The verbal prefix *za-*: meanings and Aspect in *Tale of Igor's campaign*

In this work we speak about the usage of the verbal prefix *za-* in Old-Russian, and specifically in the text of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* ('*Tale of Igor's campaign'*). We will classify its prefixed verbs with *za-* in their meaning and aspectual properties to create glossary articles. They, indeed, are a useful instrument to solve philological problems, as the doubtful meaning in *zapala* ('darkened'/'started to bright'), but also to enrich the current state of the art in Slavic linguistics: only few works today are devoted to the matter of how to get a full tempo-aspectual paradigm ('aspectual pairs') from a verb of an archaic Old-Russian text.

First of all, we have to clarify that we have utilized the critic text of the *Slovo* provided by A.Zalyznjak (2004) to collect the verbs with *za-* and their contexts, preserving also his number of paragraph. Since the *Slovo* lacks its original of the end of XII century, and its first editions (the Ekaterinian and the Musin-Puškin'one), although based on a good XV-XVI century copy, present wrong hypercorrections of their editors, we will look at Zaliznjak's critic text to avoid such errors.

If to consider as basic meaning (BM) of the (Old-)Russian prefixal-prepositional element *za* (in early Proto-Slavic it was an adverb) the spatial concept **'behind/beyond the observed point'** (Gvozdev 1973: 365), we can reduce all the vocabulary meanings of its verbs to four general types of prefixal meaning - *only-spatial, spatial-resultative, temporal-resultative, only-resultative* (Bermel 1997, Dmitrieva 2005). These types of meanings are fundamental to predict in their derived verbs not only the semantics, but also their actional class (*activity, state, accomplishment, achievement*) and their aspectual pair (Sacchini 2014): Ju.S.Maslov (in Sacchini 2014) and Bermel consider the prefixation a derivational means that already in early Old-Russian not only enriched the verbal lexicon but also created *terminative actions* – processual (*accomplishments*) and punctual changes (*achievements*) – always marked by *resultativity*, being concluded actions (perfective, *Pft*) to be used in Past or Future only. By taken as a reference the classification of the functional types of aspectual pairs of E.V.Padučeva (in Sacchini 2014), once we determine the actional class of the Pft. prefixed verb, we will be able to predict whether its pair with its *terminative* (*accomplishments, achievement*) or *non-terminative* (*state, activity*) imperfective (Impf) representation for the Present Tense will be *predel'naja* (Pft. *zajti* – Impf. *zachoditi* 'to enter'), *trivial'naja* (Pft. *zastati*- Impf. *zastavati* 'to find'), *perfektnaja* (Pft. *uvideti* – Impf. *videti* 'to see') or *proleptičeskaja* (Pft. *umireti*-Impf. *umirati* 'to be dying'). Moreover, the studies of Ju.S.Maslov and of J.Mayo on the Old-Russian (Sacchini 2014) suggest us which morphological means to use to derive a pair accordingly to the type of prefixal meaning of its Pft verb.

1.Being the verbs with an **only-spatial prefix** unable to be terminative and resultative, their number already in early Old-Russian was near to zero, due to the strong restrictions to their semantics (only concrete spatial meanings tied to the BM of the prefix *za-*) and textual usage (used only in immutable Present of Imperfect contexts for the geographic descriptions or for cycle of events). We do not find this type of verbs in the *Slovo*, but we can detach two their examples in the dictionary of Old-Russian (SDJa XI-XIV, SRJa XI-XVII, Sreznevskij): the Impf. non-terminative *state* lemmas **zaležati** ('to lay behind something, to ambush somebody') and, although abstract, **zavideti** ('to envy, to see beyond someone's body its property').

2.Spatial-resultative** verbs with *za-* are instead Pft *accomplishment* that always create *predel'nye* aspectual pairs by suffixation (with *-a-* or *-yva-*) or by replacing their verbal base of movement. Following the classification of Janda (1986) and Zaliznjak (2006) - 2.1.'behind', 2.2.'far', 2.3.'internal penetration (far in)', 2.4.'devia', 2.5.'cover', 2.6.'fix' and the more abstract 2.7.'become'-, looking at the BM of **'behind/beyond the observed point'** and at the spatial adverbials of their contexts, we can classify the 10 spatial-resultative verbs of the *Slovo*:
2.1.'behind': from unidirectional movements often reinforced in their direction by adverbs like *vspjat'* ('back'). In the *Slovo* we find **1** occurrence of this concept in the lemma **zavratiti** ('to turn back, to give back'), but in its pleonastic Eastern-Slavic form, at the actual present context (*XII. 69: "Igor' pl''ky zavoročaet", zhal' emu mila brata Vsevoloda"*). In this form and meaning, this lemma could derive, till the XVII century, the pair (Pft. *zavorotiti* - Impf. *zavoročati*).

