкам."

ВЗОЙТИ/ВСХОДИТЬ: 'go up, climb'

'Показываться над поверхностью
почвы, прорасти (о растениях)'

"Начали разводить огород, сделали
гряды... Посеяли бобы, семена
тыквы из Таити и кукурузу; не
знаю, что взойдет еще, так как
семена, кажется, плохи."

"Если случится после посева
теплое и дождливое время, то все
зерна взойдут."

Neither the unprefixd nor the prefixed verb here really means 'to grow', cf. 17.2.1, but rather 'extend in one direction'.

НЕСТИСЬ: 'run'

(no equivalent)

ВЗНЕСТИСЬ/ВЗНОСИТЬСЯ: 'shoot up'

'Подниматься вверх, ввысь'

"Всё росли и ширились крепкие
клены и ясени, всё больше
вносились березы большой
аллеи..."

ВЕСТИ: 'run up (= build)'

'Сооружать, строить что-либо про-

ВЗВЕСТИ/ВЗВОДИТЬ: 'run up'

'Строить, сооружать'

тяженное, длинное'

"На середине плавильного сарая
взводят долгую и высокую
кирпичную стену..."

Cf. also *вестись* in the meaning 'расти, выращиваться (о растениях)' (SSRLJa II: 228). The meaning of the transitive form, however, is similar to that of *взгромоздить* and *взметать* (cf. 10.3.1): 'erect'. While intransitive verbs of motion representing growth depict the extension of an affected patient, transitive verbs depict the creation of an effected patient. The literal meaning in both cases, however, is 'upward movement'.

Since the verbs (вз)бежать and (вз)ползти in the examples above are defined in terms of winding motion one might assume that growth could be depicted as motion in various directions. It seems, however, that the movement of things growing can be depicted only by determined [+ directional] verbs of motion, i.e., as extension in one direction. According to native informants, one can say

трава идет из земли		*трава ходит из земли
плющ идет по стене		*плющ ходит по стене
плющ ползет по стене	but not	*плющ ползает по стене
плющ бежит по стене		*плющ бегаёт по стене

As we shall see in chapter 17, the reason for this lies in the fact that the language conceives growth as a coherent, rather than random, process.

10.3.1 The following verbs, except (вз)метать, are like determined verbs of motion in that they denote 'movement in one direction', cf. chapter 17. In the usages illustrated below, they can be said to stand for the idea of 'growth'.

(no equivalent)

ВЗДЫМАТЬСЯ:

'Возвышаться над чем-либо'

"Надо мною вздымались плитные
своды, как в могильном
погребё."

Here the state of being large is presented dynamically as extension upward in space. This usage could equally well be treated as having to do with

'appearance': the arches are said to rise up in the sense of crossing the threshold of perception, cf. chapter 11.

БРАТЬСЯ:
(no equivalent)

ВЗОБРАТЬСЯ/ВЗБИРАТЬСЯ: 'climb'
'(Переносно)'
" [Еврейское кладбище] находилось за чертой города и взбиралось на гору, обнесенное низкой белой стеной, тихое и таинственное."

The area of the cemetery is expressed as extension or movement in a certain direction.

ГРОМОЗДИТЬ: 'raise'
'Складывать...'

"Не раз встречал я смерть в боях;
Она кругом меня ходила
И груды трупов громоздила
В родных украинских степях."

ВЗГРОМОЗДИТЬ/ВЗГРОМОЖДАТЬ:
'(В образной речи)'

"Из зыбкого песка подъятые
твердыни,
Их ветер взгромоздил - и ветер
их несет."

The [+ directional] громоздить denotes moving an affected object through space: громоздить что на что 'piling one thing on top of another', cf. 17.4.2.4. The [0 directional] громоздить, illustrated here, has to do with the creation of an effected object, making a pile.

МЕТАТЬ:
(no equivalent)

ВЗМЕТАТЬ (pf.): 'pitch up'
'(Образно)'

"Партией стройки в небо взмечем,
держа и вздымая друг друга."

Here again it is not affected objects caused to move through space, but rather effected objects, structures, which are erected. Unlike (вз)метнуть, which denotes a single, unidirectional movement, (вз)метать denotes multiple or serial movements, cf. 17.5.2.1.

10.4 In this chapter we have seen that although only five verbs of the corpus actually denote 'growth' or 'nurturing', nine other verbs denoting movement can be used in contexts having to do with the idea of 'growth'. The five 'growth' verbs *взрасти*, *взрастить*, *вскормить*, *вспонить* and *взлелеять* represent abstract processes serving to foster the development of the patient.

The prefix makes explicit the inherent liminality of the process and expresses the fact that a threshold (of maturity) is crossed. The nine verbs of motion, on the other hand, represent concrete actions, the movement of physical objects. While the intransitive verbs denote the extension of existing objects, the transitive verbs denote the creation of effected objects. The intransitive verbs can be said to denote movement in a certain direction, an upward direction made explicit by the prefix. The transitive verbs, however, are not used directionally: the sense is not 'movement in a specific direction' but rather 'erection', the creation of a vertical object. In these verbs 'transgression of the horizontal' does not refer to the path of the movement but to the fact that it creates a form whose configuration is transgressive of the horizontal. This usage of transitive verbs denoting movement is thus similar to the usage of verbs like *вздымать* to represent 'swelling' and 'disorder', cf. 5.4.1 and 6.2.1.7.1.

11. APPEARANCE

Perfective only:

[взыгра́ть]

Paired:

	взблесну́ть	взблѣскивать
[взбрести(сь)]		[взбрѣдѣть(ся)]
[взвѣ́ться]		[взвивѣ́ться]
	[взметну́ться]	
[взнести́]		[взно́сить]
[взойти́]		[всходи́ть]
	[вспасть]	[вспада́ть]
вспламени́ть		вспламени́ть
[всплы́ть]		[всплыва́ть]
	[вспры́гнуть]	[вспры́гивать]
	вспы́хнуть	вспы́живать

11.1 Only three verbs of this group can really be called verbs of 'appearance': *взблеснуть*, *вспламенить* and *вспыхнуть*. The other nine verbs are all, with the exception of *взыгра́ть* and *взвѣ́ться*, verbs of 'directed motion' which are used to represent 'appearance' or 'coming into view', cf. 11.4. All verbs of this group are similar in that they can refer to the relationship of objects to the perceptual threshold of the observer. In these verbs the *вз-* features do not refer to the violation of a concrete physical surface but to the crossing of a perceptual threshold, an abstract surface. Verbs of 'appearance' describe the activity of the thing perceived (e.g., bright light) relative to the threshold of perception; verbs of 'awareness' (chapter 12) describe the mechanism of perception itself, e.g., vision or thought, relative to its own limits or threshold.

11.1.1 The following chart can serve to demonstrate some measure of semantic

cohesion among these verbs. (Взыграть in this usage is not separately defined in the SSRLJa, cf. the discussion below.)

	(п	(я	в	б	(г	(с	в
	о	р	о	л	о	в	с
	я	к	с	е	р	е	п
	в	и	п	с	е	т)	а
	и	й)	л	т	т		с
	т		а	е	ь)		т
	ь		м	т			ь
	с		е	ь			
	я)		н				
			я				
			т				
			ь				
			с				
			я				
	<hr/>						
взыграть					Х		
взблеснуть	Х	Х				Х	
взойти	Х						Х
вспламенить			Х	Х		Х	
всплыть	Х						
вспыхнуть	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	

11.2 This group as a whole presents a series of problems. First of all, most of the verbs of this group do not actually signify 'appearance'. The majority of them are verbs of motion (meaning '(a)rise, come up') which only as figurative abstractions can represent crossing a perceptual horizon. (Вз)ыграть 'play' signifies 'brisk, lively movement' (cf. chapter 14 'agitation'); it does not signify 'light', but only the movement, scintillation or play of light.

Only (вз)блеснуть, вспыхнуть and the very marginal вспламенить actually have to do with phenomena of light or appearance.

11.2.1 In contemporary Russian verbs which signify 'burning' or 'fire' or various qualities of light ("shining", "gleaming", etc.) do not take вз-. There is, however, some evidence which indicates that verbs of 'burning', but not verbs of 'light', were at one time regularly associated with the notion of transgressing a horizontal, were sub-specifiable in terms of a threshold of

activity, cf. the archaic *возгореть, возжечь, воспалить, воспылать*.

11.2.1.1 Although it is difficult to make a firm conclusion without a great deal of further study, there does seem to be a pattern of distinction between verbs of 'burning' and verbs of 'light'. Contemporary Russian preserves this distinction as an archaism:

(a) *'burning'*

гореть	воз- (arch.), за-
жечь	воз- (arch.), за-
палить	воз- (arch.), за-
пылать	воз- (arch.), за-

(b) *'light'*

сверкать	за-, про-
светить	за-, про-
мерцать	за-, про-
мелькнуть	за-, про-
искриться	за-, про-
лосниться	за-, про-
брезжить	за-, про-
моргать	за-, про-
мигать	за-, про-

Exceptions to (a) are verbs of 'burning' which take *вз-* instead of *воз-* and the verb *воспламенить*, which is not archaic but standard (cf. 11.3.3, 11.3.4):

(вс)пылить₁ (now only a verb of 'excitation')
 (вс)пыхнуть
 воспламенеть (Dal' III:120, under *пламенеть*) (? arch.)
 воспалить (arch.)
 воспламенить (standard)

Exceptions to (b) are verbs of 'light' which take *воз-* or *вз-*:

блистать	воз- (arch.), за-, про-
блестеть	воз- (arch.), за-, про-

блеснуть	вз- (stand.), про-
снять	воз- (arch.), за-, про-

In Russian the threshold of activity for verbs of 'burning' used to be expressed by *воз-* and is now expressed by *за-*. The threshold for verbs of 'light' is expressed by *за-* or *про-*.

One finds a similar situation in Greek, where verbs of 'burning' regularly combine with *ἀνα-* 'up', while verbs of 'light' do not (examples from Berry 1962):

(a) 'burning'

φλέγω 'burn'	ἀναφλέγω	'light up'
καίω 'burn, set on fire'	ἀνακαίω	'set on fire'
κίμπρημι (κρήθω) 'kindle'	ἀνακρήθω	'set on fire'
ἄπτω 'kindle, set on fire'	ἀνάπτω	'light up, kindle'
κυρῶ 'set on fire'	ἀνακυρῶ	'set on fire'
δαίω 'light up, kindle'	ἀναδαίω	'light up'
φλογίζω 'set aflame'	ἀναφλογίζω	'light up'
αἷθω 'light up, kindle'	ἀναίθω	'set on fire'
λάμπω 'burn brightly'	ἀναλάμπω	'flame up, take fire'

(b) 'light'

λάμπω	'shine, be bright'
φέγω	'brighten'
στίλβω	'shine, glitter, glisten'
μαρμαίρω	'flash, sparkle, gleam'
ἀμαρύσσω	'sparkle, twinkle'
σελαγέω	'shine, beam'
δηλώ	'make visible, clear, manifest'
σαφηνίζω	'make clear'

Exceptions to (b) are φαίνω 'bring to light, make appear' - ἀναφαίνω 'make shine, bring to light, show forth' and ἀστράπτω - ἀναστράπτω 'flash (of lightning)'.
'.

In English verbs of 'burning' (*blaze, flame, flare, fire, kindle,*

light ['ignite']) combine more freely with the adverb *up* than do verbs of 'light' (*flash, sparkle, glitter, gleam, glint, glimmer, shimmer, glisten, glow, beam, shine*). Exceptions are *burn (up)* 'consume' and *clear (up), brighten (up), light (up)* ('become brighter').

In general the chief difference between verbs of 'burning' or 'combustion' and verbs of 'light' is that the former describe activity relative to an internal threshold, while the latter describe a quality relative to an external threshold (the threshold of the observer's perception): an object bursting into flames proceeds from a state of rest to a state of combusive activity; an object flashing suddenly exhibits a quality which is perceived. In Slavic, 'activity' verbs like verbs of 'burning' and verbs of 'agitation' (e.g., *взволновать*) were regularly conceived with reference to the horizontal; prefixation in *въз-* presented the activity as crossing a threshold. Verbs of 'quality', e.g., verbs derived from color adjectives or verbs describing qualities of light (cf. 14.4.1.12 and 18.2.2), were not regularly associated with *въз-*.

11.3 In view of these considerations it is questionable whether one can speak of a group of *въз-* verbs in modern Russian which denote 'appearance'. What we shall see is that, with the exception of *взблеснуть*, these verbs describe activities (not qualities) in relation not to a threshold of activity but to the threshold of the perceiver's consciousness.

11.3.1

ИГРАТЬ: 'shine, play'

'Блестеть, сверкать, сиять. О лучах солнца, свете, заре'

"А над ним...сквозь березку, как жар горит, играет солнце."

"— Смотри! зорька играет, светло будет скоро."

ВЗЫГРАТЬ:

'(Образно)'

"[Голицын:] Пора взыграть и солнышку над нами!"

This usage of *взыграть* is defined by SSRLJa as a figurative extension of its excitational meaning 'приятн в радостное, игривое настроение'. I think, however, that these sentences do not involve a concretization of cheerfulness (the sun as emblem of playful good humor) but rather an extension of its agitational

meaning 'frisk' to represent the scintillation or shimmer of a light source.

11.3.2

(БЛЕСТЕТЬ)

БЛЕСНУТЬ:

'Ярко сверкать, сиять, издавать блеск'

"Звезды блестят. Блеснула молния. Огонь блеснит."

"Глаза рыжего мужика налиты кровью и блещут злым торжеством."
(SRJa)

ВЗБЛЕСНУТЬ/ВЗБЛЕСКИВАТЬ:

'Издавать блеск; блестя, появляться время от времени'

"Взблеснула далекая молния за бортом и вздрагивающим, пере-
межающимся светом осветила Исанку."

"Волнение чуть-чуть содрогала его [Исмаила] лицо, взблескивали карие глаза, вспыхивал и погасал румянец, вздрагивали ноздри."

For a discussion of the nuance of iterativity ('время от времени') ascribed by the dictionary to some secondary imperfectives of *вз-* verbs, see 14.5.2. Etymologically a verb of 'light' (cf. Vasmer I:173-74, 176), *блестеть* (*блистать*, OCS *блѣштати*) has nevertheless always been associated with the prefix *вз-* (*воз-*, *въз-*), constituting thus an exception to the "rule" formulated in 11.2. 1.1. Interestingly enough, its Greek translational equivalent (Vasmer I:147) is also an exception: $(\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha)\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\alpha\kappa\tau\omega$.

11.3.3

(no equivalent)

ВСПЛАМЕНИТЬ/ВСПЛАМЕНЯТЬ:

'(Устар.) То же, что *воспламенять* в 1-м знач. [*зажигать, заставляя гореть ярким пламенем*]'

(no quotation)

This is a very marginal item. SSRLJa and SRJa are the only dictionaries other than Weissmann (1731:1.171) to list *вспламенить(ся)/воспламенять(ся)*. No illustration is given of the use of this verb in its literal meaning 'set aflame'. The quotations showing it used as a verb of excitation ('inflamm', cf. 16.6) are drawn from the poetry of Sumarokov and Majakovskij. I suspect that this is not an archaic variant of *вспламенить(ся)/воспламенять(ся)*, but rather a metrical one.

Witkowski (1963:323) notes three cases where the *вз-* verb is archaic

(устарелый) while the corresponding *воз-* verb is standard: *возненавидеть/* (arch.) *вненавидеть*, *воскликнуть/(arch.)* *вкликнуть*, and *воспламенить/(arch.)* *вспламенить*. With the exception of one dialectal use of *вкликнуть* (cf. chapter 15), all the sample quotations for the *вз-* forms are drawn from poetry, which suggests that they are not really older forms but only metrical variants.

11.3.4

(ПЫХАТЬ)

ПЫХНУТЬ: 'blaze, flare'

'Ярко, жарко гореть; пылать'

'Гореть вспышками; полыхать'
(SSRLJa XI:1803)

"А сварка красная вся шипит,
трещит... Подтащили ее
крючьями к наковальне, как
грохнет по ней спудовый молот,
как пыхнет от нее пламя да искры."

'О заре, закате' (SRJa)

"Засветилась вдали, загорелась
заря;
Ярко пышет она, разливается."

'Лицо, взгляд, взор пышет
страстью, счастьем и т. п.'

"Глаза их пышут страстным зноом
И в душу вкрадчиво глядят."

'(Перен.) Выделяться, бросаться в
глаза (цветом, яркой краской);
блестеть, сверкать'

"Переливается блеск золота в
блеск камзолов; бархаты пышут
яркостью своих цветов."

(по separate definition)

"И бранны вьются знамена,
И пышет бой кровавый —
Прелестна сердцу тишина;
Нейду, нейду за Славой."
(SJaP III:898)

ВСПЫХНУТЬ/ВСПЫХИВАТЬ:

'Внезапно и быстро воспламениться,
разгораться ярким пламенем'

"Кое-где вспыхнули огоньки
козлов, и вокруг них видны
фигуры людей, красноватые в
блеске огня."

'О солнце, звездах и т. п. Начинать
ярко светиться; блистать'

"Вспыхнувшую было на востоке зарю
опять заволокло тучами."

'(Переносно) О глазах. Делаться
ярче, начинать блестеть'

"Когда она... улыбалась, ее
темные, как вишни, зрачки рас-
ширялись, вспыхивая невыразимо
приятным светом."

'Резко выделяться, выступать под
освещением; засветиться (о чем-
либо ярком, цветном)'

"Штоф, бархат, золото, вспыхивая
от луча солнечного, сквозят
через железные прутья клетки."

'(Об общественных событиях)'

"Вспыхнуло восстание."

The parallel quotations above demonstrate that it is possible in most cases to find usages of the unprefixed пы́хнуть/пы́хать corresponding to those of the prefixed вспы́хнуть. The meaning of these verbs seems to be 'blazing, flaring, flashing' not in the sense of burning or combustion but in the sense of radiant light or heat. The unprefixed verb пы́хнуть/пы́хать (conjugated пы́шу, пы́шешь) 'beam, blaze' is rare, unlike the prefixed вспы́хнуть 'flash', which can describe the sudden appearance of any bright object or turbulent event. (The first and last quotations under пы́хнуть show, incidentally, that the nuances of suddenness and turbulence are also properties of the unprefixed verb). Thus, although semantically the difference between пы́хнуть and вспы́хнуть lies in the explicitness with which the threshold of activity is expressed, there is a greater statistical and stylistic difference: the form explicitly signalling threshold of activity (transgression of horizontal) is far more usual.

The SSRLJa treats пы́хать 'blaze, beam, glow' and пы́хать (пы́хаю)/пы́хнуть 'puff, flash' as separate lexical items. SRJa (III:764), Dal' (III:548) and Vasmer (III:418, 421) treat them as one item. SRJa lists пы́хнуть as semelfactive to пы́хать 'blaze, glow; puff' (IE *p(h)ū, cf. Vasmer III:418). The verbs (вс)пы́хнуть, (вс)пұхнуть (5.3.9), (вс)пы́леть₂ (6.2.1.4.2) 'raise dust' and (вс)пы́леть₁ (16.6) 'flare up' all have the same etymology. It is tempting to speculate that вспы́хнуть and вспы́леть₁ 'flare up' do not take воз- because they are not really verbs of 'fire'. Of course пы́лать, with the same etymology, does take воз-. But (вос)пы́лать is primarily a verb of 'fire', while (вс)пы́леть₁ is exclusively a verb of 'excitation'.

These considerations can serve to "explain" one set of exceptions to the pattern illustrated in 11.2.1.1. Verbs of 'combustion' used to take воз- but now take за-: загореть (возгореть), зажечь (возжечь), запалить (воспалить), запылать (воспылать). Of the exceptions to this pattern, вспы́леть₁ is now only a verb of 'excitation', вспы́хнуть may etymologically not be a verb of 'combustion', вспламенить is probably only a verb of 'excitation' (cf. 16.6). The form вспламенеть appears in Dal' (III:120), not as a separate item, but in a sample sentence under пламенеть, плануть: "Вспламенела, вспламенилась война", i.e., as a verb of 'excitation'.

11.4 In the beginning of this chapter we noted that this group is composed

mainly of verbs of 'directed motion' used abstractly to stand for the notion of crossing a perceptual threshold. In order to represent 'appearance', verbs of 'directed motion' usually must be specified as related to a threshold, and the nature of the threshold must also be made explicit, e.g., *взойти на ум, в голову*.

11.4.1

ИДТИ: 'go, come'
(no equivalent)

ВЗОЙТИ/ВСХОДИТЬ: 'come up'

'Появляться, подниматься над горизонтом'

"В станице все затихло, поздний месяц взошел."

"Когда взошло твое лицо
Над жизнью скомканной моею,
В начале понял я лишь то,
Как скудно всё, что я имею..."
(Evtusenko)

'(Переносно) В выражении. Всклходить, взойти на ум, в голову — приходиться, вспадать, прийти на ум, в голову (о мыслях)'

"...Да что в голову не взойдет, когда скучаешь?"

"Я сегодня весь день веселился, никакая мысль беспокойная на ум мне не всходила."

The first quotation is ambiguous: either the moon merely rises, crosses the physical line of the horizon [0 abstract], or it appears to the consciousness of the observer, crosses his threshold of perception [+ abstract]. The second quotation is more clearly [+ abstract]: the girl's face or person presents itself to the eyes of the poet.

11.4.2

ПЛЫТЬ: 'swim'
(no equivalent)

ВСПЛЫТЬ/ВСПЛЫВАТЬ: 'surface'

'Подниматься из глубины воды на поверхность. В образной речи'

"Ночь налегла на деревню, окутав ее серебряным светом всплывшей на небо луны."

'(Переносно) Всплыть на поверхность, наверх и т. п. (о человеке) — выйти из неизвестности, получить значение'

"Красавин, вообще, являлся таинственным человеком, который всплыл на бурную поверхность столичной жизни из неизвестных глубин."

'(Переносно) Обнаруживаться, проявляться'

"В истории революции всплывают наружу десятилетиями и веками зреющие противоречия."

'Появляться вновь после некоторого отсутствия, пребывания неизвестно где'

"Всплыл мой Головин через год в том же Лондоне и встретил на улице Огарева..."

'Всплывать в памяти, в сознании, из памяти и т. п. — вспоминаться, возникать в память, приходить на память'

"Я тебе и сотой доли не сказал того, что бы следовало; но с меня и этого было довольно. Пускай же опять упадет на дно души все, что всплыло."

The first quotation presents the metaphor of the moon swimming into view; the other quotations have to do with abstractions (e.g., persons, not bodies) becoming evident, crossing the threshold of consciousness.

11.4.3

БРЕСТИ: 'wander'
(no equivalent)

ВЗБРЕСТИ/ВЗБРЕДАТЬ: 'wander in'

'(Переносно) В просторечных выражениях. Что-либо взбредает, взбредет, взбрело в голову, на ум, на язык — случайно, внезапно приходить в голову, вздуматься'

"Древние жрецы смело лгали и выдавали за истину то, что им взбрело в голову."

НЕСТИ: 'carry, bring'

(no equivalent)

ВЗНЕСТИ/ВЗНОСИТЬ: 'bring up'

'(Устар.) Представлять на рассмотрение высшего органа...'

"Все, так называемые, казусные дела, вносимые из частных департаментов и лежавшие с давнего времени без разрешения, были пущены в ход."

Here the metaphor is that of bringing something to someone's attention; it is not clear whether the matter must be brought up from a lower to a higher authority.

11.4.4

ПАСТЬ: 'fall'

(no equivalent)

ВСПАСТЬ/ВСПАДАТЬ: 'occur, *ein-fallen*'

'Вспадать (вспасть) на ум, на мысль — приходить (прийти) в голову'

"И вспало ей на мысли написать письмо к своему родителю и дать ему о себе весточку."

'Напасть, натолкнуться на что-либо'

"[Черкалов]: Нужно только вспасть на тему; а ноты потекут как вода."

The verb *вспасть* in modern Russian no longer denotes literal translocation. It occurs only in the expressions quoted above. Its original meaning, however, was that of upward motion through space: 'Ср.-русск. *вспасти* (на лошадь)' (SSRLJa, under *вспадать*), cf. 17.5.3.4.

11.4.5

ВИТЬСЯ:

(no equivalent)

ВЗВИТЬСЯ/ВЗВИВАТЬСЯ: 'soar'

'Стремительно подниматься взлететь ввысь'

"Желтое, красное с синим переливом пламя взвивается вверх, когда Пила сует в костер целую лесину."

"Дубровский приблизил лучину,, сено вспыхнуло, пламя взвилось и

осветило весь двор." (SRJa)

'О флагах, занавесях и т. п.,
быстро поднимаемых вверх. Образно'

"Победное знамя взвилось над
рейхстагом... Оно появилось
сперва на лестнице, потом было
закреплено на колонне, потом
взпрыгнуло на одной из угловых
башен..." (Soviet calendar,
April 30, 1975)

Here *взвиться*, a verb of 'disorder' (6.2.1.6.6), is used as a verb of 'directed motion' (17.4.5.1), describing the movement into view of flame and flags. It is only the broader context (пламя, вспыхнуть) that makes this seem like a verb of 'appearance'.

11.4.6

МЕТНУТЬСЯ:

'О пламени, свете и т. п.'

"А город пылал, и красные от-
светы метались по стенам цехов."

ВЗМЕТНУТЬСЯ: 'shoot up'

(no separate definition)

"Вдруг все — и двор стана, и
лошадей, и людей озарили про-
жекторы. Они взметнулись
откуда-то из-за дома, яркий свет
ослепил и раздвинул толпу."

Метнуть(ся)/метать(ся) is discussed in 17.5.2.1. The *вз-* verb describes the sudden appearance, as well as motion upward, of the light cast by the searchlights.

11.4.7

ПРЫГНУТЬ: 'jump'

'(О свете, тенях, отблесках и
т. п.)'

ВСПРЫГНУТЬ/ВСПРЫГИВАТЬ:

'Быстро подниматься с места. В
образной речи'

"Искра яркая вспрыгнула
Из темницы вековой,
Свежим воздухом дохнула,
Красной звездочкой блеснула,
Разгорелась красотой."

Here again the verb really denotes 'directed motion', but is used in a context having to do with phenomena of light: *искра, блеснула, разгорелась*.

12. AWARENESS

Perfective only:

[взборозд́ить]

[взбуд́ить]

взв́идеть

взд́умать (ся)

Imperfective only:

[вздыма́ться]

Paired:

[взбодри́ть]

[взвест́и]

взгада́ть

воззре́ть

вспомни́ть (ся)

взгляну́ть (ся)

[вски́нуть]

вспомяну́ть (ся)

[вспы́хнуть]

[взводи́ть]

взга́дывать

взгля́дывать (ся)

взирáть

[вски́дывать]

вспоминáть (ся)

[вспы́хивать]

12.1 The seven verbs listed in brackets can represent 'awareness' only in certain phraseological contexts; they are discussed in 12.3.

The six remaining verbs can all be said to describe perception (взвидеть, взглянуть, воззреть) or awareness (вздумать, взгадать, вспомнить). The process of perceiving or becoming aware is presented from the point of view of the perceiver. The fact that these verbs can be prefixed with *вз-* suggests that the language conceives these processes as liminal (involving a threshold). Specification of the features [horizontal] and [transgression] makes the liminal nature of these processes explicit: [+ verb + "perception/awareness" + horizontal + transgression] presents a perceptual or cognitive process in relationship (achievement or onset) to a threshold.

12.1.1 Only two of these verbs, *взглянуть/взглядывать* and *вспомнить/вспоминать*, are not stylistically marked. The others are either archaic (*взвидеть, воззреть*), substandard (просторечные) (*взгадать, вспомнать*) or colloquial (*вздумать*). In the standard language *видеть* and *гадать* are more usually associated with the prefix *у-*, *думать* with the prefixes *вы-* or *при-*.

It is interesting to note that all these verbs can take *у-* to emphasize the notion of an achieved state of perception, cf. *узнать*. The SRJa lists

<i>увидеть</i>	'воспринять зрением'
<i>угадать</i>	'определить, узнать, понять что-л.'
<i>упомнить</i>	'разг. (обычно с отрицанием) Припомнить, вспомнить'
<i>удумать</i>	'прост. Придумать, надумать'
<i>углядеть</i>	'прост. Вглядываясь, увидеть'
<i>узреть</i>	'книжн. устар. Увидеть, воспринять зрением'.

All except the first two are stylistically marked.

12.1.2 The particular focus obtained by specification of the *вз-* features is not quite as easily definable. In most cases the "transgression of threshold" expressed by *вз-* seems to have to do with the threshold of consciousness.

Вздумать, взгадать and *вспомнить* all present the eruption of an idea in the consciousness. *Видеть*, which expresses a state of perception achieved through the activity denoted by *смотреть*, is made explicitly liminal through the specification of *вз-*: *видеть* 'perceive by sight (be visually aware of or obtain visual awareness of)' - *взвидеть* 'catch sight of (obtain visual awareness of)'. In the case of *взглянуть* and *воззреть*, both intransitive, the focus is not so much on a transgression of the threshold of consciousness as on the onset of a perceptual activity: 'take a look at (direct one's attention toward so as to obtain [visual] awareness of)'.

The SSRJJa notes particular usages of these verbs in negative constructions which seem to emphasize their liminal nature:

<i>не взвидеть</i> света, дня, земли	'об ошеломляющем впечатлении от удара, боли, испуга, неожиданности'
<i>не взирая</i> на что-л.	'не обращая внимания, несмотря'
<i>не вздумай(те)</i> + inf.	'категорическое запрещение сделать что-л.' (SRJa)

ни вздумать, ни взгадать,
ни пером написать

'о большой трудности или невозможности
представить, вообразить себе кого-
что-либо, о чем-либо'

не вспомнить себя

'прийти в сильное возбуждение, забыть от
гнева, радости и т. п.'

не вспомниться

'не прийти в себя, не опомниться'

It is possible in most cases to find similar negative constructions with the unprefixated counterparts to these verbs. The dictionary does not note a particular negative usage of *взглянуть/взглядывать*. There is, however, a construction with *глядеть* similar to the one cited above for *взвидеть*: "на свет не глядел бы — о состоянии гнетущей тоски" (SSRLJa III:162), cf. "не видеть света — не иметь покоя, страдать от чего-либо" (SSRLJa II:356). The fact that all these verbs enter into special negative constructions of a categorical nature not only suggests that they are all liminal verbs but also speaks in favor of considering them members of a distinct semantic family.

12.1.3 Unlike all other groups of *вз-* verbs, this group contains no verb defined by the SSRLJa in terms of any other verb of the group. With the exception of *взглянуть/взглядывать* and *воззреть/взирать*, both defined as 'устраивать взор', no two verbs are defined in the same terms.

12.2 It is possible to show in most cases that these verbs can be used without the prefix to express, albeit less explicitly, the same action as that denoted by the prefixed verb.

12.2.1

ВИДЕТЬ: 'see'

'Воспринимать зрением'

"Я своими глазами видела, как он
тебя поцеловал." (SRJa)

"Вести корабль — стало почти не-
возможно. Я не видел ни берега,
ни сигнальных огней." (SRJa)

ВЗВИДЕТЬ: 'catch sight of'

'(Устар.) Увидеть, приметить'

"Дорогой взвидела ли моя
Мариуленька пригожий цветок на
лугу и манила его к себе ручками
— стой табор за цветком."

'Обычно в прош. времени с отрицани-
ем и в выражениях'

"...сделалась такая метель, что
он ничего не взвидел."

'Не видеть света — не иметь покоя, страдать от чего-либо'

"От зубной скорби мучусь, как угорелая: из стены в стену, из угла в угол, ночи не сплю, света не вижу, из сил выбилась."

'Не взвидеть света, дня, земли и т. п. — об ошеломляющем впечатлении от удара, боли, испуга, неожиданности'

"Катя свету не взвидела, так и кинулась к нему...с дерева-то!"

As pointed out in 12.1.2, видеть, like Engl. *see*, is ambiguous, in that it can denote either a perceptive state or the attainment of perception. Взвидеть, however, is explicitly liminal. When negated, the unprefix verb can denote either lack of perception or inability to perceive (liminal); the prefixed verb denotes an absolute or categorical inability to perceive.

12.2.2

(ГЛЯДЕТЬ)

ГЛЯНУТЬ: 'look'

'Устремлять, направлять взор на кого-, что-либо; смотреть'

'Относиться к чему-либо определенным образом, иметь точку зрения, взгляд'

"...Гляди на вещи просто, как все глядят!"

ГЛЯДЕТЬСЯ:

'Глядеть, смотреть'

"...Ведь так хорошо мне тобой любоваться, глядеться в глазенки твои."

ГЛЯНУТЬСЯ: 'look good'

'Нравиться или казаться, быть по вкусу кому, приглянуться' (Dal' I:360)

"Всякому своя рожа глянется."

"Это пиво мне не глянется."
(*ibid.*)

ВЗГЛЯНУТЬ/ВЗГЛЯДЫВАТЬ:

'Устремлять глаза, взор; бросать на кого-либо взгляд; посмотреть'

'Взглянуть. Переносно. Обратить внимание'

"Взглянем прежде всего на состав редакции и на сотрудников журнала..."

ВЗГЛЯДЫВАТЬСЯ:

'Пристально глядеть, присматриваться'

"Брусиллов стоял у перил лестницы, взглядываясь в проходящий народ."

ВЗГЛЯНУТЬСЯ:

'безл. В просторечном выражении. Как взглянется кому-либо — как вздумается, заблагорассудится; понравится'

(no equivalent)

ВЗГЛЯДЫВАТЬСЯ: 'exchange glances'

'(В просторечии.) Обмениваться взаимно взглядами, переглядываться'

The SSRLJa notes older forms of the unprefixd verb with stress on the suffix: "Росс. Целлариус 1771, с. 95: гляну́ть... Даль, Слов.: глянуться и гляну́ться" (III:165).

Although defined in terms of "motion" ("direct one's gaze, cast a glance at"), these verbs do not involve translocation, and the prefixed verb is not defined as 'upward direction' ("look up").

12.2.3

ЗРЕТЬ: 'look, gaze'

'Глядеть, смотреть'

"Так точно дяк, в приказах
поседелый,
Спокойно зрит на правых и
виновных."

"Стрелка зрит на север."
(Dal' I:694)

(no equivalent)

(no equivalent)

(no equivalent)

ВОЗЗРЕТЬ/ВЗИРАТЬ:

'Устремлять взор; смотреть, глядеть'

(1) "Валентина Михайловна особенно
светло и лаского взирал на
своего мужа и жалась к нему."

(2) "О ты, прижавший меч во длани,
Склонивший ниц ревнивый взор,
Возри окрест и будь судья:
Кто брату красотой подобен?"

'(В образной речи)'

(3) "Давно ль Херсон, тобой украшен,
Цветущ на бреге быстрых ход,
Взирал с своих высоких башен
На твой со славом приход?"

(4) 'В современном языке употр. только
в некоторых выражениях: взирать с
надеждою, не взирая ни на что...'

(5) '...Не взирая на что-либо — не
обращая внимания, несмотря'

(6) 'Не взирая на лица — беспристраст-
но, не сообразуясь с общественным,
служебным и иным положением кого-
л.'

The vocalization of the prefix presents some problems. The original form of the prefix was въз- (Vasmer I:333). Before roots with fleeting vowels one most

usually finds *взо-* (as though the prefix had originally been *възъ-*):

<i>взо-</i> + <i>С#С</i>	<i>вз-</i> + <i>СVC</i>
взобратъся	взберусь, взбирагъся
взовью	взвить, взвивать
взорвать	взрывать
взогнать	взгону, взгонять
взойти	всходитъ

In the masculine past of *взойти* one would expect **восшѣл* (+ **възъшълъ*) or even **вошѣл* (+ **възшълъ*); the form *взошѣл* is analogized to the other past tense forms, *взошла*, *взолю*, *взошли*.

In three cases one finds a different vocalization before a fleeting vowel or fallen jer:

возьму (+ **възьму*) ~ *взять* (+ *взати*)
взимать (+ *взимати*)

where the vocalization is perfectly regular, and

воззреть, воззрю (+ **въззърѣти*, **въззърю*)
воззвать, *воззову* (+ **въззъвати*, **въззову*),

where it presents some problems. Both *воззреть* and *воззвать* represent regular vocalizations of the jers, if the prefix was *въз-*, and not the newer form *възъ-* (in which case one would expect **взозреть* and **взозвать*). Forms attested in OCS suggest that the prefix was indeed *въз-*: *въз(ь)рѣти* (+ **въззърѣти*), *въз(ь)вати* (+ **въззъвати*). The secondary imperfectives *взирать* (+ **въззирати*) and *взывать* (+ **въззывать*) are regular. What is anomalous is the double *-зз-* in both *воззреть* and *воззвать* (if they are *вз-* verbs): cf. *вскочить* (+ **въсскочити*) and *встать* (+ **въссстати*). It is *воз-* verbs that show double *-сс-*: *восседать*, *воссиять*, *восславлять*, *воссоединять*, *воссоздавать*, *восстать*/*восставать*, *восставлять*, *восстанавливать*, *воссылать*. The only cases of *-зз-* are *воззреть* and *воззвать*, both of which are correlated by the SSRLJa with verbs in *в(з)-*: *взирать*, *взывать*. If they were *воз-* verbs, one would expect **воззирать* and **воззывать*. The latter seem to have existed, cf. the form *воззывание* 'продолжаемое действие воззывающего' (Slovar' Akademii Rossijskoj I:614) and *воззывать* 'см. *взывать*' (Dal' I:227).

Like глядеть, зреть is not inherently directional. The semantics of both is very abstract, something like [+ "relationship" 0 "mental" 0 visual 0 horizontal 0 transgression]: the subject, usually, but not necessarily (cf. quote [3]), a thinking being, is related by vision (or just by attention) to an object, this relationship of "seeing" or "awareness" optionally presentable as liminal. One has to speak in terms of a "relationship" because of sentences such as those in (3): the subject does not perform an action upon the object, but is rather set in relationship to it.

12.2.4

ДУМАТЬ: 'think'

'Намериваться, собираться что-либо сделать'

"Он думает поехать в Крым."
(Ušakov I:810)"Волк, ночью, думая залезть в овчарню,
Попал на псарню."

(no separate definition)

"Не думай взять, а думай отдать."
(Dal' I:500)

ДУМАТЬСЯ:

' (Безл.) Казаться, представляться'

"Когда я писал Лопахина, то думалось мне, что это Ваша роль."

ГАДАТЬ: 'guess'

'...предсказывать, узнавать что-либо по каким-либо признакам'

'Строить предположения, догадки'

"Красавицы сидели за столом,
Раскладывая карты, и гадали
О будущем."

ВЗДУМАТЬ:

'Вдруг замыслить, выдумать. придумать'

"Одну часть лета Федька и другие мальчики жили со мною. Накупавшись, наигравшись, они вздумали позаняться."

"Вздумала Кота она просить,
Чтоб взял ее с собой он на охоту,
Мьшей в анбаре половить."

'Не вздумай, не вздумайте (с инфинитивом) — строгое запрещение что-л. сделать'

"Не вздумай курить в сарае."

ВЗДУМАТЬСЯ:

' (Безл.) Прийти на мысль'

"Человек не должен делать все, что вздумается, а только то, что хорошо и справедливо."

ВЗГАДАТЬ/ВЗГАДЫВАТЬ:

'Представлять себе в мыслях, воображать, припоминать'

"Скучно с жизнью старческой,
Скучно, други, в мире жить;
Грустно, среди пиршества,
О могиле взгадывать."

"Директор украдкой посматривал на Пластунова и гадал про себя: знает или не знает он о вчерашней истории?"

'Не думал, не гадал, не думано, не гадано и т. п. — о чем-либо неожиданном'

"Никто не думал и не гадал, что из вас, Костя, выйдет настоящий писатель."

'Ни вздумать, ни взгадать, ни пером написать — о большой трудности или невозможности представить, вообразить себе кого-, что-либо, о чем-либо'

Both думать and гадать have to do with mental activity involving (the achievement of) 'awareness'. The unprefixes думать can describe either the contemplation or the formation of an idea in the mind; гадать describes only the formation of an idea. The potential liminality of these verbs can, I think, be felt most clearly in negative expressions: не думай взять can be interpreted either as 'let it not be in your consciousness' ("contemplation", non-liminal) or 'let it not occur to you, arise in your consciousness' ("formation", inexplicitly liminal); не вздумай курить 'don't take it into your head to smoke' is explicitly liminal.

12.2.5

ПОМНИТЬ: 'remember'

'Удерживать в памяти, не забывать'

ПОМНИТЬСЯ: 'be remembered, recalled'

'Сохраняться в памяти, не забываться'

'Помнится, помнилось, в знач. вводного слова. Как сохранилось в памяти, как вспоминается'

ВСПОМНИТЬ/ВСПОМИНАТЬ: 'remember, recall to mind'

'Воспроизводить в памяти, восстанавливать в сознании...'

ВСПОМНИТЬСЯ/ВСПОМИНАТЬСЯ: 'come to mind, be recalled'

'Приходить на память, возобновляться в сознании'

The form вспомнить does not represent a case of double prefixation: in CSR помнить and мнить are not related as prefixed to unprefixes verb.

Unlike other verbs of 'awareness/perception' the unprefixes помнить

is not ambiguous as to "contemplation/formation": having in mind, versus shaping in the mind or calling to mind. This is one case where one cannot say that the prefixed verb overtly specifies a potential nuance of the unprefixed verb. It is interesting, however, to note that the original sense of помнѣти (OCS помънѣти) was liminal ('[re]call to mind'): Miklosich (1963:621) "помънѣти... μνημονεύειν, μνάσθαι, *memnisse*, *recordari*..."

In negative expressions, both помнѣти and вспомнить can be taken as liminal:

не помнѣти себя от чего

'приходить в самозабвение, иступление, терять рассудок от чего-н.' (Ušakov III:566)

"Не помня себя, я схватил палочку Лукони...и со всего размаху ударил Иванку по спине."
(SSRLJa X:1193)

не вспомнить себя

'прийти в сильное возбуждение, забыть от гнева, радости и т. п.'

"Не вспомнил себя правитель от гнева. Забыл он, что он наг и безоружен, и бросился на пастуха."

What seems to be expressed in both quotations is the idea of not managing to cross the threshold of self-awareness.

12.2.5.1 Unlike помнѣти, помянуть/поминать is only liminal. Originally it was the only form of the verb which could be prefixed with вз-: OCS въспоманѣти/въспоминати, OR (Sreznevskij) въспомянути/въспоминати; the SSRLJa records вспомнити as a Middle Russian form. What seems to have happened is that the imperfective помнѣти, originally ambiguous as to liminality ('bear in mind' - 'call to mind'), came to denote only non-liminal activity, whereas помянуть, perfective (and, therefore, perhaps more clearly liminal to begin with), has remained basically liminal in meaning. (Its liminality is overtly, morphologically marked only when it is prefixed with вз-.)

ПОМЯНУТЬ/ПОМИНАТЬ: 'remember'

'(Разг.) Вспоминать'

ВСПОМЯНУТЬ/ВСПОМИНАТЬ:

'(Разг.) То же, что вспомнить'
(Ušakov I:409)

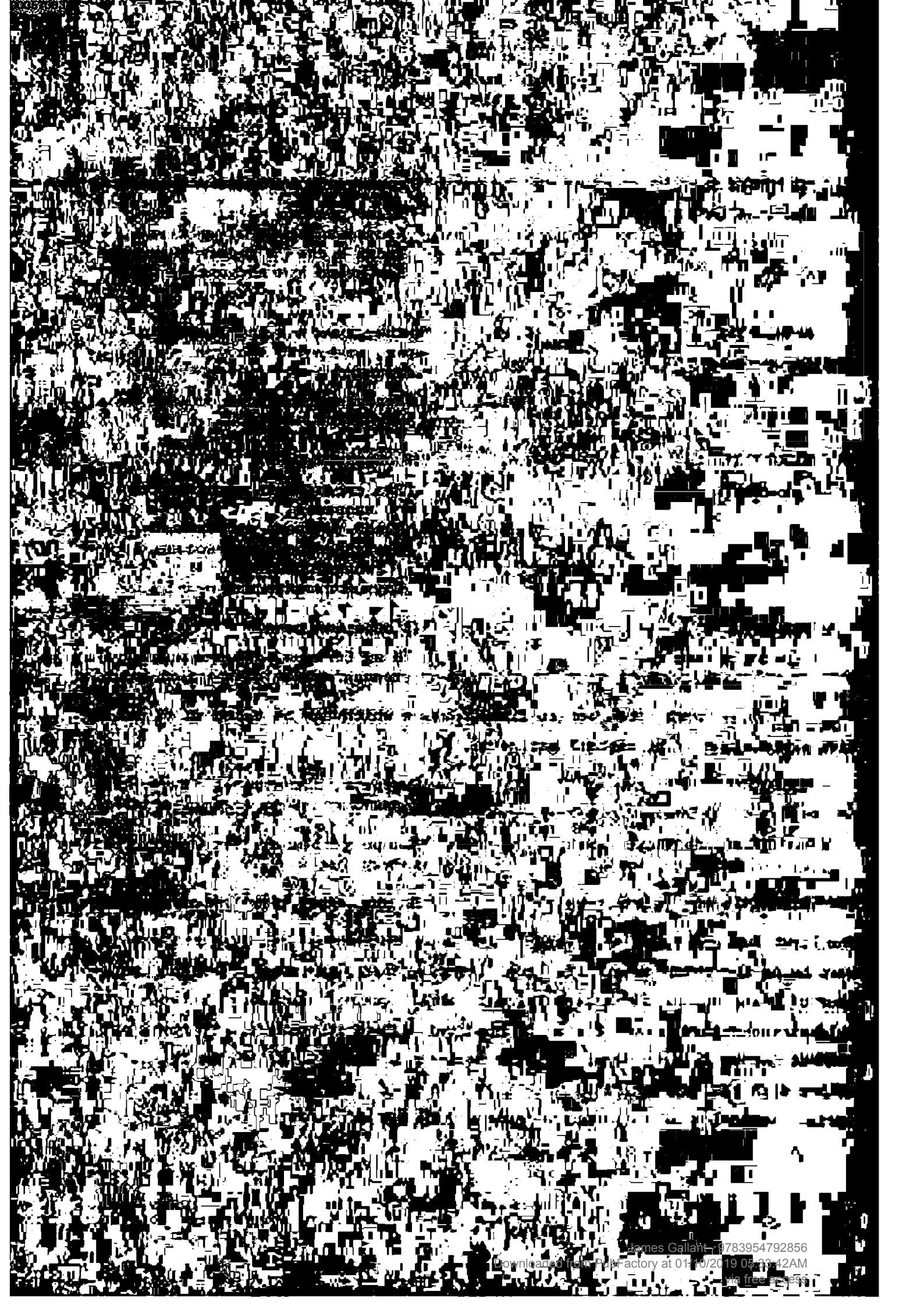
12.3 Several verbs of the corpus can, in certain phraseological contexts, be interpreted as representing phenomena of awareness in that they depict the relationship of ideas and the consciousness:

ВЗБУДИТЬ: (<i>'excitation'</i>)	'(Переносно.) Возбуждать, вызывать' "Песнь родного края, Протяжная, унылая, простая, Тоски и слез и горестей полна, Как много дум взбудила вдруг она...'
ВСПЫХНУТЬ: (<i>'appearance'</i>)	'Мысли, думы и т. п. вспыхивают — ярко, отчетливо выступают в сознании' "Целая картина ярко вспыхивает в моем воображении."
ВЗБОРОЗДИТЬ: (<i>'plowing'</i>)	'(В образной речи)' "Без слова мысль, волнение без названья, Какой ты шлеп мне знак, Вдруг взбороздив мгновенной молнией знанья Глухой декабрьский мрак?"
ВЗДЫМАТЬСЯ: (<i>'upward motion'</i>)	'(В образной речи)' "В их [бойцов] сердцах вздымалась теплая волна любви к родине..."

Other verbs are used in fixed phrases which can be taken as figurative expressions of perceptual activity:

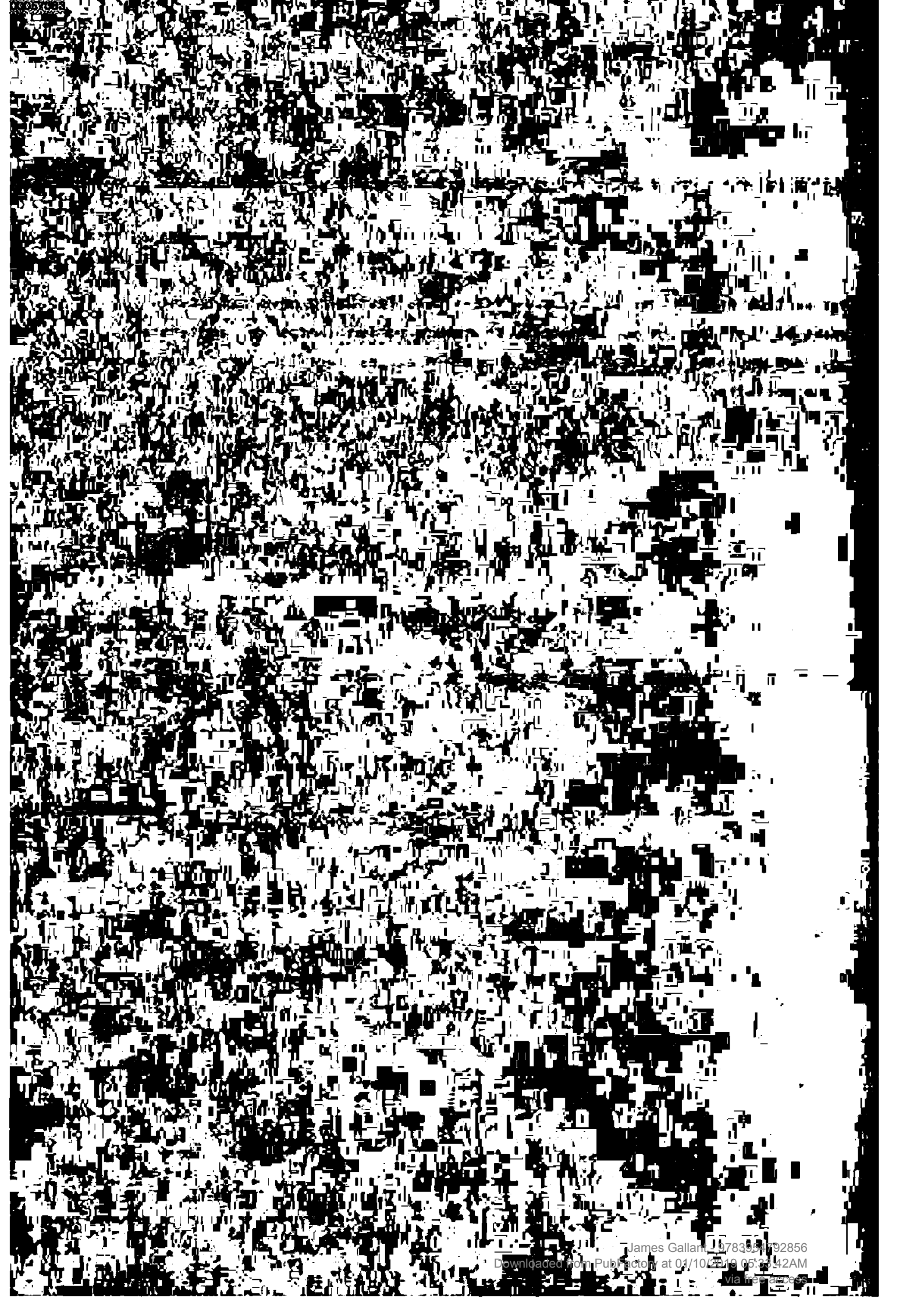
ВЗВЕСТИ/ВЗВОДИТЬ глаза:	'Смотреть, посмотреть; поднимать, поднять глаза на кого-, что-либо'
ВСКИНУТЬ/ВСКИДЫВАТЬ глаза, взгляд (на кого, что):	'Быстро устремлять, устремить глаза кверху (на кого, что)'
ВЗБОДРИТЬ уши (о животном):	'Поднять уши, чутко прислушиваясь'

The first two are verbs of upward motion used abstractly: casting the eyes upward being the metaphor of attention, lowering them (опустить глаза) the metaphor of inattention; the horizontal acts as a figurative boundary between evident/non-evident or conscious/unconscious. The last phrase, взбодрить уши, has not necessarily to do with upward motion, as the SSRLJa defines it, but rather with the excitation of a sensory organ, cf. the discussion of the invariant semantics of (вз)бодрить 'animate' in 3.2.4.



SECTION IV: P H Y S I C A L T H R E S H O L D S

This section examines verbs denoting activities involving physical states (verbs of 'boiling', e.g., вскипеть) or random motion (verbs of 'agitation', e.g., взволновать). In these verbs the *вз-* features highlight the threshold of the activity.



13. B O I L I N G

Perfective only:

взопрёть

вскипятить (ся)

Paired:

взварить (ся)

взгреть

вскипеть

вскинуть

вспарить

взваривать (ся)

взгревать

вскипать

вскисать

вспаривать

13.1 This small group is composed of verbs, all of which, in the usages discussed below, describe an alteration in the quality of the object undergoing the action. For lack of a better or more general term, I have chosen to call them verbs of 'boiling'. The change of state involved in the action of boiling, cooking or fermentation is difficult to define in terms of specific semantic features. The essence of the change seems to lie somewhere between the notions of 'agitation' (вскипятить, вскипеть) and 'disorder' (вскинуть). Unlike verbs of 'agitation', however, not all these verbs necessarily denote setting the object into independent motion. And unlike verbs of 'disorder', they denote not so much the displacement or disarrangement of the constituents of the object (a change in attitude or consistency) as a change in quality – not disruption of a norm, but transformation to an alternative state.

13.1.1 The degree to which these verbs are semantically interrelated is somewhat difficult to illustrate, because several of them are defined only in terms of the same root. Etymologically, however, there are numerous interconnections.

	<u>кипеть</u>	<u>кипятить</u>	<u>варить</u>	<u>греть</u>	<u>киснуть</u>	<u>(начать)</u>
взопреть			X			
вскипятить	X					
взварить	X					
(взгреть)				X		
(вскипеть)	X					X
(вскиснуть)					X	X
вспарить		X				

13.2 The prefixed form of the verb represents one way of viewing the action. Specification of the *вз-* features manifests a view of the action as involving the transgression of a physical threshold — transformation into a boiling or cooked state.

13.2.1

КИПЕТЬ: 'boil'

'Волноваться, клокотать, пениться от образующегося при сильном нагревании пара...Доходить до состояния кипения, закипать'

"Вы никогда не приучите воду к тому, чтобы она не замерзла при 0° и не кипела при 80° Реомюра."

"Приехал домой. На столе в саду кипел самовар."

КИПЯТИТЬ: 'boil'

'Нагревать жидкость так, чтобы она кипела; доводить ее до точки кипения'

"...— Ну, пойду чай кипятить, скоро гость проснется."

"Старик занялся костром и кипятил чайник."

'Держать, варить в кипящей жидкости'

"Кипятить белье."

ВСКИПЕТЬ/ВСКИПАТЬ:

'Начинать кипеть; приходиться, прийти в состояние кипения'

"Молоко вскипело."

"Пока Листопад умывался, чистил зубы, надевал чистую рубашку, чайник вскипел."

ВСКИПЯТИТЬ:

'Довести жидкости до состояния кипения'

"Разогревая на керосинке судок со щами, я, задумавшись, вскипятил их."

"... они ...вскипятели маленький пузатый самовар и сели за стол..."

Both unprefixated and prefixated verbs can refer to the boiling of liquids, substances in liquid or containers of liquids, depending on how the predication is further elaborated. In addition, these verbs provide good examples for a discussion (cf. 14.5) of the relationship of prefixation and the notions of stativity and phasal delimitation. Both unprefixated verbs, кипеть and кипятить, are ambiguous with respect to stativity ('[cause] to be in a boiling state') versus phasality ('inchoativity': '[cause] to enter a boiling state', or 'termination': '[cause] to reach a boiling state'). The intransitive кипеть is more immediately interpreted as stative (i.e., that is its first definition in the dictionary). The transitive кипятить is first defined as phasal ('bring to the boiling point' ['terminative'] ~ 'cause to begin to boil' ['inchoative']) and only secondarily defined as stative ('keep in a boiling state'). The prefixated forms, вскипеть and вскипятить, because they specify the action as related to a threshold, are defined only as phasal. Prefixation, which insists upon a view of the action as related to a framework (spatial or limitational, depending upon the semantics of the base), precludes a stative interpretation. A spatial interpretation is precluded here, because these verbs do not involve motion in a certain direction. They are, however, still ambiguous as to the kind of phasal nuance they may be used to represent: it may be 'inchoative' ("начинать X" — "приводить, приходить в состояние X") or 'terminative' ("доводить/доходить до состояния X"). The new Academy Grammar (1970:257) defines вскипеть as terminative ("совершить [довести до результата] действие, названное мотивирующим глаголом"), while the SSRLJa defines it as inchoative. What the prefix really conveys is only the abstract notion of a limit and its transgression; its natural-language paraphrases amount to particular interpretations of these abstract features.

13.2.2

КИСНУТЬ: 'sour, ferment'

'Делаться кислым [закисший вследствие брожения], портиться от брожения'

ВКИСНУТЬ/ВКИСАТЬ:

'Приходить в брожение; начинать киснуть; закиснуть, прокиснуть'

Here again, the unprefixated verb is ambiguous as to process or state (in the latter meaning used apparently only figuratively with reference to human

beings). The prefixed verb denotes only a process, but is ambiguous as to whether it is viewed in the inception or its result.

13.2.3

ГРЕТЬ: 'heat up'

'(Перех.) Делать теплым, горячим; нагревать'

"Греть холодное кушанье, воду."

ВАРИТЬ: 'boil, cook'

'(Перех.) Готовить горячую пищу кипячением; кипятить в воде или иной жидкости'

"Мы...стали варить кофе..."

ВЗГРЕТЬ/ВЗГРЕВАТЬ:

'Разогревать'

ВЗВАРИТЬ/ВЗВАРИВАТЬ:

'Доводить варкой до кипения'

These two etymologically related verbs (cf. Vasmer II:35, under жар) both denote altering the state of the object. The prefixed verbs view the action as crossing a threshold.

13.2.4

ПРЕТЬ: 'stew'

'Поспевать на пару, на медленном огне'

"К этому времени суп обыкновенно бывает уже готов и, разваренный, 'преет' в закрытых котлах."

ПАРИТЬ: 'steam'

'(Перех.) Печь что-либо в закрытом сосуде в своем соку'

"Парить репу."

'(Перех.) Подвергать действию пара, кипятка...'

"...И дуги гнут не вдруг, а прежде парят."

ВЗОПРЕТЬ:

'Свариться, сжариться, упресть (о кушанье)'

"...— Да поджарь, да дай взопресть хорошенько!..."

ВСПАРИТЬ/ВСПАРИВАТЬ:

'Делать что-либо мягким, размягчать действием пара; обдавать кипятком'

"Вспарить крапиву, отруби."

'Вспарить дерево (при сгибании в дугу, в колесо)'

These two verbs are likewise etymologically related (cf. Vasmer III:203, 362). Their invariant semantics is discussed in 8.2.4. In the usages listed above both the unprefixated and the prefixed verbs present processes involving heat and moisture which alters the state of the patient. The precise relationship of

steam (moist heat) to the patient is not explicit: either steam is applied to the patient (вспарить дерево), or the patient is made to steam or stew (парить репу, каша прееет). The *вз-* forms present these processes in relationship to a threshold.

14. A G I T A T I O N

Perfective only:

[взбаламу́тить (ся)]

[взбесы́ть]

[взбунтова́ть]

[взбурбвить]

взбушева́ть (ся)

взвйхри́ть (ся)

взволнова́ть (ся)

взгомози́ться

взряби́ть (ся)

взыгра́ть (ся)

всклокота́ть (ся)

всколебáть (ся)

вскружи́ть (ся)

[встревóжить]

встрепену́ться

встрепыхáться

встрепыхну́ться

Paired:

взболта́ть (ся)

взболтну́ть₁ (ся)

взба́лтывать (ся)

взбрыкну́ть

взбры́кивать

[взбудора́жить]

[взбудора́живать]

взвёя́ть (ся)

взвевáть (ся)

вздро́гнуть

вздро́гивать

взлягну́ть

взля́гивать

взмотну́ть

взма́тывать

[взмахну́ть]

[взма́хивать]

[взметну́ть]

взмуты́ть (ся)

взмúчивать (ся) (взмущáть)

[вскипе́ть]

[вскы́дываться]

[вскипа́ть]

Paired:

вскольх́ать (ся)	вскольхн́уть (ся)	вскольхивать (ся)
	[всплесн́уть]	[всплѣскивать]
	[вспрыгн́уть]	
	встряхн́уть (ся)	встряхивать (ся)

14.1 These 32 verbs all depict physical activity conceived with reference to a threshold of activity. The patients of these verbs are depicted in a state of non-directed motion (random motion, motion in place, activity in general).

14.1.1 Most of the verbs are defined in terms of at least one other verb of the group:

(д	в	т	к	д	м	к	б	т	(б	к	м
в	о	р	о	р	у	и	о	р	у	р	а
и	л	я	л	о	т	д	л	е	р	у	х
ж	н	с	е	ж	и	а	т	п	л	ж	а
е	о	т	б	а	т	т	а	е	и	и	т
н	в	и	а	т	ь	ь	т	т	т	т	ь
и	а		т	ь			ь	а	ь)	ь	
е)	т		ь					т			
	ь							ь			

взбаламутить		вз		вз
(взбесить)				
взбунтовать		Х		Х
взбуровить		Х		
(взбушевать)				
взвѣхрить				Х
взволновать	Х			вз
(взгомозиться)				
взрябить		Х		
(взыграть)				
взклокотать				вз
(всколебать)	Х			
(вскружить)				

	(д в и ж е н и е)	в о л н о т т ь	т р я с е т н и а т ь	к о л е б а т ь	д р о т т ь	м у т а т ь	к и а т ь	б о л т а т ь	т р е п л е н и е т ь	(б у р ж и т ь)	к р у ж и т ь	м а х а т ь
(встревожить)	X											
встрепенуться	X		вз		вз							
встрепыхаться			вз		вз				вз			
взболтать	X	X	вз			X						
взбрыкнуть								вз				
(взбудоражить)												
взвезать					X							
вздогнуть			X	X								
(взлягнуть)												
взмотнуть					вз							
(взмахнуть)												
взметнуть												X
взмутить			вз						вз			
вскидываться				X								
(вскипеть)												
всколыхать	X			X								
(всплеснуть)												
(вспрыгнуть)												
встрягнуть	X							вз				

The verbs in parentheses are ones that are either defined primarily in terms of the same root (взбушевать, всколебать, вскружить, взлягнуть, взмахнуть, вскипеть) or not separately defined in this usage (взбесить, взбудоражить, всплеснуть); a few are defined not in terms of any other verb of the group (взгомозиться, възграть, встревожить). The semantic common denominators seem to be the notions of 'motion' (движение), 'agitation' (волнение), 'shaking' (встрягивание) and 'oscillation' (колебание). I will analyze these verbs as

denoting 'agitation' in the sense of 'nondirected motion': [+ motion 0 direction]. For a refinement of this definition, see 14.5.

