

Against the notion of fake imperfectivity

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This talk

- Common definition of the semantics of aspect, cross-linguistically:
 - Perfective (PF):
 - Event time part of reference time (~ external perspective on an event)
 - Whole events
 - Imperfective (IPF):
 - Reference time part of event time (~ internal perspective on an event)
 - Partial events
- Common intuition: Completed events are described by PF forms.
 - (What exactly is meant by 'completed events'?)
- Do Russian IPF forms have a uniform imperfective semantics?
 - Potential problem: Imperfective forms in descriptions of (single/unique) completed events
 - Claim in the literature: The Russian IPF is (sometimes) a 'fake' IPF.
- This talk: **There is no 'fake' IPF in Russian.**

Structure of the talk

- 1 Background on aspect in Russian
- 2 Cases of IPF forms for (single/unique) complete events:
(General-)factual IPF
- 3 Different semantic proposals for the Russian IPF
- 4 The focus on event completion alone in the definition of the Russian (I)PF is misleading.
- 5 Case study (with Olga Borik): Russian IPF past passive participles, which are always resultative
- 6 (The beginning of an) account of the IPF as a 'true' IPF

Aspect in Russian

The morphological category Aspect in Russian

- A verb form (in context) is either imperfective (IPF) or perfective (PF).
 - Identical lexical meaning can be expressed by IPF and PF verb forms.
 - Common assumption: Many verb(form)s come in **aspectual pairs**.
(at least accomplishments and achievements)

- Aspectual pairs derived by **prefixes** from **simple IPFs**:

- (1) a. ipf. *pit'* > pf. *vy-pit'* 'to drink'
 b. ipf. *risovat'* > pf. *na-risovat'* 'to draw'

- Aspectual pairs derived by **suffixes** from (mostly prefixed) PFs

→ **S(econdary) I(mperfective)s** [descriptive term; glossed as SI]

- (2) a. pf. *pro-dat'* > ipf. *pro-da-va-t'* 'to sell' (lit. through-give)
 b. pf. *ot-kryt'* > ipf. *ot-kry-va-t'* 'to dis-cover, open'
 c. pf. *dat'* > ipf. *da-va-t'* 'to give'

(Set aside: Suppletive pairs that - at least from a synchronic point of view - are not morphologically transparent; (im)perfectiva tantum; biaspectual verbs; etc.)

Common diagnostics for (I)PF forms

- Only IPF periphrastic future (3-a)
- Phase verbs only combine with IPF infinitives (3-b)
- PF present tense form does not have ongoing present semantics (3-c)

- (3)
- a. Ja budu {*pročitat' / čitat'} knigu.
I will read.PF read.IPF book.ACC
- b. Ja načínaju {*pročitat' / čitat'} knigu.
I start read.PF read.IPF book.ACC
- c. Ja pročitaju knigu.
I read.PF.PRES.1SG book.ACC
'I will read a/the book.'

(Also: clear intuitions by native speakers about (I)PF forms)

The terms (I)PF

- Labels for forms, not necessarily meanings (for now).
- IPF forms can have different readings in context:

Canonical IPF readings:

- Process/durativity (~ Progressive) (4-a)
- Iterativity/habituality (4-b)

- (4) a. Kogda ja vošla, moj brat čital knigu.
 when I in-went.PF my brother read.IPF book
 'When I came in, my brother was reading a book.'
- b. Ona každyj den' otkryvaet okno.
 she every day opens.SI window
 'She opens the window every day.'

Non-canonical IPF reading(s): General-factual

- Possible with typical perfective meaning (~ bounded 'completed' events)
- Notoriously difficult to account for

The (general-)factual IPF

The (general-)factual IPF

(Maslov 1959)

- ① **Existential** (5) (from Grønn 2004) (see also Padučeva 1996)

Paraphrase: *There was/is etc. (at least) one event of this type.*

(e.g. Mehlig 2001, 2013; Mueller-Reichau 2013, 2015; Mueller-Reichau and Gehrke 2015)

(5) Ne bylo somnenij, što ja prežde **vstrečal** ee.
not was.NEU doubt.PL.GEN that I before met.SI her
'There was no doubt that I had met her before.'

- ② **Presuppositional/actional** (6) (example: Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000, terms: Grønn 2004/Padučeva 1996)

Paraphrase: *The (already mentioned or contextually retrievable) event was/is etc. such and such.*

(6) Zimnij Dvorec **stroil** Rastrelli.
winter-.ACC palace.ACC built.IPF Rastrelli.NOM
'It was Rastrelli who built the Winter Palace.'

The existential IPF

Paraphrase: *There was/is etc. (at least) one event of this type.*

(7) Ne bylo somnenij, čto ja prežde **vstrečal** ee.
 not was.NEU doubt.PL.GEN that I before met.SI her
 'There was no doubt that I had met her before.'

- **Tentative assumption:** This is a subtype of (potential) iterativity.
 - Falls out of an account of IPF for iterative events (e.g. in terms of unbounded event plurality, as in Ferreira 2005, 2016; Altshuler 2014)
- ⇒ I set aside existential IPFs for now.

