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Studies on the Polisch verbal prefix prze-

Genis, R.M.

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I THE POLISH VERBAL PREFIX *PRZE-*; VARIANT AND INVARIANT MEANINGS

0 Introduction

This chapter is a reworking of the part of our previous paper that deals with the meaning(s) of Polish verbal prefix *prze-* (Genis 1997). As we have demonstrated there, the various dictionaries and some other publications provide several variant meanings for the prefix *prze-*. Indeed, it would be better to speak of several “sets” or “collections” of variant meanings as authors presented differing subdivisions of the totality of encountered variant meanings in a different way, whilst usually including the full scope of meaning. Doroszewski (1958-69) sums up what he calls the more frequent shades of meaning and comes to a total of 17 separate submeanings. Szymczak (1978) mentions only 12. The more recent *Inny słownik języka polskiego* (Bańko 2000) explicitly mentions that *prze-* can function as a so-called “pure” perfectivising prefix and then goes on to describe 14 variant meanings that it can also express. Śmiech’s extensive chapter on derivatives with prefix *prze-* allows us to discern a minimum of 11 meaning groups (among which is also “pure” perfectivisation) as well as what could be classified as several further sub-meanings connected to particular derivational types (1986: 60-68). Pasich-Piasecka (1993) approaches the problem of the polysemy of this prefix in a cognitive way and discerns 6 core-meaning variants around a central meaning for preposition *przez*. She then uses this model as a basis to discuss some 16 variant realisations of these six core variants for prefix *prze-*. Although mainly concerned with collocational aspects of compounds with prefix *prze-*, Grochowska also provides an index of meanings for the prefix, this time amounting to some 14 variants, including “pure” perfectivisation (1979: 65-72). It is difficult to establish the exact number of meaning

variants for *prze-* in Aptacy (1975) as she approaches the problem from a very different angle. On the face of it, though, she reviews the same extent of meaning that can be seen in the above-mentioned authors. Other publications may sum up different numbers of separate meanings in their listings, but certainly the ones mentioned here seem to have tackled the totality of the variety of meaning that can be connected to *prze-*. Here, as before, we aim to list and discuss as many variant meanings of this prefix as possible and so we have not only used the above mentioned publications but we also consulted text corpora and native speakers.

In our earlier paper, we presented the problem as one of establishing the invariant meaning of *prze-* by analysing the meanings encountered in all the individual verbs with this prefix and subsequently grouping and comparing all these variants and subtracting the variant elements. The invariant meaning of *prze-* is then the element of meaning that can be explained to be present in any verb with *prze-*. The invariant we thus established for *prze-* is presented in 0.3.

0.1 Some preliminary remarks and exclusions

Polish *prze-* incorporates in fact “meanings” which in other Slavic languages are represented by more than one prefix. More usually there are two, such as for example in Czech with *pře-* and *pro-*. On the face of it Russian has three: *пере-*, *пре-* and *про-*.¹ Compare Polish *przejechać* ‘drive across’, *przepelnić* ‘fill throughout/completely’ and *przerąbać* ‘hack through’. In Russian they can be rendered by *переехать*, *преисполнить*, and *прорубить* respectively. According to Vasmer (2003) *пре-* and *пере-* are two versions of one and the same prefix and so we only have to concern ourselves with the basic opposition between Russian *пере-* and *про-*, which is generally perceived as²:

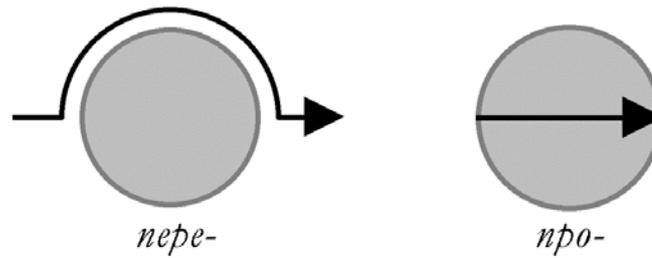


Fig. 1 Russian *пере-* and *про-*

Again in very general terms this opposition for Russian could be described as:

nepe-; get to the other side of a domain, often perceived as a barrier;

npo-; go through a domain.³

These are indeed very basic descriptions and we ignore the fact that both Russian prefixes are also polysemous.

As this opposition is apparently not expressed by different prefixes in Polish we will proceed from the premise of the invariant meaning for Polish *prze-* irrespective of the formal-semantic opposition that clearly does exist in other Slavic languages.

Our invariant meaning for Polish *prze-* includes all its variant meanings, with the exception of manifestations of verbal prefix *przed-*, which is sometimes rendered *prze-*. Although by all means not in all such cases, the elision of [d] occurred where it found itself in a position before a labial, labiodental, dental or even (post)alveolar as for instance in *przepowiadać* 'predict, foretell', *przewidzieć* 'foresee, forecast', *przesądzić* 'prejudge', *przestrzec* 'warn', (lit. 'before-guard', *przeczuć* 'have a presentiment'.

0.2 Further premises

1. Every prefix modifies or narrows the meaning of a verb stem with which it is combined.⁴
2. A prefix accentuates as it were particular characteristics (of the frame) of a predicate (irrespective of whether in a particular case these be spatial, temporal

or other) and in fact, brings to the fore such characteristics as may otherwise not be perceived as relevant. It makes these characteristics relevant, as they are usually a precondition for the treatment by the action etc. expressed by the basic verb. In *przejedziemy Polskę* 'we will drive across Poland', Poland is presented as a spatial entity that is finite and 'crossable'.

3. In all prefix meanings (including *prze-*) there is the conceptualisation of two situations we shall refer to as:

P, the old (previous) situation, and

Q, the new (following, resulting, terminal) situation.

This is a very simple description that points out the terminative nature of prefix meaning. Indeed, prefixed compounds are to our knowledge usually terminative and may have meanings that focus on one of these situations (usually Q) as contrasted by the other situation. In the earlier example 'new' would be 'the side of Poland that we will reach'. This 'new' side of Poland only exists since there is an 'old' side; 'where we start(ed) out'. In *przepisałem artykuł* 'I have copied the article'²⁵ the speaker views the old situation as one in which there was but one copy of the article as opposed to the new situation, where there are two. P and Q are positioned against a landmark. The nature of the landmark can vary greatly as indeed can its actual position vis à vis P and Q. In the former example the nature of the landmark, Poland, is relatively clear. In the latter however, we need to look further, as we shall do below.

4. Implicit in prefix meaning is also the trajector. This is the connection between the two points P and Q. It too has a position located against the landmark. The nature of the trajector can vary from verb to verb even if they have the same prefix. There is no reason to assume that it is always a straight line.

Any description of prefix meaning should include the elements P, Q, landmark and trajector.

0.3 The invariant meaning of *prze-*.

In our earlier paper (Genis 1997), we have established three semantic

characteristics for *prze-*. Below we mention them again in a somewhat rewritten version.

1. A point P signalling the point of departure, the original condition, position etc., and a point Q, the end, end result, new condition, position etc. This is a universal part of all prefix meaning, as signalled in 0.2-3 above.
2. A landmark R situated between the two points P and Q. This landmark can consist of:
 - a. Factual space, or an object with a spatial dimension;
 - b. time, or an entity with a temporal dimension;
 - c. the range/domain of the meaning expressed by the base simplex;
 - d. etc.

In cases such as b, c and d, the landmark could be said to consist of “metaphorical space”.⁶

More on this will follow in the discussion of the individual variant meanings below. The landmark does however always have an “outer edge” on the side where it passes into the domain characterised by Q. That is: the “moment” of reaching Q. Native informers have pointed out to us, that the landmark R is perceived as having the nature of a barrier. This prompts us to signal the line in between R and Q in the following schematic representations.

3. A trajector encompassing R, consisting of a passage from P to Q;

The very use of *prze-* may add the suggestion of there being points 1, 2 and 3. The nature of point 2 is entirely dependent on the meaning of the base verb (simplex) and, in certain cases, the meaning of the base simplex in combination with the nature of the various extensions.

The invariant meaning of *prze-* can be visualised thus:

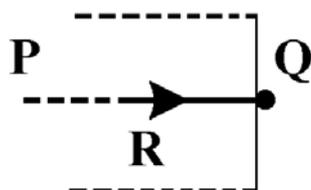


Fig. 2 *the invariant meaning of prze-*

Note that in fact point Q and the very edge of the border of the landmark should be in virtually the same place. Also note that the dotted lines are there to indicate:

- That *prze-* does not necessarily encompass the whole of the landmark. It always means that the final limit of the landmark in question is crossed, which, in certain cases (cf. the above), can even imply a landmark in its entirety. This latter point again depends on the base simplex and/or extensions;
- That the actual position of point P cannot be determined on the basis of the meaning of the prefix other than 'before the final limit of the landmark'.

We will re-establish the validity of this theoretical invariant as we discuss the variant meanings and the conclusions below.

The aim of this chapter then, is to organise the variant meanings as a comprehensive set as well as to provide some explanation for the occurrence of the variants by looking at the combining stems that occur with the individual variants when necessary.

1 Variant meanings as combining elements.

If, as in our previous paper (Genis 1997: 204), one sticks to the principle that the meaning of a compound is the sum total of verb-meaning plus prefix-meaning, the derivational process would look thus:

form:	PREFIX	+	VERB	=	COMPOUND
meaning:	'x'		'y'		'xy'

This quickly turns out to be a rather too narrowly formulated model, as we

shall discuss here. In this approach the prefix must be considered to be poly-semantic as otherwise the above model would not suffice. In our previous paper we remarked that *prze-* does not actually occur (clearly) in any existing compound in its invariant meaning only and there is always some “additional” meaning, some variant. In other words, in the above table it would be wrong to consider ‘x’ = *prze_i*. Let us compare the following two examples:

- (1) *Piotr przepisał książkę.*
 Piotr_{NOM} PRZE-wrote_P book_{ACC}.
 ‘Piotr copied the book {by writing}’
- (2) *Piotr przesunął książkę.*
 Piotr_{NOM} PRZE-shoved_P book_{ACC}.
 ‘Piotr replaced the book {by shoving}’

If we scrutinise the compounds of (1) and (2) we find:

	prefix		verb		compound
form:	<i>PRZE-</i>	+	<i>PISAĆ</i>	=	<i>PRZEPISAĆ</i>
meaning:	‘x’		‘write’		‘copy {by writing}’
form:	<i>PRZE-</i>	+	<i>SUNAĆ</i>	=	<i>PRZESUNAĆ</i>
meaning:	‘x’		‘shove’		‘replace {by shoving}’

For the compounds, the elements of meaning given here between {} pertain clearly to the meaning of the base verb and not to the prefix. Therefore, for (1) ‘x’ should be interpreted as ‘copy’ as the action expressed by the compound yields in reality a new copy of the book. In (2) however there is only ever one copy but its position is changed. We could then say that in (1) and (2) the verb induces a variant meaning of *prze-* (*prze_x*), which in (1) would be *prze₍₁₎* ‘copy’ and in (2) would be *prze₍₂₎* ‘relocation’ respectively. Obviously this is an oversimplification and its purpose here is merely to establish a basic principle.

