

5.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE NETWORK AND CONFIGURATIONS OF ZA-

FIGURE 8: The Configurations of ZA-

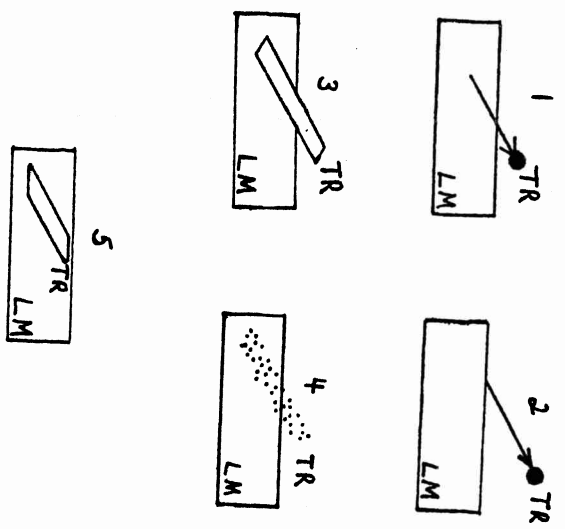
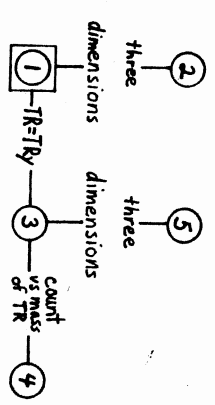


Figure 9: The Network of ZA-



The *za-* network consists of a family of five configurations of which number 1 is the head to which the remaining four all draw their roots. In configuration 1, which is associated with the submeanings <deflection>, <fix>, <change of state>, <excess>, and <inchoative>, the landmark is a closed figure which designates the normal or canonical environment from which the trajectory deviates. In other words, the domain represents a band of "normalcy" or a baseline, and the configuration is a profile over time of the trajectory's departure from the domain, via transgression of a lateral boundary. The boundaries of the landmark divide cognitive space into two areas: the area included by the landmark, called the domain, and the area outside the landmark, called the extradomain.

Both configurations 2 and 3 are directly related to the semantically central configuration 1. 2, which is associated with the minor

submeaning <surface>, is a three-dimensional version of configuration 1. Given this added dimension, the trajectory does not have to transgress a boundary of the landmark in order to remove itself from it, but can escape directly into the extradomain. The role of the extradomain is much less important in the remaining configurations (3, 4, and 5) which focus on the domain. If the trajectory and trajectory of configuration 1 are identified with each other, the result is configuration 3, which captions the submeaning <cover>. Here the trajectory/trajectory (henceforth referred to merely as trajectory for convenience) is a two-dimensional figure which covers the landmark. Configurations 4 and 5 are in turn derived from configuration 3. The difference between configurations 3 and 4 lies in the nature of the trajectory: in 3 it is a solid mass, whereas in 4 (associated with <scatter>) it is a group of objects, producing a distribution of spots rather than a thorough covering of the landmark. As opposed to the two-dimensional surface in configuration 3, the landmark of configuration 5 (associated with <fill>) is a three-dimensional container which is filled by the trajectory.

The network illustrates the tight unity of *za*'s submeanings: each configuration is only one or two links removed from the prototype. At the same time, both the diversity of the members of this semantic category and the system which holds them together are explicit.

## 5.2 CONFIGURATION 1

Deflection, Fix, Change of State, Excess,  
Inchoative, Exchange



The trajectory begins in the domain and then transgresses a boundary of the landmark, passing into the extradomain. Since the trajectory of *za* leaves its normal environment, a certain amount of effort is required to overcome its inertia. This notion of conscious effort applied to produce a deviant trajectory is apparent in many instantiations, where volition plays an important role (cf. esp. <excess>, <fix>, <exchange>). The extradomain is in most cases qualitatively different from the domain, it does not allow the freedom of movement possible in the domain and the trajectory becomes lodged in it. In some cases (cf. <inchoative>, most <deflection> and some <change of state>) the trajectory does have the option of returning to the domain, but for many submeanings (<excess>, <fix>, most <change of state>, some <deflection>) the trajectory traced by *za* represents an action which is irreversible or difficult to reverse.

*Deflection*  
POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

PATTERN A	
intrans subj	
-or-	= TR
DO	beings, objects
kuda PP	
-or-	= EX
inc. in verb	locations, non-canonical positions and states
(LM is complement of EX)	

The most familiar examples of this submeaning are formed with verbs of motion and mean 'drop by'.

- 3) *Zajda* (za-'walk') v konfektnyj magazin na Kuzneckom mostu, -- pisal poët Batjuškov, -- ja uvidel bol'šuju tolpu moskovskix frantov v lakirovannyx sapogax, i v širokix anglijskix frakax.

"When I stopped by in the candy store on Kuzneckij Bridge," wrote the poet Batjuškov, "I saw a great crowd of Muscovite dandies in polished boots and loose-fitting English tailcoats."

The notion of irreversibility is not crucial to all instances of this submeaning, although it is by no means ruled out, as in the case of an unwanted guest:

- 4) On častenko naveščael vas, *zaxaživaet* (za-'walk') na časok i zasiživaetsja na pjat'.

He often visits you, *stopping by* for just an hour, but sitting there for five.

The deflection is not always chosen by the trajector. It may be accidental, such as in *zabludit'sja* za-'wander'-reflex 'lose one's way' or

- 5) *Zopustit'* (za-'let') korov v lug.

To let the cows loose in the meadow.

or it may be foisted upon the trajector:

- 6) *Togda devušek v brjuxax ne puskali v kino ili daže zabirali* (za-'take') v miliciju.

At that time young women wearing pants were not allowed into movie theatres or were even taken away to the police station.

The landmark may indicate a canonical position rather than a path of motion.

- 7) *Vzryvnoj volnoj udarilo v niz fuzeľjaža, samolet kljunul nosom i čut' zavalisja* (za-'topple'-reflex) na pravoe krylo.

When a shock wave hit the underside of the fuselage the plane went into a nosedive and almost rolled over onto its right wing.

- 8) *Za smetanoi ne stojte. Končetsja! -- steganula Valja i Anna Stepanovna uslyšala, kak čerpak stal glucho stukat'sja o donyško žbana, kotoryj Valja uže zavalila* (za-'topple') na bok.

"Don't wait in line for sour cream. We're out!" belted out Valja, and Anna Stepanovna heard the hollow knocking of the scoop against the bottom of the tub, which Valja had already turned over on its side.

In many cases the departure from canonical position involves inserting or anchoring the trajectory in the extradomain. Here there is noticeable overlap with the submeaning <fix> (see below).

9) My molčim i ždem. *Zaľoživ* (za-'lay') ruki za spinu, vsmatřivajas' v temnotu, kak i drugie, ždet komandir divizii Popov.

We wait in silence. *Having put* his hands behind his back and staring into the darkness like the others, division commander Popov waits.

10) Nekrasivo klast' ruki na koleni, *zakladyvav* (za-'lay') nogi za nožki stula. *Safetku prinjato tepet' klast' na koleni, a ne zasovyvat'* (za-'shove') končik ee za vorotnik, kak što delalos' ran'še.

It is unbecoming to put your hands on your knees and to put your feet behind the chairlegs. At the present time it is customary to put your napkin on your lap rather than to stick one end of it into your collar, as was done formerly.

11) Odnazdy mne popalas' fraza: "On xrabr, no v duše." No esli xrabrost' *zaprjatana* (za-'hide') tak daleko, to kakaja raznica, suščestvujet ona voobščee ili net?

Once I came upon the phrase: "He is brave, but he is brave in soul." If bravery is *hidden* so far away, then what difference does it make whether it exists at all or not?

In the last example cognitive space is removed from reference to real space: it is instead a measure of the relative salience of characteristics in a person. The landmark is the surface, where characteristics are readily perceivable and the trajectory penetrates the person's interior, where characteristics are hidden from others.<sup>15</sup>

This submeaning can also refer metaphorically to one's vision, the direction of which can be deflected to one side:

12) *Zagľanuv* (za-'glance') v komnatu, gde dolžno bylo prohodit' zasedanie, pisateli s udivleniem uvideli tam Furmanova i sekretarja, kotoryj vel protokol.

