AN ANALYSIS OF PREFIXAL PERFECTIVIZATION
IN CONTEMPORARY STANDARD RUSSIAN
by
GARY HOWARD TOOPS
B.A., McGill University, 1975

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Slavonic Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standards

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
April, 1979
© Gary Howard Toops, 1979
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of _Slavonic Studies_

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date _23 April 1979_
Prefixal perfectivization is the object of considerable discussion in present-day Russian aspectology. Accordingly, the first chapter of this thesis attempts to present as accurately and concisely as possible the diverse views concurrent today among scholars in the field of Russian aspectology with regard to prefixal perfectivization.

In the second chapter the meanings of the Russian verbal prefixes are given, to the extent that they are discernible in conjunction with a large variety of verbs. The prefixal verbs given to illustrate each meaning of a prefix are cited from lexicological reference works. The prefixal perfectives are identified at the end of each section of prefix meanings in Chapter II.

The meanings of verbs and verbal prefixes are examined in order to determine the system by which the occurrence of a particular prefix in conjunction with a basic verb can be predicted. In Chapter III a representative selection of prefixal verbs is classified according to the degree or nature of semantic motivation underlying their occurrence. Semantic motivation is understood as a correlation between the lexical meaning of a prefix and that of the verb base, which is considered to prompt the occurrence of a particular prefix over any other in certain instances. The discussion of explanations for the occurrence of aspect-formative prefixes is based on an analysis of the meanings of verbs and prefixes as well as the application of concepts held in present-day aspectology.

An examination of polysemy serves further to determine the nature of prefixal perfectivization as a grammatical process.

On the basis of the material described above, it is concluded that correlations between the lexical meanings of some verbs and prefixes may be the
reason for the addition of a particular prefix to a given basic verb. At the same time, however, it is determined that prefixation is not consistently motivated by any semantic correlations.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgment</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter I - Prefixal Perfectivization of Verbs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical and Theoretical Considerations</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter II - The Verbal Prefixes and Their Meanings</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter III - Discussion and Classification of:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual Partners</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this thesis transliteration from the Cyrillic alphabet follows the conventions specified in the *Slavic and East European Journal* (University of Wisconsin, Madison).


Verbs cited in Chapter II to illustrate the meanings of Russian verbal prefixes are drawn primarily from the Academy Grammar and do not necessarily include prefixal perfectives discussed in other chapters of this thesis.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To Dr. Nicholas Poppe I express my sincere thanks for his patience in offering advice and directing the course of my work throughout this thesis.

I also thank Dr. Sarah Bell for her helpful comments and suggestions.
1.1. With respect to Russian verbs, the term "prefixal perfectivization" refers to the transformation of a non-prefixed imperfective verb into a perfective verb by adding a particular verbal prefix (e.g., iz-, na-, po-). At the same time the term implies that the resulting prefixed verb, known as a "prefixal perfective," has the same lexico-semantic and morphemic base as the original, or basic, imperfective verb (isxodnyj glagol).

By way of illustration, delat' is a non-prefixed imperfective verb and may be labelled variously by scholars as a simple imperfective,\(^1\) a simple verb,\(^2\) or a simplex.\(^3\) Henceforth we shall refer to delat' and similar verb forms as simplex verbs.

A large variety of Russian verbal prefixes may be added to the simplex delat'. In most cases, prefixation of an imperfective simplex verb results in an alteration in aspectual assignment. Once a prefix is added to the simplex verb, the verb base becomes perfective. This assertion is subject to several provisions. First, a small number of Russian simplex verbs do not become perfective in aspect when certain prefixes are added. For example, the aspectual meaning of gljadet', a simplex, becomes perfective when the verb is prefixed with po- or pro- (pogljadet', progljadet'), but it remains imperfective when prefixed with vy- (vygljadet').\(^4\) Secondly, prefixation of a simplex must not be accompanied by suffixation, if it is to result in a perfective verb. Suffixation of the base of a prefixed perfective verb by the derivational morphemes -yva-/iva/-va- or -a/-ja- is the principal means of deriving prefixed imperfective verbs.\(^5\)
Finally, prefixes added to indeterminate verbs of motion such as *xodit', nosit', begat' do not generally perfectivize the verb base.

It is clear that prefixation of the overwhelming majority of Russian simplex verbs results in aspectual re-assignment (i.e., the formation of perfective verbs), but it often affects the lexical meaning of the simplex as well. Where the addition of a prefix changes the lexical meaning of the simplex, there can be no question of 'prefixal perfectivization' in the sense in which this term is usually understood (and as we understand it here). To illustrate this point, the simplex *delat' basically means 'do, make.' Prefixes such as *pod- or *pere-, to cite two random examples, not only transform *delat' from an imperfective into a perfective verb, but also change its lexical meaning (or, in more technical terms, its lexico-semantic base): *poddelat' 'forge, counterfeit,' *peredelat' 'make over, re-make.'

1.2. Aspect is a grammatical category which embraces all verbs in the Russian language. No verb is without aspect, either perfective or imperfective. A few verbs, such as *Zenit'sja 'marry,' *organizovat' 'organize,' etc., may, however, be simultaneously perfective and imperfective in aspect.

Since aspect is a grammatical category, there must be some means by which the lexical meaning of a verb in one aspect can be expressed in the other. The means by which the lexical meaning of a given imperfective verb finds expression within a perfective, lexico-semantically identical verb base is called perfectivization (*perfektivacija*).

Perfectivization is achieved in one of two ways: by suppletion (*brat'-vzjat' 'take') or by prefixation (*blagodarit'-poblagodarit' 'thank'). The latter means of perfectivization, prefixal
perfectivization (prefiksall'naa perfektivaciya), is the topic to which this thesis addresses itself. When, in the process of perfectivization, prefixation is accompanied by morphophonemic alternations (padat'-upast' 'fall'), it is accepted practice to assign such perfectivization to the category of suppletion (suppletivizm),\textsuperscript{11} rather than to prefixal perfectivization. Hence, perfectivization involving morphophonemic changes will not be considered in this study.

1.3. Traditionally, prefixation, particularly in cases of lexical synonymity or near-synonymity between a simplex and one of its prefixed perfective derivatives, has been considered a word-changing process (slovoizmenitel'nyj process). Thus, poblagodarit' has traditionally been considered a derived form of the simplex blagodarit', both verbs being viewed as forms of one and the same lexeme signifying 'thank.' Recent works in Russian aspectology suggest, however, that prefixation is better described as a word-formative process (slovoobrazovatel'nyj process).\textsuperscript{12} In this proposal, the simplex and any prefixally derived perfective verb stand as two distinct lexemes, regardless of any lexico-semantic proximity which may or may not exist between them.\textsuperscript{13}

From what has been said thus far, one would expect to see verbs being "paired" (an imperfective with a perfective) as a result of prefixal perfectivization. If prefixal perfectivization can indeed produce a verb that is semantically identical except in aspect to a basic simplex verb, then the simplex and the resultant perfective verb can be "paired" on the basis of lexical synonymity and complementary aspectual assignment. If this be the case, then we can speak of prefixal "aspectual pairs" (vidovye pary), "aspectual 'pairedness'"\textsuperscript{14} (vidovaja parnost'), and "aspectual partners" (This term is rendered in Russian by parnye glagoly 'paired verbs.').
Hence, as long as two verbs (or verb forms) sharing a common base are synonymous in all respects except aspect, they will fulfill the criteria of an aspectual pair, whether they be regarded as two distinct lexemes or as forms of one and the same lexeme. The question of whether perfectivization is a word-changing or a word-formative process need not, therefore, affect the postulation of aspectual pairs.

1.4. Indeed, the semantic, rather than the lexicological, relationship between simplex verbs and certain prefixed perfective derivatives is the object of considerable discussion and even some controversy in present-day aspectology. As was shown in 1.1, most prefixes added to a simplex alter not only the aspect but the lexical meaning of the simplex verb as well. Still, the concept of prefixal perfectivization is based on the premise that in conjunction with a particular simplex there is at least one verbal prefix which will do no more than transform the simplex from an imperfective into a perfective verb.

To return to our previously cited example, the verb *delat'*, the prefixal perfective *sdelat'* is invariably posited in dictionaries and grammars as the (perfective) aspectual partner of *delat'*. In support of such an aspectual pair, aspectologists have traditionally pointed out that the same lexical meaning is conveyed by *sdelat'* in the perfective aspect as is conveyed by *delat'* in the imperfective.¹⁵ Nonetheless, at this point in discussions of prefixal perfectivization some disagreement has arisen. In essence the debate concerns the semantic components of prefixed perfective verbs and even the most basic question of Russian aspectology, the meaning (definition) of the perfective aspect.

1.5. Traditionally, works on aspect recognized two elements of meaning in the semantic base of a prefixally derived perfective verb: lexical
meaning and grammatical meaning. For purposes of our study, grammatical
meaning may be understood as aspectual meaning (i.e., perfectivity).16

Seen from the traditional viewpoint, prefixation of a simplex verb re-
results (in most cases) in a grammatical change (that is, the prefixed verb,
in contrast to the simplex, is perfective) and may or may not result in a
lexical change. Where a change in the lexical meaning of a verb base does
not occur as a result of prefixation, the process of prefixal perfectiviza-
tion is said to manifest itself. The resulting prefixal perfective is then
regarded as an aspectual partner of the imperfective simplex.17

The question of which verbal prefix in conjunction with a given sim-
plex actually gives rise solely to perfectivization (a grammatical change
without any lexical change) depends on the meaning of the prefix as well as
that of the verb.18 Each verbal prefix in Russian bears within itself one
or more lexical meanings.19 According to the traditional approach to as-
pectology, therefore, these meanings are usually imparted to the simplex
when a prefix is added, and the lexical meaning of the simplex verb base is
accordingly changed. When, however, a particular prefix does not affect
the lexical meaning of a verb base and produces a perfective aspectual
partner, the lexical meaning of the prefix is said either to be lost en-
tirely20 or to have faded or weakened.21 Such a prefix is described vari-
ously as "desemanticized" (desemantizirovannyj prefiks),22 "grammatical-
ized" (grammatikalizovannyj),23 "aspectualized" (aspektualizirovannyj),24
"grammatical" (grammatikeskij),25 "purely aspectual" (eistovideoj),26
"empty" (pustoj),27 or "non-semantic."28

From the traditional viewpoint, only the prefixes po-, s-, and o-
are recognized as capable of being completely devoid of lexical meanings in a
given instance. The remaining prefixes (with the exception of do-, nad-,
nedo-, niz-, obez-, pre-, pred-, and v-) are also considered capable of imparting no new lexical meaning to a verb base, but even then, they are still regarded as preserving at least traces (sledy) of their lexical meanings. In such instances the lexical meaning of a given prefix is said to be subsumed in the lexical meaning of the simplex verb. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that a particular meaning of a prefix may already be inherent in the base of the simplex verb to which it is added. Hence, the prefix adds no new meaning to the verb base; the meaning of the prefix is subsumed by the verb, and the verb is merely perfectivized by the addition of the prefix. N. S. Avilova offers the following explanation:

Certain prefixes become fully aspectualized in conjunction with a broad range of verbs, irrespective of the meaning of those verbs. Some prefixal aspectual pairs are formed by analogy, in accordance with tradition; in other instances prefixes are assumed [podbirajutsja] by semantically similar verbs. These prefixes become fully aspectualized only in conjunction with individual, semantically similar, semantically related verbs, in as much as they convey "abstractions common to the semantic trait of the action" ... as for example: korčevat'-vykorčevat' ['uproot, root out'], mstit'-otomstít' ['take vengeance, avenge oneself'], paxat'-vspaxat' ['plough up']. The prefix becomes fully aspectualized in union with verbs related to it in meaning, but preserves a real lexical meaning in union with other verbs (cf. vykorčevat' and vy-bežat' ['run out'], otomstít' and otbrosit' ['throw/scatter about']). There are sixteen prefixes which can be aspectualized in Russian: iz-, na-, o-, ot-, pere-, po-, pod-, pri-, pro-, raz-, s-, u-, voz-, vy-, vz-, za-. Each of these prefixes in conjunction with certain verbs becomes aspectualized, while in conjunction with other verbs, each preserves its lexical meaning. Thus the term "aspectualized prefix" may be applied to a prefix only with regard to a given aspectual pair, in conjunction with a given meaning of the verb. No one prefix is in and of itself completely aspectualized nor is it consistently a grammatical formant of aspect. An aspectualized prefix in certain cases is used in conjunction with semantically related verbs. In such cases it is dependent on
the meaning of the verb with which it conjoins. Elsewhere aspectualization of a prefix is not motivated by any meaning of the verb. In those instances, tradition and analogy obviously play a part.

An analysis of the verb korčevat'-vykorčevat' cited by Avilova in the foregoing passage will illustrate more clearly this notion of "lexico-semantic subsumption." The prefix vy- is identified as bearing, among other lexical meanings, the notion of extraction (or, removal). The notion of extraction is already inherent in the meaning of the basic verb korčevat' 'uproot, root out.' Therefore, the addition of the prefix has no effect on the lexical meaning of the verb base, and vykorčevat' has the same lexical meaning as korčevat'. In essence the two verbs differ only grammatically, i.e., in aspect.

The traditional approach to the formation of prefixal aspectual pairs discussed thus far may be illustrated by the following schema (plus=affirmation, minus=negation):

\[
\text{simplex + prefix} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
(+)\text{perfective} \\
(+)\text{lexical meaning} \\
(+)\text{subsumed} \\
(+)\text{aspectual partner}
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\downarrow & \text{subsumed} \\
\downarrow & \text{aspectual partner}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{cases} 
(+)\text{lexical meaning} \\
(+)\text{subsumed} \\
(+)\text{aspectual partner}
\end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
(-)\text{lexical meaning} \\
(-)\text{subsumed} \\
(-)\text{aspectual partner}
\end{cases}
\]

1.5.1. There is another aspectological viewpoint which recognizes three, rather than two, components of a verb's semantic base: lexical, sublexical, and grammatical (or, aspectual). The category of sublexical meanings is variously referred to by scholars as Aktionsarten, sposoby dejstvija, and procedurals. A prefix imparting to the verb base a sublexical meaning "does not introduce a new lexical element but modifies the
action in some way, usually with respect to time or intensity." There are two schools of thought among adherents of this view: one recognizes the postulation of sublexical meanings (Aktionsarten) as being consistent with the concept of prefixal perfectivization; the other does not. The former school of thought, represented by Ju. S. Maslov, A. V. Bondarko, and N. S. Avilova, may be labelled "semasiological"; the latter, represented by A. V. Isachenko, may be labelled "etymological." The semasiological and etymological schools differ from each other because of differences in the way they define the perfective aspect.

