



KYOTO SANGYO UNIVERSITY

**АСПЕКТУАЛЬНАЯ СЕМАНТИЧЕСКАЯ ЗОНА:
ТИПОЛОГИЯ СИСТЕМ И СЦЕНАРИИ ДИАХРОНИЧЕСКОГО
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**ТЕЗИСЫ
ABSTRACTS**



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Содержание / Contents

Алвестад С. С. / Alvestad S. S. Aspect use in the Slavic infinitive (and subjunctive)	5
Барентсен А. / Barentsen A. Вид и плюсквамперфект в славянских языках	5
Бенаккьо Р. / Benacchio R. Морфологическое проявление вида в резьянском диалекте префиксация и суффиксация	5
Войводиц Д. П. / Vojvodić D. P. Эффективный презенс или эффективный футурум? (К вопросу о типологии славянских перформативов совершенного вида)	6
Гаврилова В. И. / Gavrilova V. I. Два морфологических способа оформления в русском языке сказуемых пациентивных конструкций в совершенном виде	6
Генис Р. М. / Genis R. M. 'Empty' prefixes in Slavic and Gothic : aspect and terminativity	6
Герасимов Д. В. / Gerasimov D. V. Есть ли в русском языке категория вида?	7
Горбов А. А. / Gorbov A. A. О понятии «способ действия» и его аспектуальном содержании	7
Горбова Е. В. / Gorbova E. V. Словоизменение или словообразование, или является ли русский вид «видом славянского типа»?	7
Дерганц А. А. / Derganc A. A. Глагол детерминированного движения 'iti' в словенском языке	7
Зорихина-Нильссон Н. В. / Zorikhina-Nilsson N. V. Таксисные конструкции с действительными причастиями будущего времени совершенного вида в современном русском языке	8
Израэли А. / Israeli A. Особенности вида глаголов со значением 'начала' и 'конца'	8
Канэко Ю. / Kaneko Yu. Реализация словообразовательного потенциала языка в выражении аспектуальных значений	8
Киселева К. Л., Татевосов С. Г. / Kiseleva K. L., Tatevosov S. G. Множественная префиксация и деривация видового значения	8
Климонов В. Д. / Klimonov V. D. Квантитативные параметры лексической аспектуальности в русском языке	9
Князев Ю. П. / Knjazev Ju. P. От обозначения результата предшествующего действия к прогрессиву	9

Конума Ю. / Konuma Yu.	9
Взаимодействие результатива и акционально-актантной структуры глаголов: результативные конструкции в японском языке и их русские соответствия	
Лазиньски М. / Łaziński M.	9
Verbal aspect and legal interpretation: the use of verbal aspect in Slavic penal codices	
Ласкова Л. А. / Laskova L. A.	10
Point of view, reference interval and future tense in Bulgarian	
Ли Чжу Хонг / Lee Joo Hong	10
Вопросы сопоставительной аспектологии русского и корейского языков: употребление глагольных форм при выражении будущих действий	
Мелиг Х. Р. / Mehlig H. R.	10
Дискурсивная функция глагольного вида при отрицании в русском языке	
Миллиареси Т. В. / Milliaressi T. V.	11
Внешняя и внутренняя структуры действия и типологические особенности русского вида	
Митани К. / Mitani K.	11
<i>Uz</i> -prefixation and the second future in Croatian	
Мишина Е. А. / Mishina E. A.	11
Семантика глаголов и семантика времен в древнерусском и старославянском языках (в свете взаимодействия с аспектуальной семантикой)	
Окано К. / Okano K.	12
От лексики к аспектуальности: некоторые особенности сербских глаголов движения <i>кренути</i> – <i>кретати</i>	
Падучева Е. В. / Paducheva E. V.	12
О биаспектуальности русского глагола <i>быть</i>	
Петрухина Е. В. / Petrukhina E. V.	12
Категориальная видовая семантика и стратегии употребления видов в русском и чешском языках	
Плунгян В. А. / Plungjan V. A.	12
Двухосновная перфективация в русском языке: морфология и семантика	
Попович Л. В. / Popović L. V.	13
Настоящее историческое глаголов несовершенного и совершенного видов в таксисных конструкциях сербского языка	
Пчелинцева Е. Э. / Pchelintseva O. E.	13
Семантика предела глагольного действия и отглагольное имя в русском, украинском и польском языках	
Рахилина Е. В. / Rakhilina E. V.	13
К аспектуальным свойствам русского УЖЕ	
Рёнкя Р. / Rönkä R.	14
Данные истории языка в становлении функциональной модели имперфективации	
Сакураи Э. / Sakurai E.	14
Aspect and past habitual tense in Lithuanian: based on the contrastive analysis with Russian	

