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Studies on the Polisch verbal prefix prze-

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IV THE POLISH VERBAL PREFIX *PRZE-* AND PREPOSITIONAL VERSUS NON-PREPOSITIONAL COMPLEMENTS WITH VERBS OF MOTION

0 Introduction

The present chapter is mainly concerned with the participation of so-called verbs of motion¹ prefixed by the Polish verbal prefix *prze-* in syntactic constructions with and without prepositional complement, and the constraints that can be established. In this research we restricted ourselves to constructions referring to so-called spatial predicates.

In the following we will discuss the various complementary constructions with and without preposition. We will end with a tentative formulation as to the criteria that seem to play a role in what I will term the soft opposition between the following prototypical examples:

- (1) *Ania przeszła_p ulicę...*
Ania_{NOM} through-went_p street_{ACC}...
- (2) *Ania przeszła_p przez ulicę...*
Ania_{NOM} through-went_p through street_{ACC} ...

Both of these could be translated as ‘Ania (has) crossed the street’ and thus they are at least near synonyms. In the following we will paraphrase this opposition as follows:

<i>prze</i> VM NP _{ACC} : <i>prze</i> VM <i>przez</i> NP _{ACC} .
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VM = verb of motion

NP_{ACC} = accusative noun phrase

In order to justify and complete the full picture surrounding this opposition we will need to have a look at other prepositional as well as non-prepositional complements that occur with *prze*VM. This we will do starting with the prepositional complements that came to light through searches in the Amsterdam Polish text corpus. From there we will progress with a discussion of non-prepositional complements. Finally we will turn to the above opposition.

0.1 Kudra

First we must look at an important paper that touches on these matters. In her excellent article, Kudra (1993:38) points out that *prze-* usually renders a verb of motion transitive (although such verbs do certainly not occur exclusively with accusative objects as instrumental objects as well as prepositional ones abound). This must be the most significant syntactic quality of *prze-*. It is the single most productive prefix in this respect and according to Kudra the number of derivatives exceeds that even of prefix *o-* || *ob(e)-*. According to Kudra, from a semantic point of view the accusative object functions as an adjunct of place. The same seems to apply to constructions in which such a compound would be combined with a complement including the preposition *przez*. In fact, she seems to reckon that most non-prepositional objects of verbs of motion with the prefix *prze-* are semantically interchangeable with objects involving *przez* and all her examples constitute the meaning “move across in space”. The perlocative adjunct of space that is connotated adds information as to the ‘path’ of the action expressed by the base verb of a compound. Additionally, compounds with *prze-* may have an object in the instrumental case rendering a meaning, which Kudra describes simply as “adjuncts of place with perlocative direction”.²

Kudra then lists the remaining prepositional objects that according to her occur with compounds of verbs of motion with prefix *prze-*. The table below gives an overview of Kudra's discussion.

prepositional complement(s)	approximate translation
<i>do</i> NP _{GEN}	'to / toward ...'
<i>na</i> NP _{ACC}	'onto / into / to ...'
<i>od</i> NP _{GEN} <i>do</i> NP _{GEN}	'from ... to ...'
<i>po</i> NP _{LOC}	'after ...'
<i>pod (przed)</i> NP _{INSTR}	'under ...'
<i>przed</i> NP _{INSTR}	'in front of ...'
<i>przez</i> NP _{ACC}	'through...' / ('over...')
<i>przy</i> NP _{LOC}	'at ...'
<i>w</i> NP _{ACC}	'into / onto / to ...'
<i>z</i> NP _{GEN} <i>do</i> NP _{GEN}	'from ... to ...'
<i>z</i> NP _{GEN} <i>na</i> NP _{ACC}	'from ... onto / into / to ...'
<i>za</i> NP _{ACC}	'to (behind) ...'
<i>za</i> NP _{INSTR}	'behind ...'

