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DERIVATION OF NOMINALS CORRESPONDING TO OBJECT EXPERIENCER VERBS IN *ROZ-* IN POLISH

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the problems which puzzle linguists nowadays is whether and which language structures represent Kimian states (Kim) as opposed to Davidsonian states (Davidson). Davidson claimed that structures headed by activity verbs possess an event argument in their semantic representation, on a par with other arguments, discharged through the mediation of thematic roles, such as Agent and Patient. This claim is supported by the availability of anaphoric expressions referring back to the event argument itself.[1] Initially, Davidson's findings were generally accepted, but later developments in the area of semantics brought about significant modifications of Davidson's analysis: Neo-Davidsonians (Parsons, "Events", "Underlying Events"; Higginbotham, "The Logic", "On Semantics"; Higginbotham and Ramchand; Ramchand; Ernst, among others) put forward much stronger claims about the presence of the event argument in a broader spectrum of language structures (including state clauses) and viewed the event argument as the only argument in a predication. Ultimately, all structures with a predicate have an overt or covert event argument in one form or another.[2]

An alternative analysis of some states, so-called Kimian states (K-states), has been developed by Maienborn (*Die logische Form*, "On the Limits", "On Davidsonian

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[1] Davidson (37) gives the following example: "Strange goings on! John did it slowly, deliberately, in the bathroom, with a knife, at midnight. What he did was butter a piece of toast." '*It*' in the second sentence is an anaphoric expression replacing the event itself as it is expressed in a natural language.

[2] See especially Higginbotham ("On Semantics", "On Events"), who explicitly claims that noun phrases including verb-based nominals have the event argument to discharge, just like state clauses.

and Kimian States", "Events"), who argues extensively that certain language structures coding states have properties distinctive enough to warrant their treatment as an ontological category different from Davidsonian states (D-states). Maienborn concentrates on the structural properties of propositions coding K-states, in particular on the kinds of participants (arguments) and modifications admissible in stative clauses: K-states do not admit additional participants in a proposition, apart from the holder of a state, and certain types of adverbials cannot accompany K-states either (see section 3 for details).

The idea that there is a distinct ontological category of K-states has been followed in more recent research on nominalisations, which in Neo-Davidsonianism would also be supposed to contain the event argument. Authors such as Fábregas and Marín ("State Nouns", "The Role") consider this idea while investigating psychological nominals, and they argue that certain nominals within this class are indeed K-states.

In the present paper we will investigate a class of psychological nominals in Polish which, in our view, show features of K-states, rather than of D-states, although these nominals share stems with the corresponding eventive verbs. This class of nominals may thus constitute a problem for the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* (Fábregas and Marín, "State Nouns", "The Role").

We will investigate structural properties of clauses containing psychological nouns and argue that the properties which may point to their nature as D-states can be explicated within a K-state analysis. We will also propose that *roz-* psychological nominalisations have structures shared with cognate passive participles, along the lines of Fábregas and Marín's ("The Role") analysis of Slovenian nominalisations. Our analysis will be contrasted with Rozwadowska's approach, which stresses the affinity of psychological nominalisations to Subject Experiencer Verbs (SEVs) in Polish.

The paper is organised into nine sections, with section 1 presenting the major issues taken up in the text. Section 2 introduces Polish psychological nominals prefixed with *roz-*, which constitute a case of morphologically complex lexemes with multiple cognate forms eligible as their derivational bases. Section 3 presents the distinction between K-states and D-states and analyses *roz-* nominals as examples of K-states. Section 4 explains why *roz-* nouns are problematic for the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis*. A recent analysis of psychological nominals and their cognate verbs in Polish as a possible solution to aspectual discrepancies between psychological nominals and cognate verbs is discussed in section 5, with the subsequent explanation why a similar solution cannot be adopted for *roz-* nominalisations. In section 6 we propose an alternative analysis of *roz-* formations, such that the analysis respects the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis*. Some problems with our analysis are discussed in section 7, while section 8 sums up the research developed in this paper.

2. *ROZ-* ROOT *-ANIE/-ENIE* PSYCHOLOGICAL NOMINALS

The psychological nominals that we are preoccupied with are characterised by a relatively uniform set of morphological markers. They are prefixed with *roz-* and suffixed with *-a-ni-e*, *-e-ni-e*, complex suffixes including stem forming vowels (*-a-*, *-e-*), suffixed palatalised *-n-*[3] and inflectional endings (*-e* in the nominative case) (see Puzynina; Grzegorczykowa; Grzegorczykowa and Puzynina; Szymanek). *Roz-* is a lexical verbal perfectivising prefix (Svenonius) as its primary function is making a verb perfective (*drażnić* 'annoy, IPFV'—*rozdrażnić* 'annoy, PFV'), but it should be viewed as lexical, rather than superlexical or as a pure perfectiviser because it may change the meaning of the base (*czarować* 'cast spell' vs. *rozczarować* 'disappoint') and/or modify the argument structure of a clause (*czarować* may appear without a complement, while *rozczarować* requires an overt or covert complement). Additionally, superlexical prefixes can be stacked to the left of *roz-* (*po-roz-czarowywać* 'disappoint time and again'), while *roz-* itself cannot stack: **roz-po-czarować*.

All psychological nominals with prefixal *roz-* have corresponding cognate Object Experiencer Verbs (OEVs) also containing *roz-*, hence the nominals may be considered to be based on these verbs. Such an analysis, however, would present a problem for the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* (to be discussed in section 4) and will be discarded in favour of the derivation from the passive participles of OEVs (section 6).

Roz- nominals have been chosen as data because their derivation constitutes an interesting theoretical problem, and also because they can support a reliable morpho-syntactic analysis since the nominals are relatively uniform in structure and quite numerous (over two dozen, counting only those forms which appear in corpora of the Polish language).[4] In (1) below we supply a list of relevant OEVs with their corresponding nominals.

(1)

rozanielić 'make [sb] blissful'—*rozanielenie* 'bliss', *rozbestwić* 'enrage'—*rozbestwienie* 'being enraged', *rozbudzić* 'arouse'—*rozbudzenie* 'arousal', *rozzuchwalić* 'encourage'—*rozzuchwalenie* 'encouragement', *rozchwiać* 'upset'—*rozchwianie* 'being upset', *rozczarować* 'disappoint'—*rozczarowanie* 'disappointment', *rozczulić* 'make [sb] feel touched'—*rozczulenie* 'feeling touched', *rozdrażnić* 'annoy'—*rozdrażnienie* 'ill-humour', *rozśmieszyć* 'amuse'—*rozśmieszenie* 'amusement',

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[3] The function of the suffix *-n-* will be discussed in section 6. To preview its status, we will claim that it is a suffix spelling out passive structures.

