

Светлана СЛАВКОВА

(Болонски университет, Италия)

Джулия ДЗАНГОЛИ

(Университет в Мачерата, Италия)

ЗА ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЕТО МЕЖДУ ЛЕКСИКАЛНОТО ЗНАЧЕНИЕ НА РУСКИЯ ГЛАГОЛ ТАНЦЕВАТЬ И ГЛАГОЛНИТЕ ПРЕФИКСИ С ПРОСТРАНСТВЕНО ЗНАЧЕНИЕ

Резюме. В статията се анализира префиксалното кодиране на пространствена ориентация в един от малкото руски 'силни' глаголи за начин на движение, т.е. глагола *танцевать* (танцувам). Нашето изследване се опира преди всичко на концептуалната рамка, представена в трудовете на В. А. Плунгян (Плунгян / Plungyan 2002; 2011). Следвайки възприетия от автора подход по отношение на глаголите, специализирани в изразяването само на начина на движение (в терминологията на автора – „силни глаголи на начина на движение“), ние фокусираме вниманието си върху поведението на глагола *танцевать* и върху неговите префигурирани форми, за да определим кои 'латентни' компоненти на неговата семантика се активират при префигуриране. Обръщаме внимание и на взаимодействието между пространственото значение на глаголните префикси и лексикалното значение на глагола *танцевать*. С изключение на няколко случая материалът, който анализираме, е взет от Руския национален корпус (*riscorpora.ru*). Примерите съзнателно са дадени в по-широк контекст, за да се осигури по-задълбочен анализ на префигурираните форми на глагола *танцевать* в зависимост от контекста на тяхната употреба.

Ключови думи: глаголни префикси, движение, начин на движение, руски език, танцovať, траектория

1. Introduction¹

In this paper we analyse the semantics of a few prefixed verbs formed by attaching various verb prefixes to the base verb *tancevat'* [to dance]. The emphasis is mainly on those contexts where prefixed verbs take locative

¹ This paper is the result of joint research carried out by both authors, which has involved their close and constant collaboration over time. Nevertheless, for academic purposes only, we attribute sections 1., 4., 5., 6., 6.1 to Svetlana Slavkova and sections 2., 3., 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 7. to Giulia Zangoli.

arguments and, accordingly, in addition to the manner of motion, they also express the path of motion.²

Following the approach adopted by V. A. Plungyan (Плунгян / Plungyan 2002; 2011), with regard to verbs specializing in expressing only the manner of motion (in the author's terminology, 'strong' verbs of manner of motion), we focus our attention on the behaviour of the verb *tancevat* ' [to dance] and its prefixed forms in order to determine how the semantics of prefixes interacts with the lexical meaning of the base verb *tancevat* ' [to dance].

Unlike the 'simple' verb of activity *tancevat* ' [to dance], which denotes a process that unfolds over time and does not involve reaching the goal of motion, its prefixed forms express directed motion and focus on one of the portions of the trajectory: the starting point (source), the path (medial portion) or the endpoint (goal). It can be assumed that prefixes with spatial meaning introduce the idea of direction (cf. Özçaliskan 2013; Падучева / Paducheva 2002: 129; 2004: 379) and thus enable the verb derived from *tancevat* ' [to dance] to accept locative arguments encoding different portions of the trajectory.

In other words, the semantics of the prefix seems to dominate the verb and it can significantly modify the semantics of the base verb (Кустова / Kustova 2004: 95).³ The semantic contribution of the prefix is so important that it can define or, most likely, 'direct' the path of the verb *tancevat* ' [to dance]. However, it is worth noting here that other verbs of activity – such as, for example, *gulyat* ' [to walk], *shatat'sya* [to stagger]⁴ – even when prefixed cannot accept a locative valence encoding boundary-crossing.

Secondly, it can be assumed that in prefixed verbal lexemes, a new meaning is created for the base verb *tancevat* ' [to dance] under the influ-

² The terms Figure, Ground, Manner and Path of Motion relate to Talmy's approach of motion events description from a cognitive perspective. For a complete picture of the semantic components of a motion event see (Talmy 2000a; 2000b).

³ On the interaction between the lexical meaning of the verbal prefix and the original verb see also the work (Janda 1986), where it is pointed out that: "The meaning of the prefix is not just added to that of the base verb, but rather, [...], it interacts with the meaning of the base verb. Of the two, the meaning of the prefix is often the dominating member in this semantic relationship. There are cases in which the meaning of the verb is so nearly subjugated to that of the prefix that it is no longer perceptible [...]" (Janda 1986: 69).

⁴ We found only a few examples on the Web in which the verb derived from *shatat'sya* with the prefix *pro-* receives a directional meaning, but their number is quite limited.

ence of prefixes. Finally, it can also be assumed that in the verb *tancevat'* [to dance] itself, unlike other verbs of activity, lies the possibility to express, with prefix, the locative valence of goal of motion, including boundary-crossing. Unlike other verbs of activity, in the semantics of the verb *tancevat'* [to dance], there is a certain 'latent' component (seme), which is activated when prefixed, and allows us to express the locative arguments of source and goal of motion.

2. Theoretical framework

We rely primarily on the conceptual framework presented in the works of V. A. Plungyan (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2002; 2011) and L. Talmy (Talmy 2000a; 2000b; 2007). V. A. Plungyan, like some other researchers (Исаченко / Isachenko 2003 [1965]; Tesnière 1959), distinguishes between the concept of displacement and the concept of motion. Displacement is defined as a sequential change in the localization of the subject in space, while motion, according to the author's approach, does not imply a certain trajectory consisting of a source of motion, a path, and an endpoint of motion (which, according to the author's terminology, can be defined as the locative arguments of a displacement verb).