According to Kudra in all of these constructions we encounter perlocative meaning ('provided' as it were by the prefix *prze-*). In some, though, we receive additional information as to "the behaviour of the point that moves in space"; the adlative *do* NP_{GEN} and *na* NP_{ACC} as well as the ablative *od* NP_{GEN} (+ *do* NP_{GEN}), *z* NP_{GEN} (+ *na* NP_{ACC}) and *z* NP_{GEN} *do* NP_{GEN}.

1 *PrzeVM* with prepositional complements

1.1 Some additions to Kudra's list

On the basis of text corpora, material provided by native informants and dictionaries we have been able to confirm that prefixed verbs of motion can partake in constructions such as the ones described by Kudra. In addition to her list we found the following prepositional complements:

prepositional complement(s)	approximate translation
<i>nad</i> NP _{INSTR}	‘over, above ...’
<i>obok</i> NP _{GEN}	‘next to, along ...’
<i>wzdłuż</i> NP _{GEN}	‘along...’

Examples of these are (3), (5) and (6), which will be discussed below.

1.2 A Classification: “Harmony” vs “Disharmony”

On account of the obviously shared formal, etymological and semantic properties of prefix *prze-* and preposition *przez* we have decided to term *przeVM przez* NP_{ACC} a structure of PREFIX-PREPOSITION HARMONY.³ Structures where prepositional NP complement to a *przeVM* contains another preposition then represent PREFIX-PREPOSITION DISHARMONY.

This classification also makes sense with regards to the further syntactical semantic discussion as will be shown below.

1.2.1 Disharmony: *przeVM xNP_x*.

Consider the following examples:

- (3) *Przelecieli_p nad miastem...*
 Through-flew_{P-3-PL} above city_{INSTR} ...
 ‘They have flown / flew across over the city...’

This is *przeVM nad*NP_{INSTR} which can be rendered schematically thus:



Fig. 1 *przeVM nad*NP_{INSTR}

The trajectory passes over the city, not actually having any contact with the city itself.

- (4) *Przejdzie_p pan (tą ulicą) od ładnej do pięknej, ...*
 through-go_p sir_{NOM} (this_street_{INSTR}) from ładna_{GEN} to piękna_{GEN}...
 ‘You will have to walk (along this street) from Ładna street to Piękna street, ...’

przeVM odNP_{GEN} doNP_{GEN} which can be viewed as:

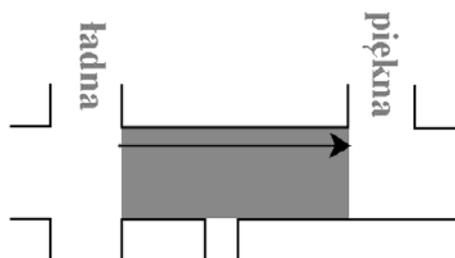


Fig. 2 *przeVM odNP_{GEN} doNP_{GEN}*

The route does not pass over the streets Ładna and Piękna, but it does have these as beginning and end situations.

- (5) *Pani Hooch ... następnie przeszła_p wzdłuż szeregów dziewczyn ...*
 Mrs. Hooch_{NOM} ... next through-went_p along rows_{GEN} girls_{GEN}...
 ‘Next Mrs. Hooch passed along rows of girls ...’

przeVM wzdłużNP_{GEN} which can be viewed as:

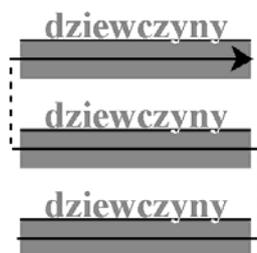


Fig. 3 *przeVM wzdłużNP_{GEN}*

Mrs. Hooch walks along several lines of girls. She does of course not walk over the girls, who stand next to the route Mrs. Hooch actually traverses. Had the NP been singular, the picture would have resembled the following one even more.