[4] We have based our analysis on the contents of *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (NKJP henceforth), shown in the Works-Cited list as Przepiórkowski et al., and on *Paralela*, shown as Pęzik.

rozentuzjazmować 'excite'—*rozentuzjazmowanie* 'excitement', *rozżewnić* 'make [sb] feel sentimental'—*rozżewnienie* 'feeling sentimental', *rozeźlić* 'make [sb] angry'—*rozeźlenie* 'anger', *rozgorączkować* 'make [sb] agitated'—*rozgorączkowanie* 'agitation', *rozhisteryzować* 'make [sb] hysterical'—*rozhisteryzowanie* 'hysteria', *rozjątrzyć* 'exacerbate'—*rozjątrzenie* 'exacerbation', *rozjuszyć* 'enrage'—*rozjuszenie* 'rage', *rozkaprysić* 'make [sb] feel finicky'—*rozkapryszenie* 'feeling finicky', *rozleniwić* 'make [sb] feel indolent'—*rozleniwienie* 'indolence', *rozmarzyć* 'make [sb] feel dreamy'—*rozmarzenie* 'feeling dreamy', *roznamiętnić* 'arouse passion'—*roznamiętnienie* 'passion', *rozochocić* 'make [sb] feel merry'—*rozochocenie* 'feeling merry', *rozpogodzić* 'cheer [sb] up'—*rozpogodzenie* 'feeling cheered up', *rozprężyć* 'relax'—*rozprężenie* 'relaxation', *rozzłościć* 'make [sb] angry'—*rozzłoszczenie* 'anger', *rozżewnić* 'make [sb] feel sentimental'—*rozżewnienie* 'feeling sentimental', *roztkliwić* 'move'—*roztkliwienie* 'feeling tender', *rozweselić* 'cheer [sb] up'—rozweselenie 'cheefulness', *rozwścieczyć* 'infuriate'—*rozwścieczenie* 'fury', *rozzuchwalić* 'make [sb] feel audacious'—*rozzuchwalenie* 'audacity'.

The maximum argument structure in which *roz-* nominals may appear includes the Experiencer (2a), corresponding to the object of OEV (2b) and taking the genitive case, as well as the Experienced (the verbal subject) in the instrumental case. This structure constitutes the canonical argument structure of Polish psychological nominalisations (see e.g. Rozwadowska, among others):

(2) a. *Rozczarow-a-ni-e   (Jana)   (nowym   samochodem)   było*
       disappointment.NOM   Jan.GEN   new.INS   car.INS   was
       ogromne.
       immense.NOM
       'Jan's disappointment with his new car was immense.'

   b. *Nowy   samochód   rozczarował   Jana.*
      new.NOM   car.NOM   disappointed   Jan.ACC
      'His new car disappointed Jan.'

   a. *Rozdrażni-e-ni-e (ludzi)   (problemem) było   zrozumiałe*.
      annoyance.NOM   people.GEN   problem.INS   was   understandable.NOM
      'People's annoyance with the problem was understandable.'

   b. *Problem   rozdrażnił   ludzi*.
      problem.NOM   annoyed   people.ACC
      'The problem annoyed people.'

In the next section we will consider the properties of clauses with *roz-* nominals having a bearing on their status as possible representatives of K-states.

3. *ROZ-* NOMINALS AS K-STATES

When we focus on the semantics of states in general, we notice that K-states and D-states share semantic homogeneity (Bennet and Partee). Namely, states show the subevental property, i.e. all subparts of a state are identical to this state. In other words, states are homogenous down to instants (see Dowty; Krifka; Maienborn, *Die logische Form*, "On the Limits"; Rothstein, among others). Thus, K-states and D-states are not different in this respect. However, the syntax of clauses containing both types of states allows us to distinguish the two classes.

The formal properties of clauses representing K-states, as opposed to D-states, have been analysed in detail by Maienborn (*Die logische Form*, "On the Limits", "On Davidsonian and Kimian States", "Events") for copular sentences and propositions with such lexical verbs as *know*, *hate* and *resemble.* Maienborn ("Events" 71) gives the following definition of K-states: "K-states are abstract objects for the exemplification of a property *P* at a holder *x* and a time *t*."

As such, K-states are grammatical with temporal adverbials, while they do not occur with locative[5] (3a) or manner adverbials (3b), since the latter two types modify the event argument, absent in K-states. Similarly, K-states cannot admit additional arguments (e.g. comitatives), except the holder of a property (3c) (Maienborn, "On the Limits" 294):

(3) a. **Carol* *weiß*   *an* *der*   *Tafel*   *die* *Antwort.*
        Carol   knows   at   the   blackboard   the   answer
    b. **Paul*   *besitzt* *sparsam/spendabel*   *viel* *Geld.*
        Paul   owns   thriftily/generously   much   money
    c. **Maria* ähnelt   *mit* *ihrer* *Tochter*   *Romy Schneider*. (comitative)
        Maria   resembles with   her   daughter   Romy Schneider

D-states share the subevental property with K-states, but they accept locative (4a) and manner modifications (4b). They also take additional arguments (4c). Below, we illustrate these properties with clauses headed by *spać* 'sleep' (D-state):

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[5] Locative adverbials are admissible in clauses coding K-states if they are frame adverbials, i.e. they do not locate the event, but the whole proposition — see Maienborn ("On the Limits" 288–89).

(4) a.   *Jan   śpi   na   kanapie.*
         Jan.NOM   sleeps   on   sofa.LOC
         'Jan sleeps on the sofa.'

    b.   *Jan   śpi   spokojnie.*
         Jan.NOM   sleeps   peacefully
         'Jan sleeps peacefully.'

    c.   *Jan   śpi   z   kotem.*
         Jan.NOM   sleeps   with   cat.
         'Jan sleeps with his cat.'

Maienborn focuses her analyses on clauses headed by verbal elements, but her research has been extended to the area of nominals by Fábregas and Marín ("The Role") and Fábregas, Marín and McNally, who have come up with a number of tests to diagnose whether a noun belongs to the group of stative nominals (K-states).

     Syntactic tests for the stativity of nominals, adapted to the Polish material from Fábregas and Marín ("The Role") and Fábregas, Marín and McNally, show that *roz*-nominals are indeed stative, since they are ungrammatical with a variety of expressions carrying eventive implications.[6] The proposed tests include the 'take place' test, 'finish' test, 'be interrupted' test, and 'in progress' test.

     (5a) features a *roz-* nominal which behaves differently to the eventive nominal in (5b).

(5)   The 'Take place' test:
      a.   **Rozczarowanie   zdarzyło się   rano.*
           disappointment.NOM   took.place   morning

      b.   *Zderzenie   zdarzyło się   rano.*
           crash.NOM   took.place   morning
           'The crash took place in the morning.'

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[6] Eventive implications are concepts taken from the framework of Cognitive Grammar (Schmid), where the eventiveness of some nouns (called shell nouns) is evaluated on the basis of the syntactic frames in which they appear. The frame for eventive nouns contains Event (an activity, process or state) and a characterisation of Event (see also Menzel, Chalker). Schmid classifies nouns as eventive through their typical contexts in linguistic corpora (e.g. Noun+clause, Noun+be+clause), going beyond argumental surroundings, usually considered in Generative sources. The relevant contexts diagnose particular nouns as having events in their mental representations. A similar methodology has been applied in this text to diagnose the eventiveness of particular morpho-syntactic forms, although we limit the relevant contexts to argumental positions.

