

Defective denominal verbs in Polish

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Since Clark and Clark (1979) most analyses of denominal verbs in English, e.g. (Kiparsky 1997) and German, e.g. (Stiebels 1998) have concentrated on the semantics and analyzed the precise relation between the noun and the derived verb. The morphological analysis, with the exception of the problem of appropriate treatment of incorporated prefixes, has been neglected. It can be assumed that the derivation of a denominal verb is an inconspicuous instance of category change, where the derived item is a regular, fully productive verb, i.e. $X_N \rightarrow X_V$. However, it has been observed that in German there are forms with apparent verbal morphology (participial), which did not appear as finite verbs. These forms were labeled ‘pseudo-participles’ and have been observed in Fleischer and Barz (1995), Neef (1996) and discussed more thoroughly in Haig (2005). They could be analyzed as denominal derivations but only if intermediate (unattested) verbs are assumed, i.e. $X_N \rightarrow *X_V \rightarrow X_V$.

This paper investigates denominal verbs in Polish. It is based on the investigation of approximately 120 verbs gathered from different previous investigations, cf. Wróbel (1984), Matysiakowa (1993) and Jadacka (2001). The collected denominal verbs are analyzed in the sample of the IPIAN corpus with regard to their distribution in different person and tense forms. The analysis shows that there are denominal formations (simple and complex) such as for instance *emerytować* ‘to pension off’ ← *emeryt* ‘pensioner’, *oliwić* ‘oil’ ← *oliwa* ‘oil’, *zagrzać* ‘to clutter up’ ← *grat* ‘piece of junk’ which never appear as finite verbs although they show some range of non-finite morphology, i.e. infinitive *-ć*, nominalization *-nie/cie*, passive participle *-n/t* or impersonal *-no/to*. Also with those formations which show finite forms, these are considerably less frequent than non-finite forms, e.g. *solić* ‘to salt’ ← *sól* ‘salt’ with only one finite form *solisz* (2SG.PRES). Such formations shall be called defective denominal verbs forthwith.

I propose to analyze these defective denominal verbs as mixed categories. Mixed categories are by definition intermediate between the two major categories N and V and defective denominal verbs involve this kind of intermediacy in that they show some verbal categories like aspect but not all of them, e.g. person and tense. The attested nominalizations, infinitives and participles should not be analyzed as secondary derivations from already existing verbs ($X_N \rightarrow *X_V \rightarrow X_V$) but as incomplete verbal forms, i.e. $X_N \rightarrow X_{V'} \rightarrow X_V$. In the second step this analysis is incorporated into the analysis of (non-derived) deverbal mixed categories. It is widely agreed that in many languages (including Polish) nominalizations are a mixed category intermediate between verbs and nouns in a number of morpho-syntactic ways. Such a unified approach of defective denominal verbs and nominalizations allows to see that a category change always involves intermediate steps called mixed categories, cf. $X_N \leftrightarrow X_{N'/V'} \leftrightarrow X_V$.

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