14.2 Verbs of 'agitation' can be classified in two major groups according to the kind of patient they take.

One group (16 verbs) can denote the agitation of fluids: *взбалмутить, взбесить, взбунтовать, взбуровить, взбушевать, взволновать, взрябить, взыграть, всклокотать, всколебать, встревожить, взболтать, взбудоражить, взмутить, вскипеть, всколыхнуться*.

Another, largely separate, group (13 verbs) denote the agitation of animate or inanimate bodies and/or their extensions: *встрепенуться (крыльями), взбрыкнуть (ногами), взлягнуть (ногами), взмотнуть (головой), взмахнуть (плетью, платком, крылышками, головою, ресницами, хвостом), взметнуть (головой), всплеснуть (крыльями), встряхнуть (волосами, бубенчиками)*. Most of these verbs can stylize the agitation of a body in terms of its extensions, expressed in the instrumental. Some do not: *встрепыхнуться (птица), взболтнуть (телега), вздрогнуть (человек, конь, земля, вагон, пламя), вскидываться (все тело), вспрыгнуть (сердце)*. *Встряхнуть* also admits accusative objects (patients agitated by separate agents): *встряхнуть мальчишек, ковры, машину, человека, гелегу*.

A small number of these verbs can denote the setting into motion of objects on a surface: *взвѣхрить (пыль, снега), взыграть (вѣхорь), взвеять (пыль, песок), всколыхнуть (листья, ниву)*. These usages are close to the notion of 'disorder'. We shall see, however, that these verbs have to do not with the attitude or configuration of the objects but rather with their being set into activity.

Some verbs can represent the agitation of the atmosphere: *взбушеваться (погода), всколыхнуть (воздух), взбунтовать (ветры)*.

Two verbs denote the random locomotion of animate patients: *взгомозить* 'заставлять хлопотать, суетиться' and *вскружить(ся)* ("Над колокольной' *вскружили два голубя...*", "Вскружилось подполье; Шум, беготня, пискотня, скаканье, кувырканье, пляска — Словом, мы [мышь] все одурели").

14.3 The verbs *(вз)балмутить(ся), (вз)бесить(ся), (вз)бунтовать(ся),*

(вс)тревожить(ся), and (вз)будоражить denote either '(mental) excitation' or '(physical) agitation', cf. chapter 16. These four verbs are etymologically verbs of 'excitation' which have come to be used as verbs of 'agitation'. There are ten other verbs, which are etymologically verbs of 'agitation', but can be used to represent 'excitation': (вз)волновать(ся), (вз)гомозить(ся), (вз)ыграть(ся), (вс)колебать(ся), (вс)кружить(ся), вострепунуться, (вс)трепыхаться, (вс)мутить(ся), (вс)колыхать(ся) and (вс)тряхнуться. I assume that the same semantic features underlie both usages, the difference being that the verbs of 'excitation' are specified [+ abstract]:

+ verb 0 abstract + motion - directional + horizontal + transgression
--

ВЗВОЛНОВАТЬ ВОДУ

+ verb + abstract + motion - directional + horizontal + transgression
--

ВЗВОЛНОВАТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕКА

The superordinate semantic features which, when specified, entail the specific non-directionality ([- directional]) of verbs of 'agitation' are introduced in chapter 17, cf. also 14.5.1. The feature [motion] is ambiguous as to physical motion (*motio corporum*) versus emotion (*motio animi*). The presence of the feature [abstract] in the second matrix causes all features to be read figuratively: [motion] is *motio animi*, [horizontal] is an emotional, rather than a physical, threshold, etc. The [+ abstract] волновать does not take a concrete object as its patient, but rather an animate person as its experiencer.

According to this description, the marked form would be the [+ abstract] form. This description accounts for those verbs whose excitational meaning is historically secondary and still listed as a secondary meaning in modern dictionaries (e.g., волновать). In the case of verbs like (вз)баламутить, (вз)будоражить, (вз)бесить, (вз)бунтовать and (вс)тревожить, the excitational meaning is primary, the agitational meaning secondary, more unusual. One could introduce a second feature, [concrete], the specification of which would allow abstract verbs to denote physical actions:

+ verb
+ abstract
- concrete
+ motion
- directional

тревожить спящего (громким криком)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ concrete
+ motion
- directional

тревожить спящего (рукой)

The specification of the [abstract] feature would entail the preclusion from the message of the feature [concrete]. This is not nearly as neat a solution as that which operates only with the feature [abstract]. In the overwhelming majority of cases it seems possible to consider a verb 'concrete' (i.e., [0 abstract]) unless specified [+ abstract].

The question here is that of salience (cf. Chafe 1974:7) of meaning or of which interpretation of a form most immediately comes to mind. In many cases there seems to be no particular primacy of one meaning over another. Four informants have told me that волновать primarily denotes 'excitation', secondarily 'agitation'; yet dictionaries consistently give the 'agitation' meaning first, cf. 4.2.2. The relative salience of one meaning as opposed to another may vary according to the idiolect and according to speech situation: волновать may more immediately suggest "waves" to a sailor, "emotion" to a psychiatrist—but "emotion" to a sailor under analysis, "waves" to a psychiatrist on a cruise. The markedness (unusualness, specialness) of a particular usage seems, then, to have less to do with the number of features specified than with the relationship of those features to features of prior linguistic and even extralinguistic context, cf. 14.4.1.1.

14.4 In previous chapters we have seen that the definitions of unprefixes and prefixed verbs match in the overwhelming majority of cases. In several cases I have noted that the meaning of the prefixed verb corresponds to a usage of the unprefixes verb that is rare or terminological in character, cf. взрезать (4.2.2), вздуть (5.3.6, 6.2.1.6.7), взбить (6.2.1.6.1), вспыхнуть (11.3.4). In some cases there seems to be a difference in transitivity, the prefixed verb requiring an object while the unprefixes verb does not, cf. 3.3. I have explained these differences as being due to the greater specificity of the prefixed verb, which limits the notion of the action to its relationship to a frame, a surface affected by the action.

In the last chapter, in the discussion of *вскипеть* (13.2.1), I noted that while the unprefixated verb is defined as 'be in the state (of boiling)' or 'enter the state' the prefixated verb is defined only as 'enter the state' (i.e., 'start to boil' [inchoative] or 'reach the boiling point' [terminative]). In this chapter and in the chapters on verbs of 'sound/expression' and 'excitation' we shall see that this difference in nuance is not accidental but systematic for all verbs involving thresholds of activity either physical ('boiling', 'agitation') or figurative ('sound/expression', 'excitation'). It is only some verbs of these groups that are defined as medials ('прийти в состояние X') or, more specifically, as inchoatives ('начать X'). And it is on the basis of these definitions that *вз-* has been said to be an "inchoative" prefix.

The dictionary defines verbs derived from transitive bases differently than it does those derived from intransitive bases. The interpretation of the prefixated verb is based not only on the transitivity of the derivational base but also on whether or not it is semelfactive. I will present the material in the following two sections (14.4.1 and 14.4.2) and then attempt a theoretical explanation of the facts in 14.5.

14.4.1 *Verbs derived from transitive bases.* *Вз-* verbs of 'agitation' derived from transitive bases are usually defined in the same terms as the unprefixated verb: both mean 'cause to enter/be in a state of agitation' ('привести в движение'). The *вз-* verb explicitly relates the activity to a threshold of activity. These verbs, as a class, do not denote directional motion and do not, therefore, denote 'upward motion' with the prefix.

14.4.1.1

БАЛАМУТИТЬ: 'stir up'

'Мутить, волновать (о воде)'

ВЗБАЛАМУТИТЬ:

'Взмутить воду, жидкость; привести в сильное волнение'

Баламутить is etymologically a verb of 'excitation' (ESSJa I:146-147), and that is its first definition in the SSRLJa, SRJa and Ušakov. Dal', however, defines it first as a verb of 'agitation' ('мутить, болтать') then as a verb of 'excitation' ('полошить, волновать'). With all prefixes except *вз-*, *баламутить* is defined by all dictionaries exclusively as a verb of 'excitation'. With *вз-*,

Dal' defines it only as 'excitation'; the SRJa primarily as 'excitation', secondarily as 'agitation'. Ušakov defines *взбаламутить* as "Сов. к баламутить" but gives only an 'agitation' example for the past passive participle (*взбаламученное море*). The SSRJa, however, defines *взбаламутить* first as 'agitation' and second as 'excitation' ("Переносно. Встревожить, взволновать кого-нибудь"). What we see, then, is not only that different dictionaries disagree as to the primacy of one meaning over another, but also that the same dictionary can define a verb differently when it is prefixed — a difference that cannot be attributable to the semantics of the prefix, but rather perhaps to the kinds of extralinguistic factors discussed above.

14.4.1.2

БЕСИТЬ: 'enrage'

('Приводить в сильное раздражение, гнев, исступление')

(no equivalent)

ВЗБЕСИТЬ:

'Привести в сильное раздражение, гнев, исступление. (Образно)'

"Фома посмотрел на широкие полосы взбешенных волн за кормой парохода..."

The unprefixed verb means only 'excitation'. The unprefixed intransitive *беситься* can, however, be used to describe the fury of natural forces, cf. "Ветер за окном бесится все яростнее...". The deverbal adjective *бешеный* can also refer to agitation ("...вода бешеными потоками бурлила..." [SRJa]).

14.4.1.3

БУНТОВАТЬ: 'stir up'

('Быть в сильном волнении, бушевать')

(no equivalent)

ВЗБУНТОВАТЬ:

'Привести в волнение, заставить колебаться (о воде реки, моря)'

"...волны взбунтованной половодьем реки."

As a verb of 'excitation', *бунтовать* is either transitive or intransitive. The dictionary shows it to be only intransitive as a verb of 'agitation'. With the prefix the verb is not exclusively transitive: there is an intransitive *взбунтовать*, e.g., "Взбунтуйте ветры все, восколебайся море".

14.4.1.4

БУРОВИТЬ: 'swirl'
'...волновать воду...'

ВЗБУРОВИТЬ:
'...взволновать'
"Так он сказал, и великие тучи
поднявши, трезубцем
Воды взбуровил и бурю воздвиг,
отовсюду прикликав
Ветры противные."

This is a verb of 'plowing' used to represent 'agitation', cf. 3.3.

14.4.1.5

ВІХРИТЬ:
'Кружить, крутить вихрем'

"Ветер вихрил мелкие опилки на
пустых дровяных складах."

ВЗВІХРИТЬ:
'Поднять вихрем, закружить, за-
вертеть'
"Поднявшийся ветер взвихрил серую
пыль."

These verbs denote setting the patient into circular motion. Unlike *вить*, *вихрѡ-*
рить and *-вихрѡить*, to which it is etymologically related (cf. 6.2.1.6.6, 6.2.2.1)
вѡхрѡить always denotes motion, cf. *завѡхрѡить* 'set into swirling motion', but
завѡить 'wave (cause to be wavy)', *завѡхрѡиться* 'become disheveled'. All three
verbs denote causing the patient to assume a certain configuration; in *вить* and
-вихрѡить [form] seems to be the invariant feature, while in *вѡхрѡить* the invari-
ant feature is [motion].

14.4.1.6

ВОЛНОВАТЬ: 'agitate'
'Приводить в колебательное
движение...'

ВЗВОЛНОВАТЬ:
'Привести в движение поверхность
воды, всколебать'

This verb is discussed in detail in 14.5.

14.4.1.7

РЯБИТЬ: 'ripple'
'Колебля, покрывать легкими
волнами, делать негладкой, рябой
(поверхность воды)'
"Луга затоплены, легкий ветерок
рябит широкие воды."

ВЗРЯБИТЬ:
'Покрывать, подернуть легким волне-
нием (рябью) воду'
"Рнон катился, облизывая дымные
камни. Кое-где на взрябленном
плесе реки закручивались водо-

вороты..."

This verb seems always to denote [motion], although the adjective from which it is derived may also describe [form].

14.4.1.8

КОЛЕБАТЬ: 'stir'

'Приводить что-либо в однообразно повторяющееся движение сверху вниз или из стороны в сторону; заставлять колебаться'

ВСКОЛЕБАТЬ:

'Привести в движение; заставить колебаться'

14.4.1.9

ТРЕВОЖИТЬ: 'disturb'

'Нарушать неподвижность чего-л., трогать' (SRJa)

"В затуманенной паром воде ходили пескаррики, тревожа водоросли."

ВСТРЕВОЖИТЬ:

'Приводить что-либо в движение, шевелить'

"Вскоре опустела и самая река, встревоженная на минуту веслами двух удаляющихся рыбаков."

14.4.1.10

БУДОРАЖИТЬ: 'stir'

'...волновать...'

Ветер попрежнему будоражил море, подгонял зардевшиеся волны."

ВЗБУДОРАЖИТЬ:

'...встревожить. (Распространительно)'

"Грозный вид имел взбудораженный океан. Огромные волны с ревом бросались на берег."

"Вода, взбудораженная ветром, подкатывалась к бортам, плескалась под ударами весел." (SRJa, under плескаться)

14.4.1.11

ВЕЯТЬ: 'waft; winnow'

'(Перех.) Отделять, очищать зерно от мякны и сора на ветру'

(по equivalent)

ВЗВЕЯТЬ/ВЗВЕВАТЬ:

'Дуновением поднимать вверх, колебать что-либо в воздухе'

"...ветер...взвевал кругом пыль и пусок."

The unprefixd verb is transitive only as a specialized term, 'winnow' (веять зерно), which has to do with fanning or agitating grain in the air so as to separate it from the chaff. The prefixed verb is exclusively transitive and is

is not so limited in the kinds of patients it can take. In spite of the definition, I think that it does not denote upward directed motion but merely 'agitation in the air', cf. 17.4.6.

14.4.1.12

МУТИТЬ: 'make turbid, stir up'

'Делать мутным [лишенным прозрачности. О жидкости]'

"[Ребятишки] мутили босыми ногами стоячую...воду." (SRJa)

ВЗМУТИТЬ/ВЗМУЧИВАТЬ:

'Делать мутным; взбалтывать'

"Григорий...всматривался в взмученную воду."

"Этот...осадок мы взмучиваем в жидкости..."

There is some reason to think that мутить still retains its original meaning (cf. Vasmer III:18) of 'agitation'. It seems to have [motion] as a variable feature. Specified as [+ verb + "turbid" 0 motion], it admits such constructions as "Глаза ее были такого свойства, что слезы не мутили их ясности" and "Лазурь еще не исчезла, но Лондон уже начинал мутить ее своим дымным дыханием": the abstract patients of the action (ясность глаз, лазурь [неба]) are obscured by the presence of the instruments (слезы, дымное дыхание). Specified as [+ verb + "turbid" + motion], мутить denotes 'agitation' and accepts "movable" patients (вода), rather than patients having to do with qualities of light (ясность, лазурь). (Вз)мутить is somewhat exceptional in that it seems to be derived from an adjectival base: in all, there are only eight вз- verbs derived from deadjectival verbs, cf. 18.2.2.

Взмущать is listed as an obsolete secondary imperfective to взмутить and illustrated with a quotation from Puškin: "Источник быстрый Каломоны, Бегущий к дальным берегам, Я зрю, твои *взмущенны* волны Поток мутным по скалам При блеске звезд ночных сверкают..." *Взмущенны* is the past passive participle of взмутить (взмущу), a metrical variant of возмутить (возмущу). *Взмущать*, if it exists, would be a metrical variant of возмущать.

14.4.1.13

БОЛТАТЬ₁:

БОЛТНУТЬ₁: 'shake, stir'

'Приводить в движение жидкость; ...

ВЗБОЛТАТЬ/ВЗБОЛТНУТЬ₁/ВЗБАЛТЫВАТЬ:

'Приводить жидкость в движение,

взбалтывать, размешивать'

"Болтать лекарство." (SRJa)

встряхивая содержащую ее посуду;
взбивать слегка жидкость ложкой,
мешалкой и т. п.'

"Перед употреблением взбалты-
вать."

"Принимать станешь снадобье: так
взболтни наперед склянку."
(Dal')

"Это [кушанье] не больше не
меньше как взболтанная с мукой и
вскипяченная вода."

'(Безл.) О движении самолета, при
котором его покачивает, под-
брасывает потоком воздуха' (SRJa)

"Самолет болтает сильней, видимо,
вступили в полосу горных вос-
ходящих потоков."

'Толкать, качать в разные стороны'

"...мне кажется, что телега
стоит. Да. Ее не взбалтывает
на разные манеры, лошади стучат
копытами."

КОЛЫХАТЬ:

КОЛЫХНУТЬ: 'rock, wave, flutter'

'Мерно качать, колебать'

ВСКОЛЫХАТЬ/ВСКОЛЫХНУТЬ/ВСКОЛЫХИВАТЬ:

'Приводить в колебательное движение,
заставлять колыхаться'

ТРЯХНУТЬ: 'shake'

'Ухватив кого-либо за плечо,
рукав, и т. п., толкать, дергать,
теребить'

ВСТРЯХНУТЬ/ВСТРЯХИВАТЬ:

'Приподнимая, трести кого-, что-
либо'

"Пьер схватил свою большую
рукой Анатолия за воротник и
стал трести из стороны в
сторону."

"Полисмен...взял обоих мальчишек
за шивороты, поднял их высоко над
землей и стал встряхивать, точно
две мокрые тряпицы."

'Встряхивать что-либо с целью
удаления или извлечения чего-
либо' (cf. the definition of
веять)

'Взав за края, производить несколько
резких, порывистых движений с целью
распрямления, освобождения от пыли,
мусора и т. п. (об одежде, постель-
ном белье и т. п.)'

"Трести ковер."

"Встряхивать ковры."

'Приводить в колебательное
движение, в состояние тряски, вы-
зывать сотрясение, дрожание кого-
чего-либо, сотрясать; везти с
тряской, подвергая тряске'

'Сильно толкать, резко качать, про-
изводить сотрясение (о толчках и
тряске при езде)'

"Переезжали на двух телегах, и ту, на которой сидел я..., страстно трясло."

"Он попытался было пристроиться соснуть, но...телегу встряхивало."

These last three verbs involve derivations from imperfective and/or from semelfactive verbs. The dictionary defines only the secondary imperfective. As we shall see in 14.5.2, the prefixed forms are semantically distinct in that they retain the semantics of the derivational base; e.g., болтать 'shake (repeatedly)' → взболтать 'agitate (by shaking repeatedly)', болкнуть 'shake (once)' → взболкнуть 'agitate (by shaking once)'. The secondary imperfective can be derived from either prefixed form: взбалтывать (+взболкнуть, взболтать) 'agitate (by shaking once or repeatedly)'.

14.4.2 *Verbs derived from intransitive bases.* Transitive *вз-* verbs of 'agitation' and their unprefixing counterparts can both be defined as 'cause to enter/be in a state of agitation'.

In the case of intransitive verbs, however, there seems to be a rather consistent difference in meaning. The unprefixing intransitives tend to be defined as *statives* (быть, находиться в движении, в состоянии X), while the prefixed intransitives tend to be defined as *medials* (прийти/приходить в движение, в состояние X). The reason for this difference in interpretation is discussed in 14.5.

14.4.2.1 Unprefixing intransitives which are correlated with transitive verbs can have a *stative* ('be in the state'), *medial* ('enter the state') or *passive* ('be caused to enter/be in the state') interpretation. Prefixed intransitives, however, can have only a medial or passive interpretation:

(A) *Intransitives correlated with transitives:*

	UNPREFIXED			PREFIXED		
	<i>Stative</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Passive</i>	<i>Stative</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Passive</i>
баламутиться		X	X		X	X
бунтовать (ся)	X				(X)	
вйхриться	X				X	
волноваться	X	X	X		X	X
рябиться	(X)	X			X	

	UNPREFIXED			PREFIXED		
	Stative	Medial	Passive	Stative	Medial	Passive
колебаться	X		X		X	
болтаться	X	X			X	X
веяться	X		X		X	X
мутиться		X	X		X	X
кольхаться	X				X	

All the unprefixated verbs can be interpreted as denoting state; the medial and passive interpretations are rarer. It seems that only unprefixated imperfectives can be interpreted as stative ('be in activity'); imperfectivized prefixated verbs, e.g., *взбалтываться*, *взмучиваться*, *вскольхиваться*, are not interpretable as states. The prefixated verbs are consistently interpreted as medial ('enter state'). Three of them are more specifically defined as inchoative: *взвѣхнуться* 'закружиться ['начать кружиться']', *всколебаться* 'заколебаться ['начать колебаться']', *вскольхиваться* 'начинать кольхаться', cf. 14.5.3.

Some prefixated verbs are also attested used as passives. These perfective passives may, however, be lexicological ghosts. The SSRLJa, SRJa, Ušakov and Dal' all agree that the secondary imperfectives *взбалтываться*, *взвеваться* and *взмучиваться* can all be used as passives; Dal' is the only one to define them (e.g., *взвеваться* 'быть взвеваему, вздымаему ветром'). The SSRLJa is alone, however, in asserting that the perfectives *взбаламутиться* and *взволноваться* can be used passively; it defines them as '*страд.*' and does not exemplify them in that usage. What is particularly interesting is the fact that the SSRLJa defines the perfective *взволноваться* in terms of imperfective verbs ('*приходить* в колебательное движение'), a strange lapse, in view of the fact that it otherwise always maintains a unity of aspect, e.g., *взволновать* 'привести в движение'. Dal' does list a secondary imperfective *взволновываться* and defines the reflexive forms of both aspects with perfective verbs which could be taken to refer to a passive usage ('подвергнуться, подпасть действию этому'); the sense, however, is probably medial. In spite of the dictionary definitions, no native speaker that I have consulted can use either *взбаламутиться* or *взволноваться* as a true passive.

An unprefixated intransitive verb can be interpreted either medially or

passively only if correlated with a transitive. For example, волноваться (intransitive) denotes a state of activity ('находиться в колебательном движении'). Волновать (transitive) presents the activity with respect to its cause ('приводить в колебательное движение; заставлять колебаться'). Волноваться can be construed as medial ('приходить в колебательное движение': "Море сильно волнуется. Волнуется желтеющая нива." [Ušakov]) or as passive ("Морская гладь волнуется ветром" [Ušakov]) only if interpreted as derived from the transitive волновать. An agent or instrument must usually be specified to elicit a passive interpretation.

A prefixed intransitive verb can be interpreted as passive only if correlated with a transitive. Взбалтываться, a state of activity delimited by its relationship to a threshold, is interpreted medially ('приходить в волнение, мутиться'). It can be construed passively ("Лекарство взбалтывается мешалкой") only if interpreted as derived from the transitive взбалтывать.

14.4.2.2 Intransitive verbs not correlated with transitives must be discussed in two groups, nonsemelfactive and semelfactive. Prefixed verbs derived from nonsemelfactives are consistently defined as medials ('enter the state of activity') or, more specifically, as inchoatives ('be in the initial phase of the activity'). Prefixed verbs derived from semelfactive bases are never defined as medials.

14.4.2.2.1

(B) *Nonsemelfactive intransitives not correlated with transitives:*

	UNPREFIXED			PREFIXED		
	Stative	Medial	Passive	Stative	Medial	Passive
бушевать (ся)	X				X	
гомозиться	X				(X)	
играть (ся)	X				X	
клокотать (ся)	X				X	
кружить (ся)	X				X	
кипеть	X				X	
трепыхаться	X				X	

The majority of these verbs when prefixed are defined as inchoatives, i.e., in

terms of *начать* plus the same verb (взбуживать '*начать* буживать') or in terms of a за- verb (всклокотать '*заклокотать* ['начать *клокотать*']), cf. 4.5.3.

БУШЕВАТЬ: 'rage'

'Проявляться бурно, шумно, с большой разрушительной силой (преимущественно о стихийных явлениях в природе)'

ГОМОЗИТЬСЯ: 'stir, teem'

'Копшиться, возиться, суетливо толпиться'

(no equivalent)

ВЗБУШЕВАТЬ(СЯ):

'Вдруг *начать* буживать (о сильном ветре, море и т. п.)'

ВЗГОМОЗИТЬСЯ: 'bestir oneself'

'...потрудиться, побеспокоиться'

"Если бы ты, Николай, взгомозился зайти по дороге за мною; Вместе б пошли мы, дорогой вещая крылатые речи друг другу."

This word is dialectal (cf. 16.3.2.2). The unprefixated form describes only the multiple activity of multiple patients ('teem').

ИГРАТЬ: 'rage'

'Быстро двигаться в разных направлениях, приводить что-л. в движение, буживать (о проявлении сил природы)' (SRJa)

"Играют волны, ветер свищет..."

(no separate definition)

"*Река играет*" (title of a story by Korolenko, from which the opposite quote is taken)

ВЗЫГРАТЬ(СЯ):

'Прийти в беспокойное состояние, сделаться бурным, резвым'

"...море-то, как жалостно, да сердито *взыграло!*"

'О весеннем половодье, разливе рек'

'Река *взыгралась* — разлилась'

"Ветлуга, очевидно, *взыграла*. Несколько дней назад шли сильные дожди...и вот река *вздулась*, заливая свои веселые зеленые берега..."

In spite of the definition 'приводить что-л. в движение', *играть* is always intransitive and always denotes a state of activity, even in such usages as *играть чем* 'toy with'.

КЛОКОТАТЬ: 'bubble, boil'

'Бурлить, с шумом кипеть' (SRJa)

ВСКЛОКОТАТЬ(СЯ):

'Сильно *взбурлить* (о море, реке и кипящей жидкости)'

КРУЖИТЬ(СЯ): 'circle, whirl'

'Делать на лету круги, кружиться'

'Беспорядочно...метаться'

"Вздрагивая тянулись к солнцу
изумрудные иглы сосняка, а
высоко над ним кружил коршун."

"[Жеребята] кружились по стойлу,
тыкались из угла в угол, друг в
друга."

'заклокотать, *начать* бурлить'

ВСКРУЖИТЬ(СЯ):

'*Начать* кружить; взлетать'

'*Начать* суетливо кружиться, бегать'

"Над колокольной вскружили два
голубя и снова исчезли..."

"Вскружилось подполье;
Шум, беготня, пискотня,
скаканье, кувырканье,
пляска —

Словом, мы [мышь] все одурели."

Both these verbs denote random activity, rather than motion in a certain direction: вскружить(ся) does not necessarily mean 'fly up', but rather 'begin to circle'. For a discussion of the -ся forms, see 15.6.

КИПЕТЬ: 'boil, rage'

'Волноваться, пениться с шумом при
падении с высоты и т. п. О водной
поверхности'

"[Волга] билась, кипела, металась
во все стороны..."

ВСКИПЕТЬ/ВСКИПАТЬ:

'*Начинать* кипеть, прийти в состоя-
ние кипения. (Переносно)'

"Как взбаламученное море вскипала
под ветром пшеница."

When it is not used to refer to the activity of liquids at a certain temperature, to 'cooking', кипеть admits only a stative interpretation. In its 'agitation' meaning, кипеть is not correlated with the transitive кипятить, which is not used to refer to the agitation of fluids, but only 'boiling' and 'excitation'.

ТРЕПЬХАТЬСЯ: 'flutter'

'Дрожать, колебаться, трепетать'

ВСТРЕПЬХАТЬСЯ:

'Затрепыхаться, встрепенуться (о
птицах)'

Nonsemelfactive intransitive verbs not correlated with transitives can only mean 'state (of activity)', when unprefixated, and 'enter state', when prefixated. These verbs are more consistently defined as inchoatives because they represent exclusively the notion of activity in general (without reference to cause). We shall see in 14.5 that, as a rule, transitive verbs are never interpreted as inchoative, and intransitive verbs are more usually interpreted

as inchoative if they are not correlated with transitives and are not derived from semelfactive bases.

The following chart presents intransitive verbs of 'agitation' derived from semelfactive bases:

14.4.2.2.2

(C) *Semelfactive intransitives not correlated with transitives:*

UNPREFIXED "Gesture"	PREFIXED PERFECTIVE "Gesture"	SECONDARY IMPERFECTIVE "Series of Gestures"
[ТРЕПЕТНУТЬСЯ] (cf. Isačenko 1960: II:260)	'Встряхнуть перьями, отряхнуться' 'О рыбах: сделать в воде скорое движение или нырок' 'Порывисто приподнять- ся; сильно вздрогнуть всем телом' 'Забиться быстрее (о сердце)'	∅
ТРЕПЫХНУТЬСЯ '(Однокр.)'	'Вздрогнуть, встряхнуть- ся, встрепенуться (о птицах)'	∅
БРЫКНУТЬ '(Сов.)'	'(Однокр.)'	'Порывисто брыкать, вскидывать задние ноги вверх при беге (о животных)'
ДРОГНУТЬ 'Сделать быстрое, не- значительное движение; вздрогнуть' 'Содрогнуться, поколе- баться'	'Содрогнуться всем телом'	'Начинать дрожать' 'Время от времени, моментами дрожать, сотрясаться (о пред- метах)' 'Колебаться (о пламе- ни, огне)'
ЛЯГНУТЬ '(Сов.)'	'(Сов., однокр.)'	'Лягать иногда, под- нимая ноги кверху...'
МОТНУТЬ '(Сов., однокр.)'	'(Однокр.)'	'Встряхивать, мотать головой'

<i>UNPREFIXED</i>	<i>PREFIXED PERFECTIVE</i>	<i>SECONDARY IMPERFECTIVE</i>
"Gesture"	"Gesture"	"Series of Gestures"
ПЛЕСНУТЬ ' (Однокр.) '	'Всплеснуть крыльями'	'Всплескивать крыльями (о птице)'
ТРЯХНУТЬ ' (Однокр.) '	'Тряхнуть головой, рукой, волосами'	'Вскидывать, тряхти порывисто чем-либо'
ТРЯХНУТЬСЯ ' (Однокр.) '	' (Однокр.) '	'Отряхиваться; тряхти всем (о животных, птицах)'
МАХНУТЬ ' (Однокр.) '	' (Сов.) ' 'Взмахнуть руками, головой'	'Порывисто махать, размахивать чем-нибудь, направляя кверху'
	'Змахнуться чем-либо'	'Взмахивать руками, головой'
МЕТНУТЬ ' (Однокр.) '	'Взмахнуть (головой)'	∅
КИНУТЬСЯ	∅	'Сотрясаться (от рыданий, сильного смеха)' "...все тело ее стало вскидываться от беззвучных, судорожных рыданий..."
ПРЫГНУТЬ ' (Однокр.) '	' (Однокр.) ' "...Сердце в нем вспрыгнуло."	

The last four verbs are also (primarily) verbs of 'directed motion'. (See 17.5.2. for a discussion of all verbs of 'agitation' derived from semelfactive bases.)

The verbs in chart (C) all denote 'agitation' or activity in terms of constituent gestures, cf. 14.5.2. Neither the unprefix form nor the prefixed perfective can be interpreted as 'state' or 'entry into state', because the activity has been reduced to one complex movement. The prefixed secondary imperfective is usually interpreted not as a state of multiple activity but as complex movements, because it is derived from the prefixed semelfactive perfective. (Вздрагивать, the only form of this group interpreted by the dictionary as inchoative, is also interpreted as referring to a series of movements.)

14.5 In 14.4 we have seen that the interpretation of the prefixed verb depends on the nature of the derivational base.

(1) Prefixed verbs derived from transitive bases are defined in the same terms as their unprefixed counterparts, e.g., волновать ('приводить в колебательное движение') → взволновать ('привести в движение поверхность воды, всколебать'): both forms denote causing an object to enter a state of activity (14.4.1).

(2) Prefixed verbs derived from intransitive bases, however, are not defined in the same terms as their unprefixed counterparts.

(2A) Unprefixed intransitives correlated with transitives (e.g., волноваться) are defined as states ('be in a state of activity') and can, more rarely, have a medial ('enter the state') or passive ('be caused to enter the state') interpretation. Their prefixed counterparts (взволноваться) are never defined as states; they are defined only as medials and occasionally as passives (14.4.2.1).

(2B) Nonsemelfactive intransitives not correlated with transitives (e.g., клочотать) are always defined as states when unprefixed. They can never be interpreted as medials or passives. Their prefixed counterparts (всклочотать) are always defined as medials, more specifically, as inchoatives. They can never be interpreted as statives or passives (14.4.2.2.1).

(2C) Semelfactive intransitives not correlated with transitives (e.g., дрогнуть) behave somewhat differently. The unprefixed verb denotes not a state but a single complex act, a gesture: 'сделать быстрое, незначительное движение; вздрогнуть; содрогнуться'. The prefixed perfective is always defined in the same terms: вздрогнуть 'содрогнуться всем телом'. The secondary imperfective, however, is consistently defined in terms of a series of complex gestures: вздрагивать 'время от времени, моментами дрожать, сотрясаться' (14.4.2.2.2).

The following sections offer a preliminary explanation of how the semantics of the prefixed form varies according to the nature of the derivational base. These ideas will be amplified and formulated in greater detail in chapters 15, 16 and 17.

The two factors which condition the interpretation of the prefixed

verb are transitivity and semelfactivity. I will discuss these separately.

14.5.1 *Transitivity*. Transitive verbs describe an activity undergone by a patient (волновать воду) or experienced by an experiencer (волновать человека), an activity which is caused by an agent (человек волнует воду/Борис Годунов волнует народ) or by an instrument (их весла волнуют воду/этот вопрос волнует всех). The common notion here is that of causation. The activity does not exist in isolation, but only in relation to its causation. The activity is limited by its relationship to an external cause. Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, can describe the activity in isolation, without relation to its cause; intransitivization is a device for suppressing agency or instrumentality or making them peripheral to the message. The phrases вода волнуется, человек волнуется present only the activity and its patient/experiencer, without reference to any external cause. Intransitive verbs of 'agitation' are usually used absolutely; but there are rare, archaic quotations which show them further specified for "cause" (instrument): "Ты видишь: эта сеть не камена стена; Малейшим ветерком колеблется она" ('agitation'), "После обеда его [Обломова] нет, нет. До десяти часов она [Ольга] волновалась надеждой, страхом, в десять часов ушла к себе" ('excitation').

Because transitive verbs of 'agitation' present the activity only in relation to some external framework of causation they are interpreted and defined in terms of 'change of state'. Unprefixed intransitive verbs, however, usually present the action absolutely, without reference to any frame, and are, therefore, usually interpreted as states of activity (быть в движении, находиться в движении). If correlated with transitives, i.e., viewed as intransitivizations, they can be interpreted medially (приходить в движение) or passively.

Unprefixed verbs denoting physical or abstract activity ('agitation', 'excitation') can be described in terms of the following features:¹

¹The following matrices represent first approximations of the semantics of these verbs. Chapter 15 (15.6.1) and chapter 16 (16.2) explore in greater detail the nature of semantic features and the way in which they become marked through rules of entailment.

TRANSITIVE: 'cause to enter/be in a state of activity'

'Agitation'

+ verb
0 abstract
+ motion
+ cyclical
0 unitary
- semelfactive
- directional
+ patiential
- experiential
+ agentive
+ patient
0 agent
- experiencer
+ instrument
0 horizontal
0 transgression

он волнует воду веслом

'Excitation'

+ verb
+ abstract
+ motion
+ cyclical
0 unitary
- semelfactive
- directional
- patiential
+ experiential
+ agentive
- patient
0 agent
+ experiencer
+ instrument
0 horizontal
0 transgression

он волнует слушателей
блестящей игрой

INTRANSITIVE: '(be caused to) (enter)/be in a state of activity'

'Agitation'

<i>stative</i>	<i>medial</i>	<i>passive</i>
+ verb	+ verb	+ verb
0 abstract	0 abstract	0 abstract
+ motion	+ motion	+ motion
+ cyclical	+ cyclical	+ cyclical
0 unitary	0 unitary	0 unitary
- semelfactive	- semelfactive	- semelfactive
- directional	- directional	- directional
+ patiential	+ patiential	+ patiential
- experiential	- experiential	- experiential
0 agentive	+ agentive	+ agentive
0 patient	0 patient	0 patient
- agent	0 agent	0 agent
- experiencer	- experiencer	- experiencer
- instrument	0 instrument	+ instrument
0 horizontal	0 horizontal	0 horizontal
0 transgression	0 transgression	0 transgression

вода волнуется

'находиться в
движение'

море волнуется
от ветра

'приходить в
движение'

морская гладь волнуется
ветром (Ušakov)

'Страд. к волновать
(редко)'

The features [cyclical] and [unitary] are introduced in chapter 17 (17.5.1).

Briefly, [+ cyclical] are verbs which express multiple activity (e.g., волновать, кипеть; болтать, дрожать) which in the case of some verbs is analysable in terms of constituent cycles (болтнуть, дрогнуть); both the part (cycle) and the whole (cyclical activity) are complex in that they express multiple movements. [+ unitary] are verbs which express multipliable acts (e.g., кинуть [кидок], прыгнуть [прыжок], бросить [бросок]) which are combinable as a series (кидать, прыгать, бросать); the part (one act) is simple, while the whole (multiple activity) is complex. Only [+ unitary] verbs can be further specified as [+ directional].

The feature [semelfactive] signals a view of the activity in terms of one cycle or one act. I cannot motivate the inherent nonsemelfactivity of verbs like волновать in terms of superordinate features.

The features [patiential], [experiential] and [agentive] express the semantic qualities of verbs which admit certain kinds of actants. A verb must

be [+ abstract] to be further specified as [+ experiential]: cf. *John is hot* ('person experiences heat') versus *John is hot (to the touch)* ('body displays a quality'). The features [patient], [experiencer], [agent] and [instrument] underlie the appearance of certain actants in the surface structure: [+ patient] is manifested by an (in)animate accusative, [+ experiencer] by an animate accusative or dative, [+ agent] by an animate instrumental, [+ instrument] by an inanimate instrumental. A verb can be [+ agentive] without having an overt agent or instrument in the surface structure: [+ agentive 0 agent 0 instrument], cf. the quotes above. The features [patiential] and [experiential] are mutually exclusive. These features are discussed again in chapter 16.

What we see in the matrices above are verbs of 'agitation/excitation' used transitively and intransitively. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be [+ patiential]. A [+ patiential] verb is one which involves an actant; e.g., с моря тянул легкий бриз [+ patiential 0 patient], versus тянет в окно [0 patiential - patient]. Transitive verbs are [+ patient] (accusative object), presenting the actant as subjected to (rather than merely involved in) the activity, e.g., трубочный дым (Acc.) тянуло к окошку. Both transitive and (occasionally) intransitive verbs can view the activity with respect to its external circumstances or causation [+ agentive]; e.g., ветер волнует море, море волнуется от ветра [+ agentive 0 instrument], versus море волнуется [0 agentive - instrument]. The features [+ agent] and [+ instrument] make explicit the nature of the external circumstance, e.g., морская гладь волнуется ветром [+ agentive + instrument], cf. 14.5.1.1.

Transitives. Unprefixed transitives (волновать что/кого) present activity imposed upon a patient or experiencer, an activity also delimited by the notion of causation: [+{^{patiential}_{experiential}} + {^{patient}_{experiencer}} + agentive]. Prefixed transitives (взволновать что/кого) further specify the activity as related to a threshold. Since both forms present not an absolute state, but a state set in a framework of limitations (causation, marked patient/experiencer, prefixal frame), they are interpreted as 'cause to enter/be in a state of activity'.

Intransitives. Unprefixed intransitives (волноваться, клокотать) present activity in general without reference to an external framework: [+ {^{pa-}_{patiential}} 0 {^{patient}_{experiencer}} 0 agentive]. If the activity is viewed as occurring

within a framework of causation, it can be interpreted as a state which has come about because of some circumstance, e.g., море волновалось ('приходил в движение') от ветра. Only those intransitives which are correlated with transitives can be further specified as [+ agentive]: verbs like клокотать differ from those like волновать(ся) in that they do not have [agentive] as a variable feature.

Prefixed intransitives (взволноваться, всклокотать) present the activity as related to a threshold. They cannot be interpreted as states because the activity is viewed not absolutely, but as delimited by an external framework. They are interpreted as states with thresholds, as medials ('enter a state of activity'). A passive interpretation is possible only in the case of those imperfective verbs (e.g., взбалтываться) which participate in the category of agentiveness, are variably [agentive].

14.5.1.1 Throughout this discussion I have referred to verbs which represent *activity* (as opposed to actions or acts). I have analyzed the notion of activity in terms of the more specific features [+ motion + cyclical 0 unitary - directional], since many verbs of 'agitation' also stand for 'excitation': the feature [motion] is meant to be ambiguous as to physical or psychic activity, motion/emotion. (In chapter 16, in dealing with verbs such as веселить(ся) which denote only 'excitation', I will use [activity] as a feature, without analyzing it further.)

We can use the term *activity* to refer to a state of random behavior and the term *action* to refer to coherent behavior, an operation. As we have seen, transitive verbs denoting activities (e.g., волновать) depict causing the patient to be in the state characterized by the verb: волновать воду can be defined as 'заставлять воду волноваться'. Verbs of this sort are often defined in terms of causation (заставлять) plus the reflexive (stative) form of the same verb. Intransitive verbs denoting activities are very rarely interpreted as passives. The reason for this seems to lie in their essentially stative nature. A state of random activity viewed with respect to external limitations (the threshold expressed by the prefixal frame, the circumstances of its causation) remains a state, and the verb is interpreted medially: 'enter the state'.

Transitive verbs denoting *actions* (e.g., пахать, резать, читать) do not depict states of random activity but rather coherent operations performed upon the patient. The patient is subjected to an operation, not caused to do something: the sentences он пашет поле, он режет бумагу, он читает книгу cannot be paraphrased as *он заставляет поле пахаться, *он заставляет бумагу резаться, *он заставляет книгу читаться. I think that it is because action verbs denote operations performed on patients that their intransitive forms are much more immediately interpreted as passives. In sentences such as

"Пахались они [улусовские земли] людьми, преисполненными радости."

"Сало резалось острыми карманными ножами, довольно толсто, аккуратно."

"Почта читалась ему во время обеда, — другого времени не было: он весь день проводил на верфи."

the verbs пахались, резалось and читалась cannot be interpreted as states or as entry into states but only as actions which the patients (земли, сало, почта) are made to undergo.

It is interesting to note in this regard that verbs of 'awareness' and 'emotion' which do not denote actions but rather states of perception (видеть, гадать, думать, помнить) or emotional relationships (любить, ненавидеть) do not passivize, while verbs of 'feeling' which could be construed as operations performed on patients (чувствовать, ощущать, испытывать) do admit passive constructions. It may ultimately be possible to explain the many restrictions in Russian on the formation of the passive in terms of semantic features.

14.5.2 *Semelfactivity*. Semelfactivity presents a view of multiple activity in terms of discrete *acts*. If the non-semelfactive verb represents general activity, the semelfactive verb depicts a specific act, a gesture (cf. chart C).

There are three *вз-* verbs of 'agitation' derived from transitive semelfactive bases: *взболтнуть*, *всколыхнуть* and *встряхнуть* (14.4.1.13). The first two are not defined as unitary acts (gestures) but as 'cause to enter state'. It is these two verbs, however, which are correlated with non-semelfactive perfectives (*взболтать*, *всколыхать*), forms which do fit the defi-

dition. (The dictionary, unfortunately, does not define each form of the verb but gives a blanket definition of the whole set: *взболтать/взболтнуть/взбалтывать*.)

Chart C lists verbs derived from intransitive semelfactives. The prefixed perfective denotes one complex action viewed with respect to a threshold. It differs from the unprefixed verb only in its reference to a threshold. Both the unprefixed and prefixed perfectives are [+semelfactive]. The secondary imperfective, since it is derived from a semelfactive verb, does not depict an undifferentiated state of activity, but rather a series of gestures. It participates in the semantic category of semelfactivity (contains the feature), but is unspecified for it, i.e., is [0 semelfactive]. It is only secondary imperfectives derived from prefixed semelfactive bases that are interpreted by the dictionary as depicting intermittent actions, e.g., *вздрагивать* 'время от времени, моментами, дрожать'. With the exception of *вздрагивать*, they are never interpreted as inchoative.

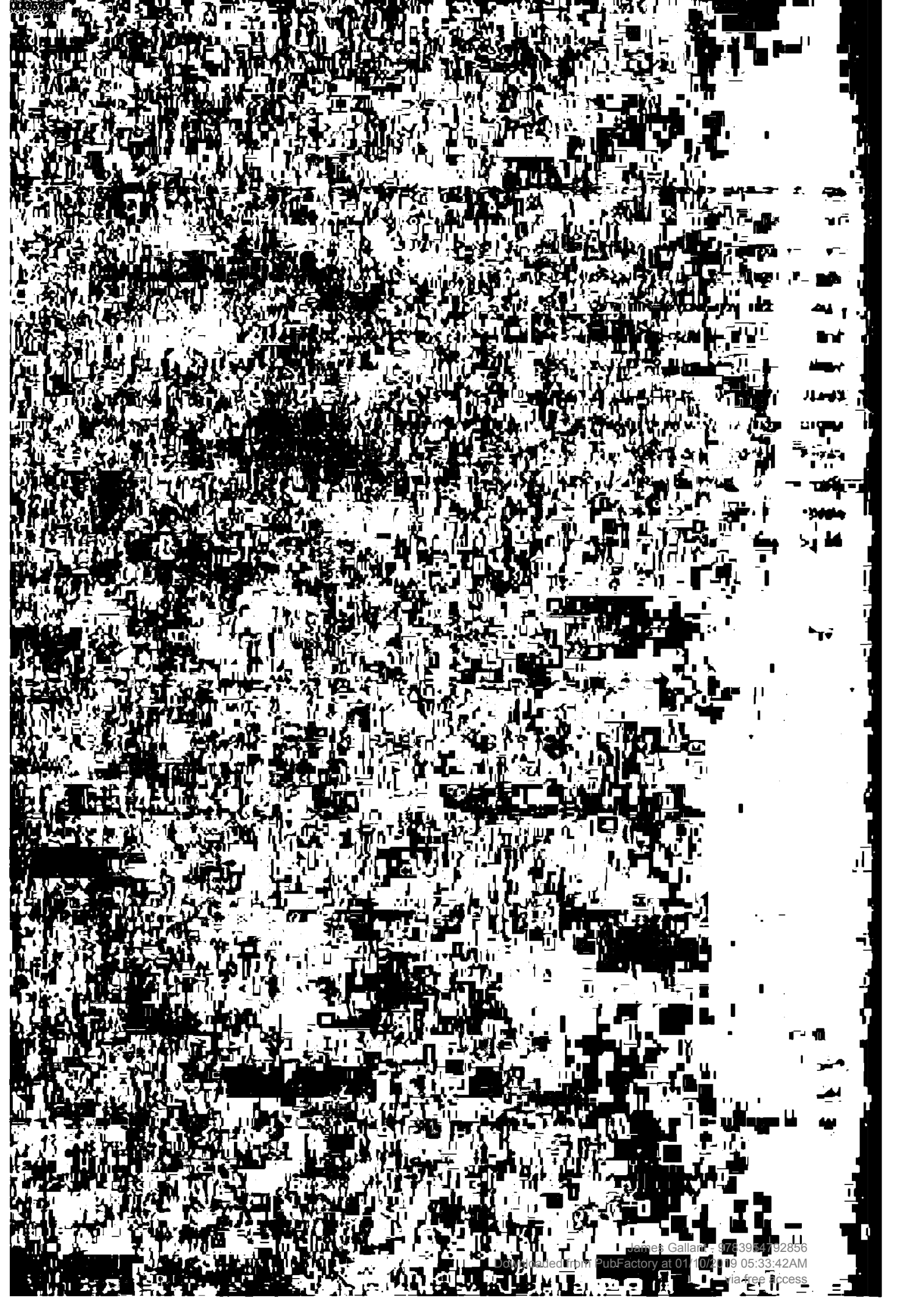
The role of semelfactivity in determining the semantics of prefixed verbs is discussed again in chapter 15 ('sound/expression') and in chapter 17 ('directed motion').

14.5.3 Throughout this discussion we have spoken of a medial interpretation: *прийти в (состояние) X, сделаться X_{adj}*. This interpretation is possible for the following classes of verbs:

- (a) unprefixed intransitives correlated with transitives
(*волноваться*) (rarely)
- (b) prefixed intransitives correlated with transitives
(*взволноваться*) (consistently)
- (c) prefixed intransitives not correlated with transitives
(*взбуждаться*) (consistently)

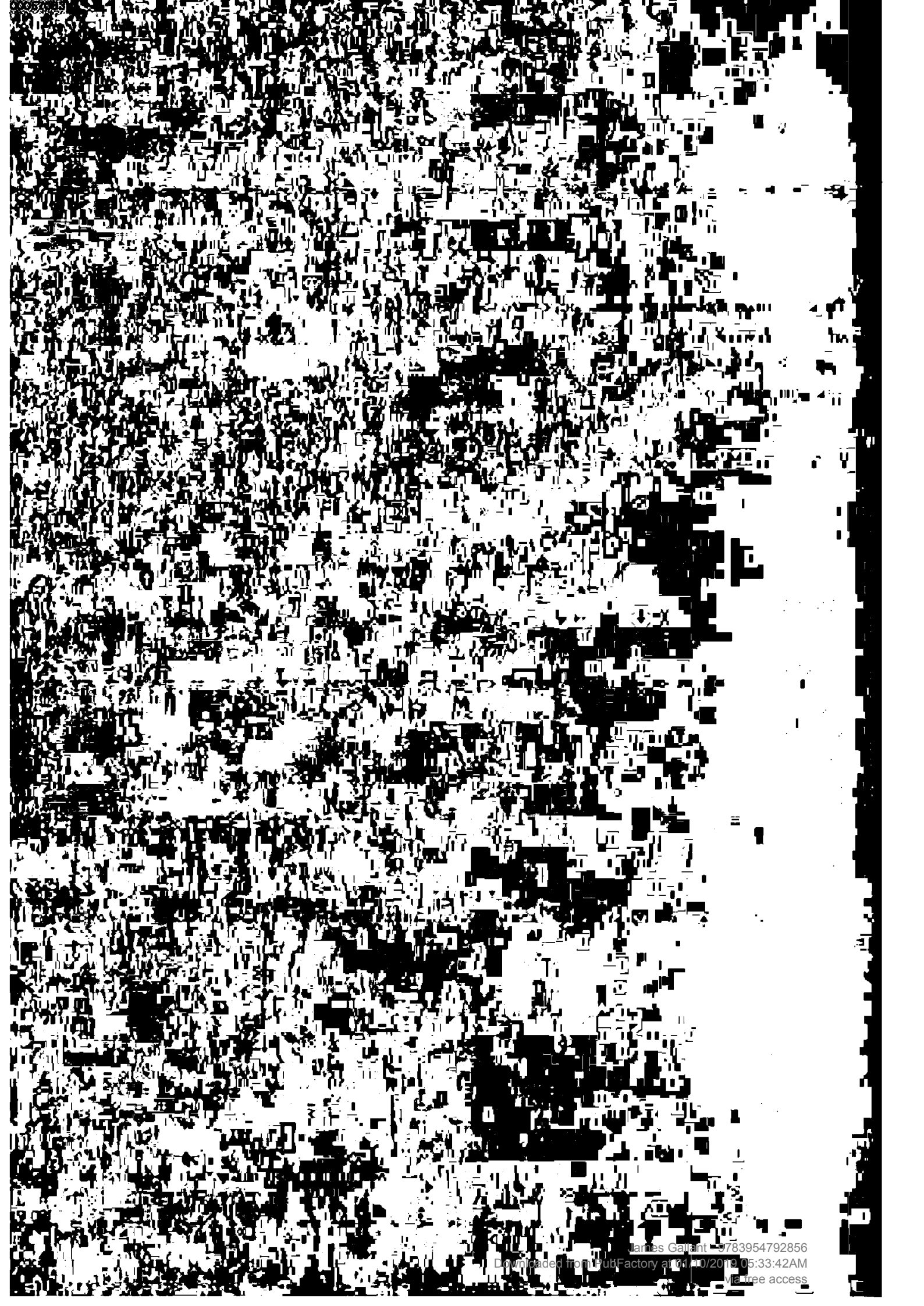
Of these groups, only the last (c) is defined with any consistency as inchoative (*за-Х, начать Х*). I think that the inchoative interpretation ('be in the beginning phase of activity X') is merely a variant of the medial one and that the medial interpretation ('enter state of activity') more truly reflects the

actual semantics of these forms. What these forms denote is a state of activity conceived in relationship to an external framework, overtly expressed by the *33-* features. Verbs of group (a) participate in the categories [agentive] and [horizontal]/[transgression], but are unspecified for the latter. Medial and passive interpretations are therefore possible, but not necessary. Verbs of group (b) participate in the categories [agentive] and [horizontal]/[transgression] and are specified for the latter. They denote activity delimited by its relation to the prefixal frame and (optionally) by its causation. The medial interpretation is necessary, the passive interpretation possible (for imperfectives). Verbs of group (c) are specified for [horizontal]/[transgression]; they do not participate in the category [agentive]. For them only the medial interpretation is possible. The more specifically inchoative interpretation is possible only in the absence of any notion of causation.



SECTION V: A B S T R A C T T H R E S H O L D S

This section examines verbs denoting activities involving expression (verbs of 'sound/expression', e.g., *взвыть*, *всплакать*) and emotion (verbs of 'excitation', e.g., *взгрустить*). In these verbs the *вз-* features highlight the threshold of activity.



15. SOUND / EXPRESSION

Perfective only:

вз́ахаться

взболтн́уть₂

взговори́ть

взгомо́ниться

взгреме́ть

взмоли́ть(ся)

[взны́ть]

[взыгра́ть]

вскли́кнуть

вспла́кать(ся)

всплакн́уть(ся)

Imperfective only:

взмы́кивать

Paired:

[взвй́ться]

взвй́згнуть

[взвива́ться]

взвй́згивать

взв́ить

взвыва́ть

вздохн́уть

вздыха́ть

[вздрóгнуть]

[вздрáгивать]

воззва́ть

взыва́ть

взла́ять

взла́ивать

[взлетéть]

[взлетáть]

[взнести́сь]

[взно́ситься]

взреве́ть

взрёвывать

взрыда́ть

взры́дывать

вскрича́ть(ся)

вскри́кнуть

вскри́кивать

вскря́кнуть

вскря́кивать

вспеть

вспева́ть

всплесн́уть

всплёскивать

[вспры́снуть]

[вспры́скивать]

[вспы́хнуть]

[вспы́хивать]

Paired

	всклѣпнуть	всклѣпывать
всхрапѣть	всхрапнѹть	всхрапывать

15.1 This group contains 27 verbs which are defined by the dictionary as depicting either sounds made by animate beings or some sort of (usually oral) expression, plus three verbs of 'directed motion' which are used to describe the emanation of animate sounds or expressions.

The overwhelming majority of these verbs denote sounds made by animate beings: (*human*) *взахаться*, *вкликнуть*, *всплакать(ся)*, *всплакнуть(ся)*, *вдохнуть*, *взрыдать*, *вскричать(ся)*, *вскрикнуть*, *всклипнуть*, *всхрапеть* ('snore'); (*animal*) *взгомониться*, *взмыкивать*, *взвизгнуть*, *взвыть*, *взлзать*, *взреветь*, *вскрякнуть*, *всхрапнуть* ('snort [of horses]'). Other verbs depict types of human expression involving sound: *взболтнуть*₂, *взговорить*, *воззвать*, *взмолить(ся)*, *вспеть*; *взыграть* ('play a musical instrument'), *всплеснуть руками* ('applaud'), *вспрыснуть смехом*. One verb is used to depict the quality of a sound made by an animate being: *вздогнуть/вздогивать* ('agitation'/'[quality of] sound'), e.g., "[Рыбин] был весь налит кипящей злобой, и в голосе его вздогивали звуки, пугавшие мать". The three verbs of 'directed motion' used to represent the emanation of sound/expression (*взвиться*, *взлететь*, *взвестись*) refer exclusively to human expression:

"Земля, под ногами дрожи.
за все рубежи слова — *взвивайтесь* кружить.
Ленин — жил. Ленин — жив. Ленин — будет жить."

"Чей-то высокий и страстный тенор...трепетно
взлетал над головами людей."

"Щульга, возвысив голос, запел... Валько низко подхватил.
Все новые голоса, сначала ближние, потом все более дальние
присоединялись к ним, и медленные волны 'Интернационала'
взвнеслись из-под земли к темному...небу."

15.1.1 Some *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' are also used to represent sounds made by inanimate objects, e.g.,

"...*взвизгивает* железо полозьев..."

"...пронзительно *взвивал* ветер."

"...Днепр...в берегах крутых *взревел*..."

"...моторы *взрвели*..."

"...*взревивали* мотоциклы..."

In other cases, however, the effect is that of personification, inanimates being stylized as animates, e.g.,

"И горы *вскликнули* громчае сколь возможно,
Что Душенька была прекрасней всех неложно."

"Буря *всплачется* Лешим, ведьмою."

"Стены зданий, заборы, киоски, витрины *взвивали* к Ленинградцам
десятками и сотнями воззваний, плакатов, обращений."

"Точно шаловливые, смеющиеся дети, побежали толпой резвые
флейты и кларнеты, с победным торжеством *вскрикнули* и запели
высокие медные трубы."

Two verbs of this group (*взгреметь* and *взныть*) are exceptional in that they are defined as denoting only sounds made by inanimates. The unprefixes *греметь* denotes primarily the sound of thunder and only secondarily loud (angry) speech. I can find no quotation showing *взгреметь* used with an animate subject. The unprefixes *ныть* ('ache', a verb of 'excitation'), when used as a verb of 'sound/expression', refers primarily to human beings (e.g., whining children), secondarily to objects (e.g., wind, violins, saws, bullets). I am unable, however, to find an example of *взныть* used with an animate subject. (The dialectal *взныться* [SRNG IV:266], however, refers only to animates, cf. 15.2.2.)

In spite of these exceptions, the correlation of the prefix *вз-* with specifically animate sounds is striking. Further investigation, presented in the following excursus, reveals that the animacy of a verb of 'sound/expression' can determine not only the choice of prefix but also the interpretation of prefixed verbs.

15.2 EXCURSUS: ANIMACY AND VERBS OF 'SOUND/EXPRESSION'.

The corpus of *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' listed in the SSRLJa suggests a rather strick relationship between the notion of transgressing the kind of threshold denoted by the [horizontal] and the notion of animate sound. If one explores further, examining *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' listed in

Dal' (15.2.1) and the SRNG (15.2.2), one finds that they all (with very few exceptions) refer to animates. A survey of similar verbs in Greek (15.2.3) and German (15.2.4) reveals exactly the same pattern: verbs of 'sound/expression' occurring with the prefix meaning 'up' (*ἀνα-*, *auf-*) consistently refer to animates. In 15.2.5 I shall attempt to explain why the prefix *вз-* is restricted to a particular subset of verbs of 'sound/expression', while the prefix *за-* is not. Section 15.2.6 is devoted to a discussion of verbs of 'sound/expression' with the prefix *про-*, where the category of animacy plays a role in limiting the number of possible interpretations of a given form.

15.2.1 Dal' lists 20 *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' which are not listed in the SSRLJa: *взголосить*, *взлепетать*, *взолгать*, *взъикать*, *всквакаться*, *всклясться*, *всхохотаться*, which are to be found exclusively in Dal'; and *взвонить*, *взворковать*, *взгалить*, *взгаркать*, *взглумиться*, *взголчиться*, *взмолвить*, *взохаться*, *вскаркнуть*, *всквокаться*, *вскудахтаться*, *всхизать*, *всхлопать руками* ('applaud'), which are also listed in the SRNG. All these verbs refer to animates.

15.2.2 The SRNG lists a total of 90 *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression'. The material may be arranged according to the following categories:

(1) *Sound/expression of animates*: 75 verbs

(Verbs in parentheses are also listed in the SSRLJa)

(взахаться)	взворчаться	взглумиться	вздыкать
взбабиться	взвыться	взглумляться	вздышать
взбалабониться	взвякаться	взгоготаться	взжужжаться
взблекотаться	взгавкаться	взголчить	вззвягаться
взблеять	взгалдеться	взголчиться	взмолвить
взверезгнуть	взгалить	взгрохотаться	взмолвиться
взверезжаться	взгалиться	взгудеться ₂	взмькаться
взверещаться	взгаметься	взгукнуть	взмьрчать
взвизжаться	взгамкаться	взгундоситься	взмяукаться
взвизнуть	взгаркать	взгуркать	взныться
взвонить	взгаркаться	взгуркнуть	взопеть
взворковаться	взгаркнуть	взгурковаться	взоржать
	взгаркивать	вздохаться	
	взгичать	вздошиться	

взохать	вскаркать	вскоковать	вспятить ^{2,3}
взохаться	вскаркаться	вскуковать	всхвастаться
(взреветь)	вскаркнуть	вскуковаться	всхизать
взреветься	вскаркивать	вскриковать	всхизнуть
взрыдаться	вскартавиться(!)	вскрякаться	всхлизнуть
взрынуть	вскашкаться	вскувикаться	всхликивать
взрычать	вскашляться	вскудакаться	всхликивать
взрявкать	всквоктаться	вскудахтаться	всхохатывать
взрывать	всквохтаться	(всплакаться)	всхрапеться
взухать	всклехтывать	вспросить	(всхрапывать)
взыкать	вскликаться	вспроситься	всхрундучаться
взыкаться	всклинуть	вспрошать	всхрюкаться
взычать (вз-з)	вскликивать	вспрошаться	всхулить
	всклькивать	вспрашивать	
	всклькывать		

(2) *Expressions of animates (inanimate instruments): 4 verbs*

взбарабаниться	'Начать усиленно барабанить'
	"Дали ему барабан, а он взбарабанился, хоть уши затычкой."
взблаговеститься	'Начать усиленно благовестить (звонить в колокол)'
	"Ночью взблаговестились все церкви — пожар был."
взыгрануть	'(1) Разыгаться. (2) Поиграть на инструменте'
	"Дай-ка я взыграну на гармошке."
всхлопать всхлопнуть	руками 'Всплеснуть руками, удивиться'

(3) *Sounds made by animates (with inanimate instruments): 7 verbs, e.g.,*

	X _{person} вз _____ ся Y _{instr./inanimate}
взгреметься	'Начать усиленно греметь, шуметь чем-нибудь'
	"Она взгремелась горшками, от этого грома ничего не было слышно."
взгромыхаться	'Начать сильно громыхать, шуметь'
	"Она взгромыхалась чего-й-то с посудой."
взгрохаться	'Начать усиленно грохать, стучать'
	"Он как взгрохается в дверь!"