It should be noted here that the concept of path adopted in the works (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2002: 60 – 61; 2011: 328) differs from the concept of path presented in the works of L. Talmy (Talmy 2000a; 2000b; 2007). According to the terminology used in Talmy's works, the path describes: "[...] the path followed, or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object" (Talmy 2000b: 25), and three sections are distinguished within the path itself: the initial portion, the medial portion, and the final portion.

The terminology adopted by L. Talmy differs both from that of Ch. Fillmore (Fillmore 1975) and from the terminology used in more recent works by various authors. In Fillmore's (Fillmore 1975) work, the term *path* refers to the medial portion, while in Talmy's work, it refers to all portions (initial, medial, final) of the distance covered by the Figure. In the works by V. A. Plungyan (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2002; 2011), the term *path* denotes the medial portion, indicating all those points, where the Figure was located between the beginning and the end of the displacement (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2011: 328), while the concept of trajectory consists of three portions: the source of motion, the endpoint and the path itself (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2011: 328; 2002: 61).

In this sense, the concept of trajectory used in the works of V. A. Plungyan corresponds to the concept of path developed in the works of L. Talmy. There is some divergence in the linguistic literature naming the intermediate stages of the path. Different terms are used in different works, in particular, the medial portion is named *Median (Intermediary part)* in Kopecka (2017); Kopecka, Vuillermet (2021), *Medium* in Slobin (1997); *Trajectory* in Stefanowitsch, Rohde (2004); Stefanowitsch (2018); *path* in Fillmore (1975); Wälchli, Zúñiga (2006); Verspoor, Dirven, Radden (2004). In our work, we will use the terminology used in the works of V. A. Plungyan.

So, according to the author's approach, motion does not imply the expression at the linguistic level of a certain trajectory. The focus is on the manner of motion. On the other hand, displacement can be considered a prototypical realization of motion, indicating a sequential change in the localization of the Figure in space (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2011: 328).

It seems to us that in V. A. Plungyan's approach, the key component in defining the concept of displacement is the sequential nature of motion, its regularity. In other words, when motion in space does not imply any order (any sequence) in the change of localization, then we can talk about motion (in the terminology of the author). Thus, motion is a general concept for any movement of a Figure (*trajector*⁵ in the author's terminology) in space (2011: 328).

From this point of view, those verbs defined by V. A. Plungyan as 'strong' verbs of manner focus on the manner of motion, without encoding the main portions of the trajectory. In other words, they are subject to the so-called boundary-crossing constraint (cf. Slobin, Hoiting 1994).⁶

⁵ The terms *traector* [trajector] and *orientir* [landmark] used by V. A. Plungyan correspond to the terms *Figure* and *Ground* used in the works of L. Talmy.

⁶ It seems important to point out here that V. A. Plungyan's thought about 'strong' verbs of manner of motion develops in the same direction as the concept of boundary-crossing constraint, which has been firstly introduced in English-language literature by the linguists D. I. Slobin and N. Hoiting (Slobin, Hoiting 1994), although the concept itself dates back to the work of J. Aske (Aske 1989). In both works (Slobin, Hoiting 1994; Aske 1989) two types of locative arguments encoding the endpoint of motion are distinguished: *mere locative path phrase* (Aske 1989) or *path-focused orientation* (Slobin, Hoiting 1994: 493) and *telic path phrase* (Aske 1989) or *ground-focused orientation* (Slobin, Hoiting 1994: 493). Examples of both types of locative valence of the endpoint are given below:

(i) Pat went *up the ladder*. (Aske 1989: 6) (*mere locative path phrase* or *path-focused orientation*)

In this sense, the English verb *to dance*, for example, can be considered a verb of displacement, since it can take locative arguments encoding the goal of motion (cf. the acceptability of the expression *they danced into the bedroom*). For its part, Russian *tancevat'* cannot accept locative arguments encoding different portions of the trajectory (cf. unacceptability of the expression **oni tancevali v spal'nyu* [they danced into the bedroom]), since when using it, the emphasis is only on the manner of motion, and not on the very change of localization in space. Perhaps, in this regard, this verb, as a rule, is not included in the group of non-prefixed indefinite (multidirectional) verbs of motion (such as *hodit'* [to walk], *ezdit'* [to ride], etc.),⁷ which also encode the manner, but do not exclude locative arguments naming sections of the trajectory (*Otkuda? Kuda?* [From where? Where?]). Traditionally, the verb *tancevat'* belongs to a group of verbs that do not imply any expression of the source or goal of motion.

According to V. A. Plungyan, the verb *tancevat'* describes some displacement (which has its own trajectory in the physical world), but the [Russian] language lacks the ability to describe any element of this trajectory using the syntactic arguments of the verb (Плунгян / Plungyan 2011: 330).

In other words, it seems to us that in the case of the verb *tancevat'*, boundary-reaching (including boundary-crossing) constraint is most likely grammatical: in some languages, such as in Russian or Italian, verbs like *tancevat'* (cf. Italian verbs *danzare* or *ballare*) cannot accept locative arguments expressing the goal of motion, but in principle the speakers of these languages can (on a cognitive level) imagine such an event, described, for example, by the English clause *they danced into the bedroom* and can encode it using the following expressions: *tancuя, oni okazalis' v spal'ne* [dancing, they ended up in the bedroom]; *sono entrati nella camera danzando* [they entered the bedroom dancing].

In this regard, the verb *tancevat'* can be defined as a 'strong' verb of manner (of motion) according to the terminology of V. A. Plungyan, in

(ii) Pat swam *into the cave*. (Aske 1989: 6) (*telic path phrase or ground-focused orientation*).

