SlavIA 2025

Conference on Inner Aspect and VP Structure in Slavic Languages

6-7 November 2025

Sala B, Ca' Bernardo - Dorsoduro 3199, Venice

VP

V

Invited speakers:

Boban Arsenijević
University of Graz

Hana Filip
Heinrich Heine University of Düsseldorf

Ora Matushansky
CNRS Paris

Gillian Ramchand
Oxford University

Organizing committee:
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Inner Aspect, VP Structure and the Functional Domain in Slavic Languages

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Ca' Foscari University of Venice
November 6 - 7, 2025
Venice, Italy

SlavIA2025 conference programme
Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy - Ca' Bernardo, Sala B, November 6-7

	Day 1. Thursday, November 6	
09:00 – 09:30	Registration of the participants, opening and greetings	
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10:30 – 11:00	Svitlana Antonyuk (University of Graz)	*On the Relation between Aspect, Event Structure and Argument Structure in Split Voice Languages: the Case of Ukrainian*
11:00 – 11:30	Coffee break	
10:30 – 11:00	Sergey Minor (UiT – The Arctic University of Norway)	*Grammatical aspect and event structure in Russian: mismatches and realignment*
12:00 – 12:30	Gleb Bubnov, Anna Kulikova (HSE University) – online presentation	*Russian suffix -nu as InnerAsp*
12:30 – 13:00	Marija Brašić (University of Nova Gorica)	*On the semelfactives in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian*
13:00 – 14:30	Lunch break	
14:30 – 15:30	**Invited Talk:** Boban Arsenijević (University of Graz)	*A unified account of temporal composition in Serbo-Croatian and two empirical puzzles solved*
15:30 – 16:00	Dorota Klimek-Jankowska (University of Wrocław), Alberto Frasson (University of	*Perfect variations across Slavic and Baltic: Translation Mining approach to corpus data*

	Wrocław), Antonina Mocniak (Jagiellonian University), Andrzej Żak (Institute of Slavic Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences), Justyna Gruszecka (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań), Tanya Ivanova-Sullivan (University of California at Los Angeles), Daria Seres (University of Graz), Vladimir Cvetkoski (Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje), Elena Vaiksnoraite (Ohio State University), Diana Androva (Sofia University) & Patrick Mihaylov (Sofia University)	
16:00 – 16:30	Liliya Bachun (University of Oxford)	*The Old Perfect and Pluperfect in Ukrainian: Archaism or Sacralisation?*
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12:30 – 13:00	Uliana Pressacco (Institute for Slavic and Hungarian Studies, Humboldt University)	*The nominative-object constructions (NOCs) in Russian*
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14:30 – 15:30	**Invited Talk:** Hana Filip (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)	*The Semantic Domains of Slavic Verb Prefixes and (Im)perfective Aspect*
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INTRODUCTION

The conference *Inner Aspect, VP Structure, and the Functional Domain in Slavic Languages* (SlavIA 2025) will be held at Ca' Foscari University of Venice on November 6–7, 2025.

SlavIA 2025 brings together scholars investigating the architecture of the verb phrase in Slavic languages, with special focus on the interaction between inner aspect, argument structure, and event composition.

The aim of the meeting is to create a forum for discussion among researchers working within different theoretical frameworks—syntactic, semantic, typological, and experimental—on how Slavic data can inform our understanding of aspectual structure. Topics include the syntax of inner and outer aspect, the contribution of functional heads such as *v* and *Asp*, the mapping between argument realization and event type, and the representation of telicity and event complexity.

By bringing together these complementary perspectives, SlavIA 2025 seeks to advance the cross-linguistic and theoretical dialogue on aspect and predicate structure and to foster collaboration among scholars of Slavic syntax and semantics.

INVITED TALKS

Gillian Ramchand (University of Oxford)

'Inner' vs. 'Outer': Verbs, Aspect, and the Functional Sequence

When it comes to 'aspect', are there different functional heads or zones that correspond to what people have called inner aspect and outer aspect respectively? If so, how are they different semantically, and what, if anything, unifies them? What is `inner' about the kinds of meanings and distinctions that have been labelled inner aspect as opposed to viewpoint aspect?

It is commonly assumed that there is a cartography of functional information, rigidly ordered across languages (Cinque 1999). In evaluating generalizations in this domain, a lot hinges on how we categorize (and label) the functional elements in this functional sequence. In this talk, I will argue that the semantic labels we commonly deploy from research on the syntax and semantics of natural languages are not in fact reliable labels for height in the functional sequence. Neither can the difference between inner aspect and viewpoint aspect notions be simply cued by type of morphosyntactic expression.

Empirically, I show two things. Firstly, I will show that the same `meanings' can and do appear in different zones quite systematically. With respect to aspect in particular, I will use a comparison between Russian and Spanish perfectivity to illustrate this. Secondly, I will use the comparison between English and Russian imperfectivity to argue the converse is also true, namely that the *same* apparent syntactic positions/zones can have different `meanings' in different languages.

Finally, I will argue that there *is* in fact a detectable and principled `order of things', but that it crosscuts many of the distinctions we are used to like `cause', `possibility', or `result'. Instead, what determines inner and outer is a more abstract distinction between essential, reusable content on the one hand and particularized, referential content on the other.

Boban Arsenijević (University of Graz)

A unified account of temporal composition in Serbo-Croatian and two empirical puzzles solved

Building on Arsenijević (2006, 2023), I propose a novel account of the composition of temporal meaning in Serbo-Croatian (SC), and show how it explains in terms of the same pattern two hallmark phenomena of this domain, the imperfective paradox and the incompatibility of telic verbs with the indicative progressive use of the present.

The proposed account is based on scalar intervals, and takes that each level of temporal organization does two things: introduces an interval and optionally specifies its shape,

and maps this interval to the one it immediately dominates. The lowest relevant specification, in terms of syntactic structure, is a set of property instantiations provided by the base of the verb (typically a root, but possibly a word, or phrase). The structural layer of lexical aspect maps an abstract interval to this set. If the interval is singleton, the event predicate is atelic (as atelic predicates can be attested in a point due to the subinterval property), otherwise, it is telic. The layer of grammatical aspect maps a temporal interval to the abstract interval introduced by lexical aspect. When the temporal interval is a singleton, we observe imperfectivity, and when it is a complex interval – perfectivity.

The mapping is the same at both levels. An affine map obtains when the two intervals have the same shape (both singleton, or both complex). When the lower interval is singleton and the higher complex, every point of the complex interval maps onto the single member of the singleton. When the lower interval is complex and the higher is singleton, since functions do not map one to many, an additional auxiliary interval is introduced at the higher level, which is complex and extends from the higher, singleton, interval to the right, and an affine map obtains to this interval. It is, however, only the original singleton interval and not the auxiliary one, that figures in the mapping in the higher structure.

This last case described obtains exactly in the expressions manifesting the imperfective paradox and the progressive present use of telic verbs. As for the former, they involve a singleton abstract interval (i.e. expressed by an atelic verb in SC) mapping to a complex set of property instantiations. This induces interval branching, where the full event relates to an interval which is not picked by higher levels of temporal organization, and hence remains out of the scope of sentential force. The reading obtains where the singleton interval which is part of the temporal organization is compatible with extensions into intervals that undergo an affine map with a telic description (i.e. with telic event predicates corresponding to the set of property instantiations). This essentially modal semantic component removes the paradox (in a similar vein like Dowty 1979, Vlach 1981, Parsons 1990, Landman 1992, Portner 1998, a.o.).

The progressive present of a telic verb involves a singleton temporal interval (the form of present is unmarked for grammatical aspect and tense, and hence involves singletons at both levels) mapped onto a complex abstract interval. In this case, a punctual reference time is the point of time branching, and the auxiliary interval branches. When the singleton reference time coincides with the speech time, the speech time marks the point of epistemic evaluation, and the branching section following falls beyond the epistemically settled segment. This makes the configuration incompatible with the indicative interpretation, and forces a futurate meaning. When reference time coincides with a shifted now, no such issue merges, because either the auxiliary interval falls within the epistemically settled segment and the branching is vacuous (if shifted in the past), or the branching begins before the reference time, so it falls in the modal domain together with the auxiliary interval (i.e. the entire configuration is in the modal domain).

Ora Matushansky (CNRS-Paris)

On the structures of intransitive degree achievements
(in collaboration with Marijana Marelj, Utrecht University)

Pairs like (1) can be found in many if not all Slavic languages, raising the question of what the connection between them might be. Given that both *e-* and *i*-verbs can be deadjectival, three options are possible: the transitive can be derived from the intransitive (cf. Ramchand 2008:91 for English degree achievements, Caha, De Clercq and Vanden Wyngaerd 2023 for Czech), the intransitive can be derived from the transitive (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1994a, b, Reinhart 2000, Chierchia 2004; Simonović and Mišmaš 2022 for Slovenian), or the two can be derived independently from the same stem (Harley 1995, 2008, 2012, Doron 2003a, b). We will argue that *e-/i*-pairs motivate at least two underlying structures for intransitive deadjectival degree achievements (cf. Alexiadou 2010). Our main evidence comes from reflexive-marked intransitive counterparts of deadjectival *i*-verbs (2–3).

