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Prefix Variation in Russian

A Comparison between Occasional Verbs and Standardized Language

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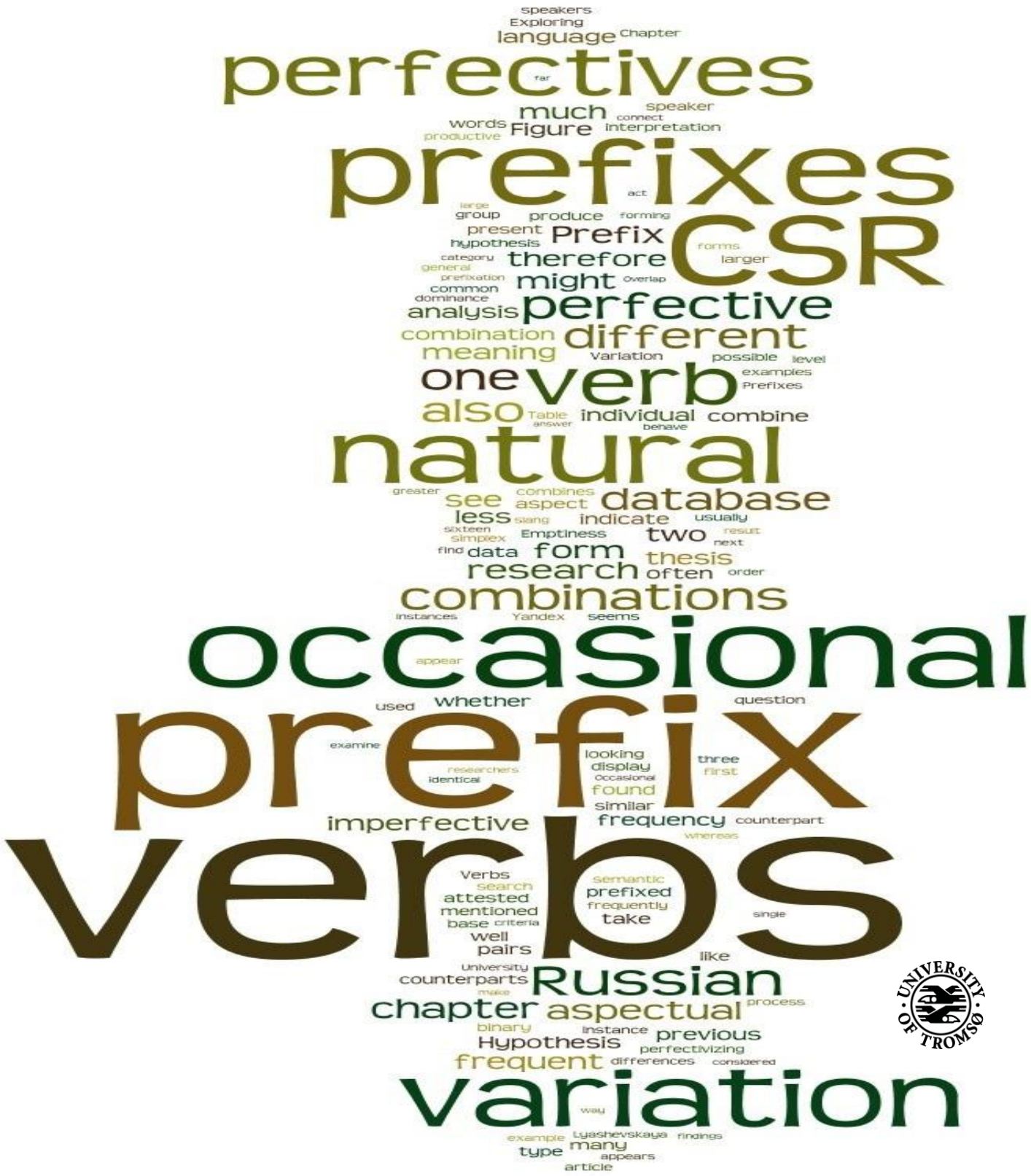

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1 Introduction

A central feature of the Russian aspectual system is the prefixation of imperfective base verbs to create perfective aspectual partners with identical lexical meaning. This type of perfective has been termed *natural perfectives* by Janda[1], which is also the term that will be used in this thesis. *Prefix variation* is when a single imperfective base verb forms two or more natural perfectives, which recent research has shown to be both frequent and systematic in contemporary standard Russian (henceforth: CSR). *Марать* 'to soil', for instance, has four natural perfectives in *вымарать, замарать, измарать* and *намарать*.[2] These terms will be explained in much greater detail in the following chapter on relevant previous research.

This thesis will examine prefixed natural perfectives and prefix variation in Russian *occasional verbs*, which has not been done previously. Occasional words are words that are produced in speech, but don't recur as consolidated units in the language.[3] The main aim will be to make a comparison with CSR and determine whether prefix variation behaves differently in occasional verbs than it does in standardized Russian. In this thesis I have therefore set forth the following research questions that I will attempt to answer:

- Is prefix variation more or less common in occasional verbs than in CSR?
    - What does an analysis of prefix variation on the prefix level indicate?
        - Are there differences when it comes to which prefixes each prefix can be in combination with?
        - Are the different combinations of prefixes more common than in CSR?
    - What does an analysis of prefix variation on the verb level indicate?
        - Do occasional verbs form more prefixed aspectual pairs?
    - What might cause potential differences between CSR and occasional verbs?
- Do occasional verbs take the same prefixes as their CSR counterparts? If not, why?

[1] Janda (2007b)
[2] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)
[3] Sokolova (2009)

In order to answer these research questions, I will draw on the research of others to establish an overview of prefix variation in CSR and also do my utmost to attain an analogous overview of prefix variation in occasional verbs. Once I have two databases to work with and compare, I will begin my analysis. The relevant previous research will be examined thoroughly in chapter two, whereas the process of creating an analogous database of occasional verbs is described in detail in the third chapter.

Answering my research questions one by one, I will first examine prefix variation at the level of individual prefixes. *Prefix combinations*, the choice of prefixes by verbs that engage in prefix variation, is a central term here. Chapter 4: *Prevalence of Prefix Variation I: Prefix Level* will, in both CSR and occasional verbs, look at which prefixes can occur in combination with each other, how frequent these binary combinations are - whether a binary combination is part of a larger combination or not - as well as how large and how frequent the larger combinations are.

The question of how large and how frequent the larger combinations are directly overlaps with the next part of my research question, *what does prefix variation on the verb level indicate*? If there are seventy-five ternary and twenty-one quaternary prefix combinations, it follows that seventy-five verbs take three prefixes, while twenty-one verbs have four prefixed aspectual partners. This takes us to Chapter 5: *Prevalence of Prefix Variation II: Verb Level*, which will continue this examination before looking at whether there are differences in the different categories of verbs.

These two first chapters of our analysis portion, Chapters 4 and 5, will therefore combine to provide an answer to the first research question - *Is prefix variation more or less common in occasional verbs than in CSR?*, answering one sub-question each. We will find that both analyses of the prevalence of prefix variation, on both the verb and prefix levels, indicate that prefix variation is more common in occasional verbs than in CSR. Having reached this conclusion, the second part of Chapter 5 will subsequently move on to sum up the two chapters

by discussing what the causes of this might be, thereby touching upon the third and last of the three sub-questions. I speculate that since occasional verbs are more recent, less consolidated, acquisitions in the language, they allow for more individual interpretation. In accordance with the *overlap hypothesis*, described in detail in Chapter 2 on previous research, the speaker opts for the prefix with the semantic meaning that corresponds the best with his/her own individual interpretation of the verb. A different speaker, with a different interpretation of the same verb, might choose a different prefix.

The next step will logically be to attempt to answer my last research question on *whether or not the verbs in CSR take the same prefixes as occasional verbs*, which is what Chapter 6 will set out to do. Chapter 6 will look at this from a few different angles. Some of my occasional verbs have clear counterparts in CSR, with identical or very similar lexical meaning. In these verbs examining to what extent the same prefix is chosen is fairly straight forward, as all one has to do is look at the natural perfectives each verb takes. I find that the verbs in my database that have such counterparts do to a great extent show loyalty to the choice of prefix of their counterpart verb. They're less loyal in the sense that, in these verbs, the natural perfective formed with the same prefix as the counterpart in CSR is likely to be less frequent than natural perfectives formed with other prefixes, usually *за-*.

Another, and perhaps more interesting, side of the coin is whether or not the prefixes that we expect to be productive really are to be productive. In Russian the prefixes *по-, с-* and *за-* are considered the most productive, with *по-* and *с-* being much more productive than *за-*.[4] We would therefore expect these prefixes to be the most frequent perfectivizing prefixes in our occasional verbs. I will examine both type and token frequency, and see whether this is the case. However, the findings of this thesis indicate that in, occasional verbs, *за-* produces natural perfectives much more frequently than any other prefix, including the prefixes of the counterpart verbs in those occasional verbs that have such counterparts. As we shall see, we

[4] Sokolova (2009), Łaziński (2008)

find that both type and token frequency indicate that *за-* is much more productive than any other prefix, almost to the extent of being the default perfectivizing prefix.

The final section of Chapter 6 launches three hypotheses to explain the possible implications of this. The *Conflict Hypothesis* postulates that previous researchers were wrong in identifying *по-* and *с-* as being the most productive prefixes in Russian. This is perhaps the first interpretation that springs to mind, as *за-* is so overwhelmingly dominant in occasional verbs. Another possible interpretation, though, is what we will call the *Diachronic Hypothesis,* which suggests that we could be dealing with different periods in the development of Russian, in other words that our occasional verbs are more indicative of processes that are occurring at this very moment, while data from CSR represents processes that are somewhat older. The last hypothesis we have named the *Socio-Linguistic Hypothesis.* It operates with the supposition that the prefix *за-* possesses qualities that are particularly suited for producing natural perfectives in occasional verbs. I argue, as Sokolova did in her 2009 article on the productivity of *за-*, that this must be considered a possibility as *за-* harmonizes well with the concepts of efficient and expedient completeness, which appears to be preferred by occasional verbs.[5]

Prefix variation has, as mentioned above, been examined before, though it remains an underexplored topic. This thesis will contribute to our understanding of the phenomenon, as well as to our understanding of the general development of the Russian verb paradigm, by examining prefix variation from the previously unexplored perspective of occasional verbs. The major findings of this thesis are that prefix variation is much more productive in occasional verbs, as might have been expected because of their more general semantics, and that the prefix *за-* seems, surprisingly, to be playing the role of the default perfectivizing prefix, at least in occasional verbs.

[5] Sokolova (2009)

2 Previous Research

This chapter will attempt to provide an overview of previous research, relevant to this thesis. As the topic of this thesis is prefix variation in aspectual prefixes in occasional Russian verbs, a logical place to begin is by looking at what aspect is. As aspect has been the topic of extensive literature, it is way beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a coherent summary of everything that has been written previously. I will therefore merely provide a brief overview of what aspect is in general and how the Russian aspectual system functions.

I will move on to describe (Janda 2007)'s cluster model for categorizing the Russian verb in order to be able to define what a *natural perfective* is and how the prefixes that produce them behave. This will provide the necessary backdrop so we can move on to introduce the term *prefix variation* in these natural perfectives, which is what the better part of this thesis is dedicated to discussing.

2.1 What Is Aspect?

A standard definition of aspect, put forward by Comrie, is that the different aspects are "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation".[6] In Russian all forms of all verbs mandatorily express aspect. Even the so-called bi-aspectual verbs, such as *велеть* 'to order' and *ликвидировать* 'to liquidate', which have the same form for both aspects, must be interpreted as either imperfective or perfective in any given context. Aspect in such words can therefore be compared to number in English words like *fish, deer, sheep*.[7] Russian also differs from most languages that mark aspect in that the perfective aspect is functionally marked, while the imperfective is unmarked.[8] Aspect is in other words central to the Russian verb system. The Russian verb has two aspects, the imperfective and the perfective.

[6] Comrie (1976) p. 3
[7] Janda (2007a)
Kuznetsova (2012) p.95
[8] Janda (2007b)

These are, in the vast majority of instances, morphologically related and formed through derivation.[9]

Traditionally, Russian verbs are grouped into aspectual pairs. An aspectual pair is made up of two correlative verbs that coincide lexically and differ only in that they express different aspect.[10] Such aspectual pairs can be formed by the suffixation of a prefixed verb or the prefixation of a simplex (unprefixed) verb. From simplex verbs, such as *писать* 'to write' and *варить* 'to cook', that are generally imperfective, one can form prefixed natural perfectives like *написать* and *сварить*.[11] However, we also have a few Russian verbs that form their natural perfectives by adding other affixes to the simplex imperfective, as in the case of *уважать* 'to respect-IMPFV' and *уважить* 'to respect'-PFV.[12] In certain cases aspectual pairs can also be formed by suppletion, as in the instance of *класть* 'to put'-imperfective and *положить* 'to put'-perfective.

2.2 The Cluster Model

We do see, however, that simplex verbs usually produce more than one perfective via prefixation. We often see instances where verb A is derivationally related to verbs B and C (both aspectually distinct from A), and verb B is derivationally related to verb D (aspectually distinct from B) etc. Janda proposed, in her 2007 article on aspect types, that such examples be treated as a verb *cluster* containing A, B, C and D. Some of these clusters may even contain significantly more verbs than just four.[13] Some of the verbs in such a cluster might be aspectually different but semantically identical. These constitute the traditional aspectual pairs. If you take the verb *кричать* 'to scream'-IMPFV for instance, with its semantically identical partner *прокричать* 'to scream'-PFV, you get such a pair. In the same article Janda terms this kind of perfective *natural perfectives. Кричать*, however, also produces perfectives with other

[9] Or, according to a minority view, by inflection.
Vinogradov (1972) p.398
[10] Tixonov (1998) p.10
[11] Janda, Endresen, Kuznetsova, Lyashevskaya, Makarova, Nesset, Sokolova (2013) p. 2
[12] van Schooneveld (1958)
[13] Janda (2007b)

prefixes. You have *перекричать* 'to shout down'-PFV, *покричать* 'to scream for a while'-PFV, *закричать* 'to start screaming'-PFV, *крикнуть* 'to scream once'-PFV, and so on. These all belong to the same cluster since they are all derivationally and semantically related to the simplex verb, although not semantically identical. Janda introduced the terms *specialized perfectives, complex act perfectives* and *single act perfectives* to categorize these.[14]

Specialized Perfectives are perfectives where the lexical meaning of the verb is different from that of the corresponding simplex verb. *Перекричать* falls into this category, since outvoicing someone is a fundamentally different act than mere shouting.

Complex Act Perfectives are perfectives where the prefix sets boundaries on the action named in the simplex verb, for instance a beginning, an end or both. *Закричать* and *покричать* both belong in this group. The former, meaning 'to start crying', points to the beginning of the act of crying, while the latter, which denotes a situation where one cries for a short while, sets boundaries at both ends.

Single Act Perfectives are perfectives which express a single performance from a series of identical or similar acts. In opposition to *кричать*, which denotes a series of shouting events, *крикнуть* refers to the act of shouting once. *Крикнуть* is therefore an example of a single act perfective.

To further complicate the cluster, many prefixed perfectives form an imperfective partner, such as *перекрикивать* 'to shout down'-IMPFV, derived from *перекричать* 'to shout down'-PFV and *покрикивать* 'to scream for a while'-IMPFV from *покричать* 'to scream for a while'-PFV. These verbs, traditionally termed *secondary imperfectives*, complete our cluster model.[15]

It is not always immediately clear whether a given perfective belongs in the category natural perfective or in one of the other categories. *Крикнуть*, for instance, is listed as *однократное действие* (a single act perfective), in Ožegov & Švedova, but as a natural perfective by RG-80,

[14] Janda (2007b)
[15] Janda (2007b)

both being among the most authoritative publications on the Russian language.[16] How can this be? There are a few criteria for establishing aspectual pairs that all exploit contexts that force the replacement of a perfective verb by the imperfective lexical counterpart. The most famous such criterion was introduced by Maslov, who observed that the imperfective *historical present* occurs in instances where the perfective past tense could just as easily be used.[17] Other criteria have also been introduced since, for instance criteria looking at the imperfective used in negation or the imperfective in the habitual context.[18] These criteria will be introduced more thoroughly in my methodology chapter. We see, however, that none of these criteria are perfect, and in many cases raise as many questions as they answer. We also see that context plays an important role. When the word *крикнуть* is listed both as single act perfective and as a natural perfective by different scholars, this most likely indicates that, depending on the context, it can be either. It also well demonstrates that it is often impossible to categorically, confidently and unambiguously classify a verb as belonging in any one of these categories.

2.3 Perfectivizing Prefixes: Empty or Not?

As mentioned above, natural perfectives are aspectually different but semantically identical to their base imperfective verb. This concurrence of semantics has given rise to the long lived assumption in Russian linguistics that affixes marking aspect are semantically empty and serve simply as perfective markers. When *писать* and *написать* have identical lexical meaning 'to write', and the only thing differentiating them is aspect, it seems most reasonable to conclude that the prefix *на-* has no lexical meaning. This hypothesis has by far been the most popular in scholarly literature. One of the staunchest proponents of the Empty Prefixes hypothesis is perhaps Tixonov, who writes in his 1998 book that the *purely aspectual prefixes "merely denote the inherent boundary of the imperfective simplex base verb, they only indicate the natural outcome of the action described by the simplex verb*[19]". It has also been argued that aspectual

[16] Švedova (1980)
Ožegova and Švedova (1993)
[17] Maslov (1984) p.53
[18] Kuznetsova (2012) p.96-97
[19] Tixonov (1998) p.29

pairs are not independent verbs, but rather different inflection of a single verb. This entails that prefixes and suffixes that produce natural prefixes perform a function similar to that of endings in the verb's inflectional paradigm, which are empty apart from the grammatical categories they mark.[20]

The competing hypothesis asks why we have sixteen different prefixes performing the task of a mere aspectual marker, when one would suffice. It asserts that semantic emptiness is an illusion created by an overlap of the semantics of the prefix and the base verb. These two hypotheses have been dubbed the *Empty Prefix Hypothesis* and the *Overlap Hypothesis* by Janda and Lyashevskaya.[21]

The Overlap Hypothesis has since it was introduced by van Schooneveld and Vey represented a minority view, but it has existed for a long time.[22] Recently, however, researchers at UiT - The Arctic University of Norway have conducted extensive research on the distribution of prefixes in Russian verbs, and their findings massively support the Overlap Hypothesis. The researchers found that the sixteen prefixes that produce aspectual pairs, в- *(во-), вз- (воз-), вы-, из-, на-, о- (об-, обо-), от-, пере-, по-, под- (подо-), при-, при-, про-, раз-, с-, у-*, are not randomly distributed across Russian verbs.

