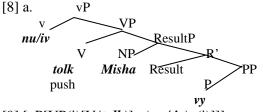
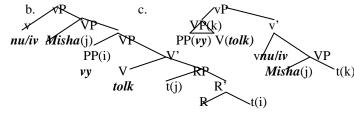
On Slavic semelfactives and secondary imperfectives: implications for the split 'AspP'

The Data The Russian semelfactive suffix nu [1] (nou in Czech, na in Polish), rarely discussed in the rich literature on Slavic aspect(Forsyth 1970, Fowler 1994, Borik 2002, Svenonius 2004a,b,c, Filip 2000, 2003, Ramchand 2003, 2004 Romanova 2004, inter alia) is problematic as it shows striking differences from other perfective operators and unexpected, previously unobserved similarities to the secondary imperfective suffix iv[2]. At first iv and nu seem different: nu is perfective, while iv is imperfective, as seen from the following perfectivity tests(Borik2002): nu-verbs unlike iv-verbs can't get an ongoing present tense reading: pryg-nu-t =they *(will) jump vs. otpryg-iv-ajut=they're jumping; they cannot be complements of begin: *nachal pryg-nu-t' vs. nachal podpryg-iv-at'=began to jump; or form present participles: *pryg-nu-jushchij vs. pod-pryg-iv-ajuschij= jumping. Despite the differences, nu, like iv, is highly regular and attaches to any semantically compatible stem[cf1,2], unlike the idiosyncratic low perfective prefixes[3] (Romanova 2004). Second, like iv, nu can appear with telicizing low perfective prefixes[4a,b] that cannot occur with each other[5a](Svenonius 2004c, Filip 2003) or with underived perfective verbs[5b]. Third, though iv appears with other perfectives[7a,b], it is crucially impossible with nu[6a,b]. Semantically, a combination of a nu and iv is not problematic: [6a,b] could mean to repetitively or continuously wink/ jump. It is also possible phonologically. Finally, nu is the only perfective suffix in Russian, which in isolation may seem accidental, but becomes significant taken with the above facts. The Proposal. I argue that nu /iv are two realizations of a single VP-selecting light v (Butt2003, Adger 2003:34; Filip 2003, Levin 2000) that denotes an atelic event and is merged above the low perfective prefix analyzed as P, (see Svenonius 2004a,b,c, Fowler 1994, among others). Whether the v is realized as nu or iv depends on whether it has features [+Inst] or [+Prog]/[+Hab] respectively. Since nu/iv spell-out a single v head, they cannot occur together. [8a] is the initial structure of [4a,b] representing first-phase(1syntax) (Ramchand 2003), with the derivation in [8b,c] First, the PP moves to spec VP[8b], then the object is moved, after which the VP moves to spec vP[8c] (a la Svenonius 2004a,b), stranding the object. The external argument (not shown) is introduced by Voi(tr)(Kratzer 1996) that is separate from the eventdenoting light v(Pylkkanen 2002, Collins 2005). Without the low PP, we get [9]. That nu-verbs, despite being perfective, are atelic, like iv-verbs is supported by their inability to be modified with 'in X time' [10a vs.b], their inability to form passive participles unlike telic perfectives[11a vs. b] (Schoorlemmer 1995 for arguments), and their ability to combine with telecizing prefixes(Filip 2003)[cf4a] vs.[5a,b] Importantly, nu / iv pattern with other light verbs (Butt 2003, Butt& Ramchand 2002, Diesing 1998). They affect the aspectuality of the predicate by adding different semantic 'flavors' to the V -instantenous (nu) vs. iterative/progressive(iv) -- but are not independent predicators, (ibid). This is analogous to Hindi where light v's add benefactive or inceptive meanings to the verb[12a,b](Butt 2003, Ramchand 2003 Butt& Ramchand 2002). Stacking two light v's of the same kind is not possible in Hindi(Butt& Ramchand 2002), much like what we see with *nu/iv* [cf6a,b]. Finally, the light v need not be separate, but can be suffixed to the verb, as independently argued for Japanese causatives (Harley 1995). **Implications.** Together with the view of perfective prefixes as high and low Ps advanced in Svenonius 2004b,c, Matushansky 2002, Fowler 1994, the above analysis of *nu/iv* suggests that grammatical aspect in Slavic is generally reducible to Ps and v. Furthermore, building on parallels between verbal and nominal domains (Bach 1986, Ramchand 2004), simplex imperfectives and underived perfectives [13a,b] can be treated as bare Vs that encode events' aktionsart and are structurally analogous to bare NPs(Chierchia 1995). Hence, simplex imperfectives are morphologically 'underived' and compatible with nu [14], low and high perfectives [15,16] (Filip 2003), and sometimes with iv [17]. Finally, high (quantificational) perfectives(Filip 2000) also do not require Asp: on the current proposal they are adjoined to VP[18] or light vP[19], as seen from their separability from the stem[20a], unlike what we see with low Ps[20b]. **Conclusion.** Thus, the proposal unifies the seemingly distant semelfactives and secondary imperfectives by treating them as two realizations of a light v and links them to light v's in Hindi/Urdu (Butt2003) and Japanese (Harley 1995). Furthermore, the analysis offers a way to reduce aspect to the independently motivated P, v, and V heads. In Slavic, and arguably, universally, Asp, like C or Infl is a collocation of syntactic heads (Rizzi 1997, Pollock 1989), but is not itself a head.

