The Prefix *PO-* and Aspect in Russian and Polish: A Cognitive Grammar Acccount

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Abstract

This study examines the meanings of the prefix *po-* and verbal aspect in Russian and Polish in a Cognitive Grammar framework. The principles of Cognitive Grammar adopted in this study are based on Langacker (1991). This study follows Dickey's (2000) East-West division of aspect, within which the prototypical meanings of the Russian perfective and imperfective aspects are temporal definiteness and qualitative temporal indefiniteness, respectively, and the prototypical meanings of the Polish perfective and imperfective aspects are temporal definiteness/totality and quantitative temporal indefiniteness. According to Cognitive Grammar, the prototype is the most salient node in a network; this study is based around an analysis of the meaning and grammatical function of the Russian delimitative in *po-* and the Polish distributive in *po-* as prototypes in their respective semantic networks for *po-*. Regarding the methodological approach of this dissertation, in addition to relying on the views presented in the traditional literature, quantitative data is also presented, consisting of dictionary counts and hit counts and relative frequencies drawn from online corpora in support of the view that the delimitative is the prototype verb in *po-* in Russian and the distributive is the prototype verb in *po-* in Polish. The results of the corpus-based research show that the productivity and level of use are higher for the prototype Russian delimitative in *po-* relative to the Polish delimitative in *po-*and for the prototype Polish distributive in *po-* relative to the Russian distributive in *po-*. The main conclusion arrived upon in this study is that the meanings of the prototype verb in *po-* and the prototypical perfective meaning in each language overlap, which is manifested as the ability of the prototype verb in *po-* to function as a perfective partner in the grammar.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my advisor and committee chairperson Dr. Stephen M. Dickey for sharing his expertise on this topic and for his meticulous attention to detail throughout the various revisions of this study. I would like to express my appreciation to the other members of my committee, Dr. Renee Perelmutter, Dr. Marek Łaziński, Dr. Marc Greenberg and Dr. Nina Vyatkina for offering valuable suggestions for revision. I would also like to thank Dr. Elena Petruxina for first proposing the basic topic of my dissertation.

With much love I dedicate this study to my mother and father, who taught me to believe in myself and encouraged me to persevere through the challenges which the writing of this dissertation presented.

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0.0. Introduction

This study compares the similarities and differences between the meaning and use of the prefix *po-* and aspect in Russian and Polish in a Cognitive Grammar framework. This study is organized around Langacker (1991) and Dickey (2000); the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar applied in this study is drawn from the former, whereas the definitions for Russian and Polish aspect are drawn from the latter. Dickey (2000: 26–27, 38–39) identifies an East-West aspect division for Slavic. According to Dickey, the meaning of the perfective aspect in an eastern group of languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Bulgarian) is temporal definiteness, whereas the meaning of the perfective in a western group (Czech, Slovak, Sorbian, Slovene) is totality. Polish is a transitional language, patterning mostly after the eastern group, but patterning to a lesser extent after the western group, and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian is a transitional language patterning closer to the western group. Since the prefix *po-* typically has an important perfectivizing role in both Russian and Polish, this study also considers the meaning of aspect in each language. The differences in perfective aspectual meaning between Russian and Polish help explain the differences in meanings of *po-* in the two languages. It will be shown that despite the similarities between the formal inventories (i.e., the set) of verbs in *po-* for Russian and Polish, the meaning and use of these verbs in *po-* in each language differ.

This combined analysis of the meanings of the prefix *po-* and the perfective in Russian and Polish is innovative in the literature; the analysis of aspect as a grammatical category is common in traditional studies, but the analysis of morphemes is not, so the combination of these analyses is fairly new. Such an analysis is necessary however, since Slavic aspect is expressed morphologically through prefixation and suffixation. A truly adequate theory of aspect in Slavic ought to make a non-trivial link between the meaning of aspect and the inventory of aspectual markers (i.e., morphemes).

This study focuses on the relationship between aspectual and procedural meaning for the prototype verbs in *po-* in each language, namely the delimitatives in Russian and the distributives in Polish. The methodology employed for the analysis of these prototype verbs in *po-* in chapters 3 and 4 is also innovative, as it complements the dictionary counts for the total number of these prototype *po-* verbs in each language (see the appendix) with quantitative data drawn from online corpora. Hit counts from the corpora are used as indicators for the level of use of Russian delimitatives in chapter 3 and Polish distributives in chapter 4, and examples of their usage in sentences drawn from these online corpora are also presented. In her article on the behavior of motion verbs under negation, Perelmutter (2010: 162) uses a similar methodology which features "detailed statistical frequencies gathered from the web as well as analysis of specific constructions." For example, Perelmutter (2010: 163-164) presents example sentences and hit counts from Google to support the view that high manner verbs of motion (e.g., *kovyljat´* 'waddle') are less frequent in negated contexts than in affirmative contexts, as shown in examples (1) and (2):

(1)   Odnaždy templym sirenevym utrom **kovyljal**[p] po doroge utenok Krjachik.

                                                             (Rus; Perelmutter 2010: 163-164)

'Once upon a time, on a warm purple morning, Krjachik the duckling <u>waddled</u> across the road.'

(2)   On ne **kovyljal**[p] po savanne, sognuvshis′ kak ego predok—avstralopitek.

                                                             (Rus; Perelmutter 2010: 163-164)

'He did not waddle upon the savannah bent like his ancestor the Australopithecus.'

Perelmutter (2010: 164) notes that the hit count on Google for *kovyljal* in such affirmative contexts as example (1) is 56,500, while the hit count for *kovyljal* in such contexts of negation as example (2) is 50. In chapter 3 of this study, relative frequency (expressed as a percentage) is another type of statistic introduced; in one case, the relative frequency is expressed for certain delimitatives relative to their imperfective source verbs, and in the other case, a relative frequency is expressed for a sample set of delimitatives in *po-* occurring in certain grammatical constructions relative to all verbs in *po-* occurring in that same grammatical construction (see 3.1 and 3.2). Perelmutter (2010: 166) also presents such relative frequencies in her study; for example, she suggests that Rus *plyl* 'swim (towards a goal)' represents 33.8% of all basic swimming verbs in affirmative clauses, whereas Rus *ne plyl* 'did not swim (towards a goal)' represents only 2.8% of all negated basic swimming verb usage. Thus, the methodology of using statistics drawn from an online corpus to support a view—such as is adopted in this study—is not without precedent.

While Perelmutter's study (2010) presents hit counts and relative frequencies taken only from Google, this study presents hit counts and relative frequencies taken from Google, the Russian National Corpus (RNC), National Corpus of Polish (NCP) and Parasol (hit counts only for Parsol). Perelmutter (2010: 164) observes that Google is an open corpus, while the RNC is a closed corpus. The NCP and Parasol are also closed corpora. Kilgariff and Grefenstette (2003: 334) define a corpus as "a collection of texts when considered as an object of language or literary study;" on the basis of this definition, both the open web (Google) and the RNC, PNC and Parasol are corpora, as each database contains a collection of texts. The difference is that the open web is as Kilgariff and Grefenstette (2003: 334) describe it "immense" and "free", whereas closed corpora are, as Perelmutter (2010: 164) describes them, "carefully edited and balanced." Perelmutter (164–165) bases her preference for Google over the RNC as an online corpus for

language study on the facts that the former is the largest database, taps into a broad spectrum of registers and is not controlled, whereas the RNC is smaller, limited mainly to a register of literary texts, and is controlled. Despite the seemingly limitless possibilities for the open web, Kilgariff and Grefenstette (2003: 335) suggest that it is "anarchic" for corpus work. Due to its uncontrolled nature, a basic description of the web (Google) as an open corpus is difficult to present, whereas a basic description of closed corpora, due to their controlled and balanced design, is easier to present.

Raxilina (2009: 8) explains that the RNC project had an initial goal of creating a balanced, 100-million word corpus. The RNC continues to grow to this day; for searches conducted in the RNC in August and October 2011 for this study, the word count was 194 million. The NCP is larger than the RNC; Przepiórkowski et al. (2011b: 259) point out that the whole NCP contains 1.5 billion words (1.8 million segments), but this amount was reduced to a subcorpus of a more manageable size with 300 million segments. Przepiórkowski et al. (2011b: 259) suggest that the ratio of segments to words is 1.2; 300 million segments correspond to 250 million words, so that the default search for the balanced subcorpus of the NCP is now set at 250 million words (as of August 2011).[1]

Kilgariff and Grefenstette (2003: 342) explain that the term "balanced" (which replaces an earlier term "representative") is used to describe the distribution of types of texts included in a corpus. Przepiórkowski et al. (2011a: 2) explain that the distribution of texts included in the PNC was based in part on reading preferences by the public released by the Polish National Library, so that 50% of the texts are works of journalism, 16% are works of fiction, 5.5% are works of non-fiction, 5.5% are works of instructive writing/textbooks, 2% are works of academic

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[1] I wish to thank Marek Łaziński for drawing my attention to this default setting.

writing/textbooks, 1% are unclassified non-fiction books, 10% are texts of the spoken language, 7% are internet texts, and 3% are miscellaneous/other texts. It is on the basis of this distribution of texts that Przepiórkowski et al. (2011a: 7) consider the NCP to be balanced. Reznikova (2008: 418) presents similar data for the PELCRA search engine of the NCP:[2] written texts make up 90% of the corpus, of which 13.5% are belles-lettres, and 10% of the corpus is comprised of texts of the spoken language. Similarly for the RNC, Raxilina (2009: 8) suggests that the first goal was that it should be representative of the variety of the language itself, for example, in terms of its regional and social variants.

Though the intention of the RNC and NCP projects in creating this balanced distribution of texts was to represent a variety of language, Perelmutter (2010: 164) suggests that one of the disadvantages of the RNC is that it does not represent such a variety, whereas the open web (Google) does. It seems though that the open web has its own limitations in terms of representativeness of a variety of language. Thelwall (2005: 519–520) suggests for instance that the open web may contain a disproportionately large amount of computing documentation, but only a small amount of copyrighted commercially published books. Thelwall (2005: 520) also suggests that blogs are specific to the web, and web publishing largely excludes the elderly. Kilgariff and Grefenstette (2003: 342) in fact argue that neither the web nor other corpora are "representative" (i.e., balanced).

Kilgariff and Grefenstette (2003: 344-345) suggest that one source of frustration for the linguist gathering data on Google is the unreliability of the statistics. Thelwall (2005: 521) and Perelmutter (2010: 165) both address this problem of statistical unreliability (or "statistical noise" as Perelmutter calls it), suggesting that this problem results from replicated documents

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[2] Przepiórkowski et al. (2011a: 4) explain that the NCP can be searched online using two search engines, Poliqarp and PELCRA. In this study, PELCRA was used.

(e.g., mirror sites) and multiple URLs. Another factor throwing off frequency statistics in Google search results that Thelwall (2005: 522) discusses is that some pages are computer generated. Perelmutter (2010: 165) cites the fact that the index of a search engine can be changed as another cause of inaccurate frequency statistics. Neverthless, Perelmutter (2010: 165) citing Keller and Lapata (2003) suggests that frequency results from Altavista and Google are highly correlated with the frequencies of two closed corpora for English, so these frequency statistics from the open web should be considered reliable. Put differently, Kilgariff and Grefenstette (2003: 342) suggest that the web is "a dirty corpus, but expected usage is much more frequent than what might be considered noise." Therefore, the figures for statistical frequency gathered from Google as presented in chapters 3 and 4 should be considered valuable data despite the interference of noise.

Some noteworthy features of the closed corpora which can be considered advantages for language study include the fact that as Reznikova (2008: 418) explains texts in PELCRA are annotated for parameters such as author, title, source of text, type of text (e.g., written or oral) and date of publication. Reznikova (2008: 447–448) also explains that for the RNC, a list of attributes of the word form or lexeme is presented from which the user may choose (e.g., distance between units, part of speech, case, number, etc.). Most importantly, PELCRA (NCP), the RNC and Parasol allow a lemma search which displays all tenses, persons and numbers of the verbs. While there are many advantages and disadvantages to conducting language study in either an open corpus or a closed corpus, the best methodology is to use both, as is done in this study.

This study is valuable to Slavists in showing similarities and differences in the procedural and perfective meaning of verbs in *po-* in Russian and Polish. The study is also valuable to non-Slavists, as an understanding of such similarities and differences that exist between Russian and

Polish may be helpful in understanding similarities and differences between closely related languages in other language families.

Chapter 1

1.0. Introduction

The meanings of the verbal prefix *po-* and aspect in Russian and Polish discussed in this study are complex and varied. The network approach of Cognitive Grammar is adopted in this study, as it serves as a useful model for the analysis of such complex categories of meaning, and is presented in this chapter. The semantic descriptions of the aspect categories in Russian and Polish presented in this chapter, formulated in terms of the basic principles of Cognitive Grammar, provide an overall framework for the subsequent analysis of Russian and Polish *po-* in chapter 2. The importance of this chapter consists then not only in its presentation of separate overviews of Cognitive Grammar on the one hand and the meanings of aspect in Russian and Polish on the other, but also in its description of the relationships in aspectual meanings in CG terms, a description that is rather innovative in the field. Again, of particular importance are the definitions of the Russian and Polish perfective aspect included in Dickey's (2000: 26–27, 38–39) East-West aspect division for Slavic. According to Dickey, temporal definiteness is the meaning of the eastern group, and totality is the meaning of the western group of Slavic languages.[3] Russian belongs to the eastern group, and Polish is a transitional language, patterning closely to the eastern group, but also patterning with the western group in some respects. It is argued in chapter 5 that the semantic differences between the Russian and Polish categories of the perfective aspect help explain the differences in the meanings of *po-* in the two languages. Section 1.1 presents theoretical preliminaries of Cognitive Grammar; section 1.2 presents theoretical preliminaries of verbal aspect, and a descriptive background of Russian and Polish

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[3] These meanings are defined in 1.3 and 1.4.

aspect; section 1.3 discusses the meaning of Russian aspect, and section 1.4 discusses the meaning of Polish aspect. Section 1.5 provides a chapter summary.

1.1. A Basic Introduction to Cognitive Grammar

A tenet of **cognitive linguistics** is that the experiences and subsequent sense of the world that a person gains in life are reflected in the language that s/he uses (cf. Ungerer and Schmid 1996: xii). The interpretation of these experiences is a cognitive process, so that language, which reflects this interpretation, has its basis in cognition. In general terms, the structure of cognition is reflected in the structure of language (cf. Langacker 1991: 1–5). Langacker (1991: 2) classifies cognitive structures as **concepts**, and concepts, he argues, are synonymous with meaning. Language conveys meaning, and meaning is based on the cognitive structures that the mind forms in interpreting outside stimuli. Accordingly, language is a portal into or reflection of the ways in which we think about the world (cf. Ungerer and Schmid 1996: xi).

For example, Ungerer and Schmid (1996: xi) explain that a person's notion of *car* includes not only this object's practical features (e.g., it has an engine), but also the experiences a person has had involving a car, e.g., a particular car accident. The mind organizes all of this information into a semantic network for *car*. Langacker (1991: 291) explains that another cognitive ability[4] underlying linguistic structure is the ability "to impose figure/ground organization on a scene." For example, a figure/ground relationship is expressed in *Susan swam the Channel* (from Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 171–172), where *Susan* is the figure which has prominence against *the Channel*, the latter being the ground. The verb *swam* expresses the relationship between the figure and ground. Such descriptions of the relationship between cognition and language are

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[4] In total, Langacker (1996: 291) lists ten such cognitive abilities.

numerous, and are presented differently in various versions of cognitive linguistics; they have been introduced here simply to serve as a very basic introduction to the cognitive approach to language.

There are various theoretical approaches to language that are properly considered "cognitive"; the approach adopted in this study is that of **Cognitive Grammar** (CG). CG employs the preceding assumptions about cognitive linguistics, but focuses on the grammatical structure of language. According to Ronald Langacker, who developed CG, grammar consists of a lexicon, morphology and syntax, and these elements of the grammar are describable in terms of a symbolic relationship between two cognitive structures: a semantic unit and a phonological unit (cf. Langacker 1991: 290). The symbolic relationship basically amounts to a language user's understanding that there is a link between the sound and the meaning of an utterance. For example, Langacker (1991: 16) identifies for *pencil* a phonological structure [pencil], and a semantic structure [PENCIL]. Langacker (1991: 16) recognizes this semantic structure as having an "indefinite internal complexity." In order to account for the internal complexity of semantic structures or categories, CG makes use of models such as **semantic networks**, **prototypes**, and **schemas**. In figure 1 (from Langacker 1991: 3), the internal complexity of the semantic structure [RING] is represented by six nodes, each representing an independent yet interconnected meaning for *ring*. The composite semantic structure [RING], comprised of all nodes, is symbolically linked to the phonological structure [ring] (not shown):
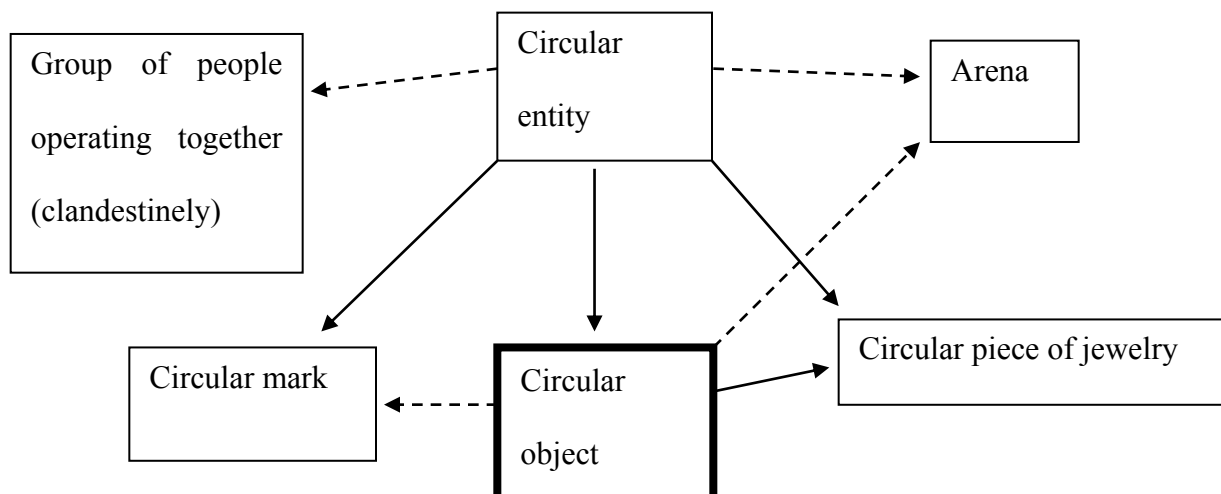
Figure 1: Semantic Network for *RING*

Each box in this network for *ring* represents a node of meaning, i.e., some arguably distinct sense of the word. The nodes in a semantic network are linked to one another by categorizing relationships (Langacker 1991: 266–267). The two types of categorizing relationships, shown in this network for *ring*, are **instantiation** and **extension**. An instantiation is a node that has the broader attributes of an instantiating node as well as its own more specific attributes (Langacker 1991: 266-267; Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 21-23). For example, *circular piece of jewelry* is a more specific instantiation of *circular entity*. *Circular entity* is abstract, while *circular piece of jewelry* is more specific, answering the question, *what kind of circular entity?* Instantiations are indicated in the network by arrows with solid lines. Extensions, indicated in a network by arrows with dashed lines, involve "some conflict in specifications between the basic and extended values" (Langacker 1991: 266), so that the node "a group of people operating together

(clandestinely)" in the *ring* network is a metaphorical extension[5] derived from the node "circular entity."

The node with the bold box, *circular object*, represents the **prototype**. The prototype has a higher degree of **cognitive salience** than other nodes in the network (cf. Langacker 1991: 267); the meaning of the prototype stands out in the minds of language users more prominently than the meanings of other nodes.[6] Other nodes in the network usually relate to the prototype as extensions (Langacker 1988b: 135; Dickey 2000: 31), which can be seen in the *ring* network above, as two out of three of the connecting nodes are extensions, namely *circular mark* and *arena*.

According to Langacker (1991: 265), a schema "furnishes the minimal specifications an expression must observe to be categorized as a valid instantiation of the pattern it embodies." All nodes in the network, then, share the minimal meaning of the schema, if a schema is present in the network—not all networks have a schema. For example, the *ring* network in Figure 1 lacks a schema (cf. Langacker 1991: 3). There are three possible arrangements for a network regarding the schema: (1) a distinct schema and prototype may coexist; (2) the prototype is the schema; or (3) the network has no schema, but the network is centered around the prototype (Langacker 1988b: 135; Langacker 1991: 3; Dickey 2000: 31). The role of the schema in a network is important in chapter 2, when the internal complexity of the semantic structure [PO-] (the verbal prefix) for the phonological structure [po-] (cf. Langacker 1991: 16) in Polish and Russian is analyzed. The Polish *po-* network is argued to lack a schema; in contrast, it is argued following Shull (2003) that the Russian *po-* network does have a schema.

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[5] Not all extensions are metaphorical in Langacker's framework, however; metonymy is also a common type of extension (cf. Langacker 1991: 189–201), e.g. *head of cattle* for the lexical unit *head*.
[6] Langacker (1991: 10) gives the example of the term *pig meat* being more salient than *pork*, since identifying the animal source for the meat, the pig, would register more prominently in a language user's mind than *pork*, the latter being a conventional, routine redundancy with unit status.

The following simplified version of the semantic network for the lexical unit *run* (taken from Langacker 1991: 267) contains the schema *rapid motion*:
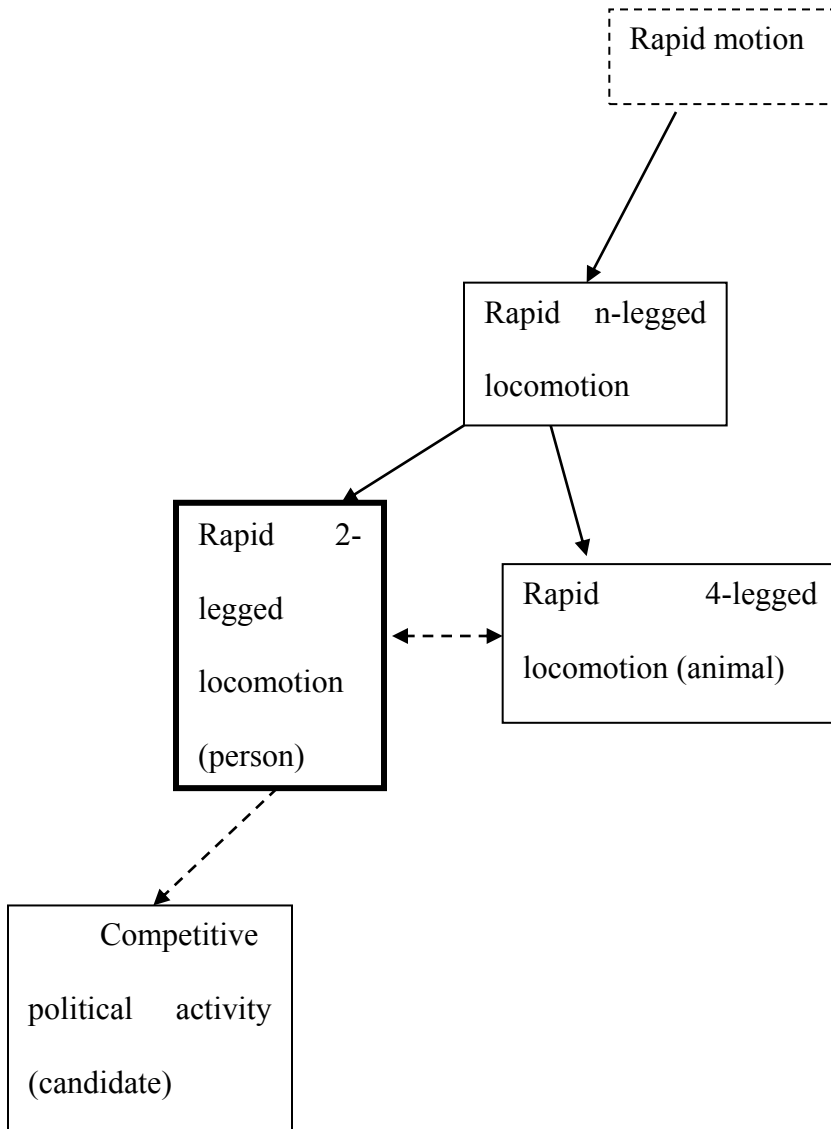
Figure 2: Semantic Network for *RUN*

In this network, the schema *rapid motion* provides the "minimum specification" of meaning realized by all other nodes in the network except for "competitive political activity." The three instantiations shown, *rapid n-legged locomotion*, *rapid 2-legged locomotion* and *rapid 4-legged*

motion,[7] all represent specific types of *rapid motion*, while *competitive political activity* is an extension of the prototype *rapid 2-legged locomotion (person)*.

Another schema is shown in Figure 3 (taken from Langacker 1991: 31):

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[7] The dashed, 2-sided arrow connecting *rapid 2-legged locomotion* and *rapid 4-legged locomotion* indicates "mutual similarity" (Langacker 1991: 267).
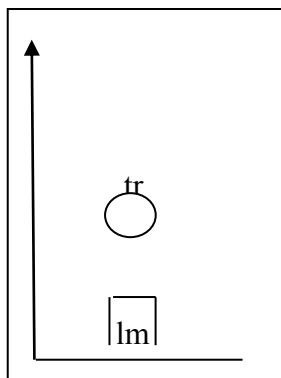
Figure 3: Schema for *ABOVE-TABLE*[8]

This schema consists of a **trajector** of some entity that stands in a relationship of *above* to the **landmark**, here *table*. Since the trajectory-above-landmark **table** relationship is schematic, other instantiations are possible, e.g., *chandelier above the table*, *lantern above the table*, etc.

1.2. A Basic Introduction to Verbal Aspect

Now that the basic concepts of Cognitive Grammar have been introduced, a basic description of verbal aspect can be given. Verbal aspect is a grammatical category in many languages of the world. For a basic characterization of aspect, we may start with Comrie's (1976: 3) observation that aspects "are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." Aspect consists of an opposition between the **perfective** and the **imperfective**. Comrie (1976: 4) suggests that the perfective takes an external view of a situation without any regard for its internal structure, while the imperfective views the situation in regard to its internal structure. For example, Comrie (1976: 3-4) suggests that in *John was reading when I entered*, the perfective simple past *entered* views the situation from outside, "without reference to its internal

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[8] *tr* stands for trajectory, and *lm* stands for landmark

temporal constituency…with beginning, middle and end rolled into one," whereas the imperfective progressive past *was reading* views the internal temporal constituency of the situation. The difference, essentially, is that a perfective views a situation from outside, as an indivisible totality, and an imperfective views a situation from within, in a kind of exploded view.

Though aspectual oppositions of various types exist in different languages of the world (cf. again the discussion in Comrie 1976), the aspect opposition in Slavic languages is a particularly prominent grammatical category. In Slavic, the aspect opposition is expressed through derivationally related pairs of verbs, formed by means of prefixation and suffixation. For example, an aspectual pair formed by means of prefixation in Russian would be *delat'/s-delat'* 'do', and a pair formed by suffixation would be *perepisat'/perepis-yva-t'* 'copy out'.

A change in lexical meaning does not occur when an aspectual pair is formed by means of suffixation, but the case of pairs formed by means of prefixation is less clear. Some linguists (e.g., Forsyth 1970: 19) argue that no change in meaning occurs as a result of prefixation in the case of a so-called true perfective, whereas other linguists (e.g., Isačenko 1960) argue that a change in meaning always accompanies prefixation. The following is a breakdown of the degree of change in lexical meaning in Russian prefixed perfectives, from least to greatest change:

> *napisat'*, 'write'—minimal or no change
>
> *popisat'*, 'write a while'—the prefix modifies the action (i.e., forms a procedural verb)
>
> *perepisat'*, 'copy out, rewrite'—maximal: the addition of a prefix forms a lexically
>
> > distinct verb

Na + *pisat'* represents one such prefixed perfective which some linguists such as Forsyth consider an instance of a pure perfective, expressing only a change in aspect of the verb, but not lexical change through prefixation; Isačenko would argue that some degree of change takes place with the addition of this prefix *na-*.[9] Procedural (Aktionsart) prefixation occurs in *po-* + *pisat'*, whereby the addition of the prefix gives a description of "the manner in which the action or process takes place" (Forsyth 1970: 25), without changing the overall lexical meaning of the verb. Lexical prefixation occurs in the case of *pere* + *pisat'*, where both the aspect and lexical meaning of the verb are changed, as *perepisat'* 'copy out, rewrite' is lexically unique vis-a-vis *pisat'* 'write'. Lexical derivatives such as *perepisat'* typically derive paired imperfectives through suffixation.

The meanings assigned to the perfective and imperfective in the Slavic aspectological literature tend to be more specific than Comrie's general definitions. However, for a first approximation I follow Dickey's (2000: 12) observation that in the literature perfective verbs usually refer to single, completed action, while imperfective verbs express process or habituality. The imperfective also occurs in a function known as the general-factual. The use of the perfective to express single, completed actions is shown in example (1):

(1) Ivan **uexal**^{p} za granicu, **postupil**^{p} v universitet; čerez god on **vernetsja**^{p} i **ženitsja**$^{i/p}$ na

   Marii.   (Rus; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 19)

   'Ivan went abroad, enrolled in the university; in a year he'll return and marry Maria.'

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[9] Alternatively, Dickey explains the role of prefixation in *napisat'* as a case of subsumption, whereby "the lexical content of a prefix overlaps with the base meaning of a source verb to the point where the prefix becomes apparently "semantically bleached" and creates a "lexically identical" pf verb" (2005: 10). The subsumption view seems to fall somewhere between Forsyth's and Isačenko's views.

An imperfective verb with processual meaning is presented in example (2):

(2) Kogda ja **vyxodil**[i] iz domu, ja **vstretil**[p] znakomogo.　　　　　(Rus; Maslov 2004: 71)

'When I was leaving my home, I met an acquaintance.'

In example (2), the imperfective verb *vyxodil* 'left' expresses a process, which also provides the temporal background for perfective *vstretil* 'met'. The expression of a habitually repeated action by an imperfective verb is also presented in example (3):

(3) Oni **tancujut**[i] každyj večer.　　　　　　　　　　　(Rus; Dickey 2000: 52)

'They <u>dance</u> every evening.'

Maslov (2004: 71-72) explains that an imperfective verb with the **general-factual function** expresses an action "in a general sense, indefinite as regards the concrete terms of its realization", as in example (4):

(4) Ty **pisal**[i] emu?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Rus; Maslov 2004: 72)

'Did you write him (in general)?'

Crucial to the aspectual description of predicates is the lexical category of **situation type**. According to Vendler (1957), verbal predicates express four types of situations: **activities**, **accomplishments**, **states** and **achievements**. Vendler (1957: 144–148) divides these four situation types into those that indicate processes that go on in time—activities and accomplishments—and those that do not indicate processes that go on in time—states and

achievements. *Running* expresses an activity of some duration with no fixed endpoint, while *running a mile* expresses an accomplishment with the fixed terminus of *a mile*, i.e., the event ends when a mile has been run. For the activity *run* one can ask *For how long was 'X' running?* Likewise, for the accomplishment *run a mile*, one can ask *How long did it take 'X' to run a mile?* (cf. Vendler 1957: 144–146). States and achievements, on the other hand, do not indicate processes going on in time. Regarding a state such as *love*, it makes no sense to ask *For how long was 'X' loving?* Likewise, regarding an achievement such as *reach the summit* it makes no sense to ask *How long was 'X' reaching the summit?* However, as with activities and accomplishments, there is some temporal scope that is relevant for states and achievements: *love* may be a state which lasts for a span of time, though it is not composed of "successive phases" (Vendler 1957: 144) like *running*; *reach the summit* only indicates a moment in time when the summit is reached. From the Russian examples given above, *tancujut* 'they dance' in (3) expresses an activity of habitual occurrence, and *postupil* 'enrolled' expresses an accomplishment. All predicates can be categorized as one of these four situation types.

While situation type characterizes the default temporal configuration of a situation, aspect expresses the temporal construal of a situation based on the information and perspective imposed in a particular context. These functions, then, form the overall descriptive background of aspectual usage for Slavic. But since aspectual usage is not the same for all Slavic languages,[10] the relationship between aspectual usage and discourse functions of predicates will differ for individual Slavic languages. For example, the statements and questions concerning events as facts in Russian are regularly expressed by the imperfective, cf., e.g., ex. (5).

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[10] Recall Dickey's (2000) east-west aspect division introduced in 1.0.

(5)   Ty kogda-nibud′ **spotykalsja**^{i} na ulice?   (Rus; Dickey 2000: 98)

      'Have you ever <u>tripped</u> on the street?'

(6)   Czy kiedykolwiek **potknąłeś**^{p} **się** na ulicy?   (Pol; Dickey 2000:101)

      The meanings of the Slavic perfective and imperfective aspects are treated in the literature either in terms of a **privative** or an **equipollent** opposition. A privative opposition is one in which the "marked" perfective has a specific feature (+A), e.g., "absolute completion", while the "unmarked" imperfective is ($\pm$A), which means that the imperfective may or may not have this (+A) feature (cf. Jakobson 1957: 137; Jakobson 1984: 1; Forsyth 1970: 19; Dickey 2000: 15-16). In contrast, an equipollent opposition is one in which the perfective and imperfective are each assigned specific meanings, so that this relationship is represented as A/B. For example, Śmiech (1971: 9) defines aspect in equipollent terms as "the ability of a verb to describe an action as a whole from the point of view of some border or as a non-totality", so that according to his definition, the perfective and imperfective aspect form an equipollent A/B opposition of the meanings totality/non-totality.

      The analyses of the meanings of the perfective and imperfective aspects presented for Russian in 1.3 and for Polish in 1.4 are reminiscent of the relationships between invariant meanings and their contextual variations. Invariance is the conceptual antecedent to markedness in the Structuralist tradition, as markedness compensated for the difficulty in establishing an invariant meaning for the imperfective. Timberlake (1982: 325, 327) takes issue with the

Structuralist notion that the invariant holds primary importance for the meaning of aspect, arguing that because of a difference in syntagmatic morphological coding by contextual variations of the imperfective, the primary importance of the invariant is undermined, as shown in examples (7) and (8):

(7)   Kogda on **vozvraščalsja**^{i} s polja razbity/$^?$razbitym ot ustalnosti, ego vstretila Fenja.

(Rus; Timberlake 1982: 324)

'When he <u>returned</u> (impf) from the field exhausted, he was met by Fenja.'

(8)   Petrov (každyj den′ on uspeval pobyvat′ ne na odnom učastke) **vozvraščalsja**^{i} iz vojsk

*uspokoennyj/uspokoennym.   (Rus; Timberlake 1982: 325)

'Petrov (every day he managed to spend time at more than one section) <u>returned</u> (impf) from the troops calmed down.'

Timberlake argues that in (7), the contextual variation of the imperfective is in a descriptive background sense, and in this case the preferred case of the predicate nominal *razbity* (i.e., its morphological coding) is in the nominative. In (8), on the other hand, the imperfective carries an iterative meaning, in which case the predicate nominal prefers the instrumental use, *uspokoennym*. Timberlake claims that this difference in morphological coding of the predicate nominals as nominal and instrumental by the contextual variants of the imperfective undermines the primary importance of the invariant meaning, since contextual variants actually have a greater than peripheral significance.

Unlike Timberlake's (1982) study, this study does not take issue with the Structuralist notion of the relationship between invariants and contextual variations of aspectual meaning by

underlining some conflict that seems to exist in this relationship, but rather regards the relationship as one of extension in terms of Cognitive Grammar, so that the invariant is equivalent to the schema (i.e., the common denominator) of meaning inherent in the instantiating contextual variants—this is the relationship assumed in the analysis of Russian and Polish aspectual meanings in 1.3 and 1.4. This study does reject the associated Structuralist idea that Slavic aspectual oppositions represent privative oppositions, and treats Slavic aspectual oppositions as equipollent, i.e., each member of the pair—the perfective and the imperfective—is assigned a distinct meaning. Dickey (2000: 24) explains that most recent temporal theories of aspect (e.g., Galton 1976, Leinonen 1982) view Slavic aspectual oppositions as equipollent, so the following analysis of the meaning of aspect in Russian and Polish does not violate this tradition.

1.3. The Meaning of Aspect in Russian

In 1.2 it was explained that in Slavic the perfective typically refers to single, completed events, while the imperfective is used to describe processes, habituality or statements of fact (cf. Dickey 2000: 12). The literature on the meaning of aspect in Russian tends to follow this general view on the meanings of the perfective and imperfective aspects in Slavic. Aspect is a complex conceptual category, so it is not sufficient to describe either the perfective or imperfective in terms of just one meaning. However, most studies assign central meanings at least to the perfective. According to Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 19), there are actually two types of aspectual meaning in Russian[11]: an **invariant** meaning, e.g., "single event" for the perfective (Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 19), and **contextual** meanings, e.g., the conative is a contextual

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[11] Although Zaliznjak and Šmelev's division into types of meanings relates only to Russian aspect, it has broader applicability to Polish aspect also (see below).

variant of the central imperfective meaning process (cf. Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 22; Maslov 2004: 99). Zaliznjak and Šmelev's invariant and contextual aspectual meanings are utilized throughout this section, since their assumed meanings serve as good descriptive characterizations of the functions of the aspects without venturing into areas of conflicting theoretical views.

An invariant meaning, more often posited for the perfective than the imperfective, serves as the common denominator of the various contextual meanings of either aspect. The imperfective is often described as unmarked in relation to the perfective invariant (cf. Rassudova 1984). While invariant meaning is typically not assigned to the imperfective, there are some authors (e.g., Maslov 2004: 98-102) who assign multiple central meanings to the imperfective aspect. A central meaning does not represent a single common denominator of aspectual meaning in this study, but rather serves as a salient meaning that may be distinguished from one or more other central meanings. The invariant/central and related contextual variant meanings for the Russian perfective and imperfective discussed in this section may be understood in Cognitive Grammar terms as a relationship of extension from a prototype.

Maslov (2004: 99) suggests that the Russian perfective has one invariant meaning, the concrete-factual,[12] which he defines as "a one-time and in this sense concrete event established as a fact in its natural completeness" (*v ego estestvennoj celostnosti*). Maslov further suggests that the invariant meaning of the perfective concrete-factual does not undergo broad contextual variation, as the perfective "participates as its own (sole) central meaning" of the concrete-factual. However, Maslov does acknowledge some variation, as between the perfect meaning of

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[12] The use of the term "fact" for events coded perfective causes confusion with the use of the term "fact" when used to describe how the imperfective presents some events outside of a context (cf. the "general-factual"), so once the term concrete-factual is introduced as used by a given author (e.g., Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 19, who also suggest that the invariant for the Russian perfective establishes a single event as a "concrete-factual" that took place in the past or is expected in future) it is thereafter replaced by the term concrete event.

the concrete-factual in example (9), and the aorist meaning of the concrete-factual in example (10):

(9)   On **otkryl**^{p} okno.   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 99)

      'He <u>opened</u> the window.'

(10) On vošel v komnatu, **otkryl**^{p} okno i snova vyšel.   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 99)

      'He entered the room, <u>opened</u> the window and went out again.'

Example (9) expresses the perfect meaning when the window is open at the time of speech, and the speaker wishes to indicate the importance of it being open at the time of speech. The aorist meaning that Maslov suggests for example (10) is the expression of complete events in a narrative, so that the three events in the perfective express foregrounded events that advance the narrative, as opposed to background events (typically expressed by the imperfective) that do not advance the narrative.[13] Despite making reference to this slight variation of meaning between examples (9) and (10), Maslov basically limits the perfective to the invariant meaning concrete-factual, which does not undergo broad contextual variation.

Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 19–20) also suggest that the Russian perfective has the invariant meaning concrete-factual, but unlike Maslov (2004: 99), Zaliznjak and Šmelev actually divide the concrete-factual meaning into broader contextual variants. For example, Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 19–20) explain that a concrete event can express the meaning of potentiality, as in (11):

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[13] Marek Łaziński (p.c.) points out that the division between the perfect and the aorist refers to the aspect-tense combination, not just to aspect; the concrete factual itself can refer to the future, but the aorist and perfect cannot.

(11) On **rešit**^{p} ljubuju zadaču.   (Rus; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 19–20)

    'He <u>can solve</u> any problem.'

The potential meaning in (11) profiles a single instance of a general ability of the subject to solve problems. Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 20) list the summative meaning as another contextual variant of the invariant meaning of the perfective concrete event, as in (12):

(12) On tri raza **postučal**^{p} v dver´.   (Rus; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 20)

    'He <u>knocked</u> at the door 3 times.'

Here, the three separate acts of knocking are regarded summatively as a single, concrete event. Potentiality and summation can then be regarded as instantiations of the broader invariant meaning "concrete event" in Zaliznjak and Šmelev's (2000: 19-20) study; this generalization about instantiation can be made for any relationship of a contextual variant to an invariant or central meaning discussed in this section.

    Maslov (2004: 99) does suggest contextual variations for each of the following three central meanings he assigns to the Russian imperfective: **process,**[14] **unlimited repetition** (*neograničenno-kratnoe*) and the **general-factual**. Maslov (2004: 99) divides process into three contextual variants: conative, the continuous-uninterrupted meaning (*postojanno-nepreryvnoe*) and concrete-process. A conative expresses an attempt or effort toward a goal (cf. Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 22), as in example (13):

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[14] Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 21) also identify process as a central meaning of the perfective.

(13) **Vstrečal***i* (no ne vstretil*p*).[15]   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 99)

    '<u>He tried to meet</u> (but didn't meet).'

The imperfective *vstrečal* profiles the process of trying to meet; the goal of meeting is not achieved, as the latter meaning is expressed by *vstretil*. The second contextual variant of process in Maslov's (2004: 99–100) study, the continuous uninterrupted meaning, expresses a "continuously lasting situation, constantly on hand," as in example (14):

(14) S veršiny **otkryvaetsja***p* prekrasknyj vid.   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 99-100)

    'From the summit a beautiful view <u>opens up</u>.'

In example (14), process should be understood abstractly; a view "opening up" is a metaphorical description for a visual perspective on nature, carrying in fact a more stative meaning, but prima facie, *otkryvaetsja**i*, literally 'is opening up', suggests a process that is continuous and uninterrupted. Maslov's third contextual variant of the central meaning of the imperfective process is concrete-process, as in example (15):

(15) Kogda ja vošel*p*, on **otkryval***i* okno.   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 100)

    'When I entered, he <u>was opening</u> the window.'

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[15] Also according to Marek Łaziński (p.c.), the Polish equivalent *potykał, ale nie spotkał* is not possible, since *spotkać* only has an achievement meaning, and the imperfective can only have an iterative or historical present meaning.

The process of opening the window is limited to a single, specific occasion (i.e., it is concrete) by the subject's entering the room to witness the opening of the window. Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 21) explain that a concrete process expresses a process occurring at a moment of observation, and in the clause *Kogda ja vošel* in example (15), the subject is the observer.

Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2004: 22) list the durative as another contextual variant of the central meaning of the imperfective process, as in (16):[16]

(16) Ty uže dva časa **sidiš***i* za kompjuterom.   (Rus; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2004: 22)

   'You <u>have</u> already <u>been sitting</u> behind the computer for two hours.'

The process of 'sitting' for the duration of two hours is contemporaneous with the moment of speech, and the moment of speech provides a concrete context for the process. Therefore, concrete process, unlimited-duration, conative and durative meanings may be considered extensions of the central meaning of the imperfective process for Russian.

Maslov's (2004: 98, 101) second central meaning of the Russian imperfective, unlimited repetition, expresses "a repeated or usual event, an unbounded repetition, also an ability to do an action." Two salient contextual variants of unlimited repetition appear in examples (17) and (18). Example (17) expresses the potential-qualitative meaning, and example (18) expresses the meaning of habitual repetition:

(17) On **otkryval***i* samye složnye zamki.   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 101)

   'He <u>opened</u> the most difficult locks.'

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[16] Maslov (2004) does not include the durative meaning as a contextual variant of the central meaning of the imperfective process in his study.

(18) On **obedaet**^{i} v restorane.   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 101)

 'He <u>eats</u> in a restaurant.'[17]

Example (17) expresses the ability of the locksmith to open the most difficult locks (cf. Maslov 2004: 98, 101). This potential-qualitative meaning exemplified in (17) serves as a contextual variant of the central imperfective meaning unbounded repetition, due to the fact that the locksmith's ability to open locks conceivably could have been repeated an indefinite number of times. The habit of eating in a restaurant also may be repeated an unlimited number of times.

Maslov (2004: 102) suggests that the general-factual is the third central imperfective meaning in Russian, presenting a fact as such, "without an account of whether it took place once or repeated, without an account of its individual place on a time line," as in example (19):

(19) Ja **govoril**^{i} emu ob ètom.   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 102)

 'I <u>told</u> him about this.'

As Maslov (2004: 102) explains, in example (19) it is not clear if the speaker means that he told the other person something once or several times, or when exactly it happened. Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 26) and Maslov (2004: 103) both list "two-way action" as a contextual variant of the central imperfective meaning general-factual. Maslov (2004: 103) defines two-way action as "the expression of an event with an annulled, removed result," as in examples (20) and (21):

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[17] Maslov explains that example (18) can also mean 'He is (presently) eating in a restaurant'.

(20) K vam **prixodil**^{i} znakomyj. (Rus; Maslov 2004: 103)

'An acquaintance <u>dropped by</u> to see you.'

(21) Počemu kniga takaja grjaznaja? Kto ee **bral**^{i}? (Rus; Forsyth 1970: 79)

'Why is this book so dirty? Who <u>took</u> it?'

In example (20), the acquaintance is no longer present at the time of speech; the presence of this person is annulled by the use of the imperfective, so that coming and going are the two "ways" of the action. In example (21), the use of the imperfective *bral* suggests that the book was in someone else's possession, but that possession is annulled (Forsyth 1970: 78) at the time of speech, as the speaker is in possession of it. Since the act of taking has been annulled, no direct temporal and causal link exists with the moment of speaking; Rassudova (1984: 68) calls this phenomenon "dissociation," and Leinonen (1982: 200–207) refers to it as "gapping" (cf. also Dickey 2000: 110).

Maslov (2004: 98) suggests that a contextual variant of each of the three central imperfective meanings enters into a semantic opposition with the invariant perfective meaning of the concrete-factual. According to Maslov, these semantic oppositions lie at the heart of the aspectual oppositions in Russian. The discussion of these semantic oppositions runs beyond the scope of this dissertation, but an example of a semantic opposition is given in (22) and (23):

(22) Èto byl prekrasnyj slesar': on legko **otkryl**^{p} ètot složnyj zamok.

(Rus; Maslov 2004: 98)

'That was an excellent locksmith: he easily <u>opened</u> this difficult lock.'

(23) On **otkryval**ⁱ samye složnye zamki. (Rus; Maslov 2004: 98)

'He <u>opened/was able</u> to open the most difficult locks.'

The perfective *otkryl* in example (22) expresses a one-time event of opening a lock, and in this sense the verb carries the perfective invariant meaning concrete-event—recall that in Maslov's (2004: 99) study, the perfective invariant meaning does not express the broad contextual variation that characterizes the imperfective. The meaning of a concrete event in (22) is semantically opposed to the potential-qualitative meaning expressed in (23), the latter being a contextual variant of the central imperfective meaning unlimited repetition. The aspectual meanings of (22) and (23) have already been discussed—they are simply reintroduced here as examples of how Maslov analyzes the meanings of the Russian perfective and imperfective in terms of semantic/aspectual oppositions.

This section has presented a basic overview of some of the more prominent meanings for the perfective and imperfective aspects in Russian that are discussed in the literature, but this study assumes that the the meanings **temporal definiteness** and **temporal indefiniteness** are the prototypical meanings of the Russian perfective and imperfective (respectively), as discussed in Leinonen (1982), Dickey (2000), and Dickey and Kresin (2009).[18] Leinonen (1982: 174) suggests that the Russian perfective presents the situation in question as temporally definite, i.e., as an indivisible whole uniquely located on a time line. In other words, it is an event that is located in a definite temporal point relative to other contiguous events. Regarding temporal definiteness as the prototypical meaning of the Russian perfective, Dickey and Kresin (2009: 5) explain that "a situation is temporally definite if it is unique in the temporal fact structure of a

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[18] Though the aspectual meanings of temporal definiteness and temporal indefiniteness adopted in this study are based on Dickey (2000), the presentation in Dickey and Kresin (2009) is more succinct, so it is cited in this brief explanation.

discourse, i.e., if it is viewed as both (a) a complete whole and (b) qualitatively different from preceding and subsequent states of affairs." For example, in (24) the deacon's getting up precedes his dressing, and his dressing precedes his picking up his stick, then his picking up his stick precedes his leaving the house; the events occur in sequence, and the temporal uniqueness of each event follows from the fact that each is preceded and/or followed by another event that has its own unique temporal location in the sequence[19] of events:

(24) D´jakon **vstal**^{p}, **odelsja**^{p}, **vzyal**^{p} svoju...palku i tixo **vyšel**^{p} iz domu.

(Rus; Forsyth 1970: 64-65)

   'The deacon <u>got up</u>, <u>dressed</u>, <u>took</u> his…stick and quickly <u>left</u> the house.'

Leinonen (1982: 210) suggests that temporal indefiniteness as the meaning of the Russian imperfective does not assert the existence of other events in the temporal structure of the discourse that would be contiguous to the situation expressed by an imperfective verb.[20] This means that the Russian imperfective is not expected to be used to express such sequences of events as expressed in (24). Similarly, Dickey and Kresin (2009: 6) point out that the Russian imperfective expresses "qualitative temporal indefiniteness: the inability of a situation to be assigned to a single, unique point in time relative to other states of affairs." The general-factual question in example (25) is compatible with the meaning of the imperfective, qualitative temporal indefiniteness, since there are no contiguous events that would limit the event of

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[19] Dickey and Kresin (2009: 5) observe that sequentiality serves as the basis for this meaning of temporal definiteness.

[20] In the preface to her book, Leinonen (1982) explains that the core meaning for the Russian perfective is totality associated with an indivisible time line, and the core meaning of the Russian imperfective is non-totality associated with a divisible time line.

sending a book to a single point in a sequence of events,[21] nor can it even be assumed that the event only occurred once:

(25) Ty **posylal^i** emu knigu?   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 99)

'Did you <u>send</u> him the book?'

This question about sending the book does not presuppose any other directly mentioned event either. Maslov's (2004: 102) suggestion that the general-factual predicate expresses "a fact ... stated (or negated) in general form, 'in and of itself', without an account for whether it took place on one occasion or was repeated, without an account for its individual 'position on a time line' and other circumstances of its concrete realization" is compatible with the idea that *posylal^i* expresses qualitative temporal indefiniteness, since the lack of any assignment to a particular position on the time line makes it impossible for *posylal* to be located at a single, unique point in time. Adopting Dickey's (2000) definitions of Russian aspect then, it can be generalized that the opposition between the Russian perfective and imperfective aspects is based on the relationship of each aspect to temporal sequencing: the situation expressed by a perfective verb occurs in a temporal sequence of events, while that expressed by an imperfective verb does not occur in a temporal sequence (cf. Dickey 2000; Dickey and Kresin 2009; Leinonen 1982). In chapters 3 and 5, it is argued that the meaning of the Russian perfective temporal definiteness is linked to the productivity of delimitatives.

1.4. The Meaning of Aspect in Polish

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[21] It is important to note that while Maslov (2004: 98-102) considers the general-factual to be a central meaning of the imperfective, Dickey (p.c.) treats the general-factual separately as a verbal function. For the sake of continuity in this chapter, the general-factual is treated as a meaning of the imperfective.

The literature on the meaning of Polish aspect is less voluminous, and tends to be devoted to general descriptions of meaning, rather than to the more nuanced division into invariant or central meanings and their contextual variants as presented in the Russian literature. Prominent studies of Polish aspect include Antinucci and Gebert (1977) and Piernikarski (1975). Antinucci and Gebert (1977: 19) and Piernikarski (1975: 15) both suggest that change is a key component in the meaning of the perfective. Piernikarski (1975: 15) suggests that **change** is a main meaning for both the imperfective and the perfective in a relational aspectual opposition. Piernikarski explains that in order for there to be a relational aspectual opposition, the imperfective must express an event that brings change, that change must stand in relation to a subject or object (*temat*),[22] and the verbs must be used in a concrete sense. The imperfective in (26) expresses the event of painting which is directed toward a change in the surface of a wall from non-painted to painted, and the perfective in (27) expresses the change into a completely painted wall:

(26) **Maluje**^{i} ścianę.   (Pol; Piernikarski 1975: 15)

'He <u>is painting</u> the wall.'

(27) **pomalował**^{p} ścianę   (Pol; Piernikarski 1975: 15)

'He <u>has painted</u> the wall.'

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[22] Piernikarski's (1975: 15) exact words are "*zmiany te zaznaczają się w relacji do przedmiotu*"; *przedmiot* can be translated as 'subject', 'object' or *temat* in Polish, but he must have in mind both the subject or object as *temat*, as he gives examples of sentences that can enter into a relational pair both in which the subject undergoes the change, e.g., *drzewo schnie*, 'the wood is drying', and in which the object undergoes the change, e.g., *pali papierosa*, 'he's smoking a cigarette.'

Antinucci and Gebert (1977: 19) explain that the perfective indicates an assertion of the semantic component "change" that leads to a new "state." According to Antinucci and Gebert, in (28), the old man's death is the change that led to the state of his being dead:

(28) Starzec **umarł**[p] kilka dni temu.   (Pol; Antinucci and Gebert 1977: 19)

'The old man <u>died</u> several days ago.'

