



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Studies on the Polisch verbal prefix prze-

Genis, R.M.

Publication date

2008

Document Version

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Genis, R. M. (2008). *Studies on the Polisch verbal prefix prze-*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam]. Uitgeverij Pegasus.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

STUDIES ON THE POLISH VERBAL PREFIX *PRZE-*

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. D.C. van den Boom
ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties ingestelde
commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Agnietenkapel
op donderdag 10 januari 2008, te 12.00 uur

door RENÉ MARTIN GENIS

geboren te Pernis, Zuid-Holland

Promotor: prof. dr. W.G. Weststeijn (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Co-promotor: dr. W.J.J. Honselaar (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Promotiecommissie:

prof. dr hab. K. Waszakowa (Universiteit van Warschau)

prof. dr hab. M. Świdziński (Universiteit van Warschau)

prof. dr. J. Schaeken (Universiteit Leiden)

prof. dr. P.C. Hengeveld (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

prof. dr. O.C.M. Fischer (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

dr. A.A. Barentsen (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

FACULTEIT DER GEESTESWETENSCHAPPEN, UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM

STUDIES ON THE POLISH VERBAL
PREFIX *PRZE-*

RENÉ GENIS

Pegasus Oost-Europese Studies 7
Uitgeverij Pegasus, Amsterdam 2008

PEGASUS OOST-EUROPESE STUDIES is een serie studies op het gebied van de Oost-Europese taalkunde, letterkunde, cultuurkunde en geschiedenis onder redactie van:

prof. dr. Raymond Detrez (Universiteit Gent)

dr. Wim Honselaar (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

prof. dr. Thomas Langerak (Universiteit Gent)

prof. dr. Willem Weststeijn (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Redactieadres:

Uitgeverij Pegasus

Postbus 11470

1001 GL Amsterdam

Nederland

E-mail POES@pegasusboek.nl

© Copyright 2008 Uitgeverij Pegasus, Amsterdam

www.pegasusboek.nl

ISBN 978 90 6143 321 7 / NUR 630

ISSN 1572-0683

Bandontwerp en vormgeving MV Levievandermeer

Druk en afwerking Koninklijke Wöhrmann bv

Alle rechten voorbehouden. Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd, opgeslagen in een geautomatiseerd gegevensbestand, of openbaar gemaakt, in enige vorm of op enige wijze, hetzij elektronisch, mechanisch, door fotokopieën, opnamen, of enig andere manier, zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

Voor zover het maken van kopieën uit deze uitgave is toegestaan op grond van artikel 16B Auteurswet 1912 j° het besluit van 20 juni 1974, St.b. 351, zoals gewijzigd bij het Besluit van 23 augustus 1985, St.b. 471 en artikel 17 Auteurswet 1912, dient men de daarvoor wettelijk verschuldigde vergoedingen te voldoen aan de Stichting Reprerecht (Postbus 3060, 2130 KB Hoofddorp). Voor het overnemen van (een) gedeelte(n) uit deze uitgave in bloemlezingen, readers en andere compilatiewerken (artikel 16 Auteurswet 1912), dient men zich tot de uitgever te wenden.

Ondanks alle aan de samenstelling van de tekst bestede zorg, kan noch de redactie noch de uitgever aansprakelijkheid aanvaarden voor eventuele schade, die zou kunnen voortvloeien uit enige fout, die in deze uitgave zou kunnen voorkomen.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a database or retrieval system, or published, in any form or in any way, electronically, mechanically, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means without prior written permission from the publisher.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments

0	Introduction	1
1	About views and opinions	2
2	About verbal prefixes	5
3	About relevant research	8
4	About our sources	10
5	About this book	10
6	About the special markings	11
7	About the glosses	11
I	The Polish verbal prefix <i>prze-</i>; variant and invariant meanings	15
0	Introduction	15
0.1	Some preliminary remarks and exclusions	16
0.2	Further premises	17
0.3	The invariant meaning of <i>prze-</i> .	18
1	Variant meanings as combining elements	20
1.1	Predictability of the variant meanings	23
2.	The variant meanings	23
2.1	<i>Prze₁</i> ; traverse landmark	23
2.1.1	<i>Prze_{1,1}</i> ; get across / over	24
2.1.2	<i>Prze_{1,2}</i> ; pierce	28
2.1.3	<i>Prze_{1,3}</i> ; puncture	30
2.1.4	<i>Prze_{1,4}</i> ; partition	30
2.1.5	<i>Prze_{1,5}</i> ; saturate	31
2.1.6	<i>Prze_{1,6}</i> ; exhaust (also: execute thoroughly)	32
2.1.7	<i>Prze_{1,7}</i> ; mix / entwine	34
2.1.8	<i>Prze_{1,8}</i> ; squander / lose	35
2.1.9	<i>Prze_{1,9}</i> ; fail [to]	37
2.1.10	<i>Prze_{1,10}</i> ; start [to]	39
2.2	<i>Prze₂</i> ; spend time	41
2.3	<i>Prze₃</i> ; transpose (from P to Q)	44
2.3.1	<i>Prze_{3,1}</i> ; replace	45
2.3.2	<i>Prze_{3,2}</i> ; reorientate	46
2.3.3	<i>Prze_{3,3}</i> ; repeat	47
2.3.3.1	<i>Prze_{3,3,1}</i> ; redo	48
2.3.3.2	<i>Prze_{3,3,2}</i> ; copy	49
2.3.3.3	<i>Prze_{3,3,3}</i> ; alter (by repeating earlier treatment)	50
2.4	<i>Prze₄</i> ; transpose (from P to Q) across/through a transitional landmark	51
2.4.1	<i>Prze_{4,1}</i> ; execute not (quite) totally	51

2.4.2	<i>Prze</i> _{4,2} ; overdo	53
2.4.3	<i>Prze</i> _{4,3} ; outdo	54
2.5	<i>Prze</i> ₅ ; cease [to]	56
3.	Conclusions	57
3.1	Interrelation of variants and invariant	57
3.2	General concluding remarks	58
3.3	Re-evaluation of the invariant meaning	63
	Appendix 1 - Equivalents of Polish <i>prze-</i> in the Slavic Languages	65
	Appendix 2 - The meanings of <i>prze-</i> in other Slavic Languages	66
II	Imperfective terminativity in Polish; a case study around the verbal prefix <i>prze-</i>	69
0	Introduction	69
1	A first outline of the term 'terminativity'	70
1.1	Aterminativity vs. terminativity	84
1.2	Imperfectivity vs. terminativity	84
1.3	Telicity / boundedness vs. terminativity	91
2	The manifestations of terminativity	101
2.1	Non-prefixed verb internal terminativity	101
2.2	Prefix meaning and terminativity	103
2.3	Other manifestations of terminativity	115
2.3.1	The direct object vs. syntagmatic terminativity	119
3	The case of aspectual triads	127
4	The case of <i>czytac</i> _i ; <i>przeczytac</i> _p	133
5	Concluding remarks	152
5.1	Terminativity in our view	152
5.2	Terminativity as a sliding scale	152
5.3	Aspectual pairing	153
5.4	<i>Prze-</i> vs. (a)terminativity	155
III	Some thoughts on emptiness	157
0	Introduction	157
1	"Pure" aspectual pairs	159
2	Pairing and terminativity	170
3	Which prefix...?	173
4	Semantic correlation	176
4.1	Frequency	182
4.2	More recent formations	185
4.3	Analogy	186
4.4	Multiple choice	189
5	<i>Prze-</i>	193
6	Concluding remarks	194
IV	The Polish verbal prefix <i>prze-</i> and prepositional versus non-prepositional complements with verbs of motion	197
0	Introduction	197
0.1	Kudra	198
1.	<i>Prze</i> VM with prepositional complements	199

CONTENTS

1.1	Some additions to Kudra's list	199
1.2	A Classification: "Harmony" vs "Disharmony"	200
1.2.1	Disharmony: <i>przeVM xNP_x</i>	200
1.2.2	Harmony: <i>przeVM przez NP_{ACC}</i>	203
2	<i>PrzeVM</i> with a non-prepositional complement	204
2.1	<i>PrzeVM</i> with the Instrumental	204
2.2	<i>PrzeVM</i> with the Accusative	206
3	<i>PrzeVM NP_{ACC} : przeVM przez NP_{ACC}</i>	209
4	Conclusions	216
Notes		219
Bibliography		229
Table of figures		237
Samenvatting		239
Streszczenie		247
Index		255

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Of course, I wanted to produce the ultimate monograph on all aspects concerning verbal prefixes in Polish, be they semantics, aspect, terminativity, syntax ... And yes there was once the ambition to include all prefixes in all Slavic languages as well. The fact is though: such a task is for greater minds with greater abilities and talents. Compared to my original ambitions then, this book must surely look rather diminutive, and what there is, is largely due to the input and inspiration of those Greater Minds I was lucky to have around me. I acknowledge that wholly and gratefully.

I could not have done without my chief supervisor and colleague Wim Honselaar. Without his help I would certainly have gone lost amidst my ambitions. He kept me on the proverbial rails, and more, he did in fact lay the track, points and junctions at times, especially those difficult ones. If there is any discernible direction in my shunting it is entirely due to him. It is amazing how he kept finding time and patience for me in spite of my reluctance to hand over newly written fragments, never doing so until the very last moment. This forced him to read everything in minimal amounts of time but there wasn't a single occasion that he had not actually managed to do so. It must have been so frustrating though and I know that he actually worried. Apologies and gratitude cannot suffice.

The really big brain behind my work and also my achievements, if indeed any are truly mine, is Adrie Barentsen. He is an enormous asset of the Slavic department in Amsterdam. When he left a few years ago it was immediately felt as a great loss. But, nothing can stop him; he is still here and he has even returned to lecturing. His infectious enthusiasm for the subject as well as his great knowledge is always inspirational. I owe a lot to Adrie. His own work is of

the highest quality and I could never equal his example but thanks to Adrie I got where I am today: firmly in the Barentsen school of thought about aspect and related matters. Adrie is building the Amsterdam Slavic Parallel Aligned Corpus (ASPAC) almost single-handedly and I thank him also for giving me access.

Thanks are also due to my colleagues Janneke Kalsbeek, Radovan 'Lutz' Lučić and Magda van Duijkeren-Hrabová. Together with Adrie Barentsen we form the "Amsterdam Aspect Club". The deliberations of this group turned out to form a very important basis for my work.

The Polish section of the University of Amsterdam has also supported me and especially both Ela's – Elżbieta Meijknecht and Elżbieta Weiss – have proved great colleagues as well as reliable and invaluable native informants. I also thank 'my' other natives, Agnieszka Sips, Aleksandra Rekowa, Ewa Amghar and Paweł Serda.

Poland and the Poles have always been kind to me. Whenever I needed to be there I had a bed, great food and a lot of warmth and friendship. My palls from Kraków gave me a lot. I already mentioned Paweł but I owe thanks to his entire family, for the real Polish hospitality and especially the soups of "Serdowa Starsza". The beginnings of my studies took place in Warsaw and professor Krystyna Waszakowa initially helped me find my bearings there and ultimately set me on my way into Polish linguistics. I acknowledge this fully and gratefully.

In the final stages of this work Joop IJisberg of Pegasus showed himself a real ally. I was heavily involved in the production of a Polish-Dutch dictionary and juggling my time and attention between that job and this proved to be rather tough. Joop always understood and so made it possible to deal with both. I am very grateful that he publishes both books.

Nobody is as important as my family, on whom I have always been able to fall back. I thank my parents Willem and Mariette and my brother and sisters. There are no words to express my indebtedness to them, as well as to my sons

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thom and Luuk, daughter Nozomi and dear wife Mikae. I do not know how you have managed to put up with my unavailability and make up for all my shortcomings, especially during the period of writing this little book that must have seemed so irrelevant to you... “A whole book about not even half a word!”

0 INTRODUCTION

Verbal prefixes are fascinating; as important carriers of meaning affixed to verbs, the main part of the sentence, they hold key positions in most languages of the Indo-European family, influencing as they do verbal meaning and meaning structure, grammar and syntax. In Slavic languages there is the added complication of verbal aspect in which prefixes also play a part. Studies of prefixes usually concentrate on a single aspect of their multifaceted nature, often the description of prefix meaning. Actually, that is wise, but, to a certain extent, it also leaves the complexity of the functioning of prefixes under- or even unexposed.

So we decided to approach the matter somewhat differently: a single prefix in a single Slavic language in an attempt to deal with some, not even all, of the vast array of different aspects that concern verbal prefixes in Slavic languages. This is then essentially a case study, and a modest one at that, of the Polish prefix *prze-*, its meaning(s), its terminativising and presumed aspectual properties as well as a little bit of syntax.

In the following we aim to introduce the topics in general terms and explain the structure of the book as well as some of the conventions adhered to. A choice was made to also declare, right from the outset, our own position about certain matters, at this stage necessarily, in quite general terms. After that we will set out the chief areas of our prefix research, which is followed by the briefest of discussions of the main literature and a description of the structure of this dissertation.

1 About views and opinions

Before we even start with the actual work we would like to reveal where our allegiances lie. This is important, as there is a myriad of different opinions as well as a huge amount of different models for example for aspect, perfectivity and imperfectivity but also prefix meaning and function, terminativity, telicity and the whole array of topics that one encounters when one is occupied with the study of verbal prefixes. In the body of this dissertation we will deal in detail with some of the positions and opinions the various authors on our subject as well as some related ones have taken and we will of course also develop and underpin the otherwise possibly strong statements posited in this section. We also confess that, since our own last publication on this subject (2003), our views have somewhat altered, certainly with respect to the derivational process involved with prefixation and aspect. But we shall begin at the beginning.

Our alma mater is the University of Amsterdam. Professor Carl Ebeling, who never taught the present author, ran the linguistic section of the Slavic department for a considerable amount of years. He did in many ways lay the foundation of what was to come. In his latest publication, the vast and in our opinion monumentally important *Semiotaxis, over theoretische en Nederlandse syntaxis* (2006), he acknowledges to have been raised in the structuralist tradition but confesses to have progressed away from that (2006: 13).

De semantische definities van de Europese structuralisten ... waren te globaal om te kunnen voorspellen hoe de hoorder van een zin aan de hand van de gedefinieerde betekenissen enerzijds en de in de spreek situatie aanwezige kennis anderzijds tot zijn interpretatie van die zin komt, en dit is een eis waaraan de betekenisdefinitie naar mijn mening moet voldoen.

(The semantic definitions of the European structuralists ... were too broad to be able to predict how the listener of a sentence could come to a [correct] interpretation of that sentence by means of on the one hand the defined meanings, and on the other the knowledge that is present within the speech situation. In my opinion this is a requirement that the definition of meaning should meet.)

INTRODUCTION

One important principle, though, the Saussurian premise “one form, one meaning” was not given up, and it is this that returns in the work of Adrie Barentsen, whom we consider to be our main teacher. The linguistic section of our department nowadays flirts with the framework presented by Cognitivism and this has been our staple diet at home, but also in Warsaw through Professor Krystyna Waszakowa, who already during our early studies introduced us to the writings of Langacker. So much for the general basis, which consists then of a bit of a mixture of what we hope is the best of both Structuralism and Cognitivism.

As for the theory of aspect and especially aspect meaning we are part of a school of thought that is strongly Maslov-Bondarko-Barentsen oriented. What does this mean? Well, in this school of thought the notion of terminativity is essential and so is the principle that perfective verbs are always terminative whilst imperfective verbs are either terminative or aterminative. Terminativity is then primarily connected with perfectivity since for perfectivity a base characteristic is terminativity: perfective verbs are always terminative. So, it is not surprising that prefixes, as markers of terminativity, go together with a primary notion of perfectivity as well.

Aspect derivation is usually presented along the morphologically sound lines from perfective to imperfective via suffixation and from imperfective to perfective via prefixation. This is a view that is upheld strongly in a recent publication by Młynarczyk (2004). We too still thought along these lines when writing our 2003 article dealing with so-called “empty” prefixes. In such a model one would have to ascribe two functions to verbal prefixes: one lexical-semantic (the part of meaning that is purely lexical), the other grammatical-semantic (the prefix as marker of perfectivity). After the study necessary for this dissertation we have adopted a more semantically based approach in which terminativity is a basic semantic function of all prefixes, which has two “effects”:

1. lexical-semantic: meaning;
2. grammatical-semantic: perfectivity, aspect.

For terminative meaning, perfectivity is then obvious, and so it is not surprising that verbs derived from non-prefixed simplicia, when “provided” with a terminativising prefix are both terminative and perfective as well. As terminativity is a constant in perfectivity whilst in imperfectivity it is opposed with aterminativity, it makes semantic sense to think of aspectual derivation from perfective to imperfective. In imperfective terminative situations we find both prefixed as well as unprefixed imperfective verbs and so, in order to render a perfective predicate imperfective there are then two ways: either through deprefixation or by means of a rather unique and special facility of Slavic languages, imperfectivising suffixes. The first can only be employed in special circumstances in which terminativity is expressed otherwise than via the verb as it is then bereft of its marker of terminativity. The second, the so-called secondary imperfectives retain explicit verbally expressed terminativity as well as clear lexical semantic prefix meaning. The use of terminative imperfectives is of course quite different from that of aterminative imperfectives. Terminative imperfective verbs take up an important position in the Slavic verbal system. So, rather than going along the usually path of morphological derivation, we use semantic derivation as our basis. It is very convenient that for the morphological formation of secondary imperfectives the two kinds of derivation run beautifully parallel.

Perfective verbs with prefixes can be aspectually opposed to unprefixed imperfective simplicia. In such “pairs” the perfective member is often said to have a so-called “empty” prefix. Even when one takes “from perfective to imperfective” as a premise, the concept, indeed the need for “empty” prefixes for the system remains. We have maintained the concept and even the name as it is well established in this field of linguistics, but we found there was a need to fine-tune the concept, as well as its properties and its functioning for our own purposes.

2 About verbal prefixes

Our fascination with verbal prefixes was first aroused when confronted with the principles of the theory of verbal aspect as set out by amongst others Adrie Barentsen (Amsterdam) and Axel Holvoet (Warsaw, Vilnius). We have followed the model, first outlined by Maslov but later also developed by others, amongst whom especially Barentsen. It is based on the opposition terminative vs aterminative. In it, again, perfective verbs are always terminative whilst imperfective verbs can either be terminative or aterminative. It turns out that prefixes usually appear in terminative verbs. But this is better said the other way around: prefixes appear to provide verbs with terminativity if these verbs are not yet terminative themselves.

Terminative verbs present a verbal event within the framework of two situations, linked by the event of the verb. In the model we adopted, these three stages are referred to as “XYZ”. Essentially there is a passage from one situation, X, into the other, Z, via the event, Y. The “moment” of the achievement of situational change is called the “transitus” or “terminus”. We will of course go into this matter further, especially in chapter II, where we will also present some other thoughts on this issue. As the whole concept of terminativity was conceived around the problem of verbal aspect we will also have to devote a few words to this. We have not done so as a main focus, however, as in our opinion the main function of verbal prefixes is lexical rather than grammatical, although through their meaning they are of course also grammatically relevant.

Prefix meaning is closely connected to the transition, the transformation from X to Z, since it describes, often in spatial or spatially related (metaphoric) terms, what X and Z are about; also how X passes into Z. In chapter II we will explain this and introduce this notion firmly in the XYZ-scheme of terminativity. Actually, that was the easy bit, as the lexical meaning of prefixes is best set out as two situations that are connected by a trajector, all of which is placed against the backdrop of a landmark. The terminativity of prefixes is precisely

this “limitedness” or “discreteness” as captured by this two-part model of which one element correlates with X and the other with Z in the XYZ-scheme.

A somewhat underexposed issue seems to be the prefixed so-called secondary imperfectives in Slavic languages and their place in the system. That system has basically three oppositions if one takes terminativity and aspect as parameters:

1. Perfective terminativity is obvious as the situational change logically implies the two situations as well as the transitus (= the “moment” Y passes into Z).
2. Imperfective aterminativity is also obvious: no situational change, hence no transitus (and so immediate focus on the event itself, not to where it will lead).
3. Imperfective terminativity is less obvious: an ongoing or repeated event is rendered by a terminative verb. The notion of terminus is present and forms an integral part of the event. There are two readings: 1. repetition and 2. focus on Y.

Secondary imperfectives arose within the aspectual system of Slavic languages, in which combinations of base verb and prefix are usually perfective, because the possibility needed to be created to present the lexical semantic element(s) introduced by the prefixes within imperfective contexts. Is it really as obvious as this? If so, the notion introduced by the prefix must be quite prominent in secondary imperfectives. No such thing exists as an “empty” prefix in imperfective compounds. The two functions of these terminative imperfectives are discussed, both of which oppose aterminative imperfective meaning, which lacks the XYZ-scheme against which the event is projected. Although it could never be apparent from these few remarks, we think that secondary imperfectives form the crux of the aspectual system and, since they are strongly connected to prefixes and their meanings, our largest chapter (II) is devoted to problems relating to them.

We have already mentioned “prefix meaning” a number of times. Ultimately, everything stands or falls with this and so we have started our work with a description and organisation of as many meanings of our chosen prefix we could establish. Starting from this polysemy we worked “back” to what we

deem is the basic, underlying, omnipresent invariant meaning of this prefix. In chapter I then, we lay the foundation for the other chapters in this respect. We admit that this is no mean task as Polish *prze-* actually unites what in most Slavic languages is expressed by two prefixes.

The received view on so-called “empty” prefixes is that they are empty of lexical meaning and merely function as formative affix of perfectivity; terms such as perfectivising prefixes are employed by many authors to indicate that they perceive the derivation to be from imperfective verbs via prefixation to perfective verbs. Strictly morphologically speaking there is no apparent ground to object to this model. Along these lines, *czytać_i* ‘read’ and *przeczytać_p* ‘read [through]’ form an aspectual pair. In theory, once the lexical meaning(s) of a given prefix is/are made explicit (here in terms of variant and invariant meaning(s)) a more precise picture of this perceived “emptiness” could be established. When one does so, though, one soon realises that one must abandon the notion that prefixes are ever really entirely “empty” of lexical meaning. Moreover, one begins to realise that, when it comes to aspectual derivation, it makes more sense to think from perfective to imperfective rather than the other way around. This last matter is not extensively explored in this dissertation, as it is simply too large a subject to deal with in a single chapter. It would in fact suffice for a separate dissertation. In chapter III though, we will propose a preliminary argumentation for this.

Prefixes often have a different valency from the base verbs they are derived from. Compare for instance *jechać_i* ‘drive’, which is intransitive, with the transitive *przejechać_p dolinę* ‘drive through a/the valley’. The latter verb can, apart from this accusative object, also appear with an instrumental object as well as several prepositional complements, just like most so-called verbs of motion. Among the prepositional complements those with preposition *przez* ‘through’ are notable as they come very close in meaning to the usual accusative object and, to a lesser extent, the instrumental object. In chapter IV we discuss these various complements. We have chosen to deal with this matter concentrating

on verbs of motion, as (spatial) prefix meaning comes through most clearly with this class of verbs. We also needed to limit the scope, as otherwise this too would suffice for a separate dissertation.

And that is how far the present work will reach. Each section of this study could have been expanded to a separate dissertation, especially if one would look at other prefixes as well as *prze-*. We have left it at this, though, and we humbly believe that it does live up to the promise to expose this single prefix in more than just one of the subjects one could raise around verbal prefixes. For example, in this dissertation there was no room to study prefixes as a complete set in which each member fulfils its own separate functions, which border onto each other. Furthermore, although we touched this very slightly in chapter III, the study of prefixes in historical or rather diachronic perspective could also not be dealt with here.

3 About relevant research

The truth is that for the matter(s) at hand, Polish, as compared to Russian and even Czech, has remained somewhat behind. Aspectual studies as well as those on prefix meaning and syntax do however exist and some publications are very important. We can only hope to make a small contribution to the dissemination of the vast knowledge these works display by including them in our present discussions.

Most Polish publications about verbal prefixes deal with prefix meaning. Important studies concerning *prze-* include those by Aptacy (1975), Grochowska (1979), Śmiech (1986), Pasich-Piasecka (1993) and Przybylska (2006). Most noteworthy are the article by Pasich-Piasecka and the book by Przybylska. The former uses a cognitive framework to describe the polysemy of this prefix whilst taking into account the preposition *przez* as a semantic basis. The book by Przybylska, exemplary in many respects, reached us somewhat late and although the text is highly interesting it did not yield insights that would have changed our model nor indeed our thinking. Her approach establishes

image schemes for the various variant meanings of several prefixes, amongst which *prze-*. Apart from these specific publications, dictionaries from earliest times to the most recent were employed. These dictionaries also offer descriptions of the variant meanings of the prefixes. In their treatment, they all aim to describe as many variant meanings as possible, which is the obvious approach for dictionaries. They show considerable variety in this, as well as with regards to the so-called “empty” prefixes (see chapter III). Our own approach was rather to analyse the different meanings and to establish a model for the invariant.

Far less rich is the Polish or Polish based literature on terminativity. The most important publications we utilised are Łaziński & Wiemer (1996a) and (1996b).

The topic of so-called “empty” prefixes is never discussed entirely around prefix *prze-*. It crops up in some publications mentioned above for prefix meaning, e.g. by Aptacy (1975), Grochowska (1979) and Śmiech (1986). Młynarczyk (2004) goes into the subject extensively as she needs it for her unconventional, but in our view rather problem ridden model for aspectual derivation and indeed the whole gamma of Polish verbal aspect.

Studies concerning syntactic properties involving verbal prefixes finally are rare and the only one we are aware of and that includes our present prefix is that of Kudra (1993). Of course, Przybylska (2006) also goes into this matter.

Most other works we have used are however not Polish in origin or even about Polish. Russian authors, most notably Maslov (1948, 1959ab, 1977, 1978, 1984) and others writing on Russian, Barentsen (1973ab, 1985, 1995, 2003), Holvoet (1989, 1991abcd, 1993ab), Schlegel (1999), Nübler (1993) and Proeme (1980, 1981) formed the core of our studies as well as Comrie (1976) who does not write specifically about a Slavic language.

It is a striking feature of the literature related to the subject of prefixes that most authors employ sometimes greatly diverging definitions for the otherwise rather limited body of key terms: telicity, terminativity, aspect, imperfectivity, perfectivity etc. Especially the topic of terminativity is complex because of the

amount of different models and definitions proposed by the various authors. Most agree in their descriptions of the lingual phenomena, but there is a great variation in the treatment and, again, the terminology used. In our work we have tried to include as many views as possible and we have come to the conclusion that there is also a lot of hidden agreement. It proved impossible to include all views in this dissertation in their entirety and so we have selected key parts for discussion here.

4 About our sources

As the base material for our research we have used our own text corpus consisting of 20th-century literary and newspaper texts rather extensively. Over the last 10 years or so this corpus has been built for use by the editors of the forthcoming Polish-Dutch dictionary *Pegasus*.

The electronic body of that dictionary was also employed for this dissertation and it yielded a fair amount of data, especially by way of examples but also, more particularly, in the study of “empty” prefixes.

We also were lucky to have access to what now is called the “Amsterdam Slavic Parallel Aligned Corpus” (ASPAC) of Adrie Barentsen. It is under permanent construction as texts are added regularly and aligned to facilitate multi-lingual research.

In addition to all of this we used the internet for further input.

Native informants took a special place in our research; obviously, as we are not Polish ourselves. All text fragments and examples in Polish were checked by a minimum of three native speakers.

5 About this book

This book is divided into four chapters, each focussing on a different problem concerning verbal prefixes, each taking *prze-* as a case in point. The four sections then, the chapters, are numbered in roman numerals to indicate that they are really perceived as separate.

Each section has its own separate paragraph numbers and its own separate discussion of previous literature and state of research as well as concluding remarks. We could easily be accused of not writing a full proper thesis but rather a collection of articles, which of course is also an accepted format for PhD purposes. Maybe it is true that the separateness of the problems presented as well as the actual presentation would more adequately be described as a collection of articles and, in truth, two sections are in fact based albeit loosely, on earlier, separate publications. Chapter I, on the meaning variants and invariant of *prze-* constitutes a rather extensive reworking of our earlier paper (Genis 1997) whilst chapter III is a highly altered version of another earlier paper (Genis 2003). The unifying element *prze-* is however omnipresent in all chapters and so we could also easily maintain that this is an integral study.

6 About the special markings

Throughout chapters II, III and IV of this book we have provided subscript _i and _p at the tail end of each verb to indicate ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ respectively, both in examples as well as when mentioned in passing in the main body of the text. We have even introduced these markings in most quotations from other publications. As matters aspectual have no bearing on the discussion in chapter I, these markings were not made there.

A further convention concerns the translations of examples. We have provided these for every example. The translation of infinitives is usually without the particle ‘to’, except in quotations from other publications.

7 About the glosses

Throughout this book we have glossed the examples. An attempt is made to convey as much grammatical information as possible in the forms of the translated lexemes themselves. This means that often number and person need not be indicated in the glosses. The following is a list of signs and abbreviations employed in the glosses.

In the glosses themselves the following signs were used:

- between prefix and base-verb (single-unit orthography). Also, when a translation is rendered with more elements than the original (so: *obok* is glossed as: next-to);
- _ between members of a nominal group sharing the same case and number (plural-unit orthography).

The subscripts employed to indicate inflections are:

NOM	Nominative	IMP	Imperative
GEN	Genitive	PRES	Present
DAT	Dative	PRET	Preterite
ACC	Accusative	SG	Singular
INSTR	Instrumental	PL	Plural
LOC	Locative	FEM	feminine
P	Perfective verb	MASC	masculine
I	Imperfective verb	NEUTR	neuter
1, 2, 3	Person	-	separator between subscript
INF	Infinitive		markings

The fact that in the examples subscript aspect markings are doubled in the glosses is taken for granted.

A special note should be added concerning the rendition of the prefix *prze-* in the glosses as its treatment varies in the different chapters. In chapter I, prefix *prze-* is glossed as PRZE- as the meaning of the prefix is actually under discussion and we did not want to confuse matters by providing a standard translation in the glosses. In the remaining chapters we have chosen always to render it as "through-", which is very close to the invariant meaning. We believe that this constant rendition will signal the presence and location of the prefix, so adding extra clarity.

INTRODUCTION

Other prefixes are translated in all chapters. These translations are not always very elegant; we thought it more important to actually indicate the presence of a prefix than to provide outstanding translations in the glosses. Underneath the glosses, the actual translations are usually more eloquent, or so we hope.

Particles, such as the question particle *czy* cannot be individually translated and are therefore rendered in small capitals, usually: PART.

We hope that the glosses as well as the other conventions used in this book facilitate the reading by people with a linguistic interest but with limited or even no knowledge of Polish.

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 *порубить* 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:

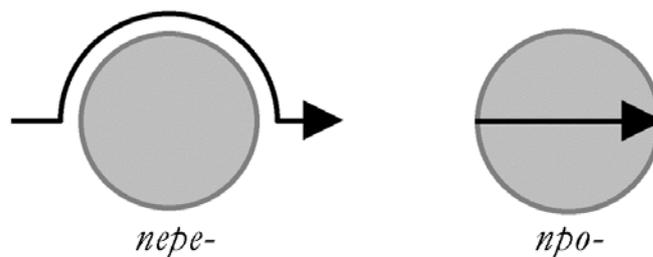


Fig. 1 Russian *nepe-* and *npo-*

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:

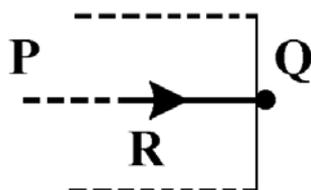


Fig. 2 *the invariant meaning of prze-*

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:	PRZE-		PISAĆ		PRZEPISAĆ
meaning:	‘x’	+	‘write’	=	‘copy {by writing}’
form:	PRZE-		SUNAĆ		PRZESUNAĆ
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’, *przemaszerować* ‘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:

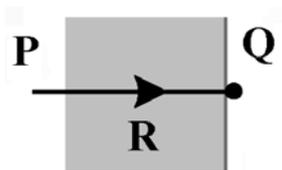


Fig. 3 *prze_{1,1}*; get across / over 1

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) *Przejeździliśmy 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’

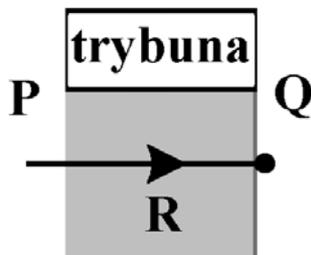


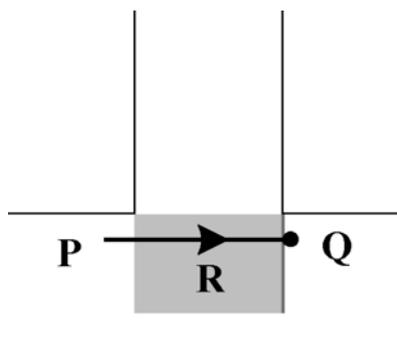
Fig. 4 *prze*_{1,1}; *get across / over* 2

- 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:

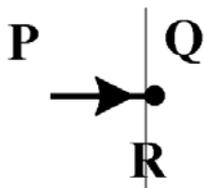


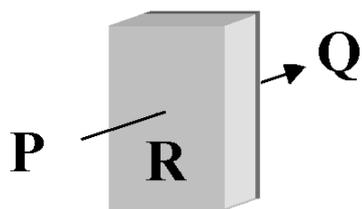
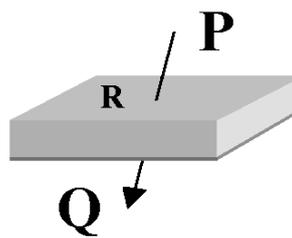
Fig. 6 *prze*_{1.1}; *get across / over* 4

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:

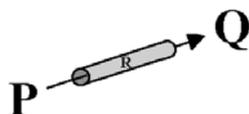
Fig. 7 *prze*_{1.2}; *pierce* 1AFig. 8 *prze*_{1.2}; *pierce* 1B

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’

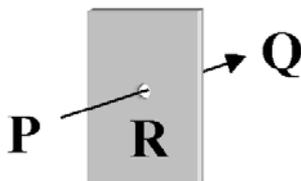


Fig. 10 *prze*_{1.3}; *puncture*

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) *Próbowwała 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...).

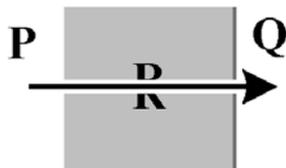


Fig. 11 *prze*_{1.4}; *partition*

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.

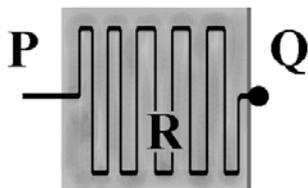


Fig. 12 *prze*_{1.5}; saturate

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’, *przeziębic* ‘chill throughout’, *przeziębnać* ‘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’, *przepytać* ‘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:

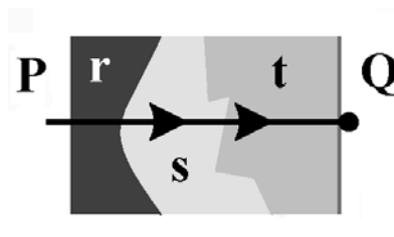


Fig. 13 *prze*_{1.6}; *exhaust*

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, *przebadac* 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:

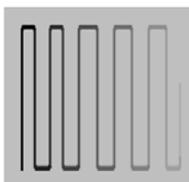
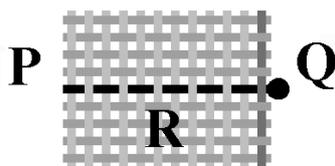


Fig. 14 *prze_{1.7}*; mix / entwine 1

Which is clearly but a variant of *prze_{1.5}*. It maybe does not take too much a leap of he 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:

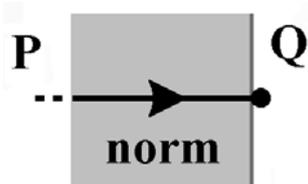


Fig. 16 *prze*_{1.8}; *squander / lose*

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.:

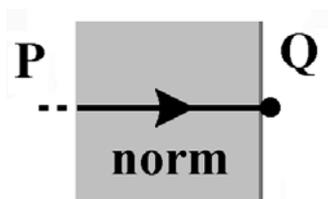


Fig. 17 *prze_{1.9}*; *fail [to]*

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 ...

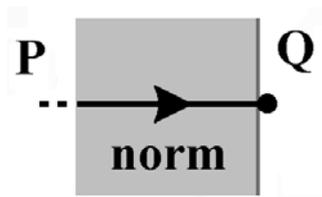
‘... all the infirm suddenly, as if by miracle, got well: the blind could [= started to] see, the dumb could [= started to] speak...’

(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.

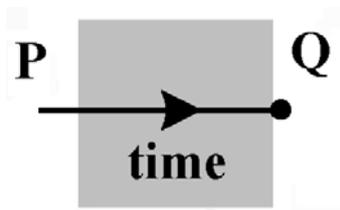
‘The blind could see, the deaf could hear, the dumb could speak and the lame regained their power.’

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.

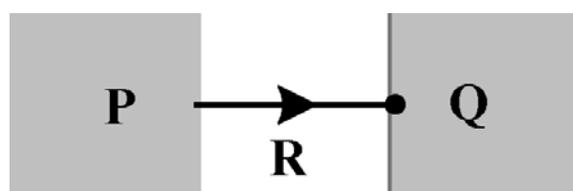


Fig. 20 *prze*₃; transpose (from P to Q)

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’, *przesiąść* ‘sit somewhere else’, *przesiedlić* ‘resettle elsewhere’, *przestawić* ‘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.

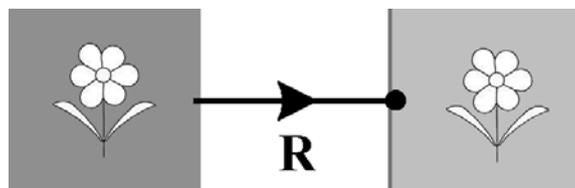


Fig. 21 *prze*_{3.1}; *replace*

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.’

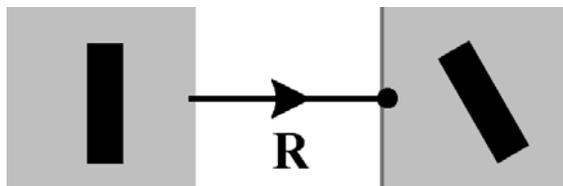


Fig. 22 *prze*_{3,2}; *reorientate*

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', *przedzierać* '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.

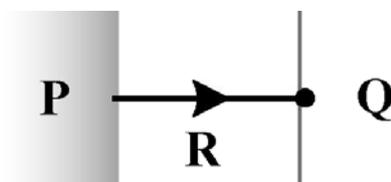


Fig. 23 *prze*_{3.3.1}; redo

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:

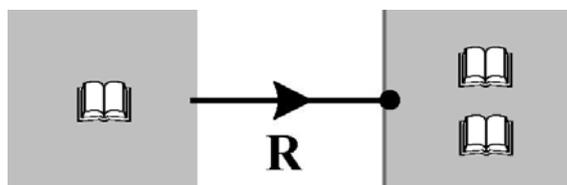


Fig. 24 *prze_{3.3.2}*; copy

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.’

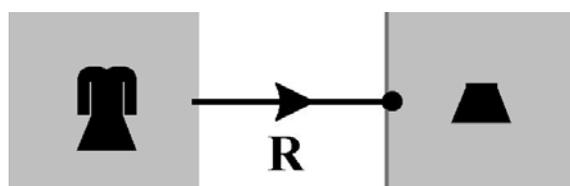


Fig. 25 *prze*_{3.3.3}; *alter*

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

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’, *przeciążyc* ‘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.

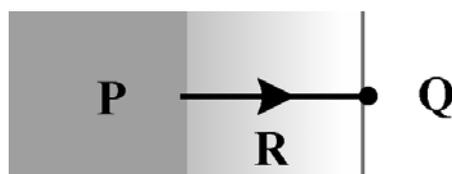


Fig. 29 *prze₅*; cease [to]

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

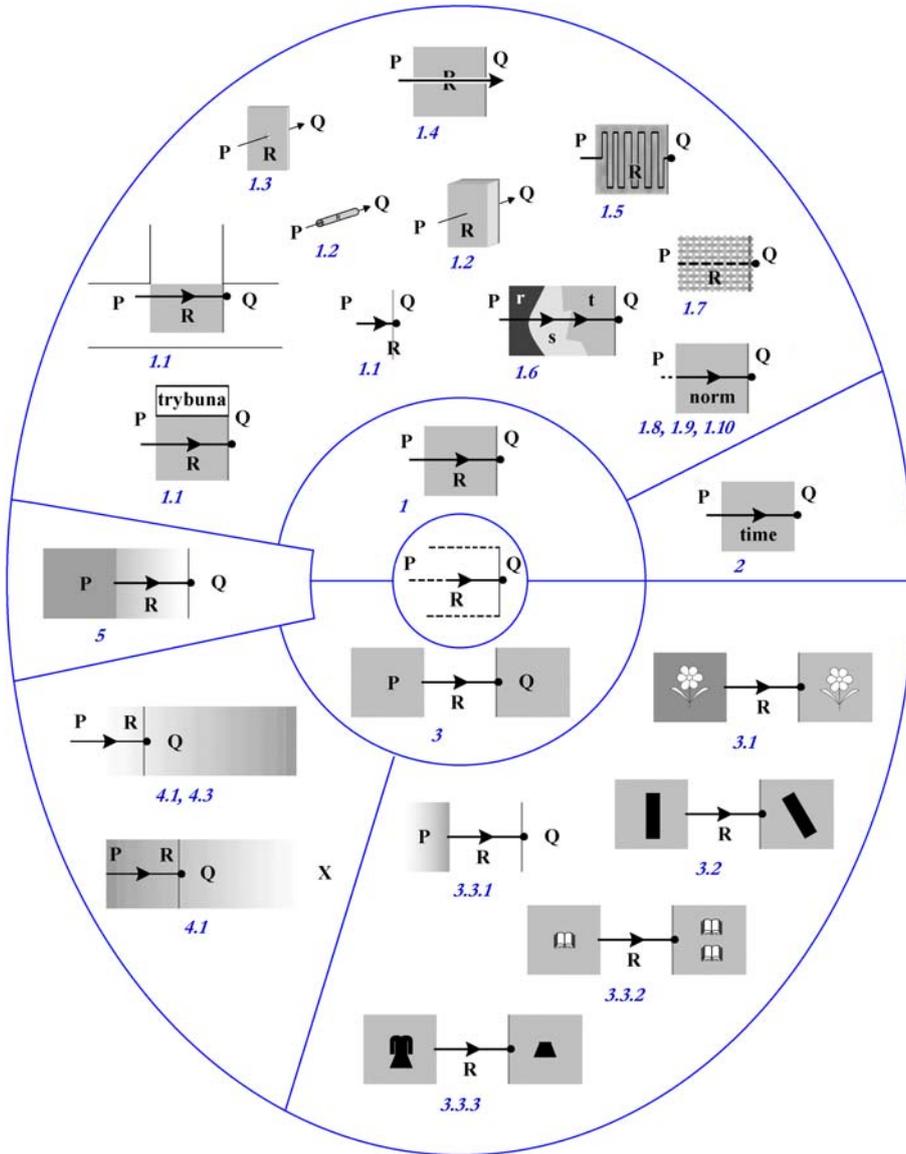


Fig. 30 Interrelation of variants and invariant

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 *prze*₁ 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 *prze*₁ 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 *неπε-* and *нπο-*, 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:

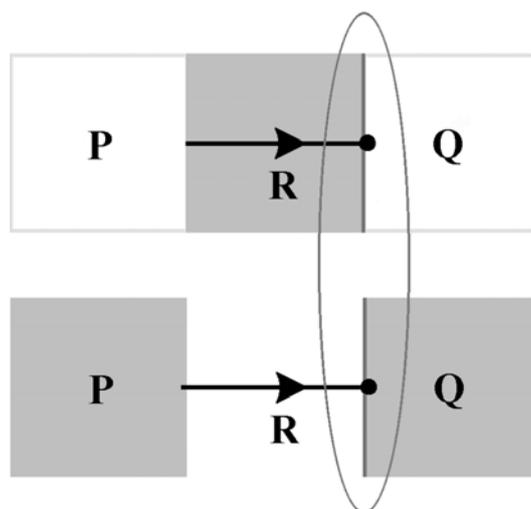


Fig. 32 *the two basic variants*

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>pše- (pře-)</i>
	Kashubian:		<i>prze- / przē-</i>
East	Russian:	<i>npo-</i>	<i>nepe- / npe-</i>
	White Russian:	<i>npa-</i>	<i>nepa-</i>
	Ukrainian:	<i>npo-</i>	<i>nepe-</i>
South	Croatian:	<i>pro-</i>	<i>pre-</i>
	Serbian:	<i>npo-</i>	<i>npe-</i>
	Macedonian:	<i>npo-</i>	<i>npe-</i>
	Bulgarian:	<i>npo-</i>	<i>npe-</i>
	Slovene:	<i>pro-</i>	<i>pre-</i>
	Old Church Slavonic:	<i>npo-</i>	<i>npъ-</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	

I VARIANT AND INVARIANT MEANINGS

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- cя* 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.

