Prefixes, aspect and the expression of translational motion in three satellite-framed languages (English, Hungarian, Russian) – an intratypological perspective

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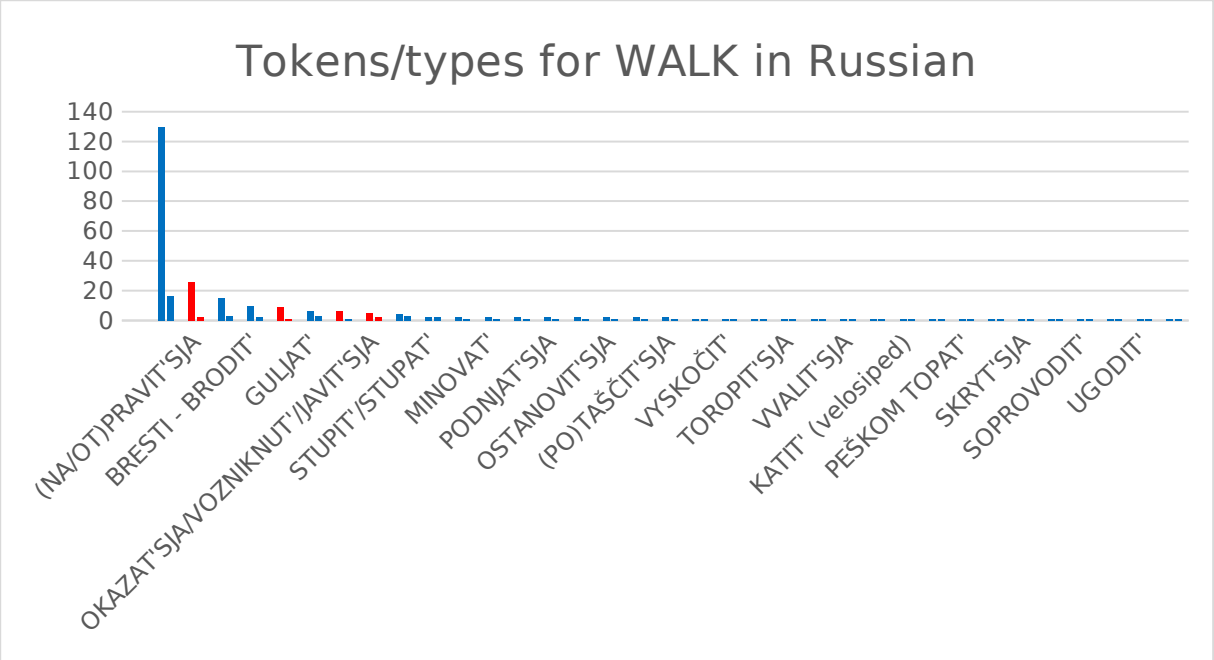
The aim of this presentation is to look at three satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000), two of which rely heavily on verbal prefixes (Russian and Hungarian) to express the Path component in walking types of events, in comparison with English, which uses postverbal 'satellites'. According to Filipović (2007), Hasko (2010), Kopecka (2010), Kopotevskaya-Tamm (2010), Lozinska (2018), Lewandowski and Mateu (2020), "prefix-framed languages" (Slavic languages) have a narrower range of combination of "prefix + manner verbs" in contrast with the "nonprefixed framed" pattern (English), for which combinations of the manner verb and the satellite (particle, prepositional phrases) are unlimited. For this exploration, which is based on a parallel corpus made up of three translated English novels (into Russian and Hungarian), the semantic domain of manners of *walking* (the English verbs *walk, step, march, stride, limp, hobble*) was selected. The study shows that:

- the manner of motion lexicon is rich in both languages (Beliakov & Stosic 2018, for Russian);
- they both use directional (path-encoding) prefixes, with comparable semantics, as well as different satellites (particles, cases, etc.);

