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CZECH VERBAL PREFIXES
A COMPARISON

UNIVERSITY: THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED: MASTER OF ARTS

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1976

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SEMANTICS OF RUSSIAN AND CZECH VERBAL PREFIXES :
A COMPARISON

by

LIBUŠE JONAS

(C)

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN
SLAVIC LINGUISTICS

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and
recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research,
for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Semantics of Russian
and Czech Verbal Prefixes: A Comparison submitted by
Libuse Jonas in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Russian and Czech, like all Slavic languages, extensively use prefixation as a means of word-formation, particularly in the verbal system. Verbal prefixation results in a change of meaning; i.e., the prefixed verbs have a different meaning from the original non-prefixed verbs. Verbal prefixation also results in a change of verbal aspect, i.e.; imperfective non-prefixed verbs become perfective with the addition of a verbal prefix. This change does not apply to non-prefixed perfective verbs.

A contrastive analysis of the six most productive verbal prefixes in Russian and Czech, i.e., vy-, za-, po-, raz- (Czech roz-), o-/ob- and s-, confirms the claim that the lexical meaning of prefixed verbs is always different from that of their non-prefixed counterparts. Depending upon the basic lexical meaning of the prefix and the basic (lexical meaning of the verb, the changes in meaning can vary from subtle modifications to more significant variations of the basic verb meaning. On the basis of the data presented in this thesis, there appears to be no justification for the claim that some prefixes have a purely grammatical meaning rather than their basic lexical meaning.

The analysis of Russian and Czech verbal prefixation involving the six most productive prefixes also shows some significant differences in the degree of correspondence between the two languages. In the majority of cases, however, there is either

no difference at all; or only a subtle difference, in the semantics of corresponding Russian and Czech prefixes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express appreciation and sincere thanks to Dr. G. Schaarschmidt, my supervisor, who gave me valuable advice, guidance and encouragement to complete this thesis.

I thank him also for his assistance in the correction of linguistic details and stylistic improvements.

Sincere appreciation is also expressed to Dr. T. M.S. Priestly for his suggestions and criticism in stylistics.

Thanks also to Miss I. Chuchman for her assistance in supplying study material from the University library in my absence from Edmonton.

Finally, my sincere thanks to my husband for his unfailing support, encouragement and his patience.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to present the semantic differences and similarities of the most productive Russian and Czech verbal prefixes. The semantic differences and similarities of the verbal prefixes of the two Slavic languages are based on a contrastive analysis.

Previous research studies have dealt separately either with the semantics of Russian verbal prefixes, or with the semantics of Czech verbal prefixes. Very few studies have involved a contrastive analysis of the semantics of verbal prefixes in both languages.

In general, prefixation is a specific method of word-formation. Both elements, verbs and prefixes, have their own meanings; but prefixes, in contrast with verbs, are dependent, i.e., they cannot exist by themselves. For example, the Russian verbal prefix ot- (Czech od-) has the meaning 'from'. When attached to a verb, such as nesti (Czech nést), the new verb otnesti (Czech odnést) is formed. The meaning of the new verb is more specific regarding direction: otnesti (Czech odnést) denotes carrying in a direction away from the speaker, 'take away from'.

Prefixation causes not only variation in lexical meaning, but also variation in grammatical meaning. The variation in grammatical meaning is concerned with verbal aspect, namely, an imperfective aspect is changed to a perfective aspect.

The problem arising in connection with prefixation is whether the variations in lexical and grammatical meaning always occur together, or, in other words, whether verbal prefixes always carry lexical and grammatical features together.

There is no doubt about the occurrence of a variation in grammatical meaning: it always occurs in the process of prefixation if non-prefixed verbs are imperfective. For example, the verb pit'/pit' 'drink' is a non-prefixed imperfective verb which becomes a perfective one in the process of prefixation, i.e., vypit'/vypit', 'drink up'. If non-prefixed verbs are already perfective then variation in grammatical meaning does not occur. As an example, consider the verb pustit'/pustit' 'let go'. It is a non-prefixed perfective verb which does not change its aspect in the process of prefixation, e.g. vypustit'/vypustit' 'let go'.

There are also some exceptions when non-prefixed imperfective verbs do not undergo variation in grammatical meaning and keep their imperfective aspects after prefixation. These verbs are loan words from the Old Church Slavic, such as ležat' - nadležat', podležat'; čuvstvovat' - sočuvstvovat', etc.²

The question of variation in lexical meaning caused by prefixation have been of interest to linguists for some time,

¹ Examples used in this thesis are in the order: Russian/Czech 'gloss', if not stated otherwise.

² See more examples in V. Vinogradov, E.S. Istrina and S.G. Barxudarov, Grammatika russkogo jazyka. Tom I. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk, 1960, pp. 427-8.

and there is a division of opinion among them. One group, including linguists such as V.V. Vinogradov, A.N. Tixonov, and I. Poldauf, assumes that prefixation always causes variation in grammatical meaning but not always variation in lexical meaning. Some verbal prefixes are sometimes held to be means of variation in grammatical meaning only, such as na- in the verb napisat'/napsat 'write'. Thus, adherents of this view would consider certain prefixes as being devoid of lexical meaning altogether, i.e., the so-called "préverbes vides". The other group of linguists, such as A.V. Isačenko, E. Townsend, and Ju.S. Maslov, argues that in addition to grammatical variation, the verbal prefix na- in napisat'/napsat also involves a lexical variation, i.e., the meaning of "a result of an action".

Chapter I of this thesis will be concerned with a discussion of the above two contradictory claims and the reason for adopting the approach taken by A.V. Isačenko and others in this thesis. This chapter will also include a discussion of perfectivization, verbal aspects, and aspectual pairs. A small part of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the function of verbal prefixes in word-formation.

Chapter II will give a summary of the investigation into the productivity of Russian and Czech verbal prefixes. A graph of productivity will also be included.

A.V. Isačenko, Grammaticeskij stroj russkogo jazyka v sopostavlenii s slovackim. Cast' VI. Bratislava: Izdatel'stvo Slovackoj akademii nauk, 1960, p. 158.

Chapter III will consist of a semantic comparison of the most productive Russian and Czech verbal prefixes. The comparison will involve the verbal prefixes vy-, za-, po-, raz- (Czech roz-), o-/ob-, s-. The comparison of Russian and Czech verbal prefixes will be carried out on the basis of examples followed by discussion. The meaning of the verbal prefixes of both languages will be briefly summarized after every demonstrated verbal prefix.

In Chapter IV the differences and similarities of Russian and Czech verbal prefixes will be presented and summarized as a result of this study.

Examples, verbal prefixes and their variants are given in orthographic forms. The Russian standard orthography has been transliterated in this thesis.¹ The Czech data are given in the standard Czech orthography.

The bibliography of this thesis has been divided into two parts. The first part, called "Works Cited", contains studies which were a direct contribution to this thesis, especially to the first chapter. The second part, called "Works Consulted", contains studies related to the problem discussed in the thesis.

¹ The Style Sheet of the Slavic and European Journal was used for transliteration.

CHAPTER I

FUNCTION OF VERBAL PREFIXES

1.1. General

Prefixes can be defined as productive elements. By attaching them to a simple verb (Lat. "verbūm simplex")¹ they change it to a new verb with a different meaning. Prefixes are not classified as parts of speech. According to what part of speech they are attached to, there are three types:²

- 1/ prepositional prefixes used in prepositional phrases
(e.g. Russ. bezrabotica, i.e. bez raboty)
- 2/ nominal and adjectival prefixes which are attached to independent nouns or adjectives (e.g. Russ. prajazyk)
- 3/ verbal prefixes (préverbes) attached to the verbs (e.g. Russ. vyskazat').

The third group, the verbal prefixes, is very important and the most common in speech,³ therefore this group deserves to be studied more. Thus this thesis deals only with the verbal prefixes.

There are two types of verbal prefixes:⁴

¹A simple verb means a verb without any prefix.

²Ch.E. Townsend, Russian Word Formation. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968, p. 20.

³N.M. Shanskii, Russian Word Formation. Toronto: Pergamon Press Ltd., 1968, p. 119.

⁴Ch.E. Townsend, p. 21.

a/ verbal prefixes with primary meaning of a directional, physical or spatial nature. They are close to the meanings of the corresponding prepositions (e.g., obojti/obejít 'go around'). The meaning of the prefix ob(o)-/ob(e)-, corresponds to the meaning of the preposition o.

b/ verbal prefixes with one or more abstract meanings which are different from the primary meaning of the corresponding preposition (e.g. objasnit'/objasnit, vysvětlit 'explain'). The abstract meaning of the prefix ob- has nothing common with the corresponding preposition o.

Prefixes are of ancient origin, having been inherited from Common Slavic. Prefixes of Old Church Slavic origin include: voz-, pre-, so-, pred-, črez-, niz-, iz-.¹ A chart can be made to show the Old Church Slavic prefixes (without their variants) and their modern Russian and Czech equivalents.

Ch.E. Townsend, pp. 59-60. The author does not consider iz- an exclusively Old Church Slavic prefix. See, however, A.V. Isačenko, p. 148 who does not classify črez- and iz- as Old Church Slavic prefixes.

<u>OCS:</u>	<u>Modern Russian :</u>	<u>Modern Czech :</u>
voz-	vz-	vz-
pre-	pere-	pre-
so-	s- it is also a preposition	s(e)- it is also a preposition
pred-	pered- it is a preposition	před- corresponds to the preposition 'pred'
niz-	niz- rare, corresponds to the Russian prefix <u>vy-</u> and <u>s-</u>	--- it does not exist
črez-	čerez- it is a preposition	přes it is not a prefix it is a preposition
iz-	vy-	vy-

Some verbal prefixes of Old Church Slavic origin (voz-, pre-, so-, etc.) are used in modern Russian in their original form but mostly have an abstract or bookish character.

