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LIMITATIONS ON ZERO INTERNAL ARGUMENTS
IN POLISH VERBAL SYSTEM:
TRANSITIVES WITH CORRESPONDING DERIVATIVES IN *ROZ-*

Abstract. The paper deals with the limitations on omitting internal arguments of *roz-* prefixed verbs in Polish. Various linguistic factors influencing the distribution of overt internal arguments are considered, such as specific structures rearranging valency, selectional restrictions of the relevant verbs, semantic frame membership, contextual considerations (anaphor, existential INIs), and the presence of a specific morphological exponent, out of which the last two will be shown to bear on the occurrence of zero arguments with *roz-* verbs. Among the prefixed verbs these with the causative meaning are accountable for on the basis of their morpho-syntactic structure, but the remaining ones constitute a mystery. For these verbs explanations proposing additional predicational structures are analyzed and discarded. Then we consider a proposal concerning the maximization of the event information, following Filip (2013). The proposal assumes the existence of a maximizing semantic operator which, among others, underlies the notion of perfectivity in Slavic languages. The operator may find its place in the lexical representation of *roz-* and account for the proposition's reluctance to part with its internal argument.

Key words: morpho-syntax, zero arguments, accomplishments, Slavic verb, prefixation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Polish verbal scene is characterized by many alternations where verbal valency changes under the influence of morphological exponents added to verbal forms. One interesting case of such valency change is the occurrence of transitive verbs which may appear with zero internal arguments (1a) or with overt objects (1b). Some such verbs, if prefixed, lose the ability to drop

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the internal argument, i.e. they have to be accompanied by the overt object. In this article we will analyze a group of such verbs, transitives with prefixed *roz-* counterparts, with a view to establishing the reason/reasons for such behavior.

The behavior of the unprefixed verbs is exemplified in (1) below. They shed internal arguments very easily:¹

- (1)
- a. *oglądały zdjęcia i **paplały** bez trosko* ‘They looked through the pictures and **prattled** cheerfully’
 - b. ***paplał** coś bezładu i składu* ‘He **prattled something** with no sense’
 - a. ***Trąbilem** na rogu bardzo głośno* ‘I **sounded** the horn very loudly’
 - b. *Żurawie **trąbiły** hejnal.* ‘Cranes **honked** their call’
 - a. *ona **pruła**, ja zwiјаłam wełnę w kłębki* ‘She **unpicked** (wool), and I wound wool into skeins’
 - b. ***pruła** resztki rękawiczek* ‘She **unpicked the scraps** of the gloves’
 - a. *powiadają, że sądu nie chcą, a **rąbać** nie pozwolą* ‘They say that they do not want to go to court but they will not allow to **cut** (sth.)’
 - b. *Mój dziadek też **tajgę rąbał**.* ‘My grandfather also **cut the tajga**’
 - a. ***Smarujcie** jeno i róbciе, bym wyzdrowiał rychło, a nie ucźcie mnie rozumu,* ‘Only **put on** (something) and do so that I get better quickly, and do not try to teach me’
 - b. ***Piotr** smaruje w łazience twarz kremem.* ‘Peter puts cold cream on his face in the bathroom’

When the verbs in (1) are supplemented with prefix *roz-*, they regularly take on the valency frames with overt direct objects, while the clauses with zero objects are ungrammatical:²

- (2) *roztrąbiła to rozgłośnia Wolna Europa* ‘Radio Free Europe has **trumpeted it**’
 * *roztrąbiła rozgłośnia Wolna Europa* ‘Radio Free Europe has **trumpeted (it)**’
*że będę siedział cicho, że nie **rozpaplę** sprawy?* ‘Will I stay calm, so that I will not **prattle the matter**?’
 ?? *że będę siedział cicho, że nie **rozpaplę**?* ‘Will I stay calm, so that I will not **prattle**?’
rozpruł materace i zdarł tapety. ‘He **tore the mattresses** and tore off the wall paper’
 * *rozpruł_i i zdarł tapety.* ‘He **tore** (sth.) and tore off the wall paper’
*Trzeba ją było **rozrąbać**.* ‘You had to cut it’
 * *Trzeba było **rozrąbać**.* ‘You had to cut (sth.)’