Самедова Н. / Samadova N. Перфективность и сема ‘процесс’: о когнитивном аспекте взаимодействия	14
Сигэморы Б. Т., Пожгай Х. В. / Shigemori B. Ch., Požgaj H. V. Aspect contrasted: Croatian, Slovene and Japanese — teaching and learning Japanese as L2	14
Славкова С. Б. / Slavkova S. B. Общезначительное значение НСВ в частном вопросе в болгарском языке	15
Соколова С. В. / Sokolova S. V. “Rabotnul na slavu – gul’ni smelo!”: –NU- as a universal aspectual marker in non-standard Russian	15
Спасов Л., Кадриу В. / Spasov L., Kadriu V. Expressing verbal aspectual configurations: Macedonian vs Albanian Languages	15
Татевосов С. Г. / Tatevosov S. G. Вид и типология акциональной композиции	16
Томмола Х. / Tammola H. Делимитативы – неопределённые глаголы совершенного вида	16
Труб В. М. / Trub V. M. К проблеме интерпретации видовой соотносительности отглагольных существительных	16
Урысон Е. В. / Uryson E. V. Критерий Маслова и семантическая теория	17
Федотов М. Л. / Fedotov M. L. Iterativity, narrative, and aspect	17
Филип Х. / Filip H. A typology of perfective operators	17
Храковский В. С. / Khrakovskij V. S. Категория вида в русском языке: болевые точки	18
Чекалина Е. М. / Chekalina E. M. Перифрастические глагольные конструкции с акциональной семантикой (на материале шведского языка)	18
Шатуновский И. Б. / Shatunovskij I. B. Глаголы попытки и вид в русском языке	18



C. C. Алвестад / S. S. Alvestad

Aspect use in the Slavic infinitive (and subjunctive)

In the most comprehensive comparative account of aspect use in Slavic to date, Dickey [2000], ten Slavic languages are considered based on seven parameters of use, but two important verb forms are left unaccounted for: the imperative and the infinitive. The imperative was dealt with in Benacchio [2010], von Waldenfels [2012], and Alvestad [2013]. Now it is time the infinitive receives its fair share of attention too. Thus, in this project I compare how aspect is used in the infinitive in Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Polish, Upper Sorbian, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian and Slovene and in the corresponding subjunctives in Bulgarian and Macedonian based on a study of two parallel-annotated novels in the Parasol¹ corpus. In light of existing literature, one could hypothesize that i) in the infinitive, the freedom of choice is significant as far as aspect use is concerned (see, e.g., Galton [1976]), and ii) the East-West divide in aspect use can be observed in the infinitive as well, but I show that i) must be refuted and ii) must be modified; in East Slavic, the perfective aspect is far more widespread in the infinitive than in the other verb forms. I explain my findings within a formally oriented framework along the lines of Grønn [2004] and Alvestad [2013]. The picture of how aspect is used in the Slavic languages is not complete until infinitives, and the corresponding subjunctives, are accounted for.

А. Барентсен / A. Barentsen

Вид и плюсквамперфект в славянских языках

The article gives some basic information on the meaning and the distribution of the pluperfect in the Slavic languages and discusses its use in a number of examples from early and modern Slavic translations. The focus is on the functioning of Slavic aspect in the pluperfect, specifically with respect to the expression of taxis relations. Because of the low frequency of imperfective aspect in the pluperfect, special attention is given to these cases.

Р. Бенакьо / R. Benacchio

Морфологическое проявление вида в резьянском диалекте префиксация и суффиксация

The present paper examines how the grammatical category of verbal aspect is expressed in the Resian dialect. Resian is an isolated Slavic (Slovene) dialect situated in North-Eastern Italy, on the border with Slovenia. It is our aim to establish whether this grammatical category has maintained its typically Slavic characteristics or has lost them, presumably influenced by the surrounding Romance linguistic area.