Grønn (2004) on the presuppositional IPF

- (8) Sdelav^{pf} ètot xod [26 – Rxc3], ja [predložil^{pf} nič'ju]_{antecedent}. [...] Navernjaka, černye deržatsja^{ipf} – naprimer, 27 Ba3 Bf8 28 Nf5 d5 29 Bb2 [...], no mne ne xotelos^{ipf} načinat^{ipf} sčetnuju igru, [poèтому]_F ja i [predlagal^{ipf} nič'ju]_{anaphora}.
 'Having played this move [26 – Rxc3], I offered a draw. [...] Black can probably hold on, for instance in the line 27 Ba3 Bf8 28 Nf5 d5 29 Bb2 [...], but I didn't want to get involved in heavy calculations, and [for this reason]_F, I offered a draw.'
 (Grønn 2004, 207)

- The verb is deaccentuated. **Focus** is on some other constituent.
 - The event given by the verb is backgrounded, its prior instantiation is presupposed.
- Presupposition as **anaphor** → bound in the discourse (8) or contextually derivable (next slide)

Grønn (2004) on the presuppositional IPF

- Presupposition as **anaphor** → contextually derivable:

(9) Dlja bol'sinstva znakomyx vaš [ot' ezd]_{(pseudo-)antecedent} stal_{PF} polnoj neožidannost'ju ... Vy [uezžali^{IPF}]_{anaphora} v Ameriku [ot čego-to, k čemu-to ili že prosto voznamerilis'_{PF} spokojno provesti_{PF} tam buduščuju starost']_F?

'For most of your friends your departure to America came as a total surprise ... Did you leave for America for a particular reason or with a certain goal, or did you simply decide to spend your retirement calmly over there?' (Grønn 2004, 207f.)

Grønn's (2004) account of presuppositional IPFs

- (10) V étoj porternoj ja [...] napisal pervoe ljubovnoe pis'mo. Pisal
 in this tavern I wrote.PF first love letter wrote.IPF
 [karandašom]_F.
 pencil.INSTR
 'In this tavern I wrote my first love letter. I wrote it with pencil.'

Grønn's analysis of the 2nd sentence of this example (ascribed to Forsyth 1970):

- (11) [VP]: $\lambda e[x | \text{INSTRUMENT}(e, x), \mathbf{pencil}(x)]_{[| \text{write}(e)]}$

- VP: Background-focus division (in the sense of Krifka 2001)
- Backgrounded material is turned into a presupposition.
 - Background/Presupposition Rule in Geurts and van der Sandt (1997)
- DRT analysis: Backgrounded material is subscripted in the DRS
- Further embedding under Aspect and Tense ...

Russian IPF semantics

What is the semantics of Russian aspect?

Long-standing issue raised by factual IPFs with 'completed' events:
Do IPF forms always express a uniform imperfective meaning?

- Common approaches to the semantics of Russian Aspect:
 - Russian Aspect as a **relation between reference/assertion time and some other temporal interval** (Klein 1995; Schoorlemmer 1995; Borik 2002, 2006; Paslawska and von Stechow 2003; Grønn 2004, 2015; Ramchand 2004)
 - 'Slavic Aspect' as **event predicate modifier** – total vs. partial events (Filip 1999, et seq.) (also Altshuler 2012, 2013, 2014, for Russian)
- **Two variants:**
 - Most common: positive definition only of PF; IPF 'unmarked' (-PF or \pm PF) (especially because of factual IPF)
 - Positive definition also of IPF

(Russian) IPF semantics: Different proposals

- Setting aside Arregui et al. (2014): Modal definition of IPF; different IPF readings come about due to different modal bases.
- Borik (2002, 2006): PF vs. -PF

$$\begin{aligned}
 (12) \quad \text{PF: } & S \cap R = \emptyset \ \& \ E \subseteq R \\
 \text{IPF: } & \neg (S \cap R = \emptyset \ \& \ E \subseteq R) \\
 & = S \cap R \neq \emptyset \ \vee \ E \not\subseteq R
 \end{aligned}$$

- Disjunction captures: ‘progressive’ or ‘present perfect’ (i.e. existential) IPF readings.
- Has nothing to say about presuppositional IPF.
- (Leaves aside habituality / iterativity)
- Grønn (2004): IPF is $e \circ t$ (building on Klein 1995)
 - + pragmatic strengthening to ‘proper’ IPF or to PF semantics
 - + role of information structure

(Russian) IPF semantics: Different proposals

- Partitive semantics with **events** (see also Filip 1999; Tatevosov 2015)

e.g. Altshuler (2013, 2014), building on Landman (1992):

(13) $IPF \rightsquigarrow \lambda P \lambda e' \exists e \exists w [STAGE(e', e, w^*, w, P)]$
 $[[STAGE(e', e, w^*, w, P)]]^{w, g} = 1$ iff (i)-(iv) holds:

- (i) the history of $g(w)$ is the same as the history of $g(w^*)$ up to and including $\tau(g(e'))$
- (ii) $g(w)$ is a reasonable option for $g(e')$ in $g(w^*)$
- (iii) $[[P]]^{w, g} = 1$
- (iv) $g(e') \sqsubseteq g(e)$

+ **pragmatic strengthening for different IPF readings** (in (13-iv))

- For ongoing IPF: $g(e') \sqsubset g(e)$
- For presuppositional IPF: $g(e') = g(e)$
- Does not address existential IPFs

+ plural events for habituality (following Ferreira 2005)

(Russian) IPF semantics: Different proposals

- Grønn (2015): No uniform IPF semantics anymore
Rather: PF vs. \pm PF

$$(14) \quad \begin{aligned} \llbracket \text{PF} \rrbracket &= \lambda t \lambda e. e \subseteq t \\ \llbracket \text{IPF}_{\text{ongoing}} \rrbracket &= \lambda t \lambda e. t \subseteq e \\ \llbracket \text{IPF}_{\text{factual}} \rrbracket &= \lambda t \lambda e. e \subseteq t \quad \text{'Fake IPF'} \end{aligned}$$

- + system of (in)definite times and events
(building on Grønn and von Stechow 2010)

Differences between PF and $\text{IPF}_{\text{factual}}$: IPF appears whenever PF forms are infelicitous [**'aspectual competition'**]

- Presuppositional IPF: To avoid narrative progression
- Existential IPF: When the reference time is too large

(see also Alvestad 2014)

Why the focus on event completion is misleading

It is not just about (non-)completed events.

