A-₁ AND *ÎN-₁* (*ÎM-₁*) DERIVATION DURING 1532-1640. A CONSTRUCTIONAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract:

In this study, we aim to analyse derivation by means of *în-*$_1$ (*îm-*$_1$), respectively *a-₁* prefixes in old Romanian literary language in terms of derivational morphology. Thus, we shall take into consideration the description of the delocutive derivation process that was widespread in the old age of Romanian literary language – influenced by Slavic language – in terms of the 'conventional vocabulary', made up by means of a set of morphological and semantic rules that influence the word formation process.

Our attempt aims at organising *în-*, *a-* derivatives depending on the specialised categorial relations between the affix and the radical/base in order to emphasise the importance of this internal means of vocabulary enrichment as early as the first stages of the literary language.

Keywords:

Derivation, prefix, associative-layered, old Romanian literary language, diachrony, categorial relation.

1. Theoretical framework

Generally speaking, the constructional analysis of derivation by means of *în-* prefix highlights several ways of enriching the Romanian language vocabulary and reveals trends that are related to its dynamics and natural evolution, in particular.

In this context, we have in mind the analysis of this phenomenon in terms of the *associative-layered* mode[1], postulated within the generative

[1] The two generative principles – associative and layered – are characterised by highlighting the rules that operate in language, based on morphological and semantic analysis parameters of resulting words. In this case, *associativity* and *layering* describe the way in which lexical units are hierarchically organised in language. Danielle Corbin, 1987, I, p. 43.

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theory of derivational morphology[2], which aims at defining word formation rules and properly interpreting the rules involved by the semantics of built terms.

Thus, the delimitation of functional morphological rules in the process of word formation by means of *în-* relies in the *real vocabulary – conventional vocabulary* dichotomy, taking into account the principles of associativity and layering of speech facts.

1.1. Real vocabulary vs. conventional vocabulary

a. The real vocabulary is defined by three distinct levels, namely:

- the certified, observable, tangible vocabulary;

- the lexical competence and immediate metalinguistic intuition – two aspects which allow speakers to interpret words and make judgements about their own language;

- properties of an idiom, its rules and exceptions that define it.

b. The conventional vocabulary, made up of the variety of built words (derivatives and those resulted from conversion), is defined based on two essential elements, namely derivational competence and speaker.

'Derivational competence' (Fr. *la compétence derivationnelle*)[3] is defined in terms of creativity generated by certain rules. This creativity consists in the ability to form and understand derived words, unknown previously, by applying some rules. We should point out that the rules involved in the manifestation of derivational competence take into account the generally valid word formation rules that are known and applied in other contexts.

The speaker manifests his/her lexical creativity by considering the known general word formation rules and the way of applying these rules, in principle.

For example, a speaker creates a new word starting from the lexical material that exists in the real vocabulary:

- [pref. *a-*] + [base$_{vb}$ *-dormi* 'sleep'] + [suf. *-a*] → *built word: (a) adormi* 'fall asleep/put to sleep';

[2] Cf. Danielle Corbin, 1987, *Morphologie et structuration du lexique*, I-II, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

[3] Danielle Corbin, 1987, I, pp. 68-70.

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- [pref. *în-*] + [base$_n$: *-bujor* 'rose'-] + [suf: *-a*] → *built word:* (a) *îmbujora* 'become rosy/to grow red (in the face)';

Each word is later included in the real vocabulary, as speakers assign a semantic interpretation to it based on their derivational competence, in general, and on lexical competence, in particular:

- (*a) adormi* 'fall asleep/put to sleep' means 'change from a waking to a sleeping state' or 'help someone go to bed';

- *(a) îmbujora* 'become rosy' is paraphrased by 'be like a rose'.

1.2. 'The built word'

A constructed word (Fr. *le mot construit*) implicitly describes the associative-layered principle, for it designates the relationships between the constituents of the morphological structure of a term and its meaning. Thus, the constructed word is a lexical unit whose predictable meaning is compositional[4], with regard to the internal structure, which involves the application of derivational operations (carried out by word-formation rules) at the level of major lexical categories and associates categorial, morphological and semantico-syntactic relations to them.

Hence, a built word should meet three conditions:

(I) the ability of morphological constituents to express a categorial relation and to associate to a reproducible meaning;

(II) the predictable meaning and its internal structure must rely on a word formation rule so that the meaning should be compositional as related to form;

(III) the presence of one or several word formation methods (prefixation, suffixation and conversion).

