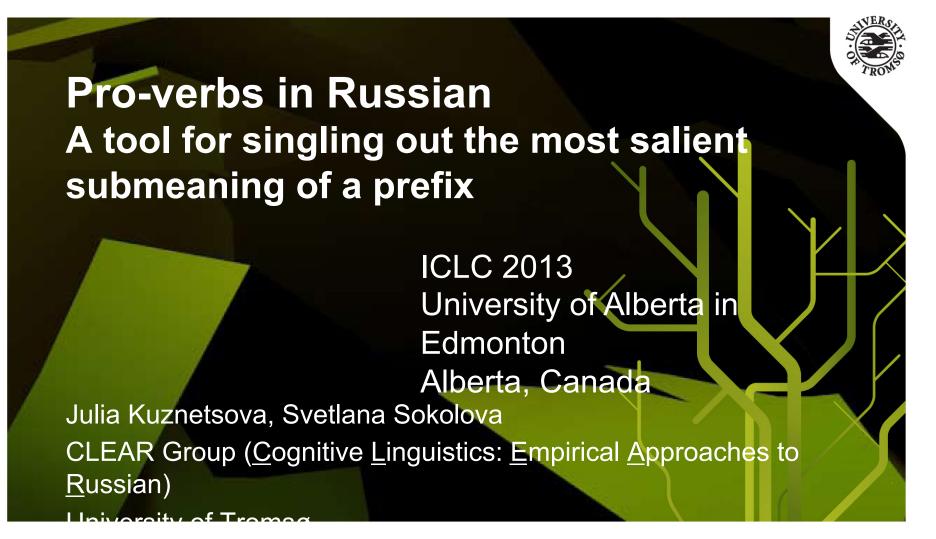
### **UNIVERSITY OF TROMSØ UIT**

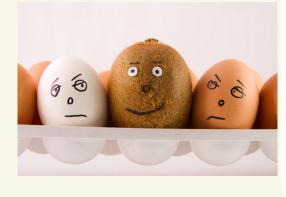


# **Co-authored with Svetlana Sokolova** (University of Tromsø)





#### **Pro-forms**





- Pro-form is a form that stands for another form (word, phrase, sentence)
- Pronouns substitute NPs Susan loves her big brother > Susan loves him
- Placeholder names can be used for something which name is unknown: whatchamacallit (from what you might call it), whatsit, John Doe
- Pro-verbs stand for any verb: He asked me to leave, so I did
   so



#### **Pro-verbs in Russian**

- Roots are derived from taboo words and names of animals
  - the verb figačit' derived from figa 'fig sign'
  - the verb sobačiť derived from sobaka 'dog'
- The meaning of the root changes depending on the construction used in the sentence.
- Distribution of 100 examples of

Verb <sup>f</sup> ˈ�����๋f' (``	and white of verbs	Illustrative Example
impact	45	Ja daže molotkom <b>figačil</b> po udarniku 'I even <b>hit</b> the trigger with a hammer.'
move	21	Avtobus <b>figačil</b> po vstrečnoj ' The bus was <b>driving</b> in the oncoming traffic lane.'
work/function	14	Vsju noč' nad laboj <b>figačil</b> 'All night [I] <b>worked</b> on the lab experiment.'
other	11	-

### Verbal prefixes and prefixed pro-verbs





- Pro-verbs themselves contribute minimal meaning to their prefixed forms
- The meaning of the prefixed pro-verbs reveals the most salient submeaning of the prefix
- Saliency is important in establishing a prototypical submeaning
- Each prefixed verb with the the past tense base figačil
  - 100 examples attested in the results of the Yandex search engine
  - tagged according to submeanings (as presented in Janda et al. 2013)

# Prefixed pro-verbs and productivity of the prefix



 Productivity of the prefix za-: P\* (za) = number of hapaxes with the prefix za-/number of hapaxes in the corpus (Baayen 1993)



