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The category of aspect vs. meaning

The unique category of aspect, inherent only to Slavic languages, is one of the modes which decides about the meaning conveyed. The Slavic aspect has been discussed extensively in linguistics. An enumeration of the studies dealing with this issue would take up too much space in this article. Therefore, I shall not refer earlier studies, especially as the perspective I shall apply will differ from all the previous ones.[1]

The major function in indicating meaning is fulfilled by the **perfective** category[2], which apart from the ideational function of introducing a time-space scenario can also fulfil additional interactive functions. First, I would like to discuss how selected predicates of action operate. Among these, one of the most extensive representation of perfective forms is the predicate NIEŚĆ [to carry *imperf.*] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING). It indicates an action in which someone moves an object with their hands, which can be lifted. That precludes, e.g. non-metaphorical meanings of carrying a car, a wardrobe, a building, etc.. Prefixal[3] perfective forms of the predicate mainly form space-time scenarios in which changes of location (Loc) come to the foreground. Changes of location are naturally and necessarily accompanied by a duration in time, while there is a simple relationship between the duration and the spatial dimension.

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1 More about relevant principles of communicational grammar: A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Wprowadzenie do gramatyki komunikacyjnej*, Vol. 1, Oficyna Wydawnicza Leksem, Łask 2004; A. Awdiejew, G. Habrajska, *Komponowanie sensu w procesie odbioru komunikatów*, Primum Verbum, Łódź 2010.

2 Cf. A. Bogusławski, *Aspekt i negacja*, Katedra Lingwistyki Formalnej UW Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2003 (offers extensive subject literature).

3 R. Przybylska, *Polisemia przyimków polskich w świetle semantyki kognitywnej*, Universitas, Krakow 2002.

Prefixes which express perfectivity indicate a change in the location of an object in various directions. The reproduction of a scenario defines the starting and target locations in various ways.

In the most emphatic manner, the meaning of the starting and target locations is defined by the perfective predicate PRZENIEŚĆ [to carry *perf.*] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING/SOMEONE), where the action is accompanied by a spatial change with the specification of both the starting point (LOCo) and the target point (LOC+1). The moving in this case occurs within the horizontal plane and may have a variable direction, e.g. in the sentence:

Jan przeniósł walizki do innego przedziału [Jan carried the suitcases to another compartment]

the following scenario exists:

(t-2)	(Loco):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: WALIZKI [suitcases])
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: WALIZKI [suitcases])
(to)	(Loc+1):	POŁOŻYĆ [to lay down] (someone: JANEK, something: WALIZKI [suitcases], somewhere: INNY PRZEDZIAŁ [another compartment])

However, if you combine the above example with the *przez* preposition [over], the direction is clearly defined, e.g.:

Piotr przeniósł żonę przez próg mieszkania [Piotr carried his wife over the threshold of the flat]

(t-2)	(Loco):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTR, someone: ŻONĘ [wife], how: NA RĘCE [in arms])
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, someone: ŻONĘ [wife], over something: PRZEZ PRÓG [over the threshold])
(to)	(Loc+1):	POSTAWIĆ [to put down] (someone: PIOTR, someone: ŻONĘ [wife], somewhere: W MIESZKANIU [in the flat])

The mode of moving the object W RĘKACH is included in the basic meaning of the NIEŚĆ predicate, which is why it is included in the scenario as a mode of operation (how). The expressed meaning is linked in this case with the standard ritual of getting married, therefore one can talk about an extension of the area of meaning in the process of understanding.

Adam przeniósł wózek z dzieckiem przez tory kolejowe [Adam carried the pram with the child over the train tracks], etc.

(t-2)	(Loc₀):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ADAM, something: WÓZEK Z DZIECKIEM [pram with a child], how: W RĘCE [in hands])
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: ADAM, something₁: WÓZEK Z DZIECKIEM [pram with a child], over something₂: KOLEJOWE > TORY [train tracks])
(to)	(Loc+1):	POSTAWIĆ [to put down] (someone: ADAM, something₁: WÓZEK Z DZIECKIEM [pram with a child], somewhere: ZA TORAMI [past the train tracks])

The PRZENIEŚĆ SIĘ [to move (meaning: relocate)] (SOMEONE, TO SOMEWHERE) predicate indicates the same sense of changing the location from the starting location to the target location:

Jan przeniósł się do Krakowa [Jan moved to Krakow]

(t-2)	(Loc₀):	MIESZKAĆ [to live] [someone: JAN, somewhere: ?]
(t-1)		PRZENOSIĆ SIĘ [to move] (someone: JAN, from somewhere: (?) to somewhere: DO KRAKOWA [to Krakow])
(to)	(Loc+1):	MIESZKAĆ [to live] (someone: JAN, somewhere: W KRAKOWIE [in Krakow])

The form PRZENOSIĆ SIĘ [to move] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE) in the scenario indicates a period of moving/relocating. Such forms of secondary imperfective aspect are used in language for indicating transitional fragments, from one state to another. This is why that link in the scenario can be expanded in terms of time in the statement:

Jan długo przenosił się do Krakowa [Jan gradually moved to Krakow]

The metaphorical uses of the predicate PRZENIEŚĆ adopt the same pattern: PRZENIEŚĆ [to move] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE), where, e.g.:
SOMETHING: NUMBER, APPLICATION, MONEY, etc.
FROM SOMEWHERE: (?), COMPUTER, OFE [open pension fund], TELEPHO-NE, etc.