вззвенеться	'Начать усиленно звенеть' "Крысы вззвенелись бутылками."
вззвониться	'Начать усиленно звонить' "Чтой-то они там вззвонились."
вззвякаться	'Начать сильно звякать' "Подумаешь, вззвякался своей цепочкой."
встучаться (вс-с)	'Начать усиленно стучать' "Кто это так встучался?"
(4) <i>Sounds made by inanimates through no human agency: 4 verbs</i>	
взверескнуть	'Загреметь, затрещать' "Ишь ты, как взверескнуло."
взверещать	'Издать треск, визг, рев' "Как этот дуб-от упал, взверещал, я пуше его зверещал [sic.]. Они испугались и на одной лошади угнали."
взгудеться ₁	'Начать сильно гудеть' "Вон как гудок взгуделся на заводе."
взурчаться	'Начать усиленно урчать (в животе)' (no quotation)
всшуметься	'Начать усиленно шуметь' (no quotation)

These four categories present a scale ranging from (1) sound/expression characteristic of animates (directly associated with and caused by them), to (2) expression involving sound caused by animates, to (3) sound usually associated with inanimates but presented syntactically as being caused by animates (i.e., animates portrayed in terms of the noise they make with pots, dishes, doors, bottles, chains), to (4) sound made by inanimate entities.

It is only the examples in (4) that represent true exceptions to the "rule" that only sounds further specified for animacy (involving animate causation) can be presented in terms of [+ horizontal + transgression]. They may, however, not be exceptions. Верещать, верескнуть (cf. взверещаться in list [1]) is primarily, if not exclusively, associated with the animates, cf. "Сверчок верещит" (Ušakov I:25), "Перекликаются сойки, дятлы, кедровки, верещит желна",

"Непрерывно верещали кузнечики" (SRJa I:187). Гудеть 'drone, hum, buzz', although it primarily refers to the noise of inanimate objects (whistles, horns), can be used to represent the noise of (a multitude of) animates: "В саду гудел шмель" (Ušakov I:638), "Около ворот собралась огромная толпа в несколько сот человек и гудела, как потревоженный улей" (SRJa I:478). The second meaning of взгудеться (list 1) is 'Начать сильно плакать'. Урчать is also ambiguous as to the animacy of its subject: "Закрыв глаза, урчат медовыми голосами голуби" (SRJa IV:701), "злое урчание пса" (Ušakov IV:982). Шуметь also can describe the sounds of both animates and inanimates.

In view of the tremendous list of 'sound' verbs in *вз-* displayed in the SRNG, the lack of *вз-* verbs denoting sounds produced by inanimates is striking. For example, there is no

*взбренчать	(за-, про-)
*взбрякать	(за-)
*взбряцать	(за-)
*взбулькать	(за-)
*взбухать	(за-, про-)
*вздрезжать	(за-, про-)
*взжурчать	(за-, про-)
*в(з)звучать	(за-, про-)
*взлязгать	(за-)
*взрокотать	(за-, про-)
*в(с)скрежетать	(за-, про-)
*в(с)скрипеть	(за-, про-)
*встрещать	(за-, про-)
*всхрустеть	(за-, про-)
*вшелестеть	(за-, про-)
*всшуршать	(за-, про-)
*вщелкать	(за-, про-)

Both verbs denoting inanimate 'sound' and also those denoting animate 'sound/expression' regularly occur with *за-* ('onset of sound') and *про-* ('utter/

produce sound'). Only verbs of animate 'sound/expression', however, occur with *вз-*. Verbs with *вз-* are interpreted either as inchoatives (like the *за-* forms: *всхрапеть ~ захрапеть* 'начать храпеть') or simply as production of sound (like the *про-* forms: *всхрапнуть ~ прохрапеть* 'издать храп'). I will discuss these parallels later, in section 15.2.5.1 (verbs of 'sound' prefixed with *за-*) and in section 15.2.6 (verbs of 'sound' prefixed with *про-*). Discussion of the *вз-* forms resumes in section 15.3.

15.2.3 The association of animate sounds with the prefix denoting transgression of the horizontal seems also to be a rule of Ancient Greek. Of the 35 verbs of 'sound/expression' listed in Berry (1962) under the prefix *ἀνα-*, only one does not refer to animates:

<i>ἀνα-βοάω</i>	'cry, shout aloud'	<i>ἀνα-μορμύρω</i>	'roar loudly (of the sea)'
<i>ἀνα-βρυάζω</i>	'shout aloud for joy'	<i>ἀνα-μυχθίζομαι</i>	'groan deeply'
<i>ἀνα-βρυχάομαι</i>	'roar aloud'	<i>ἀνα-στενάχω</i>	'groan over, bewail'
<i>ἀνα-γελάω</i>	'laugh aloud'	<i>ἀνα-στένω</i>	'groan aloud'
<i>ἀν -αγορεύω</i>	'cry, proclaim'	<i>ἀνα-φθέγγομαι</i>	'call out'
<i>ἀνα-γρούζω</i>	'mutter'	<i>ἀνα-φωνέω</i>	'call aloud, proclaim'
<i>ἀνα-θορυβέω</i>	'cheer'	<i>ἀν -ειπεῖν</i>	'say aloud, proclaim'
<i>ἀνα-καλέω</i>	'invoke, summon'	<i>ἀν -έρομαι</i>	'question, ask' (cf. dial. <i>вспросить</i>)
<i>ἀνα-κέκλομαι</i>	'call out'	<i>ἀν -ερωτάω</i>	'ask again, repeatedly'
<i>ἀνα-κηρύσσω</i>	'proclaim'	<i>ἀν -ευάζω</i>	'honor with cries of <i>εὐα</i> '
<i>ἀνα-κλάζω</i>	'scream; bark'	<i>ἀν -ευφημέω</i>	'shout aloud with joy'
<i>ἀνα-κλαίω</i>	'weep aloud'	<i>ἀν -εύχομαι</i>	'recall a prayer'
<i>ἀνα-κράζω</i>	'cry out'	<i>ἀν -ηκύω</i>	'cry aloud'
<i>ἀνα-κρέκομαι</i>	'pluck, play an instrument'	<i>ἀν -οιμῶζω</i>	'wail aloud'
<i>ἀνα-κροτέω</i>	'applaud'	<i>ἀν -ολολύζω</i>	'cry aloud'
<i>ἀνα-κωκύω</i>	'wail aloud'	<i>ἀν -ωρούομαι</i>	'howl aloud'
<i>ἀν -αλαλάζω</i>	'raise a war-cry'		
<i>ἀνα-μέλπω</i>	'begin to sing'		

The exceptional verb in this sample is *ἀνακυμβαλάζω* 'rattle like cymbals'.

15.2.4 A survey of the German verbs in *auf-* listed in Duden and the WdDGS reveals the same pattern. Only sounds associated with animates can be used with *auf-* to indicate the threshold of the activity. The following examples are rather consistently defined as '*plötzlich, kurz + verb*':

<i>aufächzen</i>		<i>aufjubeln</i>	
		<i>aufjuchzen</i>	
<i>aufatmen</i>	('einmal tief und hörbar atmen')	<i>aufkichern</i>	"mitten im Erzählen kicherte sie leise auf"
<i>aufbellern</i>	"der Hund bellte im Schlaf mehrmals leise auf"	<i>aufklagen</i>	"der Kranke klagte nur manchmal leise auf"
<i>aufbrüllen</i>	"die Rinder brüllten vor Durst auf"	<i>aufkreischen</i>	"die Mädchen kreischten bei dem derben Witz auf"
<i>aufbrummen</i>	"der erschreckt aufbrummende Bär"	<i>aufklachen</i>	
		<i>aufquieken</i>	
<i>aufgähnen</i>	('plotzlich, kurz [hörbar] gähnen')	<i>aufschluchzen</i>	
		<i>aufschmaufen</i>	('erleichtert aufatmen')
<i>aufgellen</i>	"ein Schrei gellte auf"	<i>aufschreien</i>	"die Zuschauer schrien laut auf"
<i>aufgrunzen</i>		<i>aufseufzen</i>	
<i>aufheulen</i>	"sie heulte laut auf und schluchzte"	<i>aufstöhnen</i>	
		<i>aufweinen</i>	
<i>aufjammern</i>		<i>aufwimmern</i>	
<i>aufjauchzen</i>		<i>aufzischen</i>	"einzelne verbissene Worte zischten hie und da ... auf"
<i>aufjaulen</i>	"der Hund jaulte vor Schmerz auf"		

These 27 verbs denote sounds made by animates. Several of them are used secondarily to refer to sounds produced by inanimate objects, e.g.:

"ein Maschinengewehr *bellte* kurz auf"

"das Geschütz *brüllte* auf"

"das Nebelhorn *brummte* auf"

"der Motor *heulte* auf"

"vor dem Haus *jaulte* jäh ein Motor auf"

"die Sägemaschine *kreischte* in Abständen auf"

"die Reifen der Räder *schrien* auf, als der Wagen die Kurve nahm"

"liess es [ein Stück Talg] in die heisse Pfanne gleiten, bis es *aufzischte*"

Three verbs which do not refer primarily to animates (*dröhnen, klingen, rauschen*) are, nevertheless, more immediately associated with animate sounds when prefixed with *auf-*, e.g.: *Beifall ist aufgedröhnt; Musik/Stimmen/Beifallsrufe klingen auf; Musik/Beifall rauscht auf*. The verb *aufklingen* is apparently restricted to animates only; sentences with inanimates (e.g., **die Gläser/Schellen klingen auf*) are unacceptable to native informants. A true exception is the verb ('*plötzlich, kurz hallen*'): "*Im gleichen Moment hallte ein Schuss auf*".

Verbs denoting 'sound' can have a semelfactive sense with *auf-*, indicating a sudden brief appearance of the phenomenon. Verbs of 'expression', on the other hand, have more to do with the idea of a performance than with the appearance of a sound. Unlike Russian verbs of 'expression', they are never defined inchoatively.

<i>aufspielen</i>	'Musik machen'
<i>aufgeigen</i>	'mit der Geige aufspielen'
<i>aufsagen</i>	'auswendig vortragen'
<i>aufsingen</i>	'(Seemannsopr.) taktmässiges Singen zu bestimmten gemeinsamen Arbeiten'

The verb *aufrufen*, which can represent the production of a sound ('*durch Rufen des Namens o.ä. laut nennen*'), is now more fixed in the meaning of 'appeal, summon'. The verbs *aufreden, aufschwätzen* do not denote 'sound/expression' but rather the notion of 'convincing' ('force onto [by talking]', cf. *aufdrängen, aufschwindeln*).

There are a few verbs in *auf-* which are derived from bases denoting sounds made exclusively by inanimate objects. In these cases, however, the threshold denoted by the prefix does not lie within the activity itself, and the prefixed verb does not indicate the (sudden) appearance of a sound. In verbs denoting inanimate sounds, the surface or threshold manifested by the prefix lies within the domain of the goal or the patient of the activity. The prefixed verb is interpreted as referring to 'collision' (affecting the surface of the goal, producing a sound), 'opening' (affecting the surface of the patient) or 'dissolution' (affecting the threshold of the patient), for example:

	'collision' (“onto, into”)	'opening' (“open up”)	'dissolution' (“go up in flames”)
<i>aufbumsen</i>	der Ball bumste auf das Pflaster auf		
<i>aufklatschen</i>	die Ruder klatschten auf das Wasser auf		
<i>aufknallen</i>	das Auto ist auf einen Lastwagen aufgeknallt	der Matrose knallt die Bordluke auf	
<i>aufkrachen</i>	der schwere Ast ist auf das Wagendach aufgekracht	die krachte die Tür auf, und der Wind fegte in die Hütte	
<i>aufprasseln</i>			wo es [das Reisig] lustig erwärmend aufprasselte
<i>aufzischen</i>		Ventile zischen auf	das Streichholz reiben, bis es auf- zischt

(This last word also refers to animates, cf. above.) The reason that these verbs are not interpreted as referring to the onset of sound is that they are further specified for [motion]. As we shall see in 15.2.6, inanimate sounds differ from animate sounds in that they can depict the noise produced by the movement of objects.

15.2.5 In these last four sections we have seen that there is a regular correlation of animate sounds with the particular kind of threshold represented by the horizontal. Inanimate sounds occurring with the prefix are either (1) predicated of animates, in which case animates are characterized by the sounds they make with inanimate objects (e.g., *dial.* она взгремелась горшками); or (2) not predicated on animates, in which case the prefix has a different force (e.g., *aufkrachen* 'crash into; crash open').

Verbs denoting animate sounds can stand for sounds produced by inanimates, but usually not vice-versa. Often the use of an animate sound for an inanimate is an established secondary meaning of the form, cf. волк воет vs. метель/гудок/сирена воет, *der Hund heult* vs. *der Sturm/Motor heult*. In cases where the usage is not so established one can speak of animation: e.g., буря всплachtetся лешим, ведьмою; *vor dem Haus jaulte jäh ein Motor auf*. An inanimate verb, on the other hand, can be further specified for an animate patient only

if the sound is actually produced by the movement of an object, e.g., *dial.* она взгромычалась чего-й-то с посудой, *er ist mit dem Kopf auf den Asphalt aufgeknallt*. The association of *вз-/auf-* with animates is so strong that using these prefixes in nonce formations with inanimate verbs and inanimate patients tends to animate the patients. Sentences such as *когда дети ворвались в комнату, вздрезжала(сь) посуда в шкафу* and *als die Kinder ins Zimmer stürzten, klirrte das Geschirr im Schrank auf* are interpreted by native informants as involving excited (as though animated) patients. They find such sentences highly unusual, perhaps poetic, but interpretable if one can speak of animated dishes. If the verbs are replaced by *здрезжала* and *ging an zu klirren* (or just *klirrte*) the sentences become perfectly regular.

15.2.5.1 In Russian the threshold of both animate and inanimate sounds is regularly expressed with the prefix *за-*: *завыть, зарыдать, забормотать, замямить, зашептать* (animate); and *здрезжать, затрескать, зашелестеть, зашуршать* (inanimate). The *за-* features [+ vertical + transgression] express the crossing of a threshold of activity, cf. 1.4.1. The *вз-* features [+ horizontal + transgression], which also indicate crossing a threshold of activity, are, however, to be found in only the first two verbs, *(вз)выть* and *(вз)рыдать*. They do not occur with inanimate verbs or with animate verbs, such as *бормотать, лопотать, мямить, шептать* which denote soft or indistinct sounds (odd exceptions are *взлепетать* [Dal'] and the dialectal *вскартавиться*). In the standard language, the *вз-* features are by and large restricted to verbs denoting expressive or emotional animate sounds; in dialects they are found also in some verbs denoting loud or expressive inanimate sounds made by animates moving inanimate objects (e.g., *взгромычаться, взгрохаться*). The reason for this restriction seems to lie in the nature of the two cardinal axes of the prefixal framework, cf. 1.4.1.1. The vertical axis expressed by the prefix *за-* represents a conventional or comparative limit or threshold. The *за-* features [+ vertical + transgression] can specify an enormous number of (usually intransitive) verbs denoting activities for the notion of onset of activity. The horizontal axis, on the other hand, represents a natural or evaluative limit or threshold, a more restricted concept. The *вз-* features [+ horizontal + transgression] can specify relatively few kinds

of verbs for the notion of onset of activity: verbs denoting turbulent motion ('agitation'), expressive animate sounds ('sound/expression') and unpleasant emotions ('excitation'). I have assumed that the horizontal axis is the marked one (i.e., more restrictive in meaning), and this can be seen in the fact that those verbs of sound which contain the feature are an especially restricted subset of those verbs in Russian which denote 'sound'.

15.2.6 Animate and inanimate sounds are distinguished not only when prefixed with *вз-* but also when prefixed with *про-*. In 1.1.2.1 I noted that verbs of sound prefixed with *про-* can be interpreted as 'pass by producing the sound' (e.g., *над головой его провыла мина*) only if the producer of the sound is an object rather than a person. This observation can now be further refined.

The SSRLJa lists over a hundred verbs of sound/expression prefixed with *про-*. The overwhelming majority depict sounds or modes of expression characteristic of animate beings, e.g., *проблещать, проворчать, проговорить, прошептать*. A smaller number of verbs depict sounds made by inanimate objects, e.g., *прогромыхать, прогрохотать, подребезжать, прохрустеть*.

There are essentially three primary interpretations for verbs of 'sound/expression' prefixed with *про-*: (1) 'utter/produce a sound' (*прокричали приветствие; прокричал ребенок, прогрохотали орудия*), (2) 'perdurative' (*ребенок прокричал весь вечер, гром прогрохотал всю ночь*) and (3) 'pass by producing the sound' (*мимо прогрохотал трамвай*). While both animate and inanimate sounds can have the first and second interpretation, only inanimate sounds can have the third. I shall use the features proposed by Michael Flier (1975:221-222) in an attempt to motivate these interpretations. The *про-* features, as I have restated them in 1.4.2, are [+ plane + domain + spanning]: the frame features [+ plane + domain] refer to an entity whose interior dimension is significant; the relational feature [+ spanning] presents a view of the action as encompassing the plane.

(1) '*Utterance/production of sound*'. To see clearly how the *про-* features interact with those of the verbal base, one must distinguish transitive usages ('utterance') from intransitive ones ('production of sound').

Approximately 60 of the *про-* verbs of 'sound/expression' depict the

production of human utterances. They are either *verba dicendi* (проболтать, проговорить, промолвить, пропеть) or human or animal sounds used to introduce quotations (пробасить, пробормотать, прокартавить; проблеять, пролаять, проурчать). There are a few examples depicting the "utterances" of animals ("пусть вольные птицы...прошебечут и мне, мне бедному, весть на холодной чужбине о милой, родной стороне") and of objects ("висевшие на стене часы прохрипели что-то неопределенное: то ли час, то ли два"). These verbs are used transitively, taking either a direct object (проболтать секрет, проговорить несколько слов) or a dependent quotation. The object is an effected one, the [product] of the sound/expression. The pro- features, which view the action as covering a significant domain, refer to the utterance produced by the sound. When, in a few cases, transitive *verba dicendi* are intransitivized (проболтаться, проврататься, проговориться, промолвиться) the focus of the pro- features is shifted; the 'significant domain' delineates not the utterance but rather the speaker, who is revealed in a slip of the tongue: he has said something that exceeds the limits of his intention. This intransitive usage is restricted not merely to animate verbs but to those which denote specifically human utterances.

A slightly larger group of verbs represent not utterances but the mere production of sound. Many of them depict animal sounds (проблеять, провить, прокуковать, промычать, прохрюкать); a few denote human sounds (прокашлянуть, прокричать, прохрапеть). The majority depict sounds produced by objects (пробухать, прогромыхать, прогрохотать, продребезжать, протрещать). There are some cases of objects stylized in terms of animate sounds ("Я потянул рукоятку [звонка]. Внутри флигеля пропел колокольчик"). All these verbs are used intransitively, e.g.:

"В самом недалеком от меня расстоянии громко и протяжно
провил голодный волк."

"Изредка разве *прокричит* коростель, *прокрякает* кряква —
и потом снова прежнее безмолвие."

"Чтобы дать о себе знать, он *прокашлянул*, но ответа не
последовало."

"В соседней комнате кто-то *прохрапел*."

"Где-то чуть слышно *пробренчали* часы."

"Где-то далеко *прозвонил* запоздалый колокол."

"Где-то за темным лесом *протрещали* раскатисто пулеметы."

"Вдали *прохрустела* сломанная ветка."

In the case of these intransitive verbs the domain spanned by the action is that of the producer of the sound; the animal, person or object not only produces the sound but is also revealed or identified by it.

Occasionally some verbs of 'sound' are used transitively, not with effected objects (e.g., *пропеть песню*) but with affected objects (*пропеть голос; проплакать голос/глаза; прогудеть/прожужжать/прокричать/протрубить/прошуметь [все] уши кому-л.*). In this case the significant domain is that of the object, and the activity is viewed as exhausting the object, i.e., wearing out one's voice, crying one's eyes out, talking someone's ears off. This transitive usage is restricted to verbs which can denote animate activity. According to one native speaker, sentences such as *петух пропел свой голос* and *пчелы прожужжали нам уши* are possible but ones such as **гудок прогудел нам уши* are not.

In a few cases, normally intransitive verbs of 'sound' are furthermore marked for intransitivity through the addition of the morpheme *-ся* (see 15.6 for discussion of derivations in *-ся*). In the case of explicitly intransitive verbs (cf. Isačenko 1960:375-376) such as *прокричатся, проплакаться, прореветься, прохохотаться* and *прошуметься*, the domain spanned by the activity represents the internal limits of the producer of the sound: e.g., *проплакаться* 'cry oneself out' (*Я заплакал и убежал... Мне дали проплакаться немножко и опять прозвали в спальню*), *прореветься* 'finish wailing' (*Митька всю ночь проревел. Я уж дал волю... Проревеется, думаю, легче будет*), *прошуметься* 'finish yelling' (*Я молчал, предоставив ему и время и возможность прошуметься*). This intransitive usage is restricted to verbs denoting animate activity; sentences such as **море проревелось (прошумелось) и успокоилось* are rejected by native speakers.

From the discussion so far one can see that the interpretation of the *про-* features is based not only upon the animacy and transitivity of the verb, but also upon whether it is used to refer to an action or an activity (cf. 14.5.1.1), whether it refers to an utterance or to the mere production of sound and whether the object is an effected or an affected one. In the transitive expressions *пропеть песню* and *пропеть голос* the patient is expressed by the direct object. In *пропеть песню* the verb represents a specific action, the utterance of

a song; the patient is an effected object, more specifically a [product]. In *пропеть голос*, however, the verb represents not an utterance, but the activity of producing sound, an activity viewed as spanning the limits, as it were, of one's voice (affected object). In the intransitive expressions *пропел петух*, *он проговорился*, *он прохохотался* the patient is expressed by the subject. In *пропел петух* the verb represents an action, the production of a sound which serves to reveal (the existence or characteristic of) the patient (effected object). In *он проговорился* the verb likewise represents an action revealing the patient (effected object); it does not, however, signify mere production of sound but rather an utterance (an intentional "sound", an expression) which is viewed as exceeding the limits of the speaker's intentions. In *он прохохотался* the verb represents not a specific action producing a sound but activity in general viewed as spanning the limits of the patient (affected object), cf. the quotation in the SSRLJa: "Не дослушав его речь, Варавка захохотал... Подожав, когда Варавка прохохотался, он все так же звонко сказал".

(2) '*Perdurative*'. Both animate and inanimate verbs of 'sound/expression' can take accusative expressions of time representing the duration of the activity, e.g., *они проговорили всю ночь*, *утка прокрякала все утро*, *всю ночь проскрипели ставни*. In these cases the *про-* features delineate the specific amount of time spanned. The verbs can be used *perduratively* without the prefix (*они говорили всю ночь*). The prefixed verb, however, cannot be used *perduratively* without specification of the amount of time. The reason for that lies in the fact that prefixation is a device for manifesting the relationship of the activity to some external framework. In 3.3 we saw that unprefixed verbs like *пахать* may be intransitive (*он пашет* 'занимается паханием') or transitive (*он пашет поле*), whereas prefixed verbs like *вспахивать* are only transitive. In verbs like *пахать*, which denote actions performed upon a surface, selection of the *вз-* features explicitly emphasizes the fact that the action violates [transgression] the surface [horizontal]. As selection of the features [+ horizontal + transgression] invokes the notion of a specific surface, the nature of that surface must be clarified: the reference of the frame feature [horizontal] lies in the patient of the action. The situation is similar in these verbs of

'sound/expression' prefixed with *про-*. As we have seen, the reference of the *про-* features usually lies in the patient (italicized): он проболтал *секрет*, он проболтался, прокричал *петух*, он прокричал нам *уши* об этом, *он* наконец прокричался. If the reference of the *про-* features is to lie elsewhere, i.e., in an expression of [measure] spanned by the activity, then the specific measure of the activity must be made explicit. The phrase утка прокрякала without further elaboration is interpreted as referring to the patient утка; it cannot be taken to mean 'the duck quacked for a certain amount of time'. The phrase утка прокрякала все утро, however, shifts attention from the patient to the measure of the activity.

In order for a verb to be used in a perdurative sense it must be viewed as a general activity, rather than as a coherent action or a single act. For example, говорить can represent either an action ('say') or an activity ('talk'); but it is only in the latter sense that it can be set against a framework of time: они (про)говорили всю ночь. Verbs denoting acts ([про]кашлянуть) or actions ([про]диктовать) cannot be interpreted as perdurative. Verbs such as (про)беседовать and (про)молиться only denote activities and are defined exclusively as perdurative.

(3) '*Passing by*'. The SSRLJa lists some 23 verbs of 'sound' in the meaning 'пройти (проехать, пролететь) с шумом'. The overwhelming majority of these verbs are derived from bases denoting sounds primarily by inanimate objects: про-гремять, -громыхать, -грохать, -грохотать, -гудеть, -дребезжать, -скрипеть, -стукать, -стучать, -тарахтеть, -хрустеть, -шелестеть, -шуметь, шуршать. Some of the verbs are derived from bases denoting sounds made primarily, but not exclusively, by animate beings (про-визжать, -выть, -жужжать, -петь, -свистеть, -стрекотать) or by their movements (про-топать, -шаркать, -шлепать).

Verbs denoting sound characteristic exclusively of animates cannot be used with *про-* to refer to sound produced in passing, e.g. *проговорили/прокашляли люди мимо меня, *проблеяла коза/промяукала кошка мимо дома. Verbs denoting sounds produced both by animates and inanimates (провизжать, провыть, etc.) can be interpreted as referring to passing sound only if used with inanimate patients, e.g., провизжала/провыла пуля мимо него (but not *провизжал

поросенок/провыл волк мимо него).

This restriction is also to be found in German and in English. One can say *die Panzer rasselten/rumpelten an mir vorbei* 'the tanks rattled/rumbled past me'. But one cannot say **die Kinder lachten/kiaherten an mir vorbei* '*the children laughed/giggled past me'. Verbs which can denote both animate and inanimate sounds can only be used with inanimates in the meaning 'pass by, producing the sound': *die Kugeln pfiffen/zischten an seinem Kopf vorbei* 'the bullets whistled/hissed past his head', but not **der Knabe pfiff/die Schlange zischte an mir vorbei* '*the boy whistled/the snake hissed past me'.

The reason for this restriction seems to lie in an essential difference in the nature of inanimate and animate sounds. Inanimate objects typically produce sound only through their movement in space, e.g., листья шелестят, ставни скрипят, ветер свистит. The only consistent exceptions are mechanisms (гудок гудит, старые часы дребезжат), where the motion producing the sound is internal to the object. Animate beings, on the other hand, do not necessarily move in order to produce sound; the motion (vibration of the vocal chords) which is involved in the production of animate sounds does not occur within an external spatial framework. Although all sound is produced by some sort of movement, it seems that it is movement in space that is linguistically relevant. The language distinguishes those (usually inanimate) sounds produced by movement in space from those (usually animate) which are not: verbs depicting inanimate sounds usually contain [motion] as a variable feature, while those depicting animate sounds usually do not.¹ The few characteristically animate verbs that can be subspecified for [motion] are either verbs which can represent the noise made by the movement of inanimate objects (провизжала/провыла/прожужжала/пропела/просвистела пуля; прострекотал аэроплан) or verbs representing the sounds animate beings make by moving their bodies through space (пропать, прошаркать, прошлепать: noise made by feet).

¹An indication that it is the specification of the variable feature [motion] that allows certain verbs of sound to be used in this way is provided by the use of *sein* rather than *haben* in the German compound past, e.g., *Panzer sind vorbeigerasselt, Kugeln sind vorbeigepfiffen/vorbeigezischt*.

Specification of the feature [motion] allows the predication to be further specified in terms of [source], [path] and [goal], i.e., the origin, trajectory and destination of the moving object. The *по-* features delineate the path which is traversed by the object moving so as to produce a sound; the [path] can occasionally be left unspecified, since it is implied by the features [motion] and [goal].

The following chart summarizes sentences taken from the SSRLJa and the SRJa, arranged according to the features expressed. The feature [instrument] represents the physical cause of the sound: when the patient of the motion is animate, the physical cause of the sound is often specified to make it clear that it is a body, not a person, which makes the sound. In all except one case (*прогудели мужские шаги по коридору*) the [patient] of the action is expressed and is the subject of the sentence. The [path] of the moving sound, representing that significant domain which the *по-* features depict the action as spanning, is italicized.

	PATIENT	INSTRUMENT	SOURCE	PATH	GOAL
провизжало	несколько пуль			<i>над моей головой</i>	
провыла	мина			<i>над головой его</i>	
прогремит	карета			<i>по городу</i>	
прогромыхал	тяжелый поезд			<i>мимо платформы</i>	
прогромыхала	грузная фигура			<i>по ступенькам</i>	
прогрохали	пушки				к Польше
прогрохал	полковник			<i>мимо</i>	
прогрохотала	телега			<i>по камням улицы</i>	
прогрохотал	Аникушка	как на копытах с крыльца		<i>мимо окон</i>	
прогудит	самолет			<i>над дамам</i>	
прогудели		мужские шаги		<i>по коридору</i>	
продребезжала	колесница			<i>по мостовой</i>	
прожужжал	"у-2"			<i>над оврагам</i>	
прожужжала	муха			<i>над ухом</i>	
пропели	пули			<i>над его головой</i>	
просвистел	камень			<i>над головой</i>	
просвистел	коршун	крыльями		<i>над бричкой</i>	

	PATIENT	INSTRUMENT	SOURCE	PATH	GOAL
проскрипела	повозка			<i>мимо</i>	
проскрипела	Анфиса	полусапожками			к печке
прострекотал	аэроплан			<i>над ними</i>	
простукала	горничная	как копытами		<i>по кородору</i>	
простукал	[person]		с крыльца		на двор
простучал	катер			<i>мимо парусника</i>	
простучали	лошади			<i>по мостику</i>	
протарахтел	воз				
протопал	Коля				к выходу
прохрустел	Иваныч	валенками		<i>по огороду</i>	
прошаркал	старик				к столу
прошелестела	крытая машина			<i>мимо</i>	
прошлепала	девочка			<i>мимо него</i>	к соседке
прошлепала	нянька	туфлями			
прошумела	столько машин			<i>по стети</i>	
прошумела	ласточка			<i>за окном</i>	
прошуршала	ящерица				под брев- нышко

This chart, which exemplifies all 23 verbs said by the SSRLJa to mean 'pass by, producing sound', demonstrates nicely the strict correlation between the animacy of the producer of the sound and this interpretation of verbs in про-. In those cases where the patient of the "moving sound" is animate there is a strong tendency to indicate by means of an instrumental or similar circumstantial construction the actual, inanimate producer of the sound, e.g., *Иваныч вышел из светелки и вскоре прохрустел валенками по запорошенному снегом огороду.*

This interpretation of a про- verb of 'sound' depends not only on the inanimacy of the producer but also on the nature of the verbal base: it must represent an activity in general, rather than an action (the production of a single sound). For example, the phrase *прогрохотали орудия* with no further elaboration is ambiguous in that it can mean 'produce sound' (e.g., *четвертый раз прогрохотали орудия, густым дымом окутался холм*) or 'pass by, producing sound' (e.g., *по камням Красной площади прогрохотали орудия*). In the first case, the guns perform one coherent action, firing so as to produce a loud

noise. In the second case, the guns are engaged in an activity involving motion such as to produce (multiple) sounds.

15.2.6.1 To summarize these observations on the semantic range of verbs of 'sound' prefixed with *про-*, let us examine two verbs which are capable of almost all the interpretations discussed: *проскрипеть* (a normally inanimate sound) and *провыть* (a normally animate sound). In keeping with the ideas advanced in 8.2.7, 9.3, 10.2.3.1 and 14.3, I will describe the distinction between animate persons and inanimate bodies as dependent upon the marking of the feature [abstract]. Usages of the verbs *проскрипеть* and *провыть* can be described, in part, as follows: [see following page]

The verb *проскрипеть* 'squeak, creak, crunch' denotes sound produced by the friction of objects. Conceived as a coherent process, an [action], it can refer to the production of a specific sound or utterance. The producer of the sound is usually inanimate: *проскрипела половица*, *проскрипел его холодный голос*. When *проскрипеть* is used to refer to sounds or utterances of animates, the predicate is usually elaborated in such a way as to reveal the actual, inanimate producer of the sound: *птица проскрипела клювом*; — Однако, Никола ты ныне что-то разъярился! — не без ехидства *проскрипел простуженным тенорком толстяк Тушканов*. Marked [+ abstract], *проскрипеть* can be stylized as a sound produced directly by an animate being: — Первая [улика], — медленно *проскрипел Гусев*, — кража портфеля.

If *проскрипеть* is conceived not as a single sound but rather as [activity] in general producing sound, it can be used to refer to sound passing by some point of reference or to sound extending over a period of time. Sub-specification in terms of [motion] (which further implies [path] and [goal]) is contingent upon those semantic features of the verb which characterize it as denoting sound produced by objects moving through space. (I have not attempted to isolate those features, but one of them might be something like [friction].) The actual producer of the passing sound is always an inanimate object: *проскрипел обоз*, *Анфиса проскрипела полусапожками*. The last two quotations show *проскрипеть* used to refer to activity over a period of time [measure]. The last quotation (*так проскрипел он еще два года и умер*) is particularly inter-

esting in that it presents the activity of 'squeaking, creaking' as a figurative abstraction. Specified [+ abstract], *проскрипеть* presents the image of a human being creaking along or squeaking by, the frail sound produced by friction standing for the difficulty he has in living out the last years of his life. Usages such as this indicate that [sound] is not a necessary or invariant feature of *проскрипеть*.

The verb *провыть* belongs to that small group of essentially animate verbs which can denote sounds produced not only by animates but also by inanimates: the howl of wolves and dogs as well as the similar sounds produced by sirens and by projectiles moving rapidly through space. Evidence that *провыть* denotes personal rather than physical sound can be seen in the fact that as an [action] verb referring to the production of sounds or utterances it is usually predicated of animates and that those predicates are never elaborated to reveal an ultimate inanimate producer of the sound.¹

The quotation from Dal' ([волки] *заночь провылись, а на день успокоились*) shows the [activity] of howling carried to the point of sufficiency or exhaustion. It provides further evidence that *провыть* denotes an essentially animate sound; only animate verbs of sound (e.g., *прокашляться, прокричаться, проплакаться, прореветься, прохохотаться*) can be used with *про-...-ся* to express activity carried to the limits of the speaker.

The number of animate verbs which can represent the sound of objects flying past is strictly limited. *Провыть*, like *провизжать, прожужжать, пропеть* and *просвистеть*, denotes not only sounds made by animates but also the [activity] of objects moving rapidly enough through the air to produce similar sounds. It seems to be the quality of the sound that allows the verb to be subspecificable in terms of [motion]. Other verbs of animate sound which can refer also to sounds produced by objects (e.g., *гудок ревел, моторы взревели, гром провор-*

¹The instrumental in expressions such as *провыть (плакать, рыдать, вопить) голосом* ("loudly") is an intensifier, rather than an indication of the means by which the sound is produced. The instrumentals in the sentences with *проскрипеть*, however, indicate how it is that birds and persons can produce a squeaking or creaking sound: *проскрипеть клювом, простуженным тенорком, полусапожками*.

'pass by'

[	0 abstract]
[	+ activity]
[	+ sound]
[	+ motion]
[	0 path]
[	0 goal]

По улице проскрипел
обоз (Ušakov)
[+ path]

Анфиса проскрипела к
печке полусапожками
+ goal

'perdurative'

[	0 abstract]
[	+ activity]
[	+ sound]
[	+ measure]

Всю ночь про-
скрипели ставни

[	+ abstract]
[	+ activity]
[	0 sound]
[	+ measure]

Так проскрипел
он еще два года и
умер в первых
числах мая, вы-
несенный на
балкон, на
солнце (SRJa)

277

[	0 abstract]
[	+ activity]
[	+ sound]
[	+ motion]
[	+ path]

...над головой его
провыла первая мина

[	+ abstract]
[	+ activity]
[	+ sound]
[	+ measure]

Собака провыла
всю ночь

ПРОСКРИПЕТЬ:

'produce sound'

[0 abstract]
+ action
+ sound]

'utter'

[0 abstract]
+ action
+ sound]

Тягуче проскрипела
половица (Ušakov)

Птица как-то резко
проскрипела клювом

- Еду в клуб, -
проскрипел его
холодный голос

- Первая [улика], -
медленно проскрипел
Гусев, - кража
портфеля
[+ abstract]

ПРОВЫТЬ:

'exhaustion'

[+ abstract]
+ action
+ sound]

[+ abstract]
+ activity
+ sound]

[+ abstract]
+ action
+ sound]

...громко и про-
тяжна провыл
голодный волк

Провыл гудок,
требуя людей на
работу
[0 abstract]

Волки заночь
провылись, а
на день успо-
коились (Dal')

- Ба-а-а-тюшки! -
провыла баба на
чердаке

чал, часы прохрипели полночь) cannot be used with про- to denote passing sound, i.e., sound produced by motion. This indicates that the idea of movement through space cannot be added to verbs which do not already possess the variable feature [motion].

15.2.7 *Summary.* This excursion on the effect that the animacy of verbs of 'sound/expression' has on their ability to take certain prefixes and on the interpretation of their prefixed forms has permitted us to examine more closely the interrelationship of features of the verbal base and those underlying several prefixes. The fact that such consistent and intricate restrictions exist exemplifies clearly the implicational bond between features representing the quality of the action and features representing views of the action.

Both animate and inanimate verbs of sound have as variable features in their matrices those features underlying the prefix про-: [+ plane + domain + spanning]. Only animate activity verbs can be used to refer to the exhaustion of the patient (пропеть голос, прохохотаться), and only action verbs denoting not merely animate but specifically human utterances can be used intransitively to refer to a slip, an accidental revelation (проговориться). Only inanimate verbs (and a very restricted number of animate verbs) contain the variable feature [motion], the specification of which permits them to depict passing sound. Only verbs of sound denoting *actions* or *activities* can have the про- features. Verbs of sound denoting single acts (e.g., визгнуть, крикнуть, пискнуть, храпнуть; грохнуть, звякнуть, скрипнуть, стукнуть) do not contain the про- features. (Rare, odd exceptions are the obsolete form проплакнуть 'сказать плачущим, плаксивым голосом' and the forms прокашлянуть and прочихнуть, which refer to clearing one's throat or nose rather than to the production of a kind of sound.) The reason for this last restriction may have to do with the fact that про- views the action or activity of the sound as spanning a plane whose interior domain is significant. The single sound denoted by a form like крикнуть (крикнул петух) is not conceived as having internal dimension, whereas the action or activity denoted by a form like кричать ([про]кричал петух, петух [про]кричал все утро) can be conceived as spanning a plane (an action revealing its producer or an activity spanning a measure of

time). Here again it is the nature of the verb that is decisive. The acts denoted by single sounds such as крикнуть are considered by the language as too punctual to be viewed as spanning a plane; but other kinds of single acts such as those depicted by verbs like кинуть 'make a throw' and двинуть 'move' can be conceived as having internal dimension and can, therefore, contain the *про*-features, e.g., прокинуть камень между сучьев, продвинуть стол через дверь (with these verbs of directed motion *про*- receives a directional interpretation, cf. chapter 17).

Both animate and inanimate verbs of sound can also have as variables those features underlying the prefix *за*-: [+ vertical + transgression]. By far the most common interpretation of these verbs is 'onset of activity', e.g., все разом заговорили. There are other interpretations which, for the sake of brevity, are not discussed in this excursus; all involve the degree to which the activity affects the patient, e.g., заговорить кого 'talk someone's head off', заговориться 'become carried away, say too much, become confused', заговорить кого/что 'charm, cast a spell on', запеть (песню) 'sing to death'. These usages are generally restricted not merely to animate verbs but to verbs which denote 'expression' (utterances, rather than just production of sound). Most verbs of 'sound/expression' in *за*- are derived from verbs denoting activities (all of the examples above); some denote actions, e.g., - Все согласны! - закричала толпа ('заявили крича'). There are, however, no *за*- forms of verbs of 'sound/expression' which denote single acts: *закрикнуть, *застукнуть. (The two exceptions заделкнуть 'snap shut' and захлопнуть 'slam shut' refer to closure rather than the production of a kind of sound.) It is difficult to imagine why semelfactivity should preclude the notion of crossing a threshold; semelfactive verbs of sound, albeit very few, do occur with the prefix *вз*-. The reason for this restriction seems to lie in the different natures of the thresholds denoted by the [vertical] and the [horizontal]. The kind of limit or threshold depicted by the [vertical] may be incompatible with the notion of single sound presented in a form like крикнуть because, as a conventional or comparative limit, it represents notions such as extent or degree (cf. он заговорил 'started talking', он заговорил меня 'talked my head off'). With other kinds of verbs, e.g., кинуть and двинуть, the semelfactivity of the form does

not preclude the за- features, because even though they represent single acts, the fact that they depict motion from place to place permits them to be viewed in terms of extent (закинуть мяч за забор, задвинуть стол за кулисы 'behind') or degree (судьба закинула его на далекий север 'cast far', задвинуть окна ставнями 'cover up completely').

The prefix вз- occurs with very few verbs of 'sound/expression'. As we have seen, it is restricted to animate verbs, and this restriction is characteristic not only of Russian but also of Ancient Greek and German. Unlike про- and за-, however, вз- occurs not only with verbs denoting activity (вспрапеть 'begin snoring') and actions (вскричали "ура!" 'exclaimed') but also with those denoting single acts (вскрикнуть 'give a yell'). In the latter form, the [horizontal], a natural or evaluative limit, represents the surface calm broken by a single eruptive cry. The interpretation of the вз- features depending on other features of the verbal base is discussed in the following sections.

15.3 Verbs of 'sound/expression' prefixed in вз- share many common elements of definition. Only вскрикнуть, взвизгнуть, взвыть, воззвать, взреветь, взрыдать, вскрикнуть and всхлипнуть, however, are defined in terms of other verbs of the group.

	(н	(и	(о	(в	к	з	(у	(в	(г	п	к	х	р	м
	а	э	т	н	р	в	с	д	р	л	л	л	ы	о
	ч	д	р	е	и	а	и	р	о	а	и	и	д	л
	а	а	ы	э	к	т	л	у	м	к	к	п	а	и
	т	т	в	а	н	ь	е	г)	к	а	н	н	т	т
	ь)	ь	и	п	у		н	о)	т	у	у	ь	ь	
			с	н	т		н		ь	т	т			
			[з	т	о)	ь	о)			ь	ь			
			в	о)										
			у											
			к])											
взахаться	X						X							
(взболтнуть ₂)														
(взговорить)														
(взгомониться)														
взгреметь	X													
взмолить(ся)	X						X							

(н	(и	(о	(в	к	з	(у	(в	(г	п	к	х	р	м
а	э	т	н	р	в	с	д	р	л	л	л	ы	о
ч	д	р	е	и	а	и	р	о	а	и	и	д	л
а	а	ы	э	к	т	л	у	м	к	к	п	а	и
т	т	в	а	н	ь	е	г)	к	а	н	н	т	т
ь)	ь	и	п	у		н		о)	т	у	у	ь	ь
		с	н	т		н			ь	т	т		
	[э	т	о)	ь		о)				ь	ь		
	в	о)											
	у												
	к])												

взныть		Х											
взыграть	Х												
вскликнуть		Х		Х	Х	Х							
всплакнуть(ся)	Х												
всплакать(ся)	Х												
взмыкивать		Х											
(взвиться)													
взвизгнуть		Х	Х		вз								
взвыть	Х	Х							Х				
вздохнуть		Х					Х						
воззвать		Х			Х	Х		Х		Х			(Х)
взлаять		Х	Х										
взлететь					Х			Х					
(взвестись)													
взреветь	(за)			Х		вз							
взрыдать	(за)		Х					Х	Х			вз	
взкрикнуть		Х	Х	Х	Х	Х		Х					
вскричать									Х		Х		
вскричаться	(за)												
вскрякнуть		Х											
вспеть	Х												
всплеснуть		Х											
(вспрыснуть)													
(вспыхнуть)													
всхлипнуть			Х				Х			Х			Х

	(н	(и	(о	(в	к	з	(у	(в	(г	п	к	х	р	м
	а	э	т	н	р	в	с	д	р	л	л	л	ы	о
	ч	д	р	е	и	а	и	р	о	а	и	и	д	л
	а	а	ы	э	к	т	л	у	м	к	к	п	а	и
	т	т	в	а	н	ь	е	г)	к	а	н	н	т	т
	ь)	ь	и	п	у		н		о)	т	у	у	ь	ь
			с	н	т		н			ь	т	т		
		[э	т	о)	ь		о)				ь	ь		
		в	о)											
		у												
		к])												
всхрапнуть		Х	Х											
всхрапеть	Х													

15.3.1 This chart listing the most frequently recurring words used by the SSRLJa in its definitions of *вз-* verbs denoting 'sound/expression' presents the following picture. *Вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' denote loud (*громко*), intense (*сильно, усиленно*) sounds which are begun (*начать*) or produced (*издать, испустить, производить*) suddenly (*вдруг, внезапно*) and abruptly or intermittently (*отрывисто, прерывисто*). It is *вз-* verbs of 'sound/expression' which, as a group, are most consistently described by the SSRLJa in terms of inchoativity.

The chart shows an almost complementary distribution of verbs defined as 'inchoative' (*начать, за-*) and verbs described as 'produce the sound' (*издать, испустить, производить [звук]*). The nature of the definition depends on the nature of the derivational base: *вз-* verbs derived from imperfective bases tend to be defined as inchoatives (onset of activity), while verbs derived from semelfactive bases are defined as single, eruptive acts. For example, the following verbs derived from imperfective bases are all defined as inchoative:¹

взахаться	'начать усиленно ахать'
взговорить	'то же, что возговорить [начать говорить]'
взгомониться	'поднять шум' ²

¹Many of these definitions are stated in terms of imperfective verbs because the SSRLJa usually defines only the secondary imperfective of paired prefixed verbs.

²Cf. SRJa III:280: "ПОДНЯТЬ. 7. В сочетании с отвлеченными существительными означает: начать какое-л. действие, выраженное этим существительным... *Поднять шум*".

взгреметь	'начать греметь, загреметь неожиданно'
взмолиться	'начать упрашивать'
взныть	'внезапно занять' ('excitation')
взыграть	'заиграть, начать играть'
всплакать	'то же, что всплакаться [расплакаться]' (SRJa)
всплакаться	'начать горько жаловаться, горько заплакать'
взвыть	'завывать, начать выть'
взлаять	'залаять, внезапно подымать лай' (Dal')
взреветь	'зареветь'
вскричаться	'раскричаться, закричать наперебой'
вспеть	'начинать петь, запевать'
всхрапеть	'захрапеть, начать храпеть'

There are three verbs which are never defined as inchoatives: *взмолить* (listed only in the SSRLJa), *воззвать* and *вскричать*. The reason may lie in the fact that they do not refer to activity in general but to the production of utterances; the dictionary shows them used exclusively as verbs introducing quotations. In the case of *вскричать*, an inchoative interpretation might not be excluded altogether. Isačenko twice defines it as inchoative (1960:II:173 and 230), and Dal' (II:500) provides an example (*вскричал от боли*) which could be so interpreted.

Verbs derived from semelfactive bases are not defined as inchoatives:

взболтнуть ₂	'сказать что-нибудь необдуманно'
вскликнуть	'внезапно издать крик'
всплакнуть	'немного поплакать'
взмыкивать ¹	'издавать короткие звуки мычания'
взвизгнуть	'испускать или издавать отрывистый, резкий выкрик'
вздохнуть	'усиленно дышать; испускать вздохи'
вскрикнуть	'внезапно испускать крик'
вскрякнуть	'издавать кряканье'

¹The verb *взмыкивать* is hardly derived from **мыкивать*. It is probably derived from an unattested **взмыкнуть* (+ *мыкнуть*).

всплеснуть	'плескать, плеснуть с шумом, производить плеск'
вспрыснуть	'прыснуть, разразиться смехом'
всхлипнуть	'рыдать тихо; усиленно вздыхать при плаче'
всхрапнуть	'издавать отрывистые, хриплые звуки'.

15.4 From the examples given above it is clear that prefixed verbs derived from semelfactive bases differ only slightly in meaning from their corresponding unprefixed verbs while those verbs derived from imperfective bases are consistently different in meaning. This section presents a survey of prefixed and unprefixed semelfactive verbs. In 15.5 I will discuss the semantics of both semelfactive and nonsemelfactive verbs.

It is usually possible to find usages of the unprefixed verbs which closely parallel those of the prefixed semelfactive verbs. In these cases one can say that both verbs express single acts (loud, intense or expressive sounds), the prefixed verb emphasizing the presence of a threshold.

Since dictionaries usually treat semelfactive and nonsemelfactive verbs together under one heading it is often difficult to find quotations exemplifying the usage of unprefixed semelfactives. In all except one of the examples given below, however, the semelfactive form is said to be used in the same context as the nonsemelfactive.

15.4.1

БОЛТНУТЬ₂ (однокр.): 'blurt out'

'Говорить что не должно, проговариваться, разбалтывать (тайну)'

ВЗБОЛТНУТЬ₂:

'Сказать что-нибудь необдуманно, ненамеренно; сболтнуть'

15.4.2

КЛИКНУТЬ (однокр.): 'cry out'

'Крикнуть'

"Как ты можешь
Кликнуть солнцу:
Слушай, солнце!
Стань, ни с места!"

ВСКЛИКНУТЬ:

'Внезапно издать крик; воскликнуть'

"И горы вскрикнули громче сколь
возможно,
Что Душенька была прекрасней
всех неложно."

In this meaning both verbs are archaic; вскрикнуть is probably best treated as a metrical variant of воскликнуть.

'Позвать кого-либо'

"Я кликнул Тархова по имени и, не получив ответа, хотел было удалиться."

'Криком позвать к себе'

"Вскликнуть разносчика в дом."

In this transitive usage, according to the SSRLJa, only the prefixed verb is archaic (and dialectal).

15.4.3

ВИЗГНУТЬ (сов.): 'squeal'

'Издавать визг, визгливо кричать'

"Ололо Гаврилова тихо ласкалась и визжала маленькая собачка."

'Производить визг, тягучий скрип (при трении)'

"Визжит дверь, пила, полоз саней и т. п."

ВЗВИЗГНУТЬ/ВЗВИЗГИВАТЬ:

'Испускать или издавать отрывистый, резкий выкрик; вскрикивать пронзительным голосом'

"Щенок тихо взвизгивал..."

'Распространительно'

"...слышно, как взвизгивает железо полозьев, попадая на оголенный камень мостовой."

15.4.4

КРИКНУТЬ (однокр.): 'yell'

'Издавать крики, вопли'

'Громко говорить; громким голосом сообщать что-либо'

'О громких, резких звуках, издаваемых машиной, механизмами...'

"Пронзительно кричала воздуходувка."

'Издавать громкие звуки'

"В печке кричит сверчок."

ВСКРИКНУТЬ/ВСКРИКИВАТЬ:

'Внезапно испускать крик; вдруг выкрикивать что-либо'

'О резких, отрывистых звуках вообще'

"...с победным торжеством вскрикнули и запели высокие мелные трубы."

(no separate definition)

"Изредка вскрикивал кузнечик..."

15.4.5

КРЯКНУТЬ (однокр.): 'quack'

'Издавать крик, кряканье. Об утке'

ВСКРЯКНУТЬ/ВСКРЯКИВАТЬ:

'Издавать кряканье'

15.4.6

ПЛЕСНУТЬ (однокр.): 'splash'

'Производить плеск [шум, производимый движением, падением жидкости]'

"Ничего не сказала рыбка,
Лишь хвостом по воде плеснула
И ушла в глубокое море."

(ПЛЕСКАТЬ only:) 'clap'

'Аплодировать, рукоплескать'

'Плескать руками, ладонями'

ПЛЕСНУТЬСЯ (однокр.):

'Кольхаться или ударяться обо что-либо, производя плеск'

"Да под свет невдалеке
Пес от скуки лаял,
Да плеснулась на реке
Щука - вот такая."

ВСПЛЕСНУТЬ/ВСПЛЕСКИВАТЬ:

'Плескать, плеснуть с шумом, производить плеск'

"В реке за фанзой звонко всплеснула рыба."

"Тут кит-чудо замолчал
И, всплеснув, на дно упал."

'Всплеснуть руками, всплеснуть ладоши - подняв руки, ударить в ладоши в знак радости, удивления или под влиянием сильного чувства впечатления'

ВСПЛЕСНУТЬСЯ/ВСПЛЕСКИВАТЬСЯ:

'Выпрыгивать на поверхность, подниматься до поверхности воды, плеская хвостом (о рыбах)'

"Временами на озере, под нависшими ольхами всплескивали рыбки."

This verb presents several problems. I think it is possible to say that плеснуть/плескать invariantly expresses 'striking' and that its use as a verb of 'agitation' (cf. 14.4.2.2.2), of 'directed motion' (cf. 17.5.2.3.5) and of 'sound/expression' represents the selection of variable features. According to Vasmer (III:279) плескать is of onomatopoeic origin, hence a verb of 'sound', but all his examples from other Slavic languages and from Baltic show it also to be a verb of 'striking'. It is not unusual for verbs of 'striking' [+ motion + contact] to be onomatopoeic in origin, cf. хлопать, шлепать.

What is crucial for determining the semantics of плеснуть/плескать in Russian is the fact that it always denotes [motion], but not always 'striking' [+ motion + contact] or 'sound' [+ motion + contact + sound]. While verbs like хлопать and шлепать invariably denote [+ motion + contact] but not always [sound] (e.g., хлопать глазами 'flutter one's eyelashes'), плеснуть/плескать can denote [motion] without either [contact] or [sound], e.g., плеснуть/плескать крыльями: [+ motion]. It can express 'striking' without sound in a sentence

such as "Он быстро плескал воду то себе на грудь, то на спину": [+ motion + contact]. For плеснуть/плескать to denote 'sound', however, it must also denote [motion] and [contact], cf. the examples above: "Ничего не сказала рыбка, лишь...плеснула и ушла в глубокое море", "В реке...звонко всплеснула рыба", всплеснуть руками" ('applaud'), "...пес от скуки лаял, да плеснулась на реке щука": [+ motion + contact + sound]. The last quotation, however, does not present a context which suggests that the verb is meant to express a sound: the sentence "Временами на озере...всплескивали рыбки" merely expresses the activity of splashing and its location; it does not necessarily denote 'sound' nor, in spite of the definition, 'upward motion'.¹

15.4.7

ХЛИПНУТЬ (сов.): 'sob'

'Издавать прерывистый, всхлипы-
вающий звук'

ВСХЛИПНУТЬ/ВСХЛИПЫВАТЬ:

'Рыдать тихо, с остановками...
усиленно вздыхать при плаче или в
конце плача'

15.4.8

ХРАПНУТЬ (сов., однокр.): 'snore,
snort'

'Издать звук храпа [хриплые звуки,
издаваемые человеком во время
сна; звуки, напоминающие хриплое
сопение (о лошадях)]'

ВСХРАПНУТЬ/ВСХРАПЫВАТЬ:

'Издавать отрывистые, хриплые
звуки при дыхании во сне'

The second meaning of всхрапнуть 'take a snooze' (cf. вздохнуть, вздремнуть) is discussed in the chapter on problems (18.1.7) and in 15.5.1.1.

15.4.9 Two verbs of 'sound/expression', вздохнуть and всплакнуть, present problems.

The verb вздохнуть/вздыхать 'sigh' can be included in this group, because its usage seems to parallel that of other verbs of 'sound/expression', e.g.,

¹Всплеснуть(ся)/всплескивать(ся) is explicitly directional in sentences where a goal of the motion ("куда") is expressed: "Волны лаского всплескивались на камни", "Как будто ярой мощи полны, всплеснулись к небу эти волны", cf. 17.5.3.2.5.

- ('expression') "Немог понять Тарас, ... что скрывается за ее [дочки] молчанием... 'Ох-хо-хо, - вздыхал он, - посматривать за ней [дочкой] надо, посматривать."
- ('sound') "Татьяна то вздохнет, то охнет;
Письмо дрожит в ее руке."
"Вода плескалась и роптала вокруг лодки, кружились и вздыхали со свистом льдины, ревела вдали мельница."
(SSRLJa XII:1081, under реветь)

The problem is that дохнуть/дышать does not seem to be a verb of 'sound' or 'expression' and cannot be used in similar contexts. The prefixed verb, however, has always been capable of denoting 'sound/expression', cf. OCS въздыхати 'στενάζειν, *ingemiscere*', въздыхати '(*respirare*), στενάζειν, *gemere*' (Miklosich 1973:89). It is perhaps best, then, to treat вздохнуть/вздыхать as an unprefixed verb uncorrelated with дохнуть/дышать.

The verb всплакнуть presents a problem in that there is no unprefixed semelfactive base from which it could have been derived. An additional problem is its meaning: it does not mean 'produce a weeping sound' but rather 'weep a little bit, quietly begin to weep'. I discuss it together with similar delimitative verbs in вз-...-ну- in 15.5.1.1.

15.4.10 Two verbs belonging to other semantic groups, вспрыснуть ('suffusion') and вспыхнуть ('appearance'), can be used to refer to the eruption of sound.

ПРЫСНУТЬ смехом, со смеха, от смеха: 'burst out laughing'

'Не удержавшись, разражаться смехом'

"Он да того уморительно произнес это..., что Орлов так и прыснул смехом."

ВСПРЫСНУТЬ со смеха:

'Прыснуть, разразиться смехом'

"Солдаты ничего не поняли, а так и вспрыснули со смеха."

As discussed in 7.2.6.2.1, the verb прыснуть describes the eruption of its patient into a multitude of particles or particulate movements. In the phrase прыснуть смехом, the patient bursts forth with laughter. If the context is sufficiently elaborated, прыснуть may be used without complement to refer to an eruption of sound, e.g., "Председатель насторожился. Ленка взглянула на него и, не удержавшись, прыснула".

ПЫХНУТЬ:
(no equivalent)

(cf. "Пушка рывкнула, пыхнула,
отскочила назад и вновь села на
место, удаляясь засвистел
снаряд.")

ВСПЫХНУТЬ/ВСПЫХИВАТЬ: 'burst out'
'Внезапно возникать; ярко, с силой
проявляться'

"За селам...вдруг разом раздается
несколько пушечных выстрелов.
Потом сразу вокруг всего
села вспыхивают пулеметная
трескотня."

As discussed in 11.3.4, пыхать/пыхнуть originally had to do with the idea of 'blowing, puffing' and depicted the irradiation of heat, smoke, fire, air or 'ardent' qualities. The вз- form has come to represent the sudden appearance ('outburst') of a much greater range of entities. Here it stands for an outburst of sound.

15.5 In 15.3.1 we saw that verbs derived from nonsemelfactive bases tend to be interpreted as inchoatives, e.g.,

ХРАПЕТЬ: 'snore, snort'

ВСХРАПЕТЬ: 'begin to snore,
snort'

'Издавать храп [хриплые звуки]'

'Захрапеть, начать храпеть'

In 15.4, however, we saw that verbs derived from semelfactive bases tend to be defined in the same terms as their derivational bases, e.g.,

ХРАПНУТЬ: 'snort'

ВСХРАПНУТЬ: 'snort'

'Издать звук храпа'

'Издать отрывистый, хриплый звук'

It seems that, as in the case of verbs of 'agitation', the semantics of the prefixed form strictly depends on the nature of the derivational base, i.e., on its transitivity and semelfactivity. While verbs of 'agitation' can be transitive, intransitive or intransitivized, вз- verbs of 'sound/expression' are all, with one exception, intransitive verbs not correlated with transitives. The exception is *воззвать/взывать*, which, as we saw in 15.3.1, is not interpreted as an inchoative like other verbs derived from imperfective bases. Quasi-exceptions are verbs like *(вз)кликнуть* and *(вс)крикнуть*, which can be used as transitives, in the sense of *воззвать* (cf. 15.4.2), and those verbs which can take inner object complements (e.g., *[вс]петь песни*) or introduce

quotations (e.g., *взмоли́ть, вскрича́ть*). Because verbs of 'sound/expression' are exclusively intransitive (not correlated with transitives), they cannot, when prefixed, have a medial or passive interpretation; when prefixed, they cannot have a stative or passive interpretation (cf. 14.5). What is decisive, then, is whether or not they are derived from semelfactive bases.