Number of examples with the past tense base *figačil* 

Prefix	Schema	Examples with the base <i>figačit'</i>	Productivity of the prefix (P*)
za-	'deflect/cover'	~74000	0.068
na-	'surface'	~5000	0.049
pro-	'through'	~4000	0.048
ot-	'depart'	~4000	0.044
raz-	'apart'	~2000	0.042
po-	'some'	915	0.041
pri-	'arrive'	569	0.037

### Prefixes and the verb figačit'

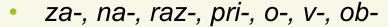
- Prefixes with clear preference for one submeaning (7 prefixes)
  - za-, na-, raz-, pri-, o-, v-, ob-
- Prefixes with several centers of attraction (6 prefixes)
  - ot-, pro-, po-, u-, pere-, s-
- Prefixes with very few examples (4 prefixes)
  - pod-, iz-, vy-, v(o)z-

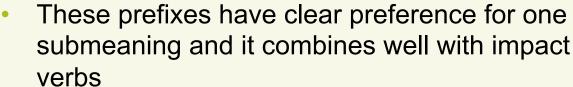


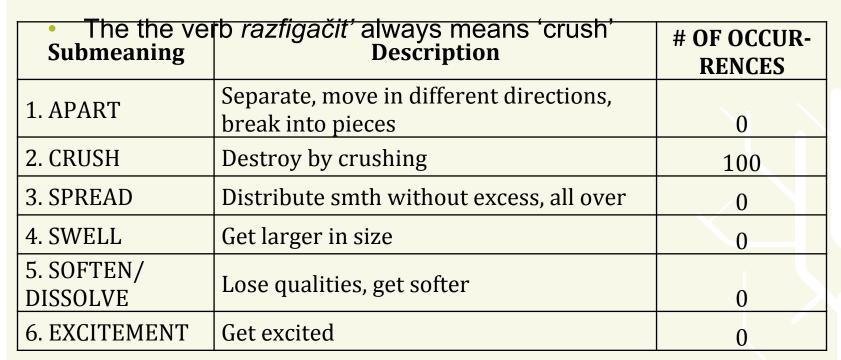




# Prefixes with preference for one submeaning

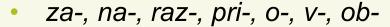


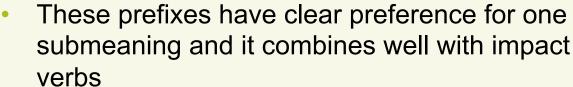


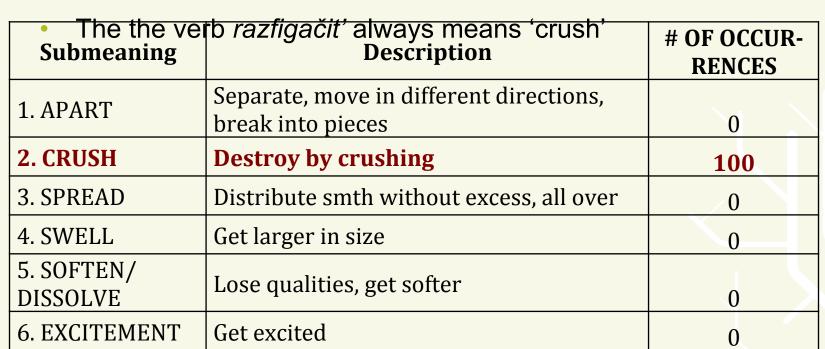




# Prefixes with preference for one submeaning









#### **Prefixes with several foci**

- ot-, pro-, po-, u-, pere-, s-
- These prefixes have several centers of attraction
- The verb ufigačit' can mean 'move away' and 'harm'