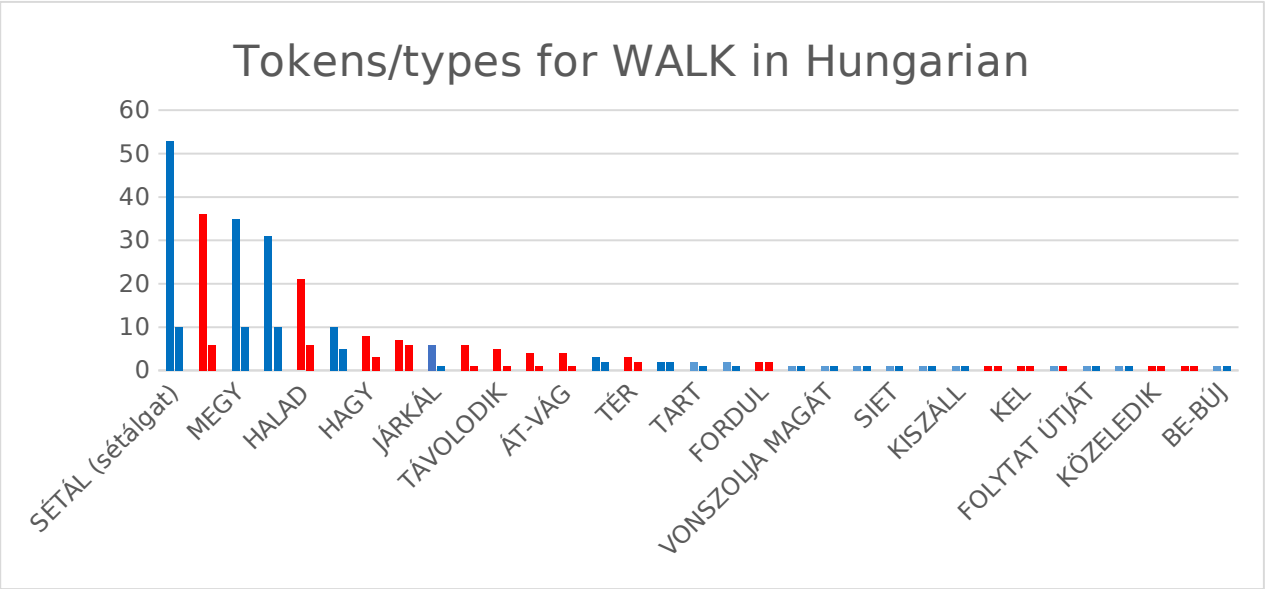
but:

- the prefix + verb "combinatory potential" (Filipović 2010) is very different. For translations of *walk* (281 occurrences in all) in Russian, "prefix + verb" combinations are mainly limited to first-tier manner of motion verbs (1); in contrast, Hungarian not only displays more (four) manner roots, but also significantly more prefix-root types (2):

(1) ***IDTI / (XODIT')*** *('go, walk'* ± determinate*)* 14 types with prefixes



(2) ***MEGY*** *('go/walk')*, 10 types
SÉTÁL *('walk')*, 7 types
LÉP *('step')*, 7 types
GYALOGOL *('go on foot')*, 5 types



The next step consists in going beyond motion events and connecting these differences to broader differences in the language systems of Hungarian and Russian, and to other grammatical phenomena (Beavers et al 2010, Levin & R. Hovav 2019, Horrock & Stavrou 2003, Strigin & Demjjanov 2001). We hypothesize that the expression of aspect (Hasko 2010) and the grammatical role of prefixes can go towards accounting for the differences observed. Russian has morphologized aspect, and its undetachable 20 prefixes ensure perfectivization (telicization) of the imperfective root, for directed motion and change of state events; Hungarian has about 45 detachable, telic as well as atelic, prefixes and quasi-prefixes, and no morphologized aspect. In Hungarian, the prefix essentially marks topic/focus structure (Szabolcsi 1986, Bende-Farkas 2002, Kiss 2006): in (3a), *be-* ('into') is the focus (the direction taken by the understood subject), whereas in (4a) the focus slot is filled by the new subject on the scene ('a German soldier') and the prefix can be omitted. This is impossible in Russian: the prefix *vo-* ('into') is required in both (3b) and (4b) ; supressing it would automatically make the sentences aspectually imperfective (*he was stepping into…)* :

(3) He **stepped into** the train and shuffled past her without a glance.
(a) ***Be*** ***-lépett***, *majd … nélkül elcsoszogott mellette…*
PRF$_{into}$-stepped

(b) *On* ***vo*** ***-šël*** *poslednim. Probralsja mimo….*
he PRF$_{into}$-walked

(4) A German soldier **stepped into** her home
(a) *Egy német katona* ***lépett*** *a lakás-ba.*
a German soldier Ø stepped the home-ILL

(b) *V dom* ***vo*** ***-šël*** *nemeckij voennyj.*
into home PRF_{into}-walked German soldier

We intend this corpus-based study to make good on the research program summarized by these quotations from different authors :

- '*… create a more comprehensive and precise* ***catalogue*** *of diverse typological differences as manifested in the linguistic encoding of motion in individual languages*.' (Hasko 2010 : 200).
- study the '***combinatory potential***'(Filipović 2010 : 253) of the 'prefix + verb root' construction(s).
- '*The relevant* ***temporal features of events****, previously disregarded, have to be taken in consideration, along with the spatial ones, in the analysis of lexicalization patterns.'* (Hasko 2010 : 259). Hasko (2010 : 217)
- '*… the* ***semantics of the prefix*** *alone is often not specific enough and needs to be accompanied by another satellite specifying the exact direction and the nature of boundary crossing*.' (2010 : 217)

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Abbreviations :

ACC= accusative case ; GEN= genitive case ; ILL= illative case (‘into’) ; IPF= imperfective morpheme ; PRF= verbal prefix ; PST= past tense ; REFL= reflexive morpheme.