

**English Particles, Russian Prefixes, and**  
**Prepositional Phrases**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis is an attempt to identify the position for particles in English and prefixes in Russian in the context of the nature of the prepositional phrase.

In order to solve this problem I examine the nature of verb-particle constructions and prefixed verbs in English and Russian respectively. Outlining the similarities between particles and prefixes I argue that particles and prefixes occupy the same position in the syntactic structure. Before studying the position of particles and prefixes in the context of the prepositional structure, I present the approaches to the prepositions and introduce PathP and PlaceP, which are used for the explanation of case assignment in Russian.

The work leads to the conclusion that particles and prefixes require the same extra projection in prepositional phrases, which I refer to as DirP.

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## **0. Introduction**

### **0.1. Why study prefixes and particles in comparison?**

This thesis offers a comparison of the syntactic behavior of English particles and Russian prefixes in prepositional phrases. While there have been many studies on the behavior of both particles (in Germanic languages) and prefixes (in Slavic languages) in the literature, little research has as yet been undertaken into the comparison of these elements across the different groups of languages. Some attempts to bring the two elements together have been made by den Dikken (1995), Babko-Malaya (1997, 1999), Spencer and Zaretskaya (1998a, 1998b) and Maylor (2002), but there is still no work offering a thorough comparative analysis of them.

In this thesis, I focus on lexical prefixes with spatial meaning, arguing that verbal lexical prefixes in Russian are similar to verbal particles in English. I claim that Russian prefixes and English particles occupy the same position in the syntactic structure. First I provide background information on the nature of particles in English and prefixes in Russian. Investigating the prepositional structures in both Russian and English, I present some data and demonstrate the difference between particles and prepositions. I briefly outline the previous approaches to verb-particle constructions, where they are analysed as ‘small clause’ structures (*secondary predicate approach*) (Kayne, 1985; den Dikken, 1995; Hoekstra, 1988; Abraham, 1993 etc.) or as ‘complex head’ structures (*complex predicate approach*) (Johnson, 1991; Zeller, 2001). I adopt the analysis proposed by Ramchand and Svenonius (2002), which exploits *l*-syntax (in the sense of Hale and Keyser, 1993) to show the positive aspects of both the ‘small clause’ and the ‘complex head’ accounts. Later in the thesis I adopt this analysis for Russian prefixed verbs.

I argue that prefixes and particles exhibit the same syntactic properties and occupy the same position in the syntactic tree. In support of this theory, I present the analysis proposed by Keyser and Roeper (1992), who claim that the prefix and the particle occupy the same position in the sentence, which explains the ungrammaticality of the phrase *\*re-take over* where, according to Keyser and Roeper, presence of the particle *over* blocks the insertion of the prefix *re-*. I attempt to explain this phenomenon using the structure proposed by Ramchand and Svenonius (2002).

Particles and prefixes exhibit many common features, such as:

- both elements play a vital role in building up new lexemes;
- a prefix and a verb/ a particle and a verb exist as a unit, the meaning of which can be either compositional or idiomatic;
- Particles and prefixes can change the valency of the verb and license the presence of a direct object and a prepositional phrase etc.

In order to identify the position of the particle and the prefix in prepositional phrases I study the prepositions and adopt the traditional approach in distinguishing lexical and functional prepositions. For the analysis of prepositions and prepositional phrases I use the approaches proposed by Yadroff and Franks (2001), Yadroff (1999) and Starke (1993). The analyses they introduce for prepositional phrases differ in the labels they use, and in some details. Notably, in Starke's approach the second element of the complex prepositions (i.e. the functional preposition) behaves as a complementizer.

As is well known, Russian is a morphologically rich language and exhibits 6 morphological cases. In this thesis, I investigate case assignment to the objects by the prepositions. In order to be able to explain different case assignments in (1) below, I introduce PathP and PlaceP, proposed by den Dikken (2003), Koopman (1997) and modified by Svenonius (2003). I assume that PathP assigns Directional properties, while PlaceP assigns Locative properties.

- (1) a. On prigal v vode. PREPOSITIONAL CASE  
*He jumped in water*  
'He was jumping in the water.' (i.e. he was standing in the water and jumping)
- b. On prigal v vodu. ACCUSATIVE CASE  
*He jumped in water*  
'He was jumping into the water.'

Attempting to identify the position for the prefixes and particles in prepositional phrases I come to the conclusion that these elements require a separate projection, which I refer to as DirP (Directional Phrase). This supports my idea that English particles and

Russian prefixes occupy the same position in the syntactic structure of the prepositional phrase.

## **0.2. Organization**

The thesis is organized as follows.

Chapter 1 outlines the syntactic nature of particles and illustrates some analyses of the syntactic structure of verb-particle constructions proposed in the literature. Chapter 2 presents the nature of Russian prefixed verbs and demonstrates some common features of Russian prefixes and English particles. I adopt the structure proposed for verb-particle constructions in English and for Russian prefixed verbs. Chapter 3 considers prepositions and prepositional phrases in Russian and other languages and introduces the notions PathP and PlaceP in the prepositional phrases. Chapter 4 is devoted to defining the position for Russian prefixes and English particles within prepositional phrases. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis.



# Chapter 1

## Understanding particles

### 1.1. Syntactic nature of the particles

The syntactic behavior of particles has been thoroughly studied in the literature: the analysis of particles can be found, for example, in articles by Jackendoff (2002), McIntyre (2002) for English; Booij (2002), Neeleman (1994, 1997) for Dutch; Müller (2002, 2001), Zeller (2001) for German among others.

Particles behave differently in different languages. For instance, in English a particle can occupy a position either before or after the direct object, in Swedish it precedes the nominal object, and in German it appears in a fixed position at the end of the clause, but precedes verbs in final position (Dehé et al, 2002: 2).

(2) English: (Dehé et al, 2002: 2)

- a. John called **up** the girl.
- b. John called the girl **up**.

(3) Swedish: (Dehé et al, 2002: 2)

- a. John skrev **upp** numret.  
*John wrote up number.the*
- b. \*John skrev numret **upp**.  
*John wrote number.the up*  
'John wrote down the number.'

(4) German: (Dehé et al, 2002: 2)

- a. John rief das Mädchen **an**.  
*John rang the girl up*
- b. \*John **an**rief das Mädchen.
- c. ...daß John das Mädchen **an**rief.
- d. ...\*daß John rief das Mädchen **an**.

The examples above present verb-particle constructions where a verb is (homonymous with) an ordinary verb and a particle is homonymous with a preposition (Dehé et al, 2002:3). Particles are related to prepositions, but it should be noted that these two elements are different in a syntactic respect and should be treated as different elements (though sometimes in the literature particles are considered to be intransitive prepositions). One of the differences is that particles and prefixes are different in the argument structure.

Svenonius (1996a) points out that the argument structure of prepositions is constrained. He claims that the relations that prepositions denote can be described as between a 'Figure' and a 'Ground' (the terms are adopted by Svenonius from Talmy, 1985), where the Figure is defined as "the element which is in motion or located with respect to the Ground" (Svenonius, 1996a:2).

(5) The house is **near** the lake.

In (5) *the house* is the Figure of the prepositional phrase *near the lake* and the complement of the preposition *the lake* is the Ground. "The complement of the preposition can be interpreted only as a Ground and the prepositional phrase is always defined as the location, goal or source of the Figure" (Svenonius, 1996a:2).

In some cases, the 'Ground' is not explicitly expressed as in (6) or is abstract as in (7)

(6) Tim and Anna are **in**.

(7) Her clothes were **on** when I came in.

But in the cases above the subject is a Figure and the Ground is contextually interpreted.

Now consider the following sentences:

(8) a. The child threw **out** the trash.

b. The child threw the trash **out**.

Neither (8a) nor (8b) have the Ground and moreover particle shift takes place in these examples, contrary to (9) where prepositional shift is impossible.

(9) a. Masha is **in** Moscow.

b. \*Masha is Moscow **in**.

Svenonius (1996b:67) assumes that prepositions can bear nominal features based on the fact that some prepositions are associated with the nominal system and sometimes serve as markers of case. Moreover Grimshaw (1991) argues that prepositions are part of the extended projection of the NP.

Svenonius (1996b) suggests that a particle bears nominal features when an abstract Ground is incorporated, as in the examples in (8). The presence of nominal features allows particles to satisfy the EPP features (Extended Projection Principle) and thus particle shift is allowed. In (9), on the other hand, the Ground is overt and the prepositions do not bear any nominal features. They therefore cannot check the EPP features and particle shift is impossible.

Although particle shift can take place in verb-particle constructions, there is a set of restrictions mentioned by Svenonius (1996b) and some other previous works (Bolinger, 1971; Zhluktenko, 1954, etc.) whereby only the particle or only the NP can move:

1. The particle must follow the NP if the latter is expressed by an unstressed pronoun.

- (10) a. Look it **up**.  
b. \*Look **up** it.

2. The particle must follow the NP when the particle is modified or has complements (i.e. prepositional).

- (11) a. He moved the case right **out**.  
b. \*He moved **out** the case right.  
c. \*He moved right **out** the case.

- (12) a. He put the flower **in** the book.  
b. \*He put **in** the flower the book.  
c. \*He put the flower the book **in**.

3. The particle precedes the NP if the latter is phonologically heavy.

- (13) a. Switch **off** the lights in the shed that is not far from the lake.  
b. \*Switch the lights in the shed that is not far from the lake **off**.

So, particles and prepositions differ in their relation to the Ground. Ground is incorporated into the particle, which allows particle shift, while in the prepositional phrase, the complement of the preposition is interpreted as a Ground and the preposition assigns a case to its complement.

According to Dehé et al. (2002:3), a particle “displays various syntactic and semantic symptoms of what may informally be called a *close relationship* with a verb, but without displaying the phonological unity with it typical of affixes.” Dehé et al. enumerate some of the properties of *close relationship* such as:

1. Particles together with verbs can form idiosyncratic meanings:

(14) look **up** – ‘to search’

2. The particle can intervene between verbs and direct objects:

(15) I put **down** the pen.

3. Verb-particle constructions can be taken as input for the derivation of new words, where parallel constructions are ruled out (example from Dehé et al., 2002:4):

(16) a. **Rum**gelaufe ‘running around’ (**rum**laufen ‘run around’) German  
 b. \*Ums-Zimmer-Gelaufe ‘running round the room’

4. “-ing nominalisations show a marked preference for contiguity between particle and verb” (Dehé et al., 2002:4):

(17) the cleaning **up** the table / ?? the cleaning the table **up** (Dehé et al., 2002:4)

5. “In German and Dutch subordinate clauses, particles must be verb-adjacent” (Dehé et al., 2002:4):

(18) wenn (\***auf**) ein Licht (**auf**)leuchtet German  
 if **up** a light **up**-lights (Dehé et al., 2002:4)  
 ‘if a light flashes’ (i.e. lights up suddenly and goes off again)

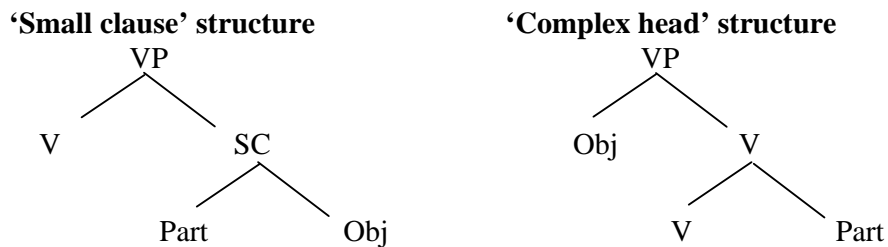
6. Adjacency between particle and verb in verb clusters is necessary in Standard German, while resultative predicates do not show this restriction (Dehé et al., 2002:4):

- (19) a. ...daß er den Tisch (\***ab**) wird (**ab**) wischen wollen. German  
 ... that he the table (**off**) will (**off**) wipe want (Dehé et al., 2002:4)  
 ‘... that he will want to wipe down the table.’
- b. ...daß er den Tisch (**sauber**) wird (**sauber**) wischen wollen.  
 ... that he the table (**clean**) will (**clean**) wipe want  
 ‘... that he will want to wipe the table clean.’

## 1.2. Structures proposed for verb-particle constructions

While Dehé et al. (2002) point out the ‘*close relationship*’ of the particle with the verb, it is important to show the syntactic structure of particle verbs. There are several approaches to the syntactic analysis of these constructions. Usually, they are analysed either as ‘small clause’ structures (*secondary predicate approach*) (Kayne, 1985; den Dikken, 1995; Hoekstra, 1988; Abraham, 1993) or as ‘complex head’ structures (*complex predicate approach*) (Johnson, 1991; Zeller, 2001).

(20)



In the ‘*small clause structure*,’ the object is a complement of the particle within small clause, which they form together, and which is a complement to V (Ramchand and Svenonius, 2002). In the ‘*complex head structure*,’ “the verb and the particle enter the syntax as separate heads, forming a phrasal constituent which excludes the object” (Dehé et al, 2002:7).

Wurmbrand (2000) argues that both structures exist and that the choice between these two structures depends on the semantics of the verb-particle construction. She argues that transparent particles are represented by a ‘small clause’ structure while idiomatic particles are represented by ‘complex head’ structure. The support for the ‘small clause’ structure is drawn from two facts. The first is that the subject and the

predicate are in a predicate/argument relation (den Dikken, 1995; Wurmbrand, 2000). Wurmbrand argues that only transparent verb-particle constructions represent a predicate/argument relation. The second fact is that only transparent verb-particle constructions “show signs of constituenthood between the object (the small clause subject) in a verb-particle construction and the particle” (Wurmbrand, 2000:11). The main support for the ‘complex head’ structure is the fact that verb-particle constructions can receive idiomatic interpretations that cannot be built up from the meanings of their constituents (Wurmbrand, 2000).

Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) examining the *small clause approach* and the *complex head approach* define the following problems with these accounts.

*Small clause approach.* Analysing den Dikken’s approach to small clause structure, Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) point out that this approach “loses the robust generalisations concerning the mapping between syntactic position within the PP and Figure-Ground distinction” (Ramchand and Svenonius, 2002:103). Compare the following sentences:

- (21) Throw **out** the trash.
- (22) Throw the trash **out**.
- (23) Throw the trash **out** the door.  

out the door

Ground

Den Dikken proposes that the object is a complement of the particle within the small clause. According to Ramchand and Svenonius (2002), in (21) the complement *the trash* will be interpreted as a ‘Ground’ element in the sense of Talmy (1978) and thus there is no parallelism between the particle in (21) and preposition in (23).

Another problem that Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) mention is that of case assignment. According to den Dikken’s account the particle cannot assign case to the object and that is why the object is forced to move to the subject position of the small clause, where it gets its case from V. According to Ramchand and Svenonius (2002:103) the problem lies in the fact that this account “must assume a different Case-assigning mechanism for the DP in base position (Case assigned by the particle) than for the DP in shifted position.”

All the problems mentioned above argue against the idea that the object is base generated as a complement to a particle.

*Complex head approach.* The problem that Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) mention examining analysis proposed by Johnson (1991) deals with violation of the Right Head Rule, a principle proposed by Williams (1981) that the rightmost constituent determines the properties of the whole, at the word level.

In Johnson's analysis the verb and the particle are combined in a complex morphological word, which then raises to the functional head above VP (Ramchand and Svenonius, 2002:105). This violation is seen in both English and Scandinavian languages. Compare the following examples (from Ramchand and Svenonius, 2002:105):

(24) Det blev hugget (**ned**) många träd (**\*ned**). Swedish  
*It became chopped **down** many trees **down***  
 'Many trees got chopped down.'

(25) Det blev många träd **ned**hugget. Swedish  
*It became many trees **down**chopped*  
 'Many trees got chopped down.'

In (24) the verb *hugget* and the particle *ned* are linearly adjacent. In (25) the particle *ned* has raised to "a true incorporated form" and cannot be separated by movement, which "contrasts with the verb-particle combination, which is separated by verb raising in V-to-I and V2 contexts" (26) (Ramchand and Svenonius, 2002:105).

(26) a. Kari sparka heldigvis **ut** hunden. Norwegian  
*Kari kicked fortunately **out** the.dog*  
 'Kari fortunately kicked the dog out.'

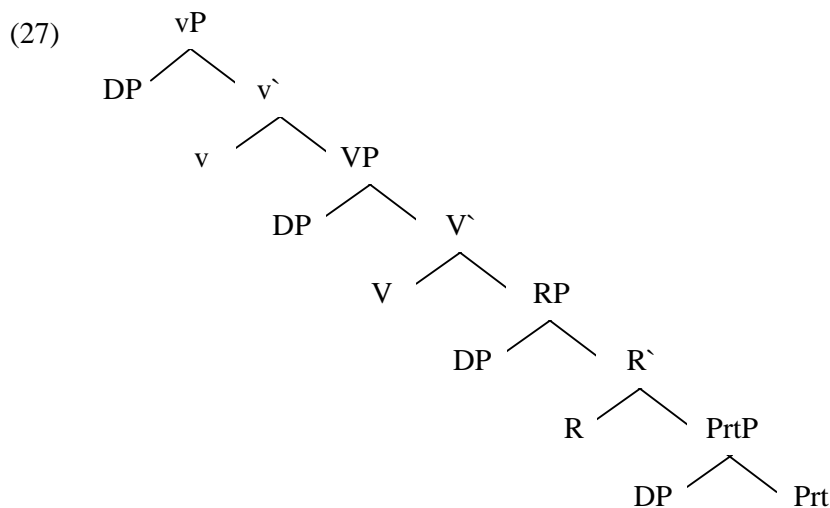
b. \*Kari sparka **ut** heldigvis hunden.  
*Kari kicked **out** fortunately the.dog*  
 'Kari fortunately kicked the dog out.'

Ramchand and Svenonius (2002:102) propose their own analysis for verb-particle constructions, which "exploits recent developments in *l*-syntax (in the sense of Hale and Keyser, 1993) to capture the positive aspects of both the 'small clause' and the 'complex head' accounts". In order to avoid the problems faced by the previous accounts,

Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) try to show in their analysis that the particle and the verb together thematically license the object and that the verb-particle construction must allow two different word orders without a violation of the Right Head Rule or unmotivated case licensing mechanisms.

Following Ramchand and Svenonius (2002), I assume that the verbal structure is complex and that part of the verbal structure and argument-plus-particle structure is not clausal.

Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) offer the following analysis of verb-particle constructions:



They argue that the verb and the particle are the constituents of a larger structure which forms a complex event and has a single argument structure. Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) use a version of a lexical-syntactic structure, where the maximal lexical-syntactic decomposition consists of three related subevents: a vP – causing subevent, a VP – process subevent and an RP – result state. The specifier of the vP is occupied by ‘the subject of cause,’ the specifier of VP is occupied by ‘the subject of process’ and the specifier of RP is ‘the subject of result.’

According to Ramchand and Svenonius (2002:106), *l*-syntax is the level at which the event is built up and the traditional notion of  $\theta$ -role is composed. They argue that DP gets a thematic interpretation by movement, by occupying more than one Spec position. According to their analysis, a single argument may be both the undergoer and the subject of the result as in the sentence below.



(28) Throw the dead rat out.

(Ramchand and Svenonius, 2002:107)

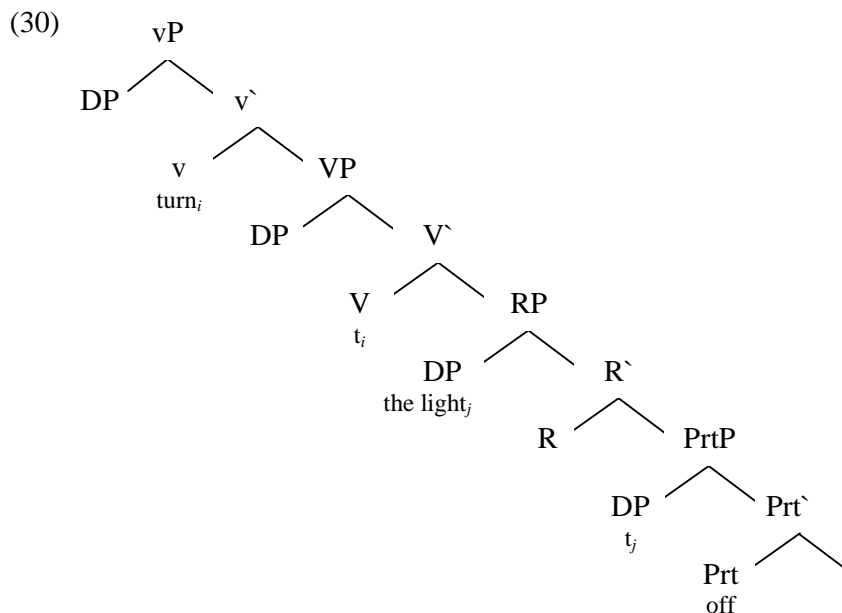
They argue that *the dead rat* is both the undergoer of the process and the holder of the result.

The argument's base position is [Spec, PrtP] and it can move to [Spec, RP] or [Spec, VP] (for thematic reasons). According to Ramchand and Svenonius (2002), if the argument is base-generated in [Spec, RP], it cannot follow the particle because the particle cannot move higher than RP without incorporating into the verb (Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) assume that adjunction to trace is impossible), since that position is occupied by the verb.

Svenonius (1996) and Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) justify the alternative order which that arises after an argument moves to a higher positions in the structure by suggesting that the optionality of this movement is linked to the fact that it is an alternative to particle movement.

The order DP-Prt is illustrated in (29) with the structure in (30).

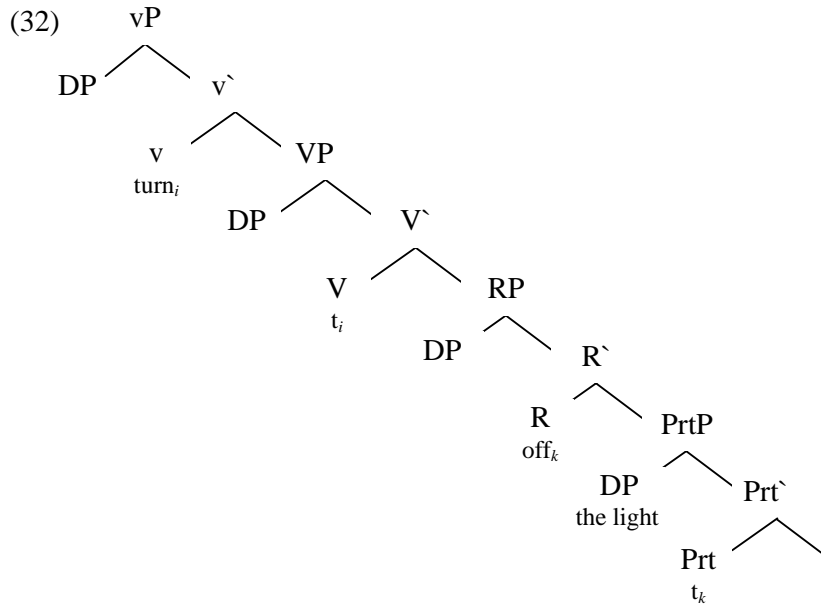
(29) turn the light off



In (30), the DP *the light* moves to [Spec, RP]; the particle *off* does not move.

The order Prt-DP is illustrated in (31) with the structure in (32).

(31) turn off the light



In (32), the particle *off* moves, but the DP *the light* remains in situ.

Svenonius (1996b) argues for the obligatoriness of the movement either of DP or Prt to RP in order to check the EPP features (a similar proposal in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998). As for case marking, Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) propose that the direct object gets a Case within the verbal domain. Their analysis also accounts for the syntactic and semantic autonomy of the verb and the particle. I will adopt the analysis of verb-particle constructions proposed by Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) in my work.

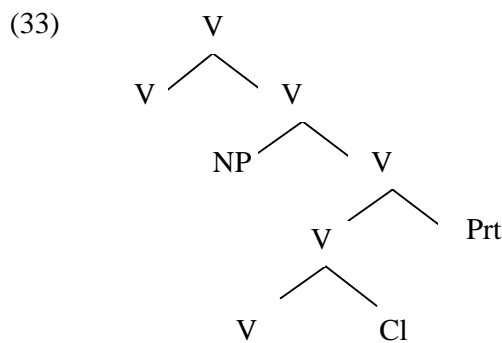
### 1.3. Correlations between prefixes and particles

In studying verb-particle constructions and their use, we encounter such phrases as *\*to repack up*, which is grammatically ill-formed. However, when we remove either the particle *to repack* or the prefix *to pack up*, the phrase becomes perfectly acceptable.

Keyser and Roeper (1992) claim that the prefix and the particle occupy the same position in the sentence. Furthermore, they argue that verbs in English have a Clitic

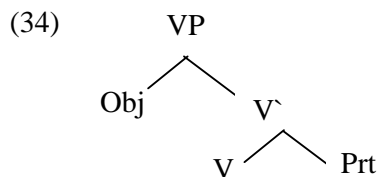
position (invisible unless this position is filled), which can be occupied by every major syntactic category. This position is the origin of movement and is a ‘landing site’ for movement. Keyser and Roeper claim that particles and the prefix ‘re-’ both occupy the same Clitic position. So, according to their analysis, the particle in the phrase *pack up* occupies the Clitic position and prefix in *repack* occupies the same position as the particle. A phrase such as *\*repack up* is ill-formed, due to the fact that only one element (either particle or prefix) can appear in the Clitic position.

Keyser and Roeper propose the following tree-diagram for verb-particle constructions.



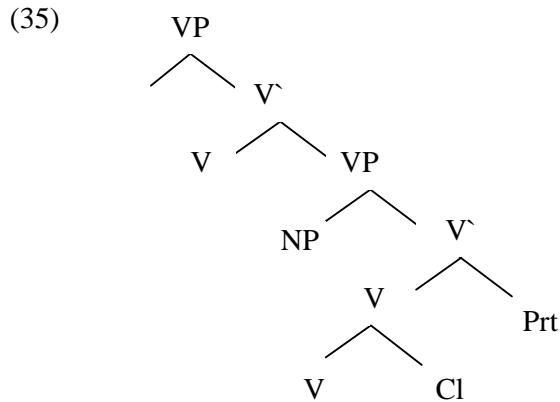
In Keyser and Roeper’s structure (33), the particle is base-generated in Prt before moving to the Clitic position. This movement is obligatory, and the particle either moves with the verb (and is followed by the object), or the verb moves alone with the particle remaining in the Clitic position (with the object preceding it).

This structure is similar to the ‘complex head’ structure proposed by Johnson (1991) and Zeller (2001) above. Let us first recall this structure, repeated here as (34).

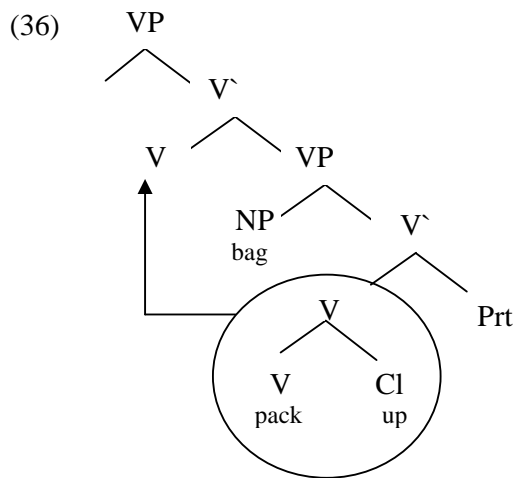


In (34) the particle either moves together with the verb and the object follows it or it remains in its base position and the object precedes the particle. So, Keyser and Roeper’s structure is the same as the ‘complex head’ structure.

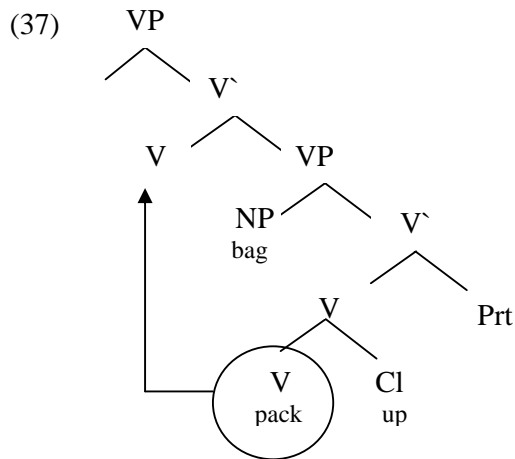
Following Larson (1988), I assume that V-movement creates a VP shell. In order to adjust the structure in (33) to the x-bar theory I use in this work, I propose to extend Keyser and Roeper's structure as seen in (35):



Keyser and Roeper (1992:110-111) offer the following analysis for the phrases *\*repack up the bag* and *\*repack the bag up*. These phrases are both ill-formed, since the particle *up* occupies the Clitic position and blocks the *re-* insertion. In the first case (*pack up the bag*) the phrasal verb *pack up* moves to the higher verb position, but *up* remains in the Clitic position.



In the second case the verb moves to the higher V alone and *up* remains in the Clitic position.

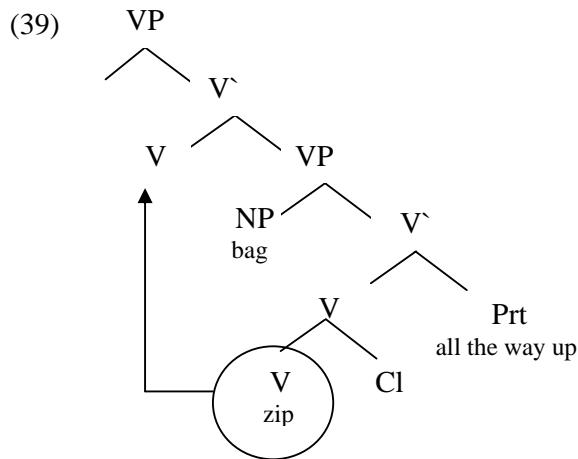


In both cases the *re-* insertion is impossible because the Clitic position is occupied by the particle.

Keyser and Roeper refer to cases that are different from the examples described above. They present the contrast by means of the following sentences (the examples are taken from Keyser and Roeper, 1992:111):

- (38)
- a. John zipped **up** the bag.
  - b. John zipped the bag **up**.
  - c. \*John zipped all the way **up** the bag.
  - d. John zipped the bag all the way **up**.
  - e. \*John **re**zipped the bag **up**.
  - f. John **re**zipped the bag all the way **up**.

They argue that in (38c-d) *all the way up* occupies a different position from the examples in (38a-b), where *up* occupies Clitic position. (38e) is impossible due to the conjecture that *up* and *re-* will have to occupy the same position, while in (38f) “the Clitic position is never occupied” (Keyser and Roeper, 1992:111). In this case, *zip* is compositionally but not idiomatically (as it was in the examples above) related to *all the way up*, and *all the way up* remains in its base position such that *re-* insertion is possible. Keyser and Roeper offer the following analysis for such sentences:



So, according to Keyser and Roeper (1992), the ungrammaticality of cases such as *\*reread the book up*, *\*regive up*, etc. proves that *re-* and the ‘Clitics’ (particles in particular) originate in the same position.

Now consider the following data (Roeper, 1999:14):

- (40)
- a. **re-overturn**
  - b. **\*re-turn over**
  - c. **re-upend**
  - d. **\*re-end up**
  - e. **re-overwrite**
  - f. **\*rewrite over**

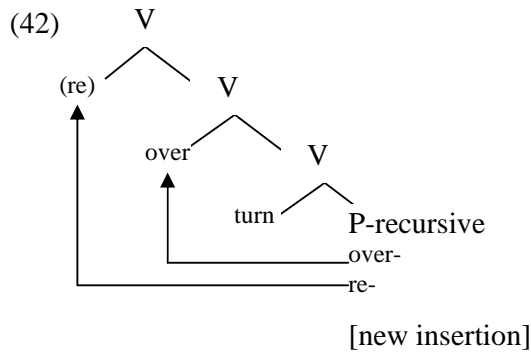
If it is claimed above that a particle and a prefix occupy the same Clitic position, how can the phrases in (40) be explained?

Studying phrases such as *re-overturn* Roeper (1999:2) points to some “syntactic principles which must be engaged to capture the leftward movement derivation.” Roeper is talking about ‘leftward recursion,’ which is possible contrary to ‘rightward recursion,’ which is prohibited. This principle can explain both the possibility of *re-over-reimbursement* and the ungrammaticality of *\*follow-up-up* (Roeper, 1999:2). He points out that this contrast is the result of “a productive and iterative rule of leftward movement for prefixes.”

Roeper mentions that leftward adjunction is a structure-building operation and that prefixes exhibit a variety of iteration. Roeper (1999:14) also gives a set of examples to illustrate this phenomenon:

- (41) a. **over-overreact**  
 b. **out-outwit**  
 c. **pre-record**  
 d. **re-overturn**

In order to explain the *re-overturn* example, Roeper proposes lexical insertion after the movement of the particle. He suggests that the possibility of repeated insertion is predicted by Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1992). If the particle is not moved from the Clitic position it blocks the insertion of any other elements, but if the particle is leftward moved, then the Clitic position can be reoccupied (*re-* insertion can take place) and then it must move again.



This shows the contrast between (43a) and (43b):

- (43) a. \***re-turn over**  
 b. **re-overturn**

In (43a) the particle has not moved from its position and *re-* insertion is impossible; in (43b) the particle has undergone leftward movement and the Clitic position is empty, which allows *re-*insertion.

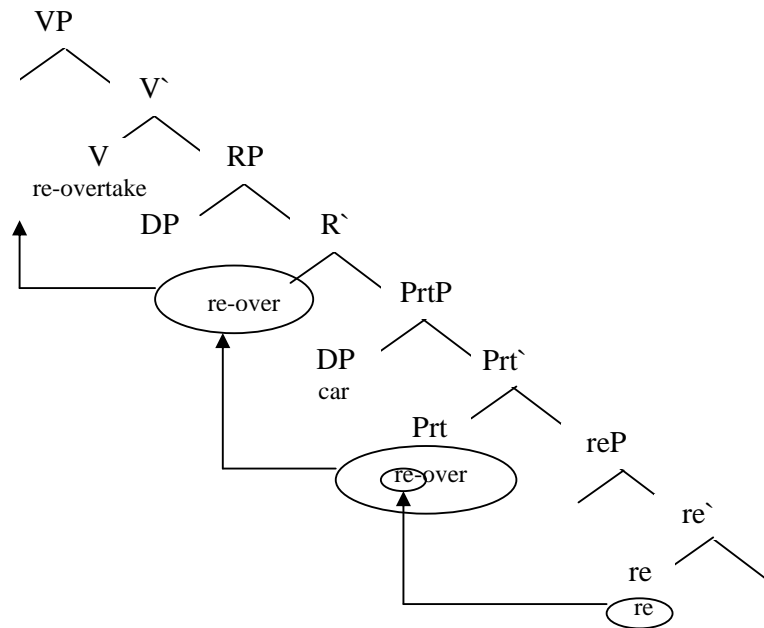
According to the analysis proposed by Roeper, *re-*insertion is allowed when the particle is leftward moved. How can *re-*insertion happen when the particle leaves a trace? Since the position is occupied, *re-*insertion must be impossible.

The assumptions that I adopt are based on the evidence that ‘*re*’ and particles have different semantic meanings; therefore they cannot occupy the same position in the structure. The meaning of ‘*re*’ corresponds to “again” whereas the particles (eg. *up*, *down*, *away*, etc.) contribute directional meaning.

Adopting Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) structure I propose the following analysis, where the position of ‘*re*’ is generate lower in the structure than the PrtP.

(44) to ***re-overtake*** the car

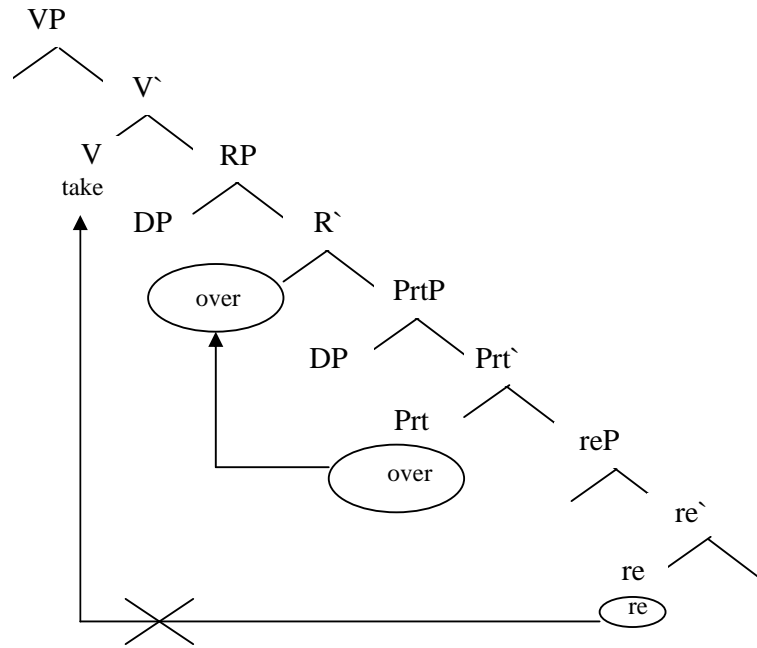
(45)



In the structure proposed above the prefix ‘*re*’ merges with *over* and then they move together in order to merge with the verb via the R node. I assume that this structure can also explain the ungrammaticality of \**retake over*.



