Aspect and temporal definiteness

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The semantics of Russian IPFVs (with some comparison to Czech)

Our starting point

- Common intuition, cross-linguistically: Completed events are described by PFVs.
- → What exactly is meant by "completed events"?
- → Do Russian IPFV forms have a uniform IPFV semantics?
    - Potential problem: IPFVs forms in descriptions of (single/unique) completed events
    - → Claim in the literature: The Russian IPFV is (sometimes) a "fake" IPF.

- My claim: **There is no "fake" IPFV in Russian.**

Recall: The (general-)factual IPFV

(Maslov 1959)

1 Existential (1) (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 & Gehrke 2015)

(1)   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.'

2 Presuppositional/actional (2) (example: Glovinskaja 1981, terminology: Grønn 2004/Padučeva 1996)

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

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

The existential IPFV

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

(3)   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.'

- Assumption: This is a subtype of (potential) iterativity.
                                        (Padučeva 1996; Gehrke 2022, to appear)
    - → Falls out of an account of IPFV for iterative events
        (e.g. in terms of unbounded event plurality, as in Ferreira 2005, 2016;
        Altshuler 2014)
- ⇒ I set aside existential IPFVs for now.

Grønn (2004) on the presuppositional IPFV

(4)   Sdelav^{pfv} ètot xod [26 – Rxc3], ja [predložil^{pfv} nič'ju]$_{antecedent}$. [...]
Navernjaka, černye deržatsja^{ipfv} – naprimer, 27 Ba3 Bf8 28 Nf5 d5 29
Bb2 [...], no mne ne xotelos'^{ipfv} načinat'^{ipfv} sčetnuju igru, [poètomu]$_F$ ja i
[predlagal^{ipfv} 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 (4) or contextually
  derivable (next slide)

Grønn (2004) on the presuppositional IPFV

- Presupposition as anaphor → contextually derivable:

(5)   Dlja bol'šinstva znakomyx vaš [ot"ezd]$_{(pseudo-)antecedent}$ stal$_{PFV}$ polnoj
      neožidannost'ju ... Vy [uezžali^{IPFV}]$_{anaphora}$ v Ameriku [ot čego-to, k
      čemu-to ili že prosto voznamerilis'$_{PFV}$ spokojno provesti$_{PFV}$ 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 IPFVs

(6) V ėtoj porternoj ja [...] napisal   pervoe ljubovnoe pis'mo. Pisal
     in this tavern   I   wrote.PFV first   love   letter wrote.IPFV
     [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):

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

- VP: Background-focus division (in the sense of Krifka 2001)

- Backgrounded material is turned into a presupposition.

  → Background/Presupposition Rule in Geurts & van der Sandt (1997)

  DRT analysis: Backgrounded material is subscripted in the DRS

- Further embedding under Aspect and Tense ...

Russian IPFV semantics

What is the semantics of Russian aspect?

Long-standing issue raised by factual IPFVs with "completed" events:
Do IPFV 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 & 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 PFV; IPFV "unmarked" (-PFV or ±PFV)   (especially because of factual IPFV)
    - Positive definition also of IPFV

(Russian) IPFV semantics: Different proposals

- Borik (2002, 2006): PFV vs. -PFV

  Distinguishes (a)telic from (I)PFV but does not further take (a)telicity into account

  - the E-R relation is fixed, i.e. $E \subseteq R$ by default;
  - the S-E relation determines temporal interpretation and morphological tense;
  - the S-R relation determines perspective, therefore, aspect;
    the E-R relation also contributes to the aspectual system because it derives progressive readings in non-default cases

(8)   PFV: $S \cap R = \varnothing$ & $E \subseteq R$
       IPFV: $\neg \, (S \cap R = \varnothing$ & $E \subseteq R)$
       $= S \cap R \neq \varnothing \vee E \nsubseteq R$

  - Disjunction captures: "progressive" or "present perfect" (i.e. existential) IPFV readings.
  - Has nothing to say about presuppositional IPFV.
  - (Leaves aside habituality / iterativity)

(Russian) IPFV semantics: Different proposals

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

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

  (9)   IPFV $\rightsquigarrow \lambda P \lambda e' \exists e \exists w [\text{STAGE}(e', e, w^*, w, P)]$
         $[\![\text{STAGE}(e', e, w^*, w, P)]\!]^{w,g} = 1$ 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 IPFV readings (in (9-iv))
        - For ongoing IPFV: $g(e') \sqsubset g(e)$
        - For presuppositional IPFV: $g(e') = g(e)$
        - Does not address existential IPFVs in these papers, but see next slide
    + plural events for habituality (following Ferreira 2005)

Altshuler (2012)

- Discussion of existential IPFV uses, e.g. (10); observations:
    - The IPFV events precede the previous PFV event ~ English pluperfect
    - No narrative progression with the two IPFV events

(10)   Nedelju nazad Marija **pocelovala** Dudkina. On **daril**   ej cvety i
       week   ago   Maria kissed.PFV Dudkin   he gave.IPFV her flowers and
       priglašal ee v teatr.
       invited.SI her to theatre
       'A week ago, Maria kissed Dudkin. He had given her flowers and had invited
       her to the theatre.'

- This is different with the PFV (11):
    - The 2nd and 3rd PFV events follow the 1st PFV event
    - Narrative progression relation between all three events

(11)   Nedelju nazad [...] On **podaril** ej cvety i   **priglasil**   ee v teatr.
       week   ago   he gave.PFV her flowers and invited.PFV her to theatre
       'A week ago ... He gave her flowers and invited her to the theatre.'

