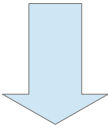


The verbal prefix *za-*: Meanings and Aspect in Tale of Igor's campaign

Slavic Linguistic Society Meeting,
Indiana University, 4-6th September 2020

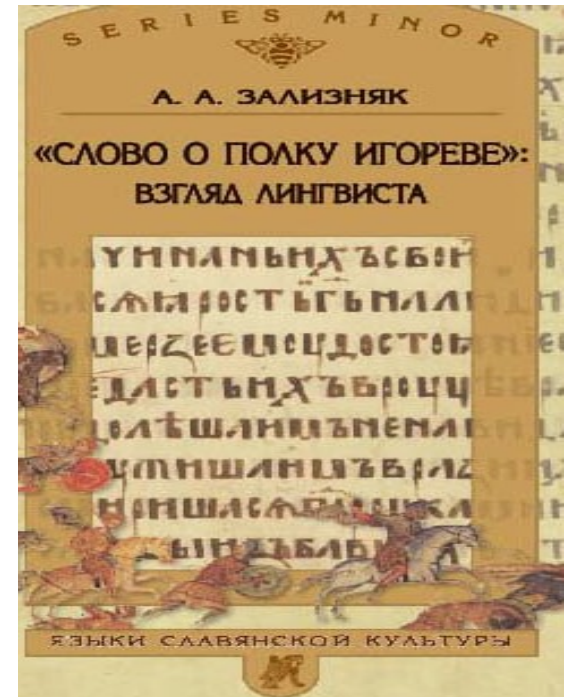
Mirko Sacchini
University of Tjumen' (Russia)

Aim of our work and lines of research

- **AIM:** determination of the semantic and aspectual characteristics of the **16 prefixed verbs** with *za-* of the Old-Russian text *Tale of Igor's campaign* (or *Slovo*)
- **Instrument:** vocabulary articles able:
 1. to fix a unique meaning: to solve polisemys as in *zapala* ('darkened / started to bright'); to understand if the meanings of the verbs of *Slovo* are unusual in the Old-Russian lexicon with *za-* (SDJa XI-XIV, SRJa XI-XVII, Sreznevskij, SDJa XI-XVIII).
 2. to fix and date their tempo-aspectual paradigm (i.e. aspectual pair) in Old-Russian.
 3. to confirm that the *Slovo* preceeds the *Zadonščina*

Our material

- For philologic and linguistic reason our material is the **critic text** of **Andrej Zaliznjak (2004)**.



Our translation in English utilizes the one of J. Haney and E. Dahl (1992) (<http://faculty.washington.edu/dwaugh/rus/texts/igortxt2.htm>), although we added 2 modifications (*).

Notions to build vocabulary articles from the verbs with *za-* of the *Slovo*

A) PREFIXED LEMMA (lexical entry): a prefixed verb can show a same **aspectual pair** (a *resultative* word-form (PFT) *vs* *not-resultative* word-form (IMPF)) in more than one meaning (Isačenko 1960) ► **Es. ZATVORITI**: (1. 'to close the doors' (with *vorota*), 2. 'to imprison'): PFT *zatvoriti*-IMPF *tvoriti*.

B) Semantic and aspectological studies on the (Old-)Russian prefixed verbs (Maslov 1958, Padučeva 1996, A.Zaliznjak, Šmelëv 2000, Bermel 1997, Mayo 1985) point out that:

- already in Proto-Slavic prefixation creates new meanings and verbs marking a final result lexically (*terminative acts*: ACC, ACH) and grammatically (*resultative verbs*: PFT).
- the Prefixed PFT member of the pair derives the IMPF morphologically and syntactically:

- Syntactically: the PFT decides what IMPF refers in Pres. Tense:

I) **PFT (ACC)** (i.e. PFT allows *za X vremena* /'in X time'):

predel'naya pair (PRED): zajti-zaxoditi ('to go behind') // **PFT - gradual result** vs. **IMPF - its creating gradual process (ACC) in the Present**:



II) **PFT (ACH)** (i.e. PFT allows *mgnovenno* /'immediately'):

