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Research interests: generative syntax, reflexive marker, lexical prefixes, superlexical prefixes

ON SOME PROPERTIES OF LITHUANIAN VERBAL PREFIXES

The present article examines Lithuanian prefixes from the generative syntactic perspective. It is argued that the prefix occupies a peculiar position within the verb, which is manifest by several features: a) all Lithuanian verbal prefixes (excluding the reflexive marker -(i)s(i)-, which is given a different treatment) can be regarded as separable to a certain extent and, consequently, have phrasal status; b) given the fact that some verbal prefixes can stack and have predictable meanings, the distinction is made into lexical and superlexical prefixes, following the methodology developed for Slavic verbal prefixes. The merging positions of Lithuanian prefixes are examined in light of Svenonius's analysis of Germanic particles and Slavic prefixes, which is grounded in Talmy's distinction of Figure and Ground. Lexical prefixes are shown to reside within the conceptual domain of Ground. Consequently, they are merged low within the verbal complex and then undergo movement to an aspectual projection immediately above the verb. Meanwhile the merging position of superlexical prefixes is outside the verb. It is shown that the functional severing of prefixes from the verb and allocating them to their respective positions allows to account for the position of the reflexive/reciprocal marker -(i)s(i)- following internal (lexical), but not external (superlexical) prefixes, when both types are present, in Lithuanian.

KEY WORDS: prefixes, Lithuanian, aspectual projection, lexical, superlexical, reflexive marker.

Introduction

In the traditional grammar, prefixation is regarded as one of the basic derivational means supplementing the base word, most usually a noun or a verb, with a certain meaning. For Lithuanian, verbal prefixes of two kinds are distinguished: prefixes deriving from particles and those deriving from prepositions, the latter with the varying degree of relation to the original preposition (Paulauskienė 1994). Both types contribute a certain, sometimes predictable, meaning to the lexical verb, whereby prefixed verbs may be perceived as members of certain groups determined by the lexical meaning or function of the prefix (Paulauskienė 1994; Plungian 2011; cf. Slabakova 2005). Similarly to traditional accounts, the generative syntactic approach posits functional categories which subsume lexical variation within their cover notion (see, e.g., Romanova (2004) for her classification of Slavic prefixes). Since the idea of resultativeness is often mentioned in the analyses of Lithuanian prefixes, and given

previous research showing that Katz's (2003) idea that adverbs of manner (the lowest in the adverb hierarchy and hence standing in closest proximity to the verb) can only adjoin at AspP rather than vP is also applicable to Lithuanian (Korostenskienė 2015), many prefixes are believed to allow for a functional umbrella term which, following Svenonius' (2008, 2004$_a$, 2004$_b$) research on Germanic particles and Slavic prefixes and with stipulations and limitations to be discussed below, we will refer to as AspP and regard broadly within the current treatment by virtue of the fact that, in Lithuanian verbs, the addition of the prefix may do either of the following: 1) contribute the meaning of resultativeness, such as *nu- už-, iš*-; 2) contribute the meaning of processuality, such as *be*-, *tebe*-; 3) modify the focus of the meaning of the verb, such as *be-, te-*. Hence, as the discussion below will reveal, AspP essentially subsumes both Aktionsart and aspectual meanings.

The focus of this article is the Lithuanian verbal prefix. It is argued that the prefix constitutes a peculiar position within the verb, which is manifest by several features: a) besides the clitical prefixes *ne-*, *nebe-*, and *tebe-*, all Lithuanian verbal prefixes (excluding the reflexive marker *(i)s(i)-* (hereinafter *si-*), which receives a different treatment in the proposed analysis) have phrasal status; b) given the fact that verbal prefixes allow stacking to a certain degree, hence the distinction into "outer" and "inner" prefixes (Arkadiev 2010, p. 16; 2014$_a$; cf. Arkadiev 2011$_b$); the negative, modal and aspectual "outer" Lithuanian prefixes are superlexical while "inner" resultative prefixes are lexical in the sense of Svenonius (2004$_b$); d) depending on the type of the prefix, viz. lexical or superlexical, at least two aspectual domains are to be distinguished: AspP$_l$ and (in somewhat looser terms) AspP$_s$; e) lexical prefixes originate inside the verbal complex v/VP and move to the aspectual projection AspP$_l$ immediately above the verbal complex; f) superlexical prefixes are merged in AspP$_s$ region, in their respective functional projections, and are not traceable to the verbal stem; AspP$_s$ is located above AspP$_l$ in the hierarchy on the syntactic tree. It will be shown that the functional severing of prefixes from the verb and allocating them to their respective positions allows to account for the position of the reflexive/reciprocal marker *si-* as following lexical (lower), but not superlexical (higher) prefixes, when both types are present, in Lithuanian.

The structure of the article is as follows. First relevant research on the relation of Slavic prefixes to Germanic particles is presented and the need to define the position of the Lithuanian prefix in the discourse is motivated. Lithuanian verbal prefixes are shown to have phrasal status. Then the parallels between Lithuanian prefixes and Germanic particles are discussed to argue that the analysis of Germanic particles and Slavic verbal prefixes can be extended to Lithuanian verbal prefixes. The latter are consequently examined along the lexical/superlexical criteria. The implications of positioning prefixes in different positions outside the verbal complex are discussed. The conclusions summarise the results.

Theoretical overview

It seems that crosslinguistically, prefixes share several characteristic features: first, they are outnumbered by suffixes in the relevant language (Mithun 2003) and, second, many

of them derive from prepositions, either preserving the same meaning or acquiring idiosyncratic meanings. In this respect, Lithuanian is no exception, with the larger part of prefixes being of prepositional origin and the smaller part of particle origin.

In a recent typological account of aspectual systems, Lithuanian was grouped with Slavic, the principal distinction being the fact that the grammatical aspect cannot be deduced from a given Lithuanian verbal forms and can be interpreted as both perfective and imperfective depending on the context or grammatical form (Arkadiev 2015, 2011$_a$; Galnaitytė 1962; Vaičiulytė-Semėnienė 2012). Prefixes are perceived as a means to convey aspectual or Aktionsart-related information sometimes specifying that the information is more "semantic" or "lexical", rather than purely morphological (Sawicki 2000, p. 134).

Lithuanian prefixation has been examined in traditional grammatical accounts (e.g., Ambrazas 2006; Klimas 1991; Liparte 2000; Paulauskienė 1994, 2006; Sawicki 2000); Ulvydas 1971; Arkadiev 2014$_a$, 2014$_b$, 2011$_b$, 2010); but no generative analysis has yet been developed. Meanwhile, at least a brief attempt at such analysis is worthwhile, given the multiplicity of meanings and heterogeneity of prefixes and especially given the generative principle to account for all elements on the hierarchically structured syntactic tree. Given the historical connection between Lithuanian prefixes on the one hand and prepositions and particles on the other (Zinkevičius 1996, 1981), it is plausible to apply the methodology extensively developed for the explorations of Slavic prefixes and Germanic particles by Svenonius (2008, 2004$_a$ 2004$_b$, 1996) and explore the applicability of this approach to Lithuanian. In this respect two questions arise: 1) do Lithuanian prefixes form part of the verbal complex, i.e., are they part of the verb-head, or are they to be given an independent projection, i.e., they have phrasal status? b) given that some prefixes can stack while others cannot, why do prefixes interact with the verb in different ways? Consequently, the following notions will be of concern: the status of prefixes on the syntactic tree, the feasibility of distinguishing lexical and superlexical prefixes, and their respective merging positions. We shall proceed with the first question and examine the interrelation between prefixes and the verbal complex.