While *zderzenie* (*z-derz-e-nie*) 'crash' has a morphological structure similar to *rozczarow-anie* 'disappointment' (perfectivising prefix+root+'*stem forming vowel*'+*nie*), it is fully grammatical in the identical context, which shows that the two nominalisations have different properties — *rozczarowanie* 'disappointment' is a stative nominalisation, as it cannot appear with the predicate 'take place', while *zderzenie* 'crash' is an eventive nominalisation.

Similarly, *bieganie* 'running' (eventive) and *rozczarowanie* 'disappointment' (stative) behave differently under the 'finish' test. *Rozczarowanie* 'disappointment' is ungrammatical as the subject in the 'finish' clause (6a), while *bieganie* 'running' is fully grammatical (6b).

(6)   The 'Finish' test:

    a.   *Rozczarowanie   zakończyło   się   nagle.*
        disappointment.NOM   ended   REFL   suddenly

    b.   *Bieganie   zakończyło   się   nagle.*
        run.NOM   ended   REFL   suddenly
        'The running ended suddenly.'

The same holds for 'be interrupted' (7) and 'in progress' (8):

(7)   The 'Be interrupted' test:

    a.   *Rozczarowanie   przerwano   nagle.*
        disappointment.ACC   was interrupted.IMP   suddenly

    b.   *Bieganie   przerwano   nagle.*
        running.ACC   was interrupted. IMP   suddenly
        'The running was suddenly interrupted.'

(8)   The 'In progress' test:

    a.   *w   trakcie   rozczarowania*
        in   progress   disappointment.GEN

    b.   *w   trakcie   biegania*
        in   progress   running.GEN
        'while running was in progress'

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[7] IMP stands for an impersonal form of the verb.

The 'in the state of' test illustrates the opposite grammaticality judgements: stative nouns can complement the noun 'state' in the expression 'in the state of' (9a), while eventive nouns cannot (9b):

(9) a. *Wzgarda –*   *według*   *Coleridge'a –*   *to*   *nic*
       contempt.NOM   according.to Coleridge.GEN   it   nothing.NOM
       innego   jak   *egotyzm   w   stanie   rozdrażnienia.* (NKJP)
       else.GEN than   egotism.NOM in   state.LOC   ill-humour.GEN
       'Contempt – according to Coleridge – is nothing else than egotism in ill-humour.'

       *w   stanie   biegania
   b. in   state.LOC   running.GEN

So far the tests applied in (5)–(9) point to the stative nature of *roz-* nominals. It has to be added that *roz-* nouns fulfil the subevental condition, since every moment of *rozdrażnienie* 'annoyance' (9a) is identical to any other moment, which also tallies with the stative character of *roz-* nominals.

   However, K-states cannot appear with manner adverbials (see (3b) above, see also Maienborn, "On the Limits" 294; Maienborn and Schäfer), but *roz-* nominals can be modified by manner adjectives (replacing adverbs in structures headed by nouns), unlike in Fábregas and Marín's ("The Role") Spanish data:

(10)
a. *Szybkie   rozczarowanie   jest   lepsze niż   złudzenia.*
    quick.NOM   disappointment.NOM   is   better than   illusions.NOM
    'Quick disappointment is better than illusions.'

b. *Ogarnęło   go   powolne   rozleniwienie.*
    overwhelmed him.ACC   slow   indolence.NOM
    'He was overwhelmed by slow indolence.'

If manner adjectives (corresponding to manner adverbs modifying verbs) can appear with our nominals, then the status of *roz-* nominals as K-states may be questioned.
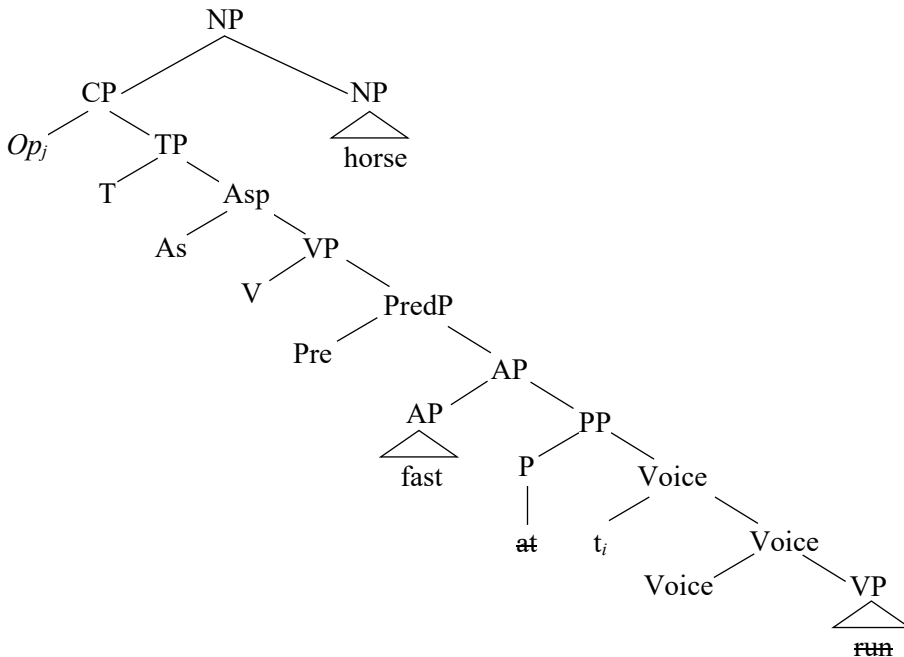
   The resolution of this problem lies in the observation that manner adjectives can also modify such nouns which are morphologically simple in Polish and not derived/related to verbs, i.e. those nouns that cannot be suspected of including a verbal (eventive) projection of any kind:

(11) *szybkie tempo* 'quick tempo', *szybki kawałek* 'quick musical piece', *szybkie tory* 'quick rails', *szybki koń* 'quick horse', *powolny głos* 'slow voice', *powolny nurt* 'slow current', *powolny świat* 'slow world' (NKJP)

The uses of manner adjectives with the nouns in (11) abbreviate more extensive descriptions of complex events, e.g. *szybki kawałek* 'quick musical piece' is a musical piece designed for energetic dancing. In other words, complexes of manner adjectives and nouns stand for more extensive language structures. The mechanism at work here may be purely pragmatic in nature and the relevant information is filled in by general cultural knowledge. Alternately, as suggested by Alexeyenko (see 12 below), elaborate syntactic structures give rise to complexes of manner adjectives and nouns.