15.5.1 *Verbs of 'sound/expression' derived from semelfactive bases.* About half the verbs are derived from semelfactive bases. In 14.5.2 I defined semelfactivity as presenting a view of multiple activity in terms of discrete acts. I defined semelfactive verbs of 'agitation' (e.g., *дро́гнуть*) as [+ cyclical + semelfactive] because both the activity (*дрожа́ть*) and its constituent part (*дро́гнуть*) are complex in that they represent multiple movements or cycles (cf. 14.5.1). The semantics of semelfactive verbs of 'sound/expression', however, is different. Like verbs of 'agitation', both unprefixed and prefixed semelfactive verbs of 'sound/expression' can be said to denote a single act or a "gesture" (*звуковой жест*, cf. Isačenko 1960:507-508). But unlike verbs of 'agitation', most verbs of 'sound/expression' are associated with "semelfactive" nouns (Isačenko 1960:307), nouns which denote either one sound or a multitude of sounds, e.g., *клик, мык, (вз)ки́зг, (вс)кри́к, кря́к, (вс)плеск, (вс)-хли́п, (вс)храп(о́к), вздох*. As we shall see in 17.5.4, in verbs correlated with semelfactive nouns the act (*кри́к, кри́кнуть*) is simple, while the activity (*крича́ть, крича́ние*) is complex: the semelfactive presents one act (*кри́кнуть*), while the nonsemelfactive form (*крича́ть*) can represent either one act (*о́н кри́чит 'изда́ет кри́к'*) or multiple acts (*о́н кри́чит 'изда́ет кри́ки'*). I will term verbs like *кри́кнуть/крича́ть* [+ unitary] to emphasize the simple nature of the individual act. The semelfactive form is listed first to express the idea that in [+ unitary] verbs the simple unit is primary (cf. Isačenko 1960:507): *кри́кнуть* ('one simple act') ~ *крича́ть* ('one or more repeated acts').

Two semelfactive verbs of 'sound/expression' are not [+ unitary]: *взболтну́ть₂* and *всплакну́ть*. Neither of them is associated with a semelfactive noun. There is no **(вз)болт(о́к)*; and the noun *плач* cannot denote one single sound, but only 'действие по глаг. *пла́кать*, а также звуки (plural), сопровождающие это действие'. In addition, the imperfectives *болта́ть₂* and *пла́кать* (un-

like the [+ unitary] кричать) cannot denote one act, but only multiple activity. I will therefore treat them as [+ cyclical], i.e., complex activities which remain complex even when viewed in terms of constituent acts. Болтать₂ is defined in one of its meanings as 'говорить что не должно, проговариваться'; болтнуть₂ 'blurt out' views this complex activity in terms of one complex act; взболтнуть₂ presents the same act viewed with respect to a threshold. The verb всплакнуть, like взболтнуть₂, does not describe the production of one single sound but rather a complex activity viewed in terms of a single complex act: 'немного поплакать' (cf. 15.5.1.1).

The following chart can serve to summarize the semantics of semelfactive verbs of 'sound/expression':¹

+ verb + sound + unitary 0 semelfactive 0 patiential 0 agentive 0 horizontal 0 transgression 0 perfective	+ verb + sound + unitary + semelfactive 0 patiential 0 agentive 0 horizontal 0 transgression + perfective	+ verb + sound + unitary + semelfactive 0 patiential 0 agentive + horizontal + transgression + perfective	+ verb + sound + unitary 0 semelfactive 0 patiential 0 agentive + horizontal + transgression 0 perfective
(ахать)	(ахнуть)	-	-
кликать	кликнуть	вкликнуть	(вкликивать) (Dal')
мычать	мыкнуть	*взмыкнуть	взмыкивать
визжать	визгнуть	взвизгнуть	взвизгивать
(дышать)	(дохнуть)	вздохнуть	вздыхать
кричать	крикнуть	вскрикнуть	вскрикивать
крякать	крякнуть	вскрякнуть	вскрякивать
плескать	плеснуть	вплеснуть	вплескивать
хлипать	хлипнуть	всхлипнуть	всхлипывать
храпеть	храпнуть	всхрапнуть	всхрапывать
[+ cyclical]	[+ cyclical]	[+ cyclical]	[+ cyclical]
болтать	болтнуть	взболтнуть	-
плакать	-	всплакнуть	(всплакивать) (Dal')

¹In chapter 17 semelfactive verbs will be described in terms of the feature [act].

The verb *ахнуть/ахать* is included in the chart as a [+ unitary] verb (cf. the interjection *ах*), even though there are no prefixal derivations from the semelfactive form. The unprefixal form *дохнуть* is only historically correlatable with the prefixed *вдохнуть* (cf. 15.4.9). *Дохнуть/вышать* can be considered [+ unitary] because of the existence of such semelfactive nouns as *вдох, выдох,* and *вздох*; only *Dal'* lists the unprefixal *дох*, defined as '*однокр. действ. по знач. глг.; вздох, передышка, отдых. Дай ему дох!*

All intransitive verbs of 'sound/expression' are [0 patiential 0 patient] in that their subject can be conceived as undergoing the act or activity depicted by the verb. I have also listed them as [0 agentive 0 agent] because many of them permit transitive or quasi-transitive usages (e.g., [*прост.*] *кричать милиционера на помощь; все кричали "Ура!"*) wherein the [patient] is expressed by the object, while the subject expresses the performer of the action, an unmarked [agent]. (See 15.6 for a discussion of verbs of 'sound/expression' which are [- agentive].)

In the chart above, the first column contains [0 semelfactive] verbs (e.g., *кричать*) which can represent a single or repeated acts. The [+ semelfactive] verbs in the second column (e.g., *крикнуть*) represent only single acts. The verbs in the third column (e.g., *вскрикнуть*) depict single acts viewed with respect to a threshold. It is the marked nature of the threshold depicted by the [horizontal] which causes many of these prefixed verbs to be interpreted as involving suddenness or particular intensity, e.g., *крикнуть 'издать крик' ~ вскрикнуть 'внезапно испустить крик; вдруг выкрикнуть что-либо'*. The verbs in the fourth column (e.g., *вскрикивать*) represent either single or multiple acts viewed with respect to a threshold. It is only verbs of this last group which can be interpreted as iteratives: both imperfectives *кричать* and *вскрикивать* are associated with semelfactives (are [0 semelfactive]) and therefore can depict a multitude of individual acts; but the prefixed *вскрикивать*, because it is explicitly liminal (expresses a threshold), is more readily interpreted as representing repeated single acts, repeated eruptions of sound.

15.5.1.1 *Verbs in вэ-...-ну-*. The verbs *всплакнуть* and *всхрапнуть* are said by

some scholars (Isačenko 1960:237-238 and Gr 1970 [285]) to belong to a small group of four verbs, i.e., *всплакнуть*, *всхрапнуть*, *взгрустнуть* (16.2.6.2.) and *вздремнуть* (18.2.1), which all involve the addition of a special prefixo-suffixal morpheme *вз-...-ну-* with a delimitative or attenuative meaning ('с небольшой интенсивностью в течение недлительного времени совершать действие'). Dictionaries consistently define these forms as inchoative or delimitative:

<i>всплакнуть</i>	'немного поплакать, тихо, незаметно заплакать'
<i>всхрапнуть</i>	'поспать, соснуть'
<i>взгрустнуть</i>	'почувствовать грусть; погрустить немного' (SRJa)
<i>вздремнуть</i>	'забыться легким сном; недолго подремать' (SRJa)

There is some evidence from dialects that *всхрапнуть*, *взгрустнуть* and *вздремнуть* are associated with unprefixated forms in the same meanings: *храпануть* (cf. 18.1.7), *грустнуться* (SRNG:VII:171), *дремонуть* (SRNG:VIII:184). In the modern standard language, however, the prefixed semelfactive forms are associated with unprefixated imperfectives.

In spite of the fact that one cannot derive forms such as *всплакнуть* in a step-by-step fashion (*плакать* → **плакнуть* → *всплакнуть*), there are several considerations which would argue against the necessity of positing a special morpheme in this case. First of all, the special morpheme *вз-...-ну-* would apply to only four forms; not even the SRNG lists any other verbs in *вз-...-ну-* which cannot be derived from unprefixated semelfactives. Second, there exist other prefixed forms, such as *проплакнуть* (cf. 15.2.7), *сгрустнуть* and *придремнуть*, which would also have to be treated in terms of frame morphemes. Third, the form *всхрапнуть*, would have to be treated in terms of two separate derivations: *храпнуть* 'издать храп' → *всхрапнуть* 'издать храп' and *храпеть* 'крепко спать' → *всхрапнуть* 'поспать, соснуть'. In view of these considerations, I would attempt to describe these forms not in terms of a special morpheme *вз-...-ну-* different in meaning from both *вз-* and *-ну-* but rather in terms of the invariant semantics of each of the affixes. One could say that the inchoative verbs *всплакнать*, *всхрапеть*, *взгрустить* and *вздремать* serve as the starting point: in these forms the prefix *вз-* signals the threshold of activity. This activity

viewed with respect to its onset could then further be viewed in terms of a brief constituent phase, signalled by the semelfactive morpheme: *всплакать* 'begin weeping' → *всплакнуть* 'begin to weep a little', *всхрапеть* 'begin snoring (i.e., sleeping)' → *всхрапнуть* 'snore off (i.e., begin to have a little nap)'. In this fashion one can preserve the semantic integrity of the affixes *вз-* and *-ну-* and still be able to explain why these forms are consistently glossed as inchoative or delimitative or both.

15.5.2 *Verbs of 'sound/expression' derived from nonsemelfactive bases.* All except three of these verbs are intransitive and denote activities whose threshold is manifested in the selection of the *вз-* features, cf. 15.3.1. The three exceptions are *воззвать/взывать* (see 12.2.3 for a discussion of the form of the prefix), *взмолить* (but not *взмолиться*) and, perhaps, *вскричать* (but not *вскричаться*): as pointed out in 15.3.1, these verbs do not denote activities but rather actions, the production of utterances.

Three of these intransitive imperfective verbs are [+ unitary 0 semelfactive]: *взахаться* (ах), *вскричать(ся)* (крик), *всхрапеть* (храп). The rest are [+ cyclical] verbs having no semelfactive forms at all. The [+ cyclical] verbs cannot denote a single act, and the zero-suffixed deverbal nouns derived from them likewise denote only complex activity:

говор	'звуки разговора, речи'
гомон	'нестройный, неясный шум множества голосов'
гром	'грохот и треск'
вой	'продолжительный, протяжный стон..., громкий, протяжный плач'
лай	'отрывистые звуки, издаваемые собакой'
рев	'протяжный, громкий крик; громкий плач'

Since intransitive nonsemelfactive verbs denote not the production of a single sound but rather a state of activity, they follow a pattern similar to that displayed by inherently intransitive verbs of 'agitation' (cf. 14.4.2.2.1): the unprefixated form is interpreted as a state of activity, while the prefixated form is interpreted as 'onset of activity'. For example, one can say that the verb *рыдать* ('громко плакать, судорожно всхлипывая') depicts a state of activity without explicit reference to a threshold in the following sentence:

"[Машинистка Муся] сидела на подоконнике и, положив голову на завернутую в клетчатый платок машинку, *рыдала* шумно и громко, как плачут несправедливо обиженные дети." (SRJa)

The verb's potential liminality, however, the fact that it is [0 horizontal 0 transgression], can be felt in a sentence like

"Сначала она все это слушала - да вдруг как затрясется... закрыла лицо руками, да так и *рыдает*." (SRJa)

The explicitly liminal form, *взрыдать* ('вдруг зарыдать'), presents a state of activity delimited by its relationship to a framework. Because it is derived from an intransitive activity verb *взрыдать* is interpreted as 'onset of activity', cf. the following sentence:

"Тут, сняв кольцо с своей руки,
Она кольцо поцеловала
И, бросив в глубину реки,
Лицо закрыла и *взрыдала*."

The three verbs *воззвать*, *взмолить* and *вскричать* are not interpreted as inchoatives, because they refer to actions rather than activities. They are interpreted as depicting the eruptive production of an utterance rather than the onset of activity involving sound.

15.6 *Verbs in вз-...-ся*. In 14.4.2.2.1 we saw that many inherently intransitive verbs have what seem to be equivalent forms in *-ся*, e.g., *кружить/кружиться* and *вскружить/вскружиться*. Occasionally the unprefixes verb will display forms with and without *-ся*: *гомозить(ся)*, *играть(ся)*, *кружить(ся)*; *гомонить(ся)* (Dal'), *молить(ся)*, *плакать(ся)*. And occasionally the prefixed verb will display both forms: *взбушевать(ся)*, *взыграть(ся)*, *всклокотать(ся)*, *вскружить(ся)*; *взгомонить(ся)*, *взмолить(ся)*, *всплакать(ся)*, *вскричать(ся)*; *встосковать(ся)*. It seems, however, more often to be the case that an unprefixes form without *-ся* is associated with a prefixed form with *-ся*: *бушевать ~ взбушеваться*, *играть ~ взыграться*, *клокотать ~ всклокотаться*, *кружить ~ вскружиться* ('начать кружить'); *молить* ('просить, умолять') ~ *взмолиться* ('начать упрашивать, умолять усиленно'), *плакать ~ всплакаться* ('горько заплакать'), *кричать ~ вскричаться* ('раскричаться, закричать'). In one case there is no unprefixes form with *-ся*, no prefixed form without *-ся*: *ахать ~*

взахаться. Of all these verbs, only *взахаться* must be treated as a derivation involving the simultaneous addition of two morphemes, *вз-...-ся*, since there is no **взахать* and no **ахаться*. In all other cases it is possible to derive the *вз-...-ся* form by adding one morpheme at a time, e.g., *плакаться* 'жаловаться' → *всплакаться* 'жаловаться'; *плакать* → *всплакать* 'расплакаться' → *всплакаться* 'горько заплакать'; *кричать* ~ *вскричать* ~ *вскричаться*.

Such a solution seems arbitrary and cannot account for the fact that in dialects there are dozens of verbs of 'sound/expression' in *вз-...-ся* (*взахаться* is the only one to have entered the literary language), cf. the list in 15.2.2.

Although one might treat these formations as involving the simultaneous addition of two morphemes, it does not seem necessary to speak of one complex prefixo-suffixal morpheme *вз-...-ся* semantically distinct from *вз-* and *-ся*. To understand the semantics of reflexivized intransitive verbs, let us look briefly at the semantics of the affix *-ся*.

15.6.1 *The semantics of -ся.*¹ The affix *-ся* has been treated by Isacenko (1960:382,405) as representing no more than a formal marker of intransitivity; he explains the semantic variety of reflexive verbs as conditioned not so much by the polysemy of the affix *-ся* as by the lexical meaning of those verbs with which it occurs (382). Jakobson (1971a:140) treats *-ся* as a marker of a restriction on the participation of certain actants in the narrated event. This view has been elaborated by Babby and Brecht in their syntactic treatment of voice in Russian: they treat *-ся* as the trace of a "marked realization of a verb's subcategorization feature" (1975:365), involving object preposing (349-352) or the realization of an [agent] as an [experiencer] (e.g., *я* [agent] *не работаю* → *мне* [experiencer] *не работается*). The following is an attempt to restate these views in terms of the semantic framework which I have adopted in this book.

The syntactic subject of a sentence, expressed by the nominative

¹This very preliminary treatment does not discuss or account for many types of reflexive verbs.

case, does not overtly express the semantics of any particular actant, cf. Jakobson 1971b. Since the nominative is semantically neutral, it can be used to represent (can be interpreted as) an agent, instrument, experiencer, beneficiary, source, location or goal; for example:

Agent	<i>Он режет хлеб</i>	~ <i>Хлеб режется им</i>
Instrument	<i>Нож режет хлеб</i>	~ <i>Хлеб режется ножом</i>
Patient	<i>Хлеб режется ножом</i>	~ <i>Он режет хлеб</i>
Experiencer	<i>Он весел</i>	~ <i>Ему весело</i>
Beneficiary	<i>Он получил письмо</i>	~ <i>Ему послали письмо</i>
Source	<i>Цветы выделяют пыльцу</i>	~ <i>Из цветов выделяется пыльца</i>
Location	<i>Рука держит нож</i>	~ <i>Он держит нож в руке</i>
Goal	<i>Шкаф вмещает все книги</i>	~ <i>Я вмещаю все книги в шкаф</i>

The affix *-ся* seems to have the effect of specifically precluding 'agent' as an exclusive interpretation of the nominative subject. One could provisionally define its semantics as [+ intransitive] and posit a rule of entailment according to which specification of the [intransitive] feature causes a change in the specification of the [agentive] feature:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ agentive}] \rightarrow [0 \text{ agentive}] \\ [0 \text{ agentive}] \rightarrow [- \text{ agentive}] \end{array} \right\} \quad / \quad \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \quad [+ \text{ intransitive}]$$

For example: the verb *строить* [+ potential 0 patient + agentive 0 agent 0 intransitive] involves an agent, the performer or instigator of the action, and a patient, that which is subjected to the action (in this case, effected by it). Nonspecification of the feature [intransitive] allows the verb to be either transitive or intransitive, e.g.,

explicitly transitive:

наш сосед строит дом
рабочие строят дом

not explicitly transitive:

Мы должны строить быстро, дешево, прочно и хорошо. Строить так, чтобы наши стройки действительно походили на социалистические.

The subject of the verb can be interpreted exclusively as an agent, the performer or instigator of the action denoted by *строить*. For example, the sentence *он строит дом* can be interpreted in the following ways:

- 1) he is building a house for himself
 1a) he is having a house built for himself [+ agent + beneficiary]
 2) he is building a house for someone else
 2a) he is having a house built for someone else [+ agent]

The first pair of interpretations shows the subject to be not only the agent (performer or instigator) of the construction but also its beneficiary, the person for whom it is done. The second pair of interpretations shows the subject to be exclusively an agent, the beneficiary of the construction is someone else.

When the verb is specified [+ intransitive], the marking of the feature [agentive] changes (строить [+ agentive 0 intransitive] → строятся [0 agentive + intransitive]), and the possible interpretations of the subject are restricted. Nonspecification of the feature [agentive] allows the verb to be either agentive or nonagentive, e.g.,

explicitly agentive:

дом строится рабочими

not explicitly agentive:

дом строится

наш сосед строится

рабочие строятся

The subject is not interpretable exclusively as an agent. In the sentence дом строится рабочими the subject дом cannot be interpreted as an agent, because it is inanimate and because the agent of the sentence is explicit in the instrumental рабочими. The sentence наш сосед строится can be interpreted only in the following ways:

1) our neighbor is building a house for himself

1a) our neighbor is having a house built for himself

The subject must be interpreted not only as an agent but also as a beneficiary; the construction must be done for his benefit: the dictionary defines строятся in this usage as 'строить себе дом или другие постройки'. Even in a sentence like рабочие строятся the subject cannot be interpreted exclusively as an agent; it cannot mean that the workers are building a house for someone else.

What we see in the example of строить/строиться is that when a nor-

mally transitive verb is intransitivized, the subject is not interpreted exclusively as an agent: it represents either a patient (дом строится) or a combination of actant features, e.g., agent and beneficiary (сосед строится).

Another example. The verbs белить/белиться and белеть/белеться show -ся in combination with both a transitive and an intransitive stem. The transitive белить [+ patiential + patient + agentive 0 agent 0 intransitive] involves a quality, an agent and an obligatory patient; because the patient must always be expressed, белить is always explicitly transitive. In the sentences

explicitly transitive:

он белит стену

рабочие белят холсты

старуха белит лицо

the subjects are interpretable exclusively as agents. When the verb is specified [+ intransitive], it becomes variably agentive, and the patient cannot be expressed overtly as a direct object:

белить	→	белиться
+ patiential + patient + agentive 0 agent 0 intransitive		+ patiential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 agent + intransitive

The reflexive form may or may not be explicitly agentive:

explicitly agentive:

холст белится рабочими

not explicitly agentive:

холст белится на солнце

старуха белится

The subject is either a patient (холст) or an agent/beneficiary (старуха), cf. the definition of белиться in the latter usage: 'покрывать себе лицо белилами', i.e., to paint one's face with ceruse for cosmetic effect (benefit to oneself).

The intransitive verbs белеть and белеться display a very interesting difference in meaning. Белеть can depict either 'state' ('виднеться [о белых предметах]') or 'enter state' ('становиться белым'); the reflexive form белеться, however, is restricted to the former meaning, is only stative. In 14.5.1

we saw that intransitive verbs are interpreted as inchoatives ('enter state') only if the state of activity they represent is delimited by some reference to an external framework of causation (i.e., if they are correlatable with transitives, are [0 agentive]) and/or a framework of liminality (i.e., if they are viewed against a prefixal frame).

The nonreflexive intransitive белеть [0 patiential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 intransitive] involves a quality and a patient, but not an agent. There is a rule of entailment involved here:

[0 agent] ≠ [+ agent] / _____ [0 agentive 0 intransitive]

This means that nonderived intransitives like белеть can never have an expressed agent. Derived intransitives such as строиться [+ patiential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 agent + intransitive] can, however, have an expressed agent (дом строится рабочими). Even though a nonderived intransitive like белеть cannot express an agent in the instrumental, it still retains the ability to suggest some notion of causal circumstance: it is [0 agentive]. Because it is variably agentive, белеть can be interpreted as an absolute state or as a delimited state, a state which has been caused, e.g.,

state:

Белеет парус одинокий
В тумане моря голубом.

Платье ее чуть белело
в густой тени.

caused state:

На юге от солнца волосы
выгорают и белеют.

В лесах, долинах и ущельях
Веселоречья снега еще не было,
но по ночам все белело, появился
иней.

The sentences on the left present absolute states. The sentences on the right, where the verb is glossed by the dictionary as 'начать белеть', represent inchoative states. Sometimes the causal circumstances are explicit: от солнца волосы выгорают и белеют 'one's hair bleaches in the sun and turns white'. The specification of the verb as [+ intransitive] eliminates any notion of causal circumstance (agentiveness):

белеть	→	белеться
0 patiential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 agent 0 intransitive	]	0 patiential 0 patient - agentive - agent + intransitive

The verb белеться can only be interpreted as stative:

state:

Чей-то парус белелся вдали;
 Кто-то правил чуть видный рулем.

Белый платок девки белелся в темной улице.

The subjects of белеть/белеться, all inanimate, are interpreted only as patients.

15.6.2 With these examples in mind, let us look at the semantics of a few verbs of 'sound/expression' with and without -ся.

The verb плакать, like most verbs of 'sound/expression', is basically intransitive: [0 patiential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 intransitive]. It presents the activity of shedding tears or uttering weeping sounds (плакать от боли, от жалости; плакать навзрыд) or an activity characterized by weeping as an expression of sorrow (плакать об умершем, о своей судьбе). Плакать, like other non-derived intransitives, cannot overtly express an agent in the instrumental (because it is [0 agentive 0 intransitive]). But because the verb is [0 agentive], its subject is still open to an agentive interpretation: the subject of the sentence он плачет навзрыд is at once the producer of the sound (i.e., its agent) and the person who undergoes the activity denoted by the verb (its patient). In usages such as они плакали об умершем the subject is not so much the producer of sound as the patient of a state of activity expressing sorrow. The prefixed form всплакать (*прост.* и *обл.*) presents the abrupt onset of the activity: взойдя со своей скудной сумочкой и понуренной головой на городскую гору, он [Иосаф] даже всплакал. The semelfactive form всплакнуть reduces the complex activity to one gesture: Варенька тоже была на похоронах и, когда гроб опускали в могилу, всплакнула, cf. 15.5.1.1.

The explicitly intransitive form плакаться [0 patiential 0 patient - agentive + intransitive] precludes an exclusively agentive interpretation of

the subject; the subject is not a performer of an action (он плачет навзрыд) but rather the patient of a state of activity expressing grief or discontent, e.g., он плачется на свою судьбу ('laments'), or the experiencer (dative subject) of such a state, e.g., ...но я плачу не для вас: мне просто плачется. The prefixed form *всплакаться* (*устар.* и *обл.*) presents the onset of activity ('начать горько жаловаться, горько заплакать'). The semelfactive form *всплакнуться* presents the activity of weeping in terms of one act viewed with respect to its experiencer, e.g., ей всплакнулось сегодня 'she felt like having a little cry today'.

The verb *кричать* [0 potential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 intransitive] behaves in a similar fashion. Its subject is interpretable exclusively as an agent in transitive usages such as *матросы кричат "ура"*. In intransitive usages such as *они кричали всю ночь*, the subject is interpretable as an agent performing an activity lasting all night as well as a patient undergoing that activity. When the verb is prefixed in *вз-*, it can likewise represent either an action abruptly performed (*все [agent] вскричали "ура!"*) or an activity abruptly initiated (*он [agent/patient] вскричал от боли [Dal']*). When the prefixed form is reflexivized, however, its subject cannot be exclusively an agent but only the agent/patient of an abruptly initiated state of activity, e.g., *вскричаться* ('раскричаться, закричать наперебой'): "Услыхав ее [самки] голос, молчавшие перепела вскричались на разные голоса".

The verb *молить* ('beseech'), unlike *плакать* and *кричать*, is usually transitive: [+ potential + patient + agentive 0 intransitive]. It can take an animate patient (*Меня с слезами заклинаний Молила мать; для бедной Тани Все были жребии равны... Я вышла замуж*) or be used to introduce a quotation. The subject represents an agent who imposes a request upon another person or merely utters a request. The reflexive form *молиться* [+ potential 0 patient 0 agentive + intransitive], however, represents an activity characterized by entreaty ('pray'). It may originally have had a beneficial sense ('request for oneself'), cf. a dialectal usage noted by Dal' (II:884): *молиться* 'просить у кого, выпрашивать'. In the modern language, however, *молиться* has become specialized in the meaning 'pray': its subject is the agent/patient of a state of activity.

Both prefixed forms, *взмолить* and *взмолиться*, must be derived from *молить*. The nonreflexive form *взмолить* is attested only in the SSRLJa, defined as 'просить усиленно, жалостливо упрашивать'. The reflexive form *взмолиться*, however, is defined as 'начать упрашивать, умолять кого усиленно, жалостливо', i.e., as a state of activity viewed with respect to its onset. The subject of the [+ agentive 0 intransitive] form *взмолить* can be interpreted exclusively as an agent (the performer of the action), while the subject of the [0 agentive + intransitive] form *взмолиться* is interpreted as the agent/patient of a state of activity.

15.6.3 The idea that the specification of a verb as [+ intransitive] serves to preclude an exclusively agentive interpretation of the subject can help us to understand the semantics of the verbs in *про-...-ся* discussed in 15.2.6, e.g., *проболтаться*, *прокричатся*.

In the transitive usages *он проболтал секрет* and *они прокричали "ура"*, the subject is interpreted exclusively as an agent, the performer of an action whose patients are expressed by the words *секрет* and "ура". In the sentences *они проболтали всю ночь* and *он прокричал нам уши об этом*, the subject is likewise interpretable exclusively as an agent,¹ the performer of an activity exhausting the night or someone's ears.

Both *проболтать* and *прокричать* can be used intransitively. *Проболтать*, a verb denoting 'expression', can be used without specifying the utterance, e.g., "Он должен всегда знать, где я. Слово дано. Да он не проболтает" (SRJa). The subject is interpreted exclusively as an agent, the producer of an utterance. *Прокричать*, a verb of 'sound', can be used merely to indicate the production of sound, e.g., *прокричал ребенок*. The subject is interpretable exclusively as an agent (producer of sound) or as an agent/patient (one who reveals himself by producing a sound).

The subjects of the explicitly intransitive forms *проболтаться* and *прокричатся*, however, cannot be interpreted exclusively as agents. In the

¹In the sentence *они проболтали всю ночь* the subject can also be interpreted as a patient undergoing the activity which lasts all night.

sentence он проболтался 'let the cat out of the bag' the subject is both agent and patient: he performs an action which exceeds the limits of his intentions and serves to reveal him. In the sentence "[Митрофан Саввич] начнет кричать сильнее, чем Любаша...; прокричавшись, замолчит и впадет в тупую угрюмость" the understood subject (Митрофан прокричится) is at one agent (producer of sound) and patient (the one whose limits are reached). In each case the subject cannot be exclusively an agent.

16. EXCITATION

This is the largest semantic group of the corpus: of the 200 verbs listed in the SSRLJa with the prefix *вз-*, 54 are defined in at least one usage as verbs of 'excitation'.

16.1 A striking feature of this group of verbs is that the overwhelming majority of them have to do with unpleasant emotions or psychological states, e.g.,

ANGER: *взбеленить(ся)*
вздуриться
взъерепениться
взъяриться(ся)
вспетляиться
встлбить
взбесить(ся)
взорвать(ся)
взъерошиться
взъершиться
вспламенить(ся)
вспыхнуть
вскипеть
вскипятиться

SORROW: *взгрустнуть(ся)*
вскручиниться
вспокаяться
встосковать(ся)
вздохнуть(ся)

FRIGHT: *вспугнуть*
встревосаить(ся)
встопорщиться

UNREST: *встолошиться(ся)*
взбудоражить(ся)
взбунтовать(ся)
взбаламутить(ся)
взволновать(ся)
взгомозить(ся)
взмутить(ся)
всколебать(ся)
вскольхаться(ся)
встрепыхать(ся)
взвинтить(ся)
взгомонить(ся)
взметаться
вскинуться
вспорхнуть

ENMITY: *не взлюбить*
взненавидеть
взревновать

PAIN: *взнять*

HUNGER: *взалкать*

CONFUSION: *вскружить голову кому*

A number of verbs can be said to be neutral in connotation:

AROUSAL: *взбудить*
встормозить(ся)
встрепенуться
встрягнуть(ся)

Very few have only positive connotations:

POSITIVE MOOD: *взбодрить(ся)*
взвеселить(ся)
взыграть(ся)

ENLIVENING: *вспрянуть*
как встрепанный
вспрыснуть живой водой

ENTICEMENT: *взманивать(ся)*

Only the 25 italicized verbs are primarily or exclusively verbs of 'excitation'. The rest are actually verbs of 'agitation', 'disorder', 'appearance (fire)', 'boiling', 'sound', 'suffusion' and 'directed motion' used abstractly to represent excitation.

Most of these verbs are not only negative in connotation but also stylistically marked: two thirds of them are archaic (*устарелое*), substandard (*просторечное*) or colloquial (*разговорное*); many are dialectal or phraseologically bound. The chart on the following page lists all the verbs according to semantic group and stylistic mark. It is rather difficult to draw conclusions based only on the stylistic marks attributed by the dictionaries. For example, the SSRJJa and the SRJa, which can be said to represent the intuitions of one generation of native speakers, often differ in stylistic interpretations. The SSRJJa marks *взъяриться* as '*устар. и в просторечии*', while the SRJa considers *взъярить(ся)* to be colloquial; both cite the same quote from Majakovskij: "Взъяренный, на заседание врываюсь лавиной". In compiling the chart I consulted the SSRJa, SRJa and Ušakov; in cases of disagreement, I chose the stylistic mark assigned by two out of three. The marks are arranged left to right in a hierarchy representing distance from the standard language: archaic, dialectal, substandard, phraseological, colloquial and standard (no mark). The ordering of the first three forms presents problems in that for educated speakers the obsolete or archaic forms may be much more familiar than the dialectal or substandard forms. [see following page]

Of the 54 verbs in *вз-* defined in terms of 'excitation', only 23 belong to the standard language, i.e., those considered standard (no mark), colloquial or phraseological. Of these 23, only eight are etymologically verbs of 'excitation'; the rest are verbs of 'agitation', 'disorder', etc., which are used secondarily to represent excitation. Verbs which primarily denote 'excitation' seem to be more productively associated with the prefix *раз-*, e.g., *разбудить(ся)*, *развеселить(ся)*, *разъярить(ся)*, *раскаяться*, *распетушиться*, *разгневаться*, *разозлить(ся)*, *рассвирепеть*, *рассердить(ся)*

The chart suggests that the most neutral way of expressing 'excitation' in terms of a *вз-* verb is to make figurative use of a verb of 'agitation'

	<i>устар.</i>	<i>обл.</i>	<i>прост.</i>	<i>фразеол.</i>	<i>разг.</i>	<i>(по марк)</i>
ION tion]	взалкать взненавидеть взревновать встосковать встоскнуться взвеселить (ся) взманить (ся)	взбудить вспокаяться всполохнуть (ся)	взбеленить (ся) вздуриться взныть взъерепениться взъярить (ся) вскручиниться вспетушиться взбодрить (ся)	не взлюбить	взгрустнуть (ся) всполошить (ся) вспылить ₁	вспугнуть
ION tion]					взбунтовать (ся) взбудоражить (ся)	взбесить встревожить
ON tion]	взыграть (ся) всколебать (ся) всколыхать ся	взгомозить (ся)	взбаламутить (ся) встрепыхать (ся)	вскружить		взволновать встрепенуться взмутить встряхнуть
R tion]			взъершиться встормошить (ся)	встрепать	встопорщиться взвинтить (ся) взорвать (ся) взъерошиться	
NCE tion]	вспламенить (ся)					вспыхнуть
tion]					вскипятиться	вскипеть
tion]	взгомонить (ся)				вздохнуть (ся)	
ON tion]	вспрыснуть					
ION tion]	вспрянуть	вспорхнуться	вскинуться			взметать

('onset of turbulent activity') or a verb of 'disorder' ('disruption of normal configuration').

The chart lists the verbs according to the number of verbs from each semantic group which can represent excitation. In the following sections, however, I will first discuss verbs denoting activity ('excitation' [16.2]; 'agitation', 'boiling' [16.3]; 'sound' [16.4]) and then discuss those denoting action ('disorder' [16.5], 'appearance' [16.6], 'suffusion' [16.7], 'directed motion' [16.8]).

16.2 EXCITATION

Perfective only:

взалка́ть	
взбеленíть (ся)	
взбесíть (ся)	
взбудíть	
взбунтовáть (ся)	
взгрустíть	взгрустнúть (ся)
вздурíться	
взлюбíть	
взненавíдеть	
взныть	
взревновáть	
взъерепénиться	
взъярíть (ся)	
вскручíниться	
вспетушíться	
вспокáяться	
вспылíть ₁	
встосковáть (ся)	встоскнúться
встревóжить (ся)	

Paired:

взбодрíть (ся)	взбáдривать (ся)
взбудорáжить (ся)	взбудорáживать (ся)

Paired:

взвеселить(ся)		взвеселять(ся)
взманить(ся)		взманивать(ся)
взполошить(ся)	всполохнуть(ся)	всполашивать
	вспугнуть	вспугивать

This group contains verbs which are primarily or exclusively verbs of 'excitation'. Взбудить has also been treated as a verb of 'awareness' (12.3), взныть as a verb of 'sound/expression' (15.1.1, 15.3.1), and взъерепенить as a verb of 'beating' (8.2.2). Взбодрить has a number of problematical secondary meanings: 'plow' (3.2.4), 'perk up' (взбодрить уши: 12.3) and 'whip up (make quickly)' (взбодрить яшкенку, дом: 18.1.1).

All except one of these verbs are stylistically marked. Archaic are взалкать, взненавидеть, взревновать, встосковать(ся), встоскнуться, взвеселить(ся) and взманить(ся). Substandard (*просторечные*) are взбеленить(ся), взбудить, вздуриться, взныть, взъерепениться, взъярить(ся), вскручиниться, вспетушиться, вспокаяться, взбодрить(ся). Влюбить can occur only in the negative: не влюбил (or невлюбил) 'did not take a liking to'. Взгрустнуть(ся) is marked both by Ušakov and by the SRJa as 'разг.'; взгрустить, listed in the SSRLJa without exemplification, occurs otherwise only in Dal'. Всполошить(ся) and вспылить₁ are marked by both Ušakov and the SRJa as 'разг.'; 'прост. и обл.'; всполашивать is marked by the SSRLJa as 'устар.'. The only verb, then, without stylistic mark is вспугнуть/вспугивать — which is also a verb of 'directed motion', cf. 16.2.2.2.

16.2.1 Verbs of 'excitation' can, most generally speaking, be said to denote psychological activity which may optionally be viewed in relationship to a threshold. (For a refinement of this definition, see 16.2.4). As we have seen in the case of verbs of 'boiling', 'agitation' and 'sound/expression', the interpretation of the prefixed verb will either match or differ from that of the unprefix verb, depending on the transitivity and semelfactivity of the derivational base, cf. 14.5. Verbs of 'excitation' behave in precisely the same fashion: the definitions of transitive verbs match, while the definitions of

intransitive verbs do not.

16.2.2 *Verbs derived from transitive bases.* Most of these verbs are correlatable with their unprefixated bases such that one can say that the *вз-* form merely states explicitly one of the meanings of the unprefixated form, emphasizing the presence of a threshold. Both forms can be defined as 'cause to be in a state of excitement'.

16.2.2.1

БЕСИТЬ: 'enrage' 'Приводить в сильное раздражение, гнев, исступление'	ВЗБЕСИТЬ: 'Привести в сильное раздражение, гнев, исступление'
БОДРИТЬ: 'invigorate, cheer up' 'Придавать силы, повышать настроение, веселить'	ВЗБОДРИТЬ/ВЗБАДРИВАТЬ: 'Придавать кому-нибудь силу, бодрость, поднимать настроение'
БУДОРАЖИТЬ: 'disturb' '...волновать, возбуждать'	ВЗБУДОРАЖИТЬ/ВЗБУДОРАЖИВАТЬ: 'Обеспокоить, встревожить'
БУНТОВАТЬ: 'incite' 'Возбуждать, возмущать' (no separate definition)	ВЗБУНТОВАТЬ: 'Возмутить, поднять против кого-чего-либо; склонить к восстанию' 'Привести в тревожное, беспокойное состояние'
ВЕСЕЛИТЬ: 'cheer up' 'Делать кого-либо веселым, вызывать веселье; радовать'	ВЗВЕСЕЛИТЬ/ВЗВЕСЕЛЯТЬ: 'Приводить в веселое настроение'
МАНИТЬ: 'lure (cause interest, desire)' 'Влечь, притягивать к себе; прельщать, соблазнять'	ВЗМАНИТЬ/ВЗМАНИВАТЬ: 'Завлекать, возбуждать желание к чему-либо'
This verb is discussed in 16.2.7.1.	
ПОЛЮШИТЬ: 'startle, alarm' 'Пугать, волновать, вызывать переполох'	ВСПОЛОШИТЬ/(ВСПОЛАШИВАТЬ): 'Встревожить, привести внезапно в беспокойство кого-либо'

The SSRLJa and the SRJa list the substandard or dialectal form *полохнуть* only in the meaning 'ударить'; Dal', however, lists the same form with a different stress (*полбхнуть*) in the meaning 'тревожить' (cf. Vasmer III:317-318).

ТРЕВОЖИТЬ: 'disturb'

'Внушать тревогу, опасения; приводить в состояние беспокойства, тревоги'

ВСТРЕВОЖИТЬ:

'Вызывать в ком тревогу, страх, опасение'

'...выводить из состояния покоя'

ЯРИТЬ: 'enrage'

'Приводить в ярость'

ВЗЪЯРИТЬ:

'Привести в ярость; очень рассердить' (SRJa)

16.2.2.2 Two verbs are defined directionally:

ПУГУТЬ: 'scare'

'Сов. к *пугать* [внушать, вселять страх, боязнь; напугав, заставляя уйти, покинуть прежнее место; прогонять]'

"Всем хороша [кобылка], но чуть пугнет ее что на дороге, как она закусит поводья, да и несет верст десять по кочкам да оврагам."

ВСПУГНУТЬ/ВСПУГИВАТЬ:

'Испугав, заставляя кого-либо подниматься с места, улаяться, настораживаться'

"Мне нравится встречать пробуждение природы; я бывал рад, когда мне удавалось вспугнуть заспавшегося жаворонка или выгнать из борозды трусливого зайца."

The semelfactive form пугнуть is variably directional, i.e., it can be further specified in terms of [motion], which raises the possibility of further specification in terms of [source] and [goal]. Although -пугнуть is directional with most prefixes (cf. chapter 17), I think that it may not denote directed motion in this case ('cause to flee') but rather just 'fright, arousal'.

БУДИТЬ: 'rouse'

'...заставлять проснуться'

'Возбуждать'

ВЗБУДИТЬ:

'Разбудить'

'Охотн. Поднять зверя с логовища'

"Рано утром ... можно нечаянно наткнуться и взбудить чернохвостого русака."

The definition of взбудить in terms of upward directed motion is influenced by a knowledge of extra-linguistic reality. Since будить is not defined in a directional sense with any other prefix, it is unlikely that with *вз-* it could denote motion in a specific direction.

16.2.2.3 One verb does not have a corresponding unprefixated form in the standard language: [БЕЛЕНИТЬ]: 'enrage'

'Приводить в сильный гнев, злить' (SRNG II:210)

ВЗБЕЛЕНИТЬ:

'Чрезвычайно рассердить кого-либо вывести из себя'

Cf. Šanskij (1971:79): "ВЗБЕЛЕНИТЬ: В русск. лит. яз. пришло из диалектов в XIX в. Образовано с помощью приставки *вз-* от *беленить*, производного посредством суффикса *-ить* от *белена*."

16.2.3 *Verbs derived from intransitive bases.* As we saw in 14.5, prefixed verbs derived from intransitive bases denoting states of activity are not defined in exactly the same way as their unprefixes counterparts. Two kinds of intransitives must be considered: those correlated with transitives and those without transitive counterparts.

16.2.3.1 *Intransitives correlated with transitives.* The unprefixes intransitive is interpreted as a state or, in rare cases, as a medial ('enter state') or passive. The prefixed form, however, can have only a medial or passive interpretation. The following chart summarizes definitions taken from the SSRLJa, SRJa, Ušakov and, in the case of *белениться*, the SRNG:

	UNPREFIXED			PREFIXED		
	Stative	Medial	Passive	Stative	Medial	Passive
белениться	X	X			X	
беситься	X	X			X	
бодриться	X				X	X
будоражиться	X	X			X	X
бунтоваться	X				X	
веселиться	X		X		X	
полошиться	X	X			X	
тревожиться	X	X	X		X	
яриться	X	X			X	

All of the unprefixes verbs express states of excitation, psychological activity associated with anger or unrest, e.g., *беситься* 'быть в крайнем раздражении', *яриться* 'быть в гневе, в ярости', *тревожиться* 'чувствовать тревогу'. Most of them can also denote entry into such a state, e.g., *беситься* 'заболевать бешенством' (apparently only in this meaning: 'become rabid'), *яриться* 'приходить в ярость', *тревожиться* 'приходить в беспокойство'. In rare cases, they can be interpreted as passives, e.g., *веселиться* чем (*устар.* "Сажая деревцо, и тем я веселюсь, Что если от него сам тени не дождусь, То внук мой некогда сей тенью насладится"), *тревожиться* чем ("[Я] даже совсем позабыл об этом неприятном обстоятельстве и не тревожился им, пока оно дало мне себя почувствовать").

The prefixed verbs can never express states of activity but rather only

entry into state, e.g., встревожиться 'прийти в тревожное, беспокойное состояние'. The two forms взбадриваться and взвеселяться are listed as passive ('страд. '), without exemplification.

One verb does not follow the pattern: маниться ~ взманиться/взманиваться (listed only in Dal' and the SSRLJa). Both the unprefixes and the prefixed forms are defined exclusively as passives, cf. 16.2.7.1.

16.2.3.2 *Intransitives not correlated with transitives.* The unprefixes form is always interpreted as a state and, in two isolated cases, also as entry into state. The prefixed form is interpreted exclusively as entry into state:

	UNPREFIXED			PREFIXED		
	Stative	Medial	Passive	Stative	Medial	Passive
алкать	X				X	
грустить	X				X	
(дуриться)	X				X	
ерепениться	X				X	
кручиниться	X				X	
([не] любить)	X				X	
(ненавидеть)	X				X	
ныть	X				X	
петушиться	X	X			X	
пылится ₁	X	X			X	
ревновать	X				X	
тосковать	X				X	

Two of these verbs, (вз)дуриться and (взъ)ерепениться, could be correlated with transitives. The SRNG lists a transitive дурить (VIII:266), Dal' a transitive вздурить (I:195). In the standard language дурить is exclusively intransitive; the unprefixes дуриться exists only in dialects (SRNG VIII:267). The transitive forms ерепенить and взерепенить have become specialized in the meaning 'beat', cf. 8.2.2., and are probably best treated as distinct from the intransitive forms ерепениться 'упрямиться' and взерепениться 'заупрямиться'.

Most of the unprefixes verbs are defined as 'испытывать + noun' or 'чувствовать + noun', e.g., ревновать 'испытывать чувство ревности', грустить 'испытывать чувство грусти', алкать 'чувствовать голод'. The two verbs петушиться and пылится₁ are defined not only as states ('вести себя петухом [как задорный, заносчивый человек]', 'проявлять гнев') but also as medials ('впадать

в заносчивость', 'приходить в раздражение'). All of the prefixed verbs are defined exclusively as medials (inchoatives), i.e., with начать + verb, 'прийти в + noun, or with verbs prefixed in за- or по-¹, e.g., взревновать 'начать ревновать', вспетухиться 'прийти в задор', встосковать 'затосковать', взалкать 'почувствовать голод', взгрустить 'почувствовать грусть'.

One verb does not fit the pattern: покаяться ~ вспокаяться. The form покаяться cannot be defined as a state because it is perfective. Like вспокаяться, it is defined as 'пожалеть [почувствовать сожаление], раскаяться', which could be interpreted as entry into state, cf. the footnote below. Dal' cites the form вскаяться in the same meaning ('раскаяться'): "вскался он, да взмолился" (I:648). Вспокаяться represents the only occurrence in the corpus of double prefixation: каяться → покаяться → вспокаяться. (In вс-помнить [12.2.5] and вс-помочь [18.2.3] the по- can no longer be considered a distinct prefix.)

Two of the verbs listed on this chart of intransitives are actually transitive: (не) любить and ненавидеть. As we shall see further on, their semantics differs from that of the transitives discussed in 16.2.2. They are defined in the same fashion as intransitives not correlated with transitives. The unprefixated form is interpreted exclusively as stative, while the prefixed form is interpreted as medial:

[НЕ] ЛЮБИТЬ: 'dislike'	НЕВЗЛЮБИТЬ: 'take a dislike to'
'[не] чувствовать глубокую привязанность'	'Почувствовать сильное нерасположение, неприязнь'
НЕНАВИДЕТЬ: 'hate'	ВЗНЕНАВИДЕТЬ: 'conceive a hatred for'
'Испытывать ненависть'	'То же, что возненавидеть [почувствовать ненависть]'

The semantics of these forms is discussed in 16.2.9.1. One other verb, ревновать, can also be transitive, e.g., ревновать кого/что 'be jealous of'. The

¹Isačenko (1960:231) and Gr 1970 (267) consider почувствовать to be inchoative, while Ušakov and the SRJa define it only as perfective. Bondarko (1967:15) discerns a "слабый оттенок начинательности" in the prefix по- with certain verbs of feeling and sensory perception. Sal'nikov (1975) examines a number of such inchoative formations in по-.

prefixed form *взревновать*, however, is derived from the archaic intransitive sense 'be zealous': *взревновать* 'проявить рвение, начать ревновать'.

16.2.4 In 16.2.2 and 16.2.3 we have seen that transitive verbs of 'excitation' tend to be defined identically (e.g., *ярить* 'приводить в ярость' ~ *взъярить* 'привести в ярость'), while intransitives tend to differ. Intransitives correlated with transitives are defined as statives or medials when unprefixes (e.g., *яриться* 'быть в ярости; приходить в ярость') but only as medials when prefixed (e.g., *взъяриться* 'прийти в ярость'). Intransitives not correlated with transitives are defined only as statives when unprefixes (e.g., *грустить* 'испытывать чувство грусти') and only as medials when prefixed (e.g., *взгрустить* 'почувствовать грусть').

To understand the variety of interpretations of the prefixed forms of these verbs let us examine the semantics of verbs of 'excitation'. Their semantic structure could be described as psychological activity which involves an experiencer and, optionally, an agent and patient and which may optionally be viewed against a framework of limits, expressed by the prefixal features:

+	verb
+	abstract
+	"psychological"
+	experiential
0	experiencer
0	patiential
0	patient
0	agentive
0	agent
0	intransitive
0	horizontal
0	transgression

One might speak of psychological states rather than activities. In chapters 14 and 15 I have spoken of states and (states of) activity without differentiating these two concepts. There is a difference, however, between a state such as *он грустен* and an activity such as *он грустит*. In examining this distinction we shall have the opportunity to explore in some detail the process by which features of the verbal base become marked through rules of entailment.

In the following sections I will discuss three kinds of verbs which can be experiential: *states*, *activities* and *relations*. States (*он грустен*)

and intransitive activities (он грустит) are discussed in 16.2.5 and 16.2.6. Transitive and intransitivized activities (это тревожит его, он тревожится за это) are discussed in 16.2.7. Section 16.2.8 is devoted to an investigation of the conditions which permit overt expression of an [experiencer]. Relations are discussed in 16.2.9: relational activities (я ненавижу его) in 16.2.9.1 and relational states (он мне ненавистен) in 16.2.9.2.

16.2.5 *States.* The sentence он грустен presents a psychological state and the experiencer of the state. The sentence ему грустно likewise depicts a mental state and its experiencer. The difference between these two sentences lies in the explicitness with which the subject of the sentences is marked as an experiencer of the state.¹ The semantics of the morpheme {grust,#n} might be represented as follows:

+	verb
+	abstract
0	relation
+	state
0	activity
+	experiential
+	"sad"
0	experiencer
0	patiential
0	patient
0	agentive
0	agent
0	intransitive
0	horizontal
0	vertical
0	transgression

{grust,#n-}

Specification of the features [+ verb + abstract + state + experiential] is sufficient to select from the lexicon such inherently experiential states as грустен (ему грустно), он весел (ему весело). These are opposed, on the one hand, to variably experiential ([0 experiential]) states such as тяжел (этот

¹We shall see later, in the section on relational states (16.2.9.2), that the dative does not exclusively signal the presence of an [experiencer]. It may also signal a [beneficiary] in the case of [benefactive] verbs, e.g., он должен ему пять рублей.

камень тяжел: [- experiential]; этот камень мне тяжел, больному тяжело: [+ experiential]) and to nonexperiential states such as бел (парус бел: [- experiential]; *он мне бел, *ему бело); and, on the other hand, to activities such as (он) грустит, (он) веселится [0 state + activity].

In the absence of further specification, those features which are still unspecified (i.e., are [0 feature]) either remain unspecified or become marked through rules of entailment: the specification by the speaker of some features either precludes the specification of other features or makes their specification obligatory. I would tentatively propose the following rules of entailment:¹

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---|-------|-------------------------------|
| (1) [0 relation] | → [- relation] | / | _____ | { [+ state]
[+ activity] } |
| (2) [0 activity] | → [- activity] | / | _____ | [+ state] |
| (3) [0 intransitive] | → [+ intransitive] | / | _____ | { - relation
[+ state] } |
| (4) [0 patient] | ≠ [+ patient] | / | _____ | [+ intransitive] |
| (5) [0 agentive
0 agent] | → [- agentive
- agent] | / | _____ | [+ intransitive] |
| (6) [0 prefixal
features] | → [- prefixal
features] | / | _____ | [+ state] |

The first two rules involve considerations which will be important later on. They state (1) that if the verb has not been specified as denoting a [relation], that feature is excluded from the message once the feature [state] or [activity] is specified (cf. 16.2.6); and (2) that specification of the verb as denoting a [state] precludes a view of it also as denoting an [activity]. This means, for example, that a state such as он грустен, ему грустно cannot be interpreted as depicting also a [relation] (e.g., *он мне грустен, *ему грустно сестру, cf. он мне ненавистен, ему жалко сестру) or an [activity] (он грустен ему грустно ≠ он грустит, ему грустится, cf. 16.2.6). Although specification of the feature [state] excludes the features [relation] and [activity], specification of [relation] and [activity] do not exclude the feature [state] from the

¹The rules offered here and later on are meant to be preliminary statements of relationships obtaining among semantic features. I have not elaborated the descriptive framework used in this book to such an extent as to be able to present either ordered features or ordered rules.

message, cf. 16.2.6, 16.2.7, 16.2.9.

Rule (3) states that a [state] which is not also a [relation] is obligatorily [intransitive]:¹ some relational states can take direct objects (e.g., он должен одну корейку, отсюда видно всю деревню), but nonrelational states such as грустен, грустно can not.

Rule (4) states that the [patient] cannot be overtly expressed (i.e., as a direct object in the accusative), if the verb is specified as intransitive. The feature itself is not excluded from the message, for, as we shall see, the subject of sentences such as он грустен can be interpreted as a patient, as well as an experiencer.

Rule (5) is a repetition of the rule given in 15.6.1: the exclusion of the agentive features from the message precludes an interpretation of the state expressed in он грустен, ему грустно as a condition which has been brought about (cf. 16.2.7); the subject cannot be interpreted as an agent.

Rule (6) states that verbs which are marked [+ state] cannot be set in relationship to the framework of limits expressed by the prefixal features. To be prefixable, a verb must depict some kind of process (an activity, action or act) which can be viewed as occurring with respect to limits. States do not depict occurrences or events, but rather qualities.

The rules of entailment act to specify the matrix of {grust,#n-} as follows:

¹We have seen (in 15.6.1) that the morpheme -ся appears in the surface structure as a reflection of the specification of the feature [+ intransitive] when it marks the explicit intransitivization of an otherwise transitive verb (e.g., белить → белиться, тревожить → тревожиться) or an otherwise intransitive verb (e.g., белеть → белеться, грустить → груститься). Forms such as грустен, however, are implicitly intransitive; their specification as [+ intransitive] arises not through selection on the part of the speaker but through a rule of entailment. They are not intransitivizations and are not, therefore, marked with the -ся morpheme. Exceptional cases are forms such as бояться and смеяться, forms in -ся which are not intransitivizations.

+ verb
+ abstract
- relation
+ state
- activity
+ experiential
+ "sad"
0 experiencer
0 patiential
0 patient
- agentive
- agent
+ intransitive
- horizontal
- vertical
- transgression

{grust,#n-}

At this point the form {grust,#n-} represents an abstract experiential state which may involve a [patient] or an [experiencer]. Selection of the feature [patiential], along with other features expressing tense and gender, results in the following kinds of sentences:

- (a) Игорь грустен
- (b) Ее улыбка грустна
- (c) Его мысли грустны

These [+ patiential 0 patient] sentences occur with either animate or inanimate subjects and involve a use of the form {grust,#n-} usually glossed as 'выражающий грусть, исполненный грусти'. The subjects are interpretable as patients which display a quality; the verbs can be translated as 'is/are sad'.

If, instead of [patiential], the feature [experiencer] is selected, then only the sentence with the [animate] subject (a1) is possible:

- (a1) Игорю грустно
- (b1) *Ее улыбке грустно
- (c1) *Его мыслям грустно

The restriction encountered here suggests that the specification of the features [experiencer] and [animate] is governed by rules of entailment. The animate nominative subject in sentence (a) Игорь грустен is neither an expressed [patient] nor an expressed [experiencer], but can be interpreted as both: 'Igor' displays the quality of sadness' [+ patient] ~ 'Igor' experiences sadness' [+ experiencer]. The animate subject can also be expressed as an [experiencer], as in (a1): Игорю грустно 'Igor' experiences sadness' [+ experiencer]. The nonanimate subjects

in sentences (b) and (c), however, cannot be interpreted as experiencers, but only as patients: 'her smile/his thoughts display the quality of sadness'. And the nonanimate subjects of (b) and (c) cannot be used in [+ experiencer] sentences, as is shown in the impossibility of sentences (b1) and (c1). These restrictions can be stated in the following rules:

- (7) [0 experiencer] → [- experiencer] / _____ $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ state} \\ + \text{ patiential} \\ 0 \text{ patient} \\ 0 \text{ animate} \end{array} \right]$
- (8) [0 animate] → [+ animate] / _____ [+ experiencer]

Rule (7) states that if the patient of a verb is not specified as [+ animate], then it cannot be interpreted as an experiencer; the feature [experiencer] is excluded from the message. This accounts for the interpretation of the subjects of sentences (b) and (c) exclusively as patients. Rule (8) states that if a verb is specified [+ experiencer], then it becomes [+ animate], i.e., refers to the states or activities of animate beings. This rule accounts for the impossibility of selecting nonanimate words such as улыбка and мысли as subjects of the [+ experiencer] verb грустно.

16.2.5.1 There are expressions which would seem to contradict some of the rules of entailment given above. The sentence дом был построен рабочими, for example, shows a prefixed transitive verb (cf. rules 3 and 6) depicting a state resulting from an action performed by an explicit agent (cf. rule 5). Participial constructions such as дом построен, are, however, not exclusively stative. According to Isačenko (1960:364ff.), they can be interpreted as "stative passives" (e.g., дом построен [из кирпича]) or as "processual passives" (e.g., дом построен [в прошлом году]). In accordance with these observations one can say that forms such as построен and приготовлен are unspecified for stativity, are [0 state + action]. For that reason they can be interpreted either as states (дом построен 'the house is built, is finished', обед приготовлен 'dinner is ready' [+ state]) or as nonstates, as resultant processes (дом построен 'the house has been built', обед приготовлен 'dinner has been prepared' [- state]). True statives can be seen in the [+ state] forms строен 'built (i.e., well built, statuesque, well proportioned)' and готов 'ready'.

16.2.6 *Intransitive activities.* Both the sentence он грустен 'he is sad'

and the sentence он грустит 'he is sad, grieves, yearns' present an emotion and its experiencer. There are, however, distinct differences in these two views of the same reality. First, the sentence он грустен presents the emotion in terms of a quality ascribed to the experiencer, while the sentence он грустит presents the emotion as a kind of activity in which the experiencer is engaged. Second, the form грустен denotes a quality which, as we have seen, can be ascribed both to animates (девушка грустна) and to inanimates (ее улыбка грустна); the form грустит, however, can be predicated only of animates (девушка грустит, but not *ее улыбка грустит).

The sentences ему грустно and ему грустится (*прост.*, cited in Dal' and the SSRLJa) are not so different in feeling. The former depicts a quality, the latter an activity; but both can be predicated only of animates.

The semantics of the [+ activity] verb {grust,i-} can be represented as follows:

+	verb
+	abstract
0	relation
0	state
+	activity
+	experiential
+	"sad"
0	experiencer
0	patiential
0	patient
0	agentive
0	agent
0	animate
0	intransitive
0	horizontal
0	vertical
0	transgression
{grust,i-}	

Specification of the features [+ verb + abstract + activity + experiential + "sad"] is sufficient to select from the lexicon an inherently intransitive experiential verb like {grust,i-}. More features, namely [+ patiential + agentive], would have to be specified to select an inherently transitive verb denoting "sadness" such as {pečal,i-}: печалить(ся).

In the absence of further specification, several rules of entailment

apply:

- $$\begin{array}{l}
 (1) [0 \text{ relation}] \rightarrow [- \text{ relation}] / \underline{\quad} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ state}] \\ [+ \text{ activity}] \end{array} \right\} \\
 (9) \left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ patiential} \\ 0 \text{ patient} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ patiential} \\ - \text{ patient} \end{array} \right] / \underline{\quad} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ experiential} \\ 0 \text{ agentive} \end{array} \right] \\
 (10) [0 \text{ animate}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ animate}] / \underline{\quad} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ experiential} \\ - \text{ patient} \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

Rule (1) states that if a verb has not already been specified as denoting a [relation], that view is excluded from the message once it is specified as denoting either a [state] or an [activity]. Rule (9) applies to activity verbs which are [+ experiential]. It states that if the verb has not been specified as [+ patiential + agentive], i.e., if it is not a transitive verb, then it cannot involve the notion of a patient, one who is subjected to the activity denoted by the verb.¹ Experiential verbs which do express the notion of causation, e.g., печалить(ся) [+ patiential + agentive] 'sadden; be(come) sad', can express the notion of a [patient], one who is subjected to the activity, e.g., "я не хочу печалить вас ничем" [+ patient], он печалился о потере отца [0 patient]. Rule (10) is a corollary of rule (9); it states that experiential verbs which explicitly exclude the notion of a patient can refer only to animate beings. Those kinds of subjects which can only be interpreted as patients, i.e., inanimates such as улыбка or мысли, are excluded as possibilities. We shall see later on in section 16.2.7 that transitive experiential verbs can combine with inanimate patients.

The rules of entailment act to specify the matrix of {grust,i-} as follows:

¹The feature [patient] has a slightly different interpretation with nonstative verbs. The patient of a nonrelational state displays the quality denoted by the state. The patient of an activity, action or act, however, is interpretable as being subjected to or undergoing the process denoted by the verb.

+	verb
+	abstract
-	relation
0	state
+	activity
+	experiential
+	"sad"
0	experiencer
-	patiential
-	patient
0	agentive
0	agent
+	animate
0	intransitive
0	horizontal
0	vertical
0	transgression

{grust,i-}

When this matrix is further specified for features of gender and tense, it yields expressions such as он грустит/грустил, etc. The verb is interpretable as a (state of) activity: 'he is sad, is grieving, is yearning'. The subject is interpretable as an unmarked agent/experiencer, as one actively engaged in the experience. The subject may be expressed as an experiencer (ему грустится), but it cannot be overtly expressed as an agent (*грустится им). The reason for this restriction is that verbs which do not involve patients cannot have expressed agents, cf. 16.2.8. The following rule expresses this relationship:

$$(11) \begin{bmatrix} 0 \text{ agentive} \\ 0 \text{ agent} \end{bmatrix} \neq \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ agentive} \\ + \text{ agent} \end{bmatrix} / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ patiential} \\ - \text{ patient} \end{bmatrix}$$

If the matrix of {grust,i-} is specified as [+ experiencer], the following rules of entailment apply:

$$(12) [0 \text{ intransitive}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ intransitive}] / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ experiencer} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(5) \begin{bmatrix} 0 \text{ agentive} \\ 0 \text{ agent} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ agentive} \\ - \text{ agent} \end{bmatrix} / \text{---} [+ \text{ intransitive}]$$

Rule (12) states that an activity verb specified as [+ experiencer] becomes obligatorily [+ intransitive]. One reason for this restriction lies in the ambiguity of the dative case which serves as the surface manifestation of the specification of the [experiencer] feature: the dative with the [0 intransitive] form of a verb is interpreted as the recipient or beneficiary of the activity,

e.g., ему (не) пишут 'people don't write to him'. Other reasons are discussed in 16.2.8. Rule (12), which renders a [+ experiencer] verb [+ intransitive], establishes the condition under which rule (5) can apply. Rule (5) serves to eliminate an agentive interpretation of the experiencer subject, cf. below.

When the matrix of {grust,i-} is specified [+ experiencer] the rules of entailment act to specify the matrix further:

+ verb
+ abstract
- relation
0 state
+ activity
+ experiential
+ "sad"
+ experiencer
- patiential
- patient
- agentive
- agent
+ animate
+ intransitive
0 horizontal
0 vertical
0 transgression

{grust,i-sja}

When this matrix is further specified for features of gender and tense, it yields expressions such as ему грустится/грустилось, etc. The verb is interpretable as a (state of) activity. The subject is interpretable exclusively as an experiencer; since it is [- agentive] it cannot be viewed as actively engaged in the activity denoted by the verb.