One more comment has to be made regarding the notation of the prefixes throughout the article. Lexical prefixes, whenever possible, will be glossed through the respective preposition they originate from, following Svenonius' approach, e.g., *iš-*, *at-* 'from' (Zinkevičius 1981); the lexical prefixes for which no immediate prepositional correlate is avalable, such as *pa-*, will be glossed *prf* 'prefix'; what we will argue are superlexical prefixes will be glossed following the notation proposed by Arkadiev (2010, 2011$_b$): the prefix *be-* will be interpreted as Continuative (CNT), and *te-* as Restrictive (RSTR) or Permissive (PRM).

On the phrasal status of Lithuanian prefixes

Let us first consider the traditional distinction of Lithuanian prefixes into clitical prefixes *nebe-*, *tebe-*, and *ne-* and prefixes *per se*, despite the diversity of approaches to treat them (Šepetytė 2006). The former, due to their ability to figure as free standing words in an elision test (with the verb deleted in the second part of the sentence), consequently appear

as separable and by definition have their own maximal projections (Korostenskienė 2014). The following examples from the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language illustrate the point:

1) a) *nebemylėjo,*   *seniai*   *nebemylėjo*   *Gvidono,*
   ne-CNT-love-3.PST   long-ago   ne-CNT-love-3.PST   Gvidon-sg.GEN

   ir   *jis*   *jos*   *ne.*
   and   he   her   ne
   'loved no longer, did not long love Gvidon, and he did not love her'.

b) *Ar*   *aš dar galiu*   *ką*   *nors rinktis?*   *Matyt, nebe.*
   Q+   I yet can-1.PRS   what-ACC   else choose-INF.si   See-INF. ne-CNT
   'Can I still choose anything? Obviously, not anymore'.

c) *...lyg*   *norėdamas*   *patikrinti,*   *ar*   *tebesėdi*
   as if   want-sg.masc.PTCP   check-INF   Q+   RSTR-CNT-sit-3.PRS
   girininkas.   *Tebe.*
   forester-m.NOM   RSTR-CNT
   '...as if willing to check whether the forester is still sitting. He still does'.

As regards non-clitical prefixes, these cannot figure individually, and consequently cannot be accounted for straightforwardly, but the question still remains. On the basis of regular semantic correspondences of prefixes and particles in, e.g., supplying the verb with the literal or idomatic meanings and by claiming that the perfective meaning in both German and Slavic is formed outside the morphological verb, Svenonius (n.d.) concludes that, in defining the phrasal status of Slavic prefixes, the criteria set out for languages with clearer distinctions, such as German and Dutch, are to be consulted. Research in these languages identifies the conditions whereby prefixes are not regarded as morphologically being part of the verb and should rather be regarded as phrases: they can be severed from the verb by a number of syntactic operations (e.g. stranding, V2 raising, use with the particle *zu*, topicalisation, focus scrambling) and they do not affect the inflectional class of the verb (Zeller 2001 and Lüdeling 2001, cited from Svenonius 2008). Svenonius (n.d.) demonstrates that these operations, while triggering the separation of the prefix from the verb in Dutch and German, are inapplicable to Slavic and without much discussion, we will extend the same conclusion to Lithuanian simply because Lithuanian prefixes, except the few cases shown above, never figure as free standing words. Nevertheless, separability remains a weighty criterion while even a brief glimpse at the particle-prefix properties invites a certain gradable interpretation of phenomena in English, German, Lithuanian and Slavic. At one pole, there are (always free-standing) particles in English and particles and (un)separable prefixes in German, jointly subsumed by what McIntyre (2003) refers to as Germanic preverbs. At the other pole, Slavic has unseparable prefixes notorious for their idiosyncratic meanings as well as the ability to stack on each other (Svenonius 2008,

2004, Svenonius n.d., Rojina 2004, Romanova 2004, Slabakova 2005, Žaucer 2009). Lithu-
anian, as will be shown shortly below, seems to occur in the middle of the German-Slavic
prefixal opposition.

Due to space constraints, we will not argue for similarities between Slavic and Lithu-
anian prefixation, but will assume them as a fact. We will just say briefly what structural
parallels between Slavic and Lithuanian in the formation of prefixed forms will be of interest
in the discussion below: Lithuanian prefixes (of both prepositional and particle origin)
always appear above the verb and contribute a range of meanings: literal, metaphorically
extended, idiosyncratic, or resultative, e.g.:

2) a) *už-eiti už kampo*
behind-go behind corner-sg.GEN
'to go behind the corner'
b) *už-auginti derlių*
behind-grow crop-sg.ACC
'to grow crops'
c) *nebe-skaityti laikraščių*
ne-CNT-read-INF newspapers-pl.GEN
'to no longer read newspapers'

There are two factors suggesting that all Lithuanian prefixes have phrasal status. The
first evidence is prosody. Marantz (1988) proposes a diagnostics according to which a
single pause made by native speakers within a word will mark the boundary of two con-
stituents within the relevant word (Svenonius 2004 Rus pref phrasal; and his references
at p. 6). Indeed, when asked to make (only) one pause in pronouncing a prefixed verb,
native speakers invariably choose to pause immediately following the prefix (*už-augino;
pa-matavo; nu-vežė*).

The second consideration has to do with an idiosyncratic property of Lithuanian mor-
phosyntax. It turns out that Lithuanian verbal morphology does have a property which
may serve as an argument in favour of prefixes being separable: their use with reflexive
verbs. As is known, in prefixed reflexive verbs, the reflexive component always follows the
prefix thus separating it from the base verb:

3) a) *augina-si*   vs   *už-si-augino*
grow-3.PRS-si   behind-si-grow-3PST
'grows/is growing'   'has grown'
b)   *matuoja-si*   vs   *pa-si-matavo*
measure-3.PRS-si   prf-si-measure-3PSTs
'tries/is trying on'   'has tried on'
c)   *veža-si*   vs   *nu-si-vežė*
carry-3.PRS-si   from-si-carry-3PST
'takes/is taking [sth by transport]'   'has taken [sth by transport]'

Korostenskienė (2014) argues that the reflexive marker *si-* is a physically manifest
trace of the subject of the sentence. Given the fact that all arguments are merged within

the verbal complex, according to the generative theory, it is only the merging position of the argument, and consequently the location of its trace realised as the reflexive marker, that depends on the type of the argument (e.g., agent, experiencer, or theme), but it figures invariably above the verb in prefixal constructions. The sentences in (4 a, b) and the respective trees in (5 a, b) illustrate the case for agentive and thematic arguments:
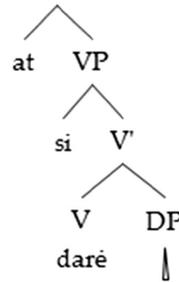
    4) a) *Jonė*   *pa-si-matavo*   *sijoną.*
           Jonė   prf-si-measure-3.PST   skirt-sg.ACC
           'Jonė tried on a skirt'.
      b) *Durys*   *at-si-darė[1].*
           Door-pl.NOM   from-si-do-3.PST
    'The door opened'.