If however we return to the other principle, that the invariant meaning of a

prefix is present in each compound, we immediately feel the need to further analyse the build up of the variant prefix meaning. Each such variant meaning can be seen as a variant interpretation induced by the semantics of the combining verb so to speak of the invariant meaning of the prefix. Prefix-meaning is then basically bi-partite and its sum is:

$$\text{prze}_x = \text{prze}_i + v$$

In which prze_v is the actual variant interpretation of the invariant meaning of the prefix induced by the semantics, indeed by the frame, of the combining verb.

In the examples under scrutiny this could be presented as follows:

	prefix		verb		compound
form:	<i>PRZE-</i>		<i>PISAC</i>	=	<i>PRZEPISAC</i>
meaning:	' prze_i '	'copy'	'write'	=	'copy {by writing}'
	prze_i	$\text{prze}_{v(1)}$			
form:	<i>PRZE-</i>		<i>SUNAC</i>	=	<i>PRZESUNAC</i>
meaning:	' prze_i '	'relocation'	'shove'	=	'replace {by shoving}'
	prze_i	$\text{prze}_{v(2)}$			

For further analysis of this we need to focus on the mechanism of this interpretation. Mostly this mechanism seems logical - one would never produce a new copy of a book by shoving it, nor replace it by writing -, but we must be careful as meanings can get quite complex. We aim to present this mechanism by discussing and classifying the variant meanings encountered for *prze-* whilst also back-tracking them to the invariant and focussing on the combining verb and its frame.⁷ Each variant meaning of *prze-* is then the sum of the two aforemen-

tioned elements, one of which is always the invariant. And so, in numbering the variant meanings we will not specify that the invariant element of meaning is always present. We shall use the following indications:

$prze_i$		invariant meaning of <i>prze-</i>
$prze_x$		any variant meaning of <i>prze-</i>
$prze_1, prze_2, prze_3$ etc.		individual variant meanings of <i>prze-</i>

1.1 Predictability of the variant meanings

We were not able to solve the problem that the semantics of prefixes are inherently complex and make it virtually impossible to predict the totality of the meaning of any compound with certainty. In other words, we do not think it is possible to formulate a model that will make the variant realisation of $prze_x$ in the following sum evident/predictable in all cases.

<i>PRZE-</i>		SIMPLEX		COMPOUND
' $prze_i$ '	+	'simplex'	=	' $prze_x + simplex$ '

However, especially as the variant element of meaning for every *prze*-variant depends on semantic characteristics and so also on the frame of the base-simplex with which it is combined, there is a certain degree of likelihood as to the (resultant) compound meaning. More about this will follow in the conclusions.

2 The variant meanings

In our previous paper (Genis 1997) we established the variant meanings for *prze-*. In the following we present a rearranged list and discuss the items on it. Some new positions have been added to this list.

2.1 $Prze_i$; traverse landmark

The first group of meanings concerns spatial domains as landmark and the passing through or crossing thereof.⁸ Within the $prze_i$ -group are also some

variant meanings for which landmark R consists of metaphorical space in some sense or other. We shall try to point out the nature of the landmark especially for these meanings.

2.1.1 *Prze_{1,1}*; get across / over

The meaning ‘get across / over’ can be described as: ‘move all the way across / over a certain space, or object envisaged as having a spatial dimension (mentioned explicitly, or suggested in some way by the action or process expressed by the base simplex).’ Among the typical combining verbs are the “classic” verbs of motion as well as other verbs whose trajector moves through the space that is marked by the direct object. Examples of these are: *przebiec* ‘run through/over’, *przebrnąć* ‘struggle through/over’, *przechodzić* ‘walk through/over’, *przezołgać się* ‘crawl through/over’, *przemaszzerować* ‘march through/over’, *przewieźć* ‘carry through/over’ etc. Simple examples are:

- (3) *Przejedziemy całą Polskę.*
 PRZE-drive_{P-1-PL} whole_Poland_{ACC}.
 ‘We will drive across the whole of Poland’
- (4) *Przeszli rzekę w bród.*
 PRZE- went_{P-3-PL} river_{ACC} in ford_{ACC}.
 ‘They (have) crossed the river through a ford.’

Most examples found in corpus searches include direct objects with obvious spatial dimensions. These dimensions can vary as we can see in the above examples (3) and (4). We could render the situations thus:

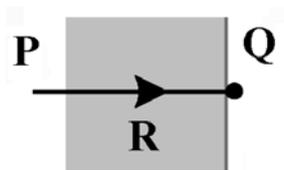


Fig. 3 *prze_{1,1}*; get across / over 1

- P = initial position of the trajector
 Q = the end position (just across the final border)
 R = landmark: spatial(ly perceived) entity

In examples (3) and (4) the extent of the spatially perceived entity is different in absolute terms: Poland must be much wider than any river. Please note, that the shape of R is not defined. We have not found any examples in which the borders separating P and Q could be at either (longitudinal) end of a spatial entity whose width is (considerably) smaller than its length, for instance a street or a river (cf. *rzeka* in (4)). However, native informants point out that this should be possible e.g. in sentences such as *przeszedłem całą ulicę* ‘I have walked through the whole street’. For the basic point we are making here though, this does not make a lot of difference, as a street can be landmark R in whichever way it is traversed. The syntactic complications involved here are discussed in chapter IV.

Polish *prze-* evidently does not distinguish between ‘through’ and ‘over’ in this type of meaning. We also consider verbs such as *przefrunąć* ‘fly’ to belong to this group: even though strictly speaking the actual trajector is above the spatial entity indicated, the object of the action is prototypically ‘get across and reach the other end’, whether on the ground or not. In fact, the meaning element ‘above’ in this case is inherent in the action described by the verb.

A different way of expressing the extent of spatial entity R can be seen in:

- (5) *Przejeźdździłiśmy całą benzynę.*
 PRZE-drove_{P-1-PL} whole_petrol_{ACC}.
 ‘We drove as far as we could until we ran out of petrol.’

The marker of the factual space is *całą benzynę*; the space that can be encompassed by the entire amount of petrol that we have at our disposition.

A further example to illustrate the extent of the possible usage of *prze_{I.1}* is seen in such *prze-*compounds that can assume a meaning ‘go along, past something’ as in:

- (6a) *Jan przejechał obok trybuny.*
 Jan_{NOM} PRZE-drove_P next_to gallery_{gen.}
 ‘Jan passed by (in front of) the gallery’

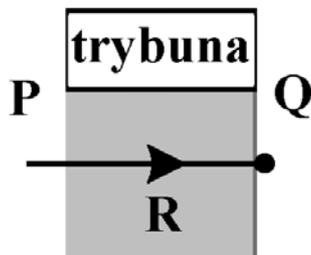


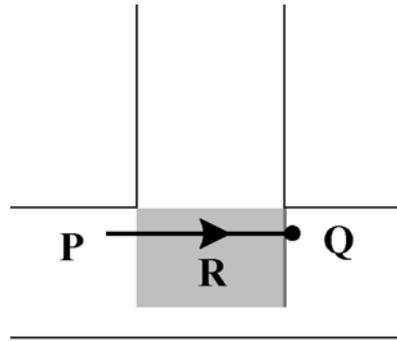
Fig. 4 *prze*_{1.1}; *get across / over* 2

- P = the relevant initial position, start of the action/condition/process
 Q = the end position (just across the border)
 R = the area characterised as lying next to / in front of the gallery.

Point P can be described as “before the area in front of the gallery” and point Q as “after the area in front of the gallery”. The object is to go across this area; *obok trybuny* ‘next to the gallery’ is seen here as encompassing the gallery but more crucially the relevant area in front of it, which cannot be described otherwise. We see no relevant difference between this treatment, and e.g. that of (3) and (4), albeit that the landmark is in this case defined by a prepositional phrase rather than a direct object.

The meaning “along” can also surface without an explicit predicate as in (6a).

- (6b) *Ania przeszła ulicę.*
 Ania_{NOM} PRZE-went_P street_{ACC.}
 ‘Ania walked past the street (that she was looking for).
 ‘Ania crossed the street.’

Fig. 5 *prze*_{1.1}; *get across / over* 3

For now it suffices to mention this possible use of *prze-* although it is ambiguous and the actual construction is subject to rather complex criteria. In chapter IV we will look into this more closely. Here we will only mention that in (6b) there was clearly no intention to walk past the street. Clearly less ambiguous as to intention is:

- (6c) *Autobus przejechał przystanek.*
 bus_{NOM} PRZE-drove_P bus-stop_{ACC}.
 'The bus drove past the bus stop'

This would for example be used when there was nobody at the bus stop or when nobody requested the driver to halt. Here we have a landmark with a clear spatial structure consisting of a marker (here: the indicated place for the bus to stop) and a domain typically belonging to that marker (here: the actual terrain on which a bus would normally come to a halt). It would seem that the meaning variant 'go past' is built up in Polish rather as 'go through the landmark next to its marker'.

We have seen then, that R can be variously spatial and the following example shows that it can actually be as narrow as a line or a linearly perceived spatial entity.

- (7) *Przekroczyliśmy granicę polsko-niemiecką.*
 PRZE-crossed_{P-1-PL} border_Polish-German_{ACC}.
 ‘We (have) crossed the Polish-German border’

Which we render:

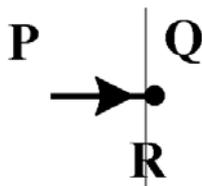


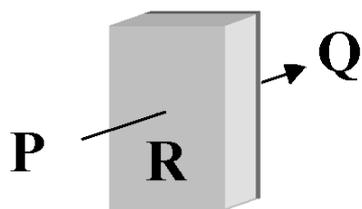
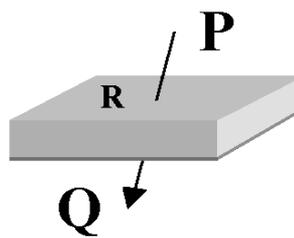
Fig. 6 *prze*_{1,1}; *get across / over* 4

It will not stretch anybody’s imagination to treat these as one and the same as far as the meaning of the prefix is concerned. One could suggest that it is the meaning of the base simplex in combination with the direct object rather than the prefix that suggests, or even determines the nature of the spatial “object” that is encountered on the way through as well as the nature of the point that is suggested to mark the beginning of this action / condition / process. *Prze-* is quite tolerant and allows these various spatial proportions. To mention just one rather morbid example from a recent press release which shows a quite frequent usage:

- (8) *Dwulatek przejechał babcię.*
 two-year-old_{NOM} PRZE-drove_P grandmother_{ACC}.
 ‘Two-year old ran over grandmother.’

