

Prefixoids \neq Prefixes: Not all inseparable verbal
compounds are (underlyingly) the same
Morpho-Syn Syndicate @ Penn State

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- Traditionally divided in two subclasses:
 - ① ‘Separable Complex Verbs’ (SCVs, particle verbs)
aangeven lit. to give at, ‘to hand’
 - ② ‘Inseparable Complex Verbs’ (ICVs, prefixed verbs)
vergeven ‘to forgive’

SCVs

- (1) a. ...dat ik haar het boek **aangeef**.
...that I her the book at.give
'...that I hand her the book.'
- b. Ik **geef** haar het boek **aan**.
I give her the book at
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- The particle can be of category P, A, Adv, or N

ICVs

- (2)
- a. ...dat ik haar **vergeef**.
...that I her PRFX.give
'...that I forgive her.'
 - b. *Ik **geef** haar **ver**.
I give her PRFX
 - c. Ik **vergeef** haar.
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- Other verbal prefixes include *ont-*, *be-*, *her-*, and *er-*

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 - ② Perfect participle: *aangegeven* vs *vergeven*/**vergegeven*

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- Given the P- or Adv-like status of the ‘prefix’, the lefthand member of PCVs has been labeled *prefixoid*
- With respect to separability, stress pattern, and perfect particle they behave just like ICVs
- Zwanenburg (1997) and Blom (2002) have therefore analyzed PCVs as ICVs

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- Based on a detailed investigation of PCVs and ICVs in Dutch, we sketch a novel syntactic analysis
- We adopt a separationist, late-insertion approach to morphosyntax
- We discuss the implications of our analysis: the syntactic make up of prefixoids, and compounding more generally

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Methodology
- 3 Results
- 4 Analysis
 - Event decomposition
 - The main proposal
- 5 Conclusion and outlook

PCV sample

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- 195 PCVs in total

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- Random sample of resp. 150, 150, and 100 ICVs

Annotation

- The data were annotated for factors, including:
 - ① Category of prefixoid (for PCVs only)
 - ② Category of righthand member
 - ③ Separability under V2
 - ④ Perfect participle form
 - ⑤ Resultativity
 - ⑥ Transitivity

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- Today's focus: 1, 2, and 5

Results: category of prefixoid

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Prefixoid	category	hits (#)	total (%)
<i>aan</i> ‘at’	P	3	1.5
<i>achter</i> ‘behind’	P	2	1.0
<i>door</i> ‘through’	P	30	15.4
<i>om</i> ‘around’	P	36	18.5
<i>onder</i> ‘under’	P	31	15.9
<i>over</i> ‘over’	P	58	29.7
<i>voor</i> ‘in front of’	P	5	2.6
<i>mis</i> ‘wrong’	Adv	16	8.2
<i>weer</i> ‘again’	Adv	8	4.1
<i>vol</i> ‘full’	Adv	6	3.1
total		195	100

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- (3) V: *Aanbidden* ‘to pray at’ - *bidden* ‘to pray’
- (4) V/A: *Onderkoelen* ‘to cool too much’ - *koelen* ‘to cool’ - *koel* ‘cool’
- (5) V/N: *Doorkruisen* ‘to traverse’ - *kruisen* ‘to cross’ - *kruis* ‘cross’
- (6) V/A/N: *Onderdrukken* ‘to suppress’ - *drukken* ‘to press’ - *druk* ‘busy’ - *druk* ‘pressure’
- (7) N: *Ommuren* ‘to encircle with a wall’ - *muur* ‘wall’
- (8) R: *Omhelzen* ‘to embrace’ - no lexical stem attested
- (9) Other: *Overbemesten* ‘to overuse fertilizer’ - *bemesten* ‘to fertilize’ (prefix *be* plus V/N *mest*)

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 - E.g. *om* ‘around’ mostly combines with Ns

