

Exceptional adjectival participles with prefixes in Germanic and Russian

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This paper deals with a problematic behaviour of certain Germanic and Russian participles. The participles in question are passive in form, but either have no corresponding verbs (at least, semantically), or the verb stem they are derived from is unergative. The behaviours of the participles under discussion involve:

in Germanic, an obligatory incorporation of a particle which is optionally or obligatorily free in motion and transitive verbs and their participial counterparts (1);

in Russian, the presence of the so-called passivizing prefix (Romanova 2007, for a newer nano-syntactic approach see Tolskaya 2018) (2).

1. Norwegian: a) *utkjørt* ‘out-driven’ = “done-in, bone-tired” vs *Bilen kjørte ut* ‘Car-the drove out’ or *Bilen ble kjørt ut* ‘Car-the was driven out’.

b) *utgrått* ‘out-cried’ (no corresponding verb, the stem is unergative) = “covered in tears”

2. Russian: a) *zabegannyj* ‘behind-run’ (a seemingly corresponding verb contains the reflexive postfix *-sja*, *zabegat’sja* ‘run one’s feet off, run onself ragged’) = “done-in, bone tired”

b) *zaplakannyj* ‘behind-cried’ (no corresponding verb) “covered in tears”

The stativity test from Anagnostopolou 2003 shows that the participles above are clearly adjectival (or Target State participles in the terminology of Kratzer 1996, 2000).

According to Taraldsen Medová and Wiland (2018), “verb stems that spell out as unergatives form a bigger fseq zone than verb stems that spell out as unaccusatives”. In the proposed hierarchy transitive-accusative stems take an intermediate position between them. The difference between unergative and unaccusative fseqs in Polish and Czech is reflected morphologically: only unergative and transitive verbs can form n/t-participles, whereas unaccusatives form l-participles (where n-, t- and l- literally stand for consonants present in a particular participle: *kopnięty* ‘kicked’, *wykopany* ‘dug out’, *zmarły* ‘dead’).

According to the nano-syntactic analysis of participles, Target State is the smallest exponent of the participle zone, in Czech and Polish corresponding to L-participles, that is, participles derived from unaccusative verbs. As the examples in (1)-(2) demonstrate, some transitive or even unergative stems give rise to exceptional participles obligatorily carrying a prefix (in Russian) or an incorporated particle (in Germanic).

Thus, the issues to solve are:

1) why do we find unergative stems in adjectival derivations?

2) where do the incorporated particles/prefixes originate?

In my talk, I will address these issues.

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