

Some multiply prefixed ‘verbs’ as covert serial verb constructions

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This paper takes a new perspective on certain multiply prefixed Slavic verbs, such as (1): it links them to seemingly unrelated serial verb constructions (SVCs), which are combinations of two verbs with one tense value and no marker of coordination or subordination¹, such as (2).

- (1) *Konduktor uže na-ot-ryvala biletikov.* (Russian)
 ticket-seller already on-off-tore tickets_{GEN} (Romanova 2007: 273)
 ‘The ticket-seller has prepared a lot of tickets by tearing them off the roll.’
- (2) *Òzó ghá gbè èwé khièn.* (Edo)
 Ozo FUT hit goat sell
 ‘Ozo will kill the goat and sell it.’ (Baker & Stewart 2002)

Multiple prefix constructions like (1) are typically analyzed as combining a verb with a prefix that originates in the VP (*ot-*) and a prefix that originates above the VP in the Infl-domain (*na-*). Serial verb constructions like (2), on the other hand, are typically analyzed as combinations of multiple VPs under a single TP.

In this paper, I will argue that the recently advanced analysis of (1), whereby the stem-adjacent prefix originates as a VP-internal resultative predicate and the left-hand prefix originates in the Infl-domain of the same VP, cannot be correct, since the left-hand prefix (just like the stem-adjacent prefix) tests positive on diagnostics of resultativity. I will suggest that multiply prefixed strings of the type in (1) can instead be fruitfully analyzed as covertly combining two VPs under a single TP, much in the spirit of various analyses of SVCs; in addition to the V that is phonologically realized in (1) by the stem ‘tear’, which embeds the stem-adjacent prefix as a resultative secondary predicate, I will posit a second V, realized by a phonologically null verb which embeds the left-hand prefix as a resultative secondary predicate. This analysis reconciles our multiply prefixed cases with a widespread assumption in the theory of resultatives, i.e., that there can be only one independent resultative secondary predicate per VP.²

1 There is some disagreement about the set of defining features of SVCs (cf. Aikhenvald 2006).

2 It is important to note that not every stacked prefix is claimed to come with its own VP. In addition to the accumulative use of *na-* discussed here, Žaucer (2009) proposes a two-VP structure for two other prefix uses, but also mentions cases which do not contain two VPs but rather a resultative prefix and a result-modifying prefix.

1 Introduction

It is often noted that only languages with poor tense, person and number morphology on verbs allow SVCs of the type found in, say, Edo (Baker & Stewart 2002, Muysken & Veenstra 2006: 263-5, etc.), (3).

- (3) *Òzó ghá gbè èwé khièn.* (Edo)
 Ozo FUT hit goat sell
 ‘Ozo will kill the goat and sell it.’ (Baker & Stewart 2002)

This correlation covers Slavic languages, in which the verb (unless packed inside a nominalization, etc.) must occur inflected up to subject agreement, and which do not show SVCs of the type in (3).

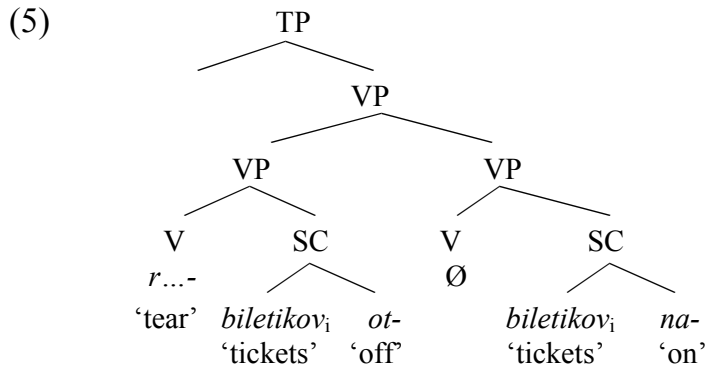
At the same time, syntactic theory has posited a number of null verbs, i.e., verbs which are present in the syntax/interpretation but are phonologically null (Ross 1979, McCawley 1979, Riemsdijk 2002, Marušič & Žaucer 2006a, etc.). The best-known is the null HAVE posited for cases like (4a), which are assigned the structure in (4b) (Ross 1979, McCawley 1979, Marušič & Žaucer 2006b).