According to the etymological school,

...the perfective aspect signifies integrality, the totality of the action conveyed by the verb [base], [as opposed to] the imperfective aspect [which] bears no such positive semantic characteristic. This meaning is considered to be the most abstract and most encompassing of all perfective verbs. This viewpoint stems from that of F. de Saussure regarding the punctual [točknom, ponctuel], unprotracted, totally non-evolutive [vne vsjakogo stanovlenija] nature of activities expressed in the perfective aspect. ...The perfective aspect conveys totality, "a total outlook on an external event" ....

From the etymological viewpoint, any prefix added to a simplex verb produces a prefixal verb, the (non-grammatical) semantic base of which always differs from that of the simplex, if not lexically, then sublexically. Because prefixation always results in either a lexical or a sublexical change, prefixal perfectivization never fulfills the requirement that two members of an aspectual pair "be identical in meaning in all respects except aspect." For example, the members of the traditionally accepted aspectual pairs cited above, delat'-sdelat' 'do, make' and blagodarit'-poblagodarit' 'thank,' are, according to this school of thought, lexically synonymous. Sublexically, however, the members of each pair are not identical. The prefixal perfective members of each pair, sdelat' and
pobлагодарить', differ sublexically from the simplex verbs by virtue of their "resultative" meaning. This "resultative" meaning is explained by Isačenko (1962) as "the successful performance of the action to its conclusion [die Handlung wird erfolgreich zu Ende geführt]." According to this view, prefixation of a simplex always results in the manifestation of a new lexical or a sublexical meaning, and "under no circumstances do the basic [simplex] verb and its sublexical derivative [die davon gebildete Aktionsart] form an aspectual pair, in as much as the sublexical derivative [Aktionsart] expresses an additional shade of meaning which is lacking in the basic verb."

The viewpoint of the etymological school may be schematized thus:

\[
\text{simplex + prefix} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
(+)	ext{perfective meaning} \\
(+)	ext{non-aspectual meaning} \rightarrow (-)	ext{aspectual partner}
\end{cases}
\]

(It is worth noting at this point that with the admission of three semantic components, a new term, "non-aspectual," is required to include possible sublexical as well as lexical meanings. The third component, grammatical, or aspectual, meaning, is expressed in the schemas as "perfective meaning.")

The semasiological school recognizes the aforementioned resultative sublexical meaning as being inherent in the meaning of perfectivity. According to V. V. Vinogradov, "the basic exponent of the perfective aspect is the indication of an action limit .... Result is a particular manifestation of an action's limit .... The designation of result is one of the basic meanings of the perfective aspect, though not the only one." The resultative meaning which this school finds equatable with the perfective aspect is understood and set off from other sublexical meanings as follows:

...The attainment of an action's limit as conveyed
by the perfective verb of an aspectual pair is understood ... as the attainment of an internal, qualitative limit, i.e., the attainment of that boundary or critical point at which the action necessarily exhausts itself and ceases. Conjointly recognized is the presence of perfective verbs conveying a less abstract limit and bearing more particular, as it were, extraneous meanings, vz. inception, attenuation, etc. Perfective verbs with such meanings are regarded as falling into sub-lexical categories [v gruppax "sposobov glagol'nogo dejstviya"].

The viewpoint expressed by the semasiological school of thought may be schematized as follows:

As the above schema indicates, the semasiological school also accepts the traditional view of lexico-semantic subsumption. This is due, apparently, to a lack of firm criteria for determining the exact meaning of a prefix. In many instances, as in our previous example korčevat'-vykorčevat', it is difficult to overlook the highly apparent lexical meaning of a prefix (in this case, extraction) and assign instead a resultative sub-lexical meaning to that prefix.
In sum, we have seen that there are three major trends concurrent in the field of Russian aspectology. The traditional viewpoint differs from the non-traditional ones primarily in its disregard of sublexical meanings. Among scholars who recognize sublexical meanings, we may further distinguish an etymological school of thought, which holds that prefixal perfectivization does not produce pure or true aspectual partners, and a semasiological school of thought, which holds that certain sublexical meanings are part and parcel of the perfective aspect and that prefixal perfectivization does indeed, therefore, produce verbs which are admissible as aspectual partners to simplex verbs. Consideration of sublexical meanings of any sort is extraneous to the concept of perfectivity held by the etymological school. As we have seen, however, the semasiological school, while recognizing aspect as a grammatical category, defines the perfective aspect in such a way as to include certain resultative sublexical meanings in its conception of perfectivity.

1.6. Ideally, the two members of an aspectual pair should be lexically and sublexically identical, while differing only in aspect (i.e., grammatically). Nonetheless, there is an increasing recognition among aspectologists of the fact that absolute non-grammatical identity rarely, if ever, exists between traditionally accepted aspectual partners. This is true in particular of pairs consisting of a basic verb and a corresponding prefixal perfective (i.e., products of prefixal perfectivization). As Maslov (1959) has stated:

In the case of *perepisat'-perepisyvat'* there is not only a "semantic proximity" (more precisely, an identity of lexical meanings), but rather every basis as well for a "structural-grammatical order," so that we may speak of forms of one verb (grammatical "regularity" of the form *perepisyvat*'). On the other hand, in cases of the type *pisat'-napisat'*, there
exists solely a semantic proximity with no observable grammatical "regularity." For this reason, then, we do not speak of forms of a single word in such cases, but rather only of close synonyms.

Indeed, in actual Russian language usage, when verbs are aspectual partners, it is not so much the case that their non-aspectual meanings are absolutely identical as it is that they share merely certain points of their respective semantic ranges. Even adherents of the semasiological school have noted that the members of one of the most widely accepted and perhaps most frequently cited aspectual pairs, delat'-sdelat', are not absolutely identical in lexical meaning (That the two verbs are sublexically distinct is a matter of course, the verb sdelat' being considered to bear a resultative meaning.). In the sense of "be involved in some activity, be occupied with something" (dejstvovat', projavljet' dejatel'nost', byt' zanjatym cem-nibud'), the verb delat' must be "mono-aspectual," i.e., it cannot have sdelat' (or any other verb form) as a perfective partner. This particular denotation of the verb delat' is consistent with the meaning of only one aspect, the imperfective. With respect to another frequently cited aspectual pair, pisat'-napisat' 'write,' it has been shown that napisat' cannot serve as an aspectual partner to the simplex in such contexts as "on pis'et" in the sense of 'he is a writer.' However, A. V. Bondarko (1975) has pointed out that "the fact of the matter is that, given the polysemy of verbs [pri mnogoznachnosti glagolov], identity with respect to at least one lexical meaning is sufficient for the recognition of two [verb] forms as an aspectual pair."

1.7. Although there do appear to be strongly differing trends in aspectology today, they are not irreconcilable. For example, J. Forsyth (1970), while adhering to the etymological school's definition of the
perfective aspect, fully accepts the concept of prefixal perfectivization from a semasiological point of view:

...There is a firm semantic justification for prefixal [aspectual] pairs of the type discussed. In all of them the basic procedural [sublexical] meaning in the prefix is totality of performance .... Although the precise meaning varies from verb to verb, being appropriate in each case to the type of action concerned (e.g., napisat'—cumulative, procitat'—terminative (?), vypit'—exhaustive (?), svarit'—strictly totalising), the dominant meaning common to all is that of a totalising of the performance on a given occasion. This is so near the general meaning of the perfective aspect that it is easy for such verbs to become used as synonymous aspectual partners of the simple imperfectives.

Indeed, all three schools discussed above (traditional, etymological, semasiological) face similar problems in determining the precise nature of semantic changes resulting from prefixation. As Townsend (1975) has pointed out,

...it is frequently difficult to decide whether a given prefixed perfective should be characterized as lexical or sublexical. The possibility of formation of a derived imperfective, which is sometimes adduced to prove the presence of a new "independent" meaning, is an unreliable criterion, for many obviously sublexical types are capable of forming derived imperfectives, whether or not dictionaries list all of them. In the case of many prefixes, sublexical and lexical meanings will seem to overlap, and one may argue over whether a lexical change has taken place or whether the action has merely been modified in some way with respect to time or intensity.

The question discussed above would appear to have a greater bearing on traditional than on non-traditional (i.e., etymological and semasiological) postulations of aspectual pairs. From the traditional point of view, sublexical meanings are not taken into consideration, and one must decide whether an otherwise recognizable sublexical distinction between a
simplex and a prefixal verb constitutes a lexical change (in which case the
two verbs are not aspectual partners) or some type of semantic change in-
erent in the concept of perfectivity. On the other hand, we have seen
that within the sphere of non-traditional aspectology, the basic question
in recognizing prefixal aspectual partners is whether or not certain sub-
lexical meanings (particularly resultative ones) are equatable with the
meaning of the perfective aspect. Even when scholars agree on the presence
of a sublexical distinction, they do not always agree on the nature of that
distinction. For example, Isačenko (1962) regards the sublexical meaning
in \textit{sdelat'} as being semelfactive, while other aspectologists see it as be-
ing resultative.\textsuperscript{51}

Because of such complexities, we shall examine the meanings of the
verbal prefixes, as well as the prefixed perfective verbs identified by one
or more sources as aspectual partners of the basic verbs, in order to gain
a clearer insight into the process of prefixal perfectivization. In Chap-
ter II we shall review the meanings of various prefixes as they are dis-
cerned in conjunction with a variety of verbs. The prefixed perfective
verbs will simultaneously be examined to determine which, if any, of them
are cited in lexicological reference works as aspectual partners of the
corresponding basic verbs. Having identified the prefixal perfectives, we
shall examine in Chapter III the aspectological grounds, from the tradi-
tional and semasiological standpoints, on which such verbs may be accepted
or rejected as aspectual partners.
Notes to Chapter I


2 Ibid., p. 17 ff.

3 A. V. Isačenko, Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart (Teil I). Formenlehre, Halle, 1962. The term "simplex" refers here solely to an imperfective simplex, although generally its usage extends to any non-prefixed verb, whether perfective or imperfective.

4 N. S. Avilova, Vid glagola i semantika glagol'nogo slova, Moscow, 1976, p. 45. Other examples include čitat'--pročitat' 'read' (perfective) versus sčitat' 'consider' (imperfective).

5 This particular process of suffixation is known as imperfectivization and plays opposite perfectivization a major role in aspectological discussions. All researchers agree that imperfectivization produces true aspectual pairs, while the process of perfectivization enjoys no such unanimity.

6 V. V. Vinogradov (ed.), Grammatika russkogo jazyka, Moscow, 1960, p. 601: the prefix s- may be added to indeterminate verbs of motion in order to form perfective verbs conveying the notion of a round-trip or motion "there-and-back." Cf., however, N. Sal'nikov, "Xodit' und sxodit' (Zur Problematic von Aspekt und Aktionsarten)," Opuscula Slavica et Linguistica. Schriftenreihe Sprachwissenschaften, Klagenfurt, I (1976), pp. 363-82.

7 Avilova, op. cit., p. 5.


10 Avilova, op. cit., p. 19.

11 Ibid.

12 Forsyth, p. 19 ff., uses the term "word-building process."


14 This term is offered by C. E. Townsend, Russian Word Formation, Cambridge (Mass.), 1975, p. 117.


16 Grammatical meaning actually includes a verb's tense and mood, on the one hand, and its aspect, on the other. Since, however, the tense/mood
of a verb has no bearing on its being recognized or disavowed as an aspectual partner, the term "grammatical meaning" is frequently used in aspectology merely to signify the meaning of whichever aspect the verb belongs to. Cf. Forsyth, p. 15.

17 A. A. Spagis, Parnye i neparnye glagoly v russkom jazyke, Moscow, 1969, p. 40.


20 Ibid., p. 452.

21 Spagis, p. 41.

22 Avilova, op. cit., p. 32 ff.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 154 ff.

25 Ibid., pp. 136, 149 ff.

26 Ibid., p. 130 ff.; Spagis, p. 40 ff.

27 Avilova, op. cit., p. 140 ff.


29 Spagis, p. 40.

30 Avilova, op. cit., p. 155.

31 The component "lexical meaning" is to be understood here and elsewhere as the lexical meaning of the prefix, or as additional, new, or modified lexical meaning attested in the prefixed as opposed to the non-prefixed verb.


33 Isačenko, pp. 347-418.


35 Forsyth, pp. 20-56.

36 Townsend, op. cit., p. 118.

37 Avilova, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
38 Forsyth, p. 35.

39 Cf. Isachenko, p. 365: "In reality we are here dealing with various sublexical categories (mostly with resultative meaning), which, however, may not simply be equated with the true aspectual meaning."

40 Ibid. p. 394.

41 Ibid., p. 386. Cf., however, A. V. Bondarko, "Glagol'nyj vid i slovari," Sovremennaja russkaja leksikografija, Leningrad, 1975, p. 54: Resultative meaning can exist in simplex imperfective verbs when they are used to convey repetitive action. The difference, then, according to Bondarko, between simplex imperfectives and prefixal perfectives is not that resultative meaning is lacking in the simplex, as Isachenko suggests, but that the perfective verb is specifically marked for resultative meaning, while the simplex is not.


43 Avilova, op. cit., p. 22.

44 Cf. ibid., pp. 159-162.


46 Avilova, op. cit., p. 33.

47 Forsyth, p. 39.

48 Bondarko, p. 42.

49 Forsyth, p. 41.

50 Townsend, op. cit., p. 121.

CHAPTER II

The Verbal Prefixes and Their Meanings

In this chapter we shall survey the various lexical meanings of certain Russian verbal prefixes. In all, twenty-four verbal prefixes occur. These are do-, iz- (is-, izo-), nad- (nado-), nedo-, niz- (nis-, nizo-), o- (oh-, obo-), obez- (obes-), ot- (oto-), pere-, po-, pod- (podo-), pre-, pred- (predo-), pri-, pro-, raz- (ras-, razo-), s- (so-), u-, v- (vo-), voz- (vos-, vozo-), vy-, vz- (vs-, vzo-), and za-. However, we shall review only those prefixes which are defined in Russian aspectology as aspect-formative prefixes (i.e., prefixes capable of functioning in a "purely aspectual" capacity; see 1.4). Therefore, we shall exclude from our survey of prefix meanings the prefixes do-, nad-, nado-, nedo-, obez-, pre-, pred-, and v-, which are not instrumental in the formation of aspectual pairs. No verb bearing any one of these eight prefixes may be posited as the aspectual partner of a corresponding basic verb. In all instances, the addition of any one of these prefixes to a simplex verb results in a definite lexical change. For this reason, only the remaining sixteen Russian verbal prefixes will be of interest to us in the analysis of prefixal perfectivization.