¹ Examples, wherever possible, come from Przepiórkowski et al. (2012) (National Corpus of the Polish Language). The relevant verbs and their internal arguments are given in bold characters.

² Exceptions to this regularity will be discussed in (5) below.

rozsmarowali trochę miodu po pniach ‘They **smear**ed some honey on tree trunks’
 * *rozsmarowali po pniach* ‘They **smear**ed (sth.) on tree trunks’

In this paper we will wonder why the addition of prefixes is connected with the changes of valency properties of the verbs in (2). To answer this question, several theories concerned with the zero realization of verbal arguments will be revisited in order to see whether they can be helpful in accounting for the data at hand.

2. GRAMMATICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING THE REALIZATION OF VERBAL ARGUMENTS

Various grammatical circumstances influence the realization of arguments as overt phrases or zero participants. The major factors will be presented below to enable us to see whether they play a decisive role with respect to the *roz-* data.

The reasons for dropping overt verbal arguments may be divided into four groups of conditions; construction dependent, context dependent, lexical/ idiosyncratic and provided by morphology.

As far as the first group is concerned, there are some grammatical constructions which can change the verbal valency expression in such a way that the internal argument is dropped. For instance passive (3 a, b) or anticausative/reflexive (3c, d) constructions result in the disappearance of an overt, lexically specified direct argument:

(3)

- a. *trzeba odgadnąć, czym jest posmarowany* ‘You have to guess what he **is smear**ed with’ (passive)
- b. *Masło jest rozsmarowane na chlebie* (A. M.)³ ‘Butter is spread on bread’ (passive)
- c. *które pięknie rozsmarowało się po ekranie* ‘which nicely spread on the screen’ (anticausative)
- d. *Na miejscu sporo ludzi ściąga koszulki i smaruje się olejkami do opalania.* ‘On the spot many people take off their shirts and **rub themselves** with tanning oils’ (reflexive)

These constructions in Polish are characterized by specific grammatical marking in the form of the passive participial form of the lexical verb plus the passive voice forming predicate (e.g. *być* ‘be’), or, in the

³ Examples constructed by the author will be initialed A. M.

case of anticausatives, dispositional middles and reflexives—by the reflexive⁴ particle *się*.

Roz- verbs and their unprefixated counterparts do not constitute indispensable elements of such specific structures as all kinds of transitive predicates can be placed in these structures freely, and their internal arguments will undergo the predicted rearrangements. Likewise, the analyzed verbs appear outside such structures, as the examples in (1) and (2) illustrate. Consequently, the object preserving characteristics of *roz-* are not attributable to construction related factors.

Another set of circumstances which are favorable to the object omission can be gleaned from broader contextual considerations. Direct objects are more easily deleted in anaphoric contexts and when they have existential indefinite interpretation (INI)⁵ (see Fillmore 1986; Resnik 1993, 1996; Goldberg 2005, 2006; Ruppenhofer and Michaelis [to appear]). The examples in (4) below show deletions of anaphoric internal arguments and existential indefinite interpretation arguments in the group of verbs without the *roz-* prefix:

- (4) *Zrobiła mi na drutach bezrękawnik-namiot. Był za długi, więc przywiozłam go do skrócenia [...] ona **pruła**, ja zwiijałam wełnę w kłębki* (anaphoric) 'She had nitted me a tent-like sleeveless sweater. It was too long, so I brought it with me to be shortened [...] she **unpicked** (the sweater), and I wound the wool into skeins'
*oglądały zdjęcia i **paplały** beztrosko* (existential) 'They looked through the pictures and **prattled** (INI) cheerfully'

In the National Corpus of the Polish Language such deletions are very easy to come by with any number of unprefixated transitive verbs.