(1) a. pjanetʲ 'to become inebriated'/pjanitʲ 'to inebriate'　　　　Russian
　　 b. otupeti 'to become blunt, numb'/otupiti 'to make blunt'　　Serbo-Croatian
　　 c. rumeneti 'to become yellow'/rumeniti 'to make yellow'　Slovenian (Marvin 2002:100)

(2) a. Tristram　je　　osušio　　　　cveće.
　　　 Tristram　AUX　dry.PFV.PAST.MSG　flowers.COLL.NSG
　　　 'Tristram dried up the flowers.'

　　 b. Cveće　　　　se　osušilo.
　　　 flower.COLL.NSG　REFL　dry.PFV.PAST.NSG
　　　 'The flowers have dried up'

(3) a. Traktor　rasširil　　　　　dorogu.　　　　　　　　Russian
　　　 tractor　widen.PFV.PAST.MSG　road.ACC
　　　 'The tractor widened the road.'

　　 b. Doroga　　rasširilasʲ.
　　　 road.NOM　widen.PFV.PAST.FSG.REFL
　　　 'The road widened.'

While transitive *i*-verbs require the structure in (4a), intransitive *e*-verbs should be derived in the structure (4b), or some alternative combining the verbalizer with the adjectival predicate. Conversely, the existence of anticausative deadjectival *i*-verbs requires the structure (4c), or its equivalent allowing the derivation of the intransitive verb from the transitive one (cf. Chierchia 2004).

(4) a.
```
              vP
         ╱         ╲
       DP           v'
    the peasant   ╱    ╲
                 v       SC
                 |      ╱  ╲
              CAUSE    DP    √
                    the wall  white
```
b.
```
              vP
           ╱      ╲
          v        SC
          |      ╱    ╲
        COS     DP      √
             the wall  white
```

c.
```
               VoiceP
            ╱         ╲
         Voice         vP
    (-ext. arg. -AG)  ╱   ╲
                     v      SC
                     |     ╱  ╲
                  CAUSE   DP    √
                       the wall  white
```
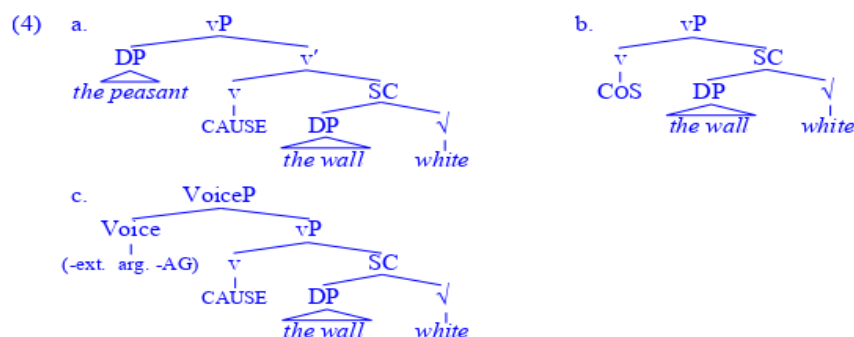
Our first piece of evidence against deriving *i*-verbs from *e*-verbs comes from the fact that most *e/i* pairs differ in meaning (5): while *e*-verbs are incompatible with an (implicit or explicit) causing event or a causer, *i*-verbs require it. Moreover, *i*-verbs also do not have the semantics of causativized *e*-verbs (cf. Dyachkov 2018, 2021, 2023):

(5) a. crveneti 'to become red(der)', crveniti 'to color red'   Serbo-Croatian
     b. crneti 'to become tanned', crniti 'to color black'
     c. beletʲ 'to turn white(r); be white', belitʲ 'to whitewash, color white'   Russian
     d. tolstetʲ 'to become fat(ter)', tolstitʲ 'to make look fat(ter)'

Secondly, most deadjectival *i*-verbs cannot appear without a prefix, while deadjectival *e*-verbs generally start out as imperfective (6). This might be linked to the fact that open-scale adjectival bases are mostly excluded from the *e*-class; conversely, they often (though not always) require a prefix when forming *i*-verbs. Importantly, the default perfectivizing prefixes may differ for *e*- and *i*-verbs, suggesting different event structures: note that with the decausative verb, which is transparently morphologically derived from its causative counterpart, the choice of the prefix stays unaltered (6b–d).

(6) a. poxudetʲ/xudetʲ 'to become thinner (of an animate)'PFV/IPFV   Russian
     b. suzitʲ/*uzitʲ 'to make narrower'PFV/IPFV
     c. suzitʲsʲa/*uzitʲsʲa 'to become narrower'PFV/IPFV
     d. suziti/*uziti (se) 'to make/become narrower'PFV/IPFV   Serbo-Croatian

Thirdly, while deadjectival i-verbs mostly have either decausative *i*-variants (i.e., reflexive-marked *i*-verbs) or inchoative *e*-counterparts, triplets are possible, often giving rise to different interpretations (7–8) and necessitating two different structures.

(7) a. Nož   je   o-tup-e-o   od   upotrebe.   Serbo-Croatian, inchoative
         knife is   PFX-blunt-THE-PAST.MSG from use
         'The knife got blunt from use.'

     b. Nož   se   o-tup-i-o   od   upotrebe.   anticausative
         knife REFL PFX-blunt-THI-PAST.MSG from use
         'The knife got blunt from use.'

     c. O-tup-e-l-a   sam (*se) od   bola.   inchoative/*anticausative
         PFX-blunt-THI-PAST-FSG   am   REFL from pain
         'I became numb from pain.'

(8) a. molodetʲ 'to grow younger'IPFV   Russian, inchoative
     b. moloditʲ/omoloditʲ 'to make young, make look young'IPFV/PFV   causative
     c. moloditʲsʲa 'to make oneself look younger'IPFV   reflexive
     d. omoloditʲsʲa 'to become younger'PFV   anticausative

We will further argue that a structural difference not only explains the morphosyntax of these two types of Slavic deadjectival degree achievements but may also encode change semantics by different means. If correct, this can account for the fact that many deadjectival *e*-verbs have no *i*-counterpart and vice versa (9), cf. Dyachkov 2018, 2021, 2023, as well as for the fact that an e-verb in one Slavic language may correspond to an (anticausative) *i*-verb in another.

(9) a.   liseti^j 'to become bald(er)', *lisiti^j; kranseti^j 'to turn red(der)', *krasniti^j   Russian
     b.   bodriti^j 'to invigorate' (from bodrij 'cheerful, brisk'), *bodreti^j

Finally, we will show that the neat picture in (4) cannot explain the behavior of Serbo-Croatian *e*- and *i*-verbs, where the distinction has been neutralized, and, time permitting, hypothesize a structural difference for two different unaccusative verbalizers, -*e*- and -*nu*-).

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Hana Filip (Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf)

The Semantic Domains of Slavic Verb Prefixes and (Im)perfective Aspect

This talk will defend the view that the telicity (semantic property) and perfectivity (formal, grammatical property) of Slavic verbs is not predictably linked to (a set of) prefixes. While arguments in support of this view have already been made elsewhere, this talk will focus on the proposals by Kratzer (2004) and Borer (2005) who deny it. Their lucid and concise way of presenting some of the fundamental assumptions behind many current, mainly syntactic, approaches to Slavic aspect will serve as a useful foil for showing their weaknesses. In a nutshell, on the view defended here, Slavic verb prefixes may merely contribute to specifying conditions on what must be the case if events (denoted by predicates they form) culminate (telicity, as used here, inner aspect), but they do not require culmination (one possible effect of PFV aspect interpreted in terms of the maximalization operator, outer aspect). The interactions of verb prefixes with elements at the sub-lexical and lexical level in the calculation of the meaning of a sentence require that their meaning be accessible to operators located at the outer aspect and higher levels.

DAY 1, 6 November 2025

On the Relation between Aspect, Event Structure and Argument Structure in Split Voice Languages: the Case of Ukrainian

Svitlana Antonyuk (University of Graz)

In this talk I focus on the relation between aspectual prefixation, argument structure and event structure in Ukrainian, and show that the effects of aspectual morphology on the event structure (ES) are indirect, mediated by the argument structure (AS) contributed by the aspectual morphology (AM). Following Lavine (2010; 2014), Lavine and Babby (2019), Antonyuk and Lavine (2024; 2025) i.a., I take Ukrainian to be a Split Voice language, i.e., a language in which the Initiator portion of the tree (Ramchand 2008) is split into the Voice and vCause heads (Pylkkänen 2002; 2008; Harley 2017; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2015) i.a.), the latter thus crucially being able to function either separately from or in conjunction with Voice (Lavine&Babby 2019). On the above view, vCause introduces an external Causer argument, NP INSTR, and assigns Accusative case to the direct object in the absence of Voice, as is evidenced by the Ukrainian Transitive Impersonal Construction (1).

(1) Vitr-om   zirv-a-l-o   tsvit   z derev.
     Wind_INSTR   tear_PST_non-AGR bloom_ACC.M   from trees_GEN.PL
     'The bloom from the trees was torn off by the wind'

While there is good reason to treat NP INSTR as an argument (Antonyuk 2025), it has the peculiar property that its phonological realization is optional (cf. Grimshaw 1990 on "argument adjuncts"). The licensing of Causer Instrumentals is not entirely free, however, but is determined by the ES: NP INSTR is licensed iff the ES supports the external causation semantics. In other words, a Causer Instrumental is always licit if the ES can be construed as externally caused. Interestingly though, data such as (2) suggest that AM can in fact contribute the Causer argument, along with an unselected direct object, with the pattern in (2) being quite general.