According to the authors, in the so-called verb-framed languages boundary-crossing constraint indicates the impossibility for motion verbs expressing the manner (i.e., for 'strong' verbs of manner of motion in V. A. Plungyan's terminology) to encode any change of location and, consequently, to accept locative arguments encoding the goal of motion.

⁷ For a complete list of motion verbs in the Russian language, see, for example (Shvedova (ed.) 1980, T. 1, § 1404).

the sense that the expression of the manner of motion (displacement) makes it impossible to simultaneously express locative arguments (Плунгян / Plungyan 2011: 331). Nevertheless, prefixation of the verb *tancevat'* seems to activate those components of its meaning that allow it to be included in the group of verbs of displacement.

3. The lexical meaning of the verb *tancevat'*

The verb *tancevat'* refers to verbs that can be considered as part of motion verbs in a broad sense. It means that in addition to the traditionally described unprefixated verbs of motion (such as *idti-hodit'* [to go on foot]), some scholars also include in the class of motion verbs [in the Russian language] those lexemes that describe motion in space, but do not accept locative arguments encoding the source or the endpoint of motion. In example (1), the figurative use of the verb *tancevat'* denotes indefinite motion within a certain space (po kuhne [in the kitchen]): the verb acts as a synonym for the verb of indefinite motion *begat'* [to run]. Accordingly, the verb *tancevat'* cannot accept the locative arguments expressing the starting point or endpoint, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the example in (1a).

(1) – Pogodi, pogodi, – on lovil ee, a ona uvorachivalas', i tak oni *tancevali* po kuhne.

[– Wait, wait – he caught her and she dodged, and they danced around the kitchen.]⁸

(1a) – Pogodi, pogodi, – on lovil ee, a ona uvorachivalas', i tak oni *tancevali* *v kuhnyu.

[– Wait, wait – he caught her and she dodged and they danced into the kitchen.]

Unlike Russian *tancevat'*, which cannot accept locative arguments encoding different portions of the trajectory (2a), English *to dance* can be considered a verb of displacement, since it can accept locative arguments encoding goal of motion (2).

(2) They *danced* into the bedroom.

(2a) *Oni *tancevali* v spal'nyu. (Плунгян / Plungyan 2011: 330)

Thus, the verb *tancevat'* can be included among those motion verbs that do not imply an indication of the starting or endpoint of motion,

⁸ Here and elsewhere in this paper, where not otherwise indicated, the English translation provided is ours.

since the emphasis is only on the manner of motion. We recall here that according to V. A. Plungyan's terminology these verbs are considered 'strong' verbs of manner of motion (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2002; 2011).

4. The lexical meaning of the verb *tancevat'* according to the main explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language

In addition to the meanings described in the main explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language, and indicating, respectively, the performance of some dances, the professional dancing itself, as well as the ability to dance, we will also consider the following (figurative) meanings, including those related to animals. Ushakov's Explanatory Dictionary (Ушаков / Ushakov) indicates as a figurative meaning that *tancevat'* can mean "Idti, neskol'ko pokachivayas' i podprygivaya, kak by delaya pa (razg.). [walking, somewhat swaying and bouncing, as if doing a step (colloquial)] – Pod sedokom, volnuyas' i **tancuya**, raschesannym hvostom mahal goryachiy kon'. Fofanov [Beneath the saddler, stirring and dancing, a hot horse waved its combed tail. Fofanov]"

In the Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language (БТС / BTS), in the Dictionary of the Russian Language in four Volumes (МАС / MAS) and in the Large Academic Dictionary of Russian Language (БАС / BAS), it is also noted that in relation to animals and insects, the verb *tancevat'* can mean "Ne stoyat' na meste, perestupat' s nogi na nogu ili podprygivat'. [Not standing still, stepping from foot to foot or jumping up.] Kon' **tancuet** pod vsadnikom. [The horse **is dancing** under the rider.] Azh **tancuet** ot neterpeniya! [He's **dancing** with impatience!] Moshkara **tancuet** v vozduhe (letaet vverh i vniz). [Midges **are dancing** in the air (flying up and down).]" In addition, it is emphasized that the verb *tancevat'* is also used figuratively in relation to "O podprygivayushchih, koleblyushchih, drozhashchih predmetah. [Bouncing, oscillating, trembling objects.] Tarelki na podnose **tancuyut**. [Plates **are dancing** on the tray.] Blyudce **tancuet** v rukah. [The saucer **is dancing** in the hands.] Ne mogu strelyat' – mushka **tancuet**. [I can't shoot. A fly **is dancing**.]"

5. Research and Search parameters

Using the material of the Russian National Corpus, we tried to determine how the lexical meaning of the base verb of motion and prefixes interact, as well as which components of the semantics of prefixes or the lexical meaning of the verb *tancevat'* are activated in each individual case. For the purposes of our analysis, we chose the following prefixes

with spatial meaning: *pro-*, *do-*, *ot*, *vy-* and, accordingly, we considered the verbal lexemes *protancevat'*, *dotancevat'*, *ottancevat'*, *vytancevat'*.

6. Analysis of the semantics of prefixed verbs from the base verb *tancevat'*

In those contexts where it is necessary to express the direction of motion and, consequently, the locative arguments of the verbal lexeme, a prefix with a spatial meaning is attached to the verb *tancevat'*. As a result of the interaction of the semantics of the prefix and the lexical meaning of the verb *tancevat'*, new prefixed verbs are formed, expressing directed motion and focusing, as a rule, on one of the portions of the trajectory: on the source, on the path (medial part) or on the endpoint (including boundary-crossing of the landmark). Next, we will consider separately the search results for each prefix we have chosen, focusing on the various locative arguments expressed when using prefixed verbal lexemes.