     5) a) Agentive argument   b) Thematic argument
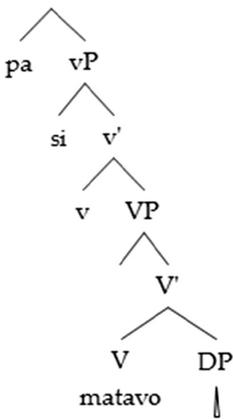
It may also be noted in this respect that the same verb form (e.g., *at-si-darė*) can have two syntactic tree structures depending on whether the subject of the sentence is an agent (as *John*) or a theme (as *durys* 'the door'), but this fact is also reflected in traditional grammatical accounts with the verb becoming either detransitivised (as with a thematic argument) or as optionally reflexive transitive verb, a characteristic property of Lithuanian reflexive verbs.

In this way, the structure of reflexive verbs is heterogeneus and is not composed entirely of verbal material: a trace of the merged nominal element is present in verbal structure and it severs the prefix from the verb. Since reflexivity is a productive derivational means and can be demonstrated to hold for each non-clitical prefix (since we are only concerned with this type at this moment), an argument in favour of positioning prefixes as having phrasal status becomes a natural consequence.

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[1] While there is no extant correlate for the prefix *at-*, historically it is related to the Russian prefix *om-* (Zinkevičius 1981, p. 186).

Therefore, the phrasal status of Lithuanian prefixes is accounted for. The next question to consider is whether Lithuanian prefixes, apart from their distinction into clitical and non-clitical ones, are homogenous in their composition. This is a broad topic and, as has been said before, comprises two aspects: classifying prefixes according to their location relative to the verb and, two, identifying the merging position of all prefixal groups identified.

The distinction into lexical vs superlexical prefixes

Arkadiev (2011b; cf. Arkadiev 2010) divides Lithuanian prefixes into "derivational" prefixes (like *pa-, su-*, etc.) and "non-derivational", or "inflectional" prefixes (*be-, te-, ne-*) (Arkadiev 2011b, p. 42–44). The latter class can also form complexes with *be-* as the second element to produce clitical prefixes *nebe-, tebe-*. Arkadiev (2010) also draws the distinction between "outer" and "inner" prefixes, the former capable of attaching to the left boundary of the latter, a phenomenon referred to as *stacking*, and parallels Lithuanian derivational prefixes to the "Slavic-type derivational aspectual prefixes" (Arkadiev 2011b, p. 47). Meanwhile research on Slavic prefixes has largely been stipulated by inquiries into Germanic particle constructions (e.g., Svenonius 1996, 2003). The ability of certain Slavic prefixes to stack has been shown to have crucial consequences for the understanding of the prefixational mechanism in Slavic, resulting in the distinction of two kinds of prefixes: *lexical* and *superlexical*, the origins of the terminology traced back to Smith (1991) (Svenonius 2004b; see also Svenonius 2004a, Romanova 2004, Rojina 2004). Lexical prefixes contribute "directional or idiosyncratic lexical meanings" (Svenonius 2008, p. 2), the latter sometimes being argued to be metaphorical extensions of their primary spatial meaning with meaning overall perceived as a scalar domain (Kagan 2013). Superlexical prefixes "are like adverbs or auxiliary verbs" and contribute "aspectual or quantificational meanings" (Svenonius 2004b, p. 205). The macroclasses of prefixes have also been noted by other scholars: e.g., Slabakova divides prefixes into *internal* and *external* prefixes, the terms emphasizing the positional, rather than lexical, properties of the prefixes, but gives them a similar description: "Internal prefixes may change the telicity of the verbal projection they are part of, whereas external prefixes do not have this effect" (2005, p. 7; see also Zaučer 2009).

Basing his analysis on his previous research of Germanic particle constructions, Svenonius (2004a, 2004b, 2008, n.d.) argues that the differences between lexical and superlexical prefixes are due to the different merging positions. Crucially, Svenonius argues that Slavic lexical prefixes correspond to Germanic category P which comprises particles and prepositions and are merged within the verbal complex, which accounts for their diverse properties and allowance of idiosyncratic meanings, an analysis in line with Marantz's (1988) discovered regularity that idioms are formed with the complement of the verb (rather than the argument in the subject position). Svenonius (2004b, p. 211) argues that verb-particle complexes in Germanic languages and related constructions in non-Germanic languages "are fairly typical manifestations of the systems that UG[2] makes available for the expression

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[2] i.e. Universal Grammar.

of directed motion and related notions and consequently "expressions of directed motion, resultatives, and related constructions" hold crosslinguistically with changes of two types making them language-specific: a) the verbal and prepositional complexes may have a more elaborate structure; b) word order permutations occur due to movement.

As we will be focusing on the semantic and behavioural properties of the prefixes, and in order to avoid terminological confusion, we will apply the terminology as used by Svenonius and his research team members, viz., *lexical* vs *superlexical*. Consequently, given the apparent similarities between Slavic and Lithuanian aspectual systems – such as a broad use of prefixation in the formation of resultative constructions and some stacking properties, it is reasonable, at least for the current purposes, to examine whether essentially the the lexical/superlexical distinction may be extended to Lithuanian. It will be shown that Lithuanian prefixes largely fit into the same framework and the implications of different merging positions of prefixes will be considered.

Therefore, the questions that await resolution are as follows: a) why can certain prefixes (*ne- be-, te-, nebe-, tebe-*) stack on Lithuanian "derivational" prefixes? b) why does this former group of prefixes evoke replacement of the reflexive-reciprocal marker –*si*- in the verb (e.g., *tęsia-si* 'continues' vs *be-si-tęsia* 'still continues', *džiaugia-si* 'rejoices' vs *ne-be-si-džiaugia* 'does not rejoice any more', *suka-si* 'spins' vs *tebe-si-suka* 'still spins'), but does not attract –*si*- in stacking constructions, as in *ne-be-su-si-tinka*' does not meet any more', *te-be-ap-si-suka* 'still rotates', *te-pa-si-lieka*' may [sth/smb] stay')?

Svenonius on merging positions of Slavic lexical and superlexical prefixes

To describe the spatial relations expressed by the prefixes, Svenonius (2004$_b$) employs Talmy's (1978; 2000) distinction of the notions FIGURE and GROUND, the former denoting the variable subject to relocation or movement and the latter the reference point against which this event is measured. For example, in the pair of examples below, (a) having a preposition and (b) a particle, the nouns *pen* and *table* are Figure and Ground respectively:

6) *the pen lay on the table.*
the pen fell off the table (Talmy 1975, p. 419).