We can now see why the sentences ему грустно and ему грустится seem almost synonymous, while the sentences он грустен and он грустит are more distinct. The two [+ experiencer] verbs can be predicated only of animates, which cannot have an agentive interpretation; the difference lies only in the expression of the [activity] feature. Ему грустно [+ state - activity] depicts an experiencer and a state: 'he feels sad'. Ему грустится [0 state + activity] depicts an experiencer and an activity ('he feels like grieving') which may also have a stative interpretation ('he feels sad').

The two [0 experiencer] forms грустен and грустит, however, differ in

the specification of several features. Он грустен [+ state - activity 0 patiential 0 patient - agentive - agent 0 animate] 'he/it is sad' can refer to an animate patient or experiencer or to an inanimate patient (e.g., человек грустен, его взгляд грустен). The animate subject can be interpreted as experiencing the quality or as merely displaying it. Он грустит [0 state + activity - patiential - patient 0 agentive 0 agent + animate] 'he is sad, is grieving' can, however, refer only to an animate experiencer who is actively engaged in the (state of) activity denoted by the verb. We shall see later (16.2.8) that experiential activity verbs such as грустить do not form [+ experiencer] forms (ему грустится) as regularly as stative verbs such as грустен (ему грустно). The reason is that activity forms such as грустить unambiguously refer to animate experiencers, while stative forms such as грустен can refer to animate or inanimate patients or to animate experiencers. The [+ experiencer] phrase ему грустится differs from the [0 experiencer] phrase он грустит only in that it precludes an agentive interpretation of the subject; in both cases the subject is an animate experiencer. The [+ experiencer] phrase ему грустно, however, provides a much greater contrast with respect to its [0 experiencer] counterpart он грустен in that its subject is marked as an animate experiencer, rather than an animate or inanimate patient.

16.2.6.1 The essential difference between the stative verb {grust,#n-} and the activity verb {grust,1-} is that the latter does not preclude prefixal features, cf. rule (6). The activities depicted by the sentences он грустит and ему грустится can be viewed without reference to an external framework of limits (i.e., viewed as states of activity) or can be viewed as activities with thresholds. The following rules of entailment apply in the derivation of the prefixal forms:

$$(13) [0 \text{ perfective}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ perfective}] / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ prefixal} \\ \text{features} \end{array} \right]^1$$

¹The rule that prefixation of a stem results in a perfective stem has no exception in Russian (for a discussion of the "verbs of motion", see 17.2.2). There are a few learned calques, e.g., исследовать, использовать, содействовать, which are usually considered to be biaspectual (cf. Isačenko 1960:145-146). In most cases it seems possible to treat these as unprefixal, i.e., as involving bound morphemes.

(14) [0 vertical] → [- vertical] / — [+ horizontal
+ transgression]

(15) [0 horizontal] → [- horizontal] / — [+ vertical
+ transgression]

Rule (13) states that prefixation, the view of the process within a system of limits, entails perfectivity, a view of the process in terms of a total event. In many instances the prefixal view can be maintained while the perfective view is eliminated (i.e., [+ perfective] → [0 perfective]) through a process of secondary imperfectivization. The phenomenon of secondary imperfectivization could be described by positing the feature [imperfective], whose specification would account for the appearance of the suffixes {[i]v)-aj-} and would entail the change [+ perfective] → [0 perfective], e.g.,

$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ verb} \\ 0 \text{ perfective} \\ 0 \text{ imperfective} \\ 0 \text{ horizontal} \\ 0 \text{ transgression} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ verb} \\ + \text{ perfective} \\ - \text{ imperfective} \\ + \text{ horizontal} \\ + \text{ transgression} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ verb} \\ 0 \text{ perfective} \\ + \text{ imperfective} \\ + \text{ horizontal} \\ + \text{ transgression} \end{array} \right]$
бодрить	взбодрить	взбадривать

At present, however, I am unable to provide a semantic explanation of why some prefixed verbs can form secondary imperfectives and others do not.¹

Rules (14) and (15) state that the specification of the features underlying the prefix *вз-* precludes the specification of the features underlying the prefix *за-*, and vice versa. There are no verbs in *взза-*; and the one verb in *завз-* (*завздыхать* 'начать вздыхать') does not involve prefixation in *вз-*, but rather a bound morpheme {*vzdix-/vzdox-*}, cf. 15.4.9. One can say in general that the specification of one prefix precludes the specification of most others; but there are cases of double and triple prefixation, e.g., involving the prefixes *по-* (as second or third prefix) and *на-* (as second prefix), e.g., *повытаскать*, *понавытаскать*, *навыдумать*.

Selection of the prefixal features yields the following forms:

¹Isačenko's claim that mode-of-action formations do not form secondary imperfectives provides a good general rule. There are, however, systematic exceptions, e.g., *дочитать* 'final phase' → *дочитывать*.

+ verb	+ verb	+ verb	+ verb
+ abstract	+ abstract	+ abstract	+ abstract
- relation	- relation	- relation	- relation
0 state	0 state	0 state	0 state
+ activity	+ activity	+ activity	+ activity
+ experiential	+ experiential	+ experiential	+ experiential
+ "sad"	+ "sad"	+ "sad"	+ "sad"
0 experiencer	+ experiencer	0 experiencer	+ experiencer
- patiential	- patiential	- patiential	- patiential
- patient	- patient	- patient	- patient
0 agentive	- agentive	0 agentive	- agentive
0 agent	- agent	0 agent	- agent
+ animate	+ animate	+ animate	+ animate
0 intransitive	+ intransitive	0 intransitive	+ intransitive
+ perfective	+ perfective	+ perfective	+ perfective
+ horizontal	+ horizontal	- horizontal	- horizontal
- vertical	- vertical	+ vertical	+ vertical
+ transgression	+ transgression	+ transgression	+ transgression
он взгрустил	ему взгрустилось	он загрустил	ему загрустилось

These prefixed forms view the states of activity expressed by он грустит and ему грустится within a limitational framework. In the absence of a patient, the limit can be interpreted only as applying to the activity itself, i.e., as the threshold of activity. Dal' and the SSRLJa list the form взгрустить ('почувствовать грусть'). The form взгруститься (ему взгрустилось) is not listed in any dictionary but is acceptable to my native informant. The вз- forms can be taken as expressing an abrupt onset of activity. The за- forms are not so expressive and are the more normal way of specifying грустить(ся) for a threshold of activity.¹ Because of the limit imposed by specification of the prefixal features, none of these forms can be interpreted as denoting an absolute or unqualified state of activity: they denote a state of activity viewed with respect to its threshold, i.e., entry into state.

16.2.6.2 Some of the prefixed forms of грустить(ся) can be further specified

¹The verb загруститься also occurs with a nominative subject (e.g., загрустился 'he became exhausted with grief'). The derivation of this form is discussed in 16.2.8.

as semelfactive acts: *взгрустнуть(ся)*, *сгрустнуть(ся)*.¹ Some evidence for the fact that semelfactivity is not linked to prefixation (cf. 15.5.1.1) is provided by the dialectal form *грустнуться* (SRNG VII:171). In these cases the complex activity depicted by *грустить(ся)* is viewed in terms of a single complex act. *Взгрустнуть* (он *взгрустнул*, ему *взгрустнулось*) is still somewhat inchoative in feeling (the threshold of the complex act is made explicit in the prefix) but also delimitative (semelfactivity limits the view to one complex partial); it is defined as both inchoative and delimitative: 'почувствовать грусть; погрузить немного'.

16.2.7 *Transitive activities.* The verb *тревожить(ся)* can serve as an example of a transitive experiential activity. The semantics of the unprefixated forms can be represented as follows:

+ verb	+ verb	+ verb
+ abstract	+ abstract	+ abstract
- relation	- relation	- relation
0 state	0 state	0 state
+ activity	+ activity	+ activity
+ experiential	+ experiential	+ experiential
+ "disturb"	+ "disturb"	+ "disturb"
0 experiencer	0 experiencer	0 experiencer
+ patiential	+ patiential	+ patiential
0 patient	+ patient	0 patient
+ agentive	+ agentive	0 agentive
0 agent	0 agent	0 agent
0 animate	0 animate	0 animate
0 intransitive	0 intransitive	+ intransitive
0 horizontal	0 horizontal	0 horizontal
0 transgression	0 transgression	0 transgression
{trevoži-}	это тревожит его	он тревожится за это

¹The fact that the forms in *за-* do not occur as semelfactives (e.g., **загрустнуть*, **загрустнуться*) presents an interesting restriction. It seems that *за-* does not occur with the semelfactive forms of verbs which denote experiential or other kinds of complex activities (which I have called [cyclical], cf. 14.5.1): there is no **заболтнуть* 'give a shake' (cf. *заболтать* 'shake up; start to shake'), **замотнуть* 'toss' (cf. *замотать* 'start to toss, shake'), **задрогнуть* 'shudder' (cf. *задрожать* 'start to shiver'; *задрогнуть* 'start to freeze' is derived from the *imperfective* *дрогнуть* 'freeze'). *За-* occurs only with the semelfactive forms of verbs which denote [unitary] activity (cf. 14.5.1 and 17.5.1) consisting of noncomplex acts usually denoting 'motion' (e.g., *кинуть*, *прыгнуть*, *двинуть*, cf. 15.2.7); with these forms it has a directional meaning (e.g., *закинуть мяч за забор*: 'beyond'). An explanation of this restriction will have to await further investigation.

To select an inherently transitive verb from the lexicon the speaker must specify the activity as [+ patiential + agentive]. If the speaker specifies the verb as [+ patient], it takes an accusative direct object. Because experiential verbs are specified [+ abstract], the patient will be either an animate person ("Простите, ... что не писал вам и тревожил вас своим молчанием") or an inanimate abstraction ("Это Яшка тревожил чуткую тишину коридора"). The [0 abstract 0 experiential] verb тревожить ('нарушать неподвижность чего-л., трогать' ['agitation']) takes a physical object as its patient, e.g., тревожить больную ногу. Animate patients of experiential verbs are interpretable as experiencers, even though they cannot be overtly marked as such, cf. 16.2.8.

A transitive experiential verb is interpreted as 'cause to enter a state of activity', e.g., ее здоровье тревожит его ('приводит его в состояние тревоги'). The psychological activity denoted by the verb is not conceived in isolation as a pure state but as a caused state, a state imposed upon a patient. The prefixed form of the verb is interpreted in precisely the same way, e.g., "Мои пытливые расспросы, очевидно, встревожили дядю" ('привели его в состояние тревоги'). The difference lies in the explicitness with which the threshold of the patient's anxiety is expressed.

The intransitivized verb тревожиться arises through the specification of the verb тревожить as [+ intransitive]: the intransitive form is not stored as a separate item in the lexicon but arises through an additional feature specification. Specification of the verb as [+ intransitive] causes a change in the marking of the [agentive] feature, cf. 15.6.1:

(16) [+ agentive] → [0 agentive] / ____ [+ intransitive].

The patient of an intransitive form cannot be expressed as a direct object, cf. rule (4):

(4) [0 patient] ↗ [+ patient] / ____ [+ intransitive].

Since it is variably agentive, тревожиться can be interpreted as a state of activity which has been brought about (e.g., он тревожился 'приходил в

состояние тревоги' [medial interpretation]) or as a state of activity without respect to an external framework (e.g., он тревожился 'был исполненным тревоги' [stative interpretation]). When the prefixal features of the verb are specified, the activity is not viewed in isolation but in relationship to a framework of limits (interpretable with activity verbs as a threshold activity). The prefixed form встревожиться, therefore, cannot have a stative interpretation, but only a medial one: 'прийти в тревожное состояние'.

The notion of 'change of state' that one finds in the transitive forms тревожить/встревожить кого and in the medial interpretation of the intransitivized forms тревожиться/встревожиться arises from the fact that all these forms depict activity viewed within an external framework: a framework of causation (agentiveness), as in the case of тревожить кого 'make someone worry' and тревожиться 'become worried (by something)'; and a framework of limits (thresholds), as in the case of встревожить кого 'make someone (start to) worry' and встревожиться 'get worried'. Only the form тревожиться, not explicitly marked as agentive, can present a view of the activity without respect to an external framework and be interpreted statively: тревожиться 'worry, be worried'.

16.2.7.1 I noted in 16.2.3.1 that the forms маниться and взманиться/взманиваться are all interpreted exclusively as passives. The reason for this is that they denote [action] rather than states of [activity]. Unlike activity verbs, the [+ action] verb манить 'beckon, lure' ('подзывать, привлекать, прельщать') cannot be interpreted as denoting a change of state ('приводить в состояние X'). Likewise, the intransitivized form маниться cannot be interpreted as stative ('быть в состоянии X') or medial ('приходить в состояние X'). In 14.5.1.1 I defined *activity* as referring to a state of random behavior and *action* as referring to coherent behavior or an operation and noted that the -ся forms of action verbs are more immediately interpreted as passives than those of activity verbs. The reason for this is that the feature [+ action] stylizes the verb as a directed process: the patient is not brought into a state or caused to act in a certain fashion but rather is merely subjected to the effects of the verb, undergoes an operation.

16.2.8 *EXCURSUS: ON THE SPECIFICATION OF THE FEATURE [+ EXPERIENCER].*

There is an interesting restriction on the specification of the [experiencer] feature. It seems that neither a transitive verb (ее здоровье тревожит его) nor an intransitivized verb (он тревожится за ее здоровье) can be specified as [+ experiencer]. One cannot form [+ experiencer] phrases from activity verbs correlated with transitives, e.g., *ему тревожится (ему тревожно), *ему веселится (ему весело), *ему беспокоится (ему беспокойно), *ему печалится (ему печально). To explain this restriction I would propose the following rule:

$$(17) [0 \text{ experiencer}] \not\rightarrow [+ \text{ experiencer}] / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ potential} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rule (17) states that an activity verb which is specified as involving a patient (expressed or not) cannot be explicitly specified for an [experiencer]. Overt expression of an experiencer seems to be based on a view of the verb as a general state of activity, not one which is imposed upon a patient.

We have seen that stative experiential verbs such as грустен, тревожен, беспокоен [+ state 0 potential] can be specified [+ experiencer]: он грустен ~ ему грустно, он тревожен ~ ему тревожно, он беспокоен ~ ему беспокойно. These are verbs which do not insist on a potential interpretation of the subject.

Experiential activity verbs which are basically intransitive (i.e., not correlated with transitives) can likewise be specified [+ experiencer], e.g., он грустит ~ ему грустится, он недомогает ~ ему недомогается. These verbs exclude a potential interpretation of the subject, i.e., are [- potential], cf. rule (9). In 16.2.6 I mentioned that the [+ activity] verbs do not form [+ experiencer] constructions with the same regularity as [+ state] verbs. The reason is that the [+ activity] form грустить is [- potential], while the [+ state] form грустен is [0 potential]: in [+ activity - potential] verbs the difference between the [0 experiencer] and the [+ experiencer] forms is not potentially as great as it is in the case of [+ state 0 potential] verbs. For example, both sentences он грустит and ему грустится present the image of a person involved in the activity of grieving. The first sentence can be interpreted as depicting a more active involvement on the part of the experiencer,

since it is [0 agentive], cf. 16.2.6. In both cases, however, the subject (nominative or dative) is interpretable primarily as an experiencer. The sentences *он грустен* and *ему грустно*, can also both be interpreted experientially: 'he feels sad'. That interpretation is obligatory for the [+ experiencer] sentence *ему грустно*, but not, however, for the [0 experiencer] sentence *ему грустен*. This latter sentence can also depict a qualitative state: *он грустен* can mean not only 'he is sad (feels sad)' (reading it as [+ experiencer]) but also 'he is sad (displays that quality)' (reading it as [0 experiencer]). Furthermore, the stative verb can be predicated of inanimates, e.g., *его взгляд грустен* [- experiencer]. The [+ experiencer] forms may be more current with [+ state] verbs just because they have the effect of strictly limiting the interpretation of an otherwise ambiguous subject. The [+ experiencer] forms of [+ activity] verbs such as *грустить* are not so motivated, since the subject in either case is interpreted as an experiencer. Although they are rare, [+ experiencer] forms of [+ activity] verbs cannot be excluded as impossibilities: besides *груститься* (listed only in Dal' and the SSRJа), *недомогаться* (Dal', SSRJа, SRJа) and *хворяться* (Dal', SSRJа, SRJа: "Все мне хворяется и все как-то тяжело жить на свете"), one finds (only in Dal') the forms *не болеется* ('недосужно, нельзя болеть'), *сам-друг легче тужится* ('безлично'), *что-то хилеется* ('неможется, нездоровится'). One native speaker, when asked about the possibility of saying *ему тоскуется* (not attested in any dictionary), thought it odd, but not impossible. The same native speaker, however, rejected **ему тревожится* and **ему беспокоится* as "absolutely impossible".

Unlike the stative verb *грустен* [+ state 0 patiential] and the basically intransitive activity verb *грустить* [+ activity - patiential], the basically transitive verb *тревожить(ся)* is explicitly [+ patiential]: it must be specified [+ patiential + agentive] to be selected from the lexicon. Neither the transitive form [+ patiential + patient] nor the intransitivization [+ patiential 0 patient] can be specified [+ experiencer]:

<i>сын тревожит родителей</i>	↗	<i>*сыну тревожится родителей</i>
'the son worries his parents'		'the son feels like worrying his parents'
<i>родители тревожатся</i>	↗	<i>*родителям тревожится</i>
'the parents are worried'		'the parents feel worried'

The [+ agentive] subject of the transitive form cannot be specified as an experiencer, because the unexpressed experiencer is associated exclusively with the patient (родителей). The [+ potential 0 patient] subject of the intransitivized form cannot be overtly specified as an experiencer, even though it is interpretable as such. The reason seems to be that an overtly expressed experiencer cannot at the same time be interpretable as a patient upon whom the state of activity has been imposed.

16.2.8.1 The fact that a subject interpretable as the patient/experiencer of a [+ potential + agentive] verb cannot be specified [+ experiencer] can also be seen in the example of the form *загруститься* which is used with a nominative subject: *он загрустился* 'he became exhausted with grief'. We have seen (in 16.2.6 and 16.2.6.1) that the two intransitive verbs *грустить* and *загрустить* both form [+ experiencer] constructions: *он грустит ~ ему грустится, он загрустил ~ ему загрустилось* 'he began to grieve' ~ *ему загрустилось* 'he began to feel like grieving'. The form *загруститься*, however, does not form a [+ experiencer] construction: *он загрустился* 'he became exhausted with grief' / **ему загрустилось* 'he felt like becoming exhausted with grief'. To understand the reason for this restriction, let us compare the derivations of these forms:

- (A) *The Derivation of* *он грустит ~ ему грустится*
он загрустил ~ ему загрустилось

Specification of the features [+ verb + abstract + activity + experiential + "sad"] suffices to select the morpheme {grust,i-} (matrix [a]) from the lexicon. In the absence of further specification, rules (1), (9), (10) and (11) take effect to produce matrix (a¹). If the prefixal features are specified, rules (13) and (15) also apply, yielding matrix (a²). The three matrices are illustrated below:

(a)		(a ¹)		(a ²)
+ verb + abstract 0 relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" 0 experiencer 0 patiential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 agent 0 animate 0 intransitive 0 perfective 0 vertical 0 transgression	<i>rules of entailment</i> → 1, 9, 10, 11	+ verb + abstract - relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" 0 experiencer - patiential - patient 0 agentive 0 agent + animate 0 intransitive 0 perfective 0 vertical 0 transgression	<i>rules of entailment</i> → 1, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15	+ verb + abstract - relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" 0 experiencer - patiential - patient 0 agentive 0 agent + animate 0 intransitive + perfective + vertical + transgression
{grust,i-}		{grust,i-} он грустит		{za-grust,i-} он загрузтил

If the matrix of {grust,i-} is specified as [+ experiencer], then rules (12) and (5) also apply, yielding the matrices (a³) and (a⁴):

(a)		(a ³)		(a ⁴)
+ verb + abstract 0 relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" + <i>experiencer</i> 0 patiential 0 patient 0 agentive 0 agent 0 animate 0 intransitive 0 perfective 0 vertical 0 transgression	<i>rules of entailment</i> → 1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 5	+ verb + abstract - relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" + <i>experiencer</i> - patiential - patient - agentive - agent + animate + intransitive 0 perfective 0 vertical 0 transgression	<i>rules of entailment</i> → 1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 5, 13, 15	+ verb + abstract - relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" + <i>experiencer</i> - patiential - patient - agentive - agent + animate + intransitive + perfective + vertical + transgression
{grust,i-}		{grust,i-sja} ему грустится		{za-grust,i-sja} ему загрузтилось

It is important to point out that both the unprefixated forms and the prefixed forms are derived from the same matrix (matrix [a]). This means that (a¹) он грустит is derived from (a) {grust,i-} and that (a²) он загрузтил is also derived from (a), when the prefixal features have been specified. Likewise, (a³) ему грустится is derived from (a) {grust,i-} [+ experiencer], and (a⁴) ему загрузтилось is derived from (a) {grust,i-} [+ experiencer + vertical + trans-

gression]. This understanding of semantic derivation derives surface forms not from each other, but from one underlying matrix whose variable features are specified in different fashions: the forms with a dative subject are derived by specification of the [experiencer] feature, the forms in *за-* by specification of the features [vertical] and [horizontal]. Such a view eliminates such questions as whether *ему загрустилось* is derived from *он загрустил* or *ему грустится*: it is derived from a matrix specified [+ verb + abstract + activity + experiential + "sad" + experiencer + vertical + horizontal].

(B) *The Derivation of он загрустился.*

In the preceding section we saw the consequences of further specifying the matrix of {grust,i-} for the features [experiencer] and/or [vertical]/[transgression]. In this section I will discuss the consequences of specifying it for the feature [+ patiential].

Unlike inherently transitive verbs (e.g., *тревожить[ся]*), inherently intransitive verbs (e.g., *грустить*) and variably transitive verbs (e.g., *писать*) can be selected from the lexicon without specification of the features [patiential] and [agentive]. If, after selection from the lexicon, [0 patiential 0 agentive] morphemes such as {grust,i-} and {p,isa-} are specified as [+ patiential], the following rule of entailment applies:

$$(18) \begin{bmatrix} 0 \text{ animate} \\ 0 \text{ intransitive} \\ 0 \text{ prefixal} \\ 0 \text{ features} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ animate} \\ + \text{ intransitive} \\ + \text{ prefixal} \\ + \text{ features} \end{bmatrix} \begin{array}{l} / \\ \backslash \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ patiential} \\ 0 \text{ agentive} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rule (18) states that when an intransitive verb, i.e., one which is selectable without specification of the patiential and agentive features, becomes further specified as [+ patiential], it must refer exclusively to the activity of animates, must be explicitly intransitive and must be prefixed.¹ I propose this rule tentatively; it is based on observations which must be researched much more extensively. The idea is that when an intransitive verb is specified [+ patiential], the subject becomes interpretable not only as an (unmarked) agent but also as a patient. The patiential feature must be associated with the subject, since intransitive verbs involve only one actant (transitive verbs, which involve two actants, are selected through specification of both features [+ pa-

¹The notation $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ prefixal} \\ \text{features} \end{bmatrix}$ means that one set of prefixal features must be selected, not that all such features becomes specified.

tiential + agentive]).

The [+ patiential 0 agentive] verb is interpreted as activity occurring with respect to the limits of the patient/experiencer subject. The relationship of the activity to those limits cannot be left unexpressed but must be made explicit through specification of prefixal features. There are no unprefixated constructions such as *он грустится 'he is grieving to a certain extent'.¹ The nature of the limit depends upon the prefix chosen, e.g., он загрустился 'he became exhausted with grief' (extreme degree), он нагрустился в одиночестве 'he was full of sorrow from living in solitude, had his fill of grief' (great quantity). In each case the activity of grieving is viewed with respect to the limits of the subject (a patient/experiencer).

It seems that only animates can be presented as engaging in activities to the extent of their limits. For example, the verb писать can take either an animate or inanimate subject, e.g., он пишет, перо пишет. If the verb, marked [+ patiential], is used to express activity with respect to the limits of the patient, it can only take an animate subject, e.g., он записался 'he became exhausted from writing; became carried away with the activity of writing', он написался влѣсть, лег спать 'he wrote to his heart's content and went to bed'. Sentences with inanimate subjects are impossible: *перо записалось 'the pen has written itself out', *перо написалось 'the pen has had its fill of writing'. This is the same restriction that we encountered with verbs of 'sound/expression' (15.2.6.1): verbs such as провытьѣся, проревѣтьѣся, прошумѣтьѣся refer exclusively to animates, e.g., волки провылились (*пули провылились 'stopped howling'), ребенок проревѣлся (*море проревѣлось), дети про-

¹Unprefixated forms such as плакаться and молиться (15.6.2) are different in meaning; they do not refer to the extent of the involvement of the subject in the activity. They are not "patientializations", verbs marked [+ patiential], but rather intransitivizations, derived by specification of the intransitive feature, which serves to preclude an agentive interpretation of the subject. The form плакаться [0 patiential - agentive] means 'lament, complain' (originally 'be involved in activity characterized by weeping'). The [+ patiential 0 agentive form] -плакаться, however, depicts the relationship of the activity to the limits of the patient, e.g., выплакаться 'cry oneself out', наплакаться 'have one's fill of crying', проплакаться 'cry oneself out, finish crying'.

шумелись (*самовар прошумелся).

The derivation of он зарустился is presented below:

(a)		(a ⁵)
+ verb + abstract 0 relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" 0 experiencer + <i>patiential</i> 0 patient 0 agentive 0 agent 0 animate 0 intransitive 0 perfective 0 vertical 0 transgression	<i>rules of entailment</i> → 1, 18, 4, 5, 13, 15, 17	+ verb + abstract - relation 0 state + activity + experiential + "sad" 0 experiencer + <i>patiential</i> 0 patient - agentive - agent + animate + intransitive + perfective + vertical + transgression
{grust,i-}		{za-grust,i-sja} он зарустился

Matrix (a) shows the morpheme {grust,i-} marked [+ patiential]. Working on the features from top to bottom, the following rules of entailment apply.¹

(1) [0 relation] → [- relation] / _____ { [+ state]
[+ activity] }

Rules (2) and (3) refer to [+ state] verbs, and do not apply.

(18) $\left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ animate} \\ 0 \text{ intransitive} \\ 0 \text{ prefixal} \\ 0 \text{ features} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ animate} \\ + \text{ intransitive} \\ + \text{ prefixal} \\ + \text{ features} \end{array} \right] / \text{---} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ patiential} \\ 0 \text{ agentive} \end{array} \right]$

Rule (18) can operate once the features [+ activity + patiential] are encountered. It renders the verb [+ animate + intransitive] and makes obligatory the specification of one set of prefixal features. It also sets the conditions for other rules of entailment to apply.

¹For the purposes of the present discussion I describe the rules as operating on the matrix features one by one. This procedure allows rule (18), sensitive to the feature [+ patiential], to apply as soon as its environment is found. A more scientific description of these processes must await further research.

- (4) [0 patient] ↗ [+ patient] / _____ [+ intransitive]
- (5) $\begin{bmatrix} 0 \text{ agentive} \\ 0 \text{ agent} \end{bmatrix}$ → $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{ agentive} \\ - \text{ agent} \end{bmatrix}$ / _____ [+ intransitive]

Rule (4) prevents an overt expression of the patient. Rule (5) renders an agentive interpretation impossible: the activity expressed in он загрустился is not one which is imposed upon the subject (as in the case of the [0 agentive] phrase он тревожится [из-за этого]) but one which the subject endures. Rules (6) through (12) do not apply.

- (13) [0 perfective] → [+ perfective] / _____ $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ prefixal} \\ + \text{ features} \end{bmatrix}$

Rule (14) does not apply.

- (15) [0 horizontal] → [- horizontal] / _____ $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vertical} \\ + \text{ transgression} \end{bmatrix}$

Rule (16) does not apply.

- (17) [0 experiencer] ↗ [+ experiencer] / _____ $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ activity} \\ + \text{ potential} \end{bmatrix}$

Rule (17) prevents overt expression of the [experiencer] and thereby the formation of the construction *ему загрустилось 'he felt like becoming exhausted with grief'.

16.2.8.1 In the preceding section we have seen that the [experiencer] feature cannot be specified when the verb is specified as [+ potential]. The reason seems to be that in order to express an experiencer, a verb must denote a general state (он грустен ~ ему грустно) or a general state of activity (он грустит ~ ему грустится). Verbs which are [+ potential], such as тревожить(ся) [+ potential + agentive] or -грустит(ся) [+ potential - agentive] denote not general activity, but rather activity viewed within a causal framework or activity related to the limits of the patient. Activity verbs which can display an overt experiencer must denote nonspecific general activity. To understand the relationship of experientiality and lack of specificity, let us briefly examine the behavior of the variably experiential verb писать.

The verb писать can occur with or without an object, i.e., can refer to the specific activity of writing something or just to the activity of writing in general. Consider the following sentences:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| (a) он пишет новую статью | 'he is writing { ^a } new article'
the |
| (b) он пишет статьи | 'he is writing (the) articles, he writes articles' |
| (c) он пишет | 'he is writing, he writes' |

The first sentence describes a specific action performed by an agent upon a patient (in this case, an effected object or product). Sentence (b) describes specific activity ('he is writing the articles') or general activity ('he writes articles'). Sentence (c) describes either a specific activity ('he is writing [something] now') or a kind of activity ('he is writing [as opposed to doing something else], he writes').

One could argue that the verb in all three sentences could be specified [+ abstract]. If specified [+ abstract], писать would not refer to the physical process of producing specific objects but rather to the composition of kinds of literary works; the patients in (a) and (b) would refer not to concrete objects but to kinds of compositions, cf. 10.2.3.1. Specification of писать as [+ abstract], as denoting a kind of intellectual pursuit rather than a physical process, opens up the possibility of conceiving it as experiential. One could say that [+ abstract] implies [0 experiential] (unless that feature is precluded by the specification of other semantic features). For example, проскрипеть (cf. 15.2.6.1) can be used in the [+ abstract] sense of 'squeak by' ('прожить, просуществовать какое-л. время'), e.g., "По моему рассуждению, какие бы ей беды впереди ни были, все-таки до ста годов проскрипит". Проскрипеть in this usage takes an animate subject for whom the passage of time is presented as a difficult experience. The verb кричать, however, in one of its [+ abstract] usages ('be loud [of colors, objects]', e.g., "Смотри, чтоб из тебя не вышел модный живописец. У тебя и теперь уже что-то начинают слишком бойко кричать краски"), is not experiential; experientiality is precluded by the inanimacy of the subject. One can say that although not every [+ abstract] verb is experiential, all [0 experiential] verbs are [+ abstract]; the presence of the [experiential] feature is dependent upon an abstract conception of the activity.

Sentences (a) and (b), if specified [+ abstract], would mean something like 'he is involved in the composition of a new article/articles'. It is rather difficult, however, to interpret the subject as an experiencer, e.g.,

'he is experiencing the composition of a new article, is in an article writing mood'. Both these sentences are [+ patiential], and we have seen that patientiality precludes the specification of an experiencer (rule [17]). Sentence (c), on the other hand, is [0 patiential] and describes a general state of affairs ('he is involved in the activity of writing'). It is much more easily interpreted as experiential, e.g., не беспокой его, он наконец пишет 'don't disturb him, he's finally writing, is in a writing mood'. Sentence (c), unlike sentences (a) and (b), has a [+ experiencer] counterpart: ему пишется 'he is in a writing mood, feels like writing'.

At this point one notes an interesting complementarity: sentences which are most easily conceived as experiential are precisely those which cannot be made passive. Sentence (a) он пишет новую статью can be made passive only if it refers to a concrete action performed upon a specific patient: новая статья пишется им '*the* new article is being written by him'. This is precisely the [0 abstract] sense that excludes an experiential reading. Sentence (b) он пишет статьи can be made passive only if it refers to the concrete activity of writing specific articles ('he is writing *the* articles'): статьи пишутся им '*the* articles are being written by him'. Sentence (b) in the more general and more experiential sense ('he writes articles, is engaged in that kind of activity') does not passivize: статьи пишутся им cannot mean 'articles are written by him (i.e., he is an article writer)'. Sentence (c) can be understood as a concrete activity ('he is writing [something]') only if it is interpreted as involving an unexpressed patient. It is more immediately understood, however, as referring to the kind of activity which the person is engaged in or experiencing. Because of this lack of specificity it cannot be made passive: *пишется им '[something] is being written by him'. It seems, then, that passivization is based (in part) on a concept of the verb as referring to a specific action involving specific patients, cf. 14.5.1.1.¹ Activity verbs, as we have seen, can be passivized (e.g., лекарство взбалтывается мешалкой), but with much less regularity. They are much more immediately interpreted as general states of activity viewed with respect to cause (e.g., вода вол-

¹I plan to refine these speculations in later work.

нуется от ветра) than as true passives (e.g., морская гладь волнуется ветром [Ušakov: 'редко']) because they represent a more diffuse notion (general or random motion, state of activity) than that represented in action verbs (coherent operation). Experientiality, on the other hand, is associated precisely with lack of specificity. Verbs which denote coherent actions, e.g. резать, do not form experiential constructions. And verbs which denote activities specified as involving a patient, e.g., тревожить кого, писать статьи, cannot be made overtly experiential. Only verbs depicting activity in general easily form experiential constructions: ему (хорошо, плохо, не) пишется, читается, работается, спится.

The [+ experiencer] sentence ему пишется 'he feels like writing, is in a writing mood' must be derived from the [+ abstract + experiential] {p,isa-} which denotes a kind of activity, e.g., он пишет 'he is writing'. There are, however, other sentences which contain a dative and in which the verb писать describes a specific action involving a specific patient (expressed as a nominative subject or genitive object). For example:

(d) ему не пишется эта статья

(e) ему не писать этой книги

I think it can be shown that the datives in these sentences represent a [beneficiary] and not an [experiencer]. In each case the person expressed as a dative is the beneficiary of a possibility to do something rather than the experiencer of a state of activity.

The sentence ему не пишется [+ experiential + experiencer] can be translated 'he is not in a writing mood, doesn't feel like writing: it depicts the experience of writing, negatively evaluated, with respect to its experiencer. Sentence (d) ему не пишется эта статья could also be translated in what would seem to be an experiential sense: 'he's having trouble writing that article (experiencing difficulty in writing it)'. A more accurate translation, however, might be something like 'that article isn't coming easily to him' ('эта статья ему не дается'): the article is presented as not yielding to the efforts of the writer, making it impossible to write. Sentence (d) cannot be translated as 'he doesn't feel like writing that article, is not in the mood to write it'.

Sentence (e) ему не писать этой книги presents an impossibility: 'he is not to write that book, it is fated that he not write that book'. Here again, it is not an experience that is depicted but the possibility to achieve something. Another example can reveal the difference perhaps more clearly. The sentence как тебе жить с ней [+ beneficiary] questions the possibility of living with someone ('how is it possible for you to live with her'), while the sentence как тебе живется с ней [+ experiencer] asks about the nature of the experience ('how are you getting along with her, how are you experiencing life with her').

There seems, then, to be a consistent difference between experiential sentences such as ему сегодня как-то не пишется ('he somehow doesn't feel like writing today, doesn't feel like engaging in such an activity') and beneficial sentences such as ему сегодня как-то не пишется статья ('the article is somehow just not coming to him today, not yielding to his efforts'). That the latter sentence is not really experiential can be seen in the fact that it cannot be translated as 'he somehow doesn't feel like writing an article today, doesn't feel like engaging in such an activity'.

The sentence ему не пишется depicts an experience, one's attitude toward a kind of activity. Describing it informally, one could say that ему не пишется is derived from он не пишет: the subject is made dative to indicate its experiential relationship to the activity. The sentence ему не пишется статья, on the other hand, depicts not an experience but a relationship, i.e., the relationship between the article and the person writing it. This sentence is not derived from он не пишет (статью) 'he is not writing (the article)' but rather from статья не пишется 'the article is not getting written, cannot be written (не дается писать)'. The dative ему in this case is not an experiential subject but rather an indirect object, the [beneficiary] of a possibility.

This distinction between experiential sentences and those which describe a possibility and its beneficiary will be explored further in the following section.

16.2.9 *Relations*. This section presents an informal survey of another kind of experiential verb involving two actants. Unlike the transitives discussed in 16.2.7, verbs involving an agent and a patient, the verbs discussed below

depict the relationship between an experiencer and a patient. There are two kinds of [+ relation] verbs, relational activities and relational states.

16.2.9.1 *Relational activities.* The transitive [- relation + activity] verb тревожить depicts an experiential activity imposed upon a patient; the patient is caused to enter a state of activity. The sentence состояние больного тревожит врачей, for example, can be paraphrased as состояние больного заставляет врачей тревожиться. The intransitivization, тревожиться, depicts a state of activity imposed upon a patient (врачи тревожатся ~ врачи приходят в тревогу) or endured by a patient (врачи тревожатся ~ врачи в тревоге).

The transitive [+ relation + activity] verbs любить and ненавидеть, on the other hand, do not depict states of emotion imposed upon a patient.

Consider the following sentences:

- (a) сын тревожит родителей ~ сын заставляет родителей тревожиться
- (b) Иван любит сестру / *Иван заставляет сестру любиться
- (c) Иван ненавидит сестру / *Иван заставляет сестру ненавидеться

The patient in sentence (a) is made to enter a state of emotional activity. The patients of sentences (b) and (c), however, are not caused to experience an emotion. The subject of the [- relation] verb in sentence (a) is interpretable exclusively as an agent, the cause of the emotion. The subjects of the [+ relation] verbs in (b) and (c), however, are interpreted primarily as experiencers, like the subjects of inherently intransitive verbs such as грустить, cf. 16.2.6. Even though they are transitive, relational verbs such as любить and ненавидеть are defined in the same way as intransitives (cf. 16.2.3.2), e.g.,

любить 'испытывать любовь к кому-чему-н.' (Ožegov)

ненавидеть 'испытывать ненависть к кому-, чему-л.' (SRJa)

cf. грустить 'испытывать чувство грусти'

The [+ relation] verbs любить and ненавидеть depict a state of emotional activity experienced by one person with respect to another person or to an object.

Like intransitives, [+ relation] verbs do not passivize (cf. 14.5.1.1), e.g.,

- (b) Иван любит сестру / *Сестра любится Иваном
- (c) Иван ненавидит сестру / *Сестра ненавидится Иваном

The reason for this restriction lies not only in the fact that these verbs denote states of activity rather than coherent actions or operations but also in the fact that the subject is an experiencer/agent rather than exclusively an agent. Dal' cites passive usages of these verbs (e.g., *этот человек ненавидится всеми*), but passive constructions are not mentioned in any more recent dictionaries and are emphatically rejected by all native speakers I have questioned.

Like the intransitive *грустить*, the [+ relation 0 intransitive] *любить* is attested in overtly experiential constructions, e.g., "*Люби, покуда любитя, Терпи, покуда терпитя*"; none is attested for *ненавидеть*. The construction is rare because it provides little contrast: the subject of *он любит*, like the subject of *ему любитя*, is immediately interpreted as an experiencer, cf. 16.2.6 and 16.2.8. A further reason that overtly experiential constructions are rare with relational verbs like *любить* and *ненавидеть* is that they are almost never used without a patient (e.g., *не надо ненавидеть, надо любить*). Rule (17) prohibits the specification of an experiencer in [+ activity + potential] verbs. We shall see, however, that [+ relation + state + potential] verbs can have an overt experiencer.

16.9.2 *Relational states*. Unlike nonrelational states, relational states involve two actants: the animate or inanimate patient of the state and an animate experiencer. The verbs to be discussed below depict the relationship between the experiencer and the patient. There seem to be three kinds of relational states: (1) those which are exclusively experiential, (2) those which are benefactive as well as experiential and (3) those which are exclusively benefactive.¹ Examples of the three types are given below:

¹I will postpone defining the terms [benefactive] and [beneficiary] to the end of this section, after we have had an opportunity to consider examples of all three types of relational states.

16.9.2.1

(I) *Experiential relational states.*

+ relation
+ state
+ experiential
+ experiencer
- benefactive
- beneficiary

- (1a) он мне ненавистен
 (1b) ты опять мне попрежнему люб
 (1c) ты мне дорог
 (1d) ваш совет мне дорог
 (1e) березы севера мне милы
 (1f) ему жалко сестру

The sentences above depict a quality of someone or something experienced by an experiencer. In all of the sentences except (1f) the patient is in the nominative. Sentences (1a) and (1f) can be considered stative variants of equivalent sentences with [+ relation + activity] verbs, e.g., я ненавижу его, он жалеет сестру. The verb in sentence (1b), люб, is much more restricted in usage than the corresponding activity verb любить and probably should be listed as a separate item in the lexicon. The marking of the benefactive features reflects the application of the first of the following two rules of entailment:

- (19) $\begin{bmatrix} 0 \text{ benefactive} \\ 0 \text{ beneficiary} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ benefactive} \\ - \text{ beneficiary} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ______ } [+ \text{ experiential}]$
 (20) $\begin{bmatrix} 0 \text{ experiential} \\ 0 \text{ experiencer} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ experiential} \\ - \text{ experiencer} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ ______ } [+ \text{ benefactive}]$

The effect of these two rules is that the experiential and benefactive features exclude one another, unless both are specified together. The next group shows verbs which are both experiential and benefactive:

16.9.2.2

(II) *Experiential/benefactive relational states.*

+ relation
+ state
+ experiential
+ experiencer
+ benefactive
+ beneficiary

- (2a) этот камень мне тяжел
 (2b) ботинки мне малы, велики
 (2c) этот дом мне дорог
 (2d) ему легко, трудно писать такие статьи
 (2e) отсюда ему видна вся долина

- (2f) отсюда ему видно всю долину
 (2g) стучит машинка, и всякому слышен ее стук
 (2h) мне вас не слышно
 (2i) эта книга мне нужна
 (2j) мне нужно с ним поговорить

Sentence (2a), like the sentences in (I), depicts a quality displayed by a patient (камень тяжел) and experienced by an experiencer (камень мне тяжел). But the relationship it depicts does not seem exclusively experiential; it seems also to involve the notion of possibility. In (2a) этот камень мне тяжел the heaviness of the stone is not merely a quality which is experienced but one which creates an impossibility for the person represented by the dative мне. Sentence (2a) cannot be translated as 'this stone is heavy (seems heavy) to me'; it can only be translated as 'this stone is too heavy for me (is impossible for me)'. Sentence (2a) expresses both an experiential relationship (the person experiences the heaviness of the stone) and a possibility relationship (the heaviness of the stone renders it impossible for the person to lift or to carry). The [+ relation + experiential + benefactive] sentence камень ему тяжел can be compared with the [- relation + experiential - benefactive] sentence больному тяжело 'the patient is seriously ill': the latter sentence expresses only an experience, not an experience plus a possibility.

Sentence (2b), like (2a), depicts both an experience and a possibility: the shoes are experienced as too small or too large, a quality which makes them impossible to wear.

Sentence (2c) provides a nice contrast with sentences (1c) and (1d). Sentences (1c) and (1d) present a quality and its experiencer: 'you are dear to me', 'your advice is precious to me'. According to one native speaker, it is also possible to interpret sentence (2a) as referring exclusively to an experience: этот дом мне дорог 'this house is dear (precious) to me (it has been in our family for generations)'. The more immediate interpretation of (2a), however, involves not merely an experience but also a possibility: 'this house is too dear (expensive) for me (it is impossible for me to buy it)'.

In sentence (2d) the patient is expressed by the phrase писать такие статьи. The sentence can be interpreted as an experience ('he experiences

ease/difficulty in writing such articles') as well as a possibility ('such articles are easy/difficult for him to write'). This experiential/benefactive sentence can be compared with ones which are exclusively experiential and ones which are exclusively benefactive, e.g.,

(a)	[	- relation]
	[	0 state]
	[	+ activity]
	[	+ experiential]
	[	+ experiencer]
	[	- benefactive]
	[	- beneficiary]
	[	- patiential]
	[	- patient]

ему легко/трудно пишется

(b)	[	- relation]
	[	0 state]
	[	+ activity]
	[	- experiential]
	[	- experiencer]
	[	+ benefactive]
	[	+ beneficiary]
	[	+ patiential]
	[	0 patient]

ему легко/трудно пишутся такие статьи

Matrix (a) is nonrelational because of rule (1), nonbenefactive because of rule (19) and nonpatiential because of rule (9). Matrix (b) is nonrelational because of rule (1), nonexperiential because of rule (20). The first sentence presents an experience ('he is experiencing ease/difficulty in writing'); it does not express a possibility ('it is easy/difficult for him to write': ему легко/трудно писать). The second sentence presents a possibility ('such articles come easily/with difficulty to him') rather than an experience, cf. 16.2.8.1.

Sentences (2e) - (2h) present stative forms of the relational experiential verbs видеть and слышать. The fact that these verbs represent not only an experience but also a possibility can be seen in their definitions, e.g.,

виден	'доступный зрению, видимый'
видно	'можно видеть, рассмотреть'
слышен	'такой, что можно слышать, различимый слухом'
слышно	'можно слышать, есть возможность услышать'

In each case the patients are not depicted as perceived so much as possible to be perceived.

Sentences (2a) - (2h) can be said to express not only an experiential relationship but also a possibility relationship: the patient of the state is presented as possible or impossible for the experiencer/beneficiary. Sentences (2i) and (2j) can likewise be interpreted as expressing an experiential rela-

tionship, e.g.,

- (2i) эта книга мне нужна 'I (feel a) need (for) this book'
 (2j) мне нужно с ним поговорить 'I (feel a) need to have a talk with him'

The modal relationship they express, however, is slightly different: it is not possibility but rather necessity, the impossibility of doing without something (cf. the definition of *нужный* 'такой, без которого трудно, невозможно обойтись'). The two sentences can be interpreted as expressing an external necessity as well as an experience: 'this book is necessary for me', 'it is necessary for me to have a talk with him'.

16.9.2.2.1 One notes an interesting difference in the definitions of these experiential/benefactive expressions. Sentences (2a) - (2c) all express the notion that the qualitative state is excessive: the stone is too heavy, the shoes too small, too large, the house too expensive. Sentences (2d) - (2j), on the other hand, do not depict the quality as excessive. For example, (2e) *ему видна вся долина* cannot be translated as *'the valley is too visible to him'. I think the difference can be explained as follows.

Some stative verbs depict the *quality of the relationship*, e.g.,

- (1a) он мне ненавистен ~ я ненавижу его
 (1d) ваш совет мне дорог ~ я дорожу вашим советом
 (1f) ему жалко сестру ~ он жалеет сестру
 (2e) ему видна вся долина ~ он видит долину

Even though not all of them can be paraphrased in terms of relational activity verbs, all the verbs in (1) and all the verbs in (2d) - (2j) can be said to depict the quality of the relationship between the patient and the experiencer or experiencer/beneficiary. In (2i), for example, the verb *нужна* depicts not a quality of the book (*книга нужна* *'the book exhibits the quality of necessity') but rather the quality of the relationship between the book and the experiencer/beneficiary (the relationship of necessity).

The verbs in sentences (2a) - (2c) depict the *quality of the patient*, e.g.,

- (2a) этот камень (мне) тяжел 'this stone is heavy (too heavy for me)'
 (2c) этот дом (мне) дорог 'this house is expensive
 (too expensive for me)'

cf. also:

она (мне) молода 'she is young (too young for me)'

In these cases the verbs express qualities of the patient (the heaviness of the stone, the expensiveness of the house, the youth of the girl) which may be viewed in isolation (i.e., as [- relation + state] verbs: камень тяжел 'the stone is heavy') or set in relation to an experiencer/beneficiary, as in the sentences above. An intermediate case is to be found in the verbs мал '(too) small' and велик '(too) large'. These are the [+ relation] forms of маленький 'small' and большой 'large'. They express both the quality of the patient (its smallness or largeness) and the quality of the relationship (being [too] small, [too] large for someone). In this case the lexemes denoting small or large size are distinguished morphologically according to the marking of the [relation] feature.

16.9.2.3

(III) *Benefactive relational states.*

+ relation
+ state
- experiential
- experiencer
+ benefactive
+ beneficiary

(3a) он должен мне тысячу рублей

(3b) Ивану должно работать (archaic)

(3c) Иван должен много работать [0 beneficiary]

(3d) ему можно писать такие статьи (а вам нельзя)

Unlike the sentences in (I) and (II), these sentences do not depict experiences but rather obligations and possibilities.

Sentences (3a) - (3c) illustrate some usages of the verb должен, a verb capable of expressing numerous modalities, e.g., obligation (indebtedness) (3a), necessity (3b) and (3c), and probability (3c) (for an exhaustive treatment of all of the nuances of должен, see Chvany [1974]).

The dative in sentence (3a) cannot be interpreted as an experiencer (*'I am experiencing his indebtedness to me of one thousand rubles'); rather, it represents the beneficiary of the monetary obligation (the [measure] of the indebtedness, expressed as an accusative).

Sentences (3b) (borrowed from Chvany [1974:81]) and (3c) can be com-

pared with sentences using *нужно*:

(3b) Ивану должно работать : Ивану нужно работать

(3c) Иван должен много работать : Ивану нужно много работать

All four sentences can be said to express a necessity relationship. The sentences with *нужно* can represent both an external necessity ('it is necessary for Ivan [beneficiary] to work') as well as an internal necessity ('Ivan [experiencer] feels the need to work'). The sentences with *должно/должен*, however, represent only an external necessity ('it is necessary for Ivan [beneficiary] to work') and, in the case of (3c), a probability ('it must be that Ivan works a great deal'). In (3b) and (3c) Ivan is the recipient of an external circumstance. The fact that *нужно* can be experiential while *должен* is not can be seen in the fact that *нужно* can take the quantifier *очень* (typical of experiential verbs) while *должен* cannot, e.g.,

Ивану очень нужно работать *Иван очень должен работать

cf. Иван вам очень обязан *Иван очень обязан сделать это
'Ivan feels much obliged to you' 'Ivan is very obligated to do that'

Ивану очень грустно

Иван очень грустен

Иван очень грустит

Иван очень любит ее

Another indication that *должен* lacks the experiential feature is the fact that it alone can be used to express necessity relationships predicated of inanimates, e.g., *каждый университет должен иметь хорошую библиотеку* (but not **каждому университету нужно иметь хорошую библиотеку*). An especially nice example is provided by Chvany (1974:116), discussing a sentence taken from Townsend:

моя жена должна быть как можно умнее : ?моей жене нужно быть как можно умнее
'my wife must be as intelligent as possible' 'my wife feels a need to be as intelligent as possible'

The sentence with *должен* is nonexperiential. The sentence with *нужно*, however, is experiential and is acceptable only if interpreted as such.

Sentence (3d) *ему можно писать такие статьи* likewise does not depict an experience but rather an external circumstance, a possibility, viewed with respect to its beneficiary. It may be compared with sentence (2d):

- (2d) ему легко писать такие статьи (3d) ему можно писать такие статьи
 ему трудно писать такие статьи вам нельзя писать такие статьи

The sentences in (2d) describe both the possibility of writing the articles and the experience of ease or difficulty in doing so. The sentences in (3d), however, depict only a possibility relationship and its beneficiary.

16.9.2.4 Throughout this section I have described the nuance that distinguishes sentences in (II) and (III) from those in (I) as one of possibility or necessity: the patient is presented not (only) as an experience but also as a possibility or necessity. For lack of a better term I have chosen to call possibility/necessity relationships [benefactive] and the recipient of the possibility or necessity the [beneficiary] of the relationship.

The terms *benefactive/beneficiary* are used by Chafe (1970:147-151) to refer to verbs which express the idea of transmitting (giving, communicating) something from one person to another: the [beneficiary] is the recipient of the [patient], e.g.,

Mary	gave	Tom	the tickets
[agent]	[verb benefactive]	[beneficiary]	[patient]

It seems possible to use the terms [benefactive] and [beneficiary] to describe the role of the dative recipient not only with verbs of transmission but also with verbs denoting relations. The different feeling that the dative has in these expressions can be explained as a difference in the nature of the verbs themselves. For example, in the sentences

Маша дала билеты Фоме
 Маша сказала это Фоме

the verbs denote actions involving the transmission of an object or a message. In the environment of the features [+ action + "transmission" + patient] the feature [beneficiary] can be interpreted as a person who receives or comes into possession of the [patient]. In sentences with [+ relation] verbs, however, e.g.,

Фоме видна вся долина	Маша должна Фоме копейку
Фоме нужна эта книга	Фоме можно сделать это
[+ experiential + benefactive]	[- experiential + benefactive]

the person represented by the dative *Фоме* is the recipient not of the patient (долина, книга, корейку, сделать это) but of the relationship: the dative represents the person for whom the possibility (necessity or obligation) exists. The interpretation of the dative [beneficiary] thus depends on the nature of the [benefactive] verb, whether it denotes the action of transmission or a relational state.

16.2.10 The discussion presented in 16.2.4 - 16.2.9 has permitted us to explore the semantics of verbs of 'excitation' in some detail and to go beyond the corpus of those verbs prefixed with *вз-* to examine experiential verbs in general.

Having examined *вз-* verbs of 'excitation', we may now turn to a discussion of those verbs in *вз-* which are not etymologically verbs of 'excitation' but which the dictionary interprets as having to do with states of emotion.

16.3 AGITATION/[excitation]

Perfective only:

взбаламúтить (ся)

взволновáть (ся)

взгомозйть (ся)

взыгрáть (ся)

вскипятйться

всколебáть (ся)

вскружйть (ся)

встрепенúться

встрепыхáться

Paired:

взмутйть (ся)

вскипéть

всколыхáть (ся)

всколыхнúть (ся)

встряхнúть (ся)

взмúчивать (ся)

вскипáть

вскольхивать (ся)

встря́хивать (ся)

These thirteen verbs are defined primarily in terms of 'agitation' (or 'boiling' in the case of *вскипятиться* and *вскипеть*), secondarily in terms of 'excitation'. *Взыграть* has also been discussed as a verb of 'appearance' (11.3.1) and 'sound/expression' (15.1, 15.3.1). *Встряхнуть* has also been discussed as a verb of 'beating' (8.2.7).

16.3.1 Like the verbs of 'excitation' discussed in 16.2, these verbs can be said to refer to abstract activity of an experiential nature conceived with reference to a threshold. In these verbs, however, and in the case of a few verbs of 'excitation' (e.g., *тревожить*), the features [abstract] and [experiential] are not inherent but variable, cf. 14.3, 16.2.7.

As we saw in 16.2.8.1, specification of a verb as [+ abstract] opens up the possibility of further specifying it as [+ experiential], but does not entail it. For example, in some [+ abstract] usages, e.g.,

(a) "Политические стачки встряхнули всю страну"

(b) "Вся роща, много слышавшая песен, встрепенулась, удивленно и тихо шелестя ветвями"

the patients of the activity can also be interpreted as animate(d) experiencers. In sentence (a) the verb can be interpreted as experiential and the patient *всю страну* can be interpreted as an animate experiencer (as a metonymy of place representing its human occupants). In sentence (b) the verb *слышавшая* is inherently experiential, the verb *встрепенулась* variably experiential. The patient *вся роща* can be interpreted as the animate experiencer of both. The animacy and experientiality of the patient is underscored by the use of the adverb *удивленно*, derived from the inherently experiential verb *удивиться*.

That specification of the verb as [+ abstract] does not entail its specification as [+ experiential] can be seen in the sentence

"...пролетариат всех народов России встал, как один человек, и встряхнул царский трон."

The patient *царский трон* need not be interpreted as an animate experiencer (standing for the personage of the czar) but can be taken as an abstract inanimate patient (*трон* as an abstraction representing the institution of the monarchy).

16.3.2 The definitions of these verbs follow the same pattern as that ob-

served in 16.2. Intransitives not correlated with transitives (e.g., трепетать) are defined as statives when unprefixed ('быть в взволнованном состоянии') and as medials when prefixed ('прийти в возбуждение'). The definitions of transitive verbs, on the other hand, are identical, e.g., волновать 'приводить в тревожное, возбужденное состояние' ~ 'взволновать 'привести в тревожное, нервное состояние'. Intransitivized verbs, e.g., волноваться, are defined as stative (and occasionally medial and passive) when unprefixed, and as medial or passive when prefixed, cf. 14.4.2.1.

16.3.2.1 *Intransitives not correlated with transitives.* All except four of the thirteen verbs of 'agitation/[excitation]' occur both as transitives and intransitives. Exclusively intransitive are *взыграть(ся)*, *вскипеть*, *встрепенуться* and *встрепыхаться*:

ИГРАТЬ: 'play, be playful'

(A) 'Заниматься чем-нибудь для развлечения; забавляться, развлекаться, тешиться'

"Играй, прелестное дитя,
Летай за бабочкой летучей,
Поймай, поймай ее шутя."

"Нас много, мы играем, нам
весело."

'Резвиться. О животных'

"Ведут коня командира...
он вытягивает шею и играет,
и бьет копытами."

(no separate definition)

(B) (no equivalent)¹

ИГРАТЬСЯ:

'Обл. То же, что играть (1,2)'
(SRJa)

ВЗЫГРАТЬ:

'Прийти в радостное, игривое состояние, разыграть, развеселиться'

"[Жена] дулась и чахла.
Иногда ей самой видимо
хотелось встрепенуться,
взыграть на свежем воздухе,
на солнце да на воле."

(no separate definition)

"Жеребец Раевского взыграл..."

'Прийти в беспокойное состояние, сделаться бурным, резвым'

"Почуя смерть, взыграли кони..."

'Взыграла душа, взыграло сердце — о сильной радости'

ВЗЫГРАТЬСЯ:

'То же, что взыграть в 1-ом знач.'

¹The unprefixed *играть* can be used to denote activity of the mind, i.e., 'находиться в деятельном, возбужденном состоянии (о чувстве, мысли, воображении и т. п.)'

(no equivalent)

'Взыграться духом — прийти в бодрое радостное настроение'

In quotations with an animate subject (A), it is clear that the verb can denote both lively movement and lively mood. The character of the mood is open to further definition: it can be either pleasurable or anxious. With inanimate subjects (B) it denotes either mood (with abstractions representing seats of emotion, e.g., душа, сердце, кровь) or movement (with physical objects, e.g., играют волны, взыгралась река). Only inanimate subjects are explicit enough to indicate how the verb has been specified.

КИПЕТЬ: 'boil, be boiling mad'

'Быть охваченным каким-л. чувством, страстью'

"Кипеть гневом."

ВСКИПЕТЬ/ВСКИПАТЬ:

'Приходить в состояние сильного гнева, раздражения; вспылить'

"Вахирев, все больше вскипая и обижаясь, обратил к Беркутову воспаленное гневом лицо."

ТРЕПЕТАТЬ: 'stir'

'...быть в смятенном, взволнованном состоянии'

"При звуке том душа трепещет
И в сердце кровь кипит."

ВСТРЕПЕТАТЬСЯ: 'stir, come to life'

'Очнуться от сна, задумчивости, прийти в возбуждение, оживиться'

"Душа поэта встрепенется,
Как пробудившийся орел."

(no equivalent)

ВСТРЕПЫХАТЬСЯ: 'stir'

'Засуетиться, всполошиться' (SRJa)

There exist unprefixed reflexive forms (трепетаться, трепыхаться), but they are said to denote only physical activity.

The almost synonymous explicitly intransitive forms играть/взыграться, трепетаться/встрепетаться and трепыхаться/встрепыхаться serve to preclude an agentive interpretation of the subject (cf. 15.6.2 and 16.2.8.1): the subject is interpretable also as the patient of a state of activity.

Because they are not associated with transitive constructions in the same meaning, these verbs, when unprefixed, are interpretable exclusively as states ('be in a state of excitation'). When they are prefixed, the limitation imposed by a view of the activity with respect to its threshold excludes a stative interpretation; they are interpreted as denoting 'entry into state'.

16.3.2.2 *Transitives*. In the case of transitive verbs, the definitions match: both verbs are interpreted as 'cause to enter state':

БАЛАМУТИТЬ: 'disturb'
'Беспокоить, тревожить'

ВОЛНОВАТЬ: 'excite'
'Приводить в возбуждение'

КОЛЕБАТЬ: 'confuse'
'Заставлять сомневаться; делать неуверенным в чем-либо'

КРУЖИТЬ голову: 'confuse'
'Увлекать, лишать возможности здраво оценить обстановку'

МУТИТЬ: 'disturb'
'Нарушать покой, беспокоить, тревожить; смущать'

КОЛЫХАТЬ:
КОЛЫХНУТЬ: 'rock, disturb'
'Колебать'
"Мужчину жизнь вертит и колышет круче, но женщину давит сильнее."
"А тут приспел случай, колыхнувший хутор от края до другого."

ТРЯХНУТЬ: 'shake'
(no equivalent)

(no separate definition)

"16 (3) июля городской пролетариат, стихийно поднавшись

ВЗБАЛУМУТИТЬ:
'Встревожить, взволновать'

ВЗВОЛНОВАТЬ:
'Привести в тревожное, нервное состояние, в беспокойство, в смятение'

ВСКОЛЕБАТЬ:
'Взволновать, потревожить, привести в смятение'

ВСКРУЖИТЬ голову:
'Отвлечь от необходимых дел и забот увлечь, вызвать любовь, самознижение'

ВЗМУТИТЬ/ВЗМУЧИВАТЬ:
'Вывести из состояния покоя; встревожить, взволновать (о человеке)'

ВСКОЛЫХАТЬ/ВСКОЛЫХНУТЬ/ВСКОЛЫХИВАТЬ:
'Приводить в волнение'
"Толки, порожденные Чацким, не могли не всколыхать всего круга его родных и знакомых."
"Может быть, драматизм разворачивающихся событий всколыхнул душу Нины Григорьевну..."

ВСТРЯХНУТЬ/ВСТРЯХИВАТЬ:
'Выводить из спокойного или вялого состояния, делать более живым, подвижным'
'Произвести резкий политический сдвиг в жизни страны, в сознании масс'

"Революция одержала первую победу, когда пролетариат всех народов

на демонстрацию, тряхнул
правительство соглашателей."
(Usakov IV:821)

России встал, как один человек,
и встряхнул царский трон..."