Similarly, in (29), the perfective *wyschła* expresses the change involved in the drying of the linen that produced a state of dryness:

(29) Bielizna **wyschła**[p] w godzinę.   (Pol; Antinucci and Gebert 1977: 13)

'The linen <u>dried</u> in an hour.'

Likewise, Antinucci and Gebert (1977: 17-19) explain that in (30), Jan caused a change by opening the door which resulted in the state of the door being open:

(30) Jan **otworzył**[p] drzwi.   (Pol; Antinucci and Gebert 1977: 17)

'Jan <u>opened</u> the door.'

In addition to containing the semantic components change and state as in (28) and (29), (30) contains the additional semantic component of **causation**, as Jan causes the door to open.

Unlike Piernikarski, Antinucci and Gebert do not emphasize the component of change in the meaning of the imperfective. Instead, Antinucci and Gebert (1977: 22) define the basic meaning of the imperfective as "the temporal localization of the subject of a sentence in an

internal point of the continuation of the event expressed by the sentence" (*lokalizację czasową podmiotu zdania w wewnętrznym punkcie trwania zdarzenia wyrażonego przez zdanie*). For example, in (31), Jan is temporally localized within the continuation of the event of opening the door. Antinucci and Gebert (1977: 20) draw a close parallel between this abstract sense of temporal localization of a subject within the course of an event and the expression of actual physical location within a space, as expressed in (32):

(31) Jan **otwierał**[p] drzwi.   (Pol; Antinucci and Gebert 1977: 17)

   'Jan <u>was opening </u>the door.'

(32) Jan **jest**[i] w domu.   (Pol; Antinucci and Gebert 1977: 20)

   'Jan <u>is</u> in the house.'

One central meaning Wierzbicka (1967: 2237) assigns to the Polish perfective is totality, explaining that *wodę* in (33) means *całą wodę*, 'all the water', so that totality of the process is expressed as well:

(33) On **wypił**[p] wodę.   (Pol; Wierzbicka 1967: 2237)

   'He <u>drank</u> the water.'

Wierzbicka (1967: 2237) suggests that the imperfective in (34), in contrast, expresses an "endless continuum of water" and thus an open-ended process:

(34) On **pił**[i] wodę.   (Pol; Wierzbicka 1967: 2237)

'He was <u>drinking</u> water.'

Wierzbicka (1966: 2245-2246) observes that the Polish perfective frequently occurs in sequences of events, as in (35), where the onset of the event of Jan's taking off his hat is preceded by Jan's entering the room and followed by his sitting down in an armchair:

(35) Jan **wszedł**^{p} do pokoju, **zdjął**^{p} kapelusz i **powiesił**^{p} go na gwóździu, **usiadł**^{p} w fotelu i

     zapalił^p papierosa.   (Pol; Wierzbicka 1966: 2246)

     'John <u>entered</u> the room, <u>took off</u> his hat, <u>hung</u> it on a nail, <u>sat down</u> in an armchair and <u>lit</u> a

     cigarette.'

Wierzbicka (1966: 2245–2246) suggests that it is the semantic invariant of **beginning** expressed by Polish perfective verbs that allows expressions of sequences of events with the perfective, as the notion of beginning has a punctual nature, so that the beginning of an event is regarded as a point in time, and a series of such beginning points in time following in succession form a sequential expression, as in (35). Wierzbicka (1966: 2245) suggests that the perfective semantic invariant beginning is also expressed in *On usnął*^{p} 'He fell asleep,' which she equates to *On zaczął*^{p} *spać* 'He began to sleep.' Thus, totality and sequentiality are two salient meanings that Wierzbicka assigns to the Polish perfective.

The perfective meaning of temporal definiteness as defined by Dickey (2000) contains the two meanings of totality and sequentiality; the meaning of temporal definiteness stipulates that the situation is a whole (i.e., a totality) and that there is temporal uniqueness in terms of the location of an event relative to contiguous events, the latter relationship also known as sequentiality. In 1.3, temporal definiteness was accepted as the prototypical perfective meaning

in Russian, but Dickey (2000: 39) suggests that the Polish perfective also often expresses temporal definiteness—otherwise, Dickey suggests, the Polish perfective simply expresses totality. Note that the meaning of totality is associated with the perfective in a western group of Slavic languages (Czech, Slovak, Sorbian, Slovene). Temporal definiteness and totality are accepted as coexisting local prototypes of the Polish perfective in this study. The reasons for adopting totality and temporal definiteness as prototypical meanings of the perfective in Polish are given in the context of a discussion of the productivity of Polish delimitatives in chapter 3 and in the context of a discussion of the productivity of Polish distributives in chapter 4.

In some cases then, the meaning of the Polish perfective is totality, and in other cases, it is temporal definiteness. The interplay of these two meanings is made apparent in Dickey's (2000) analysis of aspectual usage in contexts of habitual repetition. Consider example (36):

(36) Czasem do nich **zajdę**^{p} /**zachodzę**^{i}.　　　(Pol; Dickey 2000: 68, citing Brajerski 1967: 24)

'I sometimes <u>stop by</u> at their place.'

According to Dickey (2000: 54), a habitual expression may refer to a representative-instance, which "profiles a 'single, arbitrary instance' of the habitual event, which is viewed as representative of the individual component events (single repetitions)"; the perfective *zajdę*^{p} 'stop by' profiles such a single representative instance of the habitual repetition of the event *stop by* as a totality;[23] note that the perfective verb here cannot access the meaning of temporal definiteness because the situation in question is not uniquely located relative to other states of affairs. Example (36) also allows the use of imperfective *zachodzę* to express temporal

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[23] Dickey (2000: 54) observes that in this respect the Polish perfective patterns after the meaning of the western perfective.

indefiniteness, since a string of uniquely located, contiguous events (the only event mentioned is 'stopping by') does not exist. In (36), then, the speaker's use of the perfective profiles the totality of a representative-instance, whereas the use of the imperfective simply profiles the temporally indefinite habituality of the context. Compare the similar use of the imperfective in the Russian equivalent to (36) given in (37):

(37) Inogda ja k nim ***zajdu**^{p}/**zaxožu**^{i}.   (Rus; Dickey 2000: 68, citing Galton 1976: 85)

  'I sometimes <u>stop by</u> at their place.'

The use of the imperfective *zaxožu* is the only possibility for Russian, because the use of the perfective to express Russian representative-instance events requires sequentiality as a contextual element.

  A past tense[24] example of the perfective being used to profile a single, total instance of a repeated event in Polish is given in (38):

(38) Tylko od czasu do czasu…**przyleciał**^{p} jakiś jeździec z kartką albo z ustnym poleceniem...

                    (Pol; Dickey 2000: 72, citing Holvoet 1991: 123)

  'Only from time to time... some rider <u>came galloping up </u>with a note or a spoken command...'

One single approach of a rider on horseback is profiled as a totality against the backdrop of intermittent repetitions of this same event. There are no contiguous events that might suggest the

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[24] Note that the perfective for repetition occurs even less frequently in the past tense than in the present tense in Russian.

perfective meaning temporal definiteness. In example (39), the meaning of perfective *wypije* 'drink all of' could be temporal definiteness, since it occurs in sequence with the unique event of sitting down to lunch, or it could mean totality, since *wypije* profiles a representative-instance of a habitually repeated event.

(39) Każdego dnia, kiedy on **wypije**[p] kieliszek wódki, zasiada[i] do drugiego śniadania.

(Pol; Dickey 2000: 60)

'Every day when he <u>drinks</u> a glass of vodka, he sits down to lunch.'

The unacceptability of the perfective in the representative-instance in example (40) indicates that the association of the Polish perfective with temporal definiteness is too strong to allow it in cases of highly regular habitual repetition:

(40) Codziennie ***wypije**[p]/**wypija**[i] kieliszek wódki.   (Pol; Dickey 2000: 53)

'He <u>drinks</u> one glass of vodka a day.'

Since example (40) involves no temporally contiguous events, the imperfective is used. By comparison, example (41), which is the Russian equivalent of (40), also requires the imperfective, since again the Russian meaning of the perfective is temporal definiteness, and no contiguous events are involved:

(41) Každyj den´ on ***vyp´et**[p]/**vypivaet**[i] po odnoj rjumke vodki.   (Rus; Dickey 2000: 53)

'He <u>drinks</u> one glass of vodka a day.'

Thus, when a single representative-event of a habitual situation is profiled in Polish, the perfective is used, because a representative-instance event is compatible with the meaning of totality. On the other hand, when the repetition of the habitual action is profiled, the imperfective is used in Polish.

While Dickey (2000: 48) assumes that the Polish perfective is chracterized by two local prototypes—the western Slavic meaning of totality and the eastern Slavic meaning of temporal definiteness (Dickey, 2000: 48)—Dickey (2000: 107) assigns the Polish imperfective the meaning of the western Slavic imperfective, which is **quantitative temporal indefiniteness**: the assignability of a situation to several points in time. Accordingly, since the Polish imperfective means that a situation must be assignable to more than one point in time, a general-factual question expressing a one-time achievement (i.e., assigned to one point in time) is not possible with the imperfective. Thus the perfective is the only possibility in ex. (6), repeated here as (42):

(42) Czy kiedykolwiek **potknąłeś**^{p}/***potykałeś**^{i} **się** na ulicy?   (Pol; Dickey 2000: 101)

 'Have you ever <u>tripped</u> on the street?'

Asking someone, 'Has 'X' ever happened to you?' implies a minimum of one instance of this event occurring at a single point in time. Therefore, the use of the perfective is appropriate in (42). In the Russian equivalent given in (5), repeated here as (43), the imperfective is required:

(43) Ty kogda-nibud´ **spotykalsja**^{i} na ulice?   (Rus; Dickey 2000: 98)

 'Have you ever <u>tripped</u> on the street?'

Since the Russian imperfective expresses qualitative temporal indefiniteness, i.e., that a situation cannot be located at a single, unique point in time relative to contiguous states of affairs (Dickey and Kresin 2009: 6; cf. 1.3), the use of the imperfective is appropriate in (43), since there are no events contiguous to the predicate expressed by the imperfective *spotykalsja*; in Russian, the situation does not have to be assignable to more than one point in time in order to activate the use of the imperfective, in contrast to Polish.

The two-way action variant of the general-factual expressed in (44) by the imperfective cannot be assumed to instantiate the Polish meaning of the imperfective, quantitative temporal indefiniteness.

(44) Czy **otwierałeś**[i] okno?   (Pol; Dickey 2000: 112)

'<u>Did</u> you <u>open</u> the window?'

Here we must assume a node of quantitative temporal indefiniteness in the network of the Polish imperfective. It is also possible that the use of the imperfective in (44) is simply to negate the temporal definiteness of the perfective, i.e., the causal link of the situation with the moment of utterance, offers further evidence that temporal definiteness is relevant for the Polish perfective. A full analysis of the two-way imperfective in Polish lies beyond the scope of this study.

Again, in addition to temporal definiteness, totality is accepted as another prototypical meaning of the Polish perfective (cf., Dickey 2000). In effect, the Polish perfective has two local prototypes in its network, totality and temporal definiteness. The meaning of the Polish perfective, then, is polycentric. In Polish, sequences of events activate the perfective meaning of temporal definiteness, while the profile of a single representative-event of a habitual situation

activates the perfective meaning of totality. Dickey (2000: 39) suggests that the basic structure of

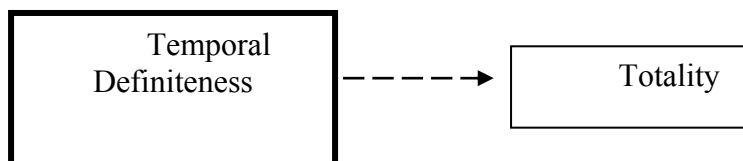the Polish perfective is as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Basic structure of the Polish perfective network

According to Figure 1, temporal definiteness is a local prototype with relatively more salience in the network for the Polish perfective, whereas totality is a weaker local prototype in the network. The assumption of a temporal definiteness node in the Polish perfective is intended to explain the fact that Polish aspect usage overlaps with Russian to a relatively high degree in comparison with the Slavic languages of the western group. The meaning of the Russian perfective, however, is much more tightly organized around the central node temporal definiteness. The greater productivity of expressions of sequentiality in Russian compared to Polish is testimony of the more central meaning of temporal definiteness in Russian.

1.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented theoretical preliminaries of Cognitive Grammar and an introduction to the category of aspect, and then presented a more detailed analysis of the discussion of the meaning of aspect in Russian and Polish. This introduction to the basic framework of Cognitive Grammar and the meanings of aspect (in particular, the Russian prototypical perfective meaning temporal definiteness and the Polish prototypical perfective meanings totality and temporal definiteness, following Dickey 2000) are highly relevant for the analysis of the relationship between perfectivity and the prototype verb in *po-* in Russian and Polish presented in chapters 3, 4 and 5. This chapter has contributed to the modeling of language within a Cognitive Grammar

framework beyond what other studies have done by expanding the application of CG to the grammatical category of aspect, rather than simply applying it to the analysis of the meaning of individual lexical items or morphemes. Section 1.1 discussed how the Cognitive Grammar models of semantic network, prototype and schema are useful in the analysis of the meaning of lexical and grammatical units in language. Section 1.2 presented a basic introduction to verbal aspect, and provided a background description of Russian and Polish aspect. Section 1.3 considered various meanings for the Russian aspect and described the relationships between these meanings in CG terms of instantiation between central/invariant meanings and their contextual variants. In 1.3 it was suggested that temporal definiteness and temporal indefiniteness are the prototypical meanings of the Russian perfective and imperfective aspects. Section 1.4 discussed the meaning of Polish aspect, though this discussion was not framed in terms of CG, since descriptions of Polish aspect in the literature tend to be less detailed. In 1.4 the prototypical meanings for the Polish perfective and imperfective assumed here were presented, based on Dickey (2000); these meanings are totality and temporal definiteness for the perfective and quantitative temporal indefiniteness for the imperfective.

Chapter 2

2.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the meanings of individual types of verbs in *po-* in Russian and Polish, and examines the conceptual basis for their interrelationship in each language. This chapter also examines the expression of certain aspectual-semantic components by the verbs in *po-*; this provides an important background for the discussion of the Russian and Polish prototype *po-* verbs in chapters 3 and 4, respectively, as it is explained in these chapters that the encoding of the prototypical meanings of the perfective by the respective prototypical *po-* verbs allows the latter to function as quasi-perfective partners in many contexts. Chapters 3 and 4 also show that conversely, the encoding of perfectivity by these prototypical *po-* verbs may impede the function of the latter in certain contexts. Therefore, the introductory discussion of the relationship between the perfective and *po-* meanings presented in this chapter sets the stage for the analyses in the next two chapters. In 2.1, the meanings of Russian verbs in *po-* are discussed, and the semantic network and schema for Russian *po-* are introduced. In 2.2, the meanings of Polish verbs in *po-* are discussed, and the semantic network for Polish *po-* is introduced. 2.3 provides a chapter summary.

2.1. Russian Verbs in *PO-*: An Introduction

Russian verbs in *po-* include the following types: delimitatives, e.g., *postojat́* 'stand for a while'; distributives, e.g., *popádat́* 'fall [of a number of subjects]'; inchoatives, e.g., *pozelenet́* 'turn green'; ingressives, e.g., *pobežat́* 'start running'; intermittent-attenuatives, e.g., *pokašlivat́*

'cough from time to time'; natural perfectives,[25] e.g., *poobedat′* 'have dinner'; and attenuatives, e.g., *poostyt′* 'cool off a bit'.[26] There are also relic lexical derivatives in Russian, e.g., *pomeščat′/pomestit′* 'place' and *popadát′/popast′* 'hit'.[27] All of these types of Russian verbs in *po-* are perfective, with the exception of the imperfective intermittent-attenuatives and pairs of lexical derivatives such as *pomeščat′/pomestit′* 'place', the latter having imperfective correlates prefixed in *po-* in addition to the perfective verb.

Dmitrieva (1991: 71) gives the following percentages for the occurrence of each type of Russian verb in *po-* relative to the total number of verbs in *po-*:[28] delimitatives, 31.8%; resultatives, 26%; distributives, 19%; attenuatives, 11.9%; intermittent-attenuatives, 9.2%; and ingressives, 1.2%. According to these percentages, 74% of Russian verbs in *po-* are procedurals, a figure consistent with Timofeev's (1966: 30) claim that the chief function of Russian *po-* is to form procedurals. Timofeev's resultatives are considered natural perfectives in this study.[29] Natural perfectives perform a grammatical role in the formation of a perfective aspectual correlate without altering the underlying semantic content of the base verb, and as mentioned in chapter 1, procedurals express "the manner in which the action or process takes place" (Forsyth 1970: 25). Accordingly, no Russian verb in *po-* changes the basic meaning of the verb, as the role of *po-* in Russian is limited to the formation of procedurals or aspectual pairs (cf. Timofeev 1966: 31).

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[25] Janda (2007b: 609) suggests that a natural perfective expresses the "logical completion" of an imperfective activity source verb, only changing the aspect of the source verb to perfective, so that *napisat′*[p] 'write' expresses completion of the activity *pisat′* 'write'.

[26] The example verbs in *po-* are taken from Forsyth (1970: 19-24), Flier (1985: 45) and Dmitrieva (1991: 69).

[27] These lexical derivatives are low in number and very old, as lexical prefixation with *po-* is no longer productive at all. Thus, they are not discussed any further in this study.

[28] Dmitrieva's source for these figures is *BAS*, The Academy Dictionary (*Bol′šoj Akademičeskij Slovar′*).

[29] In this study, resultativity is considered a primary semantic component of natural perfectives in most Slavic languages.

Of these Russian verbs in *po-*, intermittent-attenuatives express the indefinite duration of a repeated activity (Timofeev 1966: 22, 26), e.g., *poxaživat´* 'walk from time to time.' All intermittent-attenuatives have the *-yva-/-iva-* suffix, and are always imperfective (Timofeev 1966: 22, 27). Timofeev (1966: 26) also suggests that sometimes the intermittent-attenuative may express the additional meaning of an "incompleteness, the reduction of the measure of the event" (*s dopolnitel´nym ottenkom nepolnoty, oslablennosti mery dejstvija*), and in certain cases, the meaning of reduced measure may be primary, and the meaning 'time to time' may not be relevant at all, as in example (1):

(1)   Pridja domoj, Samgin leg. **Pobalivala**[i] golova, ni o čem ne dumalos´ i ne bylo nikakix

želanij.   (Rus; Timofeev 1966: 26)

'Coming home, Samgin lay down. His head <u>was hurting</u> a little, he thought of nothing and

had no desires.'

Timofeev (1966: 26) observes that the intermittent-attenuative *pobalivala* in example (1) expresses the meaning "hurt a little, not strongly (*nesil´no*), but at that precise moment, not from time to time" (*Zdes´ "bolela nemnogo, nesil´no", no v tot imenno moment, ne vremja ot vremeni*).

Another Russian verb in *po-* that expresses duration is the delimitative. Timofeev (1966: 20) explains that the delimitative expresses the limited duration of an event, e.g., *popisat´* 'write a while'. Timofeev (1966: 20, 23) also suggests that there is a degree of variation in the duration of the delimited event, depending on the lexical meaning of the source verb, so that the event *polakomit´sja* 'enjoy (something)' typically lasts for a short time, whereas *požit´* 'live a while' describes an event that may last a fairly long period of time. Shull (2003: 171–172) suggests that

the delimitative prefix *po-* temporally limits "a theoretically limitless state or activity"; for example, in example (2), the atelic activity of looking may continue for an indefinite amount of time, but in example (3), this activity is temporally limited by the delimitative prefix *po-*:

(2) Ona **smotrela**^{i} na fotografiju.   (Rus; Shull 2003: 172)

'She <u>looked/was looking</u> at the photograph.'

(3) Ona **posmotrela**^{P} na fotografiju, i potom postavila ee obratno na stol.[30]

(Rus; Shull 2003: 172)

'She <u>took a look</u> at the photograph, and then placed it back on the table.'

Kovalev (1940: 16–17) suggests that *po-* delimitatives express the result of the temporal limit, resultativity being a subfunction of perfectivization with *po-* in his view. Similarly, Dickey (2006: 19–20) explains that *po-* delimitatives can express the resultative (thus pairable) meaning of a "tangential consequence," as in example (4):

(4) Abxazskaja milicija slavno **porabotala**^{P}.   (Rus; Dickey 2006: 19)

'The Abkhazi police <u>worked</u> splendidly.'

In this example, the result of the work by the police is that a business executive's wife is no longer being held hostage (cf. Dickey 2006: 19–20). The importance of resultativity (and telicity) to the pairedness of Russian delimitatives is discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.

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[30] Marek Łaziński (p.c.) explains that a semelfactive, momentary interpretation of *posmotret'* is also possible.

As Tixonov (1962: 65) observes, attenuatives are another Russian verb in *po-* that have a quantitative meaning, indicating action or change that occurs to a slight degree, e.g., *poučastvovat´* 'participate marginally'. Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 120) observe that attenuatives indicate doing "something slightly, not making an effort, not long", and in this respect they are similar to delimitatives, as the attenuatives indicate an action occurring slightly (*slegka*) for a short while, while delimitatives indicate action occurring for a short while. Yet Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 120-121) observe that the difference between delimitatives and attenuatives is that while a delimitative imposes temporal boundaries on a process, attenuatives limit an event qualitatively (i.e., to a slight degree), so that the delimitative *podumat´* means 'think a while', while the attenuative *porazdumat´* means 'change one's mind somewhat'. Likewise, Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 120) observe that while delimitatives are formed from an imperfective source verb, attenuatives are formed from a prefixed perfective verb; the source verb *dumat´* of the delimitative *podumat´* 'think a while' is imperfective, while the source verb *razdumat´* of the attenuative *porazdumat´* 'change one's mind somewhat' is perfective.

Šeljakin (1980: 43) citing Sekaninova (1968) suggests that distributive verbs express "the distribution of a verbal event which gradually envelops an object or exhausts a subject in its multitude or entirely." Šeljakin (1980: 43) explains that when the emphasis of plurality of the subject or object of a given event is on many of something, the distributive is accompanied by *mnogo* 'many', and when the emphasis is on all of something, the distributive is accompanied by *vse* 'all', as in examples (5) and (6):

(5) Mnogie passažiry **povyskakivali**^{p} iz avtobusa.   (Rus; Stawnicka 2005: 209)

    'Many passengers <u>jumped off</u> the bus <u>(one after another)</u>.'

(6)　**pobrosat**ʹ*ᵖ* vse lopati　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Rus; Šeljakin 1980: 43)

　　　'throw all the shovels'

Timofeev (1966: 26) similarly observes that distributives may express either an action completed by all or many people, e.g., *popádat´* 'fall [of a number of subjects]', or express an action that encompasses all or many of the contextually possible objects, e.g., *pobrosat´* 'throw out, all or many'. *Po-* distributives may be derived from an intransitive source verb, as in example (7), or from a transitive source verb, as in example (8):

(7)　ljaguški **poprygali**ᵖ v vodu　　　　　　　　　　　　(Rus; Timofeev 1966: 26)

　　　'the frogs [all] jumped into the water [one after another]'

(8)　**pobrosal**ᵖ knigi na pol　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Rus; Timofeev 1966: 26)

　　　'he threw [all] the books on the floor'

　　Po- also performs a grammatical role in Russian, deriving natural perfectives from imperfective source verbs—consider the aspectual pair *posmotret´ᵖ < smotret´ⁱ* 'look'. Timofeev (1966: 21) and Dickey (2007: 327; see also the references cited there) observe that *po-* has been the most productive perfectivizing prefix in Russian. Tixonov (1962: 65–66) lists the purely grammatical meaning of *po-* as one of the main meanings of *po-* in Russian (another example of such an aspectual pair being *postroit´ᵖ < stroit´ⁱ* 'build') and he finds 300 verbs in *po-* in Russian in which *po-* performs this purely grammatical function. While *po-* generally occurs quite commonly in natural perfectives in Russian (Janda 2007: 16; cf. Dickey 2006: 3; Čertkova 1996), its productivity with borrowed verbs is quite low; Janda (2007: 15) cites Avilova's (1968: 67) study in which *po-* ranks as one of the least productive prefixes in forming natural

perfectives from borrowed bi-aspectual verbs. Tixonov (1962: 72–79) lists the following lexical groups that form natural perfectives in *po-* (i.e., the role of *po-* in these verbs is purely grammatical): verbs of concrete action,[31] e.g., *pogasit´* 'extinguish', *pobelit´* 'turn pale'; verbs of abstract action, e.g., *posposobstvovat´* 'be conducive to'; verbs of speech, e.g., *poobeščat´* (*-sja*) 'promise'; verbs of sensation, e.g., *posmotret´* 'look', *ponravit´sja* 'like'; verbs of appearance, e.g., *pobelet´* 'turn white', *potolstet´* 'get fat'. The expression of resultativity is salient with natural perfectives (see footnote 5, above); for example, Timofeev (1966: 22) explains that the natural perfective *pokrasit*[p] 'paint' expresses the completion of an action with the definite result of a painted surface.

Inchoatives and ingressives are two other types of Russian verbs in *po-*, and they both express the onset of a situation. Inchoatives express a change into a new state, for example, in *poljubit´* 'begin to love.' Ingressive verbs express the beginning of an event, and are formed only from non-prefixed unidirectional verbs of motion, as in example (9):

(9)   Mašina **pobežala**[p] po doroge.   (Rus; Timofeev 1966: 24)

'The car started to run along the road.'

Shull (2003: 148) suggests that *po-* ingressives represent a subcase of *po-* in the expression of the initiation of a new trajectory. However, the meaning of initiation of a new trajectory of the Russian ingressive in *po-* may also be neutralized. Zaliznjak and Šmelev (2000: 109) explain that

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[31] Tixonov first lists verbs of action (*glagoly dejstvija*), which he further subdivides into verbs of concrete action and verbs of abstract action.

the ingressive meaning is weakened with such regular ingressives as in example (10), where the focus is more on the event itself, rather than on its beginning:[32]

(10) **poneset** bel´je v pračečnuju   (Rus; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 109)

   'he will take his washing to the laundry'

The speaker wishes to communicate the fact that a certain individual is going to the laundry, rather than to focus on the initial phase of this trajectory. Tixonov (1962: 72) explains that certain *po-* ingressives lose their ingressive meaning in more figurative uses, e.g., *pojti zamuž* 'get married', where *pojti* functions as the perfective partner to *idti*, rather than as an ingressive. Timofeev (1966: 25) notes that the ingressive in (11), in addition to expressing the beginning of an event, may also express the completion of the event:

(11) jaščerica **ispugavšis**^{p} čeloveka, **popolzla**^{p} v svoju noru   (Rus; Timofeev 1966: 25)

   'having been frightened by a person, the lizard began to crawl into its hole (but is still in

   the process)' *or*

   'having been frightened by a person, the lizard entered, crawled into its hole'

The second interpretation of this sentence expresses resultativity, as the result is that the lizard has followed the full trajectory of motion to the end point by entering the hole. Kovalev (1940: 17) similarly suggests that *po-* ingressives express some partial resultativity: "the ingressivity of an event consists in the fact that an event has begun and continues, as if expressing a resultative

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[32] Note however that Shull's total account is not at variance with Zaliznjak and Šmelev.

beginning" (*Ingressivnost′ dejstvija sostoit v tom, čto dejstvija načalos′ i prodolžaetsja, vyražaja kak by rezul′tativnoe načalo*). In example (12), the resultative beginning of the dog's motion may be construed as a end point of initial motion, beyond which the same direction of motion continues.

(12) Sobaka **pobežala**[p] po sledam zverja.   (Rus; Kovalev 1940: 17)

 'The dog <u>ran</u> after the beast's tracks.'

The meaning of resultativity for Russian verbs in *po-* then, is widespread, expressed to varying degrees not only by delimitatives, distributives, and natural perfectives, but also by ingressives. The importance of the meaning of resultativity to Russian delimitatives and distributives is discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

 Timofeev (1966: 21, 31), Voloxina and Popova (1993: 126) and Tixonov (1962: 65) observe that the prefix *po-* lacks a spatial meaning in modern Russian.[33] Galnajtite (1963: 211) and Tixonov (1962: 65) suggest that *po-* expresses a quantitative-temporal meaning.[34] According to Tixonov, a delimitative such as *poigrat′* 'play for a while' has temporal meaning, and a distributive has quantitative meaning, as the latter encompasses all or many (thus quantifiable) subjects or objects. Shull (2003: 160) also ascribes a quantitative meaning to *po-*, as she explains that *po-* expresses some extent of an action, thereby quantifying the action. The common denominator of the quantitative and temporal meanings of Russian *po-* is the placement of a limit

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[33] A very marginal use of the Russian prefix *po-* in a spatial meaning is in a surface contact meaning when added to a source verb with the meaning of covering some surface with a layer of some substance, e.g., *poxromirovat′* 'chrome'. This group of verbs is extremely limited, and its productivity with loan verbs is very uneven, so that the spatial meaning of Russian *po-* is negligible. Note that the BAS does not list surface contact or any other spatial meaning for Russian *po-*.

[34] Again, Tixonov suggests that *po-* has an additional purely aspectual meaning.

on the possible duration of the action of the source verb. The upper limit of this duration, according to Shull (2003: 160), is a function of the source verb; *po-* indicates "that some amount of action occurred in accordance with the inherent properties and parameters of that action." Following Shull (2003), this study assumes that Russian verbs in *po-* profile the **typical course of an action**, which has a profile base of the cognitive domain of time. Figure 2 shows Shull's schema for Russian *po-*:
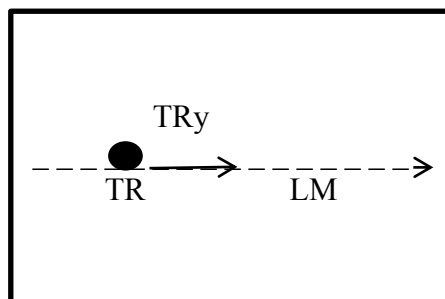
Figure 2: Shull's (2003: 152) Schema for Russian *Po-*[35]

TR=trajector, TRy =trajectory, LM = landmark (background TRy)

In this study, Shull's (2003: 152) schema for Russian *po-* presented in figure 2 is labeled "typical course of action". In Shull's schema, *po-* profiles the action of a trajector as some amount of trajectory along the landmark, which is the background trajectory of the full scope of the action. According to Shull (2003: 152, 172), verbs in *po-* express "that some amount of an action has been completed" and this amount of action can vary, being shorter than or equal to the background trajectory of the full scope of the action. For example, in (13), the prefix trajectory of *pobežala* is a smaller trajectory profiled against the full background trajectory expressed by *k domu*:

(13) Sobaka **pobežala**^{P} k domu.   (Rus; Shull 2003: 151)

  'A dog <u>set off (ran)</u> toward the house.'

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[35] Though this schema uses spatial imagery of a trajector relative to a landmark, this imagery serves only as a metaphor for the temporal projection of an event.

The dog began to run, but it may or may not have covered the full distance home. I adopt Shull's schema of the prefix trajectory profiled against a background trajectory in this study, labeling it "typical course of action" in the semantic network in Figure 3:
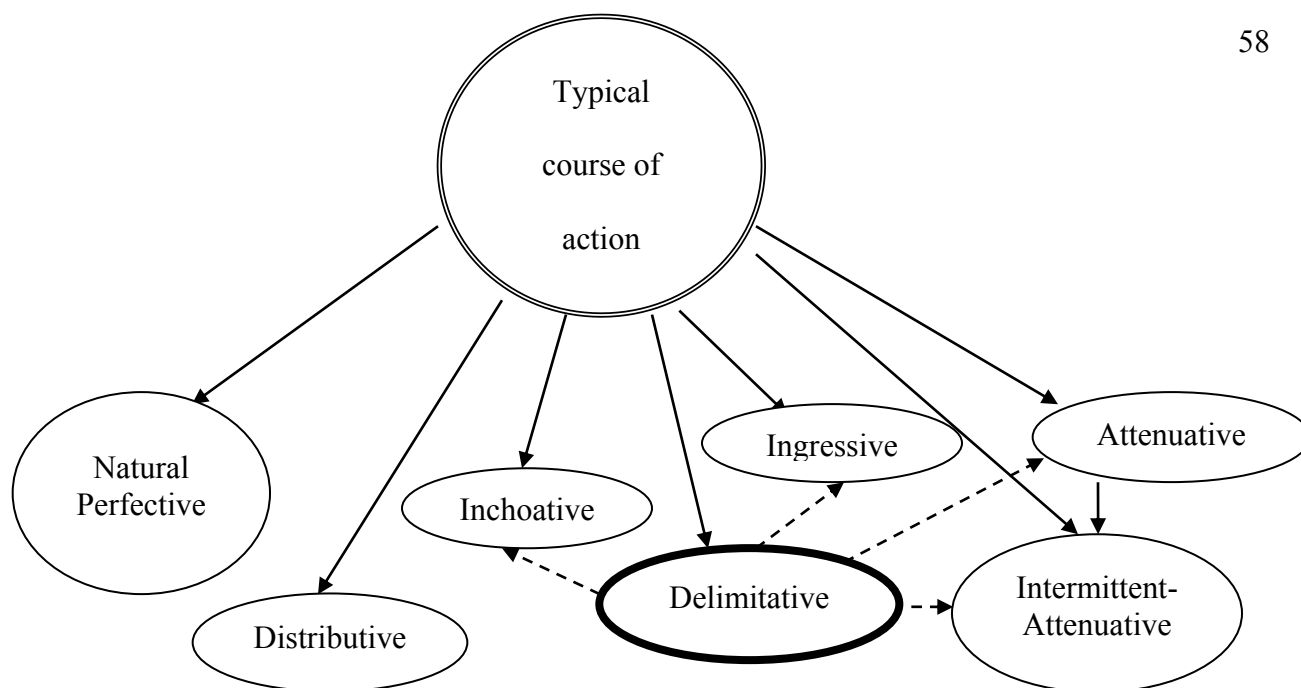
Figure 3: Russian Network for *Po-*[36]

Key for Figure 3: The prototype node is indicated with a bold line, and the schema with double

lines and small caps; solid lines connecting nodes represent elaborations, and dashed lines

connecting nodes represent extensions.

Again, Shull (2003: 152) explains that the trajectory profiled by the prefix (i.e., the

duration of action) is of an arbitrary extent relative to the background trajectory (i.e., the full

scope of the action). So, for natural perfectives in the *po-* network, the typical course of action

reaches a limit compatible with the achievement of a result. Thus, in the natural perfective

postroit´ (*dom*) 'build a house', the limit is the result of a completely constructed house; the

trajectory profiled by the prefix (i.e., how much of the action occurs—building a house) and the

background trajectory (how much action could occur—building a house) are equal. For

delimitatives, the typical course of action is less than the full scope or trajectory of the action; the

trajectory profiled by *po-* in *pospal pjat´ minut* 'he slept five minutes' is of relatively short

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[36] Surface contact verbs in *po-* are not included as a node in the Russian network, because of their extremely limited
occurrence (cf., the lack of a node for lexical derivatives in *po-* in the Polish network in 2.2 for the same reason).

duration compared to the full scope of the base action 'sleep', which could continue indefinitely. Since the inchoative, ingressive, attenuative and intermittent-attenuative are extensions of the delimitative prototype in the network,[37] it would be expected that these *po-* types also express a typical course of action (i.e., prefix trajectory) that is relatively limited compared to the full potential scope of the action (i.e., the background trajectory), also construed in temporal terms. This is in fact the case—consider again the ingressive in example (9), repeated here as (14):

(14) Mašina **pobežala**^{p} po doroge.   (Rus; Timofeev 1966: 24)

     'The car <u>started to race</u> along the road.'

The car begins to race along the road—this duration of motion is marginal relative to the span of a road, which is indefinite. Shull (2003: 153) observes that for *po-*, the profiled portion of the trajectory is perceivable to the speaker. This is in fact the case with *pobežala*, as the action would fall within the field of perception of the observer. Compare, for the sake of contrast, the prefix trajectory relative to the background trajectory in *solnce zašlo* 'the sun has set': the prefix trajectory of *za-* extends beyond the scope of the observer's perception, as the sun dips beyond the horizon (the background trajectory would be the infinite revolution of the earth around the sun). Again, the difference in the scope of action that constitutes that action's typical course has to do with the "properties of the base verb itself" (Shull 2003: 179).

In summary, Russian *po-* puts a limit on the temporal duration of an action, and the prototype Russian verb in *po-* for temporal limit is the delimitative. The inchoatives, ingressives, attenuatives and intermittent-attenuatives in the network represent extensions of the prototype of

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[37] In a semantic network, other nodes having a categorizing relationship to the prototype usually relate to the prototype as extensions (Langacker 1988b: 135; Dickey 2000: 31).

delimitativity, and all of these extensions express delimitation, either temporal or in terms of intensity of result. For example, the inchoative *pozelenet´* 'turn green' expresses some phase or phases of turning green; the ingressive *pobežat´* 'start to run' signals an initial temporal phase of unidirectional, telic motion (Tixonov 1962: 65) plus some undefined amount of the action; the attenuative *poostyt´* 'cool off a bit' expresses a phase or phases resulting in increased coolness, but less than the contextually defined absolute degree of coolness; and the intermittent-attenuative *pokuryvat´* 'smoke from time to time' expresses sporadic episodes of short duration. These four nodes that extend from the delimitative node carry then a meaning of the partial trajectory of the action, i.e., the trajectory of *po-* for these four nodes is less than the background trajectory. Note that while the inchoatives and attenuatives do not foreground temporal limitation, the partial trajectory they express in terms of the degree of the result does entail a corresponding temporal delimitation of the predicate. The natural perfective also expresses a temporal limit as a function of the attainment of the inherent end point of the predicate; e.g., in *postroit´ dom* 'build a house', the inherent delimitation of a time span required to build a house is inseparable from the expression of building the house to completion. That is to say, natural perfectives in *po-* also entail a corresponding temporal delimitation of the predicate. Russian *po-* then has the cognitive domain of time as its dominant cognitive domain, so that the typical course of action expressed by a Russian verb in *po-* is construed by default in terms of temporal delimitation.

2.2. Polish Verbs in *PO-*: An Introduction

All Polish verbs in *po-* are one of the following types: distributives, e.g., *pogubić* 'lose many or all of something (one after another)'; delimitatives, e.g., *poczytać* 'read for a while' (including also a satiative variant, e.g., *pogadać sobie* 'talk at great length'); surface-contact verbs, e.g.,

posmarować 'apply ointment to a surface'; intermittent-attenuatives, e.g., *popłakiwać* 'cry now and then'; inchoatives, e.g., *pozielenieć* 'turn green'; ingressives, e.g., *poleźć* 'start to climb'; natural perfectives, e.g., *podyktować* 'dictate' (Piwowar 3-13; Śmiech 1986: 18), and lexical derivatives, e.g., *pochodzić* 'originate from' (Piwowar 11). All of these types of verbs in *po-* are perfective, with the exception of the imperfective intermittent-attenuatives and the imperfective lexical derivatives, e.g., *pochodzić* 'originate', as in *pochodzić ze wsi* 'come from a village'[38] (Piwowar 11). Figure 2 shows the semantic network for Polish *po-*:

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[38] Some of these lexical derivatives such as *pochodzić* are ablative, meaning movement away from a source (see the following discussion).
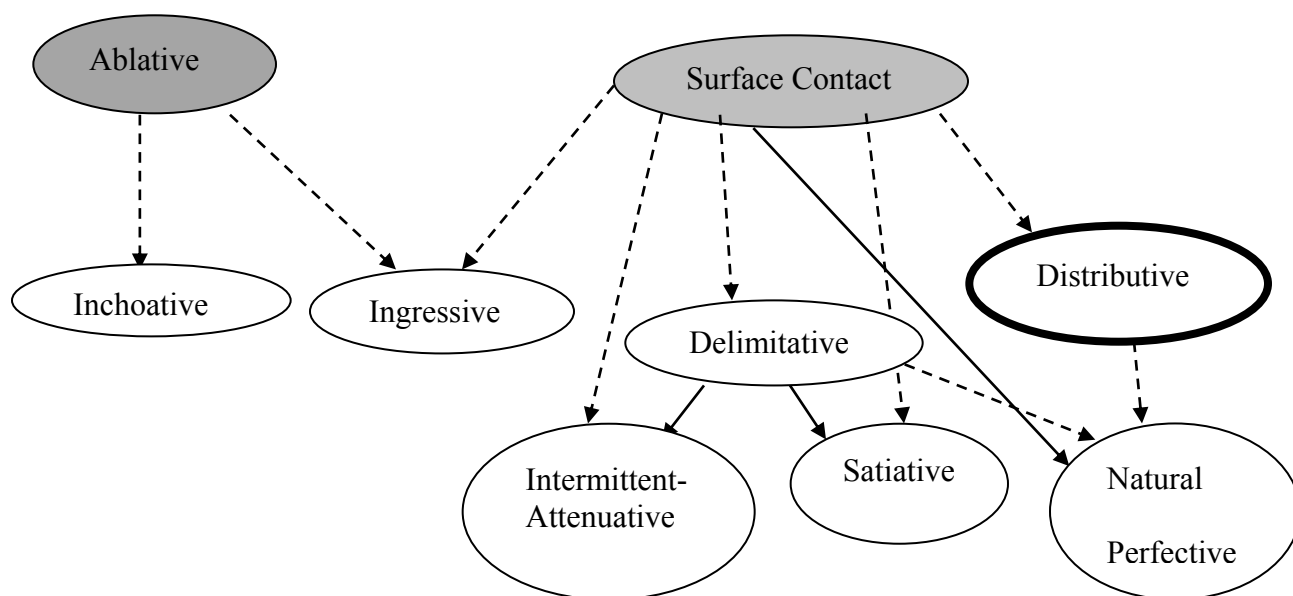
Figure 4: Polish Network for *Po-*[39]

Key for Fig. 4: *Spatial meanings are shaded, prototypes have bold lines, the schema has double lines and small caps, solid lines connecting nodes represent elaborations, and dashed lines connecting nodes represent extensions.*

In the semantic network for Polish *po-*, ablativity and surface contact have schematizing relationships to instantiating nodes, though neither is a completely overarching schema (cf. Langacker 1991: 3). This is because neither meaning is the common denominator of all *po-* meanings; rather, as Langacker (1991: 59) explains, a schema must be "an abstract template representing the commonality of the structures it categorizes." Surface contact is the most productive meaning of Polish *po-*; five out of the six nodes in the network instantiate the meaning of surface contact. Piernikarski (1975: 55–56) identifies surface-contact *po-* as productive in Polish, observing that it produces verbs including the following lexical types:

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[39] Lexical derivatives are rare (cf. Nowakowska-Kempna 1976: 104; Piwowar 2,11; {Śmiech 1986: 27-28 lists only 35}) and are not included in the network, since they all fall under one of the above nodes, e.g., *pobrać krew* 'draw blood' is an ablative.

pollution, e.g. *pobrudzić* 'besoil'; damage and destruction, e.g. *podeptać* 'tread'; damage to live

animals, e.g. *pobość* 'gore'; action on the surface, e.g. *pomalować* 'paint'; covering a surface

with metal, e.g. *pochromować* 'chrome'; farming, e.g. *pobronować* 'harrow', and sprinkling

(with sparks), e.g., *poiskrzyć*. Śmiech (1986: 26) also identifies a group of surface-contact verbs

in *po-* for Polish, e.g., *pobrudzić* 'cover with dirt'.

Surface contact and ablativity are spatial meanings. The Polish *po-* network, which

instantiates surface contact and ablativity, elaborates the cognitive domain of space (and the

cognitive domain of time to a lesser extent). The ingressive is an extension of both schematizing

spatial meanings of ablativity and surface contact; the ingressive *pobiec* 'start to run' indicates

movement away from a source as well as movement along a surface, and all movement is spatial.

The inchoative as an extension of the ablative expresses abstract spatial meaning; *pokochać*

'begin to love' expresses abstract movement away from a state of non-love toward a state of

love. Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 104; cf. 111) suggests that when added to a denominal of

color source verb, *po-* only performs a grammatical role, e.g., *poniebieścieć* 'turn azure', so that

it might be argued that this denominal of color in *po-* represents a type of natural perfective

which lacks a spatial component. However, I suggest that such denominals of color in *po-* in

Polish do in fact express the spatial meaning of surface contact; the meaning of color spreading

over a surface as a spatial notion expressed by the source verb *niebieścieć* arguably overlaps with

the perfectivizing role of *po-* as a case of subsumption, so that the prefix *po-* in this type of verb

appears "empty" relative to the spatial notion of surface contact from the source verb.[40]

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[40] Differing views regarding the grammatical role of Polish *po-* are found in the literature. For example, Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 111) suggests that the perfectivizing role of Polish *po-* is also prominent with distributives formed from prefixed derived imperfectives, e.g., *powybierać* 'select (sth.) [one after another],' this type numbering in the hundreds. Śmiech (1986: 20–22) and Piwowar (17) however, do not assign a significant perfectivizing role to *po-* in Polish. Piwowar explains that of the 1,820 *verbs in po-* included in SJPD which she

Therefore, denominals of color in *po-* also express surface contact and should be categorized in the group of surface-contact verbs in *po-* that Piernikarski (1975: 55-56) and Śmiech (1986: 26) identify (see above). Tabakowska (1999: 276), the only linguist to analyze Polish *po-* in terms of a CG network model, reduces the meaning of all four schemas in her network to spatiality; her schemas are "physical space" and "mental space", which further divide into "one-dimensional" and "two-dimensional" space. Thus, Tabakowska's analysis is a precedent for the view that Polish verbs in *po-* mainly have a spatial meaning.

Śmiech (1986: 18) also discusses the spatial meaning of Polish *po-*, though his discussion of the *"spatial indefiniteness of po-"* (*nieokreśloność przestrzenna po-*) leaves the spatial component of Polish *po-* less defined. Śmiech (1986: 18-19) explains that a determinate verb of motion in *po-* "indicates an action, the development of which is not expressly restricted in space, as it would be in a case where the prefix is *do-, na-, od-, przy-,* etc."; due to this lack of restriction in space, *po-* verbs, which are formally perfective, may lexically express either perfectivity or imperfectivity. Śmiech (1986: 18) ascribes an imperfective meaning to *pójdę*[p] in example (15), so that the two actions expressed by the perfective verbs in the subordinate and main clauses can be construed as occurring simultaneously; this imperfective meaning of *pójdę*[p] results from the fact that the development of this determinate verb of motion in *po-* is not spatially restricted.

(15) gdy **pójdę**[p] do szkoły, **wstąpię**[p] do kolegi   (Pol; Śmiech 1986: 18)

     'when I <u>will be going</u> to school, I'll <u>stop in</u> at a friend's'

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analyzes, only about 165 (9.2%) form aspectual pairs (prefixal and suffixal), while 1,650 of those verbs (91%) are "isolated," i.e., *perfectiva tantum*.

Śmiech (1986: 18) explains that the situation in (15) does not express two actions in sequence, but rather the action of stopping in occurs during the activity of walking to school, so that in his view the action of walking is construed imperfectively as an activity. (Note that Russian does not allow its determinate verbs of motion in *po-* to occur with a meaning of simultaneity.) Śmiech (1986: 18) suggests that the reason for the imperfective meaning of *pójdę*[p] and the simultaneous construal of the two actions is due to the "spatially indefinite (non-punctual) meaning of the prefix *po-*."

Śmiech's discussion of the spatial indefiniteness of *pójdę*[p] seems to be based on a presupposition that if both verbs in example (15) could be construed perfectively, then the two events should follow in succession to one another (i.e., express sequentiality), an arrangement for which he does account in example (16):

(16) gdy **popływa**[p], **odpocznie**[p]   (Pol; Śmiech 1986: 23)

     'If he <u>swims</u> a while, he'll <u>relax</u>.'

Śmiech explains that in example (16), relaxation follows in sequence from the delimited period of swimming; having swum a while, the subject feels more relaxed. Śmiech (1986) explains the construal of both predicates in (15) and (16) in terms of the spatial indefiniteness of *po-*, but the fact that there is no apparent relationship of the spatial component of *po-* to the predicate in (16) leaves his meaning of the term spatial indefiniteness somewhat unclear. A preferable construal of *pójdę*[p] in example (15) which better comports with the overall spatial meaning of Polish *po-* is to assign it an ablative (i.e., spatial) meaning. The sentence in (15) then is sequential in the sense that *pójdę* refers just to the spatial initial stages, leaving the source landmark, which once

completed, puts the subject on his way to school, which is when he stops by his friend's house. Inasmuch as this is true, *pojdę* 'I will go' is not imperfective, but perfective.

Śmiech (1986: 22–23, 26) also assigns spatial meanings to the Polish distributives and satiatives in *po-*. Śmiech (1986: 22) suggests that the construal of the course of action one after another by the distributive in example (17) is possible due to the spatial function of *po-*, a function that coincides with the preposition *po* in *coś po czymś* 'something after something':

(17) Jan **pomył**[P] talerze.   (Pol; Śmiech 1986: 22)

     'Jan <u>washed</u> the dishes [one after another].'

Śmiech (1986: 22) explains that distributives formed from imperfective source verbs indicate compound (*złożone*) actions that can be divided into individual subactions; the source verb of *pomył* is imperfective *myć* 'wash', and the composite action of washing all the dishes is construed as consisting of individual acts of washing.

Śmiech (1986: 26) also suggests that it is the spatial indefiniteness of *po-* that explains the use of satiatives in *po-* to express a larger than normal measure of action—consider example (18):

(18) Alem sobie **pojadł**[P]!   (Pol; Petruxina 2000: 176)

     'Well, I'<u>ve</u> really <u>eaten</u> my fill!'

Eating to satiety represents a greater than normal measure of an action, which Śmiech (1986: 26) maintains is a spatial concept. Petruxina (2000: 176) points out that the satiative *sobie pojadł*[P] in

example (18) expresses a neutralization of its delimitative semantics, emphasizing instead the subject's satisfaction with the activity. The satiative would be expected to have a temporal meaning on the basis of the fact that the satiative is an instantiation of the delimitative, the delimitative being the network node with the most salient temporal meaning. The emphasis of the spatial concept of greater than normal measure of an action combined with the de-emphasis of the temporal dimension of the satiative is compatible with the Polish *po-* network profile of space being the primary cognitive domain while time is a much less salient cognitive domain.

Again, the marginal cognitive salience of temporality combined with a more salient cognitive domain of spatiality in the Polish *po-* network is reflected in example (15), where two clausally linked perfective verbs that may be expected to express sequentiality due to the salient node of Polish perfective meaning temporal definiteness actually express simultaneity of action. The cognitive domain of time for the network of Polish *po-*, then, is less salient than the cognitive domain of space for the Polish network. Surface contact is the most productive meaning of Polish *po-*, and this meaning of surface contact is a directly spatial meaning. Though the meaning of surface contact is the most productive meaning in the Polish *po-* network, the meaning does not serve as a common denominator for the entire Polish *po-* network, so that the Polish *po-* network, unlike the Russian *po-* network, lacks a schema.

2.3. Conclusion

While chapter 1 showed that aspect has network meaning, this chapter has shown that *po-* also has network meaning. In 2.1, it was suggested that delimitativity is the main meaning of Russian *po-*; this idea is relevant to the discussion of the Russian prototype delimitative in chapters 3 and 5. In 2.2, it was suggested that the most productive meaning of Polish *po-* is surface contact; this view is elemental to the discussion of the Polish prototype distributives in *po-* presented in

chapters 4 and 5. In 2.1, the meanings of Russian verbs in *po-* were analyzed in relation to the semantic network and schema. In 2.1 it was hypothesized that the meaning of Russian *po-* is a temporal meaning, and the delimitative is the prototypical *po-* verb instantiating this domain. Shull's (2003) schema was presented in 2.1 as the basis for the suggestion that the temporal meanings of the Russian *po-* network are instantiations of the schema of the typical course of action. 2.2 presented a basic description and semantic network for Polish verbs in *po-*, though no schema was introduced, since the semantic network for Polish verbs in *po-* lacks a schema. In 2.2 it was suggested that surface contact is the most productive meaning for Polish *po-*. Section 2.2 also suggested that space is the primary cognitive domain and time is a secondary cognitive domain for the semantic network of Polish *po-*.

Chapter 3

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the meaning of delimitatives in *po-* in Russian and Polish. This chapter shows how the role of the prototype in *po-* as the most salient node in the Russian network is manifested in its higher productivity and level of use relative to Polish delimitatives. It draws from the discussion of the prototypical Russian perfective meaning of temporal definiteness presented in chapter 1 and the discussion of the prototypical verb in *po-* in chapter 2 to suggest that the Russian delimitative functions as a quasi-perfective partner due to an overlap in meaning between the perfective and prototype in *po-*. The pairedness of the prototype in *po-* resulting from overlap in meaning between the prototype in *po-* and the perfective are discussed for the Polish distributive in chapter 4, and the discussion is expanded for the prototypes in *po-* for both languages in chapter 5.

In 3.1 and 3.2 the productivity and level of use of Russian and Polish delimitatives are discussed.[41] The view that the productivity of delimitatives is higher in Russian is based on the fact that there are more Russian delimitatives listed in the Russian dictionaries used in this study than there are Polish delimitatives listed in the Polish dictionaries used in this study (see appendix). The view that the level of use is higher for Russian delimitatives is based on hit counts on the Russian National Corpus (RNC) or Google for the Russian sample sets of delimitatives that are higher than the hit counts on the National Corpus of Polish (NCP) or Google for the Polish sample sets of delimitatives. 3.1 presents data on Russian and Polish delimitatives divided into lexical categories to support the view that the productivity and level of use are higher for Russian. In 3.2, the results for searches of certain grammatical constructions

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[41]Productivity has to do with how many delimitatives exist in the lexicon, and level of use has to do with how often these delimitatives are used.

on the RNC, NCP and Google are presented as further support for this view that the level of use of delimitatives is higher in Russian. In 3.3 it is suggested that Russian delimitatives may function as perfective partners due to an overlap in the meaning of Russian delimitatives and the prototypical meaning of the Russian perfective, temporal definiteness. 3.4 provides a chapter summary. 3.5 presents example sentences from the RNC, NCP and Google for all of the delimitatives featured in the discussion of lexical categories and grammatical constructions in this chapter.