It should be noted that the number of meanings said to belong to any particular prefix cannot be considered definitive. In many cases, certain prefix meanings may be considered independent of each other or as different "nuances" (e.g., concrete, abstract, figurative) or extensions of one general meaning. Thus, differences in the classification of prefix meanings lead to different "meaning counts" in various aspectological reference works. Moreover, as Townsend (1975) has pointed out,
most verbal prefixes have primary meanings of a physical, directional, or spatial nature, often close to the meanings of the prepositions, to which they are historically related (except for vz/(voz), vy, niz/, pere(pre), and raz/, all the verbal prefixes have corresponding prepositions). Besides these primary meanings, however, many prefixes have one or, in some cases, several abstract meanings, whose connection with the primary sense may vary from obvious or remote to unestablishable.

Therefore, in the following sections of this chapter, specific, more or less related prefix meanings have, wherever possible, been grouped under more general headings.

Unless otherwise noted, all meanings of the verbal prefixes given in this chapter may be found in the Academy Grammar, pp. 576-602.

2.1. The Prefix iz- (is-, izo-)

The prefix iz- signifies thoroughness, intensity, as well as direction outward from within. These basic meanings may be specified as follows.

INTENSITY OR THOROUGHNESS

2.1.1. The action encompasses a whole area or surface, or extends in all directions or to an object in its entirety.

iskolesit' (vsju okrugu) run/travel all over (the whole district)
iskrošit' (xleb) crumble (the bread) completely
ispisat' (vsju bumagu) cover (all the paper) with writing
ispolosovat' (arestanta) flog (a convict); "cover" with welts (polosy)
isxodit' (ves' les) walk/go all over/about (the woods)
izbegat' (vea' gorod) run all over (town)
izborozdit' (vsë pole) furrow, plough up (the whole field)
iz"ezdit' (vsju stranu) travel all over (the country)
izodrat' (bumagu) tear (paper) to pieces
izrešit' (puljami) riddle (with bullets)

2.1.2. The action attains to an extreme degree or limit and is often characterized by the intense exertion of force.
izmočalit' exhaust, wear out completely
Rabota ego izmočalila. The work wore him out completely.
izmučit' (zaključennyx) torment, harass (prisoners)
izrugat' (reběnka) scold (a child) thoroughly
izzjabnut' (v doroge) be chilled, frozen through (on the road)

2.1.3. Using up, complete expenditure.
iskroit' (materiju) cut out all (the material)
ispisat' (vse černila) use up (all the ink) by writing
issoxnut' dry up (completely)
Reki sovsem issoxli. The rivers have dried up completely.
isušit' dry up, desiccate
Paljašče solnce issušilo bolota. The scorching sun dried up the swamps.
izrezat' (materiju) cut up all (the material) into pieces
izrubit' (mjaso na kotlety) chop up (meat into cutlets)

ACTION DIRECTED OUTWARD FROM WITHIN

2.1.4. Verbs prefixed by iz- often signify action directed outward from within. Iz- may also signify withdrawal, extraction of part of a whole either in abstract or in concrete senses.
izbrat' (delegatov) elect (delegates)
izgnat' (iz goroda) expel (from the city)
izlučit' (svet) (ir)radiate (light)
izojti (iz predposylki)  proceed (from a supposition)

2.1.5. From among the verbs listed above, the following are cited by various lexicological reference works as aspectual partners of the corresponding basic verbs from which they are formed (for the particular denotations given):

(krošit')-iskrošit'\textsuperscript{4}  (borozdit')-izborozdit'\textsuperscript{6}
(polosovat')-ispolosovat'\textsuperscript{5}  (mučit')-izmučit'\textsuperscript{7}
(rugat')-izrugat'\textsuperscript{8}

2.2. The Prefix na-

The prefix na- has several concrete meanings corresponding more or less to the preposition na-, as well as abstract meanings of accumulation and thoroughness/excessiveness.

COLLISION, SUPERIMPOSITION, ACTION OCCURRING ON A SURFACE

2.2.1. Colliding.

nabezat' (na prepjatstvie)  run up against, run into (an obstacle)

naexat' (na kamen')  drive up against; hit/strike against (a stone) while riding/driving

naletet' (na stolb)  fly against (a post)

2.2.2. Superimposition, putting on or over.

nakleit' (marku na konvert)  glue (a stamp on an envelope)

nalepit' (kartinku na stenu)  paste (a picture on the wall)

nasaxarit' (pečen'je)  sugar, put sugar on (biscuits)

našit' (kruževa na vorotnik)  sew (lace on a collar)

2.2.3. Realization or manifestation on a surface. Verbs in this category are intransitive.

nakipet'  form by boiling
Pena nakipela na supe. Foam formed on the (surface of the) boiling soup.

naměrznut' freeze (up) on

Na stěklax naměrz lěđ. Ice froze up on the glass.

narasti grow on; form by growing

Mox naros na kamnjax. Moss grew/formed on the stones.

PARTITIVE-CUMULATIVE SUBLEXICAL MEANING

2.2.4. The action extends to a considerable or indefinite quantity; accumulation.

nagrabit' (mnogo veščej) amass (many things) by robbery/plunder

nakleit' (koroboček) paste (a number of boxes)

nakupit' (knig) buy up (books)

nanosit' (vody) bring/carry (a quantity of water)

napěč' (pirožkov) bake up (a quantity of pies)

napilit' (drov) saw up (a quantity of firewood)

narvat' (cvetov) gather (by plucking) (flowers)

navorovat' (deneg) accumulate (money) by stealing

navozit' (dosok) cart/carry (a quantity of boards)

nažarit' (kotlet) roast (cutlets) in quantity

THOROUGHNESS, EXCESSIVENESS

2.2.5. The prefix na- may signify that the action of the basic verb is performed thoroughly or to excess.

nasolit' (sup) salt (soup), put much salt (in soup)

nastudit' (komnatu) let too much cold (into the room)

nateret' (pol) polish (the floor) thoroughly

natopit' (peč') heat up (the stove), heat thoroughly

2.2.6. Occasionally na- is considered by aspectologists to have a
purely aspectual or subsumed lexical meaning, resulting in an aspectual partner to the corresponding basic verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(belit')-nabelit'\textsuperscript{10} (lico)} & \quad \text{whiten (one's face)} \\
\text{(pečatat')-napečatat'\textsuperscript{11} (knigu)} & \quad \text{print (a book)} \\
\text{(pisat')-napisat'\textsuperscript{12} (pis'mo)} & \quad \text{write (a letter)} \\
\text{(pudrit')-napudrit'\textsuperscript{13} (nos)} & \quad \text{powder (one's nose)} \\
\text{(risovat')-narisovat'\textsuperscript{14} (kartinu)} & \quad \text{draw (a picture)}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3. The Prefix \textit{o-} (ob-, obo-)

Insofar as the prefix \textit{o-} is instrumental in the formation of perfective verbs from basic imperfective verbs, it has the following meanings:
1) movement round; 2) surpassing; 3) deceiving; 4) overdoing; 5) removing extraneous parts; 6) result.

Under the general heading "movement round," we may identify the following specific meanings: a) motion or conveyance of one object about another; b) circumventing, avoiding, bypassing; c) encompassing, surrounding; d) wrapping around, covering; e) passing around, moving round from point to point, pervading.\textsuperscript{15}

**ACTION DIRECTED AROUND SOME OBJECT OR SPACE**

2.3.1. Moving or conveying something around an object or space.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o(b)bežat' (trek; vokrug treka)} & \quad \text{run around (the track)} \\
\text{ob'exat' (vokrug goroda)} & \quad \text{drive around (the city)} \\
\text{obletet' (vokrug aëroporta)} & \quad \text{fly around, circle about/over (the airport)} \\
\text{obnesti (krest vokrug cerkvi)} & \quad \text{carry (the cross) around (the church)} \\
\text{obojti (park)} & \quad \text{walk around (the park)} \\
\text{obvezti (detej vokrug poljany)} & \quad \text{take/drive (the children) round/}
\end{align*}
\]
2.3.2. Bypassing, circumventing.

ob"exat'

*My svernuli v storonu, čtoby ob"exat' ležavšie na puti bolota.*

drive around, bypass

We turned off to the side in order to bypass the swamps on the way.

obnesti

Menja obnesli vinom.

pass by, leave out (in serving something)

They passed me by in/when serving the wine.

obognut' (jamu)

go round, skirt (a hole in the ground)

obojti

*V les my ne iděm, obojdem ego storonoj.*

walk/go round

We are not going into the woods; we'll walk around them.

2.3.3. Surrounding, encompassing.

obgorodit' (sad)

fence in, put a fence around (a garden)

obnesti (sad izgorod'ju)

enclose (a garden inside a fence/hedge)

obsadit' (ploščadku kustami)

set with plants; plant (a square with shrubs)

obšit' (tes'moj)

trim, sew around (with ribbon)

obvesti (stenami)

wall (in), immure

obvjazat' (platok kruževom)

envelop, border (a handkerchief with lace)

2.3.4. Wrapping around, covering.

obit' (dver' vojlokom)

cover (a door with felt)

oblepit' (stenu ob"javlenijami)

cover (a wall with notices) by pasting/plastering

okovat' (sunduk železom)

bind (a chest with iron)

oplesti (butyl' solomoj)

entwine, braid (a bottle with straw); wicker (a bottle)
2.3.5. Passing round, moving round from point to point, pervading.

obegat' (vse kontory) run around (to all the offices)
ob'ezdit' (ves' svet) travel (the whole world) over
obsarit' (ves' dom) ransack, rummage through (the whole house)
odelit' (vsex detej igruskami) present (all the children) with (toys); distribute (toys) among (all the children)
oprosit' (partizan) interrogate, cross-examine (the partisans)

SURPASSING, OUTDOING

2.3.6. The meaning of surpassing, overtaking, or outdoing is found in a few verbs prefixed with o-.

obognat' (vsex sopernikov) pass, outdistance (all opponents)
obygrat' (v futbol) play better than, outdo, defeat (in football)

DECEIVING

2.3.7. One specific meaning of the prefix o- is that of short-changing, cheating in weighing or measuring.

obmerit' cheat in measuring, give short measure to

Izvozčikov ovsom obmeril. He cheated the drayment in measuring out the oats.

obsčitat' (pokupatelja) short-change (a customer), cheat in counting

obvesit' cheat in weighing, give false/short weight to

Kupec obvesil pokupatelja. The merchant gave the customers short weight.

OVERDOING

2.3.8. In a few instances, the addition of the prefix o- signifies overdoing.
obkormit' (reběnka) overfeed (a child)
opoit' (skot) give (cattle) too much to drink

REMOVAL OF EXTRANEOUS PARTS

2.3.9. Removing, tearing, rending, cutting away.

obglodat' (kost') pick, gnaw around (a bone)
obkusat' (jabloko) bite around (an apple)
oblomat' (sučki) break off (twigs)
oblupit' (jajco) peel, shell (an egg)
obodrat' (kožu) rip/tear off (skin), flay
obrezat' (kryl'ja) trim, prune; clip (wings)
obrubit' (vetvi) chop off (branches)
očistit' (apel'sin) peel (an orange)

RESULT

2.3.10. Occasionally the addition of the prefix o- to a simplex does not change the simplex verb's lexical meaning. In such instances, some lexicologists adduce a "resultative meaning" which permits the simplex and the prefixal verb to be paired aspectually.

(naglet')-obnaglet' be(come) impudent/insolent
(bogatet')-obogatet' grow rich
(gloxnut')-ogloxnut' grow deaf
(robet')-orobet' be(come) timid
(sipnut')-osipnut' grow hoarse
(sirotet')-osirotet' become an orphan; lose one's parents
(slepnut')-oslepnut' grow blind
(smelet')-osmelet' grow bold/brave
(vdovet')-ovdovet' become a widow(er)

2.3.11. From among the verbs prefixed with o- (ob-, obo-) in the
foregoing examples, the following is also cited in lexicological reference works as the aspectual partner of its corresponding simplex verb:

(lupit’) — oblupit’

peel, shell

2.4. The Prefix ot- (oto-)

The meanings of the prefix ot- may be generally described as direction of the action away (corresponding to the preposition ot), and completion combined with a consequent discontinuance of an action (finishing). The meaning "direction of the action away (from something)" encompasses specific concrete as well as abstract notions: a) movement aside or a limited distance away; b) disengaging, removal; c) removal or consumption of some portion of an object; d) disengagement from some activity.

DIRECTION AWAY FROM SOMETHING

2.4.1. Movement away, to one side, usually a limited distance.

otbežat’

Deti otbežali ot doma.

run off/away

The children ran away from the house.

ot’exat’ (ot obočiny)

drive off/away (from the curb)

otojti (ot tol’ko čto okrašennoj steny)

walk away (from a freshly painted wall)

otplyt’ (ot naberežnoj)

swim/sail off/away (from the quay)

otpolzti

crawl away

Reběnok otpolž ot otca.

The child crawled away from its father.

ottaščit’ (sunduk ot steny)

drag/pull aside/away (the chest from the wall)

otvesti (malyšej v detskij sad)

take (the infants down to the kindergarten)

2.4.2. Disengaging, removing, undoing.

otkleit’ (marku ot konverta)

unglue (a stamp from an envelope)
2.4.3. Removal or consumption of some portion of a whole.

- otkolot' (brošku ot vorotnika) — unpin (a brooch from a collar)
- otvintit' (kryšku ot banki) — unscrew (the lid from a tin)
- otvjazat' (lošad') — untie, unfasten, unhitch (a horse)

- otbit' (nosik u čajnika) — strike/break (the spout) off (a teapot)
- ot"est'
  - Myši ot"eli korku ot xleba. — Mice have eaten the crust off the bread.