1.2. Classification of Verbal Prefixes

A.V. Isačenko considers a prefix as a morpheme with an independent (i.e., with its own) meaning.¹ For example, the Russian verbs privesti, vyvesti and vesti have different meanings because of the different meaning of the given prefixes, which are attached here to one and same simple verb vesti 'lead'.

¹ A.V. Isačenko, p. 148.

According to their function, verbal prefixes can be basically classified into two groups. Linguists differ, however, in their views of classification due to different conceptions of the function of prefixes. While all of them agree on the grammatical function of prefixes, there are considerable differences in their views of the lexical function. One group, e.g., V.V. Vinogradov, A.N. Tixonov, and I. Poldauf, considers some instances of prefixing as purely grammatical and not lexical, as in the example delat'/dělat' 'make' - sdelat'/udělat' 'make'. In other words, s- and u- in these examples are considered as being empty prefixes (préverbes vides) in the respective languages. On the other hand, another group, e.g., A.V. Isačenko, Ch. E. Townsend, and Ju. S. Maslov, argues that prefixing involves not only changes in grammatical function, but invariably changes in the lexical function as well.

We will discuss first the view held by V.V. Vinogradov and others, and then give reasons for choosing the classification by the second group of linguists in this thesis.

1.3. Préverbes vides

Variation in lexical meaning is defined as that process whereby the basic lexical meaning of a verb is modified by the addition of a prefix. In other words, the compound verb is the sum total of the basic meaning of the verb and the basic meaning of the prefix.

Variation in grammatical meaning implies that the grammatical function is varied, i.e. in aspect.

According to this distinction prefixes are classified into lexical and grammatical ones.¹

Lexical prefixes are those which, together with a simple verb, form another verb with a new meaning. The imperfective aspect of the original verb is changed to the perfective aspect and because an entirely new verb has been formed and its imperfective aspect is also needed, this is usually done by the help of suffixes. Thus, the secondary imperfective aspect is formed, as for example, in Czech: dělat 'make' - zadělat - zadělávat; psát 'write' - vypsat - vypisovat; or in Russian: pisat' 'write' - vypisat' - vypisyvat'.

Grammatical prefixes, or préverbes vides, cause only a grammatical variation without any change in meaning.² In other words, the function of those prefixes is purely grammatical, which means that they change an imperfective verb to a perfective verb without a variation in lexical meaning. The secondary imperfective aspect cannot be usually formed, e.g. the Czech verbs dělat 'make' -

¹ E. Sekaninová, "Rozdiely v sémantike slovesných predpon v ruštine a slovenčine," Rusky jazyk 6 (1967), pp. 241-2. In her article, E. Sekaninová indicates this classification as the most common among linguists.

² The term "préverbes vides" was used in the article M. Vey, "Les préverbes vides en tchèque moderne," Revue des études slaves 29 (1952), pp. 82-107. The Czech translation of this term is "předpony prostě vidové" (English translation "purely aspectual prefixes").

udělat - *udělavat¹; psát 'write' - napsat - *napsavat; or
the Russian verb pisat' 'write' - napisat' - *napisyvat'.

This approach to verbal prefixes can be found in Grammatika russkogo jazyka² in the section dealing with lexical and grammatical prefixes.

The same approach is taken by A.N. Tixonov, perhaps more explicitly. According to him, verbal prefixes have two functions; 1/ they are used in the process of word-formation (*slovoobrazovanie*); 2/ they are used in flexion (*formoeobrazovatel'nye predlogi*).³

On the basis of their function, he distinguishes lexical verbal prefixes - those with word-formation function, and grammatical verbal prefixes⁴ - those which are used in flexion. He explains that a verbal stem with a grammatical prefix is not only a repetition of the meaning of the original stem but also a repetition of its grammatical features, which is not characteristic of a verbal stem with a lexical prefix. The above statement is illustrated by the following examples:

¹ The asterisk denotes incorrect or non-existing forms.

² V.V. Vinogradov, E.S. Istrina and S.G. Barkudarov, pp. 576-7.

³ A.N. Tixonov, "Prefiksal'noe obrazovanie vidovyx form v sovremenном russkom jazyke," Russkij jazyk v škole 4 (1964), pp. 16-22.

⁴ He uses the term "čisto vidovye pristavki" (purely aspectual prefixes).

a/ delat' čto (accus.) + gram. prefix s = sdelat' čto (accus.)

but

delat' čto (accus.) + lexical prefix na = nadelat' čego (gen)

b/ stroit' čto (accus.) + gram. prefix po = postroit' čto (accus.)

but

stroit' čto (accus.) + lexical prefix na = nastroit' čego (gen.)

A.N. Tixonov also names the grammatical prefixes and shows their productivity. According to him, every grammatical prefix is characterized by its basic meaning and its grammatical features.¹ As an example he uses the prefix po- and some others. The prefix po- forms the perfective aspect of such verbs as verbs of state (or condition) in the meaning of a change of colour, such as Russian pobelet' 'become white'; pozelenet' 'become green'; or a change of the outer appearance or the physical character of objects, such as Russian poxudet' 'lose flesh'; potolstet' 'grow fat'; povzroslet' 'become mature'.

The Czech linguists F. Kopečný and I. Poldauf, being essentially of the same view as V.V. Vinogradov and A.N. Tixonov, tried to determine which prefixes are "préverbes vides" and have the function of pure perfectivization.

It is interesting to note that I. Poldauf considers

¹ A.N. Tixonov, p. 18.

the possibility of having several empty prefixes with one and the same verb, but with a gradation in their respective "emptiness". For example, he would argue that the verb brouosit 'sharpen' can be perfectivized without a variation in lexical meaning in three ways: nabrouosit, obrouosit, vybrouosit. This approach can clearly be shown to be false by noting the small differences in the meaning of the three verbs, as pointed out, for example by F. Kopečný.¹ The verb nabrouosit means 'sharpen', such as nabrouosit nůž 'sharpen the knife', obrouosit means 'grind off', such as obrouosit kámen 'grind off the rock' and vybrouosit means 'cut', such as vybrouosit křišťál 'cut the crystal'.

1.4. Prefixation as a Derivational Process

A.V. Isačenko's classification of verbal prefixes is different from the classification mentioned above. Considering the lexical meaning of a verb, he divides prefixes into qualifying and modifying. A.V. Isačenko expresses his doubts about the existence of "les préverbes vides" in Slavic languages.² Consider, for example, A.V. Isačenko's view on the pair delat'-sdelat'. While Grammatika russkogo jazyka uses this pair as an example

¹ F. Kopečný, "Dvě nové práce o prostě vidových předponách v češtině," Slovo a slovesnost 17 (1956), pp. 28-35.

² I. Poldauf, "Ještě k prostě vidovým předponám v češtině," Slovo a slovesnost 17 (1956), pp. 169-74.

² A.V. Isačenko, pp. 155 and 159.

in which these two verbs differ only by their aspect, A.V. Isačenko would indicate their difference also in their meaning, i.e., in a result of the action. He states that the result of the action is not identical with the perfective aspect.¹ If the result of an action indicates the moment of the limited action, this is comparable to the notion of the beginning of the action, which is, as a matter of fact, the moment of the limited action as well. The difference between zagovorit 'begin to speak' and sdelat 'make' is that zagovorit indicates the moment of the beginning of the action, while sdelat indicates the conclusion and the result of the action. Therefore, it is not logical why a meaning change is assumed for the verb zagovorit, but not for the verb sdelat.

As distinct from A.N. Sixonov, examples such as belet-pobelet 'become white', tolstet - potolstet 'grow fat', etc., are considered by A.V. Isačenko as instances of what he calls "resultativnaja

¹ A.V. Isačenko, pp. 157-8.

soveršaemost!"¹.

A.V. Isačenko used the verb učit' 'learn; teach' as an example in order to discuss perfectivization.² There is a difference in meaning between the Russian verbs vyučit' and naučit'. As they are not fully synonymous, they cannot be admitted as pure perfective aspectual forms of the imperfective verb učit'. The choice of the prefix na- or vy- depends on the lexical meaning of the simple verb učit'.

¹ A.V. Isačenko, pp. 209-222 and 237.

A.V. Isačenko differentiates verbal aspect and soveršaemost' (compare the Czech term "způsob slovesného děje" and the German term "Aktionsart"). Soveršaemost' can be characterized as a semantic modification of an original simple, or a prefixed verb. Soveršaemost' is expressed by formal means, i.e., prefixes or suffixes. The basic feature of soveršaemost' is the absence of the corresponding aspectual pairs of the verb. Soveršaemost' cannot be considered a grammatical form of the original verb because it does not form paradigms. The position of soveršaemost' is on the boundary between lexical word-formation and grammatical form-flexion.

In I. Pulkina and E. Zakhava-Nekrasova, Russian (A Practical Grammar with Exercises), Moscow: Progress Publishers, n.d., p. 299, the verbal prefix po- denotes "the completion of the process". Loc. cit. "Imperfective verbs denoting a gradual change in a state or condition (especially a change of colour) form their perfective counterparts denoting the completion of the process by means of the prefix po-." There are also examples such as belet'-pobelet' 'become white', želtet'-poželtet' 'become yellow', krasnet' - pokrasnet' 'turn red'. In this thesis the prefix po- is classified in the semantic group "acquisition of some quality, faculty, property or a gradual change of a state or condition".

² A.V. Isačenko, pp. 168-9.

A.V. Isačenko's conclusion about perfectivization is the following.¹ A simple imperfective verb can be changed to a perfective one (i.e. perfectivized) by means of different prefixes. The choice of the prefix depends on the semantic nuance of the simple verb. However it is important to keep in mind that these new verbs with prefixes are not the corresponding perfective forms of the original simple imperfective verbs, but they are new independent verbs - lexemes.