II IMPERFECTIVE TERMINATIVITY IN POLISH; A CASE STUDY AROUND THE VERBAL PREFIX *PRZE-*.

0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the semantic notion connected with verbal prefixes, which is termed TERMINATIVITY. Our first task is then to determine what we understand by terminativity. A brief discussion of terminativity versus aterminativity, telicity, prefix meaning and verbal aspect will lead us subsequently to establish how terminativity manifests itself in Polish and in what circumstances it crops up. In passing we will touch upon the issue of terminativity and telicity as properties of verbal meaning as opposed to basically extra-lingual situations described by verbal meaning. We will concentrate on questions concerning the terminativity of imperfective verbs as the notion expressed by such verbs is typical to Slavic languages (compare Łaziński / Wiemer 1996a: 105 and Holvoet 1989:49 and 64). We will also spend a few words on aspectual pairs; this is unavoidable as the whole issue of terminativity lies at the basis of the study of Slavic verbal aspect. It is not our main focus here though.

The second section of this chapter consists of a discussion and exploration of a couple of special ‘cases’ with regard to imperfective terminativity, one of these concentrates on the prefix *prze-*.

For a better understanding of the matter at hand and for other reasons that will hopefully become clear in the text of this chapter, we will sometimes have to digress to perfectivity, aterminativity and other related issues. We will mainly base ourselves on publications on other languages, mostly Russian; as this is also a Slavic language we are quite safe adopting matters for Polish.

1 A first outline of the term ‘terminativity’

It was Maslov who first introduced the notion of terminativity to the study of Slavic languages (notably Bulgarian and Russian) in his classic publication of 1948.¹ His Russian term is ПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ / НЕПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ, and this is the definition as provided in a consecutive paper:

В противопоставлении предельность / неопредельность основанием деления служит наличие или отсутствие предела в протекании действия, направленность или ненаправленность действия на достижение этого предела.
Maslov (1961: 175).

(As the basis of the division in the opposition terminativity / aterminativity functions the presence or absence of a boundary in the progress of the event, [that is to say] the event is oriented or not oriented to reach such a boundary.)

It is generally translated into English as TERMINATIVITY / ATERMINATIVITY and into Polish as TERMINATYWNOŚĆ / ATERMINATYWNOŚĆ. Maslov introduced this concept for his aspectual studies and it is usually employed to show the interaction with this grammatical category in Slavic languages, but it is clearly not a lexical semantic element identical with aspect. As may be clear from the above definition of Maslov the opposition terminative : aterminative is connected to the boundary of a verbally expressed event. The event itself induces as it were a boundary; it is inherent in the internal meaning of the verb. Originally, Maslov’s terminativity criterion was introduced to the study of Slavic languages to shed light on the problem of aspectual defectiveness; the fact that not all verbs exist in aspectual pairs, but quite a few are imperfectiva tantum or perfectiva tantum (1948: 310 a.f.). It would follow then, that terminativity is a lexical semantic criterium that interplays with the grammatical category aspect. In his later paper Maslov describes this interdependency as follows:

[...] предельные глаголы, как правило, могут выступать как в совершенном, так и в несовершенном виде [...] или же в одном совершенном [...] тогда как неопредельные глаголы выступают только

в несовершенном виде [...].
Maslov (1961: 175, 176).

(... basically, terminative verbs can appear in perfective as well as imperfective aspect ... or only in perfective ... whilst aterminative verbs appear only in imperfective aspect...)

Many authors since picked up the term and expanded on its definition. There are also other authors such as Garey (1957) and Comrie (1976) who independently came to a similar, related notion, that of telicity. This separate line of thought initially came about in the study of French, a non-Slavic language. Later on it was also introduced for Russian and other Slavic languages. We will explore this a little further in a separate paragraph, 1.3 below. Here we will briefly discuss some of the authors on terminativity.

We first turn our attention to Nübler (1993: 301) who expresses some reservations to the Maslov model. The first of these was already expressed before Nübler by Thelin (1980: 430-431) and concerns the so called delimitative verbs (in Polish e.g. *poleżeć_p* ‘lie a while’) and perdurative verbs (*przeleżeć_p całą noc* ‘lie throughout the night’), which are always perfective but, whose “course” is static and so do not have an orientation towards an end. According to Nübler (1993: 301) Maslov countered this by the introduction of the concept of an “external” boundary.

[...] течение действия или существование состояния ограничено здесь как бы «извне», отмеренной порцией времени, а внутренний предел либо отсутствует [...] либо заведомо не достигается (попахать в противоположность вспахать и т. п.).
Maslov (1984: 13, 14).

(... the course of an event or the existence of a condition / state [is] limited here as if from “outside” by a measured portion of time, and an internal boundary either is lacking or obviously not reached (‘plough a while’ as opposed to ‘plough’ etc..))

Before we continue with Nübler, let’s have a quick look at what this means. Maslov’s distinction between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ concerns the character of

the act itself. He considers the specific boundary of delimitative verbs to be ‘external’ as it is not induced by the character of actions such as ‘lying’ or ‘ploughing’. He does however state that the boundary as such is “included in the semantics of these verbs”. In a discussion of Barentsen’s 1973 paper, in which the latter posits the view that delimitative and perdurative verbs should be qualified as “telic / terminative”, Maslov speaks of a type of terminativity that is specific for Slavic languages (1977: 26).

Now let’s return to Nübler. This author feels the need to expand on this and says that the consequence of the possibility of verb internal and verb external boundaries should then also allow us to establish that each imperfective verb can be used terminatively as well as aterminatively (1993: 301). Translating his examples to Polish, this means that *pisać* ‘write’ is aterminative whereas *pisać list* ‘write a letter’ is terminative with a verb external boundary, in this example introduced by the object. In similar fashion the otherwise aterminative *leżeć* ‘lie’ can be rendered terminative as in *leży tam dwie godziny* ‘he has been lying there two hours.’ Nübler states that as far as imperfective verbs are concerned, the addition of verb external boundaries to the system by Maslov rendered the notion of terminativity meaningless. He then writes:

Der Begriff „terminativ“ muß [...] auf verbale Geschehen von dynamischer Natur, die sich auf eine bereits im Verbalinhalt angelegte Grenze hin entwickeln oder eine im Verbalinhalt angelegte Grenze erreichen, eingegrenzt werden.
Nübler (1993: 301)

(The term “terminative” must be limited to verbal events with a dynamic nature, which either develop into the direction of the boundary that is already present in the content of the verb or who reach the boundary that is introduced in the verb content.)

He thus introduces the criterion ‘dynamic’ to his list of conditions for verbs to be classed as terminative and by consequence we must assume that in his view non-dynamic verbs are aterminative.

In his model the following verbs are classed as aterminative informers:

1. state verbs such as *лежать* 'lie' etc. which are always imperfective;
2. verbs that are dynamic but lack a verb internal boundary such as *расти* 'grow', *шуметь* 'rustle' etc. which are also imperfective;
3. delimitatives, *полежать* 'lie a while' etc.;
4. perduratives such as in *пролежать целую ночь* 'lie throughout the night' etc.;
5. ingressives such as *разговориться* 'begin a conversation' (although this interpretation is doubtful for Russian and the author may have been thinking of the Czech cognate - rg);
6. verbs whose prefix meaning introduce a external limit such as *налететь* 'to fly against something'.

Classes 3 through 5 consist of perfectives and as a consequence Nübler rejects the Maslov principle that perfectives are always terminative.

Im Gegensatz zur [...] Auffassung Maslovs können [...] sowohl imperfektive als auch perfektive Verben terminativ oder aterminativ sein. Nübler (1993: 302)

(Contrary to Maslovs opinion both perfective as well as imperfective verbs can be terminative or aterminative.)

Schlegel (1999: 25-52), writing about Russian, gives by far the most elaborate and extensive treatment of terminativity perceived as the existence of a boundary to verbally expressed events. He uses somewhat different terminology for this subject, so a quick comparison may be necessary. He follows Bondarko (1971: 64) in recognising an "innere Grenze" 'internal boundary' which is used solely in reference to "ПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ I" 'terminativity I', which concerns the grammatical category of aspect. "ПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ II" 'terminativity II', on the other hand, is used in respect to lexical semantic issues concerning verbs. Let us take a closer look.

He writes in terms of terminativity and its inherently implied "Grenze" 'border' as first introduced by Maslov (1961: 175).² Basing himself primarily on Šeljakin and Koševaja he builds on the idea of the opposition of "innere

Grenze” and “äußere Grenze”: ‘internal boundary’ and ‘external boundary’. The internal boundary type concerns “resultative-terminative” verbs and is subdivided in three basic forms, characterised by:

1) Eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **räumliche Lage** des subjekts oder Objekts der Handlung”:

вставать, выходить (из комнаты), отвозить (товарища на вокзал), давать ребёнку яблоко.

2) eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **Quantität** des Subjekts oder Objekts, auf das eine gegebene physische oder geistige Aktivität gerichtet ist:

писать письмо (письмо пишется), строить несколько домов (строится несколько домов), покупать себе перчатки, учить стихотворение

3) ein bestimmter (aktualisierter) **qualitativer Zustand** des Subjekts oder Objekts:

умирать, бледнеть (= становиться бледным), становиться учителем.
(Schlegel 1999: 27)

(1) a certain (actualised) **spatial state** of the subject or the object of the action:
get up, go out (of the room), bring away (a friend, comrade to the station), give a / the boy an / the apple.

2) a certain (actualised) **quantity** of the subject or object on which a specific physical or mental activity is directed:

write a letter (the letter is being written), build several houses (several houses are being built), buy oneself gloves, learn a / the poem

3) a certain (actualised) **qualitative condition** of the subject or object:
die, go pale (become pale), become a teacher.)

The external boundary type concerns “temporal, quantitative or qualitative terminative verbs” and can also be divided in three basic forms, characterised by:

1) Ein bestimmter (aktualisierter) **Zeitpunkt** im Verlauf der Handlung:
заплакать, поехать, отшуметь.

2) eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **Quantität** (Dauer, Anzahl, Intensität) der Handlung:

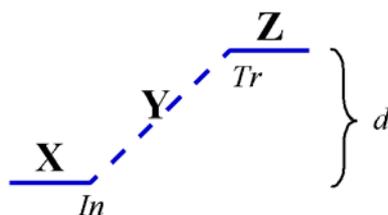
поплакать, проплакать всю ночь, крикнуть, съездить

3) eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **Qualität der Umstände** der Handlung:
нагуляться, замечтаться, добежаться, перестараться, расплакаться.

- (1) a certain **point in time** in the course of the action:
begin to cry, set of, fall silent
- 2) a certain (actualised) **quantity** (duration, number, intensity) of the action:
cry a little, cry throughout the night, emit a cry, go to and fro once
- 3) a certain (actualised) **quality of the circumstances** of the action:
exhaust oneself walking, sink away in dreams, walk until ... , to try too hard, burst out crying.)

The above citations demonstrate that Schlegel, like most authors, develops the concept of terminativity as a boundary that can be set in various ways, although he goes quite a bit farther than most other authors in classifying the conditions. When it comes to verb internal and verb external boundaries, he continues along the same line as we already saw with Nübler above. We shall return to this in 2.2 but first we must proceed with a discussion of the basic model of terminativity by another important author: Adriaan Barentsen.

As most publications dealing with terminativity, Barentsen (1973ab, 1985, 1995 and 2003) also deals primarily with aspect. Considerable parts of his publications are devoted to terminativity as a necessary attribute of perfectivity as well as the basis for 'pure' aspectual opposition. We shall pick out the relevant parts for our present issue. Barentsen (1995: 5) approaches the whole matter from a somewhat different angle than the above mentioned authors have done. This author presents the concept of terminativity as embedded in the event as described by the perfective Russian (Slavic) verb. Terminativity then consists of three consecutive situations, X, Y and Z. The change from X to Y and from Y to Z creates a certain contrast between the outer contours, which may symbolised as *d* ('distantia'). The whole constellation is presented thus:

Fig. 1 *the contours of terminativity*

In this schematic representation Y (or rather more precisely, the dotted, tilted line it marks) is the action part of the event as expressed by the verb³, X is the initial, preceding situation and Z is the resulting, following situation. *In* is ‘initium’ the beginning border of Y, whereas *Tr* is ‘terminus’ or ‘transitus’, which stands for the final border of Y. Y is thus clearly fixed between these borders (and so also between X and Z) and is actually the element that connects X and Z. The fact that Y is fixed by its borders Barentsen originally termed *дискретность* ‘discreteness’. This term was introduced in his 1985 publication because the concept was meant to be somewhat broader than terms like ‘telicity’ or ‘terminativity’ and seemed better to reflect the basic semantic notion involved. However, in his 1995 article Barentsen returned to the latter, more generally accepted term (‘terminativity’/‘*предельность*’), emphasising that in the context of his model of Russian aspect it must be understood in a very broad sense. This terminological change was inspired by Bondarko (1991: 198) who distinguishes “terminativity in a wide sense”, present in all Slavic perfective verbs, from “terminativity in a narrow sense”, being more or less the traditional notion. The term was intended to capture a semantic element that is present in all Slavic perfective verbs, although there are rather diverse manifestations of it.

Barentsen goes on to describe various types of terminativity, which we will endeavour to illustrate with Polish examples rather than the Russian provided by Barentsen. The first of these is closest to the more classic cases of terminativity (and telicity, for which see paragraph 1.3) and is characterised by the fact

that there is a clear process-phase Y between situations X and Z, which can in certain cases, as we shall discuss in 1.2 below, be focused on by using imperfective verbs. In Barentsen (1995) the usual Russian terms ‘конкретно-процессное значение’ (‘concrete-process meaning’) or ‘актуально-длительное значение’ (‘actualised-prolonged meaning’) are used for this type of usage of the imperfective aspect. In his later publication (2003: 373) he uses the term “processueel-transformatief”, ‘PROCESSUAL TRANSFORMATIVE’ to typify this kind of terminativity and we will adopt it here.

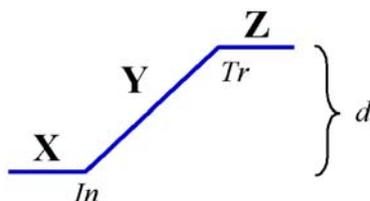


Fig. 2 *processual transformative terminativity*

- (1) *Wczoraj Ania przepisała_p swój artykuł.*
 yesterday Ania_{NOM} through-wrote_p her_article_{ACC}.
 Yesterday, Ania rewrote her article.

Sentence (1), with its perfective verb, points to the completion of the totality (ЦЕЛОСТНОСТЬ, another one of Maslov’s terms, adopted by Barentsen) of copying the article in question. That totality concerns not the whole scheme but only Y. The focus would be clearly on reaching the completion of that (single) event, the terminus, heralded by a new phase in the constellation of the sequence of events as it is marked by the rewritten copy being finalised.

Barentsen’s three situations for this example can be described thus:

X - characterised by the non-existence of the article’s rewritten copy, the old situation;

Y - characterised by the work in progress on the new version, the process; in this type the duration of Y is long enough for it to be focused on, which can be

done by an imperfective verb. More about this kind of usage of the imperfective will follow in 1.2.

Z - characterised by the existence of the article's rewritten copy, the new situation.

The terminus lies where Y "bends" into Z and so is marked by the end of the process and the beginning of the new phase. The terminus then is the natural termination of the event. Just for completeness sake we need to add that for this type of terminativity, Y can be interrupted at any time during the duration of the processual phase Y of the constellation but Z is only reached when the new copy is finished. As we mentioned earlier, the process-phase Y can actually be focused on by means of the imperfective aspect, as we shall discuss below in 1.2, most notably with example (9) and following.

In the above type the terminus is fixed or 'natural'. In the second of Barentsen's types of terminativity it is 'movable' and this is called "relative terminus" 'RELATIVE TERMINUS' in Barentsen (2003: CD). The Russian terms Barentsen employs after Bondarko (1991: 198) and Mehlig (1992: 242) are *абсолютный предел* and *относительный предел*. Compare the following example.

- (2) *Z dziurawego woreczka wyciekło_P już pół litra mleka, a ono ciągle wycieka_I.*

from punctured_bag_{GEN} out-oozed_P already half_{NOM} liter_{GEN} milk_{GEN},
and it_{NOM} still out-oozes_I.

Half a litre of milk has already oozed out of the punctured bag and it is still oozing.

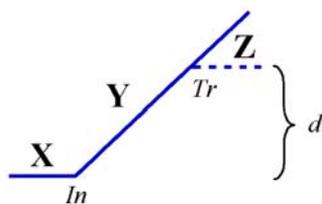


Fig. 3 *relative terminus*

The moveability of the terminus lies in the fact that the event has both an obvious terminal point, ‘when all the milk has oozed from the bag’, as well as one that has been ‘artificially’ installed, i.e. at the point where half a litre has oozed out. The action could continue (and probably would) until all milk would have been spilt.

The next type is characterized by the lack of a clear process phase between X and Z. Barentsen (1995: 9) speaks of “скачкообразный переход” ‘a jumplike passage’.

- (3) *Ania zgubiła_p klucz.*
 Ania_{NOM} lost_p key_{ACC}.
 Ania (has) lost (her) key.

The situational change is in fact momentary as Ania one moment had her key and the next it was gone. Imperfective counterparts of such verbs will be discussed in 1.2 below, where it will become apparent that such verbs do not generally focus on the process, but rather on the repeat of such an event. In the following we will term these situations NON-PROCESSUAL-TRANSFORMATIVE.⁴ The following scheme is an adaptation of the standard XYZ-scheme above.

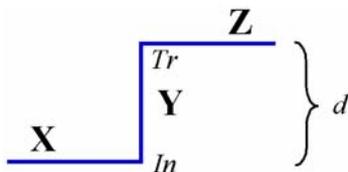


Fig. 4 *non-processual transformative*

INGRESSIVE perfective verbs such as seen in *pojechał_p do pracy* 'he left for work', *zaśpiewał_p arię* 'he began to sing an aria'⁵ and *polubił_p muzykę* 'he began to like music' and *uwierzył_p w Boga* 'he began to believe in God' also belong to this class. The imperfective simplexes of such verbs usually describe situation Z, i.e. the state or activity initiated by the event indicated by the given perfective verb: *jedzie_i / jechał_i do pracy* 'he is / was going to work', *śpiewa_i / śpiewał_i arię* 'he is / was singing a song', *lubi_i muzykę* 'he likes music', *wierzy_i w Boga* 'he believes in God'.

We now come to types of terminativity that are described in this way to show the common semantic base for all perfective verbs. In doing so the author widens the scope of terminativity as it is usually understood. These type of terminativity share a Z, which is a return to the (level) of the (conditions of the) original situation X. The first of these concerns perfective verbs with suffix *-nąć-* that have imperfective partners without this suffix.⁶ Here are a few examples.

<i>krzyknąć_p</i>	<i>krzyzcze_i</i>	'shout'
<i>kiwnąć_p</i>	<i>kiwać_i</i>	'nod'
<i>liznąć_p</i>	<i>lizać_i</i>	'lick'
<i>sięgnąć_p</i>	<i>sięgać_i</i>	'reach'
<i>szepnąć_p</i>	<i>szeptać_i</i>	'whisper'

These represent a different type of terminativity termed SEMELFACTIVITY. Again using Barentsen's (1995: 10) schematic representation, this could be rendered as follows.

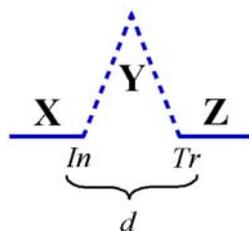


Fig. 5 *semelfactivity*

Perfective verbs of this type refer to “a single basic unit” of the event expressed by the imperfective verb. This ‘basic unit’ can be imagined as a certain development that is almost immediately reversed. As the event is reversed, it can usually be repeated immediately. The imperfective counterpart then is quite naturally interpreted as consisting of a sequence of several units, which may then easily be perceived as a relatively constant event with its own processuality. And so *krzyzczeć* typically means ‘shout’, whereas *krzyknąć* means ‘give a (single) shout’. The imperfectives of this type are termed MULTIPLICATIVE.⁷

Reading the literature from the past it would seem that there has been a real problem in how to deal with verbs that express the so-called delimitative Aktionsart in terms of terminativity.⁸ We have already discussed Schlegel (1999: 28) who speaks of an external boundary with an actualised sense of quantity for these verbs. He seems to continue the line of thinking already initialised by Nübler (1993: 300, 301). The latter author also speaks of such borders for this class of verbs but describes these verbs as having an *internal* border with an undynamic event. As such he thinks they cannot be described as terminative; dynamicity of the action is, as we have seen, a prerequisite for terminativity according to him. It then follows that Nübler classifies these verbs as “aterminative perfectives”. This line of thinking goes against our own, based on Barentsen (1973ab, 1985, 1995 and 2003) in which all perfectives are terminative⁹, due to the greatly different definition of terminativity.

And so, to continue, we have to deal with the observation that unlike processual transformative verbs, delimitatives lack a clear process with a development. Holvoet (1991d: 126, 128) speaks in terms of “temporal localisation” and indeed of “temporal quantification” to describe this feature, which is expressed in Polish by compounds with prefix *po-*. Indeed, time is of the essence as we could term such compounds atelic (lack of process *naturally* leading to a conclusion), non-processual but terminative (in the wider sense proposed by Barentsen). The Maslov definition as cited in 1 above does not hold for these verbs as the event has no direction, and trying to superimpose the

Barentsen XYZ-scheme on delimitatives, we need to realise that X is separated from Z merely by a quantified amount of atelic event. Barentsen (1995: 11) himself renders it thus:

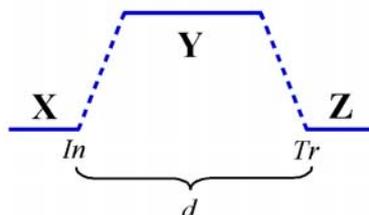


Fig. 6 *delimitativity & perdurativity*.

This is by far the most straightforward way to envisage this. It goes far beyond the scope of this chapter to dive into all the problems concerning prefix *po-* or indeed with all of those concerned with delimitativity.¹⁰ For us, concerning ourselves primarily with prefix *prze-*, this scheme is however also relevant as it is virtually identical to the one which represents the meaning of perdurativity (the perdurative Aktionsart) a meaning type which we discussed earlier in chapter I, paragraph 2.2.¹¹ We already expressed our opinion there, that from the point of view of the prefix itself there is not really a great need to differentiate between this temporal meaning of *prze-* and the other meanings we presented. A simple example like the following...

- (4) *Ania przespacerowała_p dwie godziny.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-walked_p two_hours_{ACC}.
 Ania walked for two hours.

... can be compared to:

- (5) *Ania przejechała_p całą Polskę.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-drove_p whole_Poland_{ACC}.
 Ania drove across the whole of Poland.

in that a domain is crossed. The landmark is of a different nature and temporal

in (4), whilst clearly spatial in (5). Characteristic of perdurative usage of *prze*-compounds is that they usually if not always appear in conjunction with a direct object denoting, what Holvoet (1991a: 89) terms a TEMPORAL QUANTUM. He furthermore characterises it as “an object with temporal dimensions.”¹²

In terms of terminativity there would not seem to be a great deal of difference, though, as both describe similar events of “getting across” the domain of the landmark. The two situations we referred to above, i.e. X and Z, could in the case of both (4) and (5) be described as referring to before respectively after the event. In the case of temporal situations such as in (4) we could simply refer to these as: the situation before walking two hours and the situation after walking for two hours (which share a characteristic ‘level’ in that X does not differ in more than its localisation vis-à-vis Y from Z). The landmark ‘two hours’ separated these situations, and was crossed by the trajector ‘walking’.

The big difference between delimitativity and perdurativity lies in the characteristic that delimitative verbs render the notion of limitation of Y themselves whereas perduratives appear with an object to indicate the length of time spent. Both delimitative and perdurative meanings concern only perfective terminativity and in the remainder of the chapter we will focus as much as possible on imperfective terminativity. We will leave the further matters touched on by Barentsen (1995) for the moment as they do not concern the characteristics of the basic types of terminativity.

The contour models presented by Barentsen are very useful for our purposes and so we will adopt them here and below we will develop further this concept of terminativity setting it off against some other, closely related matters. We see no need to dismiss the principle posited by Maslov and Bondarko and adhered to by Barentsen that all Slavic perfective verbs are terminative and imperfectives can be either terminative or aterminative.

1.1 Aterminativity vs. terminativity

In order to present a clear picture of the parameters involved we need to spend a few words on aterminativity. Barentsen (2003: 372) mentions that aterminative events are characterised by the lack of a terminus and indeed by a lack of the whole XYZ-scheme with its three phases. The following example features a non-prefixed verb, for reasons that will become apparent in 1.2 below.

- (6) *Wczoraj Ania pisała_i.*
 yesterday Ania_{NOM} wrote_i.
 Yesterday Ania was writing.

This clearly is an event that can be presented, as does Barentsen, as follows.

Fig. 7 *aterminativity*

The event may indeed have led to some kind of product or result but that is entirely secondary in the speaker's mind; he is in fact referring simply to the event itself and it may be an answer to the question: *Co Ania robiła_i wczoraj?* What did Ania do yesterday? / What has Ania been doing yesterday?

1.2 Imperfectivity vs. terminativity

Perfective aspect envisages the XYZ-scheme's situational constellation as a totality, which implies that the terminus is perceived as reached.

In examples (1) and (6) above we saw an opposition in terminativity versus aterminativity, but we also saw that the corresponding verbs used were perfective and imperfective respectively. However, it is by no means our intention to suggest that terminativity equals perfectivity and certainly not that aterminativity equals imperfectivity.

We take it as a given, that perfective verbs in Polish are terminative whereas imperfective verbs can be either terminative or aterminative (see also Barentsen 1985: 147 and 2003: 372). Following Barentsen, it is our view that only termi-

native verbs can form aspectual pairs. Maslov (1959a: 200) adheres to the principle that some imperfective verbs are always aterminative, the so-called ABSOLUTE IMPERFECTIVA TANTUM. Others can be terminative or aterminative depending on the context¹³; Proeme (1983: 396-7) points out that these imperfective verbal lexemes are called “ДВОЙСТВЕННЫЕ ГЛАГОЛЫ” in Maslov (1978: 13) and “ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНЫЕ IMPERFECTIVA TANTUM” in Maslov (1959b: 198) and calls them “DUAL VERBAL LEXEMES” himself. Other authors, such as Barentsen (1985), use the term RELATIVE IMPERFECTIVA TANTUM.

To complete this set we have to add that verbs that are always terminative have forms for both aspects or are perfectiva tantum. We shall continue the matter of terminativising contexts in 2.2 below.

Like their Russian counterparts Polish prefixed verbs are terminative (with the possible exception of only very few examples). This is largely due to the lexical meaning of prefixes (see chapter 1), which, like perfective meaning points out a constellation of two situations XZ, connected by Y. (We shall explain a little later in this paragraph why perfective verbs present this XYZ-scheme in the most natural way. See also paragraph 2.2 for a more extensive discussion of the correlation of prefix-meaning and the XYZ-scheme.) We do not fully agree with the notion that prefixes ‘provide’ a compound with perfective aspect (perfectivise). We do however acknowledge that prefixes provide such a strong terminative sense to a simplex (that may or may not already be terminative) that it is no surprise that the meaning of a simplex, with this lexico-semantic addition of terminativity is naturally perceived as perfective. This is strengthened by the fact that terminativity is simply a prerequisite for perfectivity. In (1) it is easy to see that perfective terminativity deals with the completion of Y and / or (depending on the nature of the event expressed by the verb) the ushering in of Z, just like it does in actual fact correlate with the meaning of perfectivity. This is no surprise as, as we noted before, all perfective verbs are terminative. To pursue this matter further we need to turn to imperfective terminativity in some more detail. The following sentence counters example (1) above and illustrates

that prefixes occur with imperfective verbs too and so cannot be considered to be markers of perfectivity.¹⁴

- (7) *Ania zawsze przepisywała_i swoje artykuły.*
 Ania_{NOM} always through-wrote; her_articles_{ACC}.
 Ania always rewrote her articles.

Considering (7), we immediately note that the object is in the plural, whereas it had been in the singular in (1). It is of course by no means a grammatical rule, that imperfective verbs need take objects in the plural, but there is a rather great likelihood that in the case of the present verbs and contexts this would be so. We will return to this matter below but suffice it here to mention that as an object, *swój artykuł* ‘her article’ is limited in scope, and the rewriting thereof naturally and evidently finite. We follow Barentsen (1985: 90) and Holvoet (1991: 9) in terming such naturally limited objects (and ditto predicates) DISCRETE, although other terms have been used and proposed in the past. As (7) presents a situation in which the key notion *zawsze* ‘always’ is juxtaposed with an undefined number of discrete objects, it implies that more than one, probably several of the indicated objects is involved. We could say that there is a repeat of the totality presented by figure 1.



Fig. 8 *repetition 1*

In figure 8 we have represented the objects (articles) by letters ABCD in a random order to indicate that the sequence or order are not relevant, nor is by the way the amount of objects.

As such the two sentences (1) and (7) are not ideal as a “minimal pair”, as two elements differ rather than one, even though these are connected. Another modifying adjunct within the imperfective context comes to mind, this time in a sentence in which the singular object is more evident:

- (8) *Ania ciągle przepisywała swój artykuł.*
 Ania_{NOM} continually through-wrote_I her article_{ACC}.
 Ania continually rewrote her article.

The event described by the verb in this sentence is also terminative and like the usage in (7) it also deals with repetition. The nature of the repetition in (8) is somewhat different though, as the situation is presented as one in which one and the same object or parts of it is modified several times, in fact *ciągle* ‘continually’, and so we do not even know how often exactly. We see again an imperfective prefixed verb used, as is often the case with such verbs, to express a non-quantified, unlimited series of the same or similar complete events performed on a (discrete) object. In (7) and (8) the result of the respective events may differ: in (7) one could think of several articles, whereas in (8) there are several versions of the same article. The fact of the repetition remains in spite of the difference in the (grammatical) number of the object. Continuing along the lines presented above, we could render this with different versions of the same article A as follows.



Fig. 9 *repetition 2*

The usage of imperfective terminativity for repetition is called TERMINAL ITERATIVE VARIANT in Barentsen (1985: 88-92) and REPEAT VARIANT in Barentsen (2003: 374).

The above examples (7) and (8) involve the verb *przepisywać* ‘rewrite’ (or indeed ‘copy’) which is clearly processual transformative. We think it is very interesting, though, to realise that non-processual transformative secondary imperfectives would only really be used in cases where there is some kind of repetition intended.¹⁵ A repetition that can be presented as follows.

rather than completed are then of course still terminative. In our view terminativity points to events for which completion is presented or thought of as an integral part of the totality of the event. Even when the totality is not the focus of an utterance, it may still be present in the speaker's mind as being relevant. The focus is however in this sentence on the process phase (Y) of the event.¹⁷

The usage of terminative imperfectives to focus on the process of the event (within its development) is termed "INTRATERMINAL" in Barentsen (1985: 88-92) and "PROCESS VARIANT" in Barentsen (2003: 373). There are a number of other instances in which the terminative imperfective applies to single, not necessarily completed, but completable, i.e. terminative events.

(10) *Ania długo przepisywała_i swój artykuł.*

Ania_{NOM} long through-wrote_i her_article_{ACC}.

Ania has been copying / rewriting her article a long time.

Here too the process phase of the event is highlighted, whilst the event is presented as terminative, and so has "contours" with a certain relevance. The notion of duration naturally does not refer to the completion of the event but rather to the action phase Y of the event. Imperfectivity is therefore obvious but the compound meaning is by virtue of the prefix still terminative. And so, derivation from the perfective compound *przepisać_p*, rendered imperfective *przepisywać_i*. As both are terminative we can say that "deperfectivising" is not the same as "determinativising".

All in all, examples (7) through (10) demonstrate that imperfectivity is compatible with terminativity. In cases of imperfective terminativity the XYZ-scheme needs to be treated in a particular way. As we have seen this can either be the repetition of the entire XYZ-scheme such as in (7) and (8) or the actualisation of the process-phase Y, such as in (9) and (10). Either way, this can be interpreted as a 'homogenisation'; not the implied changes of the XYZ-scheme come to the fore, but there is an emphasis on the relatively constant,

unchangeable side of the action. This homogeneity is the quality of terminative imperfectivity and terminative imperfectivity share and which is the reason why both can be termed imperfective in spite of the rather large differences in meaning. Perfectivity on the other hand always presents the changes implied by the XYZ-scheme. This is why perfectivity presents the most 'natural' image of a terminative situation.

Slavic languages like Polish invest a considerable amount of morphological material to provide the possibility to present terminative meaning in the imperfective (compare Galton 1980a: esp. 50 and 55).¹⁸ Imperfective derivatives of prefixed verbs are often termed SECONDARY IMPERFECTIVES. One could actually say that secondary imperfectives are morphologically marked twice: by the prefix and its lexical-semantic terminative meaning as well as by the deperfectivising suffix. We would also like to signal here that this process of imperfectivisation of prefixed perfective verbs takes place surprisingly often. This would point to the fact that terminativity in the imperfective aspect is a significant, indeed a central notion in Slavic languages.

In order to make some inroads we propose to adhere to a model in which the various semantic features discussed briefly above are divided over more or less separate markers:

- As prefixes mark terminativity it is not surprising that, when the concept of terminativity is added to a verb by its undergoing prefixation, that verb "becomes" perfective. Prefixes then are not primarily markers of perfectivity; it is rather the terminative meaning, which in perfective contexts is necessary that works towards this correlation.

- Deperfectivising (thematic) suffixes such as in (7), (8), (9) and (10) *przepisywać_i* - *przepisuje_i* - *przepisywała_i* 'copy, rewrite' etc., are the morphological means by which an otherwise perfective-terminative notion can be "rendered" imperfective whilst maintaining the notion of terminativity.

- (Non-verbal) adjuncts, such as *ciągle* 'continually', *zawsze* 'always',

dlugo 'a long time' etc. as well as compound sentences as exemplified in (9) in conjunction with imperfective verbs specify, highlight the processual part of the constellation of a terminative notion or effectuate a repeated notion and possibly also other notions which we have not discussed here.

To sum up, terminativity is a precondition for designating an event with a perfective verb. The same event can in principle also be designated by an imperfective verb. The XYZ-scheme is retained here, but somehow "deactualised". As far as aterminative events are concerned, these cannot be described by perfective verbs.

Now we must turn to some further complications surrounding the notion of terminativity, in particular, that of telicity / boundedness.

1.3 Telicity / boundedness vs. terminativity

The aim of the present paragraph is to set off telicity against terminativity; the title already clearly reflects this. In order to do so, we first need to take a look at how telicity was defined by various previous authors. This part of the task turned out to be rather cumbersome and the issue is decidedly convoluted as many authors have had varying concepts, probably emanating from their particular interests and needs or the particular languages they were describing, so, quite a few different terms (Dahl (1981: 80, 81) lists some of these) have been used in the past. Indeed, the latter author himself uses the term (un)boundedness rather than (a)telicity. Next we will place the terms as used by some leading authors within the model of terminativity we have adopted. Before we will proceed, however, there is a matter, which we must address first.

This concerns the use of all the terms involved and, to put it in Dahl's words:

What should the purported properties be regarded as properties of? In the literature, we find the concepts applied to at least the following: sentences, verb phrases, verbs as lexical items, verb forms, situations, and processes. Dahl (1981: 83).

Dahl puts his answer like this...

The most popular alternative at present would probably be to say that they apply primarily to processes (situations) and secondarily to the verb phrases or sentences that express these processes.

Dahl (1981: 83).

... and then goes on to include “[a] linguistic expression, whether it be a sentence, verb phrase or verb...” and he acknowledges that “this formulation is not without its problems, but we shall ignore them for the time being.” Dahl seems effectively to exclude situations.

We choose to leave the matter of whether a verb or a situation is telic or terminative unresolved (as do in fact most authors on the subject). We do not actually need to specify as long as we ascertain in each case that a verb does in fact describe a situation that is perceived in one way or the other.

This is saying as much as that we are in fact putting linguistic matters over extra-lingual truth whilst never forgetting to refer back to it. We will continue to speak, as do quite a few authors, of telic / atelic verbs and terminative / ateterminative verbs as well as telic / atelic situations and terminative / ateterminative situations.

But we will go a little further in the application of terminology; we will use any term referring to (a)terminativity or (a)telicity to refer to verbs as well as situations. We can now proceed with our discussion of telicity / boundedness vs. terminativity.

The literature on the opposition telic : atelic is vast and originally concerns languages other than Slavic ones. The term is obviously derived from the Greek τέλος ‘end’ and its general meaning takes us very close to that of “terminativity”. For this reason it is useful to discuss, albeit briefly, these clearly related matters and perhaps to point out the distinctions via a discussion of a selection of publications in which telicity is used relating to Slavic languages. But let’s us begin at the beginning.

The term and opposition was introduced by Garey, who describes telic verbs as ...

... verbs expressing an action tending towards a goal envisaged as realized in a perfective tense, but as contingent in an imperfective tense...

whereas atelic verbs are...

... verbs which do not involve any goal nor end point in their semantic structure, but denote actions that are realized as soon as they begin. Garey (1957: 97).

It would seem that according to Garey, telicity as such appertains to the verbs themselves and so to their lexical semantic qualities. Moreover, it would seem that Garey's definition would include verbal situations which, using Vendler's (1957) terminology, are nowadays usually referred to as accomplishments, whilst it does not explicitly include achievements.¹⁹

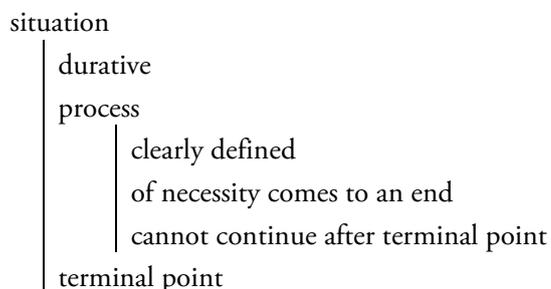
Comrie (1976: 44-48) defines telicity as a quality of a situation rather than of a given verb (and ipso facto the meaning of such a verb) and verbs are said to describe those situations. This author essentially adds some further qualities, restrictions to the Garey concept, by which means Comrie effectively excludes achievements, since a basic condition of his concept of telicity is that the situation must be durative. Furthermore, the author says of telic situations that they involve a process that "of necessity comes to an end." The end is further specified as "a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue." He states specifically that telic situations have a process, which leads up to a terminal point and includes that terminal point as well. And so, the English example *John is making a chair* describes a situation that will reach its terminal point once the chair is finished and the whole situation that is in fact described is presented as having its natural termination at that very point. If that terminal point is actually reached, and only when it is reached, we can say *John has made a chair*. If John would be interrupted during the making of the chair, there would be no completed product and we would not be able to say *John has*

made a chair. However, that fact alone does not take away anything from the principle that the natural course would be for the process of the making of the chair to be one that would end in a finished product. Comparison with *John is singing* teaches us that the latter described situation is not one that will reach such a natural terminal point and should therefore be termed atelic. If his singing is interrupted at any point we can still say *John has sung* which would not be so in the case of *John has made a chair* if the making of the chair were interrupted. So, not the stopping of a process, but the perception, that completion is a natural part of a situation described by the verb is relevant; even if the making of the chair were interrupted, it would still be a telic situation as the situation would always include the terminal point in its basic concept.

Now, Comrie signals a problem that has an immediate bearing on Slavic languages and, in our view, warrants a slight digression. It concerns situations such as described by *John is dying*. Here interruption of the process seems to be impossible as the perception of the English speaker is clearly that there is little hope of John's recovery. This is not the case in the earlier example in which John may be stopped from finishing his chair. Comrie thinks in fact that it is odd to say *'John was dying, but the discovery of a new medicine led to his recovery*. He seems to suggest then, that in spite of the use of the continuous tense, *John is dying* does not have a clearly defined process leading up to the terminal point and therefore it seems Comrie is hesitant to classify the English situation as clearly telic but writes about it as "a punctual event and the immediate preceding process, in the sense that the process preceding the event is so intimately bound up with the event that once the process is under way the event cannot be prevented from occurring" (Comrie 1976: 47-48). The actual moment of death setting in is then the passing from one state, 'living', to another, 'being dead', which is instantaneous and might not be telic. Of course, in Polish (as in Russian as signalled by Comrie) the sentence *Piotr umierał, ale nie umarł*, 'Peter was dying but he did not die' is perfectly acceptable and so the concept of what is and what is not telic varies in treatment from one

language to another.

The following table endeavours to sum up the parameters of telicity as described by Comrie, all of which need to be met before we can describe a given situation as telic. We have tried to indicate which qualities belong to which aspect of the whole complex of parameters by introducing a tree-like hierarchy.



All in all, the above complex of parameters, which includes accomplishments and excludes achievements, corresponds surprisingly well to Barentsen's processual transformative terminativity, which we discussed in paragraph 1. We must now continue with yet another author's comments whether accomplishments as well as achievements should be considered telic.

The following revealing comment is from Dahl, who uses the equivalent terms bounded / unbounded for telic / atelic:

Basically, the distinction made here [i.e. between bounded and unbounded - rg] will correspond to Vendler's distinction between 'accomplishments/achievements' on the one hand and 'activities' on the other, and to what some authors call 'telic/atelic'.
Dahl (1985: 191, note 5).

In contrast to this clear-cut note, the next quotation is quite confusing.

A class of situations or a characterization of a situation is bounded if and only if it is an essential condition on the members of the class or an essential part of the characterization that a certain limit or end-stage is attained.
Dahl (1985: 29).

This apparent emphasis on the attainment of the limit or end-stage is then different from terminativity as well as the more usual definition of telicity, which points to an orientation towards a (final) boundary and the perspective of such a boundary without implying that this boundary is always reached. The question is rather how this should be interpreted. In an earlier publication, in which he goes into the matter somewhat more precisely, Dahl makes it very clear that his “T-property” refers to there being a potential border, while his “P-property” would have that border reached (1981: 81 a.f.). In this respect Dahl refers to a publication by Andersson (1972, without page reference) in which the latter also speaks of a clear necessity to distinguish between what he calls “Grenzbezogenheit” ‘boundary-relatedness’ vs. “Erreichung / Nicht-Erreichung der Grenze” ‘attainment / non-attainment of the boundary’. A little further on, in a discussion of problematic cases the statement...

... we must distinguish ‘potential (intended or probable) terminal points’ from ‘actually achieved terminal points.’
Dahl (1981: 84).

... also shows Dahl making this distinction. It is then quite clear where Dahl stands, and his T-property corresponds largely to our terminativity, whilst his P-property is our perfectivity. This seems to be confirmed by Dahl, since in his discussion of telicity and Slavic aspect, he points out in addition, that verbs expressing neither a potentially or factually attained boundary can only be imperfective. Verbs whose lexical semantics include an indication of a boundary on the other hand, can be imperfective when that boundary is potentially attained but are certainly perfective when the boundary is factually attained (1981: 82).

Other authors, notably Holvoet (1991), Krifka (1989) and Schoorlemmer (1997), employ the term telicity, probably in the more or less original sense as defined by Garey, but within the contexts of their respective models dealing with aspect and event semantics. The purpose of their use of this term varies

greatly from that of ours and so, even though their treatments are worth noting, they would not actually add to the present discussion, especially as they do not oppose telicity to terminativity.

At this point we must turn to one of probably very few papers dealing with both terminativity and telicity: Nübler (1993). We will start by stating that this author has a very different approach to the matter of telicity and terminativity. It is in fact so different, that we find it impossible to reconcile it with the more established views or indeed with our own. That said, here is an attempt to render his position.

His title, “Zur Differenzierung der Begriffe Terminativität / Aterminativität und Telizität / Atelizität” ‘Towards a differentiation of the terms terminativity / aterminativity and telicity / atelicity’ already shows that for this author the terms should exist next to each other and in fact, he uses both terms at once to describe his classes of verbs, so that certain verbs can for instance be aterminative and telic. But we will come to that a little later.

Nübler throughout his paper speaks of “Verbalinhalt” ‘verb content’ which can be terminative or aterminative, and he makes a distinction between “Verballexeme” ‘verb lexemes’ with their content and “Verbformen” ‘verb forms’ with their content. Verb lexemes are basic verbs and verb forms are the (‘pure’) aspectual partners, derived from the verb lexemes (so, imperfective suffixal derivations from perfective verbs and perfective prefixal derivations from imperfective simplexes).

Telicity is defined as verb content with a “Grenze” ‘boundary’ and Nübler (1993: 304, 305) specifies that it makes no difference whether this boundary is the terminal point of a factually inherent development or whether it is externally (i.e. external as regards the actual act but still part of the verb meaning) imposed.

This author defines terminativity as a dynamic process leading to a termination, which, confusingly, equals Comrie’s idea of telicity we discussed a little

earlier in this paragraph. Nübler seems quite unique in this position.

Nübler (1993: 302) refers to the rather difficult Dahl (1985: 29) quotation (see above) that seemingly introduces the need for telic situations to *attain* a boundary. Without apparently looking at the other statements this author made and that clarify his position as quite different from this probably inadvertently made and unintended implication, Nübler reasons that ...