The same contextual influence by anaphoric and existential factors can be seen in the case of *roz-* verbs, albeit much less frequently. On separate occasions *roz-* verbs also drop objects in similar circumstances. The infrequency of such uses is really something of a surprise, as according to Resnik (1996: 145–149), when the lexical selection restrictions tighten, the deletion should be more frequent. As many of *roz-* verbs are very specific in meaning, they should rather favor the deletions. This is not the case though.⁶ Occasional

⁴ The term 'reflexive particle' is used here as a cover term for various functions that this particle performs in the system of the Polish language and which are immaterial here.

⁵ Indefinite null instantiation (INI)—after Ruppenhofer and Michaelis (to appear).

⁶ A more thorough discussion of the influence of selectional restrictions on argument realization is provoked by (6) below.

object drop cases are illustrated in (5) below; they show that contextual semantic factors, or rather the lack of appropriate anaphoric and existential contexts cannot be held responsible for overall correlation of *roz-* and overt objects since *roz-* verbs appear sometimes in appropriate texts and (very occasionally) they shed internal arguments:

5. Anaphoric context:

Spostrzegłem [...] woreczek, czarny [...] i wskazałem go temu, który mnie tu przyprowadził, i on zręcznie odciął go kozikiem i rozpruł ‘I noticed a small sack, black, and I pointed it out to the one who had led me here and he capably cut it off with a pen-knife and unpicked (it).’

Existential INI:

Takie lanie nad laniami, że to z okularami na nosie po historiach szukać! Tu ten Piłsudski - szach-mach! Rozpruł jak nożem! ‘Such a beating, superior to other beatings, such that with spectacles on your nose to look for (it) through histories! Here this Piłsudski-swish-swash! Tore (it) as if with a knife!’

Another suggestion, already signaled above, concerns the frequency of the appearance of internal arguments as depending on the selectional restrictions of the relevant verbs. These deletion possibilities depend on lexical properties of particular verbs—the more specific the lexical information of the verb, the greater the possibilities of argument deletion (Resnik 1996: 145–9). *Roz-* verbs have more specific selectional requirements than their unprefixated counterparts as prefixes basically constitute modifiers of verbal semantics (see Slabakova 2003). In relation to our data, the predicted result should be that *roz-* verbs allow object deletion more easily than their unprefixated correspondents. This hypothesis is not borne out by the *roz-* data at all. The opposite situation is observed: the closer the semantic restrictions in the case of our *roz-* forms, the slimmer the chances for zero objects: Compare e.g. *trąbić* ‘honk, proclaim, drink’ with *roztrąbić* ‘proclaim sth. undesirable’, *śpiewać* ‘sing’ with *rozśpiewać* ‘make sb. sing eagerly’. Contrary to our initial expectations, none of the attested uses of the *roz-* verbs shows zero objects, while the non-prefixated (less selective) *trąbić* and *śpiewać* appear in such structures extensively, e.g.:

6. *Drogie auta nawet jak trąbią, to ucho odczuwa pieszczotę.* ‘Expensive cars, even when they honk, then our ears feel caressed’;

Przepięknie śpiewa ten stary babiarz. ‘This old womanizer sings beautifully’

Similarly, verbs with very tight selectional restrictions like: *rozpatrzyć* ‘consider a formal plea’ or *roztrwonić* ‘squander one’s fortune’ have no zero arguments in the Corpus. Consequently, selectional restrictions do not seem

to be good candidates for factors enforcing the ban on the appearance of zero arguments with *roz-* verbs.⁷

Ruppenhofer and Michaelis (to appear) attribute the property allowing us to delete a certain verbal argument to a particular frame membership of the verb. Frames in their account are semantic groupings of verbs which show and share specific distributional regularities, one of such regularities being the ability to leave unexpressed restricted kinds of arguments. For instance so called ‘clear’ verbs in Polish allow their Stuff arguments to stay unexpressed if the other internal arguments—Locations—are expressed as PPs. The opposite, however, does not hold: The Location cannot be deleted if the Stuff is realized in the PP:

7. *Sprzątnął stół z wody/Sprzątnął wodę ze stołu* ‘He cleaned the table of water/He cleaned water from the table’

* *Sprzątnął z wody/Sprzątnął ze stołu* *‘He cleaned of water/he cleaned from the table’

Wytarł stół z wody/Wytarł wodę ze stołu ‘He wiped the table of water/He wiped water from the table’

* *Wytarł z wody/Wytarł ze stołu* *‘He wiped of water/He wiped from the table’

According to Ruppenhofer and Michaelis (to appear) many such verbal frames with a semantic linking element and similar distributional properties can be identified. Thus our *roz-* verbs might constitute members of a semantic group sharing the frame which precludes its members from shedding direct arguments. However, in spite of their uniform behavior, *roz-* verbs would belong to a number of different semantic frames proposed by Ruppenhofer and Michaelis (to appear), e.g.: Separating frame—*rozpruć* ‘unpick’, *rozsastać* ‘squander’, *rozrąbać* ‘cut up’; Partition frame—*rozparcelować* ‘divide into plots’, *rozszeptać* ‘spread gossip’; Verdict frame—*rozsządzić* ‘judge’, *rozpracować* ‘find out’, *rozpatrzyć* ‘judge’; Activity start frame—*rozwichrzyć* ‘make unruly’, etc., etc. All *roz-* verbs behave in the same way: All of them preserve overt direct objects, so the account along the lines proposed by Ruppenhofer and Michaelis (to appear) would lack generality and possible vital relationships would be lost.

By now we have almost run out of factors which may with some probability influence the distribution of verbal direct objects. Idiosyncratic behavior of particular verbs should be excluded as a possible explanation since *roz-*transitive forms manifest the same object preserving behavior in the uniform

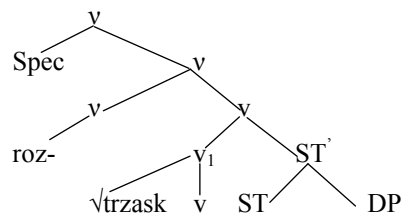
⁷ See also Ruppenhofer and Michaelis (to appear) for a more general criticism of Resnik’s (1996) motivating argument deletion by means of selectional restrictions.

fashion. Consequently, the only element whose propensity towards co-occurring with the overt direct object has not been considered yet is the prefix, the morphological exponent that the verbs in question share. Below we will analyze various approaches to Slavic prefixes which may help us shed some light on the mystery why the verbs prefixed with *roz-* cling to their overt objects.

3. *ROZ-* PREFIXATION AS THE SOURCE OF ARGUMENT PRESERVATION

So far we have presented Polish *roz-* verbs as if they formed a uniform group of data. In fact, before we go any further, we have to get out of the way such verbs which are relatively easily accounted for, namely the group of causatives. In many cases the presence of the prefix signals the causative derivation marked with *roz-*, where the causing event initiated by the external argument brings about a certain change of state in the internal argument. Basing the proposed structure on findings of Embick (2009) and Alexiadou and Doron (2012) we propose that the causative verbs with *roz-* have the structure given in (8) below.⁸ Such verbs require the presence of the internal argument more than some other transitive predicates because of their complex structure. The internal argument is the complement of STATE in the STATE PHRASE. Its presence (subject to anaphoric and existential context subregularities—see 5 above) is essential for the semantic interpretation of causatives to arise: there must be a causing event and a state which is entered by some argument—a state without an argument would not make sense: it is manifested through the medium of the argument only as the STATE node as such is even devoid of any lexical material.

(8)



(See 9 a below)

⁸ A detailed analysis of causative verbs in Polish which contain this prefix is to be found in Malicka-Kleparska (to appear).

