

Perfectivity as definiteness. Perfective verbs have a definite reference time, see Ramchand (2004, 22):

- (13) $[[\text{Asp}]] = \lambda P \lambda t[\text{there is a single unique moment } t_{\text{def}} \text{ in the event that is salient}] \exists e:[P(e) \ \& \ t = t_{\text{def}} \in \tau(e)]$

Ps as prepositions:

They make arguments definite. There is a link between non-structural cases and definiteness (presuppositionality), see Starke (2001). PPs and arguments with a non-structural case are islands for extraction:

- (14) a. Popugaj v-letel v komnatu. (R)
 parrot-nom in-flew in room-acc
 ‘The parrot flew into the room.’
 b. * Čto popugaj v-letel v t?
 what parrot-nom in-flew in
- (15) a. Popugaj v-letel v komnatu so stolom. (R)
 parrot-nom in-flew in room-acc with table
 ‘The parrot flew into the room with the table.’
 b. * S čem popugaj v-letel v komnatu t?
 with what parrot-nom in-flew in room-acc
- (16) a. On veril knjigam s beloju polki. (R)
 he believed books-dat from white shelf
 ‘He had a trust in books from the white shelf.’
 b. * S kakoj polki on veril knjigam t?
 from which shelf he believed books-dat

Yadroff & Franks (2001): English *to the women* is fissioned (FP definite, goal, case) Russian *ženšīnam*.

2. Analysis: Tense-features

- What is responsible for the parallel behavior of prefixes and prepositions?
- Pesetsky & Torrego (2006): prepositions bear a valued Tense-features.
- Since prefixes and prepositions are identical element (Ps), both bear a val T-f (value definite, bounded or quantized).
- T-f of Ps links nominal reference to temporal reference.
- T-f of Ps is responsible for islandhood.

2.1. Ps: val T-f and unval ϕ -fs

DPs: unval T-f and val ϕ -fs

- Selection of a DP by P as Agreement.
- Probes are unvalued fs in minimalism (e.g. Chomsky 2000) and Ns bear val ϕ -fs, hence Ps bear unval ϕ -fs (There are languages with P Agreement: Irish, Welsh).
- Pesetsky and Torrego’s proposal (2004, 2006): Structural case is unvalued (uninterpretable) T-f on N (D) and is valued by T and T₀ (Asp).
 is extended : All cases (not only structural) are unvalued T-fs on N.

- Agree then values unval T-f on DP (\rightarrow case) and unval ϕ -fs on P (\rightarrow agreement morphology).
- Case (valued T-f) on DPs is indeed a reflection of the localization relation.
Directional meaning: acc, locative meaning: loc, source: gen:

- (17) a. v komnatu b. v komnate c. iz komnaty (R)
 in room-acc in room-loc out.of room-gen
 ‘into the room’ ‘in the room’ ‘out of the room’

2.2. Asp head

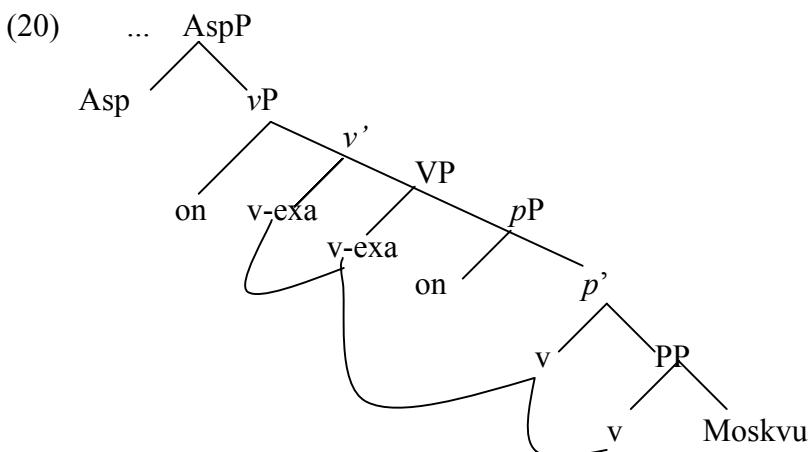
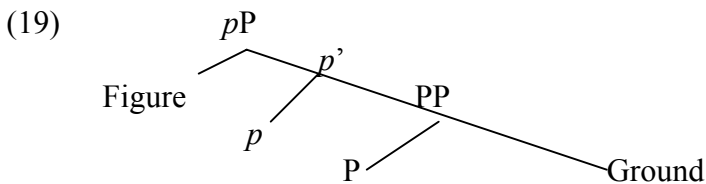
2.2.1. Asp: unval T-f

- Prefixes make verbs perfective (only a few exceptions).
- Idea: T-f on Asp is unval and selects (probes) an element with val T-f.
Prefixes are Ps and Ps have val T-f.