6.1 The prefix *pro-*

Query: '*protancevat'*', found: 268 documents, 360 occurrences. The spatial meaning of the prefix *pro-* appears in eight (8) occurrences.⁹

The verb *protancevat'* can mean to walk some distance, to move forward by dancing. The semantics of the prefix introduces the idea of the direction of motion, or rather, it activates the possibility, most likely inherent in the very lexical meaning of the verb *tancevat'*, to express directed motion. As shown in the examples in (3) and (4), the focus can be on the boundary-reaching and boundary-crossing of the landmark by the Figure.

- (3) Raisa vstala s kresla, podprygnula, sdelala grimasku, budto Slava sidela s kameroy nagotove, *protancevala v vannuyu*.
[Raisa got up from her chair, jumped up, made a grimace as if Slava was sitting with a camera at the ready, **danced into the bathroom.**]
- (4) Vaynshteyn, kak tol'ko uslyshal svoyu familiyu, do neuzna-vaemosti peremenilsya v lice, podnyal sognutye v loktyah ruki i, kak by zhemanno vytancovyvaya freylahs, na cypochkah, ostorozhnen'ko, ostorozhnen'ko, s nichego ne vidyashchimi be-

⁹ The research is based on the material of the main corpus of the Russian National Corpus. We would like to point out that we have deliberately given a fairly broad context especially for some examples in order to provide a more detailed and well-founded analysis of prefixed forms of the Russian verb *tancevat'* in their context of use.

zumnymi glazami *protanceval v koridor*, vpolgolosa napevaya s sil'nym akcentom: “Kausticheskaya soda, kausticheskaya soda...” [Vaynshteyn, as soon as he heard his surname, changed his face beyond recognition, raised his arms bent at the elbows and, as if tokenising his Freilachs, tiptoed, cautiously, cautiously, with his mad eyes seeing nothing, *danced down the corridor*, half-voicedly humming with a strong accent: “Caustic soda, caustic soda...”.]

In addition, the locative valence can express either the approaching to the endpoint of motion, as in example (5), or it can encode the medial portion of the trajectory, as in examples (6) and (7), where the goal of motion is also expressed (see underlined expressions in (6) and (7)), but the verb *protancevat'* accepts locative arguments encoding the medial portion of the trajectory.

- (5) Luchshiy skakun Ameriki, znamenitaya Esmeral'da, s belym pyatnom na grudi, kusaya mundshtuk i kosyas' karim glazom, *protancevala k pod''ezdu*, vyryvayas' iz ruk zhokeya.

[America's best horse, the famous Esmeralda, with a white spot on her chest, biting her mouthpiece and squinting her brown eye, *danced up the driveway*, breaking free from the jockey's grasp.]

- (6) Ne uspeli poblagodarit' sud'bu za, slava bogu, proshedshie minuty progulki s vozhd'yami, kak sprava peresekaet dorogu cepochka dzhigitov – mal'chiki v cherkeskah, s kinzhalami graciozno na mysochkah *protancevali mimo i skrylis' v kustah*.

[We had no time to thank fate for, thank God, the past minutes of the walk with the chiefs, as on the right crossed the road a chain of dzhigits – boys in Circassian jackets, with daggers gracefully *danced past* and *disappeared in the bushes*.]

- (7) – Uperev ruki v boki i vstryahivaya burey svetlyh kudrey, ona *protancevala po komnate i upala v kreslo*, zakryla glaza: – S nog valyus'...

[With her arms at her sides and shaking a storm of blonde curls, she *danced across the room* and fell into an armchair, closed her eyes: “I'm falling off my feet...”.]

6.2 The prefix *do-*

Query: ‘dotancevat’, found: 19 documents, 21 occurrences. The spatial value of the prefix *do-* appears in two (2) occurrences.

In cases where the prefix *do-* shows spatial meaning, the verb *dotancevat* encodes the boundary-reaching of a landmark in space by dancing. The prefix expresses the direction of motion, defining the trajectory in combination with the prepositional phrase (preposition *do* + noun in genitive case). In the examples in (8) and (9), the focus is on approaching the goal of motion (endpoint of motion).

- (8) [...]Mezhdu prochim, i drugoy ostroumnyy zveroproekt, [...], tozhe prinadlezhal Reynu: pri perekhode granicy, kogda samaya strashnaya opasnost’ — sobaki, zahvatit’ s soboy meshok s koshkami i vypuskat’ ih porciyami dlya otvlecheniya psov. Eto bylo nesravnennno osnovatel’nee i izobretatel’nee, chem moy sovместno s Brodskim plan nachat’ pet’ duetom po voinskim chastyam, a zatem po pogranichnym zastavam. «A nu, devchata, vzglyanite-ka na nas» i prochee, s podtancovkoy, i, *dotancevat do razdelitel’noy linii*, dat’ cherez nee deru.

[...] Incidentally, another witty animal project, [...], was also Rein’s: when crossing the border, when the worst danger is dogs, to take a bag of cats with you and release them in portions to distract the dogs. This was incomparably more thorough and inventive than my plan with Brodsky to start singing a duet through military units and then through border outposts. “Well, guys, look at us,” and so on, with *dancing*, and, *having reached the dividing line*, to make a dash across it.]

- (9) Vskochil i zaklactal po mozaichnomu polu, skol’zya i pritan-covyvaya, i, razbrasyvaya vokrug sebya smeshki i smeshochki, *dotanceval do kassy*, po plecho pogruzil ruku v okoshechko, vydernul, kak fokusnik, i podal Pelo dva biletika: – Tretiy nomer... V schet moego dolga!