2.1.2 *Prze*_{1,2}; *pierce*

In 2.1.1 we demonstrate an object dependent variety of spatial dimension that lies in the horizontal plane (even though passing over R can be meant). In the following group are verbs whose meanings are spatial also in an additional dimensional plane, often vertical. Thus:

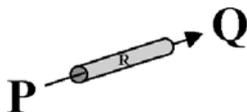
Fig. 7 *prze*_{1.2}; *pierce* 1AFig. 8 *prze*_{1.2}; *pierce* 1B

The difference between A and B is merely one of orientation and the thickness of R can vary as becomes clear by some of the compounds that can occur in this type of meaning: *przejrzeć* ‘look through’, *przeniknąć* ‘permeate (through)’, *przesączyć* ‘filter through’, *przestąpić* ‘cross, step through’, *przeświecać* ‘shine, show through’, *prześwietlać* ‘shine through’. An example:

- (9) *Woda źródłana przesiąka (przez) warstwę ziemi.*
 water_mineral_{NOM} PRZE-seep_I (through) layer_{ACC} earth_{GEN}.
 ‘The mineral water seeps/filters through a layer of earth.’

In (9) and similar cases R must in some way be permeable, ie. it has holes, through which our trajector passes. This passage can be perceived as somewhat troublesome, not easy. Sometimes the action expressed by the base simplex in combination with *prze-* supposes the pre-existence of a single, more substantial hole, such as in:

- (10) *Przedmuchał lufę dubeltówki.*
 PRZE-blew_{P-MASC-3-SG} barrel_{ACC} double-barrelled-gun_{GEN}.
 ‘He blew through a barrel of the double barrelled gun.’

Fig. 9 *prze*_{1.2}; *pierce* 2

Here the nature of R may be variant again, but the ‘passage through’ (essentially marked by the meaning of the prefix) is similar, albeit probably a lot easier.⁹

2.1.3 *Prze*_{1.3}; **puncture**

In some predicates the piercing typically leaves a trace, which may actually be the focus of the compound meaning. In (11) the result of the action is a hole in the tickets.

- (11) *Wszedł konduktor, obejrzał bilety, przedziurawił.*
 in-went_P ticket-collector_{NOM}, at-looked_P tickets_{ACC}, PRZE-punctured_P.
 ‘The ticket collector entered, looked at the tickets and punctured them’

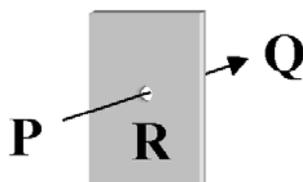


Fig. 10 *prze*_{1.3}; **puncture**

Przedziurawić is maybe an extreme example of this as it is obviously derived itself from the noun *dziura* ‘hole’. However, holes (of varying natures) are possible and even likely also in e.g. *przebić* ‘hit through’, *przebóść* ‘pierce through’, *przekłuć* ‘pierce, prick (through)’, *przerąbać* ‘hack through’, *przestrzelić* ‘shoot through’ and strictly speaking the nature of the resultant hole also depends on the characteristics of R (i.e. whether the hole is through wood, paper, flesh...).

2.1.4 *Prze*_{1.4}; **partition**

The passage through a spatially defined object can actually lead to its partition (usually in two parts), such as occurs in:

- (12) *Próbowala sobie żyły przeciąć rozbitą szklanką.*
 tried_{I-FEM-3-SG} herself_{DAT} veins_{ACC} PRZE-cut_{P-INF} broken_glass_{INSTR}.
 ‘She tried to cut her veins with a broken glass.’

The spatial dimension of the object can vary greatly and the following rendition is very schematic (here, R = veins...).

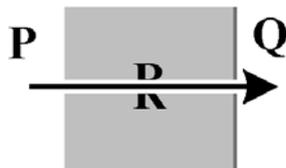


Fig. 11 *prze_{1.4}*; *partition*

Further examples are: *przedzielić* ‘partition, divide’, *przegrodzić* ‘divide’, *przełamać* ‘break into (two) pieces’, *przepierzyć* ‘partition (a room)’, *przepołowić* ‘halve’, *przerąbać* ‘chop/hack into (two) pieces’, *przerznąć* ‘cut (with a knife) into (two) pieces’, *przesieć* ‘hack into (two) pieces’.

2.1.5 *Prze_{1.5}*; saturate

An additional more subtle version of ‘traversing’ is given by Grochowska (1979: 67) as well as Śmiech (1986: 61). It can be described as ‘pass through and fill throughout’. It can be seen for instance in *przemrozić* which means something along the line of ‘freeze throughout’.

- (13) *Strach i smutek koniecznie przemrażać ją musiał aż do kości.*
 fear_{NOM} and sadness_{NOM} simply PRZE-freeze_{I-INF} her_{ACC} must_{I-PRET} until
 to bone_{GEN}.
 ‘Fear and sadness simply had to freeze her through to the bone.’

Again we would say that the effect on the spatial entity R (here: the part of the body from the skin through to the bone), which this time is affected decidedly in

its entirety (the frost *mróz* affects the whole of R and so the trajector is not a mere line across), is a result of the meaning of the base simplex. The prefix, again, only adds that the freezing goes through(out) the entire entity. Viz.

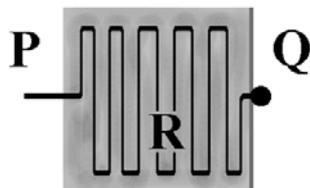


Fig. 12 *prze*_{1.5}; saturate

According to at least two native informants the same version of *prze-* can be interpreted for *przepęłnić*, although its meaning more usually refers to another variant of *prze-*, which we will discuss later (2.4.2 below). Other compounds in this series are: *przebutwieć* ‘moulder through’, *przechłodzić* ‘cool throughout’, *przegarbować* ‘tan throughout’, *przegnić* ‘rot throughout’, *przemarznąć* ‘freeze throughout’, *przemięknąć* ‘soak’, *przemoknąć* ‘soak’, *przemoczyć* ‘drench’, *przepachnąć* ‘perfume throughout’, *przepleśnieć* ‘moulder throughout’, *przepróchnieć* ‘moulder throughout’, *przerdzewieć* ‘rust throughout’, *przesycić* ‘saturate, impregnate’, *przetłuścić* ‘saturate, impregnate with fat’, *przeziębnić* ‘chill throughout’, *przeziębnić* ‘get cold throughout’, *przeżółknąć* ‘go yellow throughout’ etc. Often this meaning is simply perceived as ‘do thoroughly’, as we shall also see for the next meaning of *prze-*.

2.1.6 *Prze*_{1.6}; exhaust (also: execute thoroughly)

We word it as follows: ‘deal with a sequence of consecutive objects or entities, until the collection is exhausted,’ and we propose it concerns verbs such as *przeanalizować* ‘analyse’, *przebadać* ‘examine’, *przeliczyć* ‘count’, *przepytac* ‘question, interrogate’.¹⁰

Flier (1975: 221) describes similar cases in Russian as ‘serial envelopment’. We

envisage this as ‘a passing through a series of factual or metaphorical spaces or entities, that together form a single entity’. Viz:

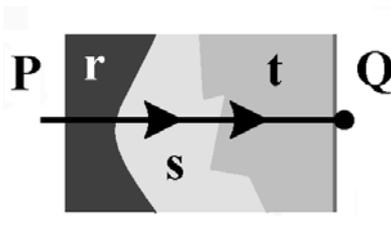


Fig. 13 *prze_{1.6}; exhaust*

r s t = various components that together make up a whole

The following example is of a multiple object of the examination.

- (14a) *Ekipa lekarzy przebadala wszystkie dzieci we wsi.*
 team_{NOM} doctors_{GEN} PRZE-examined_P all_children_{ACC} in village_{LOC}.
 ‘The team of doctors (has) examined all the children in the village.’

The total examination is that of all the children of the village, whereas in the following the nature of the examination is different: a single object examined in several ways.

- (14b) *Przebadali go w szpitalu, aby wykryć przyczynę choroby.*
 PRZE-examined_{P-3-PL} him_{ACC} in hospital_{LOC}, in-order-to uncover_{P-INF}
 cause_{ACC} illness_{GEN}.
 ‘They examined him in hospital to establish the cause of the disease.’

Here there is a single object, which by implication is subjected to several different examinations that together form a whole (with the single objective of finding the cause of the disease). Thus, *przebadać* can be perceived to mean ‘examine, to subject to a thorough examination’.¹¹

When there are doubts about the make-up of an examination but it is percei-

ved as thorough, the native speaker apparently immediately assumes it to consist of multiple parts. When he is surer about a singular make-up, or wants to emphasise its totality he can also use *zbadać*.

2.1.7 *Prze_{1.7}*; mix / entwine

The next meaning, exemplified by compounds like *przemieszać* 'mix', *przepleść* and *przewić* 'plait through' and *przetkać* 'weave through', can be described as 'mix something, to make a whole of parts'. This meaning variant is very close to that of *prze_{1.5}* 'saturate' as well as *prze_{1.6}* 'exhaust' when envisaged from the basic concept of 'pass through' that underlies *prze-* in its basic function. According to Śmiech, in the latter, three meaning variants this can then be described as 'dealing with an object from the beginning to the end' (1986: 61). When we mix two substances together, one substance (object) is made to go through the entirety of the other substance (= R). In weaving and plaiting threads, tresses are made to go through the entirety of the object that consists of more threads and tresses. The case for *przemieszać* can then be presented:

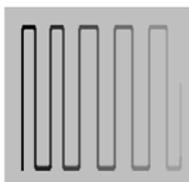
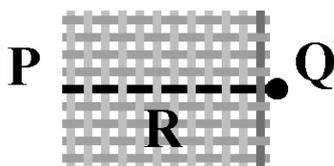


Fig. 14 *prze_{1.7}*; mix / entwine 1

Which is clearly but a variant of *prze_{1.5}*. It maybe does not take too much a leap of the imagination to also associate this presentation with *przepleść* 'plait', *przetkać* 'weave' as well. Our schematic representation for the latter is:

Fig. 15 *prze*_{1.7}; *mix / entwine 2*

Belonging to this variant is also *przegryźć* as in *wypił szklankę herbaty i przegryzł bułkę* ‘he drank a cup of tea and mixed it with a bun’. Doroszewski (1958-69) actually describes the meaning of this verb as ‘*przeplatać picie jedzeniem*’ which is literally ‘plait together drink with food’. This is of course not the primary meaning of *przegryźć*; that is rather ‘bite through’, which belongs to *prze*_{1.4}.

2.1.8 *Prze*_{1.8}; squander / lose

The shared meaning of ‘squander, lose’ can be signalled in compounds such as: *przefrymarczyć* ‘squander bartering’, *przegrać* ‘lose (money) at play’ / ‘lose (at play)’, *przejeść* ‘squander (money) on food’, *przepić* ‘squander (money) on drink’, *przetrwonić* ‘squander’. It can be somewhat more precisely described: ‘squander, to waste something (money, time, etc.) as a result of the action expressed by the base simplex.’