Ch. E. Townsend has basically the same approach to verbal prefixes as A.V. Isačenko.² He introduces two types of prefixes, lexical and sublexical: "A lexical prefix introduces a new lexical element, usually related to one of its physical meanings, or an abstract or qualitative meaning derived therefrom." When a new meaning is introduced (in other words, a new verb is formed), there is a necessity to build its corresponding derived imperfective aspect, which these verbs do.

"A sublexical prefix does not introduce a new lexical element but modifies the action in some way, usually with respect to time or intensity." For this type of prefix which modifies the action, A.V. Isačenko uses the term a "modifying prefix". Verbs, containing such prefixes usually do not build derived imperfective verbs, although some of them may. The sublexical prefix is connected with sóveršaemost'.

¹ A.V. Isačenko, p. 172.

² Ch. E. Townsend, p. 118.

Here are some examples for both types of prefixes.

Lexical prefixes:

<u>Russian:</u>	<u>English:</u>	<u>Prefix:</u>	<u>Russian:</u>	<u>English:</u>
nesti	carry	pri-	<u>prinestti</u>	bring
vesti	lead	vy-	<u>vyvesti</u>	take out
idti	go	pere-	<u>perejti</u>	cross
beżat'	run	za-	<u>zabeżat'</u>	drop in

Sublexical prefixes:

<u>Russian:</u>	<u>English:</u>	<u>Prefix:</u>	<u>Russian:</u>	<u>English:</u>
sidet'	sit	po-	<u>posidet'</u>	sit for a while (action for a short time)
plakat'	cry, weep	za-	<u>zaplakat'</u>	start crying (beginning of the action)
blagodarit'	thank	po-	<u>poblagodarit'</u>	thank (once) (singleness of the action)

Some prefixes can express both lexical and sublexical meanings, i.e. the Russian verb proigrat' - 'lose' (lexical meaning) - 'play through; over' (sublexical meaning).

In many cases lexical and sublexical meanings are closely related and it is difficult to determine whether a lexical change or a modification of action has taken place. In those cases lexical and sublexical meanings seem to overlap.

As for verbal prefixes, their lexical function occupies an important place. Any prefix changes the meaning of a simple verb. Hence, the prefix serves as a productive element in the process of verb-derivation.

Every simple verb has its own specific meaning different from others. If prefixes are added to a simple verb, its original meaning is specified more. If a simple verb has the perfective aspect, such as the Russian verb пустить 'let, allow; permit' or the Czech verb skočit 'jump', then prefixes added to the verb do not change its aspect but only the meaning; i.e., Russian спустить 'let, get down', выпустить 'let out', Czech vyskočit 'jump up', odskočit 'jump aside', etc. These prefixes have a pure lexical function. However, very often the lexical function of a prefix is combined with a grammatical function, i.e., a change in aspect (imperfective to perfective), such as the Russian verbs читать 'read' - прочитать 'read over', нести 'carry' - однести 'take out' or Czech verbs číst 'read' - přečíst, nest 'carry' - odnést.

A simple verb has its own meaning. Any prefix also has its own meaning. By the process of prefixation both of these elements, a verb and a prefix, are combined. The process of prefixation is connected with word-formation.

E. Sekaninová, "Rozdiely v sémantike slovesných predpon v ruštine a slovenčine," Ruský Jazyk 6 (1967), p. 241.

From the point of view of word-formation, a prefix is one of the "auxiliary morphemes" which serves for the formation of words.¹ One of the methods of word-formation is affixation, i.e. a new word is formed by joining one or more word-forming elements to the stem.

In the process of verbal prefixation, a prefix (called "affix" or "an auxiliary morpheme") is attached to a verbal stem ("lexical morpheme"). Prefixes as auxiliary morphemes can serve as:²

- a/ derivational morphemes (i.e. they create a new word)
- b/ inflectional morphemes (they are a means of grammatical formation)
- c/. syncretic morphemes (i.e. combination of derivational and inflectional).

Prefixes occur very often as syncretic morphemes, as in the example of the Russian verb pogоворить 'begin to speak' where the prefix по- indicates the perfective aspect and at the same time the beginning of the action.

A prefix is always attached either before a stem or immediately before another prefix if there is already one. In this way a prefix differs from a suffix that is attached after a stem. The process of attaching a prefix to a stem is called the prefixal method of word-formation. This is the common method of enlarging the vocabulary in Slavic languages.

¹ N.M. Shanskii, pp. 110-123.

² Ibid., p. 110.

1.5. Summary

From the preceding discussion in Chapter I it follows that verbal prefixes, including their classification, cause ample arguing among linguists. A.V. Isačenko's conception of verbal prefixes seems to be most acceptable. His classification of verbal prefixes into those that qualify and those that modify is governed by semantic considerations. In the example of a qualifying verbal prefix (nesti 'carry' - vynesti 'take out') there is no doubt about the different meaning caused by the prefix vy-. In the other example of a modifying verbal prefix (pisat' 'write' - napisat' 'write!) the action writing was modified which resulted in a narrowing of the original meaning.

It appears, therefore, that this type of analysis is more useful in a contrastive study of two languages whose prefixal systems are very similar, but yet differ in some important respects. Isačenko's general line of argument will therefore be used in this thesis without an attempt to define for each prefix its qualifying or modifying function. On the basis of the data discussed in this thesis, it would appear that there is not a single case of prefixation which would involve a préverbe vide. Thus, all of the productive prefixes of Russian and Czech can clearly be shown to modify the basic lexical meaning of the verb in addition to fulfilling the grammatical function of perfectivization.

The following tables show figures and percentage of Russian and Czech prefixed verbs already arranged according to their productivity.

Table 2:

The order of the Russian verbal prefixes according to their productivity.¹

<u>Russian prefixes:</u>	<u>Total number:</u>	<u>Percentage:</u>
za-	1,110	10.32 %
o-/ob(o)-	1,003	9.33 %
s-/so-	959	8.92 %
vy-	951	8.84 %
raz-/ras-	835	7.76 %
po-	820	7.62 %
u-	727	6.76 %
pri-	599	5.57 %
pro-	575	5.35 %
ot-	526	4.89 %
na-	524	4.87 %
iz-/is-	473	4.40 %
pere/pre-	454	4.22 %
pod-	386	3.40 %
vz-/voz-	362	3.37 %
v(o)-	274	2.55 %
do-	174	1.62 %
nad-	23	0.21 %

¹ A.V. Isačenko in Grammatičeskij stroj russkogo jazyka ... deals with 18 Russian verbal prefixes (the same as in this thesis). V.V. Vinogradov and coll. in Grammatika russkogo jazyka cover 4 more prefixes (nedo-; niz(o)-/nis-; obez-/obes-; pred-).

Table 3:

The order of the Czech verbal prefixes according to their productivity.

<u>Czech prefixes:</u>	<u>Total number:</u>	<u>Percentage:</u>
vy-	1,288	16.70 %
za-	905	11.74 %
z-	638	8.28 %
u-	633	8.22 %
roz(e)-	530	6.87 %
po-	516	6.69 %
o-/ob(e)-	490	6.35 %
s-/se-	472	6.12 %
na-	393	5.09 %
pro-	341	4.42 %
při-	338	4.38 %
pře-	322	4.17 %
od-	283	3.67 %
do-	166	2.15 %
v-	156	2.02 %
pod-	91	1.17 %
vz-	84	1.08 %
před-	49	0.63 %
nad-	19	0.25 %

This research was helpful in order to select the appropriate Russian and Czech verbal prefixes for further investigation concerning their semantics.

The following graph shows the productivity of Russian and Czech corresponding verbal prefixes in percentages.¹

¹ Since neither Russian iz- nor Czech z- have correspondences in the respective languages, they are excluded from the graph.