Д. П. Войводич / D. P. Vojvodić

Эффективный презенс или эффективный футурум? (К вопросу о типологии славянских перформативов совершенного вида)

The paper examines the functioning of perfective present in north Slavic languages and perfective future forms in south Slavic languages in performative utterances (cf. Rus *Попрошу вас помолчать* and Srb *Замолућу вас да умукнете* <‘I ask you to shut up’>) from a comparative-typological approach. Special attention is dedicated to widespread use of perfective present in Slovenian in the given utterances (cf. *Obljubim ti, da bom prišel* <‘I promise you that I will come’>).

В. И. Гаврилова / V. I. Gavrilova

Два морфологических способа оформления в русском языке сказуемых пассивных конструкций в совершенном виде

Constructions with a predicative form of a reflexive, perfective verb can be either decausatives or passives. The paper demonstrates that selectional criteria to discriminate between decausative and passive interpretations hinge on the question whether the examined perfective predicate belongs to one of the three following lexical groups: verbs of the *build* type, verbs of the *boil* type and verbs of the *destroy* type.

Р. М. Генис / R. M. Genis

‘Empty’ prefixes in Slavic and Gothic : aspect and terminativity

Both Slavic languages and Gothic have prefixes displaying a ‘faded’ lexical meaning. In Slavic languages these so-called ‘empty’ prefixes appear in the compound perfective partners of aspectual pairs with imperfective verbs in simplex form without prefix. Although the core function of prefixes is to convey a lexical-terminative meaning, here, they are interpreted as the markers of perfectivity. In Gothic, there is no clear evidence for the kind of viewpoint aspect we encounter in Slavic, which raises the question as to the function of these prefixes. In my contribution I propose that Gothic empty prefixes are not so very empty and convey the semantic feature terminativity, which essentially is similar to what happens in Slavic languages. In a few instances one might even detect an aspectual opposition akin to that of Slavic, but in the absence of the explicit and rather extensive morphological systems we see there, Gothic viewpoint aspect may at best be called rudimentary or perhaps in statu nascendi. The present author, however, maintains an interpretation in terms of terminativity only.



Д. В. Герасимов / D. V. Gerasimov

Есть ли в русском языке категория вида?

The traditional view of Russian aspect as a grammatical category represented by two grammemes runs into a number of difficulties, while the principal argument for postulating a grammatical category — the obligatoriness of expression — can be shown to be circular. We propose an alternative treatment of aspect in Russian as an interaction of several distinct categories. While not without its own problems, this approach is more consistent typologically.

А. А. Горбов / A. A. Gorbov

О понятии «способ действия» и его аспектуальном содержании

The paper analyzes two theories of Aktionsart (Sposob Deystviya) worked out in Russian aspectology and confronts them with Aktionsart in the sense of “lexical aspect.” It is argued that Aktionsarten (Sposoby Deystviya) are formally expressed modifications of primitive verb meanings, and there is no direct relation between these modifications and “lexical aspect” or Vendlerian-type verb classes.

Е. В. Горбова / E. V. Gorbova

Словоизменение или словообразование, или является ли русский вид «видом славянского типа»?

The paper discusses the dilemma that has become traditional for Russian aspectology – whether Russian aspect is a classifying or an inflectional grammatical category. The discussion takes into account two new approaches – Janda’s hypothesis about prefixes as verbal classifiers and Tatevosov’s algorithm of multiple prefixation with an integrated constraint on the tertiary imperfectivization – and proposes an alternative description of Russian aspect.

А. А. Дерганц / A. A. Derganc

Глагол детерминированного движения 'iti' в словенском языке

The paper deals with the idiosyncratic features of the basic Slovene verb of determined motion 'iti' which is defined as biaspectual. In XVIth c. texts there were some tendencies for its prefixed pair *poiti* to develop but a full development didn't take place. In this respect the Slovene language shares the characteristics of the western type of the Slavic aspectual system.



Н. В. Зорихина-Нильссон / N. V. Zorikhina-Nilsson

Таксисные конструкции с действительными причастиями будущего времени совершенного вида в современном русском языке

This paper examines the semantic and syntactic features of taxis constructions with future active perfective participles and pinpoints a number of factors that contribute to their growing use in contemporary spoken Russian. These include, in particular, the type of taxis construction, predicate semantics and hypothetical modality. Particular attention is devoted to potential and prospective aspectual meanings.