*Peeking* into the room, the writers were surprised to see there Furmanov and the secretary, who was handling the agenda.

<sup>15</sup> The notion that a person can be a container for things like characteristics, ideas, emotions, and actions, which can in turn be entities is discussed in Lakoff and Johnson 1980. These metaphors are particularly important for the "inchoative" submeaning of *za-* below.

Metaphorically, the trajector may get side-tracked in an activity such as reading, or thinking.

- 13) *Zadumyvai's'* (za-'think'-reflex) li vy kogda-nibud', počemu duraka sčitajut durakom?

Have your ever *stopped* to *think* why a fool is considered a fool?

- 14) My ne mogli ne *zadumyvai's'ja* (za-'think'-reflex) nad tem, počemu vrag tak bystro prodvigaietsja vpered.

We couldn't keep our *thoughts* from *straying*, wondering why the enemy was moving forward so quickly....

There are some interesting examples which appear to have originated in this submeaning, but have become largely idiomatic.

- 15) Ne vyslišivat' govorjaščego -- štot priem xorošo izvesten i v parlamentskoj praktike. Kogda ataka opozicii dostigala maksimal'nogo nakala i očerednoj orator *zaxlebывai's'ja* (za-'gulp'-reflex) na tribune v jaroštnyx obvinenijax, razdavalos' vdrug tixoe posapyvanie i prisivist. Lord Nort bezmiatežno spal.

Not hearing the other person out is a well-known tactic in parliamentary procedure. When the opposition's attack was in full swing and the speaker who had the floor *got carried away* at the tribune in making furious accusations, suddenly a quiet snoring and whistling was heard. Lord North was sleeping peacefully.

In its concrete sense *zaxlebывai's'ja* (za-'gulp'-reflex) means 'choke'. Since the base verb *xlebat'* means 'gulp down (liquids)', the concrete meaning 'choke' is motivated in the <deflection> submeaning, cf. Eng. *swallow the wrong way*. Presumably the connection between 'choking' and 'being very excited, getting carried away' is made by the fact that people do choke when they are overexcited. It is interesting that the meaning of this verb is supported by the <deflection> submeaning not only on the concrete level ('swallow the wrong way'), but on the metaphoric, idiomatic level as well ('get carried away').

The roots of the following example are harder to retrieve, since the folk etymology on which it is based is not alive for all speakers. For such speakers the prefix is fused to the root and the verb is an unanalyzable idiom.

- 16) I esli na odnom stule umeščalis' dvoe, a koe u kogo *zatekali* (za-'flow') ot neudobnogo položenija nogi, vse ravno nikto ne žaloval'sja.

And if two had to sit on one chair and somebody's legs *fell asleep* because they were in an uncomfortable position, nobody would complain.

The base verb *teč'* means 'flow'. According to some native consultants, this verb might have originally referred to blood. Folk theory held that if a person was in an uncomfortable position, their circulation was deflected and blood would keep flowing into the given body part, rather than continuing on its path, thus causing that part of the body to become numb.

One of the most frequently cited examples of a prefix fused to its base is the verb *zabyt'* (za-'be') 'forget'. Although perhaps no speaker ever thinks to analyze this word componentially, the contribution of *za-* can still be recognized. It is similar to that in the verb *zaprjatat'* (za-'hide') 'hide away', above. The landmark is the domain of things visible, and perceivable, in *one's mind*. When an item passes out of this domain it is forgotten, cf. Eng. *Out of sight, out of mind*.

#### *Fix*

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj

-or- = TR objects, parts of bodies or

DO objects, information

kuda PP

-or- = EX locations, memory, paper

inc. in verb (documents, files)

(LM is complement of EX)

The difference between <deflection> and <fix> is that, due to the nature of the extradomain, the trajector always becomes lodged in it. Going back to the configuration, we might think of the landmark as a good solid road, on the shoulder of which is deep, sticky mud. Any deviation from the road will cause the trajector to get stuck.

17) Pri ruležke šassi samoleta zaryvli's' (za-'dig'-reflex) v grunt nastoi'ko, što mašiny prixodilos' vytaskivat' na sobstvennyx plečax.

During taxiing the landing gear *would dig its way* into the earth so deeply that we had to drag the planes out again on our shoulders.

18) Ne razrešaetsja brat' nož v rot: možno porezat' jazyk i guby. Na etom razumnom soobraženii osnovano pravilo ne est' s noža, tak že kak i kategoričeskoe zapreščenie izvlekat' ostatki piščy, *zast/rjavšie* (za-'stick') v zubax, vilkoj ili čem-libo inym, krome zubočistki.

You mustn't put your knife in your mouth because you might cut your tongue and lips. This is why eating with your knife and picking out bits of food that *have gotten stuck* between your teeth with your fork or anything else except a toothpick is categorically forbidden.

The base verb in this example \*-*strjat'* no longer has an independent existence, but due to the presence of other prefixed forms *vstrjat'* v-'stick' 'get mixed up in', *nastrijat'* na-'stick' 'get stuck', *pristrijat'* pri-'stick' 'join', it may still be analyzable. At any rate the verb *zastrijat'* za-'stick' 'get stuck' is a regular instance of *za-* in its <fix> submeaning. Similarly, although the base verb of *zanknuť* za-'join' 'lock' can exist only with *za-* and a limited number of other prefixes

(vy-, of-, raz-, po-, pri-, pere-) and no longer has an independent semantic function, it too is clearly an instance of <fix>. The bolt (trajector) is drawn into place (extradomain) and will remain there until a key is turned to draw it back.

19) Žena načalnika, šedšaja sledom, nabljudala tem, što by nožki ne zocepilis' (za-'clutch'-reflex) za dvernye kosjaki.

The boss' wife followed, watching that his little legs didn't get caught on the doorjamb.

20) Belki dlitel'noe vremja zaderživat'sja (za-'hold'-reflex) v želudke i trebujut značitel'nogo količestva piščevritel'nyx sokov.

Proteins remain in the intestine a long time and require a significant quantity of digestive juices.

One curious verb is formed from the simplex est' 'eat' and means 'jam (of machines)'. Although I have not succeeded in resurrecting a folk etymology which justifies the use of this base verb, the contribution of za- is clear. A machine part (trajector) has deviated from its proper movement (landmark) and has gotten stuck (in the extradomain).

21) Perec zameťil, što mašina stojt ne tak rovno, kak ran'še, i vygijanusl iz kabiny. Menedžer vozisja vzle zadnego kola.

Da vy sidite, sidite, ne vylezajte! Vy nam ne mešate. Zoela (za-'eat'), drian' prokljajaja...

Perec noticed that the truck wasn't standing as level as before and peeked out of the cabin. The manager was tinkering with the back wheel. "Just sit still, don't get out! You aren't in the way. It's jammed, the cursed junkpile..."

One might speculate that some comparison of the gears of a machine with the teeth of someone who is eating has motivated the prefixed verb, but this is unclear.

Even a seemingly perplexing verb, such as začitat' (za-'read') 'borrow and fail to return (a book)' turns out to be a regular instance of <fix>, once the referents of the domain and extradomain are correctly identified. The domain is the normal circulation of a book which becomes fixed in the possession of one of its readers (other than its owner) -- the extradomain.

Although the results of the za- <fix> verbs cited above were undesirable, verbs in this submeaning can have a positive connotation if the item is being intentionally stored in the extradomain. In this case the path is the normal ambient movement of items, unhindered by intervention. The za- prefixed verb indicates an action that will fasten the trajector to a point in the extradomain, as in zakleit' za-'glue' 'glue up', zašpilit' za-'pin', zakolot' za-'pin' 'pin up'.

22) I men'še vsego nužno starat'sja zapastis' (za-'graze'-reflex) na vse slučai žizni gotovymi otvetami.