- (6) *Warionucha przebiegł_P obok strzelnicy i ...*
 Warionucha_{NOM} through-ran_P next-to rifle-range_{GEN} and ...
 ‘Warionucha ran along the rifle range and ...’

przeVM obokNP_{GEN} which can be viewed as:



Fig. 4 *przeVM obokNP_{GEN}*

The route runs along the rifle range and not over it.

In (3) through (6) none of the NP are themselves part of the trajectory. They are however the means by which the actual domain crossed is identified.

Indeed, the actual domains crossed “exist” by virtue of the identifier: the domain ‘next to the rifle range’ (6) is identified as nothing other than that precisely because it is “next to the rifle range.” The same goes for examples (3) through (6), in which the gray areas are the domains identified by the NP, which are also in gray letters.

In fact we have found that in none of the studied structures of disharmony *przeVM xNP_x* mentioned here in 0.1 and 1.1 the NP is itself part of the trajectory. We can state NP \neq domain of the trajectory. This peculiarity sets the structures of disharmony apart from the structure we qualified as one of harmony (*przeVM przez NP_{ACC}*) as in the latter the NP itself is part of the trajectory as we shall try to demonstrate below.

1.2.2 Harmony: *przeVM przez NP_{ACC}*.

No doubt in this construction the prefix and preposition double up and “join forces” as it were to bring to the fore the basic perlocative meaning of ‘crossing’.

- (7) *Ania przeszła_P przez ulicę.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-went_P through street_{ACC}.
 ‘Ania (has) crossed the/a street.’

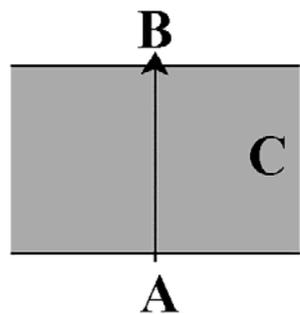


Fig. 5 *przeVM przez NP_{ACC}*

Please note that the trajectory $A \rightarrow B$ crosses the domain ‘street’ C, and that *przez*NP_{ACC} expresses that the entirety of C is encompassed. In other words NP = domain of trajectory. We have found various NP partaking in this construction. These range from such spatially perceived entities as *deszcz* ‘rain’ to *ciało* ‘body’, but most often they would be “geographical area’s of space” such as *pole* ‘field’, *provincia* ‘province’, *kraj* ‘country’ and also *korytarz* ‘corridor’. All of these have in common that they feature a boundary through which one enters the NP’s spatial entity (in (7): crossing from A to C) as well as a boundary through which one leaves the spatial entity (from C to B). These boundaries are crossed and so they form more or less square angles with the route of the trajectory. The spatial entity is perceived as a whole, a totality, through which the trajectory crosses, without much attention to the way the represented space is crossed or of what it consists.

2 *Prze*VM with a non-prepositional complement

2.1 *Prze*VM with the Instrumental

Examples are quite rare. The following are the only two that could be drawn from the Amsterdam Polish Text Corpus.

- (8) *Doliną jej przechodzi, droga prowadząca przez Bałkany do Kazanliku, do Eski-Saghra i dalej do Adrianopola.*

Valley_{INSTR} her_{GEN} through-goes_I road_leading_{NOM} through Balkans_{ACC} to Kazanlik_{GEN} to Eski-Saghra_(GEN) and further to Adrianopol_{GEN}.

‘Along the valley runs a road that leads through the Balkans to Kazanlik, to Eski-Saghra and on to Adrianopol.’

- (9) *A we dnie wracał spokoj, od czasu do czasu przechodził główną ulicą, Kreszczatikiem albo Wladimirską, pułk niemieckich huzarów.*

And in days_{ACC} returned_I quiet_{NOM}, from time_{GEN} to time_{GEN} through-went_I
main_street_{INSTR}, Kreszczatik_{INSTR} or Wladimirska_{INSTR}, regiment_{NOM}
German_hussars_{GEN}.