(2) a. Maryna   huljala   (*apetyt)   (*dovhoju prohuljankoju).
        M.   walk_PST.F.   appetite   [long walk]_INSTR

    b. Maryna   na-huljala   *(apetyt)   (dovhoju prohuljankoju).
        M.   na-walk_PST.F.   appetite   [long walk]_INSTR
        'Maryna worked up an appetite with a long walk'

I argue, however, that the effect of aspectual morphology on the Causer layer is indirect, mediated by its effect on the event structure. Specifically, I argue that AM contributes only the direct object (DO), which aligns with previous findings on Slavic (Arsenijević 2006; Quaglia et al. 2022; Ramchand 2008; 2013; Romanova 2004; Tatevosov 2011;

2015; Žaucer 2009 i.a.). The presence of the DO, however, is the necessary condition for the external causation construal, i.e., the DO is the caused/affected argument whose presence alone licenses Causer Instrumental/vCauseP. This is modeled in terms of the DO ending up in Spec,vP, either via movement (for thematic objects) or by direct Merge (for athematic objects, as in (2b)), which in turn licenses Merge of vCause.

Furthermore, I discuss external causation vis-à-vis indirect causation (of the type found with internally caused unaccusatives) and argue, focusing especially on unergatives, that while internal causation is not similarly affected by AM-mediated AS, the addition of the DO nevertheless creates a syntactic context in which an indirect Causer PP is compatible with the presence of an external Causer NP INSTR, which are otherwise in complementary distribution (see Antonyuk & Lavine 2024; 2025).

(3) a. Maryna   huljala   (vid nud'hy)   (*prohuljankoju).
       M.   walk$_{PST.F.}$ from boredom   walk$_{INSTR}$

    b. Maryna   nahuljala   apetyt   (vid nud'hy)   (dovhoju prohuljankoju).
       M.   na-walk$_{PST.F.}$ appetite   from boredom   [long walk]$_{INSTR}$

The overall analysis is couched in terms of the flavors of vCause proposal (Antonyuk and Lavine 2025), with modifications to accommodate data such as (3a-3b), thus deriving the observed complementary distribution of the flavors of vCause and its obviation in AM-augmented contexts.

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Grammatical aspect and event structure in Russian: mismatches and realignment

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Grammatical aspect of verbs in Russian is determined by their morphological structure – the highest scoping morpheme (root, prefix or suffix) determines whether the verb is perfective or imperfective. At the same time, aspectual morphology, prefixation in particular, has a systematic effect on the event structure of the predicate (Arsenijević 2007, Ramchand 2004, Romanova 2007, Svenonius 2004, Tatevosov 2009, 2013). This has led to the idea that the grammatical aspect of a verb can be directly linked to its event-structural properties. For instance, Klein (1995) and Tatevosov (2017) postulate that, in the absence of an imperfectivizing suffix, perfective aspect is only compatible with verbs denoting a change of state (accomplishments or achievements), while imperfective aspect is incompatible with such verbs.

We argue that this approach cannot be correct, and examine cases of mismatch between grammatical aspect and event structure. First, a range of simplex (un-prefixed)

imperfective verbs like *vešat^j* 'to hang', *lovit^j* 'to catch', *lomat^j* 'to break' display characteristic properties of accomplishments allowing *almost* and *again* to scope over a result sub-event (see Tatevosov 2011, 2015 for discussion of these diagnostics in Russian):

(1) Lera   inogda   načinala lovit^j babočku, uže   **počti lovila jejo**, no ta   uletala.
Lera   sometimes bagan   catch butterfly, already almost caught it   but it   flew.away.
'Lera would sometimes start chasing (lit. 'catching') a butterfly, **would almost catch it**, but it would fly away'.

Even more strikingly, we find examples of simplex imperfective verbs like *ter^{j}at^j* *(košelëk)* 'to lose (one's wallet)', *beremenet^j* 'to become pregnant', which denote instant transitions (achievements) and are thus incompatible with contexts denoting temporal overlap or duration:

(2a) #V dannyj moment, ona   ter^{j}ajet   svoj košelëk.
    in this   moment she   looses   refl   wallet
    Int.: 'Right now she is losing her wallet.

(2b) #Ona ter^{j}ala   svoj košelëk   10   minut.
    she   lost   refl   wallet   10   minutes.
    Int.: 'She lost her wallet for 10 minutes'.

We conclude that simplex imperfective verbs can denote both atelic and change-of-state predicates.
Conversely, we argue that cases like (3) exemplify a situation where the addition of a lexical prefix to an activity verb produces another activity-denoting stem:

(3) *xrom-at^j* 'to limp' →*pri-xrom-at^j* →*pri-xram-yva-t^j* 'to limp a little while doing something'

tancev-at^j 'to blink' →*pri-tancev-at^j* → *pri-tancov-yva-t^j* 'to dance a little while doing something'

svist-et^j 'to whistle' →*pri-svist-et^j* →*pri-svist-yva-t^j* 'to whistle a little while doing something'

In (3) the prefix *pri-* combines with a verbal root to denote an activity that accompanies some other action. If grammatical aspect was solely determined by event structure, we would expect such derived stems to exist as imperfective verbs. Instead, they only exist if further combined with an imperfectivizing suffix, suggesting that the combination of prefixation and activity semantics gives rise to a mismatch that must be repaired.
We propose a formal account of these data which involves an interplay between morphological aspect (a formal feature carried by verbal roots, prefixes and imperfectivizing suffixes), interpretable aspectual heads, and tense heads that impose semantic and syntactic restrictions on lower heads in the verbal domain, harmonizing morphological aspect and interpretation.

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Russian suffix -nu as InnerAsp

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1. PROBLEM. The Russian derivational suffix *-nu* is used to form degree achievements (1a) and semelfactives (1b).

(1) a. merk-nu-t'
        darken-NU-INF
        'darken'

    b. krik-nu-t'
        shout-NU-INF
        'shout (once)'

The semantic account of Rothstein (2004, 2008), which relies on *natural atomic functions* selecting minimal elements, makes the two classes similar. However, it fails to predict that the same suffix can derive both.

Taraldsen Medová and Wiland (2019) suggest that the cognate suffix in Czech and Polish is a **light verb**. It spells out varying amounts of functional structure: GIVE > GET for semelfactives and just GET for degree achievements. This **Nanosyntactic** approach, however, does not explain the **aspectual properties** of *-nu* or its interaction with prefixes. Additionally, their approach encounters issues with selection due to separation of the event structure and the introduction of arguments.

This paper aims to **extend** the second approach by taking into account **both** the morphological and semantic properties of *-nu*.

2. DATA.We conducted a production experiment to determine the **default** means of **teliciza- tion** in **gaming neologisms**. The task involved two contexts: the first was narrative or habitual, requiring **imperfectivization**; the second was to be **initial**, with the target verb presented as a gap. The design encouraged respondents to interpret the missing verb as **perfective** and **telic** (2).

(2) ja ček-nu-l   mid
    I check-NU- mid
          PAST
  'I checked the mid'

    Our results show that *-nu* is the second most frequent default telicizer. Moreover, **non- gamers** (for whom neologisms are less familiar) use the suffix *-nu* significantly **more often** (p-value < 0.01). This supports the idea that *-nu* functions as a **light verb**. Given that nouns are borrowed more easily, *-nu* verbalizes them.
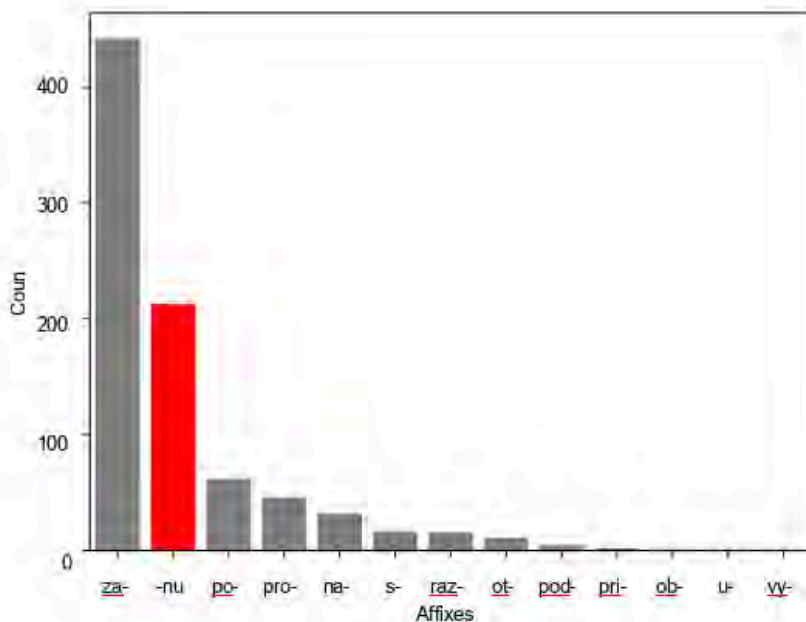
Figure 1: Default telicizers

3. ACCOUNT. Following Ramchand (2008), who argues that light verbs are necessary to spell out event structure, we propose that the GIVE > GET contrast reflects a difference in event structure: GIVE spells out INIT > PROC (3), while GET spells out only PROC (4). This accounts for the external argument being agentive only in semelfactives.
    We integrate the insights of Travis (2010) and Ramchand (2008) and propose that telicity in semelfactives arises due to Inner Aspect, merged between InitP and ProcP (3).
    The fact that *-nu* induces telicity by spelling out InnerAsp, not Res, is supported by its additional semantic contribution — that the event is short in duration. Crucially, this brevity always applies to the **process** subevent for verbs with a resultant state, showing *-nu* cannot modify ResP.