1.3. Word formation rules

As regards the word formation rules, the proposed model involves the association of three aspects:

a) 'structural operation' involves the categorial relation between the base and the derivative.

[4] Danielle Corbin, 1987, I, p. 221.

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The categorial relation is described, in turn, by the authorised association between the base or radical (attested or not attested) and affixes.

b) 'semantic operation' designates the same fundamental meaning of all its products.

Semantic interpretation implies, in its turn, the existence of some semantic construction rules.

c) 'morphological paradigm' is represented by a set of constructional methods[5] which underlie the general phenomena of word formation.

1.4. Categorial relations

An idiom is also defined by the categorial relations it authorises between the base and the built word[6]. The typology of general categorial relations, in the case of derivation by means of delocutive suffixes, is represented as follows:

- **noun → verb**:

floare 'flower' → *(a) înflori* 'flower, flourish', *frunte* 'forehead, front' → (*a) înfrunta* 'confront', *curaj* 'courage' → *(a) încuraja* 'encourage'; *fum* 'fume' → *(a) afuma* 'fumigate' etc.

- **adjective → verb**:

bolnav 'ill' → *(a) îmbolnăvi* 'fall ill', *greu* 'heavy' → *(a) îngreuna* 'make heavy'; *gros* 'thick' → *(a) îngroşa* 'thicken' etc.

- **numeral → verb**:

jumătate 'half' → (*a) înjumătăţi* 'halve', *trei* 'three' → *(a) întrei* 'triple' etc.

- **verb → verb**:

(a) dormi 'sleep' – *(a) adormi* 'fall asleep/put to sleep' etc.

[5] See Georgette Dal, 2004, pp. 8-9.
[6] Cf. Danielle Corbin, 1985, p. 37.

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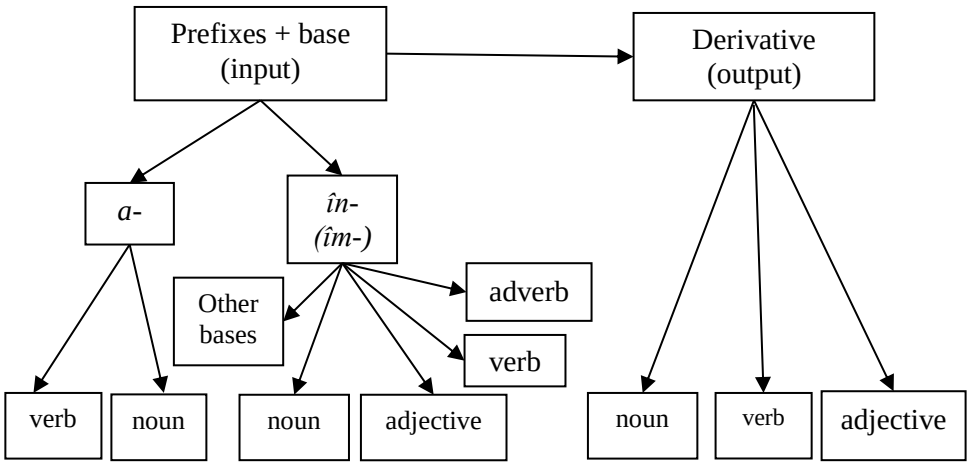

Figure 1. Representation of combinatorial possibilities in the process of *în-* and *a-* derivation.

2. Delocutive derivation occurrences in old Romanian texts

The beginning of a European literary language is marked, par excellence, by an age imbued with "*translations and adaptations of texts written in previous culture language*".[7]

Given the fact that derivation is the main process that is specific to literary languages[8], in old Romanian texts dating from the 1532-1640 period the Romanian language heavily appeals to word formation by means of suffixes and prefixes[9], of which one can identify the following affixes: *în-ne-*, *pre-*, which are frequently used, *des- (dez-*), *stră-*, *răz-*, *spre-*, *a-* and *de-*, of which the last two are less common.

2.1. Derivation by means of a-1

As regards the lexical and grammatical homonymy of the *a-* particle, we should mention that the prefix *a-* is part of the "type 2" affix

[7] Eugen Munteanu, 2008, p. 12.
[8] The frequent use of derived terms is explained based on the search of Romanian equivalents for Slavic words.
[9] Al. Rosetti, 1986, pp. 515-518.

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category[10], for they are 'prefixes that assume in Latin (or Greek, where appropriate) autonomous and non-autonomous uses and which continue to have the same lexical and grammatical values in synchrony': cf. *anti-*, *a-* (locative), *în-*, *sub-*, *supra-*, *super-*, *co-* etc.