		# of occur
Submeaning	Description	rences
1. MOVE AWAY	Leave some place, become inaccessible, disappear from sight	41
2. MOVE DOWNWARDS	Move smth down, also not intentionally	1
3. CONTROL	Bring under control	0
4. REDUCE	Lessen, make smaller, become less active	1
5. HARM	Do harm to smb	54
6. PERCEIVE	Detect a sensorial input	0
7. PLACE/FIT	Place smth/smb somewhere, pack	0
8. KEEP/SAVE	Save a position/quality of smth intact	0
9. COVER COMPLETELY	Cover with smth bigger than the object covered	2
10. DEPART FROM NORM	Change the normal features	1

#### **Prefixes with several foci**

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- The verb ufigačit' can mean 'move away' and 'harm'

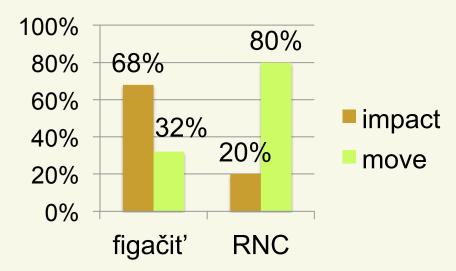
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# Pro-verbs can have semantic preferences



 Distribution of the tags impact and move is different in the RNC





- Figačit' shows clear preference towards aggressive impact
- Aggression is associated with slang and low-style

One focus: aggressive impact



- Prefixes with preference for one submeaning combine well with aggressive impact
  - Prifigačit' has 99 examples of 'attach' (impact) and only one example of 'arrive' (movement)

MOVE: ARRIVE (1)	IMPACT: ATTACH (99)	
A tut porval ja svjazki na kolene, prifigačil v gipse domoj.	Na čerenok lopaty <b>prifigačil</b> slomavšujusja ručku ot dreli.	
'And here I tore a ligament on the knee, and <b>arrived</b> home in a cast.'	'To the shaft of the shovel I <b>attached</b> the broken handle from the drill.'	

100

# Several foci: aggressive impact and aggressive movement



- Prefixes with several foci are compatible with both aggressive impact and aggressive movement
  - Ufigačit' can mean 'move away' (41) and 'harm' (52)

move: MOVE AWAY (41)	impact: HARM (52)	
Lexa <b>ufigačil</b> v London k sestre.	Kogda ja sebe toporom po ruke	
'Lexa drove away to his sister in	ufigačil.	
London.'	' When I <b>hit</b> my hand with an axe.'	

### Prefixes with very few examples



- pod-, iz-, vy-, v(o)z-
- Distribution of prefixed pro-verbs is affected by semantic compatibility between the base and the prefix

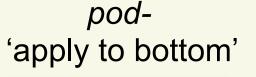


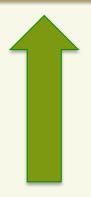
These prefixes share a similar property in their semantic schema

Prefix	Schema	Examples with the base figačit'	Productivity of the prefix (P*)
pod-	'apply to bottom'	20	0.019
iz-	'out of a container'	15	0.019
vy-	'out of a container'	7	0.041
v(o)z-	'move upward'	1	0.011

### Semantic schemas of pod-, vy-, iz-, v(o)z-



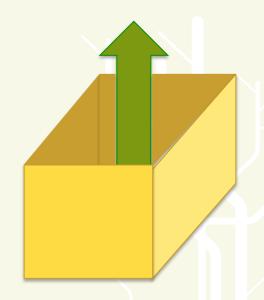




*v(o)z*'move upward'



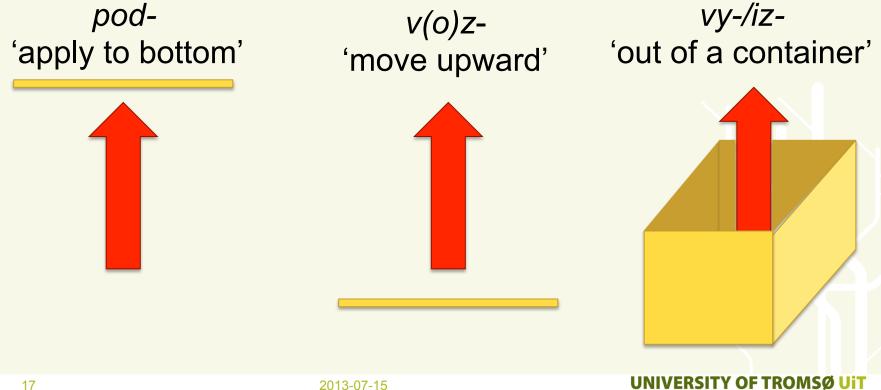
*vy-/iz-* 'out of a container'