(Non-)completion is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for (I)PF.

- Cases where completed events are described by IPF forms:
 - Factual IPFs (examples above)
 - Habitual chains of foregrounded events
 - Chains of foregrounded events in the historical present
 - 'Annulled result' (Sometimes as a subtype of factual IPF)
- Cases where non-completed events are described by PF forms:
 - The last event in a unique chain of foregrounded events

(see also discussion in Gehrke 2002)

Completed events do not require PF: Habituality

- (15) Ona **prixodila** ko mne každyj den', a **žadat'** ee ja **načinal** s she.NOM to-went.SI to me every day and wait.INF.IPF her.GEN I began.SI from utra. [...] Za **desjat'** minut ja **sadilsja** k okoncu i **načinal** morning.GEN within ten minutes I down-sat.SI to window.DAT and began.SI **prisušivat'sja**, ne stuknet li vetxaja kalitka. listen.INF.SI not clatters.PRES.PF PRT old.NOM gate.NOM
 'She came to me every day, and I started waiting for her from morning onwards. Within ten minutes [of her arrival] I sat next to the window and started listening whether the gate clatters.'

(from Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita*; discussed in Gehrke 2002)

- The whole passage is habitual: *každyj den'* 'every day' in first sentence
- 4 foregrounded events (in green), out of these at least 2 completed: her coming (*prixodila*), speaker's sitting down (*sadilsja*)
- Nevertheless, these verb forms are IPF (SIs); PF would be infelicitous.

However, these are not treated as cases of 'fake' IPF.

Side note: This might be different in Czech.

Translation of the original Russian example:

- (16) **Chodila** ke mně denně za poledne a já na ni
 went.INDET.IPF to me daily during midday.ACC and I on her
čekával už od rána. [...] Deset minut před tím,
 waited.FREQ.IPF already from morning.GEN ten minutes before that
 než měla přijít, jsem se **uchýlil** k oknu
 when had.FEM(3SG).IPF come.INF.PF AUX1SG REFL proceeded.PF to window
 a napjatě **poslouchal**, kdy klapne omšelá
 and attentively listened.IPF when clatters.PRES.PF moss-covered.NOM
 branka.
 gate.NOM

'She came to me daily during midday and I used to wait for her from morning onwards. Ten minutes before she was supposed to come I proceeded to the window and attentively listened to when the moss-covered gate clatters.'

(see Gehrke 2002)

Completed IPFs: Historical present

- (17) [...] les končilsja, neskol'ko kazakov vyezžajut iz
 forest end.PF.PST some cossacks out-ride.IPF.PRES out
 nego na poljanu, i vot, vyskivaet prjamo k nim
 it on field and there out-jump.IPF.PRES directly to him
 moj Karagez; vse kinulis' za nim s krikom [...]
 my Karagez all.PL rush.PF.PST after him with shout
 'The forest ended, a few cossacks are riding out of it into the
 field, and there my Karagez jumps out directly towards them.
 They all rushed after him with a shout.'

(from Lermontov, *Geroj našego vremeni*; discussed in Galton
 1976, 25)

Completed IPFs: ‘Annulled result’

- (18) a. K vam kto-to **prixodil**.
 to you someone came.IPF
 ‘Someone came to you.’ (The person is not there anymore.)
- b. Ja **otkryval** okno.
 I opened.IPF window
 ‘I opened the window.’ (The window is now closed.)

(after Smith 1991/97, 311)

⇒ Overall, there are many cases in which completed events do not require the PF; yet, only some of these are labeled ‘fake IPF’.

(Russian) PF does not require completed events.

- Chains of foregrounded unique events require PF verb forms for reference time movement (in the sense of Kamp and Reyle 1993). (see also Borik 2002, 2006)
- This is also true for the last event in the chain, even if this event is not necessarily completed:

(19) Ona *vstala* i {*zapela* / **pela* / **zapevala*}.
 she got-up.PF and ZA-sang.PF sang.IPF ZA-sang.IPF
 'She got up and sang / started singing.' (again, Czech would be different: Gehrke 2002)

- Several such verbs in a row are interpreted as 'actions beginning simultaneously' (Dickey 2000, 224):

(20) Fljagin *vyšel*: čto tut načalos'! *Zagudeli*, *zavorčali*,
 Fljagin out-went.PF what then began.PF ZA-hooted.PF ZA-grumbled.PF
zakričali.
 ZA-shouted.PF
 'Fljagin went out. And what began then! They started hooting,
 grumbling and shouting.' (from Švedova and Trofimova 1983, discussed in Dickey 2000)

Against 'fake' IPF

- Slavistic traditional linguistics: Factual IPF also with 'incomplete' events: **non-resultative factual IPF**
(e.g. Glovinskaja 1981; Padučeva 1996)
 - These are usually ignored in the formal literature, because the more extraordinary situation seems to be where a (presumably) single 'completed' event is referred to with an IPF form.
 - However, they still constitute a different IPF 'reading' than process or habituality.
- ⇒ Calling factual IPFs 'fake IPFs' and giving them the same semantics as PF is missing the point.
- ⇒ Event (non-)completion is not (necessarily) decisive for the choice of (I)PF and should therefore not play the central role in semantic accounts of (I)PF.