TO SOMEWHERE: (?), PLAY [a cellular telephone carrier], MEMORY CARD, ZUS [Social Insurance Institution], etc.

In such scenarios, transitions can be a reset (?) specification of either starting or target locations, which does not impact the fact whether an utterance has meaning. For example:

Marysia skądś przeniosła swoje pieniądze do mBanku [Marysia transferred her money from somewhere to mBank] or *Marysia przeniosła pieniądze z mBanku dokądś* [Marysia transferred money from mBank to somewhere]

In standard communication, the specification of the starting and target locations is usually required:

Przenieśli pieniądze z OFE do ZUS [They transferred money from OFE to ZUS]: PRZENIEŚĆ [to transfer] (someone: RZĄD [the government], something: PIENIĄDZE [money], from: OFE, to: ZUS)

The imperfective form of the predicate PRZENOSIĆ [to move/transfer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE) indicates, as I have already emphasised, the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates: PRZENIEŚĆ [to move/transfer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE, TO SOMEWHERE). Its application in the present tense indicates an ongoing action in time (to) or recurring extra-temporal actions, e.g.:

(NOW) *Jan przenosi walizki z przedziału do przedziału* [Jan is moving suitcases from compartment to compartment] (observation of an action)

(USUALLY) *Jan przenosi walizki z peronu do przedziału* [Jan is moving suitcases from the platform to a compartment] (the work of a porter)

In the examples of metaphorical usage and with the predicate PRZENOSIĆ SIĘ, an interpretation indicating the interactive meaning of modality (expressing intent) is also possible, e.g.:

Rząd przenosi pieniądze z OFE do ZUS [The government is transferring money from OFE to ZUS] = *Rząd ZAMIERZA PRZENIEŚĆ pieniądze z OFE do ZUS* [The government INTENDS TO TRANSFER money from OFE to ZUS]

Jan przenosi się do Krakowa [Jan is moving to Krakow] = *Jan ZAMIERZA PRZE-NIEŚĆ SIĘ do Krakowa* [Jan INTENDS TO MOVE to Krakow]

Since the expressed perfective aspect indicates not the entire scenario of the predicate PRZENIEŚĆ but only a fragment of it, that triggers, in this case, the understanding of the meaning of intent.

Movement within the horizontal plane in one direction is defined by perfective predicates: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE), ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE), ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE), DONIEŚĆ [to bring to] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/ SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE), WNIEŚĆ [to bring in] (SOMEONE₁, SOMETHING/SOMEONE₂, SOMEWHERE). They indicate somewhat less clearly the starting location, instead emphasising the target location.

The predicates PRZYNIEŚĆ and ZANIEŚĆ indicate very similar meanings, though not identical. For example, in the statements:

Jan przyniósł dokumenty do urzędu [Jan brought documents to the office]	*Jan zaniósł dokumenty do urzędu* [Jan took documents to the office]
Piotr przyniósł piwo na stadion [Piotr brought beer to the stadium]	*Piotr zaniósł piwo na stadion* [Piotr took beer to the stadium]
Marysia przyniosła dziecko do żłobka [Marysia brought child to daycare]	*Marysia zaniosła dziecko do żłobka* [Marysia took child to daycare]

the following scenarios exist:

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-3)		**POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (someone: JAN, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], somewhere: DO URZĘDU [to office])
(t-2)	(Loc−1):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?]
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents])
(t0)	(Loc0):	ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], to someone: URZĘDNIKOWI [clerk] & POZOSTAWAĆ [to remain] (someone: JAN, somewhere: W URZĘDZIE [in the office])

(t-3)		**POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (someone: PIOTR, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], somewhere: NA STADION [to the stadium])
(t-2)	(Loc−1):	WZIĄĆ [to give back] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: (?)]
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO]
(to)	(Loc0):	WYPIĆ [to drink] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], somewhere: NA STADIONIE [in the stadium])

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc0):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?]
(t-1)		**NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents])**
(to)	(Loc+1):	ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], to someone: URZĘDNIKOWI [clerk] & OPUŚCIĆ [to leave] (someone: JAN, something: URZĄD]
(t-2)	(Loc0):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: (?)]
(t-1)		**NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer])**
(to)	(Loc+1):	ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: PIOTR, something: PIWO [beer], somewhere: NA STADIONIE [in the stadium])

In the scenario of the predicate PRZYNIEŚĆ, the starting link is the expression of intentionality (POSTANOWIĆ [to decide] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)) which becomes weakened in the scenario of the predicate ZANIEŚĆ. Additionally, for the predicate PRZYNIEŚĆ, the most important location is the target location, and for the predicate ZANIEŚĆ what is important is the movement of the performer of the action to that target location expressed in the predicate NIEŚĆ.

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE1, SOMEONE2, SOMEWHERE)

(t-3)		**POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (someone: MARYSIA, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: DO ŻŁOBKA [to daycare])
(t-2)	(Loc−1):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?]
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child])
(to)	(Loc0):	ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: W ŻŁOBKU [at daycare])

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc0):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?]
(t-1)		**NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child])**
(t0)	(Loc+1):	ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: MARYSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: W ŻŁOBKU [at daycare] & WYJŚĆ [to leave] (someone: MARYSIA, from somewhere: ZE ŻŁOBKA [from daycare])

It appears that the difference between those predicates consists of (apart from intentionality) a different target location, (Loc0) in the case of PRZYNIEŚĆ, and (Loc+1) in the case of ZANIEŚĆ.