Alexeyenko (see also Cinque) analyses the modification of nominals by manner adjectives in detail and he argues extensively that the manner modification of nominals arises as an effect of reducing CPs pre-modifying a nominal. Consequently, manner modification may have nothing to do with the eventiveness or the lack thereof in nominals themselves, but it may be a reflex of manner modification of the verb (or, more precisely, of the gerund) in the reduced CP. The structure proposed by Alexieyenko (186) for the NP *fast horse* is given below in (12). As the only lexical elements to be inserted into the structure are *fast* and *horse*, the phrase *fast horse* results, but the syntactic structure that these lexemes spell out still results in the reading where the relative clause modifies the head noun:

(12)

NP
├── CP
│   ├── Op_j
│   └── TP
│   ├── T
│   └── Asp
│   ├── As
│   └── VP
│   ├── V
│   └── PredP
│   ├── Pre
│   └── AP
│   ├── AP
│   │   └── fast
│   └── PP
│   ├── P
│   │   └── ~~at~~
│   └── Voice
│   ├── t_i
│   └── Voice
│   ├── Voice
│   └── VP
│   └── ~~run~~
└── NP
    └── horse

In the face of the existence of grammatical structures in which manner adjectives modify simple nouns and the possible clausal explanation of the grammaticality of manner modification with nouns, it seems plausible not to treat adjectival manner modification as an argument against the K-state status of *roz*- nominals.[8]

The material presented in this section supports the claim that *roz*- psychological nominals represent K-states, as their semantics and morpho-syntactic environments fulfil the requirements of K-statehood. In the next sections, we will present a theoretical discrepancy that may result from a K-state analysis of the data (section 4), together with possible solutions (sections 5, 6).

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[8] One Reviewer has pointed out that since Spanish K-state nominals cannot take manner modification (Fábregas and Marín, "State Nouns", "The Role"), we would expect no grammatical complexes of manner modifiers and simplex nouns in Spanish either. The structure given in (12) would not be

4. A PROBLEM WITH THE *ASPECT PRESERVATION HYPOTHESIS*

The analysis of *roz-* nominals as statives poses a problem for the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* (Fábregas and Marín, "State Nouns"). The Hypothesis asserts that nominals based on verbs preserve the aspectual properties of such verbs. In the case at hand the prediction would be that stative nominalisations should have corresponding stative verbal bases. Although the nominals in *roz-* are stative (see section 3 above), some forms which may constitute their bases are eventive, a claim that we will substantiate in this section.

The choice of alternative bases for *roz-* nominals includes OEVs, SEVs and past participles. All these forms share stems with *roz-* nominals, as well as the prefix:

_____

available in Spanish, unlike in Polish. However, some Spanish forms, corresponding to our examples in (11) are grammatical (the examples provided by Antonio Fábregas in personal communication):

(i) *un   tempo   rápido, vía   rápida, caballo rápido, corriente   lenta*
     a   tempo   quick   road   quick   horse   quick   current   slow
     'a quick tempo'   'a quick road'   'a quick horse' 'slow current'

Some other examples are ungrammatical:

(ii) **voz   lenta,   ??mundo   lento*
     voice slow   world   slow

We would like to suggest that the grammatical examples in Spanish are not syntactic phrases, but compounds, which explains their erratic behaviour with respect to the grammaticality of manner modification. This conclusion is supported by the word order characteristics of compounds headed by nouns in Spanish (Jesús Fernández-Domínguez), in which the adjective appears after the noun, not before it. As compounds, the forms in (i) are not based on the same structures as syntactic phrases.

At the same time, the Polish examples in (11) are not compounds. The structure characteristic for Polish endocentric compounds headed by nouns requires that the adjective follows the noun:

(iii) *groszek zielony, woda   deszczowa*
      pea   green   water   rain
      'green peas'   'rain water'

Syntactic phrases favour the adjective preceding the noun.
Consequently, the data in Spanish do not undermine the analysis of stative nouns modified by manner adjectives proposed for Polish in this paper.

(13)   Nominal: *roz-czarow-a-ni-e* 'disappointment' (perfectiviser+root+stem forming vowel+passiviser+inflectional ending)

OEV: *roz-czarow-a-ć* 'disappoint (perfectiviser+root+stem forming vowel+inflectional ending)

SEV: *roz-czarow-a-ć się* 'become disappointed' (perfectiviser+root+stem forming vowel+inflectional ending+reflexive clitic)

Past Participle: *roz-czarow-a-n-y* 'disappointed' (perfectiviser+root+stem forming vowel+passiviser+inflectional ending)

In principle, all these forms may be the bases for *roz-* nominals. We will consider the three possible derivational options in turn in sections 5, 6 and 7, starting with OEVs (this section) since all nominals in *roz-* have corresponding OEVs and their meaning can be represented as the result state of the cognate OEV accomplishment.

The OEVs that correspond to *roz-* nominals are accomplishments (Vendler; Comrie). Consequently, they may be modified by phrases like 'in X time '—*w godzinę* 'in an hour' in the Polish examples below (14). As accomplishments, they are clearly telic and eventive since the events present in their structure lead up to a change of state of their objects. Accordingly, the verbs are ungrammatical with phrases of the type 'for X time' (*przez godzinę* 'for an hour'), which characterise atelic clauses (14). The events coded by *roz-* verbs also lack homogeneity, i.e. particular stages in the development of a proposition differ (event proper+change of state):

(14)   *Przedstawienie   rozczarowało Jana   w   godzinę/*
performance.NOM   disappointed   Jan.ACC in   hour.ACC

*przez godzinę.
for   hour.ACC
'The performance disappointed Jan in an hour.'

The claim that *roz-* verbs are eventive is also supported by their ability to appear with manner adverbials, inadmissible with K-states spelled out by verbs (see (4b) above):

(15)   *Przedstawienie   szybko/powoli   rozczarowało Jana.*
performance.NOM   quickly/slowly   disappointed   Jan.ACC
'The performance quickly/slowly disappointed Jan.'

At the same time, stative verbs (K-states) cannot appear in the same context (see also (3b) above):

(16) *Jan*   *wiedział*   **powoli/*szybko.*
      Jan.NOM   knew   slowly/quickly

Thus, OEVs corresponding to *roz-* nominals have to be considered eventive because of their non-homogenous semantics, features of accomplishments tested with the 'for X time/in X time' temporal modification, and event-related manner adverbs. At the same time, *roz-* nominalisations have been analysed as statives in section 3 above. This lack of congruence between eventive OEVs and stative nominalisations has to be accounted for. Alternately, the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* might face a counterexample.

In the next section we will briefly outline one line of reasoning which might answer the conundrum that affects the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis*, a solution based on Rozwadowska's work on psychological nominals in Polish. In section 6 we will develop a different analysis, having shown that Rozwadowka's analysis cannot be applied to our data (section 5).