Altshuler's (2012) account

- DRT with multiple coordinates (not just one reference time)
- Integration of discourse relations (aka rhetorical relations):
    - OCCASION: Typical relation in narrative discourse; incompatible with IPFV semantics
    - BACKGROUND, ELABORATION: Relations typically expressed by IPFV

    (see op.cit. for more details)

(Russian) IPFV semantics: Different proposals

- Grønn (2004): IPFV is $e \bigcirc t$ (building on Klein 1995)
  - $+$ pragmatic strengthening to "proper" IPFV or to PFV semantics
  - $+$ role of information structure

- Grønn (2015): No uniform IPFV semantics anymore
  Rather: PFV vs. ±PFV

  (12) $[[\text{PFV}]] = \lambda t \lambda e.e \subseteq t$
          $[[\text{IPFV}_{ongoing}]] = \lambda t \lambda e.t \subseteq e$
          $[[\text{IPFV}_{factual}]] = \lambda t \lambda e.e \subseteq t$ "Fake IPFV"

  $+$ system of (in)definite times and events (cf. Grønn & von Stechow 2010)

  Differences between PFV and IPFV$_{factual}$: IPFV appears whenever PFV forms are infelicitous ["aspectual competition"]

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

(see also Alvestad 2014)

Why the focus on event completion is misleading

Gehrke (2023)

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

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

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

Completed events do not require PFV: Habituality

(13) Ona   prixodila ko mne každyj den', a ždat'   ee   ja načinal s
      she.NOM to-went.SI to me every day and wait.INF.IPFV 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
      prisluživat'sja, ne stuknet   li vetxaja kalitka.
      listen.INF.SI not clatters.PRES.PFV 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 IPFV (SIs); PFV would be infelicitous.

However, these are not treated as cases of "fake" IPFV.

Side note: This might be different in Czech.

Translation of the original Russian example:

(14) Chodila   ke mně denně za   poledne   a   já na ni
      went.INDET.IPFV to me daily during midday.ACC and I on her
      čekával   už   od   rána.   [...] Deset minut před tím,
      waited.FREQ.IPFV already from morning.GEN   ten   minutes before that
      než   měla   přijít,   jsem   se uchýlil   k
      when had.FEM(3SG).IPFV come.INF.PFV AUX1SG REFL proceeded.PFV to
      oknu   a   napjatě   poslouchal, kdy klapne
      window and attentively listened.IPFV when clatters.PRES.PFV
      omšelá   branka.
      moss-covered.NOM 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, 2022)

Completed IPFVs: Historical present

(15) [...] les   končilsja,   neskol'ko kazakov vyezžajut   iz nego
           forest end.PFV.PST some   cossacks out-ride.IPF.PRES out it
      na poljanu, i   vot, vyskakivaet   prjamo k nim moj Karagez;
      on field   and there out-jump.IPFV.PRS directly to him my Karagez
      vse   kinulis'   za   nim s   krikom [...]
      all.PL rush.PFV.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)

[Side note: Again, Czech is different.]

Completed IPFVs: "Annulled result"

(16)   a.   K vam kto-to   prixodil.
         to you someone came.IPFV
         'Someone came to you.' (The person is not there anymore.)

     b.   Ja otkryval   okno.
         I   opened.IPFV window
         'I opened the window.' (The window is now closed.)

(after Smith 1991/97, 311)

[Side note: Again, Czech might be different.]

⇒ Overall, there are many cases in which completed events do not
   require the PFV; yet, only some of these are labeled "fake" IPFV.

(Russian) PFV does not require "completed" events.

- Chains of foregrounded unique events require PFV verb forms for reference time movement (in the sense of Kamp & 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:

(17) Ona vstala   i   {zapela   / *pela   / *zapevala}.
      she got-up.PFV and ZA-sang.PFV sang.IPFV   ZA-sang.IPFV
      '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):

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

Against "fake" IPFV

- Russian traditional linguistics: Factual IPFV also with "incomplete" events: non-resultative factual IPFV   (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 IPFV form.
    - However, they still appear to constitute a different IPFV "reading" than process or habituality.
      (Proposal in Gehrke 2022, to appear: Presuppositional is a type of process reading, existential is related to habituality.)

- ⇒ Calling factual IPFVs "fake" IPFVs and giving them the same semantics as PFV is missing the point.

- ⇒ Event (non-)completion is not (necessarily) decisive for the choice of (I)PFV and should therefore not play the central role in semantic accounts of (I)PFV.
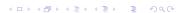
Presuppositional IPFVs as "true" IPFVs

(Gehrke 2023)

(19) a. Zaplatili.   Plačeny byli naličnymi šest' tysjač   rublej […]
          paid.3PL.PFV paid.IPFV were in-cash   six   thousand Rubles
          'They paid. It was paid 6.000 Rubles in cash.'

   b. $[e_1, e_2, t_1, t_2, n, x | \textbf{pay}(e_1), \tau(e_1) \subset t_1, t_1 < n, \textbf{pay}(e_2), \text{THEME}(e_2, x),$
       $\textbf{6.000R}(x), \textbf{in-cash}(e_2), e_2 = e_1, t_2 \subset \tau(e_2), t_2 < n]$

       aspect semantics / tense semantics / anaphoricity

- Event completion intuition due to 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 $e_2 \to$ 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.

→ The second sentence zooms in on a narrower reference time for which an assertion is made, and this is what is captured by the IPFV semantics.

→ There is no "fake" IPF.

Summary

- Taking the discourse / rhetorical structure into account, the presuppositional IPFV turns out to be a "true" IPFV: 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)PFV forms and (in)complete events.

⇒ Calling factual IPFVs "fake" IPFVs and giving them the same semantics as PFV is missing the point.

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