‘In daytime quiet would return, [and/but] from time to time a
regiment of German hussars went down the main street, down
Kreszczatik street or down Wladimirska street.’

For (9) we provide the following schematic representation:

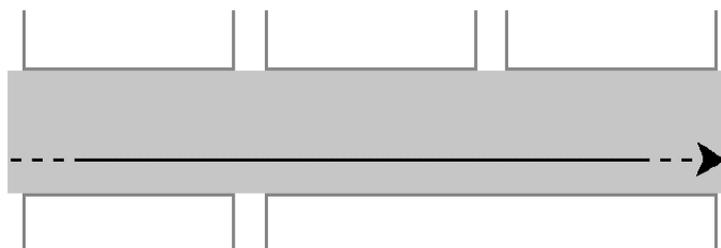


Fig. 6 *prze*VM NP_{INSTR}

Native speakers confirm that the German hussars marched “through at least a certain (considerable) part of the Main Street.” The boundaries of the trajectory give us our orientation and seem to run along the trajectory and not across as in (7): the Main Street indicates as it were the route that should coincide with the trajectory, but it does not indicate precisely the extent to which the street is followed nor does it deal with crossing any borders into the domain that forms the background to the trajectory. Furthermore, although we still have Kudra’s “perlative” meaning (1993:38), as far as the ‘crossing of the domain’ itself is concerned, we lack the notion of inherent totality that is present in (7). All of this may be due to the fact that in this strongly processual, imperfective (intra-terminal iterative) context the actual crossing of the boundaries at start and

finish of the landmark is not relevant. The space between these boundaries is then presented stretched up as it were.

2.2 *Prze*VM with the Accusative

Prefix *prze-* can render an otherwise intransitive verb of motion transitive and so, the following example, tested with native informants is not surprising:

- (10) *Ania przeszła_p ulicę...*
 Ania_{NOM} through-went_p street_{ACC} ...
 a. Ania (has) crossed the street....

This meaning, given here in translation, is by no means the obvious choice for native speakers when they are dealing first and foremost with the action of going across such as illustrated above in figure 5. Asked for a clarification as to the appropriateness of this sentence, native informants invariably point to the fact it should primarily be seen in a different context, which could be: Ania, while trying to find a certain street (C), overlooked it, actually walked passed the turn-of and missed it. I propose the following schematic visualisation, in which the trajectory⁴ is the route Ania possibly followed.

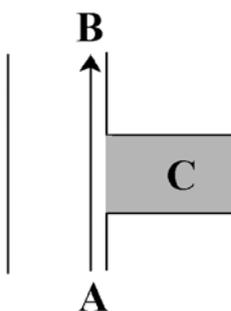


Fig. 7 *prze*VM NP_{ACC} 1

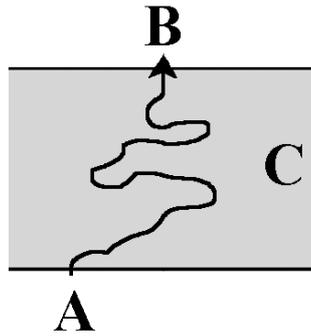
This can be translated as:

b. ‘Ania walked passed the street (that she was looking for).’

Native speakers confirmed that (10b) is the first and foremost meaning of (10) that comes to mind. Meanings such as (10a) are however not impossible for the basic structure *prze*VM NP_{ACC}, but they usually seem to occur in conjunction with more information, such as the following rather more typical example adapted from Szymczak (1973 : *przejsć*).

- (11) *Przeszli_p rzekę w bród.*
 through-went_{P-3-PL} river_{ACC} in ford_{ACC}.
 ‘They crossed the river through a ford.’