A case study:
Russian IPF PPPs
(with Olga Borik, UNED, Madrid)



Back to presuppositional IPF

- **Past passive participles (PPPs)** are resultative and are therefore regularly derived from PF verbs; IPF PPPs are usually discarded as exceptional / ignored (e.g. Švedova 1980; Schoorlemmer 1995; Paslawska and von Stechow 2003).
- **Corpus study by Borik and Gehrke (2018)**
 - Some regular, compositional occurrences of IPF PPPs
 - Hypothesis: IPF PPPs always involve factual meanings

→ Semantic account of the VP with a presuppositional IPF in (21)

(building on Grønn 2004)

(21) a. **Stroeno bylo** èto vse [ploxo, xromo, ščeljasto]_F.
 built.IPF was this all badly lamely with-holes
 'It was all built badly, lamely, with holes.'

b. $[[VP]] =$
 $\lambda e[[\mathbf{bad}(e) \wedge \mathbf{lame}(e) \wedge \mathbf{with-holes}(e)]]_{[x|\mathbf{build}(e) \wedge \mathbf{THEME}(e,x)]}$

- No account of the further derivation, in particular of the semantics of aspect and tense (I will come back to this)

Our arguments for presuppositional IPF PPPs

1 Background-focus marking

- **Focus** on quasi-obligatory modifiers; e.g. (22), (23)
 - Often **marked word order**; e.g. (22-a) & many previous ex.s, e.g. (23)
 - Unmarked word order: BE +PPP; marked: PPP + BE + Mod.
- ⇒ The event, denoted by the PPP, is part of the background.

- (22) a. **Stroeno bylo** èto vse [ploxo, xromo, ščeljasto]_F.
 built.IPF was that all badly lamely with-holes
- b. Zapiski byli pisany [ne dlja pečati]_F [... no ...]
 notes were written.IPF not for print but

- (23) a. **Pisano** èto bylo Dostoevskim [v 1871 godu]_F [...]
 written.IPF that was Dostoevskij.INSTR in 1871 year.PREP
- b. **Kryt** byl dom [solomoj]_F [...]
 covered.IPF was house hay.INSTR

Our arguments for presuppositional IPF PPPs

② Inference of a completed event survives under **negation**.

- (24) Stroeno (**ne**) bylo èto vse ploxo, xromo, ščeljasto.
 built.IPF not was that all badly lamely with-holes
 ~> All that was / has been built.
- (25) Zapiski (**ne**) byli pisany ne dlja pečati [... no ...]
 notes not were written.IPF not for print but
 ~> The notes were / have been written.

Our arguments for presuppositional IPF PPPs

- ③ **Anaphoricity**: The anaphoric possibilities in IPF passives are parallel to the anaphoric possibilities of definite descriptions.
- Pick up previously introduced discourse referents
 - With identical lexical material (only difference in Aspect)
 - ~ *A girl entered the room. ... The girl ...*
 - With lexically related material: hyponymy/hyperonymy
 - ~ *A blonde girl/Petra entered the room. ... The girl ...*
 - With lexically related material: nominalisation (if nominalisations introduce discourse referents)
 - Anaphoricity via associative contextual relations, parallel to bridging (in the sense of Clark and Haviland 1977)
 - Created objects
 - (In)direct speech
 - (Nominalisations if they do not introduce discourse referents, and we need to reconstruct them instead)

More on anaphoricity

- Anaphoric to a previously introduced perfective (PF) event, e.g. by hyponymy:

(26) Ěto – ne ja **sdelal**, ěto – **vedeno** bylo moeju rukoj!
 this not I did.PF this led.IPF was my.INSTR hand.INSTR
 ‘Not I did this, this was orchestrated by my hand!’

- Anaphoric to an event introduced by a deverbal noun:

(27) Ćto kasaetjsa **platy** deneg, to **plaćeny** byli naličnymi
 what concerns payment.GEN money.GEN so paid.IPF were in-cash
 šest' tysjač rublej [...]
 six thousand Rubles
 ‘What concerns the payment: 6000 Rubles were paid in cash.’

More on anaphoricity: ~ Bridging?

- Anaphoric via a **created object**:

(28) **Pis'ma** ego **pisany** byli černo i kruglo [...]
 letters his written.IPF were black and round
 'His letters were written in black and round letters.'

Idea: Created objects presuppose the event that created them.

- This enables the resolution or the accommodation of the presupposition.
 - Created objects have independently been shown to enable event coercion, e.g. *She finished her hamburger*.
 (e.g. Pustejovsky 1995; Egg 2003; Asher 2011)
- A similar mechanism that enables event coercion with these objects could also resolves the anaphoric link.

More on anaphoricity: ~ Bridging?

- Anaphoric via (in)direct speech:

(29) **Kak i govoreno** bylo **zaranee**, Vasil'ev [...]

how and said.IPF was earlier Vasil'ev

Idea: (In)direct speech presupposes a speech event.

- High frequency of speech act verbs among those that express the presuppositional IPF, also with active presuppositional IPF (see also discussion in Grønn 2004)

Shortcomings of Borik and Gehrke (2018)

- (Further issues and open questions in the appendix.)
- We do not provide an account of the semantics of IPF.

⇒ In the rest of the talk, I will explore how we can move forward from here.

Presuppositional IPF PPPs are 'true' IPFs

Factual IPFs as 'true' IPFs

- Intuition for presuppositional IPF (and for Russian aspect semantics in general): Discourse relations between events are crucial.
- With Grønn's (2004) temporal overlap, $e \circ t$?
- Rhetorical relations between e_2 and e_1 with temporal overlap, e.g. in Lascarides and Asher (1993):
 - Elaboration: α 's event is part of β 's
 - Background: The state described in β is the 'backdrop' or the circumstances under which the event in α occurred.
- ⇒ Intuitively, the presuppositional IPF involves Elaboration: α 's event is part of β 's
 - But that is more concrete than just temporal overlap ... it is a partitive semantics with events.

