The 2IPFV Suffix: Inner or Outer Aspect?

- The majority of Polish verbs are either perfective or imperfective
  - most bare stems are imperfective (3a)
  - most prefixed stems are perfective (1b)
  - the "secondary imperfective" (2IPFV) suffix -aj/-ajq/-ajqy/-ajqy turns a prefixed stem imperfective (1c)

1. a. top-i-2IPFV
   b. roz-top-i-2IPFV
   c. roz-top-i-ajq
   melt-v-nf apart-melt-v-nf apart-melt-v-2IPFV-nf
   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.

- The 2IPFV suffix in Adjecval Active Participles (AAPs) and Other Slavic Languages.

- The 2IPFV Suffix: Inner or Outer Aspect?

- Proposals: The presence of the 2IPFV suffix in Adjecval Active Participles (AAPs) supports the inner aspect hypothesis

- Argument:
  - AAPs contain the 2IPFV suffix
  - AAPs lack outer aspect

2IPFV ≠ outer aspect

- Roadmap
  - The middle clause 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 adjectival verbs

Adjectival Active Participles in Polish: Aspect and Event Structure

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The 2IPFV Suffix: Inner or Outer Aspect?

- Active participles are derived from imperfective stems via the suffix -qc
  - A subset of these participles can be converted into adjectives
  - They may appear in the complement of the copula byc ‘to be’
  - They have adverbal forms ending in -o

- 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-2IPFV kostkę lodu (kostkę lewa jeszcze nie skończyły)
   b. He melted an ice cube but still nie finished 'He melted an ice cube down (but he hasn’t finished yet).'
   c. He melted an ice cube but still nie finished ‘He did some ice-cube melting, but he hasn’t finished yet.’

- Question: What is the function of the secondary imperfective suffix? 2IPFV ≠ inner aspect (e.g. Borer 2005, Biskup 2019)
  - situated above Voice
  - semantics defined in terms of temporal intervals
  - situated below Voice
  - semantics defined in terms of subvent subevent

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Summary

- 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 stativing operator in AAPs

- As expected, evinent verbs do not give rise to AAPs:

3. a. Jan wyszedł z pokoju / pod-pis-ajq
   b. John seems refl under-jump-2IPFV-PART-AGR under-write-2IPFV-PART-AGR
   c. "John seems hopping / signing."

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

4. a. *z mięty dość
   b. ten piwka z chłodzącym
   c. The examples in (10) and (11) falsify the Experiencer Constraint (Brekke 1988), but they are

- Specific, I argue that the causative COSS verbs embedded in AAPs are stative

- This analysis is supported by the stative uses of deative participles in English and Polish:

   b. This film is not interrupted by any. ‘This film is not interrupted by anyone.’

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

- Proposition: The presence of the 2IPFV suffix in Adjecval Active Participles (AAPs) supports the inner aspect hypothesis

- Argument:
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Selected References