This sentence structure (*prze*VM NP_{ACC}) seems at first glance to be synonymous with (7) and (10a) as far as spatial parameters and trajectory are concerned. However, considering (11), native informants agreed that, although the translation ‘to cross’ for *przejsć_p* is in essence correct, it can only occur here, because we are dealing with a situation in which the actual act of ‘crossing’ is not foremost in the speaker’s mind. He is rather more concerned with the mode of dealing with getting to the other side of the river, here: ‘wading through a ford’; it would have been more normal to swim or to sail. Furthermore, there was a conviction, that the trajectory of the crossing, in view of the difficulties of the wading process, could not really be expected to be a straight line, nor are A and B necessarily directly opposite to each other. And so for this particular sentence we have to add some elements to our schematic representation:

Fig. 8 *prze*VM NP_{ACC} 2

Note, that the base meaning ‘crossing from A to B’ is present in this example, albeit in the background of the speaker’s mind; the communicative goal of this sentence is to point out *how* B was attained and not *that* it was attained. Note also, that the structures of neither (10) nor (11) would be considered to be applicable in situations where the actual “crossing action” would be foremost in the speaker’s mind; both examples (12) and (13) below were discarded as “not likely” in such a context.

- (12) *Przeszli_P rzekę.* <not likely>
 through-went_{T_P-3-PL} river_{ACC}.
 ‘They (have) crossed the/a river.’
- (13) *Ania przeszła_P ulicę.* <not likely>
 Ania_{NOM} through-went_P street_{ACC}.
 ‘Ania (has) crossed the/a street.’

This concludes the inventory and basic description of sentence structures in which *prze*VM can take part. In the following we oppose the near synonym structures of example (7) on the one hand and (10a) and (11) on the other in order to establish in more detail what justifies the existence of these two semantically parallel syntactical structures.

3 *PrzeVM NP_{ACC} : przeVM przez NP_{ACC}* .

With regards to example (7) of structure *przeVM przez NP_{ACC}*, we established that *przezNP_{ACC}* then expresses the entity (barrier) separating us from the other side and does not indicate a trajectory. The main focus of the utterance then is towards the action of ‘getting across / to the other side of the identified domain’. The crossing is perceived in its entirety, its totality. There usually is no focus on the domain crossed and hardly ever on the way in which the domain is crossed. We found that such sentences typically are embedded in a sequence of events, a narrative, of which the crossing action was merely a part. We propose to call it **NARRATIVE FOCUS**. The narrative focal nature of (7) is further emphasised by the impression of native informants, that such sentences are clearly intended to lead up to a continuation of the narrative on the other side; something is going to happen or going to be done on the other side. There is more to the story over there and the fact that the domain had to be crossed was almost circumstantial information and could even be intended to be mentioned “in passing”. Also, there is a strong feeling expressed by native speakers that the trajectory is perceived as straight, or at least, that it is straight enough not to distract away from the main focus of the sentence. Whether it is straight or not may actually be of no consequence or interest to the speaker as the main focus is on getting across.

This structure is semantically relatively simple, as we are dealing merely with this ‘crossing’ of a spatial domain that is established by *przez NP_{ACC}*. Semantically speaking *NP_{ACC}* as in example (11) is more complex, for apart from establishing the domain and the crossing thereof, this structure deals with a further semantic element. In fact the main focus of the speaker is not on the “reaching of the other side” nor on the establishment or localisation of the domain. We propose to term this **DESCRIPTIVE FOCUS**, as the “description” typically concerns the nature of the spatial domain designated by the *NP_{ACC}* itself or the *modus operandi* employed to cross it.

It would seem then, that a certain amount of “pollution” of the basic perlocative meaning as in (7) is necessary to allow a non-prepositional complement to be used in contexts in which the spatial meaning of the prefix is present albeit not foremost in the speaker’s mind (but in the background or as a basic minimal condition). We have in fact not been able to persuade native speakers to such constructions as in (12) and (13) nor to produce one on request. Interestingly though, native speakers value (14a) below as “not likely” rather than “incorrect”:

- (14a) *Przeszli_p przez rzekę w bród.* <not likely>
 through-went_{p-3-PL} through river_{ACC} in ford_{ACC}.
 ‘They (have) crossed the/a river through a ford.’