- otglyzt' (mjaso ot kosti) — gnaw away/off (meat from the bone)
- otkusit' (kusok xleba) — bite off (a piece of bread)
- otlit' (nemnogo vody) — pour off (a little milk)
- otodrat' (štukaturku) — tear away/off (plaster)
- otpit' (polrjumki) — drink off (half a glass of wine)

2.4.4. Disinclination, disengagement from an activity.

- otgovorit' (ot zlogo namerenija) — dissuade (from bad intent)
- otklonit' (pros'bu) — deny (a request)
- otsovetovat' (ot poezdki) — dissuade, advise against (a trip)
- otučit' (kogo-libo kurit') — break (someone) of a (smoking) habit

FINITIVE MEANING

2.4.5. Finishing.

- otděžurit'
  - Staruša otděžurila v dva časa. — The old woman came off duty at two o'clock.

- otobedat'
  - Gosti uži otobedali. — The guests have already finished (having) dinner.

- otsidet' (desjat' let v tjur' me) — finish serving (ten years in prison)
- otslužit' (v armii) — finish serving (in the army)
List'ja otšumeli. The leaves have stopped rustling.

2.4.6. The following verbs prefixed with ot- are posited by aspectologists as aspectual partners of the corresponding simplex verbs:

- (mstit')-otmstit' (soperniku za obidu) take revenge on (one's rival for an insult)
- (prazdnovat')-otprazdnovat' (ju-bilej) celebrate (a jubilee)

Whatever meaning there is in the prefix of the above verbs, it is obscured in the present-day language (A finitive sublexical meaning may, however, still be somewhat discernible. See discussion in 3.1.1.). The same may be said of the following vernacular verbs, also cited as aspectual partners by various lexicological reference works:

- (dubasit')-otdubasit' cudgel
- (kološmatit')-otkološmatit' beat, thrash
- (lupit')-otlupit' thrash
- (lupcevat')-otlupcevat' beat, whip
- (tuzit')-ottuzit' beat, strike

Other verbs identifiable as aspectual partners, in which the prefix ot- may be discerned as bearing one of the meanings itemized above, are:

- (čekanit')-otčekanit' (slova) separate, distinguish between (one's words): enunciate
- (čerenkovat')-otčerenkovat' graft, take a cutting of (a plant)
- (ryt')-otryt' (kartofel') dig up, unearth (potatoes)

2.5. The Prefix pere-

The basic meaning of the prefix pere- may be described as the manifestation of an action (expressed by the verb base) through, across, over or beyond an object or space. This basic meaning is to be construed as a
generalization of specific meanings, some more or less concrete or abstract than others. In addition to these meanings, pere- may also express the meaning of "re-doing, remaking," or action performed anew.

**TRANSFERENCE**

### 2.5.1. Movement across or over.

- **perebežat'** (čerez dorogu) - run across (the road)
- **perejti** (ulicu) - walk across (the street)
- **pereletet'**
  - Samolět pereletel čerez gory. - The airplane flew over the mountains.
- **pereplyt'** (okean) - swim across, sail across (the ocean)
- **perešagnut'** (porog; čerez porog) - step through/ across (the threshold)

#### 2.5.2. Transferring, moving from place to place.

- **peregruzit'** (s poezda na paroxod) - load (from a train onto a ship); transship
- **perekočevat'** (s mesta na mesto) - migrate (from one place to another)
- **pereselit'** (ljudej iz gorodov v derevnju) - resettie (people from the cities to the countryside)
- **perestavit'** (mebel') - move, shift, rearrange (furniture)

#### 2.5.3. Thoroughness, pervasiveness.

- **pereměrznut'**
  - Rebjata pereměrzli v puti. - The children got frozen through on the way.
- **pereterpet'**
  - Mnogo pereterpeli v starosti. - They suffered through a lot in their old age.
- **perezjabnut'**
  - Deti perezjabli v snegu. - The children got chilled through in the snow.
2.5.4. Division in two, as a result of forceful penetration.

peregryzt' (kost') gnaw through (a bone)
perekusit' bite through

Prišiv pugovicy, portnixa pere-
kusila nitku. Having sewn on the buttons, the

perepilit' (brevno) saw in two, saw through (a log)
perezat' (verěvku) cut (a piece of string) in two
perešeć' (žerd' udarom topora) chop through, hack through (a stake
with a blow of the axe)

2.5.5. The action is performed on a series of like objects in suc-
cession.

peregljadet' (vse portrety) look at (all the portraits)
perematiť' (ovec) brand (sheep) one after the other
peremoriť' (krys) exterminate (rats)
peremyť' (poly) wash (all the floors)
perseportiť' (vse plěnki) spoil (all the film) (one exposure
after another)
pereslušať' (pesni) listen:to (songs) in succession

2.5.6. The action pervades a period of time.

perenočevať spend the night; stay the night
(pthrough)
perěždať' (grozu) wait out, wait:through (the storm)
perezimovať spend the winter; hibernate

EXCEEDING LIMITS OR BOUNDS

2.5.7. The action exceeds or transcends habitual limits or bounds.

pereocenitiť' (svoi sily) overestimate (one's strength)
pereplatitiť' (za pokupki) overpay, pay too much (for pur-
chases)
peresolitiť' (sup) put too much salt into (soup)
perežarit' (mjaso) over-do, over-roast (meat)

2.5.8. With a very few verbs, the meaning "surpassing, outdoing" occurs.

perekričat' shout down, shout louder than
On vsex perekričal. He drowned everyone out with his shouting.

RE-DOING, MAKING ANEW

2.5.9. The action is performed again, anew.

perečitat' (gazetu) re-read (the newspaper)
perekrasit' (stenu) re-color, re-paint (a wall)
perepaxat' (pole) plough (a field) over
pererabotat' (stat'ju) re-work (an article)
perestroit' (dom) re-build (a house)

2.5.10. From among the verbs listed above, the following have been posited by certain scholars as perfective aspectual partners of the corresponding basic verbs:

(nočevat')-perenočevat' (zimovat')-perezimovat'

2.6. The Prefix po-
The prefix po-, when added to basic imperfective verbs, transforming them thereby into perfective verbs, has several meanings: 1) manifestation of the action to a minor degree; 2) beginning, setting out; 3) action carried out by each of several agents or on each of several objects; 4) result.

ATTENUATION

2.6.1. Po- often imparts to the denotation of basic verbs the added meaning "somewhat," "slightly," "for a while."
pobegat' (po treku) run a while, have a run (around the track)
pobesedovat' have a little talk

Učitel'nica pobesedovala s roditeljami. The teacher had a little talk with the parents.
poguljat' (po sadu) take a stroll (about the garden)
podremat' (posle obeda) have a nap, doze a while (after dinner)
pomolčat' (minutu) be/remain silent (for a minute)
porabotat' do some work, work a while

Xotja ja bolen, postarajus' Although I'm ill, I'll try to do some work today.
porabotat' segodnja.

poxodit' (po dvoru) walk a bit (about the yard)

BEGINNING, SETTING OUT

2.6.2. Po-, in conjunction with verbs denoting motion or a mental state of feeling, signifies "beginning, setting out."

pobežat' (k domu) set off running (towards the house)
počuvstvovat' (xolod) begin to feel (the cold)
polezt' (na čerdak) start climbing up (to the attic)
poletet' (na Kavkaz) set out (for the Caucasus) in an airplane
póplyt' (v Ameriku) sail (to America), set sail (for America)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ACTION

2.6.3. The prefix po- may indicate that the action is performed by each of several or more agents or on each of several or more objects.

pobrosat'

Reběnok vše vešči pobrosal. The child threw all the things about (one thing after another).

podelit' share, divide
The meadowland was divided between several households (shared by each of several households).

fall (one by one)

The leaves had one by one fallen from the trees.

RESULT

2.6.4. In numerous instances the prefix po- is considered by lexico-logists either to impart a resultative meaning or to impart no meaning at all, besides that of the perfective aspect, to the simplex verb.

Thank (someone)

That barber gave me a bad shave.

Shave, give a shave

Present as a gift, give (the children toys)

Wash (one's face)

Dine, have dinner (at one o'clock)

Try (one's strength)

Try, make an attempt (to find work)

Gladden, make happy

Recommend, advise (someone to consult a doctor)

See (a film)

Build (a house)

Demand (a reply)

Extinguish, put out (the light)

Have supper (at eight o'clock)

Bury, inter (the deceased)
2.6.5. The following verbs, cited above, have been cited in reference works as aspectual partners of the corresponding basic verbs (in the contexts given):

(blagodarit')-poblagodarit',
(brit')-pobrit',
(darit')-podarit',
(delit')-podelit',
(myt')-pomyt',
(o obedat')-po obedat',
(probovat')-poprobovat',
(pytat'sja)-popytat'sja

(radovat')-poradovat',
(rekomendovat')-porekomendovat',
(smotret')-posmotret',
(sovetovat')-posovetovat',
(stroit')-postroit',
(trebovat')-potrebovat',
(tušit')-potušit',
(užinat')-použinat',
(xoronit')-poxoronit'

2.7. The Prefix pod- (podo-)

The prefix pod- has various meanings in conjunction with basic verbs which it serves to perfectivize. These meanings are more or less independent of each other and cannot be conveniently grouped together under any single general heading. Specific meanings are: 1) action directed underneath; 2) action directed upwards, or from underneath; 3) approaching; 4) supplementing; 5) limiting the extent or purpose of the action; 6) furtiveness.

2.7.1. Action directed underneath.

podbit' (podošvu k sapogam) nail (a sole to [the bottom of] boots)
podkopat' (korni dereva) dig beneath (tree roots)
podkosit' (travu pod samyj koren') cut/mow (grass) down (to the very roots)
podkovat' (lošad') shoe (a horse)
podpolzti (pod brevno)  crawl under (a log)

podšit' (vatu pod pal'to)  sew (cotton wool) on the underside (or, inside) (of a coat)

2.7.2. Action directed upwards, or from underneath.

podobrat' (rassypannye jagody s zemli)  pick up, gather up (scattered berries off the ground)

podorvat' (most dinamitom)  blow up (a bridge with dynamite)

2.7.3. Approaching, drawing near.

podbežat' (k komu-libo)  run up to (someone)

pododvinut' (partu k doske)  move/push (a school desk) up to (the blackboard)

podojti  come up to, approach

Poezd podošel k stancii.  The train has approached the station.

podplyt' (k naberežnoj)  swim/sail up to, approach (the quay) by swimming/sailing

podtaščit' (mešok k dveri)  drag (the sack) up to (the door)

2.7.4. Supplementing, adding.

podboltat' (muki)  mix in, add (flour)

podlit' (vody v grafin)  add (water to the pitcher)

podmešat' (eščé drov v pec')  throw, add (some more wood to the fire)

podsypat' (sol' v sup)  sprinkle in, add (salt to the soup)

2.7.5. Limiting the extent or purpose of the action.

podčitat' (koe-čto o russkoj literatu-  read up on (Russian literature)

ture)

podgoreti'  burn slightly

Pirogi podgoreli.  The pies have burnt slightly.

podkrasit' (zabor)  color/paint slightly, touch up (a fence)

podlečit' (bol'no)  treat (a patient)
podsinit' (bel'ë)  blue, apply blueing to (linen)
podtajat'  thaw/melt somewhat

Sneg podtajal.  The snow has melted somewhat.

2.7.6. Furtiveness.
podgljadet' (za inostrancem)  peek; spy on, watch (a foreigner)
podkaraulit'  be on the watch for, lie in wait for
Oxotnik podkaraulil utok.  The hunter lay in wait for the ducks.

pod slušat' (besédu)  overhear, eavesdrop on (the discussion)
podstroit' (neprijatnoe delo)  contrive, plot (an unpleasant matter)

2.7.7. From among the perfective verbs cited above, the following are cited by some reference works as aspectual partners of the basic verbs from which they are formed (for the specific denotations described above):
(kovat')-podkovat'\(^{59}\)  (sinit')-podsinit'.\(^{60}\)

2.8. The Prefix pri-

This prefix may be said to have the following general meanings:
1) convergence; 2) augmenting; and 3) moderation.

The first of these meanings, convergence, may be further subdivided into several more specific meanings: a) arrival; b) attaching, or bringing into contact; c) figurative notions of convergence, such as reconciling, appearing unto.

CONVERGENCE

2.8.1. Verbs of motion in conjunction with the prefix pri- signify arrival.
pribéžat'  come running
Ona pribėžala ko mne so svoimi žalobami.

She came (running) to me with her complaints.

priblizit'sja (k stancii)  approach, draw up to (the station)
prijiti (na večerinku)  come (to the party)
priletet' (v gorod samolētom)  arrive (by plane in the city)
prinesti (detjam podarki)  bring (presents to/for the children)
priplyt' (k beregu)  arrive by swimming/sailing; reach (the shore)

2.8.2. Attaching, bringing into contact.

prikleit' (marku k konvertu)  stick (a stamp) to/onto (an envelope)
prikrepit' (detskij sad k bol'nice)  attach (a kindergarten) to (the hospital)
pril'nut' (k materi)  cling to (one's mother)
primazat' (afiši k stene)  plaster (posters on the wall)
primērznut'

Snow primērz k sapogam.

Sneg primērz k sapogam.

priprajat' (provoločku k televizoru)  solder (a wire) to (the television set)
prisoxnut'

Krov' prisoxla k povjazke.

Blood dried on the bandage.

pristat'

The leaves stuck to the roof.

prišvartovat' (k beregu)  moor (to the shore)

2.8.3. In the following verbs, the prefix pri- bears a notion of convergence or arriving in a strictly abstract sense; appearing, seeming.  

pričudit'sja  be (apparently) perceived; seem

Emu pričudilsja stuk.

He seemed to hear a knock. / It seemed to him that he heard a knock.
прогрезиться
Мне прорезилось моё детство.

примириться
Большая зарплата примирила его с неудобными условиями работы.

приснилось
Детику приснилось что-то ужасное.

привиделись
Ему привиделись неудобный сон.