Nach der Eingrenzung des Begriffes „Telisch“ können alle slavischen Imperfektiva als atelisch eingestuft werden, da sie das tatsächliche Erreichen einer „inneren“ Grenze nur kontextuell aussagen können. Nübler (1993: 303).

(After this reduction of [Dahl's - rg] definition of "Telic" all Slavic imperfective verbs could be classified as atelic, because they can only express the actual attainment of an internally implied boundary within a specific context.)

So, if indeed we would specify, like Nübler, that we are talking about 'verb content', and if we would also hold strictly to this probably erroneous interpretation of the Dahl statement, imperfective verbs would always be atelic, as they are then never about "attaining" a certain limit or end-stage. Rather, they either do not imply the association with the idea of a specific boundary at all (our aterminativity) or they imply a boundary and the orientation towards that boundary but specifically not the attainment thereof (our process / intraterminal variant of processual transformative terminativity).

Nübler provides the following summarising definitions:

1. perfective verb lexemes:

- always telic, lexical-semantic expression of the boundary;

- verb content can be:

-- terminative (dynamic development) as in *дописать_p* (*письмо*) 'complete (a letter)';

-- aterminative (non dynamic and so solely temporally imposed boundary) as in *подержать_p* 'hold for a while'.

2. perfective verb forms [i.e. 'pure' aspectual partners derived by prefixation of

simplexes - rg]:

- atelic, boundary not expressed by lexical-semantics;

-- terminative: *написать_p* 'write' (the author mentions that this goes with *писать_i*).

3. imperfective verb lexemes [always simplexes - rg]:

- atelic,

-- aterminative: *спать_i* 'sleep';

-- terminative: *писать_i* (*письмо*) 'write a letter'.

4. imperfective verb forms [i.e. secondary imperfectives - rg]:

- atelic

-- terminative

For class 4 verbs Nübler (1993: 305) states that the imperfectivising suffix functions to render the perfective telic partners imperfective and atelic; he says that "... das Erreichen einer im Verbalinhalt angelegten Grenze negiert wird" 'the attainment of a by the verb content implied boundary is negated', as in: *он дописывал, но не дописал_p письмо* 'he was busy completing his letter, but he did not finish completing it.' Alternatively we are dealing with "eine auf Iterierung basierende Atelizität" 'an atelicity based on iteration', such as can be seen in *каждый вечер он дописывал_i письма, которые он начинал_i утром* 'every evening he finalised the letter that he had started the same morning'.

It may be clear from the above discussion of Nübler that he uses the terms in a very different way from us, and in fact, as we pointed out, his terminativity is as narrow as Comries telicity. Moreover, it leaves us with unsolvable problems and we shall discuss one of these briefly. In his system perfective verbs such as *написать_p* 'write' are terminative but atelic. In such cases his telicity apparently does not mean 'attainment of the boundary implied by terminativity' for he cannot deny that *написать_p* indicates that the boundary that is connected with his terminativity in this case is reached.

Although we have our doubts, it is possible that Nübler's model may work independently from just about everyone else that deals with these matters, but

we choose to look for a different way to deal with terminativity and telicity. This brings us to the conclusion of this paragraph.

Our last remaining task in this paragraph is to conclude and sum up the matter, which the title indicates: telicity / boundedness vs. terminativity. We must present our interpretation of these terms and notions. First let's return to Nübler's paper, which is a very rare example of an attempt to use both these terms, telicity and terminativity, independently and complementarily. For us it does not work. We rather think it more useful to stay with the view that actually similar things may be meant by these terms, although a specification of how the various terms are then employed would be helpful. The following table sums up our interpretation of the main authors mentioned in this paragraph. We have however, not included Nübler as his definitions deviate to such an extent that it would be well nigh impossible to fit in. Moreover, as far as we are aware, he does not seem to have been followed by anyone. In the following scheme we have set out the "wider" Barentsen definition of terminativity (and the various types thereof) discussed in the previous paragraphs against the treatment of telicity by Garey, Comrie, and Dahl. The terms from the Vendler classification have been added on the far right.

Terminativity Barentsen	Garey (1957)	Comrie (1976)	Dahl (1981/85)	Vendler (1957)
process.-transf. relative terminus	telic	telic	telic	accomplishments
non-process.-transform. semelfactive delimitative perdurative	?		telic	achievements

And so, certainly when set off against the wider notion of terminativity adhered to here, all telic verbs are terminative, but not all terminative verbs are telic.

2 The manifestations of terminativity

Terminativity is primarily a lexical-semantic category and not a grammatical one. We have already posited our view that, within the lexical semantics of verbs, prefixes mark terminativity as prefixed verbs are by their very nature terminative.²⁰ Apart from this group of verbs, which is then actually morphologically marked, there is the group of unprefixated simplexes – a list will follow in 2.1 – which on account of their lexical semantic meaning are clearly terminative. The next question we must address is whether or not all verbal events are either terminative or aterminative. From the above discussion of the views of Schlegel and Nübler in our paragraph 1, it should be clear that these authors, whilst adhering to the principle that terminativity is indeed a lexical semantic category pertaining to verbs, aterminative verbs can nevertheless be furnished with a verb-external boundary (Nübler 1991: 301, Schlegel 1999: 25 a.f.). Their view would have it that such verbal phrases are then also terminative. In the following paragraphs we address these issues separately.

2.1 Non-prefixed verb internal terminativity

As prefixes mark terminativity it is not surprising that the vast majority of non-prefixed imperfectives in Russian are aterminative (Barentsen 2003: 383) and it is doubtlessly true that this is also the case for Polish.

The following table summarises the interplay of prefixes and aspect that we already discussed above.

aspect	prefix	terminative
pf	+	+
pf	-	+
ipf	+	+
ipf	-	+ / -

Some matters need to be further clarified and this leads us to consider non-prefixed verbs and terminativity. In paragraph 1 we already discussed

aspectual pairs consisting of a multiplicative imperfective and a semelfactive perfective such as *machać_i* : *machnąć_p* ‘wave’ and, especially as we shall return to these in chapter III paragraph 1, we shall not discuss them here but rather turn our attention to other non-prefixed verbs.²¹

There are probably quite a few imperfective verbs which are terminative on account of their lexical meaning, but there is no way to disclose these in a systematic way, when a prefix is lacking; this task will remain for later. The following lists are then only of those verbs which readily present themselves as imperfective partners to perfective non-prefixed verbs. The following perfectives are mentioned in *Gramatyka* (1984: 214). Where aspectual pairs are indicated, these are on the basis of Dunaj (1996). As these are doubtlessly ‘pure’ aspectual pairs the imperfective members on the list are also terminative, which seems to be confirmed by their lexical meaning.

<i>chwycić_p</i>	<i>chwytac_i</i>	‘grab’
<i>dać_p</i>	<i>dawac_i</i>	‘give’
<i>kupić_p</i>	<i>kupowac_i</i>	‘buy’
<i>lec_p / legnac_p</i>		‘lie down’
<i>paść_p (padnac)</i>	<i>padać_i</i>	‘fall’
<i>puścić_p</i>	<i>puszczac_i</i>	‘let pass’ etc.
<i>rzec_p</i>		‘say’
<i>rzucić_p</i>	<i>rzucac_i</i>	‘throw’
<i>siąść_p</i>	<i>siadac_i</i>	‘sit down’
<i>skoczyć_p</i>	<i>skakac_i</i>	‘jump’
<i>stać się_p</i>	<i>stawac się_i</i>	‘take place’
<i>wrócić_p</i>	<i>wracac_i</i>	‘return’
<i>wziąć_p</i>	<i>brac_i</i>	‘take’
<i>znaleźć_p (się)</i>	<i>znajdowac_i (się)</i>	‘find’

we do not claim that this list is exhaustive but it can be said that such a list would not be very extensive, as there are relatively few of these verbs. In fact,

the verbs *wziąć_p*, *znaleźć_p* (*się*) and *znajdować_i* (*się*) might be termed quasi simplexes, as, although lexicalised without clear reference to the original prefix meaning, they are in fact historically formed compounds. Then there are the bi-aspectual verbs, which of course have no pair, such as:

<i>kazać_{i/p}</i>	‘order’
<i>abdykować_{i/p}</i>	‘abdicate’
<i>aprobować_{i/p}</i>	‘approve’
<i>importować_{i/p}</i>	‘import’
<i>impregnować_{i/p}</i>	‘impregnate’

Most of these are loan words and as such they may still form aspectual pairs by prefixation later, in a process described by Kudlińska (1988: 121-126). As is apparent on the basis of their meaning and the fact that they can be used in perfective contexts, certainly the above may be classed as terminative, whether used perfectly or imperfectly.

2.2 Prefix meaning and terminativity

As we have seen in chapter I (paragraph 0.2 in particular point 3) all or at least most prefix meanings point to a conceptualisation of two situations: the ‘old’ (‘previous’, ‘initial’) and the ‘new’ (‘following’, ‘resulting’, ‘terminal’). For Polish prefix *wy-* this was most clearly demonstrated by Rudzka-Ostyn (1983) and Barentsen explains it thus:

Een prefix geeft namelijk in principe informatie over de onderlinge verhouding tussen de situaties voor en na de handeling (X en Z).
Barentsen (2003: 381)

(In principle a prefix provides information about the mutual relationship between the situation before and after the event (X and Z).)

Returning then to our point of departure, it is the very nature of prefixes, referring as they do to the prototypically spatial notion of subsequent situations, that makes them the instrument par excellence to express terminativity. Of course,

in predicates that deal with spatial notions, the original preposition based meaning(s) of the prefixes come out most clearly. Consider the following example taken from Rudzka-Ostyn (1983: 5).

- (11) *Wykuć_p rzeźbę.*
 out-hew_{VP-INF} sculpture_{ACC.}
 ‘Hew out a sculpture.’

Which Rudzka-Ostyn renders schematically thus.

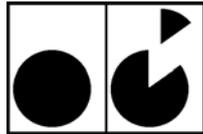


Fig. 12 ‘old’ and ‘new’ *wy-*

The sculpture is cut from the original material and is perceived to come out of that material. The ‘old’ situation’ has the sculpture still unhewn and so within the mass of the original material, whilst ‘new’ shows the (finished) sculpture taken from the material. If we superimpose this scheme onto the Barentsen XYZ-scheme our view is illustrated quite adequately.

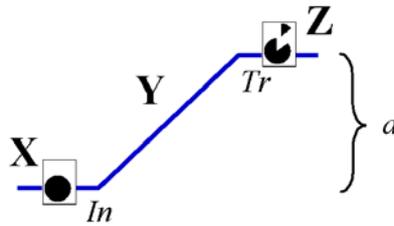


Fig. 13 *wy-* : XYZ-scheme

There is here a clear correlation between situations X and Z for terminativity and ‘old’ and ‘new’ for prefix meaning. The situations of prefix *wy-* are gratifyingly obvious as the ‘old’ and ‘new’ positions are easy to describe. However, we

need to also demonstrate this principle for prefix *prze-* and it will suffice to take two simple examples representing the primary tiers of the variants proposed in chapter I paragraph 3.1. For our first example we will reiterate example (5) from 1 above.

- (5) *Ania przejechała_p całą Polskę.*
Ania_{NOM} through-drove_p whole_Poland_{ACC}.
Ania drove across the whole of Poland.

Our drawing for this did not consist of two contrasting situations such as Rudzka-Ostyn provides for *wy-*, and so we need to indicate where these two situations are located.

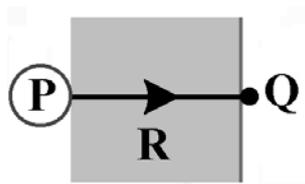


Fig. 14 *prze*₁ 'old'

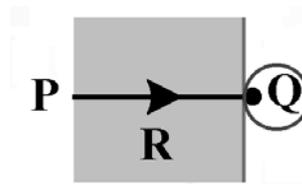


Fig. 15 *prze*₁ 'new'

And this we can again overlay onto the XYZ-scheme.

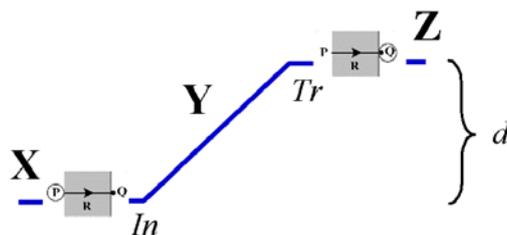


Fig. 16 *prze*₁ : XYZ

In (5) then:

- X is the situation before or upon entering Poland;
- Y is the process of crossing Poland;

Z is the situation when the other side was reached and Ania exited Poland.

The transitus is of course located at the moment that Y “bends” into Z; here: the moment of exit. The description of Y provided by *prze-* in this particular case is in the provision of the notion of a landmark as well as a trajector in the way described in chapter I. As is often the case with *prze-* the trajector with verbs of motion can be described as ‘across’ in English.

Our treatment is similar for our second base meaning for *prze-*.

- (12) *Ania przesadziła_p begonię.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-planted_p Begonia_{ACC}.
 Ania (has) replanted the Begonia.

Please note that the original illustration for chapter I paragraph 3 was changed slightly: the intended phase is the darker of the two squares at either side of landmark R.

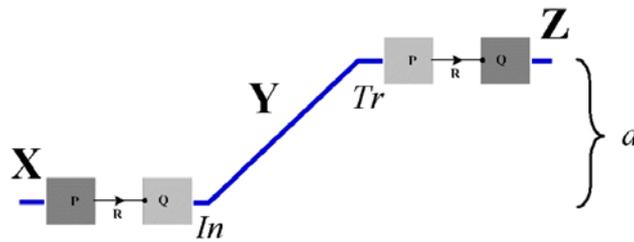


Fig. 17 *prze₃* : XYZ

In other kinds of predicates things can be less clear but can nevertheless always be explained in this fashion.

In the following we aim to establish with which kind of imperfective terminativity *prze-* can be associated. As we saw in 1.2 above there are basically three types:

1. terminal iterative terminativity of processual transformative verbs;
2. terminal iterative terminativity of non-processual transformative verbs;

3. intraterminal terminativity (processual transformative verbs).²²

In 1.2 we also demonstrated that processual transformative verbs can be used in both terminal iterative and intraterminal ways. Non-processual transformatives can only be used for terminal iterative terminativity. A simple test to ‘dive into’ the processual phase of verbs is needed to expose them as processual transformative. We propose to use the following more or less standard sentence constructions for this purpose, the first two of which are repeats of earlier examples.

- (9) *Jak zadzwoniłem_P, Ania akurat przepisywała_i swój artykuł.*

when up-phonew_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-wrote_i
her_article_{ACC}.

When I phoned, Ania was just rewriting her article.

- (10) *Ania długo przepisywała_i swój artykuł.*

Ania_{NOM} long through-wrote_i her_article_{ACC}.

Ania took a long time rewriting her article.

- (13) *Ania przepisywała_i, przepisywała_i, a wreszcie przepisała_P swój artykuł.*

Ania_{NOM} through-wrote_i, through-wrote_i and finally through-wrote_P
her article_{ACC}.

Ania rewrote and rewrote and finally she finished rewriting her article.

In (10) we use a simple adverbial adjunct that refers to the relative length of time that was spent on an event. This demands of the event expressed to be one that can indeed be perceived to take time. Non-processual terminative verbs do not allow such usage:

- (14) **Ania długo zjadła_i obiad.*
 Ania_{NOM} long up-eat_i dinner_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time finishing her dinner.

In (9) we have a constellation in which the processual event (*przepisywała_i* ‘she wrote’) forms the background against which the perfective event takes place at a certain (short) moment in time. If there would be no such process that takes time, it would not be able to form a background, as we can see in the next example:

- (15) **Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat zjadła_i obiad.*
 when up-phonet_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then up-ate_i dinner_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just finishing her dinner.

The test model presented in (13) may be considered superfluous for this demonstration, but it is interesting in that it hints at the event of the verb to be not only ongoing, but also of it leading up to a final point: a build-up as it were. There is then a suggestion of some kind of structure to the process. This too defies non-processual transformative verbs:

- (16) **Ania zjadła_i, zjadła_i, a wreszcie zjadła_p obiad.*
 Ania_{NOM} up-ate_i, up-ate_i and finally up-ate_p dinner_{ACC}.
 Ania ate (up) and ate (up) and finally she finished eating her dinner.

Performed on compound verbs with prefix *prze-*, this test has not yielded any that would not be possible in sentence structures such as (10), (9) and (13). Even verbs that could be expected to be non-processual transformative on account of their lexical meaning allowed usage in these sentence structures. Compare the following.

- (17) *Ania długo przekraczała_i granicę polsko-rosyjską.*
 Ania_{NOM} long through-crossed_i border_Polish-Russian_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time crossing the Polish-Russian border.
- (18) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przekraczała_i granicę polsko-rosyjską.*
 when up-phoned_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-crossed_i border_Polish-Russian_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just crossing the Polish-Russian border
- (19) *Ania przekraczała_i, przekraczała_i, a wreszcie przekroczyła_p granicę polsko-rosyjską.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-crossed_i, through-crossed_i and finally through-crossed_{IP} dinner_{ACC}.
 Ania crossed and crossed and finally she finished crossing the Polish-Russian border. || It took Ania a long time and / or effort to cross the Polish-Russian border.

The last sentence, to be honest, was a little bit on the edge for some native informers, but others approved it. It is quite difficult to render it in English accurately as it can refer to a rather large amount of time or alternatively, effort spent on crossing the border. A couple of other examples of verbs that might be considered non-processual transformative on account of their lexical meaning are presented in the examples below, which show that these verbs apparently stand the test and should be termed processual transformative.

- (20) *Ania długo przegrywała_i partię szachów.*
 Ania_{NOM} long through-played_i game_{ACC} chess_{GEN}.
 Ania took a long time winning a / the game of chess.

- (21) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przegrywała_i partię szachów.*
 when up-phon_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-play_i game_{ACC}
 chess_{GEN}.

When I phoned, Ania was just winning a game of chess.

- (22) *Ania przegrywała_i, przegrywała_i, a wreszcie przegrała_p partię szachów.*

Ania_{NOM} through-play_i, through-play_i and finally through-play_p game_{ACC} chess_{GEN}.

Ania played and played and finally she won the game of chess. || It took Ania a long time and / or effort to win a / the game of chess.

The last example is again rather hard to translate, but the Polish is very acceptable if not to say totally normal. The last verb we would like to consider is *przeżykać* : *przełknąć_p* ‘swallow’.

- (23) *Ania długo przetykała_i pigułkę.*
 Ania_{NOM} long through-swallow_i pill_{ACC}.

Ania took a long time swallowing a / the tablet.

- (24) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przetykała_i pigułkę.*
 when up-phon_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-swallow_i pill_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just swallowing a tablet.

- (25) *Ania przetykała_i, przetykała_i, a wreszcie przełknęła pigułkę.*

Ania_{NOM} through-swallow_i, through-swallow_i and finally through-swallow_p pill_{ACC}.

Ania tried and tried and finally she managed to swallow the tablet. || It took Ania a long time and / or effort to swallow the tablet.

In Chapter I we have also seen that in some compounds *prze-* has a meaning

‘cease to’. As was already demonstrated in chapter I paragraph 2.5 *prze-* expresses a ceasing that is processual transformative and hence involves a temporal process in which an event comes to an end. The members of this series that have a secondary imperfective (*przebrzmiewać* ‘cease sounding’, *przedzwaniać* ‘cease ringing’, *przegwizdywać* ‘cease whistling’, *przekwitać* ‘cease flowering’) also stand the test as we will demonstrate on the basis of the same sentences albeit it slightly modified for the sake of realism.

- (26) *Ojca orchidea długo przekwitała.*
 Father_{GEN} orchid_{NOM} long through-flowered_I.
 Fathers orchid took a long time to wilt.
- (27) *Jak wpadłem_P do ojca, orchidea przekwitała.*
 when in-dropped_{P-1-SG} to father_{GEN}, orchid through-flowered_I.
 When I dropped in on father, his orchid was wilting.
- (28) *Ojca orchidea przekwitała_I, przekwitała_I a wreszcie przekwitła_P.*
 father_{GEN} orchid through-flowered_I, through-flowered_I and finally
 through-flowered_P.
 My fathers orchid wilted and wilted untill finally it finished
 blooming || It took my fathers orchid a long time to wilt.

Although it is strictly speaking beyond the scope of this chapter, we would like to present a few examples to show that not all secondary imperfective verbs behave in the same way as those with prefix *prze-*. In (10), (11) and (12) we have seen that *zjadać* ‘eat up’ (which is the secondary imperfective to *zjeść*_P) does not stand up to the processuality test introduced above. It would seem that prefix *z-* does form non-processual transformative compounds, although it should be remarked that at this stage it is not possible to say whether that goes for all its meaning-variants.

Another prefix to consider is *od-*. Compare the following examples.

- (29) **Ania długo odnajdowała_i klucz.*
 Ania_{NOM} long back-found_i key_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time finding her key.
- (30) **Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat odnajdowała_i klucz.*
 when up-phon_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then back-found_i key_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just finding her key.
- (31) **Ania odnajdowała_i, odnajdowała_i, a wreszcie odnalazła_p klucz.*
 Ania_{NOM} back-found_i, back-found_i and finally back-found_p key_{ACC}.
 Ania tried and tried and finally she managed to find her key. || It
 took Ania a long time and / or effort to find her key.

Prefix *za-* gives similar results with compound *zaśpiewywać_i piosenkę* '(start to) sing'.²³

- (32) **Ania długo zaśpiewywała piosenkę.*
 Ania_{NOM} long in-sang_i song_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time starting to sing a song.
- (33) **Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat zaśpiewywała piosenkę.*
 when up-phon_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then in-sang_i song_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just starting to sing a song.
- (34) **Ania zaśpiewywała_i, zaśpiewywała_i, a wreszcie zaśpiewała_p piosenkę.*
 Ania_{NOM} in-sang_i, in-sang_i and finally in-sang_p song_{ACC}.
 Ania tried and tried and finally she managed to start to sing a song. ||
 It took Ania a long time and / or effort to start to sing a song.

This does not go to show that prefixes *za-* always forms non-processual transformative compounds as will become clear from the following example.

- (35) *Ania długo zawijała_i cukierek.*
 Ania_{NOM} long in-wrapped_i sweet_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time wrapping the sweet.
- (36) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat zawijała_i cukierek.*
 when up-phonod_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then in-wrapped_i sweet_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just wrapping a sweet.
- (37) *Ania zawijała_i, zawijała_i, a wreszcie zawinęła_p cukierek.*
 Ania_{NOM} in-wrapped_i, in-wrapped_i and finally in-wrapped_p sweet_{ACC}.
 Ania wrapped and wrapped and finally she managed to wrap the sweet.

And so we have demonstrated that some prefixes are more likely to form imperfective non-processual transformative compounds whereas others form only processual transformative ones, and yet others form both. *Prze-* is probably quite clear in marking processual transformative terminativity (as manifested in imperfective verbs). Until more extensive research has been done the following table shows our preliminary findings with all verbal prefixes in secondary imperfectives, and so it does not make any statement about the possibility of their non-processual transformative possibilities in perfective aspect. We provide a single, sometimes two examples for each case for scrutinization.

prefix	PT	examples	nPT	examples
<i>do-</i>	√√	<i>dopiszywać</i>	√	<i>dodzwaniać się,</i> <i>dokompletowywać</i>
<i>na-</i>	√√	<i>napoczynąć, napętnić</i>	√	<i>nadeptywać</i>
<i>nad(e)-</i>	√	<i>nadskakiwać</i>		
<i>o(b)-</i>	√	<i>opisywać</i>		
<i>od(e)-</i>	√√	<i>odnawiać</i>	√	<i>odnajdywać</i>
<i>po-</i>	√	<i>pobielać, podróżowywać</i>		

<i>pod(e)-</i>	√	<i>podsumowywać, podtulać</i>		
<i>prze-</i>	√	<i>przepisywać</i>		
<i>przed(e)-</i>	√	<i>przedstawiać</i>		
<i>przy-</i>	√√	<i>przysuwać</i>	√	<i>przychodzić</i>
<i>roz(e)-</i>	√√	<i>rozbrajać</i>	√	<i>rozchorowywać się</i>
<i>u-</i>	√√	<i>ugrupowywać</i>	?*	<i>ucinać, usylachcać</i>
<i>w(e)-</i>	√	<i>wsluchiwać się</i>		
<i>wy-</i>	√	<i>wyznaczać</i>	√	<i>wyskakiwać</i>
<i>wz-/ws-</i>	√	<i>wzbijać</i>		
<i>z(e)-/s-/ś-</i>	√	<i>zbijać się</i>	√	<i>zjadać</i>
<i>za-</i>	√	<i>zawijać</i>	√	<i>zaśpiewać</i>

PT = processual transformative,

nPT = non processual transformative

√ = occurs

√√ = the majority of cases

* There was some doubt with native informers about the use of these verbs (and some others) in our tests.

We have not been able to establish for all prefixes in perfective aspect whether or not they form non-processual transformative compounds and actually that falls beyond the intended scope of this chapter. However, for perfective *prze-*compounds we can confirm that they are usually processual transformative, with the exception of compounds formed with *prze-* in the variant meaning we ranked *prze*_{1.10} 'start [to]' in chapter I paragraph 2.1.10 and the perduratives, which we ranked under *prze*₂. One could think that on account of their lexical semantic feature, these verbs are ingressive. We rather think they are not true ingressives as strictly speaking their meaning is '(re)gain the ability to see / speak', which is essentially not entirely the same as 'start to see / speak'. This is an isolated unproductive group of verbs consisting of *przemówić*_p 'regain the ability to speak', *przejrzeć*_p and *przewidzieć*_p 'regain the ability to see'. Unlike prefix *pro-* in some South-Slavic languages, Polish verbs with *prze-* are never truly ingressive in Polish.

2.3 Other manifestations of terminativity

The title of this paragraph is chosen for want of a better one; terminativity is a lexical-semantic category and as such morphologically unmarked, except for the marking by verbal prefixes, which is not the only possible terminativity. We cannot speak of marking in other cases where there is nevertheless a case to be made to recognise terminativity. This is then more a 'situational' terminativity, expressed contextually; here we use 'situational' in reference to the kind of usage of this term by Dahl and Comrie, which we presented in 1.3.

In paragraph 1 we already introduced the views vis à vis verb external terminativity of Maslov (1961, 1984), Nübler (1993) and to a lesser extent Schlegel (1999). It is a real question whether or not to consider verb external boundaries as true equivalents of terminativity and we can only do this if we leave the notion that terminativity is a solely lexical semantic category for verbs. We already mentioned Nübler's view on the inclusion of verb external boundaries into the question of terminativity. Here is how he actually puts it.

Wollte man den Begriff „äußeren“ Grenze ebenfalls in die Unterscheidung zwischen terminativen und aterminativen Verben einbeziehen, müßte man davon ausgehen, daß jedes Imperfektivum sowohl terminativ als auch aterminativ gebraucht werden kan. Ebenso wie das russische Verbum *писать* (ip) „schreiben“ terminativ gebraucht werden kann in *он пишет письмо* „er schreibt einen Brief“, kann auch das ein statischen Geschehen ausdrückende Verbum russ. *лежать* (ip) mit einer „äußeren“ Grenze versehen werden: *он там лежит два часа* „er liegt dort zwei Stunden“. Nübler's (1993: 300, 301).

(If one wants to include the term “verb external” boundary into the differentiation between terminative and aterminative verbs, then one would have to recognise that every imperfective verb can be used terminatively as well as aterminatively. Just as the Russian verb 'write' can be used terminatively in 'he is writing a letter', the verb 'lie', which expresses a static event can be furnished with a verb external border as in 'he has been lying there two hours'.)

Here we will go along with the idea that the presence of an object such as *письмо* 'a letter' can have a terminativising effect on the event and consequently,

on the verb *писа́ть* ‘write’, but the relationship between *лежа́ть* ‘lie’ and a temporal extension is of a quite different nature. We will then only pursue the matter with regards to direct objects.

At this point it is interesting to compare Nübler’s statement and Comrie, who mentions that verbs can have arguments that render a situation telic.

... However, situations are not described by verbs alone, but rather by the verb together with its arguments (subject and object).²⁴ Thus although *John is singing* describes an atelic situation, the sentence *John is singing a song* describes a telic situation, since this situation has a well-defined terminal point, namely when John comes to the end of the song in question. *John is singing songs* is again atelic, whereas *John is singing five songs* is again telic.

Comrie (1976: 45).

As we had already seen that all telic situations are terminative (1.3 above), this is relevant for our present discussion.

Schlegel presents a discussion about the content facet of terminativity (which should never be confused with the formal part of terminativity). He builds on the kind of differentiation we already saw with Nübler (after Maslov, see 1 above) into „innerverbale” Grenze” ‘verb internal boundary’ and „extraverbale” Grenze” ‘verb external boundary’. In the following examples taken from Schlegel (1999: 30), he points out that the underlined elements mark / set the boundary and at once the terminativity. First the examples of verb internal boundary.

- (38) *Смотри, как он краснеет / покраснел.*
 look_{I-IMP}, how he_{NOM} reddens_I / reddened_P.
 Look how he blushes / has gone red.

- (39) *Мы пришли_P, когда он уже уходил_i. Мы видели_i, как он вставал_i.*
 we_{NOM} by-came_P, when he_{NOM} already away-went_i. we_{NOM} saw_i, how he up-
 got_i.
 We arrived as he was already leaving. We saw how he got up.

In (38) the root of the verb itself forms a qualitative demarcation. Schlegel calls *красн-* the “Zielqualität” ‘target quality’. In (39) it is the spatial notion of the prefixes *y-* and *в-* which introduce the boundary, the “Zielort” ‘target place’.

The following are examples of ‘verb external boundary’.

- (40) *Рабочие строили_i дом. Мальчик шёл_i в школу, когда ...*
 workers_{NOM} built_i house_{ACC}. boy_{NOM} went_i in school_{ACC}, when ...
 The workers built a house. The boy was going to school when ...

Here it is the object *дом* ‘house’ and the destination *в школу* ‘to school’, which set the boundary, in Schlegel’s terms “Quantität des semantischen Objekts, Zielort” ‘quantity of the semantic object, target place’. Now let’s turn to his next examples.

- (41) *Рабочие достраивали_i дом. Он медленно выходил_i из комнаты.*
 workers_{NOM} to-built_i house_{ACC}. he_{NOM} slowly out-went_i out-of room_{GEN}.
 The workers were extending the house. He was slowly leaving the
 room.

In these examples we have combinations of spatial prefix and direct object, *до- ... дом*, and of spatial prefix and destination, *выл- ... из комнаты*. For this the author speaks of “Quantität und Qualität des semantischen Objekt, Zielorts” ‘quantity and quality of the semantic object, destination.’

Earlier (1) we mentioned that Schlegel writes of “Aktualisierte” ‘actualised’ notion for spatial state, quantity (of subject, object, length of time etc), qualitative condition, moment in time and quality of the circumstance. From this point onwards we will concentrate ourselves on what we have termed

discrete objects earlier (1.2) and their ‘terminativising’ properties (of otherwise aterminative predicates) in Polish. For this reason we will limit ourselves to a brief discussion of Schlegel’s actualisations concerning the direct object.²⁵ The author (1999: 32, 33) establishes in *пахать_i поле* ‘plough a field’ an aterminative situation: the object merely indicates ‘the sphere or domain’ of the action and is as such indefinite (which seems to correlate with the use of an indefinite article in the English translation).²⁶ Schlegel continues to say that for such an object the undefiniteness can either be cancelled by actualisation of quantity through the use of a “Quantor” ‘quantifier’ or ‘by lingual or situational context.’ Context and quantifiers can also actualise number and grammatical number can serve such quantitative actualisation. Schlegel discusses three treatments of the object in this respect.

1. Non quantitatively actualised object

- a. Plural of countables: *хорошо читать_i стихи* ‘recite verses well’, *обучать_i учеников* ‘teach pupils’;
- b. Generalised meaning of singular countables: *танцевать_i танго* ‘dance the tango’, *играть_i Чайковского* ‘play Tchaikovsky’;
- c. Uncountable materials: *сывать_i зерно* ‘sow grain’, *продавать_i молоко* ‘sell milk’.

2. Object quantitatively actualised by lingual or situational context. The quantification can be indicated by demonstrative or possessive pronouns and such like, “which lift the individual from the class”: *читать_i стихотворение Блока* ‘read a poem by Blok’, *обучать_i (своих) учеников письму* ‘teach one’s students to write’, *танцевать_i (этот) танго* ‘dance that tango’.

3. Object quantitatively actualised by quantifiers. The presence of a quantifier usually requires a complementary verb internal boundary, marked by prefixes: *вырастить_p 20 голов скота* ‘raise 20 pieces of cattle’, *отрезать_p 3 метра ткани* ‘cut off 3 meters of material’, *написать_i пять писем* ‘write 5 letters.’

Schlegel (1999: 38 a.f.) goes on to term such terminativity “syntagmatische” ‘syntagmatic’ terminativity and demonstrates how this can crop up even with otherwise aterminative imperfective simplexes.

- (42) *Он писал_i (= был_i писателем).*
 he_{NOM} wrote_i (= was writer_{INSTR}).
 He wrote (= was writer) aterminative
- (43) *Он писал_i стихи.*
 he_{NOM} wrote_i poetry_{ACC} (= was poet_{INSTR}).
 He wrote poetry. aterminative
- (44) *Он писал_i новое стихотворение_i.*
 he_{NOM} wrote_i new_poem_{ACC}.
 He was writing a new poem. terminative

We will leave Schlegel here, as we have presented the essence of his views, which suffices for our purposes. From this point onwards we will concentrate on the object as quantifier and ‘provider of syntagmatic terminativity’ such as indicated by Schlegel. We will continue to evidence these phenomena for Polish and add our own views.

2.3.1 The direct object vs. syntagmatic terminativity

First we must remind the reader of our introductory remark (see 1 and also 1.2) concerning the specific feature of Slavic languages, which have perfective as well as imperfective terminative forms, the latter of which are used to present situations as terminative although not necessarily terminated. Łaziński / Wiemer put it like this:

Terminatywne czasowniki dokonane wyrażają zmianę stanu i implikują proces do niej doprowadzający, a czasowniki niedokonane, na odwrót, wyrażają proces dążący do pewnej implikowanej zmiany.²⁷
 Łaziński / Wiemer (1996a: 105).

(Terminative perfective verbs express a change of state and imply the process leading up to this. Imperfective verbs on the other hand, express a process leading up to a certain, implied change.)

English has no such morphological opposition and so telicity is indeed often expressed by the interaction of verb and object (and to a lesser degree subject). In Slavic languages this can also be the case as Schlegel's treatment demonstrated, and we shall try to show this on the basis of Polish examples, which are in fact translations of Comrie's (1976: 44 a.f.) examples. In 1.2 above we already mentioned the opposition of absolute imperfectiva tantum and relative imperfectiva tantum as discussed by Maslov (1959b: 200) and Barentsen (1985: 147), but which we prefer to call dual verbal lexemes after Proeme (1983: 396). At this point we would like to specify that the verbs under scrutiny are such dual verbal lexemes. This set of examples uses verb *śpiewać* 'sing' in various contexts.

- (45) *Jan śpiewał.*
 John_{NOM} sang_i.
 John was singing <atelic, aterminative>
- (46) *Jan śpiewał piosenkę.*
 Jan_{NOM} sang_i song_{ACC}.
 John sang a/the song. <(a)telic, (a)terminative>
- (47) *Jan śpiewał piosenki.*
 Jan_{NOM} sang_i songs_{ACC}.
 John was singing songs. <atelic, aterminative>
- (48) *Jan śpiewał pięć piosenek.*
 Jan_{NOM} sang_i five_{ACC} songs_{GEN}.
 John sang five songs. <telic, terminative>

Judging from examples (45) through (48) the verb *śpiewać* 'sing' could be classed as such a dual verbal lexeme, capable of being used aterminatively as well

as terminatively. Before we shall discuss these examples in more detail we need to touch upon the matter of the precise nature of (Slavic) terminativity. Concerning perfective terminativity Barentsen (1985: 147-155) discusses the various types that need to be recognised for Slavic languages and finds that the notion of terminativity does not fully coincide with that for other languages. The author expresses the opinion that there is a notion of a border in the meaning of all perfective verbs which allows the event to be perceived as a “discrete unit” and he suggests to term the specifically Slavic manifestations of terminativity “handelingseenheid” ‘unit of event’. One of these is especially interesting to us as it concerns quantification of the event or process expressed by the verb. Delimitative and perdurative verbs are then marked by the lack of a clear telic situation in which the event or process leads up to a transitus, although they do have a process / event. Non-processual terminative verbs do not have such an event at all, but they do have a very clear transitus. There are other problems, which Barentsen deals with, but they have no immediate bearing on our issue, so we will leave it open. In delimitative predicates the quantification is one of time or ‘portion of event’ (the latter is the term used in 2003: 381). In our view it is but a small step to the kind of quantification we see in (46) and (48).

At this point we return to our discussion of the object as quantifier. It functions thus through presenting the scope of the event it implies. It portions of, as it were, the amount of event expressed by the verb. Whether or not there is a telic process underlying this is probably less important if we compare these notions with that of delimitative verbs, which are devoid of telic process but are limited. As the term ‘bounded’ - intuitively a good term to describe a process or event that is limited in scope - is already used by various authors in senses that are to all intents and purposes synonymous with that of ‘telic’ we think it better to use the term DISCRETE which we introduced above and which fits elegantly with the suggestion of Barentsen (1985: 155).

There is a clear connection between discreteness and quantification.

Quantification can be achieved by actual numeric specification of the object (resulting in a totality as a single entity) as seen in (48), which sets as it were the limits, and so also the end limit of the object and by implication the event that is performed on the object.

A different kind of quantifying can be seen in:

- (49) *Jan śpiewa_i całą piosenkę.*
 John_{NOM} sings_I whole_song_{ACC}.
 John is singing the whole song.
 <specific quantum, terminative>
- (50) *Jan śpiewa_i „Poszła Karolinka.”*
 John_{NOM} sings_I “Poszła_Karolinka”.
 John is singing “Poszła Karolinka.”
 <specific quantum, terminative>
- (51) *Jan śpiewa_i piosenkę, którą mu dała nauczycielka.*
 John_{NOM} sings_I song_{ACC}, which_{ACC} him_{DAT} gave_P teacher_{NOM}.
 John is singing the song that was given to him by his teacher.
 <specific quantum, terminative>

The objects of (49), (50) and (51) as well as that of (48) can appear with perfective verbs, which we take as an indication that they are discrete. The usage of *śpiewać* ‘sing’ is not restricted to objects that are discrete or indeed quantified or interpretable as quantifiable and quantified as can be seen in:

- (52) *Jan śpiewa_i muzykę ludową.*
 Jan_{NOM} sings_I music_folk_{ACC}.
 John is singing folk music.
 <unquantified, aterminative>

The objects in (48), (49), (50) and (51) present clear finite (so discrete) objects. In (52) however, this is not the case. It cannot be rendered perfective which we

take as evidence to support our claim that it is unquantified and does not provide the boundary necessary for terminativity.

- (53) **Jan zaśpiewał_p muzykę ludową.*
 Jan_{NOM} in-sang_p music_folk_{ACC}.
 ‘John has sung (all???) folk music’

Interestingly, of the examples (45) through (48), only (46) and (48) can be rendered perfective to indicate the terminus is achieved, such as can be seen in (54) and (55):

- (54) *Jan zaśpiewał_p piosenkę.*
 John_{NOM} in-sang_p song_{ACC}.
 John sang the / a song.
- (55) *Jan zaśpiewał_p pięć piosenek.*
 Jan_{NOM} in-sang_p five_{ACC} songs_{GEN}.
 John sang five songs.

According to the dictionary of Dunaj (1996) *śpiewać_i : zaśpiewać_p* is in fact an aspectual pair and we would have to conclude that *za-* is an empty prefix. Bańko however, does not mention this aspectual pair for the meaning implied in the examples. The matter of so-called empty prefixes will have to be dealt with elsewhere. For now it suffices simply to establish that the objects under scrutiny can go together with perfective verbs and so “agree” with terminativity.

Actually the situation presented by (46) is somewhat more complex and needs our attention. Please note that the interpretation as telic for (46) is after Comrie and the conclusion that we thus have a terminative situation is in accordance with this and the proposition that all telic verbs are terminative. In this case we could raise the question whether “a song” is actually specific enough for quantification and thus terminativity. According to what we discussed above, Schlegel would have this termed terminative or aterminative

depending on whether the quantification is actualised or not actualised.

Non-actualised usage would render the object as merely positing ‘the sphere or domain’ of the event. Contextual actualisation such as proposed by Schlegel and cited above, would either require a further specification, such as *Jan śpiewał nową piosenkę* ‘John was singing a new song’ or *Jan śpiewał piosenkę, którą lubi od dawna* ‘John was singing the song that he liked for a long time,’ etc. But are such markers truly required?

None other than Wierzbicka writes:

There are several striking interdependences between the aspect of the verb and the semantic structure of its direct object.

Wierzbicka (1967: 2236 a.f.)

Of course Wierzbicka is concerned with aspect whilst our present focus is imperfective terminativity. However, Wierzbicka makes some important remarks on imperfectivity and quantification, relevant for our discussion. She sets out to list three functions of imperfective aspect in Slavic languages on the basis of the following example, which we have numbered, in order to be able to refer to it. We have added our usual markers of aspect in all examples from Wierzbicka.

(56) *Jan malował konie.*

John_{NOM} painted_I horses_{ACC}.

- (a) ‘John was then painting horses’;
- (b) ‘John has (had) painted horses’;
- (c) ‘John painted horses, John was a painter of horses.’

The first of these meanings (a) is termed “contemporaneous meaning” as it places the event in a definite point of time. For (b) the author speaks of an “existential quantifier” as it establishes that there was a point in time when John was painting horses, but it is indefinite. In (c) the event is considered as happening constantly, usually, always and so Wierzbicka describes it as “universal

quantifier”.

Wierzbicka says she limits herself to the discussion of cases of (a): the contemporaneous meaning (which is comparable to our intraterminal terminativity). When she turns to actual quantification of objects, she shows adequately that Polish does not allow sentences such as **on pił w tym momencie szklankę wody* ‘he was then drinking a glass of water,’ and she states: “when combined with certain imperfective verbs, the object does not allow the specification by a modifier of measure (quantity)” (1967: 2239). Correct sentences such as *on jadł wtedy dwie gruszki* must mean ‘he was then eating two pears at the same time.’ The author reckons that when the objects of a set, such as in this last sentence, simultaneously undergo some process they can be comprehended as “some kind of continua”. When combined with imperfective verbs, the object can be in the singular or plural. Wierzbicka states that in the sentences *on je gruszkę* ‘he is eating a pear’ and *on je gruszki* ‘he is eating pears’ “actually, there is here no opposition of number.” Both objects are in fact innumerable and unmeasurable.” When a clearly quantified object appears with an imperfective verb in a sentence like *On je jedną gruszkę dwie godziny* ‘he has been eating one pear for two hours’, we are, according to the author, concerned with an indication of speed and so not with the contemporaneous function of the imperfective verb.

Summing up, Wierzbicka’s examples and her analyses seem to contradict Schlegel entirely. But Wierzbicka is speaking of aspect, not of terminativity and Wierzbicka herself writes: “... our claim, that the objects in the Polish sentences *on zjadł gruszkę - on jadł gruszkę* [‘he ate the/a pear’ - our translation, rg] have a different semantic structure, might seem highly unintuitive.” If we assume that the prefixes in the following sentences are empty, we can illustrate the consequence as to aspectual pairing of Wierzbicka’s thesis.

- (57) **on jadł_i gruszkę : on zjadł_p gruszkę* <+quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pear_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pear_{ACC}
 ‘He ate the pear.’
- (58) *on jadł_i gruszkę : *on zjadł_p gruszkę* <-quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pear_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pear_{ACC}
 ‘He ate a pear.’
- (59) **on jadł_i gruszki : on zjadł_p gruszki* <+quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pears_{ACC}
 ‘He ate (all) the pears.’
- (60) *on jadł_i gruszki : *on zjadł_p gruszki* <-quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pears_{ACC}
 ‘He ate pears.’
- (61) **on jadł_i dwie gruszki : on zjadł_p dwie gruszki* <+quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i two_pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p two_pears_{ACC} <-simultaneous>
 ‘He ate two pears’
- (62) *on jadł_i dwie gruszki : *on zjadł_p dwie gruszki* <-quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i two_pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p two_pears_{ACC} <+simultaneous>
 ‘He ate (the) two pears.’

The consequence for our discussion of terminativity is considerable, as this is a clear implied denial of the possibility of quantified objects with imperfective verbs (except in cases of simultaneity). And yet, on the basis of our earlier citations from Comrie (1976: 44 a.f.) we could unequivocally claim that he would say *He ate a pear* is telic (and so terminative), whilst Schlegel would add that quantification can only occur with specific markers and the translation would usually then include a definite article.