II.1. *trivial'naja pair (TRIV): zastati-zastavati* ('to find')



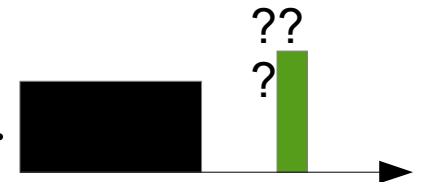
PFT — an immediate action (ACH) vs. IMPF - its repetition (ACH)

II.2 *perfektnaja pair (PFK): zaslyšati-slyšati* ('to hear')



PFT - beginning in the Past (ACH) vs. IMPF following temporary state (STA) in the Present

II.3. *proleptičeskaja pair (PROL): umreti-umirati* ('to die').



- **IMPF - a temp. state (STA) in the Present vs. PFT - its unpredictable result in the Future (ACH).**

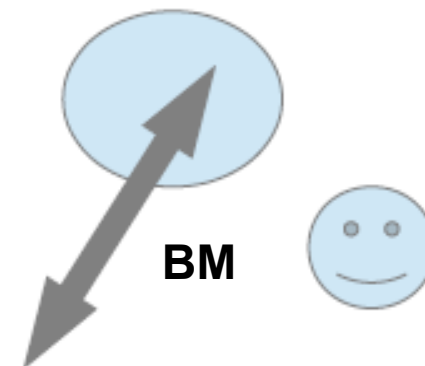
- Morphologically: PFT decides if the IMPF is prefixed/suffixed!

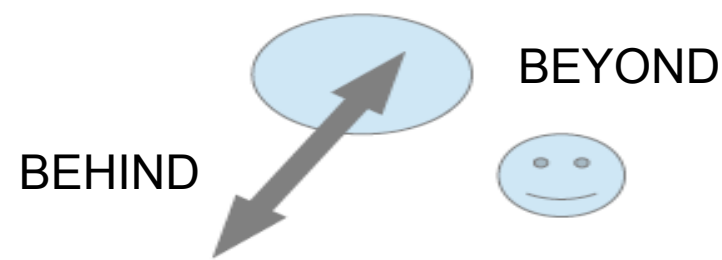
The prefix *Za-* in Old-Russian and in the *Slovo*

The prefix *Za-* in Old-Russian and in the 16 verbs of *Slovo*

All the Old-Russian verbs with *za-* are classified into 4 prefixal *types of meaning* (*only-spatial*, *spatial-resultative*, *temporal-resultative* and *only-resultative* — Bermel 1994, Dmitrieva 2005) indicating the type of relation between a denotative meaning and the **basic meaning (BM)** of the **prefixal-prepositional element *za*** ('behind/beyond the observed point' - Gvozdev 1973; Malygina 1993, Godizova 2005). These 4 types of meaning create *Za*-verbs having:

- 1. specific semantic primes (Zaliznjak 2006)
- 2. specific actionalities (ACC, ACHI, STA)
- 3. specific syntactic arguments
- 4. specific ways to derive IMPF forms





Only-spatial meaning

- Only 3 STA verbs!: *zaležati* ('to lay behind smth'), *zastojati* ('to stay beyond smth, hiding it'), *zavideti* ('to envy: to see beyond not s.o. but his properties').
- The prefix adds to the base only the concrete primes of the BM, without changing the actionality, aspect or transitivity of the base! = Only-IMPF verbs without pairs!

Contexts: atemporal (religious truths) or indeterminately long (annual attacks cited in cronicles) contexts:

zaležati: «[razbojniki] pod dorogoj *zaležat* i ljudej b'jut» ('robbers *lay behind* (smth) near the road and beat people').

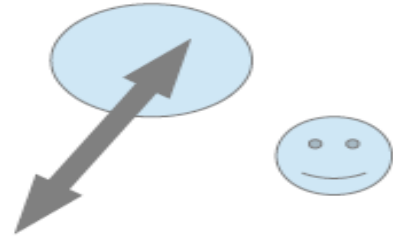
zastojati: «C(e)lov(e)k»..glagolja v» dusi svoej: kto m(en)ja vidit', steny *zastojat'* m(en)ja...». ('a person said in his soul: who sees me, the wall (*standing in front of me*) *hide* me').