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- (10) V: *Ontzwellen* - ‘to make less swollen’ - *zwellen* ‘to swell’
- (11) V/A: *Beluiden* - ‘to ring the bells at someones funeral’ - *luiden* ‘to ring (bells)’ - *luid* ‘loud’
- (12) V/N: *Bevloeren* - ‘to close off with a floor’ - *vloeren* ‘to tackle’ - *vloer* ‘floor’
- (13) V/A/N: *Ontruimen* - ‘to evacuate’ - *ruimen* ‘to empty/clean’ - *ruim* ‘spacious’ - *ruim* ‘space’

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- (14) N: *Vermiljoenen* - ‘to multiply by a million’ - *miljoen* ‘a million’
- (15) N/A: *Verduisteren* - ‘to darken’ - *duister* ‘the dark’ - *duister* ‘dark’
- (16) A: *Benieuwen* - ‘to be/make curious’ - *nieuw* ‘new’
- (17) R: *Bedaren* - ‘to calm down’ - no lexical stem
- (18) Other: *Bekrabbelen* - ‘to scribble on’ - *krabb-el-en* ‘to scribble’
(V *scratch* with verbal diminutive suffix *-el*)

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- A as righthand member is very infrequent in ICVs and unattested in PCVs
- Prefixoids do not behave uniformly, prefixes do

Results: resultativity PCVs

Resultative PCV

- (19) Ze **doordrenkt** de doek met water.
she through.drench the towel with water
'She drenches the towel completely with water (and as a result, the towel is drenched).'

Non-resultative PCV

- (20) Ze **onderhandelt** voor een beter salaris.
she under.trade for a better salary.
'She negotiates for a better salary (# and as a result, the salary is negotiated).'

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- Semantic contribution of non-resultative prefixoids is of modification (e.g. *mislezen* ‘to misread’)

Results: resultativity ICVs

Resultative ICV

- (21) Ze **beplant** de tuin met tulpen.
she PRFX.plant the garden with tulips
'She plants many tulips in the garden (and as a result, the garden is planted full of tulips).'

Non-resultative ICV

- (22) Ze **bejammert** de afloop van haar compositie.
she PRFX.pity the end of her composition
'She laments about the end of her composition (# and as a result, the composition is lamented).'

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- Non-resultative *ver-* and *ont-* ICVs seem lexicalized
- Semantic contribution of *be-* in non-resultative ICVs is that of directing an action onto the object (e.g. *betasten* ‘to touch a particular person/object’)

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Results: summary resultativity

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- High degree of variation among prefixoids, and among prefixes
- Non-resultative prefixoids semantically look like modifiers
- Non-resultative *be-* semantically adds a sense of direction

Results: correlations

- Degree of resultativity and verbalizing capacity seem to go hand in hand with productivity

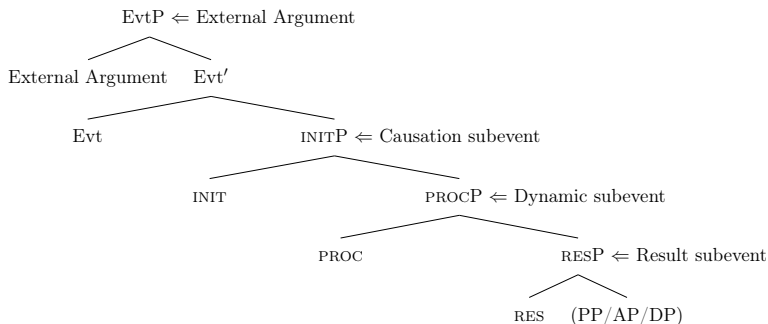
- Degree of resultativity and verbalizing capacity seem to go hand in hand with productivity
- We can distinguish between two types of P-like prefixoids in their behavior

- Clines of productivity, verbalizing capacity, and resultativity

	P type 1			Adv			P type 2			prefixes			
Productivity	achter	aan	voor	vol	weer	mis	door	onder	om	over	ont	be	ver
Verb. cap.	achter	aan	voor	vol	mis	weer	door	onder	over	be	ont	ver	om
Resultativity	achter	aan	voor	weer	mis	onder	door	over	be	vol	om	ver	ont