This immediately begs the question of why you need sixteen different prefixes to mark aspect, when one aspectual marker would suffice. Furthermore, if 1,981 verbs had been randomly distributed across sixteen prefixes, that would average 124 verbs per prefix. The actual distribution is quite different, a prefix like *по-* combines with 417 verbs, whereas *у-* only combines with three verbs. They also point to how the Overlap Hypothesis can, to a large extent, predict which prefix is chosen by which verb. The prefix *раз-,* for instance, can have the meaning 'swell', thereby turning a verb like *дуть* 'to blow' into *раздуть* 'to inflate', 'to swell by

[20] Vinogradov (1972) p.398
[21] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)
[22] van Schooneveld (1958)
Vey (1952)

blowing'. The verb *пухнуть* 'to swell', the Overlap Hypothesis predicts, would therefore be likely to pick *раз-* when forming its natural perfective. This is also the case.[23]

This, combined with the facts that sixteen prefixes perform the task of one, as mentioned above, and that 27% of the 1,981 verbs produce more than one aspectual pair via prefixation, as discussed in more detail below, is enough, the Exploring Emptiness group hopes, to conclusively settle the matter and lay the Empty Prefixes Hypothesis to rest.[24] This phenomenon, when a verb combines with more than one prefix to form more than one aspectual pair, is called *prefix variation*.

2.4 Prefix Variation

The phenomenon of prefix variation is a topic that has been very scarcely examined; in fact, it was never thoroughly explored before the Exploring Emptiness project at the University of Tromsø set out to lay the debate between the Empty Prefixes Hypothesis and the Overlap Hypothesis to rest. The article that goes into the most detail here is Janda and Lyashevskaya's article, titled *Prefix Variation,* from 2011. This thesis, when examining CSR and occasional verbs, will therefore rely heavily on their findings.

As mentioned above, Janda and Lyashevskaya found that 27% of the 1,981 verbs that form natural prefixes via prefixation actually do so with more than one prefix, thereby producing more than one aspectual pair. According to the Empty Prefixes hypothesis, there would be no need for a single imperfective base verb to form two or more natural perfectives as these verbs would be absolutely identical in meaning.

The research conducted within the framework of the Exploring Emptiness project at the University of Tromsø, however, finds that prefix variation is both frequent and systematic in Contemporary Standard Russian (henceforth: CSR). An example of a verb that forms natural

[23] Janda, Endresen, Kuznetsova, Lyashevskaya, Makarova, Nesset, Sokolova (2013) p. 12
[24] Janda, Endresen, Kuznetsova, Lyashevskaya, Makarova, Nesset, Sokolova (2013) p. 11

perfectives with more than one prefix is *Марать* 'to soil', which has four natural perfectives in *вымарать, замарать, измарать* and *намарать*, as was mentioned in the introduction. Such natural perfectives are often interchangeable, but the fact that there are contexts where they are not, strengthens the hypothesis that even prefixes that produce natural perfectives carry semantic meaning.[25]

In view of the findings from the research conducted within the Exploring Emptiness framework, overwhelmingly in support of the Overlap Hypothesis, this thesis will treat the debate between the Empty Prefixes Hypothesis and the Overlap Hypothesis as a settled matter.

2.5 The Contribution of This Thesis

This thesis will expand upon the research previously conducted on prefix variation by looking at how occasional verbs behave in this regard. Occasional verbs are usually closer to spoken language than normative written language is. It is a well-known fact that written language is generally considered more conservative than spoken language. Internet jargon is therefore much more indicative of processes that are occurring in Russian right now, while tendencies that are frequent in CSR are usually better suited at providing us with information on processes that were productive in past centuries.

Occasional words constitute a heavily understudied topic in Russian linguistics. This thesis will therefore contribute to a better understanding not only of how occasional verbs and internet jargon behave, but also on the processes of change within the verb paradigm that Russian is currently undergoing.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to provide a brief overview of the previous literature that is the most relevant to my thesis. We have encountered a widely recognized definition of what

[25] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

aspect is and how it behaves in Russian. We have also been acquainted with the *aspectual pairs,* in which Russian verbs traditionally have been considered to occur, and the more extensive *cluster model* analysis, introduced by Janda in 2007. The latter introduces the term *natural perfectives*, which is the perfective member of the traditional aspectual pair. One of the ways a simplex verb can produce a natural perfective is by prefixation. However, linguists at UiT - The Arctic University of Norway have found that a third of all simplex verbs that form natural perfectives this way produce more than one by combining with different prefixes, displaying so-called *prefix variation.* This would indicate a flaw in the formerly so popular *empty prefixes hypothesis* that claims the perfectivizing prefixes are semantically 'empty', as they merely alter aspect. The *overlap hypothesis* asks why you have sixteen prefixes performing the task of one. This chapter has given a brief account of the research conducted within the Exploring Emptiness research project at the University of Tromsø to lay this debate to rest in favor of the *overlap hypothesis.*

This thesis aims to expand upon our understanding of prefix variation by examining the previously understudied *occasional verbs* in order to gain insight into processes that are happening right now, in the 21st century.

3 Methodology

This chapter will attempt to elucidate the process of gathering and analyzing the necessary data to examine occasional verbs in order to gain insight into processes currently occurring in Russian. Recall from chapter one that the research questions I set forth to achieve this insight are as follows:

- Is prefix variation more or less common in occasional verbs than in CSR?
    - What does an analysis of prefix variation on the prefix level indicate?
        - Are there differences when it comes to which prefixes each prefix can be in combination with?
        - Are the different combinations of prefixes more common than in CSR?
    - What does an analysis of prefix variation on the verb level indicate?
        - Do occasional verbs form more prefixed aspectual pairs?
    - If there are differences in the prevalence of prefix variation, what might cause this?
- Do occasional verbs take the same prefixes as their CSR counterparts? If not, why?

In other words, we will set out to make a comparison of prefix variation in CSR and occasional verbs. In order make such a comparison one must obviously obtain data that can be compared. We will therefore attain an overview of perfective pairs and prefix variation in both CSR as well as in occasional verbs. As both prefixed natural perfectives and prefix variation are topics that, in CSR, have been researched on before, this is fairly easily done by simply drawing on the work of others. As we will find, the database created for the Exploring Emptiness research project at the University of Tromsø will be especially helpful in this regard.

Getting a similar overview of occasional verbs will prove much more difficult as there, for obvious reasons, exists no such database, nor any extensive dictionaries of such verbs. I will therefore examine a group of fairly frequent occasional verbs that I hope are as representative

as possible. Native speakers will then help identify natural perfectives, before we in coming chapters commence our comparison of the resulting database with the data already existing for CSR.

3.1 Getting an Overview of CSR Prefix Variation

The University of Tromsø - The Arctic University of Norway is host to the *CLEAR* (*Cognitive Linguistics: Empirical Approaches to Russian*) research group. This group received funding from the Research Council in Norway (Norges Forskningsråd) to launch a research project called *Exploring Emptiness,* which aimed to explore the prefixes that are considered empty by the *Empty Prefixes Hypothesis* mentioned in the previous chapter.[26]

Within the framework of this research project, the researchers of the CLEAR group created a comprehensive database of all aspectual pairs in CSR that are formed via prefixation. This was done by creating an aggregate of the aspectual pairs listed in Evgen'eva's (1999) and Ožegov and Švedova's (2001) dictionaries of Russian, as well as in Cubberly's 1982 article on "empty prefixes". The resulting database contains 1,981 base imperfectives that form perfectives with one or more prefixes, and features a user friendly search function which makes analyzing prefix variation in CSR relatively quick and easy.[27]

3.2 Getting an Overview of Occasional Verbs

Thanks to this work, an overview of prefixation in CSR already exists and I will therefore not have to create my own. No such overview, however, exists for occasional verbs. I would of course have preferred to go about creating one by turning to the same method used by the CLEAR research group for CSR. However, there exists no comprehensive dictionary of Russian internet slang or occasional verbs and creating one is nearly impossible by any account - as new

[26] http://emptyprefixes.uit.no/project_eng.htm (obtained 2014.03.23)
[27] http://emptyprefixes.uit.no/ (obtained 5.21.2013)
Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

ones appear continuously and the usage of these are far from always recorded - and would in any case be far beyond the scope of this thesis.

I must therefore attempt to find a group of occasional verbs that not only behave in a representative manner, but that also appear frequently enough for them to be reliably analyzed. After consulting with friends, I have decided upon a group of 28 verbs that appear very frequently in my friends' lingo.[28] These verbs are also among the occasional verbs most frequently encountered on Russian websites such as forums, blogs, social networks, etc. The 28 verbs I will be examining are as follows:

Verb	**Gloss**	**Verb**	**Gloss**	**Verb**	**Gloss**
апрувить	'to approve'	*арбайтать*	'to work'	*аттачить*	'to attach'
баксить	'to pay (in foreign currency)'	*банить*	'to ban'	*гаматься*	'to play'
гуглить	'to google'	*Джоиниться*	'to join'	*донатить*	'To put real money into a game'
зиповать	'to pack (usually computer files)'	*квотить*	*'to quote'*	*кентовать*	'to befriend'
комментить	'to comment'	*коннектиться*	'to connect'	*кнокать*	'to know'/'to knock',
лайкать	'to "like" on facebook'	*логиниться*	'to log in'	*логоффиться*	'to log off'
постить	'to publish on an online forum'	*спамить*	'to spam'	*твитить*	'to publish on Twitter'
фейсить	'to hit in the face'/'to spend time on facebook'	*флудить*	'to write a lot'/ 'to comment excessively'	*фолловить*	'to "follow" somebody on twitter'
форвардить	'to forward a message'	*чекиниться*	'to register one's location'	*шпрехать*	'to say'/'to speak'

[28] Arkhangelsk and Murmansk, Northwestern Russia, as well as Moscow, Central Russia

3.3 Gathering Data on my Verbs: Pros and Cons

These are verbs that produce next to no hits in the Russian National Corpus, so I have used the Yandex search engine to check the frequency with which they occur online. I have then, again by using the Yandex search engine, checked how frequently each verb occurs in combination with each of the following sixteen prefixes:

в-, вз-/воз-, вы-, за-, из-, на-, о-/об-/обо-, от-, пере-, по-, под-, при-, про-, раз-, с-, у-

These are the prefixes that in Russian produce natural perfectives.[29] These are also the prefixes with which the researchers at Exploring Emptiness operate when conducting their analysis of Russian prefixes.

The problem with search engines, however, as opposed to the corpus, is that the same hit often shows up several times. This, in turn, leads to it being counted as several hits. It is important to keep this in mind when looking at the frequency statistics presented in this analysis. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that a form, which yields millions of hits, like *залогиниться,* occurs much more frequently in usage on the internet than does a form like *слогиниться*, which merely yields a few tens of hits.

Another problem that was encountered was the problem of typos. A very small minority of the possible prefix-verb combinations produced results that were obvious typos. An example of such an instance is the possible combination of *у-* and *постить.* The results returned by Yandex were typos of *упростить* 'to simplify' and *упустить* 'to miss'. The search returns in these instances are marked with an asterisk in Appendix A, and completely disregarded for the purposes of my analysis. A related problem, though somewhat more difficult to deal with, is the questions that logically arise when instances of two orthographically similar prefixes behave much in the same way. Are instances of *окомментить* being used as natural perfectives examples of 'true' usage, or are they merely typos of the far more frequent natural perfective

[29] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

откомментить? In these instances, also few and far between, my native speaker respondents' answers to the question *Should this prefix be expected to alter the semantic meaning of the verb?*, described in the process of verification of natural prefixes later in this chapter, were paid particular attention to.

Whenever you examine a relatively small group of words like this, the question of representativity will always be lurking in the background. These verbs, however, in addition to being frequent occurrences, are heterogeneous both in the actions they describe and in how similar they are to verbs that already exist in CSR. Words such as *арбайтать* and *шпрехать* describe actions without a natural result, whereas others do not. Furthermore, some verbs have obvious semantic counterparts in CSR, like *квотить* (cf. *цитировать*), while others, like *гуглить*, do not. They are all fairly recent introductions to the Russian language as well, which means they will be reflective of contemporary processes occurring in the language. It therefore stands to reason that any prominent and consistent patterns we might observe as a result of this analysis will be indicative.

3.4 Informants

To analyze prefix variation in these verbs, one must first establish which prefixes they take to produce aspectual pairs. To identify aspectual pairs, one must find a way to identify natural perfectives. As mentioned in the previous chapter, natural perfectives are perfectives with the same lexical meaning as their imperfective base verb. Identifying such examples among the hits provided by the Yandex search engine is extremely time consuming. A prefix-verb combination such as '*прибанить*' might be a natural perfective in some instances, whereas in others it might take on the meaning '*to ban for a short while*'. I have trawled through the Yandex search results myself, actively searching for instances where the lexical meaning of the prefixed perfective to me appears identical to the lexical meaning of the simplex base imperfective. Although I at this stage included many examples that where discarded later in the process, I cannot guarantee, among the hundreds of millions of examples of usages provided by Yandex, that there are no unique verb-prefix natural perfective combinations that I have not

overlooked. For two reasons, however, I hold the likelihood that these are numerous enough to significantly impact my conclusions to be slim. Firstly, since almost two months were devoted almost entirely to this process, it has been carried out very thoroughly. Secondly, if there are any overlooked examples out there, they would contribute to making my conclusions more spectacular and surprising, rather than less, as I conclude that slang verbs display prefix variation to a much greater extent than CSR.

As I myself am no native speaker of Russian, the next step in the process of identifying natural perfectives was to have a panel of native speakers confirm them. I have had each prefix-verb combination examined by eight native speakers[30]: Dr. Sokolova of the University of Tromsø, Ekaterina Il'ina, Vladimir Ivoninskiy, Nelli Khabarova, Kristina Korotaeva, Viktoria Alfer'eva, Maksim Sadykov – the latter six all being philology students at NArFU University in Arkhangelsk. For each specific example, they were asked to identify whether, in their opinion, the prefix should be expected to change the meaning of the verb at all. Then they were asked to put the sentences in the imperfective, by negation and by use of the historical present. In a very few instances, due to the requirements of the context, my informants were asked to use the habitual, thereby forcing them to put their verbs in the imperfective aspect. If they used the base simplex verb in the imperfective, the prefix-verb combination was determined to be a natural perfective. In cases where the responses of different informants were contradictory, and such cases were numerous, I have defined a prefixed verb as a natural perfective whenever a majority has indicated that it was.

Such discrepancies in the informants' answers are, of course, not ideal. This is, however, not completely unexpected, notwithstanding the fact that my informants are all holders of degrees in Russian philology. One reason this was to be expected is that even well-respected publications on Russian language can disagree in their classification of individual verbs, as mentioned and discussed in the chapter on previous research. Another factor that might have

[30] Though not all my native speaker informants have examined every single verb-prefix combination, each combination has been examined by a minimum of five native speakers.

played a role in this is that different native speakers of the same language often attend to different cues in input, and as a result end up having individual grammars.[31]

This process of determining natural perfectives is based on the work of others who have developed criteria for this process. As mentioned in the chapter on previous research, the most popular criterion was introduced by Maslov in 1953, who observed that the so-called historical present requires the imperfective aspect. Historical present neutralizes aspect, because it *always* takes the imperfective. When a native speaker is presented with a sentence in past tense and a perfective verb, and asked to say the exact same thing using historical present, he will be compelled to use an imperfective verb with identical meaning as the perfective verb in the sentence with which he was presented. One can thereby determine what verbs are by native speakers considered to differ only in aspect, but not in lexical meaning. Thus, the aspectual pair открывать – открыть can be established the following way:

(1) Придя вчера домой, я открыл окно.

(2) Прихожу я вчера домой, открываю окно.

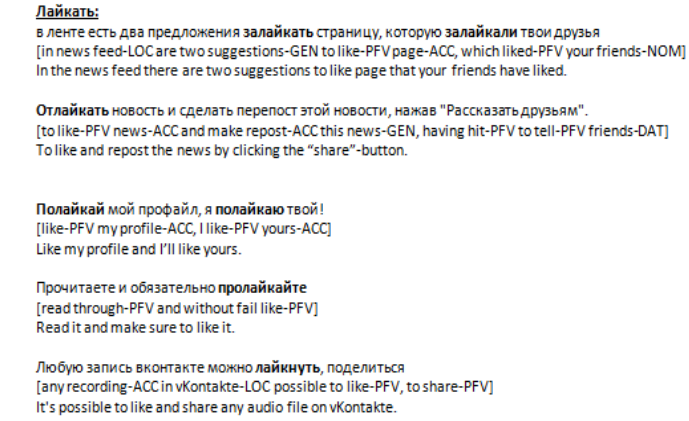
Later, several other criteria have been introduced. Zaliznjak and Šmelev, for instance, pointed out that the habitual also offers a criterion for determining aspectual pairs. Another criterion is negation, where *открой окно* 'open-PFV the window' and *не открывай окно* 'don't open-IMPFV the window' are contrasted.[32]

Although these criteria are helpful up to a point, they raise certain problems. One can formulate the criteria either in a universal fashion, where every example of every perfective verb in the past tense must be replaced by an imperfective verb in the historical present, or in an existential fashion, where the mere existence of one such forced replacement is sufficient for the verbs to be classified as aspectual counterparts. The problem is that while the universal criterion is too strong, and there would hardly exist aspectual pairs at all, the existential version

[31] Dabrowska (year?)
[32] Kuznetsova (2012) p.97

is too weak because it might identify as pairs verbs that few researchers would want to call aspectual counterparts.[33]

My strategy of coping with this shortcoming of the existential version has been to compel my informants to reflect on whether or not it makes sense for them that the prefix-verb combinations are identified as natural perfectives. In other words, whether to their ear, the prefix *should be expected* to modify the lexical meaning of the verb.



Лайкать:
в ленте есть два предложения **залайкать** страницу, которую **залайкали** твои друзья
[in news feed-LOC are two suggestions-GEN to like-PFV page-ACC, which liked-PFV your friends-NOM]
In the news feed there are two suggestions to like page that your friends have liked.

Отлайкать новость и сделать перепост этой новости, нажав "Рассказать друзьям".
[to like-PFV news-ACC and make repost-ACC this news-GEN, having hit-PFV to tell-PFV friends-DAT]
To like and repost the news by clicking the "share"-button.

Полайкай мой профайл, я **полайкаю** твой!
[like-PFV my profile-ACC, I like-PFV yours-ACC]
Like my profile and I'll like yours.

Прочитаете и обязательно **пролайкайте**
[read through-PFV and without fail like-PFV]
Read it and make sure to like it.

Любую запись вконтакте можно **лайкнуть**, поделиться
[any recording-ACC in vKontakte-LOC possible to like-PFV, to share-PFV]
It's possible to like and share any audio file on vKontakte.