- (4) a. *John wants a new bike.*
 b. [John wants [TO-HAVE a new bike]]

Now, given that SVCs of the type in (3) are typically analyzed as combining two VPs or AspPs under a single TP/AgrSP (i.e. two non-fully inflected verbs), the following question arises: could we find SVCs in rich-verbal-inflection languages when one of the serialized verbs is a null verb? After all, if the requirement that verbs be inflected for tense/subject agreement is some sort of a PF condition on the verb, one could imagine that it need not apply if we are dealing with a phonologically null verb; and if the requirement stems from a PF condition on the element that realizes tense/subject agreement (i.e. from its affixal rather than free-word specification), a single overt verb should be enough to satisfy it given that the structure has a single TP/AgrSP (cf. also Muysken & Veenstra 2006: 263-5, Baker & Stewart 2002).

In this paper, I propose that some multiply prefixed Slavic ‘verbs’, such as the one in (1) (repeated below), in which the stacked prefix is one type of the measure *na-*, exhibit just such a situation: an SVC in which one of two resultative VPs is headed by a null verb, and the two VPs occur under a single TP and AgrSP, and share their internal argument, as in the simplified (5).

- (1) *Konduktor uže na-ot-ryvala biletikov.* (Russian)
 ticket-seller already on-off-tore tickets_{GEN} (Romanova 2007: 273)
 ‘The ticket-seller has prepared a lot of tickets by tearing them off the roll.’

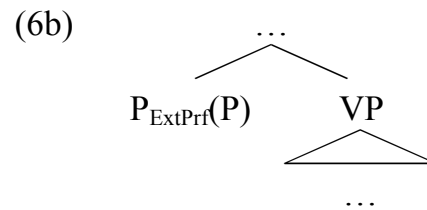
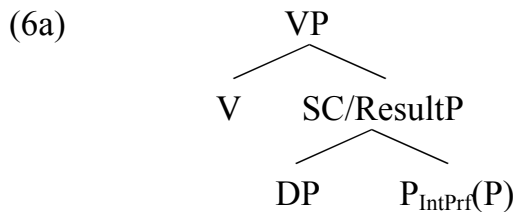


2 Accumulative/cumulative/vague-measure prefixation with *na-*

2.1 Background

Slavic prefixes are widely assumed to split into resultative and non-resultative prefixes (a.k.a. lexical/internal/inner vs. superlexical/external/outer). Resultative prefixes are characterized by having argument structure changing effects on their base verb, by contributing idiosyncratic or spatial meanings to their base verb, by attaching directly to the verbal stem rather than stacking over other prefixes, and by the fact that there can be only one such prefix per verb. Non-resultative prefixes, on the other hand, are characterized by contributing adverb-like, measure or aspectual meanings to their base, by being able to stack over other prefixes, and by having no argument structure changing effects.

It is typically assumed that the difference between the two classes is captured by assigning them different structures. Resultatively prefixed verbs are assigned the structure in (6a), which is also the structure widely assumed for resultative particle verbs in Germanic languages; non-resultative prefixes are claimed to be introduced in the clausal structure above the verb phrase, (6b).³



Seeing the prefix in (6a) as an argument-introducing element, and having its small clause (rather than a DP) act as the complement of the verb captures the argument-structure effect of resultative prefixes (i.e. loss of selection restrictions

³ (6a)-(6b) are generalizations that simplify many details, which are not relevant for the discussion (see Svenonius 2004, Romanova 2007, Tatevosov 2008, Žaucer 2009, etc.).

of the verb stem over the object after the addition of the prefix). On the other hand, introducing the prefix above the VP in (6b) captures the lack of such effects of non-resultative prefixes, as well as their adverb-/aspect-/measure-like effects and their ability to stack over resultative prefixes.

Despite the clearly different behavior that the two structural options in (6) lead one to expect from a prefix, accumulative *na-*, exemplified in (1) above and (7) below, has been seen both as a resultative (Piñón 1994, Babko-Malaya 1999, Biskup 2007) and a non-resultative prefix (Perelstvaig 2006, Romanova 2007, Tatevosov 2007, 2008, etc.).