2.2.1.1. Derivation

- (18) On v-exal v Moskvu (R)
 he in-drove in Moscow-acc
 ‘He drove to Moscow.’

- Since prepositions are two-place predicates, PPs are decomposed.
Svenonius (2004): PPs may be decomposed into *p*P and PP, as *v*Ps. *p* introduces the Figure argument and P the Ground argument:



1. Merger of *v* (val T-f and unval ϕ -fs) with *Moskva* (unval T-f and val ϕ -fs)
2. Agree: ϕ -fs of *v* valued and T-f of *Moskva* valued (\rightarrow acc)
3. Merger of *p* and Movement of *v* to *p*
4. Merger of *on*, *on* (Figure) is located wrt. *Moskvu* (Ground)

5. Merger of V and incorporation of *v*: *v-exa*
6. *v-exa* incorporated into *v*
7. Movement of *on* to Spec, *vP*
8. Asp (unval T-f) selects *vP* and the incorporated P element *v* values T-f on Asp as perfective. Given (10) and the lexical properties of *v*, the definite reference time corresponds to the result transition (*On* reached *Moscow*).

- Prefixes but not prepositions value T-f on Asp as perfective, see (18) and (21).
- Correlation between movement of P and perfectivity.
The P element *v* does not move out of *pP* in (21) and T-f on Asp is valued as imperfective by the val T-f on the verb.

Indefinite reference time. Imperfective paradox. Predicates (*vP* and *pP*) combine via event identification.

- (21) *On exal v Moskvu.* (R)
 he drove in Moscow-acc
 ‘He was driving to Moscow.’

- Prefix may differ from the preposition (22).
- There are two different P elements.
Pri- is merged as *p* and incorporated into the verb and values T-f on Asp as perfective. This gives the resultative definite reference time.

- (22) *On pri-exal v Moskvu.* (R)
 he by-drove in Moscow-acc
 ‘He came to Moscow.’

2.2.2. Asp: unval ϕ -fs

- P values the unval T-f of Ground (\rightarrow case).
- Figure cannot get a case in *pP* because it is not c-commanded by a P element.
- It gets structural accusative:

- (23) *On do-lil vodu do sklenice.* (CZ)
 he to-poured water-acc to glass-gen
 ‘He topped up the glass with water.’

- Structural accusative (unval T-f on DPs) is valued by Asp because:
 - 1) AspP is present in every sentence (every verb must be perfective or imperfective).
 - 2) And not valued by *v* because statives have no causer (*vP*) but accusative objects are possible:

- (24) *milovat Janu* (CZ)
 love Jana-acc
 ‘to love Jana’

- 3) There is a relation between prefixes and Asp, and case of the direct object may be affected by the added prefix:

- (25) a. *nesti cvety* b. *na-nesti cvetov* (R)
 carry flowers-acc CUM-carry flowers-gen
 ‘to carry flowers’ ‘to carry a lot of flowers’

- 4) In Germanic languages, internal arguments can affect aspectual properties of the whole event.
 5) In certain languages, there is a correlation between aspect and the form of the objective case (accusative-partitive alternation in Finnish).

- Given PIC (26), Figure moves to the edge of the ν P phase to be accessible for Asp.

(26) Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000, 108)

In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α ; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

- Agree: unval ϕ -fs on Asp probe and are valued by Figure and T-f on Asp (valued by P(refix) incorporated into the verb) values T-f on Figure as structural accusative (23).
- Existence of Agree between Asp and Figure is supported by ϕ -fs on *přidělanou*:

(27) Pavel má tu policičku přidělanou. (CZ)
 Pavel-nom has the shelf-fem.sg.acc by-made-fem.sg.acc
 ‘Pavel has fixed the shelf.’

- *přidělanou* is not just a modifier of *poličku* in (27); see (28):

(28) Pavel má tu přidělanou policičku. (CZ)
 Pavel-nom has the by-made-fem.sg.acc shelf-fem.sg.acc
 ‘Pavel owns the fixed shelf.’

- If AspP in every sentence, then structural Acc is too.
- Thus, a DP can get more cases (as in the case of theta roles); overt in Korean (see also Richards 2007).

DP is spelled out with the last tense value (structurally, the highest case).

In (29), T-f on *on* is valued by Asp and then by T:

(29) On v-exal v Moskvu (R)
 he-nom in-drove in Moscow-acc
 ‘He drove to Moscow.’

- In passives, T-f on Figure is also valued by Asp and then by T.

(30) Voda byla do-lita do hrnku. (CZ)
 water-nom was to-poured to cup-gen
 ‘The water was poured into the cup.’