Grochowska (1979: 5.14) speaks of a “norm” of whatever is squandered, wasted. In other words: R = “norm”. Instead of a passage through time or (metaphorical or factual) space, in this variant we go through this “norm” which, when completely crossed, is consequently lost. An example: in Doroszewski we find:

przegrać, przegrywać «zostać pokonanym w grze; grając stracić co, przepuścić na grę»
Doroszewski (1958-69).

(--, ‘be beaten at a game, losing through playing, to waste money on game’)

To which I would like to add the following examples for scrutinisation:

- (15a) *Przeegrali (mecz).*
 PRZE-played_{P-3-PL} (match_{ACC}).
 ‘They lost (the match).’
- (15b) *Przegrał (w karty) swój majątek.*
 PRZE-played_{P-3-SG} (in cards_{ACC}) his_fortune_{ACC}.
 ‘He lost his fortune (playing cards).’
- (15c) *Przeegraliśmy dużo czasu.*¹²
 PRZE-played_{P-1-PL} much time_{GEN}.
 ‘We lost / wasted a lot of time’

With the extensions we see that in fact the “matter” lost, wasted can be:

- (1) the game (which follows from the inherent meaning of the simplex) itself;
- (2) one’s fortune (the object of the sentence);
- (3) time, as expressed by the extension, through playing.

In short, this “norm” belongs to the frame of *grać* ‘play’. This is a clear illustration of the mechanism that was already pointed to in 1. above.

Note that in the examples the words in parentheses are not necessary to bring out the meaning ‘play’, they merely make matters more explicit. Actually, in (15c) the meaning ‘play’ is factually quite absent, which may also be the case in (15b) when we do not include “w karty”.

A comparison with perdurative meanings (as discussed in 2.2 below) such as *przebalować* ‘pass time at a ball’ seems not altogether out of place. The difference is that ‘spending’ time on something that is pleasant, is not seen as negative, whereas ‘spending’ it on a game, where one moreover loses money, is. Objectively the difference is not so great, and it is a matter of convention that one base simplex’s “meaning” is considered negative as time is spent on it, and the other positive.

Przehandlować ‘trade badly, and so lose money’ is linked to the purpose and stimulus of trading: making money. When one crosses the border of trading with

bad trading, one logically loses money.¹³

A similar phenomenon is encountered in the self-explanatory construction *przepić majątek* 'lose one's fortune through drinking [alcohol]'.

For this variant meaning to occur, specific extensions such as the above are often necessary. It can be presented thus:

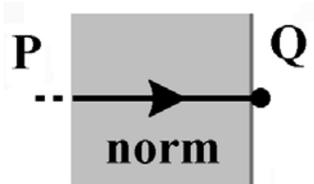


Fig. 16 *prze*_{1.8}; *squander / lose*

Please note that the “norm” corresponds to what elsewhere was represented by R. The “norm” can then belong to (be linked to) the frame of an action as expressed by the base simplex or incorporated and brought about by the extensions. The frame of the simplex and/or the extensions set the “norm” and the way the trajector is achieved. *Prze-* signals the passage from “before the “norm” is exhausted” to “the moment the “norm” is exhausted”. Please also note the similarity to *prze*₅ below, which shows a gradual cessation of R. In *prze*_{1.8} this analogy could be described as a gradual depletion of whatever makes up the “norm”. However, we have not been able to find examples that unequivocally show that there would be a case for such gradual depletion. It would rather seem that, although the “norm” is not seen as something that would be gone in a single, easy sweep (on account of its size, length etc.), it is presented as a single unit.

2.1.9 *Prze*_{1.9}; fail [to]

A further group of meanings also seems to imply a “norm” (= R). This time it is the norm of what usually is within the scope of a normal execution of the meaning expressed by a base simplex. Here we have to imagine a borderline between point

R: that which is conventionally considered a good, normal realisation of the action/process of the base simplex, and a point Q, representing a totally wrong, erroneous realisation. Our prefix indicates the crossing, through the action/process of the base simplex of this borderline, logically resulting in a defective execution of this action/process. This comprises a group of *prze-*compounds with an effective meaning ‘a defective / faulty realisation, functioning, working of something.’

We can recognise two different formations of this variant: (a) those without *się*, and (b) those with *się*. In the latter we have in fact a reflexive pronoun as part of the complex morpheme *prze-... się*.

An example of (a) is *przeoczyć* : *przeoczać* ‘fail to see’; the corresponding simplex *oczyć* ‘watching attentively’ presents the action that goes wrong in the compounds: our “norm”. This could even be envisaged as one’s vision, crossing the border of actually attentive noticing, to missing altogether. Viz.:

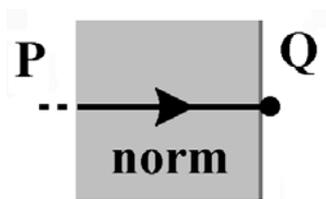


Fig. 17 *prze_{1.9}*; *fail [to]*

Q = *przeoczyć* or: “beyond the field of vision”

Prześlepić : *prześlepiać* is similar in meaning: ‘failing to notice’. The simplex in itself means ‘watch something attentively to the point of losing one’s eyesight.’ Here the failure does not so much refer to the actual meaning of the simplex, as to the object of the agent in the first place, i.e. ‘notice something’; the object of this is implied by the simplex.

This interpretation is, however, not altogether elegant, as it involves the use of the verb *oczyć* which is not part of Polish modern day life. A possibly more adequate interpretation is, that we are dealing here with derivatives from *oczy* ‘eyes’

and *ślepy* 'blind'. In this case an implied spatial meaning 'beyond the reach of eyes' for the first, and 'beyond the field of vision, into the field of non-vision' for the latter, can be envisaged.

Examples of (b) would comprise: *przesłyszeć się* 'hear erroneously'. In fact, we see here the same treatment as *przeoczyć*, but a slightly different formation.

Przejęzyczyć się : przejęzyczać się 'misuse a word, to make a mistake in one's speech'. This verb is denominative formed with *język* 'language, tongue'. It is therefore impossible to examine a simplex. This verb is probably formed on the basis of analogy with the above.

Furthermore one could add formations such as *przejechać się* 'take a wrong turning, to miss a turning, to go wrong etc'.

We have no simple answer to the question whence the need for a reflexive pronoun. We can only see some analogy with the use of *oneself* in the English *to overstretch oneself* and such like.

2.1.10 *Prze*_{1.10}; start [to]

To our knowledge, prefix *prze-* never functions with a clear inchoative or ingressive meaning. It does however occur in a small number of compounds instances which all can mean 'start', or 'execute for the first time' and even, most poignantly, 'acquire / (re)gain an ability'.¹⁴ Interestingly, this meaning variant only occurs in perfective verbs. This is not really surprising, as it is very much concerned with situational change, and a very momentaneous one at that. Here are two examples of *prze*_{1.10}:

(16a) ... *wszyscy chorzy nagle, jakby cudem ozdrowieli: ślepi przejrżeli, niemi przemówili ...*

... all_infirm_{NOM-PL} suddenly, as_if miracle_{INSTR} got-well_P: blind_{NOM-PL}
 PRZE-saw_P, dumb_{NOM-PL} PRZE-spoke_P ...

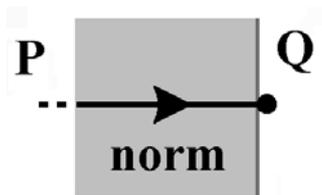
‘... all the infirm suddenly, as if by miracle, got well: the blind could [= started to] see, the dumb could [= started to] speak...’

(16b) *Niewidomi przewidzieli, głusi usłyszeli, niemi przemówili a chromi władzę odzyskali.*

blind_{NOM-PL} PRZE-saw_P, deaf_{NOM-PL} by-heard_P, dumb_{NOM-PL} PRZE-spoke
and lame_{NOM-PL} power_{ACC} re-gained_P.

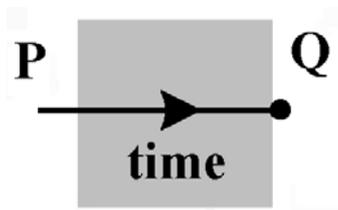
‘The blind could see, the deaf could hear, the dumb could speak and the lame regained their power.’

It would seem that only verbs meaning ‘speak’ and ‘see’ take *prze-* to explicate ‘start to’. We believe the following list of verbs is exhaustive: *przemówić* ‘start to speak’, *przejrzeć* and *przewidzieć* ‘start to see’. Other simplexes, even when occurring within the same sentence as a *prze*_{1.10} verb take on other prefixes (here: *od-* and *u-*) for the same meaning. Although this is quite remarkable it is still possible to link our interpretation of this meaning variant in terms of landmark and trajector as for the other *prze*_v we have seen so far. We propose that for this variant too we should interpret a “norm” (as for *prze*_{1.8} and *prze*_{1.9} above), this time consisting of the implied landmark “state of being unable to see/speak”. This state could perhaps be temporal, but we see no reason why the state as such should not suffice for this interpretation. The position of P is not explicated as with the other two “norm” variants. One could imagine that, before the “state of not being able to see/speak” there was a previous one in which the subject could still see or speak. It could equally be the case that there never was such a previous state. And so the earlier schematic representation, this time showing Q as the ‘new’ state, in which the subject can see / speak can hold for this variant meaning.

Fig. 18 *prze_{1.10}; start [to]*

2.2 *Prze₂*; spend time

The variant meaning with time as metaphorical space could easily have been categorised as a further type of *prze₁*. However, the temporal function of *prze-* is usually referred to as perdurativity and has gained a somewhat separate status in grammars and such like, and we decided to maintain it here. Here is our somewhat adapted schematic representation of this meaning type.

Fig. 19 *prze₂; spend time*

Often verbs are ambiguous as to whether time or some other, possibly spatially perceived landmark is crossed. E.g. the nature of *chorować* makes it impossible that the “space” is real space, it has to be either time (which is what it most often is), or the sickness (metaphorical space) itself. Compare:

- (17a) *Babcia przechorowała cały miesiąc.*
 granny_{NOM} PRZE-cured_P whole_month_{ACC}.
 ‘Granny was ill the whole month.’
 (It took Granny a whole month to get over her illness.)

- (17b) *Cieężko przechorowałam gryęę.*
 hard PRZE-cured_{P-FEM-1-SG} flue_{ACC.}
 ‘It was hard getting over my flue.’

In (17a) the time is explicitly mentioned, as with other examples of *prze-* in its durative function. Example (17b) in fact refers to a process that inherently took (quite some) time, but native informants confirm that the focus is rather more usually on ‘getting over the illness’. As such (17b) would belong to *prze_{1.1}* rather than to our type under scrutiny.