- (7) *Děti na-rváli cvéty / cvetóv na lugu.* (Russian)
 children on-plucked flowers_{ACC} flowers_{GEN} in meadow
 ‘The children picked a lot of flowers in the meadow.’ (Filip 2000: 49)

The first position was based on the observation that *na-* changes the base verb’s selection restrictions, but the accounts did not mention cases of stacked *na-*. The second position was based on the observation that *na-* can stack, and tried to explain its selection-changing effects by treating it as some sort of quantificational element/measure expression.

In what follows, I will show that *na-* should be analyzed as a resultative, argument-introducing prefix with the structure in (6a). Moreover, I will suggest that when *na-* is found stacked over another resultative prefix, as in (1) above, we have an SVC-like structure with two resultative VPs; each of the resultative prefixes belongs to its own VP, though one of these V’s is phonologically null.⁴

2.2 Accumulative *na-* is resultative

The hallmark of resultative secondary predication is the change in the selection properties of the resultative verb when compared to those of the base verb. The most radical and best known selection change is often discussed under the label ‘unselected objects’: a nominal that cannot function as the internal argument of a verb due to a semantic-selection violation (*#write the car*) is acceptable with the same verb in the presence of a resultative predicate (*✓write the car off*) (see McIntyre 2007). Indeed, the most widely adopted syntactic analysis of

4 I do not discuss another measure-like use of *na-* here, i.e. the reflexive-introducing use in (i). See Žaucer (2009, 2010) for a detailed discussion; although cases where this *na-* stacks over another prefix are also analyzed there as containing two resultative VPs, the two uses also show important differences.

(i) *Tone se je na-govoril.* (Slovenian)
 Tone self is on-talked
 ‘Tone got his fill of talking.’

resultatives, outlined in (6a) above, is designed to take care of precisely these cases: since the internal argument is introduced by the resultative secondary predicate, it need not respect the s-selection properties of the base verb.

Turning to verbs prefixed with the accumulative *na-*, we see that they test positive on the diagnostic of changed selection properties. The pattern in (8) shows, firstly, that the addition of *na-* blocks an internal argument that is a perfectly good internal argument in the absence of *na-*, (8a-b), and secondly, that the addition of *na-* licenses an internal argument which is not supported by the base verb in the absence of *na-*, (8c-d).⁵

- (8) a. *molsti veliko krav* b. *#na-molsti veliko krav* (Slovenian)
 milk_{INF} a-lot cows_{GEN} on-milk_{INF} a-lot cows_{GEN}
 ‘milk a lot of cows’
- c. *#molsti veliko mleka* d. *na-molsti veliko mleka*
 milk_{INF} a-lot milk_{GEN} on-milk_{INF} a-lot cows_{GEN}
 ‘obtain a lot of milk by milking’

Therefore, the conclusion must be that the internal argument of *na-*verbs is introduced by the prefix rather the verb, and that *na-* must thus be a resultative prefix, as in (6a), rather than a non-resultative prefix above the VP, as in (6b).

In addition to such obvious cases, there also exist cases which are often assumed not to exhibit *na-*licensed unselected objects but which, on closer scrutiny, also turn out to exhibit just that. Measure expressions like the one in (9), for example, are often assumed to be adjuncts (cf. Romanova 2007 for the Russian equivalent).

- (9) *na-letati 300 ur* (Slovenian)
 on-fly 300 hours
 ‘accumulate 300 hours of flying’

However, when predicates like (9) are put under sentential negation, the measure expression turns genitive, i.e., it undergoes the genitive of negation, which affects direct internal arguments and not adjuncts. To be able to appreciate this case change, the numeral *300* from (8) must first be replaced with something like *303*. This is because unlike numerals such as *300*, which prevent the noun from getting the usual case of the direct object and assign genitive case to the noun, Slovenian numerals from *1* to *4*, from *101* to *104*, etc., function like simple adjectives and do not affect the case of the noun. In other words, the

5 See Romanova (2007: 202) for a parallel pattern from Russian based on the stem *grab-* (*grabitj* ✓ *proxožix*/*#denjgi* ‘rob passers-by/money’ vs. *na-grabitj* *#proxožix*/ ✓ *denjgi* ‘steal a lot of passers-by/money’).

numeral *300* in (8) will make the noun ‘hours’ genitive regardless of sentential negation, and thus prevent using the genitive of negation to test its argumenthood; but switching *300* for *303* makes this test applicable. As shown in (10), the measure expression with *na-*verbs becomes genitive under sentential negation, showing that it is not an adjunct but rather a direct internal argument.