Figure 2: Example Database: Uniqe Natural Perfectives

Лайкать	"нажимать на "мне нравится""		
Приставка	Частотость сочетания	Тип	Тип 2/*комментарии*
-	338 000	НСВ	
за	189 000	Natural Perfective	
-ну-	150 000	Natural Perfective	
по	6000	Natural Perfective	
про	4000	Natural Perfective	
от	2000	Natural Perfective	
на	2000	Accumulative	Natural Perfective
об	947	Specialized Perfective	
с	392	НСВ	
пере	280	Полностью	Specialized Perfective
раз	178	Specialized Perfective	
воз	155	Specialized Perfective?	
вы	26	Specialized Perfective	
у	16	Natural Perfective?	
вз	12	Specialized Perfective	
под	9		
при	4		

Figure 1: Example Database: Type Frequency

3.5 The Databases Obtained from this Process

As mentioned above, the work completed by the CLEAR group yielded a comprehensible, searchable, and user-friendly database that is available for free on their website.[34] The databases I have created for internet slang are intended to be analogous to this and contain information about type frequency, as well as a specific example for each unique instance of a prefix-verb combination yielding a natural perfective, as illustrated by the example of *лайкать* in Figures Figure 2 and Figure 1.

[33] Kuznetsova (2012) p.99
[34] http://emptyprefixes.uit.no/index.php

In sum, the data collected for my databases, paired with the data already collected by others, and organized in the Exploring Emptiness database, is enough for us to commence with our analysis and ultimately our comparison of natural perfectives and prefix variation in standardized Russian and modern Russian slang.

Janda and Lyashevskaya wrote an article in 2011 on prefix variation in CSR.[35] For this article they drew heavily on the data from the Exploring Emptiness database and created in-depth tables of prefix variation, the distribution of prefix variation and prefix combinations on which they drew their conclusions. This thesis will present a similar analysis of my own databases on Russian slang, and a comparison between the two.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how I have collected data on the previously relatively uncharted territory of occasional verbs and created a database of 28 such verbs, including their natural perfectives and frequency numbers and examples of use for each unique natural perfective. Using this data, I intend to analyze prefix variation in occasional verbs and make comparisons to CSR based on previous research.

Such an approach is not without its weak points. Questions can always be asked about the representativity of our 28 occasional verbs, as well as about the criteria, according to which natural perfectives have been identified. Nevertheless, these are among the most common occasional verbs, and the native speakers were asked not merely to identify natural perfectives according to the criteria, but also to comment on whether in their opinion the prefix changes, or should change, the semantic meaning of the verb. Furthermore, I base my research on the results from a *majority* of a panel of native speakers, which means that I am likely to avoid personal idiosyncrasies. It therefore stands to reason that, although the process remains imperfect, the problems have been overcome in the best possible manner.

[35] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

4 Prevalence of Prefix Variation I: Prefix Level

Our first two analysis chapters set out to answer our first research question of whether prefix variation is more or less common in occasional verbs than in CSR. As you recall from the introduction, that research question had the following sub-questions:

- What does an analysis of prefix variation on the prefix level indicate?
- What does an analysis of prefix variation n the verb level indicate?

While the next chapter will focus on the latter of these sub-questions, this chapter will focus on the former. This, as you might recall, means that we will attempt to answer these questions specifically:

- Are there differences when it comes to which prefixes each prefix can be in combination with?
- Are the different combinations of prefixes more common than in CSR?

As mentioned in previous chapters, prefix variation has been very scarcely researched. Janda and Lyashevskaya's 2011 article is the work that most thoroughly examines prefix variation in CSR. They coined the term *prefix combinations* to describe the choice of prefixes made by verbs that engage in prefix variation. Thus, for example, *марать* 'to soil', cited in previous chapters, selects the prefix combination *[вы-]|[за-]|[из-]|[на-]*, since it forms perfective partners with those prefixes, while *грузить*'to load' selects the prefix combination *[за-]|[на-]|[по-]*, and *вязнуть* 'to get stuck' selects the prefix combination *[за-]|[у-]* etc.[36] This chapter will briefly present their analysis of prefix combinations in verbs in CSR, make a similar analysis for occasional verbs, before comparing the findings of the two analyses.

This chapter will argue that despite a few differences, prefixes in CSR and occasional verbs appear to behave fairly similarly when it comes to what other prefixes they can be in

[36] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

combination with. Where occasional verbs and CSR appear to behave radically differently, however, is in how large the average prefix combinations are. Where the largest prefix combinations in CSR consist of six prefixes, combinations as large as eleven prefixes are attested in our occasional verbs. Furthermore, a larger percentage of the binary combinations that exist appears to be more frequent than they are in CSR, and a greater number of verbs take large prefix combinations. This all indicates that prefix variation might be more common in occasional verbs than in CSR.

4.1 Prefix Combinations

By examining the behavior of individual prefixes based on the data in the Exploring Emptiness database, Janda and Lyashevskaya found that *с-* and *за-* combine with all other prefixes, and that *по-* combines with all prefixes except *в-.* A general tendency they observed were that prefixes that are more involved in the formation of perfective partner verbs are more likely to engage in prefix variation, both in terms of number of base verbs that engage with the prefix, and in the number of other prefixes that are found in combination. In other words, frequent prefixes, as expected, are more frequently attested in prefix variation and tend to combine with a greater number of other prefixes, though not without exceptions. *Вы-* engages in prefix variation nearly twice as often as *про-,* although *про-* is slightly more frequent. Another exception is that *вз-/воз-* engage in very little prefix variation compared to its overall frequency.[37] They further visualized these tendencies in the following table, retrieved from their article.

[37] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

Table 1: Prefix variation from the perspective of individual prefixes (CSR[38])

Prefix	Total number of perfective partners with that prefix	Number of base verbs that use this prefix in prefix combinations	Number of prefixes this prefix combines with
по-	414	164	14
с-	277	123	15
за-	234	115	15
о/об/обо-	213	83	13
на-	177	81	12
про-	141	44	12
вы-	122	87	13
раз-	87	56	13
из-	68	48	12
у-	63	38	13
вз/воз	57	19	9
от-	54	25	10
при-	30	18	11
пере-	9	7	6
под-	6	4	5
в-	3	3	5

As mentioned above, the overall tendency, observed by Janda and Lyashevskaya, is that the more frequently a prefix forms natural perfectives, the more frequently it engages in prefix variation. This tendency continues in our occasional verbs. In fact, as the next chapter will show, only a single verb among our occasional verbs lacks prefix variation. As a result we have near total correlation between how often a prefix produces natural perfectives and how often they engage in prefix variation. The only, and very slight, deviation here is *про-*, which forms natural perfectives in combination with sixteen of our verbs, but 'only' engages in prefix variation in fifteen of them.

When looking at the list of each unique instance of a prefixed natural perfective in our occasional verbs (available in appendix B), and counting which other prefixes each individual

[38] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

prefix combines with, we get the following table of prefix variation as seen from the perspective of each individual prefix:

Table 2: Prefix variation from the perspective of individual prefixes

Prefix	Combines with	№	№ CSR
в-	[вз] [вы] [за] [на] [о] [от] [по] [под] [при] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	13	5
вз-	[в] [вы] [за] [на] [о] [от] [по] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	11	9
вы-	[в] [вз] [за] [из] [на] [о] [от] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	11	13
за-	[в] [вз] [вы] [из] [на] [о] [от] [пере] [по] [под] [при] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	15	15
из-	[вы] [за] [о] [про] [с] [у]	6	12
на-	[в] [вз] [вы] [за] [о] [от] [по] [под] [при] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	13	12
о-	[в] [вз] [вы] [из] [за] [на] [от] [по] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	12	13
от-	[в] [вз] [вы] [за] [на] [о] [пере] [по] [под] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	13	10
пере-	[за] [от] [про]	3	6
по-	[в] [вз] [за] [на] [о] [от] [под] [при] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	12	14
под-	[в] [за] [на] [от] [по] [при] [про] [с] [у]	9	5
при-	[в] [за] [на] [по] [под] [про] [с]	7	11
про-	[в] [вз] [вы] [за] [из] [на] [о] [от] [пере] [по] [под] [при] [раз] [с] [у]	15	12
раз-	[в] [вз] [вы] [за] [на] [о] [от] [про] [раз] [с] [у]	11	13
с-	[в] [вз] [вы] [за] [из] [на] [о] [от] [по] [под] [при] [про] [раз] [у]	14	15
у-	[в] [вз] [вы] [за] [из] [на] [о] [от] [по] [под] [про] [раз] [с]	13	13

If, in Table 2, we look at the numbers on the right hand side, we see that the overall picture is one of a fairly high degree of correlation between prefix combinations in CSR and occasional verbs. There are, however, some surprises when we look at possible prefix combinations. *В-*, which in CSR seems somewhat resistant to prefix variation, and combines with a mere five other prefixes, is in combination with our occasional verbs one of the most flexible prefixes and combines with thirteen different prefixes (all, except *пере-* and *из-*). Another prefix that stands out is *под-*, which in our limited database is found to combine with almost twice as many

prefixes than it does in CSR. In order to comment on these apparent discrepancies, we should first find out where they are specifically.

4.2 Which Prefix Combinations Are Possible?

As there are 16 perfectivizing prefixes that can combine with each other, mathematically there are 120 possible binary combinations. Because binary prefix combinations occur not only isolated, but also in the context of larger prefix combinations, our list of which prefixes combine with each other is essentially a list of binary prefix combinations - the numbers included in Table 2 (on the previous page) and Table 3 (on page 28), for both CSR as well as for occasional verbs, represent an aggregate of the instances where binary prefix combinations occur in isolation and those where they occur within larger prefix combinations.

Table 3 highlights, for each of the 120 possibly binary prefix combinations, where there is correlation and where there are discrepancies in the data on verbs in CSR and the data on occasional verbs.

Worth noting here is that our database consists of a mere 28 verbs, while the nearly fourteen times larger Exploring Emptiness database includes all the CSR verbs that display prefix variation - 386 in total. Therefore, we can almost be certain that if our database consisted of more verbs, we would encounter more prefix combinations. In other words, not all the prefix combinations that are possible in occasional verbs are present in our limited number of occasional verbs. This is of course not ideal and as a result we can only confidently comment on the combinations that we find in our set of verbs that are not present in CSR, while we can only speculate on why something is attested in CSR that can't be found in our database. It might be because we don't have a large enough database, or it might be because occasional verbs behave differently.

Nevertheless, by looking at the Table 3, it is striking that the bright colors, representing agreement between the databases for CSR and occasional verbs are so prominent, and that the

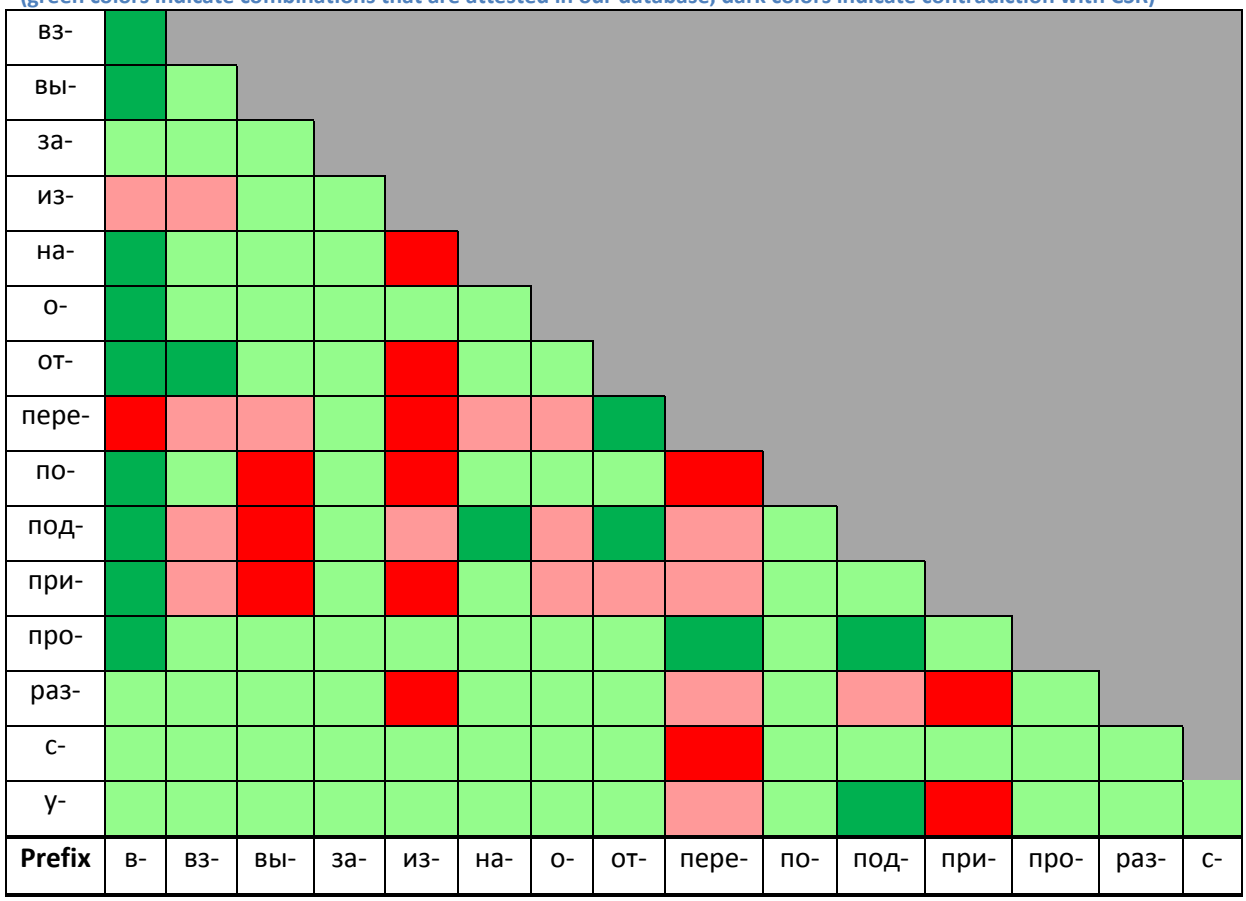
darker colors, representing a conflict in the data on CSR and occasional verbs, are for the most part concentrated in two or three prefixes. Apart from *в-* and *под-*, mentioned above, many of the discrepancies are found when looking at the prefix *из-*. *Из-* is usually present in verbs that in the corpus are classified as *impact* and *change of state*, and are database includes quite a few such verbs. This might indicate why *из-* is less prone to prefix variation, or, in fact, perfectivizing, in occasional verbs as compared to verbs in CSR, but further research needs to be conducted before any conclusions can be drawn. Worth mentioning here is that the Church Slavic *из-* belongs to the same radial category as the East Slavic *вы-*. It would appear that slang prefers *вы-*, which usually denotes less abstract concepts than *из-*.[39] These differences also become clearly visible by looking at Table 3 on the next page, where dark colors indicate discrepancies between CSR and my occasional verbs. The *в-* column in Table 3 is full of dark green squares that represent combinations attested in my database but not in CSR, while the *из-* column contains many dark red squares, representing combinations that are present in CSR but not in our limited database of occasional verbs. Apart from those few concentrated dark spots, the brighter colors indicating agreement between occasional verbs and CSR feature prominent.

The other obvious discrepancies we see from looking at Table 3 is that the occasional versions of the prefixes *в-* and *под-* seem to have much more of a penchant for prefix variation than their counterparts in CSR. An example of this is in the verb *логиниться* 'to log in', in which *в-* combines with *за-*, *под-*, *при-*, *про-* and *с-*, of which only *за-* and *с-* are attested to combine with *в-* in CSR. One reason why *в-* here is able to combine with prefixes that it doesn't combine with in CSR could be that individual speakers might interpret *логиниться* slightly differently, and/or make analogies to different verbs, already existing in CSR. *Подлогиниться* sounds immediately similar to *подключиться* 'to connect', while *прилонититься* reminds us of *присоединиться* 'to join', both of which denote concepts that are similar to the act of logging in. As *логиниться* is by no means unique, this hypothesis will be explored further in the next chapter.

[39] Nesset, Endresen, Janda (2011)

In CSR, thirty-two binary prefix combinations are frequently attested, and another fifty-seven appear once or twice.[40] In our database of occasional verbs we also see eighty-nine attested prefix combinations, but a majority of these occurs more than once. This is quite substantial, especially when one considers how much smaller our database of occasional verbs is.

Table 3: Prefix combinations
(green colors indicate combinations that are attested in our database, dark colors indicate contradiction with CSR)[41]



Color Coding:		Combination attested in **both** our database **and** in CSR (concurrence)
		Combination attested **neither** in our database **nor** in CSR (concurrence likely)
		Combination **is** attested in our database **but not** in CSR (discord)
		Combination **not** attested in our database, **but is** attested in CSR

[40] Janda, Endresen, Kuznetsova, Lyashevskaya, Makarova, Nesset, Sokolova (2013) p. 146
[41] Sources: My own database (appendix B) for occasional verbs
and http://emptyprefixes.uit.no/ (obtained 5.4.2014) for verbs in CSR

4.3 Distribution of Prefix Combinations

If we look at the distribution of the prefix combinations itself, we see that these binary combinations are by far the most dominant in standardized Russian. This is clearly illustrated in Figure 3 on the distribution of prefix combinations in CSR, provided in Janda and Lyashevskaya's article from 2011.

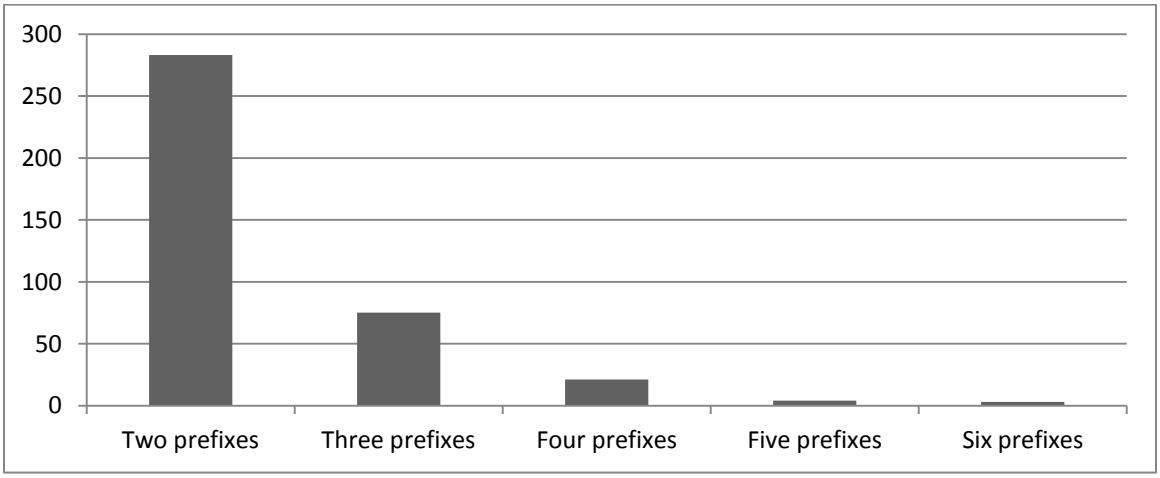


Figure 3: Distribution of prefix combinations (CSR)[42]

As mentioned above, despite the fact that our database of occasional verbs is fairly limited in size, a larger portion of the binary prefix combinations occurs more than just once. As Figure 4 demonstrates, a much larger portion of the binary prefix combinations occur in the context of larger combinations.