In the case of *roz-* verbs many causative formations are attested and they, predictably, always carry internal arguments with them. Their causative semantics becomes especially vivid when they are juxtaposed with unaccusatives (9a, b) or statives (9c, d) based on the same roots:

(9)

- a. *Upadł tak pechowo, że roztrzaskał kask* ‘He fell so badly that he cracked his helmet’ vs. *W pewnej chwili coś zaczyna trzaskać pod nogami* ‘At one moment something begins to crack under one’s feet’
- b. *Trener rozgrzeszy Victora po meczu ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi* ‘The coach will pardon Victor after the match with the United States’ vs. *Goście w Grójcu skutecznością nie grzeszyli* ‘The guests in Grójec did not sin by showing overly effectiveness’
- c. *Pomruk zachwyty rozfalował tłum* ‘The murmur of wonder swayed the crowd’ vs. *Zniecierpliwiony tłum falował* ‘The restless crowd swayed’
- d. *mróz [...] który roziskrzyłby śniegową powłokę* ‘frost, which would make the snow coat glitter’ vs. *śnieg iskrzy na gałęziach* ‘snow glitters on branches’

The explanation for the behavior of causative *roz-* verbs can be thus gleaned from their morpho-syntactic structure. Perhaps other, non-causative verbs among *roz-* derivatives can be analyzed in a similar vein?

The problematic cases are the *roz-* verbs which have no causative tinge, nor unaccusative counterparts and thus they are not members of the causative alternation.⁹ Still they appear with overt objects., e. g.:

(10)

- rozpaplać* ‘blurt’ – *Rozpaplają wszystko w szkole* ‘They will blurt it out at school’
- rozzastać* ‘squander’—*Czym pan będzie do czołgów strzelał, jak je pan rozzasta na byle gówna*. ‘What are you going to shoot at the tanks with if you squander them on any shit?’
- roztrąbić* ‘trumpet about’—*agencje turystyczne roztrąbiłyby to na cały świat* ‘Travel agencies would have trumpeted it all over the world’
- rozsządzić* ‘judge’—*I jak to rozsządzić?* ‘And how to resolve it?’
- roznieść* ‘spread around’—*Później błyskawicznie włoscy cukiernicy i lodziarze roznieśli ten wynalazek po całej Europie*. ‘Later on, abruptly, Italian confectioners and ice-cream makers have spread it all over Europe’

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998) offer an analysis based on various aspects of the behavior of transitive verbs which actually takes up a similar

⁹ For details of the causative alternation see e.g. Haspelmath (1993).

line of explanation as the structural explanation available for the causative verbs presented above, and which might be extended to the verbs in (10).¹⁰ Their analysis (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 102) concerns accomplishments in general, so it may be applied to non-causative *roz-* verbs, which happen to be accomplishments (see 11 below). Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998) notice the relationship of resultative accomplishment (and achievement, p. 104) verbs to appear with overt objects. They attribute this property to the fact that such verbs are equipped with special event structure frames augmenting less complex lexical frames of their non-resultative counterparts. The frames have to possess external manifestation, required by Subevent Identification Condition (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998: 112)¹¹ and consequently their objects have to be overtly present. To put it in more theory independent terms—the resultative (telic) meanings which certain verbs possess, result in grammatical complexity of the structure in which they appear and this grammatical complexity has to be coded somehow (e.g. as an overt direct object).

To find out whether an explanation along similar lines can be applied to our verbs, we have to see whether they are accomplishment verbs. Accomplishments can be safely diagnosed if they appear with ‘in a period of time’ context, but are not grammatical in ‘for a period of time’ context:¹²

(11)

*Ania rozpaplala plotkę w godzinę/*godzinę.* ‘Anna spread the gossip in an hour/
*for an hour’

*Uczniowie roztrzębili wiadomość w godzinę/*godzinę.* ‘The pupils trumpeted the
news in an hour/*for an hour’

*Rozpracowali szpiega w godzinę/*godzinę.* ‘They worked the spy out in an hour/
*for an hour’

¹⁰ The details are very different though, as well as the general theoretical underpinnings of the two juxtaposed approaches. Unlike in the root based morpho-syntax, the theoretical standing adopted in (8), Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998) divide the labor of constructing semantically complex verbs between the lexical component—where verbal entries are repositied, and the grammatical component, which may augment the lexical entries with additional structures. Apart from this discrepancy, though, specific solutions are easily transferable between the approaches, which may possibly mean that the solutions are quite realistic.