3.1. Lexical Categories and Lexical Issues in Prefixation

Using the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru), the Dictionary of the Contemporary Russian Literary Language (Academy of Sciences), the National Corpus of Polish (nkjp.pl), and the Dictionary of the Polish Language (Academy of Sciences), a list of delimitatives was compiled, for which the totals are 763 delimitatives for Russian and 396 delimitatives for Polish.[42] The delimitatives were then divided into the following lexical categories (1-5 are from Stawnicka 2009: 102, 110, and 6 is from Petruxina 2000: 180–181):

1. Verbs of sound and verbal activity, e.g., Russian *pogovoritʹ* Polish *porozmawiać* 'talk a while'

2. Indeterminate verbs of motion, e.g., Russian *pobegatʹ* Polish *pobiegać* 'run around a while'

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[42] Marek Łaziński suggests that the number of Polish delimitatives that are used in common speech is higher than this dictionary count. For this reason, statistics for the level of use of Polish (and Russian) delimitatives are presented below to compensate for the incomplete listing of Polish delimitatives in the dictionaries in support of the view that Poles generally use delimitatives less frequently than Russians do. In any case, a comparison of the productivity of delimitatives in two languages based on dictionary counts is useful at the very least as a point of departure (cf. the comparison of dictionary counts of delimitatives in *po-* for Russian, Czech and other Slavic languages in Dickey and Hutcheson 2003).

3. Verbs of professional and non-professional occupations, e.g., Russian *pozanimat´sja* 'be occupied with something for a while' Polish *popracować* 'work for a while'

4. Verbs of position in space, e.g., Russian *posidet´* Polish *posiedzieć* 'sit a while'

5. Verbs of emotional states/activities, e.g., Russian *pogrustit´* Polish *posmucić się* 'mourn a little'

6. Non-agentive/inactive subject verbs, e.g. Russian *posvetit´* Polish *poświecić* 'shine for a while'

7. Denominals, e.g., Russian *pokoketničat´* Polish *pokokietować* 'behave coquettishly for a while'

8. Verbs of behavior, e.g. Russian *poagitirovat´* 'agitate for a while' Polish *poawanturować się* 'fight, brawl for some time'

9. Other

A division of the total number of delimitatives in Russian and Polish into these eight lexical categories reveals the following counts:

1. Verbs of sound and verbal activity--Russian: 91; Polish: 73

2. Indeterminate verbs of motion—Russian: 20; Polish: 9

3. Verbs of professional and non-professional occupations—Russian: 31; Polish: 15

4. Verbs of position in space—Russian: 4; Polish: 5

5. Verbs of emotional state—Russian: 37; Polish: 20

6. Non-agentive/inactive subject verbs—Russian 84; Polish 33

7. Denominals—Russian: 30; Polish: 8

8. Verbs of behavior—Russian: 95; Polish: 44

9. Other—Russian: 395; Polish: 233 (discussed below)

The higher productivity of Russian delimitatives compared to the productivity of Polish delimitatives then is also reflected in this division of verbs into lexical categories. However, dividing verbs into these lexical categories is an arbitrary and subjective undertaking; even with the addition of three lexical categories to Stawnicka's (2009: 102, 110) list, the list is incomplete, as the 'other' category (#9) contains hundreds of verbs. The problem with the large 'other' category could have been offset by the addition of a 'general activity' category, but such a category would be too vague. In any case, based on the counts, the productivity of Russian delimitatives is higher than the productivity of Polish delimitatives, both in terms of the overall counts as well as the counts for each lexical category.

Google searches of delimitative denominals and delimitatives of emotional state/activity were conducted in order to determine their level of use on the internet.[43] The delimitative denominals and delimitatives of emotional state/activity selected for this study had to meet a number of criteria. First, all delimitatives chosen have only a delimitative meaning. Second, a delimitative must occur and have the same meaning in both languages, e.g., Russian *pokoketničat´* Polish *pokokietować* 'behave coquettishly for a while'. Third, the delimitatives must have relatively high hit counts in the RNC and PELCRA searches. In addition, the delimitative denominals chosen are derived from imperfective loan verbs; more antiquated candidates seem to have lost their denominal meaning, e.g., Russian *pobesedovat'* 'converse a little'. Finally, the delimitatives of emotional state/activity chosen primarily express an emotional state/activity, e.g., Russian *pogrustit´* 'grieve, mourn a while' whereas other possible

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[43] For Polish (here and in 3.2) it was necessary to exclude *sobie* from the search in order to avoid occurrences of the satiative in the statistics, as I consider this a special use of Polish *po-* delimitatives, which is in fact not delimitative in the sense under consideration here.

candidates that express an emotional state/activity secondarily but some behavior or activity primarily were excluded, e.g., Russian *poveselit´sja* 'enjoy oneself for a while' and Polish *pohulać* 'enjoy oneself carelessly, happily for some time'.

While the productivity of denominal delimitatives is low both in Russian and Polish, the productivity in Polish is quite low, with only 7 delimitative denominals in Polish. Stawnicka (2005: 100) suggests that the formation of delimitatives from denominals is rare in Polish, e.g., *podyrektować* 'act as director/manager for a while', but more productive in Russian, e.g., *pocarstvovat´* 'rule as czar for a while'. Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 104, cf. 111–112) suggests that Polish *po-* when affixed to denominal verbs chiefly performs the grammatical function of perfectivizing the imperfective source verb; cf., e.g., newer formations having to do with color such as *pogranatowieć* 'turn navy blue'.[44] Some of the Russian delimitative denominals for which there are no Polish equivalents include the following: *podirižirovat´* 'conduct (music) for a while'; *pokejfovat´* 'be high for a while'; *pomarširovat´* 'march for a while'; *posekretničat´* 'be secretive for a while'; *poskandalit´* 'cause a row, disgrace for a while'; *pofasonit´* 'be taken in by style, be swank for a while'; *pofrantit´* 'play the dandy for a while'; *pošamanit´* 'engage in a shamanic activity for a while'; and *pošpionit´* 'spy for a while'.[45]

So, the productivity of denominal delimitatives is higher in Russian than in Polish. The hit counts from the Google, RNC and NCP searches for the sample set of denominal delimitatives

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[44] Marek Łaziński suggests that *pogranatowieć* 'turn navy blue' is distinctively inchoative, not just a natural perfective; since Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 104) suggests that the perfective meaning expressed by *po-* in such verbs is change of state, it is easy to regard these also as inchoatives, as inchoatives express a change into a new state.

[45] Marek Łaziński (p.c.) suggests that for these examples lacking an equivalent Polish delimitative, a Polish source verb is also lacking, e.g., there is no Polish equivalent to Russian *skandalit´*.

presented below suggest that their level of use is also higher in Russian.[46] Examples for these

verbs taken from Google are presented in 3.5A.

1. 'behave coquettishly for a while'

   Russian *pokoketničat´*: Google: 13,700; RNC: 3

   Polish *pokokietować* : Google: 669; NCP: 0

2. 'look after for a while'

   Russian *ponjančit´/ponjančit´sja*: Google: 10,390; RNC: 2

   Polish *poniańczyć* : Google: 656; NCP: 0

3. 'fantasize for a while'

   Russian *pofantazirovat´*: Google: 52,900; RNC: 3

   Polish *pofantazjować* : Google: 1,737; NCP: 1

4. 'philosophize for a while'

   Russian *pofilosofstvovat´*: Google: 23,900; RNC: 4

   Polish *pofilozofować* : Google: 876; NCP: 1

5. 'flirt for a while'

   Russian *poflirtovat´*: Google: 27,500; RNC: 0

   Polish *poflirtować*: Google: 2,164; NCP: 1

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[46] The search was conducted on August 9, 2011.

A quotient for each example based on Google hits of the denominal delimitative over the imperfective source verb shows that the level of use of the denominal delimitative relative to the level of use of the imperfective source verb is also higher for Russian than for Polish. These quotients are presented in order to compensate for the fact that there are more Russian speakers in existence than Polish speakers:

1. Russian *pokoketničat´/koketničat´*: 13,700/75,900 = 18%

   Polish *pokokietować /kokietować*: 669/14,016 = 4.8%

2. Russian *ponjančit´,ponjančit´sja/njančit´, njančit´sja*[47]: 10,390/159,300 = 6.5%

   Polish *poniańczyć /niańczyć*: 656/16,576 = 4.0%

3. Russian *pofantazirovat´/fantazirovat´*: 52,900/273,000 = 19.4%

   Polish *pofantazjować /fantazjować :1,737/48,780* = 3.6%

4. Russian *pofilosofstvovat´/filosofstvovat´*: 23,900/102,000 = 23.4%

   Polish *pofilozofować/filozofować* : 876/18,480 = 4.7%

5. Russian *poflirtovat´/flirtovat´* : 27,500/263,000 = 10.5%

   Polish *poflirtować/flirtować* : 2,164/75,650 = 2.9%

In all cases, the total number of hits and quotients for denominal delimitatives are higher for Russian than for Polish. The difference between Russian and Polish quotients is not as great

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[47] These two verbs were combined, since they have the same meaning.

for Russian *ponjančit´/ponjančit´sja* and Polish *poniańczyć/niańczyć*. Petruxina (2000: 152)

suggests that the low productivity of such general professional activity verbs such as

učitel´stvovat´ 'be a teacher' in Russian has to do with the fact that Russian verbs of general

professional activity are difficult to form into delimitatives, because a span of time for such an

activity is difficult to localize in time.[48] However, it is easy to find hits for *poučitel'stvovat'* on

Google, as in example (1):

(1)   Do vojny daže v derevne **poučitel′stvoval**. Polučaetsja, čto v 16 ili 17 let? Vojna prišla v

       derevnju, kogda emu ešče 18 ne ispolnilos′.

                                    (Rus; http://cognitology.narod.ru/avtors/seluchenko_vl.htm)

       'Even before the war he worked as a teacher for a while in the village. As it turns out, at 16

       or 17 years old? The war came to the village, when he still hadn't reached 18.'

The explanation for the low productivity of verbs of professional occupations instead is that the

need for such delimitatives is lower because of the typical granularity of narratives, which is

typically finer than long spans of time. In any case, the fact that the results for Russian

delimitative denominals is higher in each case than the results for Polish supports the hypothesis

that Russian delimitatives have a higher level of usage than Polish delimitatives.

The hit counts and related quotients from the RNC, NCP and Google searches for

delimitatives of emotional state/activity presented below also show a higher level of use for

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[48] Marek Łaziński (p.c.) explains that in Polish, it is generally difficult to derive such general professional activity verbs even as imperfectives; there is no **nauczycielować*, though there are colloquial verbs for higher posts, e.g., *dyrektorować* 'be director', *prezesować* 'be president', *ministrować* 'be minister', as well as older verbs such as *królować* 'reign.'

Russian.[49] The following three stative verbs in *po-* that have an ingressive meaning were included in the Google search in order to test for possible delimitative usages: Rusian *poljubit'* Polish *pokochać* 'love for a while'; Russian *poxotet'* Polish *pochieć* 'want for a while'; Russian *ponenavidet'* Polish *ponienawidzić* 'hate for a while'; no quotients are presented for these stative verbs, due to their extremely low occurrence.[50] Example sentences from Google are presented in 3.5B. This data further supports the hypothesis that the delimitative is a more salient type of verb in Russian than in Polish:

    1. 'love for a while'

Russian *poljubit'*: 1

Polish *pokochać*: 0

    2. 'want for a while'

Russian *poxotet'*: 1

Polish *pochieć*: 0

    3. 'hate for a while'

Russian *ponenavidet'*: 1

Polish *ponienawidzić*: 1

The following verbs (unlike 1–3) are not ingressive, but strictly carry a meaning of delimitatives of emotional state/activity.

    4. 'miss somebody, be melancholy for a while'

Russian *potoskovat'*: Google: 6,660; RNC: 4

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[49] This search was conducted on August 9, 2011.
[50] The quotients for the first three examples reflect only delimitative uses, not ingressive or inchoative meanings. For example, *pokochać* is used frequently in an inchoative meaning.

Polish *potęsknić*: *Google*: 701; NCP: 0

5. 'cry for some time'

Russian *poplakat'*: Google: 226,000; RNC: 67

Polish *popłakać*: Google: 4,899; NCP: 134[51]

Quotients for delimitatives of emotional state:

1. 'miss somebody, be melancholy for a while'

   Russian *potoskovat'/toskovat'*: 6,660/728,000=0.9%

   Polish *potęsknić/tęsknić*: 701/901,300=0.08%

2. 'cry for some time'

   Russian *poplakat'/plakat'*: 226,000/4,450,000=5.08%

   Polish *popłakać/płakać*: 4,899/2,911,000=0.17%

The statistics for the lower level of use of Polish delimitatives relative to Russian delimitatives for the sample set is even more significant given the fact that for October 2011, when these searches were conducted, the total number of words contained in the NCP was higher than for the RNC; the nearest census for August 2011 showed that NCP contained 250 million words,

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[51] Here it must be pointed out that Polish *popłakać* occurs often with the intensifier *się*, and attempts to block the reflexive particle from the Google search were unsuccessful, and this setting was not made on PELCRA, so the actual counts for are *popłakać* likely much smaller.

whereas the RNC contained 194 million words (source: http://www.ruscorpora.ru/corpora-stat.html).[52]

Another lexical issue concerning delimitatives involves the fact that Polish delimitatives do not get used in certain contexts. Petruxina (2000: 185) presents examples of Russian and Polish delimitatives that express variable temporal duration and emotional coloring; in each case, Polish has a delimitative corresponding to the Russian delimitative, but that Polish delimitative is not used due to limitations in its range of expressiveness. Petruxina (2000: 182-185) explains that in order to correspond to the different nuances of emotional coloring which may be expressed by Russian delimitatives in *po-,* Polish must make use of the four prefixes *po-, na- się, po- + sobie, za-,*[53] and also a prefixless construction.

In the first case, Petruxina (2000: 185) observes that Polish and Russian may both use a *po-*delimitative to express long and unpleasant activities, as in examples (2) and (3):

(2)   **Povoevali**[p] i xvatit!   (Rus; Petruxina 2000: 185)

(3)   **Powalczyliśmy**[p] i wystarczy!   (Pol; Petruxina 2000: 185)

      'They've <u>waged war</u> long enough!'

Petruxina (2000: 185) suggests that in some cases, a long and unpleasant action that is expressed by the Russian delimitative corresponds to a *na- się* construction in Polish, as in examples (4) and (5):

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[52] Many thanks to Marek Łaziński for providing this data.
[53] Petruxina (2000: 182-185) gives no example for a Polish verb in *za-* with a delimitative meaning.

(4)   Ja **poblužd**ala*p* po lesu, prežde čem našla dorogu.   (Rus; Petruxina 2000: 185)

(5)   **Nabłądziłam się*p*** po lesie, zanim znalazłam drogę.   (Pol; Petruxina 2000: 185)

'I <u>wandered around</u> in the forest <u>for a long time</u> before I found the road.'[54]

The Polish delimitative *pobłądzić* 'spend some time out strolling' exists, but it is apparently not used in such sentences to express the meaning of a long and unpleasant action.[55] Petruxina (2000: 1985) suggests that Polish may also use an unprefixed verb to correspond to the Russian delimitative to express this same meaning of a long and unpleasant action, as shown in examples (6) and (7):

(6)   Nam prišlos´ včera **povozit´sja*p*** s mašinoj.   (Rus; Petruxina 2000: 185)

(7)   Musieliśmy wczoraj **męczyć się*i*** przy samochodzie.   (Pol; Petruxina 2000: 185)

'Last night we had to <u>fuss around</u> with the car <u>for quite a while.</u>'

In this case also, a Polish delimitative exits—*pomęczyć się* 'feel psychological or physical suffering for some time; spend some time at difficult work'—but it is not used, due to a limitation in the range of uses for temporal duration and emotional coloring that it can express.

Finally, Petruxina (2000: 185) observes that an activity to which the speaker takes a positive regard may take the *po-* + *sobie* satiative construction in Polish, corresponding to the Russian delimitative in *po-*, as in examples (8) and (9):

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[54] Such pairs are not restricted to the expression of unpleasant activities.
[55] Łaziński suggests that the lack of use of *połądzić* in this example may be due to homonymy, as this verb is used mainly as an inchoative.

(8)   **Poplač**^{rp}, legče stanet.   (Rus; Petruxina 2000: 185)

(9)   **Popłacz sobie**^{p}, będzie ci lżej.   (Pol; Petruxina 2000: 185)

'<u>Cry a little</u>, it'll get better.'

Petruxina (2000: 185) suggests that the Polish type of delimitative-pragmatic modification in example (9) is an equivalent to Russian delimitatives in the expression of a positive attitude to an indicated event. Both examples (8) and (9) carry a positive emotional coloring, as crying is understood to bring relief. The Polish delimitative *popłakać* exists, but in order to express a positive regard in this context, Polish requires the satiative construction.

   This is not to suggest that the *po- sobie* construction only expresses a positive attitude toward an action, or that a regular Polish *po-* delimitative may not express some positive emotional attitude. For example, the same imperative *popłacz sobie* may be used in a negative sense, as in examples (10) and (11):[56]

(10) **Popłacz**^{p} **sobie**, ale i tak to ci nie pomoże.   (Pol)

'<u>Cry all you want</u>, it still won't help you.'

 (11) **Poczekałem**^{p} **sobie** na lotnisku przez dwie godziny, ale samolot nigdy nie przyleciał.

(Pol)

'I <u>waited</u> at the airport for two hours, but the plane never arrived.'

Thus, it appears that *popłakać sobie* may be used in both positive and negative senses.

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[56] Examples (11) though (15) were offered by native speakers of Polish and Russian.

On the other hand, a Polish *po-* delimitative may be used in a positive sense in an imperative construction without *sobie*, as in example (12):

(12) **Posiedź**[p] i odpocznij. (Pol)

‘<u>Sit a while</u> and rest.’

Delimitatives are in fact versatile in both Russian and Polish in their ability to express either positive or negative connotations. Consider for example the positive use of the imperative Russian delimitative *posidi* in example (13), and the negative use of the same imperative in example (14):

(13) **Posidi**[p], otdoxni. (Rus)

‘<u>Sit a while</u> and rest.’

(14) **Posidi**[p], podumaj o svoim povedenii. (Rus)

'<u>Sit a while</u> and think about your behavior.’

Example (14) would be used when a pupil is made to sit in detention. Therefore, it is not sufficient to argue that the expressive range of the Polish delimitative in *po-* is somehow lacking, and must be supplemented by the use of other prefixes, as the expressive range of delimitatives in *po-* in both Russian and Polish is diverse. It should be assumed that delimitatives in *po-* in both languages have comparable ranges of expressiveness—this assumption eliminates lexico-semantic limitations as an explanation for why Polish delimitatives in *po-* are used less often than Russian delimitatives in *po-*. Instead, the explanation is that although the Polish delimitatives in *po-* have a broad expressive range, they are not as cognitively salient (i.e., they

have a lower productivity/level of use) as Russian delimitatives in *po-*; Polish speakers do not rely on po- delimitatives as much as Russian speakers, instead making use of other constructions such as *na- się* in order to emphasize some emotional regard to the situation.

3.2. Grammatical Construction/Usage Type

Petruxina (2000: 148–149) suggests that Russian delimitatives can occur in infinitive-modal constructions, e.g., *Oni ne uspeli^p poguljat´* 'They didn't manage to go for a walk'; *Mne nado/Mne predložili^p ešče porabotat´ nad dissertaciej* 'I have to work some more on my dissertation'; and *Prišlos´^{p} povozit´sja s mašinoj* 'I had to fuss a while with my car.' Petruxina (2000: 148–149) does not discuss the occurrence of the infinitive-modal constructions in Polish, but a Google search of infinitive-modal constructions in Russian and Polish suggests a lower level of usage in Polish.[57] The Google search for infinitive modal constructions was made for the constructions Russian *ne uspel/*Polish *nie zdążył-*[58] 'did not manage to' and Russian *nam prišlos´/*Polish *musieliśmy*[59] 'we had to.' Additionally, sample sets of 600[60] for each grammatical construction + *po-* verb were drawn from the RNC and NCP. These sample sets contain verbs in *po-* of any meaning (e.g., natural perfective, distributive, delimitative, attenuative, etc.), and from these sample sets the total number of delimitatives that occur is expressed in a quotient. This data on infinitive-modal constructions also supports the view that the level of use of Russian delimitatives in *po-* is higher than the level of use of Polish delimitatives in *po-*. Example

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[57] The search was conducted on August 10, 2011.

[58] The hyphen at the end of *zdążył-* indicates that the search for Polish masculine singular forms comprised the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, *zdążyłem, zdążyłeś,* and *zdążył*, respectively, in order to correspond to the Russian *uspel*.

[59] Polish *wypadało* also can correspond to Russian *prišlos´*, but the occurrence of the former in most cases is negligible.

[60] The exception is that the sample set of 600 was divided for Russian *prišlos'* (300) and *nado bylo* (300), since both correspond to Polish *musieć* (600).

sentences from Google are presented in 3.5C. The hit counts and quotients for this sample set of infinitive-modal constructions are presented below:[61]

      1. 'run around a while'—Russian *pobegat´* Polish *pobiegać*

Russian: Ne uspel pobegat´: 4,300

Polish: Nie zdążył- pobiegać: 9

Russian: Nam prišlos´ pobegat´: 17,900

Polish: Musieliśmy pobiegać: 83

   2. 'stroll a while'—Russian *poguljat´* Polish *pospacerować*

Russian: Ne uspel poguljat′ : 9,440

Polish: Nie zdążył- pospacerować: 2

Russian: Nam prišlos´ poguljat′: 2,460

Polish: Musieliśmy pospacerować: 19

   3. 'drive around a while'—Russian *poezdit´* Polish *pojeździć*

Russian: Ne uspel poezdit´: 24,600

Polish: Nie zdążył- pojeździć: 283

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[61] The verbs in 1–6 have strictly delimitative meanings, unprefixed imperfective source verbs and high RNC and PELCRA hit counts; the verbs in 7-8 have strictly delimitative meaning, secondary derived imperfective source verbs, though lower RNC and PELCRA hit counts. Numbers 7 and 8 were included for the sake of morphological variation from 1–6.

Russian: Nam prišlos´ poezdit´: 5,510

Polish: Musieliśmy pojeździć: 130

4. 'play a while'—Russian *poigrat´* Polish *pograć*

Russian: Ne uspel poigrat´: 136,000

Polish: Nie zdążył- pograć: 435

Russian: Nam prišlos´ poigrat´: 2,960

Polish: Musieliśmy pograć: 4

5. 'work a while'—Russian *porabotat´* Polish *popracować*

Russian: Ne uspel porabotat´: 126,000

Polish: Nie zdążył- popracować: 35

Russian: Nam prišlos porabotat´: 54,200

Polish: Musieliśmy popracować: 173

6. 'sit a while'—Russian *posidet´* Polish *posiedzieć*

Russian: Ne uspel posidet´: 16,200

Polish: Nie zdążył- posiedzieć: 8

Russian: Nam prišlos posidet´: 8,930

Polish: Musieliśmy posiedzieć: 74

7. 'spend some time recollecting'—Russian *povspominat′* Polish *powspominać*

    Russian: Ne uspel povspominat′: 0

    Polish: Nie zdążył- powspominać: 5

    Russian: Nam prišlos povspominat′: 1

    Polish: Musieliśmy powspominać: 3

8. 'spend some time musing'—Russian *porazmyšlat′* Polish *porozmyślać*

    Russian: Ne uspel porazmyšlat′: 2,450

    Polish: Nie zdążył- porozmyślać: 3

    Russian: Nam prišlos′ porazmyšlat′: 6

    Polish: Musieliśmy porozmyślać: 0

The search of sample sets of 600 for verbs in *po-* in the Russian *ne uspel-*, Russian *nie zdążył-* and Pol *musiał-* constructions was conducted for all persons and numbers; for Russian *prišlos′* and *nado bylo*, the search was conducted on the RNC and NCP for the past tense neuter singular.[62] The results from this search are as follows (the first number in the ratio represents the number of delimitatives that occurred in the given grammatical construction, and the second number represents the size of the sample set):

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[62] The search was conducted on October 13–14, 2011.

Group A, 'didn't manage to…':

Russian *ne uspel-*: 100/600

Polish *nie zdążył-*: 39/600

Group B, 'had to…':[63]

Russian *prišlos'*: 96/300

Russian *nado bylo*: 42/300

Polish *musiel-*: 17/600

These quotients also support the view that the level of use of Russian delimitatives in *po-* is higher than the level of use of Polish delimitatives in *po-*.

Petruxina (2000: 148-149), in presenting her view that Russian delimitatives are used frequently in infinitive-modal constructions in Russian, cites Rassudova (1968: 97), who suggests that delimitatives in the infinitive "emerge as the perfective equivalent of corresponding prefixless verbs, (and) the shade of limited duration is weakened." The role of the Russian delimitative as a perfective partner in infinitive-modal constructions explains their higher level of use compared to the equivalent Polish constructions. Polish delimitatives occurring in the infinitive-modal construction do not perform this role of perfective partner, as is suggested by the very low number of hits they have on Google.

Petruxina (2000: 180) suggests that Russian can form delimitatives in non-agentive constructions in the absence of an active subject, whereas in Polish, this construction occurs

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[63]The combined figures for delimitatives for the *prišlos'* and *nado bylo* grammatical constructions are 138/600, corresponding to 17/600 for Polish *musial-*.

much more rarely, as Polish delimitatives are formed mainly from agentive activity verbs. For example, in example (15), the Russian delimitative occurs in a non-agentive construction, whereas the comparable sentence in Polish in example (16) features an unprefixed verb:

(15) Pečka **pogorela**^{p} i pogasla.   (Ru; Petruxina 2000: 180)

(16) V piecu trochę **paliło**^{p} **się** i potem zgasło.   (Pol; Petruxina 2000: 180)

  'The stove burned a while then went out.'

The hit counts and quotients for the Google search of delimitatives in non-agentive constructions in Russian and Polish are presented below. The delimitatives were conjugated in the past tense singular neuter, so that only inanimate subjects—as required for non-agentive constructions— would be displayed.[64] Example sentences from Google are found in 3.5D.

1. 'shine for a while'

    Russian *posvetit´*: 24,000

    Polish *poświecić*: 644

2. 'warm oneself for a while'

    Russian *pogret'sja*: 3,200

    Polish *pogrzać się*: 46

3. 'thunder for a while'

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[64] The search was conducted on August 10, 2011.

Russian *pogremet'*: 11,400

Polish *pogrzmieć*: 846

The quotients for delimitatives in non-agentive constructions are given below:

1. 'shine for a while'

   Russian *posvetitʹ/svetitʹ*: 24,000/2,530,000 = 0.95%

   Polish *poświecić/świecić*: 644/1,150,000 = 0.056%

2. 'warm oneself for a while'

   Russian *pogret'sja/gret'sja*: 3,200/104,000 = 3.08%

   Polish *pogrzać się/grzać się*: 46/340,000 = 0.01%

3. 'thunder for a while'

   Russian *pogremet'/gremet'*: 11,400/213,000 = 5.4%

   Polish *pogrzmieć/grzmieć*: 846/230,000 = 0.37%

The counts and quotients for this search for non-agentive constructions also suggest a higher level of use of the delimitative relative to the imperfective source verb for Russian.

The results of a Google search for delimitatives in concrete-factual constructions also suggest a higher level of use for Russian delimitatives. Petruxina (2000: 188; cf. Stawnicka 2005: 99) explains that Russian delimitatives commonly occur in concrete-factual questions to ask about the fact of the expected completion or performance of an action in the past, e.g., *Ty uže počital?* 'Have you already read some?', whereas Polish delimitatives do not typically occur in

concrete-factual questions, so that a question such as *ʔPoczytałeś już*? 'Have you already read some?' is not commonly asked. Petruxina (2000: 188) suggests that a prefixless or satiative construction for Polish would be more appropriate in this meaning, e.g., *Już czytałeś?* or *Poczytałeś już sobie*? Clearly then the Polish satiative can express the completion of an action, though the ordinary Polish delimitative cannot. The hit counts for the Google search for concrete-factual constructions in Russian and Polish follow below.[65] The concrete-factual questions searched in each case were Russian *Ty uže po-?* and Polish *Czy już po- łeś?* . Example sentences from Google are found in 3.5E.

1. 'run around a while'

   Russian *pobegat´*: 1,800

   Polish *pobiegać*: 0

2. 'stroll a while'

   Russian *poguljat´*: 4,730

   Polish *pospacerować*: 1

3. 'drive around a while'

   Russian *poezdit´*: 5,620

   Polish *pojeździć*: 1

4. 'play a while'

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[65] The search was conducted on August 10, 2011.

Russian *poigrat´*: 30,100

Polish *pograć*: 1

5. 'work a while'

Russian *porabotat´*: 18,000

Polish popracować: 0

6. 'sit a while'

Russian *posidet´*: 3,750

Polish *posiedzieć*: 0

7. 'ponder over for a while'

Russian *porazmyšljat'*: 4

Polish *porozmyślać*: 340

The results for the Google search of concrete-factual constructions also suggest that the level of use of delimitatives is higher in Russian than in Polish.

As Petruxina (2000: 188) explains, a concrete-factual question emphasizes the completion of some action, so that because the level of use of the Polish delimitative in a concrete-factual construction is low, it would seem that the Polish delimitative does not typically express the meaning completion of some amount of an action. One exception seems to be with certain uses of delimitatives of mental activity, e.g., in #7, Polish *porozmyślać* gave 340 hits, while Russian *porazmyšljat'* only gave 4 hits. These higher results for Polish with certain uses of delimitatives of mental activity were obtained not only in concrete-factual questions, but also in infinitive-

modal constructions, as Polish *Musieliśmy powspominać* gave 3 hits in the Google search while Russian *nam prišlos' povspominat'* gave only 1 hit. Similarly, Polish *nie zdążył- powspominać* gave 5 hits, while Russian *ne uspel povspominat'* gave 0 hits. This anomaly of higher hit counts for Polish delimitatives seems limited to certain uses of a very small set of delimitatives of mental activity; the general pattern though is that Russian delimitatives had higher hit counts than Polish delimitatives in the Google searches.

The next grammatical construction with a delimitative to be compared in terms of level of use for Russian and Polish is the delimitative plus evaluative adverb construction. The meaning of the delimitative plus evaluative adverb construction is tied in with the meaning of partial result. Petruxina (2000: 186–187) includes the delimitative plus evaluative adverb construction in her discussion of the aspectual pairhood of delimitatives. Petruxina suggests that the Russian delimitative expresses the end of an action. Petruxina further observes that a Russian delimitative formed from a goal-oriented activity verb that expresses the end of an action in a concrete situation expresses in turn the achievement of a partial result. Petruxina further suggests that such delimitatives of partial result formed from goal-oriented activity verbs approximate perfective partners. Stawnicka (2005: 98, 100) similarly suggests that the Russian delimitative expresses the interruption or completion of an action that cannot be continued, and this allows Russian delimitatives to approximate perfective partners. An example Petruxina gives of a delimitative plus evaluative adverb (e.g., *xorošo*) construction expressing partial result is given in example (17):

(17) Segodnja my xorošo **porabotali**[p], nado i otdoxnut'.   (Rus; Petruxina 2000: 187)

'Today we <u>worked</u> well, now it is necessary to rest.'

The use of the evaluative adverb *xorošo* with the delimitative *porabotali* establishes the fact that some amount of work has been completed, which amounts to a partial result.

Śmiech (1986: 25) suggests that Polish *po-* in a delimitative use cannot profile the partial result of an action, so that one cannot ask **ile już poczytałeś*, 'how much have you read?'[66] Petruxina (2000: 186–187) also suggests that Polish delimitatives cannot express a partial result, due to the fact that, unlike Russian delimitatives, Polish delimitatives cannot express the end of an action. Petruxina (2000: 187) explains that the Polish equivalent to an example such as (17), rather than featuring a delimitative plus evaluative adverb construction, is expressed either by a *na- się* verbal construction or a prefixless verb and *się*, as in examples (18) and (19):

(18) **Napracowaliśmy się**[p], trzeba odpocząć.　　　　(Pol; Petruxina 2000: 187)

　　'We <u>worked our fill</u>, we should rest.'

(19) Dobrze nam **się spacerowało**[i].　　　　(Pol; Petruxina 2000: 188)

　　'We <u>had a</u> good <u>stroll</u>.'

In example (18), the prefix *na-* and intensifier particle *się* express the achievement of a partial result, while the evaluative adverb *dobrze* and the reflexive particle *się* in example (19) express the partial result. Petruxina (2000: 187) explains that *po-* delimitatives with an evaluative adverb do occur in Polish, as in example (20), though she explains that such Polish examples occur much more rarely:

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[66] While it is unacceptable to ask the equivalent question in Russian, **Skol'ko ty uže počital?*, the point is that there are examples when the Russian delimitative can express result, whereas no such expressions of resultativity seem to exist with Polish delimitatives.

(20) Już dość **potrenowaliśmy**^{p} idziemy do domu.   (Pol; Petruxina 2000: 187)

'We'<u>ve</u> already <u>trained enough</u> we're going home.'

The hit counts for a Google search of delimitative plus evaluative adverb constructions in Russian and Polish are presented below.[67] The constructions tested were Russian *My xorošo po-…li* and Polish *Dobrze po-…liśmy*. The results are consistent with Petruxina's (2000: 187) suggestion that this construction has a higher level of use in Russian. Example sentences are found in 3.5F.

1. 'run around a while'

    Russian *pobegat′*: 1,400

    Polish *pobiegać*: 1

2. 'stroll a while'

    Russian *poguljat′*: 31,900

    Polish *pospacerować*: 0

3. 'play a while'

    Russian *poigrat′*: 4,570

    Polish *pograć*: 4

4. 'work a while'

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[67] The search was performed on August 9, 2011.

Russian *porabotat´*: 220,000

Polish *popracować*: 37

5. 'sit a while'

Russian *posidet´*: 61,600

Polish *posiedzieć*: 0

Dickey (2006: 19) also discusses the resultative meaning of the delimitative plus evaluative construction in Russian. In example (21), Dickey (2006: 20) suggests that the indirect result, or tangential consequence, of the police's good work is that the wife of a business executive has been freed:

(21) Abxazskaja milicija slavno **porabotala**^{P}.   (Rus; Dickey 2006: 19)

'The Abxazi police <u>worked</u> splendidly.'

Dickey (2006: 19–20, 27, 31) suggests that the delimitative in this construction does not emphasize temporal limitation of the event, but rather functions as an perfective partner; the function of the delimitative as an perfective partner is possible because the resultativity it expresses links the delimitative semantically with the telic, resultative natural perfective, e.g., *napisat' (pis'mo)* 'write a letter', *napisat'* representing a prototypical perfective partner verb.

3.3. The Pairhood of Delimitatives and Aspectual Meaning

The Russian delimitative in its function as a perfective partner may express the perfective meaning of resultativity, and always expresses temporal definiteness. Flier (1985: 44) explains

that in delimitative constructions, the link between the stages before, during and after a delimited action are non-state, state, and non-state; these three stages form an abstract sequentiality (i.e., abstract temporal definiteness). For example, in *pospal desjat' minut* 'sleep for ten minutes', a non-state of not sleeping precedes the state of sleeping for 10 minutes, and after the 10 minutes of sleep, the return is to a non-state of not sleeping—no overall change of state occurs in this sequential relationship. Similarly, there are three stages of action forming an x-y-z sequence: there is the stage before the police completed their work, then the point at which the work was completed, then finally the point at which the wife is free; the delimitative in the evaluative adverb construction in (21) is able to function as a perfective partner, due to its ability to express the two salient perfective meanings resultativity and temporal definiteness.

Though the Russian delimitative may express resultativity and temporal definiteness, the latter meaning is superordinate to the former meaning; Dickey (2006: 15) suggests that temporal definiteness is the main meaning of the Russian perfective, so that a *po-* delimitative expresses totality and sequentiality, but need not express resultativity. An example of when the Russian delimitative expresses temporal definiteness but not resultativity is example (22):

(22) **Posidel^p**, otxlebnul piva, zatjanulsja.[68]   (Rus; Dickey 2006: 27)

    'He <u>sat for a bit</u>, took a swig of beer, and took a drag.'

The events described in example (22) fall in sequence, but no indirect result (i.e., tangential consequence) is expressed. Examples of cases when Russian delimitatives do express resultativity and temporal definiteness include the concrete-factuals and delimitative plus

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[68] Marek Łaziński suggests that the events in the sentence can also be interpreted as occurring simultaneously; cf. example (29) for Polish.

evaluative adverb constructions discussed above. The temporal definiteness of a delimitative in a concrete-factual construction may be understood as the expression of an abstract $x > y > z$ sequential relationship; in the example *Ty uže počital?* 'Have you already done some of your reading?', the perfect use of the perfective presupposes a knowledge between both parties that the addressee was to do some reading—this is stage x in the abstract sequence of events. Stage y is the whole act of reading, and stage z is the moment of speech, when knowledge of the completion of this action of doing some reading is relevant. Again, the delimitative in an evaluative adverb construction may express temporal definiteness and resultativity; for example, in example (21), there are three stages of the action: stage x, before any police work was done, stage y, the total view of some amount of work completed, and stage z, the freed state of the wife. This example expresses resultativity in the fact that the indirect result or tangential consequence is that the business executive's wife has been freed (cf. Dickey: 2006: 19; Petruxina 2000: 186–187).

Resultativity is a perfective meaning in Russian that may be expressed by delimitatives and natural perfectives to differing degrees, as shown in Figure 1:

Natural Perfective   delimitative

e.g., *napisat´*   e.g., *popisat´*

$$\longleftarrow \longrightarrow$$

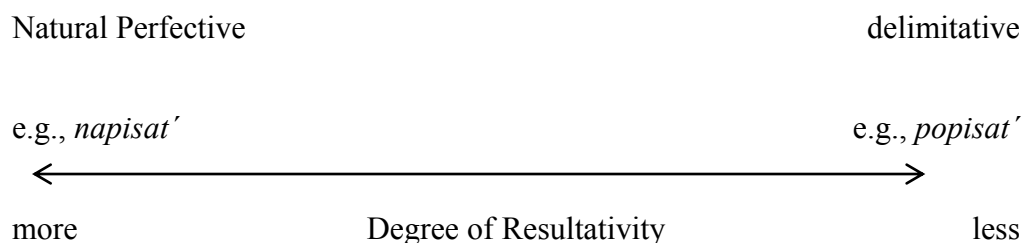more   Degree of Resultativity   less

Figure 1: Degrees of Resultativity Expressed by Russian Natural Perfectives and Delimitatives

Figure 1 shows a lesser degree of resultativity as a semantic component of paired delimitatives, and a greater degree of resultativity as a semantic component of paired natural perfectives.

Russian natural perfectives and delimitatives both express temporal definiteness, and the former expresses resultativity, and the latter may or may not express resultativity. The expression of some degree of resultativity and temporal definiteness by the Russian delimitative enables it to function as a "neutral" perfective partner, akin to the prototypical paired natural perfective, the difference being that the latter more saliently expresses resultativity.[69]

The Polish delimitative, on the other hand, appears to be less suited to form aspectual pairs, due to a lack of overlap between the meanings of the Polish perfective and delimitative. In any case, there have been no claims in the literature that Polish delimitatives tend to become perfective partner verbs (cf. Petruxina 2000: 187–188). Moreover, Polish delimitatives have patterns of usage that are incompatible with temporal definiteness, which, as pointed out in 1.4 is the more salient prototype of the Polish perfective aspect; such usage patterns are only compatible with the secondary prototype of totality in the network of the Polish perfective. For example, Petruxina (2000: 186) suggests that Polish delimitatives profile an interval reached by an event, and this event may continue beyond that interval, as in example (23):

(23) **Posiedzieliśmy**^{p} dwie godziny, i o piątej jeszcze tutaj siedzieliśmy.

(Pol; Petruxina 2000: 186)

'We <u>sat</u> two hours, and at five we were still sitting here.'

The action of sitting profiled in example (23) does not end with the interval covered by *posiedzieliśmy* 'we sat'. Rather, the Polish delimitative profiles a temporal interval reached, beyond which the same action continues. Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 113) argues that Polish

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[69] Recall that while resultativity is one semantic component of the Russian perfective that may or may not be expressed, temporal definiteness is its prototypical meaning.

delimitatives do not describe an action performed to the end. In contrast, Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 110) suggests that the main feature of the perfective aspect in Polish is the expression of the full achievement of a result; certainly an action must end before a result can obtain, so the lack of overlap between the meaning of the delimitative and perfective in Polish is apparent. The lack of overlap with the Polish perfective meaning of limit or end point does not seem limited to the delimitative; Petruxina (2000: 189–190) citing Śmiech (1986: 23) suggests that the expression of simultaneity (rather than sequentiality) with the unidirectional verbs of motion preceding a clausally linked perfective in example (24) positions perfective verbs of motion in *po-* on the border between a perfective and imperfective meaning (cf., chapter 2, example 49):

(24) gdy **popłynie**^{p}, odpodznie   (Pol; Śmiech 1986: 23)

    'if he <u>swims</u>, he'll relax'

In example (24), the speaker suggests that the person being discussed will relax while swimming, rather than as a consequence of swimming; the relationship between the two actions is one of simultaneity. The action swimming does not end, but rather continues while the swimmer relaxes; the meaning of *popłynie* then, does not correspond to the Polish perfective meaning of a totalized action. Petruxina (2000: 190) cites this example to support the view that there is no motivation in Polish to form perfective partners in *po-* since the rules for the usage of aspect are different in Polish than in Russian. There would seem to be a correlation between the higher level of use of Russian delimitatives compared to Polish delimitatives in the data given above and the function of the Russian delimitative as a perfective partner; there are situations when a speaker requires the use of a perfective aspect, but the prototypical paired perfective is not suitable, so instead, the speaker may choose a delimitative, oftentimes intending a neutralized

meaning of the delimitative for the sake of expressing some degree of paired perfectivity (a meaning the Polish delimitative cannot express saliently). The Russian delimitative seems able to function as a perfective partner due to an overlap between the meanings of the Russian perfective and delimitative. On the other hand, the Polish delimitative tends not to function as a perfective partner verb, which seems to be the case because of a lower overlap between the meanings of the Polish perfective and delimitative.

As the Polish delimitative as Petruxina (2000: 186) points out profiles an interval reached by an action that can continue, rather than the end of that action with no possibility of continuance as in Russian, the semantic relationship between end of action, (partial) resultativity and pairedness that holds for the Russian delimitative in her study does not apply to Polish delimitatives. Therefore, we are justified in concluding that at present Polish delimitatives do not productively participate in the formation of aspectual pairs. The data on the lower level of use and productivity of Polish delimitatives compared to Russian delimitatives presented in 3.1 and 3.2 support the hypothesis that due to the lack of the ability of the Polish delimitative to function productively as a perfective correlate, the level of use and productivity of delimitatives are lower for Polish than for Russian. Russian allows the use of delimitatives to function as perfective correlates in the ways described above, due to compatibility between the meaning of the perfective and delimitative meaning, so that the level of use and productivity for Russian delimitatives is higher than for Polish delimitatives.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the meaning, productivity and level of use of delimitatives in *po-* in Russian and Polish. The importance of the quantitative data on Russian and Polish delimitatives presented in this chapter—dictionary counts for delimitatives and hit counts and relative

frequencies drawn from online corpora for delimitatives and grammatical constructions with delimitatives—is that they support the identification of the Russian delimitative as the prototype verb in *po-* discussed in chapter 2. This chapter also shows how the prototypical perfective and prototypical delimitative *po-* meanings overlap saliently in the expression of aspectual pairedness (cf. the earlier discussion of overlap between the perfective meaning resultativity and Russian *po-* in chapter 2), and similarly, chapter 4 presents an analysis of the overlap between the Polish prototypical distributive in *po-* and the prototypical perfective meaning totality. In chapter 5, a more in-depth discussion of this overlap is revisited for the prototypes in *po-* in both languages.

In 3.1, dictionary searches and the division of Russian and Polish delimitatives into lexical categories were used to show that Russian delimitatives are more productive than Polish delimitatives in each lexical category. In 3.1, the hit counts from an RNC, NCP and Google search for a sample set of delimitatives from the lexical categories of denominal delimitatives and delimitatives of emotional state were presented; the hit counts suggest that the level of use of delimitatives is higher in Russian than in Polish. 3.2 then presented hit counts for Russian and Polish delimitatives in the following grammatical constructions: infinitive-modal, concrete-factual, non-agentive and delimitative plus evaluative adverb; these hit counts also suggest an overall higher level of use for Russian delimitatives. In 3.3 it was explained how Russian delimitatives can function as perfective partners, and it was also suggested that this function ties in with the prototypical Russian perfective meaning temporal definiteness. Following this section, the appendix in 3.5 presents example sentences in Polish and Russian from the RNC, NCP and Google searches for: A) denominal delimitatives; B) delimitatives of emotional state; C) infinitive-modal constructions; D) non-agentive constructions; E) concrete-factual questions; and F) delimitative plus evaluative adverb constructions. Chapter 4 similarly discusses the productivity, level of use, and issues of pairedness for Polish and Russian distributives in *po-*.

3.5. Appendix

A. Denominal delimitatives

The example sentence for each verb is from Google. The search was conducted on August 9, 2011.

1. 'flirt with for a while'

   Russian *pokoketničat′*: Google: 13,700; RNC: 3

   So smert′ju **pokoketničal***^{P}* ne russkij pisatel′ Maksim Gor′kij, a kazanskij dvornik Aleša Peškov.

   http://nnm.ru/blogs/girlfriendHudo/russkie_prababushki_shahidok/

   'It wasn't the Russian writer Maksim Gorky who <u>flirted</u> with death for a while, but the courtyard keeper from Kazan′ Aljosha Peshkov.'

   Polish *pokokietować* : Google: 669; NCP: 0

   No i pan **pokokietował***^{P}* spisując mój pesel, że nie wyglądam na ten rocznik.

   http://forum.muratordom.pl/showthread.php?118252-Komentarze-malkowej-niebudowy&p=4025524

   'But the man <u>flirted a while,</u> writing down my personal identification number, saying that I do not look my age.'

2. 'look after for a while'

   Russian *ponjančit′/ponjančit′sja*: Google: 10,390; RNC: 2

rodilsja, ženilsja, dom postroil, detej vyrastil, vnukov **ponjančil**[p] i vse konec?

http://otvet.mail.ru/question/34786724/

'He was born, got married, built a house, raised kids, <u>looked after</u> his grandchildren and is that it?

Polish *poniańczyć* : Google: 656; NCP: 0

Dlatego poprosiłem Daren żeby zamiast niańczenia mnie, **poniańczył**[p] ciebie.

http://pokelazure.pl/viewtopic.php?p=112727&sid=76c25f853ed7e11bdebfb7db5dbe2577

'Therefore I asked Daren if instead of looking after me, he <u>would look after</u> you.'

3. 'trade for a while'

Russian *potorgovat´/potorgovat´sja*: Google: 124,700; RNC: 27

Psixologičeskaja razgruzka dlja tex kto neudačno **potorgoval**[p] etu nedelju.

http://vladimirskiy.blogspot.com/2011/02/blog-post_2509.html

'Psychological relief for those who <u>traded</u> poorly this week.'

Polish *pohandlować*: Google: 3,635; NCP: 3

Każdy by **pohandlował**[p] lub wymienił coś na coś.

http://forum.wedkuje.pl/f,komis-uzywanych-wedek-i-sprzetow-wedkarskich,187067,0.html

'Everyone would <u>trade a little</u> or exchange something for something.'

4. 'fantasize for a while'

   Russian *pofantazirovat´*: Google: 52,900; RNC: 3

   Dmitrij Krymov **pofantaziroval**^{p} po motivam rasskazov Bunina.

   http://www.newstube.ru/media/dmitrij-krymov-pofantaziroval-po-motivam-rasskazov-

bunina

   'Dmitrij Krymov <u>fantasized</u> along the lines of (or inspired by) Bunin's stories.'

   Polish *pofantazjować* : Google: 1,737; NCP: 1

   Mattel trochę **pofantazjował**^{p} na temat sukni i nie jest ona do końca zgodna z filmowym

   kostiumem.

   http://barbiecollection.blox.pl/2010/01/Barbie-Scarlett-O.html

   'Mattel <u>fantasized a little</u> on the matter of the dress and it is not entirely in agreement

   with the film costume.'

5. 'philosophize for a while'

   Russian *pofilosofstvovat´*: Google: 23,900; RNC: 4

   Šurin Jurija Lužkova **pofilosofstvoval**^{p} v sude o staryx dolgax.

   http://www.ladno.ru/ccc/16964.html

   'The brother-in-law of Jurij Luzhkov <u>philosophized a while</u> in court about his old debts.'

Polish *pofilozofować* : Google: 876; NCP: 1

Dziś **pofilozofowałem**[P] na temat, który całkowicie jest mi obcy, ale warto o nim myśleć.

http://www.wiadomosci24.pl/artykul/nafilozofywanie_137225.html

'Today I <u>philosophized a while</u> on a subject that is totally foreign to me, but is worth thinking about.'

6. 'flirt for a while'

Russian *poflirtovat´*: Google: 27,500; RNC: 0

Berluskoni s Putinym i Medvedevym osmotrel samolet i **poflirtoval**[P] s rossijskimi styuardessami.

http://ru.tsn.ua/svit/berluskoni-s-putinym-i-medvedevym-osmotrel-samolet-i-poflirtoval-s-rossiyskimi-styuardessami.html

'Berlusconi, along with Putin and Medvedev, surveyed the plane and he <u>flirted some</u> with the Russian stewardesses.'

Polish *poflirtować*: Google: 2,164; NCP: 1

Inspektor Morse znów nie ma szczęścia w kontaktach z kobietami. Spotkał Annę Scott na przyjęciu, **poflirtował**[P] z nią przy winie i nigdy więcej nie widział jej żywej.

http://lubimyczytac.pl/ksiazka/86248/smierc-w-jericho/opinia/1497541

'Inspector Morse again has no luck in his contacts with women. He met Anna Scott a party, <u>flirted a little</u> with her over wine, and never saw her alive again.'

B. Delimitatives of emotional state

This search was conducted on August 9, 2011.

1. 'love for a while'

   Russian *poljubit'* : 0

Flier (1985: 43) suggests the complete impossibility of the derivation of delimitatives from stative predicates such as *ljubit'* 'love'. However, the following delimitative use of *poljubit'* was found:

Nado na vremja **poljubit'**^{p} ovsjanku s izjumom, kefir s černoslivom, tušenye ovešči, a v minuty slabosti i unynija pomnit', čto eti ograničenija v ede ne večny.

http://www.ja-zdorov.ru/blog/kak-izbezhat-rastyazhek-vo-vremya-beremennosti-tri-zolotyx-pravila/

'It is necessary <u>to like for a while</u> oatmeal with raisins, kefir with prunes, stewed vegetables, and at a moment of weakness and gloom remember that these limitations in diet are not eternal.'

   Polish *pokochać*: 0

2. 'want for a while'

   Russian *poxotet'*: 1

Nedelju **poxotel**^{p} ego i vse prošlo!

http://www.overcoming-x.ru/forum/archive/index.php/t-1553.html

'I <u>wanted</u> it for a week and then it all passed!'

   Polish *pochieć*: 0

3. 'hate for a while'

Russian *ponenavidet′*: 1

kakogo xrena on opjat′ v moej as′ke?...vsego mesjac **ponenavidel**[P]...Živem

http://a.farit.ru/i/t-70798-p-78.html

'What the f*** is he doing showing up on my instant messenger again? ... He hated me for a

month in all…life goes on'

Polish *ponienawidzić*: 1

no mam dzisiaj czas, mogę ją trochę **ponienawidzić**[p]   http://ladyinorange.pinger.pl/a/2010/4/18/

'but I have time today, I can hate her a little'

3. miss somebody, be melancholy for a while
    Russian *potoskovat′*: Google: 6,660; RNC: 4

On nemnogo poplakal, **potoskoval**[P], vspominaja roditel′skij dom, no vskore pryvyk k

tovariščam.

http://biblio.darial-online.ru/text/Kotsoev/carier.shtml

'He cried a little, felt melancholy for a while, remembering his parents' home, but soon he got

used to his colleagues.'

Polish *potęsknić*: Google: 701; NCP: 0

Potęskniłem[p], pospałem, teraz wstałem.

http://www.kazimierzdolny.net/archiwum/index.php?str=74843

'I <u>felt melancholy a while</u>, slept a while, and now I've gotten up.'

4. 'cry for some time'
   Russian *poplakat'*: Google: 226,000; RNC: 67

Poplakal[p] sduru, a on nedeli čerez dve na konjušnyu pribeg.

http://bridgeinvest.ru/srpplsrks/psaonchdnkp/index.html

'I <u>cried a while</u> like a fool, but within two weeks he ran to the stable.'

Polish *popłakać*: Google: 4,899; NCP: 134

Góral by sie uśmiał, a koń nawet **popłakał**[p]**.**

http://www.informator-

turystyczny.pl/ak_id/27368;ministerstwo_skarbu_panstwa,joanna_szmitd,ustron,pracownicy_san

atoriow,kuracjusze,burmistrz_ustronia,kos,rownica,narcyz,rosomak.html

'The mountaineer would have a good laugh, but the horse even <u>cried a little</u>.'

C. Infinitive-modal constructions[70]

The search was conducted on August 10, 2011.