5. ROZWADOWSKA'S ANALYSIS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL NOMINALS IN POLISH VIS-À-VIS THE *ASPECT PRESERVATION HYPOTHESIS*

An analysis of psychological nominals in Polish presented by Rozwadowska in her recently published paper may seem to suggest a way to rescue the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis*. This analysis proposes that certain psychological nominals in Polish are derived not from OEVs, but from SEVs. According to Rozwadowska, SEVs are better candidates as bases for psychological nominalisations because the argument structure of such verbs resembles the argument structure of cognate nominals: the Subject Matter argument (Experienced, in our terms) takes the instrumental case with SEVs (17) and with nominals (18), but with OEVs (19) the Subject Matter takes the nominative case (examples adopted from Rozwadowska):

(17) SEV
      Janek   *interesuje*   *się*   *składnią.*
      Janek.NOM   interests   REFL   syntax.INS
      'Janek is interested in syntax.'

(18)   Nominalisation
        Zainteresowanie   Janka   składnią.
        Interest.NOM   Janek.GEN   syntax.INS
        'Janek's interest in syntax.'

(19)   OEV
        Janka   interesuje   składnia.
        Janek.ACC   interests   syntax.NOM
        'Syntax interests Janek.'

In (19), the OEV takes the Experiencer in the accusative case, while the Subject Matter is in the nominative, so the case of the complement (Subject Matter) differs from that of the complement of the nominalisation. The realisation of the Experiencer argument (18) is immaterial here because the genitive case is the structural case of external arguments accompanying nominalisations in Polish.

Rozwadowska argues, in contrast to the proposals put forward by Iordăchioaia ("The Root", "Categorization"), that Polish nominalisations are not derived from a-categorial roots because root derivation has significant shortcomings. First of all, root derivation does not explain why psychological nominalisations always have corresponding verbs. In principle, nominals not paired with verbs (but showing the same morphology as derived nominals) could be constructed as if they were derived from bare roots. Secondly, nominalisations in Rozwadowska's analysis, even stative ones, show the presence of projections characteristic of verbs. Specifically, they appear with the prefix *nie-* in the function of sentential negation, with the reflexive clitic *się* (spelling out voice), and they show aspectual distinctions (see (20), adopted from Rozwadowska):

(20)   *Nie-za-interesowanie   się   Janka   syntaksą.*[9]
        not.interest.NOM.PFV   REFL   Janek.GEN   syntax.INS
        'Janek's lack of interest in syntax.'

        Nie-interesowanie   się   Janka   syntaksą.
        not.interest.NOM.IPFV   REFL   Janek.GEN   syntax.INS
        'Janek's lack of interest in syntax.'

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[9] Hyphens are inserted in the examples in (20, 21, 22) for ease of exposition. They are not included in the regular spelling of the relevant words.

According to Rozwadowska, *nie-* signals the presence of a verb-related projection in the nominalization, as it evokes the same syntactic effects in a structure with the nominalisation as with the verb. Namely, *nie* co-occurs with negative polarity items, e.g. with *żaden* 'none', both in phrases headed by nominalisations (21a) and in clauses headed by verbs (22a), whereas non-negated structures (21b, 22b) are ungrammatical with *żaden* 'none'.

(21) a. ***Nie-za-interesowanie   się   Janka   żadną   rzeczą.***
        not.interest.NOM.PFV   REFL   Janek.GEN   none.INS   thing.INS
        'Janek's lack of interest in anything.'

     b. **Za-interesowanie   się   Janka   żadną   rzeczą.*
        interest.NOM.PFV   REFL   Janek.GEN   none.INS   thing.INS

(22) a. *Janek   nie   interesuje   się   żadną   rzeczą.*
        Janek.NOM   not   interests   REFL   none.INS   thing.INS
        'Janek is not interested in anything.'

     b. **Janek   interesuje   się   żadną   rzeczą*
        Janek.NOM   interests   REFL   none.INS   thing.INS

Rozwadowska treats these facts as an argument in favour of the presence of a verbal projection in the nominalistion.

Furthermore, the reflexive clitic *się* signals the voice properties of clauses: in particular, it is one of the markers of the middle voice in Polish (see Malicka-Kleparska, *Middles*). Since voice is considered a verbal projection, the presence of the clitic with nominalisations points to their verb-like character.

Finally, Rozwadowska's psychological nominals may appear with a perfectivising prefix (*za-* in (20), (21a)) as perfectives, or without the prefix, as imperfectives. Consequently, the structure of the nominals involves aspectual, verbal projections.

The above facts would be difficult to explain if nominalisations were root derived because sentential negation, aspectual distinctions and voice are manifestations of verbal properties (projections) associated with a phrase. The derivation of nominals from a-categorial roots could not account for the presence of verbal projections.

Adopting Rozwadowska's analysis, in which psychological nominals are based on SEVs, could salvage the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* since SEVs in Rozwadowska's data show some characteristics of statives, so they could derive stative nominals. More specifically, the imperfectives of the psychological verbs in her

data have features of states, such as e.g. homogeneity and modification with 'for an hour' (see (23), cf. (14) above).

(23)   *Janek   interesuje   się   składnią   przez   godzinę.*
        Janek.NOM   interests   REFL   syntax.INS   for   hour
        'Janek is interested in syntax for an hour.'

Nevertheless, we will show below that an analysis deriving *roz-* nominals from SEVs cannot be sustained.

Although we share Rozwadowska's views on the lack of viability of root derivation for Polish nominalisations corresponding to OEVs, a solution based on the derivation of psychological nominals from SEVs does not seem convincing for *roz-* psychological nominals. First of all, not all *roz-* nominalisations actually have corresponding SEVs. If we assume that the actual existence of verbal correspondents is significant (as Rozwadowska maintains), then the non-existence of SEV structures corresponding to nominals cannot be overlooked. Below we include examples of nominals in *roz-* which have corresponding OEVs, but which lack SEVs:

(24)
 rozdrażnić 'annoy OEV' — **rozdrażnić się* (*SEV) — *rozdrażnienie* 'ill-humour NOM'
 rozśmieszyć 'amuse OEV' — **rozśmieszyć się* (*SEV) — *rozśmieszenie* 'amusement NOM'
 rozentuzjazmować 'excite OEV' — **rozentuzjazmować się* (*SEV) — *rozentuzjazmowanie*
 'excitement NOM'
 rozjątrzyć 'exacerbate OEV' — **rozjątrzyć się* (*SEV) — *rozjątrzenie* 'exacerbation NOM'[10]

Thus, if *roz-* nominalisations are derived from SEVs, the next problem arises (just like in the case of their derivation from OEVs, see (14, 15) above): the corresponding SEVs in our data are eventive, unlike those in Rozwadowska's paper (23). *Roz-* SEVs, being eventive, accept the relevant manner and temporal modifications (25), while *roz-* nominalisations are stative (see (5–9) above):

(25)   *Janek   rozczarował   się   szybko/w godzinę.*
        Janek.NOM   got disappointed   REFL   quickly/in hour.ACC
        'Janek got (quickly) disappointed (in an hour).'