In such scenarios, the specification of the target location may be undefined (?) in an expression–it is replaced by the action's recipient. For example:

Piotrek przyniósł Zenkowi piwo   *Piotrek zaniósł Zenkowi piwo*
[Piotrek brought Zenek beer]   [Piotrek took beer to Zenek]

which can be transcribed in the form of specific scenarios:

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-3)		**POSTANOWIĆ** [to decide] (someone: JAN, something: PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: JAN, something: DOKUMENTY [documents], somewhere: DO URZĘDU [to office])
(t-2)	(Loc−1):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?]
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])
(t0)	(Loc0):	PODAĆ [to give] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])

ZANIEŚĆ [to take to] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc0):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], FROM SOMEWHERE: ?]
(t-1)		**NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])**
(t0)	(Loc+1):	PODAĆ [to give] (someone: PIOTREK, something: PIWO [beer], for someone: ZENKOWI [to Zenek])

The metaphorical uses of the predicate PRZYNIEŚĆ (SOMETHING1, SOMETHING2, TO SOMEONE) take the same pattern in which the target location is reset and the beneficiary is suggested:

Inwestycja w budownictwo przyniosła Jankowi zysk [Investment in construction brought Janek profit]

Talizman przyniósł Marysi szczęście [The talisman brought Marysia good luck], etc.

PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMETHING1, SOMETHING2, SOMEONE), where, e.g.:
SOMETHING1: INVESTMENT, DEPOSIT, TALISMAN, etc.
SOMETHING2: PROFIT, LOSSES, HAPPINESS, etc.

Clearly, in the metaphorical use, the fact of reaching the target location is emphasised, which proves the intuitive assumption regarding the presumed scenario of the predicate PRZYNIEŚĆ.

Imperfective forms of the predicate PRZYNOSIĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE) and ZANOSIĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE) indicate periodic actions:

(USUALLY) *Marysia przynosi dziecko do żłobka* [Marysia brings child to daycare] (periodic action)

(USUALLY) *Jan przynosi dokumenty do urzędu* [Jan brings documents to the office] (the performance of the profession of a courier)

Then, the metaphorically applied imperfective predicate PRZYNOSIĆ (SOMETHING1, SOMETHING2, TO SOMEONE) indicates the recurring nature of the scenarios of past situations: investments bring profit or loss, talismans bring good luck, etc.

The target location is emphasised also by the predicate ODNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE). The standard scenario of this predicate assumes in the first phase the taking of something to somewhere, i.e. a change of location from (Loc-1) to (Loc0), and then the taking of the thing back to its original location (Loc-1). Clearly, there is a correspondence between the temporal scenario and the change of location. The temporal scenario precludes a return to the same point in time, whereas a change of location does not preclude it. That is visible in the following examples:

Zosia odniosła książkę na półkę [Zosia put the book back to the bookshelf]

Janek odniósł książkę Marysi [Janek brought the book back to Marysia]

Piotr odniósł butelki do sklepu [Piotr brought the bottles back to the shop], etc.

which fulfil similar scenarios:

ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING, SOMEONE2)

(t-6)	(Loco)	LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁCE [on a shelf])
(t-5)		WZIĄĆ [to take] (SOMEONE: (?), something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], from somewhere: Z PÓŁKI [from the bookshelf])
(t-4)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE: (?), something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))
(t-3)		**LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))**
	(Loc+1):	
(t-2)		WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ZOSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], FROM SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: ZOSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁKĘ [on the bookshelf])
(to)	(Loco):	POŁOŻYĆ [to lay down] (someone: ZOSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁCE [on the bookshelf])
(t+1)		**LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], somewhere: NA PÓŁCE [on the bookshelf])**

ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING, SOMEONE2)

(t-5)	(Loco):	POŻYCZYĆ [to borrow] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], from someone: OD MARYSI [from Marysia])
(t-4)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))
(t-3)	(Loc+1):	ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))
(t-2)		**WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], FROM SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))**
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: DO MARYSI [to Marysia])
(to)	(Loco):	**ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: JANEK, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], to someone: MARYSI [to Marysia])**

ODNIEŚĆ [to bring back] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING, SOMEONE2)

(t-6)	(Loco):	KUPIĆ [to buy] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])
(t-5)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], TO SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))
(t-4)		PRZYNIEŚĆ [to bring] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], TO SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))
(t-3)	(Loc+1):	WYPIĆ [to drink *perf.*] (someone: PIOTR, something: NAPOJE [beverages], SOMEWHERE:(Loc+1)]
(t-2)		**WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTR, something: BUTELKI [bottles], FROM SOMEWHERE: (Loc+1))**
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTR, something: BUTELKI [bottles], to somewhere: DO SKLEPU [to a shop])
(to)	(Loco):	**ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: PIOTR, something: BUTELKI [bottles], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])**

In the case of the predicates ODNIEŚĆ [to take back/ to achieve] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) and ODNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to refer to] (SOMEONE, TO SOMETHING), their metaphorical uses do not entail a change of location. There occurs a desemanticisation of the ontological reference of ODNIEŚĆ, e.g.:

Marysia odniosła sukces w pracy [Marysia achieved success at work]

Janek odniósł wrażenie, że Zosia go lubi [Janek got the impression that Zosia liked him]

Then, in the example:

Profesor odniósł się do podanych przykładów [The professor referred to the examples provided], etc.

the desemanticisation is not total, as the predicate can be replaced by a synonymic predicate SIĘGNĄĆ [to reach for] (SOMEONE, FOR SOMETHING), where it retains the meaning of motion.

DONIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE) is another predicate which indicates the target location within the horizontal relation. It is rarely used in its non-metaphorical reference; it is much better known in its metaphorical meaning: DONIEŚĆ [to inform on] (SOMEONE, ON SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE). Physically "bringing" ["donoszenie"] entails either major effort required to carry an object or delivering additional documents to an office, e.g.:

Marysia doniosła zakupy do domu [Marysia lugged the shopping home]

Janek doniósł świadectwo na uczelnię [Janek brought the certificate to the university], etc.

which following the scenarios:

DONIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc0):	KUPIĆ [to buy] (someone: MARYSIA, SOMETHING, somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])
(t-1)		Z TRUDEM [with difficulty] > NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: DO DOMU [home])
(t0)	(Loc+1):	POSTAWIĆ [to put down] (someone: MARYSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: W DOMU [at home])

DONIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc0):	BRAKOWAĆ [to be missing] (someone: JANKOWI [Janek], something: ŚWIADECTWA [certificate], in something: W DOKUMENTACH [in documents], somewhere: NA UCZELNI [at the university] & MUSIEĆ [have to] (someone: JANEK, something: (DOSTARCZYĆ [to deliver] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚWIADECTWO [certificate], somewhere: NA UCZELNIĘ [to the university]))
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚWIADECTWO [certificate], somewhere: NA UCZELNIĘ [to the university])
(t0)	(Loc+1):	ODDAĆ [to give back] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚWIADECTWO [certificate], to someone: URZĘDNIKOWI [official], somewhere: NA UCZELNI [at the university])

The derived imperfective form functions only in the metaphorical meaning: DONOSIĆ [to inform] (SOMEONE1, ON SOMEONEn) and it introduces the meaning of multiple instances of informing on various persons.

WNIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING/SOMEONE2, SOMEWHERE) is an interesting predicate which indicates relocation both within the horizontal and the vertical planes, with a specification of the target location (Loc0). For example:

in the horizontal plane:	in the vertical plane:
Janek wniósł materiały do magazynu	*Staszek wniósł zakupy na drugie piętro*
[Janek carried the materials into the storage]	[Staszek carried the shopping to third floor]
Piotrek wniósł alkohol na stadion	*Mirek wniósł narty na skocznię*
[Piotrek carried alcohol into the stadium]	[Mirek carried skies onto the ski jump]
Zosia wniosła dziecko do gabinetu dentystycznego	*Marysia wniosła dziecko po schodach*
[Zosia carried the child to the dentist's room]	[Marysia carried the child up the stairs]

which can be transcribed in the form of scenarios:

WNIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: MATERIAŁY [materials], FROM SOMEWHERE:(?))
(t-1)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: MATERIAŁY [materials], somewhere: DO MAGAZYNU [to the storage])
(t0)	(Loc0):	ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: JANEK, something: MATERIAŁY [materials], somewhere: W MAGAZYNIE [in the storage])

WNIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-3)	(Loc-1):	ZROBIĆ [to do] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])
(t-2)		WYNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], from somewhere: ZE SKLEPU [from a shop])
		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: NA DRUGIE PIĘTRO [to the third floor])
(t0)	(Loc0):	ZOSTAWIĆ [to leave] (someone: STASZEK, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: NA DRUGIM PIĘTRZE [on the third floor])

The metaphorical use of the predicate WNIEŚĆ adopts the same pattern: WNIEŚĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, INTO SOMETHING): *wnieść ktoś wkład w rozwiązanie problemu / do projektu* [to bring someone input into a solution to a problem/ to a project], etc.

The imperfective form of the predicate WNOSIĆ [to bring] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) indicates, as I have already emphasised, the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates.

The predicate WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise above] (SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) also indicates a target location defining motion within the vertical plane, e.g.:

Ptak wzniósł się pod chmury [The bird rose beneath the clouds]

Koń wzniósł się nad poprzeczkę [The horse jumped over the bar]

Samolot wzniósł się w powietrze [The plane rose into the air], etc.

The predicate fulfils the following scenarios:

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something, somewhere)

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: PTAK [bird], SOMEWHERE:(?))
(t-1)		LECIEĆ [to fly], (something: PTAK [bird], somewhere: POD CHMURY [beneath the clouds])
(t0)	(Loc0):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: PTAK [bird], somewhere: POD CHMURAMI [beneath the clouds])

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something, somewhere)

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: KOŃ [horse], somewhere: NA ZIEMI [on the ground])
(t-1)		SKOCZYĆ [to jump] (something: KOŃ [horse], somewhere: DO GÓRY [up])
(t0)	(Loc0):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: KOŃ [horse], somewhere: NAD POPRZECZKĄ [over the bar])

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something, somewhere)

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: NA LOTNISKU [in the airport])
(t-1)		WZNOSIĆ SIĘ [to rise] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: DO GÓRY [up])
(t0)	(Loc0):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: W POWIETRZU [in the air])

The metaphorical uses of the predicate WZNOSIĆ SIĘ adopt the same pattern:

WZNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to rise] (SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE) where, e.g.:
SOMEWHERE: ABOVE A PROBLEM/ EMOTIONS/ DIVISIONS/ MEDIOCRITY/ INTO THE HEIGHTS

For example the statement: *Marysia wzniosła się ponad emocje* [Marysia rose above her emotions] enables the scenario of a metaphorical meaning, which assumes a change of Marysia's location from (Loco): BYĆ [to be] (someone: MARYSIA, somewhere: W EMOCJACH [under the influence of emotions] to location (Loc+1): NIE BYĆ [not to be] (someone: MARYSIA, somewhere: W EMOCJACH [under the influence of emotions], where Marysia's presence above emotions heralds her positive victory.