Talmy argues that, given the fact that changes in meaning are subject to word order and intonation, under regular conditions and unless prosody interferes, the relationship between Figure and Ground is unidirectional, i.e., the variable is always measured along a certain reference point and hence Figure should normally precede Ground. Mathematically, Talmy suggests the formula and the following explanation to account for the relationship:

7) "$y = 3x^2 + 1$

Y, FIGURE-like, is considered a 'dependent variable' and appears alone on the left, while x, GROUND-like, is considered an 'independent variable', appears on the right and is there grouped together with all operators and modifiers" (1975, p. 422). Svenonius (2004$_b$) paralles this equation to the syntactic c-command, in which Figure/*pen* would syntactically dominate and c-command the relevant expressions (Ground) identifying its location or

movement, hence *on the table* and *off the table* in (6) above. To capture this relationship syntactically, Svenonius (2004$_a$) introduces a functional category *P* which is "a set of words for spatial relations with syntactic properties distinct from those of nouns or verbs" and is a common attribute of verbal semantics (2004$_a$, p. 12). Members of the category *P* can have both literal and metaphorical meanings; consequently English prepositions, such as *owing to, regarding*, would also be included in the category. Svenonius provides a set of characteristic features of the category P, its use with the DP as a complement being one of them. Employing Talmy's terminology, Svenonius argues that "when spatial relations are lexicalized as adpositions, the complement of the adposition is always the Ground" (2004$_b$, p. 208), the term *adposition* referring to pre- or post-positions (http://www-01.sil.org):

8) Max   stuck   his   finger   in   his   nose. (Svenonius 2004$_a$, p. 16, example a)
                    Figure   Ground

The tree diagram below depicts the Figure-Ground relationship (Svenonius 2004$_b$, p. 208):

9)

Regular patterns in encoding spatial relationships across various unrelated languages suggest that the feature holds cross-linguistically. Consequently, the preposition introduces the Ground and, once identified as merged in PP, Figure is always merged in PP, i.e., it does so regardless of the type of the argument, which, as is known, occupies different positions: agents and experiencers originate in spec-vP, while themes originate within the VP[3]. To account for the resulting structural differences (depending on whether the subject of the sentence is the agent or theme), Svenonius employs Ramchand's (2003) event decomposition framework and proposes that in agentival constructions, the R[esult] Phrase should be present, which is parallel to the light verb phrase vP. If so, given the fact that the Figure is merged in the PP, it has to undergo movement to the higher resultative phrase and occupies the spec-RP (b) (cf. Romanova 2004).

Below are the thematic and (slightly modified) agentival Lithuanian examples illustrating Svenonius' Figure-Ground-Argument relationship (Svenonius 2004, p. 209) followed,

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[3] There are alternative views, too: e.g., Basilico (1998) argues that experiencers are merged as spec-VP while themes as comp-VP (cf. Carnie 2013).

for illustrative purposes, by the traditional formula for the specifier-phrase head-complement relationship which also depicts the essential relationship of *c-command* which for our purposes may be formulated in the simplified form as follows: the material appearing higher on the syntactic tree dominates, or c-commands, the material appearing below.

10)

Figure, Ground, Theme with Svenonius' functional PP projection[4]	Figure, Ground, Agent	Specifier-phrase head-complement relationship

If so, Slavic prefixal system (and, by extension, Lithuanian) should also be interpretable within the same framework. For example, both Germanic particles and separable prefixes and Slavic prefixes can have literal (primarily spatial) or metaphorical (idiosyncratic) meanings and both "can change Aktionsart, or argument structure" of the verb (2004_a, p. 4). Svenonius argues that, for example, to render directed motion, languages employ essentially the same structure, with the particle left-adjacent to the verb. He observes that in Slavic (similarly to what will be shown for Lithuanian), the verbal prefix is frequently doubled by the respective preposition which appears as part of the prepositional phrase in the verbal complement, thus pointing to its relation to the Ground. The tree below illustrates the formation of the lexical prefix (based on Svenonius 2004_b, p. 206):

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[4] Svenonius' PP encodes spatial relations, and is homophonous to the generative prepositional phrase PP in the most common sense.

11)

merging domain
of lexical prefix
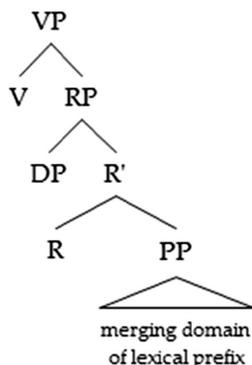
This principle is crucial for the present analysis: under the proposed approach, lexical prefixes originate below the verb and consequently are c-commanded by it.

We will not be concerned with the complex system of the representation of lexical prefixes; but will only briefly state the main difference from the Germanic free-standing particles: Svenonius (2004_a, 2004_b) postulates that lexical prefixes originate in an extended projection below the RP and then move out to the aspectual projection above the verb to express the resultative state. The example (12) below for the lexical prefix and a complex preposition is from Svenonius (2004_a, p. 5-6),

12) Russian:

On	*vy-šel*	*iz-za*	*stola*.
He	out-went	out.of-behind	table

'He got up from the table'.

The respective tree diagram, slightly extended for illustrative purposes, is given below (cf. (Svenonius 2004_b, p. 226, 245). The square boxes around *tFigure* and DP *'stola'* show the merging domains of Figure and Ground respectively. The root of the square arrow shows the merging position of the prefix and its subsequent movement to the aspectual projection above the verb.

13)

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                              AspP
                             /    \
                          PP       Asp'
                          △       /   \
                         vy-     /     \
                        'out'   /       \
                               /         \
                            Asp          vP
                                        /  \
                                       v    VP
                                           /  \
                                          V    RP
                                         šel   / \
                                       'went' /   \
                                          t_Figure  R'
                                                  /   \
                                                R⁰    PathP
                                                     /    \
                                                  t_PP    Path'
                                                         /    \
                                                     Path⁰    pP
                                                      iz-     /  \
                                                     'from'  /    \
                                                        t_Figure   p
                                                                 /   \
                                                                p    PlaceP
                                                                    /     \
                                                                Place⁰    DP
                                                                 za      △
                                                               'behind' stola
                                                                        'table'
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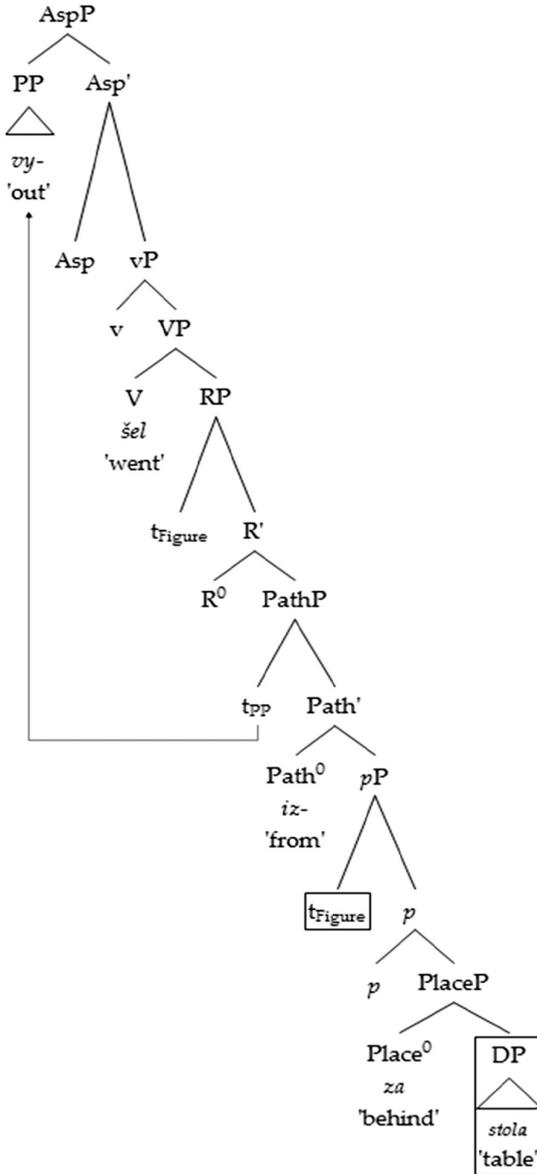
Extending analysis to Lithuanian