Of course the problem we are faced with here has its roots in the fact that

terminativity as such is not always marked. We think that it is quite possible to recognise that all four examples *on jadł gruszkę*, *on zjadł gruszkę*, *on jadł gruszki*, *on zjadł gruszki* can be considered correct. Since in the imperfective sentences the objects can be interpreted as quantified or not, we must recognise that the semantic category terminativity is not realised explicitly as such with the imperfective verb in these examples. Interestingly, one of the arguments Wierzbicka postulates in order to demonstrate her thesis, is that sentences such as (58) and (60) necessitate translation into English with an indefinite object. The translations we provided for (49) and (51) do indeed have *the*, whilst (50) can do without as its title is specific enough. In (48) we have a clearly quantified object, but nevertheless the lack of article indicates indefiniteness and the translation could also have included the definite article. Here other mechanisms are at play. In (54) we have a numerically quantified object because of the perfective verb and yet the choice of article in the English translation is undecided: a decisive context is lacking. Obviously these problems have nothing to do with the matter we are dealing with for Polish, but they can indicate here that we cannot rely on the correlation between definiteness and terminativity. All in all we do not invalidate Wierzbicka thesis at all, but in dealing with terminativity it does pose us with some problems and questions.

Please note that in the above quote (1967: 2239) from Wierzbicka, she mentioned in passing that the matters she raises concern “certain verbs” and so might be different for others. (For the objects with verbs meaning ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ for example, it is quite obvious that they eventually cease to exist, which is very different from ‘a song’ with the verb ‘sing’.) In our opinion this would also go for the characteristics of the object involved. We will return to this matter in paragraph 4 during our discussion of some specifics of verb pair *czytać* : *przeczytać* ‘read’.

3 The case of aspectual triplets

Aspectual triplets (o.a. Włodarczyk 1997: 70) or trio’s (o.a. Barentsen 2003:

387) can be described as an aspectual constellation consisting of three rather than two members: two imperfective and two prefixed. The almost standard example is *jeść_i : zjeść_p : zjadać_i* ‘eat’. We could say that it consists of two aspectual pairs.²⁸

1. *jeść_i : zjeść_p* can be likened to a pair such as *śpiewać_i : zaśpiewać_p* ‘sing’, which figured in many of our previous examples. Of this pair we could say that the imperfective is verb internally unmarked for terminativity, whilst the prefix in the perfective member shows explicit terminativity, which anyway is obvious as all perfectives are terminative.

2. *zjeść_p : zjadać_i* on the other hand is more like *przepisać_p : przepisywać_i* ‘copy, rewrite’, which also appeared earlier and about which we noted that both aspectual partners are terminative, evidenced by the prefix.

Interestingly, Dunaj (1996) which is one of the two modern dictionaries that have broken with older traditions and actually does show aspectual prefix pairs such as *pisać_i : napisać_p* ‘write’, does not mention *jeść_i : zjeść_p* as an aspectual pair. *Zjadać_i : zjeść_p* do appear as such. In Bańko (2000), both at *jeść_i* and *zjadać_i* one is referred to *zjeść_p*, but at *zjeść_p* only *zjadać_i* is mentioned. The reasons for this may be lexicologically sound and we do not concern ourselves with that here. In older dictionaries, and this time also in Dunaj, only *zjeść_p : zjadać_i* are considered a ‘pure’ aspectual pair. None of this is surprising but doubts could be raised as to the validity of the claim that *jeść_i : zjeść_p* are in fact an aspectual pair, especially as, on the face of it, both prefixed verbs can easily be translated as ‘eat up’ rather than ‘eat’. This has not prevented almost all authors of course books to introduce *jeść_i : zjeść_p* as one of the first aspectual pairs students should learn, and so indeed it is almost prototypical. We shall assume that the pairing is sound. Other triplets are difficult to find (especially as dictionaries do not mark them for lexicological reasons as we saw already) but we have compiled the following modest list of candidates, of which some members are also rather outdated (marked with <outd.>).²⁹

<i>gor(z)ec_i</i>	<i>zgor(z)ec_p</i> <outd.>	<i>zgorac_i</i> <outd.>	‘burn (up)’
<i>jeść_i</i>	<i>zjeść_p</i>	<i>zjadać_i</i>	‘eat (up)’
<i>mrzeć_i</i> <outd.>	<i>umrzeć_p</i>	<i>umierać_i</i>	‘die’
<i>orać_i</i>	<i>zorać_p</i>	<i>zorywać_i</i>	‘plough’
<i>palić_i</i> (<i>się</i>)	<i>spalić_p</i> (<i>się</i>)	<i>spalać_i</i> (<i>się</i>)	‘burn (up)’
<i>rosnąć_i</i> (<i>rosć_i</i>)	(<i>urósć_p</i>) <i>urosnąć_p</i>	<i>urastać_i</i>	‘grow (up)’
<i>ślabić_i</i> <outd.>	<i>osłabić_p</i>	<i>osłabiać_i</i>	‘weaken’
<i>stygnąć_i</i>	<i>ostygnąć_p</i>	<i>ostygac_i</i>	‘cool’

Triplets such as these present the opportunity to take a closer look at the functioning of the individual terminative and aterminative members and maybe learn some lessons, which could also apply to other verbs. The mere presence of the two imperfective verbs theoretically provides us with the choice whether we want to mark terminativity in an otherwise imperfective context or leave it unmarked. What does the aterminative imperfective do and what the terminative imperfective? Can clearly discrete objects appear with the simplex imperfective or only with the terminative prefixed imperfective?

As we have seen above, unprefixated imperfective verbs can be terminative as well as aterminative. Continuing with the verbs for ‘eating’ as examples, we can say that the existence of two imperfectives pushes the prefixed member into a much clearer terminative role than the unprefixated counterpart. But let us first have a look at the simplex.

The simplex *jeść_i* is used whenever we need to present a given situation as intraterminal.

- (63) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat jadła_i obiad.*
 when up-phon_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then ate_i dinner_{ACC}.
 When I called, Ania was just eating her dinner.

In (15) we already saw that we cannot use *zjadła_i* in this context.

Interestingly, *jeść_i* can also be used as follows....

- (64) *Jem_i obiad codziennie o szóstej.*
 eat_{I-1-SG} dinner_{ACC} daily at six_{LOC}.
 I eat my dinner at 6 o'clock every evening.

... in which the distinction between terminal and intraterminal iterative is unclear.

The following example features a reference to a single terminative past event without focusing on the terminus.

- (65) - *Czy jesteś głodny?*
 - *Nie, dziękuję, już jadłem_i obiad.*
 - QUEST.-PART. are_{I-2-SG} hungry_{NOM}.
 - no, thank_{I-1-SG}, already ate_{I-1-SG} dinner_{ACC}.
 - Are you hungry?
 - No thanks, I have already eaten my dinner.

Would the perfective verb *zjeść_p* have been used in this sentence, then we would have said 'I already finished my dinner', which clearly focuses entirely on the terminus.

With *jeść_i* as used in (65) the object can also be considered to be non-discrete and so function as Schlegel's description "Non quantitatively actualised object" such as we described in 2.3:

- (66) - *Co robisz_i?*
 - *Jem_i obiad.*
 - what_{ACC} do_{I-2-SG}?
 - eat_{I-1-SG} dinner_{ACC}.
 - What are you doing?
 - I am eating my dinner.

And so, in fact, all functions usually associated with imperfectivity can be performed by *jeść*. The secondary imperfective is used in sentences like the following.

- (67) *Codziennie zjada_i cały obiad, bo zawsze jest bardzo głodny.*
 daily up-eat_i whole_dinner_{ACC}, because always is_{i-3-SG} very
 hungry_{MASC-NOM}.

Every day he eats his whole dinner, because he is always very hungry.

We see here an in some senses highlighted focus on the terminus, which makes it extremely suited for presenting the action in its totality such as we see in the terminal iterative usage discussed in 1.2 above. That is an obvious interpretation as *zjadać* is non-processual transformative. In (67) the object *cały obiad* ‘whole dinner’ is already discrete but the terminative imperfective exposes its discreteness by focusing on the terminus but in a repeated context, hence its non-processual transformative type of terminativity. We could say that we have here highlighted terminativity. The following table sums things up. The non-discrete object is marked with a subscript 1, the discrete object has a 2.

aterminative	terminative	
imperfective		perfective
<i>jeść</i>	<i>jeść obiad₂</i>	<i>zjeść obiad₂</i>
<i>jeść obiad₁</i>	<i>zjadać obiad₂</i>	

Not all triplets seem to be so clearcut in allotting the processual, intraterminal usage to the imperfective simplex and the terminal iterative to the secondary imperfective. The case of *umierać_i : umrzeć_p* ‘die’ was already discussed in 1.3, where we pointed out the telic, so processual nature of *umierać_i* in the sentence *Piotr umierał, ale nie umarł_p* ‘Peter was dying but he did not die’. Unfortunately, the unprefixated imperfective of this triplet, *mrzeć_i*, has almost given up the

ghost itself, and so the prefixed imperfective assumed the processual meaning also.

The verb *palić* is coupled with twin *spalić_p* in Dunaj (1996: 712) for meanings ‘destroy something with fire’ and ‘light a fire’. The reflexive counterpart *palić_i się* is not provided with a perfective twin, but in its description the compiler of the dictionary used *spalać_i się* which elsewhere (1996: 1040) is twinned with *spalić_p się*. The author warns users that the meanings, which we translate freely as ‘burn (up)’, are usually rendered with the perfective twin. The other dictionary providing information on prefix pairs, Bańko, provides similar data.

Consider the following example from the internet.

- (68) *Doskonałe drewno na opał; jest wysoko cenione ze względu na swoją zwartość, bardzo wolno się spala, i długo utrzymuje płomień w palenisku.*

excellent_wood_{NOM} for burning_{ACC}; is_{1-3-SG} highly valued_{NOM} from viewpoint_{GEN} for its_consistency_{ACC}, very slowly self_burns_i and long maintains_i fire_{ACC} in fireplace_{LOC}.

[This is] [e]xcellent fire wood; it is highly valued for its consistency, it burns (up) very slowly and maintains fire in the fireplace for a long time.

On the internet there are also many examples about a different kind of burning (up): that of calories for energy, petrol in an engine and such like. In (68) though, we have the kind of very concrete burning we are interested in for our primary simplex meaning, rendered terminative by the prefix. It may seem then that unlike *jeść_i - zjeść_p - zjadać_i* the present triplet’s secondary imperfective seems to be usable in processual transformative situations, as evidenced by (68). The focus on the terminus is there, in quite the same strong sense as with *zjadać_i* albeit in a different way. In our example the message that needs to be

conveyed is clearly that it takes a long time before the wood is completely destroyed by fire, whilst in the meantime, during the burning (= process), it yields a good quality fire. The terminativity lying in the fact that the process of burning is presented as finite, depending on the wood, which by implication (and extra lingual knowledge) is provided in a certain amount. However, we could also read this differently. We could interpret this example, essentially a description of the quality of the wood, as something we know through repeated observation. On the basis of this observation we are telling the listener: “If you take a piece of wood like this, it will take a long time to burn etc.” In other words, we cannot entirely exclude a repeated reading. Native informants did find the sentence *Miałem kawałek drewna, który spalał się bardzo wolno* ‘I had a piece of wood that burnt (up) very slowly’ on the edge of acceptability. Even so, this only makes a very feeble case for the use of the secondary imperfectives of this group of verbs for processes.³⁰

On the other hand, here, like with *jeść*, the simplex can also be used terminatively, in much the same way as *jeść obiad* ‘eat dinner’, so object terminativity: *palić papierosa* ‘smoke a cigarette’.

What remains is then that whichever type of terminativity is involved, we always see that the two imperfective members of an aspectual triplet can be used in terminative contexts, but the secondary imperfective always has a higher focus on the actual terminus. Such highlighting of the terminus seems to sometimes occur also with other verbs, which have no triplet but a pair. In the next section we will look at one of these in which our prefix *prze-* plays a role.

4 The case of *czytać* : *przeczytać*_p

The case of aspectual triplets of the previous section of this chapter leads us to consider Polish *czytać* : *przeczytać*_p ‘read’. This is in fact one of two so called prefixal aspectual pairs, the other being *pisać* : *napisać*_p ‘write’, that one might term “prototypical” judging from the fact that they are always presented as such in text books for language learners. Moreover, recent Polish dictionaries, nota-

bly Dunaj (1996) and Bańko (2000), list these verbs as aspectual pair as well. Actually, *czytać_i* : *przeczytać_p* it is often thought to be the only prefixal aspectual pair involving prefix *prze-* as so-called “empty” prefix. This is not entirely true as we have endeavored to point out in Genis (1997: 205, 206) and there are others that could be considered candidates. We will come back to this in chapter III paragraph 4.

Polish seemingly lacks a three-member opposition such as the Russian *читам_i* : *прочитат_p* : *прочитыват_i*. These three Russian members could be described as (a)terminative-imperfective : terminative-perfective : terminative-imperfective respectively. A typically terminative-imperfective context such as (69) below is evident as to the use of the secondary imperfective.

- (69) *Он каждое утро прочитывал_i всю газету од А до Я.*
 he_{NOM} every_morning_{ACC} through-read_{I-PRET} whole_newspaper_{ACC} from A to Z.
 Every morning he (through-)read the entire newspaper from A to Z.

The terminativity lies in the discrete object, which is clearly limited by its beginning and its end, and which is specified as being dealt with in its entirety. The modifier *каждое утро* ‘every morning’ already by itself introduces the notion of repetition, which the secondary imperfective emulates. Indeed, not even all of these elements have to be present in order to bring out the notion of terminativity plus repetition, for it would already suffice to say simply *Он каждое утро прочитывал_i газету* ‘every morning he (through-)read the newspaper’. The presence of the prefix and its lexical meaning in fact makes *всю* and *од А до Я* superfluous, especially as it is common knowledge that a newspaper is a discrete object.

Recent Polish dictionaries would point to the fact that modern Polish does not have at its disposal the theoretically possible secondary imperfective **przeczytywać_i*, which is also lacking, according to recent searches, in the language corpora of PWN, or indeed in our own Amsterdam corpora, which

contain mostly literary and newspaper texts. It comes as no great surprise then that even in language courses and such like *czytać*; *przeczytać_p* are used as an example of a so-called pure aspectual pair. This seems to be corroborated by recent dictionaries, none of which however, specify exactly what they mean when verbs are presented as aspectual pairs. Here is Dunaj.

czytać I *cz. ndk VIIIa, -am, -a, -ajq, any - przeczytać dk VIIIa 1.* "śledząc wzrokiem napisane lub wydrukowane litery, rozpoznawać je, łączyć w wyrazy i nadawać im (w umyśle lub na głos) odpowiednie brzmienie językowe; także: zapoznawać się z czymś w taki sposób, poznawać coś w całości': Czytać notatki, list, książkę. Czytać płynnie na głos. Czytać po angielsku, po łacinie. Przeczytać ogłoszenie, artykuł, powieść. Czytać ze zrozumieniem, bez rozumienia. Skrupulatnie czytał wszystkie nowości. Chwali się, że przeczytał całego Szekspira. 2. "o urządzeniach komputerowych i in.: odnajdywać, zgodnie z przyjętym kodem, trybem działania dane na nośniku informacji': Komputer czyta dyskietkę.

czytać II *cz. ndk. VIIIa 1.* "umieć czytać w zn. 1.': Dziecko już czyta. Uczyć czytać. 2. "domyślać się czegoś, przewidywać, przepowiadać coś z jakichś znaków, śladów': Czytać ślady stóp na piasku. Czytać tropy zwierząt. Czytać komuś z ręki. Czytać w przyszłości. (Dunaj 1996: 152).

przeczytać I zob. czytać I

przeczytać II *cz. dk VIIIa, -am, -a, -ajq* "zdołać coś odczytać, odcyfrować, rozszyfrować': Przeczytano tajemnicze napisy. Nie sposób przeczytać czyjegoś pisma. (Dunaj 1996: 873).

(read; I [morphological information] read_p [= aspectual partner] 1. 'using one's eyesight trace written or printed letters, recognise them, connect into words and give them (in thought or in speech) the appropriate speech sounds; also: make oneself acquainted with something in this way, acquaint oneself with something in its entirety': read notes, a letter, a book. Read out loud fluently. Read English, latin. read [an entire] advertisement, article, novel. He painstakingly read all the news items. He prided himself on having read the whole of Shakespeare. 2. 'when referring to computers and such like: find data on an information carrier in accordance with the accepted code or the specified manner of functioning': the computer is reading a diskette.

read_i II [morphological information] 1. 'be able to read as specified in 1.': the child can already read. Teach to read. 2. 'interpret something, predict something on the basis of certain signs, traces': Trace tracks of animals. Read someone's palm. Interpret the future.

read_p II see. read_i I.

read_p II [morphological information] 'manage to read something, decipher, unravel': They managed to decipher the coded inscriptions. There is no way to read a given person's handwriting.)

Bańko's (2000) rendition is much the same with different examples (that seem even more unlikely to be transferable to perfective usage than does e.g. Dunaj's *Czytać płynnie na głos* 'read out loud fluently' and *Czytać po angielsku, po łacinie* 'read / be able to read English, Latin'). He does provide prefixed perfectives for the meaning that equals Dunaj number II, 2., namely *odczytać_p*, *wyczytać_p*. This last fact shows that already these two dictionaries set diverse parameters for acknowledging aspectual pairs. The even more recent dictionary by Dubisz (2003) obviously adheres to yet a different definition of an aspectual pair again, as it does not qualify our two verbs as an aspectual pair.

This notion finds some support though in the usual Polish rendition of (69) above.

- (70) *Codziennie rano czyta_i całą gazetę od A do Z.*³¹
 daily morning_{ACC} reads_{I-3-SG} whole_newspaper_{ACC} from A to Z.
 Every morning he reads the entire newspaper from A to Z.

Unlike Russian it is not possible in Polish to render the same unequivocally terminative meaning without mentioning either one of the elements *całą* 'entire' or *od A do Z* 'from A to Z' and so we see that Polish relies more heavily on such syntactic elements for the expression of terminativity in this type of sentence than does Russian.³²

Whichever way we look at it, a sentence like (70) should be classified as terminative. The verb itself is not always terminative as is evident from simple examples such as the following, which are similar to (52) except that a clear

repeat was added.

- (71) *Codziennie wieczorem ojciec czyta_i poezję.*
 daily evening_{INSTR} father_{NOM} reads_i poetry_{ACC}.
 Every evening father reads poetry.

As the object here is clearly non-discrete a terminative verb does not fit in this context,³³ where there are no other delimiters and this would seem to be the case for Russian too. Let's consider a further simple example.

- (72) *Kto z was czytał_i „Pana Tadeusza?”*
 who_{NOM} of you_{GEN} read_{i-PR}ET “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Who of you have read “Pan Tadeusz?”

Now, there would seemingly be all reason to utilise a perfective verb in this context: the object is easily perceived as being discrete. Also, the event is definitely finalised as this sentence is never interpreted as meaning ‘who of you has read *in* “Pan Tadeusz?”’ or ‘who of you has been reading (some of) “Pan Tadeusz.”’³⁴ In terms of situational change, X would here be understood to be the situation in which Pan Tadeusz was not yet read, Y where it was being read and Z where it would have been read (totally). *Czytać_i* is quite special in this usage and it would be similar to *pisać_i* ‘write’ and maybe some other verbs.

When then does the perfective, prefixed and thus specifically morphologically marked *przeczytać_p* crop up? We will consider what happens when we render (72) but this time with a perfective verb. There is every reason to deem this possible beforehand on the grounds of the object being discrete.

- (73) *Kto z was przeczytał_p „Pana Tadeusza?”*
 who_{NOM} of you_{GEN} through-read_{p-PR}ET “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Who of you have (finished) read(ing) “Pan Tadeusz”?

Whereas (72) would be used in a context where the speaker is informing whether or not someone *knows* the book in question, in (73) we have to think

of a situation in which an assignment to read Pan Tadeusz was executed. I.e. the assignment was executed in total. And therein lies the rub. This example clearly focuses entirely on the actual termination of the reading of the book. We can describe this as a double portion of terminativity which causes us to focus entirely on the terminus. If (65) had had the perfective *zjeść_p* ‘eat’, we would have had the same with a verb that is non-processual transformative. In (73) though, it would not seem appropriate to talk of non-processual transformative terminativity on account of the prefix meaning: there is a clear notion of getting through the book (which actually must relate to the lexical meaning of the prefix).³⁵ We cannot test this however, because there seemingly is no corresponding secondary imperfective and the compound we do have is perfective, which renders it untestable for its processuality.

We will now discuss the notion of quantification for this kind of verbs and study their behaviour in this respect. In (73) we may describe the object as being quantified as it could only point to the entire book having been read. It is actually actualised for quantity by specification through the title (and everybody perceives a book that is identified by its title as discrete). Perhaps this can be brought forward by an example with a more clearly quantified object.

(74) *Wczoraj Ania przeczytała_p całego „Pana Tadeusza” jednym tchem.*

yesterday Ania_{NOM} through-read_{p-PRET} whole_“Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}
one_breath_{INSTR}.

Yesterday Ania read the whole “Pan Tadeusz” in one go.

Indeed, in this context an imperfective, let alone an aterminative verb is unthinkable. In (72) it was possible, because, although quantified, the object is not perceived or presented as being an accumulated quantification such as it is in (74). In (74) the accumulation is in the generally perceived concept that the book consists of various parts (words, chapters, pages etc.) and the entire sum forming that totality is brought to the fore as it were, without considering the

process-phase: it is in fact presented as an object discrete through cumulation.

That the process-phase can be considered by the imperfective verb even when a discrete object is present can be seen in the following, which form the same test we applied in 2.2 to establish processuality.

- (75) *Ania długo czytała_i „Pana Tadeusza”.*
 Ania_{NOM} long read_{I-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time reading “Pan Tadeusz.”³⁶
- (76) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat czytała_i „Pana Tadeusza”.*
 when up-phoned_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then read_{I-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just reading “Pan Tadeusz”.
- (77) *Ania czytała_i, czytała_i a wreszcie przeczytała_p „Pana Tadeusza”.*
 Ania_{NOM} read_{I-PRET}, read_{I-PRET} and finally through-read_{P-PRET}
 “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Ania read and read and finally she finished (completed) reading “Pan Tadeusz”.

Unfortunately the English translation does not imply as strongly as does the original Polish that the book was finished.

Now we will turn to a further two examples with specifically quantified objects, both of which were approved by native informants.

- (78) *Czytałem_i trzy książki na ten temat.*
 read_{I-PRET-1-SG} three_books_{ACC} on that_subject_{ACC}.
 I read three books on that subject.
- (79) *Przeczytałem_p trzy książki na ten temat.*
 through-read_{P-PRET-1-SG} three_books_{ACC} on that_subject_{ACC}.
 I (have) read three books on that subject.

In (78) it is entirely possible and indeed even preferable to add a modifier such

as *już* ‘already’ or *aż* ‘as many as’. Even though in these sentences the objects are quantified they do provide entirely differing information. (78) is said by informants to point, as in (72), to the fact that the subject has read as many as three books and they confirm our suspicion that there is, as it were, actually more attention for the quality rather than the quantity of the act of reading; it is almost comparable with ‘reading a really difficult book’. In (79) on the other hand there seems to be some emphasis on the amount rather than on the knowledge gained and the resulting status of “being more / quite knowledgeable on this subject.” According to our informants, the latter is clearly the case for (78).

Schlegel would analyse the objects in this kind of examples as to whether they can be seen or indeed are meant to be actualised in a quantified or qualified way as we discussed above in paragraphs 1 and 2. Although he leaves some room for manoeuvre – what exactly is actualising, quantifying or qualifying? – it is not as easy as it would seem from Schlegel’s point of view, especially if we consider some matters, as we announced earlier, for which we now shall use present tenses. The following example could easily be the answer to the question *Co robi_i Ania w tej chwili?* ‘What is Ania doing at the moment?’.

- (80) *Ania czyta_i książkę (w tej chwili).*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_I book_{ACC} (in this_moment_{LOC}).
 Ania is reading a book (at this moment).

How quantified or actualised is the object here? It is difficult to say, even though it could easily be a discrete object according to the definition provided earlier since the object ‘book’ is generally perceived as being finite and so potentially terminus inducing. We think in this context it is not and ‘book’ could almost be analysed as an adjunct to reading: the kind of reading is specified but not actualised in a terminativising sense. When the question would have been *Co Ania czyta_i w tej chwili?* ‘What is Ania reading at the moment?’ the answer could be:

- (81) *Ania czyta_i poezję (w tej chwili).*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_i poetry_{ACC} (in this_moment_{LOC}).
 Ania is reading poetry (at this moment).

And we would still not have a clear discrete object. It is easier though to perceive the answer to the following question as terminative: *Którą książkę Ania czyta_i?* ‘Which book is Ania reading?’

- (82) *Ania czyta_i „Pana Tadeusza” (w tej chwili).*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_i “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC} (in this_moment_{LOC}).
 Ania is reading “Pan Tadeusz” (at this moment).

Or:

- (83) *Ania czyta_i książkę, którą dostała_p od nauczyciela.*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_i book_{ACC}, which_{ACC} got_{TP-3-PRET} from teacher_{GEN}.
 Ania is reading **the** book she was given by her teacher.

Note the use of the definite article in the translation into English. A comparison of (82) and (83) to the notion of telicity as described above (1.3) following Comrie (1976: 44) with the example *John is making a chair* does not seem farfetched or indeed out of order. After all, ‘a chair’ is a discrete object, the building of which usually reaches completion, at which point the resulting product can actually be called a chair. The objects in (82) and (83) are similar in that their contours, like that of the telicifying chair are finite and the reading process of such an object is in fact just as cumulative as the building process of a chair: one progresses through it adding more and more from the ‘story’ or other content of the book until one reaches the conclusion.

If we then hold to the principle that telic situations are described in Slavic languages by terminative predicates, (82) and (83) could indeed be classed as such. If we then accept that with verbs like *czytać_i* the nature of the object and how it is perceived can render a situation telic and so introduce terminativity,

the question remains at what moment exactly does an object become discrete enough, without it being specifically quantified, such as in (78) and (79). Having said that, the obvious answer based on the above examples would seem to be: somewhere between ‘a book’ and ‘Pan Tadeusz’ / ‘the book...’. However, ‘poetry’ (81) seems less discrete than ‘a book’ (80) and as articles are absent in Polish, *książkę* ‘a / the book’ then remains a grey area with fuzzy edges before such an object is clearly discrete. All in all, we could say that there is something of a sliding scale running up to clear terminativity. If an object is discrete and therefore able to terminativise an imperfective verb, a perfective verb together with the same object marks terminativity twice in one sentence (as seems also to be the case for the perfectives in the aspectual triplets discussed above in paragraph 1). This is how we explain that in such predicates the focus is clearly on the terminus, whilst the imperfective verb can take on a role that in Slavic languages may otherwise also be designated to verbs that are clearly terminative on account of their own lexical meaning.

The following table sums up the problem but please note that the sentences given relate directly to the contexts of the above examples.

imperfective	perfective		
<i>czyta₁</i>			aterminative
	<i>czyta₂ poezję</i>		↑
	<i>czyta₂ książkę₁</i>		
	<i>czyta₂ „Pana Tadeusza”</i>		
		<i>przeczyta książkę₂ / „Pana Tadeusza” / książkę, którą dostała od nauczyciela</i>	+ focus terminus
			↓

Please note that **przeczyta_p poezję* is not actually possible in Polish (unless

poezję is again clearly identified or quantified in a certain context). It is too nondiscrete to be combined with a perfective verb, whereas *książkę* as a lexeme can be the object to a perfective verb. It is then no longer possible to see it in the more adjunct-like function we described for example (80). This is why we have marked it *książkę*₁ and *książkę*₂ in the above table.

Now let's return to secondary imperfectives, which are by their very nature imperfective-terminative informers. As we noted above, no such secondary imperfective is said to exist, according to the standard sources, for *przeczytać*_p (whereas they do for compounds with *-czytać*_p : *-czytywać*_i and other prefixes, such as *do-*), and we have established for Polish that there is a dual verbal lexeme: aterminative *czytać*_{i1} and terminative *czytać*_{i2}.

And so we see that, although the compound *przeczytać*_p clearly does have distinct semantic functions from the imperfective *czytać*_{i1/2}, Modern Polish has apparently no need for a secondary imperfective *przeczytywać*_i such as exists in Russian. Or does it?

Certainly, older dictionaries, notably the dictionary by Linde, and the so-called *Słownik Wileński* and *Słownik Warszawski* do mention it and with direct reference to *przeczytać*_p. The largest dictionary of the Polish language so far, Doroszewski (1958-69), mentions it with a lemma that is rather revealing, which is why we have attempted to render the translatable parts in English below.

przeczytywać *ndk VIIIa, -ywany rzad.* «czytać kolejno kilka rzeczy, odczytywać»: Rozwiązywała coraz nowe zadania arytmetyczne, przeczytywała naprzód całe wypisy. DĄBR. M. *Noce II, 29.* [= Maria Dąbrowska, 1889-1965, *Noce i dnie* part II "Wieczne zmartwienie", page 29 (Warszawa 1932-34) - *rg*] Zaczął z uwagą i starannością, do której dosyć miał czasu, przeczytywać te porozrzucone pisma. DZIERZK. *Pow. II 205* [= Józef Dzierzkowski, 1806-1865, *Powieści z życia towarzyskiego* part II, page 205 (Lwów 1846) - *rg*] / / *L* pod: przeczytać

[entry] *imperfective* [morphological information] *seldom.* 'read consecutively several things, [near synonym]': She continually solved new arithmetical assign-

ments, and she read in advance (through) entire extracts. [Source of quotation.] With attentiveness and care, for which he had plenty of time, He began to read (through) the scattered papers. [Source of quotation.] // [Indication that in the dictionary of Linde (1854) *przeczytywać* is incorporated in the entry for *przeczytać*)]

Obviously present-day Poles perceive the language of these quotations as dated and Doroszewski labels the entry as ‘rare’. The following quote is from a text by the famous marshal Józef Piłsudski, no less, who comments about receiving many texts that he had to sift through when he was editor of a magazine:

[...] Gdzie indziej znowu naiwne zakończenie korespondencji: “Przepraszam redakcję za styl, ale proszę wydrukować, dużo u nas ciemnych, może ich oświeci”. To agitator fabryczny lub warsztatowy, biedzący się gdzieś wśród otoczenia biednych, mało mu współczujących ludzi, prosi o pomoc słowa drukowanego.
Przeczytujesz te dokumenty, wsłuchujesz się w to pasmo jęków i skarg. Umieścić wszystkiego nie można. [...]. Wybierając z pomiędzy mnóstwa korespondencji część - resztę usuwasz na bok. [...] (from: *Bibuła*) Piłsudski.³⁷

([...] Elsewhere you would find a naive ending to a correspondence: “I apologise to the editors for my style, but please print it anyway as there are many ignorant among us and they may be enlightened.” That was from a factory or workplace agitator who was poor in an environment of also poor people who did not show him compassion and therefore he requested the aid of the printed word.

You read (through) all these documents, you acquaint yourself with this layer of complaints and accusations. You cannot publish everything. [...] Choosing from a lot of letters a selection and the rest you put aside.)

This too is perceived as dated by native informants although none of my informants actually indicated that “*przeczytujesz*” would be wrong. So was this form lost somewhere between and Maria Dąbrowska (1932) and Szymczak (1978) for active use by present-day Poles?

It will probably not be a surprise if we say that spoken Polish is on occasion capable of producing just such a form. It would seem that if the need arises, the form can simply be produced. It is not considered correct by many, even

II IMPERFECTIVE TERMINATIVITY IN POLISH

form			search term	hits
Presens	sing.	1st ps	<i>przeczytuję*</i>	198
		2nd ps	<i>przeczytujesz</i>	34
		3rd ps	*	
	plur.	1st ps	<i>przeczytujemy</i>	1
		2nd ps	<i>przeczytujecie</i>	0
		3rd ps	<i>przeczytują</i>	3
Preterite	sing.	1st ps	m <i>przeczytywałem</i>	24
			f <i>przeczytywałam</i>	4
		2nd ps	m <i>przeczytywałeś</i>	0
			f <i>przeczytywałaś</i>	0
		3rd ps	m <i>przeczytywał</i>	7
			f <i>przeczytywała</i>	1
	plur.	1st ps	n <i>przeczytywało</i>	3
			m <i>przeczytywałyśmy</i>	0
			f <i>przeczytywałyśmy</i>	0
		2nd ps	m <i>przeczytywałyście</i>	0
			f <i>przeczytywaliście</i>	0
		3rd ps	m <i>przeczytywali</i>	2
f <i>przeczytywały</i>	8			
Imperat.	sing.	1st ps	<i>przeczytuj</i>	14
	plur.	1st ps	<i>przeczytujmy</i>	0
		2nd ps	<i>przeczytujcie</i>	0
Gerund			<i>przeczytując</i>	79
Active participle			<i>przeczytując-</i>	0
Passive participle			<i>przeczytywan-</i>	0
Impers. preterite			<i>przeczytywano</i>	1

* for technical reasons it was not possible to separate *przeczytuję* (pres. sing. 1st ps) from *przeczytuje* (pres. sing. 3rd ps).

though it does occur with increasing frequency on the internet, where spoken language can often be found written down. Simple searches via Google on 12 December 2006 yielded the results we have given in the table on the previous page.

Let's have a closer look at some examples, which by the way we have not corrected but we have copied them as they were, even when diacritics were lacking. We did add indications for aspect.

We find a fair number of cases of clear processual transformative terminativity. In the first of our examples a single discrete object, read again in its entirety is obvious, although the notion of entirety is completely left to the verb to describe.

- (84) *Ostatnio przeczytuje, ponownie Kirsta.*
 lately through-read_{I-PRES-1-SG} again Kirst_{ACC}.
 Lately I am reading (through) Kirst again.

A case of specified discreteness was also found. Interestingly this is an example in the historic present.

- (85) *Pociąg rusza. – Przeczytuje, spokojnie "Zagrodę" prawie od deski do deski i czynię, postanowienie*
 train_{NOM} moves_I. - Through-read_{I-PRES-1-SG} quietly "Farm"_{ACC} almost from cover_{GEN} to cover_{GEN} and make_{I-1-SG} decision_{ACC}.

The train moves. I quietly read (through) "The Farm" almost from cover to cover and I make a decision.

In the next example we see a case of terminal iterative terminativity. The repetition is of an unspecified amount of discrete objects. The series of repeated acts is actually presented in a process-like way.

- (86) *Taką śmieszoną rzecz odkryłem_p, kiedy przeczytywałem_i kolejne artykuły w książkach...*

such_funny_thing_{ACC} un-covered_{P-1-SG}, when through-read_{I-PRET-1-SG}
 successive_articles_{ACC} in books_{LOC}.

... I discovered a funny thing when I was reading through some
 successive articles in books...

The following example is of habitual usage. The verb here conveys a strong sense of the lexical meaning of the prefix combined with open repetition and a markedly discrete direct object, which, through the use of the plural, is however transposed to a different level: that of the individual event.

- (87) *W zerówce to ja osiemdziesięciostronicowe książki to w jeden dzień przeczytywałem_i.*

in playschoolloc PART. i_{NOM} 18-paged_books_{ACC} PART. in one_day_{ACC} through-read_{I-PRET-1-SG}.

In playschool I would read (through) books of 18-pages in one day.

The next example needs explanation. The passage refers to a forum, which is a type of internet site at which users write and “post” usually quite short texts for each other to read. Short but clearly discrete texts, of which one reads an unspecified amount, usually in (relatively quick) succession, but each in their entirety. Such at least is implied in this text and this seems to induce, as it were, a notion, which the secondary imperfective fits quite nicely. We need terminativity (through a number of (short) texts in their entirety) but we also need imperfectivity as there is also repetition involved. In the following example matters are emphasized by the adjunct *dość dokładnie* ‘quite accurately’.

- (88) *Witam wszystkich, przeczytywała[m]_i to forum dość dokładnie przez ostatni tydzień i zdecydowałam_p się, biore od wczoraj. ...*

greet_{I-1-SG} all_{ACC-PL} through-read_{I-FEM-PRET-1-SG} this_forum_{ACC} quite accurately
through last_week_{ACC} and decided_self_{I-FEM-PRET-1-SG}, take_{I-1-SG} from yesterday

Greetings to everybody. I have been reading (through) [the messages on this - rg] forum quite accurately throughout the last week and I took a decision, from yesterday I am taking part. ...

A similar example is

- (89) *... było już kiedyś tak że posty się same przeczytywały_s, chyba przed zmiana wyglądu nie?*

... was_{NEUTR} already once so that messages_{NOM} self themselves_{NOM} through-read_{I-PRES}, perhaps before change_{INSTR} lay-out_{GEN} no?

... it used to be almost like the messages read themselves (= were easy to read) before the lay out was changed, no?

The next example shows that objects can also be temporal, so in fact a kind of repeated perdurativity or our meaning *prze*₂ as described in chapter I paragraph 2.2. Although here the author may have wanted to indicate that something is slightly odd, when presented to other native informants, most had no objection.

- (90) *Jeszcze niespełna trzy miesiące temu , “przeczytywałam_i” wieczory do późnej nocy . . .*

even not-fully three_months_{NOM} ago, “through-read”_{I-PRET-1-SG} evenings_{ACC} to late_night_{GEN} ...

Not even a full three months ago I used to spend whole evenings “reading” until late at night...

There is a highlighted sense of the lexical meaning of *prze-* in this kind of

example, which is much more rare. The following example is similar.

- (91) *Ja też tak mam_i - że książka jest jak przyjaciel. Jak się czymś stresuję_i, coś mnie zdenerwuje_p, to muszę_i coś poczytać_p. To mnie na chwilę odrywa_i od problemu i potem już mogę_i spokojniej na niego popatrzeć_p, “przeczytuję_i” najgorszy moment chandry.*

I_{NOM} too so have_i - that book_{NOM} is as friend_{NOM}. when self something_{INSTR} stress_{I-1-SG} something_{NOM} me_{ACC} angers_p, then must_{I-1-SG} something_{ACC} while-read_{P-INF}. that_{NOM} me_{ACC} for moment_{ACC} away-tears_i from problem_{GEN} and afterwards already can_{I-1-SG} quietly on it_{ACC} while-look_{P-INF}. “through-read”_{I-1-PRES-SG} worst_moment_{ACC} dejection_{GEN}.

I too have that - that a book is like a friend. When I am stressed by something, or something angers me, I have to read a little. That tears me away from the problem and afterwards I can look at it more quietly, I read through the worst moment(s) of dejection.

It is striking how often the gerund actually appears for this verb, such as in the next example (92). One would expect this form to be used when there is processuality as the gerund is very much a form used to express the background to the event described by the main verb of a sentence. In (86) we saw an example of a repetition, a series of events that were presented as a process, here, we have the opposite: a process that is repeated.

- (92) *Przeczytując_i początek, wciąga_i to i czyta_i sie całą notkę.³⁸*

through-reading_i beginning_{ACC}, in-pulls_{I-3-SG} that and reads_{I-3-SG} one whole_message_{ACC}.

Reading (through) the beginning, it attracts and you read the whole message.

The repeat variant crops up quite clearly in the next example with a plural

object together with a very clearly added notion of the terminal points belonging to each unit, each individual object.

- (93) *Widze_i, że piszesz_i, nie przeczytując_i pierw moich postów do końca .*
 see_{i-1-SG} that write_{i-2-SG} not through-reading_i first my_messages_{GEN} to end_{GEN}.
 I see that you write without first reading my messages to the end.

The following example, our last, is interesting as it uses the imperfective imperative form, probably to indicate that the addressee needs to read the discrete amount of text indicated carefully (the perfective form would not have this stress to the same extent).

- (94) *Janusz przeczytuj_i art 42 ustawy o pomocy społecznej. Jest wyżej skopiowany z ustawy.*
 Janusz_{NOM} through-read_{i-IMP} art_(NOM) 42 law_{GEN} about benefit_social_{LOC}. is_{i-3-SG}
 above copied_{NOM} from act_{GEN}.
 Janusz, read (through) article 42 of the social benefit act (carefully). I copied it above from the act.

All in all it does not seem wrong to state that the secondary imperfective *przeczytywać_i* does function in modern Polish.³⁹ Our extensive treatment of these examples shows in our opinion, that, although the secondary imperfective *przeczytywać_i* is not deemed entirely correct and is often rejected by native informants, the usages in our examples seem to be entirely in concordance with that of acknowledged secondary imperfectives. Some native informants have recognised this set of examples to “clearly be the language of young children”. That may be so, and it makes us think of the interesting observation of Labenz (2004: 25) that children sometimes use incorrect forms before they have learnt what should be used. In the presented cases we deem there to be a clear semantic motivation for the use of the secondary imperfective.

The reader will probably agree with us when we say that, perhaps more so

than is the case with the perfective *przeczytać_p*, the original lexical meaning of prefix *prze-* seems to be more pronounced in the examples employing secondary imperfectives. This holds also when we compare this with the secondary imperfectives of the triplets we discussed in paragraph 3. This may of course also be due to the fact that the triplets discussed both involved prefix *z-*, which, of all Polish verbal prefixes is probably the one with the most indistinct lexical meaning, as we also noted in an earlier paper (Genis 2003: 103). This is essentially no surprise, but it is nevertheless worth noting.

To conclude our remarks on *przeczytywać_i* it should be noted that native informants are capable and quite happy to produce a Polish equivalent to Russian (69):

- (95) *Codzien rano ojciec przeczytuje_i całą gazetę od A do Z.*
 daily morning_{ACC} father_{NOM} through-reads_i whole_newspaper_{ACC} from A
 to Z.
 Every morning father reads the entire newspaper from A to Z.

Actually, the above phenomenon occurs with other *prze-*compounds as well. An interesting case is presented by simplex *tłumaczyć_i*, which has two main meanings: 1) ‘clarify’ and 2) ‘translate’. Its first meaning is usually coupled with perfective twin *wytłumaczyć_p* and the second meaning with *przetłumaczyć_p*, as is confirmed by Dunaj and Bańko. As the imperfective simplex is unmarked for these rather diverse meanings it will come as no surprise that for the *prze-*compositum at least a secondary imperfective does seem to function; this again is not an official form, but it does appear on the internet. Here is an example, in which again we see typical usage as the author wishes to convey the idea that all the various types of different texts mentioned are translated in full.

- (96) *Ja WSZYSTKIE teksty, artykuły, wywiady przetłumaczam, sama z niemieckiego.*

I_{NOM} all_texts_{ACC}, articles_{ACC}, interviews_{ACC} through-translate_I myself_{NOM} from German_{GEN}.

I translate ALL texts, articles and interviews from the German myself.

5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we have touched on many different issues which together show some of the complexities involved in the study of verbal prefixes in Polish. In this last paragraph we will sum up.

5.1 Terminativity in our view

Whichever way one would put it, terminativity, also in the view of Barentsen, as a semantic category was conceived originally by Maslov to deal with the problem of defective aspectual pairing as we mentioned in 1. In the context of our study, which is essentially about imperfective terminativity, delimitatives and perduratives do not pose a real problem as both categories consist of perfectiva tantum. If viewed from the perspective of Barentsen's situational change and terminativity model, ingressive verbs are also dealt with under the heading of non-processual transformative verbs. The ingressive group of verbs differs from other non-processual transformative verbs in that they usher in the beginning of the state that is described by the corresponding imperfective simplex. This does not change the fact that there is still a terminus⁴⁰ (hence terminativity) and situational change.

5.2 Imperfective terminativity as a sliding scale

If we recognise syntagmatic terminativity and so also object terminativity, we must also recognise that the nature of objects as well as the nature of various contexts and methods of actualising the quantity or quality of the potentially

terminativising object is complex and by no means clear cut. We have presented the view that matters might be easier to recognise if we do not adhere to a rigid binary semantic category, but rather to a sliding scale or to different steps of terminativity. After all, it is often down to the interplay of verb meaning and object meaning as well as the intentions of the speaker to present something with relevant or irrelevant terminativity or indeed aterminativity. Sometimes the means to explicitly express terminativity by way of the imperfective verb itself are lacking, in which case adjuncts or other means can be used. Sometimes indeed, Polish native informers can produce secondary imperfectives at will when the need arises to express imperfective terminativity.

5.3 Aspectual pairing

The matter of recognising verb external boundaries as “markers” for terminativity does pose a real problem. Leaving aside the matter of exactly how and on what semantic principle aspectual prefix-pairs are formed,⁴¹ we simply state the obvious in signalling that they do exist and function in the Polish (and other Slavic) verb system(s) as is nowadays generally accepted. This then forces us to consider whether or not verbs such as *pisać* ‘write’ and *czytać* ‘read’, which are often presented as prototypical in this respect, are terminative or aterminative. We have seen that some authors, notably Nübler (1993), class these verbs as aterminative but use a verb external boundary to introduce terminativity into a situation. Here we have to recognise that terminativity crosses over from being a strictly verbal category to a syntactic one. The terminative usage of such imperfective verbs, i.e. in conjunction with a terminativising object (and according to Nübler (1993) and Schlegel (1999) also other complements) can then also be rendered perfective, hence the aspectual pair. All in all we could posit the following scheme, which summarises this matter.