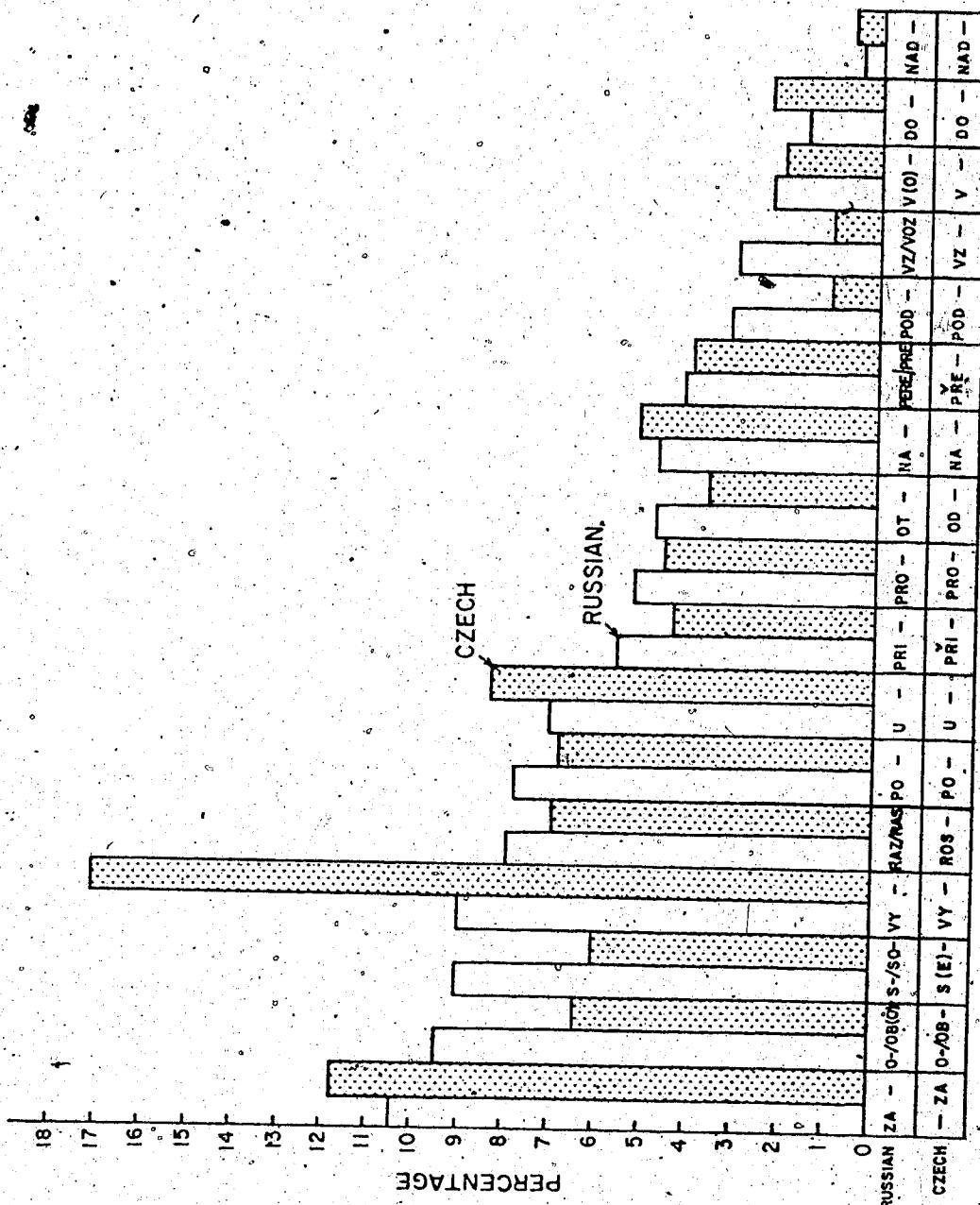


FIGURE 1. GRAPH OF PRODUCTIVITY OF RUSSIAN AND CZECH CORRESPONDING VERBAL PREFIXES.

CHAPTER III

A SEMANTIC COMPARISON OF THE MOST PRODUCTIVE RUSSIAN AND CZECH VERBAL PREFIXES

On the basis of productivity of the verbal prefixes from the last chapter, several of the most productive Russian and Czech verbal prefixes were chosen in order to study and compare their semantics. The study and comparison will concern the following Russian and Czech verbal prefixes: vy-, za-, po-, raz- (Czech roz-), o-/ob(o)- (Czech o-/ob(e)-), s-/so- (Czech s-/se-).

3.1. Russian and Czech "vy-"

Semantic groups:

- 1/ direction of an action from within. Those are verbs of motion and are usually in conjunction with the preposition "out of" (Russian iz, Czech z(e)).

Examples:

<u>vybežat'</u> iz komnaty	<u>vyběhnout</u> z pokoje	run out of the room
<u>vyexat'</u> iz goroda	<u>vyjet</u> z města	go out of the town

- 2/ direction upwards. The verbs are followed by an object or by an adverb of direction upwards, or both.

Examples:

<u>vydvignut'</u> čto-to	<u>vyzdvihnout</u> něco	raise (up) sth. ¹
<u>vybežat'</u> po lestnici (vverx)	<u>vyběhnout</u> po schodech (nahoru)	run up the staircase

¹sth. is the abbreviation of "something" used in this thesis.

Sometimes, a combination of both meanings, i.e. "the action from within and upwards" can be perceived, e.g. vyletet' iz gnezda/ vyletět z hnízda 'fly(up) from the nest'. In this case, the meaning of the prefix vy- expresses more "direction of the action from within"; which is stressed with the preposition iz in Russian, z in Czech.

3/ extraction or removal of an object or its part from its normal position

Examples:

<u>vyrvat'</u> Zub	<u>vytrhnout</u> Zub	extract the tooth
<u>vybit'</u> okno	<u>vytlouct</u> okno	knock out the window
<u>vyključit'</u> iz gruppy	<u>vyloučit</u> ze skupiny	expel from the group

The verbal prefix vy- is used in both languages in order to express "extraction or removal of an object or its part from its normal position".

4/ completion and exhaustion of an action

Examples:

<u>vyslužit'</u> čto-to	<u>vysloužit</u> si co	obtain sth. for the service
<u>vyprosit'</u> čto-to	<u>vyprosit</u> si co	obtain sth. by begging, weeping

This semantic group uses the verbal prefix vy- in both languages.

5/ completeness of an action brought to the necessary stage. These verbs are intransitive and reflexive particle -sja in Russian, and (short) pronoun se/si in Czech.

Examples:

<u>vypłakat'sja</u>	<u>vypłakat się</u>	have a good cry
<u>vyspať'sja</u>	<u>vyspať się</u>	have a good sleep

6/ fullness, completeness and result of an action

Examples:

<u>vysušiť' bel'e</u>	<u>vysušiť</u>	dry clothes (usušiť) prádlo
<u>vylečiť' bol'nogo</u>	<u>vylečiť</u>	cure the patient nemocného

The verbal prefix vy- is used in Russian and vy- or u- in Czech to express "fullness, completeness and result of an action".

7/ achievement of a result in spite of difficulties

Examples:

<u>vyderžat'</u>	<u>vydržet</u>	stand, bear
<u>vyterpět'</u>	<u>vytrpět'</u>	suffer, endure

This semantic group is expressed by the verbal prefix vy- in both languages.

8/ some verbs with the prefix vy- in the figurative meaning

a/ vyigrat' vyhrát win (out)

b/ vyxodit'/vyjti iz igry, partii vystoupit ze hry, ze strany drop out of the game, party

The meaning is close to the semantic group 3.

c/ vyxodit'/vyjti iz krestjan pocházet z rolnické rødiny be of peasant origin

The Russian and Czech phrases of the same meaning do not have the same verbal prefix.

In this figurative meaning the Russian and Czech prefixes are different.

- d/ vyletet' iz golovy "vypadnout" z ... forget
hlavy, zapomenout

In colloquial Czech the same prefix vy- is used as in the Russian phrase. This figurative meaning may be explained as "direction of an action from within" where some ideas or thoughts were in somebody's head and they get out of his head, and the result is the figurative meaning "forget".

- e/ vypustit' knigu, žurnal vytisknout, vydat publish a book,
(iz tiraži) knihu, časopis magazine

Both languages use the same verbal prefix vy-. In this case, perception of "the direction of an action from within" can appear, which can be explained by the fact that the text of a book (or a magazine) is in the press; thus, to get the text out of the press (= to publish) is expressed by the prefix vy-. However, the prefix vy- in this meaning is more abstract in comparison with the examples such as vybežat' / vyběhnout 'run out of' or vyexat' / vyjet 'go out'.

In conclusion, when comparing the verbal prefix vy- in both languages, the basic meaning of this prefix is the same, in most instances even in the figurative meaning.

There are some differences, however, e. g. where the

Russian verbal prefix vy- is expressed by other Czech prefixes,
such as:

<u>vyvjazat'</u>	upléct, uháčkovat	complete knitting, crocheting
<u>vygnut'</u> rel'sy	ohnout kolejnice	bend the rails
<u>vygorodit'</u> lug	ohradit louku	fence the meadow
<u>vyzolotit'</u>	pozlatit	gild
<u>vymyt'</u> ruky, (posudu)	umýt (si) ruce, nádobí	wash the hands, dishes
<u>vyučit'</u> naizust'	naučit se zpaměti	complete learning by heart

3.2. Russian and Czech "za-"

Semantic groups:

1/ beginning of an action.

Examples:

<u>zaplakat'</u>	<u>začít</u> plakat	begin crying
<u>zasmejat'sja</u>	<u>začít</u> se smát	begin laughing
<u>zarabotat'</u>	<u>začít</u> pracovat	begin working
(see note 1 on page 32)		

From the given examples it is evident that the Czech verbal prefix za- does not express "beginning of an action". The Czech verbs such as zaplakat, zasmát se with the prefix za- express "a short duration of the action".

The type of verb, expressing "the beginning of an action" with the prefix za-, is limited to a small number of verbs.

These are not verbs of motion (e.g. zaplakat' 'begin crying') unless they are verbs of indefinite motion (e.g. zaxodit'

'start going').¹ Otherwise "the beginning of an action" is expressed by auxiliary verbs (the same way as in Czech), e.g. Ona načala čitat' / Ona začala číst 'She has begun to read'.

- 2/ achievement of the result of an action, or also to fix or make something permanent

Examples:

<u>zakrepit'</u>	<u>upevnit</u>	strengthen, fasten
<u>zatverdet'</u>	<u>utvrdit, zatvrdit</u>	harden
<u>zakupit'</u>	<u>zakoupit</u>	buy
<u>zapisat'</u>	<u>zapsat</u>	write down

The semantic expression of "achievement of the result of an action" is expressed by the verbal prefix za- in Russian but not always in Czech. A possible explanation is that the verbal prefix za- in Czech does not express the notion of an effort in order to achieve the result of an action to the same degree as the prefix u-.²

- 3/ an action is taken to excess. The particle -sja in Russian and the reflexive pronoun se or si in Czech are used.

Examples:

<u>zagovorit'sja</u>	<u>zapovídат se</u>	have a long talk
<u>zásidet'sja</u>	<u>posedět si</u>	sit too long

¹ Verbs of indefinite motion denote a movement in many different directions.

² The prefix za- in Czech goes with adjectives, e.g. zatvrzdly 'hardened', zatvrzely 'stubborn', etc.

zarabotat'sja
(see note 1
page 32)

zaprakovat si work too much

Some verbs of emotion with the particle -sja in Russian,
se/si in Czech also belong to this group. These verbs express
an excess of the emotion.