[42] Source: Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)

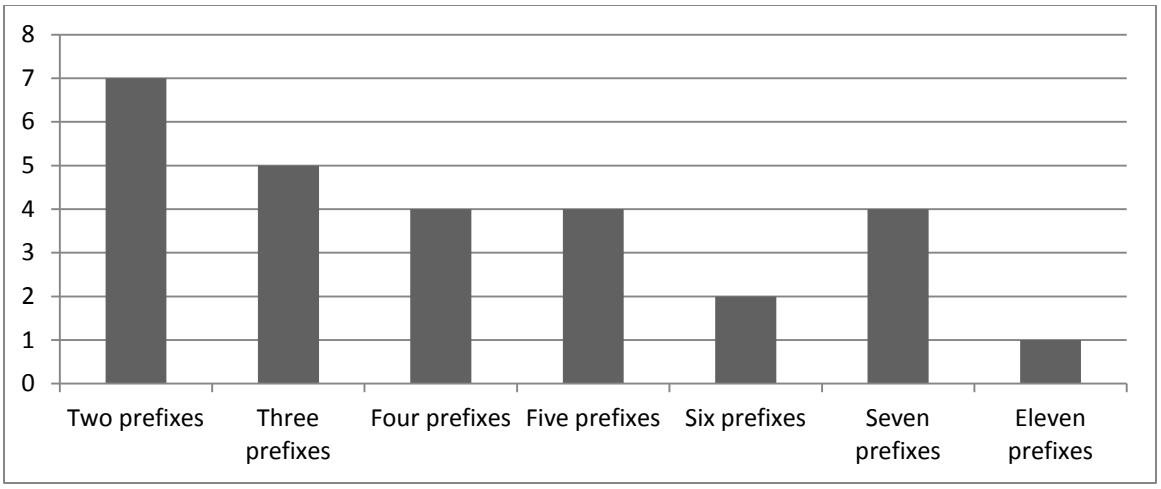


Figure 4: Distribution of prefixes (occasional verbs)

Note that there's no drastic decline in type frequency as you increase the size of the prefix combinations. There are as many verbs that combine with seven prefixes to form natural perfectives as there are verbs that combine with four. In other words, while binary prefix combinations are overwhelmingly dominant in CSR, larger prefix combinations are much more the norm in CSR. This would indicate that prefix variation is more frequent in occasional verbs than it is in CSR.

A figure showing the prevalence of prefix variation in verbs would look identical to Figure 3, illustrating the distribution of prefix variation across verbs. If binary prefix combinations are present in 283 verbs and ternary prefix combinations are present in 75 verbs, as Figure 3 shows, that means that 283 verbs combine with two prefixes and 75 verbs combine with three prefixes, etc. Because of this our latter conclusion necessarily also entails that each individual occasional verb, on average, combines with more perfectivizing prefixes, forming more natural perfectives than their counterparts in CSR; i.e. they display more prefix variation. The next chapter, dedicated to prefix variation from the perspective of verbs rather than individual prefixes, will look at this in greater detail.

4.4 Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined prefix variation on the level of prefixes. We have seen that there is a fairly large degree of correlation in prefixes' ability to occur in combination with other prefixes, though the occasional *в-* and, to a lesser extent, *под-* seem capable of combining with a much larger number of other prefixes than they do in CSR. A reason for this might be, as will be explored much more thoroughly in the next chapter, that different speakers interpret occasional verbs somewhat differently. There are also indications that *из-* is less likely to engage in prefix variation in occasional verbs than in CSR.

We see that binary prefix combinations appear to be more frequent in our occasional verbs, even displaying higher frequency in our group of 27 verbs than in all the verbs in CSR combined. Furthermore, large prefix combinations appear to be larger in size in occasional verbs, as well as more frequent than in CSR. This all points in the direction of prefix variation being a more frequent phenomenon in CSR than in occasional verbs.

The latter point also necessarily entails that each individual occasional verb on average combines with more prefixes when forming natural perfectives than do verbs in CSR. This will be examined more closely when we continue our analysis of the prevalence of prefix variation by looking at it from the perspective of verbs.

5 Prevalence of Prefix Variation II: Verb Level

As you recall, this chapter will look into the question of what prefix variation as seen from the perspective of verbs indicate about the prevalence of prefix variation and, specifically, whether occasional verbs form more prefixed aspectual pairs than verbs in CSR do.

We are therefore continuing our analysis of the prevalence of prefix variation in occasional verbs, but this time we will examine the phenomenon on the level of individual verbs. As we saw at the end of the previous chapter, FiguresFigure 3 and Figure 4 show not only the distribution of prefix combinations, but also the prevalence of prefix variation in verbs. This chapter will therefore start out by picking up this thread and examine more closely the prevalence of prefix variation in our CSR and occasional verbs, before discussing what this entails.

We will also discuss what the reasons behind this apparent prevalence of prefix variation in occasional verbs might be by looking into the semantics of these occasional verbs, partly also by picking up the thread, briefly touched upon in the previous chapter, of individual interpretations of occasional verbs.

We conclude in this chapter that prefix variation is much more frequent in occasional verbs than in CSR, with the exception of verbs that in Vendler's terms would be classified as activities. I suggest that reasons for this could be that occasional verbs, as a result of being less decisively consolidated units in the language, have more general semantics that is more open to interpretation as a result. According to the Overlap Hypothesis, the speaker will, when producing a natural perfective, pick a prefix with a semantic meaning that corresponds to his/her own individual interpretation of the verb in question. Speakers might draw comparisons to verbs, previously existing in CSR, with a similar meaning, and pick different prefixes depending on which verb an analogy is being made to.

5.1 Prefix Variation in CSR Verbs

Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) used data from the Exploring Emptiness database, described in detail in previous chapters, when carrying out their analysis of prefix variation in CSR. They found that 1,040 verbs (73%) form natural perfectives with only one prefix, whereas 386 base verbs select between two to six prefixes to form perfective partners. Recall from the introduction that a verb is defined as displaying prefix variation whenever it can combine with more than one prefix to produce natural perfectives. The former 1,040 verbs are thus considered to display no prefix variation, whereas the latter 386 do. They also find that all the sixteen prefixes that form natural perfectives are present in at least three of the 386 verbs that show prefix variation, and that all sixteen prefixes combine with at least five other prefixes.

In other words, 27% of the verbs that form natural perfectives via prefixation, and all prefixes do to a certain extent engage in prefix variation.[43] Janda & Lyashevskaya (2011) found, that of the 386 verbs that display prefix variation, 283 take two prefixes, whereas the remaining 103 take more. Among the 27% of the simplex base imperfective verbs that do display prefix variation, those with only two or three natural perfectives are by far the most frequent.[44] This, is also illustrated in 'Figure 3: Distribution of prefix combinations (CSR)' at the end of the previous chapter, as well as in the dark columns in Figure 5 on page 35.

In many cases, the different natural perfectives of the same base imperfective can be used interchangeably. In CSR, the verb *неметь,* 'to grow dumb', for instance, takes the prefixes *за-* and *о-* to produce natural prefixes that, in many contexts, display free variation, though with a couple of exceptions, as shown in examples (1) and (2).

(1) Рука **занемела**

[hand grew-dumb-PFV]

(I) can't move my hand

[43] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)
[44] http://emptyprefixes.uit.no/ (obtained 5.22.2013)

(2) Я **онемел** от страха

[I grew dumb-PFV from fear-GEN]

I became frozen with fear.

The prefix *за-* here indicates a physical inability to move, whereas *о-* refers to a psychological state with a physical dimension.[45]

5.2 Comparison of CSR and Occasional Verbs

By examining the corresponding data for our occasional verbs, we see a radically different picture. An overwhelming majority of the simplex occasional verbs I have looked at can occur in both the perfective and imperfective aspect. This is not surprising, as it is very common for new verb acquisitions in Russian to function as both perfective and imperfective until a perfective is formed that takes over[46]. An example of this is the biaspectual *организовать*'to organize', which can behave either as an imperfective or as a perfective based on the context.

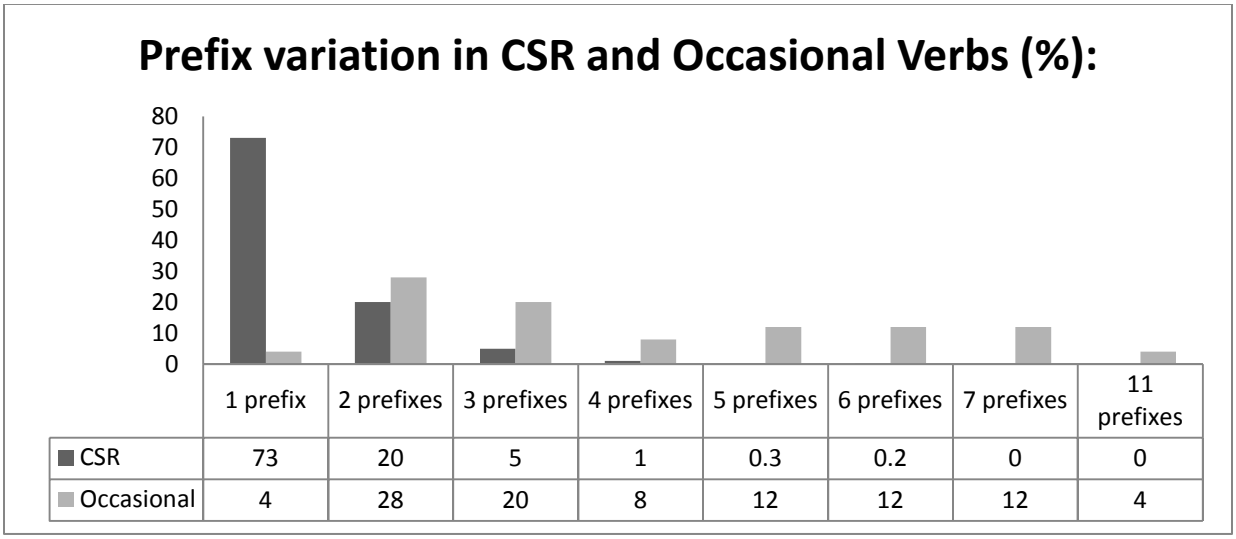
Table 4: Prefix Variation in CSR and Occasional Verbs - Raw Numbers

Combines with (No. of prefixes)	CSR (No. of verbs)	Occasional (No. of verbs)
1 prefix	1040	1
2 prefixes	283	7
3 prefixes	75	5
4 prefixes	21	6
5 prefixes	4	2
6 prefixes	3	3
7 prefixes	0	3
11 prefixes	0	3

As Table 4 shows, our database of occasional verbs contains only one verb, *шпрехать* 'to speak', that completely lacks prefix variation as it only forms a single natural perfective - *прошпрехать.* This verb is therefore analogous to the 1040 (73%) of verbs in the Exploring Emptiness database that only have one prefixed aspectual partner. The remaining 27 verbs in our database do display prefix variation.

[45] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)
[46] Janda (2007a)

By looking at these remaining 27 verbs, the general picture we get is one of prefix variation being decisively more frequent in occasional verbs than in CSR verbs with prefixed natural perfectives, as visualized in Table 4 and Figure 5. All but one of our occasional verbs have prefixed natural perfectives, and almost all of our occasional verbs display prefix variation.



	1 prefix	2 prefixes	3 prefixes	4 prefixes	5 prefixes	6 prefixes	7 prefixes	11 prefixes
CSR	73	20	5	1	0.3	0.2	0	0
Occasional	4	28	20	8	12	12	12	4

Figure 5: Prefix Variation in CSR and Occasional Verbs (%)

Figure 5, which shows in percentage what Table 4 shows in raw numbers, clearly illustrates that prefixed natural perfectives are more common in occasional verbs than in CSR verbs. In standardized Russian, we see a clear drop from each category to the next, and only a tiny minority takes five or six prefixes. In our occasional verbs, the picture is quite different. While two and three prefixes still make up the two largest categories, they only account for about half the verbs, which means the other half has four or more prefixed aspectual partners. One of our occasional verbs, *угулить,* takes a whopping eleven prefixes, while only a single verb, *шпрехать,* displays no prefix variation.

5.3 More General Semantics in Occasional Verbs?

This portion of the chapter will attempt to answer the research question of what the causes of the differences between CSR and occasional verbs might be. One plausible explanation for why prefix variation appears to be so much more prevalent in occasional verbs can be found by

looking to the Overlap Hypothesis, mentioned in the introduction. According to this hypothesis, prefixes always carry meaning and can produce natural perfectives only with those verbs whose meaning overlaps with that of the prefix.[47] As occasional verbs have yet to be consolidated in the language, these verbs seem to have much vaguer semantics and are used to refer to a variety of different, though metaphorically or metonymically related, actions. They will therefore combine with different prefixes, depending on how they have been interpreted in each individual occurrence.

Two verbs that stand out in this regard are *флудить* and *гуглить*. These combine with all sixteen prefixes to create perfectives of different sorts, something which usually is characteristic only of verbs of motion.[48] This can be explained by the fact that metaphor seem to be widely present in both of these verbs. Examples (3)-(7) demonstrate this in the case of *флудить*.

(3) Водку пьём, главное не **перефлудить**
[Vodka-ACC we drink main not to over-*флудить-PFV*]
Vodka we drink! The most important thing is not overdoing it.

Here we see *флудить* in the meaning of drinking in abundance. It can therefore logically combine with *пере-*, which often denotes excessiveness,[49] forming the specialized perfective *перефлудить* 'to drink too much'.

(4) **Зафлудили** сайт всякими рецептами
[flooded-PFV site-ACC all kinds recopies-INSTR]
They've flooded the site with all kinds of recipes.

[47] Janda, Endresen, Kuznetsova, Lyashevskaya, Makarova, Nesset, Sokolova (2013)
[48] I'm grateful to Dr. Svetlana Sokolova for pointing this out to me.
[49] Janda, Endresen, Kuznetsova, Lyashevskaya, Makarova, Nesset, Sokolova (2013) p.67

(5) Когда вы успели **нафлудить** столько сообщений
[when you managed to *write*-PFV that many messages-GEN]
How did you manage to write that many messages?

In these examples, *флудить* has been reinterpreted to denote the act of writing a lot.

(6) народ, а сколько надо **отфлудить**, чтобы войти в группу лучшие игроки???
[people how much necessary to *play*-PFV in order to enter-PFV to group-ACC best players]
Guys, how much do you have to play in order to be included as one of the best players?

(7) обязательно **расфлудить** ее по всем Черным Спискам
[without fail *disseminate* her along all blacklists-DAT]
We definitely have to place her on all the blacklists.

Again we see completely different meanings of *флудить.* The verb has taken on the meaning of playing a lot in example (6), and disseminating something to many places in example (7).

These examples of the usage of *флудить* clearly demonstrate the multitude of interpretations possible for this verb - it can mean anything from writing, playing to drinking. All these usages seem to be metaphorically related to the English verb ‘flood’. When something gets flooded, you have too much water. In much the same way, although the water is often substituted by metaphore, *Флудить* appears to be associated with doing something in abundance, whether it’s drinking vodka or playing a computer game.

Different speakers might also draw comparisons to different verbs in CSR that are similar, thereby opting for different prefixes depending on which already existing verb they make analogies to. Examples of this are very numerous in our occasional verbs. The verb, *коннектиться* 'to connect' frequently takes the prefixes *за-*, *с-*, *при-* and *под-* to form natural perfectives. It's natural to assume that the speaker uttering *приконнектиться* has interpreted the base verb as analogous to *присоединиться* 'to join'/'to connect', whereas the speaker

uttering *подконнектиться* made a similar comparison to the CSR verb *подключиться* 'to connect', and so on.

The verb *гуглить* seems to take this to the extreme. This verb most frequently combines with the prefix *по-*, which often produces a complex act perfective. *Погуглить* seems to draw clear analogies to *поискать* 'to search (for a while)' and is used in the sense 'to search on Google for a while'. The most striking, however, is how *гуглить* combines with a whopping 11 prefixes to make natural perfectives. Of these, the most frequent is *нагуглить*, which clearly focuses on finding information, thereby seemingly drawing analogies to *найти* 'to find'. This difference is clearly shown in examples (8)-(9):

(8) Я вчера немножко **погуглил** фильмов, потом лёг спать
[I yesterday a little googled-PFV films-GEN then lay-PFV to sleep]
Yesterdays I googled movies for a while, and then I went to sleep.

(9) Я **нагуглил** о нем любопытную статью на сайте
[I googled-PFV about him-LOC interesting article-ACC]
I found an interesting article on him on Google.

A natural perfective like *вгуглить* might be the result of interpreting *гуглить* as the process of typing your search into the search field, since *в-* carries the meaning 'into'.[50] Different speakers interpret the base imperfective differently; they opt for the prefixes that are most compatible with their interpretation. As a result, occasional verbs combine with a greater variety of prefixes.

So far, *гуглить* and *флудить* have shown us how differently these occasional verbs can be interpreted by different speakers. Now we will see what this means in terms of the many different prefixes they can combine with in forming natural perfectives specifically. I have chosen *коннектиться* 'to connect' as an example in this regard, which is definitely in the

[50] http://emptyprefixes.uit.no/v_eng.htm (obtained 6.1.2013)

upper end on the scale of how many natural perfectives it forms. Some of them are provided in examples (10) thru (13).

(10) В Аську **вконнектиться** не могу
[to ICQ-ACC to connect-PFV not I can-IMPFV]
I can't connect to ICQ

(11) тоесть туда можно **наконнектиться** как в скайпе и разговаривать
[that is there possible to connect-PFV as in skype-LOC and to converse-IMPFV]
That's to say you can connect to it, like you would to skype, and chat?

(12) не могу **подконнектиться** к серверу в часы ПИК
[not I can-IMPFV to connect-PFV to server-DAT in hours peak]
I can't connect to the server during rush hours

(13) как **приконнектиться** к этому серверу?
[how to connect-PFV to this server?]
How do I connect to this server?

Different interpretations are clearly the reason for the different choices in prefix here. In Example (10), the speaker is clearly making a comparison between connecting to ICQ and to entering ICQ, whereas in Example (13), an analogy seems to be made between connecting to a server and joining a server. The prefix *под-*, chosen in Example (12), is the same as the prefix of the CSR verb *подключиться* 'to connect'. This might indicate that an analogy has been made to that CSR verb, thereby resulting in *под-* getting chosen.