Consequently, deriving *roz-* nominals from SEVs still presents a problem for the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis*.

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[10] SEVs based on the same roots as *roz-* nominals are infrequent/unusual. For the most frequently occurring OEV *rozczarować* 'disappoint', there are just 20 results in *NKJP* of *rozczarować się* 'be disappointed' (SEV), against thousands of results for *rozczarować* 'disappoint' (OEV). Most *roz-* verbs (those that seem to have potential SEVs) do not show any occurrences as SEVs in the corpora of Polish.

Additionally, *roz-* nominalisations do not have some of the verbal features that made Rozwadowska claim the affinity of psychological nominals to SEVs (rather than to bare roots). Unlike some other nominalisations (see (21) above), the nominalisations in *roz-* never take the negative prefix in Polish: (**nie*)*rozczarowanie*, (**nie*)*rozbudzenie*, (**nie*)*rozleniwienie,* etc., and the respective intended meanings 'the state of not being disappointed/aroused/lazy' are decidedly anomalous.

As for the aspectual oppositions (cf. (21) above), some of the relevant nominalisations have corresponding cognate imperfective nominalisations, but with different semantics than the perfective nominals: *rozczarowanie* 'disappointment PFV'—*czarowanie* 'casting spells IPFV', *rozchwianie* 'being upset PFV'—*chwianie* 'rocking IPFV', *rozpieszczenie* 'being spoilt PFV'—*pieszczenie* 'fondling IPFV'. The distinct meanings of perfective and imperfective forms suggest that we are not dealing here with simple aspectual distinction, but with distinct lexical items containing identical roots. Therefore, many perfective nominals in our data have no corresponding imperfectives at all, e.g. *rozbestwienie* 'being enraged'—**bestwienie*, *rozzuchwalenie* 'encouragement'—**zuchwalenie*, *rozżewnienie* 'feeling sentimental'—**żewnienie*, etc.

Roz- nominalisations of secondary imperfectives might be admissible (or potential), e.g. *roz-śmiesz-a-nie* 'making sb laugh (repeatedly) SEC.IPFV', *?roz-czarow-yw-a-nie* 'disappointing sb (repeatedly) SEC.IPFV', with *-a-* and *-yw-* as secondary imperfectivisers in the respective nominals. However, these nominals are clearly agentive in character and consequently cannot be treated as psychological nominals proper, as their grammaticality with Agent-related modifies (*celowy* 'on purpose') and manner modifiers (event-related *szybki* 'quick') manifests:

(26)   *Celowe/szybkie   rozśmieszanie/*
        on.purpose/quick   making.laugh.NOM.SEC.IPFV/

        ?rozczarowywanie   kolegów   przez Janka.
        making disappointed.NOM.SEC.IPFV friends.GEN   by   Janek.ACC

        'Janek's purposeful making his friends laugh/being disappointed.'

Consequently, *roz-* psychological nominals supply no evidence for the verb-related projections in their structure, i.e. for the projections introducing sentential negation (spelled out by *nie-*) and aspect.

Additionally, *roz-* nominals hardly ever appear with the reflexive clitic *się*, whose presence might point to a verbal (voice) projection in nominalisations. In *Paralela*, we have been able to find only a single example of a *roz-* nominal with

się: *rozbestwienie się* 'getting spoilt', and two examples of *rozczarowanie się* 'being disappointed' in *NKJP*.[11] We treat such forms as ungrammatical occasionalisms.

In view of the lack of many SEV cognates of *roz-* nominals, the eventive quality of SEVs in our data, as well as the spurious nature of the evidence supporting the verb-like properties of *roz-* nouns, deriving *roz-* nominals from structures shared with SEVs seems unjustified.

6. *ROZ-* NOMINALS AND PASSIVE PARTICIPLES OF OEVS

Following Fábregas and Marín's ("The Role") analysis of selected Slovenian nominalisations (see also Dékány and Georgieva for Udmurt), we would like to claim that *roz-* nominalisations in Polish share (part of) the structure with the stative passive participles of OEVs. This section will present arguments in favour of such a solution. Namely, passive participles of the relevant OEVs appear in stative structures exclusively, just like their nominals, although Polish offers also eventive passives. Then, *roz-* nominalisations share the morphological marker of passivisation with passive participles (palatalized *-n-*). Similarly, the *roz-* perfectivising prefix is present in the participial form. Along the same lines, the argument realising the Experienced is in the instrumental case in the structures containing *roz-* nominals and passive participles, and it is optional in both structures.

In Polish stative and eventive passives are structurally distinct. The morphology of passive participles in Polish, with the exception of passive participles of unaccusative verbs[12] (see Cetnarowska, "Resultative Adjectives", "On the Expansion"), gives no clue as to their stative (adjectival) or eventive (verbal) nature as the morphemes involved in the construction of verbal and adjectival passive participles of non-unaccusative verbs are identical. However, syntactic structures in which such passive participles may or may not appear supply us with evidence as to their stative or eventive nature, similar to the relevant data from German and other Germanic languages (e.g. Gehrke, "Stative Passives", "Adjectival Participles"; Kratzer, "The Event Argument", "Severing the External Argument", *Building Statives*; Rapp; Maienborn, "On Davidsonian and Kimian States"; Alexiadou et al.), where auxiliary elements marking verbal and adjectival passives are distinct. Below, we will briefly present Polish stative passives.

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[11] Another example from *Paralela—Pozwolenie na rozzłoszczenie się, proszę pana* 'Permission to get angry, Sir'—exemplifies the agentive provenience of this nominalisation. The word *pozwolenie* 'permission' clearly implies the agency underlying this proposition. A similar case is represented by *Rozczulenie się nad sobą* 'showing tenderness towards oneself'.

[12] These verbs universally do not form verbal passives anyway, see e.g. Bruening, Alexiadou et al.

Passive participles of OEVs in Polish take the stem forming vowels *-a-* or *-o-* (*rozczarow-a-n-y* 'disappointed', *rozzłoszcz-o-n-y* 'angry'). The stem forming vowel is followed by the passive forming morpheme *-n-* and an inflectional ending.[13]

Not all of the tests for the stative/eventive passive distinction proposed in the literature of the subject work in Polish: Polish does not distinguish between the progressive and non-progressive aspectual forms in the present tense, the progressive test being the hallmark of verbal passives (Grimshaw 114; Grafmiller 88). The application of the morpheme expressing negation (see Levin and Rappaport; Siegel; cf. Bruening), which may test for adjectival passive participles in English, does not seem to work for Polish very well, as many participles, which otherwise seem to be stative, do not take the negative prefix.

However, the adjectival and verbal passives (see Laskowski 138, 142; Zdziebko, "On the Structure"; Bondaruk and Rozwadowska, "Stative and Eventive Passives", "Polish Object Experiencer Verbs", among others) of perfective verbs in Polish take distinct auxiliary elements. Verbal passives take *zostać* 'become' as an auxiliary element (27), while adjectival passives take *być* 'be' (28):

(27)   Verbal passive
        Gałąź   została   złamana.
        branch.NOM   got   broken.NOM
        'The branch got broken.'