- Only structural cases can be overwritten. Ground is trapped (spelled out) in p P phase:

(31) a. * Do hrnek byl dolit. (CZ)
 to cup-nom was-3.sg.m to-poured-3.sg.m
 b. Do hrnku bylo dolito.
 to cup-gen was-3.sg.n to-poured-3.sg.n
 ‘Something was poured into the cup.’

- (32) a. * Pavel byl dán knihu.
 Pavel-nom was-3.sg.m given book-acc
 b. Jirka dal Pavlovi knihu.
 Jirka-nom gave Pavel-dat book-acc
 ‘Jirka gave Pavel a/the book.’

2.2.3. Two T-fs and two structural accusatives

- Two types of T-f on Asp:
 1. perfective: valued by Ps (and pf. verbs)
 2. imperfective: valued by impf. Verbs
- Both can value T-f on DPs as structural accusative.
- The accusatives could in fact be different.
- They are different. (Non-)islandhood of accDPs is dependent on the value of T-f.
 T-f on DP valued by imperfective T-f on Asp (which is valued by verb) in (33a).
 T-f on DP valued by perfective T-f on Asp (which is valued by P(refix)) in (33b).

- (33) a. O čem Pavel psal dopis t? (CZ)
 about what Pavel-nom wrote letter-acc
 ‘About what was Pavel writing a/the letter?’
 b. ?? O čem Pavel dopsal dopis t?
 about what Pavel-nom to-wrote letter-acc
 ‘About what did Pavel write the letter?’

- The same contrast for mass nouns:

- (34) a. Z jaké oblasti pil Pavel víno t? (CZ)
 From which area drank Pavel-nom wine-acc
 ‘From which area was Pavel drinking wine?’
 b. ?? Z jaké oblasti vypil Pavel víno t?
 From which area out-drank Pavel-nom wine-acc
 ‘From which area did Pavel drink up the wine?’

- See Krifka (1992): Aspect marking affects the reference type of nouns in Slavic.

- Boundedness (definiteness) also with adverbs:

- (35) a. kdy b. do-kdy (CZ)
 when to-when
 ‘when’ ‘till when’

- Islandhood due to val T-f on P:
 1. direct: PPs in (14)-(16)
 2. indirect: mediated by Asp in (33b), (34b)

2.3. Superlexical and lexical Ps

- SPs can be merged in the same position as LPs
- Reasons for the low merger of SPs:

Russian:

(43) LP prefixes: do-, iz-, na-, nad-, ot-, pere-, po-, pod-, pri-, pro-, s-, v-, vy-, za-

(44) SP prefixes: do-, iz-, na-, ot-, pere-, po-, pod-, pri-, pro-, za-

Czech:

(45) LP prefixes: do-, z-, na-, nad-, od-, pře-, po-, pod-, při-, pro-, s-, v-, vy-, za-

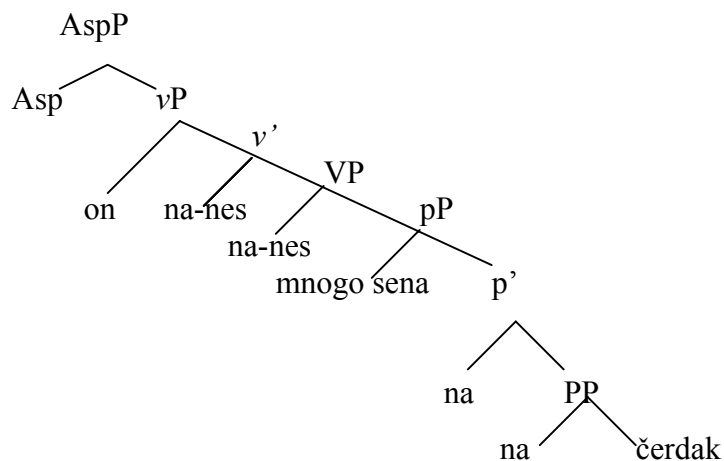
(46) SP prefixes: do-, na-, od-, pře-, po-, při-, pro-, za-

• Derivation

Cumulative *na-* merges as P, then moves to *p* and incorporates into the verb and values T-f on Asp, hence the definite reference time with resulting localization.

(47) On nanēs na čerdak mnogo sena.
he CUM-carry on attic-acc a lot of hay
'He brought a lot of hay onto the attic.'

(48)



3. Conclusion

Prefixes (LPs and SPs) and prepositions are identical elements.

They bear a valued T-f.

All cases are unvalued T-f on N.

Only structural cases can be overwritten.

T-f of P elements is responsible for the definite nominal reference and the definite temporal reference.

T-f of P elements is responsible for islandhood.

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