называть, призывать (на помощь; в армию)

2.8.4. Увеличение, притяжательность
прокупать (ещё сахара)
примешивать (муки в тесто)
писать (несколько строк)
проваривать (ещё каши)

2.8.5. Притупление, охлаждение
протушивать (фары)
притушить (о неудаче)

2.8.6. Из перечисленных выше глаголов, в разделах выше, следующие приведены в различных справочниках как совершенные аспектуальные партнеры к соответствующим непрафиксированным глаголам (с указанными специфическими значениями):
(blizit'sja)-priblizit'sja\textsuperscript{62}
(čudit'sja)-pričudit'sja\textsuperscript{63}
(grezit'sja)-prigrezit'sja\textsuperscript{64}
(l'nut')-pril'nut\textsuperscript{65}
(mirit')-primirit\textsuperscript{66}
(snit'sja)-prisnit'sja\textsuperscript{67}
(švartovat')-prišvartovat\textsuperscript{68}
(videt'sja)-prividet'sja\textsuperscript{69}

2.9. The Prefix pro-

The meanings of the prefix pro-, insofar as it relates to the formation of perfective verbs from basic imperfective verbs, may be summarized as follows: 1) penetration, direction through an object; 2) thoroughness; 3) passing by, going past; 4) expenditure, loss; 5) error, oversight; 6) perdurative result; 7) terminative result.

2.9.1. Penetration, direction through an object.

\textit{probit'} (stenu)
break through, breach (a wall)

\textit{progoret'}
burn through

\textit{Kastrjulja progorela}.
The saucepan burned through (the bottom).

\textit{progryzt'}
gnaw through

\textit{Myš' progryzla dyru v stene}.
The mouse gnawed a hole through the wall.

\textit{proest'}
eat through, corrode

\textit{Mol' proela materiju}.
The moth ate through the material.

\textit{prolomit'} (lēd)
break through (ice)

\textit{prorezat'} (kožu nožom)
cut through (leather with a knife)

\textit{prorubit'} (okno v stene)
hack, cut, hew (a window) through/in (a wall)

\textit{prosejat'} (skvoz' rešeto)
sift through (a sieve)

\textit{protolkat'sja (čerez tolpu)}
force one's way through (a crowd)

2.9.2. Thorough, extensive performance of an action.
prodymit' (komnatu) fill (the room) completely with smoke; smoke up (the room)
prokoptit' (steny) permeate with soot, cover (the walls) completely with soot
proměrznut' freeze through
Deti proměrzli na ulice. The children got frozen through outdoors.
promesit' (testo) knead (dough) thoroughly
promyt' (zeludok) wash out (the stomach)
propeč' (xleb) bake (bread) thoroughly
prosolit' (mjaso) salt thoroughly, corn (meat)
prosušit' (zerno) dry thoroughly, dry out (grain)
prožarit' (rybu na sil'nom ogne) fry (fish) well/thoroughly (over a hot fire)

2.9.3. Passing by, going past.
probežat' (mimo doma) run past (the house)
proexat' (svoju ostanovku) drive/go past, miss (one's stop)
proletet' (nad tolpoj) fly (above the crowd)
pročesť'sja (mimo stancii) rush past (the station)
proskakat' (pered tribunami) gallop past (the grandstands)

2.9.4. Expenditure, loss.
prodeševit' (svoe imenie) sell too cheaply, undervalue (one's estate)
proigrat' (den'gi v karty) lose (one's money) playing (cards)
promotat' (nasledstvo) squander away (one's inheritance)
prožit' (vse svoi den'gi) spend, go/run through (all one's money)

2.9.5. Error, oversight.
progadat' (o č'ix-libo namerenijax) miscalculate, fail to foresee (someone's intentions)
RESULT

2.9.6. Result of an action limited to a definite, usually specified period of time. This meaning has been labelled by aspectologists as "per-durative resultative."  

prosmotret' (opečatku) overlook, miss (a typographical error)
prozevat' (očered') miss (one's turn)

probegat' (celoe utro) spend (the entire morning) running
proboltat' (celey večer) chatter away (the whole evening)
probyt' (tri nedeli) spend (three weeks)
prodežurit' (ves' den') spend (the whole day) on duty
proezdit' (neskol'ko sutok) spend (several days and nights) traveling
progovorit' (celey čas) talk (the whole hour)
proguljat' (vsě utro) spend (all morning) strolling/walking

2.9.7. Result of an action signifying the termination of a process characterized by the emission of sound or speech. In aspectology this sub-lexical meaning is known as "terminative resultative."  

probit' strike (of a clock)
Šest' časov probilo. It has struck six o'clock.
probormotat' (prokljatie) mutter, mumble (a curse)
pronycat' moo, bellow
Telčenok pronycal, a potom načal est' travu. The calf mooed and then began to eat the grass.
propet' (pesnju) sing (a song)

2.9.8. The following verbs, which appear above, have been identified in lexicological reference works as perfective aspectual partners of the corresponding basic verbs (for the specific meanings and contexts given in
the foregoing examples):

(bit')-probit
(bormotat')-probormotat
(deševit')-prodeševit'

(motat')-promotat
(myčat')-promyčat
(pet')-propet

2.10. The Prefix raz- (ras-, razo-)

The prefix raz-, when added to basic imperfective verbs, may have one of the following lexical meanings: 1) division into parts, separation; 2) spreading in different directions, diffusion; 3) undoing; 4) thoroughness, conscientiousness.

2.10.1. Separation, division into parts.

raskrepit' (opoki) - unfasten, unclasp, pull apart (moulds)

raskrošit' (xleb) - crumble (bread)

rasporot' (rukav) - rip apart (a sleeve) along the seam

razbit' (steklo) - break (glass) to pieces, shatter

razdelit' (porovnu) - divide (into equal parts)

razdrobit' (steklo) - smash (glass) to pieces

razgryzt' (orex) - crack (a nut) with one's teeth; gnaw apart.

razlomat' (xleb na kusóčki) - break (bread into little pieces)

razrezat' (arbuz) - cut up, slice (a watermelon)

2.10.2. Spreading, extending in different directions, distributing.

raskidat' (vešči po komnate) - throw (things all about the room)

raskvartirovat' (polk) - distribute/allocate quarters (to/among the regiment)

rasstavit' (knigi na polke) - arrange (books on a shelf)

razbrosat' (navoz) - throw about, scatter, spread (manure)
razbryzgat' (černila) splash about, spray (ink)
razlit' (sup po tarelkam) pour/dish out (soup into plates)
razvešat' (kartiny) hang (pictures) about (in various places)

2.10.3. Undoing.
raskryt' (paket) undo, open (a package)
raspakovat' (čemodan) unpack (a suitcase)
rassedlat' (lošad') unsaddle (a horse)
razvjazat' (uzel) untie (a knot)
raznakomit'sja (s kem) break off one's acquaintance (with someone)

2.10.4. Thoroughness or conscientiousness. This meaning occurs in a considerable number of verbs. A few examples are:
rasslyšat' hear properly
Ja vas ne rasslyšal. I didn't hear you properly.
rassmotret' (kartinu) contemplate, gaze on (a picture)
rastolkovat' (zadaču učeniku) explain (an assignment) in detail/carefully (to the pupil)
rasxvalit' (reběnka) lavish praise upon (a child)
razgljadet' (neznakomca) look at/examine closely, scrutinize (the stranger)
razrugat' (služaščega) scold (an employee) thoroughly

2.10.5. The following verbs, cited above, are identified in certain reference works as perfective partners of the corresponding basic verbs (for the specific meanings given):
(krošit')-raskrošit'¹⁷⁸ (drobit')-razdrobit'¹⁸⁰
(bit')-razbit'¹⁷⁹ (delit')-razdelit'¹⁸¹
2.11. The Prefix s- (so-)

The following meanings may be discerned in the prefix s- (so-):
1) direction downward, or down off; 2) removing or transferring from a surface, taking or moving away; 3) bringing together; 4) result.

DOWNWARD DIRECTION

2.11.1. Direction downward, or down off.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sbezat'</td>
<td>run down (from the mountain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skatit'sja</td>
<td>roll down (the hill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sletet'</td>
<td>fly down (from the roof)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slezt'</td>
<td>come/get down (from the streetcar), get off (the streetcar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sojti</td>
<td>get off (the stage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spolzti</td>
<td>crawl down (a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svesti</td>
<td>take/lead down (the stairs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

REMOVING FROM A SURFACE, MOVING AWAY

2.11.2. Addition of the prefix s- may signify removal or transference from a surface, or, in a few cases, taking/moving away generally. The notion of "copying," discernible in a few verbs, may be seen as an extension of the meaning "transference from a surface."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sbezat'</td>
<td>run away (from work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbrit'</td>
<td>shave off (one's beard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skertit'</td>
<td>draw, copy (from a map)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sdut'</td>
<td>blow (ashes) off (a tablecloth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'exat'</td>
<td>leave, move out (of an apartment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skolot'</td>
<td>split/chip (ice) off (the sidewalk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soskobil't</td>
<td>scrape (dirt) off (the sole)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spisat'</td>
<td>copy (an assignment from someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>srosisvat'</td>
<td>copy, draw from (a photograph)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sryt' (bugor) dig away, raze (a mound)
steret' (s lica zemli) wipe off (the face of the earth)

BRINGING TOGETHER

2.11.3. Bringing together, joining together.
skleit' (listy bumagi) glue together (sheets of paper)
skolot' (materiju bulavkoj) fasten (material) together (with a pin), pin together
skrepit' (banknoty skrepkami) staple/clip (banknotes) together
smesti (list'ja v kuču) sweep (leaves) together (in a pile)
sšit' (kuski materii) sew together (pieces of material)
stacat' (klin'ja jubki) stitch together (gores of a skirt)
svjazat' (kuski verëvki) tie (pieces of string) together

RESULT

2.11.4. The prefix s-, in conjunction with certain verb bases, bears a resultative meaning.
sdelat' (ošibku) do, make (a mistake)
sfotografirovat' (dostoprimečatel'-nosti) photograph (scenic attractions)
smasterit' (šalaš) make, build (a hut)
sostarit'sja grow old, reach old age
svarit' (boršč) boil, cook (borscht)

2.11.5. The following verbs, cited above, are posited by lexicological reference works as perfective aspectual partners of the corresponding basic imperfective verbs:
(delat')-sdelat' (starit'sja)-sostarit'sja
(fotografirovat')-sfotografirovat' (šit')-sšit
(masterit')-smasterit' (tačat')-stačat'
(varit')-svarit'
2.12. The Prefix u-

The prefix u- may signify: 1) going or taking away, causing to go away; 2) covering; 3) wearing out; 4) non-submission, resistance; 5) result.

2.12.1. Going or taking away, causing to go away.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-U</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ubežat' (iz tjur'my)</td>
<td>run away, escape (from prison)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uderžat' (čast' deneg)</td>
<td>deduct, withhold (a part of the money)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uexat' (iz doma)</td>
<td>go away, leave (home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugnat' (stado na pastbišče)</td>
<td>drive away, drive (the herd) out (to pasture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ujti (s raboty)</td>
<td>walk away, leave (work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uletet' (v Ameriku)</td>
<td>fly away/off (to America), leave on a plane (for America)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unesti (igruški iz komaty)</td>
<td>carry away, clear (the toys out of the room)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upolzti (ot opasnosti)</td>
<td>crawl away (from the danger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utaščit'</td>
<td>drag, haul away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Volk utaščil ovcu.

2.12.2. Covering.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-U</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ustavit' (stol bljudami)</td>
<td>cover (the table with dishes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usypat' (zemlju list'jami)</td>
<td>strew (the ground with leaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvešat' (stenu kartišami)</td>
<td>cover, hang (the wall with pictures)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.12.3. Wearing out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-U</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uezdit' (dorogu; lošadej)</td>
<td>wear out (the road) by driving; wear out (horses) by riding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukatat' (dorogu)</td>
<td>wear (a road) down (by frequent traveling)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.12.4. Non-submission, resistance.

uberéx' (šubu ot moli) guard/protect (a fur coat against moths)
uderžat' (svoi prava) hold on to, not let go of (one's rights)
ustojat' (pered opasnost'ju) face, resist (danger)

2.12.5. Resultative meaning in the prefix u- has been identified by certain aspectologists in cases where the prefix is added to verbs whose bases are derived from substantives. Such prefixal perfectives are posited by various lexicological reference works as aspectual partners of the corresponding basic verbs.89

ukomplektovat' (biblioteku) complete, replenish (a library) (derived from komplekt 'complement, completion')
ukrepit' (rjadы) strengthen (the ranks) (derived from krepkij 'strong')
umnožit' (богатство) multiply, increase (wealth) (derived from mnogo 'much, many')
usoversenstvovat' (знание языка) perfect (one's knowledge of the language) (derived from soversenstvo 'perfection')
usovestit' (преступника) appeal to the conscience of (a criminal) (derived from sovest' 'conscience')
ustrašit' (врага) inspire fear in (the enemy) (derived from strax 'fear')
ustydit' (ребёнка) shame, make (a child) ashamed (derived from styd 'shame')

2.13. The Prefix voz- (vos-, vozo-)

Like vz- (see 2.15), voz- is an allomorph of vёz-. From a diachronic viewpoint, voz- occurs predominantly in words that are Church Slavonicisms and that often have solemn connotations.97 The meanings of voz- may be
described as 1) upward direction, 2) onset of an action, usually characterized by intensity, and 3) result.

2.13.1. Upward direction.

\[\text{vossłat' (xvalu)}\] send up, offer up (praise) (i.e., to God)

\[\text{voznesti (molitvu)}\] offer up (a prayer)

\[\text{vozvesti (na prestol)}\] elevate, raise (to the throne)

2.13.2. Onset of an action, usually characterized by intensity.

\[\text{vostrepetat' (ot straxa)}\] begin to tremble (with fear)

\[\text{vozlikovat' (o scast'e)}\] rejoice, give oneself up to joy

\[\text{vozmectat' (o scast'e)}\] give oneself up to dreams (of happiness)

\[\text{vozradovat'sja}\] become overjoyed

2.13.3. Result. In the following examples, the prefix \text{voz-} imparts a resultative sublexical meaning to the verb base.\(^98\) The verbs in question have been cited in lexicological reference works as aspectual partners of the corresponding non-prefixged imperfective verbs:

\[\text{vospol'zovat'sja}^{99} (\text{slučaem})\] make use of, take advantage of (an opportunity)

\[\text{vosprepjatstvovat'}^{100} (\text{č'im-nibud'} \text{dejstvijam})\] prevent, hinder (someone's actions)

\[\text{vosprotivit'sja}^{101} (\text{vraž'emu umyslu})\] oppose (the enemy's designs)

\[\text{vostoržestvovat'}^{102} (\text{nad vragom})\] triumph (over the enemy)

2.14. The Prefix \text{vy-}

The prefix \text{vy-} may be described as having two general meanings:

1) action directed outwards, and 2) thoroughness. The meaning "action directed outwards" may be understood a) concretely, as a movement outward from within (in conjunction with intransitive verbs), extraction (with
transitive verbs), and b) abstractly, as eliciting, acquiring.

