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The locative alternation and verbal prefixation in Slavic: a constructional view
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The locative alternation has traditionally been characterized as a special relationship between two syntactic realizations of the same verb, which are called the locative variant (cf. [1a]) and the *with* variant (cf. [1b]).

(1) a. *John sprayed the paint onto the wall.*

b. *John sprayed the wall with paint.*

As Anderson (1971) first noted, subtle differences of meaning exist between both variants, which are related to the so-called holistic effect. In particular, in (1b), but not in (1a), it is conveyed that the truck is full. As Rappaport & Levin (1988) and Pinker (1989) correctly observe, the holistic effect is actually an epiphenomenon of the fact that (1b) specifies a change of state, whereas (1a) refers to a change of location. According to Pinker (1989) a verb must specify a manner of motion from which a particular change of state can be obtained in order to participate in the locative alternation. Thus, *spray* alternates, as in (1), because it describes a manner of motion, consisting of sending a mist or drops of a liquid and this manner of motion results in the covering of a surface (Pinker 1989:80). In contrast, neither *pour* nor *fill* enter into the locative alternation, because they are not capable of specifying both manner of motion and change of state simultaneously: *pour* describes only a particular way in which a locatum changes location (*John poured water into the glass* vs. **John poured the glass with water*) and *fill* only describes a particular change of state (*John filled the glass with water* vs. **John filled water into the glass*). In this talk, we show that Pinker's (1989) generalization does not take into account the important semantic and syntactic effects involved in verbal prefixation in Slavic (cf. also Brinkmann 1997), where some verbs typically associated with the locative variant can appear in the change of state pattern, when prefixed (usually with *ob-* or *za-*) (cf. [2] and [3]).

(2) *On oblił/ zalil stol molokom.* (Russian)

he OB-poured ZA-poured table-ACC milk-INST

'He poured over the table with milk.' (taken from Olbishevskaja 2004:7)

(3) *On obwiesił ściany obrazami.* (Polish)

he OB-hung walls-ACC pictures-INSTR

'He hung pictures all over the walls.'

Olbishevskaja (2004) recently claimed in her generative-derivational analysis that the prefixes *za-* and *ob-* introduce a resultative state that selects for a location-internal argument, i.e. *stol* 'table' in (2) and *ściany* 'walls' in (3). While we agree that this is the resultative meaning of the prefixes what triggers the alternation, we argue that Olbishevskaja (2004) is wrong when treating the prefixes *za-* and *-ob* as synonyms with a rather vague completive meaning, introducing "some semantic relation, something akin to 'G[round] is behind/covered with F[igure]'" [*sic*]. She seems to ignore the quite distinct prototype-based effects involved in *za-* and *ob-* (e.g., cf. Janda 1985). In particular, in Polish *za-* implies that the trajector completely covers the landmark, whereas the meaning of *ob-* is based on an image-schema, where the trajector affects only the exterior part of the landmark. Moreover, we show that Olbishevskaja's (2004) claim that *za-* and *ob-* are derivational prefixes subcategorizing for a Location argument can be provided with more explanatory value if one assumes Goldberg's (1995) or Michaelis & Ruppenhofer's (2001) Construction Grammar framework: indeed, it is not the case that the prefix derives a

new verb with a different argument structure, but rather it is the verb that is *integrated* into the location-as-object construction headed by one or the other prefix. Accordingly, we argue that Goldberg's (1995) or M&R's (2001) CG framework is more appropriate since it allows us to provide an elegant model of the valence-changing function of the prefix, which are harder to account for in verb-centered models. Furthermore, drawing on examples from the National Corpus of Polish (<http://nkjp.pl/>), we show that different selectional restrictions are involved in the pattern headed by *za-* and that headed by *ob-* (for instance, the *ob-* construction allows for change of position verbs, such as *wieszać* 'to hang' or *kłaść* 'to lay', while these verbs are hard to be found in the *za-* location-as-object-construction [cf. (3)]; the *za-* construction combines more frequently than the *ob-* construction with intensification modifiers such as *całkowicie* 'completely'; in contrast, the *ob-* pattern, unlike the *za-* pattern, is compatible with attenuating modifiers such as e.g. *lekko* 'lightly' [cf. (4)], etc.)

- (3) a. (...) aby zdobyć pieniądze na remont kościoła (...) obwiesił
in order to get money for renovation church-GEN he OB-hung
świątynię reklamami sponsorów (...).
temple-ACC advertisements-INSTR sponsors-GEN
'He hung the sponsor's advertisements all over the temple in order to get
money for the renovation of the church (...).'
- b. *(...) zawiesił świątynię reklamami sponsorów (...).
he ZA-hung temple-ACC advertisements-INSTR sponsors-GEN
- (4) a. Jak wchodziłem do domu, podszedł do mnie i ochlapał mnie
when I was entering into house he came to me and O-poured me
lekko wodą.
lightly water-INSTR
'When I was entering the house, he came towards me and sprayed me lightly
with water'
- b. ??Jak wchodziłem do domu, podszedł do mnie i zachlapał mnie
when I was entering into house he came to me and ZA-poured me
lekko wodą.
lightly water-INSTR

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