The imperfective form of the predicate WZNOSIĆ [to rise] (SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE) also indicates the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates.

Within both the horizontal and vertical planes, predicates also function which emphasise the starting location (Loco). Horizontally, the starting location is indicated by the predicates: WYNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING/SOMEONE2, FROM SOMEWHERE), and PONIEŚĆ [to suffer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), and vertically: PODNIEŚĆ [to elevate] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING/SOMEONE2), UNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), ZNIEŚĆ [to carry down] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING/SOMEONE2, FROM SOMEWHERE).

The predicate WYNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING/ SOMEONE2, FROM SOMEWHERE) indicates motion within the horizontal plane, with a profiling of the starting location, e.g.:

Zosia wyniosła zakupy ze sklepu [Zosia carried shopping out of the shop]

Janek wyniósł śmieci [Janek carried out the rubbish]

Policja wyniosła protestujących [The police carried off the protesters]

Strażak wyniósł dziecko z płonącego budynku [A fireman carried a child out of a burning building], etc.

Those examples trigger the following scenarios:

WNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)		ZROBIĆ [to do] (someone: ZOSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: W SKLEPIE [in a shop])
(t-1)	(Loco):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ZOSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping])
		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: ZOSIA, something: ZAKUPY [shopping], from somewhere: ZE SKLEPU [from a shop])

(to)	(Loc+1)	BYĆ [to be] (someone: ZOSIA & something: ZAKUPY [shopping], somewhere: POZA SKLEPEM [outside a shop])
(t-1)	(Loc0):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: ŚMIECI [rubbish], somewhere: W DOMU [at home])
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: ŚMIECI [shopping], from somewhere: Z DOMU [from home])
(t+1)	(Loc+1)	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: ŚMIECI [rubbish], somewhere: POZA DOMEM [outside the home])
(t-1)	(Loc0):	PROTESTOWAĆ [to protest] (someone: NATION, AGAINST SOMETHING: (?)]
		CHWYCIĆ [to grasp] (someone: POLICJA [the police], someone: PROTESTUJĄCYCH [protesters])
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: POLICJA [the police], someone: PROTESTUJĄCYCH [protesters], from somewhere: Z DEMONSTRACJI [from a demonstration], SOMEWHERE:(?)]
(t-1)	(Loc0):	PŁONĄĆ [to burn], (something: BUDYNEK [a building]) & ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: W PŁONĄCYM [in a burning] > BUDYNKU [building])
		WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: STRAŻAK [a fireman], someone: DZIECKO [child])
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: STRAŻAK [a fireman], someone: DZIECKO [child], from somewhere: Z PŁONĄCEGO [from a burning] > BUDYNKU [building])

they clearly display a dominant indication of starting locations while target locations are not defined.

The same change of location is indicated by the predicate WYNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to leave] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE), e.g.:

Mieszkańcy wynieśli się z zagrożonego budynku [The residents left the hazardous building]

Rosja musi wynieść się z Krymu [Russia needs to leave Crimea], etc.

in both cases the conveyed meaning is similar: someone has to leave a location (Loc0) they currently occupy, e.g.:

WYNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to leave] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE)

(t-1)	(Loc0):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: MIESZKAŃCY [residents], somewhere: W BUDYNKU [in the building]) & ZAGRAŻAĆ [to be a hazard] (something: BUDYNEK [building], to someone: MIESZKAŃCOM [residents])

(to)		OPUSZCZAĆ [to leave] (someone: MIESZKAŃCY [residents], something: ZAGROŻONY [hazardous] > BUDYNEK [building])
(t+1)	(Loc+1)	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: MIESZKAŃCY [residents], somewhere: POZA BUDYNKIEM [outside a building])
(t-1)	(Loc0):	OKUPOWAĆ [to occupy] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: KRYM [Crimea])
(to)		MUSIEĆ [have to] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: OPUŚCIĆ [to leave] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: Z KRYM [Crimea])
(t+1)	(Loc+1)	OPUŚCIĆ [to leave] (someone: ROSJA (Russia), something: KRYM]

The metaphorical use of the predicate WYNIEŚĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE1, SOMEONE2, onto something: THE TOP) has a different (vertical) direction of motion, yet it also profiles the starting location (Loc0), which is located low, and the action indicates an upward motion.

The imperfective form of the predicate WYNOSIĆ [to carry out] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE), as in the case of previously-discussed predicates, indicates a temporarily undefined (in terms of its iterativeness) fragment of a scenario, to which the perfective form draws our attention.

Within the horizontal plane, with an indication of the starting location, the predicate PONIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE1/SOMETHING1, SOMETHING2/ SOMEONE2) also functions, rarely used in its standard meaning, e.g.:

Trumnę ponieśli przyjaciele [The coffin was carried by friends]

Wilki poniosły zdobycz [Wolves carried their prey], etc.

These examples fulfil the following scenarios:

PONIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)

(t-1)	(Loc0):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PRZYJACIELE [friends], something: TRUMNĘ [coffin])
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PRZYJACIELE [friends], something: TRUMNĘ [coffin])

PONIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMETHING1, SOMETHING2)

(t-1)	(Loc0):	ZŁAPAĆ [to catch], (something: WILKI (wolves), something: ZDOBYCZ [prey])
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry], (something: WILKI (wolves), something: ZDOBYCZ [prey])

The predicate PONIEŚĆ [to carry] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), which has countless examples of its standard use which indicates an action, has a rich periphrastic and metaphorical representation, where the SOMETHING is: CONSEQUENCES, DEFEAT, FAILURE, LOSSES, COSTS, RESPONSIBILITY, etc.