Let's try with a partitive semantics for IPF

- (30) Čto kasaetjsa **platy** deneg, to **plačeny** byli naličnymi šest' tysjač rublej [...]
 'What concerns the payment: 6000 Rubles were paid in cash.'

$$[e_1, e_2, t, n, x | \text{payment}(e_1), \text{pay}(e_2), e_2 = e_1, \\ \text{THEME}(e_2, x), \mathbf{6.000R}(x), \text{in-cash}(e_2), t \subseteq \tau(e_2), t < n]$$

- *plata* 'payment': Event nominal, introduces the event e_1
- Event described by the IPF PPP: e_2 , a definite description that is anaphorically related to e_1 : $e_2 = e_1$
- New information (in focus) about e_2 (and therefore about e_1):
Theme of e_2 : 6.000 Rubles; in cash
- IPF: $t \subseteq \tau(e_2)$
- Past tense: $t < n(\text{ow})$

Potential problem of this analysis:

- We lose the strong sense that overall the payment event e_1 (and thereby also e_2) was 'completed' (\sim PF semantics?)

[maybe not a problem with finite PF antecedent?] □

Let's try with a partitive semantics for IPF

With reconstruction of PF semantics for the nominalisation: $\tau(e_1) \subseteq t_1$:

(31) $[e_1, e_2, t_1, t_2, n, x | \text{payment}(e_1), \text{pay}(e_2), \text{THEME}(e_2, x),$
 $\text{6.000R}(x), \text{in-cash}(e_2), e_2 = e_1, \tau(e_1) \subseteq t_1, t_2 \subseteq \tau(e_2), t_2 < n]$

- New problems:
 - Nominalisations are non-finite, so t_1 is not related to n ...
 - ... and how are t_1 and t_2 related?

General questions concerning nominalisations

- Do we want to associate them with temporal traces?
 - Maybe at most complex event nominals
- Which aspect semantics?
 - Intuitively here PF semantics.
 - But Russian nominalisations do not come in aspectual pairs, so why associate them with (I)PF semantics to begin with?

Let's try with a finite PF antecedent (constructed)

- (32) a. **Zaplatili.** **Plačeny** byli naličnymi šest' tysjač rubej [...]
 paid.3PL.PF paid.IPF were in-cash six thousand Rubles
 'They paid. It was paid 6.000 Rubles in cash.'
- b. $[e_1, e_2, t_1, t_2, n, x | \text{pay}(e_1), \tau(e_1) \subseteq t_1, t_1 < n, \text{pay}(e_2), \text{THEME}(e_2, x),$
6.000R(x), in-cash(e_2), e_2 = e_1, t_2 \subseteq \tau(e_2), t_2 < n]

- Probable objection of proponents of the 'fake' IPF analysis: IPF semantics for e_2 does not capture that the paying event was completed.

BUT: Event completion information is already given in the first sentence about e_1 .

- Since e_2 equals e_1 the actual event of paying remains completed.
 - t_2 is part of the run time of $e_2 \rightarrow$ it is part of the run time of e_1 .
 - By transitivity, t_2 is then also part of the bigger reference time t_1 .
- \rightarrow The second sentence zooms in on a narrower reference time for which an assertion is made, and this is what is captured by the IPF semantics.

Another example from the corpus

- (33) I tak napisano, što mnogie rasplakalis' – krovju
 and so written.PF that many started.crying.PF blood.INSTR
 duši pisano.
 soul.GEN written.IPF
 'It was written so that many started to cry, it was written with the
 blood of the soul.'
- (34) $[e_1, e_2, t_1, t_2, n, x | \mathbf{write}(e_1), \tau(e_1) \subseteq t_1, t_1 < n,$
 $\mathbf{write}(e_2), \mathbf{blood-of-soul}(x), \text{INSTRUMENT}(e_2, x), e_2 = e_1,$
 $t_2 \subseteq \tau(e_2), t_2 < n]$

Conclusion

Conclusion

- Taking the discourse / rhetorical structure into account, the presuppositional IPF turns out to be a 'true' IPF: it elaborates on a part of a previously introduced event.
 - The notion of 'completed' events is misleading:
 - We are not concerned with actual events being (non-)completed, but with the way we describe the event (with aspectual forms).
 - There are numerous mismatches between (I)PF forms and (in)complete events.
- ⇒ Calling factual IPFs 'fake IPFs' and giving them the same semantics as PF is missing the point.

Open issues

- The proposed analysis crucially builds on there being a **finite PF antecedent**. (here even a proper partitive IPF semantics would work)
 - What do we do with **non-finite antecedents** (e.g. nominalisations) which do not come in a particular aspect? (or do they?)
 - e.g. in our example: *plata* 'payment'
platit' 'to pay (IPF)' – *zaplait'* 'to pay (PF)'
 - What do we do in our **bridging cases**?
- Is **event (in)completion** the right notion to build on for the semantics of aspect in **Czech**?
Another side note: Czech nominalisations do come in aspectual pairs

Against the notion of fake imperfectivity

Thanks!

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Two ‘passive’ constructions in Russian

(35) Active

Storož otkry(va)l vorota.
 watchman.NOM opened.(I)PF gate.ACC.PL
 ‘A / The watchman opened a / the gate.’

- **Periphrastic passive:** BE + past passive participles (PPP) (36-a)
- **Reflexive passive:** Active form + reflexive *-sja/-s’* (36-b)

(36) Passive

- a. Vorota byli otkryty storožem.
 gate.NOM.PL were opened.PF.PPP watchman.INSTR
 ‘A / The gate was opened by a / the watchman.’
- b. Vorota otkryvalis’ storožem.
 gate.NOM.PL opened.SI.PL.RFL watchmann.INSTR
 ‘A / The gate was opened by a / the watchman.’