TERMINATIVITY	ATERMINATIVITY
(a) perfectiva tantum (mostly achievements)	(c) absolute imperfectiva tantum (mostly states, activities)
(b) perfectiva <==> imperfectiva (accomplishments, achievements)	
(d) perfectiva <==> (d) ^{+T} argumentally terminativised imperfectiva (mostly accomplishments)	(d) ^{-T} imperfectiva used aterminatively (mostly activities)

We find it very hard to make categorical statements about these matters, as the indicated groups are never 100% homogenous; certain verbs might belong to one or more groups due to their polysemy or the intended or even perceived interpretation of particular meanings in particular contexts. This is then not meant as an absolute model but rather as an attempt to organise things on a basic level. We need to expand on the various categories indicated.

Group (a)-verbs need no explaining, as a basic premise is that all perfective verbs are terminative.

Group (b)-verbs are the so-called ‘pure’ aspectual pairs. Only terminative verbs can exist in such clear-cut pairs.

Group (c)-verbs are usually state-verbs. They do not appear in ‘pure’ aspectual pairs as their aterminative meaning prohibits this.

Group (d)-verbs are the so-called prefix pairs (the terminative side). The imperfectiva of this class have as it were a double listing here: in their terminative usage they often form pairs and appear with their perfective counterparts on the terminative side of the table. They denote terminativity only in conjunction with discrete objects (and possibly particular subjects and other verb complements such as proposed by Schlegel (1997: 25-52), which we mark (d)^{+T} as opposed (d)^{-T}, which denotes the lack of such objects and hence aterminativity. The perfective equivalents of imperfective (d)^{+T} usage are often formed with ex-

plicite terminativity by a prefix. These may be ‘pure’ aspectual pairs in such usage. This principle is recognised in some modern dictionaries (notably Dunaj 1996, Bańko 2000 but not Dubisz 2003), which indicate a prefixed perfective counterpart for the terminative usage / meanings of the unprefixated imperfective verb of the type that we decided to call dual verbal lexemes after Proeme (1983: 396-7).

NB1. Aspectual triplets belong to (b) and (d) at the same time and might have been indicated by a separate class; for the sake of minimal classification we decided to leave it at this.

NB2. In this model we maintain Maslov’s principle that aspectual pairing only takes place when there is terminativity.

NB3. In chapter III paragraph 4 we will return to the matter of aspectual pairing rather more extensively, armed as we are with the material concerning terminativity from the present chapter.

5.4 *Prze-* vs. (a)terminativity

The following table shows in which kinds of terminativity we have found *prze-* to function.

Type of terminativity		pf	ipf
Process. Transf.	process variant	√*	√
	repeat variant	√*	√
Relative terminus		√	√
non Process. Transf.	repeat variant	×	-
	ingressivity	-**	×
Semelfactivity		-	×
Delimitativity		-	×
Perdurativity		√	?***

* Perfective verbs signal a single completed event.

** Unless we include here the quasi-ingressive verbs *przejrzeć_p*, *przewidzieć_p* 'start to see, get the gift of vision', *przemówić_p* 'start to speak'. See 2.2 for a discussion.

*** In most publications on perdurativity it is presented as perfective only. In the light of our example (90) it may be necessary to revise this, although further research is needed to be done.

Most notable is probably that we have not been able to establish that *prze-* appears in imperfective non-processual transformative compounds.

III SOME THOUGHTS ON EMPTINESS

0 Introduction

Nowadays Polish (as well as all Slavic) verbal prefixes are generally considered important formational affixes in the derivation of perfective verbs from imperfective simplexes. Of course, as is shown for instance in the very interesting article by Galton, originally, prefixes had much the same function in Proto-Slavic as they do in other Indo-European languages.

Auch die Präfigierung hatte ursprünglich mit dem Aspekt nichts zu tun, sondern war ein rein semantisch motivierter Prozeß, ...: *ubiti* bedeutete vor allem etwas anderes als *biti*, erst die Schaffung von *ubivati* machte es pf., und auf diesem Gebiet ist es, daß Baltisch nicht folgt ... und dabei ist es geblieben, es gibt keine weitere Ableitung mittels Suffix. Es ist auch durchaus kennzeichnend, daß die Abtrennungsmöglichkeit des Präfixes im Slavischen gefallen ist, denn ein pf. Zeitwort wurde eben als Ganzes imperfektiviert.

Galton (1997: 73)

(Prefixation too originally had nothing to do with aspect, but was a purely semantically motivated process, ...: *ubiti* ['kill' - rg] originally meant something different from *biti* ['beat' - rg] and only became perfective after the formation of *ubivati* ['kill' - rg] and it is in this that Baltic does not follow suit ... and that has not changed, as [in Baltic] there is no further suffixal derivation [of *ubiti*]. It is also characteristic that the possibility to separate the prefix [from the verb] has been lost in Slavic, as it is the entire verb [with its prefix] that undergoes imperfectivisation.)

It is really rather remarkable that Slavic languages, once they apparently developed the grammatical category called aspect, would have allocated such a characteristic role in this respect to prefixes. They did this to such an extent in fact, that it has led some authors to comment that the fundamental function of prefixes is to express aspect and especially perfectivity. Compare Rospond who

states this in respect to Old Polish:

Zasadnicza funkcja przedrostkowych formantów czasownikowych jest aspektowa, ściślej: ma znaczenie dokonaności ...
Rospond (1971: 229)

(The basic function of prefixal verbal formational affixes is aspectual, or more precisely: it has perfective meaning ...)

Whatever we may think of this – we shall come to that presently – there is another important notion about the functioning of verbal prefixes in the past, commented on by Długosz-Karczabowa and Dubisz:

Derywacja prefiksalna zachowuje w polszczyźnie żywotność od najdawniejszych czasów do dziś. Jednakże z perspektywy historycznej widać, że zespolenie formantu-prefiksu z czasownikiem podstawowym było o wiele słabsze niż jest to współcześnie. W tej grupie formacji istniała bardzo duża fakultatywność w stosowaniu przedrostków – por. niezróżnicowane znaczeniowo formacje *umyć się, omyć się, obmyć się, wymyć się*, podobnie: *uczesać się, szczać się, wzczać się, zaczać się*. Dopiero w ostatnim trzydziestolecium XIX w. oraz na przełomie XIX i XX w. nastąpiła stabilizacja form i ich specjalizacja znaczeniowa (lub stylistyczna czy chronologiczna).
Długosz-Karczabowa and Dubisz (2001: 344)

([Verbal - rg] Prefix derivation has maintained vitality in Polish from earliest times until today. However, from a historical point of view it is clear, that the connection of the formational prefix with the base verb was considerably weaker than it is nowadays. In this kind of formation the choice between prefixes was to a large degree optional. Compare the semantically non-distinct formations *umyć się, omyć się, obmyć się, wymyć się* ‘wash oneself’ and *uczesać się, szczać się, wzczać się, zaczać się* ‘groom oneself’. Only in the last 30 years of the 19th century as well as around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries a stabilisation of forms and their semantic (or stylistic and chronological) specialisation set in.)

Młynarczyk (personal communication) interprets this to mean also, that perfective twins to imperfective simplexes that are formed by means of a so-called “empty prefix”¹ only really took their final shape during that rather late period. This is striking, as the general opinion is that the beginnings of the aspectual system itself started to form already in Proto-Slavic times. Also, the

language of the earliest written sources in Slavic already had a lively and productive system of forming new verbs by means of prefixes and “pure” aspectual partners² to these by means of suffixes (compare Lunt 1974: 79 and Leskien 1969: 170-175).

Galton’s (1997) view on how the imperfectivising suffixes stem from already existing Indo-European suffixes with different functions is attractive. He traces the genesis of this process back to contact between the languages of the subjected Proto-Slavs and their masters, the Avars and Huns. The latter groups, commanding their slaves, felt the need to express in Slavic a verbal category, “constantivity”, of their own non-Indo-European language(s), which semantically came close to the iterativity expressed in Proto-Slavic by the originally Indo-European suffix *-ā-. This suffix was then employed as a “Verlegenheitslösung,” a nonce formation thus provoking the beginnings of what later became the grammatical category nowadays referred to as Slavic aspect.

The question we are left with is then, how come the already existing Indo-European prefixes inherited by Proto-Slavic were allocated primarily this aspect-marking property, if indeed this is so. Scholars have long employed the term “empty prefix” for prefixes that are apparently used devoid or bereft of their lexical meaning, even though all verbal prefixes essentially do have their own lexical meaning.³

In order to possibly shed the tiniest of glimmers of light onto this problem we would like to return to the present, always clearer than those dark days of the past. Although even now, that is to say when present-day scholars comment on present-day language, it is easy to find strongly divergent opinions on this matter. So, to continue along the line set out by Galton in 1997, here are a few thoughts and considerations.

1 “Pure” aspectual pairs

The question we are faced with first must be: what exactly is an aspectual pair.

This is relevant for our present purposes as, as we see it, there are three positions on the functioning of prefixes within the aspectual system based on the respective definitions of aspectual pairing. We will, in the briefest possible terms, discuss the main points made by the chief exponents of these positions.

The first position is that most clearly advocated by Isačenko (1960). He actually denies that prefix-pairs⁴ could ever be considered “pure” aspectual pairs as prefixes always retain some of their lexical meaning. Isačenko’s position seems harsh but it is very clear and for instance for the non-native learner this clarity can be a great advantage. A comparable position is implemented in the treatment of aspectual pairs in the more traditional Polish dictionaries such as Doroszewski, Szymczak and all earlier ones. In this respect the recent dictionary by Dubisz (2003) is old-fashioned. We should mention here the small, but in our opinion quite significant paper by Śmiech (1970), one of the few papers dealing with the problem of prefix-pairs in Polish and referring to papers on Russian. He seems to be one of the first to oppose the view of Isačenko (1960), albeit somewhat reluctantly. Śmiech however, refers to Maslov (1963: 5) and omits Isačenko (1960) as the first to object to prefix-pairs existing at all. He also mentions, in reference to Koschmieder (1934: 7,8), that in earlier times the following types were all considered to be aspectual pairs: *krzyczeć_i : krzyknąć_p* ‘shout’, *wrócić_p : wracać_i* ‘return’, *zarobić_p : zarabiać_i* ‘earn’ and *robić_i : zrobić_p* ‘do, make’. He remarks that the lack of secondary imperfective **zrabiać_i* would already constitute a motivation for recognizing the aforementioned *robić_i : zrobić_p* as aspectual pair. Interestingly however, the even earlier dictionary by Linde (1854) as well as the *Słownik Wileński* and the *Słownik Warszawski* all do mention *zrabiać_i* as the only imperfective twin to *zrobić_p*. It would seem that in this respect Polish has undergone quite some considerable change although it may also be the underlying lexicographical insights or principles that have changed. Returning to Śmiech, it should be noted that already in 1970 the observation that the lack of a secondary imperfective partner to a prefixed perfective verb implies that the unprefixated imperfective simplex is the aspectual

partner to that prefixed verb was outdated.

We now proceed with the second view on the matter of aspectual pairs. Barentsen words his position on the matter of aspectual pairs as follows.

Kenmerk A is meer een lexicaal dan een grammaticaal kenmerk. Het komt zowel bij pf als ipf werkwoorden voor. Essentieel is echter dat het bij alle pf werkwoorden voorkomt maar slechts bij een deel van de ipf werkwoorden. Slechts wanneer een gegeven pf en een gegeven ipf werkwoord met dezelfde ‘handelingseenheid’ worden geassocieerd kan er van een zuiver ‘aspectpaar’ gesproken worden. Dit kenmerk vormt a.h.w. de ‘basis’ van de aspectoppositie.

Barentsen (1985: 60)

(Feature A [the verb specific positing of the XYZ-constellation (for which see chapter II paragraph 1); the ‘unit of action’ - rg] is a lexical rather than a grammatical feature. It occurs with both perfective and imperfective verbs. However, it is essential that it occurs with all perfective verbs but not with all imperfective verbs. Only when a given perfective and a given imperfective verb can be associated with the same ‘unit of action’ can we speak of a pure aspectual pair. This feature is the basis for the aspectual opposition.)

This means that the two members of an aspectual pair differ only in aspect but share terminativity and a verb specific XYZ-scheme. The view on terminativity, which this suggests is a rather stretched and extended version of the original Maslov concept, discussed in chapter II, paragraph 1 and for which compare also Bondarko (1991). For the non-native this position, although perhaps not as easy as one might have hoped for, is nevertheless clear and helpful. A nowadays generally accepted test to establish whether two verbs actually form an aspectual pair was devised by Maslov (1948) for Russian and is generally known as the “Maslov Criterion”. It comes down to converting a context including a perfective verb in past tense to the so-called historic present, which exposes the imperfective counterpart. As the original perfective verb presents a terminative and completed situation – perfective verbs are always terminative – the same situation in the historic present must also include a terminative verb, this time

imperfective. It is demonstrated to also work for Polish by Śmiech (1970: 146-7). It fully backs up the Barentsen position.

The key criterion is then terminativity, which we discussed extensively in the previous chapter. We already mentioned there (chapter II paragraph 1) that the semantic category of terminativity (with values ‘terminative’ and ‘aterminative’) was actually conceived by Maslov (1948, 1961) to deal with the problem of aspectual defectiveness; the fact that not all verbs exist in aspectual pairs, and quite a few are IMPERFECTIVA TANTUM.⁵ The two recent dictionaries that are mentioned most frequently in the present book, Dunaj (1996) and Bańko (2000), on the whole seem to adhere to principles that come close to that of Maslov-Barentsen. In the previous chapter (paragraph 2) we have already quoted literally from Dunaj and we have pointed out that the two dictionaries are at variance, but it is often impossible to retrieve clearly the underlying principles that were adhered to.

The third exponent, Młynarczyk (2004), is also the most recent but is in fact a return to pre-Maslov times. We suppose that from a certain perspective it would be wonderful if we could state that in Slavic languages every event is expressed by an aspectual pair as this would allow us to treat all verbs the same. The truth is that this is not so but Młynarczyk comes very close to effectuate this aesthetic ideal and she does so by classifying Polish verbs on morphological rather than semantic criteria, actually stating that “the vast majority of Polish verbs really do come in aspectual pairs (2004: 1).” (We will deal with the matter of her definition of what an aspectual pair actually is presently.) In doing so she ends up with this classification (cf 2004: 109 a.f.).

III SOME THOUGHTS ON EMPTINESS

	ep	<i>po-</i>	<i>-nq-</i>	mpc
class ₁	yes			
class ₂		yes		
class ₃	yes	yes		
class ₄	yes	yes	yes	
class ₅				yes

In the table “ep” stands for empty prefix, “*po-*” is the delimitative prefix *po-*, “*-nq-*” is the semelfactive suffix and “mpc” stands for ‘morphological change’. The latter refers to the process of imperfectivisation and so all class₅ verbs are perfective, whilst class₁ through 4 are imperfective. Młynarczyk claims furthermore that the classification reveals considerable semantic regularity in the Polish verb system and class₁ verbs are either state verbs or gradual transition verbs, class₂ verbs are process verbs, class₃ verbs are culminating process verbs, class₄ verbs are unitisable process verbs and class₅ verbs are culmination verbs which, according to Młynarczyk (2004: 122) “might be achievements, Vendler (1957)”.⁶ We think we are right to conclude that Młynarczyk’s semantic classes are in fact the result of her morphological classification. And so, all of the following are considered aspectual pairs and please note that we have copied Młynarczyk’s translations here (2004; 117, 118) but added our usual subscript markings for aspect.

Class₁ verbs include *wierzyć* ‘to believe’ : *uwierzyć*_p ‘to start to believe’; *rozumieć* ‘to be understanding’ : *zrozumieć*_p ‘to start to understand; *grubnąć* ‘to be becoming fat’ : *zgrubnąć*_p ‘to have become fat’⁷ and *mądrzeć* ‘to be growing wise’ and *zmądrzeć*_p ‘to have become wise’. The first two examples are ‘states’, the second ‘gradual transitions’. Młynarczyk admits that in this classification it is not possible to separate the class₁ verbs ‘states’ from the class₁ verbs ‘gradual transitions’ by purely morphological means; both take empty prefixes for perfectivisation. She claims however to come very close to just such a separation by

introducing a semantic criterion; the perfective partners of ‘states’ assume an ingressive quality (Młynarczyk uses the term ‘inchoative’), whilst those of ‘gradual transitions’ merely signal “completion of the transition” (2004: 132). We shall leave the matter of establishing this separation of the subgroups of her class₁ verbs for what it is, as we do not need it for our further line of arguing. What is important here is that, in the author’s opinion, “we cannot undo the perfectivising effect of the empty prefixes in any other way than by going back to the original verb (2004: 117)”, and so, for her there is no hindrance in giving it ‘pair’-status. With regard to ‘state’ verb pairs, this means that she fully accepts the induced semantic discrepancy between the members of such “aspectual pairs”. This is remarkable as the ingressive quality of verbs such as *uwierzyźć_p*, lacks in what according to Młynarczyk is its “aspectual partner”, *wierzyźć*. In this then, she goes further than for example Dunaj (1996: 1226). Młynarczyk actually states this herself, but for us, as for Dunaj, it goes rather too far to assign ‘pair’-status on this basis, even if it would be a systemic feature for a certain type of verb, which, by the way, the author does not establish as in fact she describes herself (2004: 132 a.f.). In the end, when all is said, although the author fully accepts this, we would have a “pair” with members that do, to all intents and purposes oppose in more than sheer aspect.

Class₂ verbs include *siedzieć* ‘to be sitting’ : *posiedzieć_p* ‘to have sat for a while’; *spacerować* ‘to be walking’ : *pospacerować* ‘to have walked for a while’. Here too the author accepts ‘pair’-status where e.g. Dunaj would not. We do not on account of the fact that we have a very clear additional semantic element on the side of the perfective verb, that of temporal delimitation. Of course it may be true that only her class₂ verbs, on account of their lexical semantic properties, form such single perfective pendants. Whether or not one allows this semantic complication to be “legitimate” (to use a term employed by Młynarczyk) is a matter of systemic choice, just as it was for class₁ verbs discussed above. It is clear that this author makes that systemic choice in her quest to establish that most verbs come in pairs.

For class₃ verbs Młynarczyk states that two options are legitimate: *pisać*_i ‘to be writing’ : *napisać*_p ‘to finish writing / to have written’, *popisać*_p ‘to have written for some time’. Here too the author allows a delimitative derivative to be assigned as an aspectual partner, this time in addition to a non-delimitative compositum, thus leaving the notion that a pair consists of two partners. For us the delimitative variant has an added element of meaning which could be described as “for a while”, or better “a certain amount / portion of the action described by the base verb”. For more on this see II.1.

Class₄ verbs, Młynarczyk uses the term ‘unitisable processes’ to describe them, have as many as three perfective forms that are legitimate aspectual partners: *pukać*_i ‘to be knocking’ : *zapukać*_p ‘to have knocked’, *popukać*_p ‘to have knocked for a while’, *puknąć*_p ‘to have knocked once / briefly’. According to Młynarczyk (2004: 124-126) the term semelfactive is too coarse to describe this class of verbs which she then subdivides into “frequentatives” such as *pukać*_i and its perfective partners and “non-frequentatives” such as *krzyzczeć*_i ‘to be shouting’ with perfectives *zakrzyzczeć*_p ‘to have shouted’, *pokrzyzczeć*_p ‘to have shouted for some time and *krzyknąć*_p ‘to have shouted out / to have given a cry’. The subdivision is necessary because, according to the author, the semelfactive perfective of the former group easily leads to a “one time” reading (a single knock), whereas the latter group does not, and the imperfective is then not evidently a string of such single “one time” events. In other words *krzyzczeć*_i could be read as a single, lengthy shouting event in which the units (separate shouts) are not distinguishable, whereas *pukać*_i is clearly made up of a string of just such single units (knocks). In our view there are a few problems with this presentation of the matter. Firstly, in addition to the kind of thing we found for class₃ verbs, we may also reckon the otherwise semelfactives *puknąć*_p and *krzyknąć*_p as “pure” aspectual partners of the imperfective base verbs, and so again, the idea of an aspectual “pair” consisting of two members is abandoned. Actually, we have no objection to the suggestion that *pukać*_i : *puknąć*_p and indeed *krzyzczeć*_i : *krzyknąć*_p could and indeed should be considered as aspectual

pairs as they pass the Maslov-criterion unscathed. Pairs such as these, consisting of a multiplicative imperfective and a semelfactive perfective, are generally accepted as such in all of the major dictionaries. Młynarczyk's objection to the coarseness of the term semelfactive is in our view only a problem if one analyses the extra-lingual events that are described by such verbs, and if one then sets them off against each other, requiring that all such extra-lingual events share exactly the same characteristics. In this case, we think, we are dealing with a lingual classification of such events. Anyway, Młynarczyk herself renders the meaning of *krzyknąć_p* as 'to have shouted out / to have given a cry', and in so doing she herself acknowledges that the event can be broken down to a single short event. The other two perfectives in these constellations, the delimitative compound with prefix *po-*, which we reject as aspectual partner for the same reason as explained for class₃ above, and the more general perfective with prefix *za-*, are less obvious to us as 'pure' aspectual partners. None of the dictionaries that we have had at our disposal in fact list any of these forms as 'pure' perfective partners and *zakrzyczeć_p* is typically paired with *zakrzykiwać*, which already makes us think that these two are a pair that belongs to Młynarczyk's class₅ verbs. Of course, it is not unimaginable that native speakers would morphologically arrive at the perfective form *zakrzyczeć_p* when they need a verb in the meaning that Młynarczyk suggests: 'to have shouted as much as he or she thought necessary', but I have not been able to persuade my native informants spontaneously to such a reading. The more basic meaning of this verb pair is 'shout down', and so constitutes a rather different lexical entity. As for *zapukać_p*, in relation to *pukać_i* matters are somewhat more complex. Here Młynarczyk is not entirely alone in assigning pair status to these two verbs, as Bańko (2000) does so as well. However, he does so, quite rightly in our opinion, only for the particular lexical meaning of knocking "on a door that it might be opened for us"⁸ and so not for the mere meaning of knocking itself. This kind of knocking is naturally not characterised by its unitisable quality and so, the semelfactive perfective *puknąć_p* does not naturally fit in this kind of context and is marked;

Polish native speakers usually indicate that “it is of course possible but rather draws the attention to the fact that a single knock was made on the door and so detracts from the idea that there usually is another purpose to knocking on a door”. We think then that we could, along with Bańko (2000), in fact, speak of a division into two aspectual pairs, two sets of separate lexemes: *pukać* : *puknąć*_p for the first meaning in which the knocking is the central concept with members that are multiplicative and semelfactive respectively, and *pukać* : *zapukać*_p for the particular meaning ‘knock to draw attention’ and such like, in which the knocking itself is in fact secondary to drawing attention. It is not on the level of aspect that the lexical difference is decided as it were.

Młynarczyk’s class₅ verbs “culminations” include basic examples *kupić*_p ‘to have bought’ : *kupować*_i ‘to be buying’. The class as such must consist of the rather small list of verbs mentioned in our chapter II paragraph 2.1 as well as all prefixed perfectives with secondary imperfectives. The latter are discussed only very briefly by the author, and she shows throughout her study (but especially at (2004: 123)) that she is primarily interested in “single event readings” of these verbs. This corresponds to what in chapter II paragraph 1.2 we have termed “intraterminal” after Barentsen (1985: 88-92), and which in his more didactic publication was called “process-variant” (Barentsen 2003: 373). Later on Młynarczyk (2004: 190) seems to struggle a bit with what she calls “iterative reading” and the matter is never really developed even at this point. It must already be clear that we rather differ in opinion as to the importance of both “readings” of secondary imperfectives for the whole system of aspect in Slavic languages, the Polish variant included, and we will return to this matter presently.

When all is said and done it would seem then, that Młynarczyk in spite of her two lots of tests, in fact and in effect returns to a position in which the lack of a clear (processual) secondary imperfective of a perfective prefixed compositum derived from a simplex verb would mean that that perfective prefixed verb is a candidate for “pure” partnership.⁹ Already in 1948 Maslov criticised this

view as too mechanistic and inconclusive without further criteria!

It must already be clear that Młynarczyk's model is based on a completely different definition of both "pure" aspectual opposition and the status of the morphological means to form pairs, as well as on the view that additional lexical semantic elements other than aspect are not considered to hinder a pure aspectual opposition. She is of course very consistent in this and as such the model holds. We have not been able to find a clear-cut definition of aspect though in her publication. In her introduction (2004: 1-6), called "A little Polish lesson", Młynarczyk clarifies that in her view "the choice between imperfective and perfective forms corresponds to the binary opposition between ongoing and completed." And that is it, except that she notices that perfective state verbs do not code for the completion of an event, but for the beginning, which then immediately shows the inappropriateness of the term "completed". Furthermore she states (2004: 116) about the formation of aspectual twins that "the operations involved only temporal changes of meaning, and hence that we are dealing with genuine aspectual pairs." She also writes of "the pre-theoretical intuition [of Polish native speakers - rg] that Polish verbs come in aspectual pairs" (2004: 116). And so, if one chooses to leave any of the concepts underpinning the more accepted approaches to aspect as well as accept the notion that a 'pair' can actually consist of more than two verbs it does indeed work as a model, although it is, in our modest view, semantically less pleasing, especially for the non-native speaker, who does not have the intuition Młynarczyk (2004: 6, 11) uses as one of her criteria for establishing aspectual opposition and pair status. True, whichever way you put it, the non-native who wants to learn Polish has to simply remember what the native does. But some explanation and analysis is helpful to understand the matters at hand.

Although we are now inadvertently and unintentionally embarking upon matters didactic, we do wish to point out that the Młynarczyk model is already in this very practical respect not tremendously helpful. Having said that, the consequence of her approach is also less pleasing from a systemic point of view.

In our view, apart from terminative verbs or terminatively used dual verbal lexemes (for which see II, paragraph 1.2, 2.3.1, 4, and 5.3), verbs do not form aspectual pairs in which both members oppose each other merely aspectually and share an equivalent lexical basis. This means that Młynarczyk's work does not actually solve any of the matters around e.g. delimitatives, semelfactives etc. in a systemic manner. Specific explanation to the appointed classes is still necessary and this sounds and looks exactly like that we have been seeing from authors such as Maslov and Barentsen for a while now, without feeling the need to call all of these aspectual pairs. As we pointed out a little earlier, in Młynarczyk's book it would seem that simplex *писа́и* 'to be writing' has not one, but two aspectual twins: *написа́и* 'to finish writing / to have written,' and *пописа́и* 'to have written for some time'. And so, an explanation is necessary why this is so or indeed, whether this is actually intended. The simple fact is though, that in certain usages, and always with reference to some kind of direct object or other limited, terminative indicator, *написа́и* does function as a pure aspectual partner of *писа́и* and its meaning, whilst *пописа́и* always needs to be explained as something like 'completion with respect to time'. The latter can occur with or without direct object or other limitizer. And so, the Młynarczyk model leaves us with a lot of explaining to do as to actual usage of these verbs both grammatically as well as semantically.

In passing we would like to point out one in our view really rather major problem with the Młynarczyk model. As we already pointed out, it does not really consider nor discuss any habitual verbs nor verbs that have what she would term a multi-episode or iterative reading. On these readings, for which we have adopted the term terminal iterative after Barentsen (1985: 88-92), we have commented in chapter II, paragraph 1.2 and we consider them rather central to the aspectual system of Slavic languages.

At the end of the day the Maslov-Barentsen position does not differ so very much in describing the various verb classes from Młynarczyk. Allocating 'pair'-status on the basis proposed by Młynarczyk though, actually adds

problems, especially for the non-native for whom the semantic underlying notion becomes complex and fuzzy, especially as s/he cannot be assumed to have at their disposition the necessary intuition to classify the various verbs into classes of morphological behaviour anyway.

However, both the Maslov-Barentsen and the Młynarczyk positions agree in that there are such things as empty prefixes although the former has rather more strict criteria. Both mention the same types of semantic differentiation, even if they do not always agree to the name or the ‘pair’-status. One side of the argument explains things regarding terminativity and does not allocate pair status when additional semantic elements seep into the opposition of aspectually opposing verbs, whilst the other side allows all of these to be termed aspectual pairs. In the end though, both sides need the existence of “empty” prefixes for their respective models, and the definition of these “empty” prefixes seems to agree pretty much although the way they arrive at the concept is rather different.

And so we can proceed with our own position and some further observations.

2 Pairing and terminativity

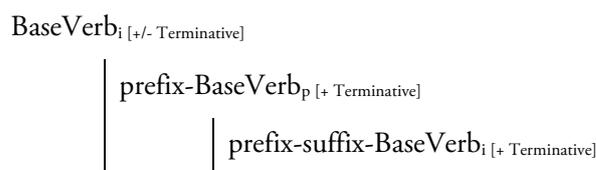
In our previous chapter we have already shown (notably paragraph 2.2) that we see a clear correlation between prefix meaning and terminativity, and so for us, primarily concerned with prefixes, adhering to the Maslov-Barentsen terminativity based model for aspect and aspectual pairs seems to fit like a glove. In chapter II then, we set out that all prefixes basically describe two situations: old and new, and so, when connected with verbal meaning, they add terminativity. Probably all Indo-European languages have systems with prefixes, which are related to prepositions and have terminativising properties. Compare for instance Dutch *door-lopen* ‘walk through’, Gothic *þairh-leiþan* ‘go through’, Latin *per-ambulare* ‘walk through’, Sanskrit *pari-bhramati* ‘walk around (sth)’ and many more examples from many more branches of the Indo-European

language family could be added. However, none of these languages have developed an aspectual system like that of Slavic. In Slavic languages as anywhere else, prefixes add more than “perfectivity” and, in fact, we think the main function of prefixes is lexical; the vast majority of prefixed verbs derived from simplexes undergo a change of lexical meaning. It is then this change of lexical meaning that primarily motivates the formation of a compositum, not the change of aspect. In this then, we oppose the view of Rospond (1971: 229) we mentioned earlier in the introduction to this chapter. We can also approach this matter from a different angle. Departing from the premise that the primary function of prefixes is to describe the two positions X and Z in the XYZ-scheme of Barentsen (see chapter II, paragraph 1) as part of their lexical meaning, they automatically introduce the XYZ-scheme itself and so terminativity. The same base verb can usually be prefixed by several prefixes, each of which describes different X and Z situations, or better, different relations between X and Z. Why are these prefixed verbs then usually also perfective? Well, Slavic perfectivity is strongly connected with terminativity (and terminativity is in fact a precondition of Slavic perfectivity as we showed in chapter II paragraph 1). The likelihood is that prefixed verbs were already terminative in Indo-European times. Prefixes were then, as they are now, primarily meant to mark lexical meaning(s) that have terminativity (which is a lexical semantic category, not a grammatical one) as a general, basic feature in their lexical meaning. And so, then and now, a perfective(-like) interpretation (including the actualisation of the XYZ-scheme) is the most natural for such explicitly terminative verbs, which are primarily dealing with the XYZ-situational scheme. In short: terminativity and the XYZ-scheme it introduces are most naturally presented by perfective verbs, which then actualise this scheme. It is then a very Slavic peculiarity to have developed a system in which terminative situations can be presented in a reversed way, in which the boundaries that are implied in the XYZ-scheme are deactualised. One historical explanation for this was set out by Galton as we already quoted above. As we already discussed in II 1.2 this

homogenous rendition creates an image of the situation in which ‘constancy’ dominates. This element corresponds to the meaning of aterminative verbs, which are ‘naturally’ homogenous. This is then the reason why we can speak of ‘imperfectivity’ in both these cases, in spite of the rather considerable differences between aterminative and terminative imperfectivity.

Even apart from all historical considerations, it is very striking that it is the imperfective prefixed verb that is marked by yet further morphological means: the imperfectivising suffix (plus any accompanying alternations to the root morpheme).

Furthermore, as is also already apparent from the above quotation from Galton, only after imperfectives were derived from the prefixed composita the original formation assumed a perfective identity, through the introduction of aspectually opposing forms. The system of prefixing verbs was maintained in Slavic languages once they had developed an aspectual system. From then on the prefixed verbs ‘automatically became’ perfective as they were clearly marked for terminativity and not marked for imperfectivity (as the latter task was associated with the newly developed principle of utilising suffixes and morphological alternation to derive pure imperfective twins). The basic derivational model...



... was then arrived at in this way and once it was in place it remained and new formations kept being made according to the same principle.

At this point we would like to emphasize that the problem of the so-called empty prefixes we touched upon earlier in the previous paragraph, especially in respect to originally Slavic verb forms, arises when the third derivational step of this scheme has not occurred or does not occur (which by the way, in the

modern system does not affect the perfective status of verbs in the second line). If however, one accepts that the main goal of imperfectivisation is the deactualisation of the terminus, it should not be surprising that a mere simplex sometimes suffices. This would hold for cases in which a given relationship X-Z occurs “naturally” through the interaction of a certain process and certain (types of) actants or adjuncts. In such cases the “effort” of forming a secondary imperfective does not always take place. We shall return to this briefly in paragraph 4.

Returning then to the matter of the formation of aspectual pairs, it should be noted that the process of “specialisation” in a single aspectual value after the member with the opposing value is morphologically formed, is very similar, albeit reversed as to values, to the one Kudlińska (1988) describes for modern Polish loan words. According to this author verbs such as these are initially aspectually indistinct: bi-aspectual. Later, when the need arises to have a distinct perfective form, they are prefixed. The prefixed form becomes the perfective, the unprefixated the imperfective (compare *transportować* : *przettransportować_p*).¹⁰ This is in fact the formation of an aspectual pair, and by means of a prefix that is then called “empty”; supposedly “emptied” of lexical meaning that is. We will return to this a little later.

First we will have to answer the question how we may know whether a prefixed perfective, especially as a secondary imperfective is lacking, should be considered as the “pure” aspectual opposite of a given base simplex. This question was actually already answered above (in 1), when we first mentioned the “Maslov Criterion”.

3 Which prefix...?

This question is one we can confirm to be daunting. Learners of Polish, and probably of other Slavic languages as well, are often at a loss when they are in need of a perfective verb and looking to form one by means of a prefix; which prefix should be selected as “empty”? This question is especially acute as one soon finds out that virtually all verbal prefixes can actually occur “empty” and

form what we term a prefix-pair. There are many to choose from. It seems to be true though, that certain prefixes are more likely to be applicable as “empty” prefix than others. We will address this matter later in this chapter.

A major problem concerning the “empty” prefixes is their seemingly arbitrary distribution. The answer to the question as to why and in which possible cases a certain prefix is selected to form a compound as perfective member of a pure aspectual pair with a certain verbal simplex (with a certain meaning) is complex. It is, certainly at this stage, impossible to set out clear-cut rules according to which this mostly still productive process can be given a degree of predictability nor is it our aim to do so. There are, however, a few considerations and facts that might give an indication as to the potential emptiness of prefixes and that can shed at least some light on the semantic and other considerations that play a role during the derivational process under scrutiny. In the following we would like to touch upon some of these while presenting some of the cases in point.

Our guiding principle is however, that prefixes are never really empty, but may appear so under certain circumstances. First we will have a look at the verbs that undergo this kind of prefixation, then we will turn to other matters.

The problems of ‘assigning’ aspectual pairs only really arises when we are dealing with prefix-pairing and the base verbs that we call dual verbal lexemes after Proeme (1983: 397). Other verbs are either perfectiva tantum, imperfectiva tantum or clearly terminative (perfective) verbs with suffixed (imperfective) partners. In chapter II 5.3 we have set out our own model for this and the verbs we classed as (d^{+T}) need to be addressed here. This is the group of simplex, imperfective verbs, which do not have the terminativity inherently marked in them, but rather ‘acquire’ it through context. We need to proceed and have some examples at hand, so here is a complete list of the “official” (listed in dictionaries, e.g. that of Dunaj) prefixed forms of *czytać* ‘read’.

perfective	imperfective	approx. meaning
<i>doczytać_p</i>	<i>doczytywać_i</i>	‘read till end’
<i>odczytać_p</i>	<i>odczytywać_i</i>	‘decypher, read aloud’
<i>poczytać_p</i>		‘read a while’ ¹¹
<i>przeczytać_p</i>		‘read through’
<i>szczytać_p</i>	<i>szczytywać_i</i>	‘check text against original’
<i>wyczytać_p</i>	<i>wyczytywać_i</i>	‘get knowledge from reading’
<i>zaczytać_p</i>	<i>zaczytywać_i</i>	‘damage by reading’

The following derivations with a complex morpheme of verbal prefix as well as reflexive pronoun *się* were also found in Dunaj.

<i>doczytać_p się</i>	<i>doczytywać_i się</i>	‘read into’
<i>zaczytać_p się</i>	<i>zaczytywać_i się</i>	‘concentrate on reading’
<i>naczytać_p się</i>		‘read till saturation’
<i>rozczytać_p się</i>	<i>rozczytywać_i się</i>	‘read a lot about sth’
<i>wczytać_p się</i>	<i>wczytywać_i się</i>	‘make effort to read’

Compared with some other verbs (e.g. *pisać_i* ‘write’), *czytać_i* combines with relatively few prefixes. What is clear though, is that most derived meanings form secondary imperfectives. As we discussed a little earlier, the lack of a secondary imperfective to a prefixed verb is often taken as a characteristic of “pure” aspectual partners. As far as we are concerned the lack of a secondary imperfective partner can only really be an initial signal, for there are many perfectiva tantum, also with prefixes and so theoretically they could belong to this group. Here, neither *poczytać_p*, *przeczytać_p* nor indeed *naczytać_p się* have secondary imperfectives. The former is of course delimitative and therefore appears only in perfective aspect. It has not formed a secondary imperfective. *Naczytać_p się* represents the saturative Aktionsart, which expresses a very specific situational change with a very pronounced and dominant contrast between situations X and Z. For that reason it is not obvious to present it in an imper-

fective, homogenising fashion, and so remains limited to perfective aspect. *Przeczytać_p* is generally seen as the “pure” perfective counterpart of *czytać*, which implies that the prefix is “empty”. As we have tried to demonstrate in paragraph 5 of chapter II, this does not necessarily mean that a processual transformative secondary imperfective cannot be formed when needed although the status in the case of this particular verb is unclear.

4 Semantic correlation

We will begin by stating yet again that in our view prefixes are never really “empty”, i.e. devoid of lexical meaning and so merely fulfilling the role of marker of perfectivity. True, in prefix-pairs (such as *pisać* : *napisać_p* ‘write’) they may seem bereft of their lexical meaning, when by that we mean the lexical semantic part that seems to motivate the use of a certain prefix in non-“empty” derivation (such as *przepisać_p* : *przepisywać* ‘copy, rewrite’ from *pisać* ‘write’. In fact, from our point of view the notion “empty” which is often explained as “devoid of lexical meaning” is confusing. But it is true that there is a semblance of “emptiness”. Although we demonstrated in chapter II paragraph 4 that occasionally secondary imperfectives can be formed in addition to a prefix-pair “when the need arises”, we have also shown that usually a couple like *czytać* : *przeczytać_p* ‘read’ can justifiably be called an aspectual pair. We will now endeavour to analyse and clarify the choice of prefix along the lines set out by Barentsen (2003: 386) for Russian *писать* : *написать_p* ‘write.’ Let us start with a translation into Polish of the example sentences from Barentsen.

- (1) *On napisał_p literę Z na tablicy.*
 he_{NOM} on-wrote_p letter_Z_{ACC} on blackboard_{LOC}.
 ‘He wrote the letter Z on the blackboard.’
- (2) *On napisał_p słowo „aspekt”.*
 he_{NOM} on-wrote_p word_“aspect”_{ACC}.
 ‘He wrote the word “aspect”.’

- (3) *On napisał_p artykuł.*
 he_{NOM} on-wrote_P article_{ACC}.
 ‘He wrote an article.’
- (4) *On napisał_p, że przyjdzie.*
 he_{NOM} on-wrote_P, that come_{P-3-SG}.
 ‘He wrote that he would come.’

If we substitute the perfective verb in any of these examples for the imperfective *pisak_i*, the sentences would differ only in aspect and so no difference of lexical meaning can be detected. This is possible as the act of writing in each of these examples resulted (or was aimed at resulting) in ‘a text being present ‘on’ the carrier in question’. (In (1) this is specified as *na tablicy* ‘on the blackboard’, in the other examples there is no explicit mention of the carrier but it is common sense that a carrier would still be present in all of these cases). The lexical meaning of the prefix *na-* then, comes very close to the concept connected with ‘writing (down)’ something. In this respect we must add, that the prefix in question, like the preposition *na* from which it stems, has a central meaning of ‘on’ as well. In conjunction with *писаć_i* then, this prefix merely emphasises the situational change that is closest to the action of writing something down itself. As such it is no surprise that when one wants to reverse this situation into an imperfective one, it suffices to deprefix compound *napisać_p* back to *писаć_i*.¹² This idea gains credibility when we realise that the formation of **napisywać_i* does not occur.¹³ We could say that the XYZ-scheme presented by the prefix in this case is sucked out of the prefix as it were, as it is already present in the base-simplex *писаć_i* in conjunction with the various objects and other sentential extensions. And so, we see yet again what we already wrote in chapter II paragraph 2.3(1): the conjunction of object and dual verbal lexeme is important for the introduction of terminativity into a situation and hence for the morphological “behaviour” of verbs vis à vis aspect.

As this thesis is on verbal prefix *prze-*, we would like to add the same consideration for aspectual pair *czytać_i : przeczytać_p*, which is also often reckoned to be a near prototypical prefix-pair like *pisać_i : napisać_p*. Here too we can analyse a relation between the naturally perceived resulting state and the lexical semantic meaning of *prze-*. After all, whichever kind of text is involved, reading it entails a ‘passage through’ resulting in having gone through once the action is completed. And so we think we are justified in applying the term SEMANTIC REDUPLICATION to describe this phenomenon.

Here is an attempt to schematise things somewhat and show our steps of reasoning, and in doing so, we continue both the present issue as well as that raised in chapter II, paragraphs 2.3.(1) and 4. And so, if *czytać* ‘read’ is a dual verbal lexeme, we must distinguish between these two sentences.

- (5) *On czytał_i.*
 he_{NOM} read_{I-PRET}.
 ‘He read.’ / ‘He was reading.’
- (6) *On czytał_i „Pana Tadeusza”*
 he_{NOM} read_{I-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 ‘He read “Pan Tadeusz”.’ / ‘He was reading “Pan Tadeusz”.’

Example (5) is clearly atterminative, in example (6) the verb is used in a (potentially, see chapter II 2.3.(1)) terminative situation rendered so by the discrete direct object. Without further context only situation (6) can be rendered perfective using the prefix *prze-*.

- (7) **On przeczytał_p.*
 he_{NOM} through-read_{P-PRET}.
 ‘He has read.’

- (8) *On przeczytał_p „Pana Tadeusza”.*
 he_{NOM} through-read_{P-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 ‘He has (finished) read(ing) (the entire) “Pan Tadeusz”.’

And so here is an inventory of the material.

α	PRZE-	
	['through']	
	⇒ [+ term]	
β	CZYTAĆ	
	['read']	
	[- term]	
	[Ipf]	
γ	CZYTAĆ	„PANA TADEUSZA”.
	['read']	[“Pan Tadeusz”]
	[- term]	⇒ ['through'] ⇒ ([+ term])
	[Ipf]	

As the action of reading naturally implicates a passage through the (text/letters/pages etc of the) book, the notion ‘through’ is present as soon as this kind of discrete object is present and with it comes the potential to implicate terminativity. We have put ([+ term]) between brackets as we rather think that the terminativity is potential and needs to be actualised as we discussed in II 2.3.(1), showing that if the focus is on the direct object (e.g. “What was he reading?”) as a spatially / temporally limited (discrete) entity, we realise the terminativity, whereas if it is on the verb (e.g. What was he doing?”) we do not. The consequence as to where exactly an aspectual pair can be formed on this basis can be formulised as follows.

	pair
$\alpha + \beta$	no
$\alpha + \gamma$	yes

The perfective situation can be paraphrased like this.

α		γ		$\alpha\gamma$
[‘through’]	+	[‘through’]	=	[‘through’]
[+ term]		[+/- term]		[+ term]
		[ipf]		[pf]

And we shall stick to this here but we do need to remark that if (6) is the answer to the question “What was he doing”, which it can be, it can again not be perfectivised and we would have to assign it to β . This is the gliding scale principle we also discussed in chapter II, paragraph 4.

This is then truly object dependent terminativity. As the perfective verb in this kind of pairing is always accompanied by an object (or other terminative complement) this issue surrounding dual verbal lexemes could also be viewed in a reversed manner. Starting from the perfective situation (8), the terminativity is presented as a clear element of meaning, an element of meaning which correlates to the core lexical semantic meaning of the prefix, but which is not necessarily absent as soon as the prefix is lacking, such as in the imperfective situation (6). As it is there anyway, albeit less clear and only implied, the unprefixated verb nevertheless suffices in the implied terminative situation. However, as we have seen in chapter II 4, sometimes the unprefixated imperfective does not suffice. After all, the secondary imperfective *przeczytywać* crops up in totally grammatically correct situations, when one feels the need to emphasize the terminativity by expressing it explicitly, either as terminal iterativity or as intraterminativity. Compare in this respect the terminal iterative example (9) and intraterminative example (10), which appeared as numbers (88) and (84)

respectively in chapter II.