Interestingly enough, in the case of ODNIEŚĆ [to take back] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), that *SOMETHING* in the periphrastic case is mainly positive events, e.g. a *success*, while with the predicate PONIEŚĆ [to suffer] it mainly includes negative events, e.g. a *failure*, *defeat*, *losses*, *punishment*, *responsibility*, etc.

Then, within the vertical plane, the starting location is indicated by the predicates PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING/SOMEONE2), UNIEŚĆ [to elevate] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING], and ZNIEŚĆ [to carry down] (SOMEONE1, SOMETHING/SOMEONE2). All these, however, may also derivatively indicate an undefined target location.

The predicate PODNIEŚĆ is best illustrated by the following examples:

Marysia podniosła książkę z podłogi [Marysia lifted a book from the floor]

Zosia podniosła dziecko [Zosia lifted a child]

Marynarze podnieśli kotwicę [Sailors raised the anchor]

Jan podniósł rękę [Jan raised his hand], etc.

which follow the scenarios:

PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE)

(to)	(Loco):	LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KSIĄŻKA [a book], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor])
		WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], from somewhere: Z PODŁOGI [from the floor])
(t+1)	(Loc+1)	TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: MARYSIA, something: KSIĄŻKĘ [a book], somewhere: W RĘKACH [in hands])

PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE1, SOMEONE2, FROM SOMEWHERE)

(to)	(Loco):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE/W ŁÓŻECZKU [on the floor/ in a crib])

		WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: ZOSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], from somewhere: Z PODŁOGI/ Z ŁÓŻECZKA [off the floor/ from the crib])
(t+1)	(Loc+1)	TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: ZOSIA, someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA RĘKU [in hands])

These examples feature clear indications of the starting locations (Loc0). That is the standard use of the predicate. A more complex situation exists in other examples. In *Marynarze podnieśli kotwicę* [Sailors lifted the anchor], both locations are profiled: the starting location and the target location, whereas neither must be defined in a statement, and the meaning is completed automatically, through reference to the standard:

PONIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)

(to)	(Loco):	LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KOTWICA [anchor], somewhere: NA DNIE [at the bottom])
		CIĄGNĄĆ [to pull] (someone: MARYNARZE [sailors], something: KOTWICĘ [anchor], from somewhere: Z DNA [from the bottom], to somewhere: NA POKŁAD [onto the deck])
(t+1)	(Loc+1):	LEŻEĆ [to lie], (something: KOTWICA [anchor], somewhere: NA POKŁADZIE [on the deck])

Then, in the example *Jan podniósł rękę* [Jan raised his hand], the following scenario is fulfilled:

(to)	(Loc-1):	TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: JAN, something: OPUSZCZONĄ [down] > RĘKĘ [hand])
		PODNOSIĆ [to lift] (someone: JAN, something: RĘKĘ [hand], somewhere: W GÓRĘ [up])
(t+1)	(Loco):	TRZYMAĆ [to hold] (someone: JAN, something: RĘKĘ [hand], somewhere: W GÓRĘ [up])

which indicates the target location (Loco).

The reflexive predicate PODNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to raise oneself] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE), fulfils the prototypical use of the predicate PODNIEŚĆ, i.e. indicates a starting location, e.g.

Zosia podniosła się z fotela [Zosia rose from the armchair]

Dziecko podniosło się z podłogi [Zosia lifted herself from the floor], etc.

PODNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to raise] (SOMEONE, FROM SOMEWHERE)

(to)	(Loco):	SIEDZIEĆ [to sit] (someone: ZOSIA, somewhere: NA FOTELU [in the armchair])
		PODNOSIĆ SIĘ [to raise] (someone: ZOSIA, from somewhere: Z FOTELA [from the armchair])
(t+1)		STAĆ [to stand] (someone: ZOSIA)

The scenario can be, however, more developed to include an element of causality, which, of course, can be omitted, e.g.

(t-1)	(Loc-1)	UPAŚĆ [to fall down] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁOGĘ [on the floor])
(to)	(Loco):	LEŻEĆ/SIEDZIEĆ [to lie/sit] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor])
		PODNOSIĆ SIĘ [to raise] (someone: DZIECKO [child], from somewhere: Z PODŁOGI [from the floor])
(t+1)		STAĆ [to stand] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor])

In the metaphorical use, the upward motion usually assumes the meaning of a positive value, while the downward motion assumes the meaning of a negative value (Lakoff, Krzeszowski). Therefore, such a statement as

Firma się podniosła [The company rose/surged]

is perceived as a positive communication, while such a statement as

Firma upadła [The company fell]

as a negative evaluation with the applicable scenarios of escaping trouble or falling into them.

The metaphorical uses of the predicate PODNIEŚĆ adopt the same pattern:

PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where:
SOMETHING: EFFICIENCY, VALUE, SELF-ASSESSMENT, etc.

The imperfective form of the predicate PODNOSIĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), similarly to the previously-discussed predicates derived from perfective forms, indicates a temporarily undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario created by a perfective predicate.

The predicate UNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) indicates a location similar to the predicate PONIEŚĆ [to suffer], yet it operates within the vertical plane, e.g.