1. 'run around a while'

   Russian *pobegat´*

   Ne uspel pobegat´: 4,300

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[70] The verbs in 1-6 have strictly delimitative meanings, unprefixed imperfective source verbs and high RNC and PELCRA hit counts; the verbs in 7-8 have strictly delimitative meaning, secondary derived imperfective source verbs, though lower RNC and PELCRA hit counts. Numbers 7 and 8 were included for the sake of morphological variation with 1-6.

Ja ne uspel **pobegat'**^{p} po lužam**.**

www.proza.ru/2010/01/30/141

'I did not manage <u>to run </u>through the puddles.'

Polish *pobiegać*

Nie zdążył- pobiegać: 9

Za późno wstałem, a dzień był na tyle krótki, że nie zdążyłem **pobiegać**^{p}**.**

http://bieganie.pl/forum/viewtopic.php?f=27&t=15327&start=30

 'I got up too late, and the day was so short, that I did not manage <u>to go for a run</u>.'

Nam prišlos´ pobegat´: 17,900

V prošlom godu našli simpatičnyj magazinčik, a v etom godu nam prišlos′ **pobegat'**^{p},

čtoby ego najti.

http://botinok.co.il/node/71583

'Last year we found a nice little shop, but this year we had to <u>run around a while</u> to find

it.'

Musieliśmy pobiegać: 83

Później Wisła uzyskiwała coraz większą przewagę, operowała piłką tak, że musieliśmy

pobiegać^p parę kilometrów więcej.

http://wislakrakow.com/www/showarticle.php?articleid=10885&pp=10&page=6

'Later Vistula got a greater and greater advantage, made such use of the ball that we had

<u>to run</u> a couple more kilometers.'

2. 'stroll a while'
   Russian *poguljat´*

   Ne uspel poguljat′ : 9,440

   Vstal tak pozdno, čto ne uspel **poguljat´***p*.

   http://lost-

   empire.ru/index.php?option=com_books&Itemid=3&task=viewB&id=249&page=46

    'He got up so late, that he did not manage <u>to go for a walk</u>.'

   Polish *pospacerować*

   Nie zdążył- pospacerować: 2

   Robiło się szybko ciemno, więc nie zdążyłeś **pospacerować***p*.

   http://warhammer-pbf.phorum.pl/viewtopic.php?t=471&start=400

    'It got dark quickly, so you did not manage <u>to go for a walk</u>.'

   Nam prišlos´ poguljat′: 2,460

   Okazalos´my priexali sliškom rano i nam prišlos´ **poguljat´***p* časa poltora!

   sansanforever.livejournal.com/

   'It turned out that we arrived too early and we had <u>to walk around</u> for an hour and a half!'

   Musieliśmy pospacerować: 19

   Lecz żeby tam dojść musieliśmy **pospacerować***p* po lesie.

   http://zadane.pl/zadanie/1143746

    'But in order to get there we had <u>to walk a while</u> through the forest.'

3. 'drive around a while'

Russian poezdit´

Ne uspel poezdit´: 24,600

Kstati včera videl novuju neksiju (neksija 2) uže bez bampera. Xozjain govorit mesjac ne uspel **poezdit***ʹᵖ*.   www.rudaewoo.ru/forums/lofiversion/index.php/t4825.html

'By the way, yesterday I saw a new Neksija (Neksija 2) already without a bumper. The owner says that he has not managed <u>to drive it around</u> even for a month.'

Polish pojeździć

Nie zdążył- pojeździć: 283

Pospacerowaliśmy troszkę, pospałem na powietrzu i nawet nie zdążyłem **pojeździć***ᵖ* na dinozaurach kiedy zaczął padać deszcz.

http://smyki.pl/domeny/smyki.pl/borek/index.php?op=arch&yr=2006&mn=10 'We walked around a little, I slept a while in the open air and even had not managed <u>to drive around</u> on the dinosaurs when it started to rain.'

Nam prišlos´ poezdit´: 5,510

V poiskax mašiny, nam prišlosʹ **poezdit***ʹᵖ* po rajonam, kotorye naxodjatsja na okrainax Toronto.

tomiliny.blogspot.com/2010/11/2.html

'In the search for a car, we had <u>to drive around</u> the neighborhoods which are located on the outskirts of Toronto.'

Musieliśmy pojeździć: 130

Nam też się nie udało i musieliśmy **pojeździć**^{p} po mieście, aby znaleźć jakieś miejsce parkingowe.

http://www.peregrynacje.pl/monte-baldo.html

 'We were also unlucky and <u>had to go around</u> the city <u>for a while</u> in order to find some place to park.'

4. 'play a while'

   Russian *poigrat´*

   Ne uspel poigrat´: 136,000

   Ne uspel **poigrat**^{rp} daže 10 minut!

   http://otvet.mail.ru/question/47920208/

   'I did not even manage <u>to play</u> for 10 minutes!'

   Polish *pograć*

   Nie zdążył- pograć: 435

   Nie zdążył **pograć**^{p}, bo szybko doznał kontuzji.

   http://warszawa.gazeta.pl/warszawa/2029020,34868,5029360.html

   'He did not manage <u>to play for long</u>, because he quickly suffered a concussion.'

   Nam prišlos´ poigrat´: 2,960

   Segodnja nam prišlos′ **poigrat**^{rp} sovsem ne v tot xokkej, k kotoromu my privykli.

   http://mhl.khl.ru/news/index.php?ELEMENT_ID=6345

   'Today we had <u>to play</u> a completely different kind of hockey than what we are used to.'

Musieliśmy pograć: 4

Wymusiło to nasz sposób gry, gdyż musieliśmy **pograć**^{p} trochę inaczej niż dotychczas.

http://www.zksunia.tarnow.pl/index.php?kat=full&tm=2003-09-16_10:45

'This constrained our way of playing, because we had to play a little differently than until

that time.'

5. 'work a while'

Russian porabotat´

Ne uspel porabotat´: 126,000

Eto minus dlja tex, kto ne uspel **porabotat´**^{p} v Rossii.

ginfo.com.ua/to_swiss/

'This is a minus for those who have not managed to work a while in Russia.'

Polish popracować

Nie zdążył- popracować: 35

Ja niestety nie zdążyłem **popracować**^{p} z tym konwenterem gdyż mój Fujik uległ

destrukcji a ocalał tylko konwenter który leżał w szafie.

http://archiwumallegro.pl/konwenter_raynox_dcr730_redukcja_46_52_mm-

659442440.html

'Unfortunately I did not manage to do any work with this mass storage file when my

Fujik got destroyed and I only saved the mass storage file that was lying in the cabinet.'

Nam prišlos porabotat´: 54,200

Tam nam prišlos′ **porabotat′**^{p} sapožnikami, tak kak u Ani slomalsja kabluk, prišlos′

paločkami kakimi to pribivat′.

klio-elena.narod.ru/travel/TRAVEL2.htm

'We had to work there as shoe-makers, since the heel on Anya's shoe broke, we had to

fasten it with some sticks.'

Musieliśmy popracować: 173

Dlatego doświadczyliśmy niskiego poziomu przyczepności i musieliśmy **popracować**^{p}

nad tym pomimo brudnego toru.

http://www.f1ultra.pl/index.php/raporty-zespolow/119404-gp-chin-piatek-hrt-malymi-

krokami-do-przodu.html

'Because of this we experienced a low level of (tire) grip and had <u>to work on this for a</u>

<u>while</u> instead of the dirty track.'

6. 'sit a while'

   Russian posidet′

   Ne uspel posidet′: 16,200

   A tem, kto poka ešče ne uspel **posidet′**^{p} v takom kresle, obo vsex ego preimuščestvax

   rasskažet naša stat′ja'.

   www.interier.vserinki.ru/best/189.php

   'And for those, who still have not managed <u>to sit for a while</u> in such an armchair, our

   article will tell about all of its advantages.'

   Polish posiedzieć

Nie zdążył- posiedzieć: 8

Na sczescie **nie zdążył posiedzieć** zbyt długo na stołku.

http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,539,125511559,125543687,Re_Dymisja_klicha_.html

'Fortunately he didn't manage to sit too long on the chair.'

Nam prišlos posidet´: 8,930

Naš samolet otpravljaetsja tol′ko v 2 časa noči i nam prišlos′ **posidet**^{tp} v restorane do

časov 22:00, a potom otpravit′sja v aeroport.

http://www.otzyv.ru/read.php?id=118427

'Our plane departs at 2 o'clock at night and we had to sit in a restaurant until 10 PM, and

then head to the airport.'

Musieliśmy posiedzieć: 74

Nie było pokoju relaksu więc musieliśmy **posiedzieć**^{p} w obszarze recepcji.

http://pl.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g190800-d1147574-r75807696-

The_Christchurch_Harbour_Hotel_Spa-Christchurch_Dorset_England.html

'There was not a room for relaxing, so we had to sit for a while in the reception area.'

7. 'spend some time recollecting'

Russian povspominat′

Ne uspel povspominat′: 0

Polish powspominać

Nie zdążył- powspominać: 5

Nie zdążył **powspominać**[p], jak bardzo w dzieciństwie lubił to miejsce, bo z zamyślenia wyrwał go świszczący oddech Kawki. www.feels.cx.nysa.pl/index.php?p=97

'He did not manage <u>to spend any time recollecting</u> how much he loved this place in his childhood, because a whistling breath of Kawka tore him from his musings.'

Nam prišlos povspominat′: 1

Prišlos′ **povspominat**[tp], kakie že skovorodki byli u nas na kuxne v poslednee vremja'.

'We had <u>to spend some time recollecting</u>, what kind of frying pans we had in the kitchen lately.'

forum.good-cook.ru/ptopic7384.html

Musieliśmy powspominać: 3

Ale wczoraj wieczorem mieliśmy kryzys z Tż, musieliśmy powspominać, popłakać, ktoś bardzo mądry powiedział mi, że ona zasłużyło na te łzy, które za nią wylewamy.

http://forum.miau.pl/viewtopic.php?t=78885&postdays=0&postorder=asc&start=60

8. 'spend some time musing'

Russian porazmyšlat′

Ne uspel porazmyšlat′: 2,450

Varga daže ne uspel **porazmyšljat**[tp] ob etoj devuške.

books.rusf.ru/add-on/xussr_av/vasilv08/vasilv08.56.html

'Varga even did not manage <u>to spend any time musing</u> about this girl.'

Polish porozmyślać

Nie zdążył- porozmyślać: 3

Arkadiusz nie zdążył **porozmyślać**^p na temat niedawnej sytuacji w jakiej się znalazł.

www.opowiadania.pl/main.php?id=showitem&item=25558

'Arkadiusz did not manage <u>to spend any time musing</u> on the subject of the recent

situation in which he found himself.'

Nam prišlosʹ porazmyšlatʹ: 6

Posle zavtraka naša vožataja Svetlana Mixajlovna prigotovila mnogo interesnyx,

zanimatelʹnyx zadač, nad kotorymi nam prišlosʹ **porazmyšljat**^tp.

lyc01.ru/lager/evrika.htm

'After breakfast our Pioneer leader Svetlana Mixajlovna prepared many interesting,

entertaining problems, over which we had <u>to spend some time ruminating</u>.'

Musieliśmy porozmyślać: 0

D. Non-agentive constructions

The delimitatives were conjugated in the past tense singular neuter, so that only inanimate

subjects—as required for non-agentive constructions--would be displayed. The search was

conducted on August 10, 2011.

1. 'shine for a while'

Russian *posvetitʹ*: 24,000

Luna **posvetila**^{p71} i skrylasʹ za tučami.

dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/efremova/222399/Посветить

'The moon <u>shone a while</u> and hid behind the clouds.'

Polish *poświecić*: 644

Słońce trochę **poświeciło**^{p}.

http://demotywatory.pl/2911922/Slonce-troche-poswiecilo

'The sun <u>shone</u> a while.'

2. warm oneself for a while

Russian *pogretʹsja*: 3,200

O, opjatʹ moloko **pogrelosʹ**^{rp}... Mmm, tak namnogo lučše.

marvelrole.spybb.ru/viewtopic.php?id=98

'Oh, the milk <u>has warmed up a little</u> again...Mmm, it is much better this way.'

Polish *pogrzać się*: 46

Auto chwilę **pogrzało**^{p} **się** do słońca i znowu zapaliło, ale słychać dźwięk, coś jakby

przycieranie lub zużyte łożysko.

http://vwpolo-klub.pl/forum/viewtopic.php?f=22&t=25608

'The car <u>warmed up a little</u> in the sun and started again, but there was a sound, like

something scraping or a worn-out bearing.'

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[71] The neuter singular search produced this good example with past tense feminine singular *posvetila*, so it is used here, since what is most important is non-agentivity, not gender (compare example #16 above, with *pogorela*).

3. 'thunder for a while'

   Russian *pogremet′*: 11,400

   Pogremelo^p, zatjanulo, polilos′ - a u vas kakaja pogoda?

   http://otvet.mail.ru/question/42353145/

   'It <u>thundered a while</u>, clouded over, then it started to pour–and what's the weather like at your place?'

   Polish *pogrzmieć*: 846

   lekko[72] **pogrzmiało**^{p}, pokropiło ze 2 minuty i przeszło.

   http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,1342,oid,34928857,thpage,2,wid,13578650,mopinia.html?tic aid=1d2ee

   'It <u>thundered lightly</u>, sprinkled for 2 minutes and stopped.'

4. 'whistle for some time'

   Russian *posvistet′*: 1,450

   Paru nedel′ **posvistelo**^{p73} i samo prošlo.

   http://forum.aves-peugeot.ru/viewtopic.php?t=10467

   'For a couple of weeks it (something in the engine) <u>whistled</u> and stopped on its own.'

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[72] Stawnicka (2005: 89-90) explains that delimitatives can also express action of a slight degree of intensity.

[73] Mehlig (1994: 593) explains that the duration of a Russian delimitative depends on the lexical meaning of the perfectivized verb; for example *pogovorit´* 'talk a while' expresses a shorter duration than not *pocarstvovat´* 'reign a while'.

Polish *pogwizdać*: 893

Jeżeli tylko obejrzeć film z efektami, żeby coś **pogwizdało**[p] za uszami, obejdzie się bez amplitunera.

www.hdtv.com.pl/forum/183849-post30.html

'If one only watches the film with the effects, so that something would <u>whistle a while</u> behind one's ears, then one can do without the amplituner.'

The quotients for delimitatives in non-agentive constructions are given below:

4. 'shine for a while'

   Russian *posvetit´/svetit´*: 24,000/2,530,000 = 0.95%

   Polish *poświecić/świecić*: 644/1,150,000 = 0.056%

5. 'warm oneself for a while'

   Russian *pogret'sja/gret'sja*: 3,200/104,000 = 3.08%

   Polish *pogrzać się/grzać się*: 46/340,000 = 0.01%

6. 'thunder for a while'

   Russian *pogremet'/gremet'*: 11,400/213,000 = 5.4%

   Polish *pogrzmieć/grzmieć*: 846/230,000 = 0.37%

7. 'whistle for some time'

   Russian *posvistet'/svistet'*: 1,450/116,000 = 1.25%

Polish *pogwizdać/gwizdać*: 218/20,600 = 1.06%

E. Concrete-factual questions

The concrete-factual questions searched in each case were Russian *Ty uže po-?* and Polish *Czy już po- łeś?* . The search was conducted on August 10, 2011.

1. 'run around a while'

   Russian *pobegat´*: 1,800

   Ty uže pobegal golym po ulice?

   http://forum.convex.ru/showthread.php?p=484363

   'Have you already run along the street naked for a while?'

   Polish *pobiegać*: 0

2. 'stroll a while'

   Russian *poguljat´*: 4,730

   Ty uže **poguljal**[p]? Čego tak bystro vernulsja?

   http://www.sql.ru/Forum/actualthread.aspx?bid=65&tid=196354&pg=9

   'Have you already gone for a walk? Why have you come back so quickly?'

   Polish *pospacerować*: 1

   czy już **pospacerowałeś**[p] pod tężniami? Są dobre na serce i system nerwowy - regulują oddech!

   http://kali.salon24.pl/118857,ciechocinskie-lato

'Have you already walked under the steam salt waters? They are good for the heart and nervous system—they regulate the breathing!'

3. 'drive around a while'

    Russian *poezdit´*: 5,620

    Ty uže **poezdil**[p] na nix? Nravjatsja?

    http://drift.com.ua/forums/index.php?showtopic=7017&st=15

    'Have you already ridden around on them? Do you like them?'

    Polish *pojeździć*: 1

    Czy już pojeździłeś[p] w nich trochę? Przydały się już?

    dh-zone.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=2&p=874309

    'Have you already <u>gone around </u>on them a little? Have they already been useful?'

4. 'play a while'

    Russian *poigrat´*: 30,100

    A ty uže **poigral**[p] v novuju anime-igru Evgenij Onegin?

    http://aeterna.qip.ru/poll/view/19945/

    'Have you already <u>played</u> the new anime game Evgenij Onegin a little?'

    Polish *pograć*: 1

    Cóż hmmmm czy mi się wydaje czy już **pograłeś**[p] na tym serwie????

    http://www.cs.fenix.katowice.pl/viewtopic.php?p=11280&sid=11a88821b9674e89b54a2
    2818e31e4b8

'Does it just seem like it to me or have you already played a little on this service?'

5. 'work a while'

Russian *porabotat´*: 18,000

Artuxov, ty uže **porabotal**[P]? - Ja očen´ porabotal, i mne èto nadoelo.

http://samlib.ru/w/wejs_w/tigion-1.shtml

'Artuxov, have you already <u>worked a while</u>? I've worked a lot, and I'm bored with it.'

Polish popracować: 0

6. 'sit a while'

Russian *posidet´*: 3,750

Ty uže **posidel**[p] za prazdničnym stolom?

http://lib.rus.ec/b/67280/read

'<u>Have</u> you already <u>sat for a while</u> at the holiday table?'

Polish *posiedzieć*: 0

7. 'ponder over for a while'

Russian *porazmyšljat'*: 4

Ty uže **porazmyšljal**[P]? Kakoj šustryj, eto očen′ xorošo. Nu tak i kak ty sdelal vyvod?

http://5-tv.ru/news/24043/

'<u>Have</u> you already <u>pondered it over</u> for a while? What a smart one, this is very good.

Well then how did you come to your conclusion?'

Polish *porozmyślać*: 340

Czy już **pomyślałeś***[P]* o korzyściach z tego wynikających?

www.zaklady.edu.pl/bettson.html

'<u>Have</u> you already <u>pondered</u> over the benefits resulting from this <u>for a while</u>?'

F. Delimitative plus evaluative adverb construction

The constructions tested were Russian *My xorošo po-...li* and Polish *Dobrze po-...liśmy*. The search was performed on August 9, 2011.

1. 'run around a while'

   Russian *pobegat´*: 1,400

   8-go marta my xorošo **pobegali***[P]* pod Markovkoj.

   http://svital.com/sportivnoe-orientirovanie-horosho-probezhalis/

   'On the 8th of March we <u>had a</u> good <u>run</u> under Markovkaja.'

   Polish *pobiegać*: 1

   Dobrze **pobiegaliśmy***[P]*. Zajęliśmy dwunaste miejsce.

   www.wppp.vel.pl/artykul.php?id=1217445647&gaz=tl

   'We <u>had a</u> good <u>run</u>. We took twelfth place.'

2. 'stroll a while'

   Russian *poguljat´*: 31,900

   Prostite, dorogie veterany, no my xorošo **poguljali***[P]* na 9 maja.

http://twitter.com/#!/usagi_ichiban

'Excuse me, dear veterans, but we <u>had a</u> good <u>party</u> on May 9th.'

Polish *pospacerować*: 0

3. 'play a while'

   Russian *poigrat´*: 4,570

   V subbotu my xorošo **poigrali**^p v badminton.

   http://voks.livejournal.com/170468.html

   'On Saturday we <u>played</u> badminton well.'

   Polish *pograć*: 4

   Dobrze **pograliśmy**^p przez dwadzieścia minut.

   http://ligowiec.net/mecz/8520/_/relacja/1188760623

   'We <u>played</u> well for twelve minutes.'

4. 'work a while'

   Russian *porabotat´*: 220,000

   Etot sbor byl v bol′šej stepeni napravlen na ulučšenie fizičeskix kondicij, a my xorošo

   porabotali^p v etom napravlenii. http://www.chernomorets.odessa.ua/club/news/646/

   'This training was directed to a large extent to the improvement of physical health, and

   we <u>worked</u> well in this direction.'

   Polish *popracować*: 37

Bo to oznacza, że na zgrupowaniu w górach dobrze **popracowaliśmy**[p].

http://sport.lca.pl/news,22822,Piwko_Dobrze_popracowalismy_w_gorach.html

'That means that in the training camp in the mountains we <u>worked</u> well.'

5. 'sit a while'

Russian *posidet´*: 61,600

Včera my xorošo **posideli**[p] i xorošo poguljali.

http://dir-for-live.livejournal.com/2498690.html

Polish *posiedzieć*: 0

Chapter 4

4.0. Introduction

This chapter follows chapter 3 in showing a correlation between the prototype in *po-* and the function of quasi-perfective partner of the prototype—the discussion in chapter 4 focuses on the Polish distributive as the prototype verb in *po-*. This chapter is of interest in a broader typological regard in showing a correlation between the most commonly used verb type (in this case, in *po-*) in a language and its productive grammatical function as a quasi-perfective partner. This chapter presents a comparative analysis of the meaning and use of Polish and Russian distributives in *po-*. 4.1 discusses the basic definitions and general description for Polish and Russian distributives in *po-*. 4.2 presents the numbers for the productivity and level of use of distributives in Polish and Russian. 4.3 discusses the pairedness of Polish distributives in *po-* and the non-pairedness of Russian distributives in *po-*.

4.1. Polish and Russian Distributives in *PO-*: Basic Definitions and Description

Piernikarski (1975: 75) suggests that a Polish distributive expresses an "action composed of a series of acts, or (action) divided into a series of acts." For example, in the Polish distributive *popadać*[p] 'of many: fall down', the action described by *popadać*[p] is comprised of a series of acts of falling down by separate parties. Śmiech (1986: 22) similarly suggests that Polish distributives are formed from imperfective verbs "that indicate action in some sense composite (*złożone*) and divisible into single acts and processes." Rudnik-Karwatowa (1991: 198) suggests that both Polish and Russian distributives "indicate action divided into separate portions with regard to a set of objects or subjects, by which every member of a set is in principle seized in succession by the action or a portion of the action." Timofeev (1966: 26) argues that Russian distributives in *po-* "indicate actions completed by all or many persons, or spread over all or many objects." For

example, in the Russian distributive *pokidat´* 'throw [all or many]', the action of throwing is distributed over all or many of the objects thrown. Dmitrieva (1988: 98) similarly defines an action expressed by the Russian distributive in *po-* as being "spread on all or many objects or completed by all or many subjects."

Piernikarski (1975: 88) and Rudnik-Karwatowa (1989: 178) suggest that the marker of distributivity in Polish is the prefix *po-*; this view is generally accepted in the literature. Though Stawnicka (2005: 223) suggests that *prze-* additionally forms distributives, e.g., *Lekarze przebadali[p] wszystkie dzieci we wsi* 'The doctors treated all the children in the village', Śmiech (1986: 60–68) does not identify the distributive as a meaning expressed by verbs in *prze-*. As *prze-* appears to be relatively marginal in Polish as a distributive prefix, only *po-* is treated in this study.[74] Piernikarski (1975: 88–89) and Rudnik-Karwatowa (1989: 178) observe that there are two productive distributive prefixes in Russian, *pere-* and *po-*. Šeljakin (1980 :47) gives an example of a Russian distributive in *pere-* as *perebintovat´[p] vsex ranenyx* 'apply bandages to all the wounds'.

In terms of a comparison between the productivity of Russian distributives *pere-* and *po-*, Šeljakin (1980: 49) suggests that distributives formed from prefixed and unprefixed verbs in *pere-* and *po-* share the same basic semantic zones, and that in many lexical categories (e.g., verbs of destruction), distributives in *pere-* and *po-* are synonymous, differing only on a colloquial level, e.g., *pererubit´/porubit´ ves' otrjad* 'saber the entire detachment'. Šeljakin (1980: 46) identifies only one group of verbs—qualificational (*kvalifikativnye*) verbs—that form distributives in *pere-* but not *po-*, e.g., *perebelit´* 'whiten (all or many)'. Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 124-125) do not rate either *pere-* or *po-* as more productive than the other, but Zaliznjak

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[74] Łaziński notes that Polish *prze-* corresponds to Russian *pere-* and *pro-*.

and Šmelev 2000: 124) do suggest that Russian distributives that contain both prefixes *pere-* and *po-* may express a shade of disdain in a regard to the participants of the event as some kind of indivisible multitude, and the event in which they are engaged is somehow ordinary, as in examples (1) and (2):

(1)   Vse životnye v zooparke **poperedoxli**[p].   (Rus; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 124)

   'All the animals in the zoo <u>died off (one after another)</u>.**'**

(2)   Vse jabloni za zimu **poperemerzli**[p].

   'All of the apple trees <u>died off</u> before winter.'(Rus; Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000: 124)

Šeljakin (1980 :44) suggests that *pozakryl*[p] 'close many or all', derived from a prefixed perfective source verb, is more emotionally expressive than *pozakryval*[p], the latter derived from an prefixed imperfective source verb, as *po-* in the former is more autonomous, as it need not perfectivize the source verb. The fact that the Russian distributive in *po-* may carry a shade of emotional expressivity (a feature that seems to be absent in Polish distributives in *po-*) helps explain why Russian distributives in *po-* are less productive than Polish distributives in *po-*, as marked members of a set tend to be less common than unmarked members of a set (see below).

Shull (2003: 167) suggests that the difference between Russian distributives in *pere-* and *po-* has to do with "the individuation of actions associated with *pere-*, and the lack of individuation associated with *po-*", so that in *perepadat´* 'fall [one after another]', "*pere-* tends to emphasize the individuation of the subevents", whereas in *popadat,´* 'fall [of a number of objects]' "*po-* emphasizes the identity of the action contour for all trajectors," and "each trajector is participating in an identical kind of action." As Russian forms distributives from both *pere-* and *po-*, while Polish only productively forms distributives in *po-*, it is to be expected that the

productivity and level of use of Russian distributives in *po-* is lower than for Polish distributives in *po-* (cf. 4.2), since Russian uses two prefixes for the formation of distributives while Polish uses one.

Polish distributives in *po-* may be derived from transitive or intransitive verbs. Rudnik-Karwatowa (1989: 178–179) observes that Polish derives distributives only from imperfective stems. Stawnicka (2005: 218) suggests that while distributives are derived only from imperfective verbs in literary Polish, distributives may be derived from perfective stems in some dialects, e.g., *powykopać*^{p} 'excavate many or all' (citing Kawka 1987: 180). Distributives derived from perfective stems are rare exceptions; it can be assumed that Polish distributives are basically derived from imperfective stems.

Stawnicka (2005: 217-218) Osipova (1983: 245) and Śmiech (1986: 20-22) discuss the main derivational chains involved in the formation of Polish distributives. One derivational chain involves a) a prefixed perfective that b) has a derived imperfective aspectual counterpart, and c) a distributive is then derived from this secondary imperfective, e.g., transitive a) *odpisać*^{p} 'copy, respond' b) *odpisywać*^{i} 'copy, respond' c) *poodpisywać*^{p} 'copy, respond to all or many' (Stawnicka 2005: 218), and intransitive a) *nadgnić*^{p} 'spoil slightly' b) *nadgniwać*^{i} 'spoil slightly' c) *ponadgniwać*^{p} 'start to rot in many places or about many things; rot partially' (Osipova 1983: 245). Another derivational chain consists of a) a non-prefixed perfective b) its derived non-prefixed imperfective and c) the distributive derived from the non-prefixed imperfective, e.g., transitive a) *rzucić*^{p} 'throw' b) *rzucać*^{i} 'throw' c) *porzucać*^{p} 'throw many of something' (Stawnicka 2005: 218), and intransitive a) *paść*^{p} 'fall' b) *padać*^{i} 'fall' c) *popadać*^{p} 'about many: fall down' (Śmiech 1986: 20).[75] A third derivational chain for the Polish distributive consists of

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[75] Śmiech (1986: 20) only presents the derived imperfectives without the rest of the derivational chain in his analysis, but these stages are implied.

a) a prefixed perfective b) the paired non-prefixed imperfective and c) the distributive derived from this non-prefixed imperfective, e.g., transitive a) *zrobić*[p] 'do' b) *robić*[i] 'do' c) *porobić*[p] 'do many of something/about many people: do something' (Stawnicka 2005: 218) and intransitive a) *zgnić*[p] 'rot' b) *gnić*[i] 'rot' c) *pognić*[p] 'rot, about all or many' (Osipova 1983: 245).

Rudnik-Karwatowa (1989: 178–179) observes that Russian distributives can be derived from imperfective or perfective stems. Stawnicka (2005: 211) observes that Russian distributives in *po-* may be derived from unprefixed transitives, e.g., *porubit*[p] 'chop many or all', unprefixed intransitives, e.g., *popadat*[p] 'fall, one after another, about all or many', prefixed transitives, e.g., *pootkryvat*[p] 'open all or many, one after another' and prefixed intransitives, e.g., *povyskočit*[p] 'jump out, about all or many'. *Porubit*[p], *popadat*[p], and *pootkryvat*[p] are derived from imperfective stems, and *povyskočit*[p] is derived from a perfective stem; a distributive with the meaning 'open all or many' may also be formed from the perfective stem in *pootkryt*[p] 'open all or many'.[76]

The distribution of action expressed by Polish and Russian distributives is not limited to all or many of a set of subjects or objects. In fact, the action expressed by a distributive may also be distributed to an individual subject or object. For example, Śmiech (1986: 20, 23) gives an example of action distributed to a singular subject in intransitive *mur popękał*[p] 'the wall cracked in many places', and action distributed to a singular object in transitive *Janek podziurawił*[p] *piłkę* 'Janek punctured the ball (all over/repeatedly).' Also, Piernikarski (1975: 75–76) suggests that action may be distributed to a single subject in *popękane*[p] *drzewo* 'split tree'; the distribution of splitting is localized to a single tree, but distributed over its surface. Similarly for Russian, Stawnicka (2005: 215) suggests that a subject may occur in the singular with an intransitive

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[76] Renee Perelmutter (p.c.) points out that the use of such Russian distributives in *po-* derived from a prefixed perfective stem as *povyskočit´* and *pootkryt´* is quite marginal.

distributive verb, e.g., *Derevo potreskalos'[p] v raznyx mestax* 'The tree split in many places'; in this case, the distribution of the action of splitting is also limited to a single tree.

These last two examples for 'split trees' in Polish and Russian express the distribution of the action of splitting along a surface. However, the meaning of surface contact seems to be much more prominent with Polish distributives than with Russian distributives, due to the fact that the cognitive domain of Polish *po-* is space, and Polish *po-* profiles surface contact, whereas the cognitive domain of Russian *po-* is time. The Russian example given above for the split tree does not represent a currently productive phenomenon as far as I am aware. Tabakowska (1999: 276), in her network model for Polish *po-*, categorizes the distributives *powariować* 'go mad, one after another' and *pogubić* 'lose, one after another' under the prototype node "a collection of points", suggesting also that Polish *po-* distributives express action conceptualized as occurring along a surface. Dickey (2003: 112) notes that surface contact is a major meaning of the prefix *po-*/preposition *po* across Slavic. He argues that in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian the distributive meaning of *po-* is a metaphorical extension of its surface-contact meaning. For example, in *pootvarati[p] sve prozore* 'open all the windows', the windows are construed as points on an abstract surface, which are encompassed by the distributed action. 4.2 further discusses the meaning of surface contact with Polish distributives in the context of an analysis of the lexical categories and hit counts from the internet. Later, Chapter 5 discusses the spread of the surface-contact meaning through the Polish *po-* network.

4.2. Productivity and Level of Use of Polish and Russian Distributives in *PO-*

The productivity for distributives in *po-* is much higher in Polish than in Russian. My dictionary searches show that there are approximately 1,323 Polish *po-* distributives and only 247 Russian distributives (see the dictionary lists in the appendix). The greater proportion of Polish

distributives to Russian distributives is reflected in counts for each lexical category, as featured in the list of 14 lexical categories found below.[77] The lexical categories, along with the number of distributives assigned to each category, are listed below:

1. Verbs of destruction—e.g., Polish *poburzyć*[p] 'demolish some things one after another', Russian *pokrošit*[p] 'ruin or destroy all or many'; destroy'; Polish: 181, Russian: 43

2. Action directed toward the relocation of a subject or object—e.g., Polish *poprzenosić*[p] 'carry from place to place a large number of something', Russian *povyletet*[p] 'fly out, about all or many'; Polish: 235, Russian: 85

3. Verbs meaning 'take' or 'receive'—e.g., Polish *pochwytać*[p] 'about many people: take something in hand, one after another', Russian *pokrast*[p] 'steal one after another'; Polish: 48, Russian: 17

4. Separation or isolation of an object from something—e.g., Polish *poodciągać*[p] 'separate from the whole certain components one after another or in large quantity, or separate the components of many different things', Russian *pootorvat*[p] 'break off one after another'; Polish: 140, Russian: 38

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[77] The list is based mostly (1-13) on Šeljakin's (1980: 46–47; 49–50) list of lexical categories for Russian. The list is intended for Russian distributives, but they have been used for Polish distributives as well. The phrase 'or isolation' has been added to category 4 in order to include verbs describing various types of enclosures. Category 5, surface contact, is a modification of Šeljakin's category mark or cover an object with something; the broadening to surface contact, though it does not dramatically increase the number of Russian distributive verbs here, is necessary, as the number of Polish *po-* distributives with basic surface-contact meaning is high. Šeljakin's category of violent physical coercion has been omitted from this study, due to its extremely low occurrence in Russian and Polish *po-* distributives. Šeljakin's category of verbs of spoken influence has been combined with verbs of communication, since the two are so closely related. The lexical categories of verbs of giving and verbs of non-directed shaping without breaking have been added to the list. All Russian *po-* distributives given in 1–13 are replacements of the distributives listed in Šeljakin's study, as the examples he gives are mainly verbs prefixed with *pere-*. The replacements are suitable, since Šeljakin (1980: 49) explains that the lexical categories are about same for Russian *pere-* and *po-* distributives. Due to multiple distributive meanings, any given distributive verb may fall into several lexical categories.

5. Verbs meaning surface contact—e.g, Polish *pozamazywać*ᵖ 'paint over, smear over many of something or in many places', Russian *povycarapat*ᵖ 'scratch out all or many'; Polish: 416, Russian: 26

6. Verbs of attachment (fastening, binding, etc.)—e.g., Polish *popiętrzyć*ᵖ 'fasten one after another', Russian *popristat*ᵖ 'stick, adhere to, about all or many'; Polish: 85, Russian: 7

7. Verbs of measure, counting, appraising an object, estimation—e.g., Polish *porachować*ᵖ *się* 'about many people: count each other'; Polish: 24, Russian: 0[78]

8. Establishing relations between people—e.g., Polish *ponawiązywać*ᵖ 'strike up many acquaintances, friendships', Russian *ponazyvat*ᵖ 'call, invite many or all, one after another'; Polish: 21, Russian: 2

9. Use of a material object—e.g., Polish *popleść*ᵖ 'weave many of something', Russian *pokovat*ᵖ 'forge all or many, shoe all or many'; Polish: 24, Russian: 2

10. Verbs of giving, providing, etc.—e.g., Polish *podawać*ᵖ 'give a number of things to one or many people', Russian *povydat*ᵖ 'give out, issue all or many'; Polish: 23, Russian: 6

11. Verbs of communication—e.g., Polish *pozmawiać*ᵖ 'say one after another', Russian *porasskazat*ᵖ 'tell a lot or to many'; Polish: 10, Russian: 4

12. Verbs of perception and psychological activity—e.g., Polish *poprzeglądać*ᵖ 'see through many of something', Russian *porazinut*ᵖ 'gape, about all or many'; Polish: 4, Russian: 1

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[78] There are no examples of Russian distributives in *po-* that belong to this category; the category was kept from Šeljakin's list of distributives in *pere-* in order to counterbalance this lexical category for Polish distributives in *po-*, where it is somewhat productive.

13. Verbs of non-directed shaping without breaking—e.g., Polish *pogiąć*[p] 'bend many things or something in many places', Russian *porazmotat*[p] 'unwind, uncoil all or many'; Polish: 45, Russian: 1

14. Other—e.g., Polish *pobudzić*[p] *się* 'in relation to many people, animals: be awakened one after another', Russian *pobudit*[p] 'awaken all or many'; Polish: 339, Russian: 27

The number of Polish distributives is higher than the number of Russian distributives in all of the lexical categories. According to the breakdown of lexical categories in this study, the top three most productive distributives in Polish in descending order are verbs of surface contact, verbs of action directed toward the relocation of a subject or object, and verbs of destruction. Dmitrieva (1988: 101) suggests that the most sizable group of Russian distributive verbs is the group for verbs of destruction, e.g., *podrat*[p] 'tear many or all, one after another'. Stawnicka (2009:211) similarly reports that verbs of destruction are one of the most common types of Russian distributives, e.g. *porazbivat*[p] *čaški*, "break [all] the cups." According to the results of this study, the three most productive types of Russian distributives in *po-* in descending order are verbs of action directed toward the relocation of a subject or object, verbs of destruction, and verbs of the separation or isolation of an object from something.

The meaning surface contact is a major meaning of the Polish prefix *po-* (cf. 2.2), extending beyond category 5 above, and I would suggest that surface contact is expressed in various lexical categories with varying degrees of specificity. For example, category 5 expresses the lowest specificity of surface contact, while other categories express a greater degree of specificity for surface contact, such as the category 'separation of an object from something'; the verb *poodchodzić*[p] in the meaning 'tear away from something one after another or break away in many places, on the entire surface' expresses surface-contact saliently. Other Polish distributives

with surface-contact meaning are those that have to do with fastening, e.g., *popiętrzyć^p* 'fasten one after another', and bending, e.g., *pogiąć^p* 'bend many things or something in many places'.

My dictionary searches for Polish distributives in *po-* provide further support for the salience of the meaning of surface contact for this prefix: for many Polish distributives, the definitions include the descriptor 'in many places', e.g., *porozjaśniać^p* 'light up many of something, one after another, something *in many places'* (my emphasis—JHC). The descriptor 'in many places' occurs 347 times for the definitions of Polish distributives on the dictionary lists, while it only occurs 3 times in the definitions for Russian distributives, further suggesting that the distributive meaning of Polish *po-* overlaps to a considerable extent with its surface-contact meaning, whereas no such overlap exists in Russian. The existence of this overlap comports with the view presented in 2.2 that space is the major cognitive domain for Polish *po-*; in contrast, the fact that Russian distributives in *po-* only rarely express surface contact comports with the hypothesis that Russian *po-* does not currently have a spatial meaning. Rather, time is the dominant cognitive domain for Russian *po-*. These issues are discussed further in chapter 5.

The results for searches of a sample set of Polish and Russian distributives in the Russian National Corpus, National Corpus of Polish and Parasol suggest that the level of use of Polish distributives is higher than the level of use of Russian distributives. The following are the results for the number of hits for the sample sets of Polish and Russian distributives in the Russian National Corpus and National Corpus of Polish. The search was made for all persons, tenses and numbers for the verbs. The search was conducted on October 17, 2011.[79]

1. 'Distribute all or many'—Polish *porozdawać* : 32; Russian *porazdavat´* : 6

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[79] Again, as noted in the introduction and 3.1, the censuses for the corpora for October 2011 were 250 million words for the NCP (Polish), and 194 million words for the RNC (Russian).

2. 'Kill all or many'—Polish *pozabijać* : 454; Russian *poubivat´*: 143

3. 'All or many, leave'—Polish *powychodzić* : 66; Russian *povyxodit´*: 53

4. 'Close, all or many'—Polish *pozamykać* : 602; Russian *pozakryvat´*: 31

5. 'Open, all or many'—Polish *pootwierać* : 263; Russian *pootkryvat´*: 25

6. 'Break, all or many'—Polish *porozbijać* : 199; Russian *porazbivat´*: 5

7. 'Wash off, all or many'—Polish *pozmywać*: 169; Russian *posmyvat´*: 4

8. 'Crack, chip, all or many'—Polish *poobijać* : 432; Russian *poobbivat´*: 0

9. 'Scatter, all or many'—Polish : *porozrzucać* : 631; Russian *porazbrasyvat´*: 257

10. 'Unfold many of something'—Polish: *porozkładać* : 120; Russian *poraskladyvat´*: 1

In all cases, the level of use for the Polish distributive is higher than the level of use for the Russian equivalent. For the first verb, 'distribute', the numbers are not statistically significant, but for the remaining verbs they are.

The results of a search for the same sample set of verbs in parallel texts of Polish and Russian in Parasol (http://parasol.unibe.ch/) also suggest that the level of use of Polish distributives is higher than the level of use of Russian distributives. The number following each Polish distributive represents the total number of hits produced when a search was conducted for that distributive, and the number following the Russian distributive represents the number of times the equivalent Russian distributive in *po-* is used in the same source text—in other cases, Russian uses some other non-distributive verb instead, as shown in the examples following the hit results:

1. Polish *pozabijać* : 17; Russian *poubivat´*: 2

2. Polish *powychodzić* : 2; Russian *povyxodit´*: 1

3. Polish *pozamykać* : 9; Russian *pozakryvat´*: 0

4. Polish *pootwierać* : 9; Russian *pootkryvat´*: 0

5. Polish *porozbijać* : 5; Russian *porazbivat´*: 0

6. Polish *poobijać* : 4; Russian *poobbivat´*: 0

7. Polish *porozrzucać* : 11; Russian *porazbrasyvat´*: 0

8. Polish *porozkładać* : 3; Russian *poraskladyvat´*: 0

The results from the Parasol search for these sample distributives suggest that the level of use of distributives is higher for Polish than for Russian. There are cases when the equivalent Russian distributive occurs in the parallel text, as in examples (3) and (4):

(3)   a. A dla jakich motywów ten Japończyk **pozabijał**^{p} w Rzymie Serbów, Holendrów i

Szwabów?   (Pol)

b. A s kakoj cel′ju etot japonec **poubival**^{p} v Rime serbov, gollandcev, i nemcev?(Ru)

'And for what motive did that Japanese man <u>kill</u> Serbs, Dutch and Germans in Rome?'

(4)   a. Córki, wszystkie urodziwe i cieszące się dobrą reputacją, nieźle **powychodziły**^{p} za mąż.

                                                        (Pol)

b. Dočeri ego, odna drugoj krasivej i na samom xorošem sčetu, blagopolučno **povyxodili**^{p}

zamuž.   (Ru)

'His daughters, all good-looking and enjoying good reputations, <u>married</u> pretty well.'

In most other cases however, Russian makes use of verbs other than distributives in *po-* in the parallel texts (i.e., either ordinary perfective verbs, or distributives in *pere-*), as shown in (5) through (7):

(5) a. Kobiety jęknęły i **pootwierały**^{p} usta.   (Pol)

   b. Ženščiny oxnuli i **otkryli**^{p} rty.   (Ru)

   'The women groaned and <u>opened</u> their mouths.'

(6) a. Wszyscy w milczeniu odnieśli filiżanki , pozbierali książki i **pozamykali**^{p} torby. (Pol)

   b. Vse molča sdali učitel′nice čaški, sobrali knižki i **zastegnuli**^{p} rjukzaki. [80]   (Ru)

   'Everyone silently returned their cups, gathered their books and <u>fastened up</u> their bags.'

(7) a. Tutaj wszystko było zawalone **porozbijanymi**^{p} rzeczami i stało w pełnym świetle dnia.

                                     (Pol)

   b. V nej vse bylo raskoloto i **perebito**^{p} i zalito jarkim svetom[81].   (Ru)

      'Here everything was encumbered by <u>broken</u> things and it stood in the full light of day.'

4.3. Pairedness and Polish Distributives in *PO-*

It is suggested in the literature that in some cases a Polish distributive in *po-* may function as a

perfective partner verb of its imperfective source verb. For example, Piernikarski (1975: 86–87)

suggests that an aspectual pair may occur between certain quantity verbs in *na-* and *roz-* and

distributives in *po-*, e.g., *narzucać/ponarzucać*^{p} *drzewa* 'throw (all of) a lot of wood' and

rozrzucać/porozrzucać^p 'scatter, (all or many)', where the underlying expressions of quantity of

the quantity verbs in *na-* and *roz-* that enter into the derived distributive in *po-* are so pronounced

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[80] Marek Łaziński (p.c.) notes that *odnieśli* suggests a common goal of bringing the cups back to one place, likely on the desk of the professor, whereas the action expressed by the distributives *pozbierali* and *pozamykali* is individual for each student, as no common goal is shared, as the students just did this on their own.
[81] Russian uses the distributive in *pere- perebit′* 'break (all of)' instead of the distributive in *po-* in this example.

that the addition of the distributive *po-* prefix arguably only performs a perfectivizing role. Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 110) explains that the expression of "plurality of an action" is shared by a derived imperfective source verb and a derived perfective distributive, so that the distributive prefix *po-* only adds the perfective meaning "the full achievement of a result", as in example (8):

(8)   a. **Powyprzęgano**[p] i zaprowadzono konie do małej stajenki.

(Pol; Nowakowska-Kempna 1976: 110)

b. **Wyprzęgano**[i] i prowadzono konie do małej stajenki.

(Pol; Nowakowska-Kempna 1976: 110)

'The horses <u>were unharnessed</u> and led to the little stable.'

The prefix *po-* in (8a) then performs a grammatical role in making the verb perfective.

Similarly, Piernikarski (1975: 82-83) suggests that the secondary imperfective in (9a) and the distributive in (9b) form an aspectual pair:

(9)   a. **odpisuje**[i] na listy   (Pol; Piernikarski 1975: 82-83)

'he is responding to the letters'

b. **poodpisywał**[p] na (wszystkie) listy   (Pol; Piernikarski 1975: 82-83)

'he <u>responded</u> to all the letters.'

Piernikarski suggests however that certain uses of secondary imperfectives such as the habitual in *często odpisuje*[i] *na listy* 'he frequently responds to letters' do not form aspectual pairs with distributives in *po-*. In (9a) then, *odpisuje*[i] expresses a present tense one-time action, an

action that may be totalized by the distributive *poodpisywał* in (9b), whereas the expression of habituality in *często odpisuje[i] na listy* precludes an aspectual expression of totality by a distributive in *po-*. Rudnik-Karwatowa (1991: 199) similarly suggests that in cases where no adverbial modifier accompanies the distributive, the distributive expresses totality, as in example (10):

(10) **Pozamykano[p]** sklepy.   (Pol; Rudnik-Karwatowa 1991: 199)

    'All the stores <u>were closed</u>.'

Since totality is assumed to be a prototypical meaning of the Polish perfective, the grammatical role of the Polish distributive *po-* in the expression of totality is apparent.

The pairedness of Polish distributives in *po-* can be viewed in terms of other meanings of the Polish perfective as well. For example, Osipova (1983: 247, 251–253) suggests that a Polish distributive can change the meaning of the source verb from non-boundedness to boundedness, so that a type of aspectual pair in formed. Osipova suggests that in *kuleć[i]/pokuleć[p]* 'be lame on one leg'/'about many people, animals: begin to be lame', *kuleć[i]* expresses non-boundedness, as it indicates the perpetual state of a subject of the event, while the Polish distributive in *po-* adds the bounded meaning 'beginning of an event' in *pokuleć[p]* 'about many people, animals: begin to be lame'. Recall from 2.2 that Wierzbicka (1966: 2245) suggests that the Polish perfective expresses the semantic invariant 'beginning' as expressed in *On usnął[p]* 'He fell asleep', which she claims is equivalent to *On zaczął[p] spać* 'He began to sleep'; 'beginning' then is one subcategory of the Polish perfective category of totality, and the distributive prefix *po-* expresses this perfective sub-meaning by converting a non-bounded verb that normally would not enter

into an aspectual pair into a bounded, paired verb by the addition of the meaning 'beginning' to the deriving verb.

Polish distributives in *po-* that are derived from simple, unprefixed imperfectives, on the other hand, tend to change the lexical meaning and thereby form unpaired distributives. For example, Osipova (1983: 244) suggests that the distributive prefix *po-* in *pognić*[p] 'rot (about many)' (derived from *gnić*[i] 'rot'), in addition to perfectivizing the verb, adds the lexical meaning of distributivity. Other examples where pairhood does not occur between the deriving unprefixed imperfective and the derived distributive are in the derivational chains *rzucić*[p] 'throw' *rzucać*[i] 'throw' and *porzucać*[p] 'throw all or many' or *zrobić*[p] 'do' *robić*[i] 'do' and *porobić*[p] 'do many or all of something',[82] since in *porzucać*[p] and *porobić*[p], the distributive prefix *po-* also adds the procedural meaning of distributivity.

No substantial argument is made in the literature for the pairedness of Russian distributives in *po-*. Piernikarski (1975: 83) briefly mentions that the same type of "semantic oppositions" between a perfective distributive and an imperfective multiplicative distributive (discussed above) that exist for Polish also exist for Russian, though he does not indicate whether this semantic opposition amounts to an aspectual opposition for Russian also. Šeljakin (1980: 51) suggests that Russian distributives in *po-* and *pere-* may serve as aspectual parallels to bounded imperfective verbs only when the deriving imperfective verbs are combined with the adverbial modifiers *vse* 'all', *vsex* 'all', *mnogo* 'many', or *odin za drugim* 'one after another', as in examples (11a) and (11b):

(11) a. **lomat´**[i] vse stul´ja odin za drugim   (Ru; Šeljakin 1980: 51)

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[82] The examples verbs are taken from Stawnicka (2005: 217-218); see pp. 2-3 for information on the derivational morphology of these verb types.

b. **perelomit***ᵖ* (vse) stul´ja   (Ru; Šeljakin 1980: 51)

'<u>break</u> all the chairs one after another'

In general though, Šeljakin (1983: 50) considers Russian *po-* distributives to be unpaired (i.e., *perfectiva tantum*). These two brief suggestions by Šeljakin (1983: 51) and Piernikarski (1975: 83) that Russian distributives in *po-* in certain contexts may enter into some sort of opposition with a deriving imperfective are the only such suggestions encountered in all the literature I have encountered. The basic assumption is that Russian distributives in *po-* do not form aspectual pairs. Based on the above, I would suggest that there is a correlation between the higher productivity/level of use and pairedness of Polish distributives in *po-* on the one hand and the lower productivity/level of use and non-pairedness of Russian distributives in *po-* on the other hand, but this discussion runs beyond the scope of this dissertation.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter compared the meaning, use and productivity of Polish and Russian distributives in *po-*. As in chapter 3, dictionary counts and hit counts and relative frequencies drawn from online corpora were presented as quantitative data in support of the identification of the Polish distributive as the prototype verb in *po-* as discussed in chapter 2. This chapter also patterns after chapter 3 in showing how the prototypical perfective and prototypical distributive *po-* meanings overlap saliently in the expression of aspectual pairedness. Unlike other studies, this chapter has applied an innovative research method to substantiate the claim that Polish distributives in *po-* function as quasi-perfective partners. These statistics from dictionary counts and the internet were also used to support the view that Polish distributive in *po-* are more productive and have a higher level of use than Russian distributives in *po-*. 4.1 defined the distributives and described

their function and derivation. 4.2 presented a statistical breakdown for the productivity of distributives by lexical category. 4.2 also presented statistics from the RNC and NCP and examples of sample sets of Polish and Russian distributives in parallel texts from Parasol in support of the view that the level of use is higher for Polish distributives than for Russian distributives. 4.3 offered arguments for the pairedness of Polish distributives in *po-*, while it was maintained that no such pairedness occurs for Russian distributives.

Chapter 5

5.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the difference between the Russian and Polish networks in *po-* in light of the material presented in chapters 3 and 4, focusing on the role of the prototypical *po-* verb in each *po-* network. This chapter offers a more specific analysis of the overlap in meaning between the prototype in *po-* and the perfective as discussed initially in 3 and 4. The chapter serves as the final installment in an innovative analytical approach that considers the meaning of *po-* and the meaning of the perfective in relation to one another, unlike other studies, which tend to deal with either one or the other in isolation. 5.1 discusses the prototype node for productivity and the semantic prototype of the entire *po-* network. 5.2 discusses the role of the Russian delimitative in a system in which temporal definiteness is the overwhelmingly dominant meaning of the perfective and the role of the Polish distributive in a system in which simple totality is a salient meaning of the perfective in addition to temporal definiteness. 5.3 provides a chapter summary.