- Slovo: **Absent!**

Spatial-resultative meaning

ACC PFT verbs with PRED suffixed pairs. Za- adds resultativity and a spatial prime from BM ('behind, beyond the observed point'):

BM



<BEHIND>// <FAR> —————> <COVER> (10 cases in *Slovo*)

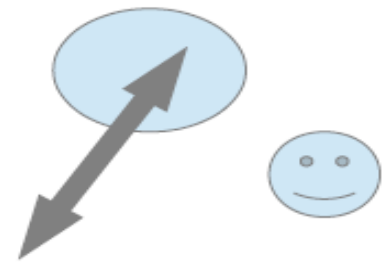


Absent in *Slovo*!



<p><GET> (from XV-XVI c!)</p> <p>ZARABOTATI <i>iski</i> ('TO EARN, WORK TO PAY BACK <i>THE CLAIMS</i>»)</p>	<p><IN (DAMAGE)></p> <p>ZABEGNUTI ('TO <u>ENTER</u> RUNNING'), ZAKOLOTI ('TO PIN <u>THROUGH</u>')</p>	<p><BECOME></p> <p>ZAMATERETI ('TO <u>BECOME</u> MATURE')</p>
	<p><DEVIA></p> <p>ZAVESTI <i>v» bljud'</i> ('TO <u>MISLEAD</u>, TO MAKE <u>STRAY</u> TO PERDITION')</p>	<p><ANNIHIL> (from XVI c!)</p> <p>ZALITI <i>ogon'</i> ('TO <u>DESTROY COVERING</u> WITH LIQUID') <i>the fire</i></p>
	<p><FIX></p> <p>ZAPOVEDATI ('TO <u>PUBLIC</u> WHAT SAID')</p>	

Spatial-resultative (1): <BEHIND>



- *V-za*: movements or positions behind an observed object.
- Syntax: backwards adverbs (*nazad, za pleci, vspjat'*).
- Verbal bases: ACTI/ACC for unidirex movements of subject (*zajti*) or object (*zavorotiti* ('to turn back'), *zagnati* ('to push back'), *založit* ('to put behind'), *zastaviti* ('to deploy behind):

SDJa XI-XIV:

- «*[russkie] bezbož'nych' zagnaša*» ('the Russians *kicked out the pagans*');
- «*i založi ruci svoi za plot*» ('he *put* his hands *behind the body*').

In the Slovo: 1 case

ZAVOROTITI/ZAVRATITI ('to turn **back**):
BEHIND, ACC, Pres. *zavoročæt'*: [PRED.

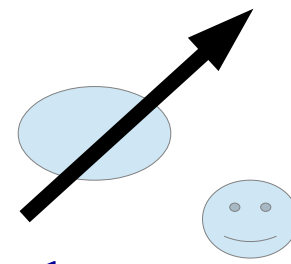
i. PFT *zavorotiti* - IMPF *zavoročati*, XI-XVII*;

ii. PFT *zavorotiti* — IMPF *zavoračivati*, from XVIII]:

*XII, 69: «Čto mi šumit', čto mi zvenit' rano pred''
zorjami? Igor' pl''ki zavoročæt'»*

('What sounds do I hear? What rings to me just before daybreak? Igor **turns back** his warriors').

Spatial-resultative (2): <FAR>



- A movement going beyond an observed point becomes far from it. Productive group.

Syntax: adverbials of distance (*daleče, za rekoy*) and provenience (*ot nas*”).

Verbal bases: ACTI/ACC unidirectional movements of Subjects (*zaletetī, zajti*) or Objects (*zas''lati* ('to send away'), XV c: *zaprovaditi* ('to accompany far from')). More abstract from STA verbs: *zabytisja* ('to get far in the mind/soul from'):

SDJa XI-XIV:

zabyvšes ot Boga razoumienie slavy _('[whose] mind *got far away* from the glory of God')

Slovo: 3 cases of concrete FAR

1. **ZAJTI** ('to get away by foot'): *zajde*, FAR, ACC, PFT Aor: [PRED: PFT *zajti* — IMPF *zachoditi*, from XI]:

XIII. 79: “O! daleče *zajde* sokol”, *ptits' bja*, — *k morju*” ('Too far has the falcon *flown*, striking birds toward the sea').