5.4 Analogies to Lexical Equivalents in CSR

Further support for the hypothesis that we see more prefix variation in occasional verbs because of their extended semantics can be found by breaking our verbs up into two groups. There are a few among our occasional verbs that appear to have one, and only one, obvious semantic counterpart in CSR that forms natural perfectives by prefixation and to which the

speaker can make analogies. If we extract data on these verbs from the Exploring Emptiness database and Appendix A, and compare the two, we get a diagram as in Figure 6.

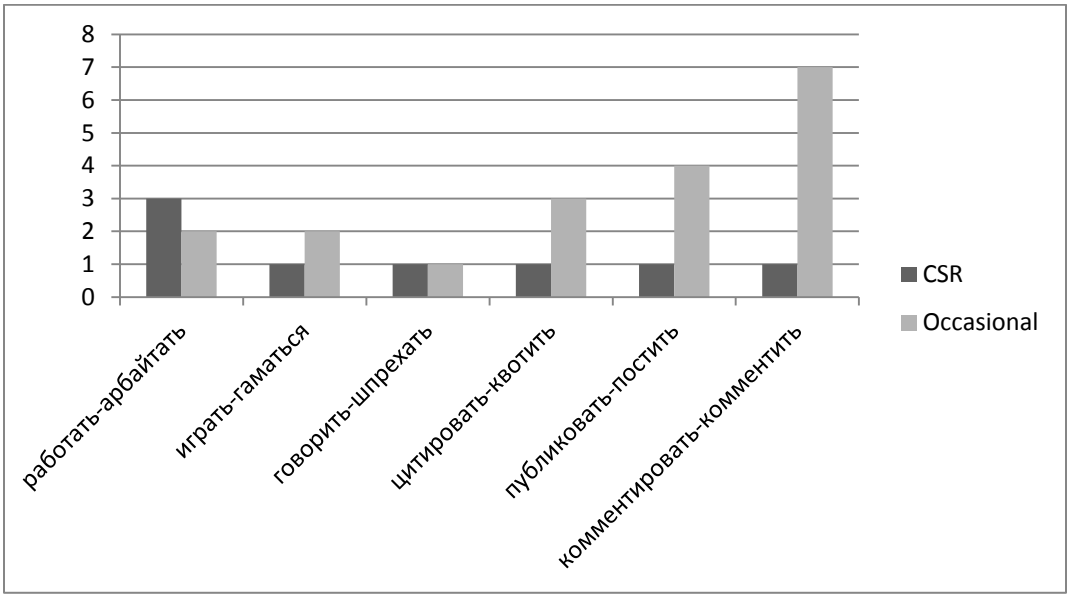


Figure 6: Prefix Variation in Verb Equivalents

The first three of the occasional verbs included in Figure 6 describe actions that are classified as *activities* in Vendler's terms, they have no natural result.[51] An observation that can be made straight away is that in these verbs, we see near full concordance between prefix variation in occasional verbs and in their counterparts in CSR (cf. Figure 6.).[52] There are very few contexts where these would logically need a natural perfective, thus they take fewer prefixes, both in CSR and in internet jargon, and therefore behave more similarly to each other than our remaining counterpart pairs.[53]

[51] Vendler (1957)

[52] The only difference seems to be that *прогаматься* is interpreted more along the lines of *проработать* and *прошпрехать*, and not like *проиграть* 'to lose'.

[53] Note that although, according to the Exploring Emptiness database, работать 'to work' only has one natural prefix in сработать, all native speakers identified constructions as given in Examples (i) and (ii) as natural perfectives.

i.	работать две недели [to work-IMPFV two weeks]	отработать две недели [to work-PFV two weeks]
ii.	работать долго [to work-IMPFV long]	проработать долго [to work-PFV long]

The latter three of the verbs included in Figure 6 are classified as achievement verbs in Vendler's terms, as they have an endpoint and occur instantaneously.[54] They do display more prefix variation than their CSR counterparts. Nevertheless, even these verbs appear to display less prefix variation than our remaining occasional verbs. We see that only one verb included in Figure 6 is among the half that produces natural perfectives with five or more prefixes; cf. Figure 5. This might be because when the speaker has an analogy to a CSR verb readily available, s/he is less likely to come up with an individual interpretation of the verb. This further supports our observation that the greater the opportunity there is for individual interpretation, the greater the likelihood of prefix variation.

The glaring exception here is the prefix variation in *комментить.* The verb is not only identical in meaning to *комментировать,* it is also very similar in form. Of all the verbs examined in this thesis, one would assume *комментить* to be among those in which the availability of analogy is the greatest. Still it combines with seven prefixes to yield natural perfectives. Furthermore, *комментировать* forms an aspectual pair with the prefix *про-,* whereas with *комментить от-* occurs five times more frequently than *про-*.[55] At face value this looks like a blatant contradiction of our suppositions.

Upon closer inspection, however, we can observe clear signs of individual interpretation even in a word like *комментить.* When *за-* is chosen, for instance, the verb might have been interpreted as an *impact verb*, whereas *про-* and *под-* suggest that it has been interpreted as verbs of speech. The Russian National Corpus classifies verbs that have a physical impact on something as impact verbs.

The same is true in the case of говорить-проговорить, analogous to Example (ii). These constructions are therefore included in the diagram shown in Figure 6.

[54] Vendler (1957)

[55] Ožegova and Švedova (1993), http://emptyprefixes.uit.no/result_eng.php?verbbox=on&verb=комментировать&aspect=%25&prefixbox=on&prefix=%25&variation=0&mclass=&sclass=%25&freq=&meaning=&source=%25 (obtained 6.2.2013).

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that of the 28 verbs in our database, all combine with prefixes to form natural perfectives, and all but a single verb has more than one prefixed perfective partner. Our occasional verbs display prefix variation to a much greater extent than is the norm in CSR. *Гуглить*, for instance, produces natural perfectives with 11 different prefixes, almost twice as many as the highest number attested in CSR, which is six. This, combined with the related tendency, observed in the previous chapter, that prefix combinations in occasional verbs are more frequent, more numerous and larger than they are in CSR, we conclude that prefix variation seems to be much more prevalent in occasional verbs.

Our hypothesis for why prefix variation is more prevalent in occasional verbs is twofold. Firstly, it would appear that occasional verbs, being less frequent and less consolidated items in Russian, offer the speaker uttering them greater opportunity for individual interpretation. According to the Overlap Hypothesis, the speaker will then choose the prefix that has the most semantic overlap with his individual interpretation of the verb, thereby resulting in different speakers opting for different prefixes depending on their respective interpretations. The other side of the coin is that there are often verbs in CSR that are similar in meaning to a specific occasional verb, and the speaker is influenced by the comparisons he makes to CSR in his choice of prefixes. In many instances, different speakers might draw analogies to different pre-existing verbs.

Verbs that in Vendler's terms should be labeled activity verbs, verbs with no logical conclusion, display less prefix variation and show much more conformity to their CSR equivalents than the other types of verbs in our database. The absence of a result is poorly compatible with the concept of natural perfectives.

6 Prefix Productivity

This chapter will examine which prefixes get chosen, and why, when verbs set out to form natural perfectives. The relevant research question is, as you recall from the introduction, as follows:

- Do occasional verbs take the same prefixes as their CSR counterparts? If not, why?

In CSR, *по-, с-* and *за-*, in that order, are considered the most productive.[56] These three prefixes are also the most frequent prefixes in the Exploring Emptiness database, which makes sense, considering productivity in linguistics has often been a term interchangeable with high type frequency. Productivity is in linguistics a somewhat problematic term that is often used differently by different linguists. Still, productivity is usually defined as the ability of a language unit to act as a template in the word formation of other language units.[57] Productivity has in other words to do with extensibility, the ability of a feature in the language to spread to new or existing units in that language. This characteristic is also reflected as a speaker's ability to understand and produce words s/he has not encountered previously.[58] With such an interpretation, productivity can be defined as a function of type frequency and coherence, i.e. internal consistency. According to Barðdal, there is an inverse relation between the two: For a category that is high in type frequency, only a low degree of internal consistency is needed for the category to be extended and vice versa. The most regular patterns in a language are usually also the most general. The more regular a pattern is, or the more general it is, the higher the likelihood of it being extended to new items in the language.[59]

Dickey (2007) concluded that *по-* and *за-* are the most productive prefixes in CSR, that they are, in fact, on their way to becoming default perfectivizing prefixes, and therefore more

[56] Sokolova (2009), Łaziński (2008)
[57] Švedova (1980): §200
[58] Sokolova (2009)
[59] Barðdal (2006)

semantically diffuse. This point has also been reiterated by Janda and Lyashevskaya.[60] On the basis of this, we would expect to see *по-* and *с-* as the prefixes most frequently extended to the occasional verbs examined in this thesis, although we also expect verbs to often take the same prefix as logical CSR counterpart verbs. This chapter will examine whether the data can confirm these predictions.

This chapter arrives at three findings, one of which is surprising. Having looked at occasional verbs with obvious counterparts in CSR, we find that they usually form at least one of their natural perfectives with the prefix the counterpart combines with to form its natural perfective. When it comes to our occasional verbs that denote actions without a logical conclusion, Vendler's so-called *activity* verbs, we find that they on the whole have few prefixed natural perfectives, i.e. display little prefix variation. They thereby constitute the category of occasional verbs that in their behavior are the most similar to CSR.

The major, surprising finding of this chapter is made in regard to the productivity of *за-*, which in all our occasional verbs, with the exception of activity verbs, but regardless of the availability of an easy analogy to a verb in CSR, appears to be absolutely dominant. Both type and token frequency indicate that *за-* produces natural perfectives way more often than any other prefix.

6.1 Loyalty to CSR Counterparts

One of the conclusions in the previous chapters was that the speaker, when uttering an occasional verb with a clear analogy in CSR, is less likely to form his/her own interpretation and therefore more predictable in his choice of prefix than s/he would be when uttering an occasional verb with no such obvious analogy. Hence the former category of occasional verbs displays- less prefix variation than the latter. This conclusion alludes to one of the factors influencing a speaker in his specific choice of prefix, namely said analogies to CSR.

[60] Janda, Lyashevskaya (2011)
Dickey (2007)
Dickey (2008)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, with the exception of *за-* being massively more predominant, our occasional verbs that have unique CSR counterparts do to a large degree show conformity to these in their choice of prefixes.

Another similar group consists of those verbs that are defined by pointing to a verb in CSR, but the results yielded by Yandex show obvious analogies to other verbs as well. *Зиповать* is one such instance. It is usually defined through *паковать* 'to pack', which takes prefixes *у-* and *за-*. But the fact that *зиповать* predominantly refers to the process of compressing computer files means one could easily draw analogies to other CSR verbs such as *сжимать* 'compress'/ 'squeeze' (both imperfective and perfective already contain *с-*) or *прессовать* (takes prefixes *с-* and *от-*).[61] This might explain why *зиповать* also combines with these prefixes in forming natural perfectives. It could therefore be argued that this verb does take the same prefixes as the several analogous verbs in CSR. In much the same way, a word like *логиниться* can be compared both to *входить* '*to enter*' and to *подключаться* 'to connect', and so on. A third related category of verbs where both the imperfective and the natural perfective contain a certain prefix, such as *подключаться* 'to connect-IMPFV' - *подключиться* 'to connect-PFV', also seems to conform to this picture. Taken together, we see a picture as illustrated in Figure 7, where a vast majority of the verbs elect to form natural perfectives with the same prefix as their counterpart verbs in CSR.

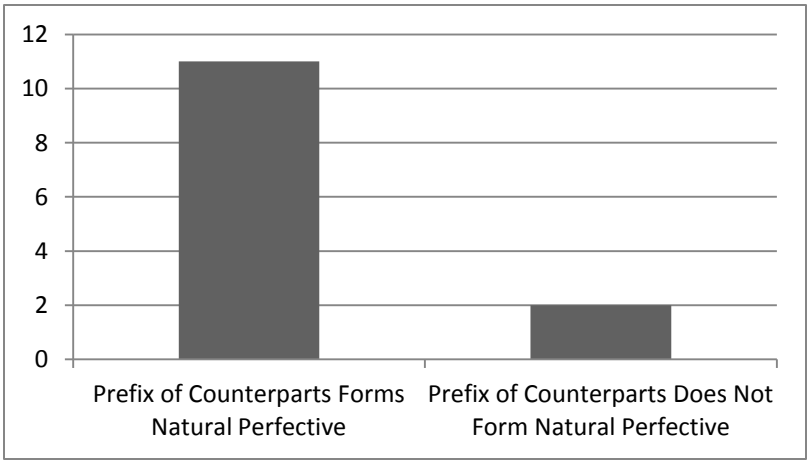


Figure 7: Loyalty to Counterparts' Choices

[61] Compare English: 'to zip a computer file', 'to compress a computer file' and 'to pack a computer file'.

These verbs, however, all engage in prefix variation, and despite this clear tendency to form natural perfectives with the same prefix as the prefix of the counterpart, we see that the *most frequent* prefix in natural perfectives is very rarely the prefix chosen by their semantic counterpart(s) in CSR, as is illustrated Figure 8. Furthermore, it is not the prefixes *по-* and *с-*, considered to be evolving into the default perfectivizing prefixes that are the most common. In fact, we see, both in the verbs where the most frequent prefix is the same as that of the analogous verb CSR, as well as in those where the most frequent prefix is different, that there seems to be a clear dominance of the prefix *за-*.

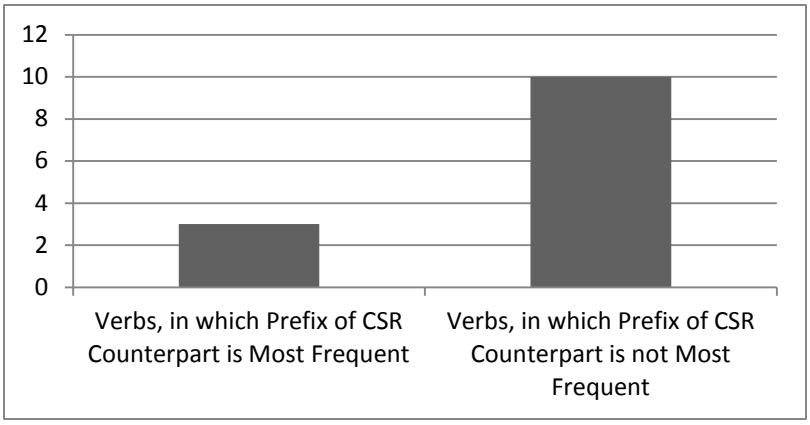


Figure 8: Most Frequent Prefixes

This dominance of *за-* appears not to be limited to verbs with counterparts in CSR, but rather seems to be a general trend in our group of occasional verbs. The next two sections of this chapter are dedicated to the further exploration of this tendency.

6.2 The Dominance of *За-*: Token Frequency

The dominance the prefix *за-* apparently exerts in the formation of perfective partners in occasional verbs is a slow realization. Figure 9 illustrates in raw numbers how often each prefix combines with verbs to form perfectives of all kinds. Although *за-* has a slight lead and is the only prefix that is attested in all verbs in our database, there is no massive predominance to speak of; we see rather that the distribution here is fairly even. When looking at the different kinds of perfectives, mentioned in earlier chapters, together, it appears that most prefixes are more or less equally capable of forming them.

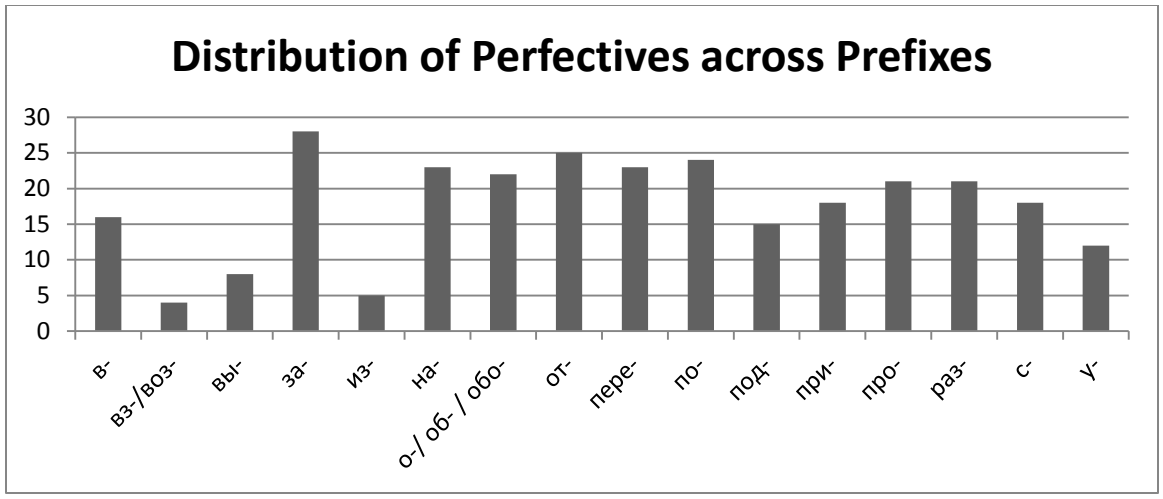


Figure 9: Distribution of Perfectives across Prefixes

Three prefixes, *вз-, вы-* and *из-,* however, are attested markedly less often in our database than the remaining thirteen. Whether or not this is a general trend in occasional verbs is an interesting topic for further study, though beyond the scope of this thesis. As this thesis focuses on prefix variation, and this chapter on prefix productivity in prefix variation, the most interesting thing for us to examine is how often each individual prefix combines with verbs to produce *natural* perfectives. This is illustrated in raw numbers in Figure 10.

