

The Morphosyntax of Slavic Aspect: P Clitics, Spanning, and the Superset Principle

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As is well known, the secondary imperfective suffix YWA attaches to prefixed stems (1d) to the exclusion of bare ones (1b). The question is: *What determines this distribution?* I assume that all word formation is syntactic, and that theme vowels realise the verbalising functional head *v* (Svenonius 2004a, Biskup 2019). All examples in this abstract are from Polish.

- (1) a. bud-owa-∅-ć^I b. *bud-ow(a)-ywa-ć c. roz-bud-owa-∅-ć^P d. roz-bud-ow-ywa-ć^I
build-*v*-Asp-INF build-*v*-YWA-INF apart-build-*v*-Asp-INF apart-build-*v*-YWA-INF

At first glance, the distribution of YWA could be sensitive to: i) resultativity, ii) telicity, or iii) prefixation. According to (i)-(ii), YWA is some kind of semantic operator, which maps resultative/telic stems to imperfective aspect. According to (iii), the alternation between ∅ in bare imperfectives (1a) and YWA in secondary imperfectives (1d) is morphophonological in nature. I first provide arguments against (i)-(ii), then present an analysis consistent with (iii).

Starting with (i), the idea that YWA ‘selects for’ result states is found in Ramchand (2008) and Tatevosov (2015). The problem with this view is that many bare imperfectives pass the standard tests for resultativity while rejecting suffixation with YWA. Consider the habitual construction in (2), which admits the restitutive modifier *z powrotem* and a result-oriented durative adverbial. I conclude that bare imperfectives may introduce result states in iterative, generic and habitual contexts, and that YWA does not track the presence of results in the syntax and/or semantics.

- (2) Kiedy żołnierze zasypiali^I, kapitan {z powrotem} ich budził^I {na kilka minut }.
When soldiers fell asleep, captain back again them wake for several minutes
‘Whenever the soldiers fell asleep, the captain would wake them up {again / for a few minutes}.’

The same logic militates against the idea that YWA attaches only to telic predicates (ii) (*pace* Bohnemeyer & Swift 2004). Examples like (3) show that bare imperfectives may denote telic predicates in the scope of an imperfective operator. Yet they cannot be suffixed with YWA.

- (3) Tomek zwykle prasuje^I *(tę koszulę) w niecałe dziesięć minut.
Tomek usually irons this shirt in almost ten minutes
‘Tomek usually irons *(this shirt) in less than ten minutes.’

In this work, I propose that YWA is a special exponent of imperfective aspect, whose insertion into Asp[IPFV] is contingent on the presence of a prefix (iii). Specifically, I adopt a framework in which lexical items compete for insertion into syntactic structures after spellout, in accordance with the main tenets of Distributed Morphology and Nanosyntax. I further assume that the input to lexical insertion is along the lines of (4), with Asp encoding the binary opposition between [PFV] and [IPFV] (Schoorlemmer 1995) and lexical prefixes introducing a prepositional small clause in the complement of the root (Svenonius 2004b, Gehrke 2008).

- (4) [VoiceP DP_{EXT} [Voice' Voice [AspP (I)PFV [_vP P_{clitic} [_vP *v* [_√P √ [PP DP_{FIGURE} [P' P_{clitic} PRO_{GROUND}]

Slavic prefixes are analysed as prepositional clitics, which adjoin to *v*P in the syntax. Unlike Svenonius (2004b), who argues that prefixes raise to AspP to perfectivise the clause, I propose that prefix movement is driven by PF-interpretable features. The motivation for this comes from prepositions, which cliticise to APs in Left-Branch Extraction (5) (Borsley & Jaworska 1988, Bošković 2005). Crucially, P + *wh*-phrase do not form a constituent prior to cliticisation.

- (5) Do którego Maria poszła do którego kina?
to which.GEN Mary went to which.GEN cinema.GEN

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