- (10) *Ta pilot letos še ni na-letal* ✓*tristotreh ur* / **tristotri ure*. (Svn)
 this pilot this-year still not-is on-flown 303_{GEN} hrs_{GEN} 303_{ACC} hrs_{ACC}
 ‘This year, this pilot has not accumulated 303 hours yet.’

Given the intransitive base verb, the measure expression must thus be introduced as an argument of the prefix, suggesting that the prefix is a resultative one, as in (6a). Not surprisingly, (10) thus contrasts clearly with the minimally different—prefixless—(11), where the measure expression cannot turn genitive: with an intransitive verb and in the absence of the prefix, it can only be introduced as an adjunct, unaffected by sentential negation.⁶

- (11) *Ta pilot letos še ni letal/letel* **tristotreh ur* / ✓*tristotri ure*.
 this pilot this-year still not-is flown 303_{GEN} hrs_{GEN} 303_{ACC} hrs_{ACC}
 ‘This year, our pilot has not flown for 303 hours yet.’

Moreover, the internal-argumenthood of the measure expression in (10) can be supported with the ‘do so’ constituency test. When the verb is prefixed with *na-* and the expression ‘do this’ is used to refer back to the first clause, the measure expression must be part of the constituent replaced by ‘do this’, so that trying to leave it out results in ungrammaticality, (12)-(13). This is unexpected if the measure expression is an adjunct, but not if it is an internal argument.

- (12) *Juš je na-laufal 300 km lani, Črt pa je to naredil letos*. (Svn)
 Juš is on-run 300 hrs last-year Črt ptcl is this done this-year
 ‘Juš accumulated 300 kms last year, and Črt did so this year.’

- (13) **Juš je na-laufal 300 km (lani), Črt pa je to naredil 200 km (letos)*.
 Juš is on-run 300 kms last-year Črt ptcl is this done 200 kms this-year

In addition to the genitive-of-negation facts in (9)-(11) above, the ‘do so’ facts present another piece of evidence that the measure expression of *na-*verbs is an argument, not an adjunct. Given an intransitive base verb such as ‘fly’, it is thus reasonable to assume that the measure expression is introduced by the prefix *na-*

6 See Žaucer (2009: 87-9, 152-4) for more discussion and a clarification of some confounding factors with respect to the genitive-of-negation test.

, especially in view of the fact that an argument-introducing character must independently be posited for *na-* for cases with non-measure-expression unselected objects, such as ‘milk’ in (8) above. *Na-*, then, must be a resultative prefix. Several further selection-based arguments for a resultative status of *na-* can be found in Piñón (1994), Babko-Malaya (1999), Filip (2000,2005), Pereltsvaig (2006), Biskup (2007) and Žaucer (2009).^{7,8}

2.3 Measure/quantifier-like properties of *na-*

It has been claimed that unless on the ‘kind’ reading, the internal argument of *na-*verbs cannot be a singular count noun (Piñón 1994, Filip 2005, Pereltsvaig 2006), (14a-b), and it must be nonspecific indefinite and as such not preceded by demonstratives or quantifiers like ‘all’ (Filip 2005, Pereltsvaig 2006), (14c).

- (14) a. *Juš je na-kradel 50 koles.* b. *#Juš je na-kradel (eno) kolo.*
 Juš is on-stolen 50 bikes Juš is on-stolen one bike
 ‘Juš amassed 50 bikes by stealing.’ (Slovenian)
- c. *#Juš je na-kradel tistih biciklov/tiste bicikle.*
 Juš is on-stole those bikes_{GEN}/those bikes_{ACC}

It has been proposed that these quantity and definiteness selection restrictions of *na-*verbs can be explained if *na-* is treated as a VP-external functional element which introduces the direct object but whose c-selection features restrict the possible objects to ‘small nominals’/NumPs (Pereltsvaig 2006), or if *na-* is treated as a VP-external quantification-at-a-distance-like event quantifier (Romanova 2007), but not if it is a resultative secondary predicate.

Note, however, that such quantity and definiteness restrictions hold also of internal arguments of some rather plain-looking resultative verbs for which no VP-external material has been posited, such as *amass* or *accumulate*, (15).