Examples:

zasmotret'sja
zaslušat'sja
zadumat'sja
zaljubovat'sja

zadivat se gloat upon
zaposlouchat se listen to
zamyslet se think about
zamilovat se fall in love

The meanings of Russian and Czech prefix za-, expressing
"an action in excess", are in most cases equivalent to each other.

4/ direction of an action behind an object

Examples:

zajti za dom

zajit za dům

go behind the house;
make a detour

zabežat' za gorod

zaběhnout za město run behind the town

The meanings of Russian and Czech prefix za-, expressing
"the direction of an action behind the object" are fully equivalent
to each other. Usually the preposition za follows, which reflects
the relationship of the preposition za and the same verbal prefix.

5/ direction of an action beyond some limit or boundary

Examples:

zavesti'

zavést

bring, lead

zaslat'

zaslat

send

zagnat'

zahnat

drive away

The difference between the last two semantic groups is
that the meaning of the fifth group is more abstract than that
of the preceding one.

6/ an action brought to an end or completion

Examples:

<u>zakončit'</u>	<u>zakončit</u> , <u>ukončit</u>	finish
<u>zatixnut'</u>	<u>zatichnout</u> , <u>utichnout</u>	calm down
<u>zamrznut'</u>	<u>zamrznout</u>	be frozen
<u>zabit'</u>	<u>zabit</u>	kill

This semantic group is expressed by the verbal prefix za- in both languages, although in Czech there is a possible alternation of the prefix za- and u-.

7/ to close, block, fill. This is a very productive group. The verbs are transitive. The opposite meaning is expressed by the verbal prefix ot- or raz- in Russian (e.g. otnjati 'take from', raskopat 'dig' and vy- or o(d)- in Czech (e.g. vybalit 'unwrap', odlepít 'unstick').

Examples:

<u>zakryt'</u>	<u>zavřít</u> , <u>zakrýt</u>	shut, close
<u>zaverhnut'</u>	<u>zabalit</u> ; <u>zahnout</u>	wrap up; turn
<u>zapолнит'</u>	<u>zaplnit</u>	fill up
<u>занять'</u>	<u>zajmout</u>	occupy, take up
<u>закопат'</u>	<u>zakopat</u>	dig in
<u>заклеит'</u>	<u>zalepit</u>	glue

8/ acquisition

Examples:

<u>zaslužit'</u>	<u>zasloužit</u> (si)	deserve
<u>захватит'</u>	<u>zachvátit</u>	take, seize

zarabotat¹ vydělat si earn

The Russian verbal prefix za- in the meaning of acquisition does not always correspond to the Czech verbal prefix za-.

9/ to drop in somewhere on the way

Examples:

<u>zajti</u> k komu-to	<u>zajít</u> ke komu	come to see so. ²
<u>zabežat</u> ¹ k komu-to	<u>zaběhnout</u> ke komu	drop in on so.
<u>zavezti</u> čto-to	<u>zavézt</u> něco	bring sth.

This semantic group is expressed by the verbal prefix za- in both languages.

10/ an action following another action

Examples:

<u>zapit'</u>	<u>zapít</u>	wash down with sth.
<u>zaest'</u>	<u>zajíst</u>	eat after

These verbs are frequent but limited. Both languages use the verbal prefix za- in order to express one action following another action.

¹ The prefix za- in the Russian verb zarabotat' can have several meanings. One meaning is "the beginning of an action", which differs from Czech. The other meaning, expressing "the action in excess" corresponds to the Czech verbal prefix za- with the same meaning (i.e. 'to work hard!). Another meaning of the prefix za- belongs to the group of "acquisition", but it is different from the Czech verbal prefix.

² so. is the abbreviation of 'someone' in this thesis.

11/ figurative meaning

Example:

<u>zamučit'</u>	umučit	torture (in the meaning to exhaust, tire out)
-----------------	--------	--

The possible explanation why the Russian and Czech verbal prefix differs in the figurative meaning is similar to the comment of the semantic group 2 (p. 29), which is that the Czech verbal prefix u- expresses more intensity in the action.

The Russian and Czech verbal prefix za- can be divided into the same semantic groups. The only exception in Czech is the absence of the semantic group expressing "beginning of an action", although this group in Russian is also limited. The verbal prefixes differ in the figurative meaning.

3.3. Russian and Czech "po-"

Semantic groups:

1/ beginning of an action

Examples:

<u>pobežat'</u>	dat se na útek,	start to run
<u>poletet'</u>	rozběhnout se	
<u>poexat'</u>	rozletět se	start flying
<u>poljubit'</u>	jet, rozjet se vyrazit	set off, depart begin to love

¹ In V.V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk (Grammatičeskoe učenie o slove). Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vyššaja Škola, 1972, p. 423, the author uses the same example to illustrate the verbal prefix changing the aspect, not the meaning.

The imperfective verbs of motion, denoting continuous movement of one direction (i.e. definite motion), and a few others with the prefix po- can express the gradual "beginning of an action" in Russian, which is totally different from Czech. If the verbal prefix po- is attached to verbs of motion of many directions (i.e. indefinite motion), then the verbs denote a limited action, e.g., poxodit'/chodit chvíli 'walk for a while'; ponosit'/nosit nějakou dobu 'to carry for a while'. In these cases different expressions are used in Czech.

⁸In addition to the verbs of motion, the prefix za- in Russian, also expressing "the beginning of an action", can be affixed to the verbs also of other various basic meanings, such as zagovorit' 'to start talking', zabolet' 'to begin to ail', etc.

In Czech the meaning of "the beginning of an action" can be expressed by the verb začít 'to begin' plus a verb of motion, or by a simple verb, or a verb with another prefix, or, finally, by another phrase.

However, there is a difference in the meaning of "the beginning of an action" expressed by the prefix po- in the Russian verbs such as pobežat', poexat'. The meaning is not the same as in the Russian phrases načat' bežat', stat' exat'. F.F. Fortunatov defines the meaning of the prefix po- as an achievement of

¹ F.F. Fortunatov, in V.V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk. Učpedgiz, 1947, p. 519. Quoted here from A. Hofman, "Význam a používání tvarů sloves s předponou 'po-'", Ruský jazyk 4 (1971), p. 128.

the result in the process of the beginning of an action. This means that the verbs pobežat', poexat' do not express the beginning of the movement continuing for a certain period as is the case in načat', stat! bežat' 'to start running' or in the case of the prefix za- in the Russian verb zaxodit' 'begin to walk', but the shade of the meaning corresponding to the Czech prefix roz- such as in the Czech verbs rozběhnout se 'start running', rozjet se 'start driving'.

The verbal prefix po-, expressing in addition future tense, exists in both Russian and Czech. The Czech forms such as pobežím 'I'll run', pojedu 'I'll drive', ponesu 'I'll carry', etc., are imperfective verbs denoting a continuous action in the future, which other imperfective verbs express by the help of the composed future form, i.e., budu psát 'I shall write', budu pracovat 'I shall work' etc. The Russian equivalents to the Czech forms pobežím, pojedu, etc., are not the forms pobegu, poedu but budu bežat', budu exati'. The following examples will show the differences.

Ja pobegu tuda.

Rozběhnu se tam.

I shall start
running there
(= beginning of
the action).

Ja budu bežat' vše vremja. Pobežím (= budu
běžet) celou dobu.

I'll run the whole
time (= continuous
action in the
future).

2/ to do something for a short time or to a diminutive or limited extent, a little

Examples:

<u>posidět'</u>	<u>posedět</u>	sit for a while
<u>pogovorit'</u>	<u>popovídat si</u>	have a talk
<u>poplakat'</u>	<u>poplakat (si)</u>	have a cry
<u>poveselit'sja</u>	<u>obveselit se,</u> <u>pobavit se</u>	amuse oneself a little

The same meaning can be expressed by the prefix po- if it is attached to an already prefixed perfective verb, such as:

<u>porazvleč'</u>	<u>poobveselit se</u> (<u>pobavit se</u>)	amuse oneself a little
-------------------	--	---------------------------

In the Czech verb pobavit se the prefix po- expresses any duration of time, i.e. pobavit se chvílkou 'to amuse oneself for a short time', as well as pobavit se dlouhou 'to amuse oneself for a long time', and any extent, i.e. pobavit se dobré/špatně 'to amuse oneself well/badly'.

Some Czech verbs belonging to this semantic group can belong to other semantic group as well (see group 8, page 39) with a difference in the duration of an action. The short or long duration of an action is evident from the given situation, by addition of an adverb or adverbial phrase, e.g.

Posedím tady (na) chvíliku. I'll sit here for a moment.
Ona (si) poseděla tady pěknou chvíli. She has been sitting here for rather a long time.

¹ A.V. Isačenko classifies this example as "smjagčitel'naja soveršaemost'". See his Grammatičeskij stroj rússkogo jazyka..., p. 239.

3/ a repeated action; to do something from time to time
or with diminished intensity

Examples:

<u>pozvanivat'</u>	<u>popozvánět</u>	cling from time to time
<u>poxaživat'</u>	<u>popocházet</u>	walk for a while
<u>pokrikivat'</u>	<u>pokřikovat</u>	shout (repeatedly)

In Russian this lexical group is expressed by the prefix po- and the suffix -yva/-iva (which must always co-occur). The prefix po- can also be attached to verbs of indefinite motion. Similarly, in Czech, the verbs with the meaning of "repetition of an action" or "an action from time to time", are expressed by the verbal prefix po- which is very often repeated and attached to the form of an imperfective verb. The repeated Czech verbal prefix po- in imperfective verbs such as popojít, popošít, etc., as distinct from Russian, means "very little".

4/ distribution

Examples:

<u>podelit'</u>	<u>podělit</u>	divide
<u>podarit'</u>	<u>podarovat</u>	gift

Both languages use the verbal prefix po- to express the meaning of distribution.