(46)



The 're' movement is impossible if 're' is not merged with the particle and not moved together with it in order to merge with the verb, because of the Head Movement Constraint.

The structure proposed by Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) offers a better solution for explaining the possibility of *re-overtake* and the impossibility of *\*re take over*.

#### 1.4. Summary

In this chapter I have examined the syntactic nature of particles. I have pointed to the fact that particles and prepositions are related to each other but are different in a syntactic respect. While the relation denoted by prepositions can be described as one between Figure and Ground, in the verb-particle constructions on the other hand the Ground is incorporated into the particle and thus a particle bears nominal features which allow it to satisfy the EPP features and therefore particle shift is allowed. While prefixes and particles differ in their relation to the Ground, particles cannot assign case to the object, contrary to prepositions, which do assign case.

I have presented two approaches to the analysis of the verb-particle constructions, namely the 'small clause' structure and the 'complex head' structure. Following Ramchand and Svenonius (2002), I mentioned the problems with these accounts and adopted the analysis proposed by Ramchand and Svenonius which will be used for the account of Russian prefixed verbs.

In the next chapter I investigate the properties of Russian prefixed verbs and show some common features of Russian prefixes and English particles.

## Chapter 2

### Understanding prefixes and some correlations with particles

#### 2.1. The nature of prefixes in Russian prefixed verbs

Russian is a morphologically rich language and prefixes play an important role in deriving new words. As Spencer and Zaretskaya (1998b:107) mention, “prefixation is an important component of verb derivation from nouns or adjectives.” However, this thesis will focus only on deverbal derivation.

Two main classes of verbal prefixes can be distinguished in Russian: superlexical and lexical. As Babko-Malaya (1997) points out, superlexical prefixes (the term is adopted from Smith, 1991) are also known as sublexical (Townsend, 1975) or Aktionsart in Slavic literature. In Russian, this class contains prefixes such as *za-* (meaning ‘to begin’), *do-* (‘to finish’), etc.

(47) **poprygat’** – ‘to jump for a while’

(48) **zakrichat’** – ‘to start/begin screaming’

These prefixes affect the perfectivity of the verb. For example, the verb *poprygat’* is derived from *prygat’* by adding the prefix *po-*. According to Babko-Malaya (1997:19), superlexical prefixes “are adjoined to a functional category,” while lexical prefixes “are adjoined to a lexical head.”

Some superlexical prefixes can function lexically as well.

(49) On **zabegal**            i    **zaprygal**.

*He started running and started jumping*

‘He started running and jumping.’

(50) On **zabezhal**    za        stol.

*He behindran behind table*

‘He ran behind the table.’

In (49), *za-* functions as a superlexical prefix with the meaning of ‘beginning an action,’ whereas in (50) *za-* functions as a lexical prefix bearing its own meaning ‘behind.’

According to Babko-Malaya (1997), the assumption that superlexical and lexical prefixes occupy different positions in the syntactic tree allows us to predict the different functions of these classes. Lexical prefixes modify the meaning of the verb, while superlexical prefixes modify the verbal phrases.

Babko-Malaya (1997) proposes a test that can be used to distinguish superlexical prefixes from lexical ones based on the obligatoriness of the internal argument. In the examples below the verb with the lexical prefix (51) requires an object, while in the sentence with superlexical prefix (52) the object is optional.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(51) Petja pisał (zapisku).<br/> <i>Peter wrote letter</i><br/>         ‘Peter was writing a note.’</p> | <p>Petja <b>napisal</b> *(zapisku).<br/> <i>Peter onwrote note</i><br/>         ‘Peter wrote a note.’</p> |
| <p>(52) Ivan ljubil (Mashu).<br/> <i>Ivan loved Masha</i></p>  | <p>Ivan <b>poljubil</b> (Mashu).<br/> <i>Ivan fell in love with Masha</i></p>                             |

In this thesis I focus only on lexical prefixes, arguing that Russian verbal lexical prefixes are similar to English verbal particles. Moreover, I will examine a subclass of the lexical prefixes - spatial prefixes, because the meaning of this kind of prefix corresponds to the meaning of the particles in English.

- (53) On **vyshel** na ulitsu.  
*He outwent to street*  
 ‘He went out into the street.’

## **2.2. Some common features of Russian prefixes and English particles**

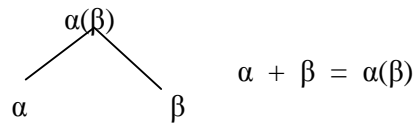
### **2.2.1. Compositional vs. idiomatic**

As mentioned above, both particles in English and lexical prefixes in Russian play an important role in building up new lexemes. A prefix and a verb, or a particle and a verb exist as a unit in the sentence and the meaning of this unit can be either compositional or idiomatic.

Compare the following examples:

	<i>English</i>	<i>Russian</i>
(54)	to jump <b>out</b>	vyprygnut' <i>outjump</i>
(55)	to come <b>in</b>	vojtí <i>income</i>

In the examples above, the meaning of the whole unit is composed of the meaning of the prefix/particle plus that of the verb. Structurally it can be represented as:

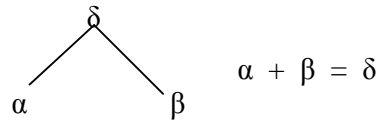


Here,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  together build up the meaning and neither component sacrifices its meaning.

On the other hand there are constructions where it is impossible to build up the meaning just by combining the meanings of the constituents.

	<i>English</i>	<i>Russian</i>
(56)	to look <b>up</b> (= 'to search for (e.g. a word)')	vydavát'sya <i>outgive</i> 'to turn out' Den' vydalsya serym. <i>Day outturn grey</i> 'The day turned out to be grey.'
(57)	to bring <b>up</b> (= 'to introduce into discussion; mention')	vystupat' <i>outstep</i> 'to perform, to play' On vystupal na szene. <i>He outstepped on stage</i> 'He played on the stage.'

The examples above illustrate idiomatic meanings of the prefixed verbs/verb-particle constructions. Neither prefix/particle nor verb carries its own meaning; together they build up a new one. Structurally this can be represented as:



Evidently, prefixed verbs as well as verb-particle constructions together build up either compositional/transparent or idiomatic meanings. Therefore this can be used as another argument in favour of not using the structures proposed in the previous literature, namely the ‘small clause’ structure and the ‘complex head’ structure.

The ‘complex head’ approach takes examples as *to bring up* as paradigmatic and the meaning of the verb and the particle is analysed as idiosyncratic.

The ‘small clause’ approach takes examples like *to jump out* as essential. According to Ramchand and Svenonius (2002:102), this account is not satisfactory for examples like *They let the pressure up*, where it is unclear what the denotation of the assumed small clause *the pressure up* would be.

### 2.2.2. Changing of the valency

There are verbs in both Russian and English which can be classified as transitive and intransitive.

- (58) kushat’            - transitive  
       *eat*                - transitive

- (59) spat’             - intransitive  
       *sleep*            - intransitive

Transitive verbs can be used with direct objects:

- (60) kushat' jabloko – DIR OBJ  
*eat apple*  
'to eat an apple' – DIR OBJ

The use of intransitive verbs with an object, though, leads to ungrammaticality.

- (61) \*spat' den' –DIR OBJ  
*sleep day*  
'\*to sleep the day' – DIR OBJ

However, this is not the case when a particle or a prefix (both lexical and superlexical prefixes in Russian) is added to the intransitive verb.

- (62) a. \*guljat' sobaku - intransitive  
*walk dog*  
'to walk the dog'

- b. **vyguljat'** sobaku. – transitive  
*outwalk dog*  
'to walk the dog'

- (63) a. \*spat' zhizn' – intransitive  
*sleep life*  
'\*to sleep one's life'

- b. **prospat'** zhizn' – transitive  
*awaysleep life*  
'to sleep one's life **away**'

In (62a) and (63a) the verbs are intransitive and cannot be used with the direct objects in either English or Russian, but the addition of prefixes in Russian and particles in English (62b and 63b) changes the valency of the verb. The particles and the prefixes in the examples above license the presence of the object.

The use of some prepositional phrases can also be licensed by the presence of prefixes/particles.

- (64) a.     **vybrosit'** kota iz   okna  
           *outthrow* cat *from* window
- a'.    to throw the cat **out** of the window
- b.     \***brosit'** kota iz   okna  
               *throw* cat from window
- b'.    \* to throw the cat of the window

While (64b, b') are not grammatical, (64a, a') are. So, the particle and the prefix license not only the presence of direct objects but also influence the presence of a prepositional phrase.

### 2.3.        **Structure proposed for lexical prefixes in Russian**

Following Ramchand and Svenonius (2002), I adopt the version of lexical-syntactic structure described above for the analysis of Russian prefixed verbs, where the maximal lexical-syntactic decomposition consists of three subevents: a vP – causing subevent, a VP – process subevent and an RP – result state. The specifier of the vP is occupied by 'the subject of cause,' the specifier of VP is occupied by 'the subject of process' and the specifier of RP is occupied by 'the subject of result.'

- (65) **vybrosit'**    myach  
       *outthrow*    *ball*  
       'to throw **out** the ball'
- (66) **vyvalit'**    pesok  
       *outpour*     *sand*  
       'to pour **out** the sand'
- (67) **vydavit**      krem  
       *outsqueeze* *cream*  
       'to squeeze **out** the cream'



In all of the above sentences, the NP is the holder of result state. In many cases, Russian prefixed verbs are naturally translated into English using verb-particle constructions, but there are some cases when a Russian prefixed verb is translated as a bare verb, as in (68) and (69).

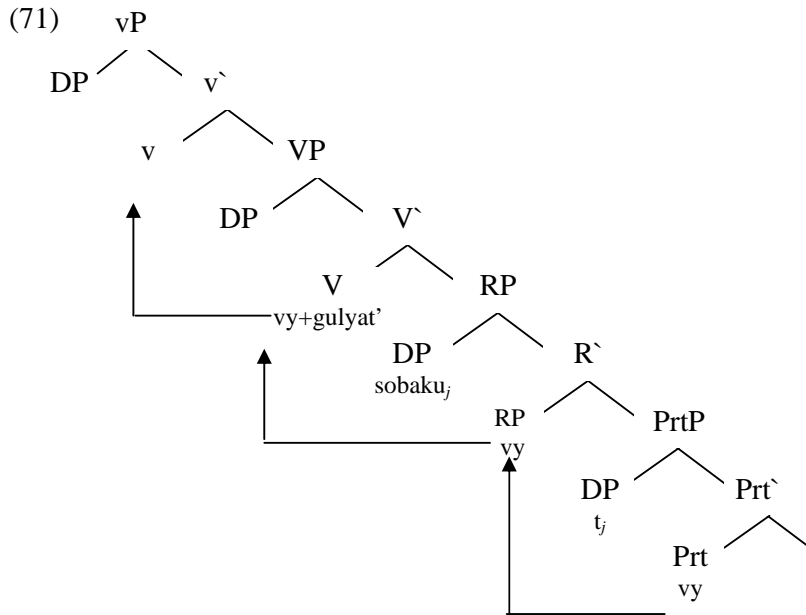
(68) **vyguljat'** sobaku  
*outwalk dog*  
 'to walk the dog'

(69) **vyigrat'** den'gi  
*outplay money*  
 'to win money'

However, there are only a few cases such as these. Although in some cases above the English NP does not hold any result, in Russian it still does. *Sobaka* 'dog' and *den'gi* 'money' are the holders of result state.

I propose the following analysis for (70):

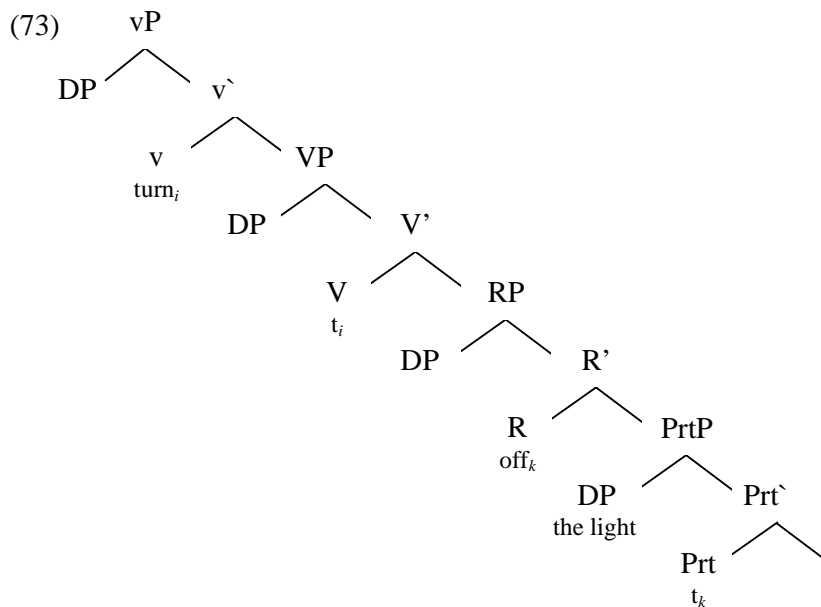
(70) **vyguljat'** sobaku  
*outwalk dog*  
 'to walk the dog'



In the structure above, the argument is base-generated in [Spec, PrtP]. I assume that prefixed verbs are derived by the head movement of the prefix, whereupon the prefix merges with the verb and subsequently moves with it up the tree for the verb to gather features (tense, agreement). The prefix has to move to V to merge with the verb, and the argument always follows the prefixed verb. The prefix is inseparable in Russian and the movement is obligatory. In this structure the argument *sobaka* and the prefix *vy* are in the same relationship as an argument and the particle in the structure proposed for the verb-particle constructions by Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) above.

Recalling a previous English example, an analysis may now be provided as follows:

(72) turn off the light



In this structure the base position of the argument is [Spec, PrtP], which can move to [Spec, RP] or [Spec, VP]. In verb-particle constructions the particle is separable and it moves to the head RP. I assume that in Russian the prefix is base generated in PrtP as well, and then it moves to V via R and merges with the verb. The movement of the prefix to the verb is obligatory in Russian.

As indicated, the position occupied by the prefix and its relationship within the structure correspond to those of the particle.

## **2.4. Summary**

In this chapter I have examined the nature of prefixes in Russian prefixed verbs and distinguished two main classes of prefixes: lexical (which can alter the meaning of the verb) and superlexical (which alter the meaning of the whole verbal phrase).

I have pointed out some common features of Russian prefixes and English particles, such as:

- existence of a prefix and a verb, or a particle and a verb as a whole unit in the sentence;
- the meaning of this unit can be compositional or idiomatic;
- the presence of particles as well as the presence of prefixes can change the valency of the verb.

The structure proposed for particle verbs was also adopted for Russian prefixed verbs (the prefix has the same relationship and occupies the same position inside the structure as the particle).

In Chapter 3 I investigate prepositional phrases in both English and Russian in order to be able to define in Chapter 4 the position of particles and prefixes within prepositional phrases.

## Chapter 3

### Understanding prepositions/prepositional phrases

#### 3.1. The nature of prepositions

##### 3.1.1. Traditional approach to prepositions: 'lexical' vs. 'functional'

Two word classes are traditionally distinguished in the grammar: main words and functional words (Yadroff, 1999:60). The division of the words like *table*, *go*, *beautiful* from *up*, *on*, *the* is based on the meanings the words bear; the first group of words have so-called 'referential meaning,' the second group has 'grammatical meaning.'

In this work, I will follow the traditional approach in making a distinction between 'lexical' and 'functional' words.

Abney (1987:64-65), providing differences between thematic ('lexical' in this framework) and functional elements, describes the properties of functional elements as follows:

- functional elements are phonologically and morphologically dependent;
- functional elements permit only one complement, which is in general not an argument (CP, PP or DP), and select IP, VP, NP;
- functional elements are usually inseparable from their complement;
- functional elements regulate and contribute to the interpretation of their complements.

Another distinction often made between the two classes of words is the so-called 'open' and 'closed' class distinction, where the 'lexical' class corresponds to an 'open' class and the 'functional' class to a 'closed' class (according to Huddleston, 1988). However, as Yadroff (1999:61) observes, this closed/open distinction is quite unclear concerning prepositions. Huddleston (1988) refers to prepositions as a 'closed' class, but there are some English prepositions which are loans (*via*, *circa*, *vis-à-vis*, etc.). Furthermore, there is cross-linguistic evidence that prepositions may in fact be derived from other parts of speech, such as adjectives and verbs.

(74) English: in contact with, in search for, regarding, etc.

Russian: blagodarja, vdali ot, etc.  
*thanks to, far from, etc.*

The previous literature distinguishes two main classes of prepositions: functional and lexical prepositions (Yadroff and Franks, 2001; van Riemsdijk, 1990).

It should also be mentioned that prepositions can be either complex (consisting of at least two words) or simple (consisting of only one word). According to the traditional approach, complex prepositions can be described as:

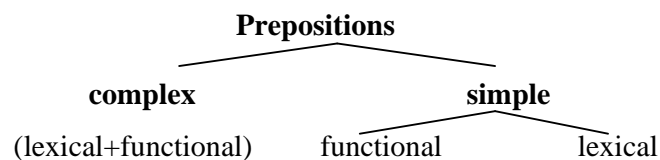
Lexical + functional: Russian: vdali ot  
*far from*  
English: along with

Simple prepositions can be described as:

Functional: Russian: iz, v, na  
*from, in, on*  
English: from, in, on

Lexical: Russian: vopreki, navstrechu  
*despite, towards*  
English: behind, between

(75)



### 3.1.2. Starke's approach

Starke (1993) provides evidence for an analysis of prepositions in French by looking more deeply into the prepositional system and argues for the existence of the following prepositional classes:

'Colourless' prepositions (e.g. *de*, *à*) "tend to be 'vague,' to not be associated with a fixed meaning." (Starke, 1993:30-32) They are interchangeable in identical or at least similar contexts and are morphologically lighter in comparison with 'colourful' ones. Colourless prepositions introduce complements of nouns and adjectives.