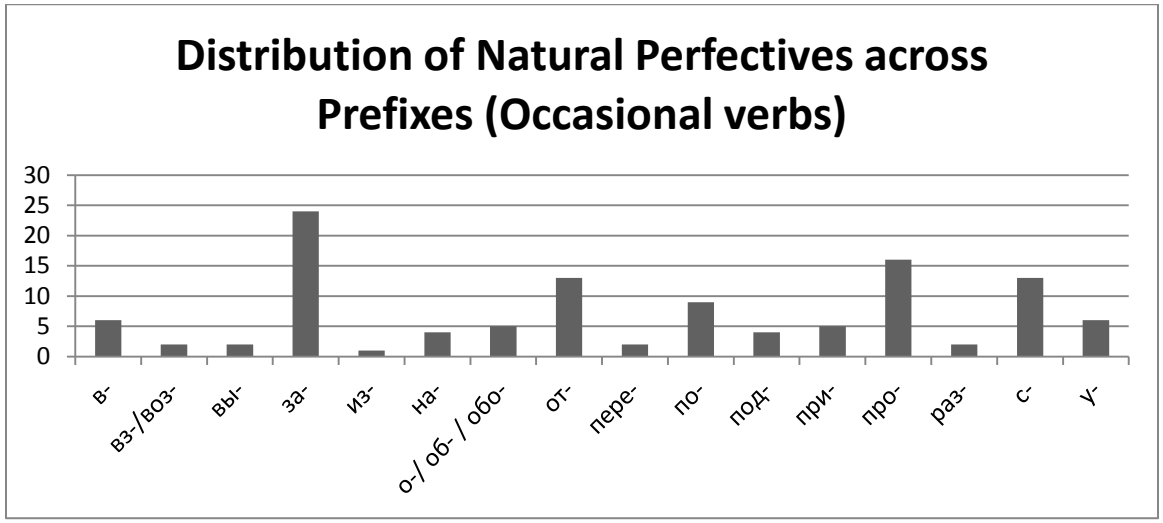


Figure 10: Distribution of Natural Perfectives across Prefixes

We see that instead of *по-* and *с-* being the most frequent, as predicted by previous researchers, *за-* is by far the most frequent prefix, attested twice as often as *с-* and three times as often as *по-.* In our group of occasional verbs, all but four verbs combine with *за-* in forming a natural perfective. Three of those four are *арбайтать, гаматься* and *шпрехать,* which, as you recall from the previous chapter, are the three verbs in our database that stand out somewhat as they describe actions without any logical conclusion; so called *activities* in Vendler's terms.[62] The last word in this group of four is *баксить,* which is one of the most infrequent words in our database[63]. Although the Yandex search for *забаксить* didn't yield any natural usage that was determined as natural perfectives by my informants, it did yield a link to an online dictionary of slang terms that listed *баксить - забаксить* as an aspectual pair. The overall picture is that *за-* forms natural perfectives in twenty-four (twenty-five if you count the slang dictionary entry of *забаксить*) of the twenty-five occasional verbs in our database that describes actions *with* a logical conclusion - much more than any other prefix.

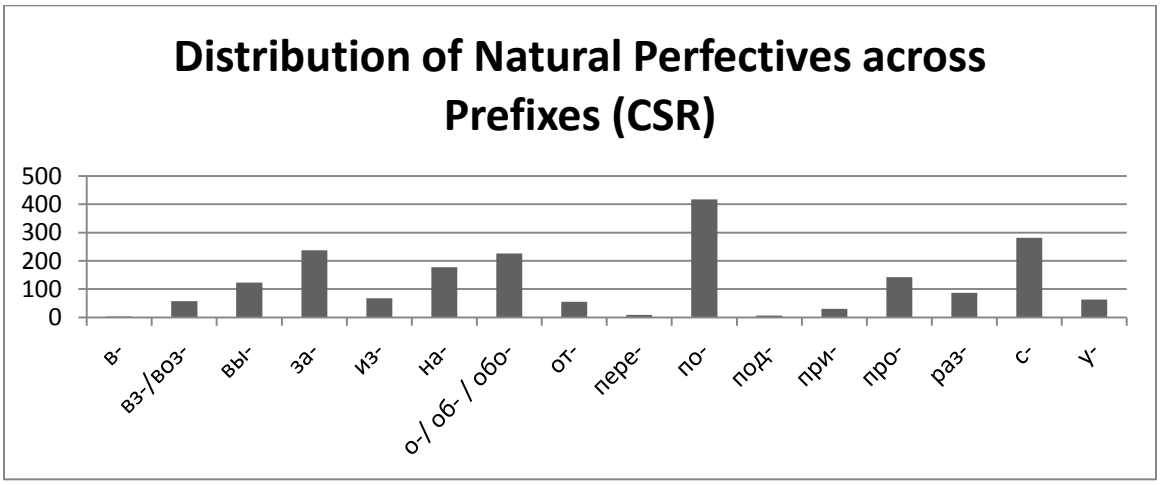


Figure 11: Distribution of Perfectives across prefixes[64]

As Figure 11 shows, in CSR the picture is quite different. There, *за-* is more 'one of the crowd', with *по-*, and to a certain extent *с-*, being the clear leaders, the former producing nearly twice as many natural perfectives as *за-.*

[62] Vendler (1957)
[63] see Appendix A
[64] Janda, Endresen, Kuznetsova, Lyashevskaya, Makarova, Nesset, Sokolova (2013) p.15, p.143

6.3 The dominance of *за-*: Type Frequency

This section will concentrate on what type frequency can tell us about the dominance of *за-.* Central to our analysis here will be the examination of the type frequency of each individual natural perfective involved in verbs that engage in prefix variation. In other words, when a verb like *лайкать* 'to like' forms the aspectual partners *залайкать, отлайкать, полайкать* and *пролайкать, which* of these has the highest type frequency? In the instance of *лайкать,* we see that a Yandex search for *залайкать* yields 186 000 results, which is by far the most. The runner up, *полайкать*, analogous to the CSR equivalent aspectual pair *нравиться* 'to like-IMPFV' - *понравиться* 'to like-PFV', yields a mere 6000 hits. *Пролайкать* gives 4000 hits while *отлайкать* returns a mere 2000 hits. In this case, *за-* is therefore the prefix that seems to dominate when speakers form aspectual pairs.

Figure 12 represents the results found after having looked at the frequencies of each natural perfective for all verbs in our database and counted how often each prefix represents the most popular option for forming a natural perfective.

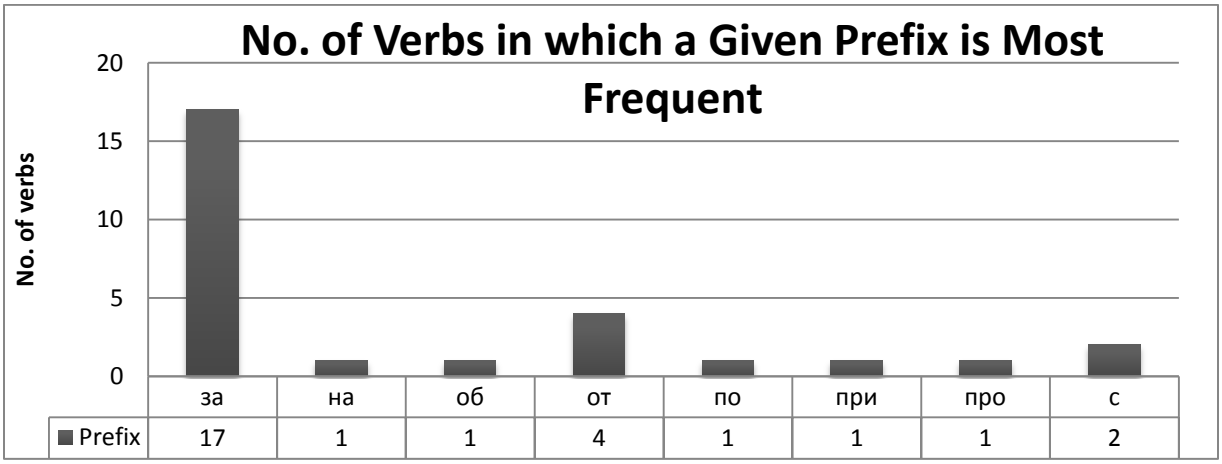


Figure 12: No. of Verbs in which a Given Prefix is Most Frequent

Once again, despite the massive presence of prefix variation in creating the natural perfectives in occasional verbs, we see that overwhelmingly, *за-* is the most popular way of doing so. *За-* is

usually also the most popular by a considerable margin, as is the case with *лайкать*, used in the example above.

The reason I have chosen to present type frequency in this, somewhat unorthodox, manner is, if we recall from the methodology chapter, the problems related to the frequencies listed in online search engines. Although it is obvious that *залайкать* with 186 000 results is more frequent than *полайкать* with its 6 000 results, the actual ratio will have to be taken with a pinch of salt as search engines will often list the same result several times, etc. Worth mentioning though, is that the figures presented in Figure 12 would display an even greater predominance of *за-* if type frequency were shown directly, as can be inferred from the data included in Appendix A.

6.4 The Dominance of *За-*: Causes

As we have seen, both type and token frequency offer overwhelming and coinciding testimony of the massive dominance of *за-* as the default perfectivizing prefix in occasional verbs. Because the results of these two analyses are so uniform, I will refrain from touching upon the ongoing debate about whether type frequency or token frequency is more representative and indicative, and simply conclude that *за-* appears to be absolutely dominant in forming natural perfectives in occasional verbs.

In order to explore the reasons for this apparent *dominance* of *за-*, we must explore the semantic characteristics of the prefix. Much has been written on *за-* as it has traditionally been a very popular topic in linguistic studies.[65] So what are the meanings of *за-*? *За-* is characterized by several different features, it can focus on the finishing of an action, producing *resultatives*, as in *резать - зарезать*, while at the same time being one of the most popular means of forming inchoative verbs, that point to the beginning of an action (*затосковать* 'to start to miss').[66]

[65] See also: Vinogradov (1947), Švedova (1980), Janda (1985), Sokolova (2009)
[66] Sokolova (2009)

As Laura Janda has shown, despite the prefix *за*-'s many subvalues, its semantic structure is characterized by an inner unity that can be presented in the following way: Cognitive space is divided into two parts, the inner domain, or *landmark,* and the outer *extradomain*. The moving object, the *trajector*, begins its movement within the landmark, crosses its border, and finds itself in the extradomain.[67] This base configuration, or image schema, has six undercategories:

1. Deviation (***зайти*** *в магазин* - '**to stop by** the store')
2. Fixation (***зарегистрировать*** *справку* - '**to register** the inquiry'
3. Change of state (***засолить*** *огурцы* -'**to salt** the cucumbers')
4. Excessiveness (***захвалить*** - '**to brag too much**')
5. Inchoation (***заговорить*** - '**to begin to talk**')
6. Exchange (***заработать, заслужить*** - '**to earn**' '**to deserve**')[68]

In cases, when the trajector is not a dot, but a larger body, superimposed on the *domain*, we are dealing with the second characteristic - *coverage.* This, in turn, can be the subject of a metaphoric transfer, as in the case of *заглушить* 'to muffle'. We therefore see that it is the spatial meaning of -*за* that is central.[69]

As Sokolova argues in her 2009 article, the productivity of *за-* appears to be connected with two of its subvalues: 1) the idea of *crossing a boundary*, entailing the concepts of *fixation* and *inchoativity*, and 2) subvalues that correspond to the semantic values *cover* and *damage*. These values are taken together, as they both envelop the concept of the *complete coverage* of the trajector, so it gets broken or ruined, as in examples (14) and (15).

[67] Janda (1985) pp. 27-29
[68] Sokolova (2009)
[69] Sokolova (2009)

(14) Залить скатерть вином

'to spill wine on the tablecloth'

(15) Запятнать честь

'to ruin somebody's reputation'

The first set of subvalues, described in the paragraph above, explains how *за-* can function as an inchoative prefix. The second set, that is more interesting to us, focuses less on the actual object itself, but more on the impact on said object, the category that in RG-80 is defined as *aktionsart* (*интенсивно-результативный способ действие*).[70] This harmonizes well with the completeness encoded in the perfective aspect.

Slang, jargon and, as an upshot, occasional verbs, seem to have a penchant for describing actions that are efficient and expedient. Sokolova speculates that this is the reason why we see an expansion of *за-* in youth and professional slang, where forms such as *заценить* 'to appreciate', *засмотреть* 'to watch/see' and *затестировать* 'to test' are attested as natural perfectives, instead of the expected *оценить, посмотреть* and *протестировать*.[71]

The massive dominance of *за-* as the perfectivizing prefix in our database of occasional verbs can most likely be seen as a part of the same process. As our occasional verbs represent very recent acquisitions by the Russian language, they are probably indicative of what is taking place at the forefront of this process.

6.5 The Dominance of *За-*: Implications

What are the implications of this surprising dominance of *за-*? At first glance, it would obviously seem as if Dickey, Janda and Lyashevskaya are completely mistaken in their analysis, when they conclude that *по-* and *за-* are becoming the default perfectivizing prefixes. This part is

[70] Švedova (1980) §1434

[71] Sokolova (2009)

overwhelmingly being played by *за-* in our verbs, and Sokolova has, as mentioned above, found indications of *за-* spreading as a natural perfectivizer in CSR as well. But this is only one of the possible interpretations of the implications of *за-*, an interpretation we could call the *Conflict Hypothesis,* since there appears to be a conflict between the findings of this thesis and those of previous researchers.

I will, however, also present two other possibilities, that I will call the *Diachronic Hypothesis* and the *Socio-Linguistic Hypothesis*. Support for the second, *diachronic,* hypothesis can be found by looking more closely at the differences in our data. Previous researchers, such as Dickey, Janda and Lyashevskaya, when concluding that *по-* and *с-* are becoming the default perfectivizing prefixes, looked at examples from the Russian Natural Corpus, mostly at verbs old and well established. It is possible that the findings of these researchers are more descriptive of processes that are somewhat older, i.e. took place in the 20th century, while our verbs are indicative of what is going on right now, in the 21st century. *За-* might in other words be taking over as the default perfectivizing prefix, a role that was earlier played by *по-* and *с-*.

The last, *socio-linguistic,* hypothesis states that this is not a process that will continue spreading to an ever greater number of verbs in standard Russian, but rather remain within the realm of occasional verbs. As discussed above, it would seem that *за-* possesses characteristics that are particularly suitable for slang. It might, therefore, be the case that *за-* is particularly productive in these, and that this tendency might continue without spreading to standardized language. The limits to the spread of *за-* might also come from elsewhere than the characteristics of *за-* itself. Another possible limitation to the spread of *за-* are the numerous purists that dominate educated Russian society. Although Russian, like any other language, continue to undergo continuous language change, these *purists* have proven quite adept at influencing this and erasing regional differences. The question of whether or not this dominance of *за-* is the beginning of a tendency that will take over in future standardized Russian is therefore an open one. Worth pointing out is that this Socio-Linguistic Hypothesis is not contradictory to

Sokolova's findings that the usage of *за-* is spreading across verbs within CSR, as her examples are also taken from the internet, and CSR vocabulary is of course also present in slang speech.

It is noteworthy that the Diachronic and Socio-Linguistic Hypotheses do not necessarily stand in contradiction with each other. It could be that the dominance of *за-* is a twenty-first century phenomenon that will remain limited to occasional verbs. Further exploration of these hypotheses would be an interesting topic for further research.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have been surprised to see that, despite *за-* only being considered the third most productive prefix in CSR, both type and token frequency indicate that it is becoming the go-to prefix when occasional verbs produce natural perfectives. In our occasional verbs, it produces natural perfectives in all but one of the *achievement* verbs, and in the verbs with prefix variation, the natural perfectives in combination with *за-* are in a vast majority of instances the most frequent, usually also by a large margin.

Among the many semantic characteristics of *за-* is its focus on completedness as well as the impact an action has on the object. *За-* is very adept at denoting actions that are efficient and expedient. Sokolova has in her articles speculated that, because slang seems to have a partiality towards such qualities, *за-* is an often used perfectivizing prefix in modern Russian slang.

7 Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the previously uncharted area of prefix variation in occasional verbs. This has been done by making a comparison between prefix variation in occasional verbs and in CSR. As you recall from the introduction, the research questions that we have ventured to answer are:

- Is prefix variation more or less common in occasional verbs than in CSR?
    - What does an analysis of prefix variation on the prefix level indicate?
        - Are there differences when it comes to which prefixes each prefix can be in combination with?
        - Are the different combinations of prefixes more common than in CSR?
    - What does an analysis of prefix variation on the verb level indicate?
        - Do occasional verbs form more prefixed aspectual pairs?
    - What might cause potential differences between CSR and occasional verbs?
- Do occasional verbs take the same prefixes as their CSR counterparts? If not, why?

Prefix variation in CSR is a topic that, though scarcely researched, has already been explored by others. Especially Janda and Lyashevskaya, in their 2011 article on prefix variation, have fairly thoroughly investigated the matter, and this thesis, to a large degree, compares my own findings for occasional verbs with their findings for verbs in CSR.

As described in Chapter 3 on methodology, in order to compare prefix variation in occasional verbs to prefix variation in standardized language, I needed to create my own database of such verbs, similar to the data for CSR already collected and examined by others. Such a database would need to include not only occasional verbs, but also the prefixes they combine with and the natural prefixes they take. As no comprehensive dictionary of occasional verbs exists, I had to consult with my friends in order to make a list of twenty-eight of the most common, and hopefully representative, of these. A search was made in the Yandex search engine for each possible combination of these verbs with the sixteen Russian prefixes that produce natural

perfectives. This way, we were able to determine whether a given combination exists on the internet. A panel of native speakers was subsequently consulted in order to identify the natural perfectives among the results returned by Yandex.

This process of identifying natural prefixes was carried out by asking my informants questions based on criteria already developed for identifying natural perfectives. There are no universal, problem-free criteria for this, but by asking my informants to use either the historical present, negation or the habitual, depending on the context, thereby forcing them to find imperfective equivalents for the perfectives provided by Yandex, it would appear that the natural perfectives have been reliably identified. As an extra measure of control, my informants were also asked whether they would expect the prefix to alter the semantic meaning of the verb in question. With my database for occasional verbs having been completed, we were then ready to commence with our analysis.

Our analysis began with Chapters 4 and 5 which combined to provide an answer to our first research question, including its sub-questions, of whether prefix variation is more or less prevalent in occasional verbs, and what the causes of these differences might be. Chapter 4 begins by examining prefix variation at the level of individual prefixes. When looking at *prefix combinations* the combination of prefixes that can form natural perfectives with any given verb, we found that our occasional verbs and the verbs in CSR that display prefix variation behave quite similarly. There are, however, a few exceptions from this rule. In our verbs, the prefix *в-* is very active in prefix variation, combining with all but two of the remaining prefixes. In CSR, the same prefix rarely engages in prefix variation, and only in combination with a handful of other prefixes.

Another exception was that the prefix *из-* seems much less active in our occasional verbs, both when it comes to engaging in prefix variation and when it comes to forming natural perfectives in general. *Вы-,* however, member of the same radial category, appears to be quite active.

Further research needs to be carried out on whether occasional verbs prefer the less abstract *вы-* to *из-* in forming natural perfectives. However, it stands to reason that the Church Slavic *из-,* with its more abstract meaning, would be less likely to be used in slang than *вы-,* which has a more concrete meaning.

Although our first impression was one of similarity, we started seeing greater differences when we looked at the size and frequency of the various prefix combinations. Janda and Lyashevskaya found that in CSR, of the 120 possible binary prefix combinations, thirty-two are attested frequently, while the remaining fifty-seven only appear once or twice. Our occasional verbs also take eighty-nine unique binary prefix combinations, though, despite our database being less than one tenth the size, a majority of these occurs more than once.

When looking at the larger prefix combinations we see that, like the binary ones, they are more frequent in our occasional verbs, and also larger in size. Because this entails that occasional verbs combine with more prefixes to form natural perfectives, this takes us to the next portion of our analysis, found in Chapter 5, which looks at prefix variation on the verb level.

Of the CSR verbs that form natural perfectives by prefixation, which is far from *all* the verbs in CSR, 73% display no prefix variation. In our database of 28 occasional verbs, all take prefixed natural perfectives and only one of these displays no prefix variation. Seven of our 28 verbs display more prefix variation than anything attested in CSR, and *гуглить* with its eleven natural perfectives take nearly twice as many as the highest found in any verb in CSR, which is six.