¹¹ Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998: 112): ‘Subevent Identification Condition: each member in the event structure must be identified by a lexical head.’

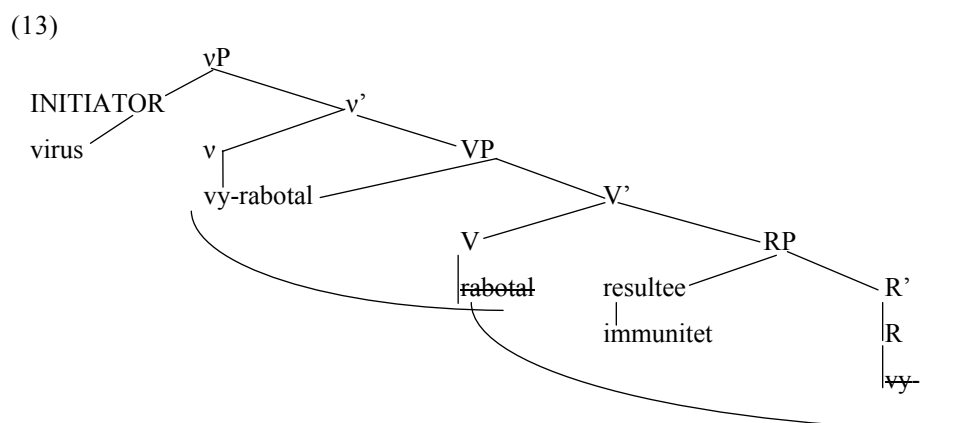
¹² Tests are taken from Willim (2006: 176-177 and fn. 2 therein). The examples in (11) are mine [A. M.].

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998:104) represent their bi-evental structure in the following way, where ACT represents one event, while STATE—the other:

- (12)
 [[xACT <MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME[y <STATE>]]]

The argument of STATE has to be overtly realized according to Subevent Identification Condition, so the direct object—the relevant argument—has to be overt.

A similar line of reasoning has been taken by Romanova (2007: 108) in relation to the material closely connected with our *roz-* verbs. She analyzes prefixed verbs in Russian and for a subclass of these verbs, accomplishments like our *roz-* predicates, she also proposes a structure with two predicative elements:



For (Russian): *Virus vyrabotal immunitet* 'The virus has obtained its immunity'

In this case the prefix constitutes the head of the resultative phrase, whose specifier carries the direct object material. In this approach the reasoning behind the proposed structure is not overtly expressed, but the result has to concern the resultee and such theoretical underpinnings should be probably assumed.

However both the analyses, Rappaport Hovav and Levin's (1998) and Romanova's (2007), have weak points. Both adopt as a central justification of the bi-evental structure the assumption that the internal argument 'comes into a state'. In the first analysis this is expressed by the BECOME [y <STATE>] augmenting frame contributed by grammar; in the second analysis it is the grammatical sub-structure—the resultative phrase—merged in morpho-syntax. Notice though that the semantics of accomplishments clearly encompasses

the participant whose state changes only in the case of causative verbs, while in the case of non-causative accomplishments in (10) above the coming into a state by the overt object argument is doubtful to say the least. What kind of state does the gossip which is trumpeted (*roztrąbić* ‘trumpet’) come into? It does not come into any state different from its initial situation. The reasoning, very convincing for some subclasses of accomplishments, does not carry onto *roz-* non-causative predicates.

Romanova’s (2007) solution and Rappaport Hovav and Levin’s (1998) solution suffer from the same weakness. Of course it is possible that the state of the gossip in our example is the ‘trumpeted’ state, but until it is convincingly argued for, it is a sheer word-game and not a well founded analytic result.