- (9) *Witam wszystkich, przeczytywała_i to forum dość dokładnie przez ostatni tydzień i zdecydowałam_p się, biore od wczoraj ...*

greet_{I-1-SG} all_{ACC-PL} through-read_{I-FEM-PRET-1-SG} this_forum_{ACC} quite accurately
through last_week_{ACC} and decided_self_{I-FEM-PRET-1-SG}, take_{I-1-SG} from yesterday

Greetings to everybody. I have been reading (through) the [messages on this - rg] forum quite accurately throughout the last week and I took a decision, from yesterday I am taking part. ...

- (10) *Ostatnio przeczytuje_i ponownie Kirsta.*

lately through-read_{I-PRES} again Kirst_{ACC}.

Lately I am reading (through the entire) Kirst again.

It is then a matter of which imperfective verb can suffice in a given imperfective terminative situation. For dual verbal lexemes it would seem that the unprefixed candidate comes first as long as exposed, explicit terminativity is not needed. This derivational direction would also make sense considering that, in a broader perspective and also historically, as we discussed via the quote from Galton and further reference to the same publication above, perfectivity is first and foremost connected with terminativity. Terminative imperfectivity is very specific and as such plays a key role in establishing the terminativity parameter in Slavic languages.

Concluding, we return to the basic principle under discussion here: the dual verbal lexeme and its pairing. The study of semantically motivated derivation by means of prefixes is complicated by the fact that some prefix-pairs seem to have been formed a long time ago and often the correlate is obscured not least by lexicalisation. The two verb pairs discussed in this paragraph seem to be rather ancient and they seem to function as pairs in all modern Slavic languages, which rather confirms the age, but not all examples of this age are so clear.

This leads us to some further, related reflections.

4.1 Frequency

Surely every scholar of Polish (and other Slavic languages for that matter) has noticed that certain prefixes (especially *z(e)-/s-/ś-*) crop up more often in prefix-pairs than others. In comparison, others have a meaning that is so distinct, that they hardly ever assume the role of empty prefix (*do-*, *od(e)-*, *nad(e)-*, *pod(e)*, *przed(e)-*). We have found a way to quantify these phenomena, albeit rather tentatively.

The new Polish-Dutch dictionary, which will be published by Pegasus (and we will refer to it here as *Pegasus*) in the near future and in the compilation of which the present author was involved, will indicate prefix-pairs, as has recently become the accepted way in Polish lexicology. The entries for the prefixed perfective members will refer to the relevant imperfective non-prefixed equivalents in much the same way employed by Dunaj (1996). Our native Polish editors were given a high degree of liberty to suggest perfective equivalents to imperfective verbs and the other way around for the main entries as well as for examples. Not all of the solutions have been accepted in the final version; all of them were scrutinised several times as well as checked against especially Dunaj (1996), but also against other modern dictionaries, and at this stage too, the role of native informants was considerable. Additionally, material was drawn from and checked against our (at that time growing but still quite modest) Polish text corpus. In this way we think we may have compiled a quite reasonable and fairly accurate, representative list of suggestions for prefix-pairs that function as such in most of the contexts. The count we will present presently is based on this material.

The following table shows the total number of occurrences as empty prefix for prefix-pairs included in *Pegasus* (which boasts a total number of some 35,000 entries, 9,834 of which are verbs). Of course this is only a medium sized corpus and by no means all potential prefixed verbs are included, but it may nevertheless be of some use and even give a general indication of the frequency with which the various prefixes occur in this function.

III SOME THOUGHTS ON EMPTINESS

1. prefix	2. occurrences		3. ratio	4. %
	a. "empty"	b. all ¹⁴		
<i>do-</i>	0	101	-	0.00
<i>na-</i>	34	136	1 : 4	25.00
<i>nad(e)-</i>	0	23	-	0.00
<i>o- / ob(e)</i>	51	320	1 : 6.2	19.60
<i>od(e)-</i>	2	240	1 : 120	0.83
<i>po-</i>	140	266 ¹⁵	1 : 1.9	52.63
<i>pod(e)-</i>	1	78	1 : 78	1.28
<i>prze-</i>	21	254	1 : 12	8.33
<i>przed(e)-</i>	0	4	-	0.00
<i>przy-</i>	3	131	1 : 43.6	2.29
<i>roz(e)</i>	3	222	1 : 74	1.35
<i>u-</i>	126	378	1 : 3	33.33
<i>w(e)</i>	6	140	1 : 23.3	4.29
<i>wy-</i>	160	528	1 : 3.3	30.30
<i>w(e)z-</i>	0	29	-	0.00
<i>z(e)-/s-/ś-</i>	519	868	1 : 1.6	62.50
<i>za-</i>	199	576	1 : 2.9	34.48
total	1268	4293 ¹⁶	1 : 3.3	30.30

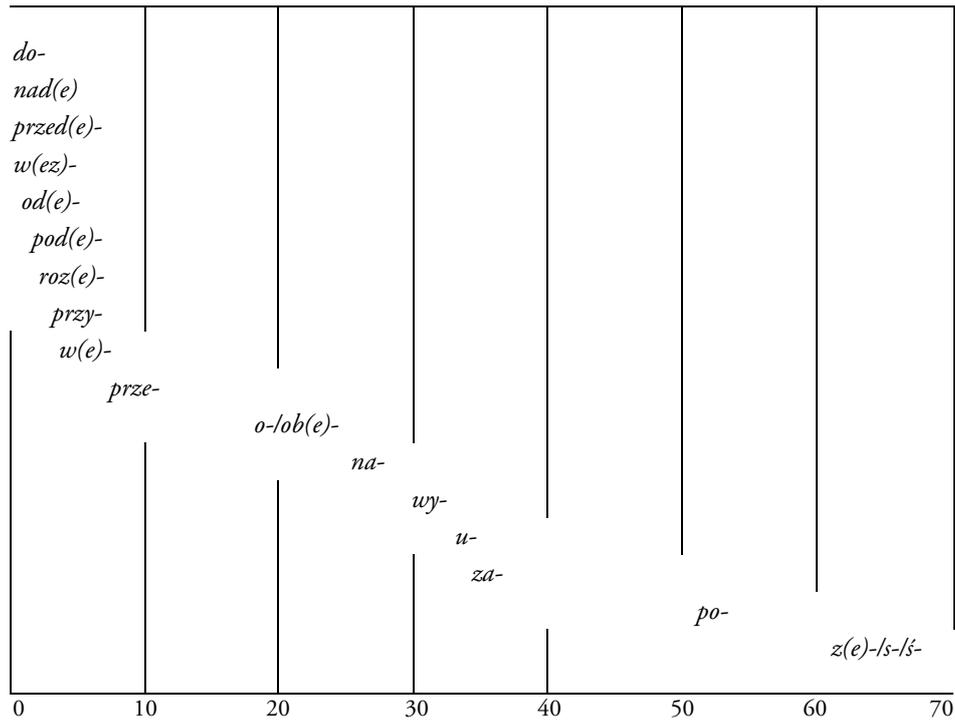
It should be noted that in *Pegasus*, as in Dunaj (1996) and most of the other more recent dictionaries, a choice was made not to present verbs as prefix-pairs when the individual members of the pair govern different sentence cases.

Compare for instance (11) and (12) below:

- (11) *Polacy bronili_i miasta przed wrogiem.*
 Poles_{NOM} defended_i city_{GEN} against enemy_{INSTR.}
 ‘The Poles defended // were defending the city against the enemy’
- (12) *Polacy obronili_p miasto przed wrogiem.*
 Poles_{NOM} defended_p city_{ACC} against enemy_{INSTR.}
 ‘The Poles (have successfully) defended the city against the enemy’

The verbs *bronic_i* ~ *obronic_p* ‘defend’ were then disqualified as a pure aspectual pair even though they do function as such in spite of the syntactic divergence presented by the genitive and accusative cases in the respective sentences. Only Bańko (2000: I 126) mentions *obronić_p* in his article for *bronić*.¹⁷ Admittedly it probably does not really hold true to deny such verb pairs the status of prefix-pair on purely semantic grounds. This concerns only quite small groups of verbs and therefore it does not spoil the statistics too much.

Ultimately then, the table seems to corroborate what we thought about the frequency in which the individual prefixes occur: there is a great variety in frequency and the semantically more distinct prefix meanings occur less frequently. To conclude this section we have projected the frequency percentage data onto the table on the next page. It shows quite clearly that prefixes on the left of the table occur less frequently as empty prefix whilst those on the right can be called empty in more than half of the compounds formed with them.



4.2 More recent formations

Newly borrowed verbs seem to remain bi-aspectual for a good few years after borrowing (cf. Kudlińska (1988)). At some point a perfective counterpart is established, usually for this class of verbs by means of a prefix. The selection of prefix is not random as can be illustrated by such pure aspectual pairs as *transportować* : *przetransportować*_p ‘transport’ and *eksportować* : *wyeksportować*_p ‘export’.¹⁸ In these there is a clear correlation between the meaning of the newly adopted prefix (*prze-* approx. ‘through’, *wy-* approx. ‘out of, from’) and the meaning of the base verbs, pretty much along the lines set out in paragraph 4 above. A formulaic expression of the latter should clarify this point.

<i>WY</i> <u>prefix</u> [+ 'WY'] [+ Term]	+	<i>EKSPORTOWAĆ</i> <u>simplex</u> ['Q ^(wy) '] [+ Term] [- pf]	==>	<i>WYEKSPORTOWAĆ</i> <u>compound</u> ['Q _(wy) '] [+ Term] [+ pf]
--	---	--	-----	---

Q = the meaning of the simplex, which in this case includes an element (“wy”)

Here too one could dub this semantic reduplication of the selected prefix and a semantic element already present in the simplex.

Other relatively new prefix-pairs of this type that appear in *Pegasus* are: *eksmitować* ‘evict’, *ekspediować* ‘dispatch’, *eksploatować* ‘exploit’, *eksponować* ‘exhibit’, *emigrować* ‘emigrate’, *emitować* ‘emit’, all of which form aspectual pairs with perfectives with prefix *wy-*.

Of course where a prefix has a less distinctive meaning, its description needs to be rather more accurate than can be attempted here in order to establish whether there is in fact reduplication with part of the meaning of the simplex (Q). Therefore we will restrict ourselves to providing further examples of the semantically less ambiguous prefixes, which necessarily have a lower ratio in the table above. Although less clear than the above examples, one could think of the following to belong to this group: *izolować* : *odizolować_p* ‘isolate’ (*od-* approx. ‘from’); *dziurkować* : *przodziurkować_p* ‘punch a hole’ (*prze-* approx. ‘through’); *drenować* : *wydrenować_p* ‘drain’; *eliminować* : *wyeliminować_p* ‘eliminate’; *lansować* : *wylansować_p* ‘launch’ (all with *wy-* approx. ‘out of, from’).

4.3 Analogy

Continuing along the same line of thought we need to consider the (frequent) occurrence of entire groups of verbs whose respective meanings can be described as similar and so all following as a group the line set out in paragraph 4 and 4.2. Quite how far this similarity can be stretched to function within the model we

propose remains to be seen but a case can surely be made for analogy in the formation of prefix pairs of which the simplex imperfective member was borrowed at a later stage than the prototype prefix-pair whose prefix might be said to be adopted. Such a model would suggest a diachronic process and occasionally this can actually be supported. According to Bańkowski (2000: I 25) the aspectual pair *badać_i : zbadać_p / przebadać_p* ‘research, investigate’ (with two “pure” perfectives!¹⁹) is attested to already function as prefix-pair at the turn of the 17th/18th century. Semantically related verbs, which were actually attested in later periods, went on to form the following prefix-pairs: *analizować_i : zanalizować_p / przeanalizować_p* ‘analyse’; *egzaminować_i : przeegzaminować_p* ‘examine’ and *testować_i : przetestować_p* ‘test’. More often though, it is not possible to establish the actual chronology. It is therefore usually also not possible to establish which of the semantically resembling verbs in a particular group is in fact the prototype. In our essentially synchronic study that does not really matter and we can suffice with simply registering some of these analogically formed groups of prefix-pairs. From our dictionary corpus we have selected some further strings of semantically related prefix-pairs, which have an empty prefix in common:

NA-

malować_i : namalować_p ‘make a painting’;

pisać_i : napisać_p ‘write’;

rysować_i : narysować_p ‘draw / make a drawing’;

szkicować_i : naszkicować_p ‘sketch / make a sketching’;

O-

znakować_i : oznakować_p ‘mark / label / brand’;

stemplować_i : ostemplować_p ‘mark with a stamp’;

pieczętować_i : opieczętować_p ‘mark with a stamp’;

U-

malować_i : umalować_p ‘apply lipstick’;

*szminkować*_i : *uszminkować*_p ‘apply lipstick’;
*puścić*_i : *upuścić*_p ‘powder (ones face)’;

WY-

*tłumaczyć*_i : *wytłumaczyć*_p ‘explain’;
*klarować*_i : *wyklarować*_p ‘clear up / explain’;

ZA-

*abonować*_i : *zaabonować*_p ‘subscribe to a magazine’;
*prenumerować*_i : *zaprenumerować*_p ‘subscribe to a magazine’.

The above are all exclusively prefix-pairs. Often though, imperfective simplexes have a perfective prefixed counterpart that shares that prefix with an aspectual pair in which the prefix is present in both imperfective and perfective members and where the prefix’s lexical meaning is quite clear. Such is the case with *ekscytować*_i : *podnieść*_p ‘excite / thrill’, which recent verb²⁰ must have been modelled on the aspectual pair *podniecać*_i : *podniecić*_p, that has exactly the same meaning. Compare the following examples from the dictionary corpus:

PRZY-

*szykować*_i : *przyszykować*_p ‘ready’ | *przygotowywać*_i : *przygotować*_p ‘ready’;

O-

*tynkować*_i : *otynkować*_p ‘plaster’ | *osmarowywać*_i : *osmarować*_p ‘smear’;

ROZ-

*platać*_i : *rozplatać*_p ‘cleave’ | *rozdzielać*_i : *rozdzielić*_p ‘separate’;

W-

*pakować*_i : *wpakować*_p ‘pack’ | *wsadzać*_i : *wsadzić*_p ‘put into...’;

WY-

*korkować*_i : *wykorkować*_p ‘die’
(informal) | *wymierać*_i : *wymrzeć*_p ‘die’;

<i>selekcjonować</i> : <i>wyselekcjonować</i> _p ‘select’	<i>wybierać</i> : <i>wybrać</i> _p ‘choose’;
<i>prasować</i> : <i>wyprasować</i> _p ‘iron / press’	<i>wygładzać</i> : <i>wygładzić</i> _p ‘smooth out’;
<i>startować</i> : <i>wystartować</i> _p ‘start / depart’	<i>wyruszać</i> : <i>wyruszyć</i> _p ‘depart’;
ZA- <i>sygnalizować</i> : <i>zasygnalizować</i> _p ‘signal’	<i>zaznaczać</i> : <i>zaznaczyć</i> _p ‘mark’.

4.4 Multiple choice

Sometimes one imperfective simplex pairs with more than one prefixed perfective compound. The prefixes in such cases vary. It does not happen all that often, but this phenomenon is entirely omitted by Młynarczyk (2004) and that does not seem right either, although it would not change her model all that much. Włodarczyk (1997: 67 a.f.) after Czochrański (1975: 43) speaks of ALLOGRAMS to designate the different ‘pure’ perfective forms that are associated with a single imperfective verb. Włodarczyk eloquently states that these allograms usually have a complementary distribution and it is the context, which provokes the use of a particular form. The choice is made along the lines of the following criteria:

- a. the imperfective verb is polysemic and each of the perfectives corresponds to a separate meaning;
- b. the different perfectives differ slightly in “modalité d’action”, i.e. in Aktionsart;
- c. the different perfectives are distinguished by slight stylistic nuances.

At the end of her chapter about this issue Włodarczyk states furthermore that certain variant perfective forms should be seen as true synonyms.

We would like to discuss a few examples. First there are those cases in which the choice could be related to properties of the direct object involved and so we

would have a specialisation of the meaning of the imperfective simplex in the perfective compound: this corresponds to Włodarczyk's type a. A clear case is presented by *malować_i* 'paint', which has as many as three perfective counterparts:

1. *pomalować_p*, when the object is something like *ścianę* 'a wall'. A wall can be said to have an expanse which involves us being busy and having to spend a while doing the painting, before we can complete painting the expanse. Also, the wall is not felt to be a "carrier" of information presented by the paint job, but rather the affected object.

2. *namalować_p*, when the object is for example a painting. We may treat this as analogy with *napisać_p* 'write', *narysować_p* 'draw' which we saw earlier. As we already noticed for *писа́и*, obviously the resulting state of *malować* painting, is that the picture, which holds information (unlike paint on a wall) is applied on-to the carrier (canvas, paper etc.). This image is the effected object. It is then not the fact that the paint is on the carrier (such as would be the case with *pomalować_p* above), but the painting (with its information).

3. *umalować_p*, when the object is for instance *usta* 'mouth' and we should think of a translation more like we already gave above – 'put on lipstick'. Here too is an analogy, this time with verbs such as *upudrować_p* 'powder (one's face)' and *uszminnować_p* 'apply lipstick' we presented earlier. The prefix *u-* is often used for actions that involve applying or doing things to (some)one's body. The perceived meaning of *u-* is then, much like the corresponding preposition 'at, close to'. This is also present in the resulting state of the action 'applying lipstick'; the lipstick is not applied on-to a cloth or carrier, but onto, usually, (some)one's body. There may also be a connection with a related group of verbs prefixed with *u-*, which all imply some kind of (aesthetic) improvement and include examples *ulepszać_i* : *ulepszyć_p* 'improve' and *upiększać_i* : *upiększyć_p* 'embellish, decorate, adorn'.

With all of the above the Poles could probably have chosen different prefixes, but the fact is, they did not and they must have considered the indicated

differentiated notions per type of direct object (and so, type of painting).

A further interesting example is presented by *tłumaczyć*_i, which has two distinct meanings, each of which would apply to a certain category of direct object, which can be present but also left out of the context and merely implied. This verb then has two perfective counterparts.

1. *wytłumaczyć*_p 'explain', which is semantically analogous with *wyklarować*_p 'clarify'. The choice of the prefix must be motivated by the notion that when we explain something we metaphorically bring it out of the darkness that surrounds it.

2. *przetłumaczyć*_p 'translate' is harder, but like *przeczytać*_p 'read' it involves text, which is passed through as one translates as well as metaphorically replaced (cf. chapter I paragraph 2.3.1). When the Z-stage is reached we would have passed through the metaphorical space presented by the text and / or 'replaced' it into another language.

A slightly more complex case is presented by *żegnać*_i, which has two perfectives, one per meaning: 1. *pożegnać*_p 'leave, greet upon leaving' and 2. *przeżegnać*_p 'to bless somebody with the sign of the cross'. In the first there would probably be the same idea of expanse of the action as it probably involves some kind of ritual, whilst in the second meaning there is a passage through the sign of the cross. This example is listed by Włodarczyk (1997: 68) as is *bić*_i with perfectives *wybić*_p 'ring / toll' (of a clock for the hour etc.), *zbić*_p 'hit' (e.g. a dog in punishment) and *ubić*_p 'beat up / whip' (cream, eggs etc.). She also comments that *bić*_i : *zbić*_p function as aspectual pair in the meaning 'to break' (a glass etc.). Her last example of this kind is *dusić*_i with perfectives *zadusić*_p / *udusić*_p 'smother, strangle' (e.g. a chicken) and *udusić*_p 'braise' (mushrooms and such like).

In these examples then we are in fact dealing with polysemic imperfective simplexes and monosemic perfective compounds. There are surely more examples but the ones we provide here clarify the issue sufficiently and things could be summed up on the basis of our first example as in the following table.

ipf	three meanings	pf
<i>malować</i>	{ 'paint' (a wall)	<i>pomalować</i>
	{ 'paint' (a picture)	<i>namalować</i>
	{ 'paint' (a mouth)	<i>umalować</i>

Włodarczyk's type b touches on the problem of Aktionsarten. It is not our intention to go into that matter, but we will mention the one example given by Włodarczyk (1997: 69, 70): *brudzić*_i 'soil' with perfectives *zabrudzić*_p (which the author does not specify and so probably is seen by her to be the 'pure' aspectual partner), *ubrudzić*_p "marked by intensity", *pobrudzić*_p 'soil in various places', *wybrudzić*_p "marked by distributivity", *zbrudzić* "marked by totality".

Włodarczyk's type c includes perfective variants, which differ stylistically. Her example is *milknąć*_i 'be silent' with neutral perfective counterpart *zamilknąć*_p, and the stylistically more elevated *zmilknąć*_p. We would ourselves hesitate to speak of aspectual pairs in these cases, as the prefixed perfective compounds have an additional ingressive meaning.

Other examples do not involve different kinds of the same event or stylistically differentiated perfective variants such as in the above examples, which would often require quite different translations into English per meaning variant. Here monosemic imperfectives rather seem to be endowed with synonymous perfectives, usually two, and both formed on the principle of semantic reduplication (as outlined in this study), but with different prefixes nevertheless. (This group includes the examples that Włodarczyk does not specify other than as "true perfective synonyms".) Our main example of this type is *tyć*_i 'gain weight'. It has two possible perfectives (although Dunaj and Bańko provide only the first, even though native speakers confirm the second as does Labenz 2004: 18): *utyć*_p and *przytyć*_p. Now, it does not take a huge leap of the imagination to see the first of these in the light of the prefix meaning outlined for *umalować*_p above: the event has an effect on the body, bringing something (there other than here an aesthetical improvement) to it. As *przy-* typically

also signifies an arrival of say P to Q, the same can be pictured for weight ‘coming’ to the body.²¹ This can be put into a table as follows.

ipf	one meaning	pf
<i>tyć</i>	‘gain weight’	{ <i>utyć</i> <i>przytyć</i>

Włodarczyk’s examples in this section include two, which according to Śmiech (1971: 28) are regional variants. These are *palić* ‘light / kindle’ with perfectives *zapalić_p* and *napalić_p* and *gotować* ‘prepare’ (a meal) with *ugotować_p* and *zgotować_p*. Less clear examples of this model that are not regional variants are *badać* : *zbadać_p* / *przebadać_p* (for the latter form see also chapter I paragraph 2.1.6) ‘research, investigate’, *reperować* : *zreperować_p* / *nareperować_p* ‘repair’ and *całować* : *pocałować_p* / *ucałować_p* ‘kiss’, the last of which could of course be explained away like *umalować_p* above, but the others of which are less easy. We think this is on account of the rather indistinct prefix meaning.

The ambiguity as to the choice of the actual prefix selected for “empty” duty in these cases does not alter the principle presented here. We are dealing with base simplex meanings that can be semantically reduplicated in more than one way, something which is especially likely as prefix meanings are often quite unspecific.

5 *Prze-*

In addition to the examples we already mentioned, the following compounds with prefix *prze-* could be considered as “pure” aspectual opponents to their derivational base simplexes on the grounds set out above. The related *prze-*meaning is indicated with reference to the variant meaning (paragraph numbers in chapter I.

pf compound	approx. meaning	<i>prze</i> -reference
<i>przeanalizować</i>	'analyse'	<i>prze</i> ₁
<i>przebadać</i>	'research'	<i>prze</i> ₁
<i>przeczytać</i>	'read'	<i>prze</i> ₁
<i>przedefilować</i>	'pass (by) in a parade'	<i>prze</i> _{1.1}
<i>przedestylować</i>	'distill'	<i>prze</i> ₁
<i>przedziurkować</i>	'punch a hole'	<i>prze</i> _{1.3}
<i>przeegzaminować</i>	'examine, take exam'	<i>prze</i> _{1/2}
<i>przefaksować</i>	'fax'	<i>prze</i> ₃
<i>przefiltrować</i>	'filter'	<i>prze</i> _{1.2}
<i>przekoziółkować</i>	'turn over'	<i>prze</i> _{3.2}
<i>przeliterować</i>	'spell'	<i>prze</i> ₁
<i>przetestować</i>	'test'	<i>prze</i> ₁
<i>przetransformować</i>	'transform'	<i>prze</i> ₃
<i>przetranskrybować</i>	'transcribe'	<i>prze</i> ₃
<i>przetransponować</i>	'transpose'	<i>prze</i> ₃
<i>przetransportować</i>	'transport'	<i>prze</i> ₃
<i>przetłumaczyć</i>	'translate'	<i>prze</i> _{1/3}

6 Concluding remarks

To sum up and conclude, here are our parameters concerning what we have termed "prefix-pairs".

1. The problem of so-called "empty" prefixes concerns dual verbal lexemes in terminative situations.
2. In prefix-pairs the imperfective is a simplex and forms the base for its perfective partner, a prefixed compound.
3. The ultimate test for "partnership" is the "Maslov Criterion".
4. Usually a case can be made for semantic reduplication between prefix

meaning and an element of the meaning of the simplex or object or their juxtaposition.

5. The choice of prefix is not wholly arbitrary, nor is it always immediately entirely obvious. Also, even when semantic reduplication is the case, it is not in all cases unequivocal as the “pairs” with two (more or less) synonymous perfectives with different prefixes illustrate. This is due to the fuzzy (for often highly polysemous) semantics of prefixes.

6. The prefix is never really empty of lexical semantic properties. The lexical semantic quality “terminativity” is always maintained, even if some of the distinctive lexical semantic elements of the prefix are drained. We cannot maintain then the notion of “emptiness” of lexical meaning for such prefixes as this most important, even systemic notion is still present and is in fact this, which fulfils the first condition for perfective verbs, i.e. that they be (explicitly) terminative.

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} .
--

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:

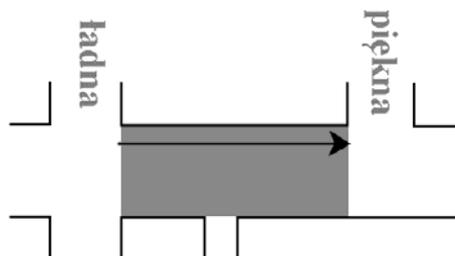


Fig. 2 *przeVM odNP_{GEN} doNP_{GEN}*

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:

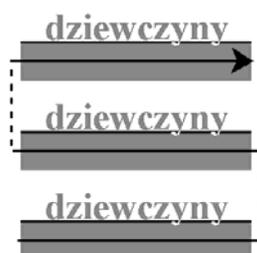


Fig. 3 *przeVM* *wzdłuż*NP_{GEN}

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 *obok*NP_{GEN} which can be viewed as:



Fig. 4 *przeVM* *obok*NP_{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.’

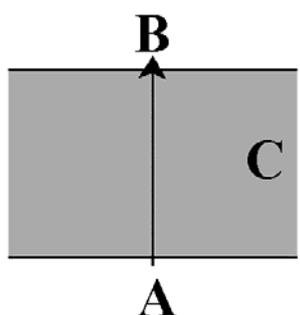


Fig. 5 *przeVM przez NP_{ACC}*

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’, *prowincja* ‘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 spokój, 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:

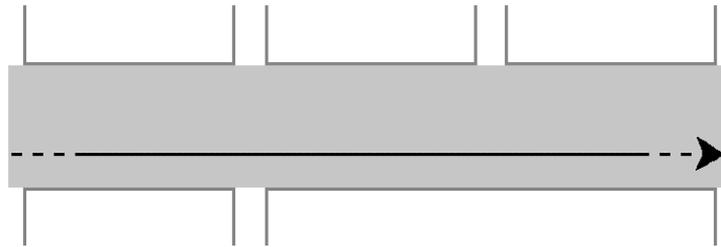


Fig. 6 *prze*VM NP_{INSTR}

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 *PrzeVM* 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.

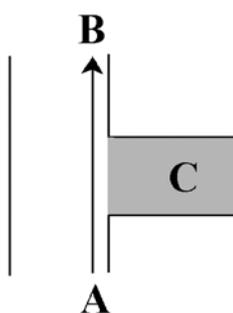


Fig. 7 *przeVM* NP_{ACC} 1

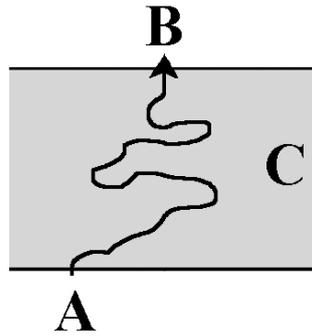
This can be translated as:

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 *przeVM 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 (*przeVM 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, people_{ACC} trampling, looting.

‘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 przebiegało_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:

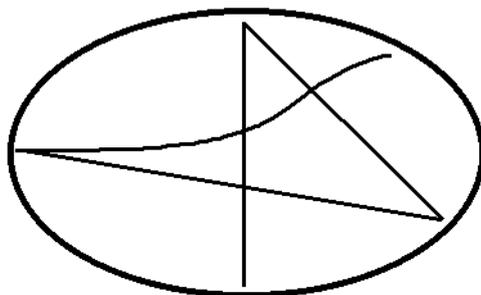
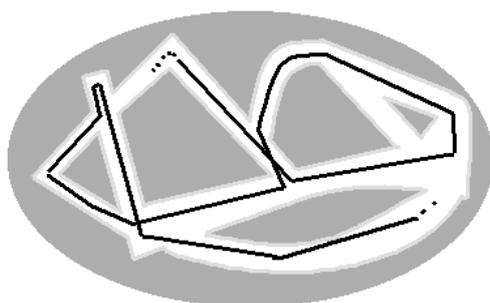


Fig. 9 *przeVM_i NP_{ACC} 1*

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.

NOTES

Chapter I

1 The inventory of cognates of the Proto-Slavic prefixes **per(i)- / (*prě-)* and **pro- / *pra-* for all Slavic languages is in appendix 1. According to Brückner (1927) the *pro-* in *prowadzić*, *prowadzać* ‘lead, conduct’ is a relic of this prefix in Polish. According to him Polish (and some other languages) originally had both *pro-* and *prze-*, but the functions of *pro-* were taken over by *prze-*. Bańkowski (2000) confirms this process and adds that that could happen because the two prefixes are semantically very close.

2 For a discussion of Russian *nepe- : npo-* we refer to Flier (1975, 1985). For the rather more complex opposition which, in spite of the common heritage nevertheless seems to exist between *npe- : nepe-*, we refer to Soudakoff (1975).

3 Flier typifies the opposition between *nepe-* and *npo-* as one of (- domainial) and (+ domainial) (1975: 220 etc.).

4 We refer here to Chapters II and especially III in which we outline our view on so-called “empty” prefixes, a term which we also used in an earlier publication (Genis 2003).

5 This example may also mean ‘I have rewritten the article’. The present argument would also be applicable for this meaning.

6 Flier puts it like this: Verbal prefixes, like prepositions, ultimately make reference to abstract delimitation, dimension, and direction, eliciting metaphorical interpretations of these notions in non-spatial universes (1975: 219).

7 A quite considerable amount of pre-grouping was necessary as otherwise we would have to succumb to the rather daunting fact that we would theoretically have to establish a variant meaning for *prze-* for each compound in which it occurs!

8 Please note that many of the verbs with *prze-* form syntactic structures with preposition *przez* with a seemingly similar meaning. In chapter IV we will discuss some problems concerning the combinatory restrictions that are in force here.

9 Please note that the outer border, although not clearly indicated in the drawing, is in fact also implied in this situation; it is situated at the Q-end of the tube.

10 Grochowska (1979: 5.14) implies that these verbs are in fact cases of *prze-* as empty prefix. Indeed, native speakers often provide them as “pure” aspectual pairs. We are not here concerned with aspectual pairing, but Doroszewski (1958-69: *prze-, i an j*) seems to disagree with Grochowska as he separates his meaning “j. ogarnięcie czynnością kolejno różnych przedmiotów, aż do wyczerpania zakresu” ‘encompass a sequence of different objects with an action, until the reach is exhausted’ from “i. doprowadzenia czynności do końca, skutku, celu”, ‘bring an action to its end, consequence or goal’. The latter of which seems to point to so-called “pure” perfectivisation.

11 This description is cited from Stanisławski (1983: *przebadać*). The lemma *przebadać* from Doroszewski (1958-69) provides a meaning that would point out the variant nature of the multiplicity

implied: “zbadać wiele, wielu, wszystkich po kolei; zbadać wieloma sposobami, pod wieloma względami”, ‘examine many, many people, consecutively; examine in many ways, in many respects’ This is confirmed by the very clear treatment of this lemma in Bańko (2000: *przebadać*).

12 This can also mean ‘We spent a lot of time playing’. It is not uncommon that one and the same compound with a prefix can render several variant meanings of that prefix. These perdurative meanings will follow below in 2.8.

13 In *przehandlował żonę, życie, sumienie*, the meaning of ‘bad trade, losing money’ does not necessarily emerge as confirmed by native informants. These are mere lexicalised phraseological extensions with a basic meaning of treason, treachery or betrayal of ones wife, life or conscience.

14 Grochowska (1979) classifies these verbs and their specific meaning as “isolated” and consequently does not take them into account in her discussion of variant meanings for *prze-*.

15 Of course we do not take into account the non-temporal but clearly phraseological meaning as seen in *przejeździł połowę budżetu* ‘he squandered half of the budget.’

16 Interestingly, when compared with (5) above, it seems immediately clear that *przejeździć* is the preferred verb for meanings that may point in some way or other to ‘distance covered’. Native speakers were quite adamant about the fact that **przejechał całą benzynę* is clearly a faulty construction.

17 For more on such structures, see chapter IV.

18 The verb *przeźycić* is encountered far more often in a different meaning: ‘cleaning out hollow objects or glass’, as in the following examples taken from Polański (1992: III 442):

Kierowca przeźycił gaźnik i filtr powietrza.

‘The driver cleaned the carburettor and the air filter.’

Wojtek zdjął okulary, przeźycił je chusteczką.

‘Wojtek took off his glasses and cleaned them with a handkerchief.’

The former is analogous with verbs mentioned in *prze_{1.5}* and also even *prze_{1.2}*, as is the latter, when we realise Wojtek is concerned with making his glasses transparent again. Often types of meaning presented here can be interpreted in more than one way only.

19 Interestingly, most of the simplexes with which these verbs are compounded, have corresponding perfectives ending in *-nąć* or prefixed with *za-*. In the following table one could argue that not all of these are strictly speaking aspectual pairs. Aspectual matters are not in fact the topic of this chapter.

<i>brzmieć</i>	<i>zabrzmieć</i>	<i>przebrzmieć</i>	<i>przebrzmiewać</i>
<i>dzwonić</i>	<i>zadzwonić</i>	<i>przedzwoić</i>	<i>przedzwaniać</i>
<i>dźwięczeć</i>	<i>dźwięknąć</i>	<i>przeddźwięczeć</i>	
<i>grzmieć</i>	<i>zagrzmieć</i>	<i>przegrzmeć</i>	
<i>gwizdać</i>	<i>gwizdnąć</i>	<i>przegwizdać</i>	<i>przegwizdywać</i>
<i>huczeć/hukać</i>	<i>huknąć</i>	<i>przehuczeć</i>	
<i>piać</i>	<i>zapiać</i>	<i>przepiać</i>	
<i>piszczeć</i>	<i>pisnąć</i>	<i>przepiszczuć</i>	
<i>kwitnąć</i>	<i>zakwitnąć</i>	<i>przekwitnąć</i>	<i>przekwitać</i>

20 See Flier (1975: 220 a.f.).

21 These examples are taken from Flier (1975: 222).

Chapter II

1 I am grateful to Adrie Barentsen for pointing this out to me.

2 As we pointed out earlier in this chapter, Maslov actually introduced the notion into Slavic studies already in 1948.

3 It should be noted that the event does not have to include any kind of development as might be suspected by the tilted line and the model is intended in a more abstract fashion.

4 In Barentsen (2003: 378) this type of terminativity is termed “momentaan-transformatief”, ‘momentary-transformative.’

5 More on the verb *zaspiewać* will follow in 1.4.

6 In such deverbal perfective verbs the perfectivizing role of the formant is clear. Non-deverbal derivative verbs with this suffix can in fact be imperfective such as *ciagnąć* ‘pull’, *płynąć* ‘swim, flow’, *sunąć* ‘shove’, *chłonąć* ‘absorb’. or indeed perfective such as *lunąć* ‘start pooring’ and *wionąć* ‘whiff’.

7 In chapter III paragraph 1 we return to the matter of multiplicative and semelfactive verbs in a discussion of the view of Młynarczyk about these types of verb (2004: 124-126).

8 At this point we will briefly turn to the findings of Karolak (1992: 94, 97). In his view imperfective verbs may assume perfectivity by limitation of the process with a temporal interval. This can either be expressed by the prefix *po-* thus forming his “czasowniki limitatywne”, which correspond to delimitative verbs. But limitation may also be achieved by adjuncts of time and so, according to Karolak both *skomponował operę* ‘he composed an opera’ and *komponował operę dwu tygodnie* ‘he has been composing an opera for two weeks’ (our underline) are both perfective. We do agree that the object in the sentence as well as the adjunct of time may be perceived as modifying the otherwise aterminative notion of *komponować* ‘compose’ into a terminative one (compare our discussion in paragraphs 2.3 and 2.3.1 of this chapter). We do not feel that it is necessary to talk of perfectivity though, and we would rather prefer a model in which verb forms do not switch between the aspects (as this is apparently the case with Karolak here, our usual subscript aspect markings have been left out in this note). It is also not necessary, as it suffices to explain this in terms of terminativity, which exists in both aspects. This discrepancy of views is largely due to the fact that Karolak’s elegant explanations involve an analysis of aspect on a much deeper semantic level, which, as can be surmised from the above, allows him to detach it to a greater extent from the actual forms.

9 A little earlier we already pointed out that Bondarko (1991: 198) speaks of terminativity “in a wide sense”.

10 It is not right though to leave the matter there without pointing out that several authors have presented their views on these delimitatives as they form a specific problem. We would like to mention that, although it is probably clear what the exact meaning is of such *po-*compounds, it remains difficult to find a place for them in the various models. It would seem though, that the problem rather arises from the fact that authors imply different definitions of the terms terminativity and indeed also telicity, which we discuss in 1.3. Nübler (1993: 301-305) for

example, holds to the principle that the term terminativity should be reserved for verbs whose own lexical meaning includes a dynamic event that logically leads to a closing boundary. For him then delimitatives should be described as “perfective-aterminative” and verbs of this kind are telic though, because in his model perfectivisation equals telicification of the “semantics” of a verb, albeit not of the “content” of the verb.

11 In fact in Barentsen (2003: 381) one and the same scheme is used to represent both delimitativity and perdurativity.

12 Of course, syntactically there is clearly no difference between examples (4) and (5); both domains are treated as (accusative) objects.

13 According to Łaziński / Wiemer (1996: 106) following Karolak (1993: 95) imperfectiva tantum can even assume perfective meaning! See our footnote 8. We will not go that far.

14 It may be clear that the systemic occurrence of prefixes in imperfective verbs leads us to object to the term “perfectivising prefix” as used for example by Młynarczyk (2001:272 and throughout 2004).

15 Usage as for single events in the historic present are probably also possible but need to be further researched for Polish.

16 Would the second verb be perfective, then we would be dealing with a sequence of events:

Jak zadzwoniłem, Ania akurat przepisała_p swój artykuł.

When I phoned, Ania had just (finished) rewritten / copied her article.

17 Please note also, that sentence (9) can also be interpreted as a combination of a focus on the process of the event and the repeat of the event. The above example could then mean ‘When I phoned, Ania was rewriting her article over and over again’.

18 Polish has in fact several suffixes which specialise in this and, as far as we are aware, appear in prefixed verbs only: *-ywa- / -iwa-* (: *-uję* etc.), *-wa-* (: *-wam* etc.), *-ewa-* (: *-ewam* etc.), *-ywa- / -iwa-* (: *-ywam / -iwam* etc.) as in e.g. *opisywać* ‘describe’, *rozmywać* ‘wash away’, *omdlewać* ‘faint’, *wygrywać* ‘loose’. There are further suffixes, several of which also have this function whilst appearing with prefixed verbs, but they are used in compounds and simplexes for both aspects.

19 Dickey (2000: 13) sums up the Vendler (1957) based classification of types of “verbal situations” quite compactly, and, although it is indeed currently the most widespread classification, we include it here for the sake of completeness. The four classes are then:

- a. STATES: “non-dynamic situations without natural conclusions”, e.g. *know, hate*;
- b. ACTIVITIES: “dynamic processes where any part is of the same nature as the whole”, e.g. *dance, read*;
- c. ACCOMPLISHMENTS: “goal directed situations [...] characterized by the presence of an activity preceding the end-point”, e.g. *read a book, walk a mile*;
- d. ACHIEVEMENTS: “instantaneous leaps from one state into another without an accompanying activity”, e.g. *notice, begin*.

For the present discussion also interesting is the directly following comment by Dickey:

“Accomplishments and achievements are telic, i.e. they are goal oriented and contain inherent limits, whereas activities and states do not, and are thus atelic.”

20 A possible exception might be verbs such as *prze(d)czuć* : *prze(d)czuwać* ‘sense in advance’.

NOTES

21 The formation of semelfactive verbs is apparently still productive as is evidenced by the probably substandard recent *kliknąć* ‘click’ as utilized especially in reference to computer mouse events and *dzwonić* ‘phone’.

22 Processual-transformative verbs can also be used to describe intraterminal situations with repeat. See also note 17 above.

23 It is interesting to note that the meaning of perfective compound *zaśpiewać_p* can be either ‘start to sing’ or ‘sing entirely’ depending on the perceived “size” of the direct object. Compare in this respect the sentences

Jan zaśpiewał_p piosenkę.

Jan sung a song || Jan started singing a song.

and

Jan zaśpiewał_p arię.

Jan started to sing an aria.

These differences are not restricted to the past tense. The lexical meaning of prefix *za-* would often be connected to events that are momentary or at least very limited in scope. We would suppose that a speaker could consider a song to be small enough to fit entirely within this scope, whereas an aria is too large and hence the *za-*compound assumes an inchoative function. This is not the place to go further into the functioning of prefix *za-*.

24 At this point Comrie adds a footnote referring to discussions on this topic by Dowty (1972), Verkuyl (1972) and Vendler (1967:104).

25 Schlegel bases himself largely on: Koševaya 1972.

26 An interesting parallel with the notion of so-called “real” and “periferal” participants as discussed by Ebeling (2006: 254) forces itself upon us. It is highly tempting to liken Schlegel’s non-quantified object (in the singular) to the periferal participants with Ebeling, as both seem to play a role that, compared to the full potential role of the direct object is reduced to a status that is more like that of an adjunct. It goes without saying that a full holistic argumentation for this suggestion would require more research.

27 The authors refer to Holvoet (1989:49, 64), who also discusses this, albeit in a somewhat different light.

28 The matter of acknowledging aspectual pairs, especially in cases of so-called prefix-pairs (in which one member, the imperfect is a simplex and the other, the perfective is a prefixed compound) is complex. Views range from Isačenko (1960), who holds that any prefix-pair is suspect as there is always also a change of the semantics provided by the prefix, through to Młynarczyk (2004: 6, 11) who leaves the decision to whether a pair is a pure aspectual pair to the intuition of the native and so does not analyse what criteria may be at play in native intuition. Although we agree that native intuition is an important factor to reckon with, we rather tend to agree with another Polish native’s view on this when he states “Resorting to semantic intuitions in order to form a semantic pattern would lower the methodological standard” (Labenz 2004: 17).

29 This list of proposed triplets was compiled on the basis of modern dictionaries with prefix pair reference as well as older works for suffix pairs and is not meant to be exhaustive. It is also a curious fact that Slavic languages do not share the same collection of aspectual triplets. For Russian e.g. Barentsen (2003: 387) mentions:

<i>читать</i>	<i>прочитать</i>	<i>прочитывать</i>	‘write’
<i>пахать</i>	<i>вспахать</i>	<i>вспахивать</i>	‘plough’
<i>пудрить</i>	<i>напудрить</i>	<i>напудривать</i>	‘powder’
<i>слабеть</i>	<i>ослабеть</i>	<i>ослабевать</i>	‘weaken’
<i>стыть</i>	<i>остыть</i>	<i>остывать</i>	‘cool down’
<i>гибнуть</i>	<i>погибнуть</i>	<i>погибать</i>	‘perish’
<i>пухнуть</i>	<i>распухнуть</i>	<i>распухать</i>	‘swell up’
<i>гореть</i>	<i>сгореть</i>	<i>сгорать</i>	‘burn up’
<i>жечь</i>	<i>сжечь</i>	<i>сжигать</i>	‘burn’
<i>есть</i>	<i>съесть</i>	<i>съедать</i>	‘eat up’

30 This is then somewhat different from Russian, which anyway seems to have more such triplets. The prefixed imperfectives of Russian triplets such as *прочитывать* ‘read (through)’ and *сгорать* ‘burn (up)’ and maybe others too are used for the process variant of imperfective terminativity. The Polish cognate *przeczytywać* ‘read (through)’ will be dealt with in paragraph 4, whilst *zgorać* is nowadays generally labelled as outdated. Although we have too little data to confirm this conclusively, it would seem that the function of the imperfectives in Polish triplets is a little more clear than in Russian: the unprefixated form can be used to focus on the process expressed by the verb, the prefixed imperfective seems to be only used for notions where a repeat is involved.