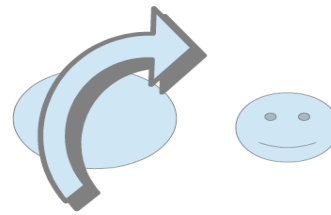
2. **ZALETĚTI** ('to fly away from): *zalet'lo*, FAR, ACC, PFT Perf.: [PRED: PFT *zaletěti* — IMPF *zaletati*, from XI]:

VII. 40. “*Dremlet*” *v pol*” *Olgovo chorobroe gn'zdo*; daleče *zalet'lo*” ('Oleg's bold brood slumbers in the steppe. Far (away) has it flown!')

3. **ZANESTI** ('to take away from a place'): *zanese*, FAR, ACC. PFT Aor: [PRED: PFT. *zanesti* — IMPF *zanositi*, from XI]:

III.16: “*Ne burja sokoly* *zanese* čres polja širokaja” ('No storm *has carried (away)* the falcons across the wide steppe').

Spatial-resultative (5)



- **<COVER>**: from the BM, if the subject moves forwards above (with or without contact) the surface of the object, it covers it. Very productive group already before the XV c! **<COVER>** can appear as FILL, HIDE, CLOSE, SPLATTER (Janda 1986, Zaliznjak 2004) depending from the characteristics of the action and the object.

Syntax: transitive (or reflexive) verbs with the Instrumental.

Verbal base: intransitive/transitive verbs of all actionalities:

- «*cesarev v pešere **zavali** kam'nem* » ('he **closed** the emperors **inside the cavern** by letting fall a stone') from ACC *valiti* ('to let fall')
- «*Volodimer **zaleža** ju ne po braku*» ('Volodimer **slept with (i.e. slept on)** her out of marriage') from STA (*ležati* / 'to lay').

In the Slovo: 6 cases

1. ZAGORODITI/ZAGRADITI ('to bar the enemy's passage'): *zagorodite* - CLOSE, ACC, PFT Imperat:

[PRED:

i) (pleoph) PFT *zagoroditi* - IMPF *zagorazivati*, from XVIII;

ii) (not pleoph): PFT *zagradi* - IMPF *zagražati*, till XVII*;

iii) (not pleoph): PFT *zagradi* - IMPF *zagraždati*, from XIII]:

XXII. 142: “In"gvar' i Vsevolod", i vsi tri Mstislaviči...
Zagorodite polju vorota svoimi ostrymi str"lami za zjemlju
rusckuju!”

('Ingvar and Vsevolod! And all three sons of Mstislav... *Close the gates to* (i.e. *Bar the gates to!*) the steppe with your sharp arrows for the land of Rus..!')

2. ZATKNUTI/ZAT'KNUTI/ZATYKNUTI ('to get tightly closed'): *zatče*, CLOSE, ACC, PFT Aor:

[PRED: PFT *zat(")knuti/zatyknuti* — IMPF *zatykati*, from XI]:
XXVI.183: " Čemu, gospodine, ... tugoju im tuli *zatče* " ('Why, Lord,..*have* you *closed* their quivers in sorrow?').

3. ZALOŽITI/ZAKLASTI ('to fill one's ear with smth'): *zakladaše*, FILL, ACC, IMPF Imperf:

[PRED:

i) PFT *založiti/zaklasti* - IMPF *zakladati*, till XVIII*;

ii) PFT *založiti/zaklasti* - IMPF *zakladovati*, XVIII-XIX*;

iii) PFT *založiti/*zaklasti* - IMPF *zakladyvati*, from XVIII]:

XI, 58: "A Vladimir" syn" Vsevolož' po vsja utra uši *zakladaše* v" Černigov" ('but Vsevolod's son, Vladimir, in Chernigov (*stopped*: i.e. *put his fingers in*) his ears each morning').