The verbs in our database that Vendler would call activities, verbs with no logical conclusion, behave in a very similar fashion to their counterparts in CSR. These verbs poorly harmonize with the concept of completeness, usually associated with the perfective aspect. They therefore form fewer natural perfectives.

Chapter 5 goes on to speculate that the reason why there is more prefix variation in occasional verbs could be the more general semantics of this type of verbs. They are more recent acquisitions, and therefore less thoroughly consolidated units in the language. The speaker is therefore free to make his/her individual interpretations, which in turn influences his/her choice of prefix. According to the Overlap Hypothesis, the speaker will pick whichever prefix has the most semantic overlap with his/her own interpretation of the verb. This very general semantics is also the reason why some verbs, like *флудить* if we recall the discussion on pages 36-37, are able to combine with all sixteen prefixes to produce perfectives of different kinds, something which we in CSR are used to seeing mostly in verbs of motion.

We therefore see that whether we examine prefix variation on the verb level, as in Chapter 5, or whether we do it on the level of prefixes, as in Chapter 4, the result in both cases seems to be that prefix variation is much more prevalent in occasional verbs than in CSR, due to the more general semantics of occasional verbs. This, besides answering our first research question, is also the first major discovery by this thesis.

The final chapter of the analysis portion of this thesis, Chapter 6, sets out to answer the last of our research questions: *Do occasional verbs take the same prefixes as their CSR counterparts? If not, why?* We started out by examining verbs that have logical counterparts in CSR to see to what extent they take the same prefix as said counterpart. Of the thirteen verbs we placed in this category, we found that a vast majority - all but two verbs - forms natural perfectives with the perfective of their counterpart verbs in CSR. However, we also found that *за-* very often produced natural perfectives that on Yandex were significantly more frequent occurrences than the natural perfective with the prefix of the counterpart.

Chapter 6 then moves on to examining the remaining occasional verbs. We then find that, if we exclude Vendler's *activity* verbs that behave differently, it doesn't matter whether or not the verb has an obvious counterpart; *за- will* form a natural perfective. In a vast majority of these verbs, the *за-* natural perfective is also the most frequent. We therefore see that both type

frequency and token frequency indicate the same thing, *за-* combines with the most verbs the most frequently.

Because data from type and token frequency harmonize, this thesis has sidestepped the debate on which is more important and simply concluded that *за-* is taking over as the default perfectivizing prefix, despite *с-* and *по-* being considered much more productive in Russian. This massive dominance of *за-* constitutes the second major, and surprising, finding of this thesis.

We launched three hypotheses that might explain the implications of this. The *Conflict Hypothesis* postulates that previous researchers were wrong in identifying *по-* and *с-* as being the most productive prefixes in Russian. This is perhaps the first that springs to mind, as *за-* is so overwhelmingly dominant in occasional verbs.

Upon closer consideration, however, we found other possible interpretations as well. Our *Diachronic Hypothesis* suggests that we could be dealing with different periods in the development of Russian. Because occasional verbs are not consolidated units in the language, they are very indicative of processes that are occurring in Russian right now, in the twenty-first century. The data that previous researchers have used, when analyzing the productivity of the different prefixes in CSR, has usually been obtained from dictionaries, the Russian National Corpus, etc. This data is more indicative of processes in the language that are somewhat older, and might perhaps no longer be productive.

The last hypothesis introduced in the final section of Chapter 6 we have named the *Socio-Linguistic Hypothesis.* It operates with the supposition that the prefix *за-* possesses qualities that are particularly suited for producing natural perfectives in occasional verbs. I argue, as Sokolova did in her 2009 article on the productivity of *за-*, that this must be considered a possibility as *за-* harmonizes well with the concepts of efficient and expedient completeness, which appears to be preferred in occasional verbs.

Two other minor discoveries in this thesis are that the prefix *в-* seems more active in prefix variation than in CSR, whereas *из-* appears to be less active in prefix variation, as well as in the formation of natural perfectives. Further research that continue the exploration of this topic could build upon this thesis and look into the merits of the different hypotheses mentioned above for the apparent dominance of *за-*, explore the use of the prefixes *в-* or *из-* in occasional verbs, or simply expand on our database of occasional verbs to increase the reliability of our conclusion

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Appendix A: Prefixed Verbs That Yielded Results on Yandex

Арбайтать **'to work' (cf. 'работать'/German: 'zu arbeiten')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	564		
по	71		
от	4	Natural Perfective	*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*
за	2		
про	1	Natural Perfective	*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*
под	1		
на	1		

Апрувить **'to approve'/'to confirm'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
за	2000	Natural Perfective	
-	1000		
про	88	Natural Perfective	
от	2	Natural Perfective	
на	1		
пере	1		
с	1	Natural Perfective	

Аттачить **'to attach' (cf. прикреплять)**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
при	29 000	Natural Perfective	
-	5000		
за	494	Natural Perfective	
пере	142		
под	63	Natural Perfective	
от	49		
на	38		
по	22	Natural Perfective	
в	1	Natural Perfective	

Баксить **'to pay in foreign currency' (cf. Am. slang: 'bucks')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	64		
об	7	Natural Perfective	
за	*7		**Listed as natural perfective*
от	3	Natural Perfective	*in online slang dictionaries*
по	1		

Банить **'to bar access' (cf. English: 'to ban')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	14 000 000		
за	4 000 000	Natural Perspective	
раз	184 000		
пере	3000		
по	2000	Natural Perspective	
от	1000		
при	1000		*for a while*
в	745		
вы	526		
про	504		
под	156		
с	100	Natural Perspective	
на	99		
у	56	Natural Perspective	
о/об	35		
из	18		
вз	17	Natural Perspective	

Гаматься **'to play (primarily computer games)' (cf. 'играть'/English: game)**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	4000		
по	1000		
за	892		
на	641		
с	95	Natural Perfective	*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*
про	48	Natural Perfective	
у	41		
об	34		
пере	32		
от	28		
раз	15		
в	3		
при	3		
из	1		

Гуглить **'to search'/'to obtain information' (using a search engine) (cf. Google)**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
по	895 000	Complex act	natural perfective
-	290 000		
на	180 000	Natural Perfective	*Focus is on the result*
за	118 000	Natural Perfective	
про	73 000	Natural Perfective	
вы	4000	Natural Perfective	*Focus is on the result*
о/об	2000/292	Natural Perfective	
от	2000	Natural Perfective	
под	550		
с	516	Natural Perfective	
пере	494		
раз	230	Natural Perfective	
в	189	Natural Perfective	
вз	94	Natural Perfective	
воз	37		
у	18	Natural Perfective	
при	16		
из	5		

Джоиниться **'to join' (cf. 'присоединяться')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	333		
За	67	Natural Perfective	
при	42	Natural Perfective	*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*

Донатить **'to put real money into the game' (cf. 'to donate')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	26 000		
за	19 000	natural perfective	
в	3000	natural perfective	
про	853	natural perfective	
по	765	natural perfective	
на	326	natural perfective	
пере	72		
под	39		
от	16		
При	7		
о/об	5		
раз	4		
вы	1		

Зиповать **'to pack/compress computer files' (cf. English: 'to zip'/ WinZip)**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	14 000		
за	8000	natural prefix	nat. pfv of CSR counterpart
раз	4000		
пере	89		
по	35	natural prefix	
с	22	natural prefix	
у	20	natural prefix	nat. pfv of CSR counterpart
от	16	natural prefix	
в	8		
на	8		
при	6		
о	4		
под	3		

Interesting examples:

- Я **узиповал** каски к себе в рюк и мы пошли на остановку

[I zipped-PFV helmets to me-DAT in backpack-ACC and we went-PFV to bus stop-ACC]

I packed the helmets into my backpack and then we went to the busstop.

Квотить **'to quote' (cf. Russian 'цитировать')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	3000		
за	2000	Natural Perfective	
от	1000		
с	157		
про	126	Natural Perfective	*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*
по	97		
на	58		
от	22		
пере	18	Natural Perfective	
рас	13		

Кентовать **'to be a friend'/'to befriend' (cf. centaur)**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	94 000		
рас	284		
с	81	Natural Perfective	
за	60	Natural Perfective	
пере	22		
по	15		
при	12		
про	3		
о	3		
от	1		

Комментить **'to comment' (cf. 'комментировать')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	93 000		**The comment button on*
от	27 000*	natural perfective	*Live Journal is called*
За	5000	natural perfective	*'откомментить'*
про	5000	natural perfective	*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*
по	5000	complex act	natural perfecitve
рас	1000		
На	1000	natural perfective	
С	110	natural perfective	
об	75		
пере	73		
о	27	natural perfective	*откомментить typos?*
под	27		
При	22	specialized perfecitve	
в	7		
у	1		

Коннектиться **'to connect' (cf. 'подключаться')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	142 000		
за	27 000	natural perfective	
при	25 000	natural perfective	*cf. присоединиться*
с	12 000	natural perfective	
под	7 000	natural perfective	*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*
Пере	2000		
От	296		
По	291	natural perfective	
рас	135		
Про	87		
в	20	natural perfective	
На	13	natural perfective	
о	2		

Кнокать **'to know'/'to see'/'to understand'/'to hit' (cf. English 'to know'/'to knock')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	3000		
про	2000		*'to know'*
на	1000	specialized perfective	*'to find'*
при	1000		
за	1000	natural perfective	
с	827	natural perfective	*to understand'*
по	779	natural perfective	
под	278	natural perfective	*'to see'*
у	266	natural perfective	
пере	53		
рас	53		
от	42	natural perfective	
в	16		
о	2		

Interesting examples:

Девочки – я **накнокала** очень вкусный и лёгкий рецепт теста на пиЦЦу
[girls I found-PFV very tasty and simple recipe-ACC dough-GEN to pizza-ACC]
Girls, I've found a very tasty and simple recipe for pizza dough.

Лайкать **'to like' (primarily on social networks)**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	338 000		
за	189 000	natural perfective	
по	6000	natural perfective	
про	4000	natural perfective	
от	2000	natural perfective	
на	2000		
об	947		
с	392		
пере	280		
раз	178		
воз	155		
вы	26		
у	16		
вз	12		
под	9		
при	4		

Логиниться **'to log in' (cf 'входить (в систему)'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
за	3 000 000	natural perfective	
-	98 000		
пере	13 000		
раз	11 000		
вы	2000		
от	1000		
при	913	natural perfective	
в	319	natural perfective	nat. pfv of CSR counterpart
про	262	natural perfective	
под	191	natural perfective	*cf. 'подключиться'*
с	43	natural perfective	
на	40		
по	27		
об	9		

Логоффиться **'to log off' (cf. 'Выходить (из системы)'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	217		
пере	128		
от	15	Natural Perfective	
за	10	Natural Perfective	
раз	9	Natural Perfective	
вы	-		*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*

Постить **'to publish (predominantly in an online forum)' (cf. публиковать)**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	2 000 000		
за	2 000 000	natural perfective	
пере	295 000		
по	9000		
на	5000		
от	4000	natural perfective	
про	947	natural perfective	
с	797	natural perfective	
вы	743		
*у	*450		
при	221		
о	203		*nat. pfv of CSR counterpart*
в	194		
под	45		
раз	10		
Об	9		

Спамить **'to spam'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	445 000		
за	62 000	natural perfective	
про	17 000	natural perfective	
по	15 000		
на	1000		
пере	878		
от	500	natural perfective	
рас	257		
об/о	184		
под	46		
в	17		
с	13		
у	4		
При	4		

Твитить **'to publish on twitter'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
за	26 000	natural perfective	
-	7000		
о	528	natural perfective	
по	415		
на	369		
про	145	natural perfective	
пере	35		
рас	10		

Троллить **'to provoke'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	2 000 000		
по	467 000	natural perfective	
за	31 000	natural perfective	
про	3000	natural perfective	
от	1114		
под	806		
пере	777		
на	475		
с	408	natural perfective	
раз	234		
при	173		
об	169		
вы	82		
у	57		
в	3		
из	3		

Флудить **(cf. English 'flood')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	1 000 000		
по	311 000		
за	108 000	natural perfective	
на	103 000		
пере	2000		
про	621	natural perfective	
об/о	515	natural perfective	
с	379	natural perfective	
от	370		
в	279		
рас	246		
под	84		
вы	34	natural perfective	
из	26	natural perfective	
при	18		
у	17	natural perfective	
вз	2		

Фейсить **"публиковать в Фейсбуке"/"бить по лицу"**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
за	177	natural perfective	
-	95		
об/о	48		
от	20	natural perfective	
по	9		

Фолловить **'to subscribe to a user on Twitter' (cf. English 'to follow')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	7 000 000		
за	86 000	natural perfective	
от	554		
на	78		
раз	54		
пере	17		
при	3	natural perfective	
о	1		

Форвардить **'to forward' (cf. 'пересылать'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	4000		
от	542	natural perfective	
за	328	natural perfective	
про	113		
с	80		
пере	32	natural perfective	
по	31		
о	2		
на	1		

Чекиниться **'to register one's location'**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	12 000		
за	6 000	Natural Perfective	
от	22	Natural Perfective	
по	22	Natural Perfective	
пере	8		
рас	4		
в	1	Natural Perfective	
на	1		
вы	1		

Шпрехать **'to speak' (cf. 'говорить'/German 'zu sprechen')**

Prefix	Frequency	Type	Type 2/*Comments*
-	7000		
по	799		
за	123		
на	92		
от	32		
про	29	natural perfective	
в	13		
пере	4		

Appendix B: Examples of Natural Perfectives

All examples are taken from the internet. Each example is approved by a minimum of three native speakers (four whenever seven have been asked).

1 prefix:

Шпрехать:

даже те, кто может **прошпрехать** только «битте-дритте»
[even those who can to say-PFV only "bitte-dritte"]
even those who only can say "bitte-dritte"

---

2 prefixes:

Арбайтать:

После заявы надо две недели **отарбайтать**
[after application-GEN must two weeks-ACC to work-PFV]
After giving the written notice one has to work for two weeks

Для этого около года придется активно **проарбайтать** дружинником
[for this-GEN approximately year-GEN will have to-PFV actively to work-PFV police helper-INSTR]
For this you have to work actively as a police helper for about a year

---

Баксить:

В течение декабря их можно было **обаксить** по 27,5.
[in course-ACC December-GEN them-ACC possible was to pay-PFV at 27,5]
Throughout December they were accepting payments at the exchange rate 27.5 (rubles to the dollar)

еще для комфорта надо **отбаксить** 90000 только для пребывания в аэропорту
[also for comfort-GEN must to pay-PFV 90,000 just for arrival-GEN in airport-LOC]
Also, for comfort one has to pay 90,000 just for arriving at the airport

---

Гаматься:

Надо **сгаматься** хотя бы в это, а потом уже посмотрим.
[must to play-PFV at least in this-ACC, and then already we see]
(We) have to play this at least, and then we'll see

Всю ночь **прогамался**
[all-ACC night-ACC played-PFV]
I've played the whole night through

Джоиниться:

можешь **заджоиниться** практически в любую команду
[you can to join-PFV virtually to any team-ACC]
You can join virtually any team

Встретиться в воскресенье Так а где будем? Могу **приджоиниться**!
[to meet-PFV in Sunday-ACC. so and where we will be? I can to join-PFV]
Meet up on Sunday? So where are we going to be? I can join you guys!

Кентовать:
два мужика познакомились,**закентовали**
[to men-GEN met-PFV befriended-PFV]
To men met and became friends.

Надо **скентовать** наши группы дружище
[must to befriend-PFV our groups-ACC friend]
Buddy, we have to introduce our groups to each other.

Фейсить:
эту фотографию нужно затвитить, **зафейсить**
[this picture-ACC necessary to tweet-PFV, to post on facebook-PFV]
This photo must be tweeted and posted on facebook

это не тот случай, когда обязательно **отфейсить** нужно
[this not that incident, when obligatory to post on facebook-PFV necessary]
This isn't a situation, when it's absolutely necessary to post on Facebook.

Фолловить:
Twitter подскажет, кого стоит **зафолловить**
[Twitter will tell-PFV whom-ACC is worth to follow-PFV]
Twitter will tell you whom it's worth to follow

я всегда смотрю то, что пользователь пишет прежде чем **прифолловить** его
[I always look it which user writes before follow-PFV him-ACC]
I always look at what someone writes before I decide to follow them

---

3 prefixes:

Квотить:
я, конечно, могу **заквотить** твои посты и красным исправить, но зачем?
[I of course I can to quote-PFV you posts-ACC and red-INSTR to correct-PFV, but what for]
I could, of course, quote you posts and correct them in red, but what would it be good for?

Некоторые свои ответы я позволю себе **проквотить**, так как раньше уже отвечал…
[some [REFL PO] answers-NOM I allow-PFV [REFL PO]-DAT to quote-PFV, as earlier already answered-IMPFV]
I'll take the liberty to simply quote some of my own answers as I have already answered them before

Я где то видел на привете кажется, могу поискать и **переквотить**.
[I somewhere saw-IMPFV on Privet it seems, I can-IMPFV to search-PFV and quote-PFV]
I've seen it somewhere, I think it was on privet.ru. I can look for it and quote it.

Логоффиться:
если залогиниться, **залогофиться** и опять залогиниться, то..
[if to log in-PFV to log out-PFV and again to log in-PFV, then]
If you log in, log out, and then log back in, then…

Заставьте всех юзеров **отлогоффиться** и зайти обратно
[force-PFV all users-ACC to log off-PFV and enter-PFV back]
Make all users log off and then back in.

можно заставить его **разлогофиться** из аккаунта Google
[possible force-PFV him-ACC to log off-PFV from account-GEN Google-GEN]
You can force him to log off from his Google account.

Спамить:
вялотекуще пытается **заспамить** один из постов комментариями
[torpid tries to spam-PFV one-ACC of posts-GEN comments-INSTR]
A numbskull is trying to spam one of the posts with comments.

Можно […]их послать своим друзьям, **отспамить** ICQ contact list и..
[possible them-ACC to send-PFV REFL friends-DAT to spam-PFV ICQ contact list and]
It's possible to send them to all your friends and spam your ICQ contact list.

Здоровый чел не будет платить деньги, чтобы **проспамить** стрёмный сайт
[healthy person not will to pay-IMPF money, in order to spam-PFV rapid site-ACC]
A normal person wouldn't pay to promote a popular site.

Твитить:
Из названия понятно, что нужно **затвитить** анекдот
[from name-GEN clear that necessary to tweet-PFV anecdote]
It's clear (just) from the title that we have to tweet this anecdote.

это следует установить как статус в фэйсбуке! и **оттвитить** президенту!)
[this follows to place-PFV as status in Facebook-LOC and tweet-PFV president-DAT]
This we'll have to put as a status on Facebook and send to the president.