And it is not at all necessary to try to store up ready answers for all of life's situations.

Metaphorically one can also store words (trajectory) in one's memory (extradomain).

- 23) Добroe slovo, skazannoe nam, *zapadaet* (za-'fall') v pamjat', mnogie gody nosim my ego v svoem serdce.

Kind words said to us *sink down* into our memory and stay for a long time, we carry them in our heart for many years.

It is as if we were standing at one point, watching words, ideas, information, etc. float by on the path. When we see an item that we would like to keep, we must pull it out and park it in the extradomain, so that it will not get away. This situation is comparable to that of a student in a lecture who is being bombarded with factual information. If he does not make an effort to grab hold of this information and fix it on his notepaper (or if he is cleverer, in his memory), it will follow its own course, going in one ear and out the other. Left to its own devices, most information has a way of getting lost. *Zamet't'* za-'mark' 'notice' and *zapomni't'* za-'remember' 'commit to memory' are metaphorical versions of this submeaning -- some bit of information is caught by a person's perception and fixed in his mind.

- 24) V tečenie žizni my stakivajemsja so mnogimi ljud'mi. Počemu že tol'ko v redkix slučajax my utruždaem sebjä pointeresovat'sja, kak zovut čeloveka, i *zapomni't'* (za-'remember') ego imja?

During our lives we meet many people. Why is it that only in rare cases do we endeavor to take an interest in a person's name and to *commit* it to memory?

- 25) Spravočku *zaregistrirovali* (za-'register') i podišli kuda sleduet, zab'v' vskore pro staruščku i pro ee syna, uvlaznuv v tekuščix delax, kotoryx v milicii i bez togo bylo mnogo.

They *registered* and filed the certificate accordingly, and soon forgot the old woman and her son, bogged down as they were in routine business, of which there was already enough at the police station.

The productivity of <fix> in technical vocabulary is quite evident. Neologisms and borrowed verbs whose meanings are consistent with this submeaning will form perfectives with *za-*. A concrete example is *zazemi't'* za-'land' 'ground electrically'. *Zaprotokolirovat'* za-'record' 'enter in the minutes' is similar in spirit to *zaregistrirovat'* za-'register' 'register' in the example above. *Zašifrovat'* za-'encode' 'encode' also involves the recording of information, although the intent here is more specific. *Zasekreč'it'* za-'make secret' 'classify as secret' again involves a specialized storage of information. *Zaplanirovat'* za-'plan' 'plan' and *zaprogrammirovat'* za-'program' 'program' both signal the fixing of a course of action. In the Academy Grammar these two verbs are listed under a separate submeaning characterized as "soverš'it' zarane, zablagovremenn",



*predvaritel'no, vprok dejstvie, nazvanoe motivirujušim glagolom*" 'to complete ahead of time, in advance, beforehand, for future use, the action named by the motivating verb'. This submeaning allegedly also includes *zaprodat'* 'za-'sell' make a sales contract', *zaarendovat'* 'za-'rent' 'make a rental agreement', and *zakontraktovat'* 'za-'contract' 'make a contract'. These verbs illustrate one of the differences between the traditional and modified structuralist approaches. The scholars who wrote the Academy Grammar saw their task as one of dissecting and identifying submeanings, rather than attempting to discover the system correlating them. A small number of verbs were found to include the notion of getting something ready ahead of time and thus this "beforehand" submeaning was established. In the present description, however, it is clear that these verbs are regular instances of a large and well-established submeaning, <fix>. Their particular realization of this submeaning entails the fixing of some sort of plan -- it is recorded and agreed upon, making it firm, and it is stored for future implementation. *Zaplanirovat'* 'za-'plan' 'plan' is the most representative verb of the group. The idea that such plans are made ahead of time is not attributable to the submeaning, it is rather a by-product of the base verbs involved: one does not make plans for the past but for the future, nor does one contract work done last year, rather one contracts for next year's work. Traditional scholars latched onto a notion that happens to be a peripheral, incidental product of the semantics of certain base verbs and used it to classify a submeaning of the prefix. Thus not only

was the true semantic content of the prefix unnoticed, but an artificial division was created, further obscuring the semantic unity of the submeanings.

Change of State	
PATTERN A	POSSIBLE REFERENCES:
intrans subj	objects (metaphorically
-or-	= TR situations and
DO	activities), beings
kuda PP	
-or-	= EX states (see Table 9)
inc. in verb	

(LM is complement of EX)

This is essentially a metaphorical version of <fix>. Here cognitive space represents states. The landmark, or domain, designates the normal, natural state of the trajector, which passes into a state, represented by the extradomain, which is abnormal and/or stifles further development. The metaphorical link with <fix> is apparent in the fact that the state which is achieved is at least semi-permanent, if not immutable, and the trajector becomes stuck in this state in the same way that the trajectors of <fix> become mired in mud, caught between teeth and on doorjams, and lodged on notepaper or in memory. In most cases the *za-* trajectory is an irreversible process,

and in the remainder, time and effort would be required to return the trajector to the landmark. "Change of state" is a unidirectional process, undeviating in its goal, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Unidirectionality of *za-* <change of state>

LM	EX	Examples
healthy	diseased	zabolet' 'fall ill' za-'hurt' zaxvorat' 'fall ill' za-'be ill'
active	inactive	zasnut' 'fall asleep' za-'sleep' zagipnotizirovat' 'hypnotize' za-'hypnotize'
normal	abnormal	zabespokoit' 'upset' za-'upset' zaputat'sja 'confuse' za-'confuse' - reflex perishable permanent zasolit' 'pickle' za-'salt' zakonservirovat' 'preserve' za-'preserve' zamorozit' 'freeze' za-'freeze' zakrepat' 'consolidate' za-'strengthen'
soft	hard	

free	fixed	
	zastriat' 'get stuck'	
	za-'stick'	
	zaregistrirovat' 'register'	
	za-'register'	

The terms in the first two columns are not meant to identify distinct groups, but to reflect the overall pattern. Note that the concrete submeaning <fix> is represented in the bottom row. The progress of the trajector in all of the <fix> and <change of state> verbs could be characterized as a change from "normal" to "abnormal," since in every case the trajector exchanges its canonical condition of health, activity, transience, pliability, and/or freedom, for an opposite state. The prefix *za-* indicates a direction of change, concretized in various ways by specific base verbs. This direction of change is the plot according to which the actions of the verbs are played out. Once we know the general direction of change indexed by *za-*, a certain amount of prediction is possible. Given the meaning of *kristallizovat'sja*, 'crystallize', which involves a change of soft to hard and free (in solution) to fixed, one might conclude that it is likely that this verb will have a prefixed perfective in *za-*. This is indeed the case. Conversely, since the change indicated by *za-* is unidirectional, we can predict that it is impossible to form a perfective antonym of this word with the prefix *za-*, i.e., there is no \**zapustit'* *za-*'let' 'dissolve'.<sup>16</sup> Table 10 contains some of these

<sup>16</sup> Morphologically, the verb *zapustit'* does exist, but it cannot mean

negative predictions.

Table 10: Negative predictions for *z-*

unidirectionality allows only:	not:
zaboleť 'fall ill'	*zazdorovet' 'recover'
za-'hurt'	*za-'be well'
	(cf. vyzdorovet')
zamorozit' 'freeze'	*zatajat' 'melt'
za-'freeze'	*za-'melt'
	(cf. rastajat')
zakostenet' 'stiffen'	*zamjagčit' 'soften'
za-'stiffen'	*za-'soften'
	(cf. smjagčit')
zabespokoit' 'upset'	*zatešit' 'calm'
za-'upset'	*za-'calm'
	(cf. utešit')
zastriat' 'get stuck'	*zarvat'sja 'tear away'
za-'stick'	*za-'tear'-reflex
	(cf. otorvat'sja)
začarovat' 'bewitch'	*zasvobodit' 'free'
za-'bewitch'	*za-'free'
	(cf. osvobodit')

The <change of state> submeaning is a dynamic category which embraces newly borrowed verbs that fit the overall pattern given in

'dissolve', cf. (5) above, only *raspuštit'* can have this meaning. Similarly, *zarvat'sja* in Table 10 does exist, but it means 'go too far', rather than 'tear away'.