- (15) a. *Juš amassed 50 bikes.* b. *#Juš amassed a/one bike.*
 c. *#Juš amassed those bikes.*

7 If *na-* is resultative, we expect that unless unaccusative, *na-*verbs will normally have to occur with a direct object. While this is generally claimed to be the case (e.g. Piñón 1994, Filip 2005, Pereltsvaig 2006, Borik 2008), Romanova (2007) challenges this position; however, her counterexamples are explained away in Žaucer (2009).

8 Space restrictions prevent me from reviewing Pereltsvaig’s (2006) and Tatevosov’s (2007) analysis of *na-*, where the latter is also seen as an argument-introducing prefix but still as located above the VP. See Žaucer (2009: 130-3) for a detailed discussion and refutation of that analysis, though one problem for this analysis will be indirectly presented in the following section, along with showing that the main set of data that motivated this analysis does not require a VP-external analysis in the first place.

In fact, these restrictions on the internal arguments of both *na*-verbs and *amass* are context-sensitive, that is, they depend on information packaging and are cancelable, as shown in (16) (see translation lines for English *amass*).

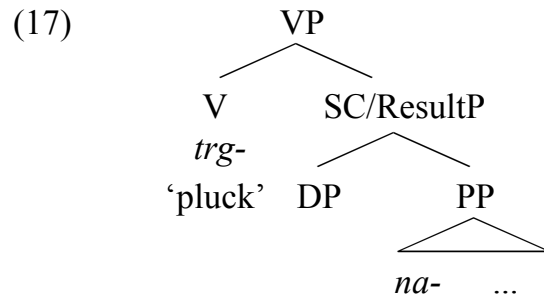
- (16) a. *Tistih 50 rožic, ki jih je Juš na-trgal včeraj, je ...* (Svn)
 those 50 flowers that them is Juš on-plucked yesterday is ...
 ‘Those/The 50 flowers that Juš plucked/amassed yesterday are ...’
- b. [context: And how many did Juš manage to amass?]
Hja, Jušu je ratal pa na-trgat eno samo rožco.
 well Juš is managed ptcl on-pluck 1 only flower
 ‘Well, J. managed to pluck/amass one single flower.’

Firstly, this cancelability establishes a further parallel between *na*-verbs and some ordinary resultative verbs such as *amass*, for which no VP-external material has been posited. Secondly, if the bans on singular count-noun internal arguments and definite specific internal arguments were due to *na*-’s c-selection features or to its being an event-quantifying functional element, they should not be pragmatically cancelable. And on the other hand, if *na*- is resultative, the cancelability of the restrictions is not surprising at all if only we assume that the *na*-headed resultative small clause has the shape of a ‘there-be’-like predicate (‘be in quantity (somewhere)’) and the internal argument of *na*-verbs originates as the subject of the ‘there-be’-like small clause; a cancelable ban on definiteness effects is well-attested with what Kearns (2000) calls ‘there-be’ constructions (typically an existential or representational ‘there-be’, sometimes a task or list ‘there-be’) (cf. McNally 2009).

2.4 Structure

Section 2.2 has provided the most standard kind of evidence for resultativity of a prefix—unselected objects—and section 2.3 has shown that even the quantity and definiteness restrictions on the internal argument of *na*-verbs do not warrant a VP-external quantifier-like treatment. The quantity restriction was shown to be similar to what we find with resultative verbs like *amass*, where the restriction arguably comes from the incorporated meaning of ‘mass’, and the cancelable definiteness restriction is similar to what we find with ‘there-be’ constructions.

With this in mind, I propose that the VP of a *na*-verb has the resultative structure in (17), i.e. a standard resultative structure, which differs from the structure of verbs like *amass* only in that its manner component is specified.



If *amass* glosses with ‘cause sth to be in/form a mass’, *na*-verbs gloss with something like ‘cause sth to be in/form a mass by V-ing’; for (17), ‘cause sth to be in/form a mass by plucking’. Often, a *na*-verb can thus be interpreted as a sort of creation verb, loosely understood, with a quantity of something coming into existence or coming to exist at a particular location (cf. Romanova 2007 and Žaucer 2009 for data). Žaucer (2009) discusses in detail how the meaning of ‘mass’ (i.e. the measure/quantity component) arises in the PP, suggesting that the prefixal preposition has a null ‘mass’-like complement in the syntax.⁹

2.5 Stacked *na*- is resultative

It is well-known that at least in some cases and in some Slavic languages, accumulative *na*- can be found stacked over a resultative prefix, as in (18).