(seemingly similar situation in other Slavic languages**)

Aspectual restrictions in Russian passives

- Periphrastic passive: only PF (usually) (37)
- Reflexive passive: only IPF (usually) (38)

(37) a. Vorota **byli otkryty** storozhem.
 gate.NOM.PL were opened.PF.PPP watchman.INSTR
 'A / The gate was opened by a / the watchman.'

b. *Vorota **byli otkryvany** storozhem.
 gate.NOM.PL were opened.SI.PPP watchman.INSTR

(38) a. Vorota **otkryvalis'** storozhem.
 gate.NOM.PL opened.SI.PL.RFL watchman.INSTR
 'A / The gate was opened by a / the watchman.'

b. *Vorota **otkrylis'** storozhem.
 gate.NOM.PL opened.PF.PL.RFL watchman.INSTR

- Exceptions to these "rules":
 - IPF PPPs: Borik and Gehrke (2018) (see also Knjazev 2007)
 - PF refl. pass.: e.g. Schoorlemmer (1995); Fehrmann et al. (2010)

Russian PPPs in periphrastic passives

- Different opinions:
 - Standard assumption: Only PF can be used.
 - IPF PPPs are idiomatic / frozen adjectives.
 - In analyses of passives, they are therefore not taken into account. (e.g. Babby and Brecht 1975; Švedova 1980; Schoorlemmer 1995; Paslawska and von Stechow 2003)
- e.g. Schoorlemmer (1995) spells out the following restrictions for PPPs:
 - only from PF transitive verbs
 - only from paired PF verbs (~ accomplishments, achievements)
- Knjazev (2007): Sometimes also IPF, but never with a process meaning
This will be corroborated by our corpus study.

Russian PF PPPs: Adjectival or verbal?

- Babby and Brecht (1975): Always adjectival
- Paslawska and von Stechow (2003), e.g. (39):
 - ‘Adjectival/stative’ with present tense copula (= null copula)
 - ‘Verbal/eventive’ with past tense forms of BE

(39) Portret (byl) narisovan karandašom.
 portrait.NOM (was) painted.PPP pencil.INSTR
 ‘The portrait is/was painted with a pencil.’

‘Adjectival/stative’ PPPs (with a null form of BE) allow for the **temporal localisation of the event** (contrasting, e.g., with German) (40).

(40) Étot dom postroen v prošlom godu.
 this.NOM house.NOM built in last.PREP year.PREP
 compare German: ?Dieses Haus ist im letzten Jahr gebaut.

P&vS’s analysis: ‘Adjectival/stative’ PPPs involve target-stativisation of VoiceP (in German etc. of VP). (cf. Kratzer 2000; Anagnostopoulou 2003)

Russian PF PPPs: Adjectival or verbal?

- Advantage of P&vS's analysis:
 - Target state requirement captures restriction to paired verbs (~ accomplishments / achievements; cf. Schoorlemmer 1995)
- Problems of P&vS's analysis:
 - This does not capture (alleged) restriction to PF, though:
 - IPF PPPs with target states should in principle be possible (and we will see that they are, but still rather restricted)
 - No analysis of 'verbal/eventive' PPPs; where we could expect more IPF PPPs, also with a process meaning (but we will confirm Knjazev's claim and see that this is not the case)
 - More generally, event-related modifiers should never occur with **adjectival** participles (unless events are instantiated at Voice; but this is not what we assume here.)
 - The PPPs might always be stative, but they are still verbal.

This talk: PPPs can be verbal or adjectival

- Borik (2014): No modification restrictions, with or without BE; e.g. (41) → **Verbal PPPs** exist in any tense

(41) Vorota (byli) otkryty storozhem rovno v 6
 gate.NOM.PL (were) opened.PPP watchman.INSTR exactly in 6
 utra na 2 časa.
 morning.GEN on 2 hours
 'The gate is/was opened by the watchmen at exactly 6 in the
 morning for 2 hours.'

- Conclusion: (PF) PPPs can be either verbal or adjectival.**
 [like English] (see also Schoorlemmer 1995; Borik 2013)

Borik and Gehrke (2018)

- Russian IPF PPPs
 - Received view: Should not exist
 - Corpus data: They do, but restricted to particular IPF meanings.
- Our claim: They can be regular participles, based on their:
 - Derivation: Transparent composition
 - Use: in unambiguously verbal periphrastic passives
- Hypothesis: Only non-canonical factual IPF meanings
- Analysis of presuppositional IPF PPPs (subtype of general-factual)
Condition on this use:
 - The event described by the IPF PPP behaves like a definite description which has to be anaphorically linked to a contextually salient eventive discourse referent.

The data

- Russian National Corpus (RNC) (ruscorpora.ru)
 - 109,028 documents, 22,209,999 sentences, 265,401,717 words
 - Non-disambiguated version
 - Grammatical feature: partcp,praet,pass,ipf
- IPF PPPs directly preceding or following a finite form of *byt'* 'be'
 - partcp,praet,pass,ipf distance: 1 from *byt'*: 2,632 contexts
 - *byt'* distance: 1 from partcp,praet,pass,ipf: 17,015 contexts

Qualitative, not quantitative analysis

- The query excludes PPPs with non-finite or null forms of *byt'* 'be' (the latter: present tense), PPPs as second conjuncts etc.
- Manual exclusion of the following types of data:
 - Long form PPPs (are not used in periphrastic passives)
 - Biaspectual forms (also tagged as IPF in RNC), e.g.:
 - *obeščan* 'promised', *velen* 'ordered'
 - Verbs in *-ovat'*: *ispol'zovan* 'used', *realizovan* 'realised'
 - Tagging mistakes, e.g.:
 - *Bjorndalen* (Ole Einar Bjørndalen), *Sezan* (Paul Cézanne) as PPP
 - *strašen* 'horrible.ADJ' as PPP
 - *otvečen* 'answered.PF', *pereključen* 'off-turned.PF' as IPF

Non-compositional IPF PPPs

- Idiomatic cases: *(ne) lykom šit* lit. '(not) sewn with bast fibre', meaning 'simple-minded'
- Fixed expressions: *rožden/kreščen* 'born/baptised'
- Genuine adjectives: *viden*, lit. 'seen', meaning 'visible'

(We did not further include these cases.)