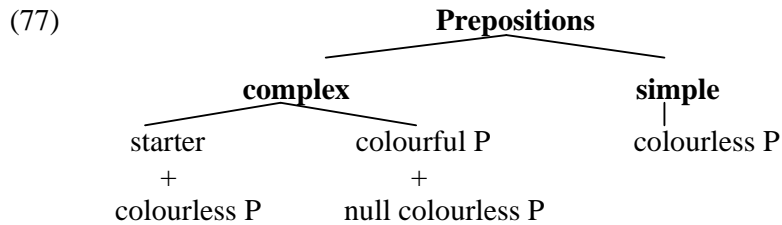
'Colourful' prepositions (*autour* – 'around,' *contre* – 'against') are semantically rich and morphologically heavier.

'Starters' are prepositions which are semantically rich (like colourful prepositions), but which are not monosyllabic and do not occur as complements of nouns.

Later in his analysis Starke (1993:37) rejects the distinction between starters and colourful prepositions and finds the only difference being that they are "apparently heterogeneous." Starke argues that if a starter takes a colourless preposition as a complement, a colourful preposition takes a null colourless preposition.

- (76) French:            [en échange] [de]            starter + colourless preposition  
                               [contre]        [∅]            colourful + null colourless preposition

So, Starke distinguishes the following classes of prepositions:



Contrary to the traditional approach, Starke places colourful prepositions, which are simple lexical prepositions in the traditional approach, under complex prepositions, claiming that they consist of a 'colourful P + null colourless P.'

Note that Starke’s prepositional system also makes a distinction between lexical (‘starter’ and ‘colourful’) and functional (‘colourless’) prepositions.<sup>1</sup>

I will provide a brief overview of the prepositions in English and Russian, before looking at the analyses proposed in the literature for the structure of prepositional phrases. Following this, I propose an analysis of the position of particles and prefixes in the context of prepositional constructions and predict that the syntactic structure of these phrases will be the same for both languages.

### 3.2. Prepositions cross-linguistically (Russian, English and French)

#### 3.2.1. Functional vs. lexical prepositions

In order to present prepositional structure in both languages, following Yadroff (1999), and Yadroff and Franks (2001), I first offer a brief description of functional and lexical prepositions<sup>2</sup>. The table below characterizes the differences between these two classes. The examples from English, Russian and French<sup>3</sup> will follow shortly.

Table 1.

<i>Functional prepositions</i>		<i>Lexical prepositions</i>
1.	Monosyllabic, non-syllabic	Polysyllabic
2.	Monomorphemic	Polymorphemic
3.	Object is obligatory	Object is optional
4.	May be subcategorized for	May be not subcategorized for
5.	Assigns multiple cases	Assigns one specific case
6.	Meaning polysemous	Meaning concrete

<sup>1</sup> For more details see Starke (1993).

<sup>2</sup> Only the properties that occur both in English and Russian on syntactic, morphological and semantic levels will be mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> The nature of English, Russian and French prepositions will be observed in order to examine later how English prepositional phrases behave; specifically, do they function more like Russian or French prepositions?

1. *Monosyllabic, non-syllabic vs. polysyllabic*

Functional prepositions are characterized as monosyllabic/non-syllabic with simple, basic meanings. They are etymologically underived and “exhibit a strong isomorphism with the allied category of verbal prefixes” in Russian (Yadroff, 1999:65) (*vbezhat*’- ‘*inrun*’ prefixed verb and *v dome* – ‘*in house*’ preposition).

(78) Russian:        bez,        o,        ot,        do, na, u,        pro,        v, k, s  
                              *without, about, from, till, on, near, about, in, to, from*

French:            à, de

English:          of, to, with

Polysyllabic prepositions on the other hand are lexicalized prepositions.

(79) Russian:        krome, navstrechu, mezhdu  
                              *besides, towards, between*

French:            contre, avant, autour de  
                              *against, before, around of*

English:          inside, along, ahead of

Yadroff (1999) mentions that for some monosyllabic prepositions, the same gloss can be used as for polysyllabic prepositions. For example, the Russian *k* and *navstrechu* can be glossed as ‘to, towards,’ but still the meaning of *k* is semantically simple, indicating direction, and the meaning of *navstrechu* has the internal composition “heading to meet with” (Yadroff, 1999:66).

2. *Monomorphemic vs. Polymorphemic*

Functional prepositions are morphologically underived, and monomorphemic contrary to lexical prepositions which are morphologically derived, and polymorphemic. Lexical prepositions are semantically complex and are characterized by the presence of internal morphological structure (Yadroff and Franks, 2001).



(80)	Russian:	English:	French:
	vnutri	'inside'	à l'intérieur de
	na ryadu s	'along with'	le long de
	po otnosheniju k	'with regard to'	à l'égard de

### 3. *Obligatory object vs. optional object*

Yadroff and Franks (2001) point out that in Russian some prepositions (mainly functional prepositions) have to take an object and some of them (lexical) can appear intransitively. This will be used later to provide a correlation between Russian and English prepositions.

(81)	Ego zhena protiv etogo reshenija. <i>His wife against this decision</i> 'His wife is against this decision.'	(82)	Ja protiv. <i>I against</i> 'I am against.'
------	--	------	---

(83)	On byl pozadi nas. <i>He was behind us</i> 'He was behind us.'	(84)	On byl pozadi. <i>He was behind</i> 'He was behind.'
------	--	------	--

(85)	Ja idu na *(stanziju). <i>I go to station</i> 'I'm going to *(the station).'
------	--

### 4. *Subcategorization*

"Functional prepositions may be subcategorized for as a specific lexical property of the government of a verb" (Yadroff, 1999:73). Verbs may require a specific functional preposition, but hardly ever require any lexical prepositions.

(86)	Russian:	My doehali *( <b>do</b> ) stanzii. <i>We got to station</i> 'We got to the station.'
	English:	It depends *( <b>on</b> ) many factors.

(87) Russian: Porohod otoshel \*(ot) prichala.  
*Ship backed off from pier*

English: The ship backed off \*(**from**) the pier.

As shown in the examples above, verbs may require a specific PP complement in both languages.

##### 5. Case assignment by prepositions

Yadroff and Franks (2001) argue that functional prepositions can occur with more than one case, contrary to lexical prepositions, which are restricted to one.

(88) Russian: a. v vode ; v vodu  
*in water PREP; in water ACC*

b. **mezhd**u stuljami  
*between chairs DAT*

Yadroff and Franks (2001) do not provide an explanation for this. I will suggest an account for this later, in my analysis of plausible structures for prepositional phrases.

##### 6. Concrete meaning vs. polysemous meaning

As Yadroff (1999:77) notes, functional prepositions are polysemous, while lexical prepositions usually have a single concrete meaning. For example, the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2004) lists 15 meanings of the functional preposition 'in.' Yadroff (1999) refers to the three-volume Academy Grammar (1952) where 14 meanings are registered for the preposition *v* – 'in.' At the same time, the lexical preposition '*behind*' has one meaning listed in the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2004). In Russian, for *otnositel'no* – 'with regard to; relatively' – 2 meanings are listed but only the first one is relevant to prepositional use ('with regard to') (Yadroff, 1999:77).

Above I have provided evidence in favour of distinguishing lexical and functional prepositions. Now I will look at the structure of complex prepositions.

### 3.2.2. Complex prepositions

All Indo-European languages exhibit complex prepositions, which consist of lexical + functional prepositions.

- (89) Russian: nezavisimo ot, narjadu s  
*independent of, along with*
- English: except for, inside of
- French: face à, autour de  
*opposite to, around of*

Starke (1993) points out some features of complex prepositions, which interestingly behave differently in Russian and English, although some features are similar.

#### 3.2.2.1. Orphaned complex prepositions

Starke (1993) examines orphaned complex prepositions, arguing that, in these instances “complex prepositions ‘lose’ their last word.” Starke (1993:56)

Starke cites the examples from Quirk et al (1985:714) for English:

- (90) He was ahead (\*of).
- (91) We were together (\*with).

Russian exhibits the same pattern as well, though only a limited number of examples can be found:

- (92) My byli vmeste (\*s).  
*We were together (\*with)*  
‘We were together (\*with).’

- (93) On skuchen po sravneniju (\*s).  
*He dull in comparison (with)*  
 ‘He is dull in comparison (\*with).’

In this respect Russian and English behave the same way as French.

- (94) Il tourne toujours autour (\*de). French  
*He turns always around (of)* Starke (1993:20)  
 ‘He always turns around (\*of).’

- (95) Il aime être en face (\*de).  
*He likes being in-front-of (to)*  
 ‘He likes being in front.’

### 3.2.2.2. Repetition of prepositions

Starke (1993:19) argues that “when the object of the complex preposition is conjoined, the last word of the complex preposition *must be* repeated.” (example from Starke, 1993:19)

- (96) Il tourne toujours autour de la maison et \*(de) ses dépendances.  
*He turns always around of the house and of its dependences*

Studying complex prepositions in Russian shows that this pattern does not occur. Native speakers prefer not to repeat the last word of the complex preposition in constructions such as (97-102). Similarly, English does not allow repetition of the second element either (103-105)<sup>4</sup>.

- (97) On tuda pojdet nezavisimo ot pogodi i (\*ot) temperaturi.  
*He there go independent of weather and of temperature*  
 ‘He will go there independent of the weather and the temperature.’

---

<sup>4</sup> Though Starke (1993:56) gives English examples in order to show the presence of the same pattern, native speakers deny the possibility of such use.

- (98) Narjadu s neprijatnostjami i (\*s) problemami on ese i zbolel.  
*Along with difficulties and with problems he got sick*  
 ‘On top of having difficulties and problems he got sick.’
- (99) V zavisimosti ot moego i (\*ot) ego soveta ona primet reshenie.  
*Dependence on my and on his advice she will take decision*  
 ‘She will make the decision based on his and my advice.’
- (100) Eto bilo nehorosho po otnosheniju k Piteru i (\*k) Johnu.  
*It was not good with regard to Peter and to John*  
 ‘It was not good for Peter and John.’
- (101) Nesmotrja na ego nastojchivost’ i (\*na) uprjamstvo on tak i ne poluchil otveta.  
*In spite of his persistence and of stubbornness he not got answer*  
 ‘In spite of his persistence and stubbornness he received no answer.’
- (102) Ishodja iz ego povedenija i (\*iz) privichek my mozhem sdelat zakljuchenie chto...  
*Proceeding from his behavior and from habits we can conclude that...*  
 ‘Judging from his behavior and his habits, we can conclude that...’
- (103) He was ahead of his father’s car and (\*of) his mother’s bike.
- (104) All are sick apart from your comrades and (\*from) the animals.
- (105) He likes to sit in front of the fireplace and (\*of) the window.

But it is interesting to note that some native speakers accept examples like *He was ahead of his father’s car and (of) the whole jam*. It appears that the repetition is not always impossible but can occur in a few sentences.

As seen from the examples above, neither English nor Russian exhibits the requirement that holds in French concerning the repetition of the second element of the complex preposition.

The possibility of the repetition of lexical and functional prepositions also should be mentioned. According to Starke (1993), a lexical preposition is a complex preposition

which consists of ‘colourfulP + null colourlessP.’ Following his theory, in the sentence below the null colourlessP must be repeated.

(106) The house is near the lake and the forest.

Starke (1993:19) states that “when the object of the complex preposition is conjoined, the last word of the complex preposition *must be* repeated”. So, then the sentence can be analyzed as:

(107) The house is near  $\emptyset$  the lake and  $\emptyset$  the forest.

Native speakers allow repetition of the lexical preposition *near* in this sentence.

(108) The house is near the lake and (near) the forest.

According to Starke, it seems that in (107) the null colourless preposition should be repeated, but (108) shows that the colourful preposition can be repeated as well, but only optionally. Although the sentences where the overt colourless preposition is repeated together with the colourful one (i.e. complex preposition) (109 and 110) are judged as either ‘?’ or ‘\*’:

(109) ? All are sick apart from your comrades and apart from the animals.

(110) \*He did it by means of his hands and by means of his legs.

From the examples above it can be assumed that the presence of a null colourlessP (107) allows the repetition of the whole prepositional phrase, whereas the overt realization of the second element does not. But at the same time we come across examples where the repetition of the complex preposition is allowed:

(111) He was far from the house and far from the lake.

Russian, in turn, illustrates the same pattern.

(112) Dom nahoditsa vblizi ozera i (vblizi) lesa.

*House is            near lake and near forest*

‘The house is near the lake and (near) the forest.’

- (113) On eto sdelal posredstvom ruk i (\*posredstvom) nog.  
*He this did by means of hands and (\*by means of) legs*  
'He did this using his hands and legs.'

The repetition of simple functional prepositions does not lead to ungrammaticality, although in both languages the sentences receive slightly different meanings from those where the preposition is not repeated:

- (114) On prishel k materi i (k) sestre.  
*He came to mother and to sister*  
'He came to his mother and (to) his sister.'

- (115) Ja pojdu s toboj i (s) Vanej.  
*I will go with you and with Vanja*  
'I will go with you and (with) Vanja.'

As is seen from the data, English and Russian prepositional phrases have more in common with each other than with French. It now remains to be seen what kind of structure can be proposed for prepositional phrases in these languages.

### **3.3. Syntax of prepositions**

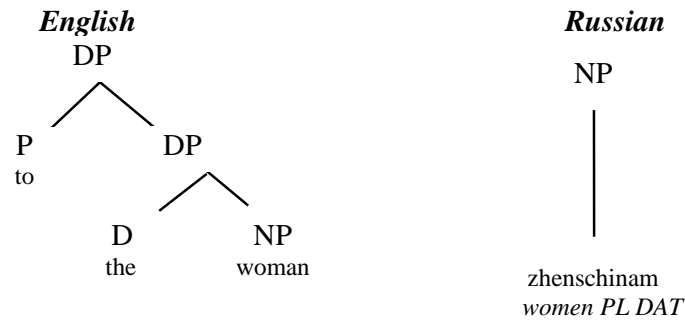
#### **3.3.1. Plausible syntactic structures**

In the previous section, I described the nature of prepositions in English and Russian. I pointed out that prepositions can be divided into two main classes - lexical and functional - with restrictions in use. I compared the use of prepositions in English, Russian and French, observing that the syntactic behavior of prepositions in English is closer to that of Russian than French. I now investigate the plausible structures of prepositional phrases outlined by Yadroff (1999), Yadroff and Franks (2001), Starke (1993) and Svenonius (2003) in order to decide which to adopt as a basis for my analysis of prepositional structures with prefixed and particle verbs in Russian and English respectively.

### 3.3.1.1 Yadroff and Franks' (2001) theory

Yadroff and Franks (2001) suggest that the structure of prepositional phrases in English is derived from a less articulated syntactic structure, where no separation of PP and DP nodes takes place.

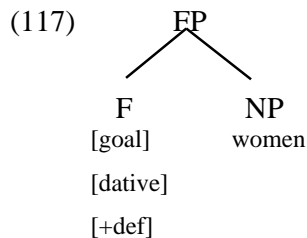
(116)



They adopt a fission analysis, rather than a fusion analysis. According to Yadroff (1999:100) “fission takes place if single Vocabulary Insertion does not exhaust all the formal features specified under a terminal node and the Vocabulary has more entries with features matching those left unsubstituted after the first Vocabulary insertion.” This is what happens in English; “the node undergoes vocabulary insertion.”

Yadroff (1999) and Yadroff and Franks (2001) claim that syntax provides a 'generalized' Functional Phrase (FP), "for NPs, FP comprises features for functional properties associated with nouns such as definiteness, case and theta-role." (Yadroff and Franks, 2001:76)

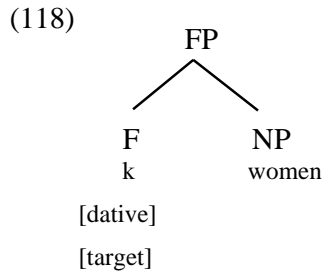
They propose the following syntactic structure:



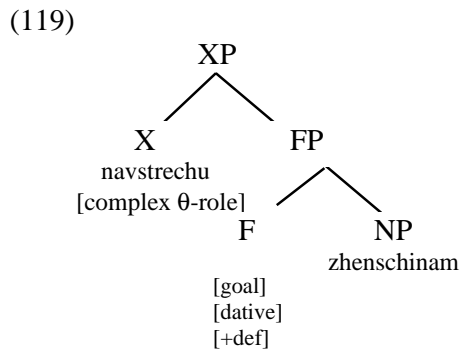
They argue that in morphological structure, fission of FP into PP and DP takes place in English, but not in Russian. The claim is that the preposition *to* in English (‘to the women’) is created postsyntactically and it is not represented at the syntactic level. Some constructions require lexical instantiation for indicating case and a theta-role, for



example. In this case, Yadroff and Franks (2001:77) suggest that functional prepositions are simply the realization of F:



As is seen from the structure proposed above, functional prepositions are functional elements associated with N. Yadroff and Franks (2001) argue that lexical prepositions are not independent either. Lexical prepositions are derivationally based on some N, V, or A, and moreover, they are functionally ‘bleached’: they lack some functional features that can be associated with FP. Yadroff and Franks thus suggest the following solution:



Yadroff and Franks (2001) use X to indicate lexical prepositions. These are lexically frozen and have a set of functional features.

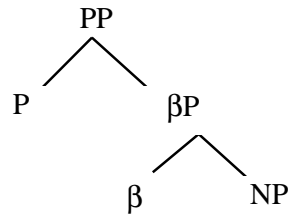
### 3.3.1.2. Starke's (1993) theory

Starke (1993) proposes the following structure for prepositions (where P stands for lexical prepositions and  $\beta$  for functional prepositions)<sup>5</sup>:

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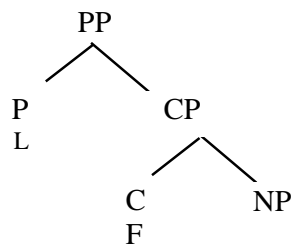
<sup>5</sup> I will ignore Specifier positions for the moment.

