

Encoding Inception in the Domain of Psych-verbs in Polish

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Following the models of lexical semantics-syntax interface such as Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1999), and subsequent work, we are going to show that all Polish psych-verbs are simple events. None of the postulated subtypes of psych-verbs, including Object Experiencer verbs (e.g. *denerwować* ‘anger’), are complex events. Event complexity entails the presence of change of state, which is not diagnosed in the context of psych-verbs. The aspectual boundedness represented by perfective psych-verbs is derived above the lexical level where the internal eventual make-up of a predicate is not relevant. The only restriction for a predicate to be aspectually bounded is that it must be durative (Smith 1997). On the basis of the analysis of psych-verbs we are going to show that in the context of states, boundedness is not marked by result but by inception, which reflects the left aspectual boundary. The aspectual complexity of states is postulated by Piñón (1997), Bar-el (2005) and Marín & McNally (2011), where the possible aspectual modification is the specification of an initial boundary or onset. In contrast to Bar-el (2005), we are going to show that the left boundary of Polish psych-verbs is not lexicalized by verb roots but added by the structural context (i.e. perfective verbal morphology) and it is not to be associated with the BECOME operator (in contrast to Bar-el (2005) and Rothmayr (2009)).

We also want to expand the analysis of perfective psych-verbs to other states, which represent simple durative events (cf. Smith 1997) and argue that they are inceptive in Polish. Inception is entailed only by perfective psych-verbs, in this way pointing to its structural status. Relating to the discussion on verbal prefixation and the distinction between lexical and superlexical prefixes (cf. Romanova 2004, Svenonius 2004, et. al.), we are going to argue that prefixation in the context of Polish psych-verbs is always of the superlexical type and it is not associated with result semantics (in the sense of Ramchand 2008). Following Kagan (2016) and Braginsky (2008), superlexical prefixes will be treated as purely aspectual operators on verbal scale structure.

- (1) a. Janek malował (IMPERF) pokój, aż go pomalował (PERF).
‘Janek painted the room until he finished painting it.’
- b. *Janek kochał (IMPERF) Zosię, aż ją pokochał (PERF).
‘Janek loved Zosia until he started to love her.’
- c. *Hałas denerwował (IMPERF) Zosię, aż ją zdenerwował (PERF).
‘The noise angered Zosia until it made her angry.’

The discussion will indicate that initial boundaries (as in (1b,c)) are to be distinguished from final boundaries (as in (1a)). The postulated reason for that is the nature of simple event structure and its limitation with respect to aspectual boundedness.

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