5.1. Prototypes, Productivity and the Networks for Russian and Polish *PO-*

As pointed out in 2.1, Dmitrieva (1991: 71) suggests that delimitatives are the most productive type of *po-* verb in Russian, representing 31.8% of all of the *po-* verbs included in the Academy Dictionary; on the basis of its extremely high productivity, delimitativity was hypothesized to be the prototypical meaning in the network of Russian *po-*. Recall from 3.1 and 4.2 that in Russian, there are 763 delimitatives compared to 247 distributives, which gives a ratio of 3.07 delimitatives to 1 distributive. Śmiech (1986: 19) suggests that distributives are the most numerous group of verb in *po-* in Polish. Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 110) suggests that about 39% of *po-* verbs in Polish are distributives. Though no study gives a comprehensive statistical breakdown of Polish *po-* verbs, further support for the conclusion that distributives are the most

productive type of Polish *po-* verb may be gathered based on the following: Nowakowska-Kempna (1976: 13) suggests that 12% of Polish *po-* verbs are delimitatives, and Piwowar (8) suggests that just under 10% of Polish *po-* verbs are natural perfectives; including the aforementioned 39% accounted for by *po-* distributives, this amounts to 61% of all Polish *po-* verbs, which leaves the remaining 39% to be divided among attenuatives, surface-contact verbs, ingressives from verbs of motion, inchoatives, ablatives and stylistic (i.e., redundant) variants, e.g., *powrócić* 'return'. Thus, no other *po-* type exceeds the distributives in productivity. As pointed out in 4.2 and 3.1, the dictionary counts reveal that in Polish there are 1,371 distributives and 396 delimitatives, giving a ratio of 3.46 distributives to 1 delimitative.[83]

Taking into account its extremely high productivity in Polish, we can likewise conclude that distributivity is the prototypical meaning in the Polish *po-* network. Polish distributives profile surface contact both as instantiations of abstract and physical space. Though distributivity is hypothesized to be the prototype in the network for Polish *po-* on the basis of the statistical preponderance of *po-* distributives, it must be kept in mind that, as suggested in 2.2, distributivity is an extension of the meaning of surface contact. In the case of ordinary distributives such as *powydawać* 'give out [all]', surface contact is profiled relative to an abstract base, i.e., the abstract space occupied by the contextually relevant set of objects. In 4.2, it was observed that some distributives simultaneously profile surface contact relative to a concrete space, e.g., *pozamazywać^p* 'paint over, smear over many of something or in many places'. Piernikarski (1975: 55, 57–59) considers Polish surface-contact verbs to be a distinct verb type in *po-*, and he

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[83] Marek Łaziński suggests that there may be more Polish delimitatives in common use than are listed in the dictionaries, so that this ratio between Polish distributives and delimitatives may be overestimated. Łaziński also maintains that a verb in *po-* may express either a delimitative or distributive meaning in one specific predicate; for example, he explains that *połowić* in *połowić ryby* 'catch fish' may be assigned to the distributives because of the construal of fish as single objects, but a delimitative meaning is also expressed, as 'spend some time angling' is also construed. Again, I must rely on the dictionary counts (which are supported by Nowakowska-Kempna's 1976 percentages).

subdivides these verbs into several lexical types, including verbs of pollution, e.g. *pobrudzić* 'besoil'; action on the surface, e.g. *pomalować* 'paint'; and covering a surface with metal, e.g. *pochromować* 'cover a surface with chrome'; these verbs are assumed to represent natural perfectives in this study, under the assumption that the semantic overlap between the prefix *po-* and the base verb results in subsumption so that the prefixed verb is felt to be the perfective partner of the source verb. Thus, similarly to the case of distributives (cf. 4.3), surface-contact *po-* sometimes simultaneously performs the function of perfectivization.

Polish delimitatives in *po-* are also arguably extensions of the spatial meaning of surface contact. Tabakowska (1999: 276) categorizes Polish delimitatives (e.g., *pospać* 'sleep a while') under the prototype node "contoured area," which instantiates a two-dimensional schema of abstract/physical space, so that the construal of the delimitative is of a temporal span extending in an abstract space of conceived time. Following Tabakowska's overall line of thinking, I assume that Polish *po-* delimitatives are metaphorical extensions of the spatial node of surface contact. Support for this assumption lies in the fact they can refer to an action taking up a whole specified interval, as the delimitative action in example (1) covers the abstract surface of an entire night:

(1) Oj **posiedziałem**[p] [sobie] całą noc.   (Pol; Dickey and Hutcheson 2003: 31)

 'Oh, I <u>sat up</u> the whole night.'

Given that distributive *po-* and delimitative *po-* both in fact appear to be extensions of surface-contact (cf. 2.2), one can consider surface contact to be a relatively schematic prototype of Polish *po-*.

In Russian, temporal delimitativity is the semantic prototype in the *po-* network. Since surface contact is not a semantic prototype in the Russian *po-* network, the Russian delimitative does not profile the spread of action over an entire surface (i.e., it cannot be used to stress that a situation continued for an entire, relatively long period of time); instead, Russian employs a perdurative, as in (2), in the equivalent to Polish example (1):

(2)　Neskol´ko nedel´ on uže v bol´nice **proležal**[p] i ešče den´-drugoj poležit.

<div align="right">(Rus; Dickey and Hutcheson 2003: 31)</div>

'He's already <u>spent</u> several weeks <u>lying</u> in the hospital, he'll [be able to] lie there another day or two.'

As discussed in 2.1, the ingressives, attenuatives and intermittent-attenuatives can be seen as extensions from the delimitative node in the network, so that these extended nodes also express a kind of delimitativity, whether with respect to time or degree of result. The ingressive *pobežat´* 'start to run' signals an initial phase of running in one direction plus an indeterminate amount of running (cf. Shull 2003); the attenuative *poostyt´* 'cool off a bit' expresses some relatively small amount of activity resulting in increased coolness; and the intermittent-attenuative *pokuryvat´* 'smoke from time to time' expresses sporadic episodes of short duration. For the remaining Russian network nodes—the inchoatives, natural perfectives and distributives—the temporal limit is coterminous with the onset of the result.[84]

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[84] Inchoatives such as *pozelenet'* 'turn green' are basically natural perfectives of their imperfective source verbs, but also resemble delimitatives in that the process can arbitrarily continue for a shorter or longer period of time (with corresponding degrees of the result). The similarities between such degree achievements and delimitatives cannot be discussed in detail here.

A major difference between the Russian and Polish networks for *po-* is that in Russian, *po-* profiles temporal delimitativity as a direct instantiation of the typical course of action schema and lacks a profile base of space (cf. Shull 2003), whereas Polish *po-* lacks an overarching schema, and surface contact is one of two local spatial schemas, the second being ablativity. There are more metaphorical extensions in the Polish network than there are in Russian, where all the particular meanings can be derived as instantiations from the schema typical course of action.

5.2. Russian and Polish Prototypical *PO-* Verbs and the Meaning of the Perfective in Each Language

The prototypical *po-* verbs of Russian and Polish have differing roles in the respective aspectual systems. This section discusses the place of Russian delimitatives in a system where temporal definiteness is the schema/prototype for the perfective,[85] and the place of Polish distributives in a system in which totality is an independent local prototype (the other local prototype being temporal definiteness; for discussion, see Dickey 2000).

Recall from 1.3 that temporal definiteness—the unique location of an event relative to other contiguous situations (cf., Leinonen 1982: 174; Dickey: 2000)—has been accepted as the prototypical perfective meaning for Russian. Narrative sequences such as that in (3) are paradigm cases of temporal definiteness:

(3)   On **vošel**[p] v komnatu, **otkryl**[p] okno i snova **vyšel**[p].   (Rus; Maslov 2004: 99)

       'He <u>entered</u> the room, <u>opened</u> the window and <u>went out</u> again.'

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[85] It is immaterial to this discussion whether temporal definiteness can be considered to be the schema of the Russian perfective, as opposed only to its semantic prototype. I will refer to it as the prototype of the Russian perfective.

The three events profiled in (3) occur in sequence with one another, and each is uniquely located relative to the other events, so that each is temporally definite in the fact structure of the narrative.

The expression of temporal definiteness by the Polish perfective (cf. 1.4) is shown in (4):

(4) Jan **wszedł**^{p} do pokoju, **zdjął**^{p} kapelusz i **powiesił**^{p} go na gwóździu, **usiadł**^{p} w fotelu i

zapalił^p papierosa.   (Pol; Wierzbicka 1966: 2246)

'John <u>entered</u> the room, <u>took off</u> his hat, <u>hung</u> it on a nail, <u>sat down</u> in an armchair and <u>lit</u> a cigarette.'

Dickey (2000) argues that in many cases the Polish perfective is restricted to and required in contexts involving an explicit or implicit sequence of events, which results in Polish aspectual usage resembling Russian to a significant extent.

However, recall from 1.4 that Polish may also express simple totality as opposed to temporal definiteness. This is evident in the fact that in Polish perfective verbs can occur in contexts in which the situation is not temporally definite, much more frequently than they do in Russian. A case in point is that of repeated events; as is well known, the perfective aspect is very restricted in this context in Russian, but it occurs more freely in Polish. An example is (5):

(5) Czasem do nich **zajdę**^{p}/**zachodzę**^{i}.

                                           (Pol; Dickey 2000: 68, citing Brajerski 1967: 24)

'I sometimes <u>stop by</u> at their place.'

In (5), the perfective *zajdę* expresses the totality of a situation construed as a representative-instant event of a habitual situation (Dickey 2000: 54). The imperfective *zachodzę* can occur in (5) as it expresses temporal indefiniteness, a semantic component of habitual repetition. The perfective meaning of temporal definiteness is not activated in (5) due to the lack of unique, contiguous events in the predicate; again, the perfective *zajdę* occurs only inasmuch as the activation of the meaning of simple totality is sufficient for the predicate to be coded perfective.

We may first focus on the overlap between perfectivity and the prototypical *po-* verbs in each language with regard to transitivity as a cross-linguistically prototypical feature of perfectivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980). There are many semantic elements that correlate with perfectivity; transitivity is one of them and provides an interesting basis for a contrast of Polish *po-* distributives and Russian *po-* delimitatives. Hopper and Thompson (1980: 251–252; 285) explain that there is a correlation between transitivity and telicity (and perfectivity, inasmuch as the perfective viewpoint typically signals the attainment of the internal endpoint of an action). Recall from 1.2 Vendler's (1957: 144–148) example of a telic accomplishment verb expressing the endpoint imposed by the object *mile* in *run a mile*; this expression is transitive, as it takes a direct object, and telic, as the object represents the end goal of the action. The telicizing effect of direct objects is very important: without an object, *run* is an atelic activity. Polish distributives are telic accomplishments and are typically transitive, as in *ponarzucać drzewa* 'throw all of a lot of wood' (Piernikarski 1985: 86–87); the endpoint is that all of the wood has been thrown, so the distributive verb profiles a telic, transitive situation.

Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252, 261) suggest that the expression of an object that is totally affected by the completed action (i.e., that action has been done to all of the objects, as in *ponarzucać drzewa*) is a mark of high transitivity. The semantic descriptions of distributive verbs given in chapter 4 match this configuration exactly. Recall Rudnik-Karwatowa's (1991: 198)

suggestion that every member of a set is encompassed by the action expressed by a distributive; the object (consisting of a plurality of objects) of a distributive verb then is totally affected, so that in this respect also the Polish distributive rates high for transitivity. Thus, Polish distributives in *po-* are highly transitive, and as there is a correlation between transitivity and perfectivity, these distributives reflect and preserve that correlation inasmuch as they profile the affectedness of all members of a contextually given set of objects (or subjects) by the process expressed by the source verb.

Polish distributives are in fact so transitive that they can involve the reconstrual of a homogeneous predicate into a heterogeneous one. Mehlig (1995: 587) suggests that heterogeneous situations indicate a change of state, while homogeneous situations do not indicate a change of state; heterogeneous *pryžok* 'leap' indicates a change of state between before leaping and after leaping, and this action has achieved an internal border of 'having leapt', while homogeneous *vnimanie* 'attention' indicates no change of state, as the state after 'attention' returns to the state before attention, so that in the latter case no internal border has been achieved. Polish *wydać*[p] 'give out, issue' is heterogeneous, as a change of state occurs from non-issuing of something to the end point of its complete issuance (and the predicate is not arbitrarily divisible), whereas *wydawać*[i] is homogeneous when it occurs with a plural object as in *wydawać*[i] *rozkazy* 'issue orders', as no unique change of state occurs, because the predicate consists of an unbounded set of identical events of issuing. The distributive *powydawać*[p] 'issue [all of something]' is again heterogeneous, as the action of issuing exhausts the full, contextually determined set of objects. The distributive *powydawać* represents a heterogeneous reconstrual of the homogeneous source verb *wydawać* with a plural object, and as the former expresses the total affectation of objects while the latter does not, this reconstrual involves a switch from lower to higher transitivity by the Polish distributive as a lexical type of perfective verb.

In contrast, Russian *po-* delimitatives are atelic (cf. Dickey 2006: 2 and the references cited there). The atelicity of Russian delimitatives means that they rate low for transitivity in Hopper and Thompson's (1980) scale. The component of atelicity is so pronounced with Russian delimitatives that, as discussed in chapter 3, they necessarily involve the reconstrual of a hetereogeneous situation as homogeneous, as in (6):

(6)   My **pokrasili**[p] zabor časa dva i stali zavtrakat´.   (Rus; Mehlig 1985: 597)

      'We <u>painted</u> the fence for about two hours then started having breakfast.'

In (6), the ordinarily telic, hetereogeneous predicate 'paint', expressing or presupposing the change of state involving in a surface going from non-painted to painted, is reconstrued as an atelic, homogeneous activity painted on the fence for two hours; in terms of transitivity, this reconstrual amounts to a shift from high transitivity to low or no transitivity. Whereas Polish distributives reconstrue a homogeneous situation as heterogeneous, thus reconstruing a situation lacking an endpoint into a telic situation (i.e., with an endpoint), Russian delimitatives often reconstrue a hetereogeneous situation as homogeneous, and in so doing, reconstrue an originally telic situation (i.e., a situation that is telic by default) as atelic. These different types of reconstrual effected by the prototypical *po-* verb in each language reflect differing levels of relevance of Vendler's situation types for aspectual coding in the two languages. The prototypical *po-* verb in Polish maintains the correlation between the perfective and transitivity and in turn with telic predicates. In contrast, the prototypical *po-* verb in Russian, the delimitative, extends perfectivity to the class of atelic activities in a major way. High transitivity is characteristic of the perfective aspect cross-linguistically, so Polish distributives are not

typologically unusual, whereas Russian delimitatives, which rate low for transitivity, are typologically very unusual.

Although Russian and Polish both have delimitatives in *po-*, there are certain differences in their usage that indicate that they play different roles in their respective aspectual systems. Petruxina (2000) has discussed one such interesting difference, which reflects the different roles they play in the aspectual systems of Polish and Russian, and which can be explained by the overall theory advocated here. Polish delimitatives can be used in contexts where the situation in question continued for longer than the duration expressed by the delimitative predicate, as shown in example (28) from chapter 3, repeated here as (7):

(7)   **Posiedzieliśmy**[p] dwie godziny, i o piątej jeszcze tutaj siedzieliśmy.

(Pol; Petruxina 2000: 186)

‘We <u>sat</u> for two hours, and at five we were still sitting here.’

In (7), the predicate *posiedzieliśmy*[p] *dwie godziny* ‘we sat for two hours’ can only be considered to express the totality of the situation, sitting; as the sitting continued beyond the event profiled by *posiedzieliśmy* ‘we sat’, that predicate cannot be argued to express temporal definiteness. Here again we see that the Polish perfective can variously express either simple totality or temporal definiteness.

The situation regarding Russian delimitatives is different. Petruxina (2000: 186) points out that the Russian equivalent to (7) may not be expressed with a delimitative verb, as shown in (8):

(8)   *My **posideli**[p] v priemnoj čas i v pjat′ časov ešče prodolžali zdes′ sidet′.

(Rus; Petruxina 2000: 186)

As argued by Dickey and Hutcheson (2003: 31), the reason that the perfective delimitative is impossible in (8) is because, as pointed out above, the situation expressed by *my posideli čas* 'we sat for an hour' is not unique in the context: it continues beyond the interval expressed by the delimitative. Thus, it is not temporally definite, and in turn the Russian perfective is inappropriate in the context.

In a system in which temporal definiteness is the meaning of the perfective aspect, if an atelic activity is expressed as occurring in a sequence of events, it must be coded perfective, in which case the delimitative serves as the quasi-perfective partner, as an atelic activity lacks a natural perfective correlate, as in example (30) from chapter 3, repeated here as (9):

(9)   **Posidel**^{P}, otxlebnul piva, zatjanulsja.   (Rus; Dickey 2006: 27)

'He <u>sat for a bit [doing nothing]</u>, took a swig of beer, and took a drag.'

The atelic activity sitting profiled in (9) must be coded perfective in this sequence of events as the situation is temporally definite. The requirement of Russian grammar that sequences of events must be coded perfective may explain why there is such a high number of *po-*delimitatives in Russian: atelic activities very frequently occur in sequences in discourse, a temporal definiteness system must have a way of perfectivizing them. In contrast, according to the hypothesis advocated here, that temporal definiteness is not completely dominant in the network of the Polish perfective, we should expect that in Polish there is less of a requirement for activities in sequence to be coded perfective. In turn, if Polish is not as concerned with coding activities in sequence as perfective, then one might expect for the number of delimitatives in Polish to be lower.

In cases where activity predicates do occur in sequences in Polish, they may be coded imperfective, as shown in examples (11) through (14).

(11) Dlatego objął mamę, a ona przytuliła go mocno i **szlochała***i*.   (Pol; NCP)

   'Therefore he embraced his mother, and she hugged him tightly and <u>sobbed</u>.'

(12) Zwiesił głowę i **siedział***i* przez chwilę w milczeniu.   (Pol; NCP)

   'He lowered his head and <u>sat</u> for a while in silence.'

(13) Po wyjściu wyjechał z kraju i **pracował***i* w sekcji polskiej Radia Wolna Europa.

   'After being released (from prison) he left the country and <u>worked</u> for the Polish division of

   Radio Free Europe.'   (Pol; NCP)

(14) W 1927 r. opuścił Warszawę i **grał***i* na scenach Lwowa, Poznania i Łodzi. Po powrocie,

   jeszcze w tym samym roku, zaczął występować w "Morskim Oku" i aż do wybuchu wojny

   występował w rewii, operetce, dorywczo w teatrach dramatycznych oraz w filmie.(Pol;

   NCP)

   'In 1927 he left Warsaw and <u>played/performed</u> on the stages of Lwów, Poznań and Łódź.

   After returning, still in that same year, he began to appear in "The Sea Eye" and right up

   until the outbreak of war he appeared in a revue, an operetta, and occasionally in drama

   theatres as well as film.'

In those cases where Polish does put activity predicates in sequence then, the activity verbs may occur in the imperfective. The fact that the Polish activity predicates in (11) through (14) are not

expressed with *po-* delimitatives means that the perfective meaning temporal definiteness is not activated in these contexts, since again events in sequence must take the perfective in a temporal definiteness system. The use of imperfective activity verbs in sequences of events is very marginal in Russian, which is a predictable pattern if one assumes that temporal definiteness is the prototypical meaning of the perfective in Russian. Thus, the usage patterns of *po-* delimitatives (and conversely of imperfective verbs) arguably support the idea that, although both Russian and Polish have *po-* delimitatives in their inventories of procedural verbs, they interact with their respective systems of aspect in slightly different ways, and are more closely associated with the category of temporal definiteness in Russian. To conclude, this section has provided evidence for the idea that *po-* verbs in Polish and Russian, while seemingly identical if one takes only their form and overall meanings into account, are in fact different and contribute to the overall semantic nature of the perfective aspect in each language (a prototype of totality in addition to temporal definiteness in Polish, as opposed to temporal definiteness alone in Russian).

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter has shown a correlation between the prototype node (established as the prototype on the basis of dictionary counts from chapters 3 and 4) and the prototypical meaning profiled in each *po-* network (surface contact for Polish *po-*, delimitativity for Russian *po-*). The discussion of the overlap in meaning between the prototype in *po-* and the prototypical perfective for Russian and Polish discussed in chapters 3 and 4 was expanded in chapter 5 in relation to the semantic component transitivity as relevant to the function in the grammar of the prototype *po-* verb as a perfective partner. This chapter is innovative in underscoring a strong correlation between the meaning and function of the prototype verb in *po-* and the perfective aspect. It has

also discussed the differences between the Russian and Polish networks in *po-* in specific relation to the meaning of the prototype *po-* verbs in each language. 5.1 discussed the Russian delimitative and Polish distributive as *po-* prototypical po- verbs with reference to the statistics and discussion presented in chapters 3 and 4. The semantic prototype of each *po-* network was also discussed in 5.1. Section 5.2 compared the function of the delimitatives and distributives as prototypes in their networks in terms of the semantic components of transitivity, telicity and perfectivity. 5.2 also considered the different uses of delimitatives in Russian and Polish as a function of different prototypical perfective meanings in each language. As this final chapter has painted a portrait of the dynamic interrelationship between the function of aspect and the prototype verb in *po-* with the broadest strokes of this study, it has shown what a CG approach to the comparison of grammatical markers in other related languages can look like.

Chapter 6

6.0. Conclusion

The study has presented a comparative analysis of the meanings of the prefix *po-* and verbal aspect in Russian and Polish, based on Langacker's (1991) Cognitive Grammar and Dickey's (2000) East-West division of Slavic aspect. Dictionary counts were presented in support of the categorization of the Russian delimitative and the Polish distributive as the prototype *po-* verbs in their respective *po-* networks. Quantitative data based on dictionary counts, hit counts and relative frequencies (the latter two gathered from online corpora) were presented to show that on the one hand the productivity and level of usage are higher for Russian delimitatives in *po-*, which are the argued to be the prototypical *po-* verb in Russian, in comparison to Polish delimitatives in *po-* (ch. 3), whereas the productivity and level of usage are higher for Polish distributives in *po-*, which are argued to be the prototypical po- verb in Polish, in comparison to Russian distributives in *po-* (ch. 4). The main conclusion arrived upon in this study is that the meanings of the prototype verb in *po-* and the prototypical perfective meaning in each language overlap, the result of which is that the prototypical verb in *po-* is able to function as a perfective partner in the grammar.

This study is innovative not only in its presentation of quantitative data from online corpora for the discussion of the Russian and Polish delimitatives and distributives, but also in its approaching the aspect categories of Russian and Polish through the prism of the productive prefix *po-*. Such an approach is important, because *po-* has been considered to be a major perfectivizing prefix in each language. Following Dickey's (2000) view that the meaning of the perfective in each of these languages is different, the combined aspectual/procedural meaning of *po-* is also different for each language. The meanings of *po-* and aspect were treated separately, but also in relation to one another—this has not been attempted in the literature as far as I am

aware. For example, in Tabakowska's (1999) analysis of the semantic network of Polish *po*(-), the discussion of the meaning of the *po-* verbs is not tied in with a discussion of the meaning of the perfective. Petruxina (2000: 148-149, 180, 186-190) discusses the link in meaning between the delimitative in *po-* and the perfective in Russian and Polish, but her analysis does not consider the entire network of *po-* verbs in each language.

Chapters 2 and 5 analyzed the differences in meanings profiled by Russian and Polish *po-* verbs, namely that the Polish network profiles surface contact primarily and ablativity to a minor extent, elaborating the cognitive domain of space, while Russian *po-* verbs elaborate the cognitive domain of time and the schema of the typical course of action (cf. Shull: 2003). In chapters 3 and 4 of this study, it was argued that the meaning of the prototypical *po-* verb (i.e., the delimitative in Russian and the distributive in Polish) and the prototypical perfective meaning (i.e., temporal definiteness for Russian and totality in addition to temporal definiteness for Polish) overlap, so that the prototypical *po-* verb in each language performs a grammatical role. For example, it was shown that the Russian delimitative is used to code an activity as perfective in a sequence of events, and for the Polish distributive as the default specification of 'all' (i.e., a totality) for the subject(s) or object(s) over which the action is distributed.

In Slavic languages, prefixes change the semantic profile of the verb; even in the case of a strictly perfectivizing role of the prefix, the meaning of the verb is changed, since the perfective aspect itself has meaning. Nevertheless, the actual interrelationship between prefixal and perfective function and meaning in each Slavic language is unique. Russian and Polish have basically the same inventory of aspectual morphemes with basically the same set of particular meanings, and this study has shown this in regard to the prefix *po-*, though this study has gone further to show that there are both similarities and differences in the function and usage of the prefix *po-* in these two closely related languages. This study may be helpful in understanding

differences and similarities between other closely related languages in other language families of

the world (e.g., Romance or Germanic languages).

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7.0. Appendices: Dictionary Lists

7.1. Russian delimitatives

Lexical categories (1-5 from Stawnicka, 102):

1. Sounds and verbal activity
2. Multi-directional voms
3. Professional and non-professional occupations
4. Position in space
5. Emotional state
6. Non-agentive/inactive subject verbs (cf. Petruxina 180)
7. Denominal verbs
8. Verbs of behavior
9. Other
10. Verbs of destruction

1st #: lexical category; 2nd #: hits on RNC.

poagitirovat´ – agitate for a while: 8; 3

poartačit´sja – jib, balk for a while: 1, 8; 3

poaxat´ – sigh, exclaim for a while, several times: 1; 26

pobalagurit´ – jest, joke a while: 1, 8; 21

pobalakat´—chatter, natter a while: 1; 40

pobalovat´ – spoil, pamper a while: 9; 140

pobarabanit´—drum a while: 7; 81

pobaraxtat´sja—flounder, wallow a while: 9; 33

pobegat´—run a while: 2; 325

pobedstvovat´ – live in poverty a while: 9; 0

pobezobrazničat´ – behave disgracefully a while: 8; 3

pobesedovat´—converse a while: 1; 1,072

pobesit´ – infuriate a while: 8; 3

pobesit´sja – go mad, be furious a while: 5; 15

pobesnovat´sja– rage, rave a while: 8; 1

pobit´sja—rush about a while: 8; 127

poblagodušestvovat´— take life easily for a while: 9; 3

poblaženstvovat´—be in a state of bliss for a while: 5; 7

poblestet´–shine a while: 6; 7

poblistat´– shine a while: 6; 6

pobludit´– wander, roam a while: 9; 5

pobluždat´—roam a while: 9; 14

pobolet´– be sick a while: 9; 84

poboltat´– chatter, jabber a while: 1; 693

poboltat´sja – dangle, swing from side to side a while: 9; 34

pobormotat´– mutter a while: 1; 12

poborozdit´– furrow a while: 9; 0

poborot´sja– wrestle a while: 9; 255

pobražničat´– revel, carouse a while: 8; 6

pobranit´– scold, curse a while: 1; 26

pobranit´sja – scold, curse one another a while: 1; 15

pobredit´—be delirious for a while: 5; 2

pobrenčat´– jingle a while: 6; 28

pobrexat´– yelp, bark, tell lies a while: 1;11

pobrodit´– wander, roam a while: 2; 487

pobrodjažničat´– be a tramp, be on the road a while: 9; 2

pobrosat´ – throw for a while: 9; 553

pobrosat´sja – throw at one another a while: 9; 5

pobryzgat´ --splash a while: 9; 77

pobryzgat´sja– splash one another a while: 9; 12

pobrykat´– kick a while: 9; 0

pobrykat´sja– kick, buck a while: 9; 2

pobrjuzžat´—grumble a while: 1; 5

pobrjakat´– clatter a while: 6; 7

pobrjacat´— rattle, clang a while: 6; 7

pobudit´– rouse for a while: 9; 942

pobujstvovat´– create an uproar for a while: 8; 3

pobultyxat´– chat a while: 1; 2

pobul´kat´– gurgle a while: 6; 5

pobuntovat´– rebel a while: 7; 5

poburlit´– seethe, boil up a while: 6; 5

poburčat´– mutter, grumble a while: 1; 11

pobuševat´– rage, storm a while: 8; 12

pobujanit´– make a row, brawl a while: 8; 8

pobyvat´– spend a while somewhere: 9; 6045

pobyt´– be present somewhere for a while: 9; 1,390

povabit´– yell for a while, imitating with one's voice the cry of a bird or beast with the goal of enticement (in hunters' speech): 1; 0

považničat´– give oneself airs for a while: 8; 2

povaksit´– blacken, polish for a while: 7; 0

povalandat´sja– loiter, dawdle a while: 9; 7

povaljat´ – drag a while: 9; 19

povaljat´sja – roll, lie about for a while: 9; 161

povarit´ – boil, cook a while: 9; 344

povarit´sja – boil, cook (intrans.) for a while: 6; 20

povertet´ – turn, twirl a while: 9; 654

povertet´sja – rotate, revolve a while: 6; 108

poveselit´sja – enjoy oneself for a while: 8; 284

povzdorit´ – squabble a while: 1; 130

povzdyxat´ – breathe, sigh a while: 9; 158

povizžat´ – squeal, yelp a while: 1; 10

poviljat´ – wag for a while: 9; 30

poviset´ – hang for a while: 6; 75

povit´sja – wind, twine a while: 9; 4

povlastvovat´ – rule, hold sway a while: 7, 3; 3

povodit´ – lead, drive a while: 2; 646

povodit´sja – associate with someone for a while: 9; 5

povoevat´ – wage war for a while: 9; 220

povozit´ – convey for a while: 2; 55

povozit´sja – play noisily for a while: 8; 307

povolnovat´ – excite, worry for a while: 9; 2

povolnovat´sja – worry, be nervous for a while: 5; 68

povoločit´ – drag for a while: 2; 3

povoločit´sja – be dragged along the ground for a while: 2; 10

povol´ničat´ – take ones liberties for a while: 8; 2

povolʹnodumničatʹ – think freely for a while: 9; 0

povopitʹ – howl, wail for a while: 1; 6

povorkovatʹ – coo for a while: 1; 7

povorovatʹ – steal for a while: 7; 8

povoročatʹ – turn, move for a while: 9; 21

povoročatʹsja – turn, move (intrans.) a while: 6; 53

povorošitʹ – turn for a while: 9; 51

povorošitʹsja – turn a while: 6; 1

povorčatʹ – grumble a while: 1; 121

povraždovatʹ – be at odds with for a while: 7; 1

povratʹ – lie a while: 4; 4

povspominatʹ – recollect for a while: 9; 66

povyždatʹ – bide one's time a while: 9; 0

povyrezatʹ – cut out for a while: 9; 7

povytʹ – howl a while: 1; 46

povjazyvatʹ – bind a while: 9; 123

pogaldetʹ – make a racket a while: 1; 11

pogarcevatʹ – prance a while: 9; 9

poglazetʹ – stare a while: 9; 190

poglodatʹ – gnaw for a while: 9; 9

poglotatʹ – swallow a while: 9; 23

poglupitʹ – make a fool of someone for a while: 8; 0

poglušitʹ – stupefy a while: 9; 0

pognevatʹsja – be angry with a while: 5; 11

pognevit´ – anger, enrage a while: 9; 1

pognevit´sja – be angered, enraged a while: 5; 0

pognit´ – rot a while: 6; 29

pognoit´ – let rot a while: 6; 0

pognoit´sja – fester a while: 6; 0

pognut´ – bend, cringe a while: 9; 138

pogovet´ – fast (without food) for a while: 9; 28

pogovorit´ – talk a while: 1; 10,819

pogogotat´ – cackle a while: 1; 5

pogolodat´ – starve, fast a while: 9; 31

pogolosit´ – sing loudly, wail a while: 1; 7

pogonjat´ – chase (indet.) a while: 2; 373

pogonjat´sja – chase (indet.) a while: 2; 23

pogorat´ – burn a while: 6; 3

pogordit´sja – be proud a while: 8; 25

pogorevat´ – grieve a while: 5; 97

pogorjačit´sja – get excited for a while: 5; 202

pogostit´ – stay (with) for a while: 9; 344

pograbit´ – rob a while: 3; 79

pogrezit´ – daydream a while: 5; 1

pogrezit´sja – dream a while: 5; 3

pogremet´ – thunder, clatter a while: 6; 34

pogresti – work for a while with a rake or shovel: 9; 1,203

pogret´ – heat up a while: 6; 114

pogret′sja– warm oneself for a while: 6; 408

pogrešat′– commit sins a while: 8; 15

pogrimasničat′– grimace a while: 9; 5

pogrozit′ – threaten a while: 8; 869

pogromit′ – destroy, criticize a while: 8; 9

pogromyxat′– rumble a while: 1, 6; 3

pogroxotat′ – crash, roll, rumble a while: 1, 6; 6

pogrubit′ – be rude a while: 8; 0

pogrustit′ – grieve, mourn a while: 5; 52

pogryzt′– gnaw a while: 9; 89

pogryzt′sja –fight a while: 9; 10

pogudet′ – drone a while: 1; 42

poguljat′– stroll a while: 9; 2,651

pogutorit′– natter, converse in a friendly manner for a while: 1; 4

podvigat′–move for a while: 2; 283

podvigat′sja– move (intrans.) for a while: 2; 1,325

podeboširit′– kick up a row for a while: 9; 1

podežurit′ – be on duty for a while: 3,7; 54

podejstvovat′ – act, operate for a while: 9; 1,260

podelat' – be occupied with some matter for a while: 3; 3,303

podelikatničat' – display excessive delicacy or courtesy in address for a while: 8; 2

podergat' – tug for a while: 9; 280

podergat'sja – twitch for a while: 9; 38

poderžat' – hold for a while: 9; 1,328

poderžat'sja – hold (on to) for a while: 9; 116

podivit'sja – be surprised for a while: 5; 495

podivovat'sja – marvel for a while: 9; 3

podiktovat' – dictate for a while: 1; 9

podirižirovat' – conduct (music) for a while: 3; 4

podiskutirovat' – discuss for a while: 1; 14

podičit'sja – be shy (of) for a while: 8; 1

podomovničat' – spend some time in someone's home, standing in for the owners: 9; 5

podraznit' –tease for a while: 8; 117

podrat' – tear for a while: 10; 202

podrebezžat' – jingle, tinkle for a while: 6; 1

podrejfovat' – drift for a while: 8; 2

podremat' – slumber for a while: 9; 161

podrobit' – crush, smash for a while: 10; 1

podrognut' – shake, move, quaver for a while: 9; 0

podrožat' – shiver, shake for a while: 9; 32

podružit' – be friends with for a while; 7, 24

podrygat' – jerk, twitch for a while; 6, 18

podubasit' – cudgel for a while: 9; 0

podubit' – tan for a while; 9; 1

podudet' – play the fife for a while; 9; 14

podumat'--'think a while': 9; 58,864

poduračit' – fool, dupe a little, for a while; 8; 9

poduračit'sja – play the fool a little, for a while; 8; 21

podurit' – play tricks a little, for a while; 8; 10

podut' – blow a while; 9; 652

podut'sja – grumble, pout a while; 8; 6

podušit' – strangle, smother a while; 9; 16

podymit' – emit smoke a while; 6; 102

podymit'sja –billow a while; 6; 31

podyšat' – breathe a while; 9; 614

poegozit' – fidget a while; 9; 0

poežit' – shiver a while: 9;

poežit'sja – shiver a while; 9; 430

poezdit' – go (indet.) for a while; 2; 256

poelozit' – crawl for a while; 9; 13

poerzat' – fidget a while; 9; 113

poerošit' – rumple a while; 9; 7

poeršit'sja – stick up (of hair) for a while, wait a while; 9; 1

poževat' – chew a while; 9; 567

požemanit'sja – put on airs for a while; 8; 2

požimat'sja – huddle up (or vacillate) a while; 9; 28

požinat' – mow a while; 9; 181

požirovat' – fatten for a while; 9; 3

požit' – live a while; 9; 2,448

požužžat' – drone, buzz a while; 1; 9

požuiorovat' – be a playboy for a while; 8; 0

požurit' – reprove, take to task a while; 8; 179

požučit'— scold a while; 8; 3

pozanimat' – occupy somebody with something for a while; 9; 11

pozanimat'sja – be occupied with something for a while; 3; 170

pozanjatsja – spend some time in some sort of activity; 3; 7

pozvenet' – ring for a while; 1; 42

pozvučat' – be heard, sound for a while; 1; 0

pozevat' – yawn for a while; 9; 17

pozlit' – anger, vex, irritate for a while; 8; 36

pozlit'sja –be in a bad temper for a while; 5; 17

pozlobstvovat' – bear malice for a while; 5; 1

pozloradstvovat' – gloat for a while; 8; 25

pozloslovit' – say spiteful things for a while; 8, 1; 15

poznovit' – be in a fever for a while; 9; 0

pozuboskalit' pozuboskal'ničat' – scoff, mock for a while; 8; 22

pozubrit' – cram for a while; 9; 3

pozjabnut' – suffer from cold for a while; 9 ;3

poigrat' – play for a while; 9; 1,781

poizdevat'sja – mock, scoff at for a while; 8; 125

poizmyvat'sja – mock, scoff at for a while; 8; 18

poikat' – hiccup for a while; 9; 7

poimet'– have for a while; 9; 211

pointrigovat'– intrigue for a while; 9; 6

poironizirovat' – speak ironically (about) for a while; 1; 23

poiskat' – search for a while; 9; 1,829

poistjazat' – torture for a while; 9; 0

pokadit' – burn incense for a while; 9; 8

pokaznit' – subjecting to moral sufferings, make suffer for a while; 8; 2

pokalit' – heat, roast a while; 6; 1

pokaljakat' – chat for a while; 1; 58

pokanitelit'sja – waste some time; 9; 0

pokanjučit' – moan, whinge for a while; 6; 4

pokapat' – fall as drops for a while; 9; 16

pokaprizničat' – behave capriciously for a while; 8; 17

pokaraulit' – guard, lie in wait for a while; 3; 47

pokarkat' – caw, croak for a while; 1; 2

pokatat' – roll, drive for a while; 2; 134

pokatat'sja – spend some time riding on something; 2; 918

pokatyvat' – spend some time riding; 2; 6

pokačat' – rock, shake a while; 6; 4,333

pokačat'sja – rock, swing (intrans) a while; 6; 116

pokašljat' – cough a while; 9; 149

pokejfovat' – be high a while; 9; 2

pokidat' – throw for a while; 9; 3,974

pokidat'sja – throw oneself for a while; 9; 13

pokipet' – boil, seethe for a while; 6; 13

pokipjatit' – boil for a while; 6; 1

pokipjatit'sja – boil (intrans), get excited for a while; 6; 2

poklanjat'sja – humiliate oneself (before) for a while; 8; 23

poklevat' – peck, bite for a while; 9; 65

poklevat'sja – peck at one another for some time; 9; 0

poklevetat' – slander for a while; 8; 5

pokleit' – paste for a while; 9; 18

poklepat' – slander, cast aspersions on something for a while; 8; 4

poklubit'sja – swirl, curl, wreathe for a while; 6; 1

pokljančit' – pester, nag for a while; 8; 10

pokljauzničat' – spread slander for a while; 8; 1

poknjažit' – reign for a while; 7, 3; 1

pokobenit'sja– be capricious, make faces for a while; 8; 6

pokovat' – forge for a while; 9; 3

pokovyrjat' – dig into for a while; 9; 126

pokovyrjat'sja –poke about for a while; 9; 68

pokoketničat' – flirt with for a while; 7; 34

pokoldovat' – practice witchcraft for a while; 3, 27

pokolebat' – shake for a while; 6; 492

pokolebat'sja – shake to and fro for a while; 6; 459

pokolesit' – go all over, travel about for a while; 9; 25

pokolobrodit'– wander, roam for a while; 9; 0

pokolotit'sja – live for a while in poverty; 9; 9

pokolot' – spend some time breaking something hard into pieces; 10; 63

pokolyxat' – sway, rock for a while; 6; 3

pokolyxat'sja – sway, heave for a while; 6; 3

pokomandovat' – command a while; 3; 46

pokomkat' – crumple for a while; 9; 1

pokonopatit' – caulk, stop up for a while; 9; 1

pokonopatit'sja – be caulked for a while; 9; 0

pokonfuzit' – embarrass for a while; 8; 0

pokonfuzit'sja – feel embarrassed for a while; 5; 0

pokopat' – dig for a while; 9; 46

pokopat'sja – rummage for a while; 9; 323

pokopit' – accumulate for a while; 9; 1

pokopišit'sja – swarm for a while; 6; 0

pokoptet' – give off smoke, soot for a while; 6; 2

pokoptit' – cure in smoke for a while; 9; 4

pokorit' – upbraid, reproach for a while; 8; 1,324

pokormit' – feed for a while; 9; 637

pokormit'sja – eat (intrans) for a while; 8; 32

pokorpet' – sweat over, drudge at for a while; 9; 10

pokosit' – mow for a while; 9; 60

pokosit'sja – cast a sidelong look for a while; 9; 2,026

pokočevat' – be a nomad for a while; 3; 5

pokočevrjažit'sja – be stubborn or refuse from something for a while; 8; 13

pokošunstvovat' – blaspheme for a while; 9; 2

pokrapat' – spatter, fall in soft drops for a while; 9; 8

pokrasovat'sja – stand out (vividly) for a while; 9; 104

pokrepit'sja – hold out for a while; 9; 2

pokrestit' – cross oneself, christen for a while; 9; 24

pokrestit'sja – cross oneself for a while; 9; 55

pokrivljat'sja – show off for a while; 8; 10

pokričat' –yell for a while; 1; 234

pokroit' – cut (out) for a while; 9; 334

pokropit' – trickle for a while; 9; 22

pokružit' – spin round for a while; 6; 94

pokružit'sja – spin around for a while; 6; 77

pokrutit' – twist, twirl for a while; 6; 725

pokrutit'sja —turn, spin, revolve for a while; 6; 167

pokručinit'sja – feel sorrow for a while; 5; 2

pokrušit'sja – grieve, be distressed for a while; 5; 1

pokrjakat' – quack for a while; 1; 16

pokrjaxtet' – groan for a while; 1; 89

pokuvyrkat'sja – turn somersaults for a while; 6; 19

pokudaxtat' –cluck for a while; 1; 3

pokukovat' –cry cuckoo for a while; 1; 4

pokupat' – bathe for a while; 9; 8,538

pokupat'sja – swim for a while; 9; 506

pokuražit'sja – swagger, boast for a while; 8; 74

pokurit' –smoke for a while; 9; 1,243

pokurolesit' –play tricks for a while; 9; 17

pokusat' –bite for a while; 9; 213

pokutit' –carouse a while; 9; 24

polavirovat' –maneuver for a while; 9; 0

polazit' –climb for a while; 2; 47

polakat' –lap (up) for a while; 9; 10

polakomit'sja –feast (on) for a while; 9; 170

polapat' —touch for a while; 9; 8

polaskat' —caress for a while; 9; 35

polaskat'sja —show affection for a while; 8; 7

polastit'sja —show affection for a while; 8; 2

polajat' – bark for a while; 1; 25

polajat'sja —quarrel for a while; 8; 11

polgat' –tell lies for a while; 1; 2

polebezit' – fawn (on) for a while; 8; 1

poležat' –lie for a while; 9; 951

polelejat' –coddle, pamper for a while; 8; 1

polenit'sja –be lazy for a while; 8; 405

polepetat' –babble for a while; 1; 0

polepit' –model, fashion for a while; 9; 7

poletat' –fly (indet) for a while; 2; 190

polečit' —treat for a while; 9; 243

polečit'sja —undergo treatment for a while; 9; 102

poliberal'ničat' –be too easy-going with for awhile; 9; 2

polivat' –pour for a while; 9; 1,476

polizat' –lick for a while; 9; 46

polizat'sja —lick oneself for a while (dog); 9; 0

polikovat' –rejoice for a while; 9; 6

polinovat' —rule for a while; 3; 0

polistat'--leaf through a while

policemerit' –play the hypocrite for a while; 9; 1

polovit' –fish for a while; 9; 88

polodyrničat' –loaf, idle for a while; 9; 0

polomat'--break for a while; 10; 893

polomat'sja – put on airs, play the clown a while; 8; 146

polomit' —break for a while; 10; 0

polomit'sja —be crammed with for a while; 9; 0

polupit' – thrash, flog for a while; 9; 3

poluščit' –shell, crack for a while; 10; 2

poljubezničat' –pay compliments for a while; 9; 14

poljutovat' —display ferocity for a while; 5; 0

pomakat' —dip for a while; 9; 4

pomalevat' —paint for a while; 9; 3

pomanežit' – take a horse around a ring a while; 9; 3

pomanežit'sja —put on airs for a while; 8; 3

pomarširovat' —march for a while; 7; 16

pomassirovat' – give a massage for a while; 9; 47

pomaxat' —wave for a while; 9; 1,244

pomaxat'sja – fan oneself for a while; 9; 3

pomajat'sja —toil for a while; 9; 55

pomel'kat' —twinkle for a while; 6; 11

pomerekat' — think a while; 9; 0

pomerznut' —freeze for a while; 6, 9; 78

pomerit' –measure for a while; 9; 78

pomercat' –flicker, glimmer for a while; 6, 9; 10

pomesit' —knead for a while; 9; 42

pomesti —sweep for a while; 9; 109

pomečtat' —dream for a while; 9; 204

pomešat' —stir, mix for a while; 9; 4,933

pomigat' –blink for a while; 9; 54

pomozgovat' – think for a while; 9; 14

pomoknut' –soak for a while; 9; 4

pomolit'sja —pray for a while; 9; 994

pomolotit' —thresh for a while; 9; 12

pomolot' – become petty, engage in idle talk for a while; 1; 36

pomolčat' –keep silent for a while; 9; 5,284

pomorgat' —blink, wink for a while; 9; 115

pomorit' —starve, exhaust, wear out for a while; 9; 10

pomorozit' —freeze for a while; 7,9; 44

pomorosit' —drizzle for a while; 6; 1

pomotat' —shake, wind, reel for a while; 6; 472

pomotat'sja – loaf, hang about for a while; 9; 30

pomočit' —soak for a while; 9; 77

pomudrit' –complicate matters for a while; 9; 4

pomuzicirovat' —play a musical instrument for a while; 6, 7; 5

pomurlykat' —purr for a while; 1; 9

pomuslit' —moisten for a while; 9; 10

pomusolit' —moisten for a while; 9; 18

pomutit'—cloud, stir up for a while; 9, 6; 32

pomučit'—torment for a while; 8; 84

pomučit'sja —be racked with pain for a while; 5; 173

pomykat' —make wander for a while; 9; 113

pomykat'sja —wander for a while; 9; 33

pomylit' —lather for a while; 9; 4

pomylit'sja —form a lather for a while; 9; 2

pomyslit'– think for a while; 9; 284

pomytarit' —harass, torment for a while; 8; 2

pomytarit'sja —be harassed for a while: 9;

pomyčat' —moo for a while; 1; 28

ponabljudat' —observe for a while; 9; 333

ponačal'stvovat' –be in command for a while; 3; 0

ponegodovat' –be indignant for a while; 5; 2

ponežit' –pamper for a while; 8; 4

ponežit'sja —luxuriate for a while; 8; 54

ponervničat' —be nervous, fidgety for a while; 5; 51

ponesti —carry (det) for a while; 2; 4,311

ponosit' —carry (indet) for a while; 2; 1,416

ponosit'sja –be worn a while; 9; 12

ponyrjat' —dive for a while; 9; 24

ponyt' —ache for a while; 9; 45

ponjančit' —look after for a while; 7, 3; 23

ponjančit'sja —look after for a while; 7, 3;

poozorničat' – get up to mischief for a while; 8; 11

pooratorstvovat' –orate for a while; 1; 0

poorat' –bawl, yell for a while; 1; 74

pooriginal'ničat –put on an act for a while; 8; 3

pootkrovenničat' –be excessively candid for a while; 8; 33

pooxat' – moan, groan for a while; 1; 59

pooxotit'sja –hunt for a while; 9; 178

popalit' – burn for a while; do some shooting for a while; 6,9; 3,394

poparit' – soar, swoop, hover for a while; 9; 44

poparit'sja –steam, sweat for a while; 6, 9; 110

popasti – graze for a while; 9; 25

popastis' –graze, browse for a while; 9; 19

popaxat' —plough for a while; 9; 14

popetljat' –dodge for a while; 9; 26

popetušit'sja —get on one's high horse for a while; 9; 1

popet' –sing for a while; 1; 236

popečalit'sja —grieve, be sad for a while; 5; 10

popečalovat'sja -- grieve about for a while; 5; 2

popečatat' –print, type for a while; 9; 4

popečatat'sja—have published for a while, be at the printer's for a while; 9; 0

popeč' —bake for a while; 9, 6; 7

popeč'sja —bake for a while; 9, 6; 1

popilikat' —scrape (on a fiddle) for a while; 9; 2

popilit' —saw for a while; 9; 215

popirovat' —feast for a while; 9; 41

popisat' —write for a while; 9; 319

popitat'sja —feed (on) for a while; 9; 8

popit' —drink for a while; 9; 1,527

popixat' —push, shove, jostle for a while; 9, 6; 3

popixat'sja —push and shove for a while; 9, 6; 4

poplavat' —swim for a while; 9; 174

poplakat' —cry for a while; 5; 577

poplakat'sja —complain for a while; 1; 69

poplevat' —spit for a while; 9; 161

popleskat' —splash, lap for a while; 9; 12

popleskat'sja —splash for a while; 9; 26

poplesti —braid for a while; 9; 2

poplutat' —stray for a while; 9; 36

popljasat' —dance for a while; 9; 195

popodličat' —act meanly for a while; 8; 0

popozirovat' —pose for a while; 9; 36

popolzat' –crawl (indet) for a while; 2; 24

popoloskat' –rinse for a while; 9; 27

popolot' —weed for a while; 9; 1

popol'zovat'sja – use for a while for one's own need; 9; 175

poporot' —unstitch, unpick for a while; 9; 8

poporxat′ —flutter, fly about for a while; 9; 9

popostit'sja —fast for a while; 9; 15

popotet′ —perspire for a while; 9; 90

popravit′ —correct for a while; 9; 3,726

poprazdnovat′ —celebrate for a while; 8; 22

popraktikovat'sja —practice for a while; 3; 39

poprisutstvovat′ – be present for a while; 9; 49

poprokazit′ –play pranks for a while; 8; 2

poprokazničat′ –play pranks for a while; 8; 2

popromyšlat′ —earn one's living (by…) for a while; 9; 0

poprygat′ —jump for a while; 9; 260

popuskat′ –allow, permit for a while; 9; 43

poputat′ —tangle, confuse for a while; 9; 139

poputat'sja —get tangled for a while; 9; 8

poputešestvovat′ —travel for a while; 9; 48

popyžit'sja —be all puffed up for a while; 9; 1

popytat′ –be subjected to torture for a while; 9; 272

popyxat′ – blaze with anger for a while; 5; 1

popyxtet′ —puff, pant, swear for a while; 9; 33

pop'janstvovat′ —drink heavily for a while; 9; 15

porabotat′ —work a while; 3; 2,451

porazgovarivat′ –converse for a while; 1; 21

porazmyšljat′ —ponder over for a while; 9; 160

porassuždat′ –reason for a while; 9; 142

porastat′ – grow for a while; 9; 8

porevet′ – roar for a while; 1; 24

porevnovat′ – experience jealousy for a while; 5; 10

porezvit′sja –gambol, romp for a while; 9; 92

poržat′– laugh loudly for a while; 1; 30

porisovat′ —draw for a while; 9; 34

porisovat′sja —be silhouetted for a while; 9; 23

poroptat′ —murmur for a while; 1; 7

porubat′ – mine, extract for a while; 9; 63

porubit′ –chop for a while; 10; 262

porubit′sja —fight (with cold steel) for a while; 8; 2

porugat′ —curse, abuse for a while; 8; 362

porugat′sja —swear, use bad language for a while; 8; 397

porukovodit′ —supervise for a while; 3; 23

porybačit′ – fish for a while; 9; 51

porydat′ –sob for a while; 8; 14

poryskat′ –scour, ransack for a while; 9; 29

poryt′ —dig for a while; 9; 2,662

poryt′sja —dig (in), rummage for a while; 9; 593

poryčat′ –growl, snarl for a while; 1; 11

porjabit′ –ripple, dazzle for a while; 9; 3

porjdit′sja —dress up for a while; 9; 18

porjažat′ – dress up for a while; 9; 0

posverkat′ – sparkle, gleam for a while; 6,9; 21

posvetit' —shine for a while; 6,9; 185

posvistat' –hang down for a while; 9; 46

posvistet' –whistle for a while; 1; 72

posekretničat' – be secretive for a while; 7; 13

posemenit' –mince for a while; 9; 17

poserdit' —make angry for a while; 9; 1

poserdit'sja —be angry for a while; 5; 14

poserčat' —be angry, cross for a while; 5; 0

posetovat' —complain for a while; 1; 452

posidet' —sit for a while; 4; 4,546

poskakat' —jump for a while; 9; 754

poskalit'—show one's teeth for a while; 9; 5

poskandalit' —start a row, disgrace for a while; 9; 56

poskitat'sja —wander for a while; 9; 6

poskoblit' —scrape, plane for a while; 9; 26

poskorbet' —grieve, lament for a while; 5; 12

poskrežetat' —grate, scrape for a while; 9; 4

poskrestis' —cross, clash for a while; 9; 25

poskripet' —squeak, creak for a while; 9; 41

poskulit' —whine, whimper for a while; 1; 18

poskučat' —be bored for a while; 5; 62

posledit' —mark, leave footprints for a while; 9; 133

poslonjat'sja —loiter about for a while; 9; 21

poslužit' —serve for a while; 9; 3,786

poslušat' —listen for a while; 9; 6,842

posmakovat' —savor for a while; 9; 27

posmekat' —see the point (of), grasp for a while; 9; 1

posmešit' —make somebody laugh for a while, laugh for a while; 9; 38

posmorkat'sja —blow one's nose for a while; 9; 13

posmotret' – look at for a while; 9; 41,227

posnovat' – scurry about for a while; 9; 2

posobirat' – gather for a while; 9; 29

posovat' – shove, poke, thrust for a while; 9; 9

posovat'sja –push, strain for a while; 9; 8

posoveščat'sja —deliberate on for a while; 9; 240

posomnevat'sja —doubt for a while; 9; 34

posoobražat' —consider, ponder for a while; 9; 8

posopet' —breathe heavily and noisily through the nose for a while; 9; 86

posorevnovat'sja —compete for a while; 9; 35

pososat' —suck for a while; 9; 113

posostjazatsja —compete for a while; 9; 12

pospletničat' —gossip for a while; 1; 48

posporit' —argue for a while; 1; 881

posprašivat' —ask for a while; 1; 80

posterič' – guard for a while; 3; 44

postirat' —wash, launder for a while; 9; 304

postorožit' –keep watch over for a while; 3; 52

postojat' —stand for a while; 4; 5,636

postradat' —suffer for a while; 5; 4,697

postranstvovat' —wander, travel for a while; 9; 14

postreljat' –shoot for a while; 9; 316

postrogat' —plane, shave for a while; 9; 4

postrjapat' –cook for a while; 9; 3

postukat' –knock for a while; 9, 6; 59

postukat'sja —knock for a while; 6, 9; 0

postučat' –knock, bang, rap for a while; 6, 9; 2,737

postydit' –shame, put to shame for a while; 8; 6

postyt' —cool for a while; 9; 0

posudačit' —gossip a while; 1; 56

posudit' –judge for a while; 9; 427

posudit'sja —have business with, communicate with the court for a while; 1; 6

posuetit'sja —bustle, fuss for a while; 9; 23

posumerničat' —sit in the twilight for a while; 4; 10

posučit' —twist, spin for a while; 6,9; 4

posušit' —dry out for a while; 6, 9; 22

posušit'sja —dry out for a while; 6,9; 5

posčitat' —count for a while; 9; 1,839

potait'sja – hide for a while; 9; 8

potancevat' —dance for a while; 9; 274

potaratorit' —jabber, gabble for a while; 1; 0

potaskat' —pull for a while; 9; 115

potaskat'sja —roam about for a while; 9; 10

potasovat' —shuffle for a while; 9; 4

potačat' —stitch for a while; 9; 0

poterebit' –pull(at), tug (at) for a while; 9; 60

poteret' —rub for a while; 9,6; 2,095

poteret'sja – rub oneself for a while; live, be a while somewhere, among some people, communicating with someone(s); 9; 204