**ACTION DIRECTED OUTWARDS**

**2.14.1. Movement from within, outward motion.**

- **vybežat'** (iz doma) - run out (of the house)
- **vyexat'** (iz goroda) - drive out (of), leave (the city)
- **vyjti** - go/come out

*Ona včera vyšla v pervyj raz posle bolezni.*

- **vylezť** (iz okna) - She went out yesterday for the first time since her illness.
- **vypolzti** (iz-pod kamnja) - crawl out (from under a stone)

**2.14.2. Extraction.**

- **vybit'** (zub) - knock out (a tooth)
- **vydavit'** (sok iz limona) - press/squeeze (juice) out (of a lemon)
- **vydergat'** (gvozdi kleščami) - pull out (nails with pliers)
- **vygnat'** (vragov) - expel (the enemies)
- **vylinjat'** (per'ja) - moult, slough, shed (feathers)
- **vylomat'** (dver' iz steny) - break (the door) out (of the wall)
- **vyluščit'** (gorox) - shell (peas)
- **vypotrošit'** (brjuxo) - disembowel, clean out (a stomach)
- **vyščipat'** (per'ja u kuricy) - pluck out (a hen's feathers)

**2.14.3. Eliciting, acquisition.**

- **vymolit'** (u otca poltinnik) - obtain (half a ruble from one's father) by begging
- **vyprosit'** (razrešenie) - elicit (permission) by asking
- **vyzvat'** (vospominanija) - evoke (memories)

**THOROUGHNESS**

**2.14.4.** When not imparting the above meanings in a distinct way, the prefix **vy-** usually imparts the meaning of thoroughness. A few examples:
are:

vymesit' (testo)  knead (dough) thoroughly
vymocit' (pal'to)  make/get (a coat) thoroughly wet, drenched
vymoknut' (pod dožděm)  be(come) thoroughly drenched (in the rain)
vypeč' (xleb)  bake enough (bread)
vystůdit' (komnatu)  cool off (a room)
vypotit' (peč')  heat up (the stove)
vyvarit' (vodu)  boil (water) thoroughly, boil down

2.14.5. In conjunction with a small number of verbs, the prefix vy-
 may approach a "purely grammatical" function. Such verbs, some of which
follow, have been identified by aspectologists and reference works as
aspectual partners of the basic verbs from which they are formed.

(belit')-vybělit',103 (stenu)  whitewash (a wall)
(snit')-vysinit',104 (tkan')  dye (fabric) dark blue
(stirat')-vystirat',105 (bel'ě)  wash (laundry)
(sušit')-vysušit',106 (bel'ě)  dry (laundry)
(učit')-vyučit',107 (stixotvorenija)  learn/memorize (poems)

Besides these verbs, the following verbs, cited above, are also found
in lexicological reference works as aspectual partners of the correspond-
ing basic verbs:

(linjat')-vylinjat',108  (luščit')-vyluščit',109
(potrošit')-vypotrošit',110

2.15. The Prefix vz- (vs-, vzo-)

The following meanings may be attributed to the prefix vz-: 1) upward
motion; 2) onset of an action, usually characterized by suddenness or
intensity; and 3) result.

2.15.1. Upward motion.

vzbežat' (po lestnici) run up (the stairs)
vzletet' fly up, take off
Samolēt vzletel. The plane took off.
vzjti (na stadiunu) go up, ascend (the platform)

2.15.2. Onset of an action, usually characterized by suddenness or intensity.

vsrīčat' (ot boli) cry out (with/in pain)
vzmolit'sja (o požēade) plead, beg (for mercy)
vzrevet' (ot jarosti) let out a roar (in a rage)
vzvyt' set up a howl

Vzvyl volk. The wolf set up a howl.

2.15.3. Result. The following examples occur:

vskipjatit' (čaj) boil (tea)
vspaxat' (celinu) plough up (fallow land)
vspenit' (kvas) foam, froth (kvass)
vzbessit' excite to anger, enrage

Eto menja vzbesilo. This made me extremely angry.

vzboronit' (pole) harrow (a field)
vzbudoražit' alarm, disturb, make uneasy

Izvestie nas vsex vzbudoražilo. The news has alarmed us all.

vzbuntovat'sja (protiv pravitel'stva) revolt, rebel (against the government)

vzryxlit' (zemlju) loosen, break up (the earth)
vzvolnovat' (poverxnost' morja) agitate, trouble (the surface of the sea)

2.15.4. The following verbs, enumerated above, have been cited in
lexicological sources as aspectual partners of the corresponding basic verbs:

(kipjatit')-vskipjatit'\textsuperscript{111} \hspace{1cm} (boronit')-vzboronit'\textsuperscript{115}
(paxat')-vspaxat'\textsuperscript{112} \hspace{1cm} (budorazit')-vzbudorazit'\textsuperscript{116}
(penit')-vspenit'\textsuperscript{113} \hspace{1cm} (buntovat'sja)-vzbuntovat'sja\textsuperscript{117}
(besit')-vzbesit'\textsuperscript{114} \hspace{1cm} (ryxlit')-vzyxlit'\textsuperscript{118}
(volnovat')-vzvolnovat'\textsuperscript{119}

2.16. The Prefix za-

The prefix za- may impart to a verb base several meanings that may be specified as: 1) direction of the action beyond or behind an object (with the preposition za), away, off (into the distance); 2) covering, concealing; 3) thoroughness, excessiveness; 4) annihilation, utter exhaustion; 5) performance of the action in passing or incidentally; 6) beginning; 7) subsequent, complementary action; 8) recording; 9) anticipatory or preliminary performance; 10) acquisition, attainment.

2.16.1. Direction behind or beyond an object (in conjunction with the preposition za); off, away (into the distance) (without the preposition za).

\begin{align*}
\text{zabezhat'} (za derevo) & \quad \text{run behind (a tree)} \\
\text{zabresti (v les)} & \quad \text{go astray, wander off (into the woods)} \\
\text{zaexat'} (za predely goroda) & \quad \text{drive beyond (the city limits)} \\
\text{zaletet'} (za oblaka) & \quad \text{fly behind/beyond (the clouds)} \\
\text{zapolzti (za brevno)} & \quad \text{crawl behind (a log)} \\
\text{zaslat'} (kogo na dal'nij sever) & \quad \text{send (someone) off/away (to the far north)}
\end{align*}
2.16.2. Covering, concealing.

zadelat' (posylku)  
do up (a parcel)

zakopat' (jimu zemljëj)  
fill/cover (a hole with dirt)

zakrasit' (pjatno na stene)  
paint over (a spot on the wall)

zakryt'  
cover

Sneg zakryl vse uxaby.  
The snow has covered all the holes in the road.

zalepit' (stenu afišami)  
paste over (a wall with posters)

zapecatat' (paket)  
seal (a package)

zašnurovat' (botinki)  
lace up (shoes)

zastavit' (polku knigami)  
cover (a shelf with books)

zatjanut'  
cover

Nebo zatjanulo tučami.  
The sky has clouded over./ become overcast.

zavalit' (vxod kamnjami)  
cover, block (an entrance with stones)

2.16.3. Thoroughness, excessiveness.

zadarit' (kogo-nibud' den'gamì)  
shower with presents, bribe (someone with money)

zalaskat' (detej)  
smother (children) with affection

zaxvalit' (umnogo rebënka)  
shower (an intelligent child) with praise; praise to excess

2.16.4. Performance of the action to the point of annihilation or utter exhaustion.

zabit' (lošad' knutom; skot)  
beat (a horse) unmercifully (with a whip); slaughter (cattle)

zadrat'  
rend to pieces, kill

Volk zadrал ovcu.  
The wolf killed the sheep.

zarubit' (toporom)  
slash to death, kill (with an axe)

zatormošit' (do smerti)  
harass, pester (to death)
zatravit' (zverja)  

2.16.5. Performance of the action in passing or incidentally.

zabezat'

Na obratnom puti mat' zabezala v buločniju.

zajti (k Ivanovym po puti domoj)

zanesti (pakety)

zavezti (zapisku po doroge domoj)

2.16.6. Beginning.

zaaplodirovat' (pevice)

zadrožat' (ot jarosti)

zaigrat' (veselyj motiv)

zapet' (pesnju)

zaprygat'

Serdce u nee zapryglo.

zarydat' (ot gorja)

zašagat' (na zavod)

2.16.7. Subsequent, complementary action.

zaest' (vodka xlebom)

zapit' (piljuli vodoj)

2.16.8. Recording.

zapisat' (adres)

zapomnit' (citatu)

hunt down, run down (an animal)

drop in, drop by

On the way back, mother dropped by the bakery / made a quick stop at the bakery.

drop by, look in on (the Ivanovs on the way home)

drop off (packages) (along the way)

convey/deliver (a note on the way home)

break into applause, begin to applaud (the singer)

begin to shiver/tremble (with rage)

begin to play, strike up (a lively tune)

begin to sing, break into song

begin to jump/leap

Her heart began to thump.

break into sobs (of grief)

stride/set off (for the factory)

eat (bread) immediately after consuming (vodka)

drink (water after pills)

write down (an address), make a note of

memorize (a quotation), fix in one's memory
zarisovat' (pejzaž na bumagu) sketch (a landscape on paper), record an image (of a landscape on paper)

zasnjat' (sobytiya) film (the events), record (the events) on film

2.16.9. Preliminary or anticipatory action.

zagotovit' (dokumenty) prepare (the documents), get (the documents) ready in advance

zakupit' (proviziju) stock up on (provisions), buy up (provisions) in advance

zaplanirovat' (lekciju) plan (a lecture)

2.16.10. Acquisition, attainment.

zarabotat' (den'gi) earn (money)

zavoevat' (pobedu) attain (victory) through battle

2.16.11. Of the verbs above, the following have been recognized by reference works as perfective partners to the corresponding basic imperfective verbs:

(planirovat')-zaplanirovat' (tormošit')-zatormošit' (šnurovat')-zašnurovat' (travit')-zatavit'
Notes to Chapter II

1 Cf. V. V. Vinogradov (ed.), Grammatika russkogo jazyka (Tom I). Fon-netika i morfologija, Moscow, 1960, pp. 576-603; N. S. Avilova, Vid glagola i semantika glagol'nogo slova, Moscow, 1976, pp. 155, 227.


5 Daum, pp. 251, 519; Ožegov (1963), p. 546.

6 Daum, pp. 65, 234; Ožegov (1963), p. 54.

7 Daum, pp. 241, 290; Ožegov (1963), p. 357.


10 Daum, pp. 61, 292; Ožegov (1963), p. 41.

11 Vinogradov, op. cit., p. 585.

12 Ibid., pp. 452-3, 585.


14 Vinogradov, loc. cit.

15 See Townsend, op. cit., p. 127.

16 In this example we may discern the meaning "removal" (gnawing away or off) as well as "movement around" (gnaw around).


19 Vinogradov, op. cit., p. 590.

20 Wheeler, pp. 455, 700.
21 Vinogradov, *loc. cit.*


23 Vinogradov, *loc. cit.*

24 Wheeler, pp. 458, 746.


26 Akademija nauk, *loc. cit.*


28 See Isačenko, p. 394.


30 Daum, pp. 435, 543.


39 Vil'gel'minina, p. 30.

40 Daum, pp. 347, 469; Wheeler, pp. 413, 506.

41 Daum, pp. 231, 463.

42 Daum, pp. 63, 482; Smirnickij, pp. 61, 533; Spagis, p. 80; Wheeler, pp. 31, 526.

44 Daum, pp. 154, 489; Smirnickij, pp. 173, 538; Spagis, p. 81; Wheeler, pp. 148, 532.
45 Avilova, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Daum, pp. 155, 494.
48 Daum, pp. 527, 580; Smirnickij, pp. 568, 614; Spagis, p. 84; Wheeler, pp. 567, 623.
49 Daum, pp. 528, 618; Smirnickij, pp. 568, 642; Spagis, *loc. cit.*; Wheeler, pp. 568, 655.
50 Daum, pp. 528, 619; Smirnickij, p. 568; Wheeler, p. 568.
52 Daum, pp. 533, 707; Smirnickij, pp. 573, 730; Spagis, p. 85; Wheeler, pp. 574, 748.
53 Daum, pp. 533, 712; Smirnickij, pp. 573, 736; Spagis, p. 85; Wheeler, pp. 574, 753.
54 Daum, pp. 535, 733; Forsyth, p. 51; Ożegov (1963), pp. 560, 764; Smirnickij, pp. 575, 765; Wheeler, pp. 577, 783.
55 Daum, pp. 538, 747; Smirnickij, pp. 578, 798; Spagis, p. 86; Wheeler, pp. 579, 815.
56 Daum, pp. 539, 750; Ożegov (1963), pp. 563, 804; Smirnickij, pp. 578, 807; Wheeler, pp. 580, 823.
58 Daum, pp. 541, 781; Ożegov (1963), pp. 564, 854; Smirnickij, pp. 579, 858; Wheeler, pp. 581, 873.
59 Daum, pp. 262, 495; Wheeler, pp. 285, 538.
60 Daum, pp. 505, 691.
62 Daum, pp. 63, 553.
63 Ibid., pp. 578, 787.
64 Ibid., pp. 150, 557.
65 Ibid., pp. 280, 564.
67 Smirnickij, pp. 608, 733; Wheeler, pp. 615, 750.
68 Daum, pp. 578, 788.
69 Ibid., pp. 82, 554.
70 Cf. Isačenko, p. 394.
71 Ibid.
72 Daum, pp. 62, 580; Smirnickij, pp. 60, 614; Wheeler, pp. 30, 622.
73 Daum, pp. 65, 580; Smirnickij, pp. 67, 615; Wheeler, p. 623.
74 Segal, p. 170.
75 Daum, pp. 288, 598; Wheeler, pp. 354, 635.
76 Smirnickij, p. 624.
77 Daum, pp. 478, 601; Smirnickij, pp. 523, 626; Wheeler, pp. 515, 636.
78 Daum, pp. 271, 649; Wheeler, pp. 308, 679.
79 Avilova, op. cit., p. 155; Daum, pp. 62, 620.
80 Daum, pp. 167, 630; Wheeler, pp. 175, 666.
81 Daum, pp. 155, 629; Wheeler, p. 155.
82 Vinogradov, op. cit., p. 601.
83 Daum, pp. 736, 778; Smirnickij, pp. 744, 757; Wheeler, pp. 790, 864.
84 Daum, pp. 282, 705; Smirnickij, pp. 348, 728; Wheeler, pp. 338, 746.
86 Smirnickij, pp. 772, 883; Wheeler, pp. 792, 896.
87 Smirnickij, pp. 758, 778.
88 Daum, pp. 70, 681; Vinogradov, op. cit., p. 601; Wheeler, pp. 52, 716.
89 Avilova, op. cit., pp. 216-7; V. V. Vinogradov, Russkiy jazyk (grammatičeskoe učenie o slove), Moscow-Leningrad, 1947, p. 421.
90 Avilova, op. cit., p. 216; Daum, pp. 264, 761; Smirnickij, pp. 744, 757; Wheeler, pp. 762, 774.