Table 9. Technical terms provide excellent examples of this: *zavulkanizirovat'* *za*-vulcanize' 'cure rubber', *zaspirirovat'* *za*-alcohol' 'preserve in alcohol', *zaxloroformirovat'* *za*-chloroform' 'chloroform', and *zafiksirovat'* *za*-fix' 'fix (chemically, in photography)'. Like <fix>, <change of state> does not specify any particular evaluation of the action: it may be desired, undesirable, or neutral.

26) *Kak zakaľjalas'* (*za*-heat'-reflex) stal'.

How the steel was tempered.

The steel (trajector) was made harder, more resistant to change (semi-permanent state of the extradomain). If the steel is not tempered, it may crack or bend (normal development in domain).

Concrete objects are not the only potential trajectors for this type of hardening.

27) *Imenno v takix sem'jax deti polučajut navyki istinno kul'turnogo povedenija. Poznee äti navyki razov'et škola i zäkrepit* (*za*-strengthen') *trudovoj kollektiv*.

In such families children learn the habits of cultured behavior. Later on, schooling will develop these habits and consolidate the worker's collective.

In some cases the new "hardened" state of the trajector is realized metaphorically as a state of increased difficulty or confusion. Note that in both cases this severely hinders or halts the otherwise normal development (i.e., the trajector is no longer in the domain).

28) *Nenastnaja osennaja pogoda sil'no zatrudnjala* (*za*-difficult') *polety*.

The foul autumn weather made flying very difficult.

29) *V konce koncov, kak neredko byvaet v tex slučajax, kogda sporjat ljudi, ešče ne opredelivšie svoego otnošenija k voprosu, vse zaputalos'* (*za*-confuse'-reflex).

Finally, as often occurs when people argue without having first stated their views on the matter at hand, everything got all mixed up.

In both of the above examples, momentum was lost, the trajector went from a state of unhindered, normally-paced progress to a state of retarded development. This generalization is neatly summed up in the verb *zamedit'* *za*-tarry' 'slow down'. This verb is not isolated, cf. the newer formations *zatormozit'* *za*-brake' 'brake' and *zadrosselirovat'* *za*-throttle' 'throttle back' which testify to the productivity of this version of the <change of state> submeaning. Note also the more concrete correlate of *zaputatsja* *za*-confuse'-reflex 'get mixed up': *zamutit'* *za*-muddy' 'make turbid, stir up, upset'.

30) *Nebol'shaja rečka stanovilas' vse mel'če i mel'če, a rybij potok dvigalsja, ne zamedljaja* (*za*-tarry') *xoda*.

The little creek kept getting shallower and shallower, but the flow of fish moved on, not slowing its pace.

<Change of state> also accounts for *za-* prefixed verbs meaning 'pickle, preserve'. Food (trajector), if it is not preserved in some way (brought to the semi-permanent state of the extradomain) will rot (normal development in the domain).

31) Prošlyi god vosem' meškov odnoj kartoški sobrali da ogurcov kadku zasolili (za-'salt'). Rybak., AD 4:876.

Last year they gathered eight bags of potatoes alone and *pickled* a vat of cucumbers.

If the trajector is a person, the states involved may be states of consciousness. In this case, the person goes from a canonical or active state to an inactive or abnormal state.

32) Krestjane v zaplatannyx zipunax, beglye inoki, prosto guljaščie ljudi bez rodu, bez plemeni edjat, p'jut, pojut xmel'nye pesni, zasypajut (za-'sleep') zdes' že na zemle vozle šatrov, čtoby, prosnuvšis', snova est' i pit'.

Peasants in patched coats, escaped monks, and all sorts of rootless wanderers were eating, drinking, singing drinking songs and *falling asleep* right there on the ground next to the tents so that when they woke up they could eat and drink again.

33) Romantika, xitrajaja lesnaja ved'ma s lis'im pušistym telom, izvorotlivaja, kak tat', kak rosonaxa, podsteregajučaja každyj

naš nevernyj šag, bacnula Glebu neoždannno pod dyx, otravila sladkim gazom, zagipnotizirovala (za-'hypnotize') rassirennymi lživopečal'nymi glazami.

Romance, a sly forest witch with a vixen's fluffy body, shrewd as a thief, like a wolverine, on the lookout for every unsure step, caught Gleb unawares, poisoned him with a sweet gas, and *hypnotized* him with her wide-open, insincerely-sorrowful eyes.

#### Excess

PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj

-or- = TR beings, objects,

DO newness

PP

-or- = EX death, exhaustion,

inc. in verb undesirable states

(LM is complement of EX)

This submeaning is very similar to the <change of state> submeaning. The only significant differences between these two submeanings are that <excess> involves a negative evaluation of the process and focuses on the transgression of the boundary of the landmark by the

trajector. On one level, verbs denoting <excess> are merely <change of state> verbs, with the specification that the state represented by the domain is preferable to that represented by the extradomain. On another level, for verbs denoting <excess>, the landmark is a band of normal tolerance of the trajector for a given activity (ranging from zero or minimal, to dangerous). As long as the level of this activity is maintained within the boundaries of the landmark, the trajector will not depart from it. Consistent overexposure to the given activity will cause the trajector to leave the domain, entering an undesirable state which inhibits the trajector's otherwise normal development. Like <change of state> and <fix>, <excess> is a unidirectional process which is difficult or impossible to reverse. The activity named by the base verb either is a kind of torture (such as beating, nagging) or becomes torturous due to its intensity. A classic example is *zarabotat'sja* *za*-work'-reflex 'overwork oneself', which has elicited spin-offs like *zakrutit'sja* *za*-spin'-reflex, *zavertet'sja* *za*-twist'-reflex, *zapatit'sja* *za*-steam'-reflex, *zakružit'sja*, *za*-turn'-reflex, *zamotat'sja* *za*-wind'-reflex, *zaxlopotat'sja* *za*-bustle'-reflex, *zasuetit'sja* *za*-fuss'-reflex, *zasovat'sja*, *za*-shove'-reflex, all with approximately the same meaning.

- 34) Ax, kak ustali! *Zarabotalsja* (*za*-work'-reflex) sovsem, otdyxa sebe ne znaju. A. Ostr., AD 4:834.

Oh, I'm so tired! I've really overworked myself. I've forgotten what it's like to rest.

Here, work, an ordinary daily activity, has reached torturous intensity. The individual (trajector) is in a state of exhaustion (extradomain) and requires rest in order to recover. Many seemingly neutral activities conceal hidden tortures, as these verbs indicate: *zakupať'sja* *za*-bathe'-reflex 'get tired from bathing', *zabegať'sja* *za*-run'-reflex 'get tired from running', *zarisovat'sja* *za*-draw'-reflex 'get tired from drawing', *zaprjgat'sja* *za*-jump'-reflex 'get tired from jumping', *zaxixat'sja* *za*-sneeze'-reflex 'get tired from sneezing', *zaxozjajniť'sja* *za*-keep house'-reflex 'get tired from housekeeping', *zaskakat'sja* *za*-leap'-reflex 'get tired from leaping', *zastrijapat'sja* *za*-cook'-reflex 'get tired from cooking'.

- 35) Svoi stixotvorenija čitaet mne Svistov, i s nim pevéc dosužij... Čitajut i čitajut i do smerti menja ubijcy *zaxičajut* (*za*-read')! Batjušk., AD 4:1092.

Svistov reads me his poetry, he and that idler of a singer. They read and read, the murderers will read me to death!

- 36) Baba *zaxodilas'* (*za*-walk'-reflex) okolo samovara, -- mužika čaem popoit'. Čex., AD 4:1063.

The woman got tired out from walking around the samovar, giving the man tea to drink.

- 37) Byvaet tak: učat, učat čeloveka, emu uže pora svoimi mozgami ševelit', a ego vse učat: smotriš', i xireet čelovek: *zaužili* (*za*-teach'). Rybak., AD 4:1038.