For reasons presented above and due to space constraints, we will assume that the Figure-Ground model as applied to Germanic particles and Slavic prefixes is also applicable to Lithuanian prefixes once parallels between Germanic particles and prepositions and Lithuanian prepositions and prefixes have been established. Major similarities in the prefixal systems of Lithuanian and, say, Polish and Russian have already been mentioned: prefixes are regularly found at the left boundary of the verbal complex, they constitute one mor-

phological complex with the verb and are a productive derivational means. An example below features the prefix *nu-* and its doubling preposition in the verbal complement:

14) *Jis   nu-bėgo nuo   kalno.*
    He   from-ran   from   mountain-sg.GEN
    'He ran down from the hill'

In addition, parallels between Lithuanian and Russian aspectual systems have already been established in the relevant literature (e.g. Arkadiev 2015). In what follows, similarities between Germanic particles and Lithuanian prefixes will be shown, following Svenonius's proposed criteria (Svenonius 2004$_a$, 2004$_b$) to argue that Lithuanian lexical prefixes are to be merged within the verbal complex, too. Contrary to Svenonius (2004$_b$), however, I do not consider the option of the head-movement of the prefix since the phrasal status of the prefix has been demonstrated in the first part of the article and second, because Svenonius himself questions the tenability of such operation given the general tendency of generative syntactic movement to be confined to phrases only (cf. Svenonius 2008). I will use the basic structure of Figure and Ground manifestations as given in Svenonius (2004$_a$) (cf. the formal account presented in Svenonius 2004$_b$).

Germanic particles and Lithuanian prefixes and prepositions compared

1) *Relation to prepositions*
Svenonius shows that many Germanic particles have prepositional correlates and that the same is true of Russian prefixes and prepositions. The relation of the verbal prefix to the preposition is also the essential aspect in Lithuanian morphology with the prepositional origin of many prefixes attested historically (Zinkevičius 1996, 1981; see also Paulauskienė 1994). We will supply the relevant examples from Svenonius with examples illustrating the correlation between Germanic particles on the one hand and Lithuanian prefixes and prepositions on the other:

15) Germanic particles and prepositions:
a) *give up*   *up the tree*
b) *drop out*   *out of the window*
c) g*oof around*   *around the fountain* (Svenonius 2004$_b$, p. 213)

16)   Lithuanian prefixes and prepositions
a) iš-*vengti*   *iš namo*
From-avoid   from house
'to avoid'   'from the house'

b) *pri-bėgti*   *prie namo*
beside-run   beside-house
'to run up'   'near the house'

c) *nu-bėgti*   *nuo namo*
   From-run   from house
 'To run (down) from'   'from the house'

d) *į-bėgti*   *į namą*
   In-run   in house
 'to run into'   'in(to) the house'

With respect to Russian, Svenonius points out, the prefixal meanings are generally "spatially transparent" (2004[b], p. 214), and can essentially serve as metaphorically extended meanings of the original prepositions. On the other hand, there are instances when the prefix contributes an idiosyncratic meaning, and this seems to occur more easily than with prepositions. The same is true of Lithuanian:

17) a) iš-*taisyti*   *iš dėžės*
       from-mend   from box
       'to repair'   'from the box'

   b) *į-taisyti*   *į dėžę*
      in-mend   in box
      'to fix in, to fit in'   'into the box'

   c) *ap-gauti*   *aplink stalą*
      around-get   around table
      'to deceive'   'around the table'

2) Resultativity

Svenonius argues that constructions with Germanic particles and separable prefixes express a resultative state and the same holds for the prefixal Slavic languages. We extend his claim to Lithuanian: as is known, all prefixes are argued to have resultative meanings (Ambrazas 2006), with the category of aspect regarded as weaker than that in Slavic, hence the debate whether it should be regarded as "a grammatical or lexical category", or a mixture of both (Zinkevičius 1981, p. 76; cf. Paulauskienė 1994; Galnaitytė 1962, Arkadiev 2011[a]; see also Dahl (1985) for the difficulties in separating the notions of *aspect* and *Aktionsart*). Dahl (1985), in particular, argues that in certain languages without as clear a grammaticalised category of aspect as in Slavic, Lithuanian among them, relevant morphemes nevertheless have "a natural connection to aspectual categories" (1985, p. 86).

The distinction of resultativity will suffice for the present purposes. The English examples below are from Svenonius (2004b, p. 215; 18 a-d), followed by examples from Lithuanian:

18) Germanic particles:
a) *Boris wore out his trousers.*
b) *I threw a coin in.*
c) *They're building up the beach with houses.*
d) *Carry in the coal.*

19) Lithuanian prefixes:
a) *Elena   nu-nešiojo   savo   džinsus.*
   Elena   from-carry-3.PST   self   jeans-pl.ACC
   'Elena wore out her jeans'.

b) *Paulius   į-metė   moneta.*
   Paulius   in-throw-3.PST   coin-sg.ACC
   'Paulius threw a coin in'.

c) *Jie   ap-stato   pakrantę   namais.*
   they   around-build-3.PRS   shore-sg.ACC   houses-pl.ABL
   'They are building up the shore with houses'.

d) *At-nešti   anglies   iš   rūsio.*
   from-carry coal-PRT   from   cellar-sg.GEN
   'to bring coal from the cellar'

Svenonius argues that changes in the order of the particle in Germanic verb-particle constructions have to do with the (non-)involvement of the Resultative projection on the syntactic tree. The presence of this projection is suggested by the presence or absence of the particle ultimately regulating what arguments the verb can take. Svenonius refers to such arguments as unselected arguments (2004b, p. 215). Meanwhile, as in Slavic, the presence or absence of the prefix in Lithuanian also determines the acceptability of the argument. Both cases are illustrated below:

20) Germanic
a) *They slept (*the party).*
b) *They slept *(the party) off* (Svenonius 2004b, p. 216, example 20 a-b)

21) Lithuanian
a) Tomas   miegojo (*vakarėlį).
   Tomas   sleep-3.PST (*party-sg.ACC)
   'Tomas slept (*the party)'.

b) Tomas pramiegojo *(vakarėlį).
   Tomas sleep-3.PST *(party-sg.ACC)
  'Tomas slept *(the party) off'.

c) Svečiai   valgė   (*kaimynus).
   guests-pl.NOM   eat-3.PST   (*neighbour-pl.ACC)
  'The guests ate (*neighbours)'.

d) Svečiai   apvalgė   *(kaimynus).
   guests-pl.NOM   eat-3.PST   *(neighbour-pl.ACC)
  'The guests ate the neighbours out of house and home'.

Svenonius postulates that the presence of Germanic structures like "put a ring in" (with the absent complement) suggests that the preposition resides in the P while the resultative phrase RP has a null head, which, however, in Germanic resultative structures can have as its complement either particles, as in (20 b – *slept off*), or adjective phrases like *white* in the structure *He painted the door white*. In Slavic, the resultative R head must obligatorily be filled with a resultative prefix. Lithuanian examples reflect the latter preference: to render resultativity, the prefix becomes obligatory:

22) a) *Jis   nu-kirpo/*kirpo   plaukus   trumpai.*
       (in the resultative reading)
        He   from-cut-3.PST / *cut-3.PST   hair-pl.ACC   short-ADV
       'He cut his hair short'.

b) *Tomas   nu-dažė/*dažė   duris   baltai.*
   (in the result. read)
   Tomas   from-dye-3.PST / *dye-3.PST   door-pl.ACC   white-ADV
   'Tomas painted the door white'.