91 Avilova, loc. cit.

92 Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, pp. 286, 765; Spagis, p. 92.

93 Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, pp. 711, 771; Spagis, loc. cit.

94 Avilova, loc. cit.

95 Avilova, loc. cit.; Segal, p. 836.

96 Avilova, loc. cit.; Segal, p. 839.

97 Vinogradov, op. cit., p. 579.


99 Andreeva-Georg, pp. 32, 260; Daum, pp. 97, 520; Segal, pp. 94, 592; Spagis, p. 76.

100 Andreeva-Georg, pp. 32, 277; Avilova, op. cit., p. 224; Daum, pp. 97, 551; Segal, p. 629; Spagis, loc. cit.

101 Andreeva-Georg, pp. 32, 313; Daum, pp. 97, 612; Segal, p. 674; Smirnickij, p. 631; Spagis, loc. cit.

102 Segal, p. 868; Spagis, loc. cit.

103 Avilova, op. cit., p. 221; Daum, pp. 61, 110; Wheeler, pp. 23, 99.

104 A. Aleksandrov, Polnyj russko-anglijskij slovar', St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 88.

105 Avilova, op. cit., p. 222; Daum, pp. 136, 730; Smirnickij, pp. 140, 760; Wheeler, pp. 117, 777.

106 Daum, pp. 137, 736; Smirnickij, pp. 141, 770.

107 Daum, pp. 140, 776; Wheeler, pp. 119, 856.

108 Daum, pp. 122, 277; Wheeler, pp. 107, 323.

109 Segal, p. 345.

110 Avilova, op. cit., p. 221; Daum, pp. 129, 539; Smirnickij, pp. 135, 578; Wheeler, pp. 111, 580.

111 Daum, pp. 103, 259; Smirnickij, pp. 119, 294; Wheeler, pp. 94, 280.

112 Avilova, op. cit., p. 155; Daum, pp. 104, 455.
113 Daum, pp. 104, 456.

114 Avilova, op. cit., p. 223; Daum, pp. 61, 75; Smirnichij, pp. 55, 89; Wheeler, pp. 25, 63.

115 Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, pp. 65, 76; Wheeler, pp. 39, 63.

116 Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, pp. 68, 76; Smirnichij, pp. 73, 89; Wheeler, p. 44.

117 Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, loc. cit.; Smirnichij, pp. 74, 89; Wheeler, pp. 46, 63.

118 Andreeva-Georg, pp. 22, 344; Daum, pp. 81, 677.

119 Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, pp. 77, 94; Smirnichij, pp. 90, 107; Wheeler, pp. 64, 81.

120 Avilova, op. cit., p. 218; Daum, pp. 206, 480; Wheeler, pp. 217, 521.

121 Daum, pp. 229, 790; Wheeler, pp. 232, 898.

122 Aleksandrov, p. 180; S. I. Ožegov, Slovar' russkogo jazyka, Moscow, 1949, pp. 219, 850.

123 Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, pp. 224, 746; Wheeler, pp. 228, 812.
Chapter III
Discussion and Classification of Aspectual Partners

3.1. N. S. Avilova has shown that from the semasiological viewpoint all prefixal aspectual partners may be classified according to the degree to which a verbal prefix is aspectualized (cf. 1.5). In some cases, complete aspectualization (polnaja aspektualizacija) of the prefix occurs, while in others the prefix is only incompletely aspectualized (nepolnaja aspektualizacija). Complete aspectualization may be either semantically motivated or unmotivated. It is considered unmotivated when the use of a particular prefix to perfectivize a basic verb is not explainable from a synchronic semantic point of view. The only explanation for the complete aspectualization of certain prefixes is tradition or analogy. As examples of perfective aspectual partners in which the prefix is fully aspectualized, with its occurrence semantically unmotivated, Avilova cites sdelat' (perfective partner to delat' 'do, make') and obvinit' (perfective partner to vinit' 'accuse'). With respect to the lexical meanings (identified in Chapter II) of the prefixes s- and o- (ob-), none is apparent in the prefixes of these particular verbs.

As an example of a completely aspectualized, semantically motivated prefix, Avilova cites the prefix raz- in the perfective verb of the aspectual pair bit'-razbit' 'break, shatter.' Unlike those instances in which complete aspectualization is unmotivated, here we may identify a definite lexical meaning in the prefix raz-: separation, division into parts (cf. 2.10.1). According to Avilova, verbal prefixes are aspectualized in such instances "by virtue of their conveying traits common to the semantic trait of the action expressed by the verb [v silu vyraženija eju čert, obščix s
A prefix is described as incompletely aspectualized when it bears a discernible lexical meaning (or at least a "semblance" [otsvet] of one) which is not inherent in the meaning of the verb base. Such is the case with the prefixes pro- and vy- in the perfective verbs of the aspectual pairs čitati'-pročitati' and stirit'-vyširiti', respectively. The meaning 'through,' discernible here in the prefix pro-, is not a semantic trait necessarily shared by the verb 'read,' even though 'reading through' might be viewed as its resultative (hence, from a semasiological point of view, perfective) state. The prefix vy- in vyširiti' preserves a semblance of the meaning 'thoroughness' (cf. 2.14.4-5); nonetheless, incomplete aspectualization of the prefix does not hinder the verb vyširiti' from being used as a perfective equivalent of the imperfective verb stiriti'.

In Chapter II, of all the verbs given to illustrate the meaning of the sixteen potentially aspect-formative prefixes, 106 were identified as verbs which aspectological sources and lexicological reference works cite as aspectual partners to the corresponding simplex verbs. We shall now classify a representative cross-section of these verbs according to the three categories discussed above: 1) complete, semantically motivated aspectualization; 2) incomplete aspectualization; 3) complete, semantically unmotivated aspectualization.

3.2. Complete Aspectualization (Semantically Motivated)

Prefixal perfectivization is considered semantically motivated when the prefix bears a discernible lexical meaning which is shared, or subsumed, by the basic verb. Even though a lexical meaning in the prefix is evident, aspectualization of the prefix is considered complete because of the neutral effect the prefix has on the lexical meaning of the basic verb.
For example, according to Avilova the addition of *ot*- as an aspect-formative prefix to certain verbs may be considered semantically motivated by virtue of the prefix's lexical meaning 'disengaging, removing' (*otdelenie dejstviem*). Accordingly, the occurrence of *ot*- in the prefixal perfectives *otčekanit*' 'separate, distinguish (words), enunciate,' *otčerenkovat* 'graft,' *otryt* 'unearth, dig up' (see 2.4.6) can be explained as a result of "lexico-semantic subsumption" (cf. 1.5), i.e., as being semantically motivated.

The prefix *pere-*, by virtue of its lexical meaning 'pervading, passing through (time)' (see 2.5.6), appears to be correlated semantically with the basic verb *zimovat* 'spend the winter.' This verb denotes activity pervading a specific period of time. Hence, the aspectual partner of this verb, *perezimovat*, evidently occurs as a result of lexico-semantic subsumption.

A further example is the prefix *pod-*, which occurs in a purely aspectual capacity by virtue of the subsumption of its lexical meaning 'action directed underneath' (see 2.7.1) by the basic verb *kovat* (*lošad*): 'shoe (a horse).'

The prefixal perfectives *pril'nut* 'cling to' and *primirit* 'reconcile' display semantically motivated aspectualization of the prefix *pri-*. In the perfective *pril'nut*, the prefix's meaning 'attaching' (see 2.8.2) is shared by the basic verb *l'nut*; a similar, though abstract, notion of convergence is also discernible in the meanings of the prefix and the verb base of *primirit*.

Aspectualization of the prefix *pro-* in conjunction with the basic verbs *deševit* (prodeševit*) 'sell too cheaply, undervalue' and *motat* (promotat*) 'squander away' is evidently motivated by the meaning of expenditure/loss,
which manifests itself in a few verbs prefixed by pro- (see 2.9.4).

The prefix raz- (ras-), while maintaining its lexical meaning 'separation, division into parts,' is completely aspectualized in conjunction with the basic verbs krošit' (raskrošit') 'crumble,' bit' (razbit') 'break, shatter,' delit' (razdelit') 'divide,' and drobit' (razdrobit') 'smash.' All of these verbs subsume the prefix's meaning 'separation, division into parts' with respect to at least one of their respective denotations.  

The prefix vy-, by virtue of its lexical meaning 'outward direction, extraction' (see 2.14.2), exhibits complete, semantically motivated aspectualization in conjunction with certain verbs whose bases denote extraction: linjat' (vylinjat') 'moult, slough, shed,' luščit' (vyluščit') 'shell, husk,' potrošit' (vypotrošit') 'clean out, disembowel.'

Avilova (1978) states that 'aspectualization of the prefix vz- occurs only by virtue of its meaning 'upward movement' in conjunction with semantically related verb bases.' Accordingly, the prefix in the following perfective aspectual partners bears a discernible lexical meaning: vskipjat' 'boil (up),' vspaxat' 'plough up,' vspenit' 'froth/foam up,' vzboronit' 'harrow, break up (soil) with a harrow,' vzryxlit' 'break up (soil),' vzvolnovat' 'stir up, agitate' (cf. 2.15.4). It should be noted, however, that Isačenko (1962) discerns a resultative (eigentlich resultativ) sublexical meaning, rather than any lexical meaning, in the prefix of the verb vskipjat'.'

Finally, the prefix za- may occur as a completely aspectualized prefix whose lexical meaning is subsumed by the verb base in such verbs as zaplanirovat' 'plan' (see 2.16.9, meaning: anticipatory or preliminary action) and zašnurovat' 'lace up' (see 2.16.2, meaning: covering, concealing).
3.3. Incomplete Aspectualization

A verbal prefix exhibits incomplete aspectualization when it maintains a lexical meaning unrelated to the verb base but does not prevent the resulting prefixal perfective from being nearly synonymous, as well as aspectually paired, with the basic verb.\(^\text{14}\)

We have noted (see Chapter I) that a prefix may or may not impart a new lexical meaning to the basic verb to which it is added. When a new lexical meaning is imparted to the basic verb by the prefix, the resulting prefixed verb cannot be considered an aspectual partner of the basic verb. However, we have seen that in some instances it is possible for the lexical meaning of a basic verb to be slightly modified by the addition of a prefix, yet not sufficiently to prevent the resulting prefixed verb from being used as a perfective aspectual partner. In many cases this occurs only with respect to the lexical meanings 'intensity' and 'thoroughness.'

For example, the prefix iz- (is-) manifests the meaning 'intensity,' 'thoroughness' in conjunction with the verbs iskrošit' 'crumble completely,' ispolosovat' 'flog,' izborozdit' 'furrow, plough up (completely),' izmučit' 'torment, harass,' izrugat' 'scold (thoroughly)' (see 2.1.1, 2.1.2). Nevertheless, these verbs are cited in lexicological reference works as perfective aspectual partners of the corresponding simplex verbs (for the particular denotations given, see 2.1.5). E. A. Ivannikova, in her study "Specifička sinonimitcheskix otnošenij glagola v svjazi s kategoriej glagol'nogo vida," notes that in many verbs the meaning of an action's completeness, exhaustiveness, or sufficiency may predominate over the meaning of the action's resultative state. Nevertheless, semantic connections of a synonymous nature do develop between such verbs and verbs with purely resultative meanings. Verbs prefixed
with iz- may signify that the action [is performed to a degree of] fullness, exhaustion, or to an extreme limit, yet remain within the bounds of synonymity with perfective and resultative verbs (cf. izzjabnut' ['be chilled through'] and ozjabnut' ['be chilled']; izmučit' ['harass, torment'] and zamučit' ['torment to death, tire out'] ...; izrugat' ['scold thoroughly'] and vyrugat' ['scold'] ...; izbit' ['slay, beat unmercifully'] and pobit' ['slay, beat, strike']....

We have noted that the prefix vy- is also instrumental in forming perfective aspectual partners of the verbs delit', sinit', stirat', učit' (see 2.14.5). In these instances the prefix maintains a trace (sled, cf. 1.5) of one of its lexical meanings, namely, 'thoroughness.' Avilova indicates that when the meaning of intensiveness in the prefix vy- is so weakened that it approaches a purely aspectual meaning, we may say that the prefix vy- is aspectualized .... It should be noted that vy- never achieves complete aspectualization. Mainly this occurs with vy- in verbs of concrete action, denoting various household activities [byto-vye processy]: vymyt' (pol) ['wash the floor'], vystirat' ['wash laundry'], vygladit' ['press, iron'], vyutjužit' ['iron'], vysušit' (bel'ë) ['dry (linen)'] ....

Intensity—more specifically, 'performance of the action to the point of exhaustion or annihilation'—is a meaning present in the prefix za- in conjunction with the prefixal perfectives zatormošit' 'harass, pester (to death)' and zatratit' 'hunt/run down' (see 2.16.4). Avilova has pointed out that whenever za- occurs as an aspect-formative prefix, it "preserves a nuance of intensity, thoroughness [tščatelnost'] in the attainment of the action's resultative state."17

Isačenko (1962) defines the meaning of pro- in conjunction with such verbs as probit' 'strike (of a clock),' probormotat' 'mutter, mumble,' and propet' 'sing, crow' (cf. 2.9.8) as being a sublexical one which he labels
"terminative resultative." He describes the terminative resultative meaning as "termination of a process [Beendigung eines Vorganges]." Avilova, an adherent of the semasiological school, also recognizes that this particular (terminative) resultative meaning is not generally equatable with the perfective aspect. Nonetheless, the prefixal perfectives discussed above are cited by her as aspectual partners. For example, with regard to the pair bit'-probit', Avilova writes: "Here the prefix pro- signifies the termination of a continuous action having the characteristics of a process [dejst-vie processual'nogo xaraktera] in verbs denoting the production of sound or speech." Later, referring to verbs of the above type in general, Avilova concludes: "In conjunction with such semantically varied bases, aspectualization of the prefix pro- is incomplete: a nuance of 'terminativeness' [terminativnost'] is maintained in the meaning of the perfective verb."