One marginal verb seems to have been transitivized by the prefix:

ГОМОЗИТЬ: 'be fidgety'

'Прост. и обл. Непокойно стоять
или сидеть, вертеться, беспокой-
но шевелиться'

ВЗГОМОЗИТЬ: 'disturb, make bustle'

'Прост. и обл. Встревожить, под-
нять на ноги, заставить хлопотать,
суетиться'

"Чтож вышло? Все так громко
выли,

Что все соседство взгомозили."

The SRNG (VI:126), however, provides a transitive definition of гомозить:

"гамазить (гомозить)...(5.) перех. Побуждать к какому-л. действию."

Neither the unprefixd nor the prefixed transitive can be interpreted as stative because, as we have seen in 14.5.1 and 16.2.7, they depict not an absolute state but a state viewed with respect to its causation.

16.3.2.3 *Intransitives correlated with transitives.* The definitions of the intransitivized forms are summarized below:

	U N P R E F I X E D			P R E F I X E D	
	'be in state (of activity)'	'enter state' (medial)	'be caused to be in state' (passive)	medial	passive
баламутиться		X	X		X
волноваться	X	(X)	X	X	X
гомозиться	X			X	
кипятиться	X	X		X	
колебаться	X		(X [agit.])	X	
кружиться	X			X	
мутиться		X	X	X	X
колыхаться	(X)			X	
трястись	X	X		X	(X [agit.])

The marks in parentheses represent my interpretation of the sample quotations or of the definition when it is not specific. The unprefixd verbs can have a stative and, more rarely, a medial and/or passive interpretation. The three

interpretations can be explained as follows.

Verbs which are basically transitive must be specified [+ agentive + patiential] to be selected from the lexicon, cf. 16.2.7. Further specification of the form as [+ intransitive] causes the agentive feature to become unmarked (cf. 15.6.1 and 16.2.7) through the application of rule (16):

(16) [+ agentive] → [0 agentive] / ____ [+ intransitive]

The [0 agentive] form can be interpreted either as agentive or as nonagentive. The stative interpretation (e.g., она волнуется 'she is upset, nervous') views the activity without reference to its cause: the sentence is interpreted as [- agentive]. The medial interpretation, however, (e.g., телефон звонит, она волнуется 'the phone rings; she becomes upset' [stage direction]) views the emotional activity within a framework of causation (provided by linguistic or extralinguistic context): the sentence is interpreted as [+ agentive]. The passive interpretation is a variant of the medial one and requires an overt expression of the [agent] or [instrument] which causes the emotion, e.g.,

"Мы живо помним конец пятидесятых и начало шестидесятых годов, в то время столичное общественное мнение кипело и волновалось так-называемыми *вопросами*; кипела и волновалось *ими* и провинция."

The prefixed verb cannot be interpreted as stative because it presents a delimited view of the activity. The activity is viewed with respect to its threshold and can be interpreted either as medial ('[be caused] to enter the state': inchoative interpretation) or, in rare cases, as passives ('be caused to be in the state'). (For discussion of passives, see 14.4.2.1.)

16.4 SOUND/EXPRESSION/[excitation]

Perfective only:

взгОмонИТЬ(ся)

Paired:

вздОхнУТЬ(ся)

вздыхАТЬ(ся)

The usual meaning of гомонить is 'speak loudly, shout'. The SRNG (IV:355), however, records a transitive гомонить: '*перех. БеспokoиТЬ!*. Perhaps the general idea is one of commotion: movement, sound, excitation.

Vasmer relates *гомон* to Old Icelandic *gaman* 'радость, веселье' and to English *game*.

Вздохнуть 'sigh' is only marginally correlatable with дохнуть 'take a breath'. In the meaning 'pine for' it has no equivalent in the unprefixated verb. One can "explain" its use as a verb of excitation by saying that the sound of sighing is used abstractly as a token of the emotion associated with it (be it sorrow or love). Only further context makes it clear whether the 'deep breath' stands for an emotion, e.g., вздохнуть о ком, по ком, or whether the verb stands merely for the notion of 'sad sound', e.g., "О ком твоя вздыхает лира?".

16.5 DISORDER/[excitation]

Perfective only:

взъершиться
встопорщиться
встормошиться(ся)

Paired:

взвинтиться(ся)	взвѣнчивать(ся)
взорвать(ся)	взрывать(ся)
взъеробиться	взъеробиваться
(встрепать: как встрепанный)	

These verbs are all defined primarily as verbs of 'disorder', cf. chapter 6. Встрепать is represented here only in the phraseologism (встал), как встрепанный: 'встал легко, быстро, в бодром настроении'.

As defined in chapter 6, these verbs represent disfigurement, violation of normal configuration. 'Transgression of horizontal' refers to the violation of surface (configuration). When specified as abstract, however, these verbs can represent the upsetting of an emotional norm, the horizontal being interpreted as something like "surface calm" or "normal attitude". "Attitude" is perhaps the better metaphor: as a [0 abstract] verb, встопорщиться depicts the violation of the attitude (position) of items on a surface (bristles); as a [+ abstract] verb, however, it depicts the violation of an attitude of mind

('встревожиться, насторожиться'):

"Что ему нужно, зачем он явился, когда и без него тошно на душе так, что хоть в петлю головой? Мересьев внутренне весь встопорщился, с трудом сдерживая себя."

16.6 APPEARANCE (FIRE)/[excitation]

Perfective only:

вспыл^ьить

Paired:

вспламен^ьить (ся)

вспых^нуть

вспламен^ять (ся)

вспых^{ив}ать

Вспыл^ьить is now only a verb of 'excitation', cf. 11.2.1.1, 11.3 4, 16.2.3.2. The other two verbs are defined primarily as verbs of 'fire' or 'sudden appearance' (cf. 11.3.3, 11.3.4). Вспламен^ьить, in this meaning too, is only a metrical variant of воспламен^ьить. Вспых^нуть is only marginally correlatable with пых^нуть (cf. 11.3.4): it denotes the 'sudden outburst' of anything, including expressions of emotion or excitation.

16.7 SUFFUSION/[excitation]

Paired:

вспрыс^нуть

вспрыс^{ки}вать

This verb is used as a verb of excitation usually in the phraseology (from folklore) вспр^ыснуть мертвой, живой водой 'оживить волшебной водой'. It does, however, have some freedom to be used independently, cf.

"После долго ходил он [Райский] бледен и скучен, пока опять чужая жизнь и чужие радости не вспр^ыснут его, как живой водой."

And especially:

"Тут его [Алешу] надо вспр^ыснуть холодными словами, он рассердится, поспорит, потом посмеется над собой и снова сядет за книжку."

The meaning, thus, is 'suffusion' in an abstract sense, 'affect someone with an

affusion of magic water, cold words, changing his normal state of mind'. The 'excitation' may be positive or negative.

16.8 DIRECTED MOTION/[excitation]

Perfective only:

вспря́нуть

Paired:

взметáться

вскíнуться

вспорхнúться

Very few verbs of 'directed motion' (chapter 17) can be used to represent 'excitation'. Only one of them can be used in the same meaning when unprefixes:

МЕТАТЬСЯ: 'be excited'

'Находиться в состоянии смятения, растерянности'

"А небольшая растрата, как тут хлопот много: мечется человек, убивается, как бы ее пополнить, чтоб не довести дела до суда."

ВЗМЕТАТЬСЯ: 'get excited'

'Начать суетиться, метаться'

"Псы завывли и взметались до потери всякого повиновения."

The verb метаться denotes a general state of motion which can be viewed figuratively as referring to mental confusion. Since it denotes activity in general, rather than an individual act, метаться is interpreted as stative when unprefixes and as medial (inchoative) when prefixed.

ПРЯНУТЬ: 'jump'

(no equivalent)

ВСПРЯНУТЬ: 'start'

'Переносно. Приходить в возбуждение, оживляться'

"Доложили, что приехал "новый" [начальник]. Старик вдруг вспрянул и потребовал чистого белья."

'Вспрянуть — пробудиться. В выражении. Вспрянуть от сна'

"[Няня Обломова] вспрянула от

сна..."

'Образно'

"Товарищ, верь: взойдет она,
Звезда пленительного счастья,
Россия вспрянет ото сна,
И на обломках самовластья
Напишут наши имена!"

КИНУТЬСЯ: 'jump'

(no equivalent)

ВСКИНУТЬСЯ: 'start'

'Встревожиться, взволноваться'

"Заскрипели ступени. Софья
вскинулась, пронзительно глядя
на дверь."

ПОРХНУТЬ: 'soar'

(no equivalent)

ВСПОРХНУТЬСЯ: 'start'

'Встрепенуться, взволноваться'

"—А сколько их [женихов]? много?
—Да человек шесть есть.
—Ух!
—Ну, что-ж ты, мать моя, так
вспорхнулась! Лучше выбирать:
один не придется, другой при-
дется."

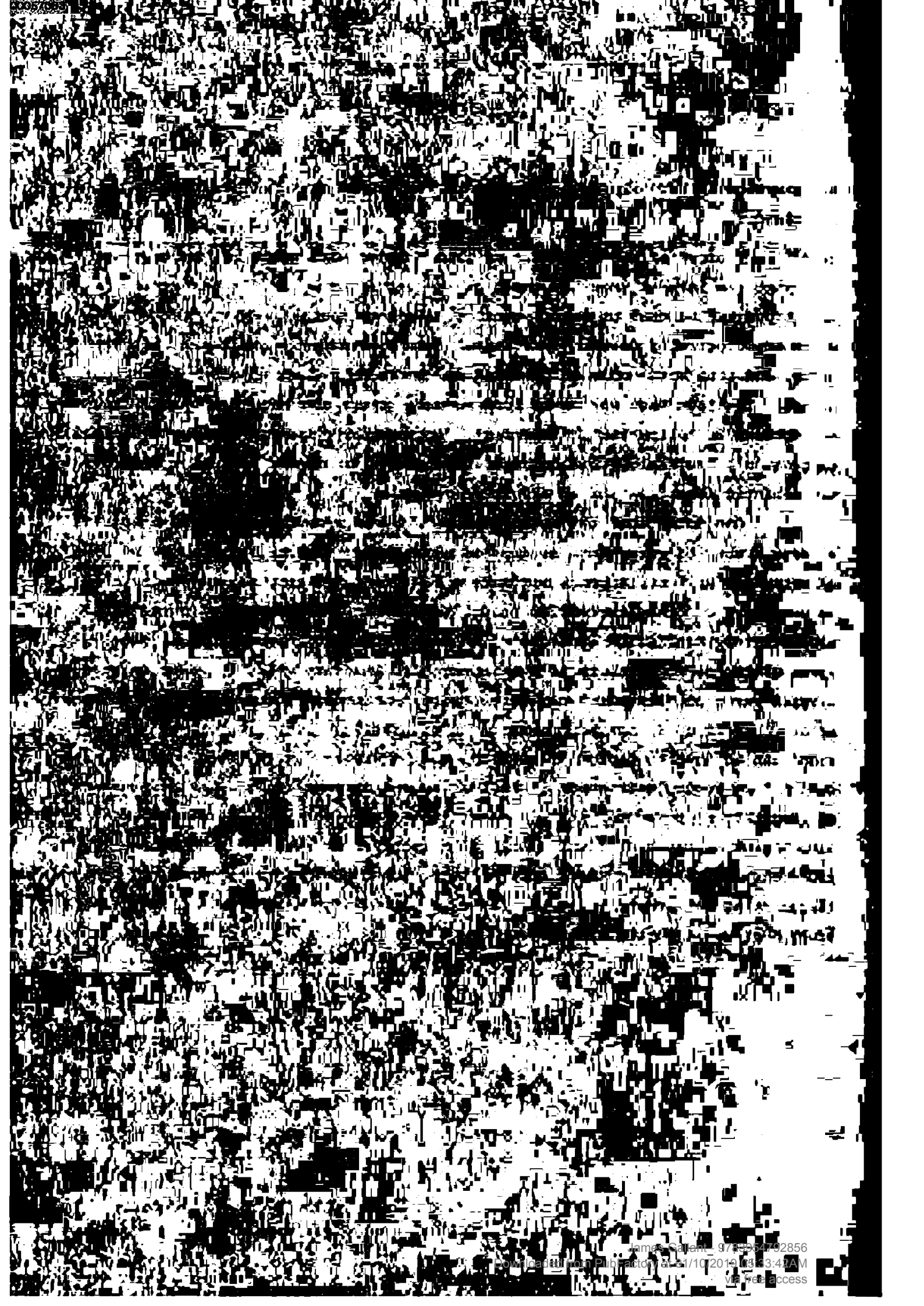
The three verbs *вспрянуть*, *вскинуться* and *вспорхнуться* all denote individual acts rather than states of activity. They are defined as medials ('enter state') but not specifically as inchoatives, cf. 14.5.3. As [0 abstract] verbs, they denote a single movement or gesture in an upward direction. As [+ abstract] verbs they represent a sudden move into an emotional state.

The verb *вспорхнуться* is interesting in that it represents the only occurrence of the verb *порхнуть* with the affix *-ся*. The unprefixated *порхнуть*, as well as all of its prefixed forms, refers exclusively to motion from place to place, never to emotion: *впорхнуть* 'into', *вспорхнуть* 'up', *выпорхнуть* 'out of', *запорхнуть* 'into', *отпорхнуть* 'away from', *перепорхнуть* 'across', etc. The form *вспорхнуться*, listed only in the SSRLJa, is the only form in *-ся* and is the only form of the verb attested as referring to emotion (it is limited to that meaning). The fact that the only form which can refer to emotion is also the only form in *-ся* serves to confirm the idea that intransitivization precludes an exclusively agentive interpretation of that subject. The subject of

вспорхнуть is not only the performer of the action but also its patient or experiencer.

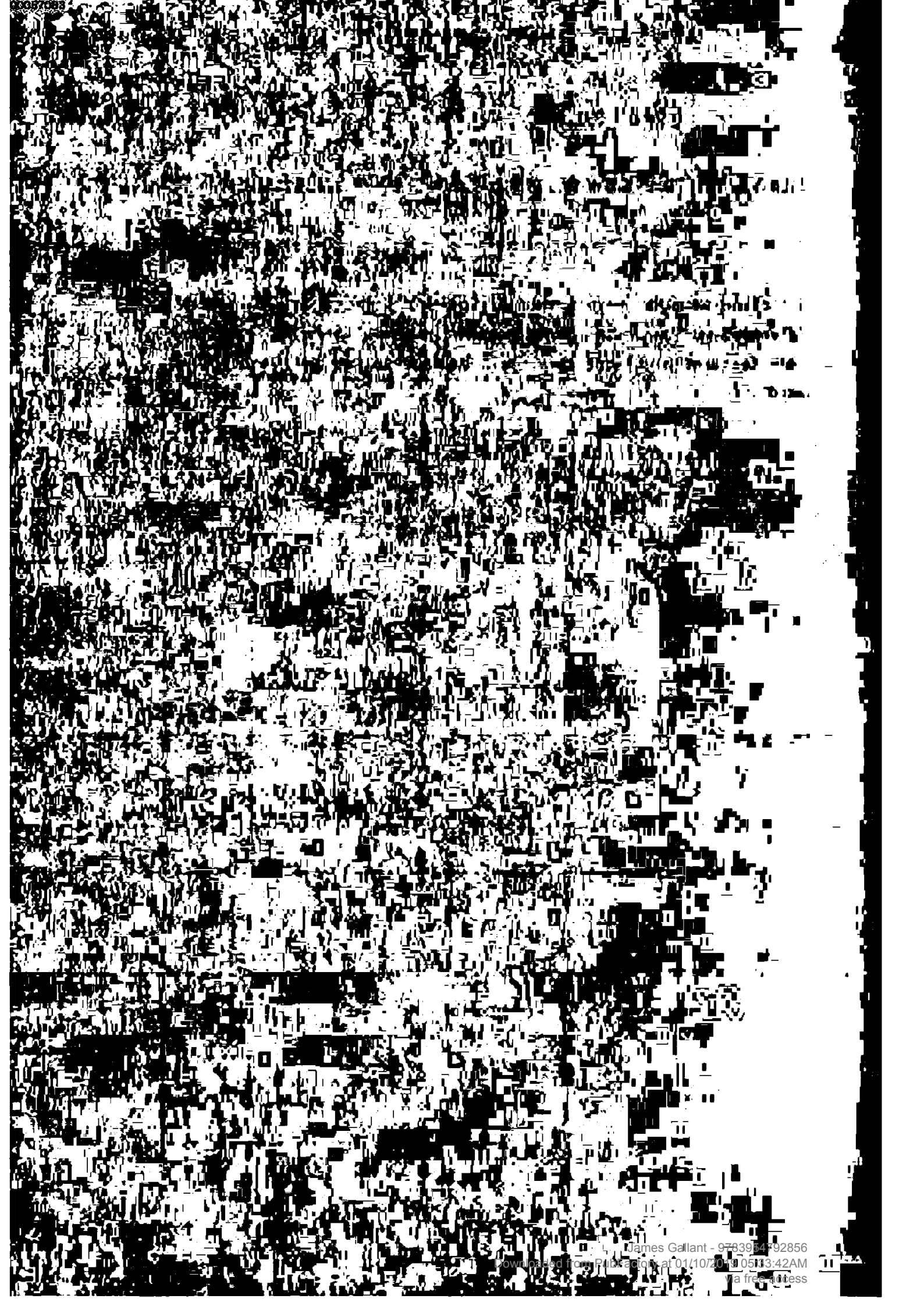
16.9 I noted at the beginning of this chapter that verbs of 'excitation' represent the largest semantic group of *вз-* verbs: one out of four verbs of the corpus can be used to depict emotion. We have seen, however, that verbs which etymologically denote 'excitation' form a relatively small part of this group, and that most verbs of 'excitation' actually belong to other semantic groups. The fact that *вз-* verbs from so many groups representing such different notions as 'agitation', 'disorder', 'appearance (fire)', 'boiling', 'sound/expression', 'suffusion' and 'motion' can be used to depict emotion underscores the semantic interrelation of all these groups.

One notes that the relationship of these semantic groups is unequal: a large number of verbs from as many as seven other semantic groups can be used as metaphors of 'excitation', but only a few verbs of 'excitation' can be used as metaphors of other activities (e.g., *встревожить, взбесить, взбудоражить, взбунтовать*: EXCITATION/[agitation]; *взнять* EXCITATION/[sound]). One can speak of the directionality of a metaphor (cf. Isačenko 1972:85). For example, several verbs of 'disorder' can also depict 'excitation', e.g., *волосы встопорщились* 'bristled' → *Иван встопорщился* 'Ivan bristled'. But no verb of 'excitation' can be used to depict 'disorder', e.g., *Иван взъярился* 'Ivan became furious' ≠ **его волосы взъярились* 'his hair became furious'. The chart of verbs of 'excitation' presented in 16.1 shows that eleven verbs of 'agitation' can also depict 'excitation', while only four verbs of 'excitation' can secondarily represent 'agitation'. Facts such as these would indicate a hierarchical arrangement of the semantic groups. An explanation of the nature of this hierarchy must await further research.



SECTION VI: DETERMINATION & DIRECTIONALITY

This section examines verbs denoting movement in a certain direction (verbs of 'directed motion', e.g., идти, валить, кинуть, бросить). In these verbs the *вз-* features highlight the direction contrary to the normal flow: 'upward'.



17. DIRECTED MOTION

The verbs to be discussed in this chapter all denote locomotion or transposition. Unlike verbs of 'disorder', these verbs do not denote deviation from plane, a change in attitude or configuration, but movement from place to place. Unlike verbs of 'agitation', they do not denote activity in general, but movement in one direction.

Most of the verbs contain [+directional] as an inherent feature; some are variably directional. Verbs of 'directed motion', when further specified in terms of transgression of the horizontal, depict motion in an upward direction. In these verbs the feature [horizontal] cannot be interpreted as referring to a threshold of activity, as in the case of verbs of 'agitation', 'boiling' (physical threshold), 'sound/expression' (physical/abstract threshold) or 'excitation' (abstract threshold). Nor can it be interpreted as an affected surface or limit, as in the case of verbs of 'plowing', 'cutting', 'swelling', 'disorder', 'suffusion', 'beating' (physical surface) or 'scolding', 'appearance', 'awareness', 'growth' (abstract surface or limit).

With verbs of locomotion or transposition, the [horizontal] represents the plane along which the movement proceeds. Movement in an unspecified direction can be defined as movement proceeding from one point to another in a relatively horizontal plane, if one bears in mind that the [horizontal] does not denote a literal left-right line, but a *kind* of axis, cf. 1.4. It is the marked axis of the prefixal frame, representing a natural surface, limit or threshold (the natural flow of movement, surface calm, surface order, the thresholds of perception and consciousness). In verbs denoting movement in one direction, transgression of the horizontal, i.e., violation of the normal flow, can be interpreted either as 'upward movement' (e.g., *взводить кого на гору*) or as 'contrary movement' (e.g., *взводить суда 'устар. Направлять вверх, против течение реки'*).¹

¹In Church Slavic calques from Greek the prefix *воз-*, like Greek *ἀνα-*, could

In the following sections I will attempt to show that a verb must be specified for directionality in order to be interpreted as 'movement in an upward direction' when further specified for the *вз-* features. Whether or not a verb can be specified for directionality (i.e., as denoting movement in one direction) depends on the semantics of the verbal base. The following section is devoted to a discussion of the semantics of verbs in Russian which denote movement.

17.1 *Determination and Directionality.* In chapters 15 and 16 I examined ways in which features expressing the nature of the action govern the selection and interpretation of features representing views of the action. We have seen, for example, how the presence of the *вз-* features in a verb of 'sound' depends on whether or not it is [+animate] (cf. 15.2.5), how the animacy of a verb of 'sound' determines its interpretation when prefixed with *про-* (e.g., *провыли волки* 'howled' ~ *провыли пули* 'howled past', cf. 15.2.6), and how the explicit patientialization of a normally intransitive verb like *грустить* determines its interpretation when prefixed with *за-* (e.g., *загрустил* 'began to grieve' ~ *загрустился* 'became exhausted with grief', cf. 16.2.8.1). In the following sections I will explore further evidence indicating a strong implicational bond between features expressing the quality of the action and features representing views of the action.

In analyzing *вз-* verbs denoting 'motion' I will argue that it is possible to redefine the category of determination so as to include not only the thirteen imperfective pairs termed "verbs of motion", e.g., *идти/ходить*, but also other pairs of imperfectives, such as *валить/валять*, as well as perfective/imperfective pairs such as *кинуть/кидать* and *бросить/бросать*. Most generally speaking, the semantic distinctions expressed by these pairs can be described in terms of the features [activity], [action] and [act], introduced in 14.5.1.1. Nondetermined or [activity] verbs (e.g., *ходить*,

express other nuances of 'contrary movement', e.g., 'return, reversal' (*возвратить*, cf. *ἀναστρέφω*) and 'recurrence' (*возродить*, cf. *ἀναγεννάω*). These latter nuances are unknown in the productive Russian prefix *вз-*.

валять, кидать, бросать) are those which present the most general view of the process, representing it as a general state of affairs, a kind of behavior, a characteristic, or, in the case of motion verbs, random or nondirectional movement. Nondetermined [activity] verbs are opposed to determined verbs, verbs which denote [actions] or [acts]. While [activity] verbs depict the process in general, [action] and [act] verbs present a more limited and specific view. [Action] verbs (e.g., идти, валить) depict not a general or characteristic state of affairs but rather a coherent process. [Act] verbs (e.g., кинуть, бросить) present the activity in terms of a single constituent gesture. These distinctions may be summarized as follows:

NONDETERMINED (General)	~	DETERMINED (Specific)	
[activity]		[action]	[act]
ходить		идти	
валять		валить	
кидать		(кидать)	кинуть
бросать		(бросать)	бросить
(1) мы (раньше) <i>ходили</i> в театр		мы <i>шли</i> в театр	
(2) он <i>валялся</i> в постели		он <i>валился</i> на постель	
(3) он <i>кидал</i> камни в воду		когда я его застал, он как раз <i>кидал</i> камень в воду	он <i>кинул</i> ка- мень в воду
(4) он занимался легкой атлетикой, <i>бросал</i> копье и диск		когда я его увидел, он как раз <i>бросал</i> копье	он <i>бросил</i> ко- пье за черту

The sentences in (1) contrast prior custom ('we used to attend the theater'), characteristic ('we used to be theater-goers') or mode of locomotion ('we used to walk to the theater [but now we drive]') with an ongoing process ('we were on our way to the theater'). The sentences in (2) contrast random, multiple movements ('he was rolling around in bed') with a coherent motion ('he fell into bed'). The sentences in (3) involve an imperfective/semelfactive pair and contrast multiple activity, a kind of activity ('he was throwing stones into the water [one after the other]') with an instance of the activity (он кинул камень [камни] в воду 'he threw the stone[s] into the water'). The greater specificity of determined forms can be seen in the fact that

the act verb *кинуть* requires a specific object, while the [activity] verb *кидать* does not: *он кинул камень (камни)* 'he threw a (specific) stone, the (aforementioned) stone(s)'. When used with a plural object, the [act] verb *кинуть* depicts the propulsion of all the objects at once (*действие в одни прием*); the [activity] verb *кидать*, on the other hand, depicts multiple movements (*действие в несколько приемов*). Because of its perfectivity, the [act] verb *кинуть* cannot be used to represent an actual or contemporaneous event. The notion of an act in progress, an [action], is expressed by the imperfective form *кидать*: *...он как раз кидал камень (камни) в воду* 'he was just in the process of throwing a/the stone(s) into the water'. The sentences in (4) involve an imperfective/perfective pair which display the same contrasts as the sentences in (3).

The distinction between general [activity] and specific [action] or [act] expressed in the morphology of these verbs has traditionally been discussed under two separate rubrics, determinacy and semelfactivity. These two categories have been treated separately, probably because of the fact that determined/nondetermined pairs are both imperfective, while semelfactive/non-semelfactive pairs differ in aspect. I will attempt, however, to unite the traditional concepts of determinacy and semelfactivity in a redefined category of determination which will include also those verbs in Russian which do not express these distinctions morphologically. We shall see that prefixal derivations from determined, i.e., [action] or [act], verbs have a very strong tendency to be directional (e.g., *забежать за дерево, закинуть мяч за забор*), whereas prefixal derivations from nondetermined, i.e., [activity], verbs express limitational or quantificational nuances (e.g., *он забéгал* 'began to run', *в него закидали камнями* 'began to throw', *они закидали его камнями* 'showered him with stones').

In the sections to follow we will explore the relationship between the determinacy of a verb, its directionality and the interpretation of its prefixal features. I will present a tentative analysis of determination in terms of the features [activity], [action] and [act] and will attempt to formulate some rules of entailment. Sections 17.2 through 17.4 present a discussion of *вз-* verbs derived from imperfective bases: "verbs of motion" (17.2), other morphologically differentiated imperfective pairs (17.3), and

undifferentiated imperfective pairs (17.4). Section 17.5 is devoted to derivations from semelfactive and perfective bases.

PREFIXED VERBS DERIVED FROM IMPERFECTIVE PAIRS.

17.2 "Verbs of Motion". Before analyzing prefixal derivations from the verbs of motion (17.2.2), I will offer some brief comments on the semantic correlation of these imperfective pairs.

17.2.1 The thirteen¹ verbs of (loco)motion are usually described as correlated with respect to the distinction unidirectional/nonunidirectional, cf. Isačenko 1960:309-314. This distinction, whereby determined forms (e.g., идти) are said to denote movement in one direction while nondetermined forms (e.g., ходить) lack such a specific focus, is said to hold only for literal usages of the forms referring to movement in space:

"Разбор значений отдельных глаголов покажет, что корреляция однонаправленности/неоднонаправленности сохраняется лишь в тех значениях, в которых так или иначе обозначается способ перемещения в пространстве. Там, где наши глаголы утрачивают это специфическое значение, принцип парности нарушается." (Isačenko 1960:314)

"Все сказанное не относится к переносным и фразеологически связанным значениям этих глаголов (ср. вести переговоры, бежать из плена и т. п." (Gr 1970:346)

It is true that in many figurative usages only one verb of a pair can be used, e.g., дождь идет (but not *дождь ходит). It seems, nevertheless, possible to account for both the literal and figurative usages of verbs of motion in terms of a consistent set of semantic features. The semantic invariant which distinguishes forms such as идти from ходить is not the fact that verbs such as идти usually depict movement in one direction but rather the fact that they depict a *coherent* process (an integral, unbroken [action], cf.

¹Isačenko (1960:313-314) and Gr 1970:345 after him consider брести/бродить to be semantically differentiated to such an extent that they can no longer be treated as pairs of verbs of motion: брести 'идти с трудом', бродить 'скитаться, ходить без цели'. The thirteen verbs of motion are: бежать/бегать, везти(сь)/возить(ся), вести(сь)/водить(ся), гнать(ся)/гонять(ся), ехать/ездить, идти/ходить, катить(ся)/катать(ся), лезть/лазить, лететь/летать, нести(сь)/носить(ся), плыть/плавать, ползти/ползать, and тащить(ся)/таскать(ся).

Jakobson 1971a:138).¹ In the examples that we will examine below, we shall see that the reason determined verbs are often unidirectional is that they denote coherent movement.

The Semantic Correlation of the Verbs of Motion. Space permits an examination of only a few usages of these forms; a complete analysis must await separate treatment. In the following I will attempt to show that verb pairs such as *идти/ходить* maintain their semantic identity not only in literal usages but also in those usages in which only one of the forms can be used: verbs of the nondetermined series denote [activity] (a general view, random or multiple movement), while verbs of the determined series denote [action] (a specific view, coherent, often directional movement). We will first examine usages in which both forms can be used, then usages in which only one of the forms is possible.

The figurativeness or abstractness of an expression cannot be considered a criterion for determining the pairedness of verbs of motion. This can be seen in the fact that verbs such as *идти/ходить* are correlated not only in their primary meanings (the locomotion of animate beings and their vehicles) but also in a wide variety of figurative meanings. Some of these usages are illustrated below, in quotations taken primarily from the SSRLJa:

'MOVEMENT THROUGH SPACE (INANIMATES)'

[+ action
0 directional]

[+ activity
0 directional]

A.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) Ленивой грядю <i>идут</i> облака. | (1a) Низко <i>ходят</i> облака. |
| 2) Тучи <i>шли</i> тихо по небу. | (2a) Туча серая сверху <i>ходила</i> . |
| 3) Уж <i>солнце</i> к западу <i>идет</i> . | (3b) <i>Ходит</i> по небу <i>солнце</i> . |

B.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4) Глядишь - и не знаешь: <i>идет</i> или не <i>идет</i> Днепра величавая <i>ширина</i> . | (4a) Синий, синий <i>ходит</i> Днепр плавным разливом, и <i>середь</i> ночи, как <i>середь</i> дня. |
|---|---|

¹A nice treatment of both literal and figurative usages of verbs of motion in terms of invariant features is presented in Foote 1967. He uses the feature *progressive* to distinguish determined from nondetermined verbs.

- 5) Охотники перевязали ему плечо, и кровь перестала *идти*. (5a) ...через жилы кровь *ходит* по человеку...
- С.
- 6) Со взморья волной *шел* ветерок. (6a) Легкий ветерок *ходит* в огромной некошенной траве.
- 7) Зимнюю юрта бывает полна едкого дыма, *идущего* из очага. (7a) *Клубы* ладанного дыма *ходят* по комнате.
- 8) От железной печи *идет* легкое тепло. (8a) По уснувшему саду *ходят* волны тепла.
- 9) Приторный жасминовый запах *идет* не от цветов. (9a) В тесноватой комнате *ходит* волнами густой запах.
- Д.
- 10) На днях получила от Володи письма, одно *шло* 2½ недели, другое 2. Ужасно долго *письма* *идут*. (10a) Письма и газеты из Петербурга приходили к нам исправно; только новости никогда не были свежи, потому что *почта* *ходила* оттуда полтора месяца, иногда и более.
- 11) *Слух* *идет*, будто он устраивает артель такую, вроде хлыстов. (11a) А если еще задумают ставить исторические пьесы, про что *ходят* *слухи*, тогда уж денег не наготовишься.
- 12) Росла, невнятная сперва, *Неслась*, как радио, *молва*. (12a) Почти всюду *носились* *молва* об его неограниченном честолюбии.

The sentences in (A) describe the movement of clouds and heavenly bodies (glossed by the dictionary as 'нестись, плыть, двигаться'). The sentences with *идти* present an ongoing, irreversible process; the sentences with *ходить*, on the other hand, depict random or habitual movement. Only sentence (3) explicitly denotes movement in a single direction.

The sentences in (B) show both *идти* and *ходить* used to represent 'flow' ('течь, литься'). In reality both rivers and blood flow in one direction at a given time. The sentences with *идти* present the flowing as an ongoing process, while the sentences with *ходить* characterize the fashion in which the fluid moves. Neither of the *идти* sentences is explicitly unidirectional.

The sentences in (C) show *идти* and *ходить* used to depict the diffusion or radiation through space of wind, smoke, heat and odors. The *идти* sentences present the diffusion as integral and coherent, as emanation from a

specific source. Sentence (7) *зимой юрта бывает полна едкого дыма, идущего из очара* describes a habitual state; *идти* here denotes a coherent action, the process of emanation from a specific source. This would indicate that the notion of actuality or "restriction to a specific moment of time" which Forsyth (1970:319) proposes as "the chief characteristic of *идти*-type imperfec-tives" is not a necessary component of determined verbs. The *ходить* sentences, for that matter, can all be interpreted as representing actual activity. But since they do not stylize the movement as a coherent process, they are interpretable as representing random, multidirectional movement, or movement occurring in waves (*действие в несколько приемов*).

The sentences in (D) present figurative usages which can still be interpreted as involving movement through space. Sentence (10) *ужасно долго письма идут* emphasizes the process of getting from one place to another, while sentence (10a) *почта ходила оттуда полтора месяца, иногда и долее* characterizes the mail in terms of a habitual quality. The third pair of sentences, (12) and (12a), depict the spreading of rumors. Sentence (12) views the rumor in the process of spreading (*неслась, как радио*), while (12a) depicts the random, multidirectional movement of rumors or just their presence (*всюду носилась молва*). Neither sentence denotes unidirectionality; both sentences can be interpreted as actual.

The next set of figurative expressions are difficult to interpret as involving movement through space. It will be seen, however, that they represent the same kind of distinction: [action] (coherent process) ~ [activity] (random behavior).

PHRASEOLOGISMS:

[+ action
0 directional]

- 13) - Сейчас отец грозился меня
выгнать и лишит наследства.
- За что это?
- За то, что я *знакомство веду*
с рыцарями.

[+ activity
0 directional]

- (13a) Кроме двух - партнеров, да еще -
начальника местной дивизии,
адмирал ни с кем не *водил*
знакомств.

Ušakov defines the phrase вести дружбу, знакомство с кем as an expanded construction (описательное выражение) having the same meaning as a verb derived from the same root: вести дружбу ~ дружить (I:261). The nondetermined phrase водить дружбу, знакомство с кем, on the other hand, is defined as "поддерживать отношение, связь" (I:325). The intuition reflected in these definitions is that the determined expression focuses more specifically on the ongoing process of the relationship, while the nondetermined expression is less specific, describing the mere maintenance of contact.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 14) Ты наш человек, ты настоящий командир. Но ты <i>несешь в себе</i> старое понимание вещей. | (14a) - Моя любовь, - пишет она в письме, - такая большая, что я не в силах <i>носить ее в себе</i> . |
|---|---|

In sentences (14) and (14a) the difference seems to be that between process and capability, between actually having a certain feeling or perception and the ability to have such a feeling. The distinction expressed here between being engaged in an action and being capable to do so is the same distinction that one finds in such pairs of sentences as вот ребенок уже идет 'look, the child is already coming' and вот ребенок уже ходит 'you see, the child is already able to walk'. That the distinction between engagement and capability is not one of actuality can be seen in the fact that both sentences are actual.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 15) Катя объявила мне, что <i>идет в актриси</i> . | (15a) - Я от земли освободился, - что она? Кормить не кормит, а руки вяжет. Четвертый год в <i>батраки хожу</i> . А осенью мне в <i>солдаты идти</i> . |
|--|--|

Павля *шел в первых* по учению и в последних по поведению.

До войны Андрей работал секретарем райком на Кубани, и товарищи не раз шутя говорил ему: - Тебе легко *ходить в "передовых"*: тебя чернозем вывозит.

Четверка - поведение! Шесть лет *шла первой ученицей*, и вдруг.

Пять лет - три *председателем кооператива* и два *председателем сельсовета ходил* Степка.

The sentences in (15) and (15a) present the three syntactic forms in which both идти and ходить can be used to portray the relationship between people and professions. In the first pair of sentences the process of entering a

profession (идет в актрисы) is contrasted with repetitions of the process (четвертый год в батраки хожу). The second pair presents an ongoing action contrasted with repetition, habitualness or potentiality. The third pair contrasts the notion of proceeding on a certain course of behavior (шла первой ученицей), an uninterrupted process, with varying activity.

17) Я прикладывал циферблат к уху, чтобы убедиться, что *часы* еще *идут*.

(17a) *Часы* не испорчены, *ходят*, а теперь не *идут*, не заведены.
(Dal' II:9)

Часы *ходили* около двух суток на одном заводе.

The determined verb is used regularly to depict the operation of mechanisms or entities operating mechanically (e.g., мотор идет, станок идет, домны идут на руде, печи шли ровным, спокойным ходом). Ходить, in the usage illustrated in the first sentence, depicts not the coherent operation of the mechanism, but rather its ability to function at all. Because it is not specific in focus, the nondetermined form is open to a wider range of interpretations. The second sentence часы ходили около двух суток на одном заводе is interpretable as referring to ability ('when wound, the clock could run for 48 hours'), repetition ('the clock would run for 48 hours at a time') or characteristic ('it was a 48-hour clock').

"Unpaired" usages. Let us now examine some of the many instances in which it is possible to use only one of the verbs. Here too, it seems possible to describe the verbs in terms of the same features ([action] versus [activity]). The mere fact that both forms cannot be used in these meanings is not sufficient to support a claim that the semantic distinction is neutralized in these contexts. Lack of opposition with respect to a feature does not necessarily imply lack of the feature; for example, the verb стоять participates in the category of aspect, contains the feature [0 perfective], even though it has no conceivable perfective form. The real danger in a discussion of unpaired usages is that of explaining the choice of determined or nondetermined form in terms of the general nature of things. Some degree of circularity is unavoidable and can be resolved only through a detailed study of comparative evidence from other Slavic languages. I think it can be

shown, however, that the semantics of a given form remains constant throughout its metaphorical range, that *идти* remains [+ action], denoting a coherent, often directional process, even when it is not paired with the [+ activity]¹ verb *ходить*. The following examples are taken from the SSRLJa.

"UNPAIRED" USAGES: DETERMINED FORMS [+ action]

1. 'PRECIPITATION'

- a) Всю первую половину мая *шли* непрерывные дожди.

The sentence *дождь идет* is the classic example of an unpaired usage of *идти*. One notes, however, that 'precipitation' is a coherent, nonrandom process occurring in one direction. The dictionary does attest sentences such as *этим летом над Баварией ходили грозы*, but they do not depict precipitation as such but rather merely the presence of atmospheric disturbances.

2. 'MOVEMENT (OF GOODS FOR SALE)'

- a) Ярмарка была в самом разгаре. Пушной товар и чай *шли* хорошо.
 b) На базаре табак недавно *шел* по червонцу осьмушка. b₁) Квартира *ходила* по шести рублей в месяц. (*Устар.*)

Goods move in one direction, from seller to buyer. The verbs can be paired, if one is speaking of items moving for a certain price. (2b) presents a specific transaction, while (2b₁) (an archaic usage) serves to characterize the object in terms of its price.

3. 'EXPENDITURE'

- a) Все у него *шло* на лотерею.
 b) Дубовый лес *идет* на постройку кораблей.

The allocation of funds or ingredients is a unidirectional process.

¹I will discuss the marking of these features in section 17.2.2.

4. 'GROWTH'

- a) Лучи солнца - незаходящие и мягкие - заставляют глазом разглядеть, как *идет* из земли трава.
- b) Плющ *идет* (*ползет*, *бежит*) по стене.

The notions of 'growth' and 'extension' in space (5, below) can be depicted only by determined verbs, because the process is nonreversible and nonmultipliable. Even though the direction may ultimately vary, the language depicts growth as a coherent process of development, cf. 10.3.

5. 'EXTENSION'

- a) Дома в шесть и семь этажей *идут*...скорее в вышину, чем в ширину.
- b) Вокруг всего пруда *шел* старинный сад.
- c) Лестница *ведет* на башню.

In these sentences entities are seen to extend or develop in coherent fashion. What is actually a state of extension is presented as an irreversible process of extension.

6. 'ORIGINATION'

- a) Твердо знаю, что мое писательство *идет* от матери.
- b) *Вести* свой род, свое начало от чего.

The relation of an entity or an activity to its origin is unidirectional and nonreversible.

7. 'ADVENT / PASSAGE'

- a) Местные жители тосковали о том, что *идут* новые времена.
- b) *Идут* часы, и дни и годы.
- c) Время *бежит* (*летит*, *ползет*).

The advent of epochs or seasons, as well as their passage, is a coherent, unidirectional process.

8. 'TREND'

- a) Наша история *шла* иначе, чем история Европы.
- b) Дело *идет* к концу.
- c) К беде неопытность *ведет*.

The development of abstract activities through time, their 'trend', proceeds in one direction.

9. 'PROCESS'

- a) (events) *идет* представление, пьеса, концерт; *идет* работа, веселье, еда
- b) (speech) разговор у них *шел* по-французски; *вести* разговор, спор, полемичку, переписку с кем; *нести* околесную, чушь, чепуху

Here the determined verb is used to represent the being in progress of certain kinds of events.

10. 'OCCUPATION'

- a) *вести* себя; *вести* уединенную жизнь; *вести* школу, собрание, курс лекций; *вести* журнал; *вести* торговлю с кем; *вести* счет, приходы и расходы
- b) *нести* сторожевую службу; *нести* ответственность; *нести* наказание, потери ('undergo, endure')

These sentences depict the relationship of people and certain activities as coherent behavior, a kind of conduct in which the subject is actively engaged, cf. the discussion of the phrase *вести дружбу*, above. In all these cases one can speak of an ongoing, internally coherent process.

Now we may compare the coherent, integral nature of the processes depicted by [+ action] verbs with the lack of such a specific focus in non-determined [+ activity] verbs. Once again, examples are taken from the SSRLJa.

"UNPAIRED" USAGES: NONDETERMINED FORMS [+ activity]

1. 'RANDOM, MULTIPLE ACTIVITY'

- a) Здесь почва *ходила* и зыбилась под ногами.
 Голова его кружилась: вся комната *ходила* кругом.
 Лошадь в мыле, бока тяжело *ходят*.
 Тесто *ходит*. Пиво *ходит* (*бродит*).

Носить животом, боком.

Мысль эта *носится* в воздухе.

В этом вихре ослепляющей житейской пыли Софья Андреевна
носила с утра до вечера. (хлопотала)

Водить глазами, бровями.

2. 'CHARACTERISTIC'

- a) Он еще *ходил* холостой. }
 Она *ходила* как потерянная. } быть (как)
 Он *ходил* босиком. }
 Он *ходил* в костюме, в очках. } быть в чем
- b) Кто ты, какое *носишь* имя? }
 Визиты *носили* деловой характер. } быть у кого (иметь)
Носить костюм, очки, бороду. } быть в чем
- Но песня, созданная им, }
 Жива и *носится* в народе. } быть (где)
- c) *Водить* кого в чем: Отец-то, чай, деньги }
 лопатой загребает, а тебя в этаком } (cause) быть в чем
 зипунишке *водит*. }
- В лесах *водятся* медведи. }
 Печорины *водятся* исключительно } быть (где)
 между молодыми людьми. }

The usages in which only the nondetermined form is possible seem to cluster around two kinds of meaning: (1) *random or multiple activity*, where the sense is just 'be in motion, move in different directions'; or (2) *characteristic*, where the nondetermined form is a practical synonym of the verb 'to be' and serves to stylize the relationship of the subject (object) and its characteristic attributes, possessions or locations in terms of habitual movement.

One can see that the choice of form is not arbitrary by comparing determined phrases such as нести ответственность or нести наказание with non-determined phrases such as носить характер or носить очки. In the case of the [+ action] phrases, the subject is seen to be actively engaged in a coherent pattern of behavior with respect to the abstractions represented by the terms ответственность and наказание: the subject is engaged in bearing the responsibility or enduring the punishment. In the case of the [+ activity] phrases, however, the subject is not engaged in a coherent pattern of behavior but is merely associated with the attributes represented by the terms характер and очки. Cf. Foote 1967:32 for a similar interpretation.

17.2.2 *Prefixal Derivations from Verbs of Motion.* The semantic integrity which one observes in these verbs throughout their metaphorical range becomes even more evident when one examines the behavior of determined and nondetermined verbs when prefixed. Determined verbs denote coherent actions and have a strong tendency to be directional when prefixed; the prefixal features can usually be interpreted in a directional sense (e.g., пронести рояль через дверь). Nondetermined verbs, on the other hand, denote general activity or multiple movements and do not tend to be directional when prefixed; the prefixal features are interpreted as referring to the phasal limits of the activity (e.g., больного ребенка проносил [pf.] всю ночь на руках), the quantity of the activity or the degree to which it affects the patient (e.g., проносить [pf.] сапоги до дыр).

In this section we will examine some of the semantic effects obtained by specifying the determined verbs идти, нести and вести and the non-determined verbs ходить, носить and водить for the features underlying the prefixes за-, пере- and про-. (Verbs of motion prefixed with вз- are discussed in 17.2.2.1.)

The standard treatment of prefixal derivatives from verbs of motion asserts the imperfectives such as за-ходить, -возить, -водить, -гонять, -летать and -носить are achieved by prefixing the nondetermined verb and thereby constitute an exception to the general rule in Russian that prefixation always yields a perfective form, cf. Gr 1970:346, Forsyth 1970:18, Foote

1967:12fn. This alleged exception is not typical of verbs of motion as a class but of less than half of the verbs (six out of thirteen); the remaining prefixed imperfectives are obviously secondary imperfectives, displaying suffixal stress (e.g., бѣгать but -бегать, e.g., забежать → забегать, cf. рѣзать → зарѣзать [pf.] → запезать [impf.]) or an imperfectivizing suffix (e.g., закатыть → закатывать). The problem with the standard treatment is that it cannot explain why some prefixal derivations from a given form are imperfective while others are not: e.g., ходить + за-₁ 'behind' → заходить (impf.) 'go behind', but ходить + за-₂ 'begin' → заходить (pf.) 'begin walking'. Isačenko (1960:325-344) has shown that the so-called exceptional imperfectives are actually secondary imperfectives, e.g., зайти (pf.) → заходить (2nd impf.), retaining the same meaning as their derivational base, cf. also Sekaninová 1964. It is only perfectives such as заходить 'begin walking', then, which represent instances where the nondetermined form has been prefixed. In the following we shall see that it is the nature of the derivational base that accounts for the directionality of the imperfective заходить (+ зайти + идти [+ action]) and the nondirectionality of the perfective заходить (+ ходить [+ activity]).

In the following chart the three rows of matrices show the verbs идти, нести and вести specified for the three prefixes за-, пере-, and про-:

$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{vertical} \\ + \text{transgression} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{plane} \\ 0 \text{ domain} \\ + \text{spanning} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{plane} \\ + \text{domain} \\ + \text{spanning} \end{bmatrix}$
за-	пере-	про-

The four columns display different ways of marking the features for each prefixed verb, depending upon whether the verb is meant to portray literal, physical movement [0 abstract] (I, II) or figurative movement [+ abstract] (III, IV) and whether the movement is directional (I, III) or not.

DETERMINED [0 activity]
+ action] VERBS WITH ЗА-, ПЕРЕ-, ПРО-:

I	II	III	IV
[0 abstract - activity + action + motion + directional + vertical - plane - domain + transgression - spanning + perfective]	[0 abstract - activity + action + motion 0 directional + vertical - plane - domain + transgression - spanning + perfective]	[+ abstract - activity + action + motion + directional + vertical - plane - domain + transgression - spanning + perfective]	[+ abstract - activity + action + motion 0 directional + vertical - plane - domain + transgression - spanning + perfective]
зайти	солнце зашло	беседа зашла за полночь	зашел разговор о чем-л.
занести	занести руку для удара	занести речь в протокол	он занес какую-то дичь
завести	завести глаза	завести кого-л. в тупик	завести разговор с кем-л.
	за что во что к кому		

[0 abstract - activity + action + motion + directional - vertical + plane - domain - transgression + spanning + perfective]	[0 abstract - activity + action + motion 0 directional - vertical + plane - domain - transgression + spanning + perfective]	[+ abstract - activity + action + motion + directional - vertical + plane - domain - transgression + spanning + perfective]	[+ abstract - activity + action + motion 0 directional - vertical + plane - domain - transgression + spanning + perfective]
перейти	перейти поле, границу	разговор перешла к другой теме	перейдет время, все уладится
перенести	односложное слово нельзя перенести	перенести заседа- ние на 7 часов вечера	перенести тяжелую болезнь
перевести	перевести часовую стрелку	перевести текст на русский язык	перевести текст
	че- рез во что на		

I	II	III	IV
0 abstract - activity + action + motion + directional - vertical + plane + domain - transgression + spanning + perfective	0 abstract - activity + action + motion 0 directional - vertical + plane + domain - transgression + spanning + perfective	+ abstract - activity + action + motion + directional - vertical + plane + domain - transgression + spanning + perfective	+ abstract - activity + action + motion 0 directional - vertical + plane + domain - transgression + spanning + perfective
пройти	машина прошла сто километров	он прошел через нигилизм к какой- то странной религии	пройти аспирантуру
пронести	через что он пронес пакет несколько шагов мимо и остановился чего	там любовь про- несена через всю жизнь, как свя- тыня	Ура! Пронесло. Не будет ревизии.
провести	провести мелом черту	провести идею в жизнь	провести время

Some of the feature specifications in these matrices represent the operation of rules of entailment:

- (1) $\left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ prefixal} \\ \text{features} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ prefixal} \\ \text{features} \end{array} \right] \bigwedge \left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ prefixal} \\ \text{features} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ prefixal} \\ \text{features} \end{array} \right]$
- (2) $\left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right] \bigwedge \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ prefixal} \\ \text{features} \end{array} \right]$
- (3) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ activity} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ activity} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ action} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ action} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \bigwedge \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$

Rule (1) is a restatement in more general terms of rules (14) and (15) discussed in 16.2.6.1. It states that when one syntagm of variable prefixal features is specified by the speaker all other variable prefixal features become excluded from the message. This rule allows the appearance of two prefixes in the surface structure in those cases where one of the prefixes is bound, i.e., representing not variable but inherent features, e.g.,

пере-забыть. The rule will eventually have to be adjusted to allow for true cases of double prefixation, e.g., по-на-строить. Rule (2) repeats rule (13) discussed in 16.2.6.1. Rule (3) states that if either the feature [activity] or [action] has not been specified in the selection of a verb from the lexicon, it becomes excluded from the message once the verb is further specified as [+ perfective]. When the verb is imperfective, the [activity] and [action] features do not seem to be mutually incompatible. For example, the phrase дела идут хорошо [0 activity + action] expresses a coherent process but can be interpreted as a general state of activity; the prefixed perfective дела прошли гладко [- activity + action], however, cannot be interpreted as a general state of affairs. Similarly, the imperfective phrase санитары перенашивают раненых [+ activity 0 action] expresses a series of events but can be interpreted as an action, a process unfolding before one's eyes; but the perfective phrase санитары переносили всех раненых [+ activity - action] can only be interpreted as a complex series of events.

The verbs in column (I) [0 abstract + directional] represent movement in a single direction through physical space. The precise interpretation of the prefixed verb depends on what feature of the verb the limits expressed by the prefixal phrase features are associated with. For example, the prefix за- [+ vertical + transgression], cf. 1.4.1, expresses the transgression of a limit. If that limit refers to the [goal] of the movement, then the sense is that of 'going beyond, behind' something (зайти за дерево) or, if the goal represents a [volume], 'going deep' (зайти глубоко в лес, зайти по горло в воду). If, however, the limit is associated with the [path] of the movement, then the sense is that of 'deviation, deflection' from prior direction, i.e., transgression of the path (зайти в магазин, к знакомым; захватить в канаву).

The prefixes пере- [+ plane 0 domain + spanning] and про- [+ plane + domain + spanning], cf. 1.4.2, express the notion of action traversing a plane. Verbs in пере-, according to Flier (1975:220), depict an action as "proceeding from inceptive to terminal limit by figuratively leaping over the domain". If the plane traversed is associated with the [path] of the movement, then the sense is that of traveling over a path (перейти через улицу,

cf. the [0 directional] перейти улицу, переехать собаку, where the patient serves as the path of the movement). If the plane refers rather to the [source] and/or [goal] of the action, then the sense is that of transition toward a goal (перейти с дивана на кресло).

For verbs in про-, the interior domain of the plane spanned by the action is significant, cf. Flier (1975:221ff.). If the frame features [+ plane + domain] are associated with the [path] of the movement, then the sense is that of motion proceeding along a surface (пройти по мосту), through a volume (пройти через двор) or past an object (пройти мимо дома). If the object passed is felt to be both the [path] and the [goal] of the movement, then the sense is that of 'missing' an intended destination (пройти поворот, проехать станцию [0 directional]).

The verbs in column (II) [0 abstract 0 directional] depict movement in space without specification of direction. The verbs in за- describe movement 'beyond, behind (out of sight)' (солнце зашло) or deflectional movement (занести руку, завести глаза). The verbs in пере- depict 'crossing' (перейти поле) or 'transposition' (перенести слово¹, перевести стрелку). The verbs in про- depict movement spanning a certain 'measure' (машина прошла сто км., он пронес пакет несколько шагов) or movement spanning an area (провести черту [effected object]).

The verbs in column (III) and (IV) [+ abstract] depict motion through metaphorical space. The verbs in column (III) [+ directional] display abstract processes proceeding in a single direction. The sentence беседа зашла за полночь, for example, is just as directional as a sentence such as девушка зашла за сарай, but differs from it by being [+ abstract]: in the former sentence, a nonphysical entity (беседа) proceeds beyond a point in time; in the latter sentence, a body proceeds beyond a point in space. The [+ abstract] sentence portrays development in time, the [0 abstract] sentence movement from place to place. Similarly, the [+ abstract] sentence он прошел

¹This phrase describes extension, rather than movement, through space: нельзя перенести слово на следующую строку [+ directional], нельзя перенести слово [0 directional].

через нигилизм к какой-то странной религии differs from a [0 abstract] sentence such as он прошел через лес к реке in that it describes a person pursuing a course of intellectual development rather than a body moving through physical space. In such figurative usages the abstractness of the verb is expressed in the abstractness of all of its terms. It is important to emphasize that the verbs here are not homonyms but are identical except in the marking of the feature [abstract], because it better reflects the surface structure of the language: the verbs are phonetically identical.

The verbs in column (IV) [0 directional] present nondirectional [+ abstract] expressions. In these cases the frame features of the prefixes are associated with the feature [action], delineating its threshold (зашел разговор) or its termini (перенести болезнь, провести время). It seems that the prefixal features can refer to the temporal limitations of the action only in those [+ action] verbs depicting abstract processes which cannot be depicted by the corresponding [+ activity] verbs. For example, the process of conversation can be depicted only by the [+ action] verb идти (e.g., идет разговор о его новой жене, but not *ходит разговор о его новой жене), and it is only in this meaning that зайти can be interpreted as an inchoative (e.g., зашел разговор о его новой жене, but not *он зашел ['начал идти'] по комнате).

The next chart shows the nondetermined verbs ходить, носить and водить prefixed in за-, пере-, and про-. In every case the prefixed verb depicts the temporal limitations of the [activity] or the extent of the effect it has upon the patient.

NONDETERMINED $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ activity} \\ 0 \text{ action} \end{array} \right]$ VERBS WITH ЗА-, ПЕРЕ-, ПРО-:

$\left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ abstract} \\ + \text{ activity} \\ - \text{ action} \\ + \text{ motion} \\ 0 \text{ directional} \\ + \text{ vertical} \\ - \text{ plane} \\ - \text{ domain} \\ + \text{ transgression} \\ - \text{ spanning} \\ + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$	<p>заходить: (inchoative) Больной встал и заходил.</p> <p>заносить: (injury) Он заносил пальто (долгой ноской загрязнил, истрепал).</p> <p>заводить: 1) (inchoative) Заводить гостя по комнатам новой квартиры. (SSRLJa IV:313)</p> <p>2) (injury) Заводить до одурения (вода, утомить).</p>
$\left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ abstract} \\ + \text{ activity} \\ - \text{ action} \\ + \text{ motion} \\ 0 \text{ directional} \\ - \text{ vertical} \\ + \text{ plane} \\ 0 \text{ domain} \\ - \text{ transgression} \\ + \text{ spanning} \\ + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$	<p>переходить: 1) (distributive) Переходить все места.</p> <p>2) (repetition) Переходить пешкой (снова, иначе).</p> <p>3) (excess) Она месяц переходила, но роды были нормальными.</p> <p>4) (injury) Ты ходи, это здорово, да знай меру, не переживай (ходить лишку, до изнурения). (Dal' III:96)</p> <p>переносить: 1) (distributive) Санитары переносили всех раненых (в несколько приемов).</p> <p>Он, может, всех рубах не переносит, какие у него есть.</p> <p>2) (excess) Переносить ребенка (проносить дольше обычного срока).</p> <p>переводить: (distributive) За месяц экскурсовод в музее переводил тысячу посетителей.</p>
$\left[\begin{array}{l} 0 \text{ abstract} \\ + \text{ activity} \\ - \text{ action} \\ + \text{ motion} \\ 0 \text{ directional} \\ - \text{ vertical} \\ + \text{ plane} \\ + \text{ domain} \\ - \text{ transgression} \\ + \text{ spanning} \\ + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$	<p>проходить: 1) (perdurative) Проходить всю ночь. Весною я тоже любил прохаживать целые ночи напролет на этой набережной.</p> <p>После возвращения домой Басов надел стеганный халат, да так и проходил в нем подряд три недели.</p> <p>Два срока проходил Ефим Тарасыч в старостях.</p> <p>2) (iterative: impf. only) Во дворе ипподрома было уже много лошадей, их прохаживал по кругу, всех в одном направлении.</p>

- проносить: 1) (perdurative) Больного ребенка проносил всю ночь на руках.
Он проносил шубу три года.
- 2) (injury) Проносить сапоги до дыр.
- (проводить:) (iterative: impf. only) Кучер проваживал разгоряченных лошадей.

When prefixed with за-, nondetermined verbs can refer to the onset of activity (встал и заходил, заводить гостя по комнатам) or to activity affecting the patient to an extreme (заносить пальто, заводить гостя), depending upon whether the frame feature of the prefix is associated with the [activity] itself or with the [patient].

When prefixed with пере-, [+ activity] verbs can depict the distribution of the complex activity over a series of patients (переходить все места, санитары переносили всех раненых, экскурсовод переводил тысячу посетителей): in this case the spanned plane refers to the multiple patients of the activity. If, however, it is the [activity] itself which is viewed as being spanned, then the sense is either that of excessive activity (она месяц переходила, переносить ребенка 'too long') or of the simple repetition of the activity (переходить снова 'take a move over').

When prefixed with про-, nondetermined verbs can refer to the span of time encompassed by the activity (он проходил всю ночь, он проносил шубу три года); in this case the plane spanned is associated with the [measure] of the activity. If the activity is viewed as encompassing the [patient], then the sense is that of activity exhausting the limits of the patient (проносить сапоги до дыр). If the verb is further specified as [+ imperfective]¹, then the sense is that of activity carried out thoroughly in a series of movements (проаживать, проаживать лошадь). The verb проводить 'accompany' presents a problem in that its meaning does not display the quantificational or limitational nuances typical of derivatives from nondetermined verbs. That it is probably a Church Slavic formation can be seen in the kind of sec-

¹This manner of describing imperfectivization was discussed in 16.2.6.1 and will be treated further in 17.5.3.1.

ondary imperfective it forms (провождать, [устар.] провождать). The genuine Russian form проваживать has the expected iterative meaning (activity carried out carefully or thoroughly in a series of movements).

17.2.2.1 *Derivations in вз-*. Although derivations in вз- from nondetermined verbs of motion are not theoretically impossible, they are rare and unusual, e.g., встаскать below, attested only in Dal', cf. 17.2.2.1.1. Verbs of motion in вз- are essentially derived only from the determined [+ action] stem:

Paired:

	взбежа́ть	взбегáть
	(взбрести́)	(взбредáть)
	взвестí(сь)	взводи́ть(ся)
	взвезтí(сь)	взвози́ть(ся)
	взогна́ть(ся)	взгоня́ть(ся)
	взъеха́ть	взъезжа́ть
	вскати́ть(ся)	вскáтывать(ся)
	взле́зть	взлезáть
	взлетéть	взлетáть, (взлётывать)
	взнести́(сь)	взно́сить(ся)
	всплы́ть	всплывáть
	всползтí	всполза́ть, (вспáлзывать)
[встаска́ть]	всташíть(ся)	вста́скивать(ся)
	взойтí	всходи́ть

When determined verbs are specified for the вз- features, they depict movement transgressing the marked axis of the prefixal framework, cf. 1.4.1. This 'movement in a marked direction' can refer to upward or contrary movement.

When specified [0 abstract], all these verbs depict the translocation of physical objects upward through space. The [goal] of the directed motion may be further specified as a [surface] (он взбежал на горку 'onto') or as a [volume] (он взбежал в сени 'into'). Occasionally the movement can be interpreted as contrary (взводить суда 'take upstream') or as overcoming a barrier (difficult access), e.g.,

ИДТИ: 'fit on, fit in'

- 1) 'Надеваться, влезать без затруднений'

"Сапог не идет на ногу."

- 2) '...во что. Свободно входить, влезать'

"Гвоздь не идет в стену."

ВЗОЙТИ/ВСХОДИТЬ:

- (1a) 'Надеваться, быть впору, приходится по мерке (об одежде, обуви и т. п.)'

"[Василий Петрович] без всякой церемонии брал ваши запасные сапоги, если они ему кое-как всходили на ногу."

- (2a) 'Помещаться, вмещаться'

"Хозяин, не говоря ни слова, положил ему на тарелку хребтовую часть тельца...
— Не могу! — сказал Чичиков.
— Да вы попробуйте, а потом скажите: не могу!
— Не взойдет, нет места."