poterpet' –wait a while for something; 9; 4,043

potesat' —cut, hew for a while; 9; 7

poteteškat' —be a nanny for a while; 7; 1

potiskat' —press, squeeze for a while; 9; 48

potolkat'—push, shove for a while; 9; 21

potolkat'sja —push (one another) for a while; 9; 142

potolkovat' —explain, talk, say for a while; 1; 551

potoloč' —pound, crush for a while; 10; 3,817

potoloč'sja —knock about for a while; 9; 2

potomit' —tire, torment for a while; 9; 12

potomit'sja —suffer, be tormented by for a while; 5; 9

potopat' –stamp for a while; 9; 197

potopit' –sink for a while; 9; 496

potoporščit'sja—stand on end, bristle for a while; 9; 2

potopotat'—stamp, clatter for a while; 9; 0

potoptat'—trample for a while; 9; 134

potoptat'sja—shift from one foot to the other for a while; 9; 395

potorgovat' —trade for a while; 3, 7; 35

potorgovat'sja—bargain, haggle with for a while; 3, 7; 104

potorkat' –poke, push, shove for a while; 6, 9; 2

potorkat'sja —push one another for a while; 9; 2

potormošit' —pull (at), tug (at), pester for a while; 9; 16

potorčat'—stick out, stand on end, hang about for a while; 9; 16

potoskovat'—be melancholy, depressed for a while; 5; 14

potočit'—sharpen for a while, turn for a while; 9; 31

potravit' —hunt, persecute, torment for a while (destroy?); 8; 88

potraktovat'—treat, discuss for a while; 8; 0

potrevožit'sja —be alarmed, worry for a while; 5; 0

potrenirovat'—train for a while; 9; 20

potrenirovat'sja—be in training for a while; 9; 140

potren'kat'—strum for a while; 1; 2

potrepat' – tug at, pull for a while; 9; 1,350

potrepetat'—tremble, quiver for a while; 6,9; 5

potrepetat'sja—tremble for a while; 6,9; 0

potrepyxat'sja—flutter, quiver, fuss, panic for a while; 5; 9

potreskat' —guzzle for a while; 6,9; 7

potreščat'— crack, split for a while; 6,9; 13

potrubit'—blow, blare, sound for a while; 1,6; 11

potrudit'sja —toil for a while; 3; 966

potrunit'—make fun of, mock for a while; 8; 2

potrusit'—be a coward for a while; 8; 66

potužit'—grieve (for) for a while; 5; 29

potužit'sja—make an effort for a while; 9; 6

potuševat'—shade, conceal, disguise for a while; 9; 0

potušit'—stew, braise for a while; 6, 9; 961

potušit'sja—be stewed, braised for a while; 6,9; 2

potščeslavit'sja—boast for a while; 1; 1

potykat'—stick, poke, prod for a while; 9; 114

potykat'sja—knock against for a while; 9,6; 19

potjavkat'—yap, yelp for a while; 1; 5

potjagat'sja—content, vie, compete with for a while; 9; 80

potjanut'sja—stretch out for a while; 9; 3,796

poudit'—fish, angle for a while; 9; 16

poumničat'—show off one's intelligence for a while; 8; 10

poumstvovat'—theorize for a while; 9; 0

pouporstvovat'—be stubborn, unyielding for a while; 8; 9

poupravljat'—manage, administer, run for a while; 3; 4

poupražnjat'sja—practice for a while; 9; 45

pouprjamit'sja—be obstinate for a while; 9; 11

pouserdstvovat'—be zealous for a while; 9; 20

pouxaživat'—nurse for a while; 9; 91

poučit'—teach, learn for a while; 9; 217

poučit'sja—study for a while; 3; 500

pofantazirovat'—fantasize for a while; 7; 67

pofasonit'—be taken in by style, swank for a while; 7; 2

pofilosoftstvovat'—philosophize for a while; 7; 58

poflanirovat'—wander aimlessly for a while; 9; 1

poflirtovat'—flirt for a while; 7; 21

poforsit'—show off for a while; 8; 24

pofrantit'—play the dandy for a while; 7; 1

pofyrkat'—snort, chuckle for a while; 1; 16

poxandrit'—be depressed for a while; 5; 1

poxajat'—run down, knock for a while; 9; 17

poxvatat'—seize, hold for a while; 9; 65

poxvorat'—be ill for a while; 9; 8

poxitrit'—use guile for a while; 8; 5

poxixikat'—giggle, snicker for a while; 1; 28

poxlestat'—lash, whip for a while; 9; 8

poxlestat'sja—be lashed for a while; 9, 6; 3

poxlopat'—bang, slap for a while; 6,8; 1,140

poxlopotat'—busy oneself, bustle about for a while; 9; 208

poxljupat'—squelch, snivel a while; 9; 7

poxmurit'sja—frown for a while; 9; 16

poxmykat'—"hem" (express surprise) a while; 1; 11

poxnykat'—whimper a while; 1; 13

poxodit'—walk around a while; 2; 4,302

poxozjajničat'—manage, be in charge a while; 3; 38

poxozjajstvovat' -manage for a while; 3; 3

poxolit'—tend, care for a while; 9; 1

poxoxotat'—guffaw, laugh loudly for a while; 1; 41

poxrabrit'sja—try to appear brave for a while; 8; 2

poxranit' —keep for a while; 9; 10

poxrapet'—snore a while; 1; 4

poxripet'—wheeze a while; 9; 13

poxromat'—be lame a while; 9; 18

poxrustet'—crunch a while; 9; 33

poxrjukat'—grunt a while; 1; 8

pocapat'—scratch for a while; 9; 6

pocapat'sja—scratch one another a while; 9; 29

pocarapat'—scratch a while; 9; 270

pocarapat'sja —scratch (intrans) a while; 9; 31

pocarstvovat'—reign a while; 3; 23

pocedit'—strain, filter for a while; 9; 1

poceremonit'sja—stand upon ceremony a while; 7; 2

pocokat' —clatter a little, a while; 6,1; 61

počavkat'—munch noisily a while; 1, 9; 7

počaxnut'—wither a while; 9; 1

počvanit'sja—boast a while; 1; 1

počerkat'—cross out, cross through (mark) for a while; 9; 8

počerpat'—scoop, ladle for a while; 9; 88

počerpat'sja—be scooped, ladled for a while; 9; 9

počertit'—draw, draw up a while; 9; 5

počesat'sja—scratch oneself a while; 9; 120

počirikat'—chirp, twitter a while; 1; 5

počistit'—clean a while; 9; 609

počitat'—read a while; 9; 4,037

počixat'—sneeze a while; 9; 13

počmokat'—smack one's lips a while; 9; 69

počudačit'—behave oddly for a while; 8; 0

počudit'—behave oddly for a while; 8; 20

pošagat'—walk a while; 9; 198

pošalit' – be naughty a while; 8; 63

pošamanit'—be a shaman for a while; 7; 3

pošamkat'—mumble a while; 1; 6

pošarit'—grope about, fumble a while; 9; 519

pošarkat'—shuffle a while; 9; 24

pošatat'—rock, shake a while; 6,9; 13

pošatat'sja—rock, sway, be unsteady a while; 6,9; 50

pošvyrjat'—throw, fling, chuck, hurl a while; 6,9; 24

pošvyrjat'sja—throw, fling, hurl (at one another) a while; 6,9; 2

pošelušit'—shell a while; 9; 1

pošeptat'– talk in whispers a while; 1; 83

pošipet'—hiss a while; 1,6; 9

pošit'—sew a while; 9; 185

pošlepat'—smack, spank a while; 9; 84

pošlifovat' —polish, grind a while; 9; 4

pošljat'sja—loaf about a while; 9; 18

pošmygat'—scrape, brush, rush around a while; 9; 17

pošnyrjat'—dart about a while; 9; 5

pošpionit'—spy on a while; 7; 4

pošpynjat'—needle, nag a while; 8; 0

poštudirovat'—study a while; 3; 0

pošumet'—make noise a while; 1, 6; 151

pošurovat'—stoke, poke a while; 9; 33

pošuršat'—rustle a while; 6,9; 31

pošutit'—joke a while; 1; 1,891

pošušukat'— speak in a whisper, usually secretly, for a while; 1; 1

pošušukat'sja—whisper, gossip a while; 1; 17

poščegoljat'—strut around a while; 8; 13

poščelkat'—flick a while; 9; 127

poščipat'—pinch, nip, tweak a while; 9; 91

poščipat'sja—nip, pinch (each other) a while; 9; 1

poščurit'—screw up one's eyes a while; 9; 4

poščurit'sja—screw up one's eyes a while; 9; 9

poekzamenovat'—examine a while; 3; 3

poekzamenovat'sja—be examined a while; 3; 0

poekonomit'—use sparingly a while; 7; 1

poekonomničat'—be economical a while; 7; 1

poekpluatirovat'—exploit a while; 8; 3

pojulit'—fuss, fidget a while; 8; 3

7.2. Polish delimitatives

Lexical categories for Polish delimitatives (1-5 from Stawnicka, 102):

1. Sounds and verbal behavior
2. Multi-directional voms
3. Professional and non-professional occupations
4. Position in space
5. Emotional state
6. Non-agentive/inactive subject verbs (cf. Petruxina 180)
7. Denominal verbs
8. Verbs of behavior
9. Other
10. Verbs of destruction

1st #: corpus hit; 2nd #: lexical category

poawanturować się —fight, brawl for some time; 3; 8

pobadać[86] —examine someone or something for a while; 37; 8

pobajdurzyć —drivel on for a while; 17; 1

pobałamucić —flirt with someone, turn someone's head for some time; 3; 8

pobaraszkować —romp around for a while; 48; 8

pobawić —travel somewhere, live somewhere for a while; 5,765; 9

pobawić się —spend some time in amusements, at parties, revels, etc.; 2029; 8

pobeczeć —about a sheep or a goat: bleat for some time; cry for some time; 58; 1

pobębnić – strike something with something quickly many times, causing noise; 8; 1 or 9

pobiedować —spend some time in poverty; 3; 9

pobiegać —run for some time; 1,121; 2

pobiesiadować —spend some time at a feast (feasting), at an evening gathering; 28; 9

pobić — inflict many blows, hit hard many times; 10,000+ (32,777); 9

pobijać —hit something for some time; 321; 9

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[86] Verbs in bold represent those found on both delimitative and distributive lists.

pobłądzić — spend some time out strolling; 1,178; 9

pobląkać się —wander, roam for some time; 5; 9

pobluźnić —blaspheme for some time; 12; 9

poboleć —feel a little sick for a while; worry for some time; 139; 5

poborykać się —wrestle for some time; 1; 8

pobrząkać -- rattle, jingle for some time; 2; 1, 6

pobrzękać — rattle, jingle for some time; 2; 1, 6

pobrzdąkać —strum away, jingle for some time; 14; 1,6

pobrzmiewać —sound, ring quietly or be possible to hear for some time; 1,419; 1, 6

pobujać —rock, swing someone or something for some time; 151; 8, 6

pobujać się —be in love with somebody for some time; 30; 5

pobuszować —rummage around somewhere for some time; 159; 9

pobyczyć się —lounge around for a while; 13; 8

pobyć —stay some time at some place; 5,828; 4

pobzydurzyć —talk about trivial things for some time; 0; 1

pocackać się —spend some time making a fuss; 0; 1

pochałturzyć —go where the money is, work on the side for a while; 5; 9

pochełpić się — say a little proudly, show off a little; 0; 1

pochichotać -- giggle for a while; 17; 1

pochlać —drink alcohol in large quantities for some time; 197; 9

pochlapać się —play in the water for a while; 14; 9

pochlastać -- strike with something sharp many times blindly, without thought; 481; 9

pochodzić – walk around for some time; wear shoes, clothes for a while; 10,000+ (213,230); 2

pochorować —be sick for a while; 323; 9

pochować się —disappear, hide oneself for a while; live for some time (obs.); 235; 9

pochrzęścić -- cause the rattling, jangling of something for a while; 0; 1, 6

pochwiać się --wobble for a while; 0; 8, 6

pociągać się —last, remain for a long time; 55; 9

pocierpieć —endure, suffer for some time; 320; 5

pociskać —hurl something chaotically for a while; 88; 9

poczekać —wait for something or someone for some time; withhold something until a certain moment; 10,000+ (35,528); 9

poczerpać — be occupied with scooping something for a while; 0; 9

poczesać —lightly, comb a little on top; 14; 9

poczuwać —spend some time standing guard; 2,924; 3

poczytać – read for some time; 10,000+ (32,919); 9

poćwiczyć-- training for some time with the goal of rebuilding one's physical fitness; 1,806; 9

poćwiczyć się —spend some time doing physical exercise; 4; 9

poćwierkać —about birds: chirp for a while; 9; 1

podąć się -- be a little haughty, conceited for a while; 4; 9

podąsać się —be in a bad mood for a while; 1; 5

podenerwować —irritate someone a little; irritate someone for a while; 850; 8

podenerwować się —be nervous, irritated for a while; 17; 5

podłubać —pick at something for a while; spend some time fiddling with something or on the slow, precise making or doing of something; 240; 9

podmuchać —blow for a while; 90; 6

pododawać —spend some time on addition; 258; 9

podoić —spend some time milking; 41; 9

podokuczać —tease someone for some time; tease someone a little; 52; 8

podowcipkować —make jokes for some time; 82; 8

podrażnić się —spend some time teasing; 19; 8

podreptać —toddle around for a while; 357; 8

podręczyć —torment someone for some time, teasing him; 37; 8

podręczyć się —spend some time agonizing; 1; 5

podroczyć się —bicker for a while; 27; 1

podrożyć się —be possible to ask, intercede for some time; 36; 1

podrzeć – spend some time crying, yelling loudly; 2,176; 1, 8

podrzeć się —spend some time quarreling or brawling; cry, yell loudly for some time; 50; 1, 8

podrzemać —doze for some time; 41; 9

podumać — ponder for some time; 424; 9

podusić —stew meat or vegetables for some time; 252; 6, 9

podusić się —stew for a while; 26; 9

podyskutować — spend some time discussing; 5,028; 1

podysputować —spend some time debating; 0; 1

podywagować —digress for a while; 63; 1

podziobać —peck for some time; 89; 9

podziwić się —be in astonishment for a certain time; 11; 5

podzwonić —call, ring something a little for a short while; 216; 1, 6

poekscytować —spend some time exciting; 0; 8

pofalować —cause the rippling of something for some time; 433; 9

pofantazjować —fantasize for some time; 179; 7

pofiglować —frolic for some time; 51; 8

pofikać —spend some time in play, frolicking; tumble many times; 34; 8

pofilozofować — spend some time philosophizing; 142; 1, 7

poflirtować —flirt for some time; 132; 7

pofruwać —be carried for some time in the air; spend some time travelling; 47; 9

pogadać —talk for a while; 10,000+ (20,463); 1; 1

pogapić się —spend some time watching, gaping; 125; 8

pogawędzić —spend some time speaking informally; 401; 1

pogaworzyć —about an infant: babble for some time; 56; 1

pogdakać —jabber for some time; 10; 1

pogderać —whinge, gripe for some time; 18; 1

pogłowić się —think intensively for some time, seeking out a solution to some problem; 10; 9

pogłówkować —spend some time thinking intensively about something; 250; 8

pogniewać się — be angry for some time; 297; 5

pogościć —entertain somewhere for some time; 8; 9

pograć —play (a game, musical instrument, on stage, in film) for some time; 4,999; 9

pograbić —spend some time raking; 9; 9

pogrymasić —whine for some time; 37; 1, 8

pogrzać się —spend some time warming oneself up; 22; 6, 9

pogrzebać—spend some time digging in something, searching for something;10,000+(20,097); 9

pogrzmieć—thunder for a while ; ;1, 6

pogwizdać —whistle for some time; 59; 1, 6

pohandlować —trade for some time; 161; 3, 7

pohaftować —spend some time being noisy; 0; 1

poharcować —spend some time frolicking; 18; 9

pohasać —spend some time frolicking; 227; 9

pohodować -- be occupied for some time with growing, raising (animals, crops); 0; 3

pohulać —enjoy oneself carelessly, happily for some time; 126; 8

pohuśtać —rock, swing someone for some time; 61; 6, 9

pohuśtać się —swing for some time; 22; 8, 6

poirytować —spend some time irritating someone; 1,457; 8

poirytować się — be irritated for some time; 4; 5

poiskać —pick out something for some time; 12; 9

poistnieć —live a little; 0; 9

pojątrzyć —irritate for some time; 8; 8

pojeździć —spend some time going by some means, along some terrain and tour of many places; 2,128; 2

pojęczeć —groan, complain for some time; 50; 1

pokalikować —pump the air to the organ bellows with the help of a hand or foot lever for some time; 0; 9

pokarmić —feed someone for a short time; 7,442; 9

pokąpać się —bathe for some time in a pool, lake, etc.; 5; 9

pokibicować —watch sports matches for some time, cheering those participants, whom one supports; watch for some time some events, supporting someone's activities; 133; 9

pokierować —show the paths of action, for some time administer someone, something; 4,530; 3

poklaskać —clap for some time; 33; 1, 6

poklęczeć —be in a kneeling position for some time; 18; 4

pokłusować —be occupied with poaching for some time; 40; 9

pokokietować —for some time try to arouse an interest in oneself with a person of the opposite sex; ;7

pokołatać —spend some time knocking; 7; 6, 1

pokołować —fly around for some time, circling; 8; 9

pokołysać —rock somebody or something for some time; 45; 9, 6

pokołysać się —rock for some time; 11; 6

pokonferować —talk about some matter for some time; 11; 1

pokontemplować —contemplate something for some time; watch something with concentration for some time; 50; 9

pokonwersować —converse for some time; 50; 1

pokopać —dig the earth with a shovel, spade, etc. for some time; kick something with the foot for a while, usually causing the relocation of that; kick someone or something for some time, causing pain to that person or destroying it; 568; 9

pokosić —reap, mow grass, grain, etc. for some time; 29; 9

pokosztować —eat or drink a little of something; 141; 9

pokoziołkować —falling easily, perform many turns and tumbles; 6; 9, 6

pokpić —make fun of somebody or something for some time; 822; 8

pokrążyć —spend some time circling; 22; 6, 9

pokreślić —spend some time doing drafting (drawing) work; 316; 3

pokręcić —turn many times; 6,025; 6, 9

pokręcić się —whirl, turn around in a circle for some time; 332; 6, 9

pokrzątać się —spend some time bustling around; 5; 9

pokrzyczeć —yell for some time; 585; 1

pokwaterować —live a certain time in quarters; 0; 9

pokwękać —feel unhealthy for some time; 14; 9

pokwilić —whimper for some time; 2; 1

polamentować —spending a little time lamenting; 5; 5

polampartować —spend a little time leading one's life wantonly, idly; 0; 8

polatać —fly in the air in an aircraft for some time; 562; 2

poleczyć —treat for some time; 38; 9

poleczyć się —be treated for some time; 5; 9

poleniuchować —lounge around for some time; 135; 8

polepić —make something from malleable material for some time; 84; 9

poleżeć —lie for some time; about meat, fruit, etc.: be in certain conditions for some time; 1,184; 4, 9

połazić — walk around for some time; 473; 9

połazikować —walk around in different directions without a goal for some time; 4; 9

połgać —tell a few lies; 1; 1

połkać —sob a little; 17; 5

połowić —spend some time fishing; 881; 9

połudzić -- keep someone in illusions for some time; 11; 8

połudzić się —stay a certain time in illusions; 1; 9

policzyć —spend some time counting; 10,000+ (17,036); 9

pomartwić się —spend some time worrying; 30; 5

pomarznąć —be freezing for some time; 38; 8, 6

pomarzyć —spend some time dreaming; 3,319; 5

pomedytować —ponder something for some time; 151; 9

pomęczyć się —feel psychological or physical suffering for some time; spend some time at difficult work; 163; 5

pomierzwić —spend some time ruffling; 7; 9

pomierzyć —spend some time aiming at a target; 601; 9

pomierzyć się —spend some time measuring one's height; 3; 9

pomieszać —mix, blend, stir something for some time; 9,838; 9

pomieszkać —live somewhere for some time; spend some time in a home, hardly ever going out of it; 619; 4

pomiętosić —hold something in the hand for some time mashing it; 13; 9

pomigać — spend some time on the quick movement of something; 6; 9

pomilczeć —not to speak for a while; 412; 9

pomiotać —spend some time throwing; 0; 9

pomlaskać —moving the lips or tongue smack or click several times; 6; 1

pomłócić —thresh, batter, pound for some time; 8; 9

pomocować się —spend some time wrestling; 4; 9

pomoczyć —keep something in liquid for some time; 102; 9

pomoczyć się —be in water for some time; spend some time in water, washing oneself or swimming; 4; 9

pomodlić się —pray for some time; 2,019; 9

pomotać —spend some time confusing (tangling, winding); 38; 9

pomówić —spend some time talking, say several words; 10,001 (9,353); 1

pomruczeć —usually about animals: growl, purr for some time; say something quietly, indistinctly for some time; complain about something not too loudly for some time; 72; 1

pomrugać —flicker for some time; blink a few or several times; 19; 9

pomurować —spend some time building; 5; 9

pomuzykować —make music for some time; 36; 7

pomyszkować —spend some time poking around, looking for something; about animals: look for food for some time, lie in wait for prey; 44; 9

pomyśleć —think for a while; 10,000+ (85,911); 9

ponabijać się —make fun of somebody for some time; 55; 8

ponarzekać —complain for some time; 854; 1

ponękać —harass, torment someone for some time; 7; 8

poniańczyć —wet-nurse for some time; 8; 7, 3

ponieść — carry someone, something for some time; wear some clothes for some time; 10,000+(52,622); 2

ponikać —disappear for a while; 0; 9

ponosić —spend some time carrying somebody or something; 10,000+ (39,767); 2

ponudzić —bore, nag, pester someone for some time; 92; 8

ponudzić się —be bored for some time; 16; 5

ponurkować —dive in water for some time; 33; 9

poobijać się —spend some time doing nothing; walk around for some time from place to place without a goal; 69; 9

poobracać się —be in a certain environment for some time, in a group of people standing out because of something; 4; 9

poobserwować —observe for a while; 797; 9

poobserwować się —watch each other for a while; 1; 9

poodbijać —repeatedly deflect a ball, shuttlecock, etc; 68; 9

pooddychać —inhale deeply for some time; 260; 9

poogladać —watch something for some time; 2,934; 9

poopalać się —spend some time sunbathing; 59; 9

poopierać się —oppose something for a long time; 1; 9

poorać —plough for some time; 270; 9

poostrzyć —spend some time sharpening; 18; 9

popalić —spend a moment lighting a pipe, cigarette, etc.; 1,124; 9

popaść —spend some time pasturing animals; 10,000+ (13,738); 3

popaść się —about animals: graze for some time; 17; 9

popatronować —spend some time providing patronage for someone or something; 0; 9

popatrzeć -- look at someone or something for a moment; 10,000+ (26,494); 9

popatrzyć —look at someone or something for a moment; 10,000+ (24,963); 9

popchać —push something for a while; 75; 9

popełzać —spend some time crawling; 8; 2

popić —drink a little of something; 2,013; 9

popierdzieć —pass gas for some time; 18; 9

popieścić —fondle, caress someone or something for some time; 174; 9

popieścić się —spoon-feed someone for some time; 7; 9

popilnować —guard someone or something for some time; 259; 3

popisać —write for some time; 10,000+ (17,829); 9

poplażować —spend some time sunbathing; 6; 9

poplądrować —spend some time plundering; 4; 9

popleć —spend some time weeding; 1,630; 9

popleść —spend some time weaving; 11; 9

popluć — spit repeatedly; 205; 9

popłoszyć —spend some time frightening away somebody or interrupting something; 8; 9

poplotkować —spend some time gossiping; 279; 1

popłakać —cry for some time; 2,276; 5

popływać —spend some time swimming; 912; 9

popolemizować —spend some time polemicizing; 123; 9

popolitykować —spend some time talking about politics; 15; 1

popolować —spend some time hunting, fishing; 19; 1

popracować —work for some time; 8,347; 3

poprać —spend some time washing; 169; 9

poprasować —spend some time ironing; 60; 9

poprawować —be involved for some time in a lawsuit; 0; 9

poprotegować —pull strings for some time; 0; 9

popróżnować —spend some time loafing around; 3; 9

poprzeciągać się —stretch repeatedly; 10; 9

poprzeglądać się —look at one's reflection in the mirror for some time; 3; 9

poprzeklinać —spend some time cursing; 34; 1

poprzekomarzać się —spend some time bantering; 10; 1

poprzyglądać się —spend some time watching somebody or something; spend some time on the examination, analysis of something; 94; 9

poprzypatrywać się —spend some time scrutinizing; 1; 9

popsikać —make the 'psik', 'psik' sound repeatedly; 87; 1

popsioczyć —go on about something for some time; 37; 1

popukać —tap, knock for some time; 424; 1, 6

popukać się – knock against something many times; 224;1, 6

popykać —light a pipe for some time; 29; 9

popyskować —discourse loudly for some time; 49; 1

popysznić —spend some time putting on airs; 0; 8

porajcować —spend some time gabbing, prattling; 0; 1

porąbać —spend some time chopping; 1,683; 10

porobić —work for some time; 3,898; 3

poromansować—spend some time having an affair with somebody; 10; 9

porozmawiać —spend some time having a conversation; 10,000+ (27,695); 1

porozmyślać —spend some time musing; 56; 9

porozumować —spend some time reasoning; 0; 9

poruchać —have a sexual relationship for some time; 142; 9

poruszać się —spend some time moving about; 10,000+ (30,492); 9

poryczeć —moo, roar for some time; cry loudly for some time; 274; 1

porypać —have a sexual relationship for some time; 218; 9

porysować —spend some time drawing; 1,915; 9

porządzić —rule for some time; 793; 3

porządzić się —introduce one's own order for some time; 6; 3

porzeźbić —spend some time carving, sculpting; 25; 9

porzucać —spend some time throwing something; 6,300; 9

posapać —spend some time puffing, panting; 16; 9, 6

poschnąć —be drying for some time; 19; 9, 6

posiedzieć —be in a sitting position for some time; be deprived of personal freedom for some time ; be somewhere for some time; 10,000+ (97,463); 4

posikać —spout, squirt for some time; 393; 9, 6

posiusiać —pee for some time; 72; 9

poskakać —spend some time jumping; spend some time, running, dancing; 495; 9

poskrobać —scrape, peel for some time; 160; 9

poskrzypieć —fill up with scratches for some time; creak several times; 43; 1, 9, 6

poskubać —pluck, tease something for some time; 39; 9

posłuchać —listen to somebody or something for some time; 10,000+ (22,957); 9

posmucić się —spend some time in sadness; 8; 5

pospacerować —spend some time strolling; 617; 9

pospać —spend some time sleeping; 949; 9

pospierać się —spend some time wrangling with someone; 43; 1

possać —spend some time sucking; 323; 9

postać —standing, be somewhere for some time; about buildings: hold out for some time; about plants: not to wither for some time; about objects, devices: not to be used for some time; about alcoholic beverages, food products: remain somewhere for some time, in order to reach a desired state; 10,000+ (199,436); 9

postarostować —be an official for some time; 0; 3

posterować —spend some time steering; 66; 9

postrzelać —shoot (soar) for some time; 868; 9

postrzyc —spend some time cutting hair or fur; 43; 9

postudiować —study for some time in a university or college; study something for some time in search of concrete information; 388; 9

posuszyć —dry something for some time; 59; 9, 6

poswawolić —skylark, frolic for some time; 60; 9

poszczekać —spend some time barking; bark a few or many times; 179; 1

poszczękać —spend some time clanging, rattling; 2; 1, 6

poszpanować —swank about for some time; 65; 9

poszperać —spend some time poking around, rummaging, browsing; 2,077; 9

poszukać —spend some time searching; 10,000+ (28,105); 9

poszumieć —give out a swoosh for some time; spend some time having fun; revolt for some time; 38; 1, 9

poszurać —shuffle something for some time; 14; 9

poszwargotać —say something for some time in German or in an incomprehensible language; 5; 1

poszwendać się —walk around for some time without a goal; 23; 9

poszyć —sew for some time; 1,856; 9

poszydzić —deride somebody for some time; 11; 8

poszykanować —tease, annoy somebody by picking on him for some time; 1; 8

pościskać —spend some time hugging someone; 16; 9

pośledzić —spend some time tracking, stalking someone; 46; 9

poślęczeć —pore over something for some time; 10; 9

poślizgać się —slide, glide for some time; 43; 9

pośmiać się —laugh or joke for some time; 849; 1

pośpiewać —sing for some time; 822; 1

poświdrować —drill, penetrate for some time; 2; 9

poświecić —shine, glow for some time; light something for a while; 1,493; 9,6

poświntuszyć —be obscene, talk dirty for a while; 42; 1

potańczyć —spend some time dancing; 775; 9

potaplać się —spend some time sloshing, splashing around in a puddle, mud; 15; 9

potargać —pull someone or something for some time; 835; 9

potargować —spend some time trading something; 232; 7

potargować się —spend some time haggling; 54; 7

potarzać się —roll about for some time; 7; 6, 9

poteoretyzować —theorize for some time; 74; 9

potęsknić —miss someone, something for some time; 44; 9

potkać —spend some time weaving something; 116; 9

potłumaczyć —spend some time explaining something to somebody; spend some time

translating something from one language to another; 123; 1

potoczyć —spend some time rolling; 8,160; 9, 6

potowarzyszyć —accompany somebody for some time; 62; 9

potrenować —devote some time to the exercise of some skill; devote some time to training

someone; 1,457; 9

potropić —spend some time tracking an animal, someone, try to solve something for some time;

11; 9

potroszczyć się —show concern about someone, about something, take care of someone a little,

for some time; 1; 9

potruć —say obvious, boring or untrue things for some time; 104; 1

potrudzić się —take the trouble to seek out something for some time; also: work with effort for

some time; 32; 9

potrwać —stay for some time or be some time without changes; 10,000+ (25,808); 9

potrzaskać —spend some time banging, cracking; 778; 1

potrząść —shake someone, something for some time; about means of locomotion: go for some

time irregularly, causing violent shocks; 31; 9

potrzepać —beat something for some time; say any old thing quickly for some time; 43; 9

potrzymać —hold someone or something in hand for some time; keep someone or something with oneself for some time; force someone to stay somewhere for some time; hold someone or something in some state or situation for some time; about the cold, winter: remain for some time; raise an animal for some time; 1,112; 9

potrzymać się —taking somebody or something by the hand, hold for some time; hold on to each other for some time; remain for some time without changing; 13; 9

poturlać —roll for some time; 150; 9,6

poucztować —spend some time feasting; 13; 9

pouczyć —spend some time teaching someone; 9,962; 3

pouczyć się —spend some time studying; 568; 9

poudawać —fake some state, create the appearance of something for some time; 182; 9

poumizgać się —make advances to somebody for some time; dance attendance, pay court to someone for some time; 0; 9

pourzędować —spend some time working; 4; 3

poużalać się —complain about something, someone for some time; feel sorry for somebody, something for some time; 24; 1,5

poużywać —use something for some time; take some medicine, apply some cosmetics for some time; have fun for some time; 377; 9

powachlować —fan someone for some time; 18; 9

powachlować się —fan oneself for some time; 11; 9

powalcować —dance the waltz for some time; 4; 9

powalczyć —fight in war for some time; battle, struggle, compete with oneself for some time; 9,902; 9

powałęsać się —spend some time wandering around; 25; 9

powarczeć —give out the whirring or growling noise for some time; 17; 1

powariować —play, enjoy oneself freely, noisily for some time; 515; 9

powciągać —breathe in something for some time; 23; 9

powdychać — breathe in something for some time; 30; 9

powdzić —pulling lead somebody, something for some time; 0; 9

powdzięczyć się —make eyes with someone for some time; 1; 9

powertować —leaf through books, letters, etc. for some time; 27; 9

poweselić się —spend some time happily, playing; 2; 9

powędkować —spend some time angling, fishing; 39; 9

powęszyć —spend some time tracking someone, something; 66; 9

powięzić —hold in jail for some time; 120; 9

powiosłować —row for some time; 23; 9

powklejać —paste something into something for some time; 131; 9

powłóczyć się —spend some time wandering, roaming; 79; 2

powojować —take part in armed conflicts for some time; fight for some time with some negative

forces; quarrel with somebody for some time; 56; 9

powołać —spend some time calling; 10,000+ (122,100); 1

powozić —spend some time driving somebody; 1,258; 2

powprawiać się —practice something for some time; 1; 9

powróżyć —spend some time predicting, telling fortunes; 239; 9

powrzeszczeć —scream or chasten somebody noisily for some time; 68; 1

powspominać —spend some time recollecting; 971; 9

powściekać się —be annoyed for some time; 24; 5

powybrzydzać —make a fuss about something for some time; 42; 9

powydzierać się —yell very loudly for some time; 1; 1

powydziwiać —show one's dissatisfaction, criticize someone, something for some time; 31; 8

powygłupiać się —spend some time clowning around; 66; 8

powykrzywiać się —about one person: make faces, grimaces for some time; 3; 8

powymądrzać się —spend some time being a know-it-all; 17; 8

powymyślać —hurt insults at, abuse someone, complain about something for some time; 215; 8

powyrabiać —knead dough, clay, etc. for some time; 11; 9

powyzywać —spend some time challenging, calling names, abusing; 80; 8

powzdychać —spend some time sighing; 56; 9

pozachwycać się —admire for some time; 42; 9

pozamykać —stop, withhold for some time; 1,865; 9

pozawieszać —stop the activities of some institutions, organizations, etc. for some time; 86; 9

pozbytkować —spend some time in frolics; 0; 9

poziewać —yawn for some time; 30; 9

pozłorzeczyć —invoke evil, curse for some time; 7; 9

pozłościć się —be annoyed for some time; 8; 5

poznęcać się —bully, harass someone or something for some time; 37; 8

pozrzędzić —complain, grumble for some time; 16; 1

pożżymać się —become intimate for some time; 1; 9

pożartować —joke for some time; spend some time sailing; 642; 9

pożądlić —sting many times; 17; 9

pożebrać —spend some time begging; 7; 9

pożłopać —spend some time guzzling; 1; 9

pożuć —chew something for some time; 0; 9

pożyć —live through some time; spend some time, living in some manner**;** spend some time with someone; 6,830; 9

7.3. Polish distributives

Lexical categories for Polish *po-* distributives[87]

1-13 taken from Šeljakin, M.A. (1980: 46-47; 49-50) (intended for Russian, but is used here also for Polish)—with some modifications, e.g., 5 is now just surface-contact,instead of 'Mark or cover an object with something', and 4 is separation or isolation...; Shelyakin's categoryViolent physical coercion has been omitted, and his categoryVerbs of spoken influence has been combined with verbs of communication. Also, the category verbs of giving is not drawn from Shelyakin. Also, 'or isolation' (e.g., barricaded, closing) has been added to # 4. Also, non-directed shaping without breaking (13) has been added.

1. Verbs of destruction

2. Action directed on the relocation of a subject or object (to a definite place)

3. Verbs meaning take or receive

4. Separation *or isolation* of an object (from something)

5. Surface-contact (including 3-D, into a container)

6. Attaching (e.g., fastening, setting together, clamping, etc.)

7. Verbs of measure, counting, appraising an object, evaluate, estimate

8. Establishing relations between people

9. Expenditure, consumption of a material object

10. Give, provide, etc., e.g., *podawać*

11. Verbs of communication, spoken influence

12. Verbs relating to directed sensation and directed psychological activity

13. Non-directed shaping without breaking

14. Other

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[87] The PELCRA search engine only gives a maximum of 10,000 results. The number in parentheses following a result greater than 10,000 represents the number of paragraphs in which the lexical item occurs, e.g., 10,000+ (23,238).

The first number represents the number of corpus hits, the second number represents the lexical category. Total verb count = 1,323

poadresować —write an address one after another on many parcels; 3; 5

poaresztować-- place many people under arrest one after another; place an arrest on many things, liabilities or rights of a debtor; 2; 2, 4

pobadać[88] —put some persons or some things one right after the other through an examination; 37; 7

pobałamucić —flirt with, turn the heads of many people; 3; 8

pobandażować—apply a bandage to the wounds of many people, bandage many wounds; 7; 5

pobankrutować —about many businesses: go bankrupt; 14

pobarykadować – close off with barricades many streets, entrances, etc., one after another; 0; 4

pobeczeć —about sheep, goats, etc.(pl.): bleat many times; 58; 11

pobrać[89] — take many of something in succession or from many places; 10,000+ (23,238); 5; 3

pobroić – perpetrate many evil acts; 9; 14

pobudzić –interrupt the sleep of many people, animals, one after another; 8,986; 14

pobudzić się -- in relation to many people, animals: be awakened one after another; 40; 14

pobuntować -- revolting, many people arise to resistance; 27; 8

poburzyć —demolish some things one after another; destroy; 45; 1

pobutwieć – ruin one after another by decay; 0; 1

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[88] Verbs in bold represents those which occur both on the delimitative and distributive lists.
[89] search engine PELCRA only gives a maximum of 10,000 results; (X)=paragraphs containing this word

pobutwieć – about many things: succumb to disintegration; 0; 1

pochorować się —about many people or animals: get sick one after another or all at once; 69; 14

pochrzcić się -- receive baptism one after another; 0; 3

pochwytać —about many people: take something in hand, one after another; 12; 3

pochwytywać —catch, take hold of, one after another; 0; 3

pocichnąć —hush, one after another; 5; 11

pocierpnąć —about many people: in turn or simultaneously feel a shiver due to cold, fear, etc.; 2; 14

pociskać -- throw many things on the ground violently; 88; 2

poczepić - hook, secure together many things, one after another; 0; 6

poczesać —comb or style many people's hair; 5

poczynić —perform many activities, or a lot of work; 10,001 (9,927); 14

poczynić się —about a large number of something : come into being, form; 14

poczyścić —remove dirt, trash, scraps, etc from many things or places in succession; 43; 5

podawać – give a number of things to one or many people; 10,002; 10

podobierać —select in succession someone or something suitable, acc. to some criteria; 38; 3

podobierać się – about many people: make choices one after another among themselves; about many people, animals: find access to something desirable; 6; 14

podobijać—put out of their misery one after another the dying, wounded, wounded animals; ram in many of some things deeply, to the end, one after another; 11; 1

podobijać się -- win one after another a lot of something; 2; 3

podobywać-- take out, draw one after another, win in succession; 0; 3

podochodzić —about many people, animals: reaching a definite place, one after another; about many people: attain something desired; about many letters, packages, money: make it to the addressee; about fruits, etc.: ripen in great number or one after another; 18; 2, 14

podoczepiać —couple up a number of things one after another; 35; 6

pododawać —add a lot of something, one after another; 258; 14

podoić – milk one after another; 41; 14

podolewać —pour, add something in succession to a large container; 3; 5

podopalać —finish smoking one after another; 0; 14

podopalać się — about many bonfires, lamps, etc.: cease burning one after another; 0; 1

podorabiać —make more of several objects one after another; 25; 14

podorabiać się —about many people: make a fortune; 3; 14

podorastać —about many people: become adults, grow up, one after another; 10; 14

podostawać —receive one after another many of something; about many people: in succession catch, contract, sustain something; 83; 3

podostawać się —many people get something in succession; 2; 3

podostawiać —add many things, to many people; 7; 14

podowiadywać się —learn one after another about many matters or find out about something one after another from many people; about many people: find out about sth. one after another; 10; 14

podrętwieć —go numb one after another; 2; 14

podruzgotać —smash many of something or smash something in many places; 6; 1

podublować —double something one after another; 0; 14

podusić-- deprive the life one after another of many creatures; 252; 1

podusić się —about many people, animals: suffocate; 26; 1

podziczeć —become wild one after another; 1; 14

podziobać — strike repeatedly with something sharp; damage something in many places with something sharp; 89; 1

podziurawić—puncture something in many places

podźgać – cut, injure in many places or kill many people, stabbing with something sharp; 9; 1

pofatigować się —about many people: be exhausted, or take the trouble; 0; 14

pofastrygować —tack together many of something, tack together in many places; 4; 6

poforsować —force many of something, exhaust many people; 4; 14

pofryzować —style many or many of something, style in many places; 1; 5

pogasnąć — about many sources of light: cease burning, extinguish one after another; about many mechanical devices, stop operating one after another; about many things: lose brightness or a lively color; about many sounds: gradually, one after another, fade out; 160; 1

pogiąć —bend many things or something in many places; 1,291; 13

poginąć —about many things: get lost one after another; about many living creatures: lose life, especially by a violent death; 476; 1, 14

pogłuchnąć —about many people: lose hearing one after another; 8; 14

pogłupieć —about many people: lose the ability for clear thinking as a result of astonishment, stress, etc.; about many people: cease developing intellectually; 56; 14

pognoić —cause rotting or decay of something in large numbers, in large quantities; 0; 1

pogolić —shave the hair of many people; 11; 5

pograbić —raking or plundering, scoop up one after another a number of something; plunder many times; 9; 1, 3

pograbieć — about hands, legs, fingers: one after another, gradually go numb from cold; about many people: lose the ability to move hands, legs due to freezing; 0; 14

pogracować —break up the earth with a hoe in many places; 0; 1

pogruchotać —break, shatter many things or smash something in many places; 356; 1

pogryźć —cut, injure with the teeth, sting, etc. in many places, or many people or animals; 3,028; 1

pogrzać się — about many people, animals: sweat; 22; 14

pogubić — lose many of something, one after another; 6,437; 4

pogubić się —about many people: not be able to find the correct road; about many people: lose eye contact with each other and not be able to find each other; about many things: yield one after another to loss; 1,757; 4

poharatać — wound, painfully cut in many places; 223; 1

pohodować —breed many, one after another; 0; 14

pohodować się —about many: live until the time of maturity; 0; 14

pojątrzyć się —about many, get angry; 0; 14

pojeść —eat one after another; 3,333; 14

pokaleczeć —about a large number of people, animals: become crippled; 0; 1

pokamienieć —about many people, under the influence of sudden emotion at a definite time become stiff; 0; 14

pokancerować —damage something in many places; cut someone in many places; 62; 1

pokapać —besoil something in many places with drops of some kind of liquid; 10; 5

pokarać —punish many people one after another; 1,458; 11

pokasować —punch (ticket), erase, delete one after another; 193; 1

pokąpać —give a bath to many, give many a bath, one after another; 16; 5

pokiereszować —damage something in many places; 491; 1

pokleić —gluing, fix something in many places; 139; 6

poklękać —about a number of people: kneel down one after another; 28; 2

pokłaść —place, arrange many things or people; 9,317; 2

pokłaść się —about many people, animals: adopt a lying position; about many people: lay down to sleep; 57; 2

pokłębić —tangle some things one after another or tangle something in many places; 5; 14

pokonfiskować —confiscate a number of objects; 1; 3

pokończyć – finish, lead to the end many things; or about many subjects: become finished; 622; 14

pokosić —reap something with a scythe or mower, one after another, or reap a lot of something; 29; 3

pokostnieć —become numb, one after another; 0; 14

pokoślawić —twist a number of things one after another or twist something in many places; 4; 9, 13

pokoślawieć —about many objects, become lopsided; 0; 13

pokrasić—pour pork fat on many dishes; 2; 5

pokraść —steal something one after another; 96; 3

pokrępować —tie up many people; 0; 6

pokrochmalić —starch many things one after another; 1; 5

pokrzepnąć —solidify, clot, set one after another; 0; 6

pokrzywić —cause curvature of something in many places or curve many objects; 772; 9, 13

pokrzywić się —about many objects: become crooked; 13; 13

pokształcić - give an education to a few or many people; 4; 10

pokształcić się —about many people: earn an education; 0; 3

pokuć —nail horseshoes under the hooves of a few or many horses; 0; 6

pokulbaczyć —saddle a few or many horses, saddle one horse after another; 1; 5

pokuleć —about many people, animals: become lame; 12; 1

pokulić —about many people, animals: draw up many of something or in many places; 7; 14

pokulić się —about many people, animals: cower, cringe, curl up for warmth; 0; 14

pokupować —buy many of something, buy one thing after another; about many: buy; 126; 3

pokurczyć —clench a lot of something or clench something in many places; 244; 5

pokurczyć się —about many objects, rarely people: become contracted, reduced, yield to shrinkage; 12; 13

pokwasić —pickling, conserve many food products, one after another; trigger a bad mood in many people; 1; 14

pokwasić się — about food products, go bad, bitter, one after another; 0; 1

pokwaśnieć —about food products, go bitter one after another; about many subjects, become bitter; 0; 1

polakować —cover with lacquer many objects; cover with lacquer the teeth of many people or many teeth with the goal of protection of the enamel; 28; 5

poleczyć —cure many people, one after another; 38; 14

polepić —cover one after another; 84; 5

polgnąć —become bogged down, one after another; 0; 14

policzyć —exchange numbers one after another; 10,003; 7

policzyć się —about many people: count oneself off; 164; 7

polikwidować —remove many things in succession, one after another; kill many people or animals; repay amounts due one after another; 195; 4, 1

polokować —place somewhere one after another many people or things; 20; 2

polutować —soldering, to join many metal objects; soldering, fix some object in many places; 31; 6

poluzować —loosen in many places or many things; 978; 4

połamać —break many things or break something in many places; 7,796; 1

połapać —catch all (living creatures) one after another; 2,732; 3

połatać —sew or attach patches in many places or to many things; 988; 6

połudzić —luring to deceive, beguile, deceive many; 11; 14

połupać —cut apart many of something into lengthwise strips, chop into lengthwise strips; 70; 4

połupić —rob many; 6; 3

połuszczyć —choose many of something from a husk or shell; 0; 4

połysieć —about many people, go bald one after another; 0; 4

pomarnieć —about many things: go to waste one after another; about many people: fall into decline of health; 2; 1

pomarnować się —about many people: achieve nothing in life; 2; 14

pomartwić —cause a lot of sadness for many people; 83; 14

pomarznąć —about many people or parts of the body: freeze from the cold; about plants: die from frost; about many containers of water: be covered by a layer of ice; 38; 1, 5

pomaskować —mask many of something; 0; 5

pomdleć —about many people: lose consciousness; 28; 14

pomęczyć —bullying, kill many people; 937; 1

pomęczyć się —about many people, animals: be very physically exhausted; 163; 14

pomianować —denominate, mark, nominate one after another on some stand; 0; 5, 7

pomierzchnąć —lose oneself one after another in the darkness; 0; 4

pomierzyć —measure one after another many things; putting on oneself or someone many things, one after another, checking if it's the right size; 601; 7, 5

pomierzyć się -- about many people: measure each other; 3; 7

pomieszać się —about several things: be found in its place; 248; 14

pomilknąć —about many creatures: one by one cease speaking; 18; 14

pomocować —strengthen something in large number; 14; 14

pomordować—murdering, deprive the life of several people; cause physical or psychological exhaustion of several people; 3,849; 1

pomrozić —cause freezing of many people, animals or plants; freeze many food products; 15; 1, 5

pomrzeć —about a definite number of people: end life, die one after another; 1,553; 1

pomurować —build many buildings; 5; 14

pomurszeć —about many things: decay, smoulder; 0; 1

pomyć —wash many people or many things; 1,977; 5

pomydlić —soap many people or things; 10; 5

ponabierać —scoop up many of something one after another; adopt, achieve something one after another; deceive many people, one after another; 4; 17; 3, 14

ponabierać się —about many people: be deceived; 0; 14

ponabijać —fill up, load up many of something; stick in, stuff many of something into something; 215; 5

ponabrzmiewać —swell in many places; 0; 5

ponachylać – tilt, bend many of something, in many places; 1; 9, 13

ponaciągać —pull, stretch many of something, pull several things one after another; put on somebody or on something many of something, put something on many people or things; adjust to some kind of pre-adopted presumption several arguments, conclusions, etc.; fill several vessels one after another; deceive several people one after another; 89; 9, 5, 13, 14

ponaciągać się —about many things: be, remain taut, stretched; 1; 9, 13

ponacinać — make many cuts, notches or make cuts on many things; deceive many people one after another; 142; 5, 14

ponacinać się — about many people: able to deceive, be disappointed many times; 1; 14

ponadawać —send many packages; transmit many different types of news with the help of radio or television; lend to many people or things a definite character, appearance; give many rights, titles, designations to many people, things; send much news one right after the other; 58; 10

ponaddzierać—tear slightly many things or one thing in many places; 1; 5, 1

ponadgniwać —start to rot in many places; about many things: rot partially, on top; 0; 1, 5

ponadgryzać —take a bite of many of something or in many places; about many: bite something; about certain liquids, chemical substances: act destructively on many things, cause cavities, waste in many things or in many places; 25; 1, 5

ponadkręcać —screw together, twist only part-way many of something; 0; 6

ponadłamywać —break off many of something one after another or something in many places; 0; 4

ponadrywać —tear slightly in many places or tear slightly many of sth. one after another; 20; 1

ponadtłukiwać —chip slightly sth. in many places or many of something one after another; 0; 1

ponadymać —inflate with air or other gas many things; 3; 5

ponadymać się — swell, billow in many places; 1; 5

ponadziewać —fill many things, one after another, with stuffing, a mass; put, stick many things, one after another onto something sharp; 8; 5

ponagrywać —record on tape, record or disc many of something, one after another; record to the end, fill several records, cassettes, etc.; arrange for somebody many matters, ease the realization of many matters; 41; 5, 14

ponajmować —rent many mercenaries; 0; 14

ponakładać —put many of something on something; put on oneself or on someone many pieces of clothing; also about many people: put something on oneself; put as a thin layer many of something, in many places, one after another; burden with great duties, taxes, etc. many people; 75; 5, 14

ponakręcać —set into motion many mechanisms, wind one after another; 8; 9

ponakrywać —cover many people, things one after another; catch many people, one after another, in a moment of crime; 6; 5, 3

ponakrywać się —about many people: cover oneself with something; 0; 5

ponalepiać —paste many of something one after another, in many places; 9; 6

ponalewać —fill many vessels with a liquid; 28; 5

ponamaszczać —rub with oil many people or many of something one after another; 0; 5

ponanosić —carrying many things, one after another, gather together their large amount, number; mark correction, notes, etc. in a text in many places; 5; 2, 7

ponapalać —light a fire in many ovens; 3; 14

ponapełniać —fill many of something one after another; 2; 5

ponapoczynać —cut into many things or something in many places; 2; 5

ponapożyczać —lend to somebody or borrow from somebody many things; 0; 3, 10

ponaprawiać —repair many of something one after another; 93; 5

ponapychać —cram many of something into something; fill many things with something one after another; 9; 5

ponapychać się —about many people: eat a lot of something, to satiety; 0; 14

ponapisywać —write many things on many objects or on one in many places; 64; 5

ponarażać —expose many people or things to something; 7; 14

ponarażać się —expose oneself to many people; 2; 14

ponarzucać - throw many of something onto something, throw somewhere many of something one after another; throw on oneself many pieces of clothing; also about many people: throw something on oneself; force many people to certain conduct; 7; 2, 5

ponaruszać —break into, cut into many of something one after another; 1; 1, 5

ponaruszać się —expose oneself to many people; 0; 14

ponasadzać —plant many plants; 5; 5

ponaspraszać — invite many people; 0; 8

ponastawiać —place, situate somewhere many of something one after another; fix, regulate one after another many mechanisms, devices; set many people in a certain way; set in the kitchen, over a fire many dishes with contents intended for preparation; set many broken or dislocated bones; 11; 2, 14

ponastrajać — tune many musical instruments; 0; 14

ponastrajać się —about many people, lead oneself into a certain mood; ; 14

ponasuwać —put on many of something; 3; 5

ponaszywać —sew many things onto something; 25; 6

ponauczać —teach many people or animals something, teach somebody many things one after another; 16; 11

ponauczać się —learn many things one after another; 2; 14

ponawiewać —blow something in many places, flee one after another; 3; 5, 2

ponawiązywać —connect many contacts, strike up many acquaintances, friendships; 11; 8

ponawiercać —drilling, make many holes in something; 4; 5

ponawieszać —hanging up, put many things in something; 7; 5

ponawlekać —thread many of something, one after another; 6; 6

ponaznaczać —provide with a sign, mark many of something one after another; name many of something, one after another; appoint many, one after another; 5; 5, 7

ponazywać —name something one after another; 210; 7

ponęcić —lure one after another; 1; 14

poniemczyć —Germanize one after another; 0; 14

poniemczyć się —about many people, be subjected to Germanization; 0; 14

poniemić —be left speechless, one after another; 0; 14

poniknąć —disappear one after another, give in one after another; 0; 4

poniszczyć —destroy many of something one after another; 359; 1

poniszczyć się —about many things: wear out, be destroyed; 3; 1

poniweczyć —foil, thwart one after another; 0; 14

ponizać —thread something one after another; 0; 6

ponotować —write down a lot of something, compile many notes, one after another; 12; 5