Furthermore, the Res head can be spelled out by prefixes, which are **compatible** with *-nu* stems, even in native verbs like *vy-krik-nu-t'* 'to shout out'.

Thus, we capture both the morphological and event-structural properties of semelfactives and degree achievements.

(3) Semelfactives

```
         InitP
        /    \
      N₁    InitP ⇒ -nu
            /    \
          Init   InnerAspP
                 /     \
            InnerAsp   ProcP
                       /   \
                     Proc   t₁
```

(4) Degree Achievements

```
      ProcP
      /    \
   Adj₁   ProcP ⇒ -nu
          /    \
        Proc   t₁
```
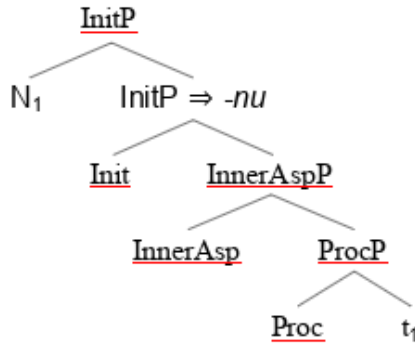
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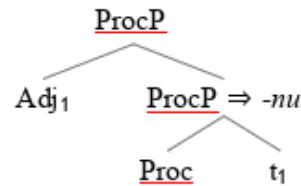Ramchand, G. C. (2008). *Verb meaning and the lexicon*. Cambridge University Press.

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On the semelfactives in Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian

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Traditional perfective/imperfective (outer aspect) verbal pairs in Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian (BCS) are encoded by means of prefixation and suffixation. Perfectivity is not expressed exclusively by prefixation. Less regular derivational processes include perfectivity via suffixation in semelfactive verbs, morphologically marked with the suffix -nu- and considered as instantaneous, single act perfectives (1). Their inner aspect (Aktionsart) is controversial in the literature, as dispute regarding telicity is present, whether they are telic or atelic. Semelfactives are proposed as a separate class by Smith (1997), as opposed to Vendler (1967). Achievements as minimal changes and accomplishments as changes that take time are verbs of change, being atomic and therefore telic (Rothstein 2004), unlike states and activities being atelic.

*(1) Kuc**nu**li   su   o   stol.*
   knock-3M.PL.PERF   AUX-PL   on   table
   'They knocked on the table.'

Building on Markman (2008), this paper argues for the -nu- suffix being an atelic marker and semelfactives as atelic perfectives. We initially determined them by applying diagnostic telicity tests (Rothstein 2004), in (2), and perfectivity tests (Markman 2008), in (3). Rothstein (1998), following Krifka (1998), points out the importance of the relation between the structure of the argument and the telicity of the VP. Telicity includes atomicity, but not necessarily homogenity, and a change in meaning. The proposal by Markman (2008), adopted in this study, states that the **-nu-** suffix occupies the place of light v with the following initial structure [**nu**[pref[root]]].

(2) telic VPs modified by *in X time*, but not by *for X time* (opposite for atelic);

(3) perfectives – no present tense interpretation, not possible with aspectual verbs or perfectivized VP external prefixes; passive participles only w/ telic perfectives and atelic perfectives only w/ telicizing prefixes.

Analyzed corpus data in the study were collected using three corpora: webcorpuses hrWac, srWac, and WeSoSlaV (Arsenijević et al. 2024). The following occurrences and frequencies were found: (i) query. ***nuti*** 931,752 (666.60 per million) in hrWac, (ii) query. ***nuti*** 182,460 (328.98 per million) in srWac, and (iii) WeSoSlaV: 1001 occurrences included.

Results showed the suffix **-nu-** being found productive in semelfactives, as well as with activity and stative verbs, some shown in (4).

(4)   *istru**nu**-ti >[1] tru**nu**-ti 'rot'*
       *pokis**nu**-ti > kis**nu**-ti 'moisten'*
       *uve**nu**-ti > ve**nu**-ti 'wither'*
       *zabri**nu**-ti (se) > bri**nu**-ti (se) 'worry'*

Additionally, the suffix **-nu-** was consistently found in complementary distribution with the secondary imperfective **-iva-/-ava-** suffix, some examples shown in (5), supporting Markman's (2008) proposal, that the two occupy the same, light *v*, slot.

(5)   *skok**nu**ti* 'to come by' > *skočiti, poskočiti* 'to jump' > *skakati* 'to jump' > *poskakivati* 'to bounce'
       *poklek**nu**ti* 'to give up' > *klek**nu**ti* 'to kneel' > *klečati* 'to kneel' > *poklekivati* 'to surrender'
       *drz**nu**ti se* 'to dare' > *uzdržati (se)* 'to refrain' > *držati* 'to hold' > *uzdržavati (se)* 'to hold oneself'
       *čez**nu**ti* 'to longe' > *izčez**nu**ti* 'to dissepear' > *izčezavati* 'to fade'
       *pobri**nu**ti (se)* 'to provide', 'to ensure' > *zbri**nu**ti* > *bri**nu**ti* 'to look after' > *zbrinjavati* 'to look after'

The claim that *zbri**nj**avati* holds both, **-n(u)-** and **-ava-**, suffixes but in colloquial *brigat*i (as in *ne brigaj*) no **-nu-** suffix is found, imposes the question: are we talking about one or two different **-nu-** suffixes and are they related from synchronic perspective? Beside its functional role, the suffix **-nu-** contributes to the change in meaning (lexical role). Above data in (5) include semelfactive forms bearing different

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[1] The sign > used to mark perfect, imperfect, secondary imperfective aspectual pairs.

meaning from its expected imperfective pair. Moreover, semelfactives with no aspectual pair (orphan) were found, some presented in (6). The analysis is novel providing BCS data, with the aim to contribute to better understanding of the role of the semelfactive suffix. A more detailed analysis from the diachronic perspective is necessary.

(6) *svis**nu**ti* 'pine away' *klo**nu**ti* 'droop'   *skraj**nu**ti* 'neglect/ abandon'
    *pre**nu**ti se* 'startle'   *pla**nu**ti* 'burst'   *vi**nu**ti* 'rise'   *lak**nu**ti* 'relieve'
    *si**nu**ti* 'flash'   *jek**nu**ti* 'cry loudly' *premi**nu**ti* 'pass away' *uslik**nu**ti* 'exclaim'

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Perfect variations across Slavic and Baltic: Translation Mining approach to corpus data

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This Translation Mining study examines cross-linguistic variation in the present perfect across South Slavic and Baltic languages. Using Harry Potter and the Philospher's Stone as a parallel corpus, we extracted all present perfects from the English source and analyzed their tense equivalents in the Bulgarian, Croatian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, and Serbian translations (Fig. 1) (see van der Klis, Le Bruyn and de Swart 2017, 2022).
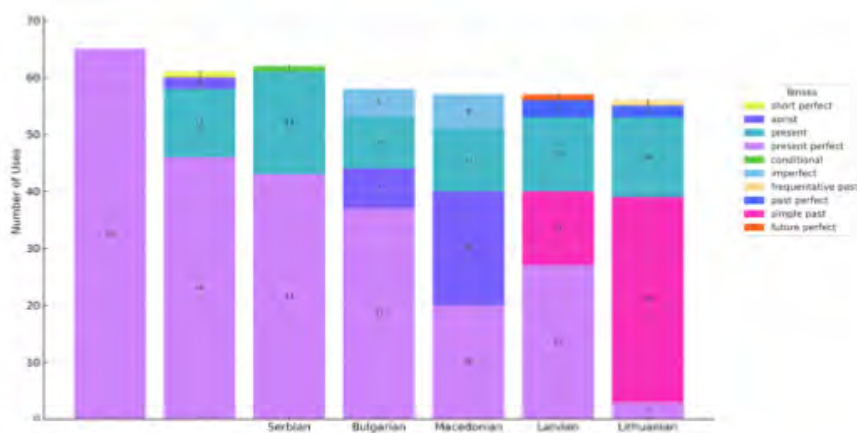
Fig. 1

A chi-square test showed a significant correlation between language and tense choice (p < .001). The results of the follow-up tests revealed cross-linguistic differences in tense choice (Table 1).