If we treat the telicity of the relevant predicates in terms of secondary predication associated with the major event then we will unavoidably fall into the semantic trap of assuming the existence of such concepts whose status is suspicious.

4. OBLIGATORY INTERNAL ARGUMENTS AS MARKERS OF EVENT MAXIMIZATION

Instead of resorting to solutions with secondary predication, we would like to propose an analysis of the *roz-* data which is based on their telicity/perfectivity,¹³ albeit not understood as a condition when the internal argument comes into a state, but as an instantiation of a logical operator MAX_E .

An interesting conception bearing on Slavic prefixed verbs has been sketched most recently by Filip (2013). She analyses the perfective aspect in historically and geographically unconnected languages to find out that perfectivity in various languages may mean various things and may be expressed in various ways. What all these phenomena have in common, though, is the maximalization of the way of looking at a given event. She believes that the element underlying perfectivity is a grammatical principle in its own right, reflected in: the MAXIMAL STAGE requirement in the logical

¹³ Whether telicity and perfectivity in Slavic prefixed verbs are one and the same thing or whether they should be kept apart is an open and much discussed question. Willim (2006) argues for treating them separately, while a recent extensive source—Łazarczyk (2010)—claims that telic prefixed verbs must be at the same time perfective in Slavic. We do not want to take a stance here on this issue and that is why the notation telic/perfective is used in this place.

representation that is satisfied when event stages either ‘cumulate’ or merely ‘cease to develop’ at a largest unique stage in a given context, i.e. , the event stage leading to the most informative proposition among the alternatives in a given context’. In other words MAX_E , as she calls the requirement, secures the situation in which a given event is conceptualized to its utmost informative possibilities. As applied to our *roz-* prefixed verbs—the most informative proposition is such which enumerates also the object which is acted upon. Filip insists that the presence of MAX_E : ‘does not correspond consistently to any formal exponent. In Germanic languages it is introduced by semantic or pragmatic inferences [as from the presence of certain adverbials: *He read a book in an hour/for an hour A. M.*]. However, in Slavic languages it is a part of lexical denotation of verbs’. *Roz-* is a prefix which contributes to the lexical information of verbs it attaches to. This can be seen, for instance, on the basis of the changed selectional restrictions its addition to a verb may effect—as discussed above in (6). Similarly, the verbs prefixed with *roz-* may acquire additional arguments as compared with unaccusatives (see 8), so prefixes affect verbal denotations. Suppose that the prefix, along other pieces of information, carries with it the MAXIMAL STAGE requirement, quite extensively justified for other areas of universal grammar by Filip (2013). With *roz-* verbs, the MAXIMAL STAGE requirement would result in the necessity of spelling out the object of the event represented by the predication with *roz-* verbs. In accordance with Filip’s suggestion, the appearance of just any prefix on Slavic verbs would not necessarily signal the presence of MAX_E . For instance Slabakova (2003: 286) claims that the presence or absence of the object has nothing to do with the resultative nature (or more precisely perfectivity) of the Russian verb.¹⁴ Likewise, in Polish not all prefixes require the presence of overt objects with transitive verbs and thus not all of them would include MAX_E in their lexical representations. Such prefixes will not maximize the described event and the propositions may have zero objects:

¹⁴ Slabakova (2003: 286): ‘In Russian, the telic morpheme is overt, it is a lexical morpheme, usually a prefix, on the verb. It occupies the head of a functional projection Perfectivity Phrase (PerfP), a position higher than the one in English. If a preverb is in the Perf⁰, a position from which it c-commands the object, the interpretation is telic. If there is no preverb in the Perf⁰, then the interpretation is atelic. Consequently, the cardinality of the object in Russian does not matter for aspectual interpretation, it is only the presence or absence of prefix that signals a (telicity).