As in Slavic, Lithuanian rules out the expression of a resultant state without the prefix.
The resultative projection where the prefix is originally merged and which Sveno-nius puts below the VP, should allow movement of the preposition to a position immediately above the verb since the "outer aspect" of the verb is affected (Svenonius 2004$_a$, p. 5). The tree diagram featuring such resultative constructions would look something like this:

23)
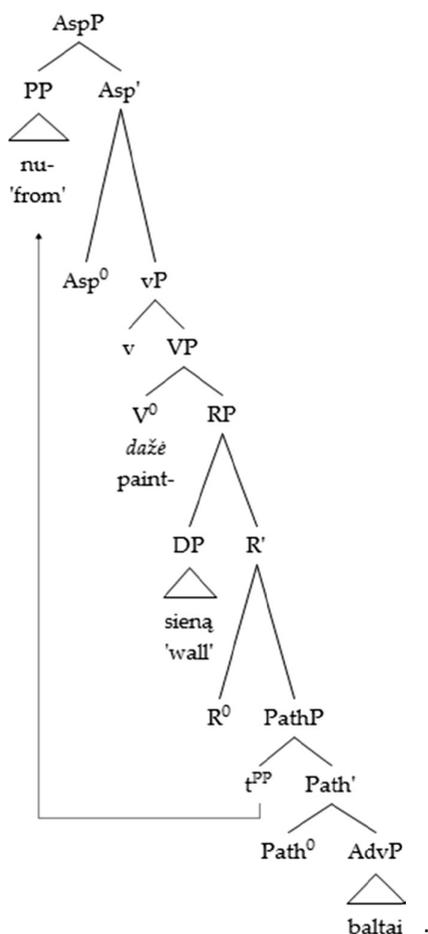
3) *Idiomaticity*

Germanic verb-particle constructions are notorious for their idiomatic meanings, which nevertheless are often metaphorically transparent (Svenonius 2004$_b$; Korostenskaja 2009). In Lithuanian, idiomaticity is a frequent attribute of prefixed verbs. Compare:

24) a) *leisti*   *ap-leisti*
     let-INF   around-let-INF
     'let, allow'   'neglect, abandon'

b) *laikyti*   *už-laikyti*
  keep-INF   behind-keep-INF
  'keep'   'detain'

c) *galvoti*   *iš-galvoti*
  think-INF   from-think-INF
  'think'   'think out'

Svenonius argues that the ability of the verb to have idiomatic meanings by means of prefixation corresponds to Marantz's (1988) observation that idiom formation is productive in verb-object, but not subject-verb combination; consequently, idiomaticity is coded below the verb. On this view, prefixes capable of producing idiomatic meanings should originate below the verb, parallel to the verb-object relationship.

All these facts suggest that Lithuanian prefixes can be interpreted in light of analysis employed for Germanic particles and Slavic prefixes. If so, they have to be formally accounted on the tree with a dedicated functional projection which would give credit to their role and effect on the verb. The projection that grasps the resultative meanings is AspP located above the verb. But postulating an aspectual projection brings up one more aspect to be considered dealing specifically with Lithaunian: the notion of perfectivisation. While in Slavic prefixes are known to turn the imperfective verb into a perfective verb (Rus *delat'* – *sdelat'* 'to do'), with the distinction preserved throughout verbal conjugation, in Lithuanian, the change from imperfective to perfective is only identifiable in the infinitive (imperf *nešti* – perf *nunešti* 'to carry'), but when conjugated, the verb often does not preserve formal aspectual differences and, if so, will be interpreted as either perfective or imperfective:

25) a) *nu-nešė* – past tense, perfective;
    b) *nu-neša* – present tense, imperfective.

This issue will not be dealt with in detail here; however, it seems that it is not so much the aspectual projection that is at play, but rather the scope the inflection takes over the verb form, hence its placement on the tree relative to the verb and the prefix. Thus at least preliminarily, it seems that in Lithuanian, the prefix falls into the scope of the inflectional tense marker located in the tense phrase TP, whereas in, say, Russian, it does not. The former phenomenon seems to be natural, given that the Tense Phrase projection responsible for assigning tenses is one of the highest projections on a tree and consequently is located above the aspectual phrase and, as a result, scopes over everything below, with the Lithuanian verb raising to T only after spellout, as Korostenskaja (2014) shows applying Pollock's (1989) tests. Since the generative comparison of the category of tense in Lithuanian and Russian goes beyond the scope of the present discussion and requires a thorough study of its own, we will not discuss this issue further.

Slavic superlexical prefixes

A fairly large class of Slavic prefixes, which Svenonius refers to as superelexical, have a set of features different from those of lexical prefixes. The former are characterised by the

ability to stack onto lexical prefixes and highly predictable meanings. The following list of features characterise Slavic superlexical prefixes:

26) a) Temporal meanings, rather than spatial
    b) Absence of idiomatic collocations
    c) Argument structure: Failure to license unselected arguments
    d) Secondary Imperfective scopes over lexical, not over superlexical
     e) Stacking: Superlexical are outside lexical (Svenonius 2004$_a$, p. 9; cf. Svenonius 2004$_b$)

Consider the following examples from Bulgarian, Russian and Slovenian:

27) a) po-na-razkaˇza   (Bulgarian)
        dlmt-cmlt-narrate
        'tell a little of many' (Istrakova 2004; cited from Svenonius (2004$_b$, p. 207; example (3a))

   b) po-za-kryvatj   (Russian)
       'closeP (shut) many objects one after another' (Romanova 2004, p. 264)

   c) *po-pri-vz-digniti*   (Slovenian)
       across-at-up-lift
       'lift up a little one by one' (Žaucer 2009, p. 12)

Let us consider the Russian example above. The prefix *po-* apparently has a temporal meaning, not spatial; it never changes its meaning – "to do something to a great degree" – when used with other verbs: e.g., *po-ras-prodavala* 'sold out a lot of sth', *po-za-pisyvala* 'wrote down a lot of sth'. It does affect the argument structure of the verb, but it does change the verbal aspect of secondary imperefective verbs obgligatorily into perfective. Finally, as the examples above show, *po-* successfully stacks on other lexical prefixes. Svenonius suggests that, due to these properties, superlexical prefixes are to be merged above the verbal complex. Schematically the merging positions of the lexical and superlexical prefixes are given in trees below (based on Svenonius 2004$_b$, p. 206):
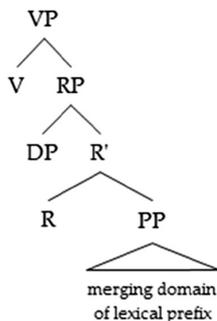
28)   a) lexical   b) superlexical
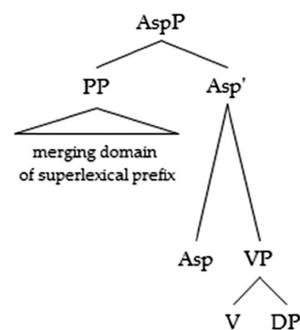
Can superlexical prefixes be distinguished in Lithuanian?