5/ to spread out on the surface

Examples:

<u>polit'</u>	<u>polít</u>	water
<u>pomazat'</u>	<u>pomazat</u>	spread out
<u>posypat'</u>	<u>posypat</u>	sprinkle

This lexical group is expressed by the prefix po- in both languages but includes a limited number of verbs.

6/ an action brought to an end¹

Examples:

<u>pobrit'</u>	<u>cholit</u>	shave up
<u>postroйт'</u>	<u>postavit</u>	build up
<u>pobлагодарит'</u>	<u>vystavět</u>	
	<u>poděkovat</u>	express thanks

The semantic group "an action brought to the end" is expressed by verbal prefix po- in Russian. This group is expressed by prefixes po-, o-, vy- in Czech.

7/ acquisition of some quality, faculty, property or a gradual change of a state or condition²

Examples:

<u>poblednet'</u>	<u>poblednout</u>	become slightly pale
<u>postaret'</u>	<u>zestárnout</u>	grow old
<u>pokrasnet'</u>	<u>zčervenat</u>	become red
<u>pogasnut'</u>	<u>pohasnout</u>	go out (e.g., of a fire)

The Czech verbal prefix po- does not always express a change of a state. The prefix po- in this meaning alternates with the verbal prefix z(e)-.

¹ In N.Ju. Švedova, Grammatika sovremennoj russkoj literaturnoj jazyka, Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1970, p. 267, the author uses this example as an example of the verb denoting "the finished action" (actually the same semantic group as in this thesis). On the other hand, V.V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk, p. 423, uses the example "poblagodarit'" as an illustration of the verbal prefix po- in a "pure aspectual" function.

² V.V. Vinogradov, Grammatika russkogo jazyka and N.Ju. Švedova, Grammatika sovremennoj russkoj literaturnoj jazyka do not deal with this semantic group.

³ V.V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk, p. 423, uses this example with the verbal prefix po- as an illustration of the prefix in a grammatical function.

8/ to do something for a longer time (to someone's satisfaction)

Only Czech verbs are included in this lexical group.

The Russian verbs such as poletat' 'to fly for a little time', pogоворит' 'to talk for a while', etc., always mean "a short duration". (see group 2, page 36).¹

Examples:

---	<u>poležet si</u>	lie down for a longer time
---	<u>pohovořit si</u>	have a talk

The meanings of the Russian and Czech verbal prefix po- differ more substantially than was the case for the prefixes vy- and za-.

3.4. Russian "raz-(ras-)/ roz-(ros-)" ; Czech "roz(e)-"

Semantic groups:

1/ beginning of an intensive action

Examples:

<u>razaxat'sja</u>	<u>rozvздыхат se</u>	break into a sigh
<u>rasšumet'sja</u>	<u>rozšumět se</u>	get noisy
<u>rasplakat'sja</u>	<u>rozplakat se</u>	burst into a cry
<u>rassmejat'sja</u>	<u>rozesmáť se</u>	burst out laughing

To this group belong mostly acoustic verbs. Both in Russian and Czech they are always used with the reflexive particle.

¹ The meaning of po- here can also be rendered by vy-, as in vylečit se, vyležet se, vyrádit se.

2/ achievement of high intensity, growth or excess

Examples:

<u>rastocit'</u>	<u>roztočit</u>	squander
<u>razzeč'</u>	<u>rozžehnout</u>	kindle
	<u>roznítit</u>	
<u>rastoptat'</u>	<u>rozšlapat</u>	trample, crash
<u>razbolet'sja</u>	<u>rozbolet se</u>	become very ill (painful)

This semantic group is closely connected with the preceding one where the action starts from its beginning and is brought to its result or achievement of high intensity.
This is a large group.

3/ a positive solution to a complicated situation

Examples:

<u>raz"jasnít'</u>	<u>rozjasnit</u>	be cleared up, (objasnit) explained
<u>razrešit'</u>	<u>rozřešit</u>	settle
<u>rassifrovat'</u>	<u>rozšifrovat</u>	deciphered

The Russian verbal prefix raz- and Czech roz- are used to express "a positive solution to a complicated situation".

4/ to spread on the surface into various directions

Examples:

<u>razbrosat'</u>	<u>rozrázhet</u>	throw about, scatter about
<u>razmesti</u>	<u>roznest</u>	disperse, scatter, spread about
<u>razmazat'</u>	<u>rozmazat</u>	spread (over)
<u>rassypat'</u>	<u>rozsypat</u>	scatter, spill

razlit'(po polu)¹ rozlit(po zemi) spill (over the floor)

Both languages use the verbal prefix raz-/roz- to express the meaning "to spread on the surface into various directions". As distinct from the lexical group 6, page 41, this lexical group usually requires a surface for an action.

5/ an action signifying division of an object into parts
(opposite of the verbal prefix s-).

Examples:

<u>razrubit'</u>	<u>rozštípat</u>	cut into pieces
<u>razbit'</u>	<u>rozbit</u>	break
<u>razdelit'</u>	<u>rozdělit</u>	divide

This semantic group is expressed by the verbal prefix raz- in Russian, roz- in Czech.

6/ an action aimed at different directions (all over)

This lexical group often includes verbs of motion denoting an action starting from one point and aimed at different directions.

Examples:

<u>razbežat'sja</u>	<u>rozběhnout se</u>	run up
<u>razojetis'</u>	<u>rozejít se</u>	disperse, go away
<u>razletet'sja</u>	<u>rozletět se</u>	scatter (in the air) (fly away)

In Czech the verbal prefix roz- with verbs of motion also denotes "the beginning of an action". Consider the following Czech examples:

¹ In other contexts, such as razlit'.po stakanam/ rozlit do sklenic 'to pour into the glasses', the verb razlit'/rozlit 'pour' belongs to the semantic group denoting "distribution" (see group 6a, page 42).

A/ Rozběhl se. - 'He started running.'

The verb of motion rozběhl expresses:

a/ beginning of the action

together with b/ one way direction

B/ Děti se rozběhly na všechny strany. - 'The children ran into all directions.'

The verb of motion rozběhly expresses:

a/ beginning of the action

b/ many directions

In the second example "the action of many directions" is emphasized more than "the beginning of the action".

6a/ The meaning of "distribution" can be considered a lexical subgroup of group 6. The difference is that the meaning of distribution is limited, i.e., there is a definite place of the finished action.

Examples:

<u>rassadit'</u>	<u>rozesadit</u>	separate; seat so., offer seats
<u>razmestit'</u>	<u>rozmístit</u>	place, accommodate
<u>razlit'</u> po stakanam ¹	<u>rozlit</u> do sklenic	pour into glasses
<u>razložit'</u>	<u>rozložit</u>	distribute

The meanings of lexical groups 6 and 6a are sometimes very close to each other as can be noticed from the following examples:

Zurnaly razloženy na polce. / Časopisy jsou rozloženy (in the meaning "usporádány") na polici. 'The magazines are assorted'

¹ The meaning of this example depends on the context (see semantic group 4, page 40-41).

(arranged) on the shelf.' The meaning of the verb razloženy/
rozloženy is 'organized; put in an order'.

Ego igruški razloženy po polu./Jeho hračky jsou rozloženy
(in the meaning "roztahané") po podlaze. 'His toys are spread
all over on the floor' (meaning, in all directions, without
any order).

7/ to annul an action (which had been done before)

The verb with the prefix raz-/roz- is in opposition
to the verbs with the prefix of the opposite meaning,
i.e. za-, s-, po-. etc.

Examples:

<u>razdumat'</u>	<u>rozmyslet</u> 'change se one's mind'	vs.	<u>zadumat'</u> pomyslet, zamyslet se
<u>razljubit'</u>	přestat 'stop' milovat 'loving'	vs.	<u>poljubit'</u> zamilovat se

8/ to open, discover sth. that was closed, covered

Examples:

<u>razvázat'</u>	<u>rozvázat</u>	untie
<u>raskryt'</u>	otkryt, otevřít, odhalit, <u>rozevřít</u>	open, uncover, reveal
<u>razvernut'</u>	<u>rozbalit</u> <u>rozvinout</u> otevřít	unfold, unwrap, open

In conclusion, the Russian verbal prefix raz- (with his variants) and the Czech prefix roz(e)- can generally be included in the same lexical groups.

3.5. Russian "o-/ob(o)-";¹ Czech "o-/ob(e)-"

The verbal prefixes o- and ob- can serve as:

a/ variants of one prefix, e.g. the Russian verbs ogorodit - obgorodit 'to fence in', or the Czech example ovázat - obvázat 'to tie round, bind', or

b/ two different independent prefixes forming different words, such as the Russian verbs osudit 'to condemn' and obsudit 'to discuss'; or osadit 'to (be) siege' and obsadit 'to plant with'.²

In Czech, the choice of the prefix o- and ob- very often depends on the necessity to stress the action (where ob- is stronger in meaning).³

¹ In N.Ju. Švedova, Grammatika sovremennoj russkoj literaturnoj jazyka, the verbal prefixes o- and ob- are treated separately as two independent verbal prefixes.

² From the preceding examples it is evident that the Russian verbal prefix ob- is semantically ambiguous. The meanings of the prefixes o- and ob- are identical except for the two meanings of ob- which are not shared by o-, i.e. "an action surpassing another action", e.g. obskakat 'gallop around' and "an action causing damage, loss to so.", e.g. obscitat 'to cheat in counting', see also group 7, p. 48. Otherwise, see N.Ju. Švedova, Grammatika sovremennoj russkoj literaturnoj jazyka, p. 263.

³ Phonologically ob- must appear as o- before b, e.g. oběhnout, not *obběhnout. See V. Šmilauer, Novočeské tvøení slov. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1971, p. 170.

Semantic groups:

1) direction of an action around an object or to pass a person or an object. This lexical group includes mainly verbs of motion.