4-5-6. ZASTUPITI (m1. 'to hinder s.o's path', m2. 'to veil'):
m1: *zastupaše*, CLOSE, ACC, IMPF Imperf; *zastupiv*", CLOSE,
ACC, PFT Part.Pas.A / m2: *zastupi*, HIDE, ACC, PFT Aor:

[PRED: PFT *zastupiti* — IMPF *zastupati*, from XI]:

IV. 27: "Solntse emu t"moju put' zastupaše" ('The sun *barred* his *way* with darkness') //

XX. 130: "Galičky Osmomysl" Jaroslave...zastupiv" koroljevi put' " ('O Osmomysl, Jaroslav of Galich!...*Having barred* the king's *path*') //

I.12: "Spala knjazju um' pochoti i žalost emu znamenie zastupi " ('In his fervor, the Prince's foresight ebbed from him, and his zeal to taste the great Don *veiled* the omen from him').

TEMPORAL-RESULTATIVE (1)

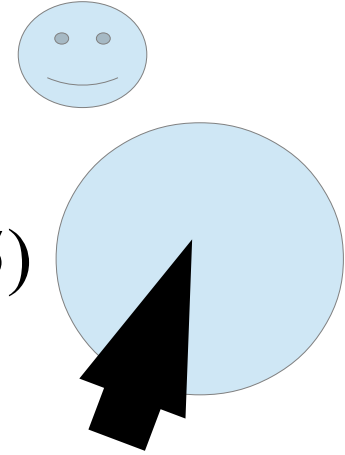


<BEGIN> from FAR! (Malygina 1993)

Verbs indicating the beginning (departure in the time) of an act

- I. ACHI verbs: Rare before XV c. **Slovo**: Absent!
 - **INGRESSIVE** (zasramytisja / ‘to feel embarrassed’) and **EVOLUTIVE verbs** (zagnevatisja / ‘to start to get more and more angry’) // Bases: STA // Rare TRIV suffixed pairs. //
 - (XV c.): **INCOATIVE verbs** (zagovoriti / ‘to start to speak’) // Bases: ACTI // No pair! In the *Zadonschina* 5 cases!: *zagremeli* (‘started to thunder’), *zaplakal* (‘started to cry’).
- II. ACC verbs (**INCESSIVE**): Before XV century only *zagoretisja*, *zažečisja* (‘to get in fire’)!! // Bases: STA // Rare PRED suffixed pairs in Old-Russian // **Slovo**: Absent!

TEMPORAL-RESULTATIVE (2)



<EXCESS>: from BEHIND! (Godizova 2005)

- Verbs of excessive final result
- ACHI verbs: intensive-resultative verbs, whose result is, often, **negative** (*zamuciti* ('to annihilate s.o. by tormenting him')) and, rarely, **positive**: *zasidetisja* ('to have pleasure from sitting for a long time').
- Before XV century: only *zamoriti* ('to make s.o. die by hard work'), *zamuciti*, ??*zapi(va)tisja* ('to get drunk ') are found!
- Verbal bases: ACTI for human activities, STA for static human acts.
- Rare suffixed TRIV pairs. **Slovo: Absent!**

Only-resultative: 6 cases in Slovo

- Complex verbs with characteristics of the simple verbs! They often show a ACHI class (a sign of the lack of a clear relationship with BM !!), forming PROL and PFK pairs too. **To native speakers their prefix (seems!! to) reflects only the PFT resultativity, so that to him their prefix can appear:**
 - 1. «dark, obscure»: he does not recognize any semantics in *za-*. He could consider these verbs simple roots: **zabyti**, **zapomniti** ('to forget'), **zastati** ('to find').
 - 2. «transparent» («empty» for Krongauz 1997): prefixed verbs («natural perfective» for Janda 2003) showing the same meaning of the base: *za-* seems to add nothing else than resultativity disappearing in IMPF contexts!: <KILL> group: **zakoliti** ('to kill': PFT *zakolil* — IMPF ! Pres.*kolju*).

