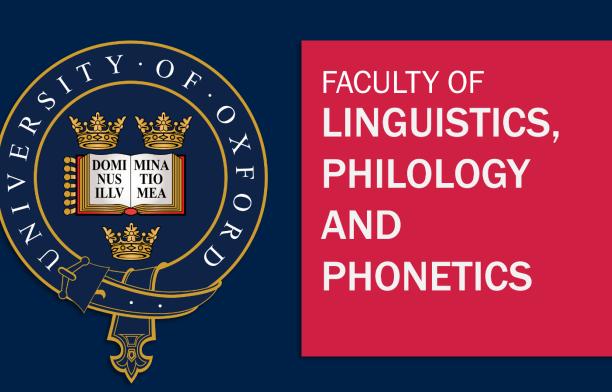# Adjectival Active Participles in Polish: Aspect and Event Structure

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The 2IPFV Suffix: Inner or Outer Aspect?

- The majority of Polish verbs are either **perfective** or **imperfective**
  - most **bare stems** are imperfective (1a)
  - most **prefixed stems** are perfective (1b)
  - the **"secondary imperfective" (2IPFV)** suffix *-aj/-ywa/-uj* turns a prefixed stems imperfective again (1c)

(1) a. top-i-ć[IPFV]   b. roz-top-i-ć[PFV]   c. roz-tap-i-a**(j)**-ć[IPFV]

     melt-v-INF   apart-melt-v-INF   apart-melt-v-**2IPFV**-INF

     'to melt'   'to melt down'   'to melt down'

- While the perfective verb in (2a) entails that the event culminated, the addition of the 2IPFV suffix in (2b) appears to cancel that entailment

(2) a. On roz-top-i-ł[PFV] kostkę lodu (#ale jeszcze nie skończył).

     He apart-melt-v-PST cube ice but still NEG finished

     'He melted an ice cube down (#but he hasn't finished yet).'

    b. On roz-tap-i-a**(j)**-ł[IPFV] kostkę lodu, ale jeszcze nie skończył.

     He apart-melt-v-**2IPFV**-PST cube ice but still NEG finished

     'He did some ice-cube melting, but he hasn't finished yet.'

- **Question:** What is the function of the secondary imperfective suffix?
  - **2IPFV = outer aspect** (e.g. Borer 2005, Biskup 2019)
    - situated above Voice
    - semantics defined in terms of temporal intervals
  - **2IPFV = inner aspect** (e.g. Łazorczyk 2010, Tatevosov 2015 for Russian)
    - situated below Voice
    - semantics defined in terms of subevent structure

- **Proposal:** The presence of the 2IPFV suffix in Adjectival Active Participles (AAPs) supports the inner aspect hypothesis

- **Argument:**

     AAPs contain the 2IPFV suffix

     AAPs lack outer aspect

     ———————————————

     2IPFV ≠ outer aspect

- **Roadmap**
  - The middle panel substantiates the argument above, and then sketches out two possible analyses of the function of the 2IPFV suffix in AAPs
  - The final panel discusses constraints on the derivation of AAPs, and presents examples of AAPs derived from ObjExp and deadjectival verbs

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Adjectival Active Participles

- **Active participles** are derived from **imperfective stems** via the suffix *-ąc*
- A subset of these participles can be converted into adjectives
  - They appear in the complement of the copula *być* 'to be'
  - They have adverbial forms ending in *-o*

(3) Ten film jest iryt-uj-ąc-y / prze-raż-(i)-**aj**-ąc-y.

     This film is irritate-v-PART-AGR pfx-strike-v-**2IPFV**-PART-AGR

     'This film is irritating / frightening.'

- I argue that **Adjectival Active Participles (AAPs) lack Voice and Outer-Asp**
  - Firstly, AAPs do not take overt arguments or adjuncts (4b)
    - the ungrammaticality of the "instrument" PP diagnoses the absence of Voice
  - Secondly, AAPs do not give rise to event entailments (5)
    - Outer-Asp locates eventualities in space and time (Gehrke 2015)
    - the lack of event entailments suggests that AAPs lack Outer-Asp

(4) a. *ObjExp verb with "instrument" PP*

     Ten piosenkarz za-chwyc-a**(j)**-∅ (wszystkich) swoim głosem

     This singer behind-grab-**2IPFV**-AGR everyone.ACC his.INST voice.INST

     'This singer astonishes (everyone) with his voice.'

    b. *Adjectival Participle*

     Ten piosenkarz jest za-chwyc-a**(j)**-ąc-y (*wszystkich) (*swoim głosem)

     This singer is behind-grab-**2IPFV**-PART-AGR everyone.ACC his.INST voice.INST

     'This singer is astonishing (*everyone) (*with his voice).'

(5) Ten prze-raż-**aj**-ąc-y film nikogo nie przeraża.

     This pfx-strike-**2IPFV**-PART-AGR film nobody NEG frightens

     'This frightening film does not frighten anyone.'