In sum, we have seen that incomplete aspectualization implies an incomplete lexical or sublexical correlation between the prefixal perfective and the basic verb. In the case of the prefixes iz-, vy-, and za-, for instance, the semantic disparity, aside from aspect, consists of the presence of the meaning 'thoroughness, intensity' in the prefixal perfective. With the prefix pro-, the semantic disparity is discernible in the prefixal verb's terminative meaning, which is not shared by the simplex verb. Other prefixes tend to reinforce a particular meaning of the simplex verb (e.g., sinit'-podsinit', see 2.7.7) or in a somewhat vague manner may be semantically motivated (e.g., blizit'sja-priblizit'sja, see 2.8.1). However, we must note again that the occurrence of the verbal prefixes in their respective functions and environments in many instances can be explained solely by reference to tradition and analogy.
3.4. Complete Aspectualization (Semantically Unmotivated)

The completely aspectualized, semantically unmotivated prefixes which occur most frequently are o-, po-, and s-.\(^{23}\) When these prefixes function in an aspect-formative capacity, they are considered either lexically empty (from the traditional viewpoint)\(^{24}\) or sublexically resultative (from the non-traditional viewpoints).\(^{25}\) Their occurrence in prefixal perfective aspectual partners as a rule cannot be explained from a synchronic point of view and must therefore be attributed to tradition or analogy.\(^{26}\)

The following perfective aspectual partners prefixed with o- (ob-), for instance, all share certain semantic and, to a certain extent, morphological characteristics: obnaglet' 'be(come) impudent/insolent,' obogatet' 'grow rich,' ogloxnut' 'grow deaf,' orobet' 'be(come) timid,' osipnut' 'grow hoarse,' osirotet' 'become an orphan,' oslepnut' 'grow blind,' osmelet' 'grow bold/brave,' ov dovoret' 'become a widow.' These verbs all denote becoming, entry into a state, and are characterized by the infinitive ending -et' or -nut'. This is one example of the use of the notion "analogy" in explaining the occurrence of certain prefixes.

The occurrence of po- and s- as purely aspectual prefixes must be explained by tradition rather than by semantic traits shared by the simplex verbs which these prefixes serve to perfectivize. Few, if any, analogies can be drawn, for instance, between the following perfective verbs prefixed with po- (see 2.6.5): poblagodarit' 'thank,' pobrit' 'shave,' podarit' 'present as a gift,' poob edat' 'have dinner,' poprobovat' 'try,' popytat'sja 'make an attempt,' porekomendovat' 'recommend,' posovetovat' 'advise,' postroit' 'build,' potrebovat' 'demand,' potušit' 'extinguish,' použinat' 'have supper,' poxoronit' 'inter.'
The same holds true of the verbs prefixed with s- identified as perfective aspectual partners to corresponding basic verbs (see 2.11.5): sdelat' 'do, make,' sfotografirovat' 'photograph,' smasterit' 'make, build,' sostarit'sja 'grow old, reach old age,' stačat' 'stitch,' and svarit' 'boil.'

From a synchronic viewpoint of Russian semantics, the occurrence of the aspect-formative prefix voz- (vos-) in conjunction with the verbs pol'zo-vat'sja 'make use of, take advantage of,' prepjalstvovat' 'prevent, hinder,' protivit'sja 'oppose,' toržestvovat' 'triumph' (cf. 2.13.3) can be explained only by a rather vague notion of tradition.27

As a final example of semantically unmotivated prefixes, we may consider the prefix pri- in the verbs pricudit'sja 'seem,' prigrezit'sja 'appear in a dream,' prisnit'sja 'come in a dream,' prividet'sja 'appear' (see 2.8.3). Whether or not the prefix pri- in these verbs actually bears an abstract, possibly subsumed, meaning of convergence28 (cf., for example, prijti na um 'come to mind, occur'), the semantic similarity or near synonymity existing between these verbs would tend to offer further confirmation of the role played by analogy and tradition in the development of Russian prefixal perfectivization.

3.5. Polysemy

Simplex verbs as well as prefixal perfectives may have more than one lexical denotation; that is, they may be polysemous. Certain verbal prefixes, too, may exhibit polysemy in conjunction with one and the same verb base. These cases are discussed below.

If a simplex verb is polysemous and lends itself to prefixal perfectivization (rather than suppletion--see 1.2), in most instances perfectivization of the simplex will be achieved by the addition of a different prefix for each one of the verb's denotations. For instance, the simplex verb bit'
has the following lexical denotations for which it is paired with a different prefixal perfective.29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Pair</th>
<th>Denotation</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bit'-razbit' (posudu)</td>
<td>break, shatter (dishes)</td>
<td>raz- (considered by Avilova to be completely aspectualized, semantically motivated—see 3.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit'-probit' (Časy b'jut. Probilo dva časa.)</td>
<td>strike (The clock strikes. It has struck two o'clock.)</td>
<td>pro- (incompletely aspectualized—see 3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit'-sbit' (slivki)</td>
<td>whip (cream)</td>
<td>s- (completely aspectualized, semantically unmotivated—cf. 3.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other polysemous simplex verbs which are aspectually paired with a different prefixal perfective for each of their denotations include belit'30 and sinit':31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Pair</th>
<th>Denotation</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belit'-nabelit' (lico)</td>
<td>whiten (the face)</td>
<td>na- (considered completely aspectualized—cf. 2.2.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belit'-vybelit' (polotno)</td>
<td>bleach (linen)</td>
<td>vy- (incompletely aspectualized; meaning of 'thoroughness' preserved—cf. 2.14.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinit'-vysinit' (tkan')</td>
<td>dye (fabric)</td>
<td>vy- (incompletely aspectualized; meaning of 'thoroughness' preserved—cf. 2.14.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinit'-podsinit' (bel'ë)</td>
<td>blue, apply blueing to (linen)</td>
<td>pod- (incompletely aspectualized; attenuative meaning preserved—cf. 2.7.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix po- exhibits polysemy in conjunction with certain simplex verbs. In some cases the meaning of the prefix po- is determined by the lexical denotation of the basic verb (in cases where the basic verb itself is polysemous), while in others the meaning of po- may be conditioned by context.

Thus, with nesti and vezti this prefix bears an ingressive meaning (beginning, setting out—see 2.6.2) when the verbs denote "carrying" (i.e., are
used as verbs of motion), but bears a purely aspectual or resultative meaning when the verbs are used with other denotations. Therefore, the verbs nesti and ponesti are not aspectually paired with respect to the denotation "carry." However, in the sense of "incur (punishment)"-(po)nesti (nakazanie), for instance, the two verbs are aspectually paired.

By the same token, vezti as a verb of motion is not aspectually paired with the verb povezti, in which the prefix bears an ingressive meaning. However, in the specific sense "have luck (at cards)"-(po)vezti (v karty)—the prefix po- bears a resultative rather than an ingressive meaning. In this instance, vezti and povezti may be considered aspectually paired.

In conjunction with certain verbs the prefix po- may bear both attenuative and resultative meanings. For the denotation 'stir, mix,' the verb mešat', for instance, cannot be considered to be aspectually paired with po-mešat', as in the latter verb the attenuative meaning imparted by po- to the verb base tends to predominate, resulting in the denotation 'stir, mix (for a while).'</strong> However, in the sense of 'disturb, annoy'—mešat' (komu)—the verb base acquires a resultative meaning. For this denotation, mešat' and pomešat' may be considered aspectual partners. Another example of either attenuative or resultative meaning in the prefix po- can be seen in the verb poslužit' 'serve.' Poslužit' is not aspectually paired with the basic verb služit' in the context služit' (v armii) 'serve (in the army).’ In such a context, the prefix po- bears an attenuative meaning, resulting in the denotation 'serve (in the army) for a while'—poslužit' (v armii). However, in the phrase služit' primerom 'serve as an example,' poslužit' is considered by aspectologists as a perfective aspectual partner of the basic verb by virtue of the prefix's resultative, or perhaps even purely aspectual, meaning.
The fact that a simplex, a prefixal perfective, or even a prefix may have more than one meaning has an important bearing on the postulation of prefixal perfectivization. It creates a need for a certain degree of specificity in the postulation of any prefixal aspectual pair. As we have seen, whether or not a simplex and a prefixal verb are aspectually paired with one another depends to a great extent on the specific meanings which they may or may not have in common, on the contexts in which they occur, and on the degree and nature of lexical and/or sublexical disparity between the two verbs.

Some simplex verbs are cited in lexicological reference works as being aspectually paired with more than one prefixal perfective. To a large extent, the occurrence of multiple prefixations is due to the fact that certain aspect-formative prefixes share some of the same or closely similar lexical or sublexical meanings (as, for example, 'intensity, thoroughness' in the prefixes iz-, vy-, za-). Another consideration is that in the process of prefixal perfectivization, one prefix may be completely aspectualized/semantically unmotivated, another semantically motivated, while yet another may be incompletely aspectualized—all in conjunction with one and the same basic verb. A few examples will illustrate such concurrence of aspect-formative prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Verb</th>
<th>Prefixal Perfective</th>
<th>Description of Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>krošit' 'crumble'</td>
<td>iskrošit'</td>
<td>is-: incompletely aspectualized; meaning of intensity or thoroughness preserved (cf. 2.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raskrošit'</td>
<td>ras-: considered completely aspectualized, semantically motivated (cf. 2.10.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Verb</td>
<td>Prefixal Perfective</td>
<td>Description of Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myt' 'wash'</td>
<td>pomyt'</td>
<td>po-: considered completely aspectualized, semantically unmotivated (cf. 2.6.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vymyt'36</td>
<td>vy-: incompletely aspectualized; meaning of 'thoroughness' is evident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugat' 'curse, swear at, scold'</td>
<td>izrugat'</td>
<td>iz-: incompletely aspectualized; meaning of 'intensity' is evident (cf. 2.1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>otrugat'37</td>
<td>ot-: incompletely aspectualized (cf. 2.4.5-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vyrugat'38</td>
<td>vy-: incompletely aspectualized; meaning of 'thoroughness' preserved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ryt' 'dig (up/out)'</td>
<td>otryt'</td>
<td>ot-: semantically motivated ('removal'—cf. 2.4.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vyrt'39</td>
<td>vy-: semantically motivated ('extraction'—cf. 2.14.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6. Concluding Remarks

We have seen that in some instances there may exist semantic correlations between a prefix and a given verb; that is, the occurrence of a prefix in conjunction with some verb may be semantically motivated. However, such semantic correlations in many instances may be obscured or even no longer discernible from a synchronic point of view. Moreover, even where semantic motivation is evident, it is neither regular nor predictable.

The fact that, in addition to semantically motivated prefixes, there are also semantically unmotivated and incompletely aspectualized prefixes (whose occurrence must be ascribed to analogy or linguistic tradition), adds to the irregularity of prefixal perfectivization as a grammatical process. Hence, our analysis of prefixal perfectivization and aspectual partners, based on comprehensive lexical material (see Chapter II), corroborates
A. V. Bondarko's observation that prefixation of a basic verb may in many cases produce a perfective aspectual partner to that basic verb (for example, пржат'-спржат', публиковат'-опубликоват'); however, such capacity for aspect formation manifests itself inconsistently, without regularity.40
Notes to Chapter III


6 Cf. A. V. Bondarko, "Glagol'nyj vid i slovari," *Sovremennaja russkaja leksikografija*, Leningrad, 1975, p. 51; "čitat' dlja togo, čtoby pročitat'."


11 The polysemous simplex verb *bit* is perfectivized by the addition of various prefixes, depending on the particular denotation conveyed: *razbit* (steklo) 'break, shatter (glass),' *probit* (čas) 'strike (the hour),' *pobit* (kogo) 'strike, hit (someone),' *sbit* (slivki) 'whip (cream).'


16 Avilova, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.


18 Isačenko, p. 394.

20Ibid.
21Ibid.
22Ibid., p. 155.
23Ibid., pp. 32, 196; V. V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk (grammatičeskoe učenie o slove), Moscow, 1972, pp. 422-423.
24A. A. Spagis, Parnye i neparnye glagoly v russkom jazyke, Moscow, 1969, p. 40; V. V. Vinogradov (ed.), Grammatika russkogo jazyka, Moscow, 1960, p. 452.
25Isačenko, pp. 359-364.
26Avilova, op. cit., p. 155.
27Ibid.
32Spagis, p. 44.
33Ibid.
34Ibid., p. 46.
35Ibid.
37Daum, pp. 437, 675; Ožegov (1963), pp. 469, 678; Spagis, p. 73.
39Avilova, loc. cit.; Daum, pp. 132, 676; Spagis, p. 51.
40Bondarko, p. 42.

Aleksandrov, A. Polnyj russko-anglijskij slovar'. St. Petersburg, 1904.


Galkina-Fedoruk, E. M. (ed.). Sovremennyj russkij jazyk (čast' II). Morfo-


-----------. "Glagol'nyj vid v sovremennom bolgarskom literaturnom ja-
zyke. (Znachenie i upotreblenie)," Voprosy grammatiki bolgarskogo literaturnogo jazyka. Moscow, 1959.

-----------. Rol' tak nazyvaemoj perfektivacii i imperfecktivacii v pro-

-----------. "Zametki o vidovoj defektivnosti (preimeščestvenno v russkom i bolgarskom jazykax)," Slavjanskaja filologija. Leningrad, 1964, p. 82 ff.

-----------. "Znachenie dannyx bolgarskogo jazyka dlja obščej teorii slav-


Sal'nikov, N. "Ещё раз о видовых парах (глаголы типа 'нравится' и 'понравится')," Russian Linguistics. II (1975), nos. 3/4, pp. 303-15.


Saxmatov, A. A. Очерк современного русского литературного языка. Moscow, 1941.