[He jumped up and clawed on the mosaic floor, sliding and dancing, and, scattering laughs and chuckles around him, *danced to the ticket office*, plunged his hand into the window, pulled it out like a magician, and handed Pelo two tickets: -The third number On account of my debt!]

6.3 The prefix *ot-*

Query: ‘*ottancevat*’, found: 23 documents, 24 occurrences. The spatial value of the prefix *ot-* appears in two (2) occurrences.

The verb *ottancevat*’ denotes the action of moving away from the source of motion by dancing (to move away or move away some distance from the source of motion by dancing). As for the prefixes *pro-* and *do-*, the spatial meaning can also be activated for the prefix *ot-* in combination with the verb *tancevat*’. The focus is on the starting point of motion, as shown in example (10), where the source of motion is encoded (*ot dveri* [from the door]).

- (10) Odnako spletnica vse tak zhe tomno *ottancevala ot dveri* i spustilas’ po lesenke na ulicu.

[Gossip Girl, however, still *danced* languidly **away from the door** and down the stairs to the street.]

However, it should be noted that the boundary-reaching and boundary-crossing of a landmark could be encoded as well. In example (11), both locative arguments, describing the source and endpoint of motion are expressed. In addition, it should be noted that in example (11), the argument structure of the verb *otvesti*, including the direct object “*menya*” [me], are transferred to the verb *ottancevat*’. This, in our opinion, can serve as a confirmation that when prefixing a verb like *tancevat*’, the main role in the formation of the lexical meaning of a new prefixed verb is played by the prefix, or rather, by its spatial semantic component, and not by the base verb. In other words, as noted above (see Кустова / Kustova 2004: 95), the semantic contribution of the prefix will dominate the formation of the lexical meaning of a new prefixed verbal lexeme.

- (11) Ona, lovko i elastichno perebiraya korotkovatymi nogami, *ottancevala menya*, esli tak možhno skazat’, **iz salona** s gostyami **v erker**, pohozhiy na ogromnyy balkon, i legon’ko podtolknula k oknu — yakoby polyubovat’sya s devyatogo etazha vystavkoy ledyanoy skul’ptury.

[She, deftly and elastically shifting her short legs, *danced* me, if I may say so, **from the salon** with the guests **to the bay window**, which looked like a huge balcony, and gently pushed me to the window – ostensibly to admire the exhibition of ice sculptures from the ninth floor.]

6.4 The prefix *vy-*

Query: ‘*vytancevat*’, found: 8 documents, 11 occurrences. The spatial meaning of the prefix *vy-* appears in three (3) occurrences.

The verb *vytancevat* means to go out dancing. The prefix introduces the idea of directed motion from the inside outwards, i.e., moving from an enclosed space to a more open one, dancing (for the spatial meaning of the prefix *vy-*, see also Апресян / Apresyan 1995: 490–495; Князев / Knyazev 1999: 187; Плу́нган / Plungyan 2002: 83–84).

The focus can be made on the boundary-crossing of the landmark by the Figure, as it can be seen from example (12).

- (12) Arkasha i Natasha, pyl’nye gipsovye manekeny iz atel’e nad parikmaherskoy, vdrug sorvalis’ s mest i pustilis’ v plyas pod muzyku Chaykovskogo, zvuchavshuyu iz radiopriemnika. Pokruzhev po tesnoy masterskoy, oni *vytancevali na ulicu* i zatancevali cherez ploshchad’ k gostinice.

[Arkasha and Natasha, dusty plaster mannequins from the atelier above the hairdresser’s shop, suddenly burst out of their seats and danced to Chaykovskiy’s music playing from the radio. After circling the cramped workshop, they *danced out into the street* and danced across the square to the hotel.]

It must also be noted that when searching in the Russian National Corpus, there was no example, in which the starting point of motion is expressed, but when searching on the Web (Google+Yandex) we have received a small number of examples encoding the starting point of motion, as it can be seen from examples (13) – (15) retrieved from our Web search.

- (13) Na sleduyushchey stancii Deda eshche raz prodemonstriroval oshalevshemu ot takogo deystva vagonu masterskoe vladenie popokrucheniem, sdela bezuprechno chistoe plie, kryaknul i *vytanceval iz vagona*. (LiveJournal 2014)

[At the next station Deda once again demonstrated his mastery of pop-twisting to the carriage dazed by such an action, made an impeccably clean plié, quacked and *danced out of the carriage*.]

- (14) Pit’ bylo nechego. Velekhvalov v neterpenii iskal “goryuchee”. Para pustyh butylok valyalas’ na polu. [...]. Velekhvalov-starshiy rasteryalsya, s detskoy bezzashchitnost’yu vytarashchilsya na syna. [...]. Slovo oklik kakoy, on uslyshal

v sebe: «Otec ustal». Kostya sglotnul. V bessilii zevnul. Tovarishch kapitan vypryamilsya, coknul, *vytanceval iz-za stola*, skrylsya na sklade. Vernulsya iz tmy s trekhlitrovoy zakatannoy bankoy s prozrachnoy zhidkost'yu. (E. S. 2021)

[There was nothing to drink. Velekhvalov searched impatiently for “fuel”. A couple of empty bottles were lying on the floor. [...] Velekhvalov senior was confused, staring at his son with childlike helplessness. [...] As if he heard himself say, “Father is tired.” Kostya swallowed. He yawned helplessly. Comrade Captain straightened up, clucked, *danced out from behind the table*, disappeared into the warehouse. He returned from the darkness with a three-litre rolled-up jar of clear liquid.]