It happens that they will teach and teach a man even though it's already time for him to use his own brains, but they keep on teaching him. Then you see that the man is sickly: they've worn him out with their teaching.

In these three examples the trajectories (two men and one woman) are suffering in states of varying exhaustion from what would have been, under normal circumstances, harmless activities. Their tolerance of these activities has, however, been exceeded (the boundary of the landmark has been transgressed).

Activities which are normally pleasant and/or beneficial can also be carried to harmful extremes.

38) Ja o xozjajke upominaju edinственno potomu, što ona v menja vlijubilas' strastno i čut'-čut' ne zakormila (za-'feed') menja na smert'. Turg., AD 4:498.

I mention the landlady only because she fell passionately in love with me and nearly fed me to death.

Overfeeding brings the patient (trajectory) of the action to a state of bodily disease (extradomain), which can be difficult to remedy. In the above example, the dangers may be more imagined than real, however.

39) Možet byt', emu prišlo na um, što, požaluj, i opjat' rodit'sja doč', opjat' zaiubit (za-'love') i zalečit (za-'cure') ee, vmeste s doktorami, do smerti Sof'ja Nikolaevna. S. Aks., AD 4:629.

Perhaps it occurred to him that another daughter might be born and that Sof'ja Nikolaevna would again wear the child out with her love and, together with the doctors, kill it with too much medicine.

Tender loving care is in this example a dangerous activity -- it has already put one little girl (trajectory) to death and has the potential to do the same to any subsequent daughters.

40) Druz'ja i prijateli zaxvalili (za-'praise') ego ne v meru, tak vot on už teper', čaj, dumaet o sebe, što on čut'-čut' ne šekspir. Gog., AD 4:1044

His friends and acquaintances praised him too much, and now he must think that he is almost as good as Shakespeare.

In the previous examples of <excess> the resultant state of the trajectory was one of physical exhaustion, disease, or death. Here the acquired state is not a physical one, but a mental one -- conceit.

Daily wear and tear can be too much for one's garments, causing them to become worn out, often beyond repair.

41) Akakij Akakievič rešil kak možno reže otdavat' pračke myt' bel'e, a što by ne zanašivalos' (za-'carry'-reflex), to vsjakij raz, prixodja domoj, skidat' ego. Gog., AD 4:708

Akakij Akakievič decided to take his underwear to be laundered as infrequently as possible, and, so that it wouldn't get worn out, he always took it off as soon as he got home.

Songs, plays and other theatrical works of art are also subject to wear and tear: if they are performed repeatedly, people grow tired of them. In essence, their newness wears out.

42) Ja ne stanu vas ugošćati *zagranyimi* (za-'play') i *zopetyimi* (za-'sing') *Trovatore, Ernani*. Nemir-Danc., AD 4:756

I will not try to entertain you with *Trovatore* and *Ernani*, which are *overplayed* and *oversung* (old hat).

Predictably enough, many *za-* <excess> prefixed verbs are formed from simplexes which denote torture or tortuous activities.

43) Ili mog by nam s vami byt' priiaten želovek, koji postojanno, každyu minutu napominal by vsem, što ego *zodduj* (za-'eat') *bloxi*? Net, konečno. No v konce XVIII veka každy, kto ne xotel vygljadet' otstajuščim ot mody, ne predstavljaj sebe, kak možno pokazat'sja na ljudjax bez... blošnoj lovuški na grudi.

Or could you enjoy the company of a person who constantly, every minute reminded everyone that he was being *bitten up* (*tormented*) by fleas? No, of course not. But in the late 18th century anyone who didn't want to be unfashionable could not imagine going out in public without a flea trap on his chest.

44) Lošadi že on *zamuči* (za-'torture') i *zadergal* (za-'tug') tak, što i ona sbilas', togda kak sama, verno, došla by xorošo. *Dal'*, AD 4:407.

He *tortured* and *wore out* his horse so much (*by tugging at the reins*) that it went astray, although it probably could have gotten there by itself.

45) Malo-zamalo načal Čukunov ženu kolotit'. Iz sinjakov babenka ne vyxodit, a muž guljaet da ee že tiranit. Tak do samoj smerti ee *zatirani* (za-'tyrannize'). Mam.-Sib., AD 4:983.

Little by little Čukunov started battering his wife. The little woman didn't go out because of her bruises, but he went out on the town and kept tyrannizing her. Thus he *tyrannized* her to death.

Death has been mentioned as a result in several of the examples above. For many verbs, particularly ones formed from base verbs denoting physical harm, such as beating, hitting, pecking, kicking, the notion of killing something or someone is so strong that it competes with <excess>. Although from the point of view of the patient of the verb, the action is certainly in excess of its tolerance, the overall evaluation of the action depends on the intention of the subject of the verb. If the subject does not wish to kill the object, the action of the *za-* prefixed verbs may be recognized as excessive.

46) Telesnye nakazanija vo vsex vidax i formax javljalis' glavnym pedagogičeskim priemom. Dopuskalos' tol'ko odno ograničenie: kak by ne *zastukat'* (za-'knock') *sovsemi* Salt., AD 4:941.



Corporal punishment was an important pedagogical tool. There was only one limitation: don't beat them too much (to death)!

If, however, the aim is to kill the patient of the verb, the notion of excess is reduced or absent.

47) Nesčastnaja devuška byla zasečena (za-'cut') nagaiko i predstavljala teper' bezobraznyj kusok strašno izbitogo mjasca. Mam.-Sib., AD 4:889.

The unfortunate girl was flogged to death with a whip and now she looked like an ugly piece of horribly hacked-up meat.

There are two minor variations on this pattern of <excess>. In one, it is not the intensity of the verbal action which is excessive, but its duration.

48) Doma Kužimu ždal Evgenij Nikolaevič. -- Zaguljalsja (za-'stroll'-reflex) ty, Kužima, zaguljalsja. -- Davno ždes', Evgenij Nikolaevič? -- Tak, davnen'ko uže.

Evgenij Nikolaevič was waiting for Kužima at home. "You've been out walking too long, Kužima." "Have you been waiting long, Evgenij Nikolaevič?" "Yes, quite a little while."

49) Plutovskaja fizionomija "druželjuba" lučilas' blagostnym, počti rodstvennym čuvstvom. Zaždals' (za-'wait'-reflex), govorila fizionomija, zaždals', golubuški Krafaiovy, prosto moči net.

The roguish physiognomy of the "friendly fellow" shone with a kind, almost familial feeling. You've been waiting around too long, said his physiognomy, too long, my dear Krafaiovs, you just haven't any strength left.

According to the second variation on <excess>, society is the evaluator of the action, which is judged excessive when it exceeds societal norms. Standard examples are verbs such as zaumničat'sja (za-'act smart'-reflex) 'act too smart', and zakoketničat'sja (za-'flirt'-reflex) 'flirt too much'.

50) Ego neslo, neslo čerez porogi styda, po valunam kosnojazyčija, bessvestnym mutnym potokom pošlosti, grafomanii, slovobludija i neizbyvnoj ljubvi, žalosti, vospominanii, a vperedí pobleskivalo zelenoe boloto poxmeli'a. -- Ja beru u vas odinnadcat' kopeek, -- vdrug xolodnym čužim tonom skazal "starik," i Kim strazu prikusil jazyk, ponjal, čto zarvalsja (za-'tear'-reflex).

He got carried away, away beyond the threshold of shame, along the rocks of crooked speech, the unscrupulous turbid streams of banality, graphomania, verbiomania and inescapable love, sorrow, and memory, and before him sparkled the green swamp of intoxication. "I'll take the eleven kopecks from you," the "old friend" suddenly said in a cold and alien tone, and Kim quickly bit his lip. He understood that he had gone too far.

Similarly, *zadorožit'sja* (za-'value'-reflex) 'ask too high a price' and *zavýšat'* (za-'raise') 'raise (work norms, evaluations) too high' reflect action in excess of that which is acceptable and tolerated by society.