2.2. 'far': from unidirectional verbs like **zapuditi** ('to blow <u>away from</u> smth by wind') together with adverbials of departure (like *daleče* / 'far') and provenience (*ot nas"*/ 'from us'). In the *Slovo* we found **3** occurrences of this concept: 1.*zajde*, an aorist Pft. of the lemma **zajti** ('to get <u>far</u> by foot') showing a pair by replacement of the base (Pft. *zajti* - Impf. *zachoditi*) by XI century: *XIII. 79: "O! daleče zajde sokol", ptits' bja, — k morju"*. 2. *zaletělo,* a Pft. perfect word-form without auxiliary of **zaletěti**, whose meaning 'to fly <u>far away from</u>' creates a pair by replacing the base (Pft. *zaletěti* – Impf. *zaletati*) from the XI century: *VII. 40: "Dremlet" v pol" Olgovo chorobroe gn"zdo; daleče zalet"lo"*. 3. *zanese*, a Pft. aorist word-form of **zanesti**, whose meaning 'to take <u>away from</u> a place' provides the pair (Pft. *zanesti* – Impf. *zanositi*) by XI century: *III.16: "Ne burja sokoly zanese čres polja širokaja"*.

Then **6** occurrences in the *Slovo* of the concept **2.5. 'cover'** (denoting also the concepts 'close', 'hide', 'fill') that creates transitive verbs by both transitive and intransitive bases: 1. the Eastern-Slavic pleonastic word-form of the lemma **zagraditi** ('to <u>bar</u> the passage to the enemy') at the Pft. imperative - *zagorodite* - forming with *vorota* ('town door') a symbolic war phraseologism of the early Old-Russian texts: *XXII. 142: "Mstislaviči… Zagorodite polju vorota svoimi ostrymi str"lami za zjemlju russkuju!"*. Though, as for other pleonastic verbal forms of the *Slovo*, we haven't found an equivalent pleonastic Impf. before the XVII century. On the contrary, in its Southern Old-Church morphology this lemma possesses, at least by the XIII century, an Impf. suffixed form with -a- (Pft. *zagraditi* - Impf. *zagraždati*). 2. *zakladaše*, an Impf. imperfect word-form of the lemma **založiti/zaklasti**, showing in its meaning 'to <u>fill</u> one's ear with something' a suffixed aspectual pair with -a- already in archaic Old-Russian (Pft. *založiti/zaklasti* - Impf. *zakladati*). Interesting that we have not found any of the more modern variants of this Impf. verb, with -*a*- in the form of -*ova*- or with the suffix -*yva*-, attested by the XVIII century: *XI, 58: "A Vladimir" syn" Vsevolož' po vsja utra uši zakladaše v" Černigov""*. 3-4. two occurrences of the same lemma **zastupiti** ('to <u>hinder</u> s.o. path'): an Impf. imperfect *zastupaše* (*IV. 27: "Solntse emu t"moju put' zastupaše"*) and a Pft. past active participle *zastupiv"* (*XX. 130: "Galičky Osmomysl" Jaroslave! Vysoko s"diši…zastupiv" koroljevi put'"*) forming a pair (Pft. *zastupiti* – Impf. *zastupati*). 5. To the same lemma, but in the more metaphorical meaning 'to veil', to mark the fall of Igor' into vainglory, belongs the Pft. aorist *zastupi* (*II.12: "Spala knjazju um' pochoti i žalost emu znamenie zastupi"*) having the same suffixal pair. 6. The Pft. aorist *zatče*, word-form of **zat(")knuti** ('to get tightly <u>closed</u>'), has a suffixed pair (Pft.*zat(")knuti/zatyknuti* – Impf. *zatykati*) from the XI century: *XXVI.183: " v" pol" bezvodn" žaždeju … tugoju im tuli zatče"*.

3. Another evidence of the archaicity of the *Slovo* is its lack of **temporal-resultative** verbs focusing the initial (**3.1. 'begin'**) and the final intensive phase (**3.2.'damage, satisfaction'**) of the act (*state, activity*) of their base. Both are said to be derived by the BM of the prefix *za-* through analogy mechanisms (Malygina 1993: 9, Godisova 2008: 113). The initial value **3.1.** was firstly expressed in *za-* by the XIV century in ingressive meanings of evolutive or incessive (i.e. progressive) nature derived by *states* verbs, mostly of emotions: **zagnevatisja** ('to <u>start to</u> get <u>more and more</u> angry'). Only by the XVI century the incoative meaning (by *activity* bases) became productive, as the lemma **zagremeti** ('to <u>start to</u> thunder') of the *Zadonščina* shows. Before the XVI century both varieties are almost absent (Malygina 1993: 9, 19-20). Godisova (2008) sees the intensive-resultative verbs **(3.2)** in only two verbs with *za-* before the XV century: **zamučiti** ('to <u>annihilate</u> somebody by tormenting him') and **zamoriti** ('<u>to make somebody die</u> for the hard work'). This group, productive only from the XVI century, marked the acquisition of a strongly negative result for a person or object, but it could also refer to a strongly positive one: **zasidetisja** ('<u>to have pleasure</u> from sitting <u>for a long time</u>'). Aspectual pairs, *trivial'nye*, from the intensive verbs, *predel'nye*, from the ingressive, are not frequent.