Of course, since the fact that here a barrier is not crossed in the easy, “normal” fashion (bridge, boat) but in a way that requires an (untypical) physical effort; we may assume that this particular construction may be viewed as “on the edge”.

If we then proceed with comparing the following pair, we must conclude, that the constituent *na pasach* does not provide enough reason to distract the main focus from the circumstances that need to be focussed on. And so...

- (14b) *Ania przeszła_p przez ulicę na pasach.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-went_p through street_{ACC} on zebra-crossing_{LOC}.
 ‘Ania crossed the/a street at the zebra crossing.’

... is accepted as normal, whilst...

- (14c) **Ania przeszła_p ulicę na pasach.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-went_p street_{ACC} on zebra-crossing_{LOC}.
 ‘Ania crossed the/a street at the zebra crossing.’

... is discarded as incorrect. We suppose crossing the street at a zebra crossing is

a rather normal thing to do and so needs not to be brought to the fore as it were, by a non-prepositional NP.

Most often the main focus in the non-prepositional complement structure is on the modus operandi (= MO). Consider the following examples from Polish literature.

- (15a) *Drobiazg zwierzęcy wpadłszy_P w popłoch przebiegał_I na oślep arenę lub bił_I głowami w kraty...*

group_animal_{NOM} having-fallen_P in panic_{ACC} through-ran_I on blind_{ACC} arena_{ACC}
or bang_I heads_{INSTR} in bars_{ACC}.

‘The group of small animals, seized by panic, ran across the arena without looking or banged their heads against the bars...’

MO: *by panic, without looking*

- (15b) *Jacyś ludzie przebiegają_I miasto i ciskają_I w domy płonące_I pochodnie...*

some_people_{NOM} through-run_I city_{ACC} and throw_I in houses_{ACC}
flaming_torches_{ACC} ...

‘Some people are running across the city and are throwing flaming torches ...’

MO: *and are throwing (whilst throwing...)*

- (15c) *Sam przebiegam_I miasto dniem i nocą, licząc_I na traf szczęśliwy.*

Self through-run_{I-1-PR} city_{ACC} day_{INSTR} and day_{INSTR}, counting_I on encounter_
lucky_{ACC}.

‘Myself, I run across town day and night, hoping for a lucky encounter.’

MO: *hoping for a lucky encounter*

- (15d) *Gladiatorowie, pijani winem złupionym w Emporium, połączywszy_p się w duże gromady przebiegali_i z dzikimi okrzykami place przydrożne, rozpędzając_i ludzi, tratując_i, łupiąc_i.*

gladiators_{NOM},_drunk wine_pillaged_{INSTR} in Emporium_{LOC}, having_joint in large_crowds_{ACC} through-ran_i with wild_shrieks_{INSTR}, dispersing_i people_{ACC} trampling_i, looting_i.

‘The gladiators, drunk on wine they pillaged from the Emporium, after having joint into large crowds ran across the wayside squares with wild shrieks, whilst dispersing people, trampling, looting.’

MO: *with wild shrieks, whilst dispersing people, trampling, looting*

NB. Note that the spatial parameter here consists of an undefined number of “wayside squares”. This plurality makes it less likely that there would be a question of an attainable other side.

- (15e) *Tysiące ludzi dniem i nocą przebiegali_i z wyciem ulice.*

thousands people_{GEN} day_{INSTR} and night_{INSTR} through-ran_i with wail_{INSTR} streets_{ACC}.

‘Thousands of people day and night ran across the streets wailing.’

MO: *wailing*

NB. Note that the spatial parameter here consists of an undefined number of “streets”. This plurality makes it less likely that there would be a question of an attainable other side.