Note that the <excess> verbs correspond to the overall pattern of the <fix> and <change of state> verbs. In this submeaning the trajector becomes fixed in a new, negatively evaluated state. All instantiations of this submeaning could be included in the row labelled normal > abnormal in Table 9.

#### *Inchoative*

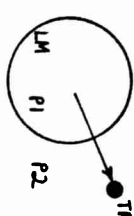
PATTERN A POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

intrans subj	= TR	beings, machines
activity		
named by	= EX	movement, noise-making,
base verb		other activities
rest	= LM	

Although this submeaning uses the same configuration as the preceding submeanings, <inchoative> has a very specific, distinct interpretation of it. The trajector is an action and the landmark is a person or other agent of the action. Until the action is performed, it remains a hidden potential of the subject of the verb. A useful

device for explaining the relationship of this submeaning to the configuration and to the other submeanings is the reference point. In the preceding submeanings the reference point was either landmark-internal or nonspecific, but for all <inchoative> verbs the reference point is necessarily landmark-external. No matter which side of the landmark boundaries the reference point is on, these boundaries delimit what is within its normal purview. Anything which is beyond this boundary is removed from the purview of the reference point, and remains so unless it relocates itself on the same side of the boundary. The position of the reference point is context-dependent. This phenomenon accounts<sup>17</sup> for the seemingly antithetical uses of English out.

Figure 10: out



For examples like *her ideas are way out* and *get out of here*, the reference point is located at P1 and the trajectors are outside of or leave the purview of the reference point. For *he came out of the closet* and *he stuck in his thumb and pulled out a plum*, however, the

<sup>17</sup> I offer this as an alternative to Lindner's tangential circles to explain these uses of out.

perspective is located at P2 and although the trajectors are performing the same action with respect to the landmark, this time they are entering the purview of the reference point.

For <deflection> verbs such as *zabjudit'sja* 'za-'wander' 'get lost', *zabyt'* 'za-'be' 'forget', the reference point landmark-internal and the trajector departs from the reference point, becoming lost or hidden either in space or in oblivion. <Inchoative> verbs specify that the reference point is landmark-external. When an action is performed the hidden potential appears on the same side of the boundary as the reference point, it pops into view. This signals the initiation of an activity. This also accounts for the element of suddenness or unexpectedness present in many examples of <inchoative>.

Another way of looking at <inchoative> is to identify the landmark as a basal or zero level of activity (with respect to the action named by the base verb, the landmark is always a zero level) at which the agent would otherwise continue. A deviation from this base line would occur when an activity is started. Either way, the landmark is a state of rest which the trajector leaves by initiating an activity.

51) -- *Vot ved' narod kakoi!* -- *kriknula Valja.* -- *Nu gde že ja tebe banku voz'mu?* -- *Mne xot' malen'kuju...* *Xot' kakuju...* *Možet, v buty'ku možno?* -- *vinovato poprosila Anna Stepanovna, slyša, kak zašumeli (za-'be noisy') i zašamkalis' (za-'mumble'-reflex), zarugalis' (za-'swear'-reflex) na nee v očeredi.*

"Such people!" screamed Valja. "Where am I to get you a jar?"

"Just give me a little one... Any kind... Maybe a little bottle?" asked Anna Stepanovna in a guilty voice, hearing the people in line *begin to fuss, murmur and curse at her.*

Normally people in line stand quietly, but in this case they were provoked to depart from their canonical behavior.

52) *Gor'kij* govoril *kak-to*, što, *esli* želovaka vse *vremja* *nazyvat' svin'ej*, v *konce* *koncov* on *zaxr'jukaet (za-'oink')*.

*Gor'kij* once said that if you call a man a pig all the time, he'll eventually *begin to oink.*

This example is of a rather surprising departure from basal behavior.

53) *Vyšla* v svet *novaja* *plastinka.* *Golosom* *Larisy* *Gerštejn* *zagovoril (za-'talk') drugoj* *Okudžava.*

A new record has come out. Another *Okudžava* has *begun to speak* in the voice of *Larisa Gerštejn.*

54) *Po* *nočam* v *temnoj* *zvezdnoj* *vyšine* *zav'yvali (za-'how')* *motory* *vražes'kix* *samoletov.*

At night in the starry black heavens, the *motors of enemy planes would begin to howl.*

55) *Načal'nik* *pervym* *zaprotestoval (za-'protest')*, *kogda* *vstal* *vopros -- stoit li* *priglašat' zavedujuščuju* *kassoj* *k* *prazdnichnomu* *stolu.*

The boss was the first to start protesting when the question arose, whether or not the head cashier should be invited to the holiday feast.

The "inchoative" submeaning is numerically predominant, and is relatively homogeneous. One verb, *začat'* *za*-begin 'conceive, begin', which is supposedly unanalyzable (since the base verb occurs only in conjunction with two other prefixes, *po*- and *na*-, and does not occur independently) is an example of this submeaning. Also, some verbs which belong to other submeanings overlap with <inchoative>. These verbs are said to be multiply motivated,<sup>18</sup> since they bear more than one relationship to the *za*-prototype. *Zabolet'* *za*-hurt 'fall ill', for example, denotes both a change of state and the initiation of ill-being (as opposed to well-being). *Zaplesnevet'* *za*-grow moldy' and *zagnit'* *za*-rot' 'turn moldy' cooccur with *za*- in three submeanings: <inchoative> ('begin to rot'), <change of state> (fresh > rotten), and <cover> (since mold is largely a surface phenomenon).

56) *Kommunističeskaja partija i Sovetskoe pravitel'stvo učat' molodež'* *byt'* neprimirimymi ko vsem urodlivym javlenijam, ubirat' so svoego puti vse skvernoe, ostavšeesja ot starogo obščestva i pronikajuščee k nam raznymi putjami iz *zagnivajuščego* (*za*-rot') *buržuznogo mira*.

<sup>18</sup> This term comes from Lakoff, personal communication 6/9/83.

The Communist party and the Soviet government teach youth to be uncompromising in the face of all unnatural phenomena, to clear out of their way all the foul things left over from the former society, which have by various routes penetrated ours from the bourgeois world which is *beginning* to rot.

57) *Lučše v ljutyje morozy letat', čem v takoj syrosti. Ėto že ne tuman, a čert znaet čto. Ot doždej da tumanov i zaplesnevet' (za*-grow moldy') *ne mudreno*.

It would be better to fly in extreme cold than in this dampness. The devil knows what that is, but it isn't fog. I wouldn't be surprised if (we) *got moldy* from the fog and rain.

#### Exchange

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj = TR beings, objects

DO = EX desired objects, money,

attention, love

inc. in verb = LM effort, objects

(*zamenit'* 'exchange', deviates, equating TR and LM)

Here, in effect, the trajector trades the landmark for the extradomain.

In concrete examples, this involves simple substitution.

58) Esli čaj *zamenjaet* (za-'change') legkij užin, razmestite na stole maslenki so slivočnym maslom, tarelki s vetčinoj, syrom, xolodnoj teljatinoj i drugimi produktami dlja buterbrodov.

If tea is being replaced by a light dinner, set the table with butterdishes containing butter and plates with ham, cheese, cold veal and other sandwich ingredients.

In the context of afternoon meal, tea (normal) is abandoned in favor of something evaluated as more substantial, a light supper, the extradomain.

More frequently the exchange involves things such as work, attention, love, which can be regarded as entities (landmarks) only metaphorically. A classic example of this submeaning is *zardbotat'* (za-'work') 'to earn', in which work is exchanged for pay (or, as in the example below, for some other compensation).

59) U nix v dome počti vseгда byla xorošaja, sytnaja eda: xleba kuz'ma *zarabatyval* (za-'work') vdovoi' daže v neurožajnye gody, moloko i mjaso šli so svoego dvora. No den'gi...

At home they almost always had good, satisfying food: Kuz'ma earned enough grain even in years of poor harvest and they got milk and meat from their own plot. But money...

60) Nalim, nesomненно, xorošaja, vkusnaja ryba, no isključitel'nogo vnimanija potrebitelej ona *zaslužila* (za-'serve') iz-za svoej pečeni.