Jan i Piotr unieśli fotel [Jan and Piotr lifted an armchair]

Maria uniosła garnek z wrzątkiem [Maria lifted a pot with boiling water], etc.

PODNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING)

(t-1)	(Loco):	STAĆ [to stand], (something: FOTEL [armchair], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor])
(to)		CHWYCIĆ [to grab] (someone: JAN and PIOTR, something: FOTEL [armchair])
		Z TRUDEM [with difficulty] > PODNOSIĆ [to lift] (someone: JAN and PIOTR, something: FOTEL [armchair])
(t+1)	(Loc+1)	POSTAWIĆ [to put down] (someone: JAN and PIOTR, something: FOTEL [armchair], somewhere: (?)]

The metaphorical use of the predicate UNIEŚĆ adopts the same pattern with an emphasis on effort/difficulty associated with a state being experienced, and resetting the location:

UNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where, e.g.:
COŚ: VICTORY, SUFFERING, SUCCESS, etc.

The predicate UNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to lift oneself] (SOMEONE/SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) does not introduce, it would seem, the meaning associated with the difficulty of lifting; it comes closer to PODNOSIĆ SIĘ rather than to UNIEŚĆ, e.g.:

Janek uniósł się na łóżku [Janek lifted himself on the bed]

Samolot wzniósł się w powietrze [The plane rose into the air], etc.

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to lift oneself] (SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	LEŻEĆ [to lie] (someone: JANEK, somewhere: W ŁÓŻKU [in bed])
(to)		PODNOSIĆ SIĘ [to rise] (someone: JANEK)
	(Loc0):	SIEDZIEĆ [to sit] (someone: JANEK, somewhere: W ŁÓŻKU [in bed])

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ [to lift oneself] (SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	STAĆ [to stand], (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: NA LOTNISKU [in the airport])
		UNOSIĆ SIĘ [to lift oneself] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: W POWIETRZE [into the air])
(to)	(Loc0):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SAMOLOT [plane], somewhere: W POWIETRZU [in the air])

It also appears in fixed phrases:

UNIEŚĆ SIĘ HONOREM [to take offence] (someone)
UNIEŚĆ SIĘ GNIEWEM [to become enraged] (someone)
UNIEŚĆ SIĘ DUMĄ [take to be too proud to] (someone), etc.

where the vertical motion indicates a position of dominance of a person over their surroundings.

The predicate ZNIEŚĆ [to carry down] clearly associated with the vertical downward direction may indicate various locations depending on the preposition preceding it – the starting location in combination with the preposition Z: ZNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, FROM SOMEWHERE), target location in combination with the preposition DO: ZNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, TO SOMEWHERE), and no location, be it starting or target, in combination with the preposition PO: ZNIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, OVER SOMETHING), e.g.:

Janek zniósł bagaże z drugiego piętra [Janek carried the luggage down from the third floor]

Marysia zniosła słoiki do piwnicy [Marysia carried jars down to cellar]

Piotrek zniósł dziecko po schodach [Piotrek carried the child down the stairs], etc.

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loco):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: BAGAŻE [luggage], somewhere: NA DRUGIM PIĘTRZE [on the third floor])
(t-1)		WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: JANEK, something: BAGAŻE [luggage])
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: JANEK, something: BAGAŻE [luggage], somewhere: NA DÓŁ [down])
	(Loc+1):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: BAGAŻE [luggage], somewhere: NA DOLE [downstairs])
(t-2)	(Loc-1):	WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: MARYSIA, something: SŁOIKI [jars])
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: MARYSIA, something: SŁOKI [jars], somewhere: DO PIWNICY [to cellar])
	(Loco):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SŁOIKI [jars], somewhere: W PIWNICY [in the cellar])

ZANIEŚĆ [to take] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE)

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: DZIECKO [child], somewhere: NA GÓRZE [upstairs])
		WZIĄĆ [to take] (someone: PIOTREK, someone: DZIECKO [child])
(to)	(Loco):	NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: PIOTREK, something: DZIECKO [child], over something: PO SCHODACH [down the stairs])
(t+1)	(Loc+1):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (someone: PIOTREK and CHILD, somewhere: NA DOLE [downstairs])

The imperfective form of the predicate ZNOSIĆ [to carry down] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, SOMEWHERE) indicates, as I have already emphasised, the temporally undefined (in terms of duration) fragment of a scenario which a perfective form indicates.

The metaphorical use of the predicate ZNIEŚĆ [to lift *perf.*] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING) remains in an interesting relationship with the change of location as it introduces the meaning associated with removing something, e.g.:

ZNIEŚĆ [to lift] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where, e.g.:
SOMEONE: person/authorised institution
COŚ: CELIBACY, BAN, SANCTIONS, etc.

Then, in the imperfective form ZNOSIĆ [to experience/suffer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), indicates a long-term hardship of enduring inconveniences, e.g.:

ZNOSIĆ [to experience/suffer] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), where, e.g.:
SOMEONE: the person being harmed (beneficiary, subject of suffering)
SOMETHING: SUFFERING, HARDSHIPS, RHETORIC, etc.

An interesting location is indicated by the predicate NANIEŚĆ [to bring onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING₁, SOMETHING₂), in the case of which there occurs an overlapping of planes, e.g.:

Dzieci naniosły błota na podłogę [The children brought mud in, all over the floor]

Malarz naniósł farbę na płótno [The painter put paint onto the canvas]

Janek naniósł pastę na zęby [Janek put paste on his teeth]

Marysia naniosła szampon na włosy [Marysia put shampoo on her hair], etc.