- (15) – Nu, sidi, dumay, a ya progulyayus', – s etimi slovami Kebrud, kruzhas' s mashinoy vremeni v tango, *vytanceval iz doma*. (K. T. 2017)

[“Well, sit and think, and I'll go for a walk,” Kebrud said, twirling the time machine in a tango and *dancing out of the house*.]

In addition, it is worth pointing out that when a prefixed verb is formed by the prefix *vy-*, the medial portion of the trajectory can also be expressed simultaneously with the boundary-crossing of the landmark, as shown in example (16).

- (16) A potom on snova tanceval s ney i, vzyav obeimi rukami za golovu, zastavlyal Yulyu smotret' emu pryamo v glaza, napolnennye podavlyayushchey ee voley. [...]. Otorvavshis' ot ee po-devchonoch'i szhatyh gub, Kolomeycev snova tanceval s ney fokstrot, prizhav k sebe tak, chto ona chuvstvovala pryazhku ego soldatskogo remnya, zatem *vytanceval s ney po koridoru na lestnichnuyu ploshchadku*, vynes na rukah iz propahshego koshkami pod''ezda v dvorovyy temnyy skverik, [...].

[And then he danced with her again and, taking both hands on her head, forced Yulia to look straight into his eyes, filled with her overwhelming will. [...] When Kolomeycev broke away from her girlishly compressed lips, he danced the foxtrot with her again, pressing her against him so that she could feel the buckle of his soldier's belt, then he *danced* with her **down the corridor to the landing**, carried her in his arms from the cat-smelling entrance to the dark courtyard square, [...].]

What has been said so far is summarized in Table 1, in which locative arguments accepted by prefixed verbs derived from the base verb *tancevat'* are shown.

Table 1

locative arguments of prefixed verbs				
<i>tancevat'</i> + prefixes	endpoint (goal of motion)		starting point (source)	path (medial portion)
	boundary-reaching of a landmark	boundary-crossing of a landmark		
<i>pro-</i>	+ (k)	+ (v / na)		+ (po, mimo)
<i>do-</i>	+ (do)			
<i>ot-</i>		[+ (v/na)]	+ (iz/s; ot)	
<i>vy-</i>		+ (v/na)		[+ (po)]

7. Concluding remarks

All the prefixes we have considered can introduce into the semantics of new prefixed verbs, formed from the base verb *tancevat'*, the idea of the direction of motion. In particular, the focus on boundary-reaching is encoded by the prefixes *pro-* and *do-*, while the focus on crossing the boundary of a landmark and, accordingly, on achieving the goal of motion is expressed by the prefixes *pro-*, *vy-* and *ot-* (in this latter case, according to our data, this does not exclude the encoding of the source of motion). Prefixed verbs formed by the prefix *ot-* take the locative argument expressing the starting point of motion. Finally, the medial portion, together with the endpoint of motion, can be expressed when using prefixed verbal lexemes derived from the base verb *tancevat'* and the prefixes *pro-* and *vy-*.

In the above shown Table 1, in square and round brackets are indicated those Russian prepositions, which, together with prefixes, contribute to locative arguments encoding and, thus, to the expression of the different portions of a Figure's trajectory in space. Square brackets are used in those contexts in which a portion of the trajectory, encoded by the combination of a preposition and a prefix, is not the focus of the utterance, i. e., the locative argument is not an obligatory, but rather an accompanying component of the trajectory.¹⁰

¹⁰ It should be noted here that according to L. Talmy's approach, the path itself (trajectory, in the terminology used by V.A. Plungyan (Плунгян / Plungyan 2002; 2011) and in

It seems to us, judging by the examples discussed above, that the ability of prefixed verbal lexemes, derived from the base verb *tancevat*’, to accept locative arguments is associated not only with the contribution of spatial prefixes, but also with the ‘activation’ of a ‘latent’ component in the lexical meaning of the verb *tancevat*’. Most likely, the possibility of prefixes to show their spatial meaning, and the ‘activation’ of a ‘latent’ component of the lexical meaning of the verb *tancevat*’, associated with the idea of the direction of motion, are interrelated.

In addition, it is worth recalling here that, according to Plungyan’s approach, verbal prefixation of displacement verbs do not simply specify some additional information about the trajectory of a motion event. Deeper changes occur in the semantic structure of the base verb, which underlie the derived values of orientation markers (ПЛУНГЯН / Plungyan 2002: 91-92). In our opinion, such a phenomenon may also concern the verb of motion *tancevat*’, not only displacement verbs.

In this regard, it can be assumed that it is the prefix that makes it possible to express this trajectory, which is already present “in the physical world”, also at the linguistic level. In other words, with the help of

our work) consists, as a rule, of three components: Vector, Conformation and Deictic (Talmy 2000b: 53). The vector indicates the direction of motion, so, in this sense, the landmark is perceived as a one-dimensional object, i.e., a point (the starting point, intermediate points that make up the medial portion of the trajectory, or the endpoint), while the Conformation is a geometric complex that relates the general schema of a landmark with its specific implementations (ibid: 54).

Therefore, the Conformation is relevant when the landmark is perceived not as one-dimensional, but as a three-dimensional object with concrete boundaries. Displacement from one landmark to another (for example, boundary-crossing of a landmark) defines the trajectory Conformation (Talmy 2000b: 56). In addition, vector components of the trajectory are encoded by different elements of the utterance, and they may have the status of a mandatory or optional component. The status of the vector component largely depends on the inner semantics and on the locative arguments accepted by the prefixed verb. Our hypothesis can be illustrated by the above shown example (16).

(16) Kolomeycev snova tanceval s ney fokstrot, [...], zatem vy**tanceval** s ney **po koridoru na lestnichnyu ploshchadku** [...].