The table from Arkadiev (2014$_a$, p.16) presented below (see also Arkadiev 2010; 2014$_a$ for analysis of *te*-; Arkadiev 2011$_b$ for analysis of *be*-) summarises the pre-verbal morphological and morphosyntactic inventory as well as the meanings contributed:

29)

Outer			Inner		
permissive, restrictive, affirmaive	negation	aspectual-modal prefix	actional preverbs	reflexive	base
te-	*ne*	*be*-	*ap-, at-, da⁵-, į-, iš-, nu-, pa-, par-, per-, pra-, pri-, su-, už-*	*-si*	

Disregarding the potential differences, it nevertheless seems that the division of prefixes into lexical-superlexical can be effectively applied to Lithuanian. It appears that some prefixes contribute very regular meanings. Indeed, whereas lexical prefixes deriving from spatial prepositions may have idiomatic meanings and cannot stack (just as in Slavic (cf. Arkadiev 2015)), prefixes *ne*- (which is an outsider to the group due to its semantic properties, but which will be mentioned on this occasion; its phrasal and very independent status has already been shown before (Korostenskienė 2014)*, be-, te-* can. Besides, complex prefixes *nebe-, tebe-* can adjoin any type and form of the verb and, similarly to *ne*-, can figure as free standing words. In fact, these complex prefixes already demonstrate the stacking operation at work, while in its entirety, the group has highly predictable and systematic meanings.

Compare now some examples from Lithuanian:

30) a) *te-pa-sakė*
        RSTR-prf-turned
        'only told'

b) *te-be-at-randa*
   RSTR-CNT-from-find
   'still discovers'

---

⁵ The prefix *da-* is a borrowing from Russian and is regarded as ungrammatical in Standard Lithuanian.

c) ne-be-su-žinojo
  ne-CNT-with-knew
  'never found out'

d) be-lieka
  CNT-remain
  'only remains',

Let us also speculate a little on what the term superlexical implies. In purpotedly being the first one to use the term "superlexical morphemes", Smith (1997: 48) defines them as shifting "the focus of a situation rather than determining the situation itself". As the examples above show, this is precisely what happens in Lithuanian (cf. Galnaitytė 1962). Moreover, as has been mentioned before, the prefixes in question all have established non-prepositional origins. Meanwhile the shift in the perspective brought about by the superlexical prefix was intended to be aspectual one, as in Russian, but it seems that the term has a broad coverage, given the fact that Smith also references verbs like *begin* and *finish* as representative examples of morphemes in English (ibid.), which refer to the beginning and the end points of an action. In Russian, the superlexical prefix *no-* is classified as distributive (e.g., Romanova 2004), hence having Aktionsart-colored, rather than purely temporal, properties. In Lithuanian, *be-* clearly contributes the meaning of the middle stage of an action, as they both point to the fact that the action is continued. The cases that do not fall naturally within the scope of the definition 'superlexical' seem to be only *te-* and *ne-*. According to Arkadiev (2014$_a$), the permissive/restrictive/affirmative prefix *te-* contributes a modal resrtictive or permissive as in, e.g., (30a) – *te-pasakė* 'only told' (restrictive), or *te-gyvuoja* 'may [it] prosper' (affirmative, permissive). The negative prefix *ne-* reverses the perspective on the action expressed without affecting its modal or aspectual properties. In both cases, however, it seems that the meaning conveyed stands hierarchically higher than the meanings conveyed by all other prefixes due to the fact that the former then finalise the perspective on situation framed by prefixes contributing aspectual and.or directional meanings. Consequently it may be suggested that the meanings of *te-* and *ne-* are of more clausal, rather than verbal, nature and, given their superordinate status, the two prefixes do fall within the boundaries of the notion 'superlexical', since they a) stack on other prefixes and b) contribute conpositional meanings. The question that remains is only whether the criterion of shifting focus has to be interpreted in the narrow sense, i.e. as manifest through aspectual properties. In the present analysis, we see no problem in allowing for a broader perspective on focus to subsume the restrictive, permissive and negative meanings. If not, these meanings become superlexical by virtue of the fact that they may appear above lexical prefixes. In this way, the distinction of lexical and superlexical prefixes proposed in the present article does not entirely parallel Arkadiev's distinction of outer and inner prefixes; nor does it fall into Svenonius' model of superlexical aspectual prefixes. In the present approach, we apply the lexical /superlexical distinction to prefixes capable of

modifying the verbal meaning: one independent of the telic/resultative properties of the verb (superlexical prefixes) and one contributed by them (lexical prefixes), which should naturally exlude the reflexive marker *si-*, which, following previous research, we label as a physically manifest trace of the subject argument (Korostenskienė 2014).

Further explorations of the exact composition of the aspectual projection go beyond the scope of the present study; but it is clear that, if additional projections in the superlexical prefixal domain to be distinguished (to accommodate modal and negative meanings), only add to the specificity of Lithuanian superlexical prefixes whose minimum qualifying conditions are as follows: these can contribute a range of predictable and systematic compositional meanings, can stack freely, and do not affect the argument structure of the verb. Consequently, Lithuanian prefixes *nebe-, tebe-, be-, te-* can be regarded as superlexical and be formally accounted for differently from their lexical counterparts. The distinction of superlexical prefixes also conveniently puts purely clitical prefixes *ne-, tebe-, nebe-* into the same group with simple prefixes *be-* and *te-*: the different properties of lexical and superlexical prefixes confirm the idea that the merging positions of lexical and superlexical prefixes be different from their prepositional counterparts.

In this way, the proposed analysis identifies the prefixal inventory of Lithuanian as follows:

31)

Superlexical prefixes	Lexical prefixes
te-, ne-, be-, tebe-, nebe-	*at-, į-, iš-, nu-, pa-, par-, per-, pra-, pri-, su-, už-*

Taking into consideration, as far as possible, the fine-grained distinctions within the class of superlexical prefixes can now be preliminarily defined as comprising the following functional projections:

32)
PrmP - Permissive Phrase, locus of the permissive use of *te-*;
NegP - Negative Phrase, locus of the negative *ne-*;
RstrP - Restrictive Phrase, locus of the restrictive use of *te-*;
CntP - Continuative Phrase, locus of *be-*.

It might also appear that, due to their phrasal status and ability to figure as free-standing words, the complex prefixes *tebe-* and *nebe-* should be given „umbrella" functional projections of their own, e.g. CntP [Continuative Phrase] and DcntP [Discontinuative Phrase] respectively, following the treatment proposed by Arkadiev. It is not quite clear now, however, how the arising doubling of the Continuative Phrase could be handled in this case as both *be-* and *tebe-* would have to be rendered as Continuative Phrases yet have different separability status from the verb. We will leave this and other issues related to the delimitation of the functional projections of superlexical prefixes or later analysis.