31 Interestingly though, native informants do point out that there is another totally acceptable rendition of this sentence utilising a frequentative verb: *codziennie rano czytuje całą gazetę od A do Z*. In this rendition too, terminativity is provided by the clearly as such presented discrete object and there is no possibility of leaving the modifiers out as in the Russian model of (2).

32 It is our impression that it is a general difference between Russian and Polish that Polish relies more on adjuncts and such like to express matters which in Russian are expressed through aspect. Research still needs to be done to establish this clearly for other verbs and instances.

33 This matter is discussed by Młynarczyk (2001: 282) from a very different angle, in an attempt to compare the aspectual phenomena of Dutch and Polish.

34 Dahl (1981: 87, 88) also discusses this matter vis à vis telicity.

35 For a discussion of the residual lexical meaning of so-called empty prefixes see Genis (2003).

36 Example (75) can also be translated ‘Ania spent a long time reading in “Pan Tadeusz”’. Here we are not concerned with this reading.

37 The full text can be found on: <http://www.intratext.com/Catalogo/Autori/AUT1336.HTM>.

38 This sentence is of course grammatically incorrect as the subjects belonging to the gerund and the main verb are not the same.

39 On the internet the triplets *pisać* : *napisać* : *napisywać* also seems to function. It falls beyond our *prze-*oriented scope to go into this in too much detail, but it is interesting to note that this second of what we called earlier “prototypical” aspectual prefix pairs should also not be entirely devoid of residue prefix meaning.

40 Although in this particular instance Barentsen would have us read his abbreviation *tr* as “transitus”, thus avoiding the discussion that the term *terminus* would imply a preceding process phase.

41 This problem is discussed in Barentsen (2003: 386) and Genis (1997 and 2003).

Chapter III

1 The term “empty” when used to describe a verbal prefix entails that an imperfective base simplex is prefixed to form a perfective compositum that opposes the base simplex in nothing other than the aspectual value.

2 The term “PURE” ASPECTUAL PAIR refers to such verb pairs that oppose only in aspectual value, one member being imperfective, the other perfective. A “pure” aspectual partner is then either one of the members of such a pair.

3 We have ourselves actually used the term ‘neutralisation’ in this respect (Genis 2003). In actual fact this term is not very well suited as whichever way one views the matter, prefixes, even when they are used in the accepted sense of “empty”, still signal terminativity, which is a lexical semantic element. It is the terminativity, which can be seen to induce as it were the perfectivity.

4 We have adopted the term PREFIX-PAIR to refer to aspectual pairs of which the imperfective member is a simplex (sometimes referred to as “base verb”) and the perfective member is a prefixed compound. The prefix should be lexically “empty” in the perfective member. The prototypical example is the pair *pisać* : *napisać* ‘write’.

5 Or indeed PERFECTIVA TANTUM, but that is a principally completely different issue, which we shall not address here.

6 We find it very difficult to reconcile Vendler’s “achievements” with Młynarczyk’s “culminations” and she may have done so herself, judging from the careful way she expresses herself. Adrie Barentsen pointed out to us that in fact the term “culmination” may be likened to Vendler’s “accomplishments” and Brecht apparently uses it as such in his publication of 1985.

7 Młynarczyk actually gives *grubnąć* : *zgrubnąć* as forms of this verb pair, even though these are lacking in modern dictionaries (notably Doroszewski (1958-69), Szymczak (1978), Dunaj (1996), Bańko (2000)). The fact that already the ‘Słownik Warszawski’ (1900-1927) labels these forms as “staropolski” indicates that it would have been better to render the modern *grubieć* : *zgrubieć* with the same meaning. To our knowledge only Dunaj (1996) acknowledges these latter forms as an aspectual pair, whilst Bańko (2000) seems to rather pair it with *pogrubieć*. Bańko’s suggestions that *po-* is the empty prefix here should not meet with Młynarczyk’s approval as according to her, all ‘gradual transitions’ take empty prefix *z(a)-* (2004: 130).

8 Other dictionaries also mention extensions such as *w szybę* ‘on a window pane’ but always with the same idea: to attract someone’s attention, either to open or to come to us etc.

9 This position raises all kinds of questions to do with how to deal with specific Aktionsarten, but we shall not enter that debate, as it would take us away too far from the immediate matter at hand.

10 In this chapter we have employed “ : ” between two verbs of differing aspect to indicate that they are an aspectual pair. When two such verbs are separated by “ - ” verbs oppose in aspect, but they are not an aspectual pair.

11 There is also an aspectual pair *poczytać* : *poczytywać* ‘interpret’, which, on account of its highly lexicalised meaning was not listed here.

12 Śmiech (1967: 84, 85 as well as 1970: 147) makes a very interesting historical linguistic point that is relevant to this issue. He mentions that imperfective members of certain prefix-pairs in

modern Polish were actually formed by deprefixation of the perfective. He includes the following examples: *zapłacić*_p : *placić* ‘pay’ (instead of erstwhile *zapłacać*), *ożenić*_p (*się*) : *żenić* (*się*) ‘marry (a woman)’ (instead of erstwhile *ożeniać* (*się*)). We would think that the model presented by pairs such as *pisać* : *napisać*_p, with its rather weak prefix meaning in the perfective member is present quite strongly in the mind of Poles and so some pairs with two prefixed members actually turned into prefix-pairs. Perhaps the lexical meaning is felt as unnecessary, even superfluous in the imperfective, while the notion of terminativity is still very necessary for the perfective member.

13 Actually, it does occur albeit very rarely. On the internet a certain amount of ‘hits’ cropped up, but nothing even remotely close to the amounts gathered for instance for the forms of *przeczytywać*, which we reported and described in chapter II, paragraph 4. *Napisywać* is also in Doroszewski (1958-69).

14 This is the total number of prefixed perfective verbs per prefix given.

15 No distributive verbs of the type *poodchodzić*_p are included in this count.

16 A further statistic not included in this table concerns the total of 4293 prefixed verbs. 66.5% of these have a prefixed imperfective whilst 3.2% have no imperfective. The table does show that the remaining 30.3% of these constitute a prefix-pair.

17 Without mentioning the syntactical complications.

18 For which see also Genis (1997)

19 We rather think that *przebadać* has a lexical meaning as described in chapter I paragraph 2.1.6 and so would not constitute a clear ‘pure’ aspectual partner to *badać*. This would go for the other examples in this series too. Sometimes and in certain contexts the perceived meaning of a given prefixed compound such as this is so close to that of another prefixed compound that it seems hard for natives to keep these usages separate. It is nonetheless interesting that verbs in this particular series are at least perceived to have compounds with the same two prefixes as candidates for perfective counterparts.

20 Bańkowski (2000: I 342) mentions 1861 as the first attestation of *ekscytować* whereas *podniecać* : *podniecić*_p were already present in the 16th century according to Bańkowski (2000: II 663)

21 Interestingly this kind of ‘arrival’ is exactly as this matter is envisaged by Dutch, which uses the word *aankomen*, 1. ‘arrive’ and 2. ‘gain weight’.

Chapter IV

1 In various publications, notably Włodarczyk (1997: 116) for Polish, there are various lists of verbs that should be termed “verbs of motion”. I have restricted my research to the following undisputed set: *przejsić*_p : *przechodzić*, *przebiec*_p / *przebiegnąć*_p: *przebiegać*, *przejechać*_p : *przejeździć*, *przepłynąć*_p : *przepływać*, *przelecieć*_p : *przelatywać*, *przefrunąć*_p : *przefrunąć*_p.

2 In her introduction Kudra (1993: 11) refers to Weinsberg (1973: 22) for the use of this terminology. Weinsberg describes perlativity as being characterised by a localisation by means of “przecinania” ‘cutting through’.

3 Constructions of harmony, which present a semantically “pure” situation, are by no means restricted to *prze-* and *przez-*. In fact, on the basis of corpus research we have been able to establish similar cases for a number of other combinations; most of these lack the opposition with non-

NOTES

prepositional complements such as (1) and (2) above. As yet we consider *prze-* unique in being able to figure in both non-prepositional constructions as well as prepositional constructions with etymological counterpart *przez*.

prefix	harmony	non-prepositional (spatial) usage
<i>w-</i>	<i>w</i> NP _{Acc.}	not attested
<i>do-</i>	<i>do</i> NP _{Gen.}	not attested
<i>od(e)-</i>	<i>od</i> NP _{Gen.}	not attested
<i>pod(e)-</i>	<i>pod(e)</i> NP _{Acc.}	not attested
<i>z(e)- / s- / ś-</i>	<i>z</i> NP _{Gen.}	not attested

In all of these constructions prefix-meaning and preposition-meaning double up to give a meaning that is the base meaning of the prefix and preposition under consideration. Most of the prefixes mentioned here also appear in constructions with noun phrases including other prepositions than their semantically and etymologically related counterparts, as does *prze-*.

On a purely semantic (non etymological) basis the following could also be considered.

prefix	preposition	non-prepositional (spatial) usage
<i>wy-</i>	<i>z</i> NP _{Gen.}	not attested

See also a discussion of this type of construction in Kudra (1993).

4 In this example I would propose that, although trajectory A → B does not have clear starting and finishing points, there is still a case for these: they can be related to the corners of the street that is missed.

5 We have noticed that, most likely due to its very subtle nature, it is very difficult for native speakers to adhere to the semantic opposition between these two structures strictly, nor does it seem possible to persuade them to clear-cut statements to that effect.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

References

- Agrell, Sigurd 1908. *Aspektänderung und Aktionsartbildung beim polnischen Zeitworte*. Lund.
- , — 1918. *Przedrostki postaciowe czasowników polskich*. Materiały i prace Komisji językowej Akademii umiejętności w Krakowie, 8. Kraków.
- Andersson, Sven-Gunnar 1972. *Aktionalität im Deutschen: Eine Untersuchung unter vergleich mit dem Russischen Aspektsystem*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Uppsala.
- Артасы, Тереса 1975. 'Типы homонимов словотворческих в czasownikach z przedrostkiem prze-.' In: *Poradnik Językowy*, 10/75, 568-572. Warszawa - Łódź.
- Barentsen, Adriaan. Адриан Барентсен 1973а. 'К описанию семантики категорий 'вид' и 'время' (На материале современного русского литературного языка).' In: *Tijdschrift voor Slavische taal- en letterkunde*, 2, 5-32.
- , — Адриан Барентсен 1973б. 'Вид' и 'время' в предложениях, содержащих слово пока.' In: A. van Holk (ed.) *Dutch Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists*, 33-94. Mouton. The Hague/Paris.
- , — 1985. 'Tijd', 'aspect', en de conjunctie РОКА. *Over betekenis en gebruik van enkele vormen in het moderne Russisch*. Amsterdam.
- , — Адриан Барентсен 1995. 'Трехступенчатая модель инварианта совершенного вида в русском языке.' In: Кароляк, Ст. (ed.). *Семантика и структура славянского вида*, I, 1-26. Kraków.
- , — 2003. 'De betekenis van het aspect.' (= hoofdstuk 8). In: Peter Houtzagers (ed.). *Russische grammatica*, 369-397. Bussum.
- Bogusławski Andrzej 1963. *Prefiksacja czasownikowa we współczesnym języku rosyjskim*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków,
- Bondarko. Бондарко, Александр Владимирович 1971. *Вид и время русского глагола*. Просвещение. Москва.
- , — 1991. 'Пределность и глагольный вид (на материале русского языка).' *Известия АН СССР. Серия литературы и языка*, 50/3, 195-206.
- , — 1993. 'Пределность и глагольный вид (к проблематике славянской функциональной аспектологии).' In: *XI Международный съезд славистов в Братиславе*, 219-232.
- Brecht, Richard D. 1985. 'The Form and Function of Aspect in Russian.' In: *Issues in Russian Morphosyntax*, 9-34.
- Comrie, Bernhard 1976. *Aspect - An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge et. al.
- Czarnecki, Tomasz 1989. 'Die Ausdrucksmittel der Perdurativität im Polnischen und Deutschen.' In: *Zeszyty naukowe uniwersytetu jagiellońskiego CMVII, Prace językowznawcze*, z. 94, 47-58. Kraków.

- Czochralski, Jan A. 1975. *Verbalaspekt und Tempussystem im Deutschen und Polnischen, eine konfrontative Darstellung*. Warszawa.
- Dahl, Östen 1981. 'On the Definition of the Telic-Atelic (bounded-nonbounded) Distinction.' In: P.J. Tedeschi / A. Zaenen (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 14, *Tense and Aspect*, 79-90. New York et. al.
- , — 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford, New York.
- Dickey, Stephen M. 2000. *Parameters of Slavic Aspect, a Cognitive Approach*. Stanford.
- Długosz-Kurczabowa, Krystyna / Dubisz, Stanisław 2001. *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*. Warszawa.
- Dowty, D.R. 1972. *Studies in the logic of verb aspect and time reference in English*. *Studies in Linguistics* I, Department of Linguistics, University of Texas at Austin.
- , — 1979. *Word meaning and Montague grammar*. Dordrecht.
- Dubisz, Stanisław. See: Długosz-Kurczabowa, Krystyna / Dubisz, Stanisław.
- Ebeling, Carl L. 2006. *Semiotaxis. Over theoretische en Nederlandse syntaxis*. Amsterdam.
- Flier, Michael S. 1975. 'Remarks on Russian Verbal Prefixation.' In: *Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 19 / 2, 218-229.
- , — 1985. 'Syntagmatic Restraints on the Russian Prefix *pere-*.' In: *Issues in Russian Morphosyntax. UCLA Slavic Studies*, Volume 10, 138-154. Columbus Ohio.
- Forsyth, J. 1970. *A Grammar of Aspect - Usage and Meaning in the Russian Verb*. Cambridge.
- Galton, Herbert 1976. *The Main Functions of the Slavic Verbal Aspect*. Skopje.
- , — 1980a. 'Where 'Completed Action' for the Perfective Verb Goes Wrong.' In: *Lingua*, 52, 49-55.
- , — 1980b. 'Nowa teoria o znaczeniu aspektu werbalnego słowiańskiego (na materiale polskim).' In: *Polonica*, VI, 37-48.
- , — 1997. 'Gedanken über den Ursprung des Slavischen Verbalaspekte.' In: *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, Band 43, 67-76. Wien.
- Garey, Howard B. 1957. 'Verbal aspects in French.' In: *Language*, 33, 91-110.
- Genis, René 1997. '*Prze-*, Meaning and Aspect; Variant and Invariant Meaning(s); Some Remarks on 'Pure' Perfectivization; *Prze-* as Empty Prefix.' In: *Polonica*, XVIII, 191-207. Kraków.
- , — 2003. 'Polish Verbal Prefixes - How Empty Can Empty Be?' In: W. Honselaar et al (eds.). *Die het kleine eert, is het grote weerd - Festschrift voor Adrie Barentsen. Pegasus Oost-Europese Studies*, 1, 101-109. Amsterdam.
- Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Morfologia* 1984. R. Gregorczykowa, R. Laskowski, H. Wróbel (eds.). PWN, Warszawa
- Grochowska, Alina 1979. 'Próba opisu reguł łączliwości przedrostka *prze-* z tematami czasownikowymi.' In: *Polonica*, V, 59-74. Kraków.
- Grzegorzycowa, Renata 1990. *Wprowadzenie do semantyki językoznawczej*. Warszawa.
- Gvozdanović, Jadranka 1992. 'The Verbal Prefixes *po-* and *pro-* in Russian: their Meanings and Uses.' In: *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 17, 111-123. Amsterdam.
- , — 1994. 'Russian Verbal Prefixes and Mere 'Resultative Completion' of the Verbal Event.' In: *Dutch Contributions to the Eleventh International Congress of Slavists*,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bratislava. Linguistics* (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 22), 141-154. Amsterdam.
- Heltberg, Kristine 1981. 'On Aspect in Czech, Polish and Russian.' In: *The Slavic Verb*, 41-49. Copenhagen.
- Holvoet, Axel 1989. *Aspekt a modalność w języku polskim na tle ogólnosłowiańskim. Prace Slawistyczne* 77. Wrocław et. al.
- , — 1990. 'O pewnych osobliwościach użycia aspektu w pamiętnikach Jana Chrystosoma Paska.' In: *Prace filologiczne*, XXXV, 84-89. Warszawa.
- , — 1991a. *Transitivity and Clause Structure in Polish - A Study in Case Marking. Prace Slawistyczne* 95. Warszawa.
- , — 1991b. 'Semantic Variables and the Meaning of Polish Verbal Aspect.' In: *Studies in West Slavic and Baltic Linguistics* (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 16), 167-179. Amsterdam.
- , — 1991c. 'Użycie aspektu czasownikowego przy oznaczaniu czynności wielokrotnych w języku polskim i rosyjskim (na tle słowiańskim).' In: *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Linguistica* 25, 123-132.
- , — 1991d. 'The Temporal and Spatial Parameters of Verbal Aspect.' In: *Bulletin de la Société polonaise de linguistique*, XLIII-XLV, 123-132. Warszawa.
- , — 1993a. 'Uwagi o definicji i zakresie pojęcia 'dopełnienia bliższego' w języku polskim. In: *Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej*, 31, 45-52. Warszawa.
- , — 1993b. 'Towards a Typology of Aspect Systems in Slavonic.' *Slavica Gandensia* 20, 25-32.
- Isačenko. Исаченко, А. В. 1960. *Грамматический строй русского языка в сопоставлении с словацким – Часть вторая: морфология*. Братислава.
- Jakobson, Roman 1971 (or. 1936). 'Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre. Gesamtbedeutungen der russischen Kasus.' In: *Roman Jakobson, Selected Writings II*, 23-71.
- Karolak, Stanisław 1991. 'Y a-t-il une différence de principe entre l'aspect roman et slave?' In: M. Grochowski (ed.). *Problemy opisu gramatycznego języków słowiańskich*, 85-93. Warszawa.
- , — 1992. 'Aspekt a Aktionsart w semantycznej strukturze języków słowiańskich.' In: J. Siatkowski (ed.). *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych (Językoznawstwo)*, 93-99. Warszawa.
- Kochańska, Agata 1996. 'The Meanings of Polish spatial prepositions in the domain of time. The Case of *przez* and *w*.' In: R. Dirven and M. Putz (ed.). *The Construal of Space in Language and Thought*, 490-512. Berlin.
- , — 2000. 'Verbal Aspect and Construal.' In: A. Foolen, F. van der Leek (ed.). *Constructions in Cognitive Linguistics*, 141-66.
- Koschmieder, Erwin 1934. *Nauka o aspektach czasownika polskiego w zarysie. Próba syntezy*. Wilno.
- Koševoj. Кошечая, И.Г. 1972. *Типологические структуры языка. Сфера видо-временных значений*. Москва.
- Krifka, Manfred 1989. *Nominalreferenz und Zeitkonstruktion. Studien zur theoretische Linguistik* 10. München.

- Kudlińska, H., 1988. 'Dwuaspektowe czasowniki pochodzenia obcego we współczesnym języku polskim.' In: *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej, XXXIV*, 121-126.
- Kudra, Barbara 1993. *Wpływ przedrostków na łączliwość składniową czasowników ruchu. Folia linguistica* 28. Acta universitatis lodziensis. Łódź.
- Kuryłowicz, J. 1972. 'Miejsce aspektu w systemie koniugacyjnym. In: *Symbolae Polonicae in honorem Stanisłai Jodłowski*, 93-98. Wrocław.
- Labenz, Piotr 2004. *Event-calculus semantics of Polish aspect*. Master's thesis, ILLC, UvA. Amsterdam.
- Lehmann, Volkmar 1979. 'Temporale Aspektbedeutung und Aktionalität im Russischen.' In: P. Rehder. München (ed.). *Slavistische Beiträge*, 120, 117-141.
- , — 1980. 'Kontextuelle Aspekt- und Tempussemantik im Russischen. In: *Slavistische Linguistik*, 1979, 94-115. München.
- , — 1984. 'Affigierung und Verbbedeutung. Ein Beitrag zur aspektuellen Klassifizierung russischer Verbe.' In: *Slavistische Linguistik*, 1983, 61-87. München.
- , — 1988a. 'Der russische und der Englische Aspekt als Repräsentanten zweier Typen der grammatischen Kategorie Aspekt.' In: V. Setschkareff, P. Rehder, H. Schmid [eds.]. *Ars Philologica Slavica. Festschrift für Heinrich Kunstmann*, 270-278. München.
- , — 1988. 'Der russischen Aspekt und die lexikalische Bedeutung des Verbs.' In: *Zeitschrift für slavische Filologie*, 48/1, 170-181.
- , — 1992a. 'Le prétérit deictique et le prétérit narratif en polonais moderne.' In: M. Guiraud-Weber, Ch. Zaremba (eds.). *Linguistique et Slavistique. Mélanges offerts a Paul Garde*, 545-557. Paris.
- , — 1992b. 'Terminativität als Sonderfunktion des ipf. Aspekts.' In: *Slavistische Linguistik*, 1991. *Slavistische Beiträge*, 292, 227-240.
- , — 1993. 'Die Russischen Aspekte als gestufte Kategorien. (Ein Beispiel für die Bedeutung der Kognitiven Linguistik in der slavistischen Sprachwissenschaft.)' In: *Die Welt der Slaven*, 38/2, 265-297.
- Leskien, August 1969. *Handbuch der Altbulgarischen (Altkirchenslavischen) Sprache. Grammatik - Texte - Glossar*. Neunte Auflage. Heidelberg.
- Lunt, Horace 1974. *Old Church Slavonic grammar*. Sixth edition. The Hague, Paris.
- Łaziński, Marek / Wiemer, Björn 1996a. 'Terminatywność jako kategoria stopniowalna.' In: *Prace Filologiczne*, XL, 99-126.
- , — 1996b. 'Możliwości rekatoryzacji duratywnej i terminatywnej polskich i niemieckich czasowników przekazu i ich konwersów.' In: R. Grzegorzczkowska, R. Pajdzińska (eds.). *Językowa kategoryzacja świata*, 333-356. Lublin.
- Maslov, Маслов, Ю.С. 1948. 'Вид и лексическое значение глагола в современном русском литературном языке.' In: *Известия академии наук СССР: Отделение литературы и языка* 7.4, 303-316.
- Maslov, Ju. S. 1959a. 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des slavischen Verbalaspekts.' In: *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, 4, 560-68.
- , — 1959b. 'Глагольный вид в современном болгарском языке (значение и употребление).' In: *Вопросы грамматики болгарского литературного языка*, 157-312. Москва.
- , — 1961. 'Роль так называемой перфективации и имперфективации в процессе возникновения славянского глагольного вида.' In: *Исследования по славянскому*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- языкознанию*, 165-195. Москва.
- , —. 1963. *Морфология глагольного вида в современном болгарском литературном языке*. Москва - Ленинград.
- , —. 1977. 'Русский глагольный вид в зарубежном языкознании последних лет. II.' In: *Вопросы русской аспектологии*, II (= *Уч. зап. тарууского гос. унив. Выпуск 434*), 23-46.
- , —. 1978. 'К основаниям сопоставительной аспектологии.' In: *Вопросы сопоставительной аспектологии*, 4-44. Ленинград.
- , —. 1984. *Очерки по аспектологии*. Издательство Ленинградского университета. Ленинград.
- Mehlig, Hans Robert. Мелиг, Х.Р. 1992. 'Пределность и неопределенность в пространстве и во времени. О фазовых способах действия в русском языке.' In: *Slavistische Linguistik*, 1991 (= *Slavistische Beiträge*, 292), 241-250. München.
- Mirowicz, A. 1959. 'Miejsce aspektów w systemie morfologicznym czasownika.' In: *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego*, XVIII, 109-111.
- Młynarczyk, Anna 2001. 'Aspectuele overeenkomsten tussen het Poolse en het Nederlands.' In: *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 6/4, 272-289. Amsterdam.
- , —. 2004. *Aspectual Pairing in Polish*. Utrecht.
- Mønnesland, Svein 1984. 'The Slavonic Frequentative Habitual.' In: Casper de Groot, Hannu Tommola (eds.). *Aspect Bound. A Voyage into the Realm of Germanic, Slavonic and Finno-Ugrian Aspectology*, 53-76. Dordrecht.
- Nübler, Norbert 1993. 'Zur Differenzierung der Begriffe Terminativität / Aterminativität und Telizität / Atelizität.' In: *Die Welt der Slaven*, 38/2, 298-307.
- Padučeva, Падучева, Елена Викторовна 1990. 'Вид и лексическое значение глагола; от лексического значения глагола к его аспектуальной характеристике.' In: *Russian Linguistics*, 14, 1-18.
- Pasich-Piasecka, Agnieszka 1993. 'Polysemy of the Polish verbal prefix prze-.' In: E. Górka (ed.). *Images from the Cognitive Scene*, 11-26. Universitas, Kraków.
- Piernikarski, Cezar 1969. *Типы оппозиции аспектов польского глагола на фоне славянского*. Wrocław.
- Proeme, Henk 1980. 'On aspectual pairs in Polish.' In: *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 1, 299-314. Amsterdam.
- , —. 1983. 'On terminativeness and aspect.' In: *Dutch Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists, Kiev, Linguistics* (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 3), 385-404. Amsterdam.
- Przybylska, Renata 2006. *Schematy wyobrażeniowe a semantyka polskich prefiksów czasownikowych do-, od-, prze-, roz-, u-*. *Językoznawstwo kognitywne, studia i analizy*. Kraków.
- Rospond, Stanisław. 1971. *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*. Warszawa.
- Rudzka-Ostyn, Brygida 1983. *Cognitive Grammar and the Structure of Dutch uit and Polish wy**. Linguistic Agency University of Trier. Trier.
- Schlegel, Hans 1999. *Zur Rolle der Terminativität/Aterminativität (T/AT) im Aspekt- und Aspektbildungssystem der russischen Sprache der Gegenwart. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der Aspektualität. Specimina Philologiae Slavicae*, 124. München.
- Schoorlemmer, Maaike 1997. 'The role of the internal argument in the Russian

- aspectual system.' In: U. Junghanns, G. Zabatow (ed.). *Formale Slavistik*, 229-239. Frankfurt am Main.
- Schuyt Roel 1990. *The Morphology of Slavic Verbal Aspect*. (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 14). Amsterdam, Atlanta.
- Soudakoff, Dorothy 1975. 'The Prefixes *pere-* and *pre-*: A Definition and Comparison.' In: *Slavic and East European Journal*, 19 / 2, 230-238.
- Stunová, Anna 1988. 'Aspect and sequence of events in Russian and Czech.' In: *Dutch Contributions to the Tenth International Congress of Slavists, Sofia, Linguistics* (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 11), 507-534. Amsterdam.
- , — 1991. 'In Defence of Language-specific Invariant Meanings of Aspect in Russian and Czech.' In: *Studies in West Slavic and Baltic Linguistics* (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 16), 291-313. Amsterdam.
- , — 1992. 'Meaning vs. Context: The Russian Imperfective Past in Sequence of Events.' In: *Studies in Russian Linguistics* (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*), 17, 295-319. Amsterdam.
- , — 1993. *A Contrastive Analysis of Russian and Czech Aspect: Invariance vs. discourse*. Amsterdam.
- Śmiech, Witold 1967. *Rozwój form czasu teraźniejszego czasownika w języku polskim*. Łódź.
- , — 1970. 'O tzw. parach aspektowych w języku polskim.' In: *W służbie nauce i szkole*, 145-148. Warszawa.
- , — 1971. *Funkcje aspektów czasownikowych we współczesnym języku ogólnopolskim*. Łódź.
- , — 1986. *Derywacja prefiksalna czasowników polskich*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, Łódź.
- Thelin, Nils B. 1980. 'Aspekt und Akionalität im Russischen.' In: *Die Welt der Slaven* 25, 428-440.
- Vaillant, André 1966. *Grammaire comparée des langues Slaves*, III, 'Le Verbe'. Paris.
- Vendler, Zeno 1957. 'Verbs and Times.' In: *Philosophical Review*, 46, 143-160.
- Vendler, Zeno 1967. 'Verbs and Times.' In: Z. Vendler (ed.). *Linguistics in philosophy*, 97-121. Ithaca. New York. (= Revised version of Vendler 1957.)
- Verkuyl, H.J. 1972. *On the compositional nature of the aspects*. Dordrecht.
- , —. 1993. *A theory of aspectuality. The interaction between temporal and atemporal structure*. Cambridge.
- , —. 1999. *Aspectual issues. Structuring time and quantity*. Stanford.
- Weinsberg, Adam 1973. *Przymyki przestrzenne w języku polskim, niemieckim i rumuńskim*. Wrocław.
- Wiemer, Björn. See: Łaziński, Marek / Wiemer, Björn
- Wierzbicka, Anna 1967. 'On the Semantics of the Verbal Aspect in Polish.' In: *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, 2231-2249. The Hague et. al.
- Witkowska-Gutkowska, Maria 1989. 'Zmiany łączliwości składniowej czasowników z prefiksem *przy-* w języku polskim.' In: *Folia linguistica*, 21, *Acta universitatis lodziensis*, 43-56. Łódź.
- Włodarczyk, Hélène 1997. *L'Aspect verbal dans le contexte; en Polonais et en Russe*. Institut d'Études Slaves. Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zandbergen, Rolf 1999. *De rectie van werkwoorden van «gooien» en «schieten» in het Pools en het Russisch*. Doctoraalscriptie UvA. Amsterdam.

Dictionaries

- Bańko, Mirosław (ed.) 2000. *Inny słownik języka polskiego PWN*. (vols. I, II). Warszawa.
- Bańkowski, Andrzej 2000. *Etymologiczny słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa.
- Brückner, Aleksander 1927. *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Kraków.
- Długosz-Kurczabowa, Jystyna 2003. *Nowy słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Warszawa.
- Doroszewski, Witold (ed.) 1958 - 69. *Słownik języka polskiego*, tom I-XI, Warszawa.
- Dubisz, Stanisław (ed.) 2003. *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*. (vols. 1 - 6). Warszawa.
- Dunaj, Bogusław (ed.) 1996. *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego*. Kraków.
- Linde, M. Samuel Bogumil 1854. *Słownik języka polskiego*. Tom I-VI. Lwów. Third edition. Facsimile of second edition.
- Pegasus*: Zofia Klimaszewska, René Genis (eds.) 2007 (to appear). *Pools-Nederlands, Nederlands-Pools woordenboek*. Uitgeverij Pegasus. Amsterdam.
- Polański, Kazimierz 1980 - 1992. *Słownik syntaktyczno-generatywny czasowników polskich*, tom I - V. Wrocław, Kraków.
- Slovar'*: *Словарь русского языка* Евгеньева А.П. (ed.) 1981. Москва.
- Słownik Warszawski*: J. Karłowicz, A. Kryński, W. Niedźwiedzki (eds.) 1900-1927. *Słownik języka polskiego*, Tom I-VIII. Warszawa.
- Słownik Wileński*: Maurycy Orgelbrand (ed.) 1861. *Słownik języka polskiego*. Wilno.
- Stanisławski, Jan 1983. *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski*. Warszawa.
- Szymczak, Mieczysław (ed.) 1978. *Słownik języka polskiego*. Warszawa.
- Vasmer, Max 2003 (1950-1958). *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg. (internet: www.ieed.nl)

TABLE OF FIGURES

Chapter I	
1. Russian <i>nepe-</i> and <i>npo-</i>	17
2. the invariant meaning of <i>prze-</i>	20
3. <i>prze_{1,1}</i> ; get across / over 1	24
4. <i>prze_{1,1}</i> ; get across / over 2	26
5. <i>prze_{1,1}</i> ; get across / over 3	27
6. <i>prze_{1,1}</i> ; get across / over 4	28
7. <i>prze_{1,2}</i> ; pierce 1A	29
8. <i>prze_{1,2}</i> ; pierce 1B	29
9. <i>prze_{1,2}</i> ; pierce 2	29
10. <i>prze_{1,3}</i> ; puncture	30
11. <i>prze_{1,4}</i> ; partition	31
12. <i>prze_{1,5}</i> ; saturate	32
13. <i>prze_{1,6}</i> ; exhaust	33
14. <i>prze_{1,7}</i> ; mix / entwine 1	34
15. <i>prze_{1,7}</i> ; mix / entwine 2	35
16. <i>prze_{1,8}</i> ; squander / lose	37
17. <i>prze_{1,9}</i> ; fail [to]	38
18. <i>prze_{1,10}</i> ; start [to]	41
19. <i>prze₂</i> ; spend time	41
20. <i>prze₃</i> ; transpose (from P to Q)	44
21. <i>prze_{3,1}</i> ; replace	46
22. <i>prze_{3,2}</i> ; reorientate	47
23. <i>prze_{3,3,1}</i> ; redo	48
24. <i>prze_{3,3,2}</i> ; copy	49
25. <i>prze_{3,3,3}</i> ; alter	50
26. <i>prze_{4,1}</i> ; execute not (quite) totally	52
27. <i>prze_{4,2}</i> ; overdo	54
28. <i>prze_{4,3}</i> ; outdo	55
29. <i>prze₅</i> ; cease [to]	56
30. interrelation of variants and invariant	59
31. 'going from one to another'	61
32. the two basic variants	64

Chapter II	
1. the contours of terminativity	76
2. processual transformative terminativity	77
3. relative terminus	79
4. non-processual transformative	79
5. semelfactivity	80
6. delimitativity & perdurativity	82
7. aterminativity	84
8. repetition 1	86
9. repetition 2	87
10. non-processual transformative repetition	88
11. process phase	88
12. 'old' and 'new' <i>wy-</i>	104
13. <i>wy-</i> : XYZ-scheme	104
14. <i>prze</i> ₁ 'old'	105
15. <i>prze</i> ₁ 'new'	105
16. <i>prze</i> ₁ : XYZ	105
17. <i>prze</i> ₃ : XYZ	106
Chapter III	
None	
Chapter IV	
1. <i>prze</i> VM <i>nad</i> NP _{Instr}	200
2. <i>prze</i> VM <i>od</i> NP _{Gen} <i>do</i> NP _{Gen}	201
3. <i>prze</i> VM <i>wzdłuż</i> NP _{Gen}	202
4. <i>prze</i> VM <i>obok</i> NP _{Gen}	202
5. <i>prze</i> VM <i>przez</i> NP _{Acc}	203
6. <i>prze</i> VM NP _{Instr}	205
7. <i>prze</i> VM NP _{Acc} 1	206
8. <i>prze</i> VM NP _{Acc} 2	208
9. <i>prze</i> VM _i NP _{Acc} 1	213
10. <i>prze</i> VM _i NP _{Acc} 2	214

SAMENVATTING

Verbale prefixen bezetten een sleutelpositie in de talen van de Indo-Europese familie waarin ze voorkomen. Ze zijn, met hun betekenis en al, geaffiggeerd aan het werkwoord en het werkwoord op zijn beurt is met zijn door het prefix beïnvloede valenties het centrum van de zin. We kunnen dan ook stellen dat prefixen invloed hebben op de syntaxis en de semantiek van de zin. In Slavische talen, waaronder het Pools, spelen prefixen bovendien een rol bij het zogenaamde werkwoordsaspect.

De meeste studies over prefixen, of die nu over het Pools gaan of over andere Slavische talen, concentreren zich op een van die bovengenoemde aspecten. Meestal gaat het dan om de lexicale betekenis, zelden over de aspectuele kant van de zaak of over de syntactische consequenties van prefixgebruik en bijna nooit over prefixen en zogenaamde terminativiteit. Door deze beperking blijft de veelzijdigheid van de problematiek rondom prefixen helaas onder- zo niet onbelicht. Dat laatste was de motivatie om voor deze studie een enigszins andere invalshoek te kiezen.

In deze dissertatie wordt een enkel Pools prefix als het ware van verschillende kanten belicht. Het uitverkoren prefix is *prze-*. Het gaat terug op de prepositie *przez* ‘door, over enz.’ Bijna alle West-Slavische talen, en hiertoe behoort het Pools, hebben voor de betekenissen die gedekt worden door dit prefix slechts een enkel prefix ter beschikking. De overige Slavische talen, met inbegrip overigens van het in dit opzicht uitzonderlijke West-Slavische Tsjechisch, hebben er twee. Zo heeft het Russisch *nepe-* en *npo-*, het Tsjechisch *pře-* en *pro-*.

Elk hoofdstuk bevat een enkel onderwerp waarbij prefixen betrokken zijn, en is dan ook eigenlijk bijna een aparte studie. Elk hoofdstuk is genummerd met een Romeins cijfer, heeft zijn eigen eindnoten en paragraafnummering. De

studie is echter wel als integraal geheel bedoeld. Het prefix *prze-* is elke keer exemplarisch ingezet en de hoofdstukken vormen dus eigenlijk casestudy's.

Het eerste hoofdstuk gaat over de betekenis van *prze-*. Als prefix is het eigenlijk alleen goed te bestuderen aan de hand van de composita waarin het optreedt. Daar het prefix nooit alleen staat is bestudering via vergelijking met het ongeprefigeerde basiswerkwoord geboden. Op deze wijze zijn de makers van de verschillende woordenboeken en andere studies vaak al tot behoorlijk aanzienlijke lijsten van betekenissen gekomen. Het prefix *prze-* is extra gecompliceerd vanwege het feit dat het de betekeniscomplexen van twee Slavische prefixen lijkt te verenigen; daarover was hierboven al even sprake. Het is mogelijk gebleken om via de weg van vergelijking de verschillende variante betekenissen van ons prefix terug te brengen tot een tweetal basisvarianten. Het overeenkomstige tussen die twee varianten is vervolgens geabstraheerd tot algemene invariant.

Een belangrijk semantisch basisgegeven van prefixen is de voorstelling van een bepaalde situatie in termen van twee "posities" die hier worden getypeerd als 'oud' en 'nieuw'. De posities zijn aan elkaar geopponeerd. Een werkwoord met een prefix is altijd terminatief en die terminativiteit hangt samen met de prefixbetekenis, waarover aanstonds nog enkele woorden; eerst enkele opmerkingen over het hier toegepaste model van terminativiteit. Dat gaat terug op de inzichten van Maslov (1948, 1961) en de uitbreiding daarvan door Barentsen (1985, 1995). In principe wordt de situatie voorgesteld als bestaande uit drie fasen: XYZ. De uitgangssituatie X gaat over in uitloopsituatie Z via werkwoordshandeling Y. Er komt dus niet alleen een eind aan de handeling uitgedrukt door het werkwoord, maar er vindt tevens een situatiewisseling plaats, namelijk van X naar Z. Het "moment" van overgang van Y naar Z, het eind van de handeling en dus de overgang naar Z, wordt hier "terminus" genoemd.

De hierboven aangeduide samenhang tussen prefixbetekenis en de fasen in het gebruikte model van terminativiteit komt neer op een correlatie tussen de door het prefix opgeroepen positie 'oud' en de uitgangssituatie van terminativiteit X. Hetzelfde geldt voor 'nieuw' en Z. Het prefix beschrijft dus in feite die

twee fasen binnen het XYZ-schema. In het tweede hoofdstuk wordt ingegaan op terminativiteit en prefixbetekenis, alsmede op enkele uitwerkingen daarvan.

Terminativiteit is een betekenissenmerk van Slavische werkwoorden: perfectieve werkwoorden zijn altijd terminatief terwijl imperfectieve werkwoorden terminatief of aterminatief zijn. Vormelijk aterminatieve werkwoorden kunnen bovendien in terminatieve situaties worden gebruikt (en zodoende terminativiteit ‘vergaren’) indien een object daartoe met zijn betekenis aanleiding geeft. Zo verwijst bijvoorbeeld *czytał* ‘hij las’ naar een aterminatieve situatie terwijl *czytał „Pana Tadeusza”* ‘“Pan Tadeusz” lezen’ naar een terminatieve situatie kan verwijzen. Er zijn ook andere terminativerende zinsdelen, maar die worden hier verder niet uitgediept. Terminatieve imperfectieve werkwoordsvormen nemen een belangrijke plaats in in het werkwoordelijk aspectstelsel van alle Slavische talen en dus ook in dat van het Pools. Ons interesseert hier vooral de enorm grote groep geprefigeerde imperfectieve werkwoorden die ook wel bekend staan als secundaire imperfectiva. Met hun prefix zijn ze gemarkeerd terminatief. Deze werkwoorden verschaffen Slavische talen de mogelijkheid een bepaalde situatie als expliciet terminatief en imperfectief neer te zetten. Ze kunnen op twee manieren ingezet worden, hoewel dat niet met elk secundair imperfectief mogelijk is. Hoewel alle secundaire imperfectiva gebruikt kunnen worden om een zogenaamde open herhaling aan te duiden is het aan processueel transformatieve werkwoorden voorbehouden om bovendien op het proces van de uitgedrukte handeling zelf te kunnen focussen.

In het tweede hoofdstuk worden enkele randverschijnselen bij secundaire imperfectiva besproken. Het eerste hiervan wordt gevormd door de zogenaamde aspecttrio's, bijvoorbeeld *jeść*, *zjeść*, *zjadać* ‘(op)eten’. De reden voor de ogenschijnlijk driedelige oppositie is te vinden in (de mate van) de gemarkeerdheid van terminativiteit. De eerste twee kunnen elkaars aspectuele opponenten zijn in neutrale maar transitief terminatieve situaties terwijl de tweede twee elkaars aspectuele opponent zijn in transitieve situaties met een extra focus op de terminus.

De tweede kwestie die in hoofdstuk II wordt besproken betreft het algemeen als aspectpaar geldende koppel werkwoorden *czytać* : *przeczytać*_p ‘lezen’. Het staat als casestudy model voor veel aspectuele werkwoordsparen waarvan één lid geprefigeerd is en het andere niet. Gebleken is dat men hier en daar ook de vaak als “foutief” aangemerkte, secundair imperfectieve vorm *przeczytywać*_i kan aantreffen: op het internet, in oudere literatuur en zelfs in het dagboek van maarschalk Piłsudski. Wanneer het optreedt, als gelegenheidsvorming, dan treffen we een verhoogd gehalte terminativiteit en prefixbetekenis aan, wat aan de hand van concrete voorbeelden wordt geïllustreerd.

De kwestie van de zogenaamd “lege” prefixen, die hierboven al even werd aangestipt, wordt voortgezet in het derde hoofdstuk. We kwamen er niet onderuit in te gaan op de kwestie van aspectpaarvorming. Ook hier speelt terminativiteit een rol aangezien alleen terminatieve werkwoorden een aspectpaar vormen. De gangbare visie op het achterliggende derivatieproces is gebaseerd op morfologische kenmerken en bestaat erin dat imperfectieve basiswoorden zogenaamde “zuivere” perfectieven vormen door middel van “lege” prefixen. Het gros van die imperfectieve basiswerkwoorden is in essentie aterminatief maar zij kunnen ook wel, zoals hierboven al gemeld, in terminatieve contexten optreden. Het is nu juist in terminatieve contexten dat deze werkwoorden ook perfectief kunnen worden gemaakt. En op dit punt draaien we een en ander om. Het lijkt namelijk semantisch gezien zinvoller om in tegengestelde richting te denken: van perfectief naar imperfectief. Waar een perfectief werkwoord per definitie terminatief is, is een imperfectief ongeprefigeerd werkwoord dat in 9 van de 10 gevallen niet. Daar de aspectoppositie alleen maar tussen terminatieve situaties kan bestaan, moeten we stellen dat imperfectieve ongeprefigeerde werkwoorden toch vaak “wel kunnen” in terminatieve situaties. Zodoende moeten we erkennen dat terminatief gebruikte doch niet zelf voor terminativiteit gemarkeerde werkwoorden in de praktijk wel degelijk dienst kunnen doen als aspectuele tegenhanger van immers altijd terminatieve perfectieve werkwoorden.

De rol van prefixen in dit soort aspectparen wordt uitgediept in hoofdstuk III, waar wordt stilgestaan bij de paradoxale situatie dat prefixen, die normaliter betekenisdragend zijn, ogenschijnlijk “leeg” kunnen worden, dat wil zeggen dat ze hun lexicale betekenis verliezen met uitzondering van het lexicale-semanticke gedeelte ‘terminativiteit’. Het is namelijk dat laatste dat in de perfectieve situatie altijd aanwezig blijft. We kunnen dan ook stellen dat de term “leeg” niet erg gelukkig is daar het systemisch belangrijkste gedeelte van de betekenis van het prefix aanwezig blijft en er dus, in tegenstelling tot hetgeen de term suggereert, geen sprake is van het volledig verdwijnen van de betekenis. Desalniettemin wordt hier vastgehouden aan de algemeen gevestigde term “leeg” prefix om het fenomeen te beschrijven en een naam te geven.