NANIEŚĆ [to bring onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Dzieci naniosły błota na podłogę [Children brought mud in, all over the floor]

(t-2)	(Loc-1):	BIEGAĆ [to run] (someone: DZIECI [children], somewhere: PO BŁOCIE [in mud] & **MIEĆ [to have] (someone: DZIECI [children], something: BŁOTO [mud], somewhere: NA BUTACH [on shoes])**
(t-1)		WBIEC [to run into] (someone: DZIECI [children], somewhere: DO MIESZKANIA [into flat])
(to)	(Loc0):	ZABRUDZIĆ [to stain] (someone: DZIECI [children], something: PODŁOGĘ [the floor], with something: BŁOTEM [with mud]) & **BYĆ [to be] (something: BŁOTO [children], somewhere: NA PODŁODZE [on the floor])**

NANIEŚĆ [to bring onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Janek naniósł pastę na zęby [Janek put paste on his teeth]

(t-1)	(Loc-1):	NAŁOŻYĆ [to put] (someone: JANEK, something: PASTĘ DO ZĘBÓW [toothpaste], onto something: NA SZCZOTECZKĘ DO ZĘBÓW [onto toothbrush]) & **ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: PASTA DO ZĘBÓW [toothpaste], somewhere: NA SZCZOTECZCE DO ZĘBÓW [on toothbrush])**

(to)	(Loco):	NAKŁADAĆ [to put] (someone: JANEK, something: PASTĘ DO ZĘBÓW [toothpaste], with something: SZCZOTECZKĄ [with a toothbrush], onto something: NA ZĘBY [onto teeth])
(t+1)	(Loco)	MYĆ [to clean] (someone: JANEK, something: ZĘBY [teeth], using something: PASTĄ [toothpaste])

NANIEŚĆ [to put onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Malarz naniósł farbę na płótno [The painter put paint onto the canvas]

(t-2)	(Loc-2):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: FARBA [paint], SOMEWHERE: (?)]
(t-1)	(Loc-1):	NAŁOŻYĆ [to put] (someone: MALARZ [painter], something: FARBĘ [paint], onto something: NA PĘDZEL [onto brush]) & **ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: FARBA [paint], somewhere: NA PĘDZLU [on brush])**
(to)		NANOSIĆ [to put] (someone: MALARZ [painter], something: FARBĘ [paint], onto something: NA PŁÓTNO [onto canvas])
(t+1)	(Loco)	**ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: FARBA [paint], somewhere: NA PŁÓTNIE [on canvas])**

NANIEŚĆ [to put onto] (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING):

Marysia naniosła szampon na włosy [Marysia put shampoo onto her hair]

(t-1)	(Loc-1):	ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SZAMPON [shampoo], SOMEWHERE: (?)]
(to)		NANOSIĆ [to put] (someone: MARYSIA, something: SZAMPON [shampoo], onto something: NA WŁOSY [onto hair])
(t+1)	(Loco)	**ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: SZAMPON [shampoo], somewhere: NA WŁOSACH [on hair])**

Less commonly, NANIEŚĆ is also associated with gathering a major amount of something at a location, e.g.

Harcerze nanieśli chrustu na ognisko [Scouts brought brushwood for the bonfire]

(t-1)	(Loc-1):	**ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: CHRUST [brushwood], somewhere: W LESIE [in forest])**
(to)		NIEŚĆ [to carry] (someone: HARCERZE [scouts], something: CHRUST [brushwood], for something: NA OGNISKO [for bonfire])
(t+1)	(Loco)	**ZNAJDOWAĆ SIĘ [to be located] (something: CHRUST [brushwood], somewhere: OBOK OGNISKA [by bonfire])**

It seems that the horizontal or vertical system of motion in the case of the predicate NANIEŚĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, ONTO SOMETHING) is not significant.

It would seem that in the case of perfective predicates the prefix transfers the indication of meaning from one predicate onto the other while retaining certain spatial elements. If one compares the perfective predicates PRZENIEŚĆ and PRZEROBIĆ, one will notice that in the case of the predicates PRZEROBIĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING1, INTO SOMETHING2) or PRZEROBIĆ (SOMEONE, SOMETHING1, INTO SOMETHING2), space is reset, yet there emerges an analogous ontological meaning, in the case of which there occurs a transition from one state to the other, with a simultaneous introduction of additional meanings.

A detailed study of communicational meanings indicated by perfective predicates still requires extensive research. I hope that the proposed direction of study will be continued by my younger colleagues, who will develop a monograph which will discuss Slavic aspect within the communicational approach.

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Grażyna Habrajska

Kategoria aspektu a sens

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest analizie dokonaności w ujęciu gramatyki komunikacyjnej. Autorka zamieszcza przegląd wybranych czasowników wraz z ich komunikacyjną analizą, polegającą na odtwarzaniu układów predykatowo-argumentowych

i ich kombinacji (tzw. scenariuszy komunikacyjnych) w celu wykazania wpływu aspektu na uzyskiwaną konfigurację sensu. W tekście przywołane zostały także przykłady analizy wypowiedzi metaforycznych.

The category of aspect vs. meaning

S u m m a r y

The article offers an analysis of the perfective aspect within the approach of communicational grammar. The author provided an overview of selected verbs with a communication-based analysis of those which consist of recreating predicate-argument systems and their combinations (the so-called communicational scenarios) to indicate the impact of aspect on the resulting configuration of meaning. The text also includes examples of the analysis of metaphorical expressions.

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