Languages	p-value
Macedonian vs. Bulgarian	0.01*
Macedonian vs. Croatian	<.001***
Macedonian vs. Serbian	< 001***
Latvian vs. Croatian	.0002***
Latvian vs. Serbian	.003**
Latvian vs. Bulgarian	.08
Latvian vs. Macedonian	.44

Table 1

Qualitative analysis highlights a typological split: only Ser and Cro allow present perfect

with definite past adverbials, sequence-of-events and lifetime effect violations, evidencing an aoristic drift (Dahl 1985) yielding general past readings. In contrast, Bul, Mac, Lat, and Lit maintain a canonical present perfect. We attribute this split to differing interpretations of the BE-auxiliary: present-tense BE in the canonical perfect clashes with temporal specifications of definite past contexts, whereas in the aorist perfect, the tenseless BE functions as an agreement marker formally represented below:

Canonical present perfect: [TENSE pres [Asp_high be-aux t' [Aspect pfv/ipfv t [eventuality]]]]

Aoristic present perfect: [TENSE $\oslash$ [Asp_high be-aux t' [Aspect pfv/ipfv t [eventuality]]]]

Asp_high: $[\![BE\text{-}AUX]\!]^c = \lambda P \lambda t' \exists t\ [t \le t' \wedge P(t)]$ (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2023)

To explain the lower frequency of the present perfect in Mac compared to Bul, we analyzed 37 tuples where Bul consistently uses the present perfect and Mac alternates with the aorist or imperfect. The Macedonian present perfect appears to be limited to evidential contexts, with true perfects restricted to continuous aspectual configurations. We also discuss why definite past-time adverbials are acceptable in 3rd sg/pl null-auxiliary present perfect contexts in Bul, Mac, and Lat. yielding evidential readings (reportative or inferential). Unlike the canonical present perfect, which is incompatible with adverbials like 'yesterday'. Izvorski (1997) suggests that only evidential perfect has a modal component, in contrast to Portner (2003) who argues that the canonical perfect contains a modal component, representing possible relations between past events and present time. We reconcile these views by suggesting that both canonical and evidential perfects contain modal components (circumstantial and evidential, respectively). Building on Cinque (1999) and Hacquard (2006), we argue that the height of the modal component of the present perfect depends on the *be*-auxiliary: with *be*, the modal scopes low, below TP, with a circumstantial relation and present-tense anchoring; without it, the modal scopes high, above TP, with an epistemic relation (true in virtue of the speaker's knowledge state and considering the indirect source of evidence). The modal's time of evaluation is the speech time. Thus, auxiliary-less evidential perfects are compatible with definite past adverbials because their interpretation relies on evidentiality rather than tense. We formalize this distinction as follows:

Canonical Present Perfect
[TENSE *pres* [Asp_high be-aux t' Asp pfv/ipfv t [VP e]]]

$[\text{Perfect}_{f_{circumstantial}}] = \lambda P.\lambda t.\lambda w.\exists t'\ [t' \le t \wedge \forall w' \in f_{circumstantial}(t)(w) : P(t')(w')]$

Evidential Present Perfect
[Mod_{epist} e_0 [TENSE $\oslash$ [Asp_high $\oslash$ t' Asp pfv/ipfv t [VP e]]]]

$[\text{Perf}_{f_{epistimic}}] = \lambda P.\lambda t.\lambda w.\exists t'\ [t' \le t \wedge \forall w' \in f_{epistimic}(t)(w) : P(t')(w')]$

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The Old Perfect and Pluperfect in Ukrainian: Archaism or Sacralisation?

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This paper examines the status and function of old perfect and pluperfect constructions in Ukrainian religious texts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a particular focus on the periphrastic past tense formed with the auxiliary and the past active participle. While these constructions are often associated with early East Slavic and Church Slavonic usage, they remained in active use in certain genres – especially religious translations – long after they had faded from the core of modern Ukrainian narrative style.

Drawing on examples from Psalter translations, homiletic texts, and catechetical literature produced by Galician Greek Catholic clergy – such as Oleksiy Sliusarchuk, Oleksandr Bachynskyy, and Yaroslav Levytskyy – the study traces how these "old perfect" forms persisted within a sacred register. Their recurrence in liturgical and didactic translation has led some scholars to view them as stylistic markers of sacralisation—a deliberate distancing from everyday vernacular in favour of a reverent, elevated idiom.

Some scholars have also suggested a dialectal explanation for the persistence of these forms. According to this view, in certain Ukrainian dialects – particularly in the western regions – periphrastic past constructions remained productive longer than in standardized literary usage. The interaction between regional vernaculars and clerical language may therefore have reinforced the retention of the old perfect in religious prose, not as a stylistic or sacralising device, but as a reflection of local grammatical norms.

However, this paper argues that the presence of these forms is more accurately interpreted as a case of archaising grammar. While they undoubtedly evoke a connection to tradition and carry symbolic weight, their distribution reveals that they often appear in structurally neutral or narrative contexts—not exclusively in moments of theological intensity or stylistic elevation.

The analysis situates these forms within broader trends in Ukrainian norm formation during the period of intense national awakening and codification. The old perfect and pluperfect thus emerge not as sacralising tools per se, but as grammatical archaisms – vestiges of pre-standard syntax recontextualised within modern religious texts.

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The (lexico-)grammatical aspect in Bulgarian and its syntactic projections
Svetla Koeva (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)

The lexical (situational) aspect generally corresponds to the inherent boundaries of events or the telic-atelic distinction (Vendler 1957; Dowty 1979; Filip 1999; Rothstein 2004, and many others). The viewpoint (grammatical) aspect concerns the actual boundaries of events and the distinction between bounded-unbounded events (Verkuyl 1993; Slabakova 2001, and many others). In general, it is assumed that the situation aspect is encoded by a vP-internal or inner aspect projection, while the viewpoint aspect is encoded by a vP-external or outer aspect projection.

The semantic content of the lexico-grammatical category verb aspect in Bulgarian is based on the relation between the action and its endpoint, regardless of the speaker, the person of the verb and the utterance. It is generally assumed that the main semantic opposition in the category is the opposition "completeness: incompleteness" with the main meaning of the unmarked article "processivity" (Kutsarov 2007). The feature of completeness is to be understood as follows: Verbs in the perfect aspect represent the action in its complete execution, regardless of its temporal location, its actual duration or its single or multiple execution (Ivanova 1983).

Several studies have briefly shown the relationship between the Bulgarian (lexico-grammatical) aspect and the distribution of verbs among the eventuality types (Nitsolova 2008:; Charalozova 2009; Rangelov 2017).

Many researchers postulate a correlation between the semantics of the event structure and the morpho-syntactic structure of verbal predicates (Verkuyl 1993; Slabakova 2001; Travis 2010; Borer 2005; Ramchand 2008, etc.).

A scheme for categorising verbs into different eventuality types is developed and presented. The categorisation of Bulgarian verbs into eventuality types is generally based on their lexical meaning and their word formation as perfective and imperfective verbs. Basically, there are several groups of verbs, some of which have been shown to correspond to an eventuality type, regardless of the context and the temporal categories expressed. For some other groups of verbs, however, the categorisation remains ambiguous, as their assignment to a certain eventuality type can only be clarified by the context.

For the verb groups with an ambiguous eventuality type (without context), the main factors for disambiguation are outlined: the context, understood as the structure and content of the vP, and the temporal categories expressed by the verb. Some similarities and differences to English are briefly outlined. For example, the so-called biaspectual verbs in Bulgarian are interpreted in context as perfective or imperfective verbs. We can consider them as imperfective (by-form) verbs, which are interpreted as activities or accomplishments depending on the context, or as verbs that are neutral on the lexical level for the category of verb aspect. It has been shown that in such cases the aspect can only be assigned compositionally (Kabakchiev 2020). For verbs in English (and in some other languages) as well as for the biaspectual verbs in Bulgarian, the grammatical aspect, i.e. the progressive and the perfect aspect in English, can be used to disambiguate the aspectual class (lexical aspect) depending on the context.

Following the parallels between Bulgarian and English, the well-known observation is presented that grammatical aspect in English is also relevant for the shift between eventuality types, e.g. from activity to accomplishments. It is generalised that in all cases in Bulgarian and English the grammatical aspect acts cumulatively with the context of the verb phrase or sentence and the final aspectual interpretation is formed gradually. However, due to the Bulgarian lexico-grammatical aspect, the syntactic representation of some cases differs in Bulgarian and English.

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Aspect in perfect participles in Bulgarian

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Bulgarian is known for its exceptionally rich temporal system compared to other Slavic languages, and its ability to freely combine synthetic temporal marking (Romance-like preterite and imperfect tenses) with the Slavic aspects imperfective, perfective, and secondary imperfective in a mix-and-match fashion (Rivero & Slavkov, 2014). And yet only recently have all resulting forms been discussed, presented in the column 'Tense' of Table 1; they are neither morphologically, nor semantically inert (Karagjosova, 2024a,b).

This talk focuses on the understudied fact that the (past active) perfect participle in Bulgarian corresponds derivationally to each of these forms. This is illustrated in column 'Participle' of Table 1.

tense | aspect	Tense	Participle
imperfect | imperfective	пишеше	пишел
imperfect | perfective	напишеше	напишел
imperfect | secondary ipf	написваше	написвал
preterite | imperfective	писа	писал
preterite | perfective	написа	написал
% preterite | secondary ipf	%написва	%написвал

Table 1. *The combinatorial possibilities of the two layers of aspect in Bulgarian based on Karagjosova (2024a,b) and their past active participle counterparts. Note that the last form is less productive and will not be discussed here.*

This diversity of participial forms has the hereto untapped potential to inform the formation of the present perfect tense with implications for its inner structure and meaning range, as well as cross-linguistic comparison. And yet, previous works on the perfect in Bulgarian don't discuss more than two-three forms. Pancheva (2003) considers the forms of the sort пишел, написал, писал, labeling the latter as neutral aspect, but this obscures its relationship to its corresponding finite temporal form. The present work builds on her account, which features a rich syntactic structure with an internal viewpoint aspect projection within the perfect, presented in Fig. 1. It also integrates Karagjosova's (2024a,b) insights about the complex structure of Bulgarian aspect on verbs and, combining the two accounts, applies it to participles.
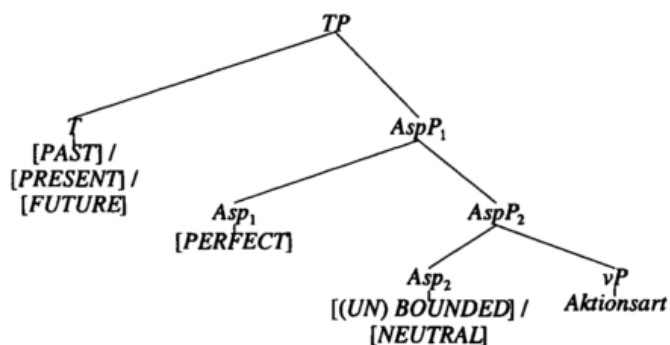
TP

T
[PAST] /
[PRESENT] /
[FUTURE]

AspP₁

Asp₁
[PERFECT]

AspP₂

Asp₂
[(UN) BOUNDED] /
[NEUTRAL]

vP
Aktionsart

Fig. 1 *Pancheva's (2003) syntax for the perfect with two heads for aspectual marking (perfect and viewpoint aspect), both separate from the temporal specification*

Furthermore, this work discusses the participle with the secondary imperfective form (of empty prefixed verbs) gives rise to habitual readings, relating it to the special habitual perfect form found in Lithuanian, cf. Daugavet & Arkadiev (2023). Finally, this work relates to recent cross-linguistic studies of the perfect, such as Bertrand et al. (2022), who present data from 15 languages, noting that the Bulgarian perfect has richer morphology than any of them, which highlights its value in informing this topic.

