On the asymmetric concept-dependent aspectual operators in Polish and Czech
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In this talk, I argue for the notion of the asymmetric concept-dependent (im)perfective operators in Polish and Czech. This approach to aspectuality can be localized among the so-called aspect-low-theories (see for instance Tatevosov 2011 for the phenomenon itself; cf. also Krifka 1992; Filip 2003; Ramchand 2004 among others). More precisely, I will provide evidence for the presence of inherent (im)perfective basic meanings of verbal concepts, where 'verbal concept' stands for the pure lexical representation of an event (e.g. concept of seeing, hearing) or of a set of events (e.g. concept of perception that includes seeing and hearing).

As said above, 'verbal concept' refers either to a single lexeme or to a group of lexemes that share a particular bundle of features; a single lexeme can co-create different concepts, depending on the feature in question. I aim at organizing concepts by the combination of the (im)perfective basic marking (= the structural source for the concept's member(s) that represent the opposite aspectual value than the basis, determined on the level of single lexemes) /morphology/ and the narrow lexical specification of the concept's members /semantics/. In other words, I will establish a link between basic aspectual marking and basic aspectual meaning within concepts, starting with single lexemes and subsequently forming them to sets (cf. Lehmann 1993 for Russian). Importantly, a basic form can be morphologically complex itself, which is always the case for secondary (im)perfectives. Here, a non-simplex that is a structural source for the secondary (im)perfectivisation operation is a basis for a secondary (im)perfectivised form, as in Polish *gotować*.ipfv 'cook' → [*przy-gotować*] 'to have prepared' → [[*przy-gotow*]-*ywać*] 'to be preparing', where *przygotować* is a basis for *przygotowywać* (for the discussion of the status of the secondary imperfectivisation in Slavic see for instance Gehrke 2008; Biskup 2021; Kwapiszewski 2021). This abstract focuses on: 1) the concept of evidence-based reasoning (the concept of providing evidence, verbalized by 'prove', 'reveal', 'show' – the so-called reveal-type predicates, cf. Zuchewicz 2020), 2) the concept of manner of speech ('whisper', 'mutter', 'yell', cf. Zwicky 1971). The choice of these particular concepts results from the fact that each of them contains members with a homogenous basic aspect (including structurally more complex pairs/triplets etc. – to be discussed). I will begin with aspectual marking. Whereas concepts of evidence-based reasoning have a basic perfective marking, cf. (1) for Polish and (2) for Czech, concepts of manner of speech have an imperfective basis, cf. (3) for Polish and (4) for Czech.

(1) *pokazać*.pfv → *pokaz-ywać*.ipfv 'show', *udowodnić*.pfv → *udowadniać*.ipfv 'prove', *wykazać*.pfv → *wykaz-ywać*.ipfv 'reveal'

(2) *ukázat*.pfv → *ukaz-ovat*.ipfv 'show', *dokázat*.pfv → *dokaz-ovat*.ipfv 'prove', *odůvodnit*.pfv → *odůvodň-ovat*.ipfv 'justify', *vyjevit*.pfv → *vyjev-ovat*.ipfv 'reveal', *projevit*.pfv → *projev-ovat*.ipfv 'reveal'

(3) *szeptać*.ipfv → *wy-szeptać*.pfv – *szep-nąć*.pfv 'whisper', *mamrotać*.ipfv → *wy-mamrotać*.pfv 'mutter', *mruczeć*.ipfv → *wy-mruczeć*.pfv – *za-mruczeć*.pfv – *mruk-nąć*.pfv 'grumble', *wrzeszczeć*.ipfv → *wrzas-nąć*.pfv 'shout', *jąkać*.ipfv (się) → *wy-jąkać*.pfv 'stutter'

(4) *šeptat*.ipfv → *za-šeptat*.pfv – *šept-nout*.pfv 'whisper',

mumlat.ipfv → *za-mumlat*.pfv 'mutter',
mručet.ipfv → *za-mručet*.pfv 'grumble',
křičet.ipfv → *za-křičet*.pfv – *křik-nout*.pfv 'shout',
vřeštět.ipfv → *za-vřeštět*.pfv – *vřísk-nout*.pfv 'shout'

Crucially, basic aspectual representations of verbs in the above-mentioned examples are helpful in establishing basic meanings of concepts in question; it seems that a basic meaning of reveal-type predicates is to provide a proof (implying the successful termination of the proving process, i.e., the perfective interpretation). This assumption can be verified on the level of clausal embedding, where perfective derivational bases receive a veridical interpretation (Zuchewicz 2020; Zuchewicz & Szucsich 2020; Szucsich & Zuchewicz 2021 for Polish). More precisely, perfectivity is parametrized as veridicality, which goes beyond the standard marking of temporal boundaries. In the case of manner of speech verbs, the manner itself seems to constitute the core meaning of the respective concepts, which is reflected in the basic imperfective marking on these verbs. Perfective variants express temporal delimitation, translating to the specification of the left and/or the right boundary of an event.

The relationship between basic aspectual marking and basic aspectual meaning will be referred to as an inherent aspect. As already shown, in Slavic languages, inherent (im)perfectivity of verbal concepts can be investigated via the morpho-semantic correlations between the members of a particular aspectual pair/triplet: We can assume that a structurally less complex (basic) member of such a pair/triplet corresponds to the inherent meaning of an underlying concept (see also Lehmann 1993 for the (im)perfective alpha and beta verbs in Russian; Anstatt 2003). Interestingly, parallels can be found in languages without the 'Slavic-style'-aspect, for instance in Hebrew or Tamil (based on my own consultations with native speakers), which makes the concept-related notion of (im)perfectivity a promising approach.

In this talk, I will distinguish between an inherent and an optional aspect of verbal concepts. An optional aspect is being morpho(-phonologically) derived from the inherent basis (relating to both a single lexeme and to a group of lexemes). I propose that, based on data and discussion from this abstract, every verb comes with an inherent aspect which is being base-generated within the VP. Additionally, every verb has an optional aspect which is attachable higher in the structure (here AspP, but see Biskup 2021; Kwapiszewski 2021). Since a verb cannot base-combine with its optional aspect (an inherent aspect is part of the core verbal meaning), aspectual operators are asymmetric. See examples (5) and (6) for the inherent (left) and the optional aspectual representations (right) for 'prove' and 'shout', respectively.

(5) [$_{VP}$ … [$_v$**PFV**.prove-]]   [$_{AspP(IPFV)}$ … [$_{vP}$ … [$_{VP}$ … [$_v$**PFV**.prove-]]]]

(6) [$_{VP}$ … [$_v$**IPFV**.shout-]]   [$_{AspP(PFV)}$ … [$_{vP}$ … [$_{VP}$ … [$_v$**IPFV**.shout-]]]]

In this talk, I will elaborately investigate different verbal concepts in Polish and Czech. I will further discuss Russian which has been proven to be best analyzable via aspect-high-theories (Tatevosov 2011; Mueller-Reichau 2020 among others).

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