In the Slovo: 2 cases of «obscure» za-

ZABYTI ('to forget'): *zabyv*", ACH, PFT Part. Pass.Act.:

[TRIV: PFT *zabyti* — IMPF *zabyvati*, from XI]:

X. 56: "[Vsevolod], zabyv" čti i života i grada Črnigova, otnja zlata stola"... ('having forgotten honor and life, the city of Chernigov, his father's golden throne...')

ZAPASTI ('to darken (for stars, planets)': *zapala*, ACC, PFT Perf.:

[PRED: PFT *zapasti* - IMPF *zapadati*, maybe from XI*]:

V.33-36: "Dl"go noč' mr"knet". Zarja sv"t zapala, m" gla polja pokryla. Ščekot slavij uspe, govor" galič' ubudi ('The night darkens long. The morning star Venus () has darkened; mist has covered the steppe. The nightingale's trill is stilled; the chatter of daws begins')*

In the Slovo: 4 cases of «transparent» only-resultative za-

1. ZAKALITI ('To harden a metal'): *zakalena*, ACC, PFT
Part.Pass.Pasv:

[PRED:

i) PFT *zakaliti* - IMPF *zakalati*, till XV*;

ii) PFT *zakaliti* - IMPF *zakaljati*, from XIV;

iii) i) PFT *zakaliti* — IMPF *zakalivati*, from XVII;

iv) PFT *zakaliti* — IMPF *kaliti*, XII-XVIII*!!]:

XVI.113: “Igorju i Vsevolode!..Vaju chrabraja serdtsa v»
zestocem» charaluz» skovana, v buesti *zakalena* ('..Igor and
Vsevolod!..Your brave hearts were forged in hard steel and
tempered (i.e. *hardened*) in boldness') //

2. ZARĚZATI ('to kill by cutting, slaw'): *zar''za*,
ACHI, PFT Aor:

[TRIV:

i) PFT *zarězati* — IMPF *zarězati*, from XVI*;

ii) PFT *zarězati* — IMPF *rězati*, from XII;

iii) PFT *zarězati* — IMPF *zarězyvati*, XV?-XVIII *]:

I.4: “*chrabromu Mstislavu, iže za''rza Rededju*”

('To the brave Mstislav, who *slew* Rededju').

3-4. ZATVORITI (m1. 'to bar the enemy's passage (with *vorota*)'; m2. 'to imprison'): m1: *zatvoriv*" *vorota*, ACC, PFT Part.Pass.Act.; m2: *zatvori* *Rostislava*, ACHI, PFT Aor.:

[PRED (for m1), PFK (for m2):

i) PFT *zatvoriti* — IMPF *zatvarjati*, till XV*;

ii) PFT *zatvoriti* — IMPF *zatvorjati*, from XV;

ii) PFT *zatvoriti* — IMPF *tvoriti*, XV-XVII.*]:

XX. 130: "Galičky..Jaroslave!...*zatvoriv*" *Dunaju vorota*" ('O Jaroslav of Galich! *having locked the gates* of the Danube!') //

XXVIII. 197. "“r”ka *Stugna* ...*unošu knjazja Rostislava zatvori dn*" *pri temn*" *berez*" ('River *Stugna* (*) *imprisoned* prince Rostislav at the bottom at dark banks") //

Conclusions: the verbs with za- of Slovo

- 1.1. show meanings found also in other Old-Russian texts. They belong to za-verb groups already frequent in the archaic phase (XI-XIV c).
- 1.2. do not show incoativity (as the *Zadonschina*: 5 cases zagremeli, zaplakal) or semantic primes productive by XV century: in *Slovo* incoativity is referred by the prefixes *v»z-*, *raz-*, and by tenses.
- 1.3. do not show a suffix *-yva-*. *-Yva* could form their pairs not earlier than the XV c. → the *Slovo* is archaic.
- 2.1. show how the only-resultative group (*natural perfectives*) is a theoretic model that indicates verbs possessing deprefixation as just ONE OF THEIR ways to form pairs, not the only one! They confirm that all the only-resultative verbs has a tie with BM, although this is hard to reveal.

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End

Thanks for your attention