Only-resultative: <u>it is present in **6** verbs of the *Slovo*</u>. This type of prefix is commonly associated to the so-called prefixes of "only-Aspect"(*čistovidovye*), so to the verbs, whose prefix adds (at first sight) no meaning to its base, except the resultativity Pft. This allows the verbs with *za-*, and only here, to form *perfektnaja* and *prolepticeskaja* pairs. But in archaic Old-Russian the deprefixation is quite rare as a means to derive new pairs from a Pft: so, an only-resultative prefixed verb normally has suffixed pairs and later get the new prefixed ones. But it does not cancel the first immediately!

This is shown by 4 old-resultative verbs of the *Slovo*: 1. the Pft. dual passive participle *zakalena*, metaphor for the courage of the Russian princes (*XVI.113: "Igorju i Vsevolode! Vaju chrabraja serdtsa ... v buesti **zakalena**"*), refers to the lemma **zakaliti** ('to harden a metal'), which formed a *predel'naja* pair by the suffix -a- (Pft. *zakaliti* – Impf. *zakalati,* till the XV century) also in the form of -ja- (Pft. *zakaliti* - Impf. *zakaljati* from the XIV century). This verb changed from the spatial-resultative (2.7) to only-resultative, when in the XII century it could activate the deprefixation (Pft. *zakaliti* – Impf. *kaliti*). The prefixed pair disappears later in the XVIII century. 2. *zareza*, a Pft. punctual aorist of **zarezati** ('to kill by sharp weapon'): it has a *trivial'naja* pair with -a- (Pft. *zarezati* – Impf. *zarezàti)* till the XVI century, later replaced by the prefixed pair of the XII century (Pft. *zarezati* - Impf. *rezati*): *I.4: "[khrabryj Mstislav"], iže **za"rza** Rededju pred p"lky kasož'skymi"*. 3-4. two occurrences, with different meanings, of the lemma **zatvoriti:** in the first meaning 'to bar the door', for the military phraseologism with *vorota* (*XX. 130: "...**zatvoriv"** Dunaju **vorota"),** the Pft. past active participle *zatvoriv"* requires a *predel'naja* pair*;* in the second meaning, 'to imprison', the Pft. punctual aorist *zatvori* forms, instead, a *perfektnaja* pair (*XXVIII. 197 "r"ka Stugna: ...unošu knjazja Rostislava **zatvori dn"** pri temn" berez"*). For both these occurrences, **zatvoriti** forms a suffixed pair with -a- (-ja-) (Pft. *zatvoriti* – Impf *zatvarjati*) till the XV century, when it was replaced by another conserving the radical vowel (Pft. *zatvoriti* – Impf *zatvorjati*). Only in the XVI century, so not in the period of the *Slovo*, it started the deprefixation (Pft. *zatvoriti* – Impf *tvorjati),* that was preserved only for a century.

There are other two verbs that fit the only-resultative group: 5. *zabyv",* past active participle of **zabyti** ('to forget'), whose *trivial'naja* pair from the XI century is only suffixed with -a- (Pft. *zabyti* - Impf. *zabyvati*). This verb, showing its archaic case of the genitive, does not allow deprefixation, but its prefix is only-resultative, since its semantic tie with the BM is (apparently) so difficult to explain, that, maybe, as today, some Old-Russian speaker could have even considered it to be a simple verb*: X. 56: "[Vsevolod], zabyv čti i života i grada Črnigova ..."*. 6. *zapala*, Pft perfect without auxiliary of the lemma **zapasti**, whose meaning can only be 'to darken' since, as thinks Lichačëv (1950: 399), the context refers to the continuity of the darkness from the night to the morning because of the eclipse of Venere. The fact that incoativity was almost inexistent in the prefixes *za-* is another evidence for the only-resultativity of this verb. Its *predel'naja* pair, probably of the XI century, is the suffixed with -a- (Pft. *zapasti* – Impft. *zapadati*): *V.33-36: "Dl"go noč' mr"knet". Zarja sv"t **zapala**, m"gla polja pokryla. Ščekot slavij uspe, govor" galič' ubudi*" //

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