А. Израэли / A. Israeli

Особенности вида глаголов со значением 'начала' и 'конца'

The article demonstrates that the imperfective verbs meaning ‘beginning’ and ‘end’ have the connotation of ‘remote past’. The reflexive versions of the verbs *načinat'sja* and *končat'sja* in combination with the NP of time or place mean that one of the parameters “here and now” is negative, i.e. there is no unity of time and place. In addition, the verbs of beginning have a canceled meaning, a meaning of weaker intensity or a meaning of background in description of weather events.

Ю. Канэко / Yu. Kaneko

Реализация словообразовательного потенциала языка в выражении аспектуальных значений

Both the verbal affixation in Russian and the verbal compounding in Japanese are used to express aspectual meanings. The semantic relations between the constituents of derivatives in Russian could be functionally parallel to those of compounds in Japanese, e.g. *perepisat'* [‘pere-’ repetitive + ‘write’] and *kaki-naosu* [‘write’ + ‘correct’], which both mean ‘rewrite’. However, significant differences in interpreting dynamic situations can be found between the languages in question, when semantic modification takes place in the domain of language-specific favored aspectual notions (limit in Russian and stability in Japanese, Kaneko and Petrukhina 2004). In this regard, special attention should be paid to a Japanese modifier verb *-kiru* (< ‘cut’), which forms one of the most productive completives in Japanese and creates potential compounds such as *kachi-kiru* [‘win’+ ‘cut’ completive] ‘win’.

К. Л. Киселева, С. Г. Татевосов / K. L. Kiseleva, S. G. Tatevosov

Множественная префиксация и деривация видового значения



The paper argues for a theory that accounts for the hierarchical structure of Russian verb. The theory assumes that possible derivations of verb stems are constrained by aspectual selectional characteristics of prefixes or by their position with respect to the “secondary imperfective” morpheme. Accordingly, two groups of prefixes can be identified, selectionally restricted and positionally restricted.

В. Д. Климонов / V. D. Klimonov

Квантитативные параметры лексической аспектуальности в русском языке

In the framework of Russian lexical aspectuality, the verbal class of the event type *nabegat'sja* ‘to run until tired’ will be investigated more closely. As an analytic parameter for the semantics of this class, quantified categories will be applied and configured as specified vs. unspecified coordinates based on scalar temporal and non-temporal aspectuality. Four subclasses of events will be distinguished that will further be subclassified according to finer Aktionsart distinctions.

Ю. П. Князев / Ju . P. Knjazev

От обозначения результата предшествующего действия к прогрессиву

The paper deals with the progressive-like constructions consisting of the Past Passive Participle *zanjat* (semantically connected with the reflexive verb *zanjat'sja* ‘to engage oneself in something’ and a predicate actant, such as *On byl zanjat razgovorom* ‘He was engaged in talking’. Besides, English constructions of the type *be engaged in* are also taken into consideration.

Ю. Конума / Yu. Konuma

Взаимодействие результатива и акционально-актантной структуры глаголов: результативные конструкции в японском языке и их русские соответствия

This article offers the analysis of resultative constructions of the Japanese language, including the comparison with the Russians. In Japanese language, the interaction of the actionality-argument structure of verbs and functional properties of resultative grams begets a variety of resultative constructions for which the relevant semantic component is controllability.

М. Лазиньски / M. Łaziński

Verbal aspect and legal interpretation: the use of verbal aspect in Slavic penal codices



Polish legal texts and codices as well as proverbs are very often formed with imperfective verbs, whereas Russian codices and proverbs use perfective verbs in the habitual-pair construction or exemplifying meaning. These differences in the use of aspect require a re-analysis of prototype semantic features of aspect in the West-Slavic, East-Slavic and transitional zones of Slavic languages.

Л. А. Ласкова / L. A. Laskova

Point of view, reference interval and future tense in Bulgarian

Hans Reichenbach introduced the subsequently widely used notion of *point of reference* in his study of languages with rich temporal systems. It seems plausible that this concept could be fruitfully applied to the modeling of temporal-evidential systems like the Bulgarian one that has nine tenses and four evidential categories and allows the speaker to choose between at least two perspectives when reporting a story in a number of contextual settings. However, we show that the original notion is not fine-grained enough to be used for that purpose. That is why we propose two new but related concepts, *point of view* and *reference interval*.