This further confirms our point that as far as the meaning of the prefix is concerned there really is no difference as to the temporal or spatial nature of the landmark. There are some interesting points worth noting.

In verbs of motion with *prze-* there is, at least according to the dictionaries a(n) almost paradigmatic distinction between verbs that indicate perdurativity and those which deal with spatially identified objects. Consider the following recent examples with usually perdurative *przejeździć*.

- (18a) *Przejeździł kilka godzin.*¹⁵
 PRZE-drove_P several hours_{GEN.}
 ‘He has driven / drove for several hours.’
- (18b) *Ktoś, kto pół życia przejeździł maluchem i...*
 someone_{NOM.}, who_{ACC} half life_{GEN} PRZE-drove_P fiat-124_{INSTR} and...
 ‘Someone, who half his life drove a Fiat 124 and ...’
- (18c) *Mój taunus 2.3 przejeździł przeszło 60 tys km (przejeździł by pewnie jeszcze więcej...)*
 my_taurus_2.3_{NOM} PRZE-drove_P more-than 60 thous. km.= (PRZE-drive_P_would surely even more ...)
 ‘My Taunus 2.3 got through more than 60.000 km (and would surely get through even more...)’

- (18d) *Przejeździł całą Kotlinę Kłodzką.*
 PRZE-drove_P whole_valley_ Kłodzko_{ACC}.
 ‘He drove through the whole Valley of Kłodzko.’

In (18a) the temporal indication is clear and in (18b) there is no problem to interpret ‘half a life’ in a temporal fashion. We surmise that in (18c) the focus is not on the actual space crossed, but rather on the distance performed (and the technical state of the car). With verbs of motion the imperfective set is divided in ‘directional’ and ‘non-directional’ simplexes. Here we see that apparently the non-directional simplex *jeździć* is also used in a compound with *prze-* for non-directional meanings such as in (18c). Admittedly, some native speakers discarded this example as incorrect and preferred *Mój taunus 2.3 przejechał przeszło 60 tys km (jeździł by pewnie jeszcze więcej...)* with a derivative of the directional verb *jechać*. Internet searches yielded several thousand instances of this usage of *przejeździć* so it would seem that the higher degree of abstraction (space as distance) seems to facilitate its use maybe through confusion.¹⁶ In (18d) the meaning is clearly spatial, but also non-directional. Possible interpretations are ‘up and down the valley several times’ or ‘through the valley, but not in a straight or even necessarily continuous line.’ Our trajector has so far mostly been presented as a straight line through a landmark, but with these verbs it does not seem to have to be straight. As none of this alters the basic concept of our P, Q, landmark and trajector the mere fact that the trajector does not have to be straight does not warrant a separate treatment.

It is clear though, that *przejeździć* ‘drive through’ and other verbs of motion prefixed by *prze-* only assume a perdurative quality when accommodated to do so by syntactical extensions in the shape of temporal modifiers, such as *kilka godzin* or even *pół życia*. Interestingly, we have not found examples of directional *przejechać* ‘drive through’ in a temporal, perdurative meaning.

2.3 *Prze*₃; transpose (from P to Q)

So far we have discussed meaning variants in which there is a landmark with a more or less clear spatial or metaphorically spatially perceived entity. Indeed, the landmark itself, and the crossing thereof as per the trajector is very much foremost in the speaker's mind. (In fact, the landmark is often the direct object with a *prze*-compound). On the face of it, the following few variants seem to lack such a distinct landmark as the speaker seems primarily concerned with the two positions P and Q at either end of our landmark as well as the contrast between (the characteristics of) the two positions. Landmark R is then present by the implication of points P and Q and it is perceived as lying in between, whilst the trajector is one of bridging P and Q rather than crossing R. Viz.

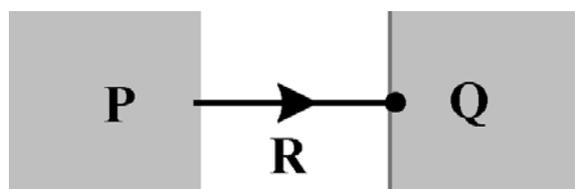


Fig. 20 *prze*₃; transpose (from P to Q)

Note that we have marked a border on the left-hand outer edge of position Q. Vis à vis R, the trajector and P this border is in exactly the same position as with the earlier meanings.

And so, as with these meanings points P and Q are of main interest, we have to clarify for each meaning variant the implied nature of the landmark. In the following we shall endeavour to demonstrate that for some variant meanings it can be factual (albeit primarily implied) space. This is not to say that that space can never actually be mentioned as well (and so be made explicit). The landmark may also be non-spatial in which cases it could also be perceived to be filled as it were with the action expressed by the base verb itself. After all, it is that action which bridges the two positions.

2.3.1 *Prze*_{3.1}; replace

Compounds that express the general meaning ‘replace’ implicate a landmark that is (most likely) factually spatial. Examples of this type are are: *przeflanconować* ‘transplant’, *przekwaterować* ‘rehouse, move quarters’, *przemieścić* ‘replace’, *przepompować* ‘transfer (pumping)’, *przesadzić* ‘replant elsewhere’, *przebrać* ‘sit somewhere else’, *przesiedlić* ‘resettle elsewhere’, *przetawić* ‘replace’, *przeszczepić* ‘graft, transplant’, *przewekslować* ‘switch a train onto a different track’ etc. The prime meaning of these verbs is ‘give a new location to the object of the sentence’ and they are all transitive. The way in which this is achieved is expressed by the base verb. The direct object with compounds of this type is never the landmark and the landmark does not need to be mentioned explicitly. This is perhaps best illustrated with the following examples.

- (19a) *Przesadziłem begonię.*
 PRZE-planted_{P-1-SG} Begonia_{ACC}.
 ‘I replanted the Begonia.’

This sentence shows that the direct object does not equal the landmark such as in all the previous examples with the exception of (6a), which lacks a direct object. As we have seen in (6a) and (9) a prepositional object can provide the landmark; often this is an object with the preposition *przez*.¹⁷ Such objects very much highlight the presence and nature of the landmark, but also the trajector. Compare:

- (19b) *Przeniosłem begonię przez pole.*
 PRZE-carried_P begonia_{ACC} through field_{ACC}.
 ‘I carried the Begonia across the field.’

With verbs of the class under scrutiny, though, phrases with this particular preposition cannot be used. Compare:

- (19c) **Przesadziłem begonię przez pole.*
 PRZE-plant_P Begonia_{ACC} through field_{ACC}.
 ‘I replanted the begonia across the field.’

The following sentence however, is acceptable:

- (19d) *Przesadziłem begonię (ze szklarni) do ogrodu.*
 PRZE-planted_{P-1-SG} begonia_{ACC} (from greenhouse_{GEN}) to garden_{GEN}.
 ‘I replanted the Begonia (from the greenhouse) into the garden.’

In (19d) the focus is clearly on the two positions (*szklarnia* ‘greenhouse’ = P, and *ogród* ‘garden’ = Q) whereas in verbs of the type represented by *przenieść* ‘carry (across)’ as in (19b), the speaker’s main interest is in the landmark in between these two positions. Example (19b) is in fact another case of *prze*_{1.1}. This demonstrates the polar nature of *prze*_{3.1}. As this variant meaning may involve two different places, we tried to illustrate this by the background colours for P and Q.

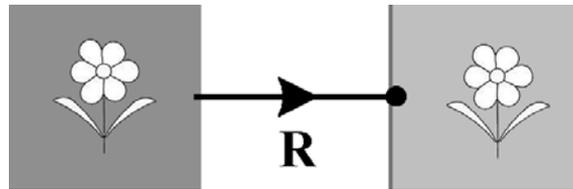


Fig. 21 *prze*_{3.1}; *replace*

2.3.2 *Prze*_{3.2}; reorientate

A second group of compounds that seems to highlight P and Q rather than the landmark (which is implicit), shares a meaning that can be described as ‘changing the position of an object on a vertical or horizontal axis, or some other orientation’. This would concern compounds such as: *przechylić* ‘incline, tilt, tip (over)’, *przejąć* ‘bend’, *przekrzywić* ‘make crooked’, *przewalić* ‘overturn’, *przewrócić* ‘overturn, tip (over)’. Consider the following example:

- (20) *Przechyliła dzbanek.*
 PRZE-tipped_{P-FEM-3-SG} jug_{ACC}.
 ‘She has tipped the jug.’

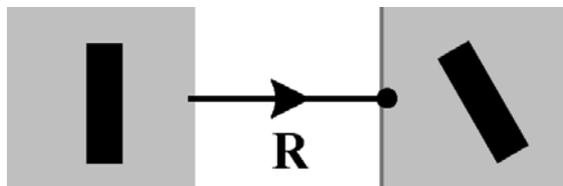


Fig. 22 *prze*_{3.2}; *reorientate*

Although *prze*_{3.2} deals with spatially perceived orientation, for these compounds the landmark is not factually spatial.

The orientation change takes place in the same location (hence the unaltered colours for P and Q). Here P and Q represent ‘old’ and ‘new’ positions as characterised by the changed orientation.

2.3.3 *Prze*_{3.3}; *repeat*

The following group of meanings is related to the two above in pointing out two states, with a landmark that is implicit and therefore implicitly crossed. Here too, the two states are of main interest and they are connected by an action that is perceived as having been executed (at least) once earlier. The group of compounds that expresses some kind of repeated occurrence of the action expressed by the base verb includes several variants (with varying effects) of a meaning that we can generally describe: ‘execute an action again, often in a different way.’

Here again, P is separated from Q by the action/process described by the base simplex, which then is R. The composition of whatever separates these points does not really matter, all we need know is that it can be crossed by the action/process expressed by the base simplex, and so; R = landmark = ‘action of base verb’. The effect on the object can vary as we shall show below. We follow the three types Grochowska (1979: 5.1, 5.2, 5.3) actually suggests and we argue that the differen-

ces in meaning result from the different meanings of the base simplexes. Pressing home Flier's point of metaphorical space 'filled' by the action of the base verb for the above three variants of *prze_{3.3}* (discussed below) we could say that here we have metaphorical space in Flier's sense. That space is then metaphorically crossed in its entirety by the action expressed by the base verb (here *bielić* 'whiten', *robić* 'do, make' and *pisać* 'write' respectively) yielding "effects" or "products" that logically result from the action expressed by the base verb.

The examples given with these meanings can often apply to more than just the variants within this type that they are given. This group includes such compounds as *przebielić* 'make white again' 'whitewash again', *przebudować* 'rebuild, alter', *przedrukować* 'reprint', *przedzierzgnąć* 'convert', *przefarbować* 'repaint', *przekalkować* 'transfer (a drawing etc.)', *przemalować* 'copy (painting)', *przemurować* 're-erect (a building)', *przemyśleć* 'think through', *przepakować* 'repack', *zprzepisać* 'copy (writing)' or 'rewrite', *przerejestrować* 'reregister', *przerobić* 'alter', *przerodzić* 'transform', *przetasować* 'reshuffle', *przezwać* 'rename', etc. In the discussion of these three sub-meanings we have therefore focussed on a single prototypical example for each sub-meaning.