(120)



Later in the analysis, Starke (1993:68) develops the idea that colourless prepositions are “nominal complementizers”, since complementizers exhibit the same property, namely that they must be repeated in coordination. So if colourless prepositions are complementizers, then the following structure is proposed:

(121)



L - lexical, F - functional.

(Starke points out that the elements that select complementizers are lexical prepositions, while the other class of the prepositions is functionally selected.)

Starke deals with clauses (or 'extended projection' (EP) Starke, 1993:63)<sup>6</sup> where everything centers around a lexical category (lexical preposition in our case) and each EP is the projection of one lexical category. So, a lexical category is the head of an EP and every part of a representation is included inside EP (Starke, 1993:67). Colourless prepositions (or functional prepositions in this framework) are nominal complementizers, which integrate themselves into the EP. Starke claims that “all nominal clauses contain a complementizer...though [it is] not always overt” (Starke, 1993:68-69). A complementizer “can be verbal or nominal, because a ‘complementizer’ is an abstract functional category, which can be combined with any of the lexical categories.” (Starke, 1993:69) An important claim is that the order of functional elements is fixed with respect to a particular clause type and within a particular language.

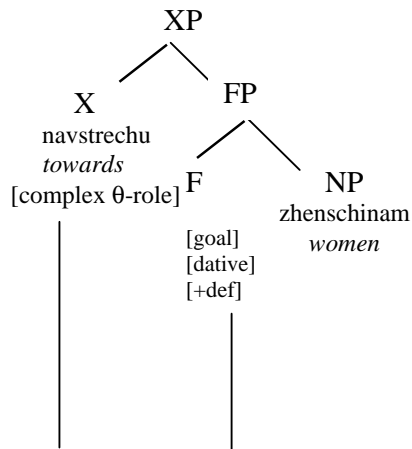
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<sup>6</sup> Starke follows Grimshaw's idea whereby a preposition is a part of the EP of the functional structure dominating N.

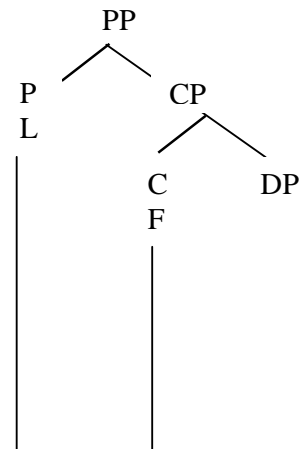
It seems that the structures proposed by Yadroff (1999), Yadroff and Franks (2001) and Starke (1993) are quite similar. I repeat the structures they offer below.

(122)

*Yadroff and Franks (Russian)*



*Starke (French)*



1- <u>ryadom</u>	s	<u>pres</u>	de
<u>next</u>	to	<u>next</u>	to
2- <u>daleko</u>	ot	<u>loin</u>	de
<u>far</u>	from	<u>far</u>	from
3- <u>v obmen</u>	na	<u>en échange</u>	de
<u>In exchange</u>	of	<u>in exchange</u>	of
4- <u>na ryadu</u>	s	<u>le long</u>	de
<u>along</u>	with	<u>along</u>	with
5- <u>po otnosheniju</u>	k	<u>à l'égard</u>	de
<u>with regard</u>	to	<u>with regard</u>	to

Both structures differentiate lexical and functional prepositions (which occupy different functional projections). The difference between the structures is that Starke in his analysis of complex prepositions puts functional prepositions in the C projection, claiming that complex prepositions are the same as complex complementizers. Following Grevisse and Goose (1991:1557), Starke lists the following similarities between complementizers and prepositions in French:

1. Asymmetry between the last item of the preposition/complementizer and the rest.
2. Identity of some complementizer starters with colourful prepositions.
3. Repetition of the last word when coordinated.

Let us examine these claims in more detail.

- (i) Take Starke's claim regarding the second item of complex prepositions. French has a quite restricted number of prepositions that can be used as a second element in complex prepositions: *à* and *de* and second elements of complex complementizers *que*, *si*. However, English and Russian exhibit a greater variety of prepositions that can be used in the second position: *from*, *of*, *to*, *with*. Russian: *ot* - 'from,' *s* - 'with,' *k* - 'to,' *na* - 'on,' *iz* - 'from.' On the other hand, there is a limited number of the elements that can be used as a second element of the complementizers; English: *that*, *of* and Russian: *chto* - 'that.'
- (ii) Starke claims that the second element *must be* repeated in coordination. Evidence from Russian and English do not support this claim.

However, English does appear to require the repetition of the complementizer in the subjunctive clause:

(123) In order that she come on time and \*(that) John quickly return to work.

Starke (1993:57)

But usually repetition of the complementizer is optional:

(124) John believes that the world is flat and (that) the moon is made from cheese.

Russian does require this, as shown in the sentence below:

(125) On eto sdelał dlja togo chtoby John ob etom uznal i chtoby on otreagiroval.

*He this did for that that John about this found out and that he reacted*

'He did it so that John would find out and react.'

But if the subject is omitted in the Russian sentence then repetition of the complementizer will lead to ungrammaticality.

(126) On eto sdelał dlja togo chtoby John ob etom uznal i (\*chtoby) otreagiroval.

*He this did for that that John about this found out and (that) reacted*

So, it seems that the pattern that occurs in French (similarity between the complex complementizer and the complex prepositions) does not occur in Russian and English. It should be noted that the structures proposed by Yadroff and Franks (2001) and Starke (1993) are in fact essentially the same, with the only differences being the labels used and that Starke defines the functional preposition as a complementizer.

### 3.3.1.3. Structure of complex prepositions

Another interesting observation is the existence of some common prepositional phrases in English, Russian and French:

(127)

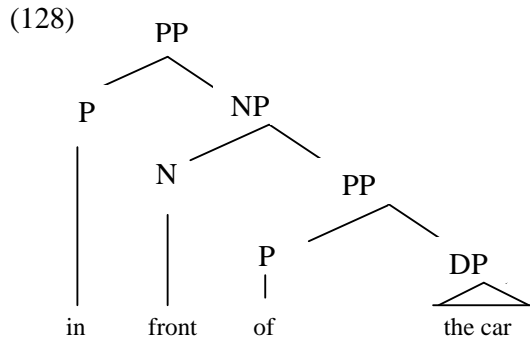
French:    à l' intérieur de           de manière à           proche de  
              *in the inside of           in order to           near to*

English:   in the name of           in front of           along with

Russian:   po otnosheniju k           vdali ot  
              *with regard to           far from*

As seen in the examples above, there are different types of complex prepositions in the three languages. Thus, English and French exhibit phrases consisting of four elements: Prep+Det+NP+Prep. In Russian, on the other hand, Det is not overt as in English and French, so Russian lacks prepositional phrases consisting of four elements. At the same time, all three languages illustrate prepositional phrases that contain two or three elements.

What sort of structure could be proposed for these kinds of constructions? At first glance, the phrase might have the following structure for *in front of the car*:



Here, the prepositions *in* and *of* head their own projections and *front* is under NP. This structure looks like the ‘right branching analysis’ mentioned in Huddleston and Pullum (2002:620). The following syntactic structures are listed by Huddleston and Pullum for *in front of the car*:

- (i) Right branching analysis
- (ii) Complex preposition analysis
- (iii) Layered head analysis

Table 2.

<i>Right branching analysis</i>	<i>Complex preposition analysis</i>	<i>Layered head analysis</i>
<pre> graph TD     PP1[PP] --- HeadPrep[Head Prep]     PP1 --- CompNP[Comp NP]     HeadPrep --- in[in]     CompNP --- HeadNom[Head Nom]     HeadNom --- HeadN[Head N]     HeadNom --- CompPP[Comp PP]     HeadN --- front[front]     CompPP --- HeadPrep2[Head Prep]     CompPP --- CompNP2[Comp NP]     HeadPrep2 --- of[of]     CompNP2 --- the[the]     CompNP2 --- car[car]   </pre>	<pre> graph TD     PP1[PP] --- HeadPrep[Head Prep]     PP1 --- CompNP[Comp NP]     HeadPrep --- P1[P]     HeadPrep --- N[N]     HeadPrep --- P2[P]     P1 --- in[in]     N --- front[front]     P2 --- of[of]     CompNP --- the[the]     CompNP --- car[car]   </pre>	<pre> graph TD     PP1[PP] --- HeadPP[Head PP]     PP1 --- CompNP1[CompNP]     HeadPP --- HeadPrep1[Head Prep]     HeadPP --- CompNP2[Comp NP]     HeadPrep1 --- in[in]     CompNP2 --- front[front]     CompNP1 --- HeadPrep2[Head Prep]     CompNP1 --- CompNP3[Comp NP]     HeadPrep2 --- of[of]     CompNP3 --- the[the]     CompNP3 --- car[car]   </pre>

The ‘right branching analysis’ suggests that *front of the car* is an NP which functions as a complement to *in*. The ‘complex preposition analysis’ proposes that *in front of* is a complex preposition. The ‘layered head analysis’ treats the whole expression as a complex structure which consists of a head *in front* and a complement *of the car*, where the *of* phrase is licensed by *in front* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002). The ‘layered head

analysis' is similar to the analyses proposed by Yadroff and Franks (2001) and Starke (1993).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) assume that the 'layered head analysis' receives stronger support than the other two. They note that although in traditional descriptive grammar the 'complex preposition analysis' often is adopted, treating *in front of* the same way as *behind* because of "the close semantic relation..., it cannot provide a reliable guide to syntactic analysis" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002:621). There are examples where these kinds of expressions cannot be treated as complex syntactic units (examples are taken from Huddleston and Pullum, 2002).

(129) That salesman really took us both for a ride. (take X for a ride = 'deceive X')

(130) I've kept these problematic data on the back burner for a while now. (keep X on the back burner = 'postpone dealing with X')

In the examples above, the parts of the idioms cannot be analyzed as complex syntactic units, because the special meanings are not associated with the meanings of the individual words.

Another characteristic of prepositions such as *in front of* is the possibility of the omission of the Ground. While simple prepositions (like *behind*) allow Ground omission, *in front of* cannot. *Of* functions as a constituent with NP and in this case the whole PP *of the car* is optional, but not just NP *the car*.

(131) He was behind (the car).

(132) He was in front of \*(the car).

So, the fact that (i) a single meaning does not imply a single constituent and (ii) the omission of the Ground is not allowed without omission of the last constituent of the complex preposition serve as the argument against the 'complex preposition analysis.'

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002), the 'right branching analysis' encounters fewer problems than the 'complex preposition analysis.' One of the advantages is that this analysis allows the alternation with a genitive construction like *in/on behalf of*, *at the behest/expense of*, etc (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002:622). Yet on the other hand, sentences like (133) do not concur with this approach:

- (133) A: *The murder charge was dropped on the grounds of diminished responsibility.*  
 B: *I don't think it should have been dropped on those grounds.*

Huddleston and Pullum (2002:622) claim that “the use of *those* indicates that *the grounds of diminished responsibility* is construed as an NP.”

The strong evidence in favour of the ‘layered head analysis,’ according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002), is the fronting of the second preposition as in:

- (134) He was [in league with the guys from down the road].  
 (135) The guys from down the road, with whom he was [in league].

Here, the preposition *with* is treated as dependent on the PP *in league*, not the noun.

In this work I will not adopt any of these analyses; I will assume that the first part of the preposition is a frozen constituent which does not permit any modifications.

Consider the following data:

- (136) English: a. on top of the car  
 b. \*on tops of the cars  
 c. \*on **Jane's** top of the car
- Russian: a. po otnosheniju ko mne  
*with regard to me*
- b. \*po otnoshenijjam ko mne  
*with regard-PL to me*
- c. \*po **Ivanovu** otnosheniju ko mne  
*with Ivan's regard to me*

In both Russian and English, neither the plural nor the possessive can occur within the prepositional phrase. This represents evidence for the unity of the first part of the preposition.

Most of complex lexical prepositions cannot be used without the first preposition (Prep NP Prep).



Compare:

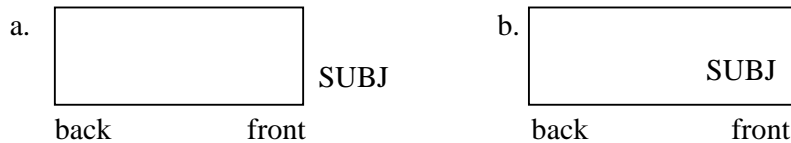
(137) Russian: Kak on povel sebja \*(po) otnosheniju k nej?  
*How he behaved himself with regard to her*  
How did he act towards her?

English: He was \*(in) front of the car.

As shown above, (137) is ungrammatical if the first part of the preposition is omitted.

Now consider the following examples:

- (138) a. He was in front of the car.  
b. He was in the front of the car.

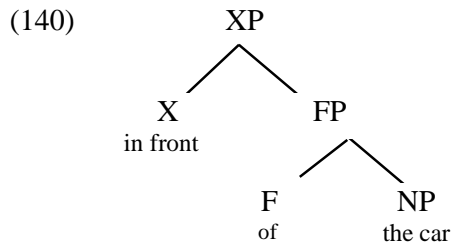


In (138a) *in front of* is a preposition and in (138b) *in the front of* is a combination of the NP *front* and prepositions. (138a) implies that the subject was standing in front of the car and (138b) means that the subject was sitting in the front seat of the car. (139) provides one more piece of evidence in favor of the analysis whereby *in front* is considered to be a whole and *of* a functional preposition which can be left out.

- (139) Q: Where is John?  
R: He is in front (of the queue)

It is interesting to note that Starke (1993:23), describing French prepositions like *le long de*, *a l'égard de*, *face à*, highlights the minimal internal structure, naming the first part as 'starters' and the last part as 'non-starters.' Yadroff and Franks (2001:78) claim that the prepositions such as *navstrechu* – ('towards meeting') 'towards' are lexically frozen.

So, I assume that a complex preposition consists of two parts, where the first part of the preposition is treated as a whole and the last element can be omitted.



### 3.4. Spatial P and Place P

As Yadroff and Franks (2001:76) suggest, “functional prepositions are simply the realization of F, which comprises features for functional properties associated with nouns such as definiteness, case, and theta-role.” So this means that a functional preposition serves to assign case to the object that follows it.

- (141) On shel *k* → DAT *mame*.  
*He went to DAT mother*  
 ‘He went to his mother.’

In the example above the preposition *k*-‘to’ assigns Dative case to the object *mame* - ‘mother.’

Now compare the following examples:

- (142) On prygal y vode PREP /vodu ACC  
*He jumped in water*

- (143) On prygnul za divan ACC /divanom INSTR  
*He jumped behind couch*

The question that arises is how in the proposed structure the object can get different cases while used with the same preposition, and how this case can be assigned. How can we get the meaning of direction or location (with motion verbs)? Should there be more projections? Before proposing any solutions to these questions I introduce spatial prepositions in Russian in order to continue the analysis of prepositional phrases.

### 3.4.1. Spatial prepositions in Russian

Semantically, prepositions can be divided into different groups: prepositions with temporal meaning (*during*), prepositions with comparison (*in comparison with*), prepositions with spatial meaning (*in, on, across*), etc. In this thesis, I focus only on spatial prepositions with meaning of direction and location.

First of all I provide the data indicating the use of spatial prepositions in Russian. In describing the data, I will pay attention to the case that the preposition assigns, and the kind of verbs they are used with (locative or stative).

There are six morphological cases in Russian: Nominative (NOM), Genitive (GEN), Accusative (ACC), Dative (DAT), Instrumental (INSTR), and Prepositional (PREP).

Table 3.

<i>Preposition</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Meaning and the verb type</i>
<b>V (in)</b>	On ostalsya <u>v</u> tjurme PREP <i>He stayed <u>in</u> prison</i>  On prigal <u>v</u> vodePREP/voduACC <i>He jumped <u>in</u> water</i>	locative (v-stative)  locative/directional (v- motion)
<b>K (to, towards)</b>	On poshel <u>k</u> sestre DAT <i>He went <u>to</u> sister</i>	directional (v-motion)
<b>Na (on)</b>	On lez <u>na</u> goruACC/gorePREP <i>He was climbing <u>on</u> mountain</i>  On byl <u>na</u> gore PREP <i>He was <u>on</u> mountain</i>	locative/directional (v-motion)  locative (v-stative)

<b>Preposition</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Meaning and the verb type</b>
<b>U (near, to)</b>	Rebenok ostalsya <u>u</u> doma GEN <i>Child stayed <u>near</u> house</i>	locative (v-stative)
	On shel <u>u</u> doma GEN <i>He went <u>near</u> house</i>	locative (v-motion)
<b>Ot (from)</b>	On shel <u>ot</u> doma GEN <i>He was going <u>from</u> house</i>	directional (v-motion)
	On nahodilsya/shel <u>ot</u> domaGEN v 5 metrah <i>He was /walked <u>from</u> house in 5 meters</i>	locative (v-stative/v-motion)
<b>Do (to)</b>	On shel <u>do</u> stanziiGEN <i>He went <u>to</u> station</i>	directional (v-motion)
	Mashiny ostavili 2 km <u>do</u> zapravki GEN <i>Car was left 2 km <u>till</u> gas station</i>	locative (v-stative)
<b>Za (behind)</b>	On prygnul <u>za</u> divanACC/divanomINST <i>He jumped <u>behind</u> couch</i>	locative/directional (v- motion)
	On nahodilsya <u>za</u> divanom INSTR <i>He was <u>behind</u> couch</i>	locative (v-stative)
<b>Iz (from)</b>	On prygnul <u>iz</u> okna GEN <i>He jumped <u>from</u> window</i>	directional (v-motion)
<b>Cherez (through)</b>	Rebenok shel <u>cherez</u> les ACC odin <i>Child went <u>through</u> forest alone</i>	directional (v-motion)
	On nahodilsya <u>cherez</u> ozero ACC ot menja <i>He was <u>through</u> lake from me</i>	locative (v-stative)

<b>Preposition</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Meaning and the verb type</b>
<b>Mezhd</b> <b>(between, among)</b>	On gulyal <u>mezhd</u> derevjamiINSTR <i>He was walking <u>among</u> trees</i>  On poplyl <u>mezhd</u> lodkamiINSTR <i>He swam <u>between</u> boats</i>	locative (v-motion)  directional(v-motion)
<b>Pered (in front of)</b>	Peter shel/ostalsya <u>pered</u> mashinojINSTR <i>Peter went/stayed <u>in front of</u> car</i>  Peter vyskochil <u>pered</u> mashinojINSTR <i>Peter outjumped <u>in front of</u> car</i>	locative (v-motion/v-stative)  directional (v-motion)
<b>Pod (under)</b>	Ivan bezhal <u>pod</u> derevoACC/derevomINSTR <i>Ivan ran <u>under</u> tree</i>  Ivan nahodilsya <u>pod</u> derevomINSTR <i>Ivan was <u>under</u> tree</i>	directional/locative(v-motion)  locative (v-stative)
<b>Pri (near)</b>	Nahoditsya <u>pri</u> domePREP <i>Be <u>near</u> house</i>	locative (v-stative)

The data above are summarized in the following table:

Table 4.