The burbot is doubtless a good, tasty fish, but it has earned special attention from consumers because of its liver.

In this example, the fish has traded (much against its will) its delicious organs for gourmet recognition. In many examples, however, attention is focused almost exclusively on the trajector's attainment of the extradomain. The specific efforts or other sacrifice (LM) which the trajector has to give up are unspecified.

61) Tomu, kto vystupaet na sobranii, *prihoditsja zavoevyvat'* (za-'war') vnimanie odnoveremno mnogix ljudej i govoriť to, što važno i interesno dlja vsech.

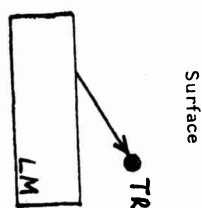
Anyone who makes a presentation at a meeting must both w/in the attention of many people at the same time and say something of interest and importance to everyone.

62) Tak prišla k Rjabovoj bol'šaja, nastojatšaja ljubov'. Katja *zaslužila* (za-'serve') ee, i ja radovalas' za podrug.

Thus a great, true love came to Rjabovaja. Katja deserved it, and I was happy for my friend.

If it is at all relevant to name the referent of the original landmark in these two examples, the best that could be done would be to identify it as some sort of effort on the part of the subject of the verb.

### 5.3 CONFIGURATION 2



Surface

PATTERN A

POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

DO = TR spots, marks

PP

-or- = LM cloth, wood, metal

TR's Location

This is a minor submeaning, associated with a small number of verbs, all of which describe the removal of something (trajector) from the surface of another object (landmark). Configuration 2 is a three-dimensional version of configuration 1. When locked in two dimensions, the trajector of configuration 1 which is located on the landmark, must transgress the landmark's boundary in order to leave it. In configuration 2, the trajector escapes via the third dimension. Thus the landmark is a solid object which we see only a cross-section of in the diagram and the third dimension corresponds to the vertical axis of the page. The trajector is either a spot of dirt, as in verbs

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*zastírat'* (za-'laundry'), *zomyt'* (za-'wash'), *zočístit'* (za-'clean') 'wash out' (a spot), or a small piece of the landmark, as in *zapílit'* (za-'saw') 'saw a notch', *zarubit'* (za-'chop') 'chop a notch'.

63) *Čto što u vas na xalate opjať p'iatno?* 'Skin'te da daje skoree, ja vyvedu i *zamoju* (za-'wash'). *Zavtra ničego ne budet.* Gonč., AD 4:698.

Do you have a spot on your dress again? Take it off and give to me right away. I'll take it out and wash it off. Tomorrow it will be all right.

64) *V dremučiĭ les neset svoj klad seljanin.* *Gluboko v zemlju zaryvaet. I na česjuštoj sosne svoj znak s zakl'jat'em zarubaet* (za-'chop'). A. K. Tolst., AD 4:858.

The villager carries his treasure into the sleepy forest. And saying a curse, he etches his mark on a scaly pine.

This second type of <surface> verb bears some relation to <fix> in that by making notches one can record information in a crude way.

### 5.4 CONFIGURATION 3

Cover



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*Cover*

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj paint, snow, masks, shadows,

-or- = TR dirt (substances that

agt inc in verb cover), sounds, tastes

DO = LM surfaces, identities,

honor, sounds, tastes

The trajector in this configuration is a substance which is unrolled like a carpet or spread like syrup over the landmark, embracing the trajectory and being identified with it. The exactness of the fit of the trajector to the landmark is determined by context, as is the shape of the landmark.

65) Leto bylo na isxode. Oblaka vse cašče zavolodkivali (za-'drag') nebo.

Summer was on its way out. Clouds covered the sky more and more frequently.

66) V mogilu ee votknuli došččku s nomerom. I toľko kogda syruju štu mogilu zasypalo (za-'pour') snegom, iz Knjanova prišla spravočka v gorodskoj otdel milicii, gde bylo skazano, kto ona i otkuda.

A little plate with a number was stuck on her grave. Not until her fresh grave was covered with snow did a message come from Knjanov to the municipal police department, saying who she was and where she was from.

*Zaščitit'* za-'shield' 'defend' is a good example of a metaphorical use of this submeaning. An individual is covered and thereby protected by defense of some kind.

67) 1917 god. Na vesax istorii -- sud'ba Rosii i buduščee proletarskoj revoljucii. Lenin vynužden skryvat'sja. Nikem ne zamečennyj, zagrimirovannyj, (za-'make up') vyxodit on iz vagona na stancii.

It was 1917. The fate of Russia and the future of the proletarian revolution weighed in the balances of history. Lenin was forced to hide. Unnoticed by anyone and made up, he got out of the car at the station.

The covering in this example is accomplished on two levels. Physically, the make-up covers Lenin's face, and metaphorically it also covers up his identity.

68) Stremjas' zemas'kirovat' (za-'mask') suščnost' buržuaznoj morali, ekspluatatorskie klassy propovedujut svoeobraznyj kul't pravil priličij, xorošix maner...

Trying to *mask over* the essence of bourgeois morality, the exploiting classes preach their own cult of rules of behavior and good manners....

69) I dejstvítel'no, "Priključeníja majora Pronina" čítajut gorazdo bol'saja auditorija, čem Bunina, Benediktov zatmeval (za-'darken') Puškina, a Potapenko -- Čexova.

Indeed, "The Adventures of Major Pronin" is read by a much bigger audience than Bunin, Benediktov has *overshadowed* Puškin, and Potapenko has done the same to Čexov.

70) Svoim prostupkom vy opozorili svetloe imja gvardejca, zapjatnali (za-'spot') čest' svoego slavnogo boevogo polka.

By your transgression, you have disgraced the splendid title of guardsman and *besmeared* the honor of your own glorious fighting regiment.

These three examples are all metaphorical uses of <cover> verbs which are also serviceable in concrete contexts (covering with a mask, eclipsing, physical besmearing). The following verb is, however, an example of metaphorical extension of the submeaning <cover>.

71) Zvuki lesa zaglušajis' (za-'deafen') revom dvigatelja i boltovej sotrudnikov.

The sounds of the forest were *drowned out* by the roar of the engine and the chatter of the workers.

This verb identifies sounds as entities (landmark and trajectory), the louder of which "covers up" the other.

Metaphorically, something can take over (cover) someone's heart, as in the following example.

72) Rabota v aeroklube, polety vse bol'se zazxvatyvali (za-'grab') menja, i ja stala podumyvat' o tom, čtoby otkazat'sja ot objazannostej staršej pionerovožatoj, kotorye vypolnjaja v 144-j srednej škole. Voznikli mysli i ob institute, razumeetsja aviacionnom.

Work in the aeroclub and flying *captivated* me and I began thinking that I should quit my job as a senior Pioneer leader in high school No. 144. Thoughts of going to an institute, an aviation institute, of course, arose.

There is one "submeaning" of *za-* identified by Boguslawski and the Academy Grammar which is characterized as "*dejstvie, nazvannoe motiviruščim glogolom, soveršit' srazu posle drugogo dejstviia*" 'perform the action named by the motivating verb immediately after another action'. Only two verbs, formed from the base verbs *est'* 'eat' and *pit'* 'drink' represent this submeaning:<sup>19</sup> *zest'* *za-*'eat'

<sup>19</sup> The Academy Grammar notes some limited productivity of this type, but the verbs thus formed remain in the realm of literary creativity and have not entered the lexicon. Also, these verbs are limited to precisely the same contexts as are *zest'* *za-*'eat' 'chase' and *zopit'* *za-*'drink' 'wash down': *začevat'* *za-*'chew' 'chase, chewing' and *zanluxat'* *za-*'sniff' 'chase, sniffing' (this verb testifies to the bravado of a man who, rather than needing a solid chaser, can make do with merely a whiff of some strong-



'chase (with food after a strong alcoholic drink)' and *zapit' za-* 'drink 'wash down (food with drink)'. Despite traditional classifications, the establishment of a submeaning containing only two verbs, neither of which are high-frequency and both of which are restricted to a very specific context, is suspicious. In addition, there is good reason to include these verbs in the <cover> submeaning.<sup>2a</sup>

The standard context of *zaest' za-* 'eat' involves a person or persons sitting behind a bottle of vodka. Since most people do not savor this drink, they will eat some delicious food immediately after drinking in order to eradicate the aftertaste.