(28)   Adjectival passive
        Gałąź   była   złamana.
        branch.NOM   was   broken.NOM
        'The branch was broken.'

Polish *roz-* OEVs can appear with *być* 'be' (29) as an auxiliary element, but they are ungrammatical with *zostać* 'become' (30), so they must spell out adjectival passives.

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[13] All passive participles take adjectival inflectional endings. Consequently, their form in itself does not contain clues as to their adjectival or verbal character. Thus, some Polish sources (see e.g. Saloni and Świdziński 102–103; Nagórko 105) describe all passive participles as adjectives.

(29)   Adjectival passive
        Jan   *był*   *rozczarowany*   *(koncertem)*.
        Jan.NOM   was   disappointed.NOM   concert.INS
        'Jan was disappointed with the concert.'

(30)   *Verbal passive
        *Jan   *został*   *rozczarowany*   *(koncertem)*.
        Jan.NOM   became   disappointed.NOM   concert.INS

It has to be noted here that some of the *roz-* passive participles may appear in even-
tive passive structures, but in these instances they are no longer passive participles
of OEVs, but of their agentive uses (31a). In other words, in such contexts they cease
to code OE events altogether, and behave as passives of agentive transitive verbs.
This is marked by the availability of agentive *by*-phrases (*przez* 'by' phrases) in
such structures, as compared with Experienced instrumental phrases in the clauses
with OEVs (31d, cf. 31c) and the grammaticality of Agent-oriented modifiers (*ce-
lowo* 'on purpose'). The availability of agentive uses varies with particular *roz-* par-
ticiples. For example, *rozśmieszony* 'amused' seems quite grammatical in such con-
structions (31a), while *rozczarowany* 'disappointed'(31b) does not.[14]

(31)
a. *Jan*   *został* *celowo*   *rozśmieszony*   *przez* *Marię*
    Jan.NOM   became on.purpose amused.PASS.PTCP by   Maria.ACC
    'Jan was entertained by Maria on purpose.'

b. **Jan*   *został*   *celowo*   *rozczarowany*
    Jan.NOM   became   on.purpose   disappointed. PASS.PTCP
    przez Marię.
    by Maria.ACC

c. **Jan*   *został*   *rozśmieszony*   *Marią*
    Jan.NOM   became   amused. PASS.PTCP Maria.INS

d. *Jan*   *był*   *rozczarowany*   *Marią.*
    Jan.NOM   was   disappointed. PASS.PTCP   Maria.INS
    'Jan was disappointed with Mary.'

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[14] The differences in acceptability of particular *roz-* passive participles in agentive clauses should
probably be attributed to pragmatic, rather than to strictly grammatical, factors: We amuse rather than
disappoint on purpose.

All *roz-* passive participles are freely admissible in clauses with *być* 'be' as an auxiliary, so all of them produce adjectival passives.

Adjectival passives of *roz-* verbs show features of states (see e.g. Vendler; Dowty; Smith): They cannot appear with eventive manner modifiers (32a), cannot adopt the imperative form (32b), cannot complement the verb *force* (32c), nor can they be placed in pseudo-cleft constructions (32d):[15]

(32) a.   *Anna*   *jest*   *szybko*   *rozmarzona.*
         Anna.NOM   is   quickly   dreamy.NOM

    b.   *Bądź*   *rozmarzona*!
         be   dreamy.NOM

    c.   *Jan*   *zmusił Annę*   *aby*   *była*   *rozmarzona.*
         Jan.NOM   forced Anna.ACC   in.order.to   was   dreamy.NOM

    d.   *Co*   *Anna*   *robiła*   *to*   *była*   *rozmarzona.*
         what   Anna.NOM   did   it   was   dreamy.NOM

Not only do these structures behave as states, but they behave as a particular subclass of states (K-states), which becomes obvious when they are contrasted with clauses containing such state verbs as *spać* 'sleep' (which are D-states):

(33) a.   *Śpij!*
         sleep
         'Sleep!'

    b.   *Jan*   *zmusił Annę*   *aby*   *spała.*
         Jan.NOM   forced Anna.ACC   in.order.to   slept
         'John forced Anna to sleep.'

    c.   *Co*   *Anna*   *robiła*   *to*   *spała.*
         what   Anna.NOM   did   it   slept
         'What Anna did was sleep.'

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[15] An extensive analysis of *roz-* passives as K-states is to be found in Malicka-Kleparska ("Kimian States"). Because of limitations of space we cannot present a more extensive analysis of *roz-* passives in the present paper.

The examples above show that *roz*- participles in clauses show features of K-states, just like the nominals we have discussed earlier (see section 3 above), but unlike active *roz*- verbs, which are eventive accomplishments (see section 4 above). Additionally, the morphological structures of the participles and nominals coincide: in the structure of the nominal we find a morpheme which is almost identical in form to the passivising morpheme of the passive participle: *rozczarowa-n-y/rozczarowa-n-ie* 'disappointed/disappointment' (disregarding the accompanying phonologically conditioned palatalisation phenomena). On top of that, the Experienced is optional both in passive structures and with nominalisations, and it is realised as the instrumental phrase. Consequently, we would like to claim that because both passive participles and nominalisations represent K-states, as shown by their behaviour in particular syntactic contexts and by their semantics, there are good grounds to claim that the nominals share a part of the structure with the corresponding passive participles (without event implications), rather than with corresponding active verbs (either OEVs or SEVs). This conclusion is additionally strengthened by similar morphological make-up of both classes of forms.

(34) below illustrates what the participial and nominal structures of *roz*- forms (*rozczarowany* 'disappointed', *rozczarowanie* 'disappointment') look like and what parts of these structures are shared, according to our analysis of the data:

(34)   *Roz*- participle $[[[roz_{PFV}[[czar_{Root}]owa_{vP}]] n_{PASS\ PTCP}\ ]y_{INFL}]$

       Roz- nominal $[[[roz_{PFV} [[czar_{Root}]owa_{vP}]] n_{PASS\ PTCP}]$ palatalising $e_{N,INFL}]$[16]

Thus, the nominal structure, in addition to the structure of the participle, contains a nominaliser, which also spells out an inflectional marker.