2.3.3.1 *Prze_{3.3.1}*; redo

Prototypical *przebielić* 'make white again (not necessarily in a different way)' implies that something was white before, but stopped being white for whatever reason. To whiten again, means here 'bring back into its old state, by repeating whatever was done to make it white in the first place.

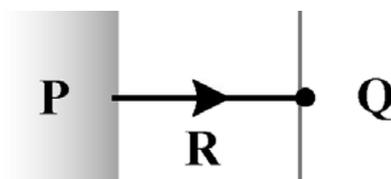


Fig. 23 *prze_{3.3.1}*; redo

R = bielić

In this variant meaning type the object is affected by the action denoted by the base verb.

2.3.3.2 *Prze*_{3.3.2}; copy

Progressing to ever more complex versions, *przepisać* means ‘copy (i.e. to write again, not necessarily, but probably in the same way, anyway resulting in an additional object containing the same text)’. If one is supposed to produce a second example of something that was already done, it follows that one does it in the same way (certainly as far as the contents of the text are concerned). Alternatively one can interpret this as ‘retracing the text (of a book or such like) in its entirety’ or even ‘taking a given text from one place to the other’. Either way the action results in a copy of that text or book. In (1) we already gave an example, which can be rendered visually:

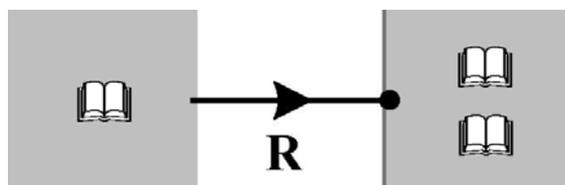


Fig. 24 *prze*_{3.3.2}; copy

R = pisać

In comparison with *prze*_{3.3.1} and *prze*_{3.3.1} here (as well as with *prze*_{3.1} and *prze*_{3.2} for that matter) the original specimen of the object is not affected.

In compounds like *przedrżeźniać* ‘mimic, mocker’ and *przemalpiąć* ‘mimic, mocker’ we see a form of copying that also yields an extra specimen of the original but this “object” has a temporally very limited existence. The underlying principle is quite similar if not identical to that of *przepisać*.

2.3.3.3 *Prze*_{3.3.3}; *alter* (by repeating earlier treatment)

Przerobić means ‘do/make again, but in a different way’. If something needs to be done again, it no longer fulfils its intended function and must be changed (or perhaps, it was not made right in the first place). Simply making the same thing again in the same way would then be senseless. It does however make sense, to go through the whole action again, but the quality of the end result is not actually implied, even though the mere fact that one repeats one’s earlier work would suggest that one might aim for something else/better. An example of this is seen in:

- (21a) *Przerobiła sukienkę na spódnicę.*
 PRZE-made_{P-FEM-3-SG} dress_{ACC} onto skirt_{ACC}.
 ‘She made the dress into a skirt.’

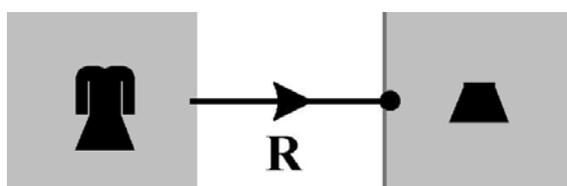


Fig. 25 *prze*_{3.3.3}; *alter*

R = *robić*

As in *Prze*_{3.3.1} the original object is affected by the action. Part of the material remains, but is given a new shape. In the given example the new product is radically different from the original. The degree of alteration may be variable such as in:

- (21b) *Przepisałem tekst, bo pierwotna wersja nie podobała mi się.*
 PRZE-wrote_{P-1-SG} tekst_{ACC}, because original_version not pleased_I me_{DAT}.
 ‘I rewrote my text, because I did not like the original version.’

Here *przepisać* means ‘rewrite’ (which is not the same as ‘copy’, the earlier mentioned meaning of *przepisać*) but this could concern the whole text or

simply fragments that needed improvement. The text was altered, but is still a text. Then again, in (21a) the dress was altered into a skirt but both are pieces of clothing. (21a) does in fact have an extra element “na spódnicę”.

2.4 *Prze*₄; Transpose (from P to Q) across/through a transitional landmark.

We perceive the next three meanings as similar in that all three deal with crossing lines between conventionally, loosely, personally established appropriate realisations of the meaning expressed by the base verb. The landmark is again the action of the base verb, here presented as a gradual process.

2.4.1 *Prze*_{4.1}; execute not (quite) totally

Doroszewski (1958-69) describes this meaning: ‘execute something less intensively, less precisely’. The simplexes that form the formational bases for these compounds can be divided into two groups according to the degree of activity of the first actant.

The first group of verbs expresses fairly passive processes. An example is:

- (22) *Zupa przestygła aż dała się zjeść.*
 Soup_{NOM} PRZE-cooled_P until gave_self_P eat_{P-INF}.
 ‘The soup cooled down until it could be eaten.’

Przestygnąć could be translated as ‘cool off / down (but not: ‘(let) get cold’), which shows that we are dealing here with a notion that can be seen as graded. The process described, cooling, starts at a point (P) at which the soup cannot be consumed, as it is too hot. The temperature of the soup then changes in the direction of edibility, i.e. it cools down (through R). Once the temperature of the soup has crossed the border of “inedibility” with “edibility” (= Q), the soup is ready for consumption. An important notion is that the soup should never get cold. Polish has another word for that, *wystygnąć*. The simplex *stygnąć* then, describes the cooling process which, when viewed terminatively, would result in the soup being cold. *Prze-* adds the “meaning” that the absolute terminus of that

process of *stygnać* ('get cold') is not reached, but a border that lies before this absolute terminus is. In this case this translates as: the conventional border of 'inedibility caused by a temperature that is too high' is crossed by the soup, through the process. It is no surprise, that in the above example we find the border made explicit, typically, by the conjunction *aż* 'until'. Of course, the "border" implied is not as "hard" as the following visualisation would suggest (there are a lot of conventions in the notions hot, cold and edible, and they may differ from person to person).



Fig. 26 *prze_{4.1}*; *execute not (quite) totally*

P = starting point of "too hot" (in this case P is a point: the peak of the highest temperature);

R = the area from P until Q: "too hot";

Q = edible; the right temperature to eat;

X = cold

The area X = "cold" in this presentation is not actually part of the "action / process" expressed by the verb. It is included here merely to show the direction of that meaning. In fact, it is the end point of the process of which we ride along for just a while, so to say.

A similar interpretation would go for *przeschnąć* 'dry out' (but not: 'get dry'). Its phases could be termed 'wet', 'damp' (or: 'acceptable for a certain purpose', 'dry enough to...') and 'dry'. Interestingly, *przeschnąć* can also mean 'dry excessively' which belongs to our *prze_{4.2}*.

More active verb meanings such as in *przeźryść* 'clean (a little, not so that

everything is done)’ have similar borders within a graded scale. For *przeoczyścić* this would be a scale from “not tidy” to “tidy”. The compound can either refer to the degree (a conventional border) of tidiness reached after a certain degree of tidying (e.g. “make presentable”), or simply to the degree (the border!) of tidying done / to be done. Again, the end of the scale, “tidy” has not been / will not be reached.¹⁸

2.4.2 *Prze_{4.2}*; **overdo**

When combined with verbs denoting processes, *prze-* can be combined to mean ‘overdo, go too far doing something’. Doroszewski (1958-69:) puts it: ‘intensify an action beyond its usual scope, usually with unintended, unfavourable consequences.’ It concerns compounds such as *przecenić* ‘overrate, overestimate’, *przechwalić* ‘overpraise’, *przeciążyć* ‘overburden, overweigh’, *przegrzać* ‘overheat’, *przejaskrawić* ‘paint in too bright colours’, *przekarmić* ‘overfeed’, *przekwasić* ‘make excessively sour’, *przeludnić* ‘overpopulate’, *przeładować* ‘overload’, *przepalić* ‘overheat, burn’, *przepelnić* ‘overfill’, *przeplącić* ‘pay excessive price’, *przesłodzić* ‘make too sweet’, *przesolić* ‘make too salt’, *przetrenować* ‘overtrain’. All of these base simplexes describe actions that can be executed in cumulative degrees. Other than *prze_{4.1}* above, this cumulation theoretically does not have to reach an end point.

If one simply imagines the line being crossed as the conventional border between “a usual execution” and an unusual, excessive execution” of the action / process presented by the base simplex, things may be viewed in much the same light as before. Again we have a conventional limitation, associated with the meaning of the base simplex that is crossed. *Prze-* marks this crossing. As the borderline crossed in these compounds signals “the usual”, consequences may be felt as negative. Who or what decides where the border between R and Q is situated, so, at which moment does an action start to be excessive is a matter of norm. The position of P is the moment an action as described by the base simplex starts.

Fig. 27 *prze*_{4.2}; *overdo*

P = starting point of action;

R = within norm of adequate execution of action;

Q = beyond adequate execution of action.

2.4.3 *Prze*_{4.3}; *outdo*

Grouped with this series is also ‘obtain dominance, a higher intensity in something [over someone / something],’ such as in the following example:

- (23) *Jan przekrzyczał syna.*
 Jan_{NOM} PRZE-shouted_P son_{ACC}.
 ‘Jan outdid his son shouting.’

The fact that someone can be outperformed at shouting indicates that “shouting” has degrees in which it can be performed. Basically, with this meaning variant someone’s scope in the execution of a certain action is outperformed by the agent.

It is interesting to note that intransitive base simplexes, in combination with *prze-* realising this variant, assume transitivity. There is nothing strange about that, as the limitations which *prze-* marks to be crossed, are not inherent in the meaning of the verb itself; there is then a need for a syntactical extension to establish the notion of a “border”.

Śmiech (1986: 67) approaches this in a very clear way. According to him (23) can be interpreted as:

Jan krzyczał i syn krzyczał, ale Jan prześcignął (przeszedł) w tym syna.

Jan_{NOM} shouted_I and son shouted_I, but Jan_{NOM} PRZE-chased_P
(PRZE-went_P) in this_{LOC} son_{ACC}.

‘Jan shouted and his son shouted, but Jan surpassed his son in this.’

Our border between R and Q in this case marks the far reach of the son’s scope in shouting. We propose the following schematisation of this meaning variant.

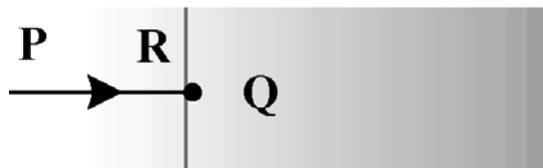


Fig. 28 *prze*_{4.3}; *outdo*

In which this time:

P = beginning of scope of shouting;

R = the scope of the son in shouting;

Q = beyond the scope of the son in shouting (still within the scope of Jan).