- (15f) *Jak trudno mi odzyskać_p swobodny oddech, jak bardzo zmęczyłam_p się przebiegając_i kilka kroków...*

how difficult me_{DAT} regain_p easy_breath_{ACC}, how very tired_{P-FEM-1-SG} myself through-running_i several paces_{GEN}...

‘How difficult it was for me to regain an easy breath, how much I tired myself running (through) several paces...’

MO: *I tired myself*

Note that all the above examples (15a) through (15f) of modus operandi concern imperfective verbs. There seems to be a semantically motivated correlation between the use of non-prepositional complements and the often-implicit lack of attaining the end of an action as expressed by imperfective verbs.

Furthermore (15a) through (15f) all seem to deal with situations in which the non-attainment of “the other side” seems to take place within the boundaries of explicitly mentioned domains and not across these boundaries as in (7), (11). All seem to describe situations for which a clear-cut case for a single run across the mentioned domain cannot be made. The likelihood here is that the actions consist of multiple or at least undefined runs covering the domain. In (15a) through (15c) the domains are simple spaces: ‘arena’, ‘town’. I propose the following schematic representation:

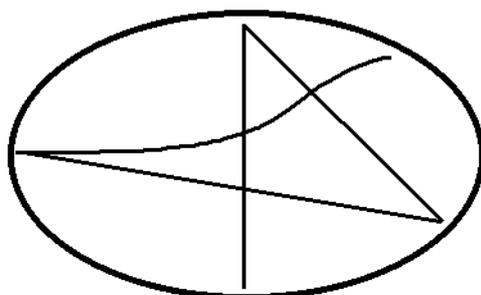
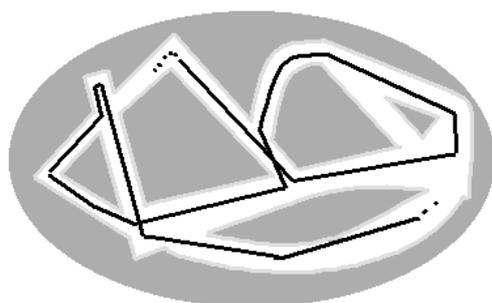


Fig. 9 *przeVM_i NP_{ACC} 1*

whereas in (15d) and (15e) these spaces are defined as consisting of a ‘number of wayside squares’ and ‘number of streets’. Less clear as perhaps these latter two are, they are nonetheless still quite easily defined as to their character in the above sentences by the following schematic representation.

Fig. 10 *przeVM_i NP_{ACC} 2*

Here the actual motion (and trajectory) is as it were spatially expressed by ‘streets’ (or ‘wayside squares’) that run across the actual spatial domain formed by the further unmentioned conglomeration of these streets (or wayside squares).

For (15f) we interpret the space as being represented by slightly other means. The space in (15f) is actually quantified as being the size of ‘several paces’. Dramatically speaking it is the placing of the steps required to make paces that provoke the tiring effect. Space here is drawn slightly further into the realm of metaphor.

In the present examples there is clearly never an intention of reaching the opposite side of the spatial unit and the motion takes place within this spatial entity. It is in fact quite possible that its extremities are reached. More significantly however, the outer extremities are clearly not presented as being crossed. The imperfectivity of the verbs in these examples accounts for the multiplicity of the motion across and possibly also the non-attainment of the other side. The lack of preposition in the complement accounts in turn for the focus on the MO: we are clearly dealing with a descriptive focus.

In the following example the use of the imperfective verb itself is motivated by the focus on the action of the crossing rather than the attainment of the other

side.

- (15g) *...trzymał_i od czasu przyjazdu do Ancjum rozstawne konie, aby móc w jak najkrótszym czasie przebiegać_i przestrzeń dzielącą go od Rzymu.*

... kept_{I-MASC.-3-SG} from time_{GEN} arrival_{GEN} to Ancjum_{GEN} harnessed_horses_{ACC}, in-order be-able_{INF}, in as shortest_time_{LOC} through-run_{I-INF}, space_dividing_{ACC} him_{ACC} from Rome_{GEN}.