8. STEM VOWEL ALTERNATION ISSUE

There is, however, a potential problem with the analysis of *roz*- nominals as sharing parts of the structure of the cognate passive participles. We have to note that stem forming vowels of some participles and nominalisations do not coincide, e.g. *rozśmiesz-o-ny* 'amused'—*rośmiesz-e-nie* 'amusement' *rozbestwi-o-ny* 'spoilt'—*rozbestwi-e-nie* 'being spoilt'. If participles share some part of their structure with nominals, we could expect that the thematic vowels should coincide. The thematic

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[16] The nominaliser is possibly spelled out just by a palatalising autosegment, and not by the inflectional element itself.

vowel appears right after the root of the form and its choice is conditioned by root characteristics. However, within the model of Distributed Morphology (DM) (see Alexiadou et al.; Fábregas and Marín, "The Role"; Fábregas and Marín, "State Nouns", Fábregas et al., among many others) all phonological operations apply after the insertion of morphemes into a morpho-syntactic structure; in other words after the spell-out of the morpho-syntax. Consequently, everything that is taken to represent allomorphy in non-DM accounts must be accounted for by the phonological component of the language (see especially Fábregas). Consequently, if -o- and -e- stem forming vowels represent the same vocabulary item (morpheme), their surface representation must be derived by the phonological component.

Within the phonology of Polish, various accounts of similar kinds of alternations have been offered (see Rubach; Gussmann; Zdziebko, "Polish Vowel Backing", "On the Structure"). Both Rubach and Gussmann propose that -e- becomes a back vowel before a non-palatalised consonant, and the vowel gets subsequently rounded. In this way, -on- is formed in passive participles. In the nominal, however, the consonantal -n- is palatalised by the following element (responsible for imposing the nominal category, with its inflectional properties), so the vowel does not change.

Zdziebko ("On the Structure") treats the sequences -on- and -en- as monomorphemic units. If a palatalising autosegment (coming from the following vocabulary item) is present in the morpho-syntactic structure, then the sequence of -e- plus the palatalised consonant results, and this would be the case of the variant present in the nominalisations, while -on- in passive participles does not change, since no palatalising autosegment is available in participial structures. Both phonological accounts allow us to treat the apparent morphological alternation between -e- and -o- as explicable on phonological grounds.

We favour here the first option, since it allows us to treat the vowel and the nasal as two separate vocabulary items (and not a unit). We believe that this is essential as the stem-forming vowel is a marker of verbal elements in the morpho-syntactic structure, while -n- (palatalised and non-palatalised) appears in passive participles and their nominalisations, and is absent in verbs *per se*.

Zdziebko's ("On the Structure") analysis of the palatalising autosegment does not seem to offer a possibility of breaking up the sequence into two vocabulary items, since autosegments are spread over single morphological elements.

As the details of the competing phonological analyses are very intricate, we are not able to present them here in any detail. However, they show that the vocalic alternation of the stem-forming vowels in our body of data can be accounted for in the phonological component alone and it does not constitute a problem for our morpho-syntactic DM analysis.

9. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have shown that the nominals and passive participles of OEVs in *roz-* in Polish show a significant amount of affinity in their morpho-syntactic and semantic behaviour. They function in structures representing K-states, take the same arguments, and make optional the same arguments marked with the same inflectional properties. Additionally, most of the morphological material, i.e. the perfectivising prefix, stem-forming vowels and passive morphological exponents, are shared by *roz-* psychological nominals and participles. Only those morphological markers (manifested as inflectional endings) which can be identified as exclusively nominal or participial differ. Along similar lines, the lexicon of Polish systematically codes cognates of the relevant categories (while cognate SEVs are not always available). Thus, we conclude that *roz-* nominals and passive participles share a significant part of their morpho-syntactic structure, while this cannot be claimed about the nominals and OEVs or SEVs.

The common derivational history of *roz-* nominals and passive participles allows us to show that, contrary to our initial intuition, the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* is upheld by an extensive class of psychological forms in Polish.

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DERIVATION OF NOMINALS CORRESPONDING TO OBJECT EXPERIENCER VERBS IN *ROZ*- IN POLISH

Summary

This paper contributes to the discussion concerning the status of Kimian states as a relatively new ontological category in language. We argue here that a class of psychological nouns in Polish represents Kimian states and it is semantically and morpho-syntactically related to structures with passive participles, which also show features of Kimian states. The discussion has a bearing on the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* (Fábregas and Marín, "State Nouns", "The Role"), since the data seem to constitute a problem for this Hypothesis if the nominals are analysed as derived from active verbal forms or as sharing structure with them. The derivation of *roz*- psychological nominals from either Object Experiencer Verbs, Subject Experiencer Verbs or bare roots presents, in our opinion, insurmountable problems, resulting from the distributional facts concerning cognate nominal and verbal forms, as well as morpho-syntactic and semantic disparity between active forms of psychological verbs (both with Subject Experiencer and Object Experiencer arguments) and cognate *roz*- nominals. The nominals show Kimian state properties and contain morphological elements shared with the stative passive structures headed by passive participles of psychological verbs. The stable distributional correspondence between the nominals and their cognate passive participles supports derivational links between these two classes of forms. At the same time no such correspondence is observed with Subject Experiencer Verbs. Our analysis proceeds along the lines of Fábregas and Marín's ("The Role") analysis of Slovenian data, but counter some derivational claims voiced by Rozwadowska and Iordăchioaia ("The Root", "Categorization"). In the light of the proposed analysis, the derivation of *roz*- nominals ceases to be problematic for the *Aspect Preservation Hypothesis*.

Keywords: Kimian states; Davidsonian states; aspect; psychological nominals; Polish.

DERYWACJA POLSKICH RZECZOWNIKÓW Z PREFIKSEM *ROZ*- POSIADAJĄCYCH ODPOWIADAJĄCE IM CZASOWNIKI STANU Z NOSICIELEM STANU W FUNKCJI DOPEŁNIENIA

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł jest głosem w dyskusji dotyczącej istnienia i realizacji stosunkowo niedawno rozpoznanej kategorii wyrażeń językowych, tak zwanych stanów Kima (Kim). Artykuł prezentuje analizę psychologicznych nominalizacji w języku polskim, tworzonych za pomocą prefiksu *roz*-, które przejawiają cechy stanów Kima, a które mają morfologiczne i syntaktyczne cechy wspólne z imiesłowami biernymi. Twierdzimy, że nominalizacje te są oparte na właśnie takich imiesłowach, a nie na czasownikach z nosicielem stanu w funkcji dopełnienia lub z nosicielem stanu w funkcji podmiotu, lub też na rdzeniach wyrazowych, podczas gdy takie rozwiązania można znaleźć dla psychologicznych nominalizacji w literaturze przedmiotu. Język polski dostarcza obfitej argumentacji, że bazy imiesłowowe z prefiksem *roz*- reprezentują stany Kima, a co za tym idzie, oparte na nich nominalizacje dziedziczą te właściwości, potwierdzając słuszność *Hipotezy Zachowania Aspektu* (*Aspect Preservation Hypothesis* — Fábregas and Marín, "State Nouns", "The Role"). Według rezultatów naszych badań, derywacja nominalizacji psychologicznych z prefiksem *roz*- od baz innych, niż imiesłowy bierne, napotyka istotne problemy natury dystrybucyjnej, semantycznej i morfo-syntaktycznej.

Słowa kluczowe: stany Kima; stany Davidsona; aspekt; nominalizacje psychologiczne; język polski.