Compositional IPF PPPs

- Regular, productive, repeated forms with transparent, predictable meaning (not idiosyncratic):

(42) *pisan* 'written.IPF', *čitan* 'read.IPF', *pit* 'drunk.IPF', *eden* 'eaten.IPF', *šit* 'sewn.IPF', *delan* 'made.IPF', *čekanen* 'minted.IPF', *bit* 'beaten.IPF', *myt* 'washed.IPF', *brit* 'shaved.IPF', *strižen* 'groomed.IPF', *kormlen* 'fed.IPF', *nesen* 'carried.IPF', *govoren* 'said.IPF', *prošen* 'asked.IPF', *zvan* 'called.IPF', *kusan* 'bit.IPF', *kryt* 'covered.IPF', *njuxan* 'smelled.IPF', etc.

First generalisations:

- Many IPF PPPs of saying verbs and incremental verbs, but not exclusively
- Compositional IPF PPPs are rare, but they cannot simply be ignored.

→ We need a compositional analysis.

No secondary imperfectives

- Only 3 examples, not Modern Russian; e.g. Church Slavonic:

(43) V leto 7010 mesjaca avgusta v šestoe na
 in summer 7010 month.GEN august.GEN in 6th on
 Preobraženie Gospoda našego isusa Xrista
 Transfiguration Lord.GEN our.GEN Jesus.GEN Christ.GEN
 načata byst' **podpisyvana** cerkov' [...]
 begun.PF.PPP be.3.SG.AOR signed(painted).SI church

→ No secondary imperfective PPPs in Modern Russian

(see also Knjazev 2007)

What kind of passive?

Why is the question important?

- Standard assumption: IPF PPPs are exceptions and to be analysed as adjectives (not as PPPs).
- One possible analysis of adjectival passives: adjectivisation in the lexicon.
 - Were we to find only adjectival IPF PPPs, we could maintain the standard assumption (together with this analysis of adjectival participles).

(However, we do assume that also adjectival PPPs should be analysed compositionally.)

Examples of adjectival IPF PPPs

- With event kind modification:

(44) Kryt byl dom solomoj [...]
 covered.IPF was house hay.INSTR
 'The house was covered with hay.'

(45) [...] ne skazal, čto vagon-to naš učebnikami gružen
 not said.PF that wagon-PTL our school-books.INSTR beladen.IPF
 byl?
 war
 'Didn't he say that our wagon was loaded with school books?'

(46) My oba byli striženy nagolo [...]
 we both were groomed bald
 'We both had our heads shaven.'

Examples of clearly verbal IPF PPPs

- Modification of an instantiated event:

(47) Pisano èto bylo Dostoevskim v 1871 godu [...] [
 written.IPF that was Dostoevskij.INSTR in 1871 year.PREP
 'This was written by Dostojevskij in 1871.'

(48) Èto [...] vedeno bylo moeju rukoj!
 this led.IPF was my.INSTR hand.INSTR
 'This was orchestrated by my hand!'

(49) [...] sleduja tem putem, kotorym neseno bylo v
 following this.INSTR path.INSTR which.INSTR carried.IPF was in
 Gefsimaniju dlja pogrebenija telo Bogomateri [...] [
 Gethsemane for burial body mother-of-God.GEN
 "... on the same path, on which the body of the mother of God was
 carried to Gethsemane to be buried.'

⇒ IPF PPPs can also be verbal.

Which IPF contexts?

- Knjazev (2007): IPF PPPs cannot have a process meaning.
→ also not in our data
- Our hypothesis: IPF PPPs are always factual.

First indication: Exchangeability with PF PPPs

- (50) a. (Na)pisano èto bylo Dostoevskim v 1871
(PF)written.IPF that was Dostoevskij.INSTR in 1871
godu [...] year.PREP
- b. (Po)kryt byl dom solomoj [...] (PF)covered.IPF was house hay.INSTR
- c. My oba byli (po)striženy nagolo [...] we both were (PF)groomed.IPF bald

Existential IPF PPPs

Paraphrase: *There was/is etc. (at least) one event of this type.*

- (51) Vsego nagljadelsja – i golodal, i syt byval po gorlo,
 all.GEN saw.IPF.REFL and starved.IPF and full was.FREQ to neck
 i bit byl, i sam bil [...] *and beaten.IPF was and myself beat.PST.IPF*
 ‘I saw it all – I was starving, I was completely full, I was beaten, and I did the beating myself.’
- (52) Ne raz ja byl učen, molču i znaju [...] *not once I was lectured.IPF am-silent and know.1SG*
 ‘I was lectured not just once, I keep quiet and know ...’
- (53) Za čto neodnokratno byla bita [...] *for what not once was beaten.IPF.FEM.SG*
 ‘For which she was beaten more than once ...’

Alternative analysis in terms of habituality / non-uniqueness of events etc.; but then the existential IPF could also be subsumed under the notion of potential iterativity (*kratnost*’).