смогут «**протвитить**» все, что покажется им наиболее интересным
[they can-PFV tweet-PFV all-ACC, which seems them-DAT most interesting-INSTR]
They can tweet whatever seems to them the most interesting.

Форвардить:
Его нужно **зафорвардить** на городской укртелекома
[it-ACC necessary to forward-PFV to municipal-ACC UkrTelecom-GEN]
It's necessary to forward it to a unit on the municipal UkrTelecom network

подскажите что лучше из них убрать перед тем как **отфорвардить** в сообщество
[tell-PFV what better from them to remove-PFC before to forward-PFV to community-ACC]
Say, what should be removed from these before forwarding them to the community?

я должен **перефорвардить** Ваши благодарности Александру Гладченко
[I should forward-PFV your gratitude-ACC Alexander Gladchenko-DAT]
I should pass on your gratitude to Alexander Gladchenko

4 prefixes:

Апрувить:
ваше приложение не **заапрувят**, если вы забудете прикрепить к нему иконку
[your application not the approve-PFV if you forget-PFV to attach-PFV to it-DAT picture]
They won't approve your application if you forget to attach a picture to it

напомните пожалуйста сколько времени нужно чтобы **проапрувить**\задеклайнить клан? "
[remind-PFV please how much time-GEN necessary for to approve-PFV/decline-PFV clan-ACC]
Remind me please, how much long does it take to approve or decline a (gaming) clan?

возьмем машину там. Муж решит. Мой вопрос апарты выбрать, вернее **отапрувить**
[we take-PFV car-ACC there. Husband decides. My matter apartments to choose-PFV, rather approve-APP]
We'll hire a car there. My husband decides. My task will be to choose apartments, or rather, to approve them.

тут меня попросили **сапрувить** заявки в группе IR
[here me-ACC they asked-PFV to approve-PFV applications-ACC to group IR]
They've asked me to approve applications to the IR group.

Лайкать:

в ленте есть два предложения **залайкать** страницу, которую **залайкали** твои друзья
[in news feed-LOC are two suggestions-GEN to like-PFV page-ACC, which liked-PFV your friends-NOM]
In the news feed there are two suggestions to like page that your friends have liked.

Отлайкать новость и сделать перепост этой новости, нажав "Рассказать друзьям".
[to like-PFV news-ACC and make repost-ACC this news-GEN, having hit-PFV to tell-PFV friends-DAT]
To like and repost the news by clicking the “share”-button.

Полайкай мой профайл, я **полайкаю** твой!
[like-PFV my profile-ACC, I like-PFV yours-ACC]
Like my profile and I’ll like yours.

Прочитаете и обязательно **пролайкайте**
[read through-PFV and without fail like-PFV]
Read it and make sure to like it.

Постить:

Спешите залить побольше реплеев и **запостить** побольше комментариев
[Hurry saturate-PFV more replays-GEN and post-PFV more comments-GEN]
Hurry and work up plenty of replays and post plenty of comments.

не мог не **отпостить** сей кото-шедевр в своем дневнике
[not could not post-PFV this cat-masterpiece-ACC in REFL diary]
I had to post this cat-masterpiece in my diary.

Прошу **пропостить** здесь ваши фэйсы
[I request to post-PFV here your faces-ACC]
I request that you post your portraits here.

Решил здесь **спостить**, пока тот сайт был на ремонте.
[decided here to post-PFV, while that site was on maintenance]
I decided to post here while the other site was under maintenance.

Чекиниться:
зачекиниться в кафе и сбросить ссылку в соцсети, чтоб друзья видели, где ты сейчас находишься.
['to check in-PFV in café and throw-PFV link to social network, in order to friends saw, where you now]
To check in at a café and throw up a link on a social network, so your friends saw, what your location is.

можно же не вставая с дивана **отчекиниться** везде в радиусе 300 метров - с Android
[possible no rising from sofa-GEN to check in-PFV everywhere in radius-LOC 300 meters-GEN from Android]
Android lets you check in anywhere within a 300 meter radius without ever leaving you couch.

В столице нашей Родины есть что посмотреть, где поселфиться и **почекиниться**.
[In capital-LOC our-GEN homeland-GEN is what to see-PFV, where to take selfie-PFV and check in-PFV]
In the our nation's capital there is stuff to see, places worth taking selfies and checking in at.

забыл **вчекиниться** онлайн, а когда приехал в аэропорт - было уже поздно
[forgot-PFV to check in-PFV online, and when arrived-PFV to airport-ACC was-IMPFV already late]
I forgot to check in online, and when I arrived at the airport it was already too late.

5 prefixes:

Аттачить:
при попытке **приаттачить** файл к посту мне выдало. An Error Has Occurred!
[under attempt-LOC to attach-PFV file-ACC to post-DAT me-DAT gave An Error Has Occured!]
When attempting to attach a file to my post it just gave me: An Error Has Occured!

Можно **зааттачить** патч в коммент на багтрекере, а можно кинуть на ревьюборд.
[possible to attach-PFV patch-ACC to comment-ACC on Bug Tracker-LOC, and possible to throw-ACC to review board-ACC]
You can attach the patch to your comment on Bug Tracker or you can send it to the review board.

я не знаю можно ли здесь грузить видео, если можно то попытаюсь **податтачить** видео чуть позже
[I not know possible whether here to load-IMPFV video, if possible then i try-PFV to attach-PFV video little later]
I don't know if you can upload videos here, but if you can, I will try to attach a video a little later.

а как картинку **поаттачить**?
[and how picture-ACC to attach-PFV]
How do you attach a photo?

Если кому интересно могу **ваттачить** шот с открытой панелей записи
[if whom-DAT interesting I can-IMPFV attach-PFV shot-ACC with open panel-INSTR recordings-GEN]
If anyone is interested I can attach a screenshot with the recording toolbar open.

Донатить:
Как **задонатить** в League off Legends через телефон
[how to pay into-PFV to League of Legends through phone-ACC]
How do I pay money into League of Legends from my phone?

Решил **вдонатить** 300р, и ничего не пришло
[decided-PFV to pay into-PFV 300 rub and nothing not came-PFV]
I decided to put 300 rubles (on my game account), but nothing has arrived.

Я решил **продонатить** на сервер 1.4.5. положил 100 рублей на терминал, с комиссией, пришло 95 рублей.
[I decided-PFV to pay into-PFV to sever 1.4.5-ACC placed-PFV 100 rubles-ACC on terminal-ACC with commission-INSTR arrived-PFV 95 rubles.]
I decided to pay money into server 1.4.5. I put 100 rubles on the terminal, which amounted to 95 rubles after commission.

сколько надо **надонатить** чтобы попасть на турнир?
[how much necessary to pay into-PFV in order to find oneself-PFV to tournament]
How much do you have to pay to participate in the tournament?

Хотел **подонатить** пока деньги есть!
[wanted to pay into-PFV while money are]
I wanted to pay into (my game account) while I still have the money

---

Зиповать:
Зазиповать файлы можно с помощью compress.exe
[to zip-PFV files-ACC possible with help-INSTR compress.exe-GEN]
You can zip files with compress.exe

Если вам нужно файлы **позиповать** то environment вообще не нужно включать?
[if you-DAT necessary files-ACC to zip-PFV then environment-ACC at all not necessary include-IMPFV]
If you need to zip files, do you need to include 'environment' at all?

Я файл **отзипую** и вышлю
[I file-ACC will zip-PFV and will send off-PFV]
I'll zip the file and send it

ребят, как **сзиповать** фотки и переслать по мылу, а то их очень много
[lads-NEW VOC how to zip-PFV photos-ACC and forward-PFV by soap-DAT, for them-GEN very many]
Guys, how can I zip the pictures and send them by e-mail? There's a lot of them

если **узиповать**, то наверно ещё меньше будет
[if to zip-PFV, then probably even smaller it will be]
If you zip it, it will probably be even smaller

Троллить:
Простейший способ **затроллить** девочек из инстаграма, выложивших групповое фото
[simplest way to provoke-PFV girls-ACC from Instagram-GEN posted-PFV group photo-ACC]
The easiest way to girls who have posted a group photo on Instagram worked up

Лёха умеет **оттроллить** кого угодно
[Alexey is able to provoke-PFV whomever-ACC]
Alexey knows how to provoke anybody.

способы **потроллить** Грузию.
[ways to provoke-PFV Georgia]
(Different) ways to provoke Georgia.

Так **протроллить** США и "свободный мир" еще никому не удавалось.
[such to provoke-PFV USA and free world yet nobody-DAT not succeeded-IMPF]
No one has been able to provoke the US and the “free world” that hard before.

иногда забавно **строллить** и посмотреть, как все бурно реагируют.
[sometimes amusing to troll-PFV and see-PFV how everyone roughly react]
Sometimes it’s amusing to provoke, and see how fiercely everyone reacts

---

Банить:
вы на босса посмотрите, его тоже надо **взбанить**
[you at boss-ACC look-PFV, him-ACC also must to ban-PFV]
Look at the boss; you’ll have to ban him too

как **забанить** пользователя в контакте?
[how to ban-PFV user-ACC in vKontakte]
How does one block a user on vKontakte?

Теперь можно и **побанить** аккаунты, которые…
[now possible and to ban-PFV accounts that …]
Now it’s also possible to block accounts that…]

нет ли желания у админов **прибанить** на пару тройку дней такого как PolitNewsMan?
[no whether wish-GEN at administrators-GEN to ban-PFV for couple three days such as PolitNewsMan]
Perhaps the admins feel like banning someone like PolitNewsMan for a two or three days? (not npfv)

… а заодно **сбанить** тех, кто выступал против
[and at the same time ban-PFV those-ACC, who came out-PFV against]
…and at the same time ban those, who spoke out in opposition

Если их **убанить**, коммьюнити от того не пострадает совершенно.
[if them to ban-PFV, community-NOM from it-GEN not will suffer-PFV completely]
If you ban them, their community won’t suffer fatally from it

---

6 prefixes:

Логиниться:
хозяйн вышёл из игры, а **влогиниться** назад не смог
[host exited-PFV from game-GEN and log in-PFV back not could-PFV]
The host left the game and wasn’t able to log back in.

быстро **залогиниться** можно не вводя логина и пароля
[quickly to log in-PFV possible not entering username-GEN and password-GEN]
You can quickly log in without entering username or password.

Попробуйте создать нового пользователя, затем **подлогиниться** под ним
[try-PFV to create-PFV new user-ACC, then to log in-PFV under him-INSTR]
Try to create a new user and log in with him.

Для участия в опросе необходимо **прилогиниться**.
[for participation-GEN in survey-LOC necessary to log in-PFV]
One has to log in to participate in the survey.

Я автор предыдущего комментария, забыл **прологиниться**
[I author previous comment-GEN, forgot-PFV to log in-PFV]
I'm the author of the previous comment, I forgot to log in.

…юзер в какой-то момент не сможет **слогиниться** в свой ноут
[user at some point-ACC not can-PFV to log in-PFV to his laptop-ACC]
..at some point the user won't be able to log in to his computer.

Кнокать:
Жизнь меня совсем **закнокала**.
[life me-ACC completely knock-PFV]
I'm completely sick of my life

на ОИ в Ванкувере канадская сборная **откнокала** российскую так, что аж вёсла отвисли.
[at Olympic Games-LOC in Vancouver-LOC Canadian national team-NOM knocked-PFV Russian-ACC so, that even oars drooped-PFV]
At the Vancouver Olympic Games the Canadian team beat the Russian so bad, that the oars started drooping.

Я **покнокала** овощи и сделала очень вкусный салат
[I sliced-PFV vegetables-ACC and made-PFV very tasty salad-ACC]
I diced the vegetables and made a very tasty salad.

за то теперь я точно **подкнокал** - у моего Владыки синие глаза
[on the other hand now I definitely saw-PFV at my bishop-GEN blue eyes-NOM]
At least this time I saw it for sure – my bishop has blue eyes

прошу прощения, если спрашиваю что-то очевидное, но сам **скнокать** не смог
[I ask forgiveness-ACC, if I ask something obvious-ACC, but myself understand-PFV I couldn't-PFV]
I beg your pardon, if I ask something obvious, but I couldn't understand it on my own.

ты ещё жива!? Слободян тебя не **укнокал**?
[you still alive Slobodyan-NOM you-ACC not knock-PFV?]
You're still alive!? Slobodyan hasn't killed you?

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7 prefixes:

Комментить:
лайкнуть аву, **закомментить** фотку???
[to like-PFV avatar-ACC to comment-PFV picture-ACC]
Should I like the profile picture and comment on the photo?

к этому посту **накомментить** хотела....но чота не получаетсоъ
[toward this post-DAT to comment-PFV wanted but somehow not it succeeds]
I wanted to comment on this post, but it doesn't work for some reason

Могла бы **окомментить**, что то в стиле – «все мужики – козлы»… но не стану… ибо глупо.
[could comment-PF something-ACC in style-LOC all men goats but not begin because stupid]
I could comment something along the lines of “all men are idiots”… but I won’t… because it’d be stupid.

нет возможности ни **откомментить** пост, ни написать личное сообщение
[no possibility-GEN not comment-PFV post-ACC, not write-PFV personal message-ACC]
There’s no way to comment on the post or write a personal message.

Решил **покомментить:** [комментарий]
[decided-PFV to comment-PFV]
I decided to comment: [the comment]

прокомментить там без всяких регистраций нельзя
[to comment-PFV there without sundry registrations-GEN prohibited]
You can’t **comment** there without registering.

мне даже трудно **скомментить**, вышло прикольно
[me-DAT even hard to comment-PFV. It turned out-PFV cool]
It’s hard for me to comment even, it turned out pretty cool.

Коннектиться:
В Аську **вконнектиться** не могу
[to ICQ-ACC to connect-PFV not I can-IMPFV]
I can’t connect to ICQ

Сколько раз объяснять людям, что **законнектиться** на впн с отключённой локалкой-это то же что пытаться ссать в унитаз с закрытой крышкой
[how many times-GEN to explain-IMPFV people-DAT, that to connect-PFV to VPN with turned off LAN-INSTR this the same as to try-IMPFV defecate-IMPFV in toilet-ACC with closed lid-INSTR]
How many times do you have to explain to people, that connecting to a VPN with your LAN turned off, is the same as trying to defecate into the toilet when the lid is down?

тоесть туда можно **наконнектиться** как в скайпе и разговаривать
[that is there possible to connect-PFV as in skype-LOC and to converse-IMPFV]
That’s to say you can connect to it, like you would to skype, and chat?

Если у меня дома проводной интернет как я могу **поконнектиться** к нему с телефона с помощью вай фай?
[if at me home-GEN wired internet-NOM how I I can-IMPFV to connect-PFV to it-DAT from telephone-GEN with help-INSTR WiFi-GEN]
If I have a wired internet connection at home, how can I connect to it from my phone using WiFi?

не могу **подконнектиться** к серверу в часы ПИК
[not I can-IMPFV to connect-PFV to server-DAT in hours peak]
I can’t connect to the server during rush hours

как **приконнектиться** к этому серверу?
[how to connect-PFV to this server?]
How do I connect to this server?

пытаемся **сконнектится**, выдает ошибку "Lan servers are restricted to local clients”
[we try-IMPF to connect-PFV, gives error-ACC Lan servers are restricted to local clients]
We’re trying to connect, but we’re getting the error message “Lan servers are restricted to local clients”

Флудить:
вы шо, за последние пять часов смогли **выфлудить** только одну страничго?
[you what, in last five-ACC hours-GEN you could-PFV to write-PFV only one page-ACC]
What, in the last five hours you’ve only been able to write one page?

зафлудили сайт всякими рецептами.
[flooded-PFV site all kinds recipies-INSTR]
They’ve flooded the site with all kinds of recipies.

боюсь еще 30 страниц **исфлудить**, перечисляя имена
[am afraid still 30 pages-GEN to write-PFV enumerating names]
I worry I’ll get another 30 pages just by listing the names.

Профлудить всем знакомым, которым когда-то помог, чтобы они проголосовали за тебя?
[to write-PFV to all acquaintances-DAT whom-DAT some time helped-PFV in order to they-NOM voted-PFV for you-ACC]
..write to everyone you’ve helped at one point to get them to vote for you?

Вы упорно пытаетесь **сфлудить** обсуждение
[you hard try to spam-PFV discussion-ACC]
You try hard to spam the discussion.

За 40 минут можно успеть […] **офлудить** форум прослушать диск,..
[in 40 minutes-GEN possible to manage-PFV to flood-PFV forum, to listen-PFV disc-PFV]
In 40 minutes one can manage to […], flood the forum, listen to the CD all the way through, …

мож **уфлудить** его сайт до полного падения всего хоста??
[possible to flood-PFV his site until total fall-GEN whole host-GEN]
Can one flood his site so bad the host crashes entirely?

11 prefixes:

Гуглить:
в чём проблема самому **вгуглить** слово «монада»
[in what-LOC problem REFL-DAT to google-PFV word-ACC monad]
How hard is it to just google the word ‘monad’ youselves?

если непонятно, можно было **взгуглить** эти словечки
[if not understandable, possible was to google-PFV these words-ACC]
If you didn’t understand, you could have googled these words

я тут попытался **выгуглить** чего-нибудь путного про бойкот.
[I here tried-PFV to google-PFV something sensible about boycott]
I tried to google up something sensible on the boycott.

не смог найти инсталяху, пришлось **загуглить** и попал на ваш супер сайт.
[not could-PFV find-PFV installer-ACC, had to-PFV to google-PFV and wound up-PFV on your great site-ACC]
I couldn't find the installation program so I had to google, and I wound up on your great site

Я **нагуглил** о нем любопытную статью на сайте
[I googled-PFV about him-LOC interesting article-ACC]
I found an interesting article on him on Google

Если проявить легкую пытливость и **огуглить** вопрос, то можно обнаружить что…
[if to display-PFV light inquisitiveness and google-PFV question, then possible to discover-PFV, that…]
If one were to show just a little curiosity and google the question, one could discover that…

4.8 млн ссылок, которые можно получить, если **отгуглить** "дворцы путина"…
[the 4.8 million links-GEN, that possible to receive-PFV, if google-PFV "palaces Putin-GEN"]
The 4.8 million hits, that you can get, if you google Putin's palaces…

Прогуглила: "Как заболеть школьнику." Методы офигенные!
[googled-PFV how to get sick-PFV student-DAT. Methods astounding]
I googled: "How to get sick." The methods are astounding.

Хотел уже **разгуглить** состав группы, но лень.
[I wanted already to google-PFV composition group-GEN, but laziness]
I want to google the makeup of the group already, but I can't be bothered

при желании, можете **сгуглить** кучу полезной информации
[in the presence of desire-LOC, you can to google-PFV pile-ACC useful information-GEN]
If you wish, you can google up a whole lot of useful information

Теперь можно **угуглить** всё что угодно!
[now possible to google-PFV all-ACC that you please]
Nowadays you can google whatever you want