- (18) *Konduktor uže na-ot-ryvala biletikov.* (Russian)
 ticket-seller already on-off-tore tickets_{GEN} (Romanova 2007: 273)
 ‘The ticket-seller has prepared a lot of tickets by tearing them off the roll.’

In accounts that see accumulative *na*- as resultative (Piñón 1994, Babko-Malaya 1999, Biskup 2007), such cases have gone undiscussed; in the rest of the literature on *na*- (e.g. Perelstvaig 2006, Romanova 2007, Tatevosov 2007, 2008), the capacity to stack has been seen as evidence that *na*—not just when stacked but in its accumulative use in general—is not resultative.

Now, the previous sections have established that the accumulative *na*- must be resultative. So unless one is ready to give up on the standard diagnostics of resultativity, we are left, in principle, with two options: to treat the unstacked and stacked *na*-’s as radically different, one resultative and the other not, or to

9 I assume that the genitival argument of *na*-verbs does not originate as an internal argument of *na*- but as its external argument, i.e. the subject of the small clause. This is unlike Perelstvaig (2006) and Tatevosov (2007), who seek to explain the genitive case on this argument (among other things) as a direct consequence of its being selected by *na*-. I refer the reader to Žaucer (2009) for justification of this assumption, but also note that as far as I can see, the choice is not crucial for the main claim here, which is that *na*- and the genitive argument both originate in a resultative small clause.

devise an account in which both can be treated as resultative. The first option, of course, will only make sense if the two *na-*'s also *behave* radically differently. However, when cases with a stacked *na-* are compared to the cases with an unstacked *na-*, they show all of the characteristics that the proponents of the VP-external account typically consider as the defining characteristics of accumulative *na-*. That is:

- a) whether stacked or not, accumulative *na-* contributes the same vague-measure meaning;
- b) whether a verb has *na-* stacked over another prefix or not, its internal argument cannot be a singular count noun (see 2.3 above for exceptions);
- c) whether a verb has *na-* stacked over another prefix or not, its internal argument must be nonspecific indefinite (see 2.3 above for exceptions);
- d) whether a verb has *na-* stacked over another prefix or not, its internal argument can, in some Slavic languages, and perhaps must, in other Slavic languages, be in the genitive (see Žaucer 2009 for details).

If *na-* exhibits all of the characteristics that the proponents of the VP-external account typically consider as the defining characteristics of accumulative *na-*, then it is clearly reasonable to assume that the prefix has the same origin in both cases. And given that we determined that it must be resultative when stem-adjacent, then it is reasonable to conjecture that it is resultative also when it is stacked over another prefix.

Despite the parallel behavior on the four points above, it should be noted, however, that the stacked and unstacked/stem-adjacent *na-* are marked by a crucial difference: unlike the unstacked/stem-adjacent *na-*, the stacked *na-* does not have selection-changing effects with respect to its input, i.e., the singly prefixed verb. A nominal will only be an acceptable internal argument of a verb with a stacked *na-* if it is already acceptable with the input of this *na-*, i.e. the singly-prefixed verb without *na-*. For example, ‘tickets’ is an acceptable argument to Russian *ot-ryvat* ‘tear off’, and so it is also acceptable with *na-ot-ryvat*; but there exist no cases with a stacked *na-* where the argument would count as an unselected object with respect to the singly-prefixed verb, in the sense of the data with an unstacked/stem-adjacent *na-* from section 2.2 above. We thus need an account which will capture both the shared characteristics in a) to d) above and the difference with respect to selection-changing effects.

At first sight, neither a simple VP-external account, as in (6b) above, nor a simple resultative structure, as in (6a), can capture this (nor can, for that matter, an account that would treat the stem-adjacent *na-* as resultative and the stacked *na-* as VP-external, since the shared characteristics will be unaccounted for). In what follows, I will propose a structure which will capture the shared characteristics by treating both a stacked and an unstacked *na-* in the same way—as a resultative prefix—and the difference between them will follow from argument sharing between the two resultative VPs of the doubly prefixed verb.