ponumerować —mark with a series of numbers a lot of something; 1,085; 5

ponużyć —tire, bore one after another; 0; 14

poobalać —with a strong blow knock over many people or things; with violence deprive of power or lead to collapse many governments, institutions, people, etc.; demonstrate the lack of foundation or substantiate the error of many decisions, judgments, etc.; 12; 14

poobalać się —about many people, things: trip, fall; 0; 2

poobciągać —cover many things with something; tidy up, improve in many places, repair in many places, pulling down; 5; 5

poobciągać się —be covered in many places; 0; 5

poobcierać —clean a lot of something one after another, or wipe, mop something in many places; wipe the skin in many places; 89; 5

poobcierać się —wipe off one's body in many places; wipe one's skin in many places; 4; 5

poobcinać —shorten or separate many of something; reduce many of something of some sum or number or reduce something of a certain sum or number to many people; put on an exam an unsatisfactory grade to many examinees; 256; 4

poobdłużać – burden many people with debts, burden somebody with debts, one after another; 0; 14

poobdrapywać —scratch in many places the surface of something; 1; 5

poobcinać się —about many people: shorten the hair, giving it some kind of style; about many people: not to pass an exam; 0; 5, 14

poobciosywać —trim many trees or stones; 0; 5

poobdrapywać —scratch, tear many of something or scratch the surface of something in many places; 1; 5, 1

poobdzielać —divide something, distribute one after another between a large number of people; 3; 10

poobdzielać się —about many people: share with each other; 0; 10

poobdzierać —deprive many people or things of something or tear off something one after another from many places, from an entire surface; 59; 4, 5

poobdzierać się —come off in many places or from many objects; 1; 4

poobgryzać —bite off something one after another, or bite off something in many places; 111; 4, 5

poobijać —crack, chip, chip many of something; strike somebody or something repeatedly or in many places, injuring, damaging; cover a number of something one after another with something; 1,521; 1

poobijać się —be damaged in many places or about many: striking each other or striking something, be cracked, be damaged; 69; 1

poobjadać —knaw a lot of something from all sides; 0; 5

poobjadać się —about many people: eat to satiety, eat too much; 0; 14

poobklejać —tape some object from all sides or tape a number of something; 22; 6

poobkładać —surround something from all sides with many things; cover many notebooks, books, etc.; 5; 5

poobkładać się —surround oneself from all sides with many things; gather around oneself many things; 0; 5

poobkuwać —hew, cut something from something in many places, on a large surface or from many things; 0; 4, 5

pooblekać —clothe one after another; 1; 5

pooblepiać —paste all over something from all sides or paste many of something; adhere to something on all sides; 11; 6

pooblewać — douse with something many people or things; not to pass several exams; not to count the exam of many students; 8; 5, 14

pooblewać się — pour something over oneself in many places; 2; 5

poobliczać —carry out a number of calculations one after another; 21; 7

poobłamywać —break off many of something or snap something in many places; 6; 4, 1

poobłamywać się —about many things: break off; 0; 4

poobłupywać —chip away many of something one after another or chip something in many places; 1; 4

poobmawiać —bad-mouth many people; 1; 14

poobmiatać —sweep, clean something from all sides, clean one after another; 0; 5

poobniżać —lower many things one after another, put on a lower level; lower the value, count, level, etc. of many things; 7; 2, 7

poobniżać się —about many things: be subjected to lowering, become low, occupy one after another a position lower than theretofore; 0; 2, 7

poobrabiać —give an intended form to many objects, sanding them, polishing, etc.; complete the borders of the material of many things with a special stitch; say something bad in succession about many people; rob one after another many people, places; 7; 5, 3

poobracać —turn, position in succession in a reverse position many of something; turn something or with something repeatedly; transform a number of something one after another; 64; 14

poobracać się —turn repeatedly in a circle; about many people: return to some side; about many things, places: radically change; 4; 2, 14

poobrastać —growing, to cover something from all sides; about a large number of something: cover with something, or about one thing: be covered with something in many places; 2; 5

poobrywać —tear off many of something one after another, tear off something from many sides or in many places; about many people: get a thrashing, sustain an injury; about many people: experience something not beneficial for oneself; 74; 4, 1, 14

poobrywać się —be subjected to tearing off in many places or about many things: come off one after another; 0; 4

poobrzucać —cover somebody, something, throwing a lot of something; shower in succession; 10; 5

poobrzucać się —about many people: throw something at each other; 2; 14

poobrzynać —trim in succession many of something, trim something from all sides, all around; 3; 5

poobsadzać —plant a lot of something with plants, plant many plants in succession, in many places; fasten onto something, secure many of something; appoint many people to positions, entrust many people with some work; 55; 5, 6, 8

poobsiadać —sit down one after another around somebody, something; sit somewhere crowded, occupying one after another all seats on something; 4; 2

poobsiewać —sow many fields, patches, etc. one after another; 2; 5

poobsuwać —sink one after another; 2; 2

poobsuwać się —slip, fall one after another, in many places; 1; 2

poobsychać —dry up one after another; 0; 5

poobszarpywać —strip from all sides; 2; 5

poobszywać —trim many of something or trim something with many things; sewing, hem many of something; sew into something many of something; sew, repair many things for a few people; 10; 5, 6

poobtaczać —coat one after another; 0; 5

poobtłukiwać —bruise something in many places or many of something one after another; damaging, causing the waste of something in many places or from many things; damage something in many places, leaving on it visible traces; 53; 5, 1

poobtłukiwać się —be chipped in many places; come off in many places or from many things; 1; 5

poobtrącać —push something in many places; 4; 5

poobtykać —seal up from all sides; 4; 4

poobwiązywać —bind many of something, bind something in many places; 8; 6

poobwiązywać się —be bound by something in many places or by many things or be bound one after another; 0; 6

poobwieszać —decorate something or someone with a large number of something, on the entire surface, from all sides; 61; 5

poobwieszać się —decorate oneself with a large number of something; 18; 5

poobwijać —wrap up one after another; 17; 5

poocierać —wipe, mop one after another; 23; 5

poociosywać —hem one after another; 1; 6

pooczyszczać —clean one after another; 5; 5

poodbierać —deprive many people of something or someone many things; deprive one after another one's property from one or many people; take away one after another many people from different places or from one place; 43; 3

poodbijać —leave many tracks, impressions; about many boats, ships: sail off one after another from shore or some object; mirror, duplicate many of something one after another; with a hit or blow injure someone, oneself or many people several organs or the body in many places; several times pry open, open many of something; rescue, set free from somewhere many people one after another; 68; 5, 2

poodbijać się —be impressed, copied or reflected, be copied on something in large number; 4; 5

poodchodzić —walk away one after another; walk away one after another from someone; resign one after another from participation in something; about means of locomotion: depart one after another; tear away from something one after another or break away in many places, on the entire surface; about many: die; 38; 2, 4, 1

poodchylać —tilt, shift a little to the side, lightly part many of something, one after another, or tilt in many places; change position of a number of things from straight to diagonal; 0; 14

poodchylać się —change position one after another from straight to diagonal; 0; 14

poodciągać —pull away one after another, move away a large number of something from other places; separate from the whole certain components one after another or in large quantity, or separate the components of many different things; 10; 2, 4

poodciekać —about many things: lose fluid through its dribbling; 0; 14

poodcinać —divide many of something one after another; prevent the inflow, delivery of some things one after another, to many people, places; prevent one person from achievement of some things one after another, or prevent many people from something; 69; 4, 10

poodciskać —impress one after another; 3; 5

poodciskać się —be imprinted one after another; 0; 5

pooddalać —discharge everybody one after another; 1; 4

pooddawać —give back, surrender one after another someone's property; transfer somewhere many things for some goal; return, repay for something many people; also about many people: return, repay; about a large number of something: play back, express, present; also, perform, play back many of something; place somewhere many people, direct somewhere one after another; 50; 10, 2

pooddzielać —detach something from something in many places, prevent a whole from forming; divide many people or things; 58; 4

pooddzielać się —about many: divide from some group or from many groups; about many: yield to separation from something; 0; 4

poodejmować —take away many of something one after another from some whole, reduce some whole into many parts; take off one after another, divide many of something from a thing, with which a definite whole was formed; perform repeatedly subtraction; 20; 4

poodgarniać —sweep aside, move away many of something one after another; 0; 2

poodginać —one after another straighten many of something, straighten something in many places; 1; 13

poodginać się —about a large number of something: be straightened; straighten in many places or repeatedly; 0; 13

poodgradzać —fence off, isolate from itself many things or places; 8; 4

poodgradzać się —fence in from many sides; isolate from many people or matters; about many people: isolate from someone or something; 2; 4

poodgryzać —bite off many of something one after another or in many places by chunks; 14; 4

poodgrzebywać —dig out one after another; 3; 5

poodjeżdżać —about many people or vehicles: depart one after another; 0; 2

poodklejać —one after another unstick many of something or unstick something in many places; 18; 4

poodklejać się —come unstuck in many places or about a large number of something: come unstuck; 2; 4

poodkładać —one after another put back in its place or on its side many of something; postpone one after another until another date many matters; about many people: put away a large sum of money; set aside many of something for later use; 11; 2, 14

poodkręcać —unscrew many of something, one after another; reinstate, reintroduce many of something to its initial state or stand down from many matters; 41; 4, 14

poodkręcać się —about a large number of something: come loose: about many: turn, whirl; 0; 4

poodkrywać —bare many of something one after another or bare something in many places; slip off, slide down or lift up many of something, that covered something or some things; finish many discoveries; notice, remark, observe a large number of something which had been unnoticeable; reveal many secrets, plans, etc.; 18; 5, 7

poodkrywać się —about a large number of people: throw off the bed covers; 0; 5

poodlatywać —fly off in large number one after another; come off in many places or come off of something in a large quantity; 1; 2, 4

poodłazić —come off in large number or in many places; 2; 4

poodłupywać —chip away in many places or many of something; 1; 4

poodmiatać —sweeping out, move to the side many things; 0; 2

poodmieniać —change one after another; 11; 14

poodmieniać się —about many people: become different; 0; 14

poodmrażać —injure by frostbite many fragments of the body or about many people: injure the hands, legs, etc. with frostbite; cause thawing of a large number of something; 29; 5

poodmykać —open one after another; 1; 14

poodnawiać – incite, arouse anew many of something, in succession; 5; 8

poodnajdywać —one after another track down many people things, places, etc.; 6; 5

poodnajdywać się —about a large number of people: track each other down; about many things: be found; about a large number of people: appear somewhere after a long absence; about a large number of people: recover internal equilibrium; 0; 5

poodnawiać —renovate a number of something old and worn-out; restart many of something; 5; 5, 14

poodnawiać się —about a large number of something: improve or step out anew; 0; 14

poodnosić —take back or return to its place many of something; deliver somewhere in a definite goal many of something one after another; achieve, obtain many of something or about many people: attain, achieve something; 9; 2, 10, 3

poodpadać —come off in a large number or in many places; about many people: stand down or be eliminated; 100; 4, 14

poodparzać —irritate the skin in many places; 14; 5

poodparzać się —the skin gets irritated in many places; about the body, skin: be irritated in many places; 1; 5

poodpływać —about a large number of some ones or some things: one after another wander off, drifting; 0; 14

poodprowadzać —lead many people off one after another; one after another remove from a given place many of something; transfer somewhere some amounts, in accordance with earlier agreements; 1; 2, 4

poodpruwać —unstitch many of something one after another or unstitch something in many places; 7; 4

poodpruwać się —come unstitched in great number or in many places; 0; 4

poodpryskiwać —chip off, flake off in many places, on the whole surface or chip off in great quantity; 5; 4

poodpychać —push, shove one after another many people, things, etc.; alienate by something many people; 2; 14

poodraczać —postpone many matters; 0; 14

poodrastać —overgrow with something anew, in many places; about many: grow to some height; 1; 5

poodrąbywać —chop off many of something one after another; 7; 4, 1

poodrywać —tear out many of something one after another or tear off something in many places; 45; 4, 1

poodrywać się —about a large number of something: come off; 2; 4

poodrzucać —reject from oneself many of something one after another; throwing, give back to someone many things; throw out many of something one after another; not to accept many propositions or people; 7; 4, 14

poodsadzać —replant many of something by moving away; 0; 5

poodskakiwać —about many: jump away; fall away, chip off in large number or in many places; 2; 2, 4

poodsłaniać —bare, reveal many of something or reveal something in many places; remove many of something that is covered; about many people: bare something; 13; 5

poodsuwać —move away from something many of something one after another; pulling, open many of something one after another; deprive many people of contact with someone, with something; 19; 2, 4

poodsuwać się —about many people: walk away; about many people: sever ties with someone, something; 1; 2, 4

poodszukiwać —search out many people or things in many places; 2, 5

poodwalać —remove one after another many of something heavy; perform many jobs one after another, any old way and usually from necessity; recognize many people or things as not consistent with certain requirements and eliminate them; 6; 4, 14

poodwiązywać —by solution detach from something many things, rarely people; unjoin many of something connected to a knot; 0; 4

poodwiązywać się —about many: detach from something, to which it was connected; about many things joined in a knot or knots: untie or be untied; 0; 4

poodwiedzać —visit many people one after another; explore many places one after another; 36; 14

poodwiedzać się —about many: visit each other one after another; 0; 14

poodwijać —unwind in many places; 4; 13

poodwozić —transporting, deliver many people or things to certain places; transporting, bring (with a return) many people or things; 2; 2

poodwracać —about many: turn something in some direction; change the arrangement, direction of many things; change the position or placement of many things the other way around; 61; 14

poodwracać się —about many: turn back or turn in some direction; about many: leave someone alone, behind, break contact with someone; 6; 14, 4

poodzierać —strip something or from something in many places; 0; 4, 5

poodziewać —attire many people; 0; 5

pooglądać —examine many of something; 2,934; 7

poogłaszać —announce in many places; 2; 11

poogadzać —enclose in many places; 0; 4

poogrywać—repeatedly defeat in some game many people one after another; 1; 14

poogryzać —chew at many of something or something in many places; 12; 5

pookładać —surround, cover in many places; 8; 4

pookradać —rob many, one after another; 5; 3

pookrawać —slice off from many things the top layer or slice off something from the top layer in many places; reduce many things or reduce something to many parts; reduce many things to a definite value; 0; 4

pookręcać —wind, twist many of something or something from many sides; 6; 9, 13

pookrywać —cover many people or many of something; step out on the surface of many things; 11; 5

pookrywać się — cover oneself with something from all sides or with many things; cover each other with something from all sides, or with many things; about many things: be covered with something on the entire surface; 1; 5

pookurzać —dust, fumigate in many places; 0; 5

poomiatać —sweep away dust, trash, etc. from many places or things; 1; 5

poondulować —give a perm (hair) to many people; 0; 5

poopadać —about a large number of something: fall down, coming off from something; about a large number of something: slide down from above or hanging, cover something; about rivers, streams: lower the water level; 26; 2, 5

poopalać —destroy by fire the surface of many things or one thing in many places; 156; 1

poopalać się —about many people: sunburn; 59; 5

poopasywać —wrap a belt around, from all sides, gird one after another; 1; 6

poopatrywać —dress in many places (wounds); 1; 5

poopierać - wash (all) the clothes for many people; 10; 5

poopierać się – about many: go to some place, institution for some matter; 1; 2

poopędzać —drive away all one after another; 0; 2

poopisywać —describe many or many of something; provide explanations of many drawings, maps, etc.; 30; 7

pooplatać —wind many of something or wind something long and thin around something; 0; 9, 13

poopóźniać —postpone many of something; 1; 14

pooprawiać —supply, provide many books into facing; put many things in frames; bind many killed animals; install many devices into a hard core; 10; 5

poopuszczać —direct downward many of something or about man: direct something downward; skip, omit many of something; not to come many times to some kind of jobs or about many: not to turn up somewhere; about many: leave somebody; about many: leave some place; 8; 2, 14

poopuszczać się – about many: lower; about many: fall behind in school, at work, etc.; 0; 2, 14

poorać —furrow in many places or everything; 270; 5

poosadzać —settle many in many places; 4; 2

poosiadać —about many: settle somewhere permanently; falling, cover with a layer of a number of something or gather on something in large quantity; about insects, birds: in a cluster gather on something; 10; 2, 5

poosiągać —attain a number of something, one after another; 0; 3

poosłaniać —cover, screen many of something or screen something from different sides; 2; 4, 5

poosrebrzać —give many of something a silver color, one after another; 0; 5

poostrzegać —warn many people about something one after another; 3; 14

poostrzyć —sharpen many of something; 18; 5

poosuwać —slide many of something, one after another, slide in many places; 0; 2

pooszywać —sew on the trimming, laces, etc. from all sides; 0; 6

pooświetlać —illuminate many of something or illuminate something from different sides; 0; 5

pootaczać —encircle something with something from all sides or encircle many of something; coat with something many of something; give many some comfort or care; 1; 4, 5

pootrząsać—shake off in many places, one after another; 1; 4, 5

pootulać —wrap many or many of something or wrap somebody, something, with many things; 4; 5

pootulać się —wrap oneself completely, from all sides or with many things; about many: wrap oneself up; 0; 5

pootwierać —open many of something or in many places; start, establish many of something in different places; 563; 5, 14

pootwierać się —about a large number of something: be open; about a large number of something: come into bloom, open; about a large number of something: be established, begin activity; 21; 14

poowijać —wrap many of something or wrap something with many things; 47; 5

poowijać się —weaving around something, surround that from all sides; wrap up tightly in one or many things; 2; 9, 13

poozdabiać —ornament something in many places; 3; 5

poozłacać —gild many of something, in many places; 0; 5

pooznaczać —mark many of something or something in many places; 23; 5

popaczyć —usually about dampness, water: cause warping of many wooden things or one in many places; 0; 1, 13

popaczyć się —about a large number of something wooden: be subjected to warping in many places; about many thoughts, ideas, etc.: change to disadvantage; 0; 1, 13

popadać —about many: fall down, one after another, about many animals: die one after another as a result of an epidemic; 10,000+ (9,877); 1, 2

popakować —put in something many of something; wrap in paper, foil, etc. many of something;; 5

popalić —burn many of something or something in many places; 1,124; 1

popalić się — about many: be subjected to burning; 10; 1

poparzyć się -- about many animals: fulfill the sex drive; 148; 14

popękać —crack in many places or one after another; 2,351; 1, 5

popętać —bind one after another; 10; 6

popić się —about many: get drunk; 41; 14

popiec —bake many of something; 18; 9

popieczętować —stamp with a seal something one after another; 33; 5

popiętrzyć —fasten one after another, pile up one after another; 0; 6

popisać —write one after another, many; 10,000+ (17,829); 5

poplamić —make a lot of stains on something; 769; 5

poplądrować —plunder many places; 4; 1

poplątać —cross, hook over oneself two things or many of something; 2,687; 6

popleć —weed one after another flower beds, etc.; 1,630; 4

popleść —weave many of something; 11; 9, 13

popleśnieć —about a large number of something: be covered with mold; 0; 5

popluć — spit in many places; 205; 5

popłacić —repay many obligations one after another; ; 10

popłatać —cut into pieces, slit open one after another, cut something in many places or many of something; 4; 5

popłoszyć —scare away many; 8; 14

popodbijać —conquer one after another; 17; 14

popodcinać —cut many of something or something in many places; 11; 5

popoddawać —surrender one after another; 1; 14

popodginać —bend slightly many of something or something in many places; 0; 9, 13

popodgryzać —gnaw many of something or something in many places; 2; 5

poodkładać —surround, cover something one after another, in many places; 11; 4

popodkreślać —underline, underscore something repeatedly or many of something; 12; 5

popodlewać —water many plants; 3; 5

popodnosić —raise, pick up many of something; 14; 2

popodnosić się —raise oneself repeatedly; 1; 2

popodpierać —prop, support many of something or something in many places; 10; 5

popodpinać —attach many of something, one after another; 3; 6

popodrabiać —forge many of something; 1; 9

popodrastać —about many, grow longer; 0; 14

popodwiązywać —tie up many of something or something in many places; 3; 6

popodwijać —roll up many of something; 2; 6

popoić —water many people or animals; 3; 5

popokładać —put down one after another; 0; 2

poporzucać —abandon something one after another, many; 0; 4

popostawiać —put many things somewhere; build many buildings; 1; 2, 5

popowieszać —hang many of something; 4; 2

popowracać —about many: return; 8; 2

popowstawać —about a large number of something: be formed; about many: stand up one after another; 4; 14

popoznawać —get to know many, one after another; 3; 8

popożyczać —lend something to, borrow something from many people; 3; 10

poprać —wash many of something or everything that was dirty; 169; 5

poprasować —iron many of something or everything; 60, 5

popróchnieć —rot, decay in many places or in large number; 2; 1

popruć —unravel many of something from knitted material; also, unravel the seams of many things or unravel in many places the seams of something; tear, cut apart something in many places using a heavy, sharp instrument or harrow; 114; 4

popryskać —spraying, soak many of something or something in many places; 36; 5

poprzebierać – change clothes of many people; dress many people in attire, likening them to someone or something; sort a large number of something, throwing out bad examples; 518; 5, 7

poprzebierać się —about many people: change clothes; about many people: put on a costume or attire likening to someone or something; 20; 5

poprzebijać —puncture many of something or puncture something in many places; 91; 1

poprzebudzać —rouse many, one after another; 0; 14

poprzebudzać się —one after another wake up; 0; 14

poprzechodzić —about many: cross to the other side; 19; 2

poprzychylać —tip many of something or tip something in many places; 0; 14

poprzeciągać —pull one or many long things through some opening, openings or by means of something to the other side; pull through many strings, ropes, wires between two points of fastening; pull through many of something from one side to another; jot down many lines that are too long; 23; 2

poprzeciekać —leak in many places; 1; 5

poprzecierać —wipe many of something or wipe something repeatedly; damage something in many places or many of something due to friction; 68; 5, 1

poprzecierać się —wear through in many places or about many things: become worn out; 5; 1

poprzecinać —cut into parts many of something or something in many places; break the continuity of a layer of many things or of something in many places; about many things having the shape of a line: cut through some surface, dividing it into parts; also: cover thickly the surface of something; 809; 5

poprzeczytywać —read through one after another; 0; 12

poprzeć —drive out in large number or in many places; 10,000+ (109,792); 2

poprzedzielać —divide many of something or something in many places; 147; 4

poprzeginać —bend, incline many of something; exaggerate about many matters; also, about many: exaggerate about something; 8; 13, 14

poprzeglądać —see through many of something; 164; 12

poprzegradzać —partition many of something or something in many places; 37; 4

poprzegryzać —bite through many of something or bite through something in many places; 40; 5

poprzejmować —seize, borrow many of something, one after another; 8; 3

poprzeklinać —curse many, one after another; 34; 14

poprzekładać —interleave something with many layers; change the place or arrangment of many objects; complete the translation of many works; 69; 9, 2, 13

poprzekłuwać —pierce something in many places or pierce many of something; 9; 1

poprzekrawać —cut in two something in many places or cut in two many of something; 10; 4

poprzekreślać — cross out something in many places or cross out many of something; 9; 7, 5

poprzekręcać —turn, tilt or turn backward many of something; change the appearance, form or meaning of many things; 303; 14, 5

poprzekręcać się —about many people: turn; about many things: be mixed up, confused; 0; 14

poprzekrzywiać —tilt many of something or tilt something in many places; 8; 14

poprzekształcać —transform many of something or transform something in many places; 17; 5

poprzekupywać —bribe many one after another; 1; 14

poprzełamywać — break many of something; 6; 1

poprzemieniać —transform many things or people; 13; 14

poprzemieniać się —about many: become different; 0; 14

poprzemieszczać —relocate many people or things; 16; 2

poprzemieszczać się —about many: migrate; 3; 2

poprzeniewierzać się —about many people, misappropriate, embezzle; 0; 14

poprzenosić —carry from place to place a large number of something; change place of residence, work, etc. of many people; copy (redraw, rewrite) many of something; 280; 2, 5

poprzenosić się —about many people: move (residence); about many people: change place, conditions of work, school, etc.; about many things: be located in another place; 4; 2

poprzepadać —disappear, vanish, die in large number, one after another; 4; 1

poprzepalać —burn many of something or burn something in many places; 38; 1

poprzepinać —fasten together by girding with something many of something or something in many places; 0; 6

poprzeplatać —intertwine many of something, one after another, something with something in many places; 94; 6, 9

poprzerabiać — alter many things, clothes, etc.; 129; 14

poprzerastać —surpass in heights many or about many: surpass somebody in height; take root in something different, forming layers, clusters, etc.; also: growing, mix with something different; 58; 5

poprzerywać — break something in many places or break many of something; 78; 1

poprzerywać się —about a large number of something: yield to breaking; also: be broken in many places; 1; 1

poprzerzucać —throw, send through something or throw, send from place to place many objects, one after another; 60; 2

poprzerzynać —cut in two something in many places, one after another; 13; 4, 5

poprzesadzać —transplant many plants or people to other places; 14; 2

poprzesłaniać —obstruct, obscure something in many places, many of something one after another; 1; 5

poprzestawiać —move many things or many people to another place; 827; 2

poprzestawiać się —about many people: change place, order; about many people: change the (up to this point) manner of behavior, activity; 9; 2, 14

poprzestraszać —frighten a large number of people or animals; 0; 14

poprzestraszać się — about many: get scared; 0; 14

poprzestrzelać —shoot through something in many places, many (anim.) or many of something, one after another; 6; 1

poprzesuwać —move, shift a large number of something; 201; 2

poprzeszywać —stitch through something with a needle in many places or stitch through many of something; sew many things to another place; also: sewing, alter many things; 4; 6

poprzetrącać —harm someone's body in many places or injure some part of the body of many; 40; 1

poprzetykać —unblock, clean out something with something in many places or clean out many of something with something; remove from inside many tubes, cables, etc.; 160; 5

poprzewiązywać —tie something in many places or tie many of something; 9; 6

poprzewiercać —drill something in many places, many of something, one after another; 2; 1

poprzewijać — apply clean dressings to many children, one after another; 8; 5

poprzewozić —transport many things or people to a designated place; 3; 2

poprzewracać —cause the decline of many things or people; turn many things to the other side, to the side (aside); also: change the placement of many people; 842; 14, 5

poprzewracać się —about many things or people: fall; about many things or people: fall on its side, to the other side; 67; 2, 5

poprzeziębiać się —about many people: catch cold; 2; 14

poprzybierać —swell one after another; 0; 5

poprzybijać —nail many of something or nail something in many places; 41; 6

poprzybywać — come somewhere in large number, one after another; 0; 2

poprzychodzić —about many: come to somewhere; 34; 2

poprzyciągać —pull toward, attract, one after another; 0; 2

poprzycinać —trim, trap a large number of something or something in many places; 103; 5

poprzyczepiać —attach many of something or something in many places; 76; 6

poprzyczepiać się —about many things: stick; about many people: seize hold of somebody or something tightly; about many people: impose upon somebody one's company; about many people: have a grudge toward somebody; about many sicknesses: take control of someone's organism; 8; 6, 14

poprzydawać —lend one after another; 0; 10

poprzygasać —about many sources of light, go out, die one after another; 1; 1

poprzyjeżdżać —about many people: come one after another; 21; 2

poprzyjmować —accept many things; assure, provide many people a stay or residence in some place; accept many people for a job; also: make many people members of some community; accept many people in connection with fulfilled obligations; 13; 3, 8

poprzyjmować się —about many seedlings, plants: take root; 0; 14

poprzyklejać —paste many of something or something in many places; 137; 6

poprzyklejać się —stick in many places or about many things; 11, 6

poprzykładać —apply many of something or something in many places; also: apply something repeatedly; 1; 6

poprzykręcać —screw many of something or something in many places; 16; 6

poprzykrywać —cover many people or things or cover with many things; 28; 5

poprzykrywać się —cover oneself with many things or about many: cover oneself; 0; 5

poprzylepiać —stick many of something or something in many places; 30; 6

poprzylepiać się —stick in many places or about many things; 3; 6

 poprzymarszczać —gather material into crinkles, wrinkles in many places, many of something, one after another; 0; 5

poprzynosić —bring a large number of something somewhere; 20; 2

poprzypasywać —about many people: buckle on many of something, one after another; 0; 6

poprzypinać —attach many of something or something in many places; 49; 6

poprzyprawiać —attach many of something, something in many places; 2; 6

poprzyprowadzać —bring a large number of people, animals, one after another; 0; 2

poprzyrządzać —prepare many of something, one after another; 0; 14

poprzysiadać —sit down one after another; 5; 2

poprzysiadać się —about a large number of people, sit down (together) one after another; 0; 2

poprzyskakiwać —about many people, animals, leap, one after another come running jumping; 0; 2

poprzysłaniać —obscure, shade one after another, or from many sides; 2; 5

poprzyskakiwać —about many, stop; 0; 14

poprzystawiać —put up something in many places; 0; 5

poprzystrajać —bedeck, embellish many of something one after another or bedeck something in many places; 2; 5

poprzysuwać —move many things to something, to someone or to some spot; 3; 2

poprzysuwać się —about many: move to something, someone; 1; 2

poprzysychać —about a large number of something, cake, stick, dry, or stick, dry in many places; 2; 5

poprzyszywać —sew many of something or something in many places; 13; 6

poprzytulać —hug one after another; 211; 14

poprzytulać się —about many, cuddle; cuddle one after another; 53; 14

poprzyuczać —teach many one after another; 0; 14

poprzyuczać się — about many, learn one after another; 0; 14

poprzywiązywać — tie many things, plants animals or people or tie something in many places; 26; 6

poprzywłaszczać —appropriate one after another; 2; 7

poprzywozić —bring many things or people; 9; 2

poprzyznawać —acknowledge, award many of something, one after another; 5; 7

poprzyznawać się —admit one after another to many faults; 0; 14

popuchnąć—about many people or many parts of the body: swell up; 16; 5

popuszczać – let out or let in somewhere many (anim.) or many of something; about a large number of things: stop holding or about one thing: let go in many places; 955; 2

popytać (się) —ask many (anim.), one after another, asking one after another find something out; 2,632; 11

porabować —rob, steal one after another; 7; 3

porachować —calculate one after another; 281; 7

porachować się —about many people: count each other; 33; 7

poranić —inflict wounds in many places or to many people; 1,974; 1

poranić się —cut oneself in many places; sustain many wounds; 22; 1

porąbać —hurt somebody in many places; 1,683; 1

pordzewieć —become rusted in many places, one after another; 76; 1

poregulować —regulate many of something, one after another; 11; 14

poreperować —repair a damaged object in many places or repair many objects; 19; 5

poretuszować —perform a retouching or alteration of something one after another, retouch, polish one after another; 2; 5

porobić —perform many of something or complete many activities; also about many people: do something; in relation to many people or things: transform into somebody or something different; 3,898; 14

porobić się —about a large number of something, come into being, appear; 219; 14

porodzić się —about many: be born; about many thoughts: come into being; 14; 14

porosnąć —grow, one after another; 4,182; 14

porozbiegać się —about a large number of people, disperse to different sides; 3; 2

porozbierać —undress many people one after another; dismantle to pieces many of something; about many people: divide among themselves a large quantity of something; 62; 4

porozbierać się —about many people: undress; remove from oneself many clothes; 6; 4

porozbijać —smash something one after another entirely or partially; put up one after another many tents, camps; 665; 1, 5

porozchodzić się —about a group: depart in different directions; about several, many things: part, making a slit; crack in many places; about many marriages: divorce; 35; 2, 5, 14

porozciągać — stretch out by pulling many of something crumpled; smoothe out many clothes; smoothe out a large number of something; deliver many of something to different places or lose many things; 108; 9, 13, 2

porozciągać się —about one or many things: become stretched; about many people: lie down in a straight position, with stretched out legs; 4; 2, 5

porozcierać —rub many numb or sore places; rubbing, crush many of something; distribute many of something along some surface; also about many: rub, chafe something; 3; 5

porozcinać —slit many of something in many places; 118; 1

porozczepiać —pull apart many of something; 0; 4

porozczesywać —comb out many of something; 1; 5

porozdawać —give out something to many; run out of something, giving to many people; divide something among many people; 124; 10

porozdrabniać —grind down many of something; divide something among many users or into groups; 1; 1, 5, 4

porozdrabniać się —divide into small pieces; be divided among many or into parts; 0; 4

porozdziawiać —about many people, animals, open widely the lips, beak, muzzle; 7; 14

porozdzielać —divide something among many people or distribute many of something; make barriers between many things or divide something with something in many places; 225; 4

porozdzielać się —about a large number of people, groups, divide into smaller groups; 4; 4

porozdzierać —tear many of something or something in many places; 44; 1

porozdziewać —remove clothing from many people, undress many people; 2; 4

porozgałęziać się —fork in many places, in large number; 0; 5

porozganiać —disperse into different places; 6; 2

porozglądać się — look around repeatedly in various directions; 137; 12

porozgłaszać —make public many things or one thing to many people; 1; 11

porozgradzać —with barricades divide many of something or something in many places; remove barricades between many things or parts of something; 1; 4

porozgraniczać —mark out a border line in many places of something or demarcate many things; differentiate many phenomena, notions; 2; 5

porozgrzewać —heat up several or many people; 1; 14

porozgryzać —bite into many of something or something in many places; 5; 5

porozjaśniać —light up many of something, one after another, something in many places; 2; 14

porozjeżdżać —going and then flatten, squash something in many places or run over many of something; 122; 1

porozjeżdżać się —about a large number of people: part, depart in many directions; 78; 2

porozklejać —stick many of something in many places; divide many stuck things or something stuck in many places; 47; 2, 4

porozklejać się —come unglued in many places; also about a large number of something: come unglued; about many people: give in to emotion or weakness; 3; 4

porozkładać —unfold many of something in many places; 221; 5

porozkładać się —about many people: make oneself at home somewhere, occupying some space; 6; 14

porozkopywać —dig many of something or holes in many places; 3; 1

porozkradać —steal everything or many things, taking out gradually; 11; 3

porozkręcać —uncoil, untwist into parts or disclaim, deny many of something; also: untwist something in many places; smooth out many of something crumpled; 27; 13, 4

porozkręcać się —uncoil in many places; also about many things: uncoil or be uncoiled; about many crumpled things: yield to smoothing; 0; 4, 13

porozkwitać —about many plants, blossom flowers; 0; 14

porozlewać —spill in many places; 39; 5

porozlatywać się —about a large number of birds, insects: fly off in many directions; about a group of people or animals: disperse in different directions or go to different places; about a large number of things: break into pieces, parts; 1; 2, 1

porozłazić się —about a large number of people: disperse, sprawl; 6; 2

porozlepiać —paste on many of something in many places; divide something stuck together in many places or many things stuck together; 32; 6, 4

porozjaśniać —light up many of something, one after another, something in many places; 2; 14

porozlewać się —about liquid: be spilled or spill in many places or on a large surface; 1; 5

porozmazywać się —be smudged or smudge in many places; about many people: succumb to emotion and burst out crying; 0; 5, 14

porozmiatać —scatter many of something in different directions; 0; 2

porozmieszczać —deploy, arrange somewhere many people or things; 76; 2

porozmnażać —multiply many of something; 6; 14

poroznosić —deliver, hand over many of something in different directions, places, to many people; 19; 2

porozpadać się —fall apart into many parts; 15; 1, 4

porozpalać —kindle many campfires or bonfires, in many places; 5; 5

porozpatrywać —examine one after another; 0; 7

porozpędzać —disperse, dispel many, one after another, in all directions; 10; 2

porozpierać —tear many of something; 0; 1

porozpierać się —about many people, lounge; 0; 14

porozpinać —unbutton many of something, one after another; 60; 4

porozpinać się —in relation to many: undo one's clothes or undo many of its parts; 3; 4

porozpisywać —write many of something; 6; 11

porozplatać —unbraid many of something, or one after another; 0; 4

porozpoczynać —start many of something all at once, begin one after another; 5; 14

porozpożyczać —lend many of something to many people; 1; 10

porozpraszać —scatter something in all directions; settle in various places, far from each other; 11; 2

porozprowadzać —distribute many people to various places; deliver many of something to various places; 0; 2

porozpruwać —unstitch many of something or something in many places; 14; 4

porozpruwać się —about something: come unstitched in many places; also about many things: become unstitched; 0; 4

porozpuszczać —permit many people to depart from some group, release them from obligation; permit someone to split up in various directions, head to various places; dissolve, direct many of something to a liquid state; melt many of something; 2; 4, 14

porozrastać się — about many people, animals, plants: grow; 0; 14

porozrywać —tear many of something or something in many places; 320; 1

porozrywać się —break in many places; also about a large number of something: be torn; 3; 1

porozrzucać —scatter many of something in various directions or something on some surface; scatter many things, making a mess; put many people or things a certain distance from each other; 2,216; 2

porozrzynać —cut many of something or something in many places; 3; 5

porozsadzać —split up many of something with the help of detonation of material or cause the breakdown of something due to pressure from inside; mark places to sit for many people and seat them there; separate many people, seating them in different places; 25; 1, 2

porozsiadać się —about many people: lounge; 17; 14

porozsiewać —scatter many of something or scatter many of something in many places, on a large surface; make public a lot of information; 19; 2, 14

porozstawiać —position many things a certain distance from one another; mark the places, posts of a large number of people or position many people a certain distance from each other; 242; 2, 5

porozsychać się —dry out in many places, or one after another; 1; 5

porozstrzygać —settle many matters; 2; 14

porozsuwać —unfold, part many of something; increase the surface of many things by pulling out the component parts; 19; 5

porozsychać się —dry out one after another, gradually or dry out in many places; 1; 5

porozsyłać —send out many of something in many directions; also: send many people to different places; 111; 2, 10

porozsypywać —scatter, spill many of something on some surface or scatter something in many places; 31; 5

porozsypywać się —be scattered on some surface in many places; 2; 5

porozszczepiać —cleave many of something, one after another or one in many places; 2; 5

porozszczepiać się — fall apart into many parts; 0; 4

porozświecać się —about a large number of something: glow with light; 0; 5

poroztaczać —spread many of something, unfurl something one after another; 0; 5

poroztapiać — melt, take to a liquid state many of something, one after another; 0; 5

poroztapiać się —about a large number of something, become melted; 0; 5

poroztrącać —push and shove many people; 9; 14

poroztrząsać —spread many of something in different directions; 11; 2

poroztwierać —dissolve, dilute many of something; 0; 5

porozwalać —demolish many of something or smash something in many places; injure many of something or something in many places; execute by firing squad many people; 164; 1

porozwalać się —about a large number of people: sit down carelessly; 2; 2

porozwiązywać —untie many things tied to each other; untie knots, remove strings from many things; find solutions to many problems; annul many agreements, arrangements, etc. heretofore binding; 35; 4

porozwiązywać się —about many things connected to each other or tied up: be untied or come untied; about many agreements, laws, etc. heretofore binding: be annulled; 1; 4

porozwierać —open many of something; 0; 14

porozwieszać —hang many things, usually in many places; 302; 2

porozwiewać —blow many of something, in many places; ;5

porozwijać —unfurl, uncoil many of something twisted, rolled up or unwrap many of something wrapped with something; 24; 13

porozwijać się —about many things: uncoil, unwind, being previously wound in something or rolled up; about a large number of plants: unfurl from the buds; 0; 13

porozwlekać —spread out many things in different directions, on a large surface; carry out furtively many of something; tell or write too extensively, in too much detail on some topic; 9; 5, 2

porozwozić —deliver one after another many people or things to different places; 32; 2

porujnować —turn to ruin one after another; 3; 1

porujnować się —about a large number of something: turn to ruin; 0; 1

porumienić —make ruddy a certain number of something, one after another; 2; 5

porumienić się —about a large number of something: become ruddy; 1; 5

poryć —carve, dig in many places; 218; 5

porysować się —about many things: be covered in scratches or about one: become scratched in many places; 11; 5

porzeźbić —carve many of something, one after another; 25; 5

porznąć —slit in many places; 31; 5

porzucać – throw many of something one after another; 6,300; 2

porżnąć —cut many of something or slit something in many places or into many parts; 107; 5

porżnąć się —cut oneself in many places with something sharp; 8; 5

posadowić —sit many (anim) up one after another; 1,422; 2

posadowić się —about many people: sit down comfortably; 9; 2

poschnąć —about a large number of something: become dry, dry out one after another; 19; 5

poschodzić —descend in large number, one after another; 21; 2

poschodzić się —about many people, animals: gather in one place; 2

poschwytywać —capture many of something, one after another; 0; 3

poschylać —bend many of something one after another; 1; 13

posednić —chafe the skin of many horses with a horse collar, saddle, etc.; 0; 5

posiadać – about many: sit down one after another; 10,000+ (243,683); 2

posiec —cut down trees one after another, chopping with an ax; 26; 1

posiewać —scatter a large amount, number of something; 29; 2

posiniaczyć —give bruises to many people; 353; 1

posiodłać —saddle a large number of animals; 3; 5

poskapywać —drip from somewhere in large drops; 0; 5

posklecać —throw together, patch together many of something, one after another throw something in many places; 7; 2

posklejać —glue together many of something one after another or in many places; create, organize or arrange something from many elements; 724; 6

posklejać się —about many things: be glued together; 9; 6

poskładać —fold up a large number of something unfolded, dismantled; 1,567; 5

poskłaniać —induce, persuade many, one after another; 1; 14

poskracać —shorten the length of many things; make more concise many of something or something in many places; shorten the time of duration of many things or many elements of one thing; 71; 5, 14

poskreślać —cross out words or fragments of a text in many places; 22; 5

poskręcać —give to many things the shape of a spiral or cause the bending of many things or one thing in many places; wreathe many of something or something in many places; about many people, vehicles: change the direction of motion; screw into a whole the elements of some thing or many things; 640; 13, 9, 5

poskręcać się —about many things: yield, be subjected to curling up one after another or in many places; about many people: assume a huddled position; about many people: react violently; 10; 13, 14

poskrobać —scale many of something; 160; 5

poskrzyć — illuminate many of something or something in many places; 0; 5

poskubać —pluck many of something; 39; 4

poskupiać -- gather one after another, collect in many places; 1; 2

poskupywać —buy many things of one type, from many people; 0; 3

poskurzać — clench many of something, one after another or clench something in many places; 0; 5

posłupieć —go numb, stiffen up one after another; 0; 14

posnąć —about many people and animals: fall asleep; 158; 14

posnuć —cover with something many of something; 27; 5

posowieć —about a large number of people, become dejected, become apathetic; 3; 14

pospać się —about many people: fall asleep; 25; 14

pospadać —about a definite number of people, animals and things: fall down one after another; 402; 2

pospajać —cement something in several places; 3; 4

pospalać —burn many of something; 0; 1

pospawać —welding, connect many of something or something in many places; 80; 6

pospędzać —chase off from somewhere many people or animals; driving from many places, gather somewhere many people or animals; 5; 2

pospierać —wash out from many things stains or wash out from some thing many stains; 114; 5

pospinać —fasten together many of something or fasten together something in many places; connect, join with something the edges of something in space; 67; 6

pospisywać —make a list of many things or people; copy many of something from somebody or from something; write down the details of many people because of some kind of transgression; 65; 5

posplatać —wreathe many things; 39; 5

pospłacać -- pay off debts one after another; 108; 10

pospłaszczać —flatten many of something or flatten in many places; 0; 5

pospłaszczać się —flatten in many places; 0; 5

pospływać —about many boats, ships: set sail one after another; 0; 2

pospraszać —invite many people; 6; 8

posprawdzać —test many things one after another; 416; 14

posprawiać —buy many of something or for many people; 3; 3

posprowadzać —bring many or many of something, bring one after another; 0; 2

posprzątać —take away from somewhere many things and take to an appropriate place for them; 6,312; 2

posprzedawać —sell many of something or sell off something one after the other; 95; 10

pospuszczać —slide many of something down from above; change the position of many things to a downward direction; 53; 2

pospychać —shoving transfer many of something down below; knock down, throw out from something many things or people; push off many of something one after another; 5; 2

postawiać —many to set up, put, place; 191; 2, 5

postemplować — impress a stamp in many places, on many objects; 10; 5

postępiać —blunt, dull many of something; 0; 5

postrachać – frighten many; 0; 14

postrachać się —about a definite number of people or animals: get scared; 0; 14

postrącać —knock off many of something; 39; 2, 4

postroić —decorate many of something; 33; 5

postrzelać —shooting, injure a person or animal in many places: also: kill a definite number of people, animals; shooting, pierce something in many places; 868; 1

postrzępić się —about many things: be subjected to fraying; or about one thing: fray in many places; 6; 1

postrzyc – skin, cut (hair of) many people or animals; 43; 5

postulać —about many: tuck, fold something; 197; 5

postulać się —about many flowers: draw in its petals; 0; 14

posumować —add up everything, one after another; 150; 7

posuszyć —dry off many of something one after another; 59; 5

posypać —build, shake out one after another; 7,560; 4

poszaleć —go mad, one after another; 1,127; 14

poszarpać —tear something in many places or tear into pieces; 1,721; 1

poszarpać się —yield to tearing in many places; 21; 1

poszczerbić —chip in many places or many things one after another; 121; 1

poszczerbić się —be chipped in many places; also about many things: be subjected to chipping; 3; 1

poszczypać —pinch repeatedly or in many places; 31; 5

poszlachtować — wound, kill many; complete the slaughter of many head of cattle; 2; 1

posznurować —lace up many things, one after another; 9; 6

poszorować —scrub many people or many things; 9; 5

posztukować —lengthen many things or one thing in many places; 9; 5

poszyć – sew many of something or a few things one after another; 1,856; 6

poszykować—prepare many of something, one after another; 27; 14

pościągać —take, remove many of something (from somewhere) from many people or things; lessen the surface of a material in many places by pulling, crinkling, sewing up; about many: strongly connect, hold down something with something; gather, lead from different places many people or things to one place; about many people: arrive somewhere from many places; copy out secretly from someone or from a crip, book etc. home work; use without permission some sources, someone's ideas, etc.; 288; 4, 2

pościągać się —about many things: shrink in many places; 0; 5

pościerać —wipe off, clean the surface of many things; damage something in many places or many of something by friction; 74; 5

pościerać się —about many things: be subjected to wearing out, destruction by friction; also: be destroyed, wear out in many places; wear out from the surface of something; also: be subjected to wearing out in many places; 5; 1

pościnać —cut down many of something; deprive the life of many people by cutting off their heads; freeze something in many places; not to count the exams of many examinees; 100; 1, 5, 14

pościnać się —freeze over in many places; also, about many water containers: freeze over in places; about many people: not to pass an exam; also about one person: not to pass many exams; 1; 5, 14

pościskać —press, grip, bind one after another, many of something; 16; 6

poślepnąć —about many: lose sight; 7; 14

pośniedzieć —be covered by patina, tarnish, usually about many or several objects; 2; 5

pośpić —lull to sleep, one after another; 0; 14

pośrutować —break grain cereal into small pieces or coarsely grind it; 1; 1

poświdrować —piercing, drilling make many or several openings; 2; 1, 5

poświerknąć —about many or several people: be cold; 0; 14

potajać —about snow, ice, thaw, dissolve in many places, in large quantity; 2; 5

potępić —in relation to many sharp objects, make blunt; 10,000+ (21,096); 5

potępić się –about many sharp objects: be subjected to dulling; 51; 5

potkać —weave material one after another; 116; 9, 13

potłumaczyć – translate into another language one after another one work, sentence, word, etc.; 123; 14

potoczyć —cut, grind many of something; 8,313; 1

potonąć —sink one after another; 82; 2

potopić —drown many people, animals; sink many things; dissolve, melt many of something; 4,390; 1, 5

potopić się —about many people or animals: incur death as a result of drowning; about many objects: sink; melt; 79; 1, 5

potracić —lose many things, features, many near and dear people, etc.; about many people or things: lose something, incur loss; 795; 14

potracić się —about many (anim.): lose one another; 1; 14

potratować —trample many people or places or trample something in many places; 39; 1

potruchleć —about many people: go numb from terror; 2; 14

potruć —poison many people or animals; cause the poisoning of many people, giving them spoiled food; 104; 1

potruć się —about many people or animals: be poisoned; 8; 1

potrudzić —exhaust one after another; 148; 14

potrwonić —squander, waste one after another; 1; 14

potrwożyć —fill with terror one after another; 6; 14

potrzaskać —break something in many places or smash, break many things; crack in many places; about many things: crack; 778; 1

potrzaskać się —be broken or crack in many places; 10; 1

potrzepać —shake down, beat many of something; 43; 14

potulić —fold many of something; 0; 5

potworzyć —set up many of something, one after another; 483; 2

potworzyć się —about a large number of something: appear one after another; be organized, established in large number; 164; 14

potynkować —plaster many of something; 22; 6, 5

poubierać —dress many people; buy clothes for many people; 230; 5

poubierać się —about many people: get dressed; 7; 5

poubożyć —impoverish many, one after another; 0; 14

pouchodzić —flee one after another; 0; 2

pouchwalać —enact many rights, laws, etc.; 4; 14

pouchylać—open slightly many windows, doors; 11; 5

pouciekać —about many people, animals: escape, flee in fear from something or from a dangerous place; 615; 2

poucinać —cut off many of something, cut one after another; about many people: violently stop, finish something, usually a conversation; 124; 4

pouczepiać —hitch many of something, one after another; 1; 6

pouczepiać się —about many people: seize hold of something; about many things: get caught in something, cling to something; 0; 3

pouczyć się —learn something one after another; 568; 14

pouduszać się —about many, be suffocated; 0; 1

pouiszczać —pay many of something, one after another; 0; 10

poujmować —catch, grasp one after another; take many in hand; 0; 3

poukładać —put, arrange many of something in a definite order; arrange, create many wholes from individual elements; create, compose, edit many of something; 6,038; 2, 14

poukładać się —about many people: lie down somewhere; enter into agreements with many people; 68; 2, 8

poukraszać —ornament, beautify, decorate many of something, many things; 0; 5

poukręcać —turning, break off many of something; 16; 1, 4

poukrywać —hide many people or things; 240; 2

poukrywać się —about many people or animals: hide oneself; 21; 2

poułamywać —break off many of something; 1; 1, 4

poułatwiać —facilitate, ease one after another; 0; 14

poumacniać —strengthen, fortify something in many places; 0; 6

poumawiać — agree with one another many people; 44; 8

poumawiać się —agree, establish something with many people; 11; 8

poumierać —about many people, seldom about animals: die, one after another; about many plants: perish; 454; 1

poumieszczać —settle somewhere many people; put or place somewhere many things; 82; 2

poumykać —make off, flee, one after another; 6; 2

poupadać —fall down one after another; 131; 2

poupiększać —beautify many of something or drape something in many places; 3; 5

poupinać —drape many things or drape something in many places; 6; 5

pouprzątać —tidy up many of something, put everything in order in turn; 2; 5

poupychać —stuff many of something into some places; 227; 2

pourabiać —mould, win over many people; 3; 14

pourywać —tear off many of something; about many people: suddenly stop speaking, singing, playing, etc.; 270; 4, 14

pourywać się —be torn off in many places; also about many things: be torn off one after another about many people: slip out from somewhere ahead of schedule; 9; 4, 14

pourządzać —supply many rooms with the appropriate equipment; organize many parties, excursions, etc.; put in order the matters of many people, protect the living standards of many people; 12; 14

pourządzać się – about many people: equip their places with furniture, appliances, etc.; about many people: put in order one's interests, ensure one's standard of living; 1; 5, 14

pousadzać —seat many people somewhere; subdue many people; 13; 2

pousadzać się —about many people: occupy places; 0; 14

pousiadać —sit down, occupy places one after another; 0; 2

poustalać —establish, fix many things one after another or set up something with many people; 28; 8, 14

poustawiać —put many things in a definite order, in a certain place, in a definite position; build many of something; give to many things, devices a suitable position; summon to order many people; about a director: interpret the role of many actors; 969; 2, 14

poustawiać się —about many people: stand in a certain position, in a certain order; about many people: direct one's affairs so as to achieve benefit; 9; 5, 14

pousuwać —remove, put to the side many of something; remove many people from a post, place of work, school, etc.; liquidate, take off many of something; remove many parts from a living organism or from many living organisms; 421; 4

pousuwać się —about many people: leave or move away; 2; 2

pousychać —about a large number of plants: perish; 13; 1

pousypiać —about many people: fall asleep; lull to sleep a large number of people; put to death many animals by injection of a chemical agent; give to many sick before an operation a sleep-inducing agent; 12; 1

poutrącać —chip many things; not to accept many people to the occupation of some posts or cause their removal from positions already occupied; 15; 1, 14

poutwierdzać —confirm many of something; 0; 14

poutykać —seal, insulate many gaps, openings; jam tightly many of something; settle somewhere many people, give lodgings to many people; about many people: come to a halt somewhere; settle somewhere, usually according to one's wishes; about many trips and their passengers: come to a halt, not able to to further; 102; 5, 2

pouwiązywać —tie up many of something; 1; 6

pouzbrajać —arm many, one after another; 2; 14

pouzgadniać —agree on many things or agree something with many people; 18; 8

pouzupełniać —supplement, replenish many of something; 140; 14

powabić —tempt many; 0; 14

powalcować – flatten with a roller many of something; 4; 5, 13

powariować —about many people: behave in an unpredictable, unreasonable way; about many people: fall into intellectual sickness; 515; 14

powarzyć —spoil the mood of many people; 6; 14

poważyć —weigh many people, animals, things, weigh something one after another; 537; 7

poważyć się – about many people: weigh oneself; 338; 7

powbijać —stick in something or plant in something many of something; 222; 5

powbijać się —about many things: be stuck in; 11; 5

powchodzić —about many people: enter somewhere one after another; also: enter from a lower place to a higher place; 29; 2