Чжу Хонг Ли / Joо Hong Lee

Вопросы сопоставительной аспектологии русского и корейского языков: употребление глагольных форм при выражении будущих действий

In this article, we looked at the problem of a relationship between modality and the future forms in the Russian language, comparing it with the Korean language, where actions in the future and aspectual meanings are expressed, not grammatically, but with the help of modal constructions. It is revealed that there was a strong connection between the simple future form and the modal meaning of conviction.

Х. Р. Мелиг / H. R. Mehlig

Дискурсивная функция глагольного вида при отрицании в русском языке

Within the so-called general-factual meaning of the ipf. aspect two fundamentally different variants must be distinguished, irrespective of the lexical semantics of the predicate. First, an ipf. predicate may refer to the kind, i.e., the “type” of a situation. This meaning will be termed *generalized-factual* (*obobščенно-faktičeskoe NSV*). Second, it may refer to an individual situation, a “token”. This meaning will be termed *singular-factual* (*edinično-faktičeskoe NSV*). In neither case is the situation conceptualized as „ongoing“ (processual) or as a case of unbounded repetition. The article shows why this distinction is



relevant both for general (nexus) negation and special negation.

Т. В. Миллиареси / T. V. Milliaressi

Внешняя и внутренняя структуры действия и типологические особенности русского вида

The internal structuring, which consists of three stages (process, natural term, state), is relative to the ontology of eventualities. By contrast, the external boundaries (starting point and end point) are relative to the duration of the eventuality. These two types of structuring, internal and external, are articulated differently in Slavic languages and in Germanic and Romance languages.

К. Митани / K. Mitani

Uz-prefixation and the second future in Croatian

This study deals with a special verb form prefixed with *uz-*, which appears as a functional equivalent to the second future (FII) in Croatian. FII in Croatian is historically a Slavic future perfect, and is used in a subordinate clause that has a future-oriented matrix. Despite the formal indication of perfectivity, FII in contemporary Croatian is mostly formed with imperfective verbs and denotes an event concurrently occurring with the event in the matrix, whereas the proper future perfect meaning in the subordinate clause is conveyed by the perfective present. Along with these forms, a specific present form with the prefix *uz-* has been used to denote a dependent future. Based on dialectal as well as diachronic evidences, the author ascertains that this formation is a remnant of an old dialectal feature of the Štokavian. The author also argues that this form emerged on the conjuncture of the immature use of FII, the function of the perfective present, and the prefixation as a means to derive a perfective from an imperfective verb.

Е. А. Мишина / E.A. Mishina

Семантика глаголов и семантика времен в древнерусском и старославянском языках (в свете взаимодействия с аспектуальной семантикой)

This paper deals with the perfective imperfect and imperfective aorist, rare verbal forms that attested both in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian monuments, and discusses some contextual and semantic factors that determine the use of these specific forms. They are not accidental, therefore it is important to take them into account while building the verbal aspect system in Old Russian and Old Church Slavonic.



К. Окано / K. Okano

От лексики к аспектуальности: некоторые особенности сербских глаголов движения кренути – кретати

This paper provides an analysis of some aspectual features of the Serbian motion verbs *kretati – krenuti* ‘to move’ which often behave as phase verbs in the inchoative contexts. The aim of this paper is to reveal the mechanism of semantic transfer of these verbs from their lexical meanings to the phasic meanings, and also to demonstrate the conditions for their usage as phase verbs.

Е. В. Падучева / E. V. Paducheva

О биаспектуальности русского глагола быть

The article deals with the aspectual properties of the Russian verb BYT’ ‘to be’. Two meanings of BYT’ are in focus of attention – locative BYT’ (as in *Kreslo na verande*) and dynamic BYT’ (as in *Ja nikogda ne byl na Bosfore*), Ju.D. Apresjan calls it BYT’ of movement. Russian dictionaries treat BYT’ as a verb of imperfective aspect. I present five arguments in favor of the idea that dynamic BYT’ has not only imperfective, but also perfective features and is, thus, biaspectual.