3 SVC-like structure

In 2.4 above, I analyzed verbs with an unstacked *na-* as *amass*-like resultatives. Given the shared characteristics of unstacked and stacked *na-* (meaning contribution, restrictions on the verb's internal argument), verbs with a stacked *na-* should also be *amass*-like resultatives. Now, it is often observed that there can be only one independent resultative secondary predicate per verb (Goldberg 1995, Rappaport & Levin 2001, Dikken 2003, Ramchand 2008, etc.), (19).¹⁰

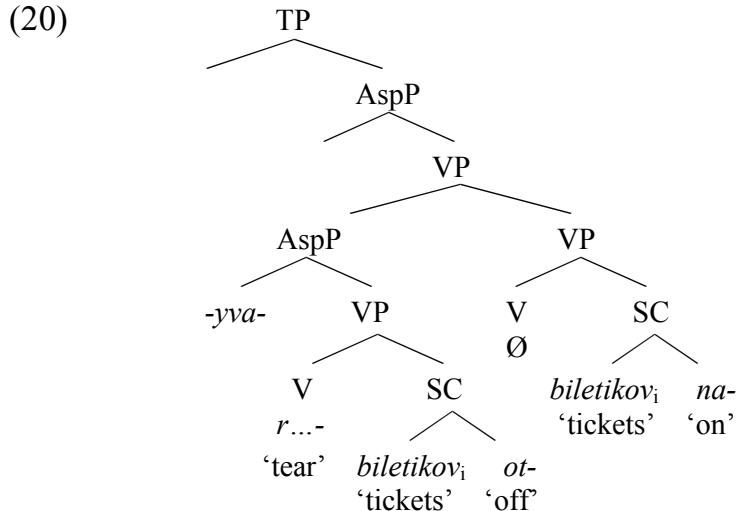
- (19) a. *Sam kicked Bill ✓out of the room / ✓black and blue / *out of the room black and blue.* (Goldberg 1995: 81)
 b. *send the letters ✓up / ✓away / *up away* (den Dikken 2003)

In fact, this generalization appears strong enough to have been built into the theory of resultative secondary predication (Rappaport & Levin 2001, Svenonius 2004, Ramchand 2008, etc.). Therefore, cases like (1) above, in which the resultative *na-* stacks on top of another resultative prefix, present us with two options: to give up the aforementioned generalization and with it the mainstream analysis of resultatives, or to hypothesize that doubly-prefixed cases like (1) contain—despite appearances—two resultative VPs, one of which is headed by a null verb. Given that the generalization of one resultative per verb is otherwise robust, giving it up—and with it the widespread mainstream analysis of resultatives—seems undesirable. Moreover, for a related doubly-prefixed case, the covert presence of two VPs has also been supported with various kinds of independent syntactic evidence (Žaucer 2009, 2010). Therefore, I will simply assume here that positing the presence of a null verb is the right way to go, and refer the reader for a longer defense of this position to Žaucer (2009, 2010).

Now, looking at the interpretation of doubly-prefixed cases such as (1), repeated below, it is evident that we have an ‘*amass*’-like event (i.e. ‘producing a lot of tickets’), which is carried out in a certain manner, i.e. ‘by tearing tickets off the roll’. Therefore, the two resultative VPs should be combined in such a way that one will provide the main resultative event and the other its manner. I follow several accounts of SVCs, which encode such a relation between the two VPs of an SVC through adjunction of one VP (or AspP) to the other (Baker & Stewart 2002, Muysken & Veenstra 2006, etc.); (1) will thus have the structure in (20) (see Arsenijević 2007 for a closely related proposal).

10 ‘Nested particles/PPs’ (*run down into the woods*), in which one PP represents a further specification of the other and both belong to the same result, are a different case.

- (1) *Konduktor uže na-ot-ryvala biletikov.* (Russian)
 ticket-seller already on-off-tore tickets_{GEN} (Romanova 2007: 273)
 ‘The ticket-seller has prepared a lot of tickets by tearing them off the roll.’



In (20), then, we have two VPs/AspPs under one TP/AgrSP, very much like what is known from much of the literature on SVCs. The adjoined VP/AspP provides the VP from the main projection line with manner, and each VP comes with its own prefix-headed resultative secondary predicate, so the generalization of one result per verb is preserved and the mainstream analysis of resultatives can easily be employed. As already noted above, interpretative, syntactic and morphosyntactic evidence for two VPs/AspPs is clearest in a related doubly-prefixed construction (Žaucer 2009), and I will not review it here; at the same time, there is neither morphosyntactic nor interpretative evidence for two SubjectAgrPs or two TPs, so despite the presence of two VPs, (20) will only contain one set of (the top part of) V’s extended projection.