We have seen that the convention of stylizing contrary movement as upward movement can account for the ability of the unproductive prefix *воз-* to represent reversal (*возвратить*) and recurrence (*возродить*). In these sentences depicting movement overcoming a barrier one notes an interesting parallel with the prefix *в-* 'penetration (overcoming the integrity of an object)'. In older usage verbs in *вз-* could be used to depict movement into a volume (e.g., *въехать в город, взойти в комнату*, cf. 2a above). In newer usage several verbs use *в-* forms rather than *вз-* forms to represent upward movement (e.g., *влезть на дерево, въехать на бугор*). The use of *в-* verbs to depict upward movement is relatively recent, except in the verb *влезть*¹: Ušakov lists only *влезть* in this meaning; the SRJa, however, lists also *ввести, вкатыть, внести, втащить* and *въехать*. The confusion of the prefixes *в-* and *вз-*, both of which can be interpreted as representing difficult access, testifies

¹The verb *лезть* denotes movement up or down (*лезть на дерево, лезть в воду*), movement overcoming difficult access. An early quote from the 12th century shows it used with the prefix *въ-* in reference to upward motion: "И не обрѣтше, кудѣ внести его народа ради, и вълѣзше на храмъ" (SRJa XI-XVII vv. II:225).

to the fact that prefixes do not denote literal spatial directions but rather relationships to kinds of limits or thresholds. The confusion could arise earliest in the verb лезть, because it alone seems in all its meanings to insist on the idea of motion overcoming difficult access.

When specified [+ abstract], determined verbs prefixed with *вз-* can assume an evaluative character. For example, the [+ abstract] sentences

- (1) X_[pers] *взойти* на Y_[abstr]

"Я ... увидел там молодого государя...,
который по смерти своего отца в тот
самый день взошел на престол."

- (2) X_[pers] *взносится* в Y_[abstr]

"А ты, брат наших ты сердец,
Герой, столь рано охладельный,
Взносись в небесные пределы:
Завиден, славен твой конец."

- (3) X_[pers] *взнести* Y_[abstr] на Z_[abstr]

"Вооружись небесными громами!
Наш падший дух взнеси на высоту,
Чтоб человек не мертвыми очами
Мог созерцать добро и красоту."

differ from the [0 abstract] sentences

- (1a) "Подгорин взошел по лестнице на площадку и сел."

- (2a) "Опять над горизонтом взнеслись ракеты."

- (3a) "...пегашка взнесла воз на противоположный берег..."

in that they do not describe the movement of bodies through physical space but rather the elevation of persons or their spirit (*наш падший дух*) to an evaluatively better ("higher") station. In 1.4.1.1 I noted that metaphorical relationships to the [horizontal] tend to be evaluative in nature, while relationships in the [vertical] are comparative, i.e., relationships of extent or degree, cf. the metaphorical interpretations of the prefixes *за-*, *пере-* and *про-* in the preceding section (e.g., *заездить лошадь* 'too much, to the point of exhaustion', *переносить ребенка* 'too long, past term', *проходить всю*

ночь 'exhausting a period of time').

17.2.2.1.1 The prefix *вз-* freely combines with determined, directional verbs of motion, specifying them for marked direction. It is difficult, however, to tell why there are practically no *вз-* derivations from nondetermined verbs, e.g., why there are no inchoative formations such as **взбѣрать* 'haul off and run', cf. *забѣрать* 'begin running'. This restriction may be conditioned by the marked nature of the prefix *вз-* in comparison with the prefix *за-*. We have seen that *за-* occurs freely with all kinds of [+ activity] verbs, while *вз-* is restricted to verbs denoting expressive or turbulent activities, e.g., verbs of animate 'sound/expression', verbs of turbulent physical motion ('boiling', 'agitation') and verbs of unpleasant emotion ('excitation'). It seems that the notion of [+ activity + motion] must be further specified for features involving expressiveness or turbulence in order to imply the *вз-* features, cf. the use of *взметаться* as a verb of 'excitation' (16.8).

The *вз-* features do not, however, seem to be totally excluded from nondetermined verbs of motion if they are directional, expressing activity associated with a goal. This is the linguistic potentiality represented in the form *встаскать*, attested only in Dal' (I:270). To explain the difference between *встаскивать*, *встаскать* and *всташить*, Dal' gives the following example: "*Встаскивают* на гору и одно бревно и пять бревен; *встаскали* пять, *всташили* одно". The [+ action] verb *всташить* describes a single, coherent movement in one direction. The [+ activity] verb *встаскать*, however, describes a complex of repeated movements: like many prefixal derivations from nondetermined stems, it insists on a quantitative interpretation, cf. *заходиться* 'excess', *переходить* все окрестности 'distributive'. Unlike the prefixed perfectives *всташить* and *встаскать*, the secondary imperfective form *встаскивать* is ambiguous, referring either to a single action or to multiple activity. The nature of this ambiguity will be explored in 17.5.3.1.

17.3 *Other Correlated Imperfective Pairs.* In the last two sections we have seen that in the correlated pairs of imperfective stems known as the verbs of motion each verb maintains its semantic integrity not only through-

out its metaphorical range but also under prefixation: the [+ action] determined form depicts a single coherent movement and tends to be directional; the [+ activity] nondetermined form depicts a general state of affairs (multiple movements, characteristic, ability, etc.) and, when prefixed, depicts the quantity or limitations of the activity. In this section we shall see that these distinctions are typical not only of the thirteen verbs of motion but also of several other pairs of imperfective verbs: валить/валить, волочь/волочить, воротить/ворочать and тянуть/тягать.¹

The verb pairs discussed in this section are semantically more differentiated than the pairs of verbs of motion. The distinctions in determinacy and directionality which they display must be seen not as the sum but as the basis of their semantic differentiation. To see how the semantics of these pairs parallels that of verbs of motion, let us take the verb валить/валить as an example.

17.3.1 It is difficult to summarize the semantics of валить(ся), because no one English verb quite matches it. The gesture that it depicts is something like 'turn over':



As a transitive, it describes the following actions:

	'tip over'	"валить повозку"
	'fell'	"валить лес"
[0 abstract]	'throw, place carelessly' (one movement)	"дворник с ужасным громом валил на пол охапку дров"

	'strike down'	"валит эта болезнь старого и малого"
	'kill' (strike down)	"валить зверя"
[+ abstract]	'lump together'	"валить в(одну) кучу" (something abstract)
	'heap blame'	"валить с больной головы на здоровую"

¹There are many other pairs of imperfective stems which display a distinction in determinacy and which are semantically distinct when prefixed. This section examines only those which occur with вз-.

There is another валить, usually listed as a separate verb, which belongs here. This валить is always intransitive; there is a substandard, dialectal валиться in the same meaning:

'move as a mass'	"валить толпой, стеной"
	"валить валом"
	"дым, пар, снег, пот и т. п. валит"

Its definition is correctly expressed as a determined verb: 'идти, двигаться в большом количестве, непрерывно'. What is described by both verbs is obviously a coherent (cf. непрерывно), unidirectional action.

Валять(ся), on the other hand, depicts not one coherent gesture (one "turn") but rather a multiple activity: 'roll around, from side to side', 'produce by rolling' (валять валенки), 'lie about, be in disorder'.

The verbs валить(ся)/валять(ся) are clearly related in meaning, but they are distinguished by more than just the marking of the features [action], [activity] and [directional]. The difference in the marking of these features is thus not the sum but the basis of the semantic difference between валить and валять.

Prefixal derivations from валить are consistently directional, cf. ввалить 'into', вывалить 'out of', навалить 'onto', перевалить 'across', повалить 'set off' (cf. пойти), привалить 'up to', etc. Prefixal derivations from валять are not directional, cf. вывалять 'extent', завалить 'begin', извалять 'extent', навалять 'quantity', перевалить 'all, many', повалять 'a little bit', провалять 'for some time'.

Since валить denotes movement along a surface, with вз- it has the meaning 'up onto or into' ('поднимая, класть тяжелые или громоздкие вещи, предметы на что-либо, куда-нибудь'). Взвалиться is either medial ('get up onto', 'tip up and over') or passive.

17.3.2 The verbs волоочь and волочить are defined as synonymous in their primary meaning 'drag along a surface'. There seems, however, to be a residual distinction in directionality. Волоочь(ся) has only the meaning 'drag'; волочить(ся), however, is capable of a variety of additional, non-directional meanings, e.g., 'перен. Таскать [NB non-determined], мытарить проволочками':

"Целый год его волочили по судам. Дело волочили по судам." (Ušakov). The intransitive *волочиться* likewise depicts random, multiple activity; e.g., 'скитаться, переходить, переезжать с места на места'; 'хлопотать напрасно, терять время вследствие проволочек': ("...а не волочиться бы им по разным московским учреждениям"), and 'устар. и в просторечии. Ухаживать за женщиной' ("Кавалеры волочились за дамами...").

With prefixes *волочь* and *волочить* are usually defined as synonymous; both are defined directionally and non-directionally, e.g., *наволочить* '= *наволочь*'. This is not always, however, the case, cf. *доволочься* '= *доволочиться* ('дойти с трудом; дотащиться, добраться [directional])'. Only the form *доволочиться*, however, can have the meaning 'неумеренным уходом, волокитством довести себя до каких-л. неприятных последствий'.

17.3.3 The two perfectives *воротить* and *ворочать* also exhibit a distinction in directionality. *Воротить* means 'turn, avert; move out of place'; *ворочать* means 'move, roll; move from side to side' and has abstract usages (e.g., *ворочать глазами, языком* 'shift; wag'; *ворочать умом, мозгами* 'обдумывать, размышлять') not shared by *воротить*. Both, however, can be used in the meaning 'control, be boss of'. As we saw in 3.1.2, prefixal derivations from *воротить* are consistently directional, while those from *ворочать* are not.

The SSRLJa lists *взворотить/взворачивать* in three meanings:

- (1) 'Поднимать, приподнимать с усилием вверх, взваливать (о чем-либо грузном, тяжелом)'

"Петр Петрович взворотил на верстак огромный конец доски и начал стругать."

- (2) 'Вспахивать'

- (3) 'Ворочая, небрежно перекаладывая, приводить в беспорядок'

"[Наталя] оглядывала взвороченный в сундуке ворох нарядов."

The first meaning is what one would expect from a prefixed verb derived from a determined form: it is directional. The second usage has been treated as a figurative extension of the first, cf. 3.2.3: "взвороченные лемехами пласты чернозема" are not plowed layers of earth but layers which have been turned up and over. The sense is directional; the earth is turned over, not caused to move in various directions. (The metaphor is old, cf. Lat. *terram*

aratro vertere.) The third meaning, listed only in the SSRLJa and, after it, in the SRJa, presents problems. This is the meaning one would expect *взворочать* to have, since the verb is being used to depict random 'disorder', cf. 6.2.1.5.4. There is a *взворочать*, listed in Dal' (I:193) in precisely this meaning. Dal' defines *взворотить/взвораживать* as directional: "*Взвораживать, взворотить что, куда, взваливать, вскидывать, вскатывать. Без слез камня на могилу не взворотилишь*" but defines *взворочать* as nondirectional: "*Всё взворочал в сундуке, перерыл, перебуравил*". The example shows *взворочать* used nondirectionally (в сундуке, locative, cf. quote [3] above) and defined with nondirectional verbs (пере- meaning 'through and through'). The quote adduced by the SSRLJa under meaning (3) is from Šoloxov; it is the only quote given to illustrate this meaning. I have not been able to find *взворотить* in the meaning 'disturb' in any other dictionary (except the SRJa, which merely copies the entry from the SSRLJa). In view of what we have seen so far in the behavior of derivatives from determined verbs and in view of the fact that only the participle *взвороченный* is attested in this meaning, I would propose that it could conceivably be a misspelling for **взворочанный* + *взворочать*, attested by Dal' in precisely this meaning and context.

17.3.4 Corresponding to the literary verb *тянуть(ся)* there is a substandard *тягать(ся)*: both are imperfective. The SSRLJa defines *тягать* as '*тянуть, тащить*', i.e., directionally. The verb *тянуть* can also be used to denote repeated and nonunidirectional activity. In terms of the modern language one would have to say that there is one unprefixated imperfective verb meaning 'pull', *тянуть*, and that it is variably directional. Nevertheless, there were at one time two imperfectives. And, as one would expect (cf. 17.5), the *-нуть* form is consistently directional with all prefixes, while the *-ать* form is consistently nondirectional or depicts a complex of multiple actions. All the following examples are taken from Ušakov, the only dictionary that consistently lists the derivatives from *тягать*:

-ТЯНУТЬ

[+ directional]

НАТЯНУТЬ: 'onto'

'Надеть с усилием, надеть вообще; покрываясь чем-н., натащить на себя'

ПЕРЕТЯНУТЬ: 'across'

'Тягой переместить, перевести с одного места на другое'

ПОДТЯНУТЬ: 'up to'

'Подтащить к чему-н.'

УТЯНУТЬ: 'away'

'Уволочь, утащить за собою с силой'

-ТЯГАТЬ

[0 directional]

НАТЯГАТЬ: 'quantity'

'Вытягивая, выдергивая что-н., набрать'
"Натягать гвоздей из доски."

ПЕРЕТЯГАТЬ: 'distributive'

'Утащить постепенно много чего-н.'
"Перетягать всю мелочь из кошелька."

ПОДТЯГАТЬ: 'multiple actions'

'Подтянуть, подтащить, приблизить в несколько приемов'

УТЯГАТЬ: 'multiple actions'

'Утащить, утянуть в несколько приемов'

If тянуть is variably directional, one must say that all prefixal derivations from it are made from its [+ directional] form; there are no derivations from тянуть which are non-directional. Note that since тягать is [0 directional], it is, like any term unmarked for a category but nevertheless participating in it, free to be used in the sense of the marked term. Thus утягать can express 'movement away', but only as a multiple activity, not as a single, coherent gesture.

It must be stressed that all the forms in -тягать above are perfective, i.e., derived from тягать. The imperfective prefixed forms in -тягать are, of course, derived from forms in -тянуть (and are directional). They represent obsolete secondary imperfectives; the modern language prefers -тягивать.

17.4 *Undifferentiated Imperfective Pairs.* In this section we will examine derivations from imperfective verbs many of which can be either directional or nondirectional. In light of the discussion of the behavior of determined versus nondetermined stems, I will propose here too that the ability of a verb to depict a single movement in one direction depends upon its specification as [+ action], upon a view of it as denoting a coherent process.

Unlike the verbs of motion and similar paired imperfectives, the verbs to be discussed below do not display the distinction in determinacy as a difference in stem. In the case of these verbs, the specification of the features [action] and [activity] is revealed not in the stem but rather in the way the predicate is elaborated, i.e., whether the sentence as a whole indicates coherent, unidirectional [action] or random, multiple [activity]. The verbs to be discussed in this section are listed below.

Perfective only:

взбарáхтаться
взмостítь(ся)

Imperfective only:

вздымáть(ся)

Paired:

[взвéять(ся)]	[взвевáть(ся)]
[взвítь(ся)]	[взвивáть(ся)]
[вздúть]	[вздувáть]
взгрестí	взгребáть
взгромоздítь(ся)	взгромождáть(ся)
взложítь	взлагáть
взобráться	взбирáться
взодрáть(ся)	вздирáть(ся)
вскарáбкаться	вскарáбкиваться
вспялítь(ся)	вспялívать(ся)

The verbs in brackets are verbs from other semantic groups (взвезть 'agitation', взвить and вздуть 'disorder') used to represent directed motion. The verbs are listed in the center column to emphasize the fact that their prefixal derivations in *вз-* are derived from the determined [+action] sense of the verb. With *вз-*, all these verbs depict unidirectional movement. I will examine the behavior of some of these verbs with prefixes other than *вз-*, so that we may explore the relationship between the nature of the action, its determinacy and its directionality with prefixes.

17.4.1 Both барахтаться 'wrestle, wriggle' and карабкаться 'clamber' denote translocomotion, movement with difficulty from place to place.

БАРАХТАТЬСЯ 'wriggle'

'Делать беспорядочные быстрые движения всем телом, руками, ногами, стараясь освободиться, подняться, выплыть и т. п.' (SRJa)

ВЗБАРАХТАТЬСЯ:

'Цепляясь, ползком взобраться, подняться куда-либо'

Барахтаться is marginally directional, denoting movement in place (the more usual meaning) or movement causing one to change position. If it is specified for direction, then it has directional meanings with prefixes, e.g., "Насилу выбарахтался, добарахтался до берега" (Dal' I:48). If not specified for direction, it remains nondirectional when further specified with reference to the prefixal frame: "Набарахтался я с ним" ('насилу сладил'), "Жизнь пережить — что море переплыть: побарахтаешься, да и ко дну" ['a while, a bit'], "Ребятишки весь день на лугу пробарахтались" ['all day long'] (Dal' I:48).

КАРАБКАТЬСЯ: 'clamber'

'Лезть вверх, цепляясь ногами и руками, хватаясь за что-либо'

'С трудом выбираться откуда-либо, перелезть через что-либо'

ВСКАРАБКАТЬСЯ:

'Влезать, карабкаясь или ползком, на высоту, на что-нибудь'

Карабкаться, on the other hand, seems to be inherently directional, cf. вкарабкаться 'into', выкарабкаться 'out of', докарабкаться 'up to', перекарабкаться 'across', and покарабкаться 'set off'. Покарабкаться is defined by the SRJa as 'начать карабкаться', i.e., in the same way as по- plus determined verbs of motion are defined. I take this to be a "directional" definition: forms such as пойти, повалить, покарабкаться do not depict general onset of activity (inchoative) so much as something like 'movement out of position'; the definition of по- with nondirectional verbs is consistently delimitive: 'a little bit (time or extent)'.

17.4.2 Four verbs of this group denote transposition, when transitive, and either transposition or translocomotion when intransitive.

17.4.2.1

ДРАТЬ: 'yank'

'(7) Перех. В просторечии. Поднимать кверху, задирать'

"У черкесов лошади, вероятно, все приезжаны по черкесской моде, драли головы вверх."

ВЗОДРАТЬ/ВЗДИРАТЬ:

'Поднимать с усилием кверху'

"Поехали. Я с Зайцем сел рядом; Лукьяныч спустился корпусом в тележный рыдван, а ноги взодрал на ободок."

ДРАТЬСЯ:

(no equivalent)

ВЗОДРАТЬСЯ/ВЗДИРАТЬСЯ:

'С трудом подниматься, взбираться кверху'

'Страд.'

This is only marginally a verb of directed motion; the central meaning is 'violation of (surface) integrity': 'tear off, apart', 'tear up a surface', 'tear off (depart)', cf. the discussion of лупить in 8.2.1. Unlike лупить, however, драть can denote locomotion: '(6) Бежать, удирать' (SSRLJa III: 1096). Dal' lists a greater number of meanings than the SSRLJa¹; the types of meaning he lists are exactly those one would expect of a verb containing the *вз-* features:

+ verb
+ activity
+ motion
+ "disruption"
0 directional
+ horizontal
+ transgression

+ verb
+ action
+ motion
+ "disruption"
+ directional
+ horizontal
+ transgression

'драть с поверхности, расчесывать, царапать, подрезывать и подымать'
(verb of 'cutting')

'подняться'
(verb of 'directed motion')

"Не вздирай ногтями струпа..."

"солнце вздрало" *сиб.* *взошло, поднялось*'

(verb of 'plowing')

"Вздирать перелог под пашню."

¹Dal' omits, however, the usage of взодрать as a verb of 'beating', cf. 8.2.9

'подняться' (verb of 'swelling')

"бок вздрало, вздрало" 'бок распух'

Драть has different meanings with prefixes, depending on whether it is specified for directionality or not (all examples taken from the SRJa):

[+ action
+ directional]

ВЫДРАТЬ

'С силой вырвать'

ВЫДРАТЬСЯ

'С усилием выбраться откуда-либо'

[+ activity
0 directional]

ВЫДРАТЬ

'Высечь, выпороть'

ДОДРАТЬ

'Окончить драть'

'Износить, изорвать совсем, до конца'

ОТОДРАТЬ

'Оторвать, отделить'

ОТОДРАТЬ

'Высечь, выдрать'¹

ПРОДРАТЬ

'Пройти, пробежать, проехать'

ПРОДРАТЬ

'Прорвать насквозь, износить до дыр'

ПРОДРАТЬСЯ

'С трудом пройти, пробраться, пробиться'

ПРОДРАТЬСЯ

'Прорваться насквозь, износиться до дыр'

(This list omits many problematic examples.)

17.4.2.2

ПЯЛИТЬ: 'pull on'

'С трудом надевать; напяливать'

"[Теркин] непросохшую одежду
Спешно пялит на себя."

ВСПЯЛИТЬ/ВСПЯЛИВАТЬ:

'Надевать с трудом, натягивать на себя
что-либо узкое'

(no quotation)

¹The SRJa lists *выдрать* 'tear out' and *выдрать* 'beat (exhaustively)' as two separate verbs. But then it lists *отодрать* 'tear off' and *отодрать* 'beat (thoroughly)' as two meanings of the same verb.

ПЯЛИТЬСЯ:

(по equivalent)

'Страд. к *пялить*'

ВСПЯЛИТЬСЯ/ВСПЯЛИВАТЬСЯ:

'Взбираться на что-либо высокое'

'Страд. *Техн.* Укрепляться на распорах (пялах)'

This verb has only the 'onto' meaning, because it inherently denotes contact with surface; unlike *драть* [O surface], it cannot depict motion upward without localization (cf. лошадь вздрала голову).

17.4.2.3

МОСТИТЬ: 'pile up'

'Укладывать, складывать, стелить что-либо'

"Он мостит себе под голову свежее сено."

ВЗМОСТИТЬ:

'Пристроить, взгромоздить что на верху чего-либо'

(no quotation)

МОСТИТЬСЯ: 'pile on, climb up'

'Подыматься куда подмостками, лесами' (Dal' II:350)

ВЗМОСТИТЬСЯ:

'Взобравшись на что, поместиться, устроиться где-либо'

"Коля побежал к матери и взмогнулся к ней на колени."

'Располагаться, помещаться, устраиваться где-либо'

(see above definition)

'Против них на краешке табуретки мостилась Дарья.'

'Гаврюшка взмогнулся на передке рядом с кучером.'

This verb of transposition can be used in an explicitly directional sense, (вз)могнуться куда, or in what seems to be an inexplicitly directional sense, (вз)могнуться где. I think the latter is still a verb of directed motion, that the use of *где* merely stylizes the action as a result, cf. Engl. *be seated*.

17.4.2.4

ГРОМОЗДИТЬ: 'pile up'

'Складывать, наваливать что-либо большой, нестройной кучей'

ВЗГРОМОЗДИТЬ/ВЗГРОМОЖДАТЬ:

'С усилием накладывать, наваливать кучей, горой вверх что-либо'

ГРОМОЗДИТЬСЯ: 'pile on'

'С усилием, с трудом, неловко взбираться на что-либо, усаживаться на чем-либо высоко расположенном'

ВЗГРОМОЗДИТЬСЯ/ВЗГРОМОЖДАТЬСЯ:

'Подниматься вверх с усилием, устраиваться, усаживаться наверху с усилием'

This verb, like (вз)моститься, is limited in the number of directions it can express; it occurs only with the prefixes вз- and на-. It is nevertheless directional, because it expresses coherent movement from one place to another. It is the fact that the patient of the action is transposed in space that makes a verb like громоздить directional (it also has the non-directional sense of 'accumulation') and not, say, a verb of 'swelling' (alteration of configuration) or 'disorder' (alteration of attitude, erection).¹

The interpretation of the -ся forms as medial ('get into position') or passive ('be placed') seems to depend on the animacy of the patient of the movement. In the absence of an agent, an animate patient is assumed to initiate the movement himself, be in locomotion.

17.4.3 One verb, (вз)грести, is variably directional both as a transitive and as an intransitive:

ГРЕСТИ: 'row'

'*Неперех.* Работая в воде веслом, давать ход судну'

_____ : 'rake up'

'*Перех.* Граблями, лопатой, и т. п. собирать в кучу'

ВЗГРЕСТИ/ВЗГРЕБАТЬ: 'row upstream'

'*Неперех.* Грести веслами вверх, против течения'

_____ : 'rake up'

'*Перех.* Грести наверх, сгребать что-либо в высокую кучу'

Etymologically a verb of 'digging' (cf. Germ. *graben*, *Grab*), грести now means 'rake up' (transitive) or 'row (propel oneself through water by means of raking motions)' (intransitive). I think the transitive вз- verb is probably not directional, because all the quotations show it to be used only to mean

¹Cf. громоздиться 'нарастить, подниматься, возвышаться кучей, грудой, горой': "Впереди попережнему громоздятся льдины, им нет конца, словно весь мир вздыбился" ('loom'). Both громоздиться and вздыбиться here are verbs of 'disorder' (alteration of attitude, erection); they do not describe movement from place to place.

'gather up' (взгрести сено, взгрести снег). It seems to mean 'alter the configuration of' rather than 'move from one place to another'. The intransitive взгрести, however, can be interpreted directionally. Given the fact that this kind of locomotion can occur only on the surface of water, one can say that movement upstream ('counter to normal flow') does represent 'upward direction'.

17.4.4 Two verbs are only partially correlated with their derivational bases: взобраться and взложить.

БРАТЬСЯ:

'Исходить откуда-либо, появляться, возникать'

"Толпа прибывала с удивительной быстротой, — откуда только бралось столько народа в пустынной улице."

ВЗОБРАТЬСЯ/ВЗБИРАТЬСЯ:

'Преодолевая некоторые трудности делая усилия, всходить, подниматься вверх, на высоту'

"Стадо коз..., миновав домик, взбиралось на насыпь."

Neither брать nor братья are basically directional verbs; both, however, are attested in what seem to be directional meanings, cf. брать 'захватывать, вести, нести, вести кого- или что-либо с собой' and братья 'come from' (cf. above). With prefixes, брать is not necessarily directional: собрать 'gather' (not 'take down'), перебрать 'sort through all or many; review' (not 'take across'). The intransitive братья, on the other hand, is usually directional with prefixes: it means 'make one's way, proceed with difficulty' in various directions (выбраться, добраться, забраться, перебраться, подбраться, пробраться, убраться).

The verb взложить/взлагать has a corresponding unprefixated term in the substandard, dialectal form ложить. Since the only example supplied for взложить is from early 19th century poetry, it is best considered a metrical variant of возложить/возлагать.

17.4.5 Two verbs of 'disorder', взвить and вздуть, can be used secondarily as verbs of 'directed motion'. Neither verb is directional when unprefixated.

17.4.5.1

ВИТЬ:

(no equivalent)

ВЗВИТЬ/ВЗВИВАТЬ: 'hurl'

'Поднимать быстро, сильно вверх что-либо легкое, кружа вздымать что-либо'

"Сотни грабель взвивают и складывают в копны душистый чай наших степей, мягкое и нежное зеленое сено."

"Я — Гойя!

О грозди

Возмездья! Взвил залпом на

Запад — я пепел незваного гостя!"

(А. А. Вознесенский, "Гойя")

ВИТЬСЯ:

(no equivalent)

ВЗВИТЬСЯ/ВЗВИВАТЬСЯ: 'shoot up'

'Стремительно подниматься, взлететь ввысь'

"Слепень взвился и полетел,
С сорокой вместе сел."

"Над окопами взвилась красная ракета."

'О флагах, занавесях и т. п., быстро поднимаемых вверх'

"Театр уж полон: ложи блещут
Пертер и кресла, все кипит;
В райке нетерпеливо плещут
И, взвившись, занавес шумит."¹

¹There are many quotations cited by the dictionary in which one finds an accumulation of *вз-* verbs (with and without the prefix) within the framework of a single sentence. Usually it is just two or three verbs. Here, however, all five verbs are *вз-* verbs: *блещут* (*взблеснуть*), *кипит* (*вскипеть*), *плещут* (*всплеснуть*, also *в[о]сплескать* 'applaud'), *шуметь* (*всшуметься*) and *взвиться*. The first four are used without the prefix and appear prominently as rhyme words. The last one, *взвиться*, the word which by its overt prefix serves as a key to the underlying semantic relationship of the other four, appears only as a verbal adverb in the last line. The only other prefix these verbs all share in common is *no-* 'delimitative'; they all take the "inchoative" *за-*, except for *виться*. These verbs provide a nice sample of *вз-* verbs involving an abstract threshold: *блестеть* ('appearance'), *кипеть* ('excitation'), *плескать* ('sound/expression'), *шуметь* ('sound'). The key verb, *взвиться*, is also the one that expresses the original spatial meaning ('upward directed motion') from which the others (transgression of perceptual threshold, threshold of activity) are abstracted. The moment described here is, of course, a threshold: the onset of the evening's entertainment.

As discussed in 6.2.1.6.6, *вить* has primarily to do with the configuration of its patient ("weave"). It also involves the feature [motion]: the patient can be optionally portrayed as moving into a certain configuration, [+ motion], e.g., "мчатся тучи, вьются тучи", or as being in a stationary state, [0 motion], e.g., *вьющиеся волосы*, "борода...вьется прядями" (SRJa). The unprefixing verb does not, however, denote motion in a certain direction. The unprefixing verb is [0 directional], but the prefixing verb may be specified [+ directional]. It is important to note that prefixation does not necessarily make the verb directional; it is a necessary, but not sufficient condition, cf. examples from the SRJa:

[+ verb
0 motion
+ "weave"
- direction]

'produce in quantity'

навить кудрей

навить канатов

навить сто метров шнура

[+ verb
+ motion
+ "weave"
0 direction]

'produce through movement'

Поземок навил возле
ног сугроб
(effected object)

[+ verb
+ motion
+ "weave"
+ direction]

'move into position'

навить ниток/нитки
на шпульку

нитки неровно навились
на катушку

It seems that *вить* can also be variably directional when prefixed with *вз-*:

[+ motion
0 direction]

ветер взвил пыль
('created a swirl of
dust by means of a
weaving motion')

[+ motion
+ direction]

Взвивая к небу прах летучий
По трупам вражеским летят [полки]
Взвил залпом на запад я пепел
незванного гостя
('cause to move in a swirling fashion
from one place to another')

17.4.5.2 The verb *дуть* was discussed in detail in 6.2.1.6.7. Like *вить*, *дуть* can be [+ directional] when prefixed:

[+ verb
 + action
 + motion
 + patiential
 + patient
 + agentive
 0 instrument
 + directional
 + horizontal
 + transgression]

"Ветер вздул к небу столько листьев
 (affected object), что понеслись они
 над землей, как красная туча, застили
 небо." (SRJa)

17.4.6 The verb of 'agitation' (вз)вевать (cf. 14.4.1.11) can also be used as a verb of 'directed motion'. What this involves is a conception of the action not as a state of random activity but as a coherent process:

[+ verb
 + activity
 + motion
 0 directional]

"...ветер...взвевал кругом
 пыль и песок."
 ('set in motion')

"И твой, взвеваясь, сонный локон
 Играл с незримою мечтой."
 ('set in motion')

[+ verb
 + action
 + motion
 + directional]

"...тихий ветерок от его [голубя]
 крыльев взвевал кверху ее русые локоны."
 ('wafted up')

The quotation on the right could also be treated as [0 directional], i.e., 'disorder' (erection, deviation from plane, cf. chapter 6). But вевать with other prefixes can be unambiguously directional, cf. Dal' I:336: вывевать мякину 'out' (vs. вывевать зерно 'exhaustive'), отвевать ухоботье 'off' (vs. отвевать зерно 'finish'), ветер перевевает пыль с места на место (vs. перевевать зерно 'repeat').

17.4.7 One verb, вздымать, is not correlated with any unprefix verb in the modern language, cf. 5.4.1. Although it is etymologically a verb of 'swelling' (въздѣти/въздымати), it must now be considered a verb of directed motion having [+ verb + action + motion + directional + horizontal + transgression] as inherent features.

17.4.8 In this section we have seen that many imperfectives denoting motion can be used in a directional or nondirectional sense. It is often the case that the directionality of a verb becomes apparent only when it is

prefixed. What this means is that a verb such as *дуть*, which essentially denotes a state of activity, must be given the kind of focus or frame of reference supplied by the prefixal framework in order to be explicitly directional. I think it is not, however, correct to say that prefixes add directionality to the semantics of the verb: we have seen that the focus expressed by the prefix *на-* does not necessarily add directionality to the verb *вить* (17.4.5.1). Similarly, specification of the verb *дуть* for the features underlying the prefix *вы-* does not necessarily produce a directional form. The verb *выдуть* can be [+directional], e.g., *выдуть пепел из трубки*, or [0 directional], e.g., *выдуть бугель*.

One could, of course, say that there are homonymous prefixes involved in such cases, a directional one and a nondirectional one, cf. Isačenko 1960:308-309. The problem with positing distinct directional prefixes is that there are many cases where verbs denoting motion cannot be made directional, no matter what prefix is added. This is true not only of such verbs of 'agitation' as *волноваться* and *дрожать*, but also of other verbs denoting motion which, although they are directional in other languages, simply cannot be made directional in Russian. For example, the verbs *танцевать* and *гулять* are never directional with prefixes. In English one can say *they danced across the floor, they danced out onto the veranda or they strolled through the park, they strolled up to the river*. In Russian, however, the sentences **они перетанцевали через площадку, *они вытанцевали на веранду, *они прогуляли через парк, *они догуляли до реки* are all impossible. If there really are separate directional prefixes such as *пере-* 'across', *вы-* 'out', *про-* 'through' and *до-* 'up to', it is hard to see why they cannot be added to verbs such as *танцевать* and *гулять* to make them directional. These verbs can, of course, take these prefixes, but the prefixed forms have only a limitational or quantitative sense: *перетанцевать все танцы* 'distributive' or *перетанцевать всех* 'outdance (exceed others in performing that activity)', *вытанцовывать сложную фигуру* 'execute carefully', *прогулять два часа в саду* 'perdurative', *догуляться до простуды* 'activity leading to unpleasant consequences'. It seems that the reason these verbs cannot be used directionally is that they inherently denote only a kind of [activity] rather than a means

of proceeding from one place to another: it is the nature of the verb which governs the interpretation of the prefix.

PREFIXED VERBS DERIVED FROM PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE PAIRS:

17.5 In the preceding sections we have examined the nature of determined and nondetermined imperfective pairs and their behavior when prefixed. In this section I will attempt to show that the distinction of determinacy (general view ~ specific view, e.g., random, multiple [activity] ~ single, coherent [action]) is a feature not merely of a handful of imperfective pairs but also of all those semelfactive/imperfective and perfective/imperfective pairs which denote [motion].¹ We shall see that semelfactives and perfectives, like determined imperfectives, represent specific instances of general activities and that because of that more specific focus they tend to be directional with prefixes.

17.5.1 *Unitary and Cyclical Acts.* Isačenko has treated semelfactive verbs as expressing one individual phase of a multiphasal activity, which he defines as "такие процессы, которые могут быть представлены в виде суммы ряда повторяющихся частичных действий (фазисов)" (1960:251-252). He is careful to distinguish the notion of multiphasal activity (многофазисность, or внутренняя разложимость или расчленимость на ряд мелких фазисов) from that of repetition (повторяемость действия). Multiphasality is said to be the semantic characteristic not only of those imperfective verbs (e.g., кидать) which are correlated with semelfactive formations in -ну- (кинуть) but also of those imperfectives such as бросать whose perfective counterparts can represent one single instance of a multiple activity (бросить) (272).

Isačenko demonstrates that nonsemelfactive verbs are usually ambiguous. The form прыгать, for example, can mean 'делать прыжки' (многофазисное значение) or 'делать прыжок'; the semelfactive form прыгнуть, on the other hand, can only mean 'сделать прыжок'. The first interpretation of прыгать views it as referring to [activity] in general ('jump around, 'jump from time

¹In this chapter I will discuss only those pairs which occur with *вз-* and only those which denote [motion]. In later work I plan to enlarge the concept of determinacy developed here to cover the entire verbal system.

to time', 'be able to jump', 'have the characteristic of jumping', etc.); the second interpretation 'делать прыжок' (e.g., он подходит к бассейну и прыгает в воду [256]) views one jump in the process of completion, i.e., represents a single coherent [action]. Nonsemelfactive imperfectives such as прыгать can be seen to represent the same distinction in determinacy that finds formal expression in pairs such as идти/ходить and валить/валить.

Unlike the imperfective прыгать 'делать прыжки'/'делать прыжок', the semelfactive form прыгнуть is not ambiguous: it means only 'сделать прыжок'. Because of its perfective aspect, however, прыгнуть cannot depict one jump in the process of its completion, i.e., an [action]; it depicts rather one completed jump, an [act]. Semelfactives such as прыгнуть can be seen to represent the same kind of specific focus (e.g., one instance of a general activity) that one finds in determined verbs such as идти 'be walking', валиться 'fall over' and (not morphologically marked) прыгать 'take a jump'. Semelfactives differ from determined verbs only in aspect: they cannot denote motion in progress but rather only one movement (a single gesture, cf. Karcevski 1939:239). To express this difference, I will describe them in terms of the feature [act].

While all semelfactives denote one individual [act], not all correlated imperfectives are ambiguous as to [activity] (multiple movements) and [action] (a single movement in progress). Isačenko points out in a footnote (257) that there are some nonsemelfactives which are incapable of being interpreted as depicting a single movement. Like прыгнуть, the semelfactive дрогнуть presents one distinct phase. Unlike прыгать, however, the nonsemelfactive дрожать can never stand for one phase: "глагол *дрожать* ни при каких условиях не лишается своего многофазисного значения". In the following I will attempt to show that this difference is systematic.

We have seen above that in his definitions of nonsemelfactive verbs, Isačenko incorporates two views of the activity. He describes as multiphasal those activities which may be conceived as the sum of repeated partial units (phases) or those activities which are decomposable into a series of individual phases. He does not elaborate this distinction but presents these two views as alternative statements of a general definition of semel-

factivity. We shall see, however, that his original intuition is correct and that this distinction is crucial for the description of different kinds of verbs.

Certain verbs, e.g., *кинуть/кидать* and *бросить/бросать*, denote simple repeatable acts which can be presented either as a single act (*кинуть* 'сделать кидок', *бросить* 'сделать бросок': 'make a throw') or as a multitude of acts (*кидать* 'делать кидки': 'make a series of throws'). Verbs such as these which are correlated with nouns denoting individual simple acts (e.g., *кидок*, *бросок*, cf. 17.5.4) I will term [unitary]. In [+unitary] verbs, the simple act (*кидок*, *кинуть*) is primary; the notion of general activity (*кидать*) results through their addition.

Certain other verbs, e.g., *дрожать/дрогнуть* and *трепыхаться/трепыхнуться*, denote complex behavior, i.e., bi-directional movement, whether or not it is presented as a single act (*дрогнуть*) or as general activity (*дрожать*). Verbs such as these are not correlated with nouns denoting individual simple acts, e.g., there is no **дрог*, **дрожок* or **трепых*, **трепыхок*; the nouns *дрожание* and *трепыхание* denote only complex behavior. In these verbs it is the complex activity (*дрожать*) which seems primary, the complex act (*дрогнуть*) secondary. I will term them [cyclical], i.e., complex activity analysable in terms of cycles: both the whole (cyclical activity) and the part (one cycle) are complex (multiple, nonunitary) in nature.

The difference between [unitary] and [cyclical] verbs is crucial to the study of prefixation: we shall see that [unitary] verbs are often directional with prefixes, while [cyclical] verbs, i.e., verbs of 'agitation', are not.¹

¹One notes that English seems to reflect the same distinction. Verbs such as *throw*, *toss*, *jump* [+unitary] denote simple acts or activity composed of repeated acts. And they are correlated with nouns denoting one simple act; one can say *make a throw*, *make a toss*, *take a jump*. Verbs such as *shiver* and *tremble*, on the other hand, seem to be [+cyclical]: the complex activity they denote remains complex even when presented in terms of one constituent gesture (*he shivered* [once], *he trembled* [once]). Their correlate nouns do not seem to denote single acts (**give a shiver*, **give a tremble*). And, like Russian cyclical verbs, *shiver* and *tremble* cannot be used in a directional sense.

We shall examine first the behavior of [+ unitary] verbs, semelfactives (17.5.2) and perfectives (17.5.3), and then proceed to a discussion of [+ cyclical] verbs (17.5.4, 17.5.5, 17.5.6).

17.5.2 [+ unitary] *Semelfactive Verbs*. The following chart lists verbs derived from [+ unitary] semelfactive and imperfective bases:

	вздв́инуть	вздви́гать
	вздё́рнуть(ся)	вздё́ргивать(ся)
	взмахну́ть(ся)	взма́хивать(ся)
взметáть(ся) (pf.)	взметну́ть(ся)	взмё́тывать(ся)
[вскида́ть]	вски́нуть(ся)	вски́дывать(ся)
	вспорхну́ть	вспáрхивать
[всплеска́ть]	всплесну́ть(ся)	всплё́скивать(ся)
[вспры́гать]	вспры́гнуть	вспры́гивать
[вспряда́ть]	вспря́нуть	вспря́дывать (SRJa)
	вспугну́ть(ся)	вспу́гивать(ся)

The verbs in the center column are вз- verbs derived from explicitly semelfactive verbs in -ну-. The verbs in the right column are secondary imperfectives correlated with the verbs in the center column. The left column lists perfective вз- verbs derived from imperfective, non-semelfactive verbs. The items in brackets are taken from Dal'.

In the following I will try to establish that the verbs listed above all denote [+ unitary] actions and that that is why they participate in the category of directionality.

17.5.2.1 The verb метать(ся)/метнуть(ся) can serve as an example, because it admits derivations in вз- from both the semelfactive and the non-semelfactive form.

Метнуть means 'toss, pitch', i.e., by means of an abrupt gesture, cause an object to move, fly from one place to another', e.g., метнуть копье, бомбу, гранату, кости, жребий and the [+ abstract] метнуть взор, взгляд ('cast a glance'). Метнуться has the medial meaning 'hurl oneself at; attack'. What is described is a gesture, a single, unitary act involving motion in one direction.

Метать can describe one action (a gesture in progress) or a series of acts, e.g., метать камни, кости, бомбы and the [+ abstract] метать взоры, взгляды, метать лучи, искры, молнии. It describes a series of repeated gestures. Unlike метнуть, метать describes the following actions, stylizable apparently only as a series of gestures:

'Перемещать в разных направлениях, разбрасывать; разносить'

"Резкий ветер...мечет по поляне груды...листьев." (literal)

"Нужда мечет его из угла в угол, он и бегаеет день-деньской." (abstract)

'Кидая, складывать, укладывать (сено, солому)'

'Метать стог, копны и т. п. Складывать сено в стог, в копны'
('pitch hay, form a stack through a series of pitching movements')

'Производить потомство, рождаеет. О некоторых животных и рыбах'
('throw a litter: cast out a multiple object')

'Метать пар (пары). Распахивать землю под пар' (abstract)
(? 'cultivate the earth through a series of digging and pitching movements')

'В некоторых азартных карточных играх: после раздачи игрокам карт из одной колоды, открывать карту за картой другой колоды и класть их на стол одну направо, другую налево'
(a repetitive activity involving the serial distribution of cards)

There is another метать 'baste (sew with long loose stitches)' which describes a series of "throwing" motions (movements of the wrist as one stitches). It is not correlated with any semelfactive (*метнуть 'make a stitch').

Метаться can be used in a passive sense: 'be thrown' (one throw or a series of throws). Used medially, it describes multiple activity, e.g., метаться из стороны в сторону, с места на место, взад и вперед; метаться во сне ('toss'); and such [+ abstract] usages as "...империализм мечеет в поисках выхода" ('casts about') and "истерический бабий крик визгливо метался по пароходу" ('cries flew about, were hurled about').

While the imperfective метать(ся) can denote one or a series of repeated acts, the semelfactive метнуть(ся) specifies only one act. Furthermore, метнуть(ся) insists on movement in one direction. Метать(ся) can

denote one or a series of movements in one direction, or movements in various directions. In spite of the fact that they differ in aspect, the relationship between метнуть(ся) and метать(ся) is strikingly similar to that between идти and ходить (one coherent process vs. activity in general).

When the verbs метнуть and метать are prefixed, they exhibit the same behavior as determined/nondetermined pairs. The [+ act + unitary] метнуть denotes a single gesture in one direction (usually specified), and the prefix can be interpreted directionally. The [+ activity + unitary] метать, on the other hand, denotes a state of multiple activity (composed of repeated acts); it is usually not unidirectional, and the prefix is interpreted as limitational or quantificational. If explicit directionality is expressed, then the verb cannot be interpreted as one unidirectional movement but only as a series of movements (i.e., действие в несколько приемов) in relation to some goal. In the following chart I have listed only forms having to do with 'throwing' or 'pitching', because the dictionary consistently treats метать in the sense of 'baste' as a separate verb.

ВЗМЕТНУТЬ: 'toss up'

'Стремительно поднять кверху; подбросить' (SRJa)

ВЫМЕТНУТЬ: 'toss out'

'Выбросить быстрым, резким движением' (SRJa)

ДОМЕТНУТЬ: 'throw up to'

'Метнув, достигнуть брошенным предметом какого-л. места, предела' (SRJa)

"Дометнуть копье до цели."

ЗАМЕТНУТЬ: 'throw far, out'

"Заметни удочку."

"Куда моя шляпа заметнулась?"
(Dal' I:602)

ВЗМЕТАТЬ: 'multiple acts'

'Подбросить, поднять кверху в несколько приемов'

'Распахать землю под пар' (SRJa)

ВЫМЕТАТЬ: 'multiple acts; exhaustive'

'Выбросить, выкинуть все постепенно, по частям' (SRJa)

ДОМЕТАТЬ: 'finish pitching'

'Окончить метание чего-л.; довести метание до какого-л. предела' (SRJa)

"Дометать стог."

ЗАМЕТАТЬ: 'begin throwing'

'Начать метать [throw]' (SRJa)

НАМЕТНУТЬ: 'throw onto'

"Наметнул было аркан на жеребенка, да прометнулся."
(single movement)
(Dal' II:439)

ПЕРЕМЕТНУТЬ: 'throw across'

'Быстрым, резким движением перебросить куда-л., через что-л.' (SRJa)

"Переметнуть камень через забор." (Ušakov)

(no corresponding form)

ПРИМЕТНУТЬ: 'throw up to'

'Однокр. к *приметать*' (Ušakov)
(cf. also the unidirectional intransitive:)

"Он приметнулся к нам невесть откуда." (Dal' III:425)

ПРОМЕТНУТЬ: 'throw past'

'Промахнуться при метании, бросить мимо' (SRJa)

"Прометнуть копье"

ПРОМЕТНУТЬСЯ: 'shoot past'

"Сокол прометнулся." (Dal')

НАМЕТАТЬ: 'throw, pitch in quantity'

'Меча, накидать набросать в каком-л. количестве' (SRJa)

"Наметать на воз сена."
(multiple movements)

ПЕРЕМЕТАТЬ: 'repetition, series'

'Перекидать, перебросать куда-л., через что-л.'

"Переметать все камни через забор."

'Сметать, сложить заново'

"Переметать стог."

'Сметать, сложить целиком или всё, многое' (SRJa)

"Переметать всю солому в стога."

ПОМЕТАТЬ: 'delimitation'

'Некоторое время мететь [throw]' (SRJa)

'Побросать всё, многое'

ПРИМЕТАТЬ: 'multiple actions'

'Накидать, сложить вплотную к чему-л.' (SRJa)

"Назиму к тепличке надо приметать земли, для тепла." (Dal' III:425)

ПРОМЕТАТЬ: 'perdurative'

'Метать [pitch] в течение какого-л. времени' (SRJa)

"Целый день прометать стога."

СМЕТНУТЬ: 'throw off'

'Однокр. к сметать' (Ušakov)

"Сметнуть снег с крыши."

СМЕТАТЬ: 'multiple actions;
together'

'Сбросить, скинуть с чего' (Ušakov)

"Сметать снег с крыши." (в несколько приемов)

'Сложить, уложить (сено, солому) посредством метания' (SRJa)

"Сметать стог." (Ušakov)

In the examples listed under *переметнуть* and *переметать* we see that the derivations from the imperfective stem are richer in possible interpretations, because the imperfective is less specific.

17.5.2.2 The verb *махнуть/махать* can also serve as a good example of the semantic differences in the semelfactive and nonsemelfactive forms and in their respective derivations.

The SSRJJa, SRJa and Ušakov all define *махать* 'wave' as a multiple activity ('делать взмахи, движения по воздуху чем-либо') consisting of units, expressed by the semelfactive *махнуть*. There is considerable evidence suggesting that the gesture is the primary notion here, that *махнуть/махать* is unitary, not cyclical.

First of all, there is the existence of a noun which expresses the single semelfactive unit (cf. 17.5.1):

МАХ

'Одно быстрое движение в воздухе; взмах'

"Тит наточил свою косу и — шел мах за махом,
не останавливаясь и не уставая."

'Оборот'

"Мах колеса."

'Шаг животного, чаще лошади, при беге' (SRJa)

The expressions *одним махом*, *с одного маху*, *с маху* are glossed as 'сразу, в один прием' (SRJa). Furthermore, the form *мах* is used as an interjection (*междометие*), the gesture standing for a finite verb (cf. Isačenko II:507-512):

"Княгинюшка, мужчина что петух:

Кири куку! мах-мах крылом и прочь." (SRJa)

Both махнуть and махать can be used nondirectionally. But only the semelfactive verb can be explicitly directional. The relationship of the features seems to be that unidirectionality depends on semelfactivity, i.e., on the specification of the feature [act]:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ verb} \\ 0 \text{ abstract} \\ - \text{ activity} \\ - \text{ action} \\ + \text{ act} \\ - \text{ cyclical} \\ + \text{ unitary} \\ + \text{ motion} \\ 0 \text{ directional} \\ + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]^1$$

махнуть плетью

махнуть рукой

and [+ abstract]

махнуть рукой на + A

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ verb} \\ 0 \text{ abstract} \\ - \text{ activity} \\ - \text{ action} \\ + \text{ act} \\ - \text{ cyclical} \\ + \text{ unitary} \\ + \text{ motion} \\ + \text{ directional} \\ + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$$

махнуть через забор

махнуть в Париж

and [+ abstract]

махнуть в актеры²

The non-semelfactive махать, however, is never marked for directionality, never insists on movement in only one direction.

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ verb} \\ 0 \text{ abstract} \\ + \text{ activity} \\ 0 \text{ action} \\ - \text{ act} \\ - \text{ cyclical} \\ + \text{ unitary} \\ + \text{ motion} \\ 0 \text{ directional} \\ 0 \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$$

махать

The verb махать can be interpreted as referring to an act in progress, an [action], or as [activity] which may be directional. It cannot be

¹The minus specifications of the features in these matrices arise through the operation of rules of entailment which will be elaborated in 17.5.3.1.

²Cf. the discussion of verbs of motion used to depict the relationship between people and professions in 17.2.1.

interpreted as a single gesture involving movement in one direction. For example, the sentence он машет плетью can be interpreted as one or multiple movements, but is not directional. The directional interpretation of махать presupposes multiple movements:

Радовались близости города, куда 'go (and come back)'
от "Чайки" можно было махать
прямо посуху.

With prefixes, -махнуть denotes a single gesture or a single movement in one direction, while -махать may represent repeated gestures, repeated movements in a direction, round trip or activity viewed with respect to limits:

ВЫМАХНУТЬ: 'out of'

'Стремительно выбросить,
выкинуть'

ВЫМАХАТЬ: 'multiple movements'

'Махая, выгнать, удалить'

"Вымахали мух из полога..."

'Приучить (лошадь) к широкой, размашистой рыси (спец.)' (Ušakov) (cf. выездить [perfective, derived from the nondetermined form] in the same meaning)

ДОМАХНУТЬ: 'up to ("in one go")'

'Быстро доехать'

"На этих лошадях мигом домахнем до города." (Ušakov)

ДОМАХАТЬ: 'through a series of movements'

'Быстро прийти, доехать'

"Пойдем. Буран утих. До стойбища, говорят, пять километров, быстро домахаем."

ДОМАХАТЬСЯ: 'extent'

'Подавая сигнал посредством маханий чем-либо, достигнуть намеченной цели'

ЗАМАХНУТЬ: 'far'

'Закинуть' (Dal')

"Замахнуть лапоть." (Dal')

'Взмахом поднять, занести для удара'

ЗАМАХАТЬ: 'begin'

'Начать махать'

"[Пирр] десницей
Меч замахнул и в ребра до самой
вонзил рукояти." (SRJa)
([0 directional] gesture)

ЗАМАХНУТЬСЯ: 'brandish'

'Взмахом поднять, занести для
удара (руку, какой-л. предмет)'

(one gesture; [0 directional])

"[Приказчик] замахнулся на меня
стержнем лопаты."

ОТМАХНУТЬ: 'away'

'Отогнать, отвести взмахом
руки' (Ušakov)

ПЕРЕМАХНУТЬ: 'across'

'Легко, сразу перепрыгнуть
через что-л.'

"Перемахнуть через забор."

СМАХНУТЬ: 'off, away'

'Махнув, очистить, убрать'

"Смахнула щеткой пыль с полок,
со стен и со стола." (SRJa)

ЗАМАХАТЬСЯ: 'excess'

'Махать до устали; забыться махая'
(Dal')

ОТМАХАТЬ: 'finish; extent'

'Провести какое-л. время, махая чем-л.'

'Утомить (руки) маханием'

'Быстро пройти, проехать большое
расстояние' (SRJa)

ПЕРЕМАХАТЬ: 'envelopment, extent'

'То же, что перемахнуть' (SSRLJa)

"...Сто двадцать спустя рукава
перемахнем."

СМАХАТЬ: 'round trip'

'Быстро, скоро съездить, сходить,
сбегать'

"Я мигом смахаю в аптеку."

Because of its lack of specification, a single form in -махать can be interpreted in mutually exclusive ways; e.g., *вымахать* [0 directional] can be interpreted directionally or limitationally ([- directional]). The directional interpretation implies a view of the movement as multiple activity, i.e., [- act].

17.5.2.3 The remaining verbs in this group can be treated in similar fashion: they are all [+ unitary] verbs (gesture vs. repeated gestures).

17.5.2.3.1 Вдвинуть/вдвигать, listed only in the SSRLJa, is a metrical variant of воздвигнуть/воздвигать. Prefixal derivations from the semelfactive base are [+ directional]: вдвинуть 'into', выдвинуть 'out of, задвинуть 'behind, beyond', отодвинуть 'aside', передвинуть 'across', продвинуть 'through'. Derivations from the non-semelfactive are not: задвигать 'начать двигать', отдвигать 'кончить двигать', передвигать 'двигая, переместить всё, большое количество чего-н.', ' продвигать 'двигать в течение какого-л. времени'.

17.5.2.3.2 Prefixal derivations from дернуть are consistently directional; those from дергать are not. The latter can be given a directional interpretation, but only as a multitude of repeated actions, e.g., выдергать, 'дергая, вытащить, удалить в несколько приемов' (выдергать гвозди).

17.5.2.3.3 Like метнуть, кинуть is consistently directional: вкинуть 'into', выкинуть 'out of', докинуть 'up to', закинуть 'far, beyond'. Like метать, кидать is unspecified for directionality: вкидать 'вкинуть в несколько приемов, вбросать', выкидать 'кидая, выбросить в несколько приемов, одно (одного) за другим', докидать 'окончить кидать', закидать 'кидая, бросая, покрыть чем-л.; начать кидать', etc.

17.5.2.3.4 All prefixal derivations from порхнуть 'flit' are directional, while those from порхать are limitational: запорхнуть 'порхая, залететь куда, стремительно войти' and запорхать 'начать порхать'.

17.5.2.3.5 Плеснуть, when specified as a verb of [motion], is variably directional, cf.

[+ directional]

"Разболтали кожух в одно мгновение. Плеснул я туда одно-другое ведро воды, песок смыл."

[0 directional]

"Налетела дикая утка, плеснула крыльями возле самых камышей."

With вз-, плеснуть can denote a nondirectional gesture (всплеснуть крыльями, руками) or a directional one: "волна всплескивает (всплеснула) до гребня этого камня" (Dal' I:250). Всплескать (attested in Dal') is only nondirectional: "все зрители в[о]сплескали одобрительно" 'начать бить в ладоши'.

17.5.2.3.6 Прыгнуть with prefixes denotes one movement in a certain direction. Прыгать, when prefixed, can be interpreted as multiple movements conveying one in a certain direction (припрыгать 'подойти, приблизиться прыжками') or activity conceived with respect to limits (припрыгать 'делать небольшие прыжки'). Dal' (I:269) differentiates the senses nicely:

[+ direction]	[0 directional]
"Он с разбегу выпрыгивает (вспрыгает, [вспрыгнул]) на лошадь."	"Я вспрыгал от радости." "Вода сбежала и вся рыба выпрыгала на голом песку."

Вспрыгáть is imperfective, derived from выпрыгнуть; the standard form now is выпрыгивать. Вспрыгáть is perfective, derived from прыгать; with вз- it represents 'onset of activity'; being [0 directional], it is interpretable as a verb of 'agitation'.

17.5.2.3.7 Прянуть 'jump, twitch' denotes one gesture, прыгать an activity. Вспрянуть means 'jump up', вспрыдать (attested in Dal') 'start jumping' (Dal' I:251).

17.5.2.3.8 The verb пугнуть, when specified as a verb of [motion] (i.e., 'frighten so as to cause to flee'), is consistently directional with prefixes, e.g., выпугнуть из чего, отпугнуть от чего, подпугнуть к кому (собака подпугнуть куропатку к охотнику), распугнуть в разные стороны, спугнуть с чего.

When it is not specified for the feature [motion], it cannot be used in a directional sense, e.g., подпугнуть 'пугать слегка', припугнуть 'пугать, грозить чем-л.' (припугнуть крестьян переселением).

The prefixed forms of -пугать, on the other hand, are either not directional, i.e., do not denote motion (cf. запугать 'заставить бояться; начать пугать', испугать 'внушить страх', напугать 'испугать', перепугать 'сильно пугать', попугать 'слегка пугать'); or are directional (выпугать, отпугать, распугать), but denote repeated actions, e.g., стрельбой выпугали птицы из сада (multiple actions) versus выстрелом выпугнули птицы из сада (one act).

17.5.3 [+ unitary] *Perfective Verbs*. The following chart lists verbs derived from [+ unitary] perfective and imperfective stems:

взбросáть	взбрóсить(ся)	взбрáсывать(ся)
	вздеть(ся)	вздевáть(ся)
вскакáть	вскочítь [вскокнúть]	вскáкивать
	вспасть	вспадáть
	(взять)	
	(встать)	(вставáть)

In this section we shall see that perfective/imperfective pairs denoting motion behave exactly like the semelfactives discussed above. The perfective form denotes a single repeatable [act], while the imperfective is vague, depicting either an act in progress, an [action], or a general state of [activity]. Like the semelfactive/imperfective pairs we have just examined, these pairs are termed [+ unitary], because the simple movement is primary: both the perfective and the imperfective form can represent one single movement.

When these verbs are prefixed, the prefix is interpreted according to the nature of the derivational base. Derivations from the perfective stem are usually directional (e.g., он забросил мяч за забор), while derivations from the imperfective stem are limitational or quantificational (e.g., он забросал ['начал бросать'] в него снежками; артистов забросали цветами).

17.5.3.1 To see how the nature of the derivational base determines the interpretation of the prefixed verb, let us examine the semantics of derivations in *вз-* from the pair *бросить/бросать*:

	{-bros-}
[	+ verb
	0 abstract
	0 activity
	0 action
	0 act
	- cyclical
	+ unitary
	+ motion
	0 directional
	0 perfective
]	0 imperfective

I will assume that the features [+ verb + unitary + motion] plus features underlying the notion of 'throwing' are required to select the verbal root {-bros-} from the lexicon. (Transitivity features such as [agentive], [patiential], etc., are left out, because they are not crucial to the present discussion.) The marking of the feature [cyclical] reflects the operation of the following rule of entailment:

$$(4) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [0 \text{ cyclical}] \rightarrow [- \text{ cyclical}] \\ [0 \text{ unitary}] \rightarrow [- \text{ unitary}] \end{array} \right\} \quad \diagup \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ cyclical}] \\ [+ \text{ unitary}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Rule (4) states that the features [cyclical] and [unitary] exclude one another, unless they are selected together. We shall see in section 17.5.5 that in addition to [- cyclical + unitary] verbs like кинуть/кидать (which denote a simple unidirectional movement) and [+ cyclical - unitary] verbs like дрожать/дрогнуть (which denote complex movement which can never be directional), there are [+ cyclical + unitary] verbs such as трясти/тряхнуть: verbs which denote inherently complex movement (i.e., a bi-directional "shake") whose complex cycles can be added together to produce unidirectional movement.

Once the root {-bros-} has been selected, it can be further specified in the following ways:

(a)

+ verb
0 abstract
- activity
- action
+ act
- cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
0 directional
+ perfective
- imperfective
0 horizontal
0 transgression

{bros-,i-}

он бросил камень/
камни на крышу
[+ directional]

(a¹)

+ verb
0 abstract
- activity
- action
+ act
- cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
0 directional
+ perfective
- imperfective
+ horizontal
+ transgression

{vz-bros-,i-}

он взбросил камень/
камни на крышу
[+ directional]

(b)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
0 action
- act
- cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
0 directional
0 perfective
0 imperfective
0 horizontal
0 transgression

{bros-aj-}

он бросал камень/
камни на крышу
[+ directional]

(b¹)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
- action
- act
- cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
0 directional
+ perfective
- imperfective
+ horizontal
+ transgression

{vz-bros-aj-}

он взбросал (все)
камни на крышу
[+ directional]

(c)

+ verb
0 abstract
0 activity
0 action
- act
- cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
0 directional
0 perfective
+ imperfective
+ horizontal
+ transgression

{vz-bras-ivaj-}

- (1) он взбрасывал камень/
камни на крышу
[+ directional]
- (2) он взбрасывал камни
на крышу
[+ directional]
- (3) он взбрасывал руками,
ногами
[0 directional]

Matrix (a) shows the verb specified as [+ act], as denoting one single gesture. Specification of the [act] feature entails several changes, which can be stated in the following rules of entailment:

$$(5) \begin{bmatrix} 0 \text{ perfective} \\ 0 \text{ activity} \\ 0 \text{ action} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ perfective} \\ - \text{ activity} \\ - \text{ action} \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \quad [+ \text{ act}]$$

$$(6) [0 \text{ imperfective}] \rightarrow [- \text{ imperfective}] \quad / \quad \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \quad [+ \text{ perfective}]$$

Rule (5) states that when the feature [act] is selected, the verb automatically becomes perfective and cannot be interpreted as referring to activity in general or to an ongoing action. Rule (6) states that an explicitly perfective verb cannot be interpreted as imperfective. (We shall see below that the feature [imperfective] is distinct from the features [activity] and [action].) The sentence in (a) denotes a single unidirectional movement which cannot be interpreted as depicting activity in general (*он любит бросить

камни на крышу) or an action in progress (*когда я его застал, он бросил камни на крышу). The verb insists on a perfective interpretation, as an event viewed in its entirety; it cannot be interpreted as open-ended, as referring to an event whose inceptive and terminal limits are beyond the view of the speaker.