73) Ja vypival u stojki rjunku vodki, *zaedal* (*za-* 'eat') *krupnym, sočnym pirožkom s mjasom*. Veres., AD 4:439.

I was drinking a shot of vodka at the bar and *chasing* it with a round, juicy meat pie.

On occasion this verb can refer to the eating of one food right after another food. The intent here is similar: the food eaten first has a strong taste and/or an unpleasant aftertaste, as does the meat of wild game.

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smelling food).

<sup>2a</sup> I am indebted to Pamela Russell, who suggested that these verbs might be <cover> verbs in a seminar (Slavic 282) held at UCLA in the spring of 1982.

74) My *lakimimsja* dič'ju, dobytoj na oxote, *zaedaem* (*za-* 'eat') *kušan'e močenyymi grušami i mušmuloj*. Sok.-Mik't., AD 4:439.

We feast on the game we hunt, *washing down* the meal with marinated pears and loquats.

Likewise, *zapit' za-* 'drink' 'wash down' is used in contexts where a food with a heavy taste (such as honey) or something with a repellent taste (like medicine) is followed by a more neutral drink.

75) My *zapili* (*za-* 'drink') *prozračnyj, teplyj med klučevoj vodoj*. Turg., AD 4:764.

We *washed down* the transparent, warm honey with spring water.

76) On *naglotalsja* poroškov, *zapiv* (*za-* 'drink') *ix xolodnoj vodoj priamo iz-pod krana*. Katerli, AD 4:764.

He swallowed a number of pills and *washed* them down with cold water straight from the tap.

As the examples above demonstrate, the verbs *zaest' za-* 'eat' 'chase' and *zapit' za-* 'drink' 'wash down' are used in situations where there is a desire to mask or cover up a strong taste in one's mouth. Metaphorically, the landmark represents the strong taste which the trajectory, or flavor of the food or drink which follow, covers up. This metaphorical extension of <cover> is very similar to that responsible for *zaglušit' za-* 'deafen' 'drown out'. In both cases

perceptions are metaphorically recognized as entities, one of which covers the other. The fact that the actions named by these verbs follow other actions is not significant in discovering the submeaning with which these verbs are associated. Like the "ahead of time" notion attributed to certain <fix> verbs by traditional scholars, "one after another" is a peripheral, accidental element in the semantic makeup of these verbs.

The verb *zapit'* 'za-'drink' 'wash down' also admits of metaphorical usage, as in the examples below.

- 77) *Položiv nogu na nogu, zapivaja (za-'drink') každyju frazu*  
*Čaem s romom, on rasskazyval o svoix uspeax na scene. Čex.,*  
*AD 4:764.*

Having crossed his legs, and washing down every phrase with tea with rum, he talked about his theatrical successes.

Since talking is done through the mouth, it can be metaphorically associated with the sensation of taste. The narrator in the above example washes down the sweet taste which this discussion produces.

78) *Zlost'-tosku mužiki na lošadkax sorvut, koli deneški est' --*  
*raskošeljatsja i kručinušku štoom zapjut (za-'drink'). Nkr.,*  
*AD 4:764.*

The men vent their anger and spite on their horses. If they have money, they spend it and they drown their sorrows in a pint (of vodka).

In this example the <cover> metaphor is supported on two levels. Not only does vodka mask the bitter taste of sorrow, but it masks the memory of it as well.

# 5.5 CONFIGURATION 4

Splatter



Splatter

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENCES:

- instrumental agt
- or- = TR groups of objects,
- agt inc in verb divisible substances
- DO = LM surfaces

This submeaning is identical to <cover> except that the trajector is a group of objects or a divisible object rather than a single mass. The result is a scattering of objects or spots over a surface rather than a solid layer, as in <cover>.

- 79) *Nel'zja zasorjat' (za-'dirty') pljaž ob"edkami, okurkami,*  
*gazetnoj bumagoj i t. P.*

One must not *litter* the beach with scraps of food, cigarette butts, newspaper, etc.

80) Vo vremena doždilivoj pogody možno vstretit' devušek, u kotoryx žulki i niz pal'to zabryzgany (za-'splatter') griaz'ju.

During rainy weather one meets girls whose stockings and coat hems *are splattered* with mud.

In the first example the trajector is a group of objects distributed over the landmark (beach), whereas in the second, the trajector (mud) is divided into droplets and applied to the landmark (stockings and coat hem). The entities involved need not be tangible, as in *zacelovat'* za-'kiss' 'shower with kisses'.

81) -- Tak už, veruju, -- uklončivo proiznes on, vstal i zažeg svoju malen'kuju tuskiju, *zasičennuju* (za-'sit') muxami lampočku.

"So what, I believe," he stated evasively. He got up and lit his dim little lamp which was *covered with fly specks* (lit. *sat all over by flies*).

The euphemistic verb *zasidet'* za-'sit' 'fly-spot (lit. to sit all over)' is a metonymical extension of the <splatter> submeaning, obviously motivated by a desire to avoid direct reference both to flies and to their leavings. Reference is made only to sitting, yet this suffices since this verb is securely lodged in a very specific semantic niche.

## 5.6 CONFIGURATION 5

Fill



Fill

PATTERN B POSSIBLE REFERENTS:

trans subj

-or- = TR stuffing, putty, objects

inc in verb

DO = LM containers, holes

This submeaning is also very closely related to <cover>. Rather than a two-dimensional surface to be covered, <fill> makes reference to a three-dimensional container, or hole, to be filled. The sides of the container need not be exceeded in filling it, likewise the trajector seeks the boundaries of the landmark, but does not transgress them.

In the verb *zafarširovat'* za-'stuff' 'stuff (a turkey or duck)', the trajector is the stuffing and the hollow left after the removal of internal organs is the landmark. Similarly, in the verb *zažpuklevat'* za-'putty' 'putty', the landmark and trajector are holes in the wall and putty, respectively. The examples below are analogous.

82) Vot, razglad'ite stany i zaščopajte (za-'darn') dyročku.

Here, iron these pants and *darn* the hole.

83) Vdrug dver' s zadnego kryl'ca, ta v kotoruju on vošel  
včera, kogda priexal, raspaxnulas', nečto massivnoe vdvynulos' i  
zagorodilo (za-'fence') proem...

Suddenly the back door, through which he had entered  
yesterday when he arrived, flew open and some massive object  
moved in and *blocked* the doorway.

This submeaning also has metaphorical uses, such as the host's  
attempt to block the chatter flowing from his guest's mouth in the  
example below.

84) Tščetno pytaetsja xozjain zatknut' (za-'poke') štu  
dušeskrebnuju skvažinu. Tščetno zalivaet on ee čaem i  
nabrasiwaet plastyr' iz pečen'ja. Vse tščetno. Gost' neumolim.

In vain the host tries to *shut up* this annoying cavity. In vain  
he pours on tea, applies cookies as a gag. But it is all in vain.  
His guest is implacable.

There is some natural overlap between <cover> and <fill>. Given a  
hole, the difference between treating it as a two-dimensional landmark  
(and therefore covering it) and treating it as a three-dimensional  
object (and filling it) may be insignificant. Does a door cover the  
doorway or does it fill it (cf. *zakryt' za-'cover' 'close', zaxlopnut'*  
*za-'bang' 'slam'?*)

## 5.7 SUMMARY

At this point it should be possible to open a dictionary to *za-* and  
recognize the submeanings which most, if not all, verbs are  
associated with. The concepts connecting verbs to submeanings and  
in turn submeanings to configurations, as originally presented in 5.1,  
have been discussed in some detail. With this in mind, we now turn  
to an analysis of the prefix *pere-*.