‘...since arriving in Antium he kept harnessed horses in order to be able to hurry across the space dividing him from Rome in the shortest possible time.’

MO: *in the shortest possible time*

There was but a single similar example containing a perfective rather than imperfective verb.

- (15h) *On sam, przebiegłszy_p jak burza śpiące Laurentum, zawrócił_p...*

he_himself_{NOM}, having_through-ran_p like storm_{NOM} sleeping_Laurentum_{ACC}, returned_p...

‘He himself, after having run like a storm across sleepy Laurentum, returned...’

MO: *like a storm*

NB. which by the way does not focus on getting to the other side.

Examples of perfective verbs with non-prepositional complements that we found are most often cases where the focus is on the distance or the type of terrain expressed.

(16a) *W siedem minut przejechał_P osiem wiorst, wpadł_P na Rozjazd Wołyński...*

in seven minutes_{GEN} through-drove_{P-MASC.-3-SG} eight verst_{GEN}, in-fell_{P-MASC.-3-SG} on
junction_Wołyński_{ACC} ...

‘In seven minutes time he drove across the distance of eight verst,
arrived at Wołyński junction ...’

Distance (corroborated, as it were, by the added scope of ‘eight verst’).

(16b) *Dopiero przebiegłszy_P kilka zaułków i spostrzegłszy_P jakichś robotników
idących_i z dala naprzeciw, uspokoił_P się nieco.*

only having-through-ran_P several lanes_{GEN} and having-noticed_P
some_workmen_{GEN}_going_i from far_{GEN} opposite, calmed-down_{P-MASC.-3-SG} himself
bit.

‘Only after having run across several lanes and having noticed some
workmen who were coming towards him from a distance did he
calm down a bit.’

Terrain (added scope: several lanes).

The nature of the two objects in (16a - distance) and (16b - terrain +
quantification) emphasises that the focus is narrative and on the ‘(circumstances
of the) crossing’ as such rather than descriptive and on ‘reaching the other side’.

4 Conclusions

The functions for non-prepositional complements to verbs of motion with
prefix *prze-* in both the Accusative as well as the Instrumental would seem to
correlate with Jakobson’s designated functions for these cases in Russian
(Jakobson 1971: 23-71). His accusative object is the primary focus of the action
expressed by the verb. In Polish there seems to be a soft opposition⁵ between the
non-prepositional complement NP_{ACC} and the prepositional complement

*przez*NP_{ACC}. This opposition is one of focus: NP_{ACC} goes along with Jakobson's Accusative-object function of "bringing to the fore" the spatial entity expressed by Accusative object and/or, mutatis mutandis the mode of crossing that spatial entity, whereas *przez*NP_{ACC} focuses more simply on "reaching the opposite side of the domain at hand."

We have seen in (8) and (9) that Instrumental objects also occur as non-prepositional complement to verbs of motion with prefix *prze-*. As far as we are aware only Kudra describes these. To paraphrase her words: "These are adjuncts of place with a perlocative direction." We have demonstrated that the instrumental complement (NP_{INSTR}) localises the route of the trajectory by profiling the extremes of the domain that run parallel to the trajectory whereas the Accusative object (NP_{ACC}) either deals with crossing both the starting and ending extremities of the domain as in (10a), or does not deal with crossing these boundaries at all but rather with "missing" the domain altogether as in (10b).

Verbs of motion with prefix *prze-* form syntactical structures with prepositional complements of two types: harmonic constructions with complements including preposition *przez* as well as "disharmonic" constructions with a number of other prepositions. NP following *przez* (harmony) are part of the domain across which the trajectory runs, whereas NP following other prepositions (disharmony) merely localise the domain through which the trajectory runs without themselves being part of that domain.