Examples:

<u>obletet'</u>	<u>obletět;</u> (pro)letet mimo fly around, passing
<u>obožti'</u>	<u>obejít</u> go around
<u>obstupit'</u>	<u>obklopit, obklíčit</u> surround
<u>osmotret'</u>	<u>obhlédnout</u> look around, about

In both languages the verbal prefix o-/ob- can express the meaning "direction of an action around and object or to pass a person or an object".

2) Action is done carefully, in detail

Examples:

<u>osmotret'</u>	<u>prohlédnout</u>	inspect
<u>opisat'</u>	<u>popsat</u>	describe
<u>obdumat'</u>	<u>promyslet</u>	consider, think over
<u>obsudit'</u>	<u>projednat</u>	discuss, talk over

The given examples show that the Russian verbal prefix o-/ob- with the meaning "a carefully done action" corresponds mostly to the Czech verbal prefix pro-. This prefix in Czech is stronger in the given meaning.

1) The Russian verb osmotret' in the meaning 'to look around' is translated into Czech with the verbal prefix ob- (obhlédnout), but in the meaning 'to inspect sth.' is translated with another verbal prefix, i.e. pro- (prohlédnout).

3/ removal of the external part of an object

Examples:

<u>očistit'</u>	<u>čistit</u>	clean
<u>oblupit'</u>	<u>oloupat</u>	peal off
<u>obrezat'</u>	<u>okrájet, ořezat</u>	cut off, trim <u>uřezat</u>
<u>oblomit'</u>	<u>ulomit, odlomit</u>	cut off
<u>oborvat'</u>	<u>utrhnout,</u>	tear off <u>odtrhnout</u>

The verbal prefix ot- in Russian has the same meaning, i.e. "removal of the external part of an object". The slight difference between those two verbal prefixes is that o-/ob- denotes that removal is spread over the whole object while ot- denotes only the fact of the removal.¹ In Czech the fact of the removal is expressed by the verbal prefix u-. The verbal prefix od- denotes "to remove a part from the whole object".

4/ covering the surface of an object

Examples:

<u>obit'</u> derevom	<u>obít dřevem</u>	cover with wood
<u>okleit'</u> bumagoj	<u>o(b)lepit papírem</u>	glue over with the paper
<u>obvjazat'</u> ranu	<u>o(b)vázat ránu</u>	dress the wound
<u>obložit'</u> ²	<u>obložit</u>	cover with/around
<u>oblédnet'</u>	<u>zamrznout</u> (pokryt' ledem)	cover with ice
<u>okropit'</u>	<u>pokropit, zalít,</u> polít vodou	water (= cover with water)

¹ J. Kohout, "Ruská slovesná předpona o-, ob- (obo-) a její české ekvivalenty," Ruský jazyk 2 (1954), p. 68.

² See also semantic group 1, page 45.

Besides o-/ob-, Czech also uses the verbal prefixes za- and po- in the same meaning "covering the surface of an object".

This lexical group is closely connected with lexical group 1. Sometimes, a combination of both groups is possible, e.g. obvázat 'ranu/o(b)vázat ránu' 'to dress the wound', means that the surface (= the wound) is covered (= lexical group 4) in the direction around (= lexical group 1).

5/ a change of an object or a person

Examples:

<u>okamenet'</u>	<u>zkamenět</u>	petrify
<u>osušit'</u>	<u>osušit, usušit</u>	dry
<u>oščastlivit'</u>	<u>obštastnit</u>	make happy

Beside the verbal prefix o-, Czech uses other verbal prefixes (z-, za-, u-) to express "a change of an object or a person".

6/ to be provided with

Examples:

<u>ozelenit'</u>	<u>osázet zelení</u>	plant trees and shrubs
<u>obogatit'</u>	<u>obohatit</u>	enrich
<u>oblesnit'</u>	<u>zalesnit</u>	provide with trees

This semantic group is expressed by the verbal prefix o-/ob- in Russian. In Czech the prefix o-/ob- alternates with the prefix za-.

7/ an action is done badly or in a pejorative sense

Examples:

<u>obdumat'</u>	oklamat	deceive
<u>obdelit'</u>	ošidit (dělením)	cheat in sharing
<u>obvesit'</u>	ošidit (vážením)	cheat in weighing

Some other verbs with the prefix o- and the reflexive particle.

<u>ogovorit'sja</u>	přefíci se	make a slip in speaking
<u>ošibit'sja</u>	zmýlit se	err
<u>oslyšat'sja</u>	přeslechnout se	hear amiss

In Czech more verbal prefixes (o-, pře-, z-) alternate in order to express "an action is done badly or in a pejorative sense".

8/ to express predomination

Examples:

<u>obygrat'</u>	<u>obehrát</u>	beat/win
<u>obgonjat'</u>	předhánět	outstrip
<u>ob"exat'</u>	předhonit	overtake

In the Russian language the verbal prefix ob- is synonymous to the prefix pere- in the meaning "to predominate".

In the Czech language the verbal prefixes ob- or před- (or pře-) alternate but před- seem to be more common.

9/ an excessive action. This group is limited but

frequent. The verbs occur very often with the reflexive particles.

Examples:

<u>o</u> pit'sja	<u>o</u> pit se	drink too much
<u>ob</u> "est'sja	přejít se	overeat
<u>obkormit'</u>	překrmit	overfeed
<u>obšit'sja</u>	našít na sebe	make lots of clothes (for oneself)

Apart from o-, Czech uses the verbal prefixes pře- or na-.

The verbal prefix na- usually denotes a required excessive action.¹

~~the action is spread over several objects~~

Examples:

<u>obdarit'</u>	<u>obdarit</u>	present gifts
<u>oprosit' svidetelej</u>	<u>otázat se svědků</u>	interrogate, examine the witnesses
<u>obegat' druzej</u>	<u>obíhat přátele</u>	run from one friend to another one

This semantic group is expressed by the verbal prefix o-/ob- in both languages.

From all the preceding examples concerning the verbal prefix o-/ob(o)-, (Czech o-/ob(e)-), it is evident that not all lexical groups of the Russian verbal prefix o-/ob(o)- are identical with the Czech prefix o-/ob(e)-. Czech uses a different verbal prefix, another verb, or a phrase to express certain lexical groups of the Russian verbal prefix o-/ob(o)-.

¹ J. Kohout, "Ruská slovesná předpona o-, ob- (obo-) a její české ekvivalenty," Ruský jazyk 4 (1954), p. 113.

3.6. Russian "s-/so-"; Czech "s-/se-"

Semantic groups:

1/ an action in the direction downwards or from the surface down. The verbal prefix s- of this semantic group stands in opposition to the Russian and Czech verbal prefix vz- or vy-.

Examples:

<u>sojti</u>	<u>sejít</u>	go down
<u>spustit'sja</u>	<u>spustit se</u>	descend
<u>sbrosit'</u>	<u>shodit'</u>	throw down
<u>snesti (vniz)</u>	<u>snést (dolů)</u>	bring down

Both languages use the verbal prefix s(o)- (Czech s(e)-) in order to express "an action in the direction downwards or from the surface down".

The verb snesti/snést with the verbal prefix s- can be classified into two main lexical groups, i.e. "an action in the direction downwards", e.g. snesti vniz/snést dolů 'to fetch/bring down', or into the lexical group "to put sth. together", e.g. snesti na odno mesto/snést na jedno místo 'to bring together on one place'. The figurative meaning of this verb is 'to bear', e.g. snesti bol'/snést bolest 'to bear/stand the pain'. Another figurative meaning of this verb is "to put up with". With the reflexive particle (Russian -sja, Czech se/si) and often in the imperfective form, this verb denotes the figurative meaning "together", e.g. Oni snosjatsja vzaimno xorošo/Dobře se vzájemně snáší 'They are getting along well together'.

2/ away, off(from); removal from the surface

Examples:

<u>snjat'</u>	<u>sejmout</u>	take off
<u>smesti</u>	<u>smést</u>	sweep away
<u>steret'</u>	<u>setřít</u>	wipe off

This semantic group is expressed by the verbal prefix s(o)- in Russian, s(e)- in Czech.

3/ to put something together

Examples:

<u>snest'</u>	<u>snést</u>	bring together
<u>složit'</u>	<u>složit</u>	put together
<u>sobrat'</u>	<u>sebrat,</u> <u>shromáždit</u>	collect, gather
<u>sorganizovat'</u>	<u>zorganisovat</u>	organize (together)
<u>slepit</u>	<u>slepit</u>	glue together

This is a large and frequent lexical group common to both languages, Russian and Czech. The verbs with the Russian verbal prefix s-/so-, Czech s-/se- and the reflexive particle have a reciprocal meaning.

Examples:

<u>sojti's'</u>	<u>sejít se</u>	get/meet together
<u>sobrat'sja</u>	<u>shromáždit se</u>	gather
<u>soglasit'sja</u>	<u>shodnout se</u>	to agree(together)

¹ See the footnote 2, page 50.

4/ comparison, confrontation. This is relatively a small group.

Examples:

<u>sravnit'</u>	<u>srovnat</u> (porovnat)	compare
<u>sličit'</u>	<u>srovnat</u>	collate (with)
<u>sverit'</u>	<u>srovnat</u>	collate

The verbal prefix s- in both languages carries the meaning "comparison, confrontation".

5/ the result of an action

Examples:

<u>smjagčit'</u>	<u>změkčit</u>	soften
<u>sokratit'</u>	<u>zkrátit</u>	shorten
<u>skrutit'</u>	<u>zkroutit</u>	roll, twist

From the given examples, it can be seen that the Russian verbal prefix s-/so- expressing "the result of an action" corresponds to the Czech verbal prefix z-.

The other lexical groups of the verbal prefix s- are common to both languages.

