

Left boundary effects in the aspectual composition of Polish stative psych verbs

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We explore the compositionality of **states** (c.f., Husband 2012 for English) in Polish and argue that stative psych predicates form aspectual pairs which are compositional. However, they reveal different properties with respect to telicity than eventive verbs. We demonstrate that the accounts of aspectuality available in the literature are right-boundary oriented and do not accommodate stative psych verbs, though the latter also show regular aspectual contrasts. Polish psych verbs come in aspectual pairs, perfective and imperfective, with the perfective describing an onset of a state (e.g., *zafascynować^{pf}/fascynować^{impf}* ‘fascinate’). This sets them apart from other predicates, e.g., degree achievements based on scalar adjectives: *poszerzyć drogę^{pf}* ‘widen the road’, *podwyższyć podatki^{pf}* ‘increase taxes’, which introduce right boundary effects. We claim that the effect of prefixation (or other perfectivization) on stative psych-verbs is always an introduction of the left boundary. Taking the syntactic decompositional view to aspect and event structure (in the spirit of Ramchand 2005, 2008), we extend the inventory of the event structures to include the template composed of the inceptive boundary event and the following state. This is in contrast to the views that psych verbs (especially OE verbs) are causative change of state verbs similar to achievements (see Smith 1995, Van Voorst 1992, Gehrke & Grillo 2009). The data that we analyse indicate that inceptive stative psychological verbs are neither telic, nor do they meet the criteria for achievement status (cf. a similar view for Spanish reflexive psych verbs in Marin & McNally 2011). Our observations are based on the tests based on temporal entailments and adverbial modification. (1)-(2) show that, in contrast to telic events (including achievements), perfective psych verbs allow an assertion that an event continues (i.e., the final endpoint is not visible).

(1) a. Janek zafascynował Marysię i nadal ją fascynuje.

‘John fascinated^{pfv} Mary and he still fascinates^{impfv} her’

b. Marysia zasmuciła Janka swoją postawą i nadal go smuci.’

‘Mary made John sad with her attitude and she still makes him sad.’

(2) a. #Ten film go fascynował ale go nie zafascynował.

‘This film fascinated_{impfv} him but it has not fascinated_{pfv} (him).’

b. #On ją kochał, ale jej nie pokochał.

‘He loved_{impfv} her, but he has not loved_{pfv} her.’

We propose a classification of these verbs as onsets, i.e., non-homogeneous predicates which do not contain the element of change (or result) as part of their structured meaning. Thus, the perfective prefix of a psych verb takes the open scale of the predicate as input but does not yield a maximal event (see Filip 2008). The compositionality effect of the prefix is that (on Ramchand’s theory), it gives rise to definiteness of reference time without introducing the result phrase, and behaves like a superlexical prefix, or alternatively it adds a quantity value to the predicate (cf. Borer (2005a,b)).

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