Е. В. Петрухина / E. V. Petrukhina

Категориальная видовая семантика и стратегии употребления видов в русском и чешском языках

Analysis of aspect usage distinctions between Russian and Czech is conducted taking into account the peculiarities of the category of aspect systemic organization, aspect opposition, as well as category meaning of perfect and imperfect aspect in each language. For the Russian perfect aspect the idea of a limit as a temporal border of actions is more significant; as far as the Czech language is concerned - the idea of totality prevails. These categorical differences define basic strategies in the usage of aspect in the contrasted languages and the degree of interaction between perfect aspect and future time in such forms as *pridet, přijde*.

В. А. Плунгян / V. A. Plungjan

Двухосновная перфективация в русском языке: морфология и семантика

Two-stem perfectivation is a marginal phenomenon in Russian aspectual morphology, described very poorly so far (if at all). It includes cases where a perfective counterpart uses a different stem than its input



imperfective simplex; a typical example is *strelját'* 'shoot' [ipf] ~ *výstrelit'* 'shoot; take a shot' [pf] (involving a different stem, *strelj-*). Such pairs are not numerous, but their account is important for a general theory of Russian aspect. The paper provides their full list and discusses possible synchronic and diachronic approaches to this type of aspectual correlation.

Л. В. Попович / L. V. Popović

Настоящее историческое глаголов несовершенного и совершенного видов в таксисных конструкциях сербского языка

This paper deals with taxis in *praesens historicum* in Serbian language with respect to opposition of perfective and imperfective verbs. The conditions of use of a certain verb aspect in each of the types of taxis structures are described.

Е. Э. Пчелинцева / O. E. Pchelintseva

Семантика предела глагольного действия и отглагольное имя в русском, украинском и польском языках

According to the largest academic dictionary of the Russian, it includes about 33 000, whereas verbal nouns are only 5500. In West Slavic languages *nomina actionis* are much more regular. In Russian perfective aspect the semantics of temporal definiteness has occupied a dominant position. The functional limitations of Russian *nomina actionis* may be seen as a side effect of this process.

Е. В. Рахилина / E. V. Rakhilina

К аспектуальным свойствам русского УЖЕ

Russian *UŽE* is known as a lexical marker with an aspectual (phasal) meaning semantically close to resultative one. However, this marker is easily -- though somewhat unexpectedly -- combined with imperfectives and imperatives (as in *spi uže* 'sleep already'). Theoretically, these types of constructions are not unproblematic. The paper argues that it is the strong discourse component in the semantics of *UŽE* (related to the speaker's expectations) which triggers (through metonymic shifts and implicatures) these nonstandard uses of *UŽE*.



Р. Рёнкя / R. Rönkä

Данные истории языка в становлении функциональной модели имперфективации

This paper aims to throw light on the genesis and development of imperfectivisation in Russian. The first examples of suffixal imperfectivisation date from as early as the eleventh century. The scope of suffixes (-a-, -va-, -ova-/-eva-, -yva-/-iva-) gradually increased and they had the ability to create opposite units to perfectivity. The pattern of functional imperfectivisation devoid of any suffixal element (*napisat'* – *pisat'*) was established in conjunction with the traditional suffixal types.

Э. Сакураи / E. Sakurai

Aspect and past habitual tense in Lithuanian: based on the contrastive analysis with Russian

This paper presents observations regarding aspectual characteristics of the past habitual tense with the suffix *-dav-* in Lithuanian. By referring to contrastive analysis with Russian, I will try to give a detailed explanation of the functions of the past habitual tense. Moreover, this study will offer an analysis of the divisions in the usage domain of the the unmarked past tense and the past habitual tense of Lithuanian from the perspective of correlation with aspectual properties of verbs, based on the results of a questionnaire that I carried out in Lithuania.

Н. Самедова / N. Samedova

Перфективность и сема 'процесс': о когнитивном аспекте взаимодействия

The paper deals with the idea that the aspectual seme 'punctual bound' backgrounds the seme 'process' and this ability is of a fixed power. The idea explains, for instance, effects that arise in Russian perfectives, depending if a verb has the seme 'process of short duration' or the seme 'process of long duration'. It also permits to explain peculiarities of perfectives like *poprygat'* and *proprygat'*.