Whereas the V of the manner VP is filled with the root ‘tear’, the V of the main projection line is null. One may ask, of course, why this should be so and why we do not find cases where both V’s would be realized overtly. As mentioned in section 1, verbs in Slavic must occur inflected up to subject agreement—a feature that has been crosslinguistically linked to the absence of standard SVCs (Baker & Stewart 2002, Muysken & Veenstra 2006, etc.)—and so two overtly realized verbs could not survive in a structure with a single TP/AgrSP. On the other hand, assuming that the full-inflection condition on Slavic verbs is essentially a PF requirement (whether originally stemming from the verb or the affix), nothing will prevent SVC-like structures such as the one in (20) if one of the V’s is null. Indeed, given that syntactic theory has independently posited null verbs (cf. section 1 above), the existence of SVC-like

structures with one of the V's null thus actually becomes a predicted possibility (when all other well-formedness requirements are also met).

As for the nature of the null verb, it can be either a phonologically null V with some basic semantics (such as ACT/UNDERGO), or if one wishes to dispense with lexical categories and replace V with a functional category, it can be a functional node not filled by a root, with just its just functional content interpreted. And since a result predicate seems to presuppose a dominating VP (cf. Ramchand 2008), the null verb will be recoverable through the presence of its resultative prefix *na-*. The same basic two-VP structure has also been argued to capture two other doubly-prefixed constructions (Žaucer 2009).¹¹

4 SVC-like argument sharing between the VPs

Despite two VPs and two resultative prefixes, (1) above shows just one object. If each result predicate requires a subject (Ramchand 2008), then it can only be that the two result predicates in (1) obligatorily *share* their subject. This requirement is captured if just like one TP/AgrSP, the structure in (20) also contains just one sentential object-licensing projection (e.g. one AgrOP), thus preventing two different objects. In (20), this argument sharing is marked with ‘tickets’ placed in both result predicates and coindexed.

Rather than being just some desperate magic to save the account, this argument sharing actually correctly predicts the split in the behavior between singly-prefixed and doubly-prefixed *na-*verbs that was briefly mentioned in section 2.5. When *na-* is the only prefix, it licenses objects that are unselected with respect to its input, i.e., the unprefixed verb root, (8). But since in strings with a stacked *na-*, the object is a shared argument of both prefixes, a stacked *na-* cannot license objects that are unselected with respect to its input, i.e., the singly prefixed verb. And in turn, the presence of object sharing in strings with a stacked *na-* further strengthens the proposed parallel between strings with a stacked *na-* and SVCs, since object sharing is well-attested in several types of SVCs (Baker & Stewart 2002, Muysken & Veenstra 2006, etc.).

5 Conclusion

I started out with the observation that Slavic languages predictably lack standard SVCs, but that given the postulation of phonologically null verbs in syntactic

11 The claim that the two VPs are combined with adjunction faces some challenges, most notably the availability of extraction. In the context of such a proposal for Edo SVCs, Baker & Stewart (2002, fn. 14) suggest that it may be that only full clauses count as adjunct islands (cf. also Truswell 2007). In fact, there exist several alternatives for combining the VPs of SVCs (double-headedness, conjunction, complementation), but each of these faces challenges in its own right, so I stick to the most common account.

theory, one might expect that SVCs will be possible if one verb is null. I then argued that doubly-prefixed accumulative *na*-verbs instantiate just this option: after showing that accumulative *na*- is resultative and *na*-verbs very much like plain verbs such as *amass*, I then argued that when *na*- is stacked over another resultative prefix, we have an *amass*-like verb whose manner is specified by its singly-prefixed input. I proposed that despite appearances, doubly-prefixed *na*-cases contain two VPs—one adjoined to the other—under a single TP/AgrSP, as had been proposed for SVCs. This allowed me to uphold the generalization that there can be only one resultative per verb, and with it the mainstream analysis of resultatives. The parallel with SVCs turned out to be further supported with argument sharing between the two VPs, which makes a correct prediction with respect to a difference between singly- and doubly-prefixed *na*-verbs.

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