powciągać —pull in somewhere many people or things; about many people: put something on oneself; also: put on oneself or on someone many clothes; hire for something many people; 23; 2, 5

powcielać —involve many in something; 3; 14

powcinać —eat many of something quickly, with an appetite; 33; 14

powciskać —get many of something into something tight or already filled; about one or many people: jam onto oneself or onto someone many clothes; situate somewhere many people, making use of cunning, patronage, etc.; 67; 2, 5, 14

powciskać się —about many people: enter with difficulty to a tight place; also: sink into something; about many people: get a job, some post, etc. with difficulty, thanks to cunning or patronage; about many people: put some clothes on oneself with difficulty; 3; 2, 5, 14

powdowieć —about many, become a widow; 0; 14

powdziewać —put many clothes on oneself; 0; 5

powiązać —connect the ends of many strings, threads, etc. with the help of a knot; tying, form many of something; 10,000+ (36,817); 6

powielać —repeat something in many copies; 7,744; 14

powiercić—bore out many openings; 63; 5

powieszać —hang many of something; execute many people by hanging; 41; 1

powiędnąć —wither one after another; 33; 1

powjeżdżać —about many trips or people: enter some terrain, inside of something or up from below; 0; 2

powklejać —paste a large number of something one after another; 131; 6

powkładać —put somewhere many of something; put on many clothes; deposit money, securities into a bank, into a bank book, etc.; 158; 2, 5, 14

powkopywać —sink, plant, kick many of something; 0; 5

powkręcać —screw in many of something; cleverly in a way not too honestly arrange for many people posts, good jobs or introduce to some kind of circle; 22; 6, 14

powkręcać się —about many things: be screwed into something; about many people: cleverly, in a manner not too honest get somewhere, occupy some posts, offices, etc.; 7; 6, 14

powlatywać —about many insects, birds: flying, get inside of something; about many people: run in somewhere; about many people: run into something or each other; 0; 2

powłazić —about many people or animals: enter somewhere or climb onto something high, one after another; 35; 2

powmurowywać —set, fix in one after another; 0; 6

pownosić —carry, bring many people or things; 5; 2

powpadać —about many things, people: fall into something, somewhere, sink into something; about many people, trips: collide with someone, with something; about many people: fall into some state; about many people: be caught doing something; 87; 2, 14

powpinać —stick many of something; 31; 6

powplatać —weave into something many ribbons, strings, etc.; 21; 9, 13

powplątywać —entwine many of something, one after another; 1; 9, 13

powprawiać —set, fix many of something, one after another; 3; 6

powprowadzać —take somewhere many people animals or things; introduce to something many changes or new elements; 41; 2, 14

powprowadzać się —about many people: occupy some apartment, building, in order to settle in it; 0; 14

powpuszczać —let in somewhere many people or animals; 2; 2

powpychać —put in by force, put many of something somewhere; 21; 2

powpychać się —about many people: enter somewhere by force; 5; 2

powrastać —about a large number of something: take root one after another or take root in many places; 6; 5

powrzucać —throw, toss one after another; 256; 2

powsadzać —put somewhere many of something; help many people get in, enter something; lock many people in jail; 210; 2, 4

powschodzić —about many plants: sprout, grow out; 17; 5

powsiadać —about many people: get on board some means of locomotion; 11; 2

powskakiwać —about many people or animals: jump into something; 7; 2

powspierać —prop many of something against something; 9; 5

powstawać —about many people: wake up and get out of bed; also: get up from some place; 10,000+ (96,308); 8, 5

powstawiać —put many things somewhere, into something; 350; 2

powstydzić —embarrass many, one after another; 1,120; 14

powszczepiać —instill, implant many of something, one after another, or something in many places; 15; 5

powszczepiać się —be grafted, implanted one after another or in many places; 1; 5

powściekać się —about many people: fall into anger, annoyance; 24; 14

powtykać —shove somewhere many things or shove something into many places; 140; 2

powybiegać —run out one after another; 7; 2

powybielać —bleach one after another; 0; 5

powybierać —about many people: carry out a selection from among many people or things; appoint many people to some office or to the performance of some functions by voting; 155; 3, 14

powybijać —hitting, smash many of something; hitting something, make many openings, depressions; kill many animals; hit, inlay with something many of something; make many metal objects by the method of beating, pressing; 901; 1

powychodzić —about many people: leave some places; about many boats: sail off from port; about many people: leave a place of forced stay; about hair: fall out; 182; 2

powychylać —lean one after another; 4; 5

powyciągać —pull out from somewhere many of something; about many people: straighten or stretch to the front arms, legs, head; impel many people to leave from somewhere; help many people get out of some difficult situation; cleverly, deceitfully impel many people to disclosure of something; swindle something from many people; 456; 2, 14

powyciągać się —about many people or animals: straighten up or lie in a straight position; about one thing: be stretched out in many places, or about many things: be stretched out; ; 2, 5

powycierać —wipe off, drain, dry many people or things; wiping, remove from somewhere some kind of pollutant; due to frequent wearing cause wearing out of clothes in many places; 166; 5, 1

powycierać się —dry off or clean oneself in many places; be subjected to damage in many places due to frequent rubbing, use, wearing; touching something, rubbing against something, besoil clothes in many places; 16; 5, 1

powycinać —cutting, make slashes, openings in something; cut out many of something from a whole; slashing, remove many of something; remove from the whole some fragments; 620; 5

powyciskać —squeeze many of something, one after another, squeeze in many places; 12; 5

powycofywać —withdraw many of something; removing, pick up from somewhere many of something; remove from use, circulation many things; dismiss some decision, prohibition, etc.; 4; 4, 14

powycofywać się —about many people, trips, etc: withdrawing, leave some place, some position; about many people: change opinion in some matter, or about one person: change one's opinion in various matters; about many people: resign from some activity, from participation in something, or about one person: resign from participation in many things, cease many activities; 1; 2, 14

powydawać —allocate something to many people, supply something to many people or give out many of something one after another; lay out a lot of money for something or spend everything; give out many people or reveal many matters before someone; print out many of something;

enact many legal acts; write out some documents to many people or many documents one after another ; give out one after another; 23; 10, 14

powydawać się —about many matters: be revealed one after another; about many people: let on about something; about many women: get married; 0; 14

powydeptować —trample down many of something, or in many places; 0; 1

powydłużać —lengthen something one after another, or something in many places; 2; 14

powydobywać —bring out, take out many of something; 2; 2

powydrapywać —scrape many of something, or in many places; 5; 5

powydzielać —secrete, give off many of something; 7; 14

powydzierać —plundering, tear out, snatch, free many of something from somewhere; 28; 1, 3

powyganiać —expel from somewhere many people, animals; 13; 2

powyginać —give to many objects an arched shape or bend something in many places; about many people, animals: bend, lower some part of the body; 568; 13

powyginać się —bend over, forward, arch in many places; 18; 13

powygładzać —squeeze out many of something, one after another; 7; 14

powygniatać —mashing, grinding, leave many marks on something; destroy something in many places by treading, sitting through, etc.; 4; 1

powygrywać —win something one after another; 36; 14

powygryzać —gnaw many of something, in something one after another, something in many places; 30; 1

powyjadać —eat up many of something until the last; eating, take out something from something one after another; 6; 14

powyjaśniać —make understandable many matters, processes, etc.; 65; 14

powyjaśniać się —about many matters: become understood, find their grounds; 0; 14

powyjeżdżać —about many people: go out from somewhere; 118; 2

powyjmować —about one person: take out from somewhere many of something, or about many people: take out something from somewhere; 72; 4

powykańczać —take to the end many of something; use up to the end many of something; cause the death of many people, animals; also: cause the loss of health, strength of many people, animals; 19; 9, 1

powykończać —take to the end many of something; use up to the end many of something; cause the death of many people, animals; also: cause the loss of health, strength of many people, animals; 19; 9, 1

powyklejać —line many of something or line something in many places; 12; 14

powykłuwać —poke something, usually the eyes, of many people, animals; poke in something many openings; prick, puncture with something some surface, set up many patterns; 5; 1

powykopywać —dig many of something one after another, in many places; 1; 5

powykradać —steal away many of something; kidnap or carry away surreptitiously from somewhere many people; 2; 3

powykrawać —cut something out in many places; 3; 4

powykreślać—cross off, remove, many of something or cross off in many places; drawing, carry out many drawings, graphs; 35; 14, 5

powykręcać — unscrew many of something one after another, unscrew something in many places; squeeze water from many things; 381; 4

powykrzywiać —about many people: twist something or twist many of something or twist something in many places; 232; 9, 13

powykrzywiać się —about a large number of something: be twisted, or about one thing: be twisted in many places; about many people: make a source face, grimace; 3; 9, 13, 14

powykupywać —buying, exhaust the reserves of something, buy out many of something one after another; crying, recover many previously owned things; also: free from somewhere for a fee many people; 13; 3, 2

powykuwać —forge something in many places; 0; 6

powylatywać —about many birds, insects: fly off from somewhere; about many airplanes, balloons, etc: start off; about many things: fall out from something or fly off, come off in many places; about many people: run off from somewhere; about many people: be thrown out, fall from somewhere; 33; 2, 4

powylegać —leave one after another; 0; 2

powylewać —pour out many of something or pour out something in many places, from many vessels; about many rivers, streams, etc: flood the banks; remove, throw out many people from somewhere; 24; 2, 5

powyludniać —depopulate one after another; 0; 2

powyłamywać —break off many of something or break off something in many places; 134; 4, 1

powyłamywać się —about many things: break; 1; 1

powyłapywać —catch many people or things one after another; seek out or uncover many of something; 8; 3

powyłazić —about many: leave, get out of somewhere; about many: climb, go higher; about many things: become noticeable, coming out from somewhere; about hair, fur: fall out one after another; about many errors, faults: be or become noticeable; about many people: get out of a troublesome situation; 63; 2, 14

powyłączać —exclude many people from some activities, from some group; unplug many devices; 98; 14

powyłudzać —swindle many of something one after another; 2; 14

powyłupiać —chip off many of something, something in many places; 2; 1

powymiatać —sweep out many of something from somewhere or sweep out something from many places; 19; 5

powymieniać —exchange between each other many things or people; exchange many parts, things, usually damaged, for others; list, quote many place names, personal names, etc.; 763; 14

powymierać —about many people or animals: die off, become extinct; 121; 1

powymykać się – slip, one after another; 2; 2

powymyślać – invent many of something; also about many people: invent something; 215; 14

powymywać —scour many or many of something, scour in many places; 2; 5

powynajmować —hire for a job many people; rent out many of something; rent many of something; 6; 14

powynajmować się —about many people: accept paying work for someone, usually short-time; 0; 14

powynosić —take out many people, animals or many things from somewhere; raise the rank, office of many people or things; 64; 2, 14

powynosić się —about many people: leave, go out from or move away; 2; 2

powypadać —fall out, run out one after another; 145; 2

powypalać —burn something in many places; burn many holes in something or signs in something; destroy many of something by fire; about the sun: damage by scorching many of something; consume many of something by fire; subject many of something to the action of fire, give permanence to many objects by blazing in fire; 28; 1

powypalać się —about many candles: burn out; 1; 1

powypełniać —fill with something many containers; occupy, fill in large number many rooms, places; write out data for many rubrics, formulas, etc.; 65; 5

powypełzać – crawl out one after another; 2; 2

powypędzać —take away from somewhere many people or animals, forcing them to journey to a certain place; force many people, animals to leave, chiefly undesirables; 23; 2

powypiekać —scorch (bake) in many places; 0; 1

powypierać – (impf.) wash many of something; washing, remove all the stains from something; (pf.) drive out, push from somewhere many people; 1; 5

powypierać się – about many stains: be removed by washing; about patterns, fabric, colors: fade in the wash; about many people: renounce someone, something; not to admit to many things; 0; 5, 14

powypisywać —fill in many prints, fonts, formulas, etc., compile many documents ; write out many fragments from a large text, register, etc.; write many things incompatible with the truth and not very clever; also: writing, accuse or slander someone; use a lot of something, writing; cross out many people from a list of participants; 227; 5, 14

powypisywać się —about many people: withdraw from some organization or from some participation in something; about many pens, pencils: be written out (i.e., run out of ink, graphite); 0; 14

powypłacać —pay money to many people, pay one after another; 7; 14

powyprawiać —send out to many, one after another; 8; 10

powypruwać — unstitch many things, get out from them content (s); 4; 4

powyprzątać —tidy up, remove many things from some room; tidy up many places, rooms; 0; 5

powyprzęgać —unhitch many animals; 0; 4

powypuszczać —release many people, animals or many of something; about many plants: give off petals, leaves, flowers; about many people: drop something; 30; 4

powypychać —due to frequent wearing wear out clothing, cause bulging of fabric in many places; shoving, remove from somewhere many people or things; fill many of something with a large quantity of something; give to many things a definite form by filling them with a suitable material; 33; 1, 5

powyrabiać —about many people: work out some documents; make many unsuitable things; 11; 14

powyrabiać się —about many things: be worn out due to frequent usage; 0; 1

powyrastać -- about many plants: grow out in many places; about many people: growing, leave some state or come into some state, become someone; about many people: growing, abandon an occupation typical for some age; about many people: growing, stop fitting into clothes, footwear worn until then; about many buildings, houses, etc: be built; 66; 14

powyrównywać —remove irregularity in many things, places; 1; 14

powyróżniać —favor many (anim.) or many of something; 3; 14

powyróżniać się – favor many or many of something; 0; 14

powyrywać —tear many of something or tear something in many places; set free, rescue many people; suddenly cause the rousing, recovery of many people from some state; 886; 1, 14

powyrządzać —damage many of something; 1; 1

powyrzucać —throw out many things; expel, release many people from somewhere; 265; 2

powyrzynać —make depressions or openings in something with a sharp implement; section off, cut out many from a whole; cut out, carve on something many drawings, inscriptions; save the lives of many people or animals; 65; 1, 5, 4

powysadzać —bringing many people somewhere, allow or order them to get out there; also: help many people to get out; about many people: move some part of the body outside of something; using detonating materials, destroy many of something; 15; 2, 1

powysadzać się —about many people: die as a result of blowing oneself up; about many people: making something for show, wanting to create the sensation of wealth; 0; 1, 14

powyskakiwać —about many people: jumping, get out from somewhere one after another; about many things: be pushed out due to the act of some force; appear in many places; about many people: leave for somewhere briefly; 21; 2, 14

powyskrobywać — scraping with something sharp, remove many of something; scraping with something sharp, write, draw many of something; 3; 5

powyskubywać —plucking, pull out many of something; about animals: plucking, eat many of something or pluck out something in many places; 0; 4

powystawiać — about many people: stretch out some part of the body; place many of something so that it would be visible to observers; about many people: subject some part of the body to the activity of the wind, sun, etc.; copy out or issue many documents; 43; 14

powystraszać —frightening, drive away from somewhere many people or animals; 4; 2

powystrzelać —shoot to death many people or animals; 181; 1

powystrzępiać —fray something in many places or fray many of something; 0; 1

powystrzępiać się —about many things: fray, or about one thing: fray in many places; 0; 1

powystrzygać —shear off many of something, something in many places; 4 ; 4

powysuwać -- move many things so that they would be visible; pull out from something or from under something many things; about people or animals: stretch out some part of the body; 7; 14

powysuwać się —about many people: leave imperceptibly; about many things: slip out or fall out from somewhere; about many people: come out of something; 4; 2

powysychać —about many things: become dry; about many water containers: dry out; about many plants: wither; 33; 5, 1

powysyłać —send many things or people; 557; 10

powysypywać —pour out many of something or pour out, spill something in many places, from many sacks, vessels, etc.; pouring, cover something with a layer of something in many places; 10; 5

powysypywać się —spill out from many containers, vessels, etc.; 1; 5

powysysać —suck out in many places, many of something; 2; 4

powyszarpywać – yank out in many places, many of something; 1; 4

powyszczerbiać —chip many of something or chip something in many places; 5; 1

powyszczerbiać się —about many objects: get chipped; 0; 1

powyszukiwać —searching, find many people, things; 7; 14

powyścibiać —about many (anim.), poke; 0; 5

powyściełać —obscure, cover many of something, in many places; 1; 5

powytaczać —roll, put forward many of something, one after another; 3; 2

powytłukiwać —smash many of something; 1; 1

powytracać —exterminate many (anim.); 1; 1

powytrącać —knock out many of something, one after another; 1; 1

powytruwać —poison many people, animals; 0; 1

powytruwać się —about many people: poison each other; 0; 1

powytrząsać —shaking, empty out many of something; 4; 4

powytrzeszczać —about many people: stare goggle-eyed; 1; 12

powytykać —poke out, expose many of something; 20; 5

powyuczać —teach many people something or teach someone many things; 0; 14

powyuczać się —about many people: learn something; teach oneself many things; 0; 14

powywabiać —lure out, lead out many; 0; 2

powywalać —throw away, empty out from somewhere many of something; get rid of many people from somewhere; release many people from work; break away, break or tear out many of something; 99; 2, 4

powywalać się —about many people: fall over, turn over; leave in large numbers; run out of many places, vehicles; about many things: fall down from somewhere; 1; 2

powywiercać —drill many openings; 1; 5

powywieszać —put up, hang up many of something outside; kill many people by hanging; 237; 1, 5

powywlekać —drag out many of something; drag out from somewhere many people by force, brutally; disclose, reveal or remind many forgotten matters; 10; 2, 14

powywozić —carrying, take away from somewhere many of something; carry off many people; 27; 2

powywracać —cause the fall of many people, topple many of something; turn away many of something; overturn many of something, something in many places; 215; 2

powywracać się —about many people or things: fall down; 9; 2

powyznaczać —outline many of something or outline something in many places with the help of lines, marks; 13; 5

powyzuwać – deprive many of something; 0; 14

powyzywać się —about many, challenge one another; 4; 8

powyżerać —about animals: devour many or all; also: devour in many places; about people: eat many of something or everything to the last; about chemicals: burn down, kill off many of something or something in many places; 4; 1

powyżłabiać —carve, dig many of something, carve, dig in many places; 1; 5

powzbierać —swell in many places; 0; 5

powzdymać —swell many of something, in many places; 0; 5

powzdymać się —bloat in many places; 0; 5

powznosić —lift, raise in many places; 11; 5

powznosić się —about many buildings: rise up; 0; 5

pozabierać —deprive someone many of something; tidying up, remove many of something; take with oneself many people or things; 211; 14, 5

pozabijać —kill many people or many animals; nail up with boards many openings; also: nail in with nails the covers of many containers; 2,196; 1, 6

pozabijać się —about many people: die or take one's life; 133; 1

pozachodzić —be covered with something in many places; about many things: overlap with each other frequently; come, drop by somewhere in great number, one after another; 7; 5, 2

pozachwycać —set in admiration many people; 82; 14

pozaciągać —move, shift many curtains, blinds so that they would block something out; cover many of something with something; pulling, put something somewhere one after another; take many loans, credits; 71; 2

pozaciągać się —about many people: begin service in the army, on a ship, etc.; 1; 14

pozaciekać —leak in many places; 4; 5

pozacierać —erase, daub something in many places or many of something; 91; 5

pozacierać się —fade away, become blurred in many places; about differences: yield to leveling; about many events, matters: succumb to oblivion, loss; 7; 5, 1

pozaciskać —clamp many of something, one after another, clamp in many places; 5; 6

pozaczepiać —fasten many of something or fasten something in many places; 33; 6

pozaczepiać się —about many things: catch hold of; also: catch hold of in many places; about many people: win somewhere a seat, job; 1; 3

pozaczynać —start many jobs, matters, activities; cut into many things; 26; 14

pozadawać —give many of something to many people for carrying out, making, solving; harness on the shoulders of one person or many people some kind of weights; 27; 14, 6

pozadłużać się —about many people: run up a debt; also: amass debts in many places, run up a debt with many people; 0; 14

pozadzierać —tear slightly something in many places; about many people, animals: raise up some part of the body or clothing; quarrel with many people; 12; 1, 14

pozadziergać —tie up many of something, in many places; 0; 6

pozaginać —bend in many places, from all sides or bend many of something; surprise many people with too many difficult questions; 64; 13, 14

pozagrabiać —rake up many of something; rob many people or appropriate many of something; 0; 3, 4

pozagradzać —block something from many sides or in many places; enclose many places; 2; 4

pozagryzać —about animals: bite many people or animals; about many people: clamp one's teeth on something; 87; 5, 6

pozagimportant —jam many of something; 0; 14

pozahaczać —hook in many places; 7; 6

pozajeżdżać —arrive, pull up, stop off one after another; 6; 2

pozajmować —about many people: occupy places; about many people: be quartered; commandeer many of something; 174; 14

pozaklejać —seal many of something or seal something in many places; 83; 6

pozakładać —establish, organize, open or fund many of something; put, fasten, put many of something somewhere; put many clothes on oneself or on someone; pay the amount due for

many people, lending them money; harnessing several horses for one or many trips; spreading

many of something, cover some surface; 560; 6, 5

pozakopywać—bury many of something; 4; 5, 4

pozakreślać —circle many of something, in many places; 16; 5

pozakręcać —close many of something with the help of a screw cap; 31; 4

pozakrywać —close many of something or in many places; 12; 4

pozakupywać —purchase many of something or different things; 0; 3

pozalegać —lie one after another, in many places; 0; 2

pozalepiać —cover many of something or cover something in many places; 23; 5

pozalewać —about water, rivers, etc: flood many of something; submerge, soak with liquid

many of something or something in many places; fill or seal something in many places or many

of something by spilling a hardening substance; pouring a liquid, completely cover with it many

of something; 71; 14, 5

pozaludniać —populate many places; 0; 5

pozaludniać się —about many places: become populated; 0; 5

pozałamywać —bend many of something or in many places; damage, break many things,

pressing on them from above; 11; 13, 1

pozałamywać się — about many things: bend from pressing; about many things: bend; about

many people: not to hold out psychologically; 0; 13, 14

pozałatwiać —adding effort, lead many things to a result, to an end; serve many people in a

store, office, etc.; kill many people; crush many people one after another, harm many people;

316; 14, 1

pozamakać —about many things, close in many places; 0; 4, 5

pozamartwiać się —about many people: worry, one after another worry a lot; 0; 14

pozamarzać —freeze over in many places or in large amount; about many people, animals: die, perish from freezing; 53; 5, 1

pozamawiać —order many of something; 20; 3

pozamazywać —paint over, smear over many of something or in many places; make many of something indistinct; write, draw many sloppy drawings, marks, letters on something; 4; 5

pozamazywać się —about many things: be blurred; also, become blurred, smeared in many places; about many things: become weakly visible; 0; 5

pozamiatać —sweep up the entire surface of something or many different places; 1,079; 5

pozamieniać —transform into something many of something; about many people: get one thing in exchange for another or exchange many of something; 480; 14, 3

pozamieniać się —about many people: carry out exchanges with each other; 40; 3, 10

pozamulać —silt, fill with slime many of something, in many places; 5; 5

pozamykać —close, shut many of something, that was open; block, cram many of something; close many people, things or animals in some place; fold up many things unfolded; stop for some time or liquidate the activity of many offices, stores, factories; deprive many people of freedom; switch off many devices; 1,865; 4, 5, 14

pozamykać się —close all entrances leading to a place, where one is staying; about many people: isolate oneself, hide onself; about many things unfolded, outstretched: be subjected to folding, winding up; 68; 4

pozamyślać —design many different things; 0; 14

pozamyślać się – design many different things; 0; 14

pozanikać —fade out gradually in large number, in many places; 4; 14

pozanosić —carrying, deliver somewhere many people, animals or things, one after another; fill in many of something; 2; 2, 5

pozaopatrywać – supply many people, institutions with something; 0; 2

pozaopatrywać się —get many things, get something one after another; 0; 3

pozaorywać —plough many of something, in many places, one after another; 3; 5

pozastrzać —sharpen, tighten many of something, one after another; 0; 5

pozapadać —about a large number of something: become concave; about many people or things: slide into the depths of something or sink into something soft; about many decisions, resolutions, etc.: be pronounced, resolved; about many people or animals: disappear, hide somewhere; about many people: be taken ill; about many things: become established in the memory; about a large number of something: sink; 83; 13, 2, 14

pozapadać się —about many things: collapse in many places; 28; 13

pozapalać —light many lights or light them in many places; light a fire in many places; about many people: light a cigarette, pipe, etc.; 65; 5

pozapalać się —about many lights: begin to shine; about many bonfires, fires, etc.: catch fire, light up; 4; 14

pozapełniać -- fill with something many places; entering in large number, fill some space; liquidate many gaps; 6; 5

pozapełniać się —about a large number of something: fill up; 0; 5

pozapędzać —drive many, one after another; 2; 2

pozapinać —do up, fasten many of something or fasten, buckle something in many places; join two parts of many fastenings; 76; 6

pozapinać się —do up many clothes or one article of clothing at many fastenings; 2; 6

pozapisywać —note down many of something or note something in many places; fill with writing many of something; sign up many people for some organizations or for some

occupations; sign up many patients for some treatments; also: write out for someone many prescriptions; hand down to many people many things; 65; 5

pozapisywać się —about many: enroll in many organizations; 16; 14

pozaplatać —wreathe, plait several strips of something; 12; 5

pozapłacać —pay several or many bills; 1; 14

pozapominać —forget about many matters; about many people: not to take something or leave something somewhere out of inattention; 125; 14

pozaprowadzać —take somewhere many people; install many devices, installations, etc. or install devices in many places; 0; 2, 5

pozaprzęgać —harness horses, dogs, etc. to many vehicles; 4; 6

pozapuszczać —let down or draw many roller-blinds, shades, etc.; about many people: not to shave, allowing the hair to grow; sink many of something into something; appy medicine to many people; about many people: take many of something to destruction; about many people: set in motion motors; 7; 2, 14, 5, 1

pozapychać —block many openings, cause obstruction of ducts, pipes; putting many of something somewhere, fill with something many places; fill in many slits with something; fill in entirely many places, making movement in them or getting through them impossible; 24; 4, 5

pozarastać —about plants: growing, cover many of something; about many terrains: be covered with something in many places; 56; 5

pozarażać —infect many people or animals with some illness; triggering in many people similar reactions, interests, etc.; 98; 14

pozarażać się —about many people: become infected from someone with some illness; about many people: adopt someone's mood, features, interests; 6; 14

pozarywać —expose many people to financial loss; 13; 14

pozarzucać —cover, fling many of something; 7; 5, 2

pozarzynać —kill many people or animals with a sharp instrument; 48; 1

pozarzynać się —injure oneself with something sharp in many places; 5; 1

pozasadzać —plant many plants; 3; 5

pozasiadać —about many people: sit down one after another; about many people: sitting, begin to do something; about many people: occupy a place in some committee; 4; 2

pozasiewać —sow many of something; also: sow many terrains with something; 2; 5

pozasklepiać —raise vaults over many buildings; cause the healing of many wounds; 0; 5

pozasklepiać się — about many people: be limited to the scope of one's one matters, interests and turn away from people; 0; 14

pozasłaniać —cover, shield many of something or cover, shield something from all sides; shielding, protect many people or things from something; 71; 4

pozasłaniać się —about one person or about many people: shield oneself from many sides, so as not to be visible; about one person or about many people: shield oneself from many sides, protecting oneself from something; 2; 4

pozasnuwać —cover many of something, cover something in many; 0; 5

pozaspokajać —satisfy many people; 0; 14

pozastawiać — setting many things, fill many places; setting up many things, block access to something; set many traps, nets, etc.; set traps for many people; give in pledge many of something; 58; 5

pozastrzelać —shoot many, one after another; 1; 1

pozasuwać —move many things, in order to close or cover something; shuffling, transfer many things into the depths of something; 3; 2

pozasypiać —about many people or animals: fall asleep; 11; 14

pozasypywać —building something, fill many bumps, holes; building densely, cover something in many places; 13; 5

pozaszywać —mend many damaged places or mend something in many places; sew many things into material; 33; 5, 6

pozaszywać się —about many people: disappear or settle in a remote or difficult to access place; about many animals: hide oneself or bury oneself somewhere; 1; 2

pozaściełać —make many places for sleeping; spread out many of something, cover many things with something; cover many places with something; 0; 5

pozaświecać —light many lamps, candles, etc.; 0; 5

pozatapiać —cause the drowning of many people, animals or things; about a river, stream, etc.: flood many places entirely; plunge, sink many of something in some fusible substance before its hardening; close many openings, pouring melted glass or metal over them; 4; 5

pozatracać —lose many of something, get rid of something one after another; 0; 14

pozatrzaskiwać —slam, bang shut many of something, one after another; 7; 4

pozatruwać —poison many people or things; also: about many things: poison something; 7; 1

pozatruwać się —about many people or animals: be poisoned; 0; 1

pozatrzaskiwać —bang shut many of something; 7; 4

pozatulać —cover many of something or many people; 1; 5

pozatwierdzać —approve, endorse many of something; also about many people: approve something; authorize the appointment of many people to some posts; 1; 14

pozatykać —close, cover or fill many openings, putting something in them; also about many, usually small, objects: having gotten into some kind of ducts, pipes, cause their obstruction; putting many things somewhere, pushing them into something or putting them behind something; 141; 4

pozatykać się —about many tubes, pipes, openings: be subjected to blockage; 1; 4

pozawalać —fill many of something or fill something with a large quantity of something; cause the collapse of many things; 148; 5

pozawalać się —about many things: collapse, cave in; 3; 2

pozawiadamiać —inform many people about something; 3; 11

pozawiązywać —tie many of something or tie something in many places; wrap up or tie many of something with something; put many of something in some sheet, tying its ends into a knot; organize, establish or set up many of something; make many friends, acquaintances, etc.; 16; 6, 8

pozawiązywać się —organize, form in large number; about many positive feelings, relations connecting people: come into being; 3; 8

pozawierać —contain, comprise, form many agreements, arrangements, etc.; 67; 8

pozawieszać —hang many of something; hanging something, block out many of something or something in many places; deprive many people the right to carry out official action, attendance somewhere, benefit from privileges, etc.; 86; 5, 4, 14

pozawiewać —about the wind: blowing, bury, cover many of something with something or something in many places; about the snow, sand, etc: bury many of something; 7; 5

pozawijać —wrap up many of something, so that it would be shorter; cover, wrap up many people, things; about many ships: sail off from port; 75; 5, 2

pozawijać się —wrap oneself in many things; also about many people: wrap oneself up in something; wrap around many bars, poles, etc.; about many people: die quickly, unexpectedly; 4; 5, 1

pozawodzić —lead several or many people somewhere, lead in many places; 3; 2

pozawodzić się —lead several or many people somewhere, lead in many places; 0; 2

pozawozić —take somewhere many people or things; 2; 2

pozawracać —direct back many people or vehicles; about many people, vehicles: turn back from the road; 33; 2

pozaziębiać —give many people, animals colds; 9; 14

pozaziębiać się —about many people, animals: catch a cold; 1; 14

pozbiegać —about many, escape somewhere one after another; 3; 2

pozbiegać się – about many, escape somewhere one after another; 1; 2

pozbierać —gather many of something, one after another, from many places; 4,877; 3

pozbierać się —gather in some place; gather together from many places; 715; 3, 5

pozbijać —joining boards with the help of nails, make many of something; point out the erroneousness of many arguments, accusations, etc.; about many people: make smaller some size, magnitude, enormity, lower some value, price; about many people: injure some part of one's body; 59; 6, 14

pozbijać się —about many people, animals: gather into groups; 3; 5

pozbroić —supply many with arms; 0; 10

pozdawać —take in succession many exams; also about many people: take an exam; about many people: obtaining satisfactory good marks, enter the next class; hand over to someone many of something; also about many people: hand over something to someone; 75; 14

pozdejmować —remove from somewhere many of something; release many people from a post; liberate many people from something; not to release for publication or performance on the stage many things; summon (dismiss) many guards; take photographs of many people; 163; 2

pozdobywać —win in a waltz many of something; achieve, attain many of something; win over many people; 5; 14

pozdrapywać —scrape off many of something or scrape off something in many places; 4; 5

pozdychać —about many animals and people: die; 153; 1

pozdzierać—tear many of something or something in many places; wear out many things by constant use or wear out one thing in many places; 87; 1

pozdzierać się —about many clothes, shoes: succumb to wearing out; 0; 1

pozeskakiwać —in relation to several or many people: jump down one after another; 3; 2

pozeskrobywać —scrape off many of something or something in many places; 0; 5

pozestawiać —remove from somewhere many of something, one after another; put together many elements, place many of something near each other; compare many objects, phenomena with each other, rarely people; take down many of something in the form of lists; 8; 2, 14

pozeznawać —put together many testimonies; 3; 14

pozezwalać —allow many people to do something, in many cases; 0; 14

pozganiać —drive out from somewhere many animals, rarely people; gather in one place many animals, rarely people; 2; 2, 5

pozgarniać —slide many of something down into one place, gathering from many places; removing from somewhere many of something, sweep to the side; receive, win many of something; steal many of something; arrest many people; 9; 2, 5, 14, 3

pozginać—bend to the ground many of something; give to many things an arched or bent shape or bend something in many places; 12; 13

pozginać się —about many people: bend to the ground; about many things: be bent; 0; 13

pozgładzać —deprive the life of a few or several people; 0; 1

pozgłaszać —present many projects, works; about many people: officially inform some person or some office about something; propose to something many candidates; 20; 14

pozgłaszać się —about many people: report, come forward, answer; 3; 14

pozgromadzać —gather many of something in one place; 0; 5

pozjadać —eat many of something, one after another; 424; 14

pozjeżdżać —about many people, vehicles: drive down or to the side one after another; about many vehicles: return from the route, finish a course; about many people, come somewhere from many places; about many things: slip, slide; 81; 2

pozlatywać —about many birds: fly down; about many people, things: fall down from somewhere; about many people: run down; 3; 2

pozlatywać się —about birds: gather in one place; about many people: come running from different sides; 1; 2

pozlepiać —join together many things or join something in many places; 139; 6

pozlepiać się —about many things: stick to one another or stick together in many places; 6; 6

pozlewać —pour some liquid or pour a little from the top into many vessels; bathe many people, things; 14; 5

pozlewać się —about many people: bathe each other, bathe oneself; about rivers, streams: flowing, join; about many things or phenomena: join into one, lose the separate character; 1; 5

pozłazić —about many people, animals: descend from something located above; come off, be worn away in many places; 10; 2, 1

pozłazić się —about many people, animals: gather somewhere, coming from many sides; 1; 5

pozmawiać —say one after another; 3; 11

pozmawiać się —about many people: arrange (together); 0; 5

pozmiatać —sweep up with a brush, broom many of something or sweep up something from many places; eat many of something quickly and with an appetitie; also: quickly eat everything; 9; 5, 14

pozmieniać —change, transform many people or things; also about many people: change, transform something; 2,158; 14

pozmieniać się —about many people or things: be replaced by someone else or something else; about many people, things, animals: change character, form, appearance; 68; 14

pozmierać —about many, die one after another; 0; 1

pozmniejszać —make smaller many of something; 13; 14

pozmniejszać się —about a large number of something: succumb to becoming smaller; 0; 14

pozmuszać —force many to something; 2; 14

pozmywać —wash many of something; 296; 5

pozmyślać —think up many of something; 48; 14

pozmywać —wash many of something; about swollen water: carry away, wash away many of something; 296; 5

poznaczyć —make many marks on something or mark on many of something; 220; 5

poznajdować —find many hidden or lost people, things; seek out many things or people needed by someone; 41; 14

poznajdywać -- find many hidden or lost people, things; seek out many things or people needed by someone; 31; 14

poznajdować się —about many things, people: turn up, find each other one after another; 1; 14

poznajdywać się -- about many things, people: turn up, find each other one after; 1; 14

poznakować —set apart many of something with the help of signs, marks; 5; 5

poznikać —about many people, things: disappear, become invisible; about many people, things: be somewhere not knowing where; 241; 14

pozniżać —lower many of something; 3; 2

pozniżać się —descend in large number, one after another, in many places; 0; 2

poznosić —carry many of something to one place; carry many people, things one after another downward; about swollen water or strong wind: sweep away, rip away many of something; destroy entirely many of something; dismiss many of something; 49; 2

pozostawiać—leave many of something; 10,000+ (31,880); 2

pozrastać się —about wounds, bones, etc: heal together in many places; 4; 5

pozrażać —alienate many people; 5; 14

pozrażać się —be discouraged several times; or about many people: be discouraged; 0; 14

pozrywać —plundering, disconnect or remove many of something or something in many places; about swollen water or strong wind: destroy, carry away many of something; break contacts or connections with many people; annul many of something; 567; 5, 1

pozrywać się —about many threads, wires, etc: crack, break as a result of pulling; about many people: get up violently from one's place, move abruptly; about many people: awaken suddenly and get up; 10; 1, 2, 14

pozrządzać —make, do, cause many of something; 0; 14

pozrzucać —knock off, push off from somewhere many of something; gather many things in one place, throwing one after another; about many people: remove some part of the clothing; about many people, animals or plants: get rid of or lose something; 44; 2, 4

pozsiadać —about many people: descend from a horse, bike or other vehicle; 19; 2

pozsuwać —adjusting, move many things closer to oneself; 4; 2

pozsychać się —about many things, wither; 0; 1

pozszywać —sewing, join the ends of something, fix one after another many of something or something in many places; 212; 6

pozwalać – gather many things in one place, throwing one after another; knock down or push off many people, things; 10,000+ (140,424); 2

pozwalniać —release from prison or the hospital many people; release from many obligations, commitments; let go of many places, yielding them to someone; dismiss many people from a job; about many people, vehicles: reduce speed; loosen many of something; 147; 2

pozwalniać się —about many people: obtain permission not to participate in something; about many people: resign from work; about many things: become free, not occupied; 7; 14

pozwężać —take in many of something; 3; 14

pozwiązywać —join many of something; tie up with fetters many people, animals; 3; 6

pozwiedzać —explore many places; 325; 14

pozwierać —clench something in many places; 7; 14

pozwijać —roll up many of something into balls, rolls, etc.; liquidate many posts; 131; 5, 14

pozwijać się —about many things: curl up; about many people: pack one's things; 6; 13, 14

pozwodzić —deceive many people; 26; 14

pozwoływać —calling, gather many people in one place; order many gatherings; 1; 2

pozwoływać się —calling, gather many people in one place; order many gatherings; 1; 2

pozwozić —bring many things or people to one place; transfer many people or things from above down below; 14; 2

pozwracać —return many borrowed things; about many people, animals: turn, direct heads, sight, etc. in a certain direction; 9; 14

pozwracać się —about many costs, expenses: be recompensated; about many people or objects: turn in some direction; 0; 14

pozżerać —scarf down many of something; 8; 14

pożenić —marry off many men; 357; 8

pożenić się --- about many men: get married; 67; 8

pożłobić —carving, make many furrows, depressions; 7; 5

7.4. Russian distributives

Lexical categories for Russian *po-* distributives

1-13 taken from Šeljakin, M.A. (1980: 46-47; 49-50) (with some modification; see chapter 4)

1. Verbs of destruction

2. Verbs of action directed on the relocation of a subject or object to a definite place

3. Verbs meaning take or receive

4. Verbs of separation of an object from something

5. Verbs of surface-contact, e.g., *povycarapat'*

6. Verbs of attachment (fastening, binding, etc.)

7. Verbs of measure, counting, appraising an object, evaluate, estimate[90].

8. Verbs of establishing relations between people

9. Verbs of expenditure, consumption of a material object

10. Verbs of giving, providing, etc.

11. Verbs of communication

12. Verbs relating to the five senses and directed psychological activity

13. Verbs of non-directed shaping without breaking

14. Other

Total verbs = 247

The first number represents the hit count on the RNC, and the second number represents the lexical category to which the verb belongs.

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[90] There are no examples of Russian distributives in *po-* that belong to this category; the category was kept from Šeljakin's list in order to counterbalance this lexical category for Polish distributives in *po-*, where it is somewhat productive.

pobivat' —smash all or many; 141; 1

pobrat' – take all or many; 959; 3

pobrosat' – throw out all or many, leave all or many, one after another; 398; 2

pobudit' —awaken all or many; 942; 14

povoevat' – conquer all or many; 220; 14

povozit' – take, take away all or many; 55; 2

povorovat'– steal all or many; 8; 3

povskakat' – leap up, about all or many; 109; 2

povskakivat' – leap up, one after another, about all or many; 45; 2

povstavat'– get up, one after another, about all or many; 19; 2

povstat' – get up, about all or many; 0; 2

povybegat'—run out, one after another, about all or many; 3; 2

povybivat' – knock out all or many, one after another; 15; 4

povybit' – knock out all or many; 33; 4

povybit'sja – break loose from, about all or many; 1; 4

povybrasyvat'—select all or many, one after another; 13; 4

povybrosit'/povybrosat' – select all or many; 0; 4

povyvezti – convey all or many; 6; 2

povyvesti – lead out all or many; 14; 2

povyvestis' – gradually go out of use, about all or many; 13; 14

povygnat' – drive out all or many; 7; 2

povygonjat' – drive out all or many, one after another; 18; 2

povydavat' – give out, issue all or many, one after another; 5; 10

povydat' – give out, issue all or many; 1; 10

povydergat' – pull out all or many; 26; 4

povydergivat' – pull out all or many, one after another; 16; 4

povydirat' – tear out all or many, one after another; 4; 1, 4

povydrat' – tear out all or many; 5; 1, 4

povyexat' – depart, about all or many; 3; 2

povyjti – depart, about all or many; 2; 2

povykidat'/povykidyvat' – throw out all or many, one after another; 23; 2

povykinut' – throw out all or many; 4; 2

povykrast' – steal all or many; 0; 3

povylazit'/povylezat' – crawl out, one after another, about all or many; 72; 2

povylezti – crawl out, about all or many; 28; 2

povyletat'—fly out, one after another, about all or many; 22; 2

povyletet'— fly out, about all or many; 4; 2

povylovit' -- fish out all or many; 7; 4

povymeret' -- die out, about all or many; 15; 1

povynimat' – take out all or many, one after another; 4; 3

povynut' – take out all or many; 2; 3

povypadat' – befall, fall to gradually, one after another, about all or many; 4; 2

povypast' – befall, fall out, about all or many; 3; 2

povypolzti – crawl out, about all or many; 1; 2

povyrastat' povyrasti povyrostat' povyrosti – grow up, into, about all or many; 10; 5

povyrvat' – tear out all or many; 1; 4, 1

povyrezat'– cut out all or many; 7; 4

povyrubit'/povyrubat' – cut down all or many; 22; 1

povyskakat'/povyskočit'/povyskakivat' – jump out, about all or many, one after another; 50; 2

povysovyvat' –stick out all or many, one after another; 0povysosat' – suck out all or many; 0; 4

povysoxnut' – dry out, about all or many; 3; 5

povystavit' – put out all or many; 0; 2

povystavit'sja—exhibit, about many or all; 0; 7

povystroit' – build all or many; 0; 5

povystroit'sja – form up, stand in rows, about all or many; 0; 2

povystupit' – come forward, about all or many; 0; 2

povysunut' – stick out all or many; 2; 2

povysunut'sja – show oneself, lean out, about all or many; 2; 14

povysypat' – pour out, about all or many; 16; 5

povysypat'sja – spill (intrans), about all or many; 1; 5

povysyxat' – dry out, one after another, about all or many; 2; 5

povytaskat' – drag out all or many; 4; 2

povytaskivat' – drag out all or many, one after another; 21; 2

povytaščit' – drag out all or many; 5; 2

povytoptat' – trample down all or many; 1; 1

povytrusit' – shake out something from something, all or many; 2; 4

povytrjasti – shake out all or many; 11; 4

povyxodit' – go out, one after another, about all or many; 32; 2

povycarapat' – scratch out all or many; 0; 5

povyšibat'/povyšibit' – knock out all or many, one after another; 9; 4

povjanut' – fade, wither, about all or many; 20; 1

poglušit' – muffle all or many; 0; 5

pograbit' – rob all or many; 79; 3

podelat' – gradually do, one after another; 3,303; 14

podušit' – destroy one after another; 16; 1

poest' —eat all or many; 3216; 14

požalit' – sting or bite one after another; 5; 5

požeč'– set on fire one after another; 128; 1

požigat' – burn all or many (impf!, obs.); 3; 1

pozabivat' -- drive in, hammer in all or many, one after another; 5; 6

pozabivat'sja – hide in, take refuge in somewhere, about all or many, one after another; 0; 2

pozabirat' – take all or many, one after another; 16; 3

pozabirat'sja – get into, one after another, about many or all; 3; 2

pozabit' – hammer in, drive in all or many; 0; 6

pozabit'sja – hide in, take refuge in, about all or many; 1; 2

pozabrat' – take all or many; 9; 3

pozabrat'sja – get into, climb into somewhere, about all or many; 1; 2

pozakapyvat' – bury all or many, one after another; 2; 2, 4

pozakopat' – bury all or many; 3; 2, 4

pozakryvat' – close all or many, one after another; 27; 4

pozakryvat'sja – close one after another, about all or many; 10; 4

pozakryt' – close all or many; 3; 4

pozakryt'sja – close, about all or many; 2; 4

pozamučit' – torment all or many; 2; 14

pozanimat' – take into one's use, many or all possessions (one after another); 11; 3

pozanjat' – take into one's use, many or all possessions; 5; 3

pozaperet' – lock all or many; 0; 4

pozaperet'sja – lock oneself in, about many or all. Lock all or many; 0; 4

pozapirat' – lock all or many, one after another; 2; 4

pozapirat'sja – lock oneself in, one after another, about all or many; 1; 4

pozasnut' – fall asleep, about all or many; 4; 14

poizorvat' – tear to shreds all or many; 2; 1

poisxodit' – go round all or many; 1; 2

pokaznit' – put to death all or many; 2; 1

pokidat' – throw all or many; 3,974; 2

poklast' – pile, put together all or many, kill all or many; 50; 1, 5

poklevat' – peck one after another; 65; 5

pokovat' – subject to forging all or many, shoe all or many; 3; 9

pokokat'– smash all or many; 2; 1

pokolotit' – smash, break up all or many; 202; 1

pokolotit'sja – break apart from strikes, blows, about all or many; 9; 1

pokolot' – kill, strike with a sharp weapon all or many; 63; 1

pokolot'sja – split in many places or in great number; 3; 1

pokončat' – finish in several goes, at different times, about all or many; 1; 14

pokosit',-sja– mow down with a machine gun, all or many; 2,086 (60+2,026); 1

pokrošit' – ruin or destroy all or many; 52; 1

pokusat' – bite in many places; 213; 5

polegat' – take a lying down position, about all or many. Perish, be dead, about all or many; 11; 2, 1

polopat' – eat all or many; 21; 14

polopat'sja –burst, about all or many; 102; 1

pometat' – throw all or many; 11; 2

pometat'sja – rush about, about all or many; 41; 14

pomorit' -overwork or underfeed all or many; 10; 14

ponabrosat' – throw about in great number; 3; 2

ponadevat' – put on all or many, one after another; 6; 5

ponadoest' – get on the nerves of, bore with, about all or many; 0; 14

ponaest'sja – eat one's fill, about many or all; 0; 14

ponazyvat' – call, invite many or all, one after another; 1; 8

ponapisat' – write many of something or in many places; 58; 5

ponaskazat' – say a lot of something; 1; 11

poobbivat' – damage the surface or edge of something with strikes, all or many, one after another; 0; 1

poobbit' -- damage the surface or edge of something with strikes, all or many; 2; 1

poobvalit' – cause all or many to collapse; 0; 2

poobvalit'sja – cave in, about many or all; 3; 1

pooblamyvat' – break off all or many, one after another; 2; 4

pooblomat' – break off all or many; 9; 4

poobmoroživat' – frost-bite, all or many, one after another; 0; 1

poobmorizit' – frost-bite all or many; 0; 1

poobtrepat' – fray all or many; 1; 1

poobtrjasti —remove from a surface by shaking, all or many; 0; 4

poob"edat – nibble all or many (one after another); 0; 5

poodet' – dress all or many; 1; 5

poodet'sja – dress oneself, about all or many; 0; 5

poopredelit' – appoint all or many; 0; 8

pootbivat' – repel all or many, one after another; 5; 14

pootbirat' – take away all or many, one after another; 4; 3, 2

pootbit' -- repel all or many; 1; 14

pootvertet' – unscrew all or many; 0; 4

pootvjazat' – untie all or many; 2; 4

pootkryvat' – open all or many, one after another; 26; 14

pootkryt' –open all or many; 2; 14

pootnimat' – take away all or many, one after another; 3; 2, 3

pootnjat' – take away all or many; 0; 2, 3

pootobrat' --take away, pick out all or many; 4; 2, 3

pootorvat' – tear off all or many; 3; 4

pootryvat' – tear off all or many, one after another; 26; 4

pootryvat'sja – come off, be torn off, one after another, about all or many; 2; 4

poottoptat' – hurt, damage one after another; 0; 1

popadat' – fall, one after another, about all or many. Perish, die, one after another, about livestock; 34,440; 2, 1

popalit' – burn all or many; 3,394; 1

poperedelat' – alter, refashion all or many; 0; 5

popodymat'sja – rise, one after another, of all or many; 0; 2

popribivat' – nail all or many, one after another; 0; 6

popribit' – nail all or many; 1; 6

poprivivat' – inoculate all or many, one after another; 0; 14

poprivit' – inoculate all or many; 0; 14

poprinaexat' – run into, collide, about all or many; 0; 5

poprisest' – sit down, about all or many; 3; 2

popristavat' – stick, adhere to, one after another, about all or many; 3; 6

popristat' – stick, adhere to, about all or many; 0; 6

poprixodit' – come, one after another, about all or many; 0; 2

poprodavat' – sell all or many, one after another; 3; 10

poprodat' – sell all or many; 1; 10

popromotat'sja -- squander one's money, about all or many; 0; 14

poprjatat' – hide all or many; 61; 2

poprjatat'sja – hide oneself, about all or many; 249; 2

poraskladyvat'--spread all or many (one after another)

porazbežat'sja – take a run, scatter, disperse, about all or many; 0; 2

porazbivat' – smash all or many; 4; 1

porazbivat'sja – get broken, one after another, about all or many; 1; 1

porazbirat' – take to pieces, dismantle all or many, one after another; 3; 4

porazbit' – smash all or many; 4; 1

porazbit'sja – get broken, about all or many; 1; 1

porazbrestis' – disperse, about all or many; 3; 2

porazbrosat' – throw about all or many; 5; 2

porazbudit' – wake up all or many; 4; 14

porazgonjat' –drive away, disperse all or many; 7; 2

porazdavat' – distribute all or many, one after another; 4; 2

porazdat' –distribute all or many; 0; 2

porazinut' – gape, about all or many; 4; 12

porazložit' – spread out all or many; 1; 2

porazmotat' –unwind, uncoil all or many; 0; 9, 13

porazognat' – drive away, disperse all or many; 5; 2

porazojtis' – go away, about all or many; 5; 2

porazorit' – destroy, ravage all or many; 0; 1

porazorit'sja —be ruined, about all or many; 4; 1

poraz"exat sja – depart, disperse, about all or many; 14; 2

poraskidat' – scatter all or many; 11; 2

poraskladyvat' – put, lay out all or many, one after another; 0; 2

poraskrasit' – paint, color all or many; 1; 5

porasprodavat' – sell off all or many, one after another; 0; 10

porasprodat' – sell all or many; 2; 10

poraspustit'sja – open, blossom out, about all or many; 1; 14

porasskazat' – tell a lot or to many; 151; 11

porassprosit' –find out about many, or question many; 68; 11

porasstreljat′ –shoot all or many; 1; 1

porasktaskat′ – take away, remove all or many; 8; 4, 2

porasterjat′ – lose all or many; 16; 14

porasterjat′sja – get lost, go missing, about all or many; 5; 14

porezat′ – kill all or many; 634; 1

poronjat′ – drop all or many; 4; 2

posažat′ –plant all or many; 12; 5

posbivat′ – bring down all or many; 16; 2

posbivat′sja – be dislodged, slip, one after another, about all or many; 0; 2

posbit′ – bring down all or many; 5; 2

posbrasyvat′ – throw down all or many, one after another; 7; 2

posbrosit′ – throw down all or many; 1; 2

posduret′ – become a fool, about all or many; 0; 14

posedlat′ – saddle all or many; 13; 5

posest′ – sit, about all or many; 0; 2

poskidat′ – throw off all or many; 13; 2

poskidyvat′ – throw off all or many, one after another; 6; 2

posmyvat′ – wash off, clear, wipe away all or many, one after another; 4; 5

posnesti – take all or many; 1; 3

posnimat′ – take off all or many, one after another; 115; 3

posnosit′ – take, bring down all or many, one after another; 13; 2, 3

posoxnut′ – dry out, about all or many; 343; 5

posprosit′ – ask many; 5; 11

posryvat′ – tear off, break off, tear away, about all or many, one after another; 20; 4

posryvat′sja – break away, break loose, one after another, about all or many; 0; 4

posušit′ – dry out all or many; 22; 5

posxodit' -- go down, come down, about all or many; 123; 2

possibat' possibit' – knock off all or many, one after another; 21; 2

posypat' – quickly start to run (run off), about many; 1030; 2

potaskat' – carry away, move all or many; steal all or many; 115; 2

potajat' – melt, about all or many; 8; 5

potoloč' – pound, crush all or many; 3,817; 1

poubivat' – kill all or many, one after another; 134; 1

poubit' – kill all or many; 1; 1

poubrat'sja – clear off, leave, about all or many; 0; 2

pouleč'sja – lie down, about all or many; 15; 2

poumirat' – die, about all or many; 47; 1

pouxodit' – leave, one after another, about all or many; 2; 2

poxvatat'sja – grapple with, about all or many; 3; 14

pošvyrjat' – throw, fling all or many; 24; 2

pošit' – sew all or many; 185; 6