The course of *prze-* is followed in a way determined by the action presented by the base simplex. That action is here: shouting. Hence: through and beyond the son’s scope in shouting. From this approach follows, again, that *prze-* simply signals the crossing of a border: here, the border between shouting and outperforming someone else’s shouting.

Other compounds that may share this meaning are: *przechytrzyć* ‘outwit’, *przegadać* ‘talk louder / outtalk’, *przegłosować* ‘outvote’, *przekupić* ‘bribe’, *przemóc* ‘beat, master’, *przeprzeć* ‘enforce will’, *przerosnąć* ‘outgrow’.

2.5 *Prze₅*; cease [to]

At first glance the present meaning of ‘cease [to]’ is directly opposed to the variant explained for *prze_{1.10}* verbs above. We shall try to show that in *prze_{1.10}* there are but two phases, whereas in the present meaning type there are three.

The meaning can be put more precisely thus: ‘the cessation of an action or state of being.’ This variant meaning of *prze-* occurs with such compounds formed with simplexes that express a continuous condition and, according to Grochowska (1979: 71) who bases herself on Bogusławski (1963: 113), usually a continuous sound, as well as *przekwitnąć* ‘finish flowering’ and *przeboleć* ‘stop hurting’.¹⁹

The border crossed with these verbs, is the border of the temporal domain of the manifestation of the condition expressed by the base simplex, which then ceases. It does not stop immediately though. When the impetus for the continuous condition ceases, the condition enters a phase of graduated “fading”; it takes a while before it is actually over, before Q is reached. With this kind of compound we have then three phases:

P = impetus constant: state of continuous sound, bloom, or pain;

R = no impetus: gradual fading sound, bloom or pain.

Q = no impetus: state without sound, bloom, or pain.

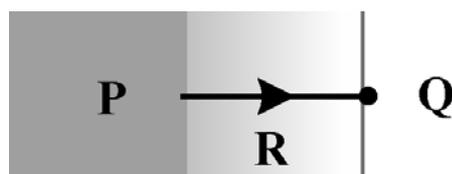


Fig. 29 *prze₅*; cease [to]

The prefix then, contributes the notion of passing from one state (P, continuous sounding, blooming, hurting etc.) into the other state (Q no sounding, blooming, hurting). Moreover, prefix *prze-* denotes a passage through a period of fading. The border between R and Q is clear: the moment of total cessation of sound, bloom or pain.

This type is described by Piernikarski (1969: 126) as the “function of phased limitation of the action”, so definitely not “simple (i.e. ‘pure’) perfectivity” such as Bogusławski (1963: 113) terms it for the Russian cognates of these verbs.

3 conclusions

3.1 Interrelation of variants and invariant

The build-up of the totality of variant and invariant meanings of *prze-* may be arrived at through organisation of the individual meanings and relating them to each other. To a large extent that has already been done in this chapter by associating them in grouped paragraphs. Figure 30 is built up with two tiers around the proposed invariant. In the first tier we find what we will term the two core variants. The second tier has all the variant meanings.

This presentation of the variant meanings around our core invariants differs from the view we gave in our earlier paper. The main difference is in the way variants *prze*₃ through *prze*₅ are visualised as for these meanings we have now tried to indicate that the landmark is implied by the presence and the location of “positions” P and Q. In doing so, we have had to recognise a rather clear division of all variant meanings into two main groups. At the top of this drawing, we have positioned variants of the rather more domainial meanings,²⁰ for which holds that the crossing of the landmark is foremost in the attention of the speaker. The landmark is identified (it is often the direct object) and points P and Q are implied to lie at either end (but often remain unidentified or are only signalled to be at either end of the landmark) whilst they are connected by the trajectory. As we mentioned before, *prze*₂ can actually be seen as another case of a landmark consisting of time presented as metaphorical space, just as in some of the other *prze*₁-related meanings. Most notably amongst these are *prze*_{1.8} through *prze*_{1.10}, which we have therefore situated in the vicinity of *prze*₂ on this drawing. *Prze*₂ itself has been located above the central meridian that divides the two main groups of meanings.

In the bottom part of the drawing then, we have organised all the variant

meanings for which the identity of the landmark is less clear or indeed of very secondary importance only. It is almost no more than a derived given and it is the two points P and Q, which are most important. Often they are identified and they are usually direct objects. Meanings *prze*_{4.1} through *prze*_{4.3} are different from the *prze*₃ group in that the landmarks here are structured. As such they may still be “anonymous” such as in the meanings of *prze*₃, but they are not quite as devoid of “domain”. We can be quite sure that for the *prze*₄-group P marks the starting point not only of the landmark/domain, but also of the trajector. And so, we could not draw P at the left of landmark R as we did in most of the other drawings.

*Prze*₅ takes up a somewhat unique position in our presentation. As we have shown above it presents two clearly separated positions P and Q, but additionally has a landmark in between that is structured in much the same way as we found for *prze*₄-variants. As such it seems to combine the positional orientation on P and Q we established for the meanings below our meridian with the landmark orientation of the variants above the meridian. We chose a location in between these two for *prze*₅ and we tried to indicate that it therefore is linked to both our core variant meanings *prze*₁ and *prze*₃.

3.2 General concluding remarks

As can be easily surmised from the above presentation we have returned to a principally bi-partite division of all variant meanings for prefix *prze-*. Perhaps not surprisingly, these two groups, and indeed the two central meanings of these groups, *prze*₁ and *prze*₃, are quite similar to the division in *nepe-* and *npo-* for Russian and cognates of these prefixes in other Slavic languages. However, a comparison of the meaning variants for Polish *prze-* with those found for Russian *nepe-* and *npo-* (Flier 1975, *Slovar'* 1981) reveals that our division in two main types does not fully agree with the division of our variant meanings over the two Russian prefixes. In Appendix 2 we have attempted to plot Polish

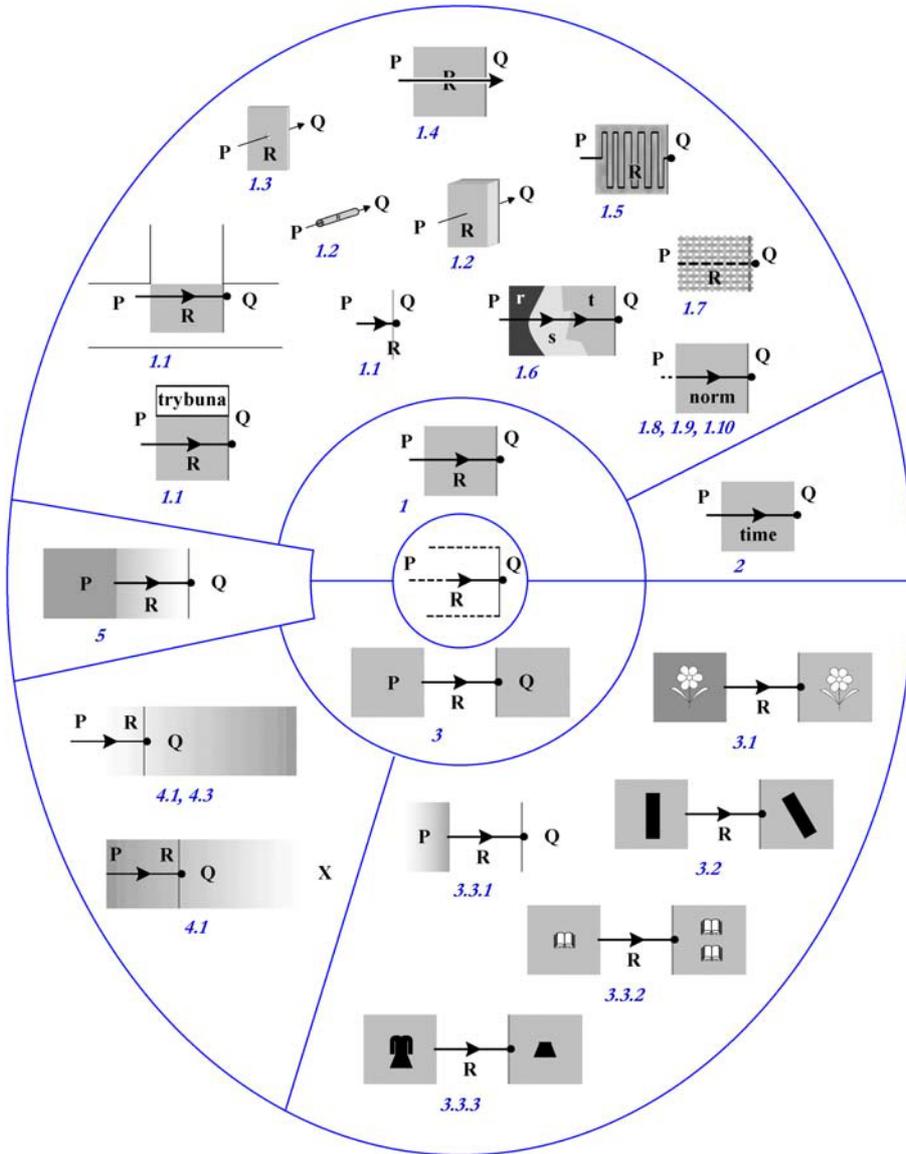


Fig. 30 Interrelation of variants and invariant

prze- meanings against the meanings of the two prefixes of languages that have two prefixes for these meanings rather than one. The most notable differences are:

1. The meaning of *prze₁* includes a passage through a domain as well as one over and indeed by. In languages with two prefixes the *npo*-cognates are, in Flier's (1975: 220, 221) terms (+ domainial) and so cover meanings expressing a passage through (and across) the landmark. *Пре*-cognates are (- domainial) and deal with passages over (and across) the landmark. In Polish the opposition + or - domainial is lacking and *prze*-compounds cover both meanings. As we shall see in chapter IV, Polish has developed ways of making the domainiality explicit, but the usage is rather complex.

In some languages, notably Czech, Both prefixes can be used to indicate a passage by, or past an object, but there is a semantic opposition. In Czech *Autobus projel zastávku* means 'the bus drove past the bus stop', whereas *Autobus přejel zastávku* means 'the bus drove past the bus stop, but it should have halted'. In Polish there is no such opposition.