Hoofdstuk IV ten slotte gaat in op bredere, werkwoordoverstijgende structuren waarin ons prefix *prze-* optreedt. Er is voor gekozen om de bestudering van prefixen en hun invloed op de rest van de zin te beperken tot de werkwoorden van beweging, bekend bij iedere Slavist als aparte categorie, omdat juist bij die groep werkwoorden de basale ruimtelijke betekenis van prefixen in haar zuiverste vorm wordt gerepresenteerd. Hoewel er voor gekozen is het onderzoek te beperken tot de ‘klassieke’ werkwoorden van beweging is het waarschijnlijk, dat een en ander ook geldt voor werkwoorden die een verplaatsing of iets dergelijks uitdrukken maar buiten deze strikte groep vallen. Prefixen kunnen een overigens intransitief werkwoord van beweging transitief maken. Werkwoorden met *prze-* blijken bovendien op te treden in zinnen met allerlei complementen. De meest prominente zijn wel een accusatiefobject, een instrumentalisobject en een voorzetselconstituent. Bij de werkwoorden met *prze-* treedt de constructie van een voorzetselconstituent met *przez* ‘door’ in directe betekenisoppositie met accusatiefobjecten en in mindere mate met instrumentalisobjecten. Deze betekenisopposities worden besproken en de constructie “*prze-verbum przez* nominale groep” wordt aangeduid als prefix-prepositie harmonie, daar deze beide leden feitelijk op eenzelfde vorm teruggaan en eenzelfde betekenis en zelfs klank hebben. In geval van constituenten bij *prze-*werkwoorden met een andere prepositie

wordt gesproken van prefix-prepositie disharmonie. Van deze laatsten is een lijst opgesteld op basis van het internet en onze tekstcorpora.

In deze dissertatie is ervoor gekozen om vier afzonderlijke aspecten van het prefix *prze-* voor het voetlicht te brengen. Elk van de vier hoofdstukken heeft zijn eigen conclusies, waarvan sommige hierboven al in het voorbijgaan zijn aangestipt. Hier volgt een korte opsomming.

De in hoofdstuk I bijeengebrachte variante betekenissen kunnen teruggereceneerd worden tot een tweetal basisvarianten, die elk een constellatie vormen van drie elementen. Deze elementen zijn ruimtelijk voor te stellen als een begingebied (situatie etc.), P, en een eindgebied, Q, die verbonden worden door een “trajector”. De trajector zelf lijkt een tussengebied, R, te doorkruisen. Het verschil tussen de twee basisvarianten ligt in de focusering op de gebieden P en Q, dan wel op R. De gemeenschappelijke elementen zijn:

- de aanwezigheid van de drie ‘gebieden’ P, Q en R als kenmerken van het landmark;
- de trajector door R;
- de overschrijding van een grens tussen R en P.

De betekenis van *prze-* is dus inderdaad terug te brengen tot een enkele invariant.

De conclusies met betrekking tot *prze-* en terminativiteit zoals die besproken worden in hoofdstuk II bestaan uit verschillende onderdelen. Ten eerste kunnen we stellen dat terminativiteit in imperfectieve situaties niet altijd gereflecteerd wordt in het gebruik van een expliciet terminatief werkwoord (b.v. een geprefigeerd werkwoord) maar dat een overigens aterminatief werkwoord kan volstaan in contexten waar een discreet (dat wil zeggen al dan niet ruimtelijk als “eindig” voorgesteld) direct object het terminatieve toch al impliceert. Deze discreetheid is niet altijd direct evident en men kan dan ook spreken van een glijdende schaal die wordt veroorzaakt door de interactie van werkwoord en object. Een en ander noopt ons ertoe duidelijk te maken welke werkwoorden wel en welke

niet een zogenaamd ‘zuiver’ aspectpaar vormen. Indien men terminativiteit als centraal betekenselement in deze kwestie accepteert, dan wordt duidelijk dat slechts echt terminatieve werkwoorden eenduidig in paren optreden. Voorts kunnen we ook stellen dat zogenaamde duale werkwoordslexemen (simplicia die in essentie aterminatief zijn, maar die terminatief kunnen worden ingezet) in hun terminatieve toepassing een perfectieve tegenhanger kunnen hebben. Die laatste is dan een compositum met een zogenaamd ‘leeg’ prefix. Als laatste kunnen we nog concluderen dat *prze-* zich niet leent voor alle soorten terminativiteit, doch slechts voor gebruik in predicaten die kunnen worden beschreven als: processueel-transformatief, perduratief en met een relatieve terminus.

Uit hoofdstuk III wordt duidelijk dat de zogenaamde ‘lege prefixen’ uitsluitend voorkomen bij duale werkwoordslexemen (zie boven) waarbij vaak sprake is van een semantische reduplicatie van prefixbetekenis en (basis)werkwoordsbetekenis. De ‘keus’ van het ‘lege’ prefix is dus niet arbitrair, maar tegelijkertijd niet volledig eenduidig. Dat laatste blijkt ook uit het feit dat er soms meer dan een geprefigeerd perfectief compositum fungeert als ‘zuivere’ perfectieve pendant bij een imperfectief werkwoord, welke perfectieve pendants dan toch beide zijn te duiden in termen van een dergelijke reduplicatie. Er blijken ook ‘zuivere’ perfectieve tegenhangers te zijn geformeerd naar analogie van reeds bestaande geprefigeerde werkwoorden.

De conclusies behorende bij hoofdstuk IV betreffen de toepassingen van de verschillende extenties die bij een met *prze-* geprefigeerd werkwoord van beweging kunnen voorkomen. Het instrumentalisobject localiseert de route van de trajector door middel van de parallel aan de trajector lopende grenzen van het object. Het gebruik van het accusatiefobject komt overeen met Jakobsons functieomschrijving van de accusatief, en wel dat het de primaire focus van de door het werkwoord uitgedrukte handeling markeert. Zodoende actualiseert het de ruimtelijke entiteit die wordt voorgesteld door het accusatiefobject. Het accusatiefobject betreft ook typisch een ruimtelijke entiteit wier grenzen dwars op de loop van de trajector staan. In het Pools staat dit object in een “zachte” opposi-

tie met complementen met het voorzetsel *przez* 'door, over'. Deze laatste focuseert echter eenvoudigweg op het bereiken van de andere kant van een door dit complement beschreven ruimtelijke entiteit. Deze laatste constructie is nagenoeg uitgesloten als de focus op de aard, consistentie, karakteristieken e.d. van de ruimtelijk entiteit ligt; dan past het accusatiefobject het best.

In deze studie is de problematiek rondom het ene prefix *prze-* in haar semantische, aspectologische en syntactische complexiteit diepgaand aan de orde gesteld. Het is de bedoeling om met deze dissertatie als basis de interactie tussen verba en andere prefixen verder te bestuderen in het Pools, maar ook in andere Slavische talen, met name het Tsjechisch.

STRESZCZENIE

Przedrostki czasownikowe odgrywają ważną a czasami wręcz kluczową rolę w tych językach rodziny indoeuropejskiej, w których występują. Są one połączone z czasownikiem, który razem z walencją stanowi centrum zdania. Możemy więc twierdzić, iż prefiksy wywierają wpływ na to, co się dzieje dalej w zdaniu. W językach słowiańskich, do których oczywiście należy język polski, przedrostki pełnią ponadto ważną funkcję przy tworzeniu tak zwanego aspektu czasownikowego.

Większość studiów o przedrostkach czasownikowych, bądź o języku polskim, bądź też o innym języku słowiańskim, zajmuje się tylko jedną stroną zagadnienia, zwykle znaczeniem leksykalnym danego przedrostka, natomiast rzadko kiedy traktuje o samym aspekcie lub o składniowych osobliwościach, a prawie nigdy o połączeniu przedrostków z tak zwaną terminatywnością. Właściwie nie ma nic złego w tym podejściu, ale powoduje ono, że wielostronność problematyki bywa, moim zdaniem, niedostatecznie naświetlona lub pozostaje w ogóle pominięta. Dlatego wybrałem nieco inną metodę.

W niniejszej pracy doktorskiej omawiam więc tylko jeden prefiks w różnych ujęciach. Wybrałem prefiks *prze-*, który ma związek pochodzeniowy z przyimkiem *przez*. Prawie wszystkie języki zachodniosłowiańskie, do których należy także język polski, mają tylko jeden prefiks dla określenia funkcji znaczeniowych, które w innych językach słowiańskich wyrażane są *przez* dwa prefiksy. Język rosyjski ma więc *nepe-* i *npo-* a język czeski, który pod tym względem jest wyjątkiem wśród języków zachodniosłowiańskich, ma *pře-* i *pro-*.

W każdym rozdziale omawiam osobny temat związany z prefiksami. Każdy rozdział stanowi zatem prawie odrębne studium i oznaczony jest inną cyfrą rzymską, ma własną numerację paragrafów i osobne przypisy. Mimo to, uwa-

zam, iż praca ta stanowi integralną całość. Każdorazowo stosowałem jako przykład przedrostek *prze-*, toteż rozdziały stanowią tak zwane case studies.

W pierwszym rozdziale pracy zajmuję się znaczeniem przedrostka *prze-*. Znaczenie prefiksu należy analizować wraz z czasownikiem podstawowym, z którym on występuje. Skoro prefiks nigdy nie występuje sam, należy porównywać znaczenie danego wyrazu złożonego (z prefiksem) ze znaczeniem czasownika podstawowego. Wychodząc z tego założenia zarówno leksykografowie większości słowników polskich jak i inni badacze tego tematu sporządzili obszerne spisy poszczególnych wariantów znaczeniowych. Jak już wspomniano wyżej, znaczenie prefiksu *prze-* pokrywa się ze znaczeniami dwóch prefiksów w innych językach słowiańskich, a więc pod kątem znaczeniowym fakt ten stanowi dodatkową komplikację. Udało mi się jednak drogą porównywania zredukować sporą ilość wariantów znaczeniowych do dwóch podstawowych wariantów. Z ich wspólnych cech wyodrębniłem model elementarnego inwariantu znaczeniowego przedrostka *prze-*.

Ważną, moim zdaniem, cechą znaczeniową wszystkich prefiksów jest to, że przedstawiają i opisują daną sytuację w obrębie dwóch przeciwstawnych „pozycji”, które w niniejszej pracy określiłem jako „starą” i „nową”. Wynikiem tej cechy jest to, iż każdy czasownik rozszerzony prefiksem jest terminatywny. Dalej poświęcam jeszcze parę słów tematowi korelacji terminatywności z ową charakterystyką. Najpierw jednak krótko opisuję stosowany przeze mnie model terminatywności. Podstawą tego modelu jest teoria Maslova (1961), która została obszernie rozwinięta przez Barentsena (1985, 1995, 2003). Mówiąc w skrócie, Barentsen przedstawia sytuację terminatywną jako składającą się z trzech faz: XYZ. Faza początkowa X wchodzi w fazę końcową Z poprzez czynność (proces itd.) Y wyrażaną przez czasownik. Wraz z zakończeniem czynności (procesu itd.) zmienia się więc także sytuacja od X do Z. „Moment” przejścia od Y do Z, a więc moment zakończenia czynności (procesu itd.) nazywamy ‘transitus’. Następnie przechodzę do już zapowiedzianej korelacji między znaczeniem prefiksu a modelem terminatywności. Istnieje więc bezpośredni związek między przywołaną

poprzez prefiks pozycją „starą” i fazą początkową X modelu terminatywności. Taka sama zależność istnieje pomiędzy pozycją „nową” i fazą końcową Z. Prefiks opisuje zatem w gruncie rzeczy te dwie fazy schematu XYZ.

W drugim rozdziale rozpatruję korelację między prefiksem a terminatywnością, jak również niektóre skutki tegoż związku. Terminatywność to właściwie cecha znaczeniowa czasowników słowiańskich: wszystkie czasowniki dokonane są terminatywne, czasowniki niedokonane zaś są albo nieterminatywne, albo terminatywne. Formalnie nieterminatywne czasowniki występują także w sytuacjach terminatywnych, kiedy to terminatywność jest wyrażana nie czasownikiem lecz inną częścią zdania. Ta funkcja może być pełniona przez różne części zdania, ale w tejże pracy opisałem tylko takie sytuacje, w których to dopełnienie bliższe stanowi o terminatywności.

Niedokonane czasowniki terminatywne zajmują ważne miejsce w systemie aspektowym wszystkich języków słowiańskich, choć dokładne ich funkcje mogą się różnić w poszczególnych językach. Ogromna grupa tych tak zwanych wtórnie niedokonanych czasowników jest bardzo ciekawa. Ich prefiks określa niewątpliwą terminatywność. Czasowniki te umożliwiają polszczyźnie przedstawienie danej sytuacji jako jednoznacznie terminatywnej i niedokonanej. Stosuje się je w dwojaki sposób, choć nie każdy czasownik wtórnie niedokonany na to pozwala. Owszem, każdy z nich może występować na oznaczenie tak zwanego otwartego powtarzania (tj powtarzanie bez kwantyfikacji, czyli typu *Ania zawsze przepisywała_i swoje artykuły* w przeciwieństwie do *Ania przepisała_p swoje artykuły pięć razy* itp.), ale nie każdy pozwala na rozpatrywanie samej czynności (procesu itd.) wyrażanej przez podstawowy czasownik. Tylko czasowniki nazywane tutaj procesualno-transformatywnymi mają taką możliwość.

W dalszym ciągu drugiego rozdziału omawiam niektóre zjawiska marginesowe dotyczące czasowników wtórnie niedokonanych, które są jednak znaczące dla całego systemu terminatywności. Pierwsze omawiane zjawisko to nazywane tutaj za Barentsenem (2003) triady aspektowe, n.p. *jeść*, *zjeść_p*, *zjadać*. Powód istnienia takich pozornie trzyczłonowych opozycji można znaleźć w obrębie

terminatywności. Pierwsze dwa (*jeść* : *zjeść_p*) można uważać za członów pary aspektowej dla tranzytywnych sytuacji neutralnie terminatywnych (por. *pisać* : *napisać_p*), podczas gdy druga para (*zjeść_p* : *zjadać*) składająca się z obu członów z prefiksem ma zwiększony nacisk na transitus. Druga sprawa poruszona w tym rozdziale dotyczy czasowników *czytać* : *przeczytać_p* ogólnie uważanych za parę czysto aspektową. Prefiks *prze-* rzadko kiedy występuje w parach czysto aspektowych o członku niedokonanym bez prefiksu. Tutaj omawiam niektóre zasadnicze kwestie i ponadto badam formy czasownika *przeczytywać*, który często jest uważany za niepoprawny. Istnienie tej formy omawiam porównując ją z rosyjskimi odpowiednikami, które nie są uważane za niepoprawne. Formy czasownika *przeczytywać* w gramatycznie zupełnie poprawnych okolicznościach występują regularnie w dość specyficznych tekstach w internecie. W dodatku spotyka się ten czasownik także w starszej literaturze pięknej oraz np. w dzienniku marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego. W sytuacjach, w których pojawiają się formy tego czasownika, można zawsze stwierdzić zwiększony nacisk na terminatywność, jak również na znaczenie leksykalne przedrostka. To zjawisko omawiam za pomocą przykładów wziętych z korpusów tekstowych jak i z internetu.

Tematem trzeciego rozdziału jest tworzenie tak zwanych „czystych” par aspektowych za pomocą prefiksów. Właściwie poruszyłem tę sprawę już w poprzednim rozdziale, więc jest to raczej kontynuacja. Tworzenie to, moim zdaniem, jest ściśle związane z terminatywnością i za „czyste” pary aspektowe uważam tylko te, w których oba członów opozycji są terminatywne. Skoro w tych parach członów niedokonany nie ma prefiksu, podczas gdy człon dokonany go ma, zwykło się określać owe prefiksy jako „puste”. Zwykło się także opisywać ich de-rywację „od niedokonanego poprzez prefiksację do dokonanego”, czyli na podstawie czysto morfologicznej. Okazało się, że większość czasowników bez prefiksu jest nieterminatywna, choć pojawiają się one w terminatywnych sytuacjach takich, jakie zostały już opisane w drugim rozdziale. Czasowniki takie występują potencjalnie tylko w obu aspektach w danej sytuacji, jeżeli ta sytuacja jest ter-

minatywna. W użyciu nieterminatywnym występują tylko w postaci niedokonanego, a zatem nie ma opozycji aspektowej.

Spróbujmy spojrzeć na zagadnienie z innej strony i przedstawić derywację aspektu na podstawie semantyki raczej niż morfologii. Derywacja „od dokonanego do niedokonanego” okazuje się wówczas o wiele bardziej logiczna. Przecież, jeżeli terminatywność jest podstawą, główną charakterystyką danej sytuacji, to jest ona wyrażona najlepiej za pomocą czasownika dokonanego, a to, że tworzymy odpowiednik niedokonanego drogą deprefiksacji, jest tylko możliwe pod warunkiem, że terminatywność jest wyrażana już w zdaniu w inny sposób. Ponadto w ogóle nie byłoby opozycji aspektowej, gdyby nie było terminatywności.

Oprócz roli prefiksów w takich parach aspektowych w trzecim rozdziale omawiam, jak to jest możliwe, że prefiksy pozornie tracą swoje leksykalne znaczenie, oczywiście oprócz części ‘terminatywnej’ tegoż znaczenia. Ta część nadająca terminatywność zawsze zostaje w czasownikach dokonanych. Możemy więc stwierdzić, iż termin „pusty prefiks” jest nieco niezręczny; przecież przedrostek nie traci swego leksykalnego znaczenia zupełnie. Mimo to stosuję go, ponieważ termin ten jest ogólnie znany w dziedzinie badań językoznawczo-slawistycznych i nie ma, jak dotychczas, lepszego określenia.

Rozdział czwarty wreszcie poświęcony jest strukturom znaczeniowym o prefiksie *prze-* szerszym niż składające się z samego czasownika. Podstawowe znaczenie przestrzenne prefiksu jest najbardziej widoczne w złożeniach czasowników ruchu. Ta właściwość pozwala na ograniczenie badania do tej grupy czasownikowej. Prefiksy więc mają wpływ na strukturę całego zdania. Fakt ten staje się oczywisty już przy porównaniu nieterminatywnego *jechać* z terminatywnym *przejechać_p* (*dolinę* itd.). Konstrukcji, w których występuje *przejechać_p* jest jednak więcej, a niektóre wchodzą w bardzo bliską opozycję znaczeniową. Oprócz dopełnienia bliższego w bierniku występują także określenia w narzędniku oraz dopełnienia z przyimkiem *przez*. Omawiam te opozycje i analizuję, na czym polegają różnice znaczeniowe. Konstrukcje „*prze-*czasownik + *przez-*grupa nominalna” charakteryzuję jako harmonię prefiksarno-prepozycyjną, ponieważ *prze-* i

przez mają nie tylko wspólne pochodzenie, ale także podobne znaczenia i brzmienie. Występują także dopełnienia z innym przyimkiem niż *przez* (np. *obok, wzdłuż, nad, pod* itd.) przy czasownikach ruchu o prefiksie *prze-*. Spis tych przypadków dysharmonii prefiksально-prepozycyjnej stworzyłem na podstawie tekstów internetowych oraz korpusów tekstowych.”

W niniejszej pracy doktorskiej zająłem się czterema różnymi aspektami polskiego przedrostka *prze-*. Każdemu z nich poświęciłem osobny rozdział zamknięty osobnymi wnioskami, niektóre z nich wymieniłem krótko w powyższym tekście. Teraz podsumuję.

Poszczególne znaczenia prefiksu *prze-* przytoczone w pierwszym rozdziale można zredukować do dwóch podstawowych wariantów, które najlepiej przedstawić jako modele przestrzenne. Oba warianty stanowią konstelację trzech elementów: P, „obszar (sytuacja itd.) początkowy”, Q „obszar końcowy” i R „trajektor”. Trajektor R łączy P i Q poprzez „obszar” pomiędzy nimi. Najważniejszą różnicę pomiędzy obiema wariantami stanowi fokus. W jednym z nich najważniejszy fokus to P i Q, w drugim zaś samo R. Wspólny element to „przejście” granicy pomiędzy R i obszarem końcowym P. Te ostatnie elementy znaczeniowe stanowią podległy inwariant znaczeniowy, z którego rzeczywiście można wyprowadzić znaczenie przedrostka *prze-*.

Wnioski dotyczące *prze-* i terminatywności omawiane w rozdziale drugim, składają się z kilku części. Po pierwsze ustaliłem, że terminatywność w aspekcie niedokonanym nie zawsze oddaje się za pomocą czasownika morfologicznie terminatywnego (np. czasownika o prefiksie). W niektórych sytuacjach terminatywnych wystarczają czasowniki nieterminatywne. W takich kontekstach występuje dopełnienie bliższe „dyskretne”, czyli o wymiarach ograniczonych. Wymiary te wyobraża się przestrzennie. Dyskretność ta nie jest zawsze oczywista i ustaliłem, że często mamy do czynienia ze stopniowaniem terminatywności spowodowanym interakcją znaczeniową czasownika z dopełnieniem bliższym. To, pomiędzy innymi, skłoniło mnie, żeby wyjaśnić, czym jest „para aspektowa” i po-

kazać, które czasowniki tworzą tak zwane ‘czyste pary aspektowe’. Uznając, że w tej kwestii terminatywność jest kluczowym elementem znaczeniowym, stwierdziłem, że tylko czasowniki terminatywne występują w parach aspektowych (sufiksalnych). Natomiast wiele tak zwanych podwójnych leksemów czasownikowych niedokonanych, mogących występować w terminatywnych jak i w nieterminatywnych sytuacjach, ma odpowiednik dokonany o ‘pustym’ przedrostku. Człon dokonany w tych wypadkach jest odpowiednikiem tylko dla funkcji terminatywnych pierwotnego leksemu. Na zakończenie mogę jeszcze stwierdzić, że przedrostek *prze-* nie nadaje się do wszystkich typów terminatywności, lecz tylko dla predykatów tutaj zwanych intraterminalnymi, terminalnowielokrotnymi, perduratywnymi i predykatów o terminusie względnym.

W trzecim rozdziale ustaliłem, że przedrostki ‘puste’ pojawiają się tylko przy podwójnych leksemach czasownikowych, przy czym często mamy do czynienia z reduplikacją semantyczną między znaczeniem przedrostka względnie czasownika podstawowego. Z tego wynika, że wybór przedrostka często nie jest arbitralny, choć jednocześnie nie jest on zawsze do końca ewidentny lub jednoznaczny. Wskazuje na to też fakt, że dość ograniczona grupa czasowników niedokonanych ma dwa lub nawet trzy dokonane odpowiedniki ‘czysto’ aspektowe, każdy o innym prefiksie. Wszystkie dokonane odpowiedniki jednak mają w sobie taką reduplikację. Oprócz tego, nowe pary ‘czysto’ aspektowe tworzy się poprzez analogię znaczeniową z już istniejącymi czasownikami z przedrostkiem.

Wnioski wypływające z czwartego rozdziału dotyczą stosowania i struktury poszczególnych składników, które mogą występować w predykatkach z czasownikiem ruchu z przedrostkiem. Grupa nominalna w narzędniku lokalizuje trasę trajektora poprzez identyfikację równoległych granic tejże trasy. Funkcje dopełnienia bliższe (w bierniku) w tych strukturach odpowiada dokładnie funkcji biernika opisaną przez Jakobsona. Biernik jest primarnym fokusem akcji wyrażanej przez czasownik. W ten sposób biernik aktualizuje przestrzenną tożsamość obiektu wyrażanego przez dopełnienie bliższe. Dopełnienie bliższe w bierniku ma granice, które w stosunku do trajektora przebiegają w poprzek. W języku

polskim takie dopełnienie stoi w „miękkiej” opozycji z komplementem o przyimku *przez*. Konstrukcja ta natomiast zwykle wskazuje po prostu na osiągnięcie drugiej strony przestrzennego obiektu. Ona prawie nie występuje w przypadkach, gdy rodzaj, natura, charakterystyka itd. stanowi główny fokus wypowiedzi. Wówczas najlepiej pasuje dopełnienie bliższe w bierniku.

W niniejszej pracy dość obszernie przedstawiłem problematykę semantyczną, aspektologiczną i syntaktyczną wokół przedrostka *prze-*. Zamierzam, opierając się na tej pracy doktorskiej, dalej badać interakcje między przedrostkami i czasownikami w języku polskim, ale również w innych językach, zwłaszcza z języku czeskim.

INDEX

- accomplishments, 93, 95, 100, 154
accumulation, 138
achievements, 93, 95, 100, 154, 163
action phase, 89
activities, 95, 154
actualisation, 118
adjunct
 adverbial, 107
 Non-verbal, 90, 153, 173
 of place with a perlocative direction,
 198, 216
Aktionsart, 189, 192
 delimitative, 81
 perdurative, 82
 saturative, 175
allogram, 189
Andersson, 96
Aptacy, 8, 9, 16
article
 definite, 126, 127, 141
ASPAC, 10
aspect, 1 – 6, 9, 12, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75
 – 78, 84, 85, 88, 95, 96, 101, 113,
 114, 124, 125, 146, 157, 159, 161,
 163, 164, 167, 168, 170, 177
 theory of, 3, 5
aspectual defectiveness, 70, 162
aspectual opposition, 161, 168
 “pure”, 75, 168
aspectual pair, 7, 69, 70, 85, 102, 103,
 123, 128, 133, 134, 135, 136, 153
 – 155, 159 – 161, 162 – 179, 184
 – 188, 191, 192
 “pure”, 102, 128, 160, 161, 174,
 185
aspectual pairing, 125, 152, 155, 160,
 181
aspectual partner, 97, 98, 128, 135,
 160, 161, 164 – 166
 “pure”, 165 – 167, 169, 173, 175,
 192
aspectual system, 6, 158, 160, 169,
 171, 172
aspectual trio, 127
aspectual triplet, 127 – 133, 142, 155
aspectual twin, 168, 169
atelic, 81, 92, 94, 95, 98, 99
atelicity, 97, 99
ateterminativity, 4, 69, 70, 84, 97, 98,
 153, 154
 imperfective, 6
attainment of the boundary, 96, 99
Avars, 159

Baltic, 157
Bańko, 15, 123, 128, 132, 134, 136,
 151, 155, 162, 166, 184, 192
Bańkowski, 65, 187
Barentsen, 3, 5, 9, 10, 72, 75 – 84, 86,
 87, 89, 95, 100 – 104, 120, 121,
 127, 152, 161, 162, 167, 169, 170,
 176
Bogusławski, 56, 57
Bondarko, 3, 73, 76, 78, 83, 161

- boundary, 70 – 75, 96 – 99, 116, 117, 123, 204
 attainment, 98
 external, 74, 81
 internally implied, 98
 orientation towards, 98
 temporally imposed, 98
 verb external, 72, 75, 101, 115 – 117, 153
 verb internal, 73, 116, 118
 boundary-relatedness, 96
 bounded, 95, 121
 boundedness, 91, 92, 100
 Brückner, 65
 Bulgarian, 65, 70
- category
 grammatical, 70, 73, 101, 157, 159
 lexical-semantic, 101, 115
 semantic, of terminativity, 162
 Cognitivism, 3
 communicative goal, 208
 complement
 accusative, 206, 215
 instrumental, 204, 215, 216
 non-prepositional, 198, 213 – 216
 prepositional, 7, 197, 198, 199, 200, 204, 210, 211, 215, 216
 completion, 77, 85, 88, 89, 94, 141, 164, 169
 complex morpheme, 38, 67, 175
 compound. *See* verb(s), compound
 historically formed, 103
 non-processual transformative, 112, 113
 prefixed perfective, 189
 processual transformative, 113, 114
 compound sentences, 91
- Comrie, 9, 71, 93 – 97, 100, 115, 116, 120, 123, 126, 141
 constancy, 172
 constant action, 89
 constantivity, 159
 constraint, 197
 context
 imperfective, 129
 lingual, 118
 situational, 118
 terminative, 133
 terminative imperfective, 134
 Croatian, 65
 Czech, 8, 16, 60, 65, 66, 73
 Czochralski, 189
- Dąbrowska, 144
 Dahl, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 100, 115
 delimitative. *See* Aktionsart,
 delimitative | verb(s), delimitative
 delimitativity, 82, 83, 155
 deperfectivising, 89, 90
 deprefix, 177
 deprefixation, 4
 derivation, 4, 7, 9, 89, 176, 181
 aspect(ual), 3, 7
 morphological, 4
 of perfective verb, 157
 prefix, 158
 prefixal, 97
 semantic, 4
 suffixal, 97, 157
 derivational process, 20
 descriptive focus, 209, 214
 determinativising, 89
 discrete, 6, 131, 147, 179.
See also object, discrete
 discreteness, 76, 121, 146

INDEX

- disharmony, 203, 216
 Długosz-Karczabowa, 158
 domainial, 57, 60, 61, 62
 Doroszewski, 15, 35, 51, 53, 143, 144, 160
 dual verbal lexeme, 85, 120, 143, 155, 169, 174, 177, 178, 180, 181, 194
 Dubisz, 136, 155, 158, 160
 Dunaj, 102, 123, 128, 132, 134, 135, 136, 151, 155, 162, 164, 174, 175, 182, 183, 192
 duration, 67, 75, 77, 78, 89
 Dutch, 10, 170, 182
- Ebeling, 2
 empty. *See* prefix, “empty”
 Erreichung der Grenze, 96
 event, 5, 6, 70, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 96, 103, 107, 108, 111, 115, 121, 122, 124, 137, 147, 149, 156, 162, 165, 167, 192
 as a discrete unit, 121
 atelic, 82
 aterminative, 91
 beginning of, 168
 completable, 88
 completion of, 168
 discrete, 121
 extra-lingual, 166
 portion of, 121
 punctual, 94
 single basic unit, 81
 single terminative past, 130
 static, 115
 terminative, 88, 89
 unit of, 121
- extension
 temporal, 116
- Flier, 32, 48, 58, 60 – 62, 66, 67
 formational affixes, 157
 frame, 17, 22, 23, 36, 37, 62
 function
 aspectual, 158
 contemporaneous (of the imperfective), 125
 durative, 42
 grammatical, 5
 lexical, 5, 171
 of phased limitation of the action, 57
 of prefixes, 160
 temporal, 41
- Galton, 90, 157, 159, 171, 172, 181
 Garey, 71, 93, 96, 100
 Genis, 11, 15, 18, 20, 23, 64, 134, 151
 gerund, 149
 Google, 146
 Gothic, 170
Gramatyka, 102
 Greek, 92
 Grenzbezogenheit, 96
 Grochowska, 8, 9, 15, 31, 35, 47, 56
- habitual usage, 147
 harmony, 203, 216
 historic present, 146, 161
 Holvoet, 5, 9, 69, 81, 83, 86, 96
 homogenisation, 89
 homogeneity, 172, 175
 Huns, 159

- 40 – 47, 51, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 82,
 83, 106, 206
 Langacker, 3
 Latin, 136, 170
 Łaziński, 9, 69, 119
 Leskien, 159
 lexicalisation, 181
 Linde, 143, 144, 160
 Lower Sorbian, 65
 Lunt, 159
 Macedonian, 65
 Maslov, 3, 5, 9, 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 81,
 83, 85, 115, 116, 120, 152, 155,
 160, 161, 162, 167, 169, 170
 Maslov Criterion, 161, 166, 173, 194
 meaning,
 actualised-prolonged, 77
 added element of, 165
 aterminative, 154
 compound, 23, 89
 concrete-process, 77
 contemporaneous, 124, 125
 core variant, 58, 63
 ingressive, 192
 invariant, 7, 12, 16 – 23, 62 – 64
 lexical, 134, 138, 147, 151, 159,
 176, 177
 lexical semantic, 176, 178, 180
 perdurative, 36, 43, 83, 100
 perlative, 199, 203, 205
 terminative, 90, 132
 variant of *prze-*, 7, 9, 11, 15 – 17,
 19 – 24, 34, 39, 40, 44, 46 – 49,
 57 – 64, 105, 111, 193
 Mehlig, 78
 Młynarczyk, 3, 9, 158, 162 – 170, 189
 modus operandi, 209, 211 – 214
 imperative
 imperfective, 150
 imperfectivisation, 90, 157, 163, 173
 of prefixed perfective verb, 90
 imperfectivity, 2, 4, 9, 84, 124, 131,
 147, 172, 214
 aterminative, (69 – 156)
 terminative, (69 – 156) 90, 172
 imperfectivum tantum, 70, 85, 162,
 174
 absolute, 85, 120, 154
 relative, 120
 inchoative, 164
 indefiniteness, 127
 Indo-European, 1, 157, 159, 170
 ingressivity, 155, 164
 initium, 76
 intraterminal, 89, 98, 130, 131, 167
 intraterminal iterative, 205
 intraterminality, 180
 Isačenko, 160
 iteration, 99
 iterative reading, 167, 169
 iterativity, 159
 Jakobson, 215
 jumplike passage, 79
 Kashubian, 65
 Koschmieder, 160
 Koševaja, 73
 Krifka, 96
 Kudlińska, 103, 173, 185
 Kudra, 9, 198, 199, 205, 216
 Labenz, 150, 192
 landmark, 5, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25 – 27,

- morphological change, 163
- narrative focus, 209, 215
- native speaker(s), 10, 16, 25, 32, 42, 43, 61 – 63, 139, 140, 144, 148, 150, 151, 166 – 168, 182, 192, 199, 206, 207, 209, 210
- non-Indo-European language, 159
- non-processual transformative, 88, 79, 100, 114, 155
- Nübler, 9, 71 – 75, 81, 97 – 101, 115, 116, 153
- object,
- accusative, 7, 198, 215, 216
 - actualised, 140
 - affected, 190
 - discrete, 86, 87, 118, 122, 129, 130, 131, 134, 137 – 142, 146, 147, 150, 154, 178, 179
 - discrete through cumulation, 139
 - effected, 190
 - instrumental, 7, 198
 - non-discrete, 131, 137
 - non-prepositional, 198
 - non-quantitatively actualised, 118, 130
 - numerically quantified, 127
 - prepositional, 45, 199
 - quantified, 122, 125, 127, 138, 140
 - quantitatively actualised by lingual or situational context, 118
 - quantitatively actualised by quantifiers, 118
 - temporal, 148
 - terminativising, 153
- Old Church Slavonic, 65
- Old Polish, 158
- pair. *See* aspectual pair
- pair status, 164, 166 – 170
- particle, 13
- Pasich-Piasecka, 8, 15
- Pegasus*, 10, 182, 183, 186
- perdurative. *See* Aktionsart,
- perdurative | meaning, perdurative | verb, perdurative
- perdurativity, 41, 42, 82, 83, 148, 155, 156
- perfective. *See* verb(s), perfective
- perfective twin, 132, 151, 158
- perfectivisation, 180
- “pure”, 15
- perfectivity, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 69, 75, 84, 85, 90, 96, 157, 171, 176, 181
- “pure”, 57
 - formative affix of, 7
- perfectivum tantum, 70, 85, 152, 154, 174, 175
- perlative adjunct of space, 198
- Piernikarski, 57
- Piłsudski, 144
- Polish lexicology, 182
- Polish text corpus, 182, 198
- portion of event, 121
- P-property, 96
- prefix,
- choice of, 176, 195
 - “empty”, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 123, 125, 134, 158, 159, 170, 172 – 174, 176, 128, 183, 184, 187, 193 – 195
 - function of, 160
 - grammatical-semantic function, 3, 4
 - Indo-European, 159

- lexical-semantic function, 3, 4, 6
 meaning, 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 18, 19,
 22, 62, 67, 69, 73, 103, 104,
 138, 170, 192, 193
 “pure” perfectivising, 15
 semantically less ambiguous, 186
 spatial meaning, 210
 terminativising, 4
- prefix pair, 128, 153, 154, 174, 176,
 181, 182, 184, 187, 188, 194
 prototypical, 178
- prefix pairing, 174
- prefixation, 2, 3, 7, 90, 98, 103, 157,
 174
- prefix-preposition disharmony, 200
- prefix-preposition harmony, 200
- prepositional complement. *See*
 complement, prepositional
- process, 91
 phase, 78, 79, 88, 89, 107, 139
 telic, 121
 variant, 89, 155, 167
- processual transformative, 77, 79, 81,
 87, 88, 95, 98, 100, 111, 114, 131,
 156, 176
- Proeme, 9, 85, 120, 155, 174
- Proto-Slavic, 65, 157, 158, 159
- Proto-Slavs, 159
- Przybylska, 8, 9
- pure. *See* aspectual opposition, “pure” |
 aspectual pair, “pure” | aspectual
 partner, “pure” | perfectivisation,
 “pure” | perfectivity, “pure” | prefix,
 pure perfectivising”
- qualitative condition
 actualised, 74
- quantification, 118, 121 – 126, 138,
 215
 accumulated, 138
 actualised, 124
 not actualised, 124
 quantifier, 118, 119, 121
 existential, 124
 universal, 124, 125
- quantity
 actualised, 74, 75
- reduplication. *See* semantic
 reduplication
- reflexive pronoun, 38, 39, 175
- relative imperfectiva tantum, 85
- repeat variant, 87, 149, 155
- repetition, 6, 86 – 89, 134, 146, 147,
 149
- Rospond, 157, 158, 171
- Rudzka-Ostyn, 103 – 105
- Russian, 8, 9, 16, 17, 32, 57, 58, 60 –
 73, 75, 76, 78, 85, 94, 101, 115,
 134, 136, 137, 143, 151, 160, 161,
 176, 215
- Sanskrit, 170
- saturative. *See* Aktionsart, saturative
- Saussure, 3
- Schlegel, 9, 73 – 75, 81, 101, 115 –
 120, 123 – 126, 130, 140, 153,
 154
- Schoorlemmer, 96
- secondary imperfective. *See* verb(s),
 secondary imperfective
- semantic reduplication, 178, 186, 192
 – 195
- semelfactivity, 80, 155
- Serbian, 65
- simplex | simplicia. *See* verb(s), simplex

INDEX

- simultaneity, 126
 situation
 atelic, 92, 116
 aterminative, 178
 durative, 93, 95
 imperfective, 180
 imperfective terminative, 181
 intraterminal, 129
 ‘new’ (‘following’, ‘resulting’, ‘terminal’), 18, 40, 47, 103, 104, 105, 170
 ‘old’ (‘previous’, ‘initial’), 18, 47, 103, 104, 105, 170
 perfective, 180
 processual transformative, 132
 subsequent, 103
 telic, 92, 93, 94, 116, 121, 126, 141
 terminative, 126, 178, 180, 194
 terminative and completed, 161
 situational change, 5, 6, 39, 79, 137, 152, 175, 177
 Slavic, 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 17, 58, 65, 66, 69, 70, 72, 75, 76, 83, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 114, 119, 120, 121, 124, 141, 153, 157, 159, 162, 167, 169, 171, 172, 173, 181, 182
 Slovak, 65
 Slovene, 65
Słownik Warszawski, 143, 160
Słownik Wileński, 143, 160
 space, 19, 24, 25, 35, 41, 43, 44, 48, 191, 206, 214
 metaphorical, 41, 48, 57
 real, 41
 spatial dimensions, 24
 spatial entity, 18, 25, 27, 31, 204, 214, 216
 spatial predicates, 197
 states, 47, 163, 164
 Structuralism, 3
 structuralist tradition, 2
 structuralists, 2
 suffix
 deperfectivising, 90
 imperfectivising, 4, 99, 159, 172
 Indo-European, 159
 suffixation, 3
 synonyms
 true perfective 192
 syntactic constructions. *See* syntax
 syntax, 1, 8, 9, 43, 54, 136, 153, 184, 197, 198, 200, 208, 216
 Szymczak, 15, 144, 160, 207

 Śmiech, 8, 9, 15, 31, 34, 54, 160, 162, 193

 target place, 117
 target quality, 117
 telic, 72, 92, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 116, 123, 131
 telicity, 2, 9, 69, 71, 76, 91 – 100, 120, 141
 temporal delimitation, 164
 temporal localisation, 81
 temporal quantification, 81
 temporal quantum, 83
 terminal
 iterativity, 180
 terminal iterative, 87, 106, 107, 131, 169
 terminal iterative variant, 87
 terminal point, 79, 93, 94, 95, 97, 116, 150
 actually achieved, 96

- potential (intended or probable), 96
 termination, 78, 88, 93, 97, 138
 terminative imperfectivity, 181
 terminativise, 142
 terminativity, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 69 –
 156, 161, 162, 170 – 172, 174,
 177, 179, 181, 195
 explicite, 128, 155
 highlighted, 131
 imperfective, 6, 51, 69, 72, 83, 85,
 87, 88, 89, 115, 121, 133, 152,
 153, 169
 in a narrow sense, 76
 intraterminal, 107, 125
 markers for, 153
 non-processual transformative, 138
 object, 152
 object dependent, 180
 perfective, 6, 83, 85, 121
 processual transformative, 113, 146
 ‘situational’, 115
 stretched and extended version, 161
 syntagmatic, 119, 152
 terminal iterative, 106, 107, 146
 terminus, 5, 6, 51, 76 – 79, 84, 123,
 130 – 133, 138, 140, 142, 152
 deactualisation of, 173
 relative, 78, 100, 155
 Thelin, 71
 totality, 77, 84
 T-property, 96
 trajector, 5, 18, 19, 24, 25, 29, 32, 37,
 40, 43 – 45, 57, 58, 63, 83, 106
 trajectory, 201 – 205, 207, 209, 214,
 216
 transformation, 5
 transition, 5, 164
 transitus, 5, 6, 76, 106, 121
 triplet. *See* aspectual triplet
 trio. *See* aspectual trio
 Ukrainian, 65
 unbounded, 95
 unit
 of action, 161
 of event, 121
 Upper Sorbian, 65
 Vaillant, 65
 valency, 7
 Vasmer, 16, 65
 Vendler, 93, 95, 100, 163
 verb(s)
 atelic, 92, 93, 98
 aterminative, 3 – 6, 70 – 73, 81 –
 85, 92, 97 – 101, 115, 118, 119,
 123, 129, 131, 138, 153
 aterminative imperfective, 129
 base, 7, 165, 172, 174, 185
 base simplex, 19, 20, 24, 28, 29,
 32, 35 – 38, 47, 53 – 56, 60,
 173, 193
 base verb, 6, 19, 21, 44 – 51, 62,
 158, 165, 171, 198
 bi-aspectual, 103, 173, 185
 compound, 6, 15, 18, 20 – 23, 25,
 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 38, 39, 43 –
 45 – 56, 60 – 62, 67, 81, 83, 85,
 108, 110 – 112, 114, 138, 143,
 151, 156, 166, 174, 184, 186,
 193, 198, 199
 culminating process, 163
 culmination, 163, 167
 delimitative, 71 – 73, 81 – 83, 100,
 121, 152, 163, 165, 166, 169,
 175

INDEX

- denominative, 39
- discrete, 122
- dynamic, 72
- frequentative, 165
- gradual transition, 163
- habitual, 169
- homogeneous, 172
- imperfective simplex, 129, 151, 157, 158, 189, 190
- imperfective terminative, 119, 143
- ingressive, 73, 80, 114, 152, 156
- monosemic perfective compound, 191
- multiplicative, 81, 102, 166, 167
- non-dynamic, 72
- non-frequentative, 165
- non-prefixed, 4, 84, 102
- non-processual transformative, 106, 108, 109, 138, 152
- non-processual transformative
 - secondary imperfectives, 87
- of motion, 7, 8, 24, 42, 43, 106, 198, 199, 206, 215, 216
- of motion, prefixed, 199
- perdurative, 42, 71 – 73, 83, 114, 121, 152
- perfective atelic, 99
- perfective compound, 190
- perfective variant, 192
- polysemic imperfective simplex, 191
- prefixed compound, 194
- prefixed imperfective, 132
- prefixed perfective, 136, 155, 160, 167, 173, 182, 192
- process, 163
- processual transformative, 106, 107, 109
- qualitative terminative, 74
- quantitative terminative, 74
- quasi simplex, 103
- secondary imperfective, 4, 6, 90, 111, 113, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 143, 147, 150, 151, 153, 160, 167, 173, 175, 176, 180
- semelfactive, 100, 102, 163, 165, 166, 167, 169
- simplex, 4, 19, 23, 36 – 40, 43, 48, 51, 53, 56, 80, 85, 97 – 101, 119, 129 – 133, 151, 152, 160, 167, 169, 171, 173, 174, 177, 186 – 190, 194, 195
- state, 73
- synonymous perfective, 192, 195
- telic, 92, 93, 123
- temporal, 74
- terminative, 3 – 6, 18, 70 – 74, 81 – 103, 107, 115, 116, 119, 121, 123, 128, 129, 130, 131, 136, 137, 141, 142, 153, 155, 161, 169, 171, 174
- terminative imperfective, 4, 6, 89, 129, 134
- terminative perfective, 120, 128, 134, 154
- unitisable process, 163, 165
- unprefixed imperfective, 129, 131, 180
- verb content, 72, 97, 98, 99
- verb forms, 97
- verb lexemes, 97

- Waszakowa, 3
- White Russian, 65
- Wiemer, 9, 69, 119
- Wierzbicka, 124, 125, 127

Włodarczyk, 127, 189, 190, 191, 192,
193

XYZ-scheme, 5, 6, 79, 82, 84, 85, 88,
89, 90, 91, 104, 105, 106, 161,
171, 177

Some key terms in Russian:

абсолютный предел, 78

актуально-длительное значение, 77

двойственные глаголы, 85

дискретность, 76

конкретно-процессное значение, 77

непредельность, 70

относительные imperfectiva tantum, 85

относительный предел, 78

предельность, 70, 73, 76

скачкообразный переход, 79

целостность, 77