Prefixes that make up the so-called type 2 class are characterised by two aspects:

1) 'they build words which belong to different classes of words': *verbs* mainly, then *adjectives* and *nouns*: *(a) adormi* 'fall asleep/put to sleep', *afumat* 'smoked', *adormire* 'falling asleep' etc.

This criterion takes into account the categorial relations authorised by that particular affix in selecting the base and the semantic constraints imposed by semantic word construction rules.

2) 'words derived by means of these prefixes express certain logico-semantic values', cf. 'spatial and temporal relation': *a-*, *în-*.

Delocution, a functional method in old Romanian literary language, imposes the following pattern of analysis of prefixation by means of *a-*$_1$, considering the word formation rules (WFR), entailed by the basic component (made up of the list of lexical entries) and the derivational component.

Language data excerpted from our corpus involve the following combinatorial possibilities of the *a-*$_1$ prefix:

- *a-*$_1$ + *verb*;
- *a-*$_1$ + *noun* + *suffix*;
- *a-*$_1$ + *adjective* + *suffix*.

2.1.1. A-$_1$ + vb. [prefix + verb]

The parameter described here, namely 'combinatorial possibilities of the attached element [the affix]', entails the analysis of a first authorised categorial relation present in words attested in old texts.

• verb→ verb

a abirui 'defeat' (CS^2, VII, 67^r/8-9); *a acoapere* 'cover' (CL, 8^r/4, 7^v/15-16, 40^v/8); *a aduce* 'bring' (PH, 79/9; MI, II, 134^v/16-17, II, 185^v/9, 106^v/1; TS, 39^r, 44^r, 3^v, 101^r); *a adurmiră* 'fall asleep' (TS, 99^v); *a adurmita*

[10] Dany Amiot, 2005, pp. 67-68.

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'fall asleep' (CC[2], 162; PS, 67; CP, 54)[11]; *a amistui* 'inflame' (CB, 33; CT, 40[v]; CC[2], 180); *a apesti*[12] 'doze off'; *a aprinde* 'enflame' (MI, I, 174[v]/1-2); *a aveni* and *a se aveni* '(about dough) rise, ferment' (PO[1], 12).

This set of verbs is formed based on the analogy between verbs with a simple form and the prefix *a-*$_1$, forming the so-called doublets.

On the one hand, we should mention that certain doublets, resulted from the unprefixed and prefixed form of the verb, exist only at a formal level, for the prefix imposes no semantic categorisation.

a abirui (CS[2], VII, 67[r]/8-9) X *a birui* (CC[2], 560; 137, 145);

a acoapere (CL, 8[r]/4, 7[v]/15-16, 40[v]/8) X *a coperi*, "*va cuperi*" (MI, I, 180[v]/17);

a apesti X *a pesti* (CL, 26[v]/1-4).

On the other hand, the categorial relation verb → verb implies a semantic change, imposed by the prefix:

a adurmi(ră) (TS, 99[v]) X *a durmi* 'sleep', cf. "*durmitară*" (PS, 162);

a aprinde (MI, I, 174[v]/1-2) X *a prinde* 'catch';

a aduce (PH, 79/9; MI, II, 134[v]/16-17, II, 185[v]/9, 106[v]/1; TS, 39[r], 44[r,] 3[v], 101[r]) X *a duce* 'carry';

a aveni (PO[1], 12) X *a veni* 'come'.

2.1.2. A-$_1$ **+ noun + -a [prefix + noun + suffix]**

The second categorial relation imposed by the possibility of the affix to combine with an autonomous or non-autonomous base or radical is represented by the following structure:

• noun → verb

a afuma 'fumigate' (PH, 143/5); *a afunda* 'dip, immerse (in)', cf. "*afundaiu-mea în tină*" (PH, 68/3); *a aspuma* 'effervesce' (CP, 124), cf. "*aspumaţi*" (CV, 55[v]/6-7)

We should notice that the categorial relation of delocutive verbs from the general class of denominatives is weakly represented in 1532-1640.

[11] The termed is formed by contamination from *a durmita* + *a adurmi*.
[12] *Studiu lingvistic* la CL. Al. Mareş, 1969, p. 21.

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It is to be mentioned that verbs resulting from that particular pattern are considered parasynthetic formations in the specialised literature.