In this way, the example and relevant tree in (33a-b) below illustrate the Lithuanian verb with prefixal positions filled with both superlexical and lexical prefixes. The square frame in the tree diagram marks the region with material produced/merged within the verbal complex with NegP and CntP forming the superlexical domain:

33) a) *ne-be-nu-si-suka*
         ne-CNT-from-*si*-turn-3.PRS
         'no longer turns away'

   b)
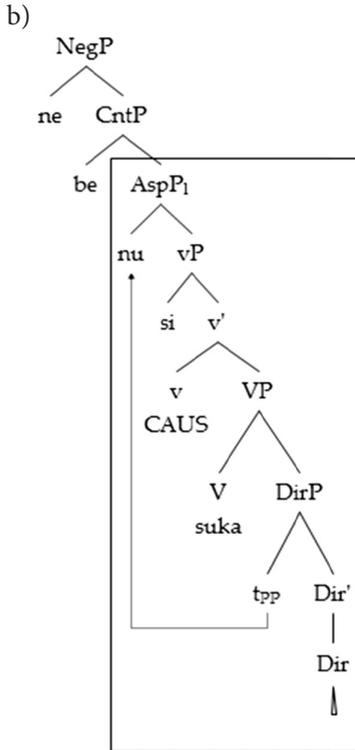
Returning to the work-in-progress question on the placement of the reflexive marker within the verb, the proposed analysis explains why Lithuanian has forms *ne-be-nu-si-suka*, but not **ne-be-si-nu-suka*, **ne-si-be-nu-suka*, etc.; in other words, why the reflexive marker is sensitive to whether or not the verbal form is prefixed, but never climbs up (superlexical prefixes) to show up higher still in the tree. The answer is as follows: as a physically manifest trace, the reflexive/reciprocal marker never leaves the material originating within the verbal complex. An analysis of the implications of this awaits a study of its own.

Conclusion

In the present article, the methodology developed by Svenonius was applied to analyse Lithuanian prefixes as part of the ongoing research on the position of the reflexive/recipro-

cal marker (i)s(i)- in Lithuanian. Prefixes constitute an interesting domain since they are traditionally believed to induce the movement of the reflexive marker. However, the reasons why the reflexive marker cannot raise beyond a particular point were unclear. Showing first the phrasal status of all verbal prefixes in Lithuanian, the proposed approach divides verbal prefixes into two main groups: lexical and superlexical prefixes. Lexical prefixes derive from prepositions and can contribute both literal and idiosyncrfatic meanings. They can also change the event structure of the verb as well as affect its argunent composition. Meanwhile superlexical prefixes contribute regular temporal or modal meanings and can stack above lexical prefixes. On the basis of these properties, previous research on Germanic particles and Slavic prefixes as well as idiom construction principle outlined in Marantz (1988), the conclusion was made that Lithuanian lexical and superlexical prefixes have different merging positions. Thus lexical prefixes originate within the verbal complex and undergo subsequent movement to an aspectual projection to realise the resultative meaning overtly. Meanwhile superlexical prefixes originate in the respective phrasal aspectual projection above the projection of lexical prefixes, which is in line with the historical origins of these prefixes. The different merging positions of prefixes help account for the fact why the reflexive/reciprocal marker never raises beyond the lexical prefix: as a physically manifest trace of the subject argument, it stays within the material originating within the verbal complex.

Abbreviations

AdvP – Adverb Phrase
ABL – Ablative
ACC - Accusative
AspP – aspectual phrase
CAUS - causative
CMLT – cumulative
CNT – continuative
CNTP – Continuative Phrase
DirP – directional phrase
DLMT - delimitative
DP – determiner phrase
GEN – Genitive
Imperf – imperfect
Inf – infinitive
l – lexical
N – noun
NegP – Negative Phrase
PART – partitive
Perf – perfect
Pl – plural
PP – Svenonius' functional projection denoting spatial relations; prepositional phrase (see footnote 3)
Prf – prefix
PRS – present

PST – past
PART – Partitive
PTCP – participle
+Q – interrogatory complementiser
RP – Resultative phrase
RSTR – restrictive
RSTRP – Restrictive Phrase
s – superlexical
Si – reflexive marker
Smb – somebody
Sth – something
Sg – singular
T – tense
TP – Tense Phrase
t – trace
V – verb
v – light verb
VP – verb phrase
vP – light verb phrase
Spec – Specifier

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APIE KAI KURIAS LIETUVIŲ KALBOS VEIKSMAŽODŽIŲ PRIEŠDĖLIŲ YPATYBES

Santrauka

Šiame straipsnyje lietuvių kalbos veiksmažodžio priešdėliai tirti remiantis Peterio Svenonio metodologija. Lietuvių kalbos priešdėliai pasižymi tuo, kad juose sangrąžos dalelytė -si- juda iš veiksmažodžio galo į poziciją tarp priešdėlio ir veiksmažodžio, tačiau tokia sangrąžos vieta bei priežastys, kodėl sangrąža nekyla virš tam tikros ribos sintaksiniame medyje, lieka neaiškios.

Straipsnyje pirmiausia atskleidžiamas frazinis visų lietuvių kalbos veiksmažodžio priešdėlių statusas. Toliau, taikant Svenonio kriterijus, priešdėliai suskirstomi į dvi grupes: leksinius ir super-leksinius priešdėlius. Leksiniai priešdėliai kilo iš prielinksnių: jie gali suteikti tiek tiesioginę, tiek perkeltinę reikšmę. Superleksiniai priešdėliai kilo iš dalelyčių: jie gali eiti prieš leksinius priešdėlius sintaksiniame medyje, o jų perteikiama reikšmė nebūna perkeltinė. Remiantis Aleco Marantzo (1988) idiomos konstravimo principu, parodoma, kad sintaksiniame medyje leksiniai priešdėliai atsiran-da (angl. *merge)* po veiksmažodžio, tačiau juda į poziciją prieš veiksmažodį, kad įgautų rezultato reikšmę, o superleksiniai priešdėliai atsiranda prieš veiksmažodį. Skirtinga priešdėlių atsiradimo vieta paaiškina sangrąžos vietą veiksmažodžio struktūroje: sangrąža visuomet lieka veiksmažodžio komplekso viduje kaip fizinis veiksnio pėdsakas (angl. *trace*).

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: sangrąžiniai veiksmažodžiai, leksiniai ir superleksiniai priešdėliai.

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ON SOME PROPERTIES OF LITHUANIAN VERBAL PREFIXES

Summary

In the present article, the methodology developed by Svenonius (2008, 2004$_{a, b}$) was applied to ana-lyse Lithuanian prefixes as part of the ongoing research on the position of the reflexive/reciprocal marker (i)s(i)- in Lithuanian. Prefixes constitute an interesting domain since they are traditionally believed to induce the movement of the reflexive marker. However, the reasons why the reflexive marker cannot raise beyond a particular point were unclear. Showing first the phrasal status of all verbal prefixes in Lithuanian, the proposed approach divides verbal prefixes into two main groups: lexical and superlexical prefixes. Lexical prefixes derive from prepositions and can contribute both literal and idiosyncratic meanings. They can also change the event structure of the verb as well as affect its argument composition. Meanwhile superlexical prefixes contribute regular temporal or modal meanings and can stack above lexical prefixes. On the basis of these properties, previous research on Germanic particles and Slavic prefixes as well as idiom construction principle outlined in Marantz (1988), the conclusion was made that Lithuanian lexical and superlexical prefixes have different merging positions. Thus lexical prefixes originate within the verbal complex and undergo subsequent movement to an aspectual projection to realise the resultative meaning overtly. Mean-while superlexical prefixes originate in the respective projections above the projection of lexical prefixes, which is in line with the historical origins of these prefixes. The different merging posi-tions of prefixes help account for the fact why the reflexive/reciprocal marker never raises beyond the lexical prefix: as a physically manifest trace of the subject argument, it stays within the material originating within the verbal complex.

KEY WORDS: prefixes, Lithuanian, aspectual projection, lexical, superlexical, reflexive marker.