<i>Preposition</i>	<i>Locative stative</i>	<i>Locative motion</i>	<i>Directional motion</i>
pri (near)	PREP		
pod (under)	INSTR	INSTR	ACC
pered (in front of)	INSTR	INSTR	INSTR
mezhdu (between)	INSTR	INSTR	INSTR
cherez (through)	ACC		ACC
iz (from)			GEN
za (behind)	INSTR	INSTR	ACC
do (to)	GEN		GEN
ot (from)	GEN	GEN	GEN
u (near, at)	GEN	GEN	
na (on)	PREP	PREP	ACC
k (to, towards)			DAT
v (in, into)	PREP	PREP	ACC

Though some prepositions can be used in both Locative stative and Locative motion, there are three prepositions (*pri*-‘near,’ *cherez*-‘through,’ *do*-‘to’) which cannot be used with locative motion meaning at all. This is why I believe it is important to distinguish Locative stative and Locative motion.

*Cherez* -‘through’ is a lexical preposition that has only one meaning and thus can assign only one case to the object – ACC. I will not pay attention to lexical prepositions because they have only one case that can be assigned, e.g. *pered* -‘in front of’ –INSTR, *mezhdu* -‘between’ –INSTR.

According to *Tolkovyj Slovar’ Russlogo Jazyka* (2001), the preposition *u* -‘near’ has only one case – GEN; *k* -‘to, towards’ can assign only DAT; *iz* -‘from,’ *ot* -‘from,’ *do* -‘to, till’ – GEN.

Now, concerning on the prepositions *pered* -‘in front of’ and *mezhdu* -‘between,’ it is interesting to observe that *pered* in (144) will get a directional meaning only when the directional prefix *vy* -‘out’ is adjoined to the verbal stem; otherwise, the meaning is locative.

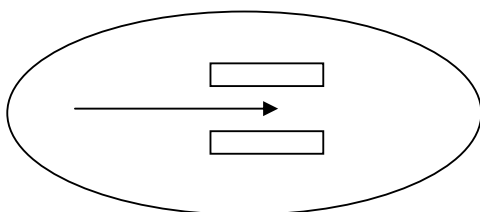
- (144) Peter vyskochil pered mashinoy.  
*Peter outjumped in front of car INSTR*  
 ‘Peter jumped in front of the car.’

I will therefore not take this example into consideration.

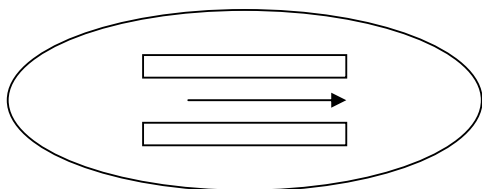
In Table 4, *mezhd* (‘between’) is located into the column ‘Directional motion,’ though it should be noted that this preposition is quite problematic and it may turn out that this classification is not appropriate. It is not quite clear what kind of meaning it possesses.

- (145) On poplyl mezhd lodkami  
*He swam between boats INSTR*  
 ‘He swam between the boats.’

In (145) above the meaning is directional if it is seen as ‘there were boats in the middle of the lake, the SUBJ was swimming from one point somewhere in the lake towards and through the boats’:



But it can also be seen as locative in the context ‘he started swimming between the boats and continued till the edge of the boats’:



It should be mentioned, however, that in the example above the verb *poplyl* is perfective. If the verb is imperfective the meaning will be locative, as in (146).

- (146) On shel mezhdu derevjami.  
*He went between trees INSTR*  
 ‘He went between the trees.’

The meaning will be directional when a prefixed verb is used.

- (147) On vyplyl mezhdu lodkami.  
*He **out**swam between boats INSTR*  
 ‘He swam out between the boats.’

Leaving aside the prepositions mentioned above, the following correlation with case-assignment is observed: ACCUSATIVE and DATIVE cases are assigned with the meaning of Direction. PREPOSITIONAL and INSTRUMENTAL cases are assigned with the meaning of Location. As mentioned above, the prepositions that assign GEN are restricted specifically to this case, and cannot assign any other. Yet at the same time, these prepositions can get different meanings: either locative or directional. To deal with these prepositions, I propose two cases, DIRECTIONAL and LOCATIVE, which are different from morphological cases, but which serve to distinguish the meanings that the prepositions get.

The picture so far is as follows:

Table 5.

	<b>DIRECTIONAL</b>	<b>LOCATIVE</b>
<b>Morphological cases</b>	ACCUSATIVE DATIVE GENITIVE <i>kuda?</i>	PREPOSITIONAL INSTRUMENTAL GENITIVE <i>gde?</i>

In order to specify what meaning a preposition gets in the case of GEN, I will use the question system. DIR meaning will be acquired by GEN if it answers the question *kuda?* (where - direction) and LOC if it answers the question *gde?* (where - location). The same question system will work for the prepositions *pered* – ‘in front of’ and *mezhdu* – ‘between.’ So, later in the work I will refer to DIR and LOC cases, based on the distinctions made above.

Now I turn to the assignments of the cases in the syntactic structures.



### 3.5. Introduction of PathP and PlaceP

As mentioned in 3.3.1.1, functional prepositions have functional properties associated with nouns such as case, theta-role, etc. (Yadroff and Franks, 2001). So, a preposition serves to assign the case to the object that follows it. But how this is achieved is not explained either by Starke or by Yadroff and Franks in the structures proposed above.

I assume that the case assigned depends on the projection where the preposition occurs. Before introducing this idea I first present the projections which will be occupied by prepositions, and illustrate the assignment of case to the object.

#### 3.5.1. Distribution of PlaceP

Following Svenonius (2003), I assume that those elements which can express location can be called PlaceP. One of the best indicators of PlaceP is that it can be used as a complement to stative verbs.

In Russian, the following prepositions can occupy PlaceP:

- (148) pri, pod, pered, mezhdu, cherez, za, ot, u, na, v, do  
*near, under, in front of, between, across, behind, from, near, on, in, till*

English allows the same prepositions to be used as PlaceP with stative verbs.

- (149) On ostalsya vozle doma cherez dorogu.  
*He stayed near house across road*  
'He stayed near the house across the road.'

- (150) On byl mezhdu derevyami na holme.  
*He was between trees on hill*  
'He was between the trees on the hill.'

- (151) On spal v lesu vozle reki.  
*He slept in forest near river*  
'He slept in the forest near the river.'

PlaceP elements can be used with nouns:

(152) reka vozle lesa  
*river near forest*

(153) reka cherez les  
*river across forest*

(154) reka pered lesom  
*river in front of forest*

Russian also allows the use of PlaceP with motion verbs (*pod* - ‘under,’ *pered* - ‘pered,’ *mezhd**u* - ‘between,’ *za* - ‘behind,’ *u* - ‘near,’ *na* - ‘on,’ *v* - ‘in’) without indicating Path or direction, thus showing only locative meaning. English shares the same property.

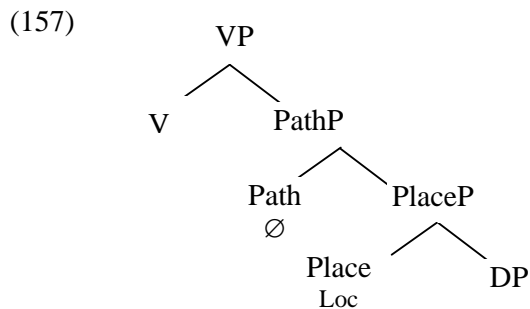
(155) Russian: On gulyal pod kryshej.  
*He was walking under roof*

English: He was walking under the roof.

(156) Russian: On hodil pered zdanijem vzad i vpered.  
*He was walking in front of building back and forth*

English: He was walking up and down in front of the building.

The structure proposed for the sentences above is the following (where the Path is null):



Another peculiarity mentioned by Svenonius for English is the possibility of the omission of the Ground in some contexts.

(158) We found a cave. The people inside (it) were hiding from the warlords.  
 (Svenonius, 2003)

It seems that this applies to Russian as well:

(159) Ja uvidel dvuh ljudej: odin stojal za mashinoj, drugoj pered mashinoj. Tot chto stojal za (mashinoj) byl visok i krasiv...

*I saw two people: one stood behind car, another in front of car. That that stood behind (car) was tall and handsome...*

‘I saw two people: one of them was behind the car, the other in front of the car. The one behind (the car) was tall and handsome.’

### 3.5.2. Distribution of PathP

Russian has a few prepositions which cannot be used as PlaceP at all in any context, and which can never be used with the stative verbs: *iz*-‘from,’ *k*-‘to, towards.’

(160) On poshel k sestre.

*He went to sister*

‘He went to his sister.’

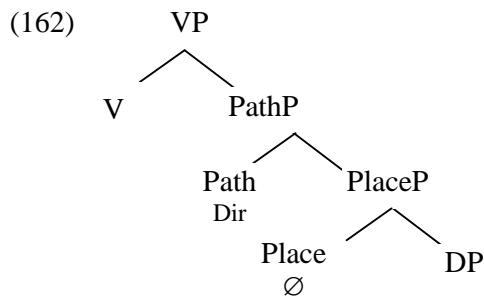
At the same time, these prepositions can be used to indicate path or route with nouns:

(161) avtobus iz Yorka

*bus from York*

‘the bus from York’

Following Svenonius (2003) and den Dikken (2003) I will use the term PathP for elements such as *k*-‘to,’ *iz*-‘from,’ which denote path and occur within PathP, while PlaceP is empty in this case. These prepositions assign a DIR case.

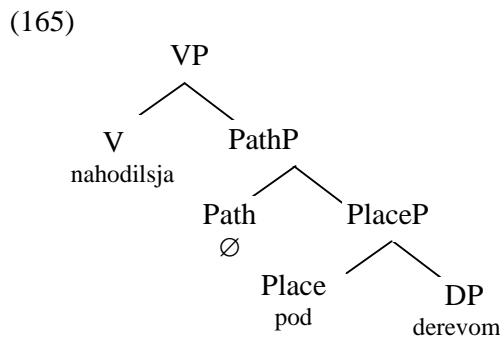


It should be noted that although only a few prepositions are restricted to PathP (k, iz) and thus have directional meaning, there are quite a lot of prepositions which can exhibit either directional or locative meanings, depending on the verb they are used with.

(163) Ivan bezhal pod derevo directional (v-motion)  
*Ivan ran under tree ACC*  
 ‘Ivan ran under the tree.’

(164) Ivan nahodilsya pod derevom locative (v-stative)  
*Ivan was under tree INSTR*  
 ‘Ivan was under the tree.’

In the sentences above, the meaning of the preposition depends on the verb it is used with. If the verb is stative, the preposition cannot get directional meaning. So, in this case the following structure for (164) can be proposed:



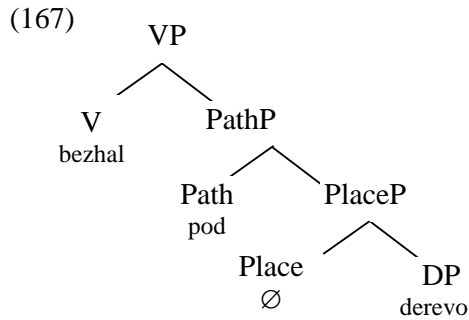
So, if the verb is stative (*nahodilsja*) the preposition will occupy PlaceP.

Now consider the following sentences:

(166) Ivan bezhal pod derevo DIR/derevom LOC  
*Ivan ran under tree*

The example above shows that *pod* can assign both DIR and LOC cases. Does this mean that *pod* in this case can occupy different positions in the structure?

One analysis that can be proposed is that *pod* is located in PathP and thus assigns the DIR case. So, the following structure can be proposed.



If the preposition occupies PlaceP, LOC will be assigned.

I present two solutions here and later examine which can be considered the more suitable for Russian case assignment in prepositional phrases:

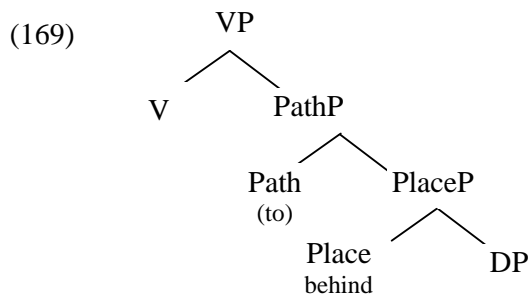
1. The preposition can occupy different positions in the sentence. Thus, a directional meaning will be assigned when the preposition is in PathP and locative meaning when the preposition is in PlaceP.
2. The preposition occupies PlaceP and there is some kind of null element present in the structure in PathP that indicates directional meaning. If there is no null element in PathP, then case is assigned by PlaceP. If the null element is present, DIR is assigned.

The first suggestion has already been discussed above. I now pursue the second suggestion.

Let us assume that there is some null element that indicates directional meaning. What kind of element could it be?

Svenonius (2003) argues for English that in the case where PlaceP gets directional meaning there is 'a kind of null *to* dominating the PlaceP'<sup>7</sup>.

(168) The boat drifted behind the hill.

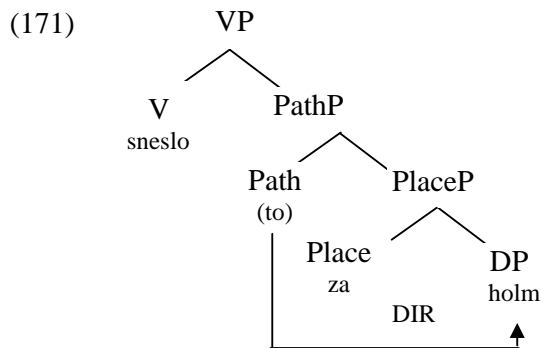



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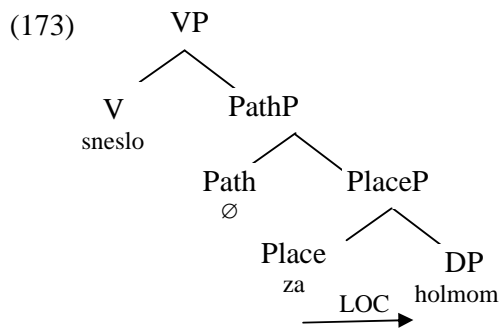
<sup>7</sup> I will indicate null *to* element as (to) in the structures.

Suppose the same null *to* is present in Russian as well.

- (170) Lodku sneslo vetrom za holm.  
*Boat was blown wind behind hill DIR*  
 ‘The boat drifted behind the hill.’



- (172) Lodku sneslo vetrom za holmom.  
*Boat was blown wind behind hill LOC*  
 ‘The boat drifted behind the hill.’



In (172-173), the object gets LOC, because PathP is null and PlaceP assigns case. In (170-171) Path is occupied by null *to* and the case is assigned by Path. This analysis violates Locality. The case in PathP overrides the case, which should be assigned by PlaceP. Thus, the second analysis does not work.

Consequently, I will adopt the first proposal, whereby the preposition occupies either PlaceP or PathP depending on semantic factors.

### 3.5.3. Default case?

Consider the following sentences:

(174) Ivan vyshel iz- za stola.

*Ivan outwent from-behind table DIR*

‘Ivan got up from the table.’

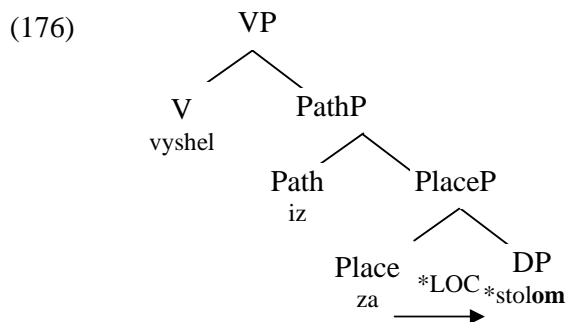
(175) Lodka vyplala iz-pod dereva.

*Boat outswam from-under tree DIR*

‘The boat drifted out from under the tree.’

These sentences exhibit double preposition *iz-za*, *iz-pod*.

Adopting solution (1) leads us to propose the following structure:



According to the structure the preposition *za* (the closest one) should assign case to *stol* and thus it will get LOC, yet this leads to ungrammaticality. It appears that *iz* assigns case to the object (DIR).

Interestingly, there are only two cases in Russian when the preposition in PathP selects the preposition in PlaceP: *iz-za* and *iz-pod*. Both the prepositions *pod* and *za* will assign a Locative case, to be more precise Instrumental case. I suggest a treatment of Instrumental case as a default case which is acquired only when PathP is not occupied by any other prepositions.

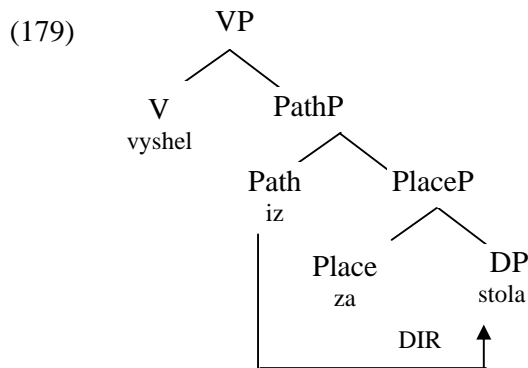
The reason for treating the case which occurs with *za* and *pod* as the default comes from the following data:

- (177) a.      molodoj dushoj  
               *young soul INSTR*  
               ‘young at heart’
- b.      bolshoj rostom  
               *big height INSTR*  
               ‘tall’

In Russian, contrary to English, the object gets INSTR case when it is used with the adjective without using a preposition.