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How to identify activities?
(Based on Bulgarian data)

Yovka Tisheva, Marina Dzhonova (Sofia University)

The internal structure of the situations denoted by the predicates determines their *Lexical Aspect*. Based upon Z. Vendler's work (Vendler 1957), verbs can be categorized into four aspectual classes: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. The focus of our research is on activity verbs in Bulgarian, more specific how we can use diagnostic tests proposed by D. Dowty (1979) to distinguish activities from states, accomplishments and achievements. Part of Dawty's diagnostic tests are based on lexical co-occurrence (acceptability of the occurrence of the verb or VP with certain lexemes, e.g. subject-oriented adverbs, temporal modifiers like *for an hour/spend an hour V-ing* or *in an hour/take an hour to V*, verbs like *force, persuade, stop, finish*. Second type of tests are based on grammatical co-occurrence (occurrence of the verb or VP in certain grammatical structures, e.g. pseudocleft constructions, imperatives or progressives).

For Bulgarian data, some tests are not fully applicable. The test with imperatives is not relevant for Bulgarian, since imperative forms can be used as non-essential imperatives and, in some cases, also transpositionally with the meaning of the corresponding perfective verb. The most frequently applied test for English - the one with progressive tenses, cannot be applied directly on Bulgarian data. However, it can be modified as a selection related to the grammatical aspect of the verb forms, representing the situation as an ongoing process, as a state involving undifferentiated time period, an activity that reached its endpoint or resulting state. Slavic languages grammaticalize the grammatical (or viewpoint) aspect (Slabakova 1997). In Bulgarian, most verbs mark it overtly with affixes. In this sense, the difference between the interpretation of the verb as an activity or an accomplishment has an overt marker: *Вчера той яде ябълки* (Yesterday he ate apples) vs. *Той изяде две ябълки* (He ate two apples). Most accomplishments in Bulgarian have prefixes marking the change of the aspectual type: *Цял ден правих торта* (I have been making cake all day) vs. *За един час направих тортата* (I made the cake in an hour). With some verbs (or some meanings in case of polysemy) this distinction is signaled by time phrases: *От два часа правя салата* (I have been making salad for two hours); *Цял месец рисувам този портрет* (I have been drawing this portrait for a whole month) vs. *Правя салата/салатата за един час* (I make the salad in an hour)*, Рисувам портрет/един портрет/портрета за половин час* (I draw a portrait in half an hour). When differentiating activities form accomplishments within incremental theme verbs, referentiality of the object NPs also must be considered.

In our presentation, we set two main tasks. We will first comment on which tests are applicable as diagnostics for determining the aspectual type of Bulgarian verbs. The observations are based on data from the Bulgarian National Corpus. If there are no

examples in the corpus for theoretically derived patterns, data from written online communication are used. When selecting examples, we also take into consideration the fact that main verbs denoting states or activities are morphologically simple imperfective ones. Next, we will comment on the possible combinations of tests for distinguishing activities from other groups of predicates. For Bulgarian, it is considered that states and activities are denote by imperfective verbs only (Koeva 2021). In this sense, we propose first to apply tests to distinguish predicates from these two groups. Our preliminary observations show that lexical co-occurrence tests (co-occurrence with manner and locative adverbials) are reliable tests to differentiate states and activities, but not applicable to distinguish activities from accomplishments. In this case, the *in/for*-time phrases can be used to distinguish types of events: unbounded (activities) and bounded (accomplishments and achievements).

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DAY 2, 7 November 2025

No Suffixation without Prefixation? Telicity-based aspectual adaptation of Romance verbs in Čakavian and Istro-Romanian

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For centuries, Venetian and Čakavian were close contact in Istria. As a consequence, Istrian Čakavian, and Čakavian more generally, is rich in loanwords of Italo-Romance origin (Tamaro 2010). For verbs, this leads to a semantic feature mismatch, whereby virtually all Čakavian verbs are specified for viewpoint aspect, while Venetian verbs lack this intrinsic specification.

Many other Slavic varieties borrow verbs without assigning aspect and optionally prefix those verbs to make them unequivocally perfective. Meanwhile, some verbs borrowed from Italo-Romance into (Istrian) Čakavian have been aspectually adapted based on their telicity, according to a recent online study I conducted with over 100 participants. Telic verbs such as *ćapat* 'catch', *fermat* (se) '(of a bus) stop' and *krepat* '(of an animal) die' receive a perfective specification. Like for other perfectives, the corresponding imperfective is then derived through suffixation: *ćap-evat*, *ferm-evat* (se) and *krep-evat*. Atelic verbs such as pijažat 'like', on the other hand, receive imperfective specification. A similar pattern has been observed by Breu (2023) for Molise Slavic and by Pila (2023) for Resian, both Western South Slavic varieties in long-standing total contact with Italo-Romance.

Likewise, my recent fieldwork revealed that inherited Daco-Romance verbs in Istro-Romanian, which has in many ways reproduced the Čakavian aspect system, receive aspectual specification based on telicity, irrespective of their prefixation, hence a prefixed verb such as ân-kljide 'close' is perfective, as is a simplex verb such as *pljǎrde* 'lose'. They too derive imperfectives through suffixation: *ân-kljid-avęj, pljǎrd-avęj.*

Why is it now that Western South Slavic languages in contact with Italo-Romance have all developed this borrowing mechanism, while the rest of Slavic has not? And why has Slavic aspect encroached on the Istro-Romanian verb system so much, while the other branches of Daco-Romance only show very limited influence from Slavic in that respect? In this paper, I shall provide initial hypotheses as to answer these questions. Firstly, in Western South Slavic, atelic perfectives are much rarer than in East and Balkan Slavic. As a result, the mapping of telicity with perfectivity is much more pronounced than in varieties with productive atelic perfectives. Secondly, the use of perfectives in general statements and habitual constructions is much less restricted, which creates a situation where simplex telic verbs in the first stage of borrowing may feature in contexts which are much more easily understood as perfective than in other varieties. Thirdly, for many other Slavic varieties, German has been a main contact language. Unlike Italo-Romance, German has productive telicizing suffixes, so unprefixed verbs are either unspecified for telicity or atelic. Hence, telicity matching is much less likely than for Romance verbs, in

which telicity is rarely overtly coded. Lastly, Romance verbs in Čakavian and Istro-Romanian (as well as in Molise Slavic and Resian) lack the -ir(ov)a- suffix, which very productively derives biaspectual verbs in languages such as Russian. Lacking a suffix specifying aspect, the discussed varieties rely on semantic cues to determine aspect of borrowed verbs.

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The role of the Czech prefix za- with change of state verbs within a scalar approach to verbal prefixation

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The focus of the contribution is on degree achievements in Czech, formed with the prefix *za-*, such as $temnit_{imperfective}$ - $zatemnit_{perfective}$ 'darken, cloud', $plnit_{imperfective}$ – $zaplnit_{perfective}$ 'fill' and others.

The research is motivated by the fact that this prefix, despite being one of the most complex even from the point of view of the acquisition of Czech as an L2, has not yet been the subject of studies within the scalar hypothesis.

As known, degree achievements such as darken or fill are typically analysed as verbs where the argument undergoes a positive scalar change, e.g., in the sentence (1) below the degree of *darkness* of the window undergoes a positive change (= increases) along some relevant dimension (= *darkness*):

(1) *Petr důkladně **zatemnil** všechna okna.*

Petr thoroughly **ZA-darkened**perfective all the windows.

Based on data from the Czech National Korpus (syn2020), a synchronical representative and reference corpus of contemporary written Czech, containing 100 million text words, the contribution aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. observe what type of scale verbs prefixed with *za-* are compatible with. For this objective we will base our reasoning on the typology of scale structures proposed by Kennedy & Levin (2008), following their assumption that the underlying scale of the adjective remains in the meaning of the derived degree achievement and influences its telicity and evaluativity behaviour;

2. analyse the behaviour of the degree achievements formed from the four categories of adjectives discussed by Kennedy and Levin (2008) with respect to the parameter of "evaluativity" (following Brasoveanu & Rett 2018), which expresses the ability of the degree achievement to allow inferences to a positive form of its corresponding adjective. Let's consider example (2) with the lower-bounded degree achievement *za-špinit* 'stain' and example (3) with the upper-bounded degree achievement *za-temnit* 'darken'. The different behaviour of the two degree achievements shows that the evaluative profile of Czech degree achievements is related to the lexical semantics (the nature of the scale, as predicted by the standard theory of Kennedy Levine 2008):

(2) ***Zašpinil*** *boty, ale většinou zůstaly čisté.*
He **ZA-stained**$_\text{perfective}$ his shoes, but they mostly remained clean.