[Kolomeycev danced the foxtrot with her again, [...], then he *danced* with her *down the corridor to the landing*, [...].]

In example (16), it can be assumed that the prefix encodes the Conformation of the trajectory (crossing the boundary of a landmark), while the base verb expresses the manner of motion (dancing), while vector information is expressed by the prepositional phrases formed respectively by the preposition *po* and a noun in dative case, which encodes the medial portion (optional component of the trajectory), and by the preposition *na* and a noun in accusative, marking the endpoint of motion (mandatory component of the trajectory).

prefixes, that component of the lexical meaning associated with a certain trajectory of motion is displayed at the linguistic level. On the other hand, it is this component of the lexical meaning of the base verb *tancevat'*, i.e., the 'latent' presence of a trajectory, that makes it possible for (some) prefixes to introduce spatial meaning into prefixed verbal lexemes. This may be evidenced by the fact that, unlike prefixed verbs formed from verbs of activity such as *shatat'sya* [to stagger], *brodit'* [to wander], prefixes attached to the verb *tancevat'* are more prone to the manifestation of their spatial meaning.

REFERENCES

- Апресян 1995: Апресян, Ю. Д. *Избранные труды*. Т. 2. *Интегральное описание и системная лексикография*. Москва: Школа: «Языки русской культуры». [Apresyan 1995: Apresyan, Yu. D. *Izbrannyye Trudy*. Т. 2. *Integral'noe opisaniye yazyka i sistemnaya leksikografiya*. Moskva: Shkola «Yazyki russkoy kul'tury».]. ISBN 5-88766-045-7.
- Исаченко 2003 [1965]: Исаченко, А. В. *Грамматический строй русского языка в сопоставлении с словацким*. *Морфология*. Москва: Языки славянской культуры. [Isachenko 2003 [1965]: Isachenko, A. V. *Grammaticheskiy stroy russkogo yazyka v sopostavlenii s slovackim. Morfologiya*. Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoj kul'tury.]. ISBN 5-94457-147-0.
- Князев 1999: Князев, Ю. П. Обозначение направленного движения в русском языке: средства выражения, семантика и прагматика. В: Арутюнова, Н. Д., Шатуновский, И. Б. (ред.): *Логический анализ языка. Языки динамического мира*. Дубна, 182 – 192. [Knyazev 1999: Knyazev, Yu. P. Oboznachenie napravlennogo dvizheniya v russkom yazyke: sredstva vyrazheniya, semantika i pragmatika. V: Arutyunova, N. D., Shatunovskiy, I. B. (red.): *Logicheskiy analiz yazyka. Yazyki dinamicheskogo mira*. Dubna, 182 – 192.]. ISBN 5-89847-020-4.
- Кустова 2004: Кустова, Г. И. *Типы производных значений и механизмы языкового расширения*. Москва: Языки славянской культуры. [Kustova 2004: Kustova, G. I. *Tipy proizvodnyh znacheniy i mekhanizmy yazykovogo rasshireniya*. Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoj kul'tury.]. ISBN 5-9551-0022-9.
- Падучева 2002: Падучева, Е. В. Дейктические компоненты в семантике глаголов движения. В: Арутюнова, Н. Д. (ред.): *Логический анализ языка. Семантика начала и конца*. Москва: Индрик, 121 – 136. [Paducheva 2002: Paducheva, E. V. Deykticheskie komponenty v semantike glagolov dvizheniya. V: Arutyunova, N. D. (red.): *Logicheskiy analiz yazyka. Semantika nachala i konca*. Moskva: Indrik, 121 – 136.]. ISBN 5-85759-191-0.

- Падучева 2004: Падучева, Е. В. *Динамические модели в семантике лексики*. Москва: Языки славянской культуры. [Paducheva 2004: Paducheva, E. V. *Dinamicheskie modeli v semantike leksiki*. Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoj kul'tury.]. ISBN 5-94457-161-6.
- Плунгян 2002: Плунгян, В. А. О специфике выражения именных пространственных характеристик в глаголе: категория глагольной ориентации. В: Плунгян, В. А. (ред.): *Грамматикализация пространственных значений в языках мира*. Москва: Русские словари, 57 – 98. [Plungyan 2002: Plungyan, V. A. O specifikе vyrazheniya imennyh prostranstvennyh harakteristik v glagole: kategoriya glagol'noy orientacii. V: Plungyan, V. A. (red.): *Grammatikalizaciya prostranstvennyh znacheniy v yazykah mira*. Moskva: Russkie slovari, 57 – 98.] ISBN 5-93259-035-1.
- Плунгян 2011: Плунгян, В. А. *Введение в грамматическую семантику: грамматические значения и грамматические системы языков мира*. Москва: РГГУ. [Plungyan 2011: Plungyan, V. A. *Vvedenie v grammaticheskuyu semantiku: grammaticheskie znacheniya i grammaticheskie sistemy yazykov mira*. Moskva: RGGU.]. ISBN 978-5-7281-1122-1.
- Шведова 1980: Шведова, Н. Ю. (гл. ред.). *Русская грамматика*. Т. 1. Москва: Наука. [Shvedova 1980: Shvedova, N. Yu. (gl. red.). *Russkaya grammatika*. Т. 1. Moskva: Nauka.].
- Aske 1989: Aske, J. Path predicates in English and Spanish: A closer look. – *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 15, 1 – 14. <https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v15i0.1753>
- Fillmore 1975: Fillmore, Ch. J. *Santa Cruz Lectures on Deixis 1971*. Indiana University Linguistics Club. <<https://websites.umich.edu/~jlawler/FillmoreDeixisLectures.pdf>>, retrieved on 30.03.2024.
- Janda 1986: Janda, L. A. *A semantic analysis of the Russian verbal prefixes za-, pere-, do-, and ot-*. München: Verlag Otto Sagner. ISBN 3-87690-332-7.
- Копеcka 2017: Копеcka, A. Source-oriented and Goal-oriented events in Old and Modern French. In: Luraghi, S., Nikitina, T., Zanchi, C. (Eds.): *Space in Diachrony*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 305 – 328. ISBN 9789027259530.
- Копеcka, Vuillermet 2021: Копеcka, A., Vuillermet, M. Source-Goal (a)symmetries across languages. – *Studies in Language*, 45.1, 2 – 35. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.45.1>
- Özçaliskan 2013: Özçaliskan, S. Ways of crossing a spatial boundary in typologically distinct languages. – *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 36, 2, 485-508. DOI: 10.1017/S0142716413000325
- Slobin 1997: Slobin, D. I. Mind, code, and text. In: Bybee, J. L., Haiman, J., Thompson, S. A. (Eds.): *Essays on Language Function and Language Type dedicated to T. Givón*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 437 – 467. ISBN 9789027221681 (Eur).
- Slobin, Hoiting 1994: Slobin D. I., Hoiting N. Reference to movement in spoken and signed languages: Typological considerations. – *Proceedings of the*

- Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session Dedicated to the Contributions of Charles J. Fillmore*. Berkeley: University of California, 487 – 505. <<http://journals.linguisticsociety.org/proceedings/index.php/BLS/article/view/1466/1248>>, retrieved on 10.12.2023.
- Stefanowitsch 2018: Stefanowitsch, A. The goal bias revisited: A collocation approach. – *Yearbook of the German Cognitive Linguistics Association*, 6(1), 143 – 166. <https://doi.org/10.1515/gcla-2018-0007>
- Stefanowitsch, Rohde 2004: Stefanowitsch, A., Rohde, A. The goal bias in the encoding of motion events. In: Panther, K. U., Radden, G. (Eds.): *Studies in Linguistic Motivation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 249 – 268. ISSN 1861-4132.
- Talmy 2000a: Talmy, L. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. Vol. 1. *Concept Structuring Systems*. Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press. ISBN 0-262-20120-8.
- Talmy 2000b: Talmy, L. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. Vol. 2. *Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*. Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press. ISBN 0-262-20120-8.
- Talmy 2007: Talmy, L. Lexical typologies. In: Shopen, T. (Ed.): *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Second Edition. V. 3: *Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 66 – 168. ISBN 978-0521588553.
- Tesnière 1959: Tesnière L. *Éléments de syntaxe structurale*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Verspoor, Dirven, Radden 2004: Verspoor, M. H., Dirven, R., Radden, G. Putting Concepts together: Syntax. In: Dirven, R., Verspoor, M. H. (Eds.): *Cognitive Exploration of Language and Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 75 – 100. ISBN 9789027219060 (Eur).
- Wälchli, Zúñiga 2006: Wälchli, B., Zúñiga, F. Source-Goal (in)difference and the typology of motion events in the clause. – *STUF – Language Typology and Universals (Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung)*, 59.3, 284 – 303. <https://doi.org/10.1524/stuf.2006.59.3.284>

Dictionaries

- БАС = Словарь современного русского литературного языка. Москва – Ленинград: Изд-во Академии наук СССР. 1950 – 1965. [BAS = Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo yazyka. Moskva – Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR. 1950 – 1965.].
- БТС = Большой толковый словарь русского языка. / Сост. и гл. ред. С. А. Кузнецов. РАН, Ин-т лингвист. исслед. – Санкт-Петербург: Норинт. 1998. [BTS = Bol'shoy tolkovyy slovar' russkogo yazyka. / Cost. i gl. red. S. A. Kuznecov. RAN, In-t lingvist. issled. – Sankt-Peterburg: Norint. 1998.].

МАС = Малый академический словарь русского языка: В 4-х т. / Под ред. А. П. Евгеньевой. РАН, Ин-т лингвист. исслед. М.: Рус. яз.; Полиграфресурсы. 4-е изд., стер. 1999. [MAS = Malyy akademicheskiy slovar' russkogo yazyka v 4-h tomah. / Pod red. A. P. Evgen'evoy. RAN, In-t lingvist. Issled. Moskva: Russkiy yazyk; Poligrafresury. 4-e izd., ster. 1999.].

Ушаков = Толковый словарь русского языка: В 4 т. Москва: Сов. энцикл.: ОГИЗ. 1935 – 1940. [Ushakov = Tolkovyy slovar' russkogo yazyka v 4 t. Moskva: Sov. encikl. OGIZ. 1935 – 1940.].

Corpus

Nacional'nyy korpus russkogo yazyka. [Russian National Corpus.] < www.rucorpora.ru >, retrieved on 10.12.2023.

Websites

(E. S. 2021) <<https://magazines.gorky.media/druzhba/2021/4/tam-gde-mrak-sgu-stel.html>>, retrieved on 10.12.2023.

(K. T. 2017) <<https://www.litres.ru/kirill-andreevich-tarabaev/kebrudiger/chitat-onlayn/>>, retrieved on 10.12.2023.

(LiveJournal 2014) <<https://liya-ryzhik.livejournal.com/62043.html>>, retrieved on 10.12.2023.

Prof. Svetlana Slavkova, PhD
University of Bologna (Campus Forlì)
Forlì, Italy
e-mail: svetlana.slavkova@unibo.it
персонален ID номер
0000-0001-5900-6616

Prof. Giulia Zangoli, PhD
University of Macerata
Macerata, Italy
e-mail: giulia.zangoli@unimc.it
персонален ID номер
0000-0002-1578-4915