### Semantic schemas of pod-, vy-, iz-, v(o)z-

- These semantic schemas contain vertical movement
- Vertical force works against gravity, so movement up is slow

Slow motion is repulsed from the base verb figačit'



# Productivity and semantic preference



- Similar productivity: semantic compatibility plays a role
- **Λ**/
- The prefixes raz-, po- and vy- have productivity of P\*≈0.04

Prefix	Schema	Examples with the base <i>figačit</i> '	Productivity of the prefix (P*)
raz-	'apart'	~2000	0.042
ро-	'some'	915	0.041
vy-	'out of a container'	7	0.041

- Raz- 'apart' attracts aggressive impact
- Po- 'some' is neutral towards aggression
- Vy- 'out of a container' includes a vertical movement and is repulsed from the base verb figačit'

#### **Conclusions**

 The distribution of prefixed verbs with the base figačit' is affected by two factors: productivity and semantic compatibility



- The number of prefixed verbs correlates with the productivity of the prefix (r=0.63)
- For prefixes with similar productivity, it is semantic compatibility that affects the frequency of the prefixed verb
- The pro-verb figačit' has semantic preference for aggressive impact and fast movement
- The prefixed verbs with the base figačit' can have one or several foci, depending on how well the semantic schema of a prefix is compatible with aggression
- The submeaning chosen by a prefixed pro-verb shows the most salient submeaning, but may be affected by semantic preferences of the pro-verb

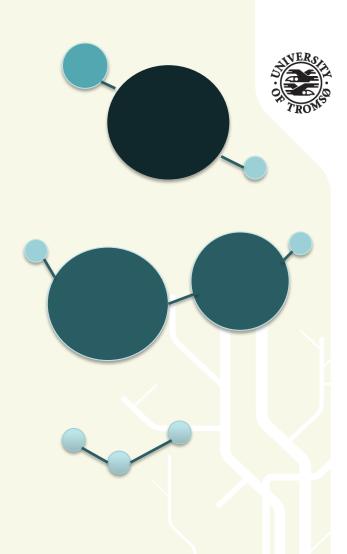
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### Prefixes and the verb figačit'

- Prefixes with clear preference for one submeaning (7 prefixes)
  - O-, OB-, PRI-, RAZ-, V-, NA-, ZA-
- Prefixes with several centers of attraction (6 prefixes)
  - U-, OT-, PERE-, PO-, PRO-, S-
- Prefixes with very few examples (4 prefixes)
  - IZ-, POD-, V(O)Z-, VY-

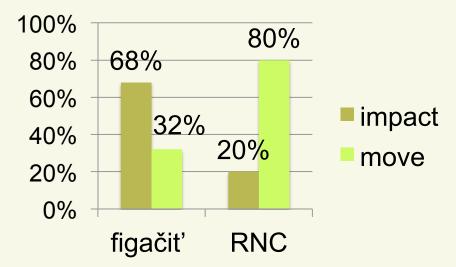


### **Pro-verbs can have semantic** preferences



Distribution of the tags *impact* and *move* is different in the

RNC



- Figačit' shows clear preference towards aggressive impact
- Aggression is associated with slang and low-style
- Prefixes with preference for one submeaning combine well with aggressive impact, whereas prefixes with several foci are compatible with both aggressive impact and aggressive movement (ufigačit' can mean 'move away' and 'harm')