(3) ***Zatemnil*** *okno, ale *nebylo temné.*
He **ZA-darkened**$_\text{perfective}$ the window, *but it was not dark.

The data collected will allow us to make observations on the interaction of grammatical aspect, prefixes and the scalar component of Slavic degree achievements.

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Suppletion is a Support for Ailing Roots

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State of the art. In their current form, 'high' (i.e., vP-external) models of Slavic aspect do not consistently account for the derivation of statistically more marginal phenomena, such as the closed inventory of simplex pfv stems (1) and the variety of morphosyntactic templates available for suppletive aspectual pairs (2):

(1) $l^j ag$-ti$_{inf.pfv}$ 'to lie down'   [Ukrainian]
        d-$ä$-$ti_{inf.pfv}$ 'to give'   [BCMS]

$kup\text{-}i\text{-}ć_{\text{inf.pfv}}$ 'to buy' [Polish]

(2) $lov\text{-}i\text{-}t'_{\text{inf.ipfv}}$ / $po\text{-}^{j}m\text{-}a\text{-}t'_{\text{inf.pfv}}$ 'to catch' [Russian]
  $del\text{-}a\text{-}ti_{\text{inf.ipfv}}$ / $na\text{-}red\text{-}i\text{-}ti_{\text{inf.pfv}}$ 'to do, make' [Slovene]
  $br\text{-}á\text{-}t_{\text{inf.ipfv}}$ / $vz\text{-}i\text{-}t_{\text{inf.pfv}}$ 'to take' [Czech]

On the one hand, simplex pfv stems (root + theme vowel) are often analyzed as thick atomic units idiomatically stored in the mental lexicon (cf., a.o., Arsenijević 2023: 18–19 for BCMS). On the other hand—with the partial exception of Kwapiszewski's (2022: 148–151) work on Polish—suppletion is treated at face value as an established fact, without any further elaboration (Tatevosov 2018).

Case studies. An alternative account of how Russian simplex pfv stems can be integrated into 'high' aspectual models, without disrupting or substantially adjusting their structural specifics, has been recently put forward by Mueller-Reichau (2025). Focusing primarily on Russian data, the aim of this talk is to sketch out a similar proposal for those (networks of) aspectual roots (Šmelev 2020: 427– 430; Vimer 2020: 157–160) which are tied together by two different instantiations of paradigmatic suppletive relations, namely, radical suppletion (3a) and locally conditioned suppletion (3b), which are only partially comparable to Mel'čuk's (2008) 'radical' vs. 'radical megamorph' suppletion:

(3a) $govor\text{-}i\text{-}t'_{\text{inf.ipfv}}$ / $s\text{-}kaz\text{-}a\text{-}t'_{\text{inf.pfv}}$ 'to tell'
(3b) $s\text{-}lož\text{-}i\text{-}t'_{\text{inf.pfv}}$ 'to put together' / $s\text{-}klad\text{-}yv\text{-}a\text{-}t'_{\text{inf.ipfv}}$ 'to add'
  $s\text{-}lag\text{-}a\text{-}t'_{\text{inf.ipfv}}$ 'to compose'

Research questions and proposal. The talk lumps together and addresses in turn the following research questions:
a) How can radical suppletion be captured, in the first place, within current 'high' models of aspect?
b) Why is there seemingly no paradigmatic levelling for statistically prevalent roots?
c) What really conditiones locally conditioned suppletion?
The proposal is articulated as follows:
a) A closer look to Russian radical suppletive pairs reveals that their derivational scheme is in line with the basic tenet of 'high' aspectual models, i.e., that pieces of 'aspectual' morphology do not introduce aspect into the structure themselves, but agree at a distance with the aspectual projection—an argument that is likely to hold true across all Slavic languages;
b) While diachronic factors triggering patterns of radical suppletion seem to be resisting a unitary explanation (Veselinova 2006: 126–133), synchronic mechanisms of paradigmatic levelling do not easily apply to suppletive roots due to the interaction of two separate constraints. The first one is the structural inability of ipfv roots (e.g.,

*√bĭr-) to spell a full-blown event structure at the vP/VP level, which prevents configurations of the type *po-br-a-t' to yield in complementary distribution (at least in Standard Russian). The second one is the increasingly frequent form-function mismatch (conditioned in turn by pragmatic conventionalization and social pressure) involving new potential aspectual candidates, which prevents, e.g., *vz-i-m-a-t'*$_{inf.ipfv}$ 'to levy' to function as a potential aspectual partner of *vz-^{j}a-t'*$_{inf.pfv}$ 'to take';

c) Unlike what traditionally assumed (cf., a.o., Šmelev 2020), locally conditioned suppletion is not necessarily constrained by the ontology of arguments represented in the lower part of the structure—see the optional double derivation in (4 a–c), which is eventually levelled by relative frequency and pragmatic appropriateness:

(4a) *na-lož-i-t'*$_{inf.pfv}$ *<brem-ja, štraf-Ø>* 'to impose <a burden, a fine>'
(4b) *na-klad-yv-a-t'*$_{inf.ipfv}$ *<brem-ja, štraf-Ø>* 'to impose <a burden, a fine>'
(4c) *na-lag-a-t'*$_{inf.pfv}$ *<brem-ja, štraf-Ø>* 'to impose <a burden, a fine>'

As a preliminary step, two competing alternatives will be entertained to explain this puzzle: root structural deficiency (borrowed from b) and a modified version of Merchant's (2015) Span Adjacency Hypothesis.

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On the (un)availability of subjectless presuppositions: *snova* on external arguments

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Again (and its corresponding forms in other languages)'s presuppositional content is determined by its scope (von Stechow 1996 *et seq.*):

(1) Sara closes the door again.

    a. Sara closes the door, and she had closed the door before (high scope)
    b. Sara closes the door, and the door had been closed before (low scope, only including the resulting state).

Again modifies a State of Affair SoA1 occurring at a time point/interval E, presupposing that:
    (i) a SoA2 occurs prior to E;
    (ii) SoA2 stops holding before E.
Again modifies a State of Affair SoA1 occurring at a time point/interval E, presupposing that:
    (i) a SoA2 occurs prior to E;
    (ii) SoA2 stops holding before E.
As per (ii), in (1b) *again* is only true if the state 'closed door' *has ceased* before resuming (Bale 2007).

Whereas not all *again* items are made equal, they are cross-linguistically widespread and feature similar properties. Studies on Slavic seem scarce and mainly typologically-oriented (Stojnova 2013). Here we contribute to filling this gap by analyzing Russian *snova*'s scopal properties with respect to External Arguments (EA).

EAs are known to be structurally distinct from internal arguments, and possibly introduced by a dedicated *Voice* head (Kratzer 1996), located above the VP.

However, if EAs are introduced by an external higher projection, *again* should invariably be able to scope between the subject and the verb, irrespective of verb classes. This configuration would thus generally predict the possibility of non-identical subjects in presupposed and asserted SoAs as in (2). Examples like (2) are built to test the availability of the so called *subjectless presuppositions* (Bale 2007).

(2) Anna krasit stenu, no Naste ne nravitsja cvet. Poėtomu Nastja krasit stenu snova.
  'Anna paints the wall, but Nastja doesn't like the color. So Nastja paints the wall again.'

Basing his reasoning on subjectless *repetitive* (i.e. high scope) presuppositions with *again*, Bale (2007) observes that only eventive transitive verbs introduce EAs above the VP. However, certain verbs resist this generalization (Ausensi et al. 2020; Smith & Yu 2021, 2022), as can also be observed with *snova* in (3).

(3)   (translated from Smith & Yu 2024)
        [Igor' drank a glass of red wine. He got punched in the gut, causing him to spit the wine back into his cup. Then, unknowingly…]
        *Boris/✓ Igor' snova vypil vino.
   'Igor' drank the wine again.'

Smith & Yu (2024) propose a structural representation whereby the EA of ingestion verbs is encoded as part of the resulting state. This has also been hypothesized for verbs like *read* (Csirmaz & Slade 2016), which likewise reject subjectless presuppositions:

(4)   Bill pročital knigu i ona emu očen' ponravilas', # poėtomu Džon pročital eë
        snova po rekomendacii Billa.
        'Bill read the book and he liked it, # so John read the book again on Bill's recommendation.'