2.1.3. A-$_1$ + adjective + -a/-i [prefix + adjective + suffix]

The pattern entails the categorial relation **adj. → vb.:**

a a(u)puţi 'to reek, to stink' (PS, 65; CV, 12; PH, 113/14; CP, 65); *a amuţi* 'to dumb' (PH, 33^2/3); *a amorţi* 'to numb' (PO^2, 229/2); *a astriina* 'to alien, to alienate' (CP, 71; PS, 231; PH, 50/4).

The sporadic examples point to the fact that the *a-* prefix does not have a high capacity of derivation in religious writings, in the period under analysis.

2.2. Derivation by means of în-$_1$ (îm-)

As regards the affix *în-$_1$*, we should point out that the prefix also belongs to the class of 'type 2' prefixes, as it builds words that fall into several grammatical categories and has certain semantic values, imposed by the semantic selection of bases.

Words derived by *în-$_1$* are particularly common in 1532-1640 texts, which indicate the creative power of the vocabulary in any stage of evolution. Thus, this delocutive prefix is extremely productive in the old literary language, as it is considered to be a specific affix of both religious and lay texts.

The large number of lexical units derived with *în-$_1$ (îm-*) help establish a pattern of analysis of prefixation, taking into account word formation rules and applicable affixation parameters: 'the semantics of the attached element' and 'combinatorial possibilities':

a) în-$_1$ + nominal base + suffixes -a/-i = parasynthetic denominal derivatives;

b) în-$_1$ *+ adjectival base + suffixes -a/-i* = parasynthetic deadjectival derivatives;

c) în-$_1$ *+ verb* = deverbal derivatives.

2.2.1. În-$_1$ + noun + -a/-i [prefix + noun + suffix]

The first way of forming derivatives leads to the creation of the categorial relation represented by the structure noun → verb (verbs are formed from nouns), which is very well represented during the 1532-1640 period.

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• **Noun → verb**

a îmbărbăta 'to encourage, to reman' (PH, 26/14; TS, 51^{r}; CC^{2}, 183/26); *a împăinijina* 'to blur, to mist' (CC^{2}, 252/37); *a împărţi* 'to share, to portion' (PH, 111/9; CC^{2}, 192/17; CL, 25^{r}/7, 37^{v}/12, 38^{r}/15-16, 37^{v}/10-11; TS, 102^{v}, 37^{v}, 37^{r}, 7^{v}, 38^{r}, CV, 134/23); *a împăsonia*[2] 'to press', cf. *păsoniu* "*dzua şi noaptea împăsone pre menre mânra ta*" (PH, 31/4); *a împeliţa* 'to incarnate' (CC^{2}, 91/38; CL, 38^{v}/14-15); *a împetrici* (CC^{2}, 364/14); *a împerechea* (TS, 37^{r}), and also "*împărechea*" 'to couple, to pair' (ER, f. 18^{v}); *a împiedica* 'to block, to hinder' (PH, 17/40); *a împleti* 'to braid' (CC^{2}, 326/7; TS, 114^{v}); *a împlânta* 'to stick' (TS, 82^{r}); *a înarma* 'to arm, to weapon' (CC^{2}, 106/20), attested only in the participle form *înarmaţi*[13]; *a încăleca* 'to mount, to straddle' (TS, 78^{r}); *a se încămăta* 'to become a pawnbroker' (CC^{2}, 351); *a înceti* 'to accompany' (CC^{2}, 615); *a închega* 'to clot', in the participle form *închegat, -ă* (PH, 67/17); *a încredinţa* (CC^{2}, 247/8) and *a se încredinţa* 'to assure, to entrust' (PS, 37); *a se încuibura* 'to nestle, to make a nest' (CV, 16^{v}; CP, 200^{r}); *a se încurţi* 'to establish, to settle down' (CP, 1; PS; CV); *a îndumnezei* 'to glorify, to deify' (CC^{2}, 487/18); *a se înfărtăţi* 'to associate, to unite in company' (MC, 60^{v}); *a înfeciora* 'to adopt, to father' (the only attestation[14]); *a înfrânra* (PH, 31/9); *a înfrica* 'to affright, to appal' (TS, 117^{v}); *a înfrunzi* 'to leaf' (TS, 97^{v}); *a îngenunchea* 'to kneel' (TS, 115^{r}); *a îngheţa* 'to freeze, to ice' (CC^{2}, 364/11); *a înghimpa* 'to prick' (PH, 31/4); *a se îngloti* 'to gather, to crowd' (CC^{2}, 191, MC, 396); *a îngrupa* 'to bury (PH, 78/3; CC^{2}, 138/4; TS, 100^{v}, 49^{v}, 20^{r} etc.; MI, 186^{v}/6), cf. *îngrop* (ER, f. 11^{r}); *a înjuga* 'to yoke' (CC^{2}, 277/36); *a înlumina* 'to illuminate' (MC, 251^{v}; PO^{2}, 9/19); *a înnoroci* 'to protect, to cause something to end well' (PO^{2}, 136/24); *a înomeni* 'to incarnate' (CC^{2}, 497/17); *a însărcina* 'to charge (with)', attested in the participle form "*însărcinaţi*" (ER, f. 17^{v}); *a însoţi* 'to accompany' (CC^{2}, 449/17); *a înseta* 'to be thirsty': "*însetadză*" (PH, 103/11); "*însetaţi*" (ER, f. 5^{r}); *a însufleta* 'to enliven, to animate' (CC^{2}, 347/36); *a înşâra* 'to string, to thread' (CC^{2}, 244/15); *a întemeia* 'to found, to ground' (CC^{2}, 179/21);[1] *a*