The structure for (178) is presented in (179):

- (178) Ivan vyshel iz-za stola.  
           *Ivan outwent from-behind table DIR*  
           ‘Ivan got up from the table.’



In this case, PathP is occupied by *iz* and the object does not receive default case; hence a DIR case is assigned to *stola*.

To summarize, there are prepositions in Russian that occupy only PlaceP (*pri, u-*‘near’) and only PathP (*iz-*‘from,’ *k-*‘to, towards’); in English *to* occupies only PathP.

There are prepositions that can have either locative or directional meanings (*v-*‘in,’ *pod-*‘under,’ *za-*‘behind,’ *do-*‘to, till,’ *ot-*‘from,’ *na-*‘on’). The DIR case will be assigned if a preposition occupies PathP, and LOC if a preposition is in PlaceP.

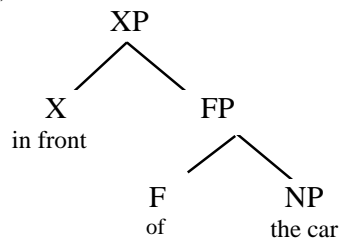


### 3.5.4. PathP and PlaceP in complex prepositions

A remaining question concerns how this proposal can deal with complex prepositions and with PPs where a lexical preposition is complex as well.

Recall the structure (repeated below) that was proposed before PathP and PlaceP were introduced, where X was used for lexical prepositions and F for functional prepositions. In this structure, the first part of the preposition is treated as a whole and the last element can be omitted.

(180)



I now adjust this structure to that proposed above where PathP and PlaceP were distinguished. I will extend the projection XP to PlaceP and PathP.

Firstly, it should be noted that there are not many complex prepositions with spatial meanings, in either English or Russian:

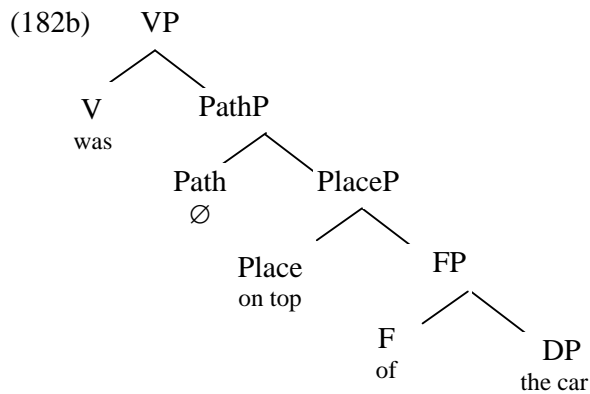
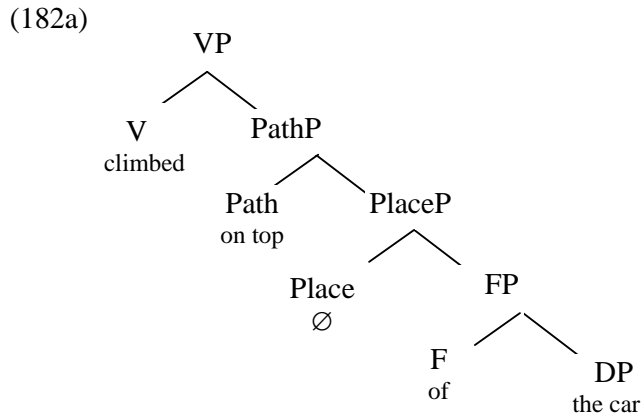
(181) Russian:     rjadom s,   vdali ot,   vblizi ot  
                  *next to   far from   near from*

English:         in front of, in place of, on top of

Let us see how the English *on top of* can fit in the structure. Consider the following sentences:

- (182) a.     He climbed on top of the car.  
       b.     He was on top of the car.

I now propose the following tree diagrams for these sentences:



In (182) *on top* occupies Path and in (182b) Place.

It is interesting to examine the Russian data and to investigate how the case assignment works here.

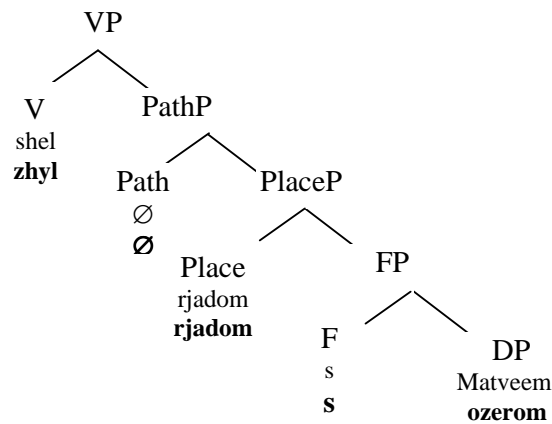
As Yadroff and Franks (2001) claim, F bears case features which it assigns to the object.

Consider the following sentence:

- (183) a. On shel riadom s Matveem.  
*He walked next to Matvej LOC*  
 He walked next to Matvej.
- b. On zhyl riadom s ozerom.  
*He lived next to lake LOC*  
 He lived next to the lake.

(both sentences are mapped in the tree (184); the second one (183b) is in bold):

(184) (a.) **(b.)**



The preposition *rjadom* can occupy only PlaceP. So, the examples above show that case in complex prepositions is assigned by the projection FP.

### 3.5.5. Summary

This chapter was devoted to examining the properties of prepositions in both English and Russian. I introduced two approaches to the prepositions: the traditional approach and Starke's approach. The approach adopted for the analysis of prepositional phrases distinguishes between lexical and functional prepositions.

I have presented plausible syntactic structures of prepositional phrases outlined by Yadroff (1999), Yadroff and Franks (2001), Starke (1993) and Svenonius (2003). Yadroff and Franks and Starke's accounts are similar but neither of them explains case assignment in sentences such as:

- (185) a. On prygnul *v* vodu ACC                      b. On prygnul *v* vode  
           *He jumped in water*    *He jumped in water PREP*

In (185a) the case that the preposition *v* assigns is Accusative, while in (185b) it is Prepositional. In order to explain this phenomenon, I adopted the analysis proposed by den Dikken (1995) and Koopman (1997) and modified by Svenonius (2003). This account introduces PathP and PlaceP and Russian data show that the particular case assigned depends on what position the preposition occupies (i.e. DIR case will be

assigned if a preposition occupies PathP, and LOC if a preposition is in PlaceP). I have also dealt with the matter of case assignment when the preposition consists of two elements, e.g. *iz-za*-‘from behind’ and *iz-pod*-‘from under.’ I argued that in this instance the prepositions *za* and *pod* do not assign case, and moreover that the case that the object receives is assigned by the higher preposition *iz*: *iz* occupies a position in PathP, and if PathP is empty, the case that the object receives is default Instrumental.

Having studied the structure of prepositional phrases, I now identify the position of particles and prefixes in the context of prepositional phrases.

## Chapter 4

### English particles and Russian prefixes in the context of prepositional phrases

#### 4.1. English particles in the context of prepositional phrases

##### 4.1.1. PlaceP and PathP with Particles

Svenonius (2003:6), describing prepositions in English, studies the nature of particles, defining them as elements that “occur in Path projections and suggests that they are not lexically specified as to Path/Place features.” Svenonius uses the term ‘Directionals’ for particles. He points out that ‘Directionals’ can be used equally with PlaceP and PathP.

Svenonius (2003) provides a set of examples illustrating the possibility of using particles together with PlaceP, as in (186), and PathP, as in (187)<sup>8</sup>.

- (186) a. The boat drifted **up** above the dam.  
b. The boat drifted **out** beyond the city limits.
- (187) a. The boat drifted **down** to the edge.  
b. The boat drifted **off** into the cave.

Svenonius (2003) notices that particles can be used without overt Path yet can freely express it. They can be also used without overt PlaceP:

- (188) a. The boat drifted **up** above the dam.  
b. The boat drifted **back**.  
c. The boat drifted **up**.

Particles can be used with stative verbs, but in this case idiosyncratic meaning ensues.

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<sup>8</sup> The examples are taken from Svenonius (2003:9).

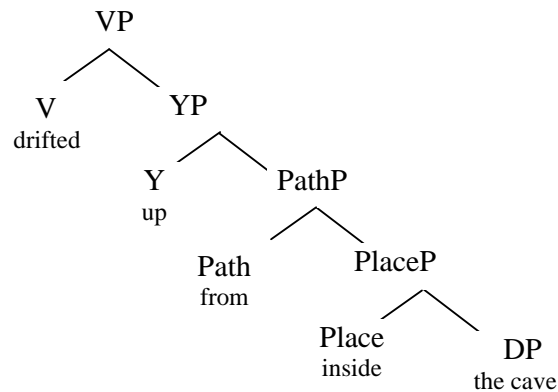
- (189) a. He is **up** (= He is awake)  
 b. He is **down** (= He is depressed)

#### 4.1.2. Does a particle occupy a position in some YP?

As seen from the data above, particles can be used with prepositions that occupy both PlaceP and PathP. Although particles express path and perhaps can occupy PathP projections, the question arises where a preposition with directional meaning will be placed if the particle occupies the position in PathP.

Consider the following sentence:

- (190) The boat drifted up from inside the cave.



In the structure above, *from* occupies PathP, *inside* occupies PlaceP, and it appears that there should be one more projection for *up*, which I have referred to so far as YP. Why do particles project some additional YP category to the categories that already exist?

As Svenonius (2003) suggests, that particles are not lexically specified as to Path/Place features though they have some properties of Path projections. Svenonius (2003) identifies them as Directionals. I will adopt this terminology in identifying the YP projection: I will henceforth refer to the projection in the prepositional phrase where particles occur as DirP.

So, I assume that particles occur in DirP, which is a projection above PlaceP. The following examples provide the evidence for this.

- (191) The boat drifted **up** from inside the cave.  
 (192) \* The boat drifted from inside **up** the cave.

## 4.2. Spatial prefixes and prepositions

### 4.2.1. Is there any correlation between Russian prefixes and prepositions?

There are a few studies which have made attempts to compare prefixes and prepositions in order to highlight the similarity between these elements. Matushansky (2002) argues for the formal identity of Russian prefixes and prepositions. She claims that there are “multiple reasons to assimilate them of which the main one is that nearly all prefixes have homophonous prepositional counterparts, and vice versa” (Matushansky, 2002:217).

Consider the following examples:

- (193) **v**-bezhat **v** komnatu  
*in-run in room*
- (194) **ot**-bezhat **ot** doma  
*away-run from/away house*
- (195) **pod**-katit'sja **pod** stul  
*under-roll under chair*

The examples above illustrate that the prefixes and prepositions are phonologically identical. Matushansky (2002) highlights that this characterization holds for most Indo-European languages. She provides much evidence in order to confirm the phonological similarity of Russian prefixes and prepositions. She provides the following examples (Matushansky, 2002:218):

- (196) a. izbezhat [izb´ežAt´] – to avoid - *prefix*  
 b. iz doma [iz\_dOma] – out of the house – *preposition*  
 c. ispravit´ [isprAv´it´] – to repair - *prefix*  
 d. iz posada [is\_posAda] – out of the borough – *preposition*

Both prefixes and prepositions are voiced when they occur before a voiced consonant (196a,b) and voiceless when they occur before a voiceless consonant (196c,d). Matushansky also examines the different syntactic behavior of these elements, such as the “lexical category they attach to” (Matushansky, 2002:219). Prepositions are attached to a DP or a CP, whereas prefixes are adjoined to the verbal stem. Prefixes can be stacked, while prepositions cannot. Prefixes cannot be separated from the stem by an adjunct, while prepositions can. Finally, prefixes can take part in further word derivation, while prepositions do not. Pointing out these differences, Matushansky (2002) claims that they do not exclude (due to the phonological identity) the possibility of their lexical and morphological identity<sup>9</sup>.

#### 4.2.2. Use of spatial prefixes in the context of prepositional phrases

In the subsection above I have mentioned phonological identity between Russian prefixes and prepositions. In this section I examine how spatial prefixes are combined with spatial prepositions and whether or not there is some semantic correlation in their use.

In the table below I provide data which demonstrate the patterns of combining prepositions with prefixes.<sup>10</sup>

- (197) Ivan **z**ashel v dom.  
*Ivan **in**come in house*  
 ‘Ivan came into the house.’
- (198) On **o**tnes na kryshu.  
*He **away**brought on roof*  
 ‘He brought it to the roof.’
- (199) Ona **vy**shla v sad.  
*She **out**went in garden*  
 ‘She went out into the garden.’

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<sup>9</sup> For more details on phonological identity of Russian prefixes and prepositions see Matushansky (2002).

<sup>10</sup> See the appendix for more examples.



I will not count examples where preposition is used with an animate object:

- (200) On vlez k nim v sad.  
*He in climbed to them in garden*  
 ‘He climbed into their garden.’

Table 6.

Preposition Prefix	v <i>in</i>	na <i>on</i>	pod <i>under</i>	k <i>to</i>	za <i>behind</i>	iz <i>from</i>	ot <i>from</i>	mezhd <i>between</i>	pered <i>in front of</i>	cherez <i>across</i> <i>through</i>	u <i>near</i>	do <i>to, till</i>
Za <i>In</i>	+	+	+	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ot <i>Away</i>	+	*	+	+	+	*	+	*	*	*	*	*
Pere <i>Across</i>	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	*
V <i>In</i>	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	+	+	+	*
Vy <i>Out</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	*
Pro <i>Through</i>	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pod <i>Under</i>	+	*	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	*	+	+
Pri <i>To</i>	+	+	+	+	*	+	*	*	*	+	*	*
S <i>Down</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	*	*	+	*
U <i>Away</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	*	*

\* - incompatible.

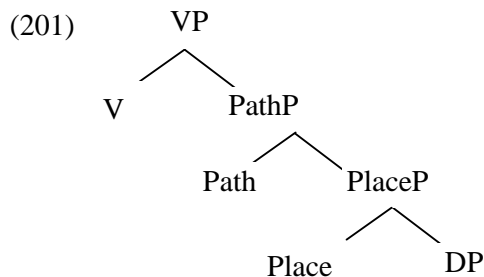
+ - possibility of combining prepositions with prefixes.

⊕ - phonological identity between prefixes and prepositions.

As seen from the table above, although a few prepositions show phonological identity with prefixes (*za*-‘behind,’ *ot*-‘away/from,’ *v*-‘in,’ *pod*-‘under,’ *u*-‘near’<sup>11</sup>), there are still many prefixes which do not show any identity with the prepositions: though they have some semantic correspondence (*pere=cherez*-‘across’), some prefixes do not correspond semantically to the prepositions (*za*, *u*). An interesting observation is that some prepositions (*u*-‘near,’ *pri*-‘near’), which cannot bear directional meaning or be used with motion verbs can be used as spatial prefixes. However directional prepositions, which are used only with motion verbs, cannot be used as spatial prefixes (*iz*-‘from,’ *k*-‘to’).

#### 4.2.3. PlaceP and PathP with prefixed verbs

For the analysis of prefixed verbs in prepositional phrases I will use the structure proposed below, where PathP and PlaceP are distinguished:



Recall that in Russian, the case is assigned by the preposition to the object, depending on which projection is occupied.

Verbs with spatial prefixes can be freely used with PlaceP (202) and PathP (203).

- (202) *Lodka vpylyla za holmom.*  
*Boat outswam behind hill*  
 ‘The boat drifted out from behind the hill.’

---

<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to mention that although it is possible to use phonologically identical prefixes and prepositions together the only exception is the prefix *u*-‘away’, which cannot be used with the phonologically correspondent preposition *u*-‘near’.

- (203) Lodka **vy**plyla za holm.  
*Boat outswam behind hill*  
'The boat drifted behind the hill.'

Russian prefixed verbs as well as English particles can be used without PlaceP:

- (204) Lodka **vy**plyla.  
*Boat outswam*  
'The boat drifted out.'

- (205) **Za**prygivaj bystree!  
*Injump quickly*  
'Jump in quickly!'

- (206) In English: The boat drifted **up**.

Spatial prefixes (as well as particles) can be used with stative verbs, but the meaning will be idiosyncratic.

- (207) On **vystoyal** v bitve.  
*He out-stood in battle*  
'He survived the battle.'

- (208) Eta ideja sebja **izzhila**.  
*This idea itself out-lived*  
'This idea is old.'

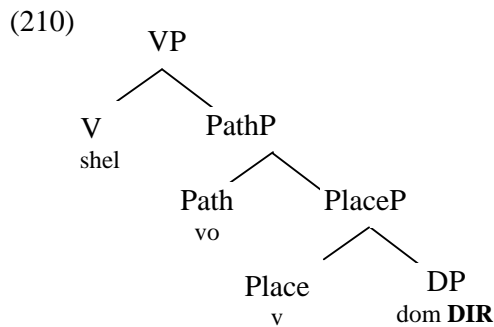
#### 4.2.4. DirP?

I predict that the position occupied by the prefix will be within an additional projection (a DirP, as proposed for particles). However, we must first investigate whether the prefix can occupy a position in PathP, thereby giving the phrase a directional meaning. Below I provide data to examine whether or not this analysis is possible in Russian.

Consider the following example:

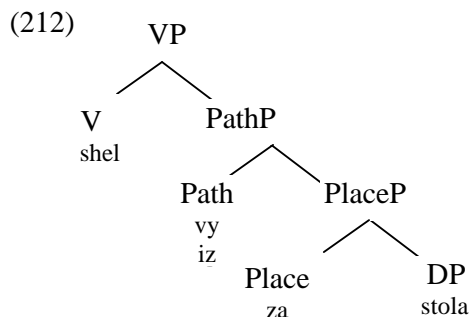
- (209) a. Ivan shel v dom.  
*Ivan went in house DIR*  
 ‘Ivan went into the house.’
- b. Ivan **vo**shel v dom.  
*Ivan **incame** in house DIR*  
 ‘Ivan came into the house.’

In (209a) PathP will be occupied by the preposition *v* and therefore the DIR case will be assigned and the phrase gets directional meaning. In (209b), the prefix *vo* is adjoined to the verbal stem, so, we can assume that *vo* occupies place in PathP and the preposition *v* is in PlaceP: thus the DIR case is assigned.



The problem arises when the prefixed verb is used with prepositions that can occupy only PathP (*k* – ‘to, towards,’ and *iz* – ‘from’) or *iz-za* (‘from-behind’), *iz-pod* (‘from under’). Consider the example with *iz-za* (‘from behind’):

- (211) On **vy**shel iz-za stola.  
*He **outwent** from-behind table*  
 ‘He got up from the table.’