Matrix (a¹) shows the [+ act] verb further specified as transgressing the [horizontal]. In the context of the features [- activity - action + act + motion] the features [+horizontal + transgression] can have only a directional interpretation, whether or not the unidirectionality of the verb is explicitly expressed; the verb denotes one movement in one direction ("up"): The sentence он взбросил камни на крышу explicitly states the thrower of the stones makes one unidirectional movement which causes all the stones to fly together in one direction.

Matrix (b) shows the verb specified as [+ activity], as denoting movement in general. Specification of the [activity] feature causes the following rule of entailment to apply:

$$(7) \quad [0 \text{ act}] \rightarrow [- \text{ act}] / \text{_____} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{ activity}] \\ [+ \text{ action}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Rule (7) states that when either of the features [activity] or [action] are specified, the feature [act] becomes precluded from the message. The sentence он бросал камень/камни на крышу denotes a general state of activity ('repetition', e.g., 'he would throw the stone onto the roof', 'he was throwing stones onto the roof') which in the proper context can also be interpreted as denoting an action in progress (когда я его застал, он как раз бросал камень/камни на крышу 'when I caught him, he was just throwing the stone/stones onto the roof'). Exclusion of the feature [act] from the message eliminates the narrow focus which requires that all the stones move together at the same time. The usual interpretation of the phrase with a singular object is 'repetition (habitualness)': он бросал камень 'would throw the stone'. The usual interpretation of the phrase with a plural object is 'multiple acts (series)': он бросал камни 'was throwing stones one after the other'. Exclusion of the feature [act], however, does not eliminate a resultative interpretation (он бросал камень/камни на крышу 'he has thrown the

stone/stones onto the roof'): the verb is [0 perfective].

Matrix (b¹) shows the activity verb further specified for the features underlying *вз-*. Specification of the prefixal features causes rules (2) and (3) to apply:

- $$(2) \quad [0 \text{ perfective}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ perfective}] \quad / \quad \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ prefixal} \\ + \text{ features} \end{bmatrix}$$
- $$(3) \quad \begin{cases} [0 \text{ activity}] \\ [0 \text{ action}] \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} [- \text{ activity}] \\ [- \text{ action}] \end{cases} \quad / \quad \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \quad [+ \text{ perfective}]$$

Rules (2) and (3) were discussed in 17.2.2. The operation of rule (2), making the verb [+ perfective], causes rule (6) to apply, making it [- imperfective]. The effect of the operation of these rules is such that the sentence *он взбросал камни на крышу* can only be interpreted as an event viewed in its entirety which consists of a series of repeated acts. Since the verb is [- action - imperfective], it cannot refer to an event in progress (e.g., **когда я его застал, он как раз взбросал камни на крышу*) and cannot depict the propulsion of one stone (**он взбросал камень на крышу*) or of all the stones at the same time.

Matrix (c) is particularly interesting, in that it is especially rich in interpretive possibilities. It shows the specification of the feature [imperfective], which in modern Russian can be selected only in conjunction with prefixal features.¹ Specification of the verb as [+ imperfective] causes the following rule of entailment to apply:

- $$(8) \quad \begin{bmatrix} [0 \text{ act}] \\ [0 \text{ activity}] \\ [0 \text{ action}] \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} [- \text{ act}] \\ [+ \text{ activity}] \\ [+ \text{ action}] \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \begin{array}{l} \diagup \\ \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \end{array} \quad [+ \text{ imperfective}]$$

¹In an older style of Russian a verb can be made explicitly imperfective without the selection of prefixal features, e.g., *хаживать, певать*, etc. Note that unmarked imperfectives such as *бросать, идти, ходить* are not selected through specification of the [imperfective] feature but through failure to specify the [perfective] feature.

Rule (8) states that when the verb is specified as imperfective, the verb cannot be interpreted as depicting a single [act]. Most importantly, however, the rule states that the features [activity] and [action] cannot be overtly specified when the verb is explicitly imperfective. The effect of the operation of these rules is such that the form *взбрасывать* is open to interpretation (1) as a unidirectional action in progress (*он взбрасывал камень/камни на крышу* 'was in the process of throwing a stone/the stones [all together] onto the roof'), (2) as activity involving the propulsion of a series of objects (*он взбрасывал камни на крышу* 'threw the stones one after another': the stones move in one direction but at different times; the thrower executes bi-directional movements) or (3) as a nondirectional state of random activity (*он взбрасывал руками, ногами* 'he was flailing his arms and legs'). The *вз-* features in each case are interpretable in a directional sense (whether or not directionality is made explicit) because the verb is [+ unitary]. The general state of activity depicted in the third interpretation is made up of a multitude of single upward directed movements.

This discussion of the various ways in which the verb *бросить/бросать* can be specified with and without the prefix *вз-* has been an attempt to show that it might be possible to describe in terms of the same set of semantic features five different verb forms each of which is open to a slightly different set of possible interpretations.

With these distinctions in mind, let us examine, briefly, the remaining perfective/imperfective pairs.

17.5.3.2 Although the bases *-скакать* and *-скачь* have become fixed in the meanings 'jump' and 'gallop' respectively, I think there is still enough of a relationship to treat them as related in the same fashion as *махнуть/махать* 'go quickly' or *прыгнуть/прыгать* 'jump/travel in jumps'. *Dal'* (IV: 190) lists *скакать* from which *вскакать* (*вс-скакать*) could be derived. With prefixes, *-скакать* always denotes a single movement in one direction; *-скачь* can denote either unidirectional action (but only through multiple movements: 'galloping, jumping, hopping') or activity related to limits, cf.:

.

ОТСКОЧИТЬ: 'away (one movement)'

'Скачком удалиться'

ОТСКАКАТЬ:

'Отъехать вскачь'
('gallop off': directional interpretation)

'Кончить скакать'
('finish the activity': non-directional interpretation)

Dal' carefully distinguishes the meanings of the derivations in *вз-*:

"*Вскакать*, говор. только о беге, скачке бегом;
вскокить, о прыжке или подъеме с места;
вскакнуть, о прыжке вверх;
вскакивать (activity or action), во всех знач."

17.5.3.3 The other two verbs, *вздеть(ся)/вздевать(ся)* and *вспасть/вспадать*, are marginal items. *Деть* is exclusively perfective, while *девать* can be either aspect. All prefixal derivations from both are directional. The only two perfective derivations in *-девать*, *задевать* and *подевать*, both denote one movement in one direction, i.e., are probably best derived from *девать* [+ perfective].

17.5.3.4 Although *вспасть* originally meant 'up onto' (e.g., Middle Russian *вспасти на лошадь*, cited by the SSRLJa under *вспадать*), it is now used only abstractly: *вспасть на ум*, *вспасть на тему*. Derivations from *пасть* are consistently directional, while those from *падать* are not:

ЗАПАСТЬ: 'beyond a point'

'При падении попасть куда'

НАПАСТЬ: 'fall on (attack)'

'Совершить нападение на кого, что-л.'

ОТПАСТЬ: 'off, away'

'Отделиться, падая'

ПОПАСТЬ: 'hit'

'Достигнуть чего-л., поразить какую-л. цель'

ЗАПАДАТЬ: 'begin'

'Начать падать'

НАПАДАТЬ: 'quantity'

'Падая, скопиться в каком-л. (обычно большом) количестве'

ОТПАДАТЬ: 'finish'

'Перестать падать' (Ušakov)

ПОПАДАТЬ: 'series'

'Упасть один за другим'

17.5.3.5 The two verbs *взять(ся)* and *встать/вставать* require special comment. Their range of usage is very broad in modern Russian and deserves a much more detailed treatment than that presented in the following brief remarks.

Originally derived from the perfective verb *-ять* (still listed unprefixated in Dal'), *взять* meant 'take up' (seizing, cause to move in an upward direction). The directionality of *-(н)ять* can still be seen with some other prefixes: *внять* 'take in, get, understand' (abstract only), *вынуть* 'out of'¹, *отнять* 'away from' (literal and abstract), *принять* 'up to' ("Фенечка приняла ребенка к себе на руки" [SRJa]), *снять* 'off of'. In general, however, it is difficult to explain the usages of *-(н)ять* in terms of direction, even in an abstract sense: *донять* (просьбами) 'harass, get (one's goat)', *нанять* 'hire, take on', *понять* 'grasp, get', *занять* 'occupy'.

Dal' lists a dialectal *взнять/взнимать* with only the meaning 'take up'. This is obviously an historically more recent formation and has, therefore, a meaning more equal to the sum of its parts. *Взять* reveals its age not only in its lack of an epenthetic *-н-* but also in its lack of a *j*: one would expect **взъять*, cf. *объять*, *подъять*, *разъять*, *изъять*, *отъять*. The verb *взимать* 'collect', which morphologically is its derived secondary imperfective², is also very old; one would expect **взымать*, cf. *подымать*, *отымать*.

Although in Old Church Slavonic *възати* was essentially restricted to the meanings 'lift up, take', in Old Russian it had already acquired a large set of phraseological usages (Sreznevskij lists eight). (In Sreznevskij, *взимать* is listed only in the meaning 'plow', i.e., a series of uplifting actions.) What one sees here is the beginning of a gradual process whereby *яти* ('seize', one unidirectional gesture) is becoming dissociated from *имати*

¹"Возникло под влиянием глаголов на *-нуть* типа *двинуть* на базе *внять*, до сих пор широко употребляемого в диалектах." (Šanskij I(3): 228-229).

² Šanskij describes *взимать* as a "префиксальное образование (въз) от глагола *имати* 'брать', являющегося итеративом к *яти* 'взять'. Its imperfective aspect, however, would speak in favor of treating it as derived from a prefixed perfective.

('seize', repeated gestures) and is becoming a kind of all-purpose verbal expression of relationship: *взять смерть* 'die', *взять рядъ* 'conclude a treaty', *взять любовь* 'make peace'; cf. *вѣру яти, яти + inf.* (future). It is not unusual for verbs of seizing or holding to become used primarily abstractly ('start to be', 'undertake'), cf. Engl. *get, have, take*, Germ. *haben*. One can argue that CSR *взять(ся)* contains the features [+ horizontal + transgression] ("onset of activity") even in such usages as *он взял да трах его по голове* and *взяться за дело*, cf. Engl. 'up and' (+ verb denoting abrupt action) and 'take up' (+ nouns denoting activities).

17.5.3.5.1 The verb *встать/вставать* might also be treated as a verb of directed motion. In its literal meaning 'rise' it is equivalent to one of the meanings of the unprefixated *стать*: '*подняться на ноги, принять стоячее положение; встать*'. The most general sense of *стать* seems to be 'move into (a standing) position', e.g., "*Подойди сюда! — говорил Обломов, указывая Захару, куда стать*". A few prefixal derivations would seem to imply a [+ directional] *стать*: *встать (вз-стать)*, *отстать* ("кора отстала от ствола" [SRJa]), and perhaps *обстать* 'окружить, оступить' (Ušakov), and *настать* 'наступить'.

It seems better, however, to treat *стать* and *встать* as [0 directional], as verbs of 'erection'. The most general sense seems not to be 'move from one place to another' but 'assume a stance, a standing position', i.e., 'deviation from plane', cf. chapter 6. The prefixal derivations above could be explained in terms of attitude rather than movement: *встать* 'assume an attitude transgressive of the horizontal' (cf. below), *отстать* 'assume an attitude of separation from vertical' (rather than 'move away'), *обстать* 'assume a position surrounding something'. All these verbs, then, would denote not 'movement from here to there' but 'change of state'. (It is interesting to note in this connection the common etymologies of *state* and *stance*.)

The unprefixated *стать* denotes 'assume a stance' (a position relative to a plane). When specified as an abstraction, it denotes 'assume a state' (a quality relative to another quality). Its literal meaning is that of 'erection': *стать на ноги; стать у окна; стать дыбом, торчком; "над хутором*

стала бурная туча"; стать лагером; "армия стала на границах" (assumed a position). As an abstraction it denotes 'assume a stance, a state': стать за, против кого-что; стать у власти, стать под команду кого; стать на путь кого; стать на какую-л. точку зрения; стать на работу ('assume the stance/state of work, begin work'); стать кем-, чем-л., каким-л.; стать + *inf.* ('assume the state of activity expressed by the verb'). The nature of the literal stance or abstract state is expressed by a variety of complements: prepositional phrases of location, instrumentals of manner, prepositional phrases of goal (на работу), predicate instrumentals and dependent infinitives. In the absence of any complement the features expressing 'assume stance' are interpretable as 'cessation of activity', cf. "лошадь дернула, прошагала шагов пять и стала" ('assumed a stance'); часы стали ('stopped'), cf. Engl. *time stood still*.

Встать ('assume stance/state transgressive of horizontal') has not only the literal meaning of 'erect, rise up' (встать на ноги, встать дыбом) but also a number of figurative usages in which the horizontal is interpreted as a perceptual threshold: "в холодной зелени рассвета встал перед ним Кремль"; "буря встала, пыль крутя"; "встает метель, идет метель"; "заря встает, встел рассвет"; "день, ночь, утро встает"; "встал вопрос"; "встают опять чудесные виденья"; "луна уже встала на небосклоне" ('appeared').

It seems best, then, to treat стать, встать as [0 directional], as a change of state verb.

17.5.4 *The Correlation of [+ unitary] Verbs with Semelfactive Nouns.* We have treated all the verbs discussed in 17.5.2 and 17.5.3 as [+ unitary], saying that the single, simple act, the gesture, is basic, while the notion of activity amounts to a multiplication of gestures. Let us examine the evidence which supports this claim.

Isačenko (1960: 307) notes that many verbs with semelfactive forms are correlated with what he terms "semelfactive" deverbal nouns, citing as examples колоть ~ укол, нырять ~ нырок, плевать ~ плевок and прыгать ~ прыжок. The following is an attempt to show that it is only [+ unitary] verbs that are correlated with semelfactive nouns or interjections, while [+ cyclical] verbs are not.

The semelfactive verbs listed in 17.5.2 are correlated with the following nouns:

<i>двинуть</i>	<i>двиг</i> (Dal' I:419): частица, означающая движение, как: <i>шасть, тарь, скок</i> и пр. "Бегал, бегал куманек, да <i>двиг</i> в уголок. (веник, голик)"
<i>дернуть</i>	<i>дерг</i> (отглагольное междометие)
<i>махнуть</i>	<i>мах, взмах</i> (cf. 17.5.2.2)
<i>кинуть</i>	<i>кидок</i> (Dal' II:107): бросок, швырок
<i>порхнуть</i>	<i>порх</i> (noun) "...малейший порх птицы отдается во всех углах парка." (interjection) "Лиса распустила лапы, а петух порх на дубок."
<i>пригнуть</i>	<i>приг</i> (interjection) <i>прижок</i> (noun)

Dal' lists the following semelfactive nouns from the prefixed verbs: *вздвиг, вздерг, взмах, вскид, вспорх, вспрыг.*

Some verbs form semelfactive nouns only from their prefixed derivatives:

<i>всплеснуть</i>	<i>всплеск</i> (Dal' I:250) "Волна, одним всплеском, снесла человека с палубы."
<i>заметнуть</i>	<i>замет</i> "Средний улов рыбы на один замет." (SRJa) (<i>взмет</i> apparently does not have a semelfactive meaning)

Two verbs out of eleven do not form semelfactive nouns: *прянуть* and *пугнуть*. (It is not clear whether such forms as *вспуг, спуг*, listed in Dal', can be used to denote one act, a gesture.) Two of the perfective verbs listed in 17.5.3 are also correlated with semelfactive nouns:

<i>бросить</i>	<i>бросок, взброс</i>
<i>скочить</i>	<i>скок</i>

Verbs which denote [+ cyclical] activity, i.e., 'agitation', are not correlated with semelfactive nouns. There is no **болт(ок)* (*болтнуть*); **дрог, *дрожок* (*дрогнуть*); **колых, *колышок* (*колыхнуть*); **ляг, *ляжок* (*лягнуть*); **трепых, *трепешок* (*трепыхнуть*). *Трепет* is not semelfactive. The

reason that [+ cyclical] verbs are not correlated with semelfactive nouns is that the movement they describe is inherently complex (i.e., oscillatory, bi-directional), even when viewed as an [act], a single cycle. Because they are inherently complex, [+ cyclical] verbs are correlated only with nouns which depict states of activity, e.g., болтание, болтанка ('воздушная качка при полете'), дрожание, колыхание, лягание, трепыхание, трепет.

It is because of this essential difference in their semantics that [+ unitary] imperfective verbs are ambiguous, while [+ cyclical] imperfectives are not. We have seen that [+ unitary] verbs involve the notion of a simple, unidirectional gesture (e.g., кидок, бросок) which may be presented either as an individual [act] (кинуть, бросить), as an act in progress, an [action] (он кидает мяч за забор), or as [activity] in general (он кидает мячи за забор). The imperfective can represent a single gesture or a series of gestures.

Pairs of [+ cyclical] verbs, on the other hand, involve complex activity which when analyzed in terms of constituent cycles remains complex: both the [activity] (дрожать) and the [act] (дрогнуть) denote oscillatory motion. Since the motion represented by cyclical verbs is inherently bi-directional (whether as one complex cycle or as a multitude of complex cycles), imperfective [+ cyclical] verbs are not ambiguous: they always denote complex [activity]. The following rule of entailment applies:

(9) [0 action] \Rightarrow [- action] / _____ [+ cyclical]

Rule (9) states that specification of the verb as [+ cyclical] serves to exclude the feature [action] from the message. While the [0 action] form кидать can be interpreted as depicting one movement in the process of its execution ('делать кидок'), the explicitly [- action] form дрожать cannot be interpreted as one movement.

Prefixal derivatives from [+ unitary] semelfactive or perfective verbs are interpreted as directional; prefixal derivatives from [+ unitary] imperfectives are interpreted as limitational (закидать 'начать кидать'), quantificational (закидали его камнями 'covered him with stones') or directional/quantificational (он закидал все мячи за забор 'threw all the balls

one after the other').

In the overwhelming majority of cases [+ cyclical] verbs are non-directional. It is for this reason that the prefix *вз-* with verbs of 'agitation', all of which are [+ cyclical], is not interpreted directionally. It is interpreted as depicting the threshold of activity (e.g., *взволноваться*, *взболтаться*, *вскольхаться*) or as the threshold of a brief complex gesture (e.g., *взболтнуть*, *вздогнуть*, *взмотнуть*, *вскольхнуть*).

One finds, however, that there are a few [+ cyclical] verbs which can be used in a directional sense. In the following section I will attempt to show that the ability of a [+ cyclical] verb to be used directionally depends upon its specification also as [+ unitary].

17.5.5 [+ *cyclical + unitary*] Verbs. Three [+ cyclical] verbs can be used directionally: *брыкать/брыкнуть* (*брык*), *мотнуть/мотать* (*моток*), and *трясти/тряхнуть* (*трях*). One finds that it is precisely these verbs which, contrary to the rule, are correlated with semelfactive nouns.

17.5.5.1 *Брыкать/брыкнуть* is only marginally directional. Only one of its prefixed forms is defined directionally: *отбрыкиваться* 'брыкаться, пытаясь избавиться от кого-, чего-либо, устранить кого-, чего-либо' (SRJa) and a figurative meaning 'упорно отказываться' (SSRLJa). But in view of the fact that it does not mean 'bucking, translocate oneself away', i.e., actually move off in a certain direction, it seems better to say that *брыкать/брыкнуть* is inherently nondirectional.

17.5.5.2 The verb *мотать/мотнуть*, however, can be directional. The imperfective verb can depict a series of movements causing an object to move into place (*мотать нить на шпуль* 'wind' [directional]) or merely a multiple movement (*мотать хвостом* 'wag' [nondirectional]). In both cases it denotes a multitude of complex gestures. The semelfactive form denotes one complex gesture (*мотнуть хвостом*, *мотнуть головой*). That the single gesture is inherently complex can be seen in the fact that it consists of at least two movements, cf. *мотнуть головой*, which signifies either 'approval (↑↑)' or 'disapproval (↓)'. While *мотнуть* can never be used in a directional sense, the imperfective *мотать* can. The reason for this seems to be that the verb

мотать can be conceived as involving complex cycles, back and forth movements (i.e., 'winding'), which can be added together to cause movement in a specific direction, e.g., мотать нить на шпуль 'through a series of winding movements (each a complex cycle), cause thread to move (in one direction) on to the spool'. When the individual cycles are thus added together, they in effect become units which combine to form a [unitary] activity. For this reason, I will assume that мотать, inherently [+ cyclical], can be optionally specified also as [+ unitary]. Compare its meanings with prefixes:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ cyclical} \\ + \text{ unitary} \\ 0 \text{ directional} \\ + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ cyclical} \\ - \text{ unitary} \\ - \text{ directional} \\ + \text{ perfective} \end{array} \right]$$

ВЗМОТАТЬ:

'Наматывать, мотать на что-либо'

ВЫМОТАТЬ: 'exhaustive'

'Израсходовать при мотании;
смотать какое-л. количество'

'Утомив чем-л., лишить сил,
энергии'

ДОМОТАТЬ: 'finish'

'Окончить наматывание'

ЗАМОТАТЬ: '(?) beyond, to a
certain point'

'Мотая, навить, наvertеть на
что-либо, закрутить вокруг
что-либо'

"...работник замотал повод
вокруг гнилого столба."

ЗАМОТАТЬ: 'excessive degree'

'...утомить, изнурить'

_____ : 'begin'

'начать мотать (нити)'

'начать мотать, качать из стороны
в сторону'

НАМОТАТЬ: 'onto'

'Навить, накрутить на что-л.'

НАМОТАТЬ: 'quantity'

'Мотая, приготовить в каком-л.
количестве'

НАМОТАТЬСЯ: 'onto'

'Навиться, накрутиться на что-л.'

СМОТАТЬ: 'off of'

'Мотая, снять с чего-л.'

"Смотать бинт с пальца."

НАМОТАТЬСЯ: 'degree; quantity'

'Устать, утомиться от хлопот, беготни'

'Вдоволь, долго побродить, поскитаться где-л.'

СМОТАТЬ: 'together'

'Смотая, свить в клубок, моток'

"Смотать проволоку."

The verbs on the left are specified [+ cyclical + unitary]; the two features, when selected together, do not cancel each other out, cf. rule (4). As we have seen in the previous sections, unitary verbs are optionally directional. All the examples listed on the left above show -мотать used to depict a series of complex gestures causing an object to move in one direction.

The verbs on the right are [+ cyclical - unitary - directional]. If the feature [unitary] is not selected along with the feature [cyclical], then it is precluded from the message, by rule (4). What this means is that the verbs on the right depict multiple movement (one complex) rather than a series of added individual movements. The verbs on the right are also explicitly nondirectional, according to the following rule of entailment:

$$(10) \quad [0 \text{ directional}] \rightarrow [- \text{ directional}] / \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cyclical} \\ - \text{ unitary} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rule (10) states that if an activity is exclusively cyclical, i.e., always complex (oscillatory, bi-directional), then it cannot be used to refer to movement in a certain direction. This is the rule that distinguishes all verbs of 'agitation' from verbs of 'directed motion'.

17.5.3 In the case of the [+ cyclical] verb трясти/тряхнуть it seems that both the semelfactive and the imperfective can refer to unidirectional movement. I will assume that трясти/тряхнуть is, like the verb дрожать/дрогнуть, an inherently [+ cyclical] verb, that it always denotes a complex movement. What makes трясти/тряхнуть different from other verbs of 'shaking' such as дрожать/дрогнуть and трепетать(ся)/-трепенуться, however, is the fact that the complex cycle (one back-and-forth shake) can be conceived as a simple

gesture, a unit. Compare the behavior of the semelfactive and imperfective forms with one prefix:

+ act
+ cyclical
+ unitary
0 directional
+ perfective

ВЫТЯХНУТЬ: 'out of'

'Тряхнув, выбросить, вывалить, уронить'

"Вынимая платок, вытряхнул из кармана письмо." (Ušakov)

+ act
+ cyclical
- unitary
- directional
+ perfective

ВЫТЯХНУТЬ: 'thoroughly'

['Очистить, встряхивая']

"Вытряси хорошенько сапог, да вытряхни и чулки." (Dal' I: 321)

+ activity
+ cyclical
+ unitary
0 directional
+ perfective

ВЫТЯСТИ: 'out of'

'Тряся, высыпать, выбросить'

"[Ненила] приостановилась, сняла с ноги опорок и вытрясла из него землю."

+ activity
+ cyclical
- unitary
- directional
+ perfective

ВЫТЯСТИ: 'thoroughly'

'Тряся, очистить от сора, пыли'

"Вытрясти скатерть. Вытрясти платье."

The verbs on the right are [+ cyclical - unitary] and therefore [- directional]. They have a quantificational sense (perform the act or activity thoroughly) and/or a limitational sense (perform the act or activity so as to exhaust the limits of the patient); in the first case the вы- features are associated with the features expressing the nature of the movement, and in the second case they are associated with the feature [patient].

The verbs on the left show the complex [act] or [activity] conceived as a simple repeatable unit. In this sense the [act] verb тряхнуть becomes like the [+ unitary] кинуть, depicting one gesture causing an object to move in one direction. The [activity] verb listed on the left depicts propulsion through a series of shaking movements.

17.6 *Summary.* The feature matrices of the various kinds of verbs discussed in this chapter are summarized in the following chart:

(2a)

+ verb
0 abstract
- activity
- action
+ act
- cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
(#) directional
+ perfective

кинуть

бросить

(3)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
- action
- act
+ cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
+ directional
0 perfective

трясти (куда)

(3a)

+ verb
0 abstract
- activity
- action
+ act
+ cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
+ directional
+ perfective

тряхнуть (куда)

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(5a)

+ verb
0 abstract
- activity
- action
+ act
+ cyclical
- unitary
+ motion
- directional
+ perfective

дрогнуть

(6)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
- action
- act
+ cyclical
- unitary
+ motion
- directional
0 perfective

волновать

(1)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
0 action
- act
+ motion
0 directional
0 perfective

ХОДИТЬ

ВАЛЯТЬ

ДУТЬ

(1a)

+ verb
0 abstract
0 activity
+ action
- act
+ motion
(*) directional
0 perfective

ИДТИ

ВАЛИТЬ

-ДУТЬ (куда)

(2)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
0 action
- act
- cyclical
+ unitary
+ motion
0 directional
0 perfective

КИДАТЬ

БРОСАТЬ

(4)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
- action
- act
+ cyclical
- unitary
+ motion
- directional
0 perfective

ТЯСТИ (где)

(4a)

+ verb
0 abstract
- activity
- action
+ act
+ cyclical
- unitary
+ motion
- directional
+ perfective

ТЯХНУТЬ (где)

(5)

+ verb
0 abstract
+ activity
- action
- act
+ cyclical
- unitary
+ motion
- directional
0 perfective

ДРОЖАТЬ

The first row of matrices (1, 1a, 2, 2a, 3, 3a) displays verbs which can be directional: the [+ action] verbs (1a) and the [+ act] verbs (2a, 3a) can depict a single movement in one direction; the [+ activity] verbs can depict multiple movements associated with one goal.

Matrix (1) and (1a) present pairs of imperfective verbs distinguished by the marking of the features [activity] and [action]. The [+ action] verbs идти, валить and -дуть denote a single coherent movement in one (usually specified) direction. The [+ activity] verbs ходить, валять and дуть, on the other hand, denote multiple or random movements, usually non-directional. Some of the [+ activity] verbs can be specified as to the goal of the movement, e.g., он ходил в город, он носил чемоданы в переднюю. They cannot, however, be interpreted as involving coherent movement in one direction but rather only as a round-trip or a series of trips.

Matrix (2) and (2a) display pairs of imperfective and semelfactive or perfective verbs whose semantics parallels that of the imperfective pairs. The imperfectives кидать and бросать present a general view, i.e., activity in general, multiple or random movement, while the perfectives кинуть and бросить present single instances of the activity ('сделать кидок, бросок'). Verbs, such as кинуть and бросить, which denote single unidirectional gestures, as opposed to series of repeated gestures, have been termed [+ unitary]. When prefixed, the [+ act] verbs are usually directional (e.g., перекинуть камень через реку), while the [+ activity] verbs are quantitative or limitational (e.g., перекидать [все] камни через реку 'one after another, exhausting the set').

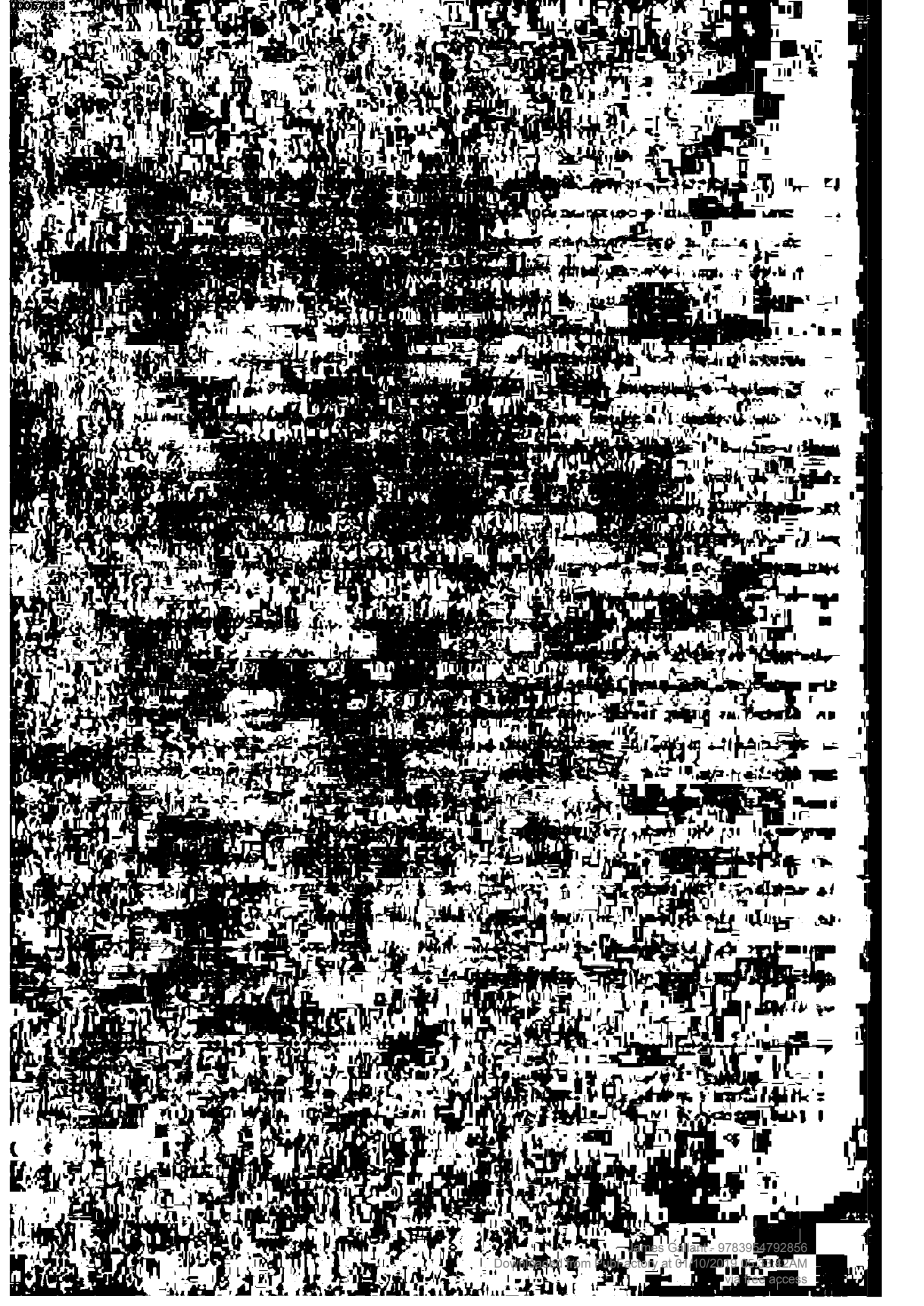
Matrix (3) and (3a) present [+ cyclical] verbs, i.e., verbs denoting inherently complex (oscillatory, bi-directional) movement. The usages of трясти/тряхнуть shown in (3) and (3a) represent rare cases in which a [+ cyclical] verb can also be conceived as [+ unitary]: the complex movement is conceived as the unit of a series of movements propelling the object in one direction (e.g., трясти/тряхнуть крошки из кармана).

The second row of matrices (4, 4a, 5, 5a, 6) presents [+ cyclical - unitary] verbs. These verbs all denote complex movement in place, i.e., 'agitation'; they cannot depict directed motion.

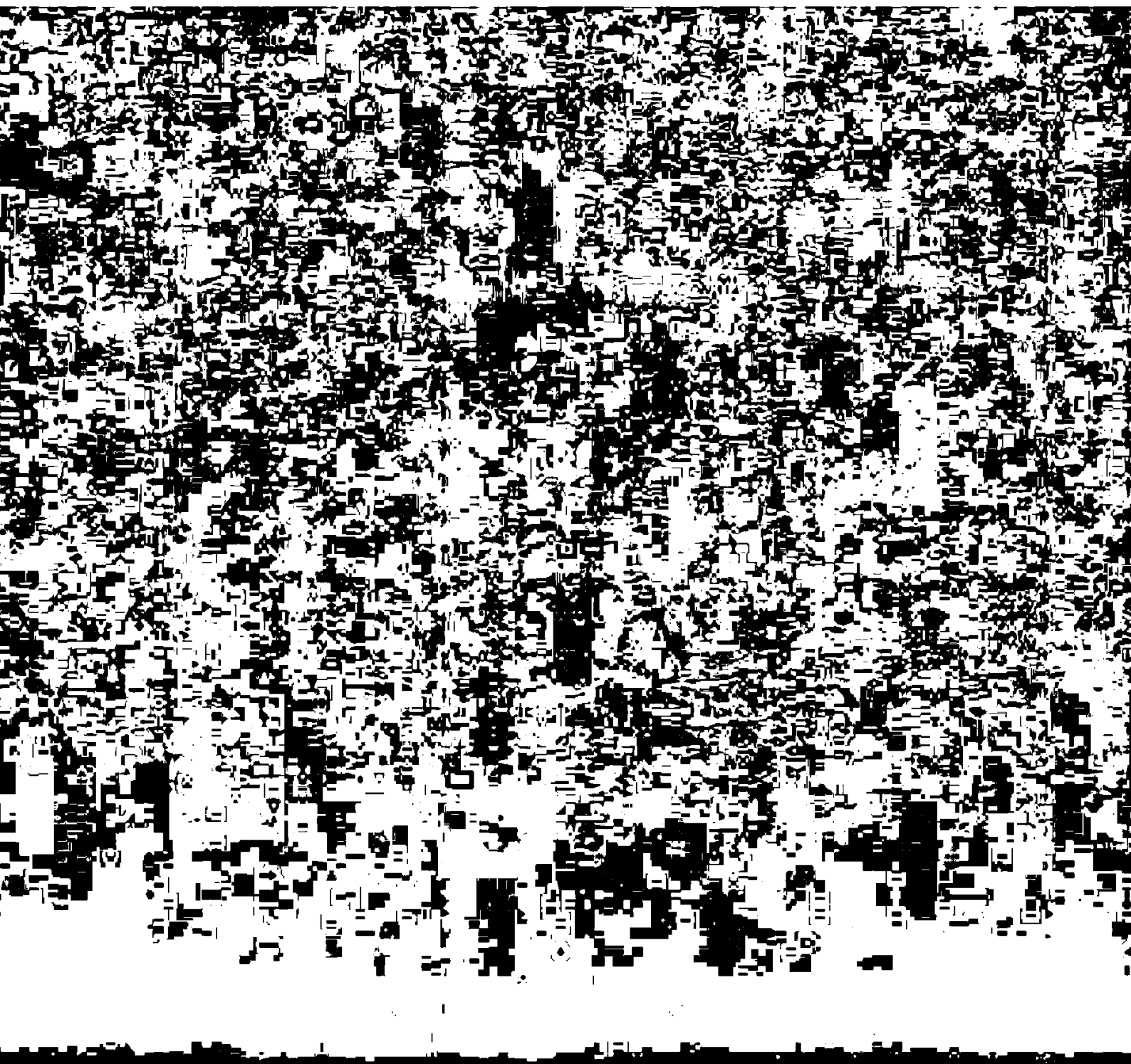
17.6.1 *Determination and Number.* In this chapter I have proposed to expand the concept of determination in the Russian verb to include not only the thirteen pairs of imperfectives known as the verbs of motion but also all other verb pairs in which both the members can be prefixed. The distinction reflected in the morphology of the verbs of motion, other imperfective pairs such as *валять/валить* and *semelfactive/nonsemelfactive* pairs contrasts *kinds* of [activity], motion in general, with *instances* of the activity, i.e., singular, coherent movement [action] or one single gesture [act]. When prefixed, determined ([action] and [act]) verbs tend to be directional, while nondetermined ([activity]) verbs are quantificational/limitational. In this chapter we have examined only verbs which denote [motion]. It seems possible to extend this expanded concept of determination to other pairs of stems as well, e.g., *-стрелить/стрелять* ([act]/[activity]: он выстрелил из ружья ~ он выстрелял все патроны), *-честь/читать* ([action]/[activity]: он прочел эту книгу ~ он прочитал всю ночь¹).

This contrast in the verb between general and specific, random and coherent, multiple and singular may be related to the category of number in the noun (cf. Jakobson 1971a:136, where the categories of number and aspect are listed as examples of quantification). In a certain sense, the category of determination in the verb presents a mirror image of the category of number in the noun. The general concept presented by [activity] verbs (*ходить, кидать*) is instantiated or particularized by means of singularization (*идти, кинуть*). In the verb, singularization (determination, perfectivization) is a central phenomenon, while pluralization (e.g., iteratives: *хаживать, бывать*) is marginal. In nouns, on the other hand, if the unmarked nonplural term represents the general concept (e.g., *вино, добродетель*), the plural represents specific instances (*вина, добродетели*). In nouns, pluralization is a central phenomenon, while singularization (e.g., *горошина, гражданин*) is marginal.

¹The [+ action] form *прочесть* means only 'read (through)', while the [+ activity] form *прочитать* is ambiguous, having either a directional meaning ('read through') or a limitational one ('read a certain period of time').



SECTION VII: PROBLEMS & CONCLUSIONS



18. PROBLEMS

The corpus of *вз-* verbs to be found in the SSRLJa contains exactly 200 verbs. The dictionary offers well over 600 definitions of these verbs. The precise number of meanings is difficult to specify, because it depends on what one considers to be a distinct usage of a verb. For example, I have considered *взволновать воду* and *взволновать человека* to be distinct usages of the same verb (as a verb of 'agitation' and as a verb of 'excitation') describable in terms of a difference in the specification of the feature [abstract]. What suggests that the difference in meaning is systematic (not accidental) is the fact that *взволновать* can be grouped together with 14 other verbs in *вз-* (cf. 16.1) capable of denoting either physical agitation or mental excitation; it can, in addition, be grouped with 13 other verbs denoting agitation, but not excitation, and with 41 other verbs denoting excitation, but not agitation.

This chapter discusses verbs which have some meanings or usages not describable in terms of the 15 semantic groups (18.1) as well as verbs which do not seem to fit at all (18.2).

18.1 There are 9 verbs which have some meanings not shared with other *вз-* verbs.

18.1.1 ВЗБОДРИТЬ: 'whip up'

'Прост., обл. Быстро, энергично сделать'

"...взбодри яшеньку..."

'Построить'

"...взбодрить такую громадную фабрику..."

These dialectal usages reflect the possibility of reducing the features of *бодрить* 'enliven' to the mere notion of 'quick action'.

18.1.2 ВЗДВОИТЬ: 'double; form columns of two; double back'

'Делать вдвойне, повторять'

(no quotation)

'Вздвоить ряды — перестроить каждый ряд в строю в два ряда'

'Охотн. Возвращаться на свой след'

The SRJa lists *сдвоить* in exactly these meanings, as well as that of plowing over again (twifallowing) discussed in 3.2.4.2. Dal' lists only *вздвоить пашню*.

18.1.3 ВСПРЫСНУТЬ: 'wet (an occasion)'

'Прост. Праздновать, отмечать какое-либо событие угощением с выпивкой'

"...приезд нашего дорогого гостя надобно вспырнуть шампанским..."

ВЗБРЫЗНУТЬ:

'Прост. шутл. Ознаменовать выпивкой, пирушкой что-л.'

These two verbs of 'suffusion' can be used figuratively to mean 'toast', cf. Brit. Engl. 'wet (an occasion, a commission)'. They form a group of two.

18.1.4 ВЗНЕСТИ/ВЗНОСИТЬ: 'pay up'

'Прост. Уплачивать что-л., делать взнос'

"...вносить плату за учение."

This meaning is new to Dal', who notes that *взнести* "часто неправильно употребляется вместо *вносить*, *внести*, например о податях".

18.1.5 ВЗДУТЬ: 'light'

'Прост. Разжигать, зажигать, раздувать (огонь)'

(cf. *Feuer aufblasen*)

'Вздутъ свечу — зажечь свечу'

'Вздутъ самовар'

Although the image seems clear — one lights a fire, blowing on it in order to increase the rate of combustion in the object — I am unable to work out a description to integrate these with the other usages of *вздутъ* ('swelling', 'disorder', 'beating'), cf. 5.3.6, 6.2.1.6.7, 8.2.9. It is interesting to note that *задуть* can mean either 'light' or 'put out': *задуть печь* (= *вздутъ самовар*) 'light', but *задуть свечку* (≠ *вздутъ свечу*) 'put out'.

18.1.6 ВЗВИНТИТЬ: 'screw up'

'Взвинчивать цены — последовательно, через короткие промежутки времени, поднимать цены...'

This metaphor of price spiral, of forcing prices to rise slowly, circuitously,

is difficult to explain. I have treated *взвинтить* as a verb of 'disorder', cf. 6.2.1.6.3. Perhaps the meaning is 'force to move in a spiral form, rise slowly'. Apparently English is capable of the same metaphor, cf. the OED: *screw* II 3d: "*screw up*" 'raise (payment, rent, etc.) to an exacting or extortionate figure'.

18.1.7 ВЗДОХНУТЬ: 'take a rest'

'Немного отдохнуть, передохнуть, перевести дух'

ВСХРАПНУТЬ:

'Поспать, соснуть (особенно днем для временного отдыха)'

Храпнуть/храпеть, like Engl. *snooze, snore, snort, sneeze*, is of onomatopoeic origin. The sound can stand as a metonym for sleep, cf. *храпеть* '*Перен. Крепко спать*' (Ušakov). The semelfactive *храп(а)нуть* can also represent sleep: *храпнуть* '*поспать вдосталь*' (SSRLJa). Thus the sound, viewed abstractly, represents an act associated with the brief sound, cf. 15.4.8, 15.5.1.1. The other sound verb, *вздохнуть*, can be explained in the same way: the action of taking a breath (*дохнуть*) standing for taking a rest, cf. ἀνάκνεις 'a breathing again, respite, rest from a thing; a drawing (of breath)' from ἀνακνέω 'draw breath'. Even though the verb *дохнуть* is not attested in the meaning 'take a rest', Dal' does list the noun *дох*, defined as '*Однокр. дейст. по знач. глг.; вздох, пере- дышка, отдых. Дай ему дох*' (I:1264).

18.2 There are 12 verbs which in all meanings are unexplainable in terms of the framework presented in the preceding chapters.

18.2.1 ВЗДРЕМНУТЬ

ВЗДРЕМАТЬ (сов. и несов.): 'take a nap'

'Предаться легкому сну на короткое время, забыться сном, во сне'

The older meaning of *вздремать* (pf.) was 'onset of activity', i.e., 'cross the threshold of consciousness (into a state of sleep)', cf. the *Словарь языка Пушкина* (I:268): *вздремать*: '*задремать*' "...Святой вздремал, всхрапел, как старый вол." One could treat this as a threshold of consciousness verb, a verb of 'awareness' (or lack of it). The prefixed semelfactive *вздремнуть* views the onset of activity depicted by *вздремать* (pf.) in terms of a single brief act:

'doze off a bit'. The use of the unprefixated semelfactive in this meaning is attested only in dialects, cf. дремонуть 'вздремнуть, немного поспать. Вот дремонула и готово' (SRNG VIII:184). The form вздремать is perfective or imperfective, depending upon meaning: дремать → вздремать (pf.) 'doze off'; (дремнуть *'doze a bit' →) вздремнуть 'doze off a bit, take a nap' → вздремать (impf.) 'ibid.'. The use of вздремать as an imperfective amounts to an interpretation of it as a secondary imperfective to вздремнуть.

18.2.1 ВЗДОРОЖАТЬ: 'become more expensive'
'Сделаться дороже, подняться в цене'

ВЗДЕШЕВЕТЬ: 'become cheaper'
'Подешеветь, снизиться в цене'

These two verbs stand in isolation. There are otherwise only six вз- verbs derived from deadjectival verbs: взбодрить, взвеселить, взъярить ('excitation'); вскосматить, взлохматить, всхохлатить ('disorder'). Neither (вз)дорожать nor (вз)дешеветь fit any of the regular semantic groups of verbs prefixed in вз-. Вздешеветь is particularly unexpected, although it seems to be rather old; it is attested in the *Словарь Академии Российской* and in Dal'.

18.2.8 ВСПОМОЧЬ/ВСПОМОГАТЬ: 'help'
ВСПОМОЩЕСТВОВАТЬ (несов.): 'help'
'Помогать, оказывать помощь'

These formations are old. Вспомоществовать is unexpectedly imperfective, suggesting that it is a borrowing from Church Slavic, like предвидеть, or a learned loan translation, like содержать: it seems, however, to be neither. The semantics of these verbs is like that of a воз- verb: 'render help', cf. вознаградить 'reward', возблагодарить 'thank', воздать 'render'. The SRJa XI-XVII vv. lists вспомогати (воспомогати) and the noun вспомочствование with quotations not older than the sixteenth century.

18.2.4 ВЗЫСКАТЬ(СЯ)/ВЗЫСКИВАТЬ(СЯ): 'exact; search for'
'Получать, требовать плату'
"взыскать налоги с кого-л."
'Налагать наказание;...осуждать'

"Ведь человек не совершил ничего предосудительного, за что же с него взыскивать?"

'Награждать, удаивать кого (чем-либо)'

"От самой колыбельки
Ты рос и вырос на руках моих.
За то сам взыскивал меня добром:
То черевичками дарил, то чолкой."

'Страстно желать, искать чего, стремиться к чему-либо'

"...людей любопытствующих, взыскиющих чего-то."

"Люди...взыскали новой, чистой жизни."

The association of verbs of seeking with prefixes meaning 'up' is not rare, cf. (ἀνα)ζητέω, (*auf*)suchen. If *искать* means something like 'endeavor to perceive (to make cross the threshold of perception)', then *взыскивать* [0 perfective] makes the threshold explicit and *взыскать* [+ perfective] denotes the achievement of the threshold. This analysis works for the fourth meaning listed above, but not for the other three.

18.2.5 ВСКРЫТЬ(СЯ)/ВСКРЫВАТЬ(СЯ): 'open; reveal'

'Открывать, раскрывать что-либо упакованное, запечатое, закрытое'

"Городцов вынул...банку консервов и вскрыл ее огромным ножом..."

'cutting'

'Вскрывать письмо, конверт и т. п. — распечатывать, освобождать от оболочки, разрезать'

[0 abstract]

'Разрезать, рассекать для проникновения во внутренние полости тела человека, животного; анатомировать'

"Он...вскрывал умерших больных."

'Взрезать, надрезать, делать поверхностный надрез (о нарывах)'

"Доктор вскрыл на багровой руке два гнойника..."

'Освобождаться ото льда при наступлении весны (о замерзших реках, озерах и т. п.)'

"По ложбинам загремели вешние воды, в одну ночь вскрылась ото льда Кубань."

'Обнаруживать; делать явным'

"Вскрыть тайну."

'appearance'

'Открывать, показывать карты, повернув мастью вверх'

[+ abstract]

('О начале весны')

"Не успела весна начать вскрываться, как тотчас уже и начались военные действия."

This verb raises very difficult questions. Although its usages fit nicely into the categories of 'cutting' and 'appearance', the prefixed form cannot be treated as a narrow specification of the unprefixed form. The unprefixed *крыть* means only 'cover, close', the meaning it has with the prefixes *за-*, *на-*, *пере-*, *по-*, *при-*, *с-*, and *у-*. With *вз-*, *от-* and *раз-*, however, it means 'open'.

Generally speaking, it seems that in Russian the notion of opening and closing is expressed by bound roots whose invariant semantics is very abstract. These verbs take *от-* or *раз-* in the meaning 'open' and *за-*, *с-*, *при-* in the meaning 'close':

{-[t]vor-}

отворить

затворить

растворить

створить

притворить

{-m#k-}

отомкнуть

замкнуть

разомкнуть

сомкнуть

(примкнуть)

{-p,#r-}

отпереть

запереть

распереть

припереть

{-рах-nu-}

отпахнуть

запахнуть

распахнуть

Only one other verb seems to work like *крыть*:

{kupor-}

откупорить

купорить

раскупорить

закупорить

The situation seems to be the same in other languages. Either the root is bound

or the unprefixated form means 'close'. Cf. German:

	<i>-machen</i>	
aufmachen		zumachen
	<i>-klappen</i>	
aufklappen		zuklappen
	<i>-drehen</i>	
aufdrehen		zudrehen

The above roots can be said to be bound in the sense that they cannot mean 'open' or 'close' when unprefixated.

	<i>schliessen</i>	
aufschliessen		schliessen
		zuschliessen
	<i>sperrren</i>	
aufsperrren		sperrren
		zusperren
	<i>decken</i>	
aufdecken		decken
		zudecken

In Greek one finds examples of the second kind:

	καλύπτω	
ἀνακαλύπτω		καλύπτω
ἀποκαλύπτω		ἀμφικαλύπτω
ἐγκαλύπτω		κατακαλύπτω
		περικαλύπτω
		συγκαλύπτω
	κτύσσω	
ἀνακτύσσω		κτύσσω
		περικτύσσω
		συμκτύσσω

In Russian there is no unprefixated verb meaning 'open, uncover'. German has the deadjectival *öffnen*, which, like *open*, is historically derived from IÉ **up*. English *open* combines with *up* (*open up*), but German *öffnen* apparently does not

combine with *auf-* (**auföffnen*). In Greek there are a few unprefixated verbs meaning 'open': οἴνωμι (ἀνοίωμι), οἴω (ἀνοίω), κτάνωμι (ἀνακτάνωμι). What is interesting is that it never seems to be the case that a verb of 'opening' can combine with prefixes to yield the meaning 'close'.

From this very brief survey the following pattern emerges. The notion of 'open/close' is expressed by bound roots, very abstract in meaning, in combination with distinct sets of prefixes. Unprefixated verbs meaning 'close' can in some cases combine with a prefix to yield the sense of opening. Unprefixated verbs meaning 'open' always mean 'open' with prefixes. One could possibly treat verbs of 'closing' as containing, like bound roots, inherent semantic features unspecific with respect to the result of the movement (whether it renders the object open or closed) and have a rule that in the absence of further specification the verb is interpretable as representing closure: the semantics of 'opening' would be marked, 'closing' would be unmarked.

This subject requires much more extensive study: verbs of 'opening/closing' must be treated along with verbs of 'tying/untying', 'packing/unpacking', etc. In general, though, it does seem that the 'opening/untying/unpacking' meanings are the marked ones.

18.2.6 ВСПОЛОНУТЬ/ВСПОЛАСКИВАТЬ: 'rinse'
'Слегка обмывать'

Dal' lists *полоскать/полоснуть* in the meaning 'обмывать, купать обильно в жидкости, вода в ней взад и вперед, или обмывать, орошать что, покачивая в нем жидкость'. Like *плескать* (to which it is apparently not related), *полоскать* is of onomatopoeic origin (Vasmer III:315), the central idea being 'clapping, slapping'. Like *плескать*, *полоскать* can describe the flapping of sails or flags in the wind. The meaning 'rinse' seems to arise from the notion of agitating the object in water (*полоскать ложку*) or agitating water in or over the object (*полоскать горло, зубы*). Dal' lists usages indicating that at one time *полоснуть/полоскать* could, like *плеснуть/плескать*, have been a [+ unitary + directional] verb:

[+ directional]

"Волна всполоснула на палубу."
('всплеснула')

[0 directional]

"Взял мороженщик лепешку,
Всполоснул большую ложку..."
(SSRLJa)

[+ directional]	[0 directional]
ДОПОЛОСКАТЬ/ДОПОЛАСКИВАТЬ	ДОПОЛОСКАТЬ/ДОПОЛАСКИВАТЬ
"Волна дополаскивает до сих мест."	'Докончить полосканье чего-н.'

Thus at one time *полоскать/полоснуть* was a verb of 'agitation which could be further specified for directionality: [+ cyclical + unitary + directional].¹ In the modern language it is only [+ cyclical 0 unitary - directional]. The problem with this verb is that while one can treat *полоскать ложку* in terms of 'agitation', the semantic specification underlying *полоскать горло* is difficult to formulate.

- 18.2.7 ВЗВЕСИТЬ(СЯ)/ВЗВЕШИВАТЬ(СЯ): 'weigh'
 'Определять вес посредством весов'
 'Обдумывать, оценивать'

This verb is no longer directly related to its unprefixated counterpart, *весить* 'be of a certain weight'. The original sense of *весить*, however, was 'hang (up)' (*pendere, suspendere*), cf. Miklosich (122) and Sreznevskij (I:493). *Вешать*, according to Šanskij (I, 3:83), was originally an iterative (многократный глагол) derived from *весить*, like *сажать* from *садить*. In the modern language, however, this distinction has been lost, although there are remnants, cf. *перевесить* 'weigh again; hang in another place; outweigh' (all single actions) versus *перевешать* 'weigh much, many; hang (many people); hang much, many' (all multiple activity). *Взвесить* cannot now be treated as a directional verb.

- 18.2.8 ВЗНУЗДАТЬ/ВЗНУЗДЫВАТЬ: 'bridle'
 'Вкладывать удила в рот лошади'
 'Подчинить себе, сделать покорным; обуздать'

There is no unprefixated *уздать*. The original sense might have been directional (cf. Šanskij [I, 3:89]): 'place the bridle up into'.

¹I have treated *плеснуть/плескать* as inherently [+ unitary], because of quotations indicating that *плескать* can be used to denote one 'splash'. *Полоскать/полоснуть*, however, seems to be inherently [+ cyclical], a verb of agitation.

18.2.9 ВЗГНЕЗДИТЬСЯ: 'nest upon'

'Высоко свить себе гнездо (о птицах)'

'Вообще высоко взобраться; устроиться на высоте'

Like *взместиться*, this verb denotes 'motion up onto', cf. Dal' (I:194). The un-prefixed verb does not, however, seem to be directional at all ('жить, устраивать гнезда; ютиться').

18.2.10 ВЗМЫТЬ/ВЗМЫВАТЬ: 'soar up'

'Быстро, плавно взлетать, подниматься вверх' (of birds, planes, wind, sounds, waves)

This is a relatively new formation, arising, according to Šanskij (I, 3:88), in 19th century hunters' jargon. The striking thing is that *взмыть* is intransitive. The SSRLJa defines it as both transitive and intransitive, but I am unable to find any transitive usage whatsoever. All other prefixal derivations in *мыть* denoting motion are transitive, e.g., *вымыть* 'унести что из чего', *отмыть* 'удалить', *смыть* 'снести, унести'. Only derivations in *-ся* are intransitive, e.g., *смыться* 'уйти'. I am unable to find, even in Dal', *мыть* or *мыться* used as verbs of locomotion. *Взмыть* seems to reflect a different semantics of the underlying verb, something like 'flow, move smoothly and rapidly', a meaning it has never had in the standard language.

18.3 The twelve verbs discussed in 18.2 constitute exactly six percent of the corpus (200 verb bases). Their 37 definitions, taken together with the 13 usages discussed in 18.1, constitute about six percent (50) of the approximately 600 definitions of the verbs in the corpus.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this work has been to explore the possibility of describing morphemes in terms of invariant sets of semantic features capable of representing not only their literal but also their figurative meanings. We have seen that the features posited for the prefix B_3- , [+ horizontal + transgression], can account not only for the usage of that prefix to refer to upward direction or disruption of a physical surface, but also for its figurative usage to depict an abstract limit (e.g., the threshold of maturity in verbs of 'growth' and the threshold of perception in verbs of 'appearance' and 'awareness') or to depict the onset of activity.

The prefixal framework discussed in chapter 1 remains to be elaborated in detail.¹ The idea of an integral framework of limits and relationships, a cognitive geometry, promises not only to permit a description of prefixes in terms of shared features (cf. Flier 1975) but also to enable one to discern markedness relationships between closely related prefixes, e.g., sa- [+ vertical + transgression] (unmarked) \sim B_3- [+ horizontal + transgression] (marked). I have sought to explain these relationships in terms of the nature of the central axes of the prefixal framework: the [horizontal] depicting a natural, the [vertical] a conventional limit or threshold.

An examination of all the verbs occurring with the prefix B_3- reveals numerous close interrelationships between the different semantic groups represented, suggesting that these verbs share many more features than those underlying their common prefix. What is particularly striking is the fact that the metaphorical range of an individual B_3- verb does not extend beyond the semantic types of B_3- verbs as a set.

In the latter part of this book (chapters 14 - 17) we have seen evidence of a strong implicational bond between features representing the

¹Prof. van Schooneveld's latest work on prefixation, *Semantic Transmutations: Prolegomena to a Calculus of Meaning* (Bloomington, 1978), presents a treatment of all prefixes and prepositions in terms of an integral set of features. Unfortunately, his book reached me too late for me to treat it in this work.

nature of the action and features representing views of the action and have examined how the quality of the verb governs the ways in which its prefixal features can be interpreted. In exploring the relationships between features I have formulated some specific rules of entailment; these must, however, be considered tentative statements, pending the investigation of more prefixal families.

In chapter 17 I offered preliminary evidence suggesting that the category of determination can be redefined so as to encompass the entire verbal system, i.e., not only those cases of paired stems such as the verbs of motion and semelfactives but also those cases in which the distinction between the general notion of the process and its specific instantiation is not morphologically marked (e.g., дуть/-дуть). I suspect that the traditional distinction between mode-of-action prefixes (those expressing a limitational or quantificational view) and lexical prefixes (those expressing literal, spatial concepts) can be explained in terms of the nature of the process depicted by the stem: general [activity] versus specific coherent [action] or specific [act].

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WILHELM BREITSCHUH
DIE FEOPTIJA V. K. TREDIAKOVSKIJS
EIN PHYSIKOTHEOLOGISCHES LEHRGEDICHT
IM RUSSLAND DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS

Die *Feoptija* Trediakovskijs, das wohl bedeutendste religionsphilosophische Werk der russischen Aufklärung, wird in der vorliegenden Studie erstmalig eingehend untersucht und interpretiert, nachdem das Manuskript des um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts entstandenen und seither de facto vergessenen Poems durch den russischen Literaturhistoriker I. Serman im Jahre 1959 wieder aufgefunden und in den *Gesammelten Werken* Trediakovskijs gedruckt worden ist.

Ohne seine Herkunft aus der russisch-orthodoxen Tradition zu verleugnen, hat Trediakovskij in der *Feoptija* den Ertrag seiner Studien und Reisen in Holland, Frankreich und Deutschland, seine Kenntnis der klassischen und modernen europäischen Sprachen und Literaturen, der europäischen Naturforschung und Geistesgeschichte in ein umfangreiches Poem verarbeitet. Vor allem hat die an der Wende des 17./18. Jahrhunderts weit verbreitete physikotheologische Bewegung, mit ihrem *B e s t r e b e n*, den christlichen Gottesglauben mit den Erkenntnissen der neuen Naturwissenschaft in Einklang zu bringen, in der *Feoptija* ihren Niederschlag gefunden.

Durch den Vergleich der Texte wird im einzelnen nachgewiesen, daß eines der einflußreichsten Zeugnisse des physikotheologischen Weltverständnisses - Fénelons *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tiré du spectacle de la nature* - von Trediakovskij als Hauptquelle benutzt worden ist. Darüber hinaus werden die Bezüge zur gleichzeitigen deutschen Literatur, insbesondere den Gedichten von B. H. Brockes, dem Dichter des Hamburger physikotheologischen Kreises, aufgezeigt.

Schließlich wird in der Studie herausgearbeitet, daß Trediakovskij, von A. Popes mustergültigem *Essay on Man* angeregt, seine *Feoptija* nach den Merkmalen der im zweiten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts in Westeuropa dominierenden literarischen Gattung des Lehrgedichts gestaltet hat.

München: Verlag Otto Sagner 1979. VIII, 523 S.

Ab Jahrgang XXII (N.F. I) 1977 erscheint die Fachzeitschrift

D I E W E L T D E R S L A V E N

Halbjahresschrift für Slavistik

Begründet von Erwin Koschmieder

Schriftleitung: Heinrich Kunstmann, Redaktion: Peter Rehder

im Verlag Otto Sagner, München

Es liegen vor:

Jahrgang XXII (= N. F. I), 1977
Heft 1 und 2, 448 Seiten, DM 82.-

Jahrgang XXIII (= N. F. II), 1978
Heft 1 und 2, 448 Seiten, DM 82.-

Jahrgang XXIV (= N. F. III), 1979
Heft 1 und 2, 448 Seiten, DM 82.-