Existential IPF PPPs

Paraphrase: *There was/is etc. (at least) one event of this type.*

→ With negation: *There was/is etc. no event of this type.*

(54) [...] i ja uže ne byl zvan v gosti [...]

and I already not was called.IPF in guests

'And I was not invited anymore.'

(55) Mojka byla perepolnena nemytoj posudoj. Ne myto

sink was overfilled.PF unwashed.INSTR dishes.INSTR not washed.IPF

bylo davno.

was long-ago

'The sink was flowing over with unwashed dishes. The dishes hadn't

been done for a long time.'

→ We set aside existential IPF PPPs and move on to presuppositional IPF PPPs.

Summary of the corpus study

- There are IPF PPPs with compositional semantics in periphrastic passives (contra standard assumption).
- Hypothesis: Only factual IPF (presuppositional, existential)
- Analysis of presuppositional IPF PPPs:
 - A completed event is given in the context; it is backgrounded, part of the theme. → like a definite description
 - In focus: new information about the event (quasi-obligatory modifier)

Open issues (corpus study)

- Analysis of the further derivation, in particular the semantics of IPF
 - Analysis of existential IPF PPPs
 - Why do IPF PPPs occur so rarely?
 - Are factual IPFs that rare? (not our intuition)
 - Are passives that rare? (also not our intuition)
 - Why are there no secondary IPF PPPs?
 - Might make sense for presuppositional IPFs: the least marked verb form
 - But why also for existential IPF, especially if this use could be reduced to (potential) event plurality?
- Also:** Active factual IPF is possible with secondary imperfectives.
- Why no process meaning?

My own thoughts: Why no process meaning?

- **English and German** (verbal) passives can have a process meaning:
 - (56) a. The doors are/were being opened.
 - b. Die Türen werden/wurden gerade geöffnet.
 the doors become/became ADV opened
- **Division of labour in Russian?** (needs to be investigated)
 - Canonical IPF meanings with reflexive passives, non-canonical IPF meanings with periphrastic passives (Olga's idea)
 - If this is correct, is there a similar tendency in other languages that have both reflexive and periphrastic passives? (Spanish, Greek ...)
- **What about Czech?** (... a whole different research project)
 - No aspectual restrictions with either 'passives' (also other differences in aspect usage; e.g. Gehrke 2002)
 - Radek Šimík, p.c.: Czech IPF PPPs can have a process meaning.
 - Czech reflexive 'passive' might not be a true passive: no *by*-phrases (cf. Fehrmann et al. 2010; Schäfer 2016)

More on Backgrounding (with Olga)

Different explanations:

- **Presupposition** (as anaphor) (Geurts and van der Sandt 1997; Grønn 2004)
- **Givenness** (e.g. Krifka 2007)
- **Theme** (e.g. Vallduví 2016)

Krifka (2007)

- **Givenness:** The expression is in the immediate 'common ground' (CG).
 - Anaphoric expressions (incl. personal pronouns, demonstratives, definite article) signal that the referent is given.
 - Reduction of the prosodic realisation of expressions that are given in the immediate context:
Omission, deaccentuation, non-canonical word order

⇒ A large part of our IPF PPPs:
deaccentuation, marked word order

Vallduví (2016)

- A **theme** elaborates on the maximal 'question under discussion' (QUD) in context C; locus of discourse progression.
 - Typical example: Short answers
- (57) - What are we having for dinner?
 - MUTTONBIRD.
- The theme is the *replica* of the max-QUD (without elaborating fragments).
 - Main task: To prepare the context for an update
 - A theme is obligatory in contexts, in which the utterance elaborates a non-max-QUD (that is already part of the QUD set).
 - Utterances with a theme: Parallel to a definite description that specifies a non-local antecedent.
- ⇒ **Events in presuppositional IPF PPPs are like definite descriptions.**
- They signal under which file card / discourse referent the new information (focus, theme) should be stored.

E.g. context of our examples

- (58) Poslednej stupenju roskoši byl “ljuks”, gde razmesčali generalov i voobsče bol’šoe načal’stvo. Zdes’ byli fikusy, po verxnej kromke sten - zolotoj baget i pri každom nomere vanna. Vpročem, v letnie mesjacy voda šla redko, a kogda šla, to so svistom i soveršenno ržavaja, tak čto raznica meždu derevjannoj, kamennoj i “ljuksom” skazyvalas’ bol’še ne v byte, a v počete. **Stroeno** bylo èto vse ploxo, xromo, ščeljasto.

‘The last level of luxury was the “lux”, where generals and other big bosses were lodged. There were ficuses, on the upper edge of the walls - golden molding, and each room had its own bathroom. However, in the summer months there was often no water, and when there was, it came with a whistling noise and was absolutely rusty, so that the difference between a wooden (room), a stone (room) and a “lux” was not so much in the level of comfort, but in the honor. All that was built badly, lamely, with holes.’

E.g. context of our examples

- (59) The last level of luxury was the “lux”, where generals and other big bosses were lodged. There were fuses, on the upper edge of the walls - golden molding, and there was a bath in each room. However, in the summer months there was often no water, and when there was, it came with a whistling noise and was absolutely rusty, so that the difference between a wooden (room), a stone (room) and a “lux” was not so much in the level of comfort, but in the honor.

Stroeno bylo èto vse ploxo, xromo, ščeljasto. ‘All that was built badly, lamely, with holes.’

- Max-QUD: *What was the hotel like?*
 - Sub-QUD: Guests? Quality of the rooms? Decoration? Equipment? etc.
 - Sub-QUD that our example answers: *How was it built?*

The building event is not immediately relevant but the manner in which it was built (expressed by a modifier).

→ *The building event is part of the theme.*

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