In the structure above, the prefix and the preposition are forced to occupy the same position in the structure.

Moreover, consider the example in (213):

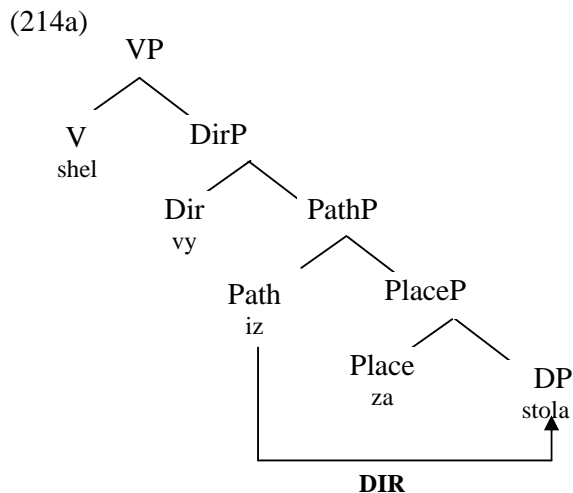
- (213) Lodka **vy**plyla za holmom.  
*Boat outswam behind hill LOC*  
 ‘The boat drifted out from behind the hill.’

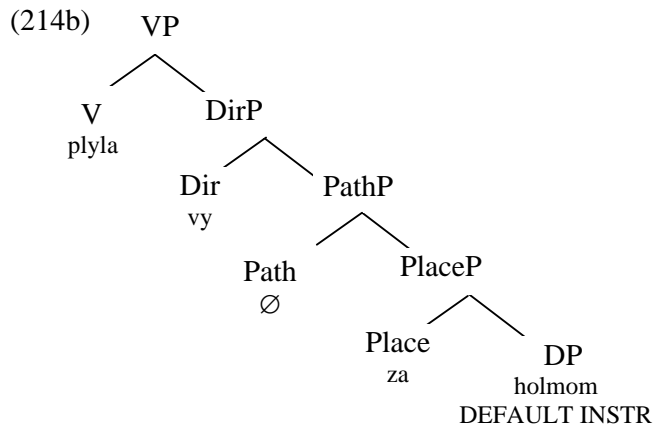
In (213), the object *holmom* gets LOC case. It seems that PathP is null in this structure, but according to the assumption, the prefix *vy-* occupying the PathP is predicted to assign DIR case. Since the case the object gets is INSTR, which is considered to be a default case, and the PathP is occupied, the case should be assigned by PathP and thus be DIR.

I assume therefore that the prefix occupies a position in a separate projection. As the phrase with the spatial prefix gets directional meaning, I will refer to this projection as DirP, the same projection as particles occupy.

The structures for (214) are the following:

- (214) a. On **vy**shel iz- za stola.  
*He outwent from behind table*  
 ‘He got up from the table.’
- b. Lodka **vy**plyla za holmom.  
*Boat outswam behind hill LOC*  
 ‘The boat drifted out from behind the hill.’





In (214a) Path occupied by *iz* assigns DIR to the object and in (214b) Path is null and the object gets default INSTR case.

It is evident from this analysis that both English particles and Russian prefixes require the extra projection DirP in the context of the prepositional phrase.

### 4.3. Summary

In this chapter I have shown that English particles and Russian prefixes can be used freely with PathP and PlaceP. I argued that though particles and prefixes express Path and it seems that they can occupy PathP and thus DIR will be assigned, the data provided in this chapter serve as evidence that particles and prefixes require an extra projection DirP in context of the prepositional phrase.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusions

In this thesis I have offered a comparative analysis of English particles and Russian prefixes.

I have shown that particles and prefixes have much in common. Russian prefixes as well as English particles build up together with the verb either compositional or idiomatic meanings. Russian prefixes as well as English particles license the presence of objects and prepositional phrases.

I have presented the previous analyses for verb-particle constructions (the ‘small clause structure’ approach and the ‘complex head structure’ approach) and highlighted the problems associated with these as outlined by Ramchand and Svenonius (2002). In order to examine verb-particle constructions in English I adopted the analysis proposed by Ramchand and Svenonius which I later used for Russian prefixed verbs. Before examining the syntactic behavior of prefixed verbs and particle constructions in Russian and English respectively, I introduced the approaches to prepositions and prepositional phrases offered in the literature and illustrated the nature of the prepositions cross-linguistically.

Chapter 3 introduced PathP and PlaceP projections in the prepositional phrase, which, according to the analysis, influence the assignment of case in Russian. In trying to define the position of particles and prefixes in the context of prepositional phrases in English and Russian respectively, I came to the conclusion that these elements require additional projections, which I referred to as DirP.

The analysis introduced in this thesis showed that both English particles and Russian prefixes exhibit the same syntactic features and occupy the same position in the syntactic structure.

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## Appendix

Possibility of combining prepositions with prefixes in Russian. See indicated number for the example sentence below.

Preposition Prefix	v <i>in</i>	na <i>on</i>	pod <i>under</i>	k <i>to</i>	za <i>behind</i>	iz <i>from</i>	ot <i>from</i>	mezhdu <i>between</i>	pered <i>in front of</i>	cherez <i>across</i> <i>through</i>	u <i>near</i>	do <i>to, till</i>
Za <i>In, behind</i>	1	2	3	*	4	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ot <i>Away</i>	5	*	6	7	8	*	9	*	*	*	*	*
Pere <i>Across</i>	10	11	12	13	14	*	15	16	17	18	19	*
V <i>In</i>	20	21	22	23	24	*	*	25	26	27	28	*
Vy <i>Out</i>	29	30	31	32	33	34	*	35	36	37	38	*
Pro <i>Through</i>	39	40	41	42	43	*	44	45	46	47	48	49
Pod <i>Under</i>	50	*	51	52	53	*	54	55	56	*	57	58
Pri <i>To</i>	59	60	61	62	*	63	*	*	*	64	*	*
S <i>Down</i>	65	66	67	68	69	70	*	*	*	*	71	*
U <i>Away</i>	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	*	*	79	*	*

1. Ja **zalez** v okno i stal ego kolotit'.

*I inclined in window and started him beating*

'I climbed in through the window and started beating him.'

2. Maks legko **zaprygnul na** vysokoe derevo.

*Maks easily injumped on tall tree*

'Maks easily jumped into the tall tree.'

3. On **zalez pod** krovat' i otkazyvaetsja est'.

*He inclined under bed and refusing eat*

'He climbed under the bed and refused to eat.'

4. On **zabezhal** **za** pis'mennyj stol i zakrichal.  
*He behindran behind desk and screamed*  
'He ran behind the desk and screamed.'
5. Petja nelovko **otprygnul** v storonu.  
*Peter awkwardly awayjumped to side*  
'Peter jumped away awkwardly to the side.'
6. Ivanov **otprygnul** **pod** derevo i ostanovilsja v ozhidanii.  
*Ivanov awayjumped under tree and stopped in waiting*  
'Ivanov jumped away under the tree and started to wait.'
7. Benja vyrvalsja i **otprygnul** k samoj dveri.  
*Benja released and awayjumped to the door*  
'Benja broke loose and jumped away to the door.'
8. On **otpolz** **za** kamen,' kotoryj nahodilsya v dvuh metrah.  
*He awaycrawled behind stone that was in two meters*  
'He crawled two meters away and went behind the stone.'
9. Kogda tot muzhchina ne **otoshel** **ot** mashiny ja ispugalsya.  
*When that man not awaywent from car I scared*  
'I was scared when the man did not get away from the car.'
10. On podnjal ego i **perenes** v spal'nju na krovat'.  
*He lifted him and acrosscarried in bedroom on bed*  
'He picked him up, carried him across the bedroom and put him on the bed.'
11. On **perelez** **na** drugoe derevo noch'ju.  
*He acrossclimbed on another tree at night*  
'He climbed from one tree to the other one at night.'
12. Boris **pereplyl** reku **pod** mostom, kogda stemnelo.  
*Boris across swam river under bridge when became dark*  
'Boris swam across the river under the bridge when it became dark.'
13. Igor' **pereshel** k domu nomer shest'.  
*Igor' acrosswent to house number six*  
'Igor' went across to house number six.'

14. On **perelez** **za** domom cherez zabor.  
*He acrossclimbed behind house across fence*  
 ‘He climbed over the fence behind the house.’
15. Poka ona ne smotrela, on bystro **perebezh** **ot** odnoj dveri k drugoj.  
*While she not look he quickly acrossran from one door to another*  
 ‘When she was not looking he quickly ran from one door to the other one.’
16. On **perebezh** dorogu **mezhdu** mashinami, kotorie ostanavlivalis.  
*He acrossran road between cars which were stopping*  
 ‘Both cars started to stop when he ran across the road between them.’
17. Ne **perebegaj** dorogu **pered** mashinoy!  
*Not acrossrun road in front of car*  
 ‘Do not run across the road in front of the cars!’
18. Petrov **pereshel** **cherez** Alpy i poluchil medal.’  
*Petrov acrosswent across Alps and got medal*  
 ‘Petrov got a medal for crossing the Alps.’
19. On vsegda **perehodit** dorogu **u** svetofora.  
*He always acrossgo road near traffic light*  
 ‘He always crosses the road near the traffic light.’
20. A potom ja uslyshal kak on **voshel** **v** sad.  
*And then I heard how he income in garden*  
 ‘And then I heard how he got inside the garden.’
21. Koshka **vlezla** **na** verxnjuju polku i usnula.  
*Cat inclimbed on top shelf and fell asleep*  
 ‘The cat climbed up on to the top shelf and fell asleep.’
22. Syn **vlez** **pod** pokryvalo i molchal.  
*Son inclimed under cover and kept quiet*  
 ‘The son climbed under the covers and kept quiet.’
23. On **vstal** litsom **k** svetu.  
*He instood face to light*  
 ‘He stood with his face towards the light.’

24. Rebenok **vstal za** mashinu i ulybnulsja.  
*Child instood behind car and smiled*  
 ‘The child stood behind the car and smiled.’
25. Kot **vprygnul mezhdu** stuljami.  
*Cat injumped between chairs*  
 ‘The cat jumped in between the chairs.’
26. Leka podoshel poblizhe i **vstal pered** stolom.  
*Leka came closer and instood in front of table*  
 ‘Leka came closer and stood in front of the table.’
27. Vor **vlez cherez** okno, no dver’ otkryt’ ne smog.  
*Thief inclimb through window, but door open not could*  
 ‘The thief climbed in through the window but could not open the door inside.’
28. Mike **vstal u** kraja proposti i zadumalsja.  
*Mike stood near edge gap and started thinking*  
 ‘Mike stood on the edge of the gap and started thinking.’
29. Togda on kriknul chto-to i **vybezhhal v** koridor.  
*Then he screamed something and outran in corridor*  
 ‘Then he screamed something and ran out of the room into the corridor.’
30. **Vyshel na** kryshu, sel i zakuril.  
*Outwent on roof, sat and started smoking*  
 ‘He went out on the roof, sat down, and started smoking.’
31. Chelovek v kostjume proshel zherez tunnel’ and **vyshel pod** mostom.  
*Man in suit acrosswent through tunnel and outwent under bridge*  
 ‘The man in suit went through the tunnel and went under the bridge.’
32. Neozhidanno on **vyshel k** ogromnomu staromu domu.  
*Suddenly he outwent to huge old house*  
 ‘Suddenly he appeared in front of the huge old house.’
33. Pavel **vyshel za** dver’ i ischez.  
*Pavel outwent behind door and disappeared*  
 ‘Pavel came out of the door and disappeared.’



34. Nakonez-to on **vyshel iz** togo uzhasnogo zdanija.  
*Finally he outwent from that terrible building*  
 'Finally he went out of that terrible building.'
35. Lodka **vyplyla mezhdu** dvumja skalami.  
*Boat outswam between two rocks*  
 'The boat drifted out from between the rocks.'
36. On **vyshel pered** domom nomer 13.  
*He outwent in front of house number 13*  
 'He went over in front of house 13.'
37. On **vyshel cherez** druguju dver' nikomu ne skazv.  
*He outwent through other door nobody not told*  
 'He went out through the other door without saying a word.'
38. Patrik podumal nemnogo i **vyshel u** togo krasnogo doma.  
*Patrick thought for a while and outwent near that red house*  
 'Patrick thought for a while and went out near that red house.'
39. On edva **proshel v** dveri, takie uzkie oni bili.  
*He hardly throughgo in doors so narrow they were*  
 'He barely got through the doors because they were so narrow.'
40. **Projdite na** kuhnju!  
*Throughgo on kitchen!*  
 'Go to the kitchen!'
41. Porohod **propyl pod** mostom.  
*Ship throughswam under bridge*  
 'The ship drifted under the bridge.'
42. **Projdite k** vorotam!  
*Throughgo to gates*  
 'Go to the gates!'
43. **Projdite za** dver'!  
*Throughgo behind door*  
 'Go behind the door!'

44. **Projdite ot** vorot k domu!  
*Throughgo from gates to house*  
 ‘Go from the gates to the house!’
45. On **proplyl mezhdu** lodkami i ne pogib.  
*He throughswam between boats and not died*  
 ‘He swan through the boats and survived.’
46. Ona **proshla pered** domom nezametnoj.  
*She throughwent in front of house invisible*  
 ‘She passed in front of the house without being seen.’
47. **Prolez cherez** tjuremnoe okno.  
*Throughclimbed through prison window*  
 ‘He climbed through the prison window.’
48. Ego sestra **proshla u** ego doma ne zajdja v gosti.  
*His sister throughwent near his house not going in guests*  
 ‘His sister passed by his house without visiting him.’
49. Pavel **prolez do** steny i svernul na pravo.  
*Pavel throughcrawled to wall and turned on right*  
 ‘Pavel crawled to the wall and turned to the right.’
50. Rebenok **podkinul** myach v nebo.  
*Child underthrew ball in sky*  
 ‘The child threw the ball towards the sky.’
51. Razumov **podbrosil pod** dver’ vazhnye bumagi.  
*Razumov underthrew under door important documents*  
 ‘Razumov threw the important documents under the door.’
52. Oni **podvezli** menja k domu.  
*They underdrove me to house*  
 ‘They gave me a lift to the house.’
53. Sobaka **podprygnula** vysoko za mashinuj.  
*Dog underjumped high behind car*  
 ‘The dog jumped high up behind the car.’

54. Oni menja **podvezli** **ot** universiteta do doma.  
*They me underdrove from university to home*  
 'They gave me a lift home from the University.'
55. On **podprygnul** **mezhdu** derevjami neskol'ko raz.  
*He underjumped between trees a few times*  
 'He jumped a few times between the trees.'
56. On **podnjalsja** **pered** zamkom na vozdušnom šare.  
*He underrose in front of castle on air balloon*  
 'He rose up in front of the castle in his hot air balloon.'
57. Sobaka veselo **podprygula** **u** myacha.  
*Dog cheerfully underjump near ball*  
 'The dog jumped cheerfully near the ball.'
58. Obezjana **podprygnula** **do** potolok.  
*Monkey underjumped to ceiling*  
 'The monkey jumped up to the ceiling.'
59. **Prishel** **v** komnatu, leg i zasnul.  
*To came in room lied and fell asleep*  
 'He came into the room, lied down and fell asleep.'
60. Oni **prishli** **na** goru, gde uzhe bylo mnogo narodu.  
*They to came on mountain where already were a lot of people*  
 'They came to the mountain where it was already crowded.'
61. Nikto ne **prishel** **pod** to derevo segodnja.  
*Nobody not to come under that tree today*  
 'Nobody came under that tree today.'
62. Cherez pjat' minut on **pribezh** **k** ukrytiju čto-to kriča.  
*In five minutes he toran to shelter something screaming*  
 'In five minutes he ran to the shelter screaming something.'
63. Rebenok **pribezh** **iz** derevni ves grjaznij.  
*Child toran from village all dirty*  
 'The dirty child ran there from the village.'

64. Rebenok **pripolz** **cherez** komnatu na kuhnju.  
*Child to* crawled through room on kitchen  
 'The child crawled through the room to the kitchen.'
65. On **sprygnul** **v** kolodez, dazhe ne podumav o posledstvijah.  
*He down* jumped in well even not thinking about consequences  
 'He jumped down the well without even thinking about the consequences.'
66. Ptitsa **sletela** **na** kamen' v vode.  
*Bird down* flew on stone in water  
 'The bird flew down and landed on the stone in the water.'
67. On umudrilsja **sprygnut'** **pod** derevo s kryshy.  
*He managed* downjump under tree from roof  
 'He managed to jump under the tree from the roof.'
68. Ptitsa **sletela** **k** chashke s zernom.  
*Bird flew* down to bowl with corn  
 'The bird flew down to the bowl with the corn.'
69. Solnze **skatilos'** **za** gorizont.  
*Sun down* roll behind horizon  
 'The sun disappeared under the horizon.'
70. Patsient **sbezhil iz** bol'nitsy.  
*Patient down* ran from hospital  
 'The patient ran away from the hospital.'
71. Kot **sprygnul u** steny i probralsya v sad.  
*Cat down* jump near wall and sneaked in garden  
 'The cat jumped down near the wall and sneaked into the garden.'
72. On neozhidanno **ujehal** **v** Ameriku.  
*He suddenly* awaydrove to America  
 'Suddenly he left for America.'
73. Ivanov **ujehal** **na** poezde v Moscow.  
*Ivanov away* drove on train to Moscow  
 'Ivanov took the train to Moscow.'

74. Voda **utekla pod** kamen’.  
*Water awayseeped under stone*  
 ‘The water seeped under the stone.’
75. Oni **ujehali k** morju.  
*They awaydrove to sea*  
 ‘They drove down to the sea.’
76. Ona bystro **ubezhala za** dom.  
*She quickly awayran behind house*  
 ‘She quickly ran away behind the house.’
77. On popytaetsya nochqju **ubezhat’ iz** tjurmy.  
*He will try at night awayrun from prison*  
 ‘He will try to brake out of prison at night.’
78. **Ujehal ot** goroda daleko..  
*Awaydrove from city far*  
 ‘He drove far away from the sity.’
79. Medved’ **ushel cherez** les.  
*Bear awaywent through forest*  
 ‘The bear went away through the forest.’