IV. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the results obtained from the analysis in the third chapter may be summarized as follows:

1/ The usefulness of A.V. Isačenko's classification of verbal prefixes as discussed in Chapter I was demonstrated on the basis of the six most productive prefixes of Russian and Czech in the sense that not a single instance of a préverbe vide was found among them.

2/ When comparing Russian and Czech examples within the various semantic groups, the semantics of the Russian and Czech verbal prefixes can be:

- A/ totally different
- B/ slightly different
- C/ identical

A/ The most striking differences between Russian and Czech verbal prefixes.

- 1/ The verbal prefix za- in the meaning "beginning of an action" occurs only in Russian, although even here its occurrence is limited to a small group of verbs (e.g. Russian zaplakat' 'begin crying').
- 2/ The verbal prefix za- in the figurative meaning is not used in Czech (e.g. zamučit'/umučit 'torture, exhaust').

- 3/ The Russian verbal prefix po- in the meaning "beginning of an action" is translated very often with the Czech verbal prefix roz-, or with different expressions (e.g. poexat'/rozjet se 'depart').
- 4/ The Czech verbal prefix po- denoting "to do sth. for a longer time" does not occur at all in Russian in this meaning (e.g. Czech poležet si 'lie down for a longer time').
- 5/ The Russian verbal prefix o- denoting "an action is done carefully, in detail" is equivalent in most cases to the Czech verbal prefix pro- (e.g. obdumat'/promyslet 'think over').
- 6/ The Russian verbal prefix o- in the meaning "a change of an object or a person" is translated into Czech with various verbal prefixes or with different expressions (e.g. okamenet'/zkamenět 'petrify').
- 7/ The Russian verbal prefix o-/ob(o)- with the meaning "to be provided with" is expressed by a periphrastic expression in Czech, but the verbal prefix o-/ob(e)- can occur (e.g. ozelenit'/osázet zelení 'plant trees and shrubs').

- 8/ The lexical group "an action is done badly or in a pejorative sense" is expressed by the verbal prefix o-/ob- in Russian, while in Czech the verbal prefix pře- with the reflexive particle se is used, or, a periphrastic expression is used (e.g. ogovorit'sja/přefíci se 'make a slip in speaking; obvesit'/ošidit' 'cheat in weighing').
- 9/ The lexical group "comparison, confrontation" is expressed by the verbal prefix s- in Russian and by a periphrastic expression in Czech (e.g. sverit'/porovnat prověřením 'collate').
- 10/ For the semantic group "the result of an action" the Russian verbal prefix s-/so- is used, while the verbal prefix z- is used in Czech (e.g. smjagčit'/změkčit' 'soften').

B/ Slight differences between Russian and Czech verbal prefixes.

- 1/ The Russian verbal prefix vy- in the figurative meaning does not always appear in the Czech translation (e.g. vypustit' knigu/vydat knihu 'publish a book'; vyletet' iz golovy/zapomenout 'forget').
- 2/ The semantic group "achievement of the result of an action or also fix or make sth. permanent" is expressed by the Russian verbal prefix za- and za- or u- in Czech (e.g. zapisat'/zapsat 'write down'; zakrepit'/upevnit 'strengthen, fasten').
- 3/ The semantic group "an action is taken to excess" is expressed by the Russian verbal prefix za- and by the Czech prefix za- in most cases, sometimes po-. In both languages the reflexive particle is used (e.g. zagоворит'sja/zapovídат se 'have a long talk'; zasidet'sja/posedět si (dlouho) 'sit too long').
- 4/ The Russian verbal prefix za- denoting "an action brought to an end or completion" corresponds to the Czech verbal prefix za- or u- (e.g. zakončit'/zakončit, ukončit 'finish').

- 5/ The Russian verbal prefix po- denoting "an action brought to an end" corresponds sometimes to the Czech verbal prefix po-, sometimes to other prefixes such as vý-, o- (e.g. postroit'/postavit, výstavět 'build up').
- 6/ The Russian verbal prefix po- denotes "acquisition of some quality, faculty, property or a gradual change of a state or condition". This semantic group is expressed in Czech either by the verbal prefix po- or by z(e)-, which is more frequent, (e.g. pogasnut'/pohasnout 'go out'; pokrasnet'/zčervenat 'become red').
- 7/ The semantic group "to annul an action" is expressed by the Russian verbal prefix raz-, corresponding to the Czech verbal prefix roz- or to a periphrastic expression (e.g. razdumat'/rozmyslet se, změnit názor 'change one's mind').
- 8/ The Russian verbal prefix raz- can also denote 'to open, to discover sth. that was closed, covered, etc.'. This semantic group is expressed by the Czech verbal prefix roz-, o-, od(e)-, ot(e)- (e.g. raskryt'/otkryt, odhalit 'open, discover'; razvernut'/rozbalit, rozvinout, otevřít 'unwrap, open').

- 9/ The Russian verbal prefix o-/ob(o)- in the meaning "removal of the external part of an object" is equivalent to the Czech verbal prefix o-, od-, u- (e.g. očistit'/čistit 'clean up'; oborvat'/utrhnut, odtrhnout 'cut off').
- 10/ The semantic group "covering the surface of an object" is expressed by the Russian verbal prefix o-/ob(o)- and by the Czech verbal prefix o-/ob(e)-, za-, po- (e.g. obit'/obít 'cover with'; oblednet'/zamrznout 'become covered with ice'; okropit'/pokropit 'water').
- 11/ The Russian verbal prefix ob- in the meaning "to express predomination" is translated into Czech sometimes with the verbal prefix ob(e)-, but very often also with pře-, před- (e.g. obygrat'/obehrát 'beat/win'; obgonit'/předhonit 'outstrip').
- 12/ The Russian verbal prefix o-/ob(o)- can denote "an excessive action". This semantic group is expressed in Czech by the verbal prefix o-, pře-, na- (e.g. opit'sja/opít se 'drink too much!'; ob"est' sja/přejist se 'overeat'; očist'sja/našít na sebe 'make lots of clothes for oneself').

C/ Identical Russian and Czech verbal prefixes

Semantic groups:

- 1/ "direction of an action from within" with the verbal prefix vy- (e.g. vybežat'/vyběhnout 'run out').
- 2/ "direction upwards" with the prefix vy- (e.g. vydvignut'/vyzvednout 'raise(up)').
- 3/ "extraction or removal of an object or its part from its normal position" with the prefix vy- (e.g. vyrvat'/vytrhnout 'extract').
- 4/ "completion and exhaustion of an action" with the prefix vy- (e.g. vyslužit'/vysloužit 'obtain sth.')
- 5/ "completeness of an action brought to the necessary stage" with the prefix vy- (e.g. vyplakat'sja/vyplakat'se 'have a good cry').
- 6/ "fullness, completeness and result of an action" with the prefix vy- (e.g. vylečit'/výlečit 'cure').
- 7/ "achievement of a result in spite of difficulties" with the prefix vy- (e.g. vyderžat'/vydržet 'stand, bear').

- 8/ "direction of an action behind an object" with the prefix za- (e.g. zajti/zajit 'go behind').
- 9/ "direction of an action beyond some limit or boundary" with the prefix za- (e.g. zagnat'/zahnat 'drive away').
- 10/ "to close, block, fill" with prefix za- (e.g. zakryt'/zavřít 'close').
- 11/ "acquisition" with the prefix za- (e.g. zaslužit'/zasloužit (si) 'deserve').
- 12/ "to drop in somewhere on the way" with the prefix za- (e.g. zajti/zajit 'come to see').
- 13/ "an action following another action" with the prefix za- (e.g. zapit'/zapít 'wash down with sth.').
- 14/ "to spread out on the surface" with the prefix po- (e.g. posypat'/posypat 'sprinkle').
- 15/ "to do something for a short time or to a diminutive (or limited) extent" with the prefix po- (e.g. posidet'/posedět 'sit for a while').
- 16/ "beginning of an intensive action" with the prefix raz- (Czech roz-) (e.g. razaxat'sja/rozvzdychat se 'break into a sigh').

- 17/ "achievement of high intensity, growth or excess"
with the prefix roz- (Czech roz-) (e.g. rozbolet'sja/
rozbolet se 'become painful').
- 18/ "a positive solution to a complicated situation"
with the prefix raz- (Czech roz-) (e.g. razrešit'/
rozrešit 'settle').
- 19/ "to spread on the surface into various directions"
with the prefix raz- (Czech roz-) (e.g. razmazat'/
rozmazat 'spread over').
- 20/ "an action signifying division of an object into
parts" with the prefix raz- (Czech roz-) (e.g. razbit'/
rozbit 'break').
- 21/ "an action aimed at different directions" with the
prefix raz- (Czech roz-) (e.g. razojetis'/rozejít se
'disperse').
- 22/ "distribution" with the prefix raz- (Czech roz-)
(e.g. razložit'/rozložit 'distribute').
- 23/ "direction of an action about an object or to pass
a person or an object" with the prefix o-/ob-
(e.g. obletet'/obletět 'fly around/passing').

- 24/ "an action is spread over several objects" with the prefix o-/ob- (e.g. obdarit'/obdarít 'present gifts').
- 25/ "an action in the direction downwards or from the surface down" with the prefix s-/so- (Czech se-) (e.g. sojti/sejít 'go down').
- 26/ "away, off(from); removal from the surface" with the prefix s-/so- (Czech se-) (e.g. snjet'/sejmout 'take off').
- 27/ "to put something together" with the prefix s-/so- (Czech se-) (e.g. sobrat'/sebrat 'collect, gather').

In conclusion, it should be stated that the above contrastive analysis is unidirectional, i.e. the Russian system was taken as basic. For a more adequate contrastive study the reverse procedure would also have to be conducted, i.e. the Czech system should be taken as basic if only for control purposes. It is anticipated, however, that the basic conclusions reached in this thesis would not be significantly affected by such a bidirectional contrastive study.

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