2. The meaning of *prze_{1,4}* typified here as partition is listed among the meaning variants of *prze₁* and so in the top half of the table in paragraph 3.1, the part where we expect variants of *npo*-meaning. However, in bi-prefixal languages this variant is usually expressed by prefix *не*- and so our description and characterisation as a meaning variant of 'traverse landmark' may be surprising. In Russian there is a clear opposition between *Борис перерезал хлеб ножом* 'Boris cut the bread in half with a knife' and *Борис прорезал хлеб ножом* 'Boris pierced the bread with a knife' or 'Boris cut into the bread with a knife'.²¹ Again this opposition can be explained in terms of (- domainial) and (+ domainial). In Polish *przekroić* 'cut through' never means 'pierce', and another compound with another base simplex is needed to express this meaning: *przebóść* 'pierce through', *przekłuć* 'pierce, prick (through)' etc. For languages with two opposing prefixes the meaning of partition is connected to the idea of polarity: we have to

reach a point at the other end of the domain. For Polish native speakers this was not obviously part of this variant meaning, probably because the opposition + or - domainial is lacking in Polish, and so there was no reason to make an interpretation separate from ‘traversing landmark’. In bi-prefixal languages the marker of attention on either P and Q (*nepe-* and cognates) or R (*npo-* and cognates) is the prefix itself. In those languages one can express the idea of ‘reaching the other side of the landmark’ by (cognates of) *nepe-*, which “chooses” to reduce the importance of the landmark. A similar phenomenon can be seen in *prze*_{1.7} ‘mix / entwine’. The prefix of compounds with this kind of meaning variant is usually an equivalent of *nepe-* in bi-prefixal systems. Here it is grouped with meanings of the more *npo-* like variants in the top of the table in paragraph 3.1 for the same reason as explained for *prze*_{1.4}.

3. The meaning ‘exhaust’ of *prze*_{1.6} is also in the top half of the table, which represents the meanings of bi-prefixal language (cognates of Russian) *npo-*. Where languages have an opposition between (cognates of) *npo-* and *nepe-*, this meaning variant is usually connected with (a cognate of) *nepe-*. Flier describes this meaning for Russian as <serial envelopment> (1975: 221). As this meaning is covered by non-domainial *nepe-*, for the Russian (etc.) native, it is connected with an idea of ‘going from one to another’. Something that we could render:



Fig. 31 ‘going from one to another’

This notion could never be connected with *npo-* as the domainiality (of the individual parts and through that of the totality as well) is circumnavigated. It is also true that this serial notion is often much more explicit in Russian than it is in Polish. In languages with two prefixes the idea of <thoroughness> is, on the

other hand, expressed by *npo-*. We have chosen to combine these two meanings into one as native speakers indicated a perceptual link between serialisation and thoroughness. Often, examples of compounds of this type exhibited both these notions in Polish.

4. *Prze₅* is quite remarkable. Is it a Polish innovation based on a combination of the two core variants of a general invariant meaning? We think it may be and this would be facilitated by the less clear nature of Polish *prze-* as compared with the two individual prefixes of languages with a bi-prefixal system. It seems to be a kind of cross-over between what could be called typical *nepe-* meaning and typical *npo-* meaning as defined by Flier (1975: 220, 221): *nepe-* is (- domainial) whereas *npo-* is (+ domainial). As Flier's syntagmatic opposition is formally lacking in Polish, there is no constraint on the prefix to embody both elements at the same time. The meaning type *prze₅* seems to be absent in other languages. Although Russian has *переболеть* 'getting over a disease', it interestingly does not combine the meaning of 'fading away' with either one of the two Russian prefixes in combination with words for 'flowering' or 'making a noise' as *prze-* does in Polish. As such it seems rather isolated.

The above discussion as well as the table of paragraph 3.1 show *prze-* as having an innate ambivalent nature. This makes predictability of the meaning of a combining compound very unlikely. Indeed, meanings marked by two compounds in bi-prefixal languages are often represented by a simple *prze-* verb in Polish. For example, in Croat there is an opposition between *prepisati* 'rewrite' and *propisati* 'copy through writing' which covers the two meanings of Polish *przepisać* we already mentioned above. This example is one where the frame of the base verb *pisac* 'write', however, would exclude most of the listed variant meanings other than these two main variants, which are rooted logically in the meanings of the two core variants. A lot of work needs still to be done to map the interaction between invariant prefix meaning and verb frame.

3.3 Re-evaluation of the invariant meaning

In spite of the discrepancy between the distribution of the individual variant meanings over our two core-meanings and Russian *непе-* and *нпо-*, we still have to establish an invariant underlying our two Polish core-variants.

Although it is not unheard of that prefixes unite core meanings (compare prefix *z-* which unites ‘come together’ with ‘fall from’) it is still remarkable that this happened. Perhaps this is all the more acceptable to the native speaker as there does seem to be a case that can be made for the two core variant meanings of *prze-* to be traceable to a single core meaning; the ultimate invariant. There must be an innate kind of closeness of the shared portion of meaning of the two core variants $prze_1$ and $prze_3$.

If we consider the two next to each other, we can point out the common traits of both core variants:

1. Points P and Q; the existence of both points is clear, however, Q can be clearly located as ‘immediately adjacent to the outer edge of R, coinciding with the exact end of the trajector’, whilst P is merely situated ‘at the beginning of the trajector’.
2. A landmark R at whose edge is marked the border with Q.
3. A trajector linking P to Q.

This can perhaps be most clearly illustrated thus:

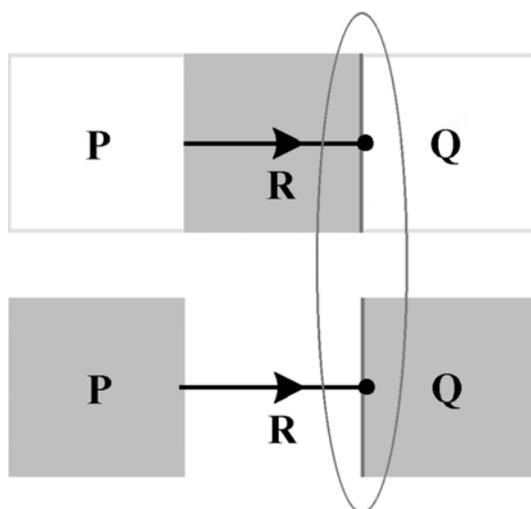


Fig. 32 *the two basic variants*

in which presentation the elliptical shape serves to point to the area of main agreement. This, as well as the above mentioned common points are then actually the description of the invariant meaning of *prze-*. Please note that, especially in point 1, we have added a little more precision as to the location of the various elements in comparison to the description of the invariant in our earlier paper (Genis 1997), which was described in 0.3 above.

Although the description is now slightly more precise and the schematic representations of the variant meanings as well as the reasoning through which the formulation of the invariant meaning for prefix *prze-* were arrived at have changed since our earlier paper, there is essentially no need to reformulate the established invariant.

Appendix 1 - Equivalents of Polish *prze-* in the Slavic Languages.

This table shows which languages have a set of two prefixes for the range of meanings discussed in chapter 1. It would seem that East and South Slavic languages have two prefixes, whereas West Slavic has only one. The big exception is Czech.

West	Polish:		<i>prze-</i>
	Czech:	<i>pro-</i>	<i>pře-</i>
	Slovak:		<i>pre-</i>
	Upper Sorbian:		<i>pře-</i>
	Lower Sorbian:		<i>pśe- (pře-)</i>
	Kashubian:		<i>prze- / przë-</i>
East	Russian:	<i>про-</i>	<i>пре- / пре-</i>
	White Russian:	<i>пра-</i>	<i>пепа-</i>
	Ukrainian:	<i>про-</i>	<i>пе-</i>
South	Croatian:	<i>pro-</i>	<i>pre-</i>
	Serbian:	<i>про-</i>	<i>пе-</i>
	Macedonian:	<i>про-</i>	<i>пе-</i>
	Bulgarian:	<i>про-</i>	<i>пе-</i>
	Slovene:	<i>pro-</i>	<i>pre-</i>
	Old Church Slavonic:	<i>про-</i>	<i>прѣ-</i>
Proto-Slavic:	<i>*pro-/*pra-</i>	<i>*per(i)-/(*prě-)</i>	

After Vaillant (1966: 468), Vasmer (1950-58), Brückner (1927) and Bańkowski (2000).

Appendix 2 - The meanings of *prze-* in other Slavic Languages.

The following table shows the meanings as identified for Polish *prze-* in this study as they are divided over the prefixes *nepe-* and *npo-* and equivalents in Slavic languages that have two rather than one prefix.

This is not meant to be an in depth representation of the polysemy of these prefixes in other Slavic languages; its purpose is merely to give an impression of the ranges of meanings of these two prefixes and the distribution of the Polish *prze-* meanings in general terms. We have based ourselves mainly on dictionaries for Russian and Czech as well as Flier (1975, 1985).

The line between *prze*₂ and *prze*₃ coincides with the meridian between what can be called basically *prze*₁ and basically *prze*₃ types in the presentation above. There is a further, similar line separating *prze*₅.

Polish inventory	<i>nepe-</i>	<i>npo-</i>
<i>Prze</i> _{1.1} 'get across (over)'	x	
'get accross (through)'		x
'pass (by, through)'	(x)	x
<i>Prze</i> _{1.2} 'pierce'		x
<i>Prze</i> _{1.3} 'puncture'		x
<i>Prze</i> _{1.4} 'partition'	x	
<i>Prze</i> _{1.5} 'saturate'		x
<i>Prze</i> _{1.6} 'exhaust (serial envelopment)'	x	
'execute thoroughly'		x
<i>Prze</i> _{1.7} 'mix' / 'entwine'	x	
<i>Prze</i> _{1.8} 'squander' / 'lose'		x
<i>Prze</i> _{1.9} 'fail [to]'		x
<i>Prze</i> _{1.10} 'start [to]'		x
<i>Prze</i> ₂ 'spend time'		x
<i>Prze</i> ₃ 'transpose (from P to Q)'	x	
<i>Prze</i> _{3.1} 'replace'	x	

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Prze _{3.2}	‘reorientate’	x
Prze _{3.3}	‘repeat’	x
Prze _{3.3.1}	‘redo’	x
Prze _{3.3.2}	‘copy’	x
Prze _{3.3.3}	‘alter (by repeating earlier treatment)’	x
Prze _{4.1}	‘execute not (quite) totally’	
Prze _{4.2}	‘overdo’	x
Prze _{4.3}	‘outdo’	x
Prze ₅	‘cease [to]’	?

Please note:

1. Flier (1975: 220) gives two meanings connected with “time” as landmark: <interval> and <duration>, both of which belong to *nepe-*. Both seem to coincide with our *prze*₂.
2. We have not been able to identify *prze*-compounds with a prefix meaning <interchange> in Polish. This meaning is present in Russian as listed by Flier (1975: 220).
3. Flier’s (1975: 222) *npo-*-meaning <satisfaction> is not described in a similar fashion for Polish and so, it is not listed here. In Russian these all rather seem to be formed by complex morpheme *npo- ся* and is said to concern bodily functions. We can see this meaning in Polish though in verbs such as *przejeżdżać się*, which can mean ‘go for a ride for pleasure’. As the Polish versions are also formed by means of a complex morpheme rather than the prefix under scrutiny, we have omitted further discussion of this type.