[13] *Apud* SMFC, 1959, I, p. 253.
[14] Cf. Vasile Scurtu, 1966, p. 56.

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întrupi ‘to embody, to incarnate’ (CC^2, 2/19); *a învăli*, *a se învălui* ‘to envelop, to veil’ (CC^2, 137/2, 233/37), and also *a înveli* (CL, 27^r/1); *a învrăjmăşi* ‘to split, to sow dissension’ (CC^2, 285/21).

As shown in our examples, the noun, a strong grammatical category, is frequently used as base for *în- (îm-*) derivatives, which leads to the formation of a significant number of denominal verbal constructions and, particularly, to the semantic diversification of built words.

Nominal bases, in combination with the affix *în-*, are authorised by word formation rules and by semantic construction rules of lexemes, in general.

However, in terms of derivational mechanism, the resulted denominal verbal units represent two subtypes of constructions:

a) parasynthetic verbs: *(a) însărcina* ‘put in charge’ < *în-* + *-sarcină* ‘charge’- + *-a*; *în-* + *-frunză* ‘leaf’- + *-i* < *(a) înfrunzi* ‘to leaf’ etc.;

b) verbs resulted from a verbal or prepositional construction: (*a) împerechea* ‘to pair’ < *(a) pune în pereche* ‘arrange in pairs’, *(a) înşâra* ‘to string’ < *(în) şir* (literary version of the archaic form *şâr*) ‘in a string’.

• Numeral → verb

a înduia ‘to increase twice, to double; to fold in two’ (CC^2, 318/11); *a îngiumătăţi* (PH, 54/24), and *a înjumătăţi* (CC^2, 99/29) ‘to halve’.

The numeral, which expresses quantity, appears sporadically as a derivative base in this case. This categorial relation is most frequently included in the group of *în- + nominal base + suffix* derivatives, as it belongs to the general category of the noun.

2.2.2. În-$_1$ + adjective + -a/-i [prefix + adjective + suffix]

The second pattern of *în-* derivation, encountered in the 1532-1640 texts, involves another categorial relation, which is considered as canonical by the specialised literature, namely the adjective → verb paradigm (verbs are formed from adjectival bases).

• Adjective → verb

a îmbăta ‘to make drunk, to intoxicate’ (CC^2, 287/9); *a îmbuna* ‘to calm, to make less severe’: “*îmbunrară oamenirii*” (PH, 143/15); *a îmblânzi*