Б. Т. Сигэмори, Х. В. Пожгай / B. Ch. Shigemori, H. V. Požgaj

Aspect contrasted: Croatian, Slovene and Japanese — teaching and learning Japanese as L2

Aspect is a complex grammatical category and its learning/teaching involves a difficult and time-consuming process, demanding language knowledge of lexicosemantics, phonology and morphology, word formation and derivation, syntactics, and pragmatics. Our goal is to try to answer the question regarding the ways of teaching/acquiring aspect in the course of university language learning, in which the learning process is intense in a limited time span. This article first reviews the present state of reasearch on aspect in Croatian, Slovene and Japanese, particularly in relation to L2 acquisiton.



Although aspect is the most characteristic for Slavic languages, neither Croatian nor Slovene is equipped with a comprehensive monography on this subject. The second half of the article discusses some typical errors of L2 learners in aspectual expressions. Slovene- and Croatian-speaking students' understanding of *-te iru* in Japanese is fragmentary: of plural semantics of the predicate form *-te iru*, «past action/state in relation to another incident» and «unrealised but realisable action inside a certain time span» have proved to be the main two situations for which special attention should be paid in Japanese-language teaching, usually introduced already at the beginners' level.

С. Б. Славкова / S.B. Slavkova

Общезначимое значение НСВ в частном вопросе в болгарском языке

The aim of the present paper is to analyze the general-factual meaning of the imperfective verbs in specific questions in Bulgarian. As is well known, the specific questions with IPVF verbs are aimed to clarify the circumstances and the participants of the situation, while the action is presupposed to have happened and the result of the action is inferred from the context. In addition, in Bulgarian beside the problem of choosing the aspectual form (perfective or imperfective) there is the problem of choosing the verb tense: perfect or aorist. In this paper, the general-factual meaning of the imperfective verbs is analyzed in relation to the specific meaning of past tenses (perfect and aorist), along with the grammatical categories of noun (number, gender or noun class, definiteness, noun's reference status), which, in their turn, can influence the choice of tense-aspect form.

С. В. Соколова / S. V. Sokolova

“Rabotnul na slavu – gul’ni smelo!”: –NU- as a universal aspectual marker in non-standard Russian

This article illustrates a strong tendency in modern non-standard Russian, where verbs bearing the semelfactive marker *–nu-* can perform various actional functions, ranging from semelfactives to Natural Perfectives and even delimitatives. The universal character of *–nu-* depends on the interaction of such factors as the semantics of the suffix, the semantics of the verbal stem, and constructions.

Л. Спасов, В. Кадриу / L. Spasov, V. Kadriu

Expressing verbal aspectual configurations: Macedonian vs Albanian Languages

In this paper, the authors compare the semantic and the structure of the expression of the verbal aspect of



all perfective and imperfective aspectual configurations, the simple ones as well as the complex ones, in Macedonian vs. Albanian languages. Our point of departure is that the verbal aspect as a semantic category implies its presence in all natural languages, while its structuring process is relative to the language group (Slavic vs. non-Slavic languages), as well as the temporal context of a particular statement. The Macedonian language exhibits the main features of configurations of Slavic type, although it also shows many “Balkan” linguistic features on all language levels. Therefore, our research is focused on the comparison of the expression of the verbal aspect in the Macedonian with comparison of the expression of the verbal aspect in the Albanian language, given the fact that the latter is a non-Slavic language of the "Balkan" type. The author is on the opinion that such a comparison offers a model for analysis of the expression of the verbal aspect between languages coming from different genetic backgrounds but belonging to the same and/or similar typological matrix (so-called “Balkan” languages in the Balkan linguistic union).

С. Г. Татевосов / S. G. Tatevosov

Вид и типология акциональной композиции

I argue that the contribution of the Slavic perfective to the interpretation is two-fold. First, it introduces an operator that maps predicates of events to predicates of times in Klein’s (1994) style. Secondly, the perfective indicates that the evaluation world is one of those where an event that falls under a given event description is maximally realized. The analysis allows to derive aspectual compositional effects characteristic of Slavic languages where undetermined plural and mass incremental arguments are forced to be quantized.

Х. Томмола / H. Tommola

Делимитативы – неопределённые глаголы совершенного вида

The delimitative procedurals regarded as *perfectiva tantum* verbs are sometimes seen as a problem because of the combination of atelic actionality and perfective aspect united in them. The solution suggested in this paper to this problem amounts to the paradoxical definition that, in functional perspective, these delimitatives constitute aspect pairs with respective simple *imperfectiva tantum* verbs.