- (14) *Jadł tak długo, aż zjadł*¹⁵ ‘He ate so long as to complete eating’

The presence of the maximizing operator in the case of *roz-* is made visible in this way that the proposition is realized in its most informative form, including the overt object. In a sense such a conception is in accordance with Filip’s claim that prefixes in Slavic languages are not uniform perfectivizers, they are just various kinds of modifiers. Our *roz-* prefix belongs to the group of formatives which contain *MAX_E* in their lexical representations and thus naturally spell out situations with maximal information content, which include the resultative completion of the situation with the specific undergoer. In this sense the the behaviour of *roz-* does not result from the general properties of prefixation phenomena in Slavic languages, nor telicity of the predication understood as the secondary predication concerning the resultee, nor contextual or specific construction related phenomena. It is also not equal just to saying that *roz-* possesses idiosyncratic properties requiring the internal argument to be spelled out. The behavior is seen as resulting from a more general necessity to maximize the information associated with various formal exponents in various languages—some analytic (Germanic languages), some synthetic—a subclass of Slavic prefixations.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The solution proposed in this text to explain why some prefixed Slavic verbs require overt direct objects is based on the conviction that the mechanisms proposed so far are either non-applicable to Polish *roz-* verbs or require unwarranted assumptions about the semantics of some such verbs. The solution presupposes the existence of an operator needed elsewhere in universal grammar. It may be applied not only to the Polish *roz-* example, but to other prefixes which show similar morpho-syntactic behavior, e.g. *na-* (*nabazgrać* ‘scribble sth.’), *ob-* (*objechać* ‘drive around sth.’), *prze-* (*przewiercić* ‘drill through sth.’) etc., etc. Consequently, it may have far reaching consequences for the description of the whole Slavic verbal prefixation.

¹⁵ There is nothing to suggest that the deletion of the possible direct object in the case of the unprefixated verb in this example is any different than that in the prefixed example.

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OGRANICZENIA Z ZEROWYMI ARGUMENTAMI WEWNĘTRZNYMI
W POLSKIM SYSTEMIE WERBALNYM:
CZASOWNIKI PRZECHODNIE Z DERYWATAMI NA *ROZ-*

Streszczenie

Tekst dotyczy realizacji argumentów wewnętrznych w przypadku czasowników z wykładnikiem *roz-* w języku polskim. Rozważane są różne czynniki, które mogą wywierać wpływ na dystrybucję pełnych wyrażen dopełnieniowych, takie jak specyficzne struktury modyfikujące walencję czasownikową, ograniczenia łączliwości z dopełnieniami charakterystyczne dla tych czasowników, ich przynależność do semantycznych grup związanych z pewnymi charakterystycznymi zachowaniami czasowników, czynniki tekstowe, takie jak anafora czy egzystencjalne dopełnienia niespecyficzne wyrażone zerowo, a także obecność specyficznego wykładnika morfologicznego. Z tych czynników dwa ostatnie mają wpływ na występowanie argumentów zerowych z czasownikami z *roz-*. Konieczność występowania wyspecyfikowanego dopełnienia z czasownikami kauzatywnymi została wyjaśniona ich strukturą gramatyczną (w ramach morfologii opartej na rdzeniu wyrazowym). Pozostałe czasowniki jednak uznane zostaną za pozbawione kauzatywnej struktury, a więc za pozostające poza obszarem podlegającym takiej analizie. Możliwość istnienia dodatkowej struktury predykatywnej w informacji gramatycznej tych czasowników została rozważona, a następnie odrzucona ze względu na ich semantykę. Następnie przedstawiono propozycję Filip (2013), dotyczącą istnienia wymogu maksymalizacji obecnego w gramatyce aspektu w różnych językach świata. Zaproponowano, że ten właśnie wymóg jest odpowiedzialny za realizacją dopełnienia jako opcji niezerowej z pozostałymi czasownikami jako jednej z realizacji wymogu maksymalizacji informacji.

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Słowa kluczowe: morfosyntaksa, argumenty zerowe, teliczne czasowniki dynamiczne, czasownik słowiański, prefiksacja.