- [1] Dima tolk-nu-1 / stuk-nu-1 Mish-u Dima push-nu-pst /hit-nu-pst Misha-acc Dima pushed (once)/ hit(once) Misha
- [2]Misha pod-pryg-iv-al / pri-stuk-iv-al Misha perf-jump-imp-pst/perf-knock-imp-pst Misha kept jumping / knocking
- [3]a Dima *na-brosil/ (ok) vy-brosil musor b. Dima *pro-pisal / (ok) na-pisal knigu Dima perf-throw / out-threw garbage Dima perf-wrote Dima threw out the garbage/
 - perf-wrote book Dima wrote a book
- [4]a. Dima vy-tolk-nu-l Mish-u iz pojezda Dima perf-push-nu-pst /Misha-acc from train Dima pushed Misha out of the train
- b. Dima vy-talk-iv-al Mish-u iz pojezda Dima perf-push-imp-pst Misha from train Dima pushed Misha out of the train
- [5]a. Dima *pro-vy-tolk-al Mishu Dima perf-perf-push-pst /Misha-acc Dima pushed Misha out
- b. Dima *za-vzjal / za-bral knigu Dima perf-take^{Perf} perf take^{Imp} book Dime took away the book
- [6]a. Dima (pod)-mig-(*nu)-iv-al Mish-e Dima perf-wink-nu-imp-past Misha-dat Dima kept winking at Misha
- b. Dima pod-pryg-(*iv)-nu-al Dima perf-jump-nu-imp-past Dima kept jumping
- [7]a. Dima vy-pis-iv-al chek Dima-perf-write-imp-pst check Dima wrote a check
- b. Dima na-vy-pis-**iv**-al chekov druz'jam. Dima cuml-perf-write-imp-pst checks-gen friends-dat Dima wrote a lot of checks to his friends





- [9] [vP[VP(i)[V(tolk)] v(nu/iv) t(i)]]].
- [10]a.# Dima pryg-nu-l v vodu za sekundu Dima jump-nu-pst in water in a second Dima jumped in the water in a second
- b. Dima vy-pil stakan vodki za minutu Dima perf-drikn glass vodka-gen in minute Dima drank a glass of vodka in a minute
- [11]a. Dima byl *tolk-nu-t Mishej Dima was push-nu-part Misha-instr Dima was pushed by Misha
- b. Dima byl vy-tolk-nu-t Mish-ej Dima was **perf**-push-nu-part Misha-inst Dima was pushed by Misha
- [12]a. Nadya-ne xat likh di-ya Nadya-erg letter write give-perfMSg Nadya wrote the letter (for someone)
- b. Nadya has par-i [Hindi, (Butt 2003:11)] Nadya laugh fall-perf-F-Sg Nadya burst out laughing
- [13]a. Dima prygal / begal/ videl Mish-u Dima jumped Imp/ranImp/saw Imp Misha-acc Dima jumped / ran/ saw Misha
- b. Dima leg / sel Dima lied perf / sat perf Dima lied down / sat down
- [14] mig-at'~ mig-nu-t' = wink~ wink once [15] sidet' ~ ot-sidet' = sit~ perf-sit
- [16] begat' ~ za-begat' =run~start to run [17]xodit' ~xazhivat' walk ~ walk periodically.
- [18] [VP [PP (za) [VP(brosat')]]] = incept-brosat' = start to throw
- [19] [vP [PP(po) [vP [VP [PP(za)(i) VP [V(bras RP [R t(i)]]]]] v(iv)]]]]]
- po-za-bras-iv-at' = distr-perf-thow-imp-inf = to throw around. [20]a. pere ili nedo-delat' (rabotu)
- re- or under-do-inf work
- b. *vv-ili za-pisat' out or down write-inf = write out or down