В. М. Труб / V. M. Trub

К проблеме интерпретации видовой соотнесённости отглагольных существительных

The article deals with the problems of interpretation of the verbal nouns’ aspectual interrelationship. It is



showed that the type of aspectual meaning (such as progressive, processual, iterative, generic states as well as perfective) of the verbal noun is determined by the semantic type of its generative verbal predicate.

Е. В. Урысон / E. V. Uryson

Критерий Маслова и семантическая теория

The paper deals with Russian aspectual pairs. It is shown that substitution of a perfective verb by its imperfective correlate is due to certain components in the verbal lexical meaning. An effective tool for revealing these components is Maslov's criterion. A procedure for determining the strict imperfective correlate of a perfective verb in some difficult cases is suggested.

М. Л. Федотов / M. L. Fedotov

Iterativity, narrative, and aspect

This paper discusses the relation between iterativity and aspect and presents the phenomenon of “iterative narratives” — whole narrative sequences falling under the scope of an iterative operator. Perfective and imperfective aspectual markers reflect in such contexts the aspectual status of the whole complex situation of repetition (of the whole narrative sequence), and thus have here anomalously wide semantic scope, spanning over several clauses.

Х. Филип / H. Filip

A typology of perfective operators

The semantics of *PFV* in natural languages is often characterized in terms of a culmination, result or end-state of events, or events as unanalysed wholes (Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, a.m.o.). A notorious challenge then present Russian *PFVs* with prefixes used inchoatively (*za.pet'*) or as measure functions, e.g., delimitative/*po.guljat'*, augmentative/*na.guljat'sja* (Filip 1992, 2000, 2005; also Piñón 1995). Among many other challenging cases are *PFVs* of non-culminating accomplishments: e.g., Hindi (Singh 1990, Arunachalam & Kothari 2011), Thai (Koenig&Muansuwan 2000), Japanese (Ikegami 1985). To address such challenges, I explore the view that the semantic correspondent of *PFV* is a maximization operator requiring that a *P* in its scope denote *maximal stages of events* (Filip&Rothstein 2005, Filip 2008, Altshuler 2014). My novel contribution is threefold: (i) a typology of distinct *MAXE*-operators differing with respect to the following parameter: whether the max-requirement is satisfied when events (a) *culminate* at the boundary specified by *P*, e.g. the Russian (*s'est' jabloko*), or (b) *cease to develop* prior to it (*PFVs* of non-culminating accomplishments) or because *P* fails to specify any boundary (Russian



PFVs above); (ii) identification of some of the major dimensions along which languages vary in the *PFV* encoding; (iii) Landman's (1992, 2008) *stage-of* relation, originally proposed for the English *PROG*, underlies the semantics of different members of grammatical aspect, including *PFV*.

В. С. Храковский / V. S. Khrakovskij

Категория вида в русском языке: болевые точки

The paper examines the formal status of the Category of Aspect in Russian. Three interpretations of the category are analyzed: 1) Aspect as an inflectional category; 2) Aspect as a word classification category; and 3) Aspect as a hybrid category: verb pairs of the type *pisat'*– *napisat'* is a word classification category; and verb pairs of the type *zapisat'* – *zapisyvat'*, belongs to the inflectional category. Arguments are proposed in favor of the second interpretation

Е. М. Чекалина / E. M. Chekalina

Перифрастические глагольные конструкции с акциональной семантикой (на материале шведского языка)

The article discusses Swedish periphrastic constructions with the telic verbs *få* 'receive' and *komma* 'come' and the infinitive of atelic verbs, used with animate semantic subjects only. Their actional semantics is based on the lexical meanings of their first components: *få* + inf. denotes efficient result; *komma* + inf. denotes accident or unexpected beginning of a continuous or momentary action.

И. Б. Шатуновский / I. B. Shatunovskij

Глаголы попытки и вид в русском языке

The article deals with semantic and aspectual peculiarities of major verbs of trying in Russian: imperfectives *pytat's'a*, *starat's'a* and *probovat'* (\approx *try*, *attempt*) and their perfective counterparts *popytat's'a*, *postarat's'a* and *poprobovat'*. The parameters governing choice between the verbs of trying and their aspectual forms are established.