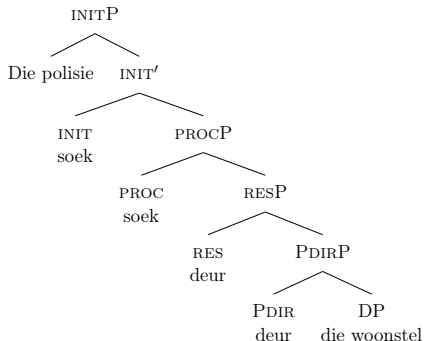
Analysis: Event decomposition

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- We adopt a decompositional view of event structure (first-phase)
- Based on Ramchand (2008 et seq.), but compatible with any exoskeletal framework

Analysis: Structural position of adpositions

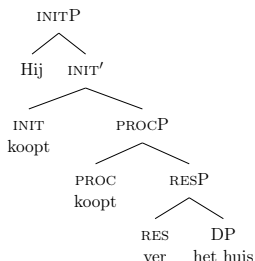


- (23) Die polisie soek deur die woonstel deur.
the police search the flat through
'The police are thoroughly searching the flat.'

Distinguishing *particle verbs* from IVCs & PVCs

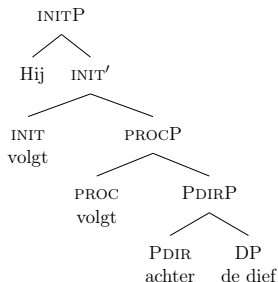
The primary distinguishing structural factor that separates particle verbs, IVCs, & PVCs: *Incorporation* is involved in the latter two, *roll-up movement* for the former

Structure of ICV & resultative PCV



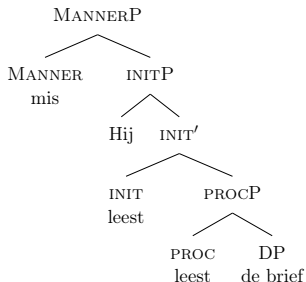
- (24) Hij verkoopt het huis.
he PRFX.buy the house
'He is selling the house.'

Non-resultative PCVs with P-element



- (25) Hij achtervolgt de dief.
he behind.follow the thief
'He is following the thief.'

Structure of non-resultative PCVs with Adv-element



- (26) Hij misleest de brief.
he wrong.read the letter
'He misreads the letter.'

Prefixoids associated with syntactic heads

Prefix(oid)	Ploc	Pdir	Res	Adv _{manner}	Adv _{completive}	Adv _{repetitive}
<i>be</i>		■	■			
<i>ont</i>		■	■			
<i>ver</i>		■	■			
<i>aan</i> ‘at’	■	■				
<i>achter</i> ‘behind’	■	■				
<i>door</i> ‘through’		■	■			
<i>om</i> ‘around’		■	■			
<i>onder</i> ‘under’	■	■				
<i>over</i> ‘over’		■	■			
<i>voor</i> ‘in front of’	■	■				
<i>mis</i> ‘wrongly’				■		
<i>vol</i> ‘fully’		■			■	
<i>weer</i> ‘again’				■	■	■

Table 1: Prefixoids associated with syntactic heads

Summary

- ‘Verbalizing capacity’ can extend beyond the first phase
- The fact that the least grammaticalized elements almost exclusively combine with V right-hand members follows from their position right above/below *vP*
- Key structural distinction: (i) incorporation for IVCs & PVCs and (ii) roll-up movement for particle verbs

Puzzles

- Q₁: How do these *pseudo*-compounds relate to ‘real’ compounds?
- Q₂: What is a proper (structural) definition of a *prefixoid*?
- Q₃: Why can N (or V, for that matter) never become a prefixoid?
- Q₄: How does our proposed analysis relate to the structure of particle verbs?

Thank you!