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'to tame' (CC[2], 137/36; CS[2], VII, 64[v]/12-13); *a împuţina* 'to lessen': "*se împuţinară adevărul*" (PH, 11/2; CS[2], IX, 77[v]/2-3); *a înăcri* 'to sour' (TS, 45[v]); *a înălbi* 'to whiten': "*înrălăbi-mea-voiu*" (PH, 50/9); (CC[2], 87/22); *a se înălbi* 'to whiten' (CL, 9[v]/16); *a încălzi* 'to warm' (CC[2], 159/3); *a îndulci* (CS[2], XIV, 112[r]/4; TM, 227), also *a se îndulci* 'to sweeten' (CC[2], 132, 135, 136, 157, 494; CB, I, 11-12); *a îndrăgi* 'to love' (CC[2], 186/6), cf. "*îndrăgiţii Domnul*" (PH, 30/24); *a înferica* 'to imparadise' (PS, 427; CP[1], 251[v]); *a înfierbânta* 'to boil': "*înfierbântatu-ne-ai*" (PH, 65/10); *a înflămânzi* 'to make/become hungry' (CC[2], 34/21); *a îngreuia* 'to make heavy' (PS, 116); *a îngrăşa* 'to fatten' (CC[2], 73/29); *a îngroşa* 'to thicken': "*îngroşatu-s-au*" (TS, 42[r]); *a îngreoia* (CC[2], 83/12), see above *a îngreuia* (PS); *a însetoşa, a însetoşi* 'to be/become thirsty' (CT, 56[v]; CC[2], 89 etc.); *a se însingura* 'to seclude' (CP, 23; PS, 56; CV, 8); *a însupţia* 'to thin' (CP, 6; CV, 9); *a întări* 'to fasten, to strengthen' (CC[2], 290/28; MI, III, 191[r]/7; PH, 111/8); *a întăroşa* 'to get pregnant' (PO[1], 131/4), cf. *tăroasă* 'pregnant'[15]; *a întrista* 'to sadden' (CC[2], 79/23); *a învârtoşa* (CL, 10[r]/8; 40[v]/1), also *a învrătoşa* 'to harden' (PH, 32/6), cf. *vârtos* 'hard, solid, robust' ; *a învineţi* 'to bruise' (CC[2], 158/36); *a învie* 'to resurrect' (CC[2], 102/27; MI, I, 173[v]/1, II, 187[v]; 183[r]/9; CL, 14[v]/19, 15[r]/5,12, 14[v]/15, 16[v]/7-8, 29[v]/12; TS, 170[v], 61[v], 25[v], 75[v]).

The adjective, with various degrees of abstraction, frequently appears as a derivative base for terms with *în-*$_1$ (*îm-*$_1$) and helps form numerous deadjectival derivatives.

Given the examples extracted from the corpus we have compiled, we note that in this period the categorial relation built from the 'noun → verb' structure is better represented than the 'adjective → verb' paradigm, which is considered to be the main method of forming verbs expressing 'the change of state'.

2.2.3. În-$_1$ + verb [prefix + verb]

Although not specified within the general framework of *în-* derivation, in classic studies about this method, language data, manifested in

[15] CDER, 2002, *s.v. tăroasă*; ILRLV, 1997, p. 177.

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moderate proportion, indicate another CT represented by the structure verb → verb (verbs create verbs), in the 1532-1640 texts.

• Verb → verb

a împăsonia[1], cf. *a păsa* 'to get pregnant', after *a îngreuia*; *a împremiza*: "*nu împremidzează zilele sale*" 'to halve', cf. lat. *permediare* (CP, 54, 24); *a înacoperi* 'to cover, to hide' "*înacoperi-mea*" (PH, 26/5); *a înareta* "*înareta-mea-va derept cu mia*" (PH, 140/5); *a încrede* 'to (en)trust' (CC[2], 276/23); *a înfrânge* 'to defeat' (CC[2], 46/27); *a înjura* 'to swear' (CC[2], 34/5); *a înmări* 'to enlarge, to enhance' (CT, 152, 6); *a înmicşura* 'to belittle, to decrease' (PS, 20; CP, 10[v]); *a însălăşlui* 'to (in)dwell' (CC[2], 176/14); *a înschimba*[16] 'to change'; *a întocmi* (CC[2], 246/27); *a înveşti* 'to cover, to wrap' (CV, 60/9; PH, 70/9, 16, 18; ÎC, 43); *a înzăcea* (CV, 6).

This group of terms, reduced to 15 units derived from other verbs-bases, is created through analogy according to the pattern imposed by the largest number of categorial relations, namely verbs formed from adjectives and nouns.

3. Conclusions

The diachronic analysis reveals certain aspects of language dynamics which consisted in the creation of a substantial number of words built by means of *în-₁ (îm-)*.

Language facts in Romanian texts dating from the first period of the old age of literary Romanian language point to the productivity of the mechanism of delocution in the old language. This method contributes to the establishment of delocutive prefixation patterns reflected in the configuration of aspects related to the reciprocity among the language compartments: vocabulary, morphology, semantics. Interdependence at the level of language is generally supported by the associative-layered principle.

Furthermore, one should note the productivity and frequency of the prefix *în- (îm-)*, which is extremely well represented in the early period of the old age of the literary language. The affix *în-*, which is par excellence

[16] Cf. G. Istrate, 1982, p. 245.

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delocutive, occurs in denominative verbs, adjectives and parasynthetic nouns, while *a-* is attested in a much smaller number, belonging to the category of verbs, nouns and adjectives.

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