- I adopt the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993 *et seq*.)
- Verbal and adjectival participles are analysed as in (6a) and (6b), respectively
- In AAPs, the functional sequence is truncated below Voice but above 2IPFV

(6) a. [Part   [Outer-Asp [Voice [2IPFV [v [√ROOT PFX]]]]]]

    b. [Part_ADJ   [2IPFV [v [√ROOT PFX]]]]

- **Question:** What is the function of the 2IPFV suffix in the derivation of AAPs (6b)?
  - Option 1
    - AAPs are derived from stative verbs, which are atelic
    - the 2IPFV suffix is a marker of atelicity (Łazorczyk 2010)
  - Option 2
    - AAPs are derived from stative causatives, in which the causing state is co-extensive with the result state (7a) (Arad 1998, Pylkkänen 1999)
    - the 2IPFV suffix binds off the result state, deriving a predicate of the causing state (7b,c) (cf. Tatevosov 2015, 2018 for similar ideas in the eventive domain)

(7) a. $[\![vP]\!] = \lambda s_1 \lambda s_2.\, \text{Cause}(s_1, s_2) \wedge \text{Result}(s_2)$ STATIVE CAUSATIVE

    b. $[\![2IPFV]\!] = \lambda R \lambda s_1.\, \exists s_2 [R(s_1)(s_2)]$ DE-RESULTATIVISER

    c. $[\![2IPFV]\!]([\![vP]\!]) = \lambda s_1.\, \exists s_2 [\text{Cause}(s_1, s_2) \wedge \text{Result}(s_2)]$ PREDICATE OF CAUSE

Constraints on Derivation

- **Question:** How to characterise the class of verbs which give rise to AAPs?
  - **Experiencer Constraint** (Brekke 1988)
    - AAPs are derived from Object Experiencer verbs
  - **Stativity Constraint** (Meltzer-Asscher 2010)
    - only stative verbs give rise to AAPs
    - assumption: adjectives must be stative and there is no stativising operator in AAPs
- As expected, **eventive verbs** do not give rise to AAPs:

(8) *Jan wydaje się pod-skak-**uj**-ąc-y / pod-pis-**uj**-ąc-y.

     John seems REFL under-jump-**2IPFV**-PART-AGR under-write-**2IPFV**-PART-AGR

     '*John seems hopping / signing.'

- Just like in English and Hebrew, **ObjExp verbs** always give rise to AAPs in Polish :

9) *o-szołam-i-**aj**-ąc-y* 'stupefying'   *u-spokaj-**aj**-ąc-y* 'calming'

     *po-ciesz-**aj**-ąc-y* 'comforting'   *za-chęc-**aj**-ąc-y* 'enticing'

     *przy-gnęb-i-**aj**-ąc-y* 'depressing'   *za-dziw-i-**aj**-ąc-y* 'surprising'

- Here, I present new data showing that AAPs can be derived from some **causative change-of-state verbs**, including virtually all **transitive deadjectival verbs / degree achievements**:

(10) *na-wilż-**aj**-ąc-y* 'moisturising'   *wy-susz-**aj**-ąc-y* 'dehydrating'

     *od-każ-**aj**-ąc-y* 'disinfecting'   *wy-biel-**aj**-ąc-y* 'whitening'

     *s-chładz-**aj**-ąc-y* 'cooling'   *z-miękcz-**aj**-ąc-y* 'softening'

- These AAPs occur productively in the **Adverbial Effect Construction**:

(11) Wyciąg z mięty działa na skórę od-śwież-(i)-**aj**-ąc-o i roz-jaśn-i-**aj**-ąc-o.

     extract from mint affects on skin back-fresh-v-**2IPFV**-PART-ADV and apart-bright-v-**2IPFV**-PART-ADV

     'Mint extract has a refreshing and brightening effect on the skin.'

- The examples in (10) and (11) falsify the Experiencer Constraint (Brekke 1988), but they are still compatible with the Stativity Constraint (Meltzer-Asscher 2010)
- Specifically, I argue that the **causative COS verbs embedded in AAPs are stative**
- This analysis is supported by the stative uses of deadjectival verbs in English and Polish:

(12) a. The cutaway collar broadens your face.

     b. Ta suknia Cię wy-szczupl-**a(j)**-∅.

     This dress you.ACC out-slim-**2IPFV**-AGR

     'This dress slims you.'

Summary

- AAPs and Aspect
  - I have argued that AAPs project v and 2IPFV to the exclusion of Voice and Outer-Asp
  - The dissociation between 2IPFV and Outer-Asp supports the analysis of the 2IPFV suffix as a marker of inner aspect, in agreement with Łazorczyk (2010) and Tatevosov (2015, 2018)
  - The 2IPFV suffix either expresses atelicity or binds off the result variable existentially
- AAPs and Event Structure
  - AAPs are most productively derived from stative causative verbs in Polish
  - This includes not only ObjExp verbs (Arad 1998, Pylkkännen 1999) but also many causative COS verbs, including virtually all transitive deadjectival verb / degree achievements