A configuration like (5) (adapted and translated from Csirmaz & Slade 2016) suggests that what is repeated is the (irreversible) state of 'John having the-book-read'.
 (5) translated from Csirmaz & Slade (2016: 449)
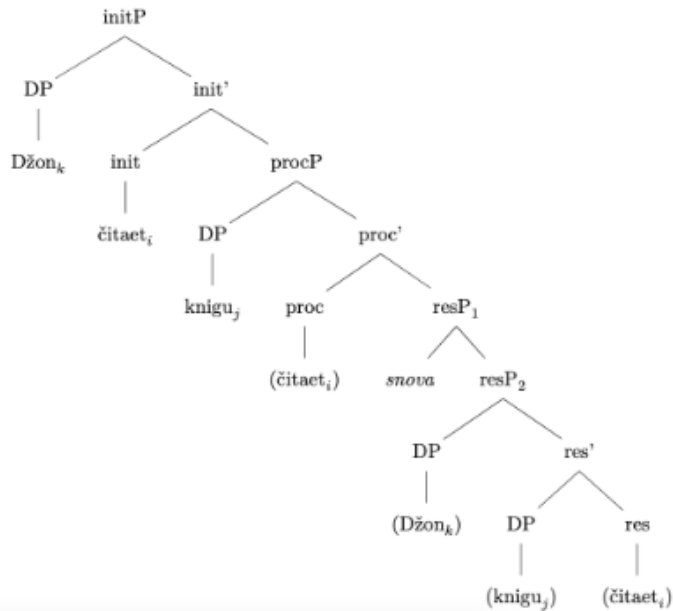
Recall (i) and (ii) as preconditions for *again* modification. While for *eat* and *drink* verbs it is possible to coerce contexts where the resulting state stops holding (see context (3)), it is difficult to envision this possibility for a verb like *read*: it is not possible to *un*read a book. We therefore reject a structural configuration that represents the agent in the resulting state (cf. 5), opting instead for its representation in an intermediate Process projection, deriving telicity otherwise.

We will in fact contend that a First Phase Syntax approach (Ramchand 2008) to syntactic decomposition of event structure derives the correct predictions for subjectless presuppositions with *snova*. More precisely, we will show that the main ingredients useful in accounting for the (un)availability of subjectless presuppositions are a) co-indexation mechanisms between sub-event participants, assuming (Re)merge and b) 'path' semantic properties among direct objects.

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The nominative-object constructions (NOCs) in Russian

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This paper investigates nominative-object constructions (NOCs) in Russian—clauses in which the patient argument surfaces in the nominative rather than the canonical accusative case. This phenomenon has been discussed in many classic works on Russian linguistics (cf. Šachmatov 1903, Potebnja 1958; Kiparsky 1960; Jacobsson 1964; Timberlake 1974, Babby 1994; Krys'ko 1994; Ambrazas 2001; Lavine & Franks 2005; Mendoza 2008; Jung 2012; Wiemer & Seržant 2016; Ronko 2016, Popova 2017, Yazhinova 2020 among others). Building on field- and corpus-based work this study offers a multifactorial diachronic-dialectological analysis that situates NOCs within the functional domain of the VP and current debates on Inner Aspect, Differential Object Marking (DOM) and argument licensing.

Our dataset combines (i) the historical and birch-bark subcorpora of the Russian National Corpus, (ii) > 500 dialectal attestations from Northern Russian, and (iii) a new 0.5-million-word chancellery corpus covering 12th–17th-century documents (CHaRLi). We contrast prototypical NOCs from Old Russian (e.g. *Aže bouďete xolъpъ ubitъ, a grivna ser'bra zaplatiti* 'if a slave is killed, one must pay one grivna in silver', *Smol. 1229*) and modern Northern dialects (*tebe ne najti trjapka* 'you can't find the rag') with accusative-object constructions (AOCs) such as *Potomu že i upravu* (Stoglav 16 c.). Seven predictors—word order, animacy, referentiality, subject type, modality, verb class and clause type—were coded and modeled with mixed-effects logistic regression.

Results show three robust tendencies in Old Russian: (i) preverbal objects + nominative, (ii) dative subjects + nominative, and (iii) inanimate referents + nominative. From the 15th century onward, these constraints weaken as accusative marking generalizes; yet Northern dialects preserve and even expand NOCs into finite-verb environments, indicating a *probabilistic* rather than categorical DOM system

shaped by Finno-Ugric contact. Verb-class effects reveal that perceptual, modal and low-transitivity predicates favor nominative marking, whereas high-transitivity verbs promote the accusative.

We argue that NOCs emerge from syntactic realignment in low-transitivity, atelic or modal contexts where the internal argument remains VP-internal and escapes structural accusative.

The shift toward accusative reflects (a) the grammaticalization of the animacy hierarchy and (b) a reconfiguration of information-structural pressures (postverbal focus as an "accusative attractor"). Dialectal patterns demonstrate continuity rather than innovation: they retain earlier DOM options that the standard language has leveled.

By integrating quantitative diachronic evidence with fine-grained dialect data, the paper refines the typological profile of Slavic DOM and clarifies how gradient, usage-based constraints drive case alternation over time. The findings contribute to broader theories of argument structure, VP composition and areal morphosyntactic change in the Circum-Baltic region.

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Yazhinova 2020 Case variation in nominative object constructions in the history of Russian: A corpus-based approach.

Illocutionary Force and Verbal Aspect Selection

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This paper addresses the illocutionary force (IF) mechanism responsible for aspectual selection in Polish and Russian. IF, as defined by Austin (1962), refers to the communicative function of an utterance, which can manifest as an assertion, question, request for action, order, advice or promise. IF operates by focusing on either a component of the sentence or the event encoded by the verb, and can modify aspect selection. Only telic verbs have a complex lexical composition that allows IF to focus on one of the two stages of the events they describe. Thus, when the focus is on the final stage of the event, i.e. the change and resulting state, the perfective aspect is selected. Conversely, when the focus is on the initial stage of the event, i.e. the activity causing the change, the imperfective aspect is selected, even if the event denoted by the telic verb is completed.

This contribution attempts to demonstrate that incorporating the IF mechanism into the description of verbal aspect enables a unitary account of otherwise disparate uses of verbal aspect.

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On moving beyond the verb: a case study of verbs of motion in Bulgarian and Russian

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Research on Slavic verbs of motion has a long tradition (see Hasko, Perelmutter 2010; Janda 2008; Pitsch 2023; and cited literature), with most studies bearing a (comparative) focus with Russian. Russian often is the main reference point in the studies of verbs of motion in Bulgarian, as well (Lindsey 2011). It was pointed out that

variation in Bulgarian motion verbs which emphasise path of motion to a greater extent than do most other (non-Balkan) Slavic languages (which prefer verbs of motion that express manner plus (satellite) prefixes indicating path), may be due to Balkan influence (Lindsey 2015).

In this talk, we analyse uses of (non-prefixed) imperfective verbs of motion (three verb pairs) and their (non-)equivalence in excerpted parallel data from the Russian National Corpus. We examine unidirectionality, bidirectionality and multidirectionality in Russian verbs as well as the path concept which lies within the semantics of the Bulgarian verbs of motion. Figurative uses are also discussed with both unidirectional and non-unidirectional verbs.

In addition, we take a look at phrasal constructions with a verb of motion and a noun (often introduced by a preposition), which are often employed in all Slavic languages (and also cross-linguistically), incl. in figurative meaning (Talmy 1996; a discussion in Waliński 2018). The noun expresses the purpose, but the goal (location) is often introduced, as well, as in (1a) where the PP *в София* has an ambiguous interpretation in Bulgarian (if the purpose noun is definite, however, the interpretation is only locative, as in (1b).

(1)   a. ходя в София на разходка 'to go to/in Sofia for a walk' vs. ходя на разходка в София 'to go for a walk in Sofia'
        b. (ще) ходя на разходката в София '(I will) attend the walk in Sofia'
We compare the phrasal constructions found in both languages (as in: ходя на разходка/лов/гости/театър 'to go for a walk/hunting/a visit/the theater' (Ru. идти на прогулку, идти на охоту, ходить в театр; быть в гостях), etc.). Along with the simplex (anaspectual) verb ходя 'to go', these constructions may employ other verbs of motion such as отида 'to go.pf', отивам 'to go.impf'; вървя 'to walk'; etc. Some of these can be also expressed by a single verb (with a slight change in the meaning): ходя на разходка 'to go for a walk'(and разходя се (pf.), разхождам се (impf.) – гулять), ходя на лов 'to go hunting' (ловувам – охотиться), ходя на гости 'to go for a visit' (гостувам). We compare the realisations of the constructions, as attested in the Russian-Bulgarian and Bulgarian-Russian parallel corpora within the Russian National Corpus.

The observations are offered to back the hypothesis that aspectual interpretation of the verb may not be realised on V, but on VP (as claimed by some authors for Bulgarian; on a higher functional category or even on propositional level, as the aspect in Russian is also claimed to be sensitive to the propositional level).

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Verbs of Physical Contact within the Class of Activity Verbs
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The study presents the selection, semantic annotation, and classification of a set of verbs from the Bulgarian WordNet labeled with the semantic primitive *verb.contact* (Miller et al., 1990). The analyzed verbs, classified as activity verbs, denote physical contact through motion and share key semantic features such as *contact* and *impact*. Many of these verbs, for example, those expressing *attaching, detaching, placing, removing, filling,* or *emptying*, exhibit common frame elements and follow similar syntactic and semantic constraints.

The paper outlines the criteria used to select the verbs for analysis and their extraction from linguistic resources, including the Bulgarian WordNet, FrameNet, and a multilingual parallel corpus (Stoyanova et al., 2024; Dimitrova et al., 2025). The shared properties of the selected verbs are discussed, and we propose semantic subgroups based on the type and nature of the physical point of contact, as well as on the corresponding FrameNet frames that describe them. Finally, examples of semantic annotation within the data are discussed, with special attention given to the realization of predicate–argument structures.

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