



NOVI SAD LINGUISTIC COLLOQUIUM 8

• **NSLingColl 8** •

Department of English

Faculty of Philosophy, University Novi Sad

27 December 2018

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Publisher

University of Novi Sad

Faculty of Philosophy

www.ff.uns.ac.rs

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ISBN

978-86-6065-494-8

<http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2018/978-86-6065-494-8>

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NSLing



MERGE & MOVE

How often is *subotom*? Some observations on temporal instrumentals in Serbo-Croatian

Maša Bešlin (University of Novi Sad)

In this talk, I discuss the properties of a subclass of temporal Bare-NP Adverbials (BNPAs) in Serbo-Croatian, namely instrumental-marked adverbials, exemplified in (1).

- (1) Ponedeljkom idem na plivanje
Monday.INST go on swimming
'Mondays, I go swimming'

Although instrumental adverbials which can be said to contain a temporal component show quite diverse behavior, the properties I am concerned with are limited to a small set of nouns denoting days of the week. I consider the interpretation and distribution of these adverbials, comparing them to other temporal BNPAs where appropriate.

Aside from their case marking, what distinguishes instrumental BNPAs from their genitive- and accusative-marked counterparts is that they cannot be preceded by quantifiers (**svakim ponedeljkom*), indexicals (**prošlim ponedeljkom*) or overt prepositions (**sa ponedeljkom*). Furthermore, instrumental BNPAs only combine with imperfective verbs, and yield habitual interpretations. This relates to another important characteristic of temporal instrumentals: they are unbounded temporal expressions. In other words, temporal instrumentals do not specify the number of occurrences of the event they modify. Although they are perhaps closest in meaning to the genitive/accusative BNPAs containing the quantifier *svaki* (every), I provide some evidence that instrumental adverbials do not involve universal quantification. Rather, the temporal instrumental *ponedeljkom* in (1) can roughly be said to carry the meaning 'generally on Monday'. I informally sketch out the account of habitual sentences offered in Krifka et al. 1995, where the habitual interpretation is said to arise because of the presence of a covert adverbial operator GEN, which binds every free variable in the clause. I suggest that the interpretation of an instrumental BNPA may arise because its free variable is bound by GEN.

I then consider an alternative way to account for the unbounded interpretation of instrumental adverbials, by directly relating it to the adverbial's structural position. Namely, the possibility of modification by an instrumental BNPA seems to be related to the featural specification of the viewpoint aspectual layer, which can be bounded [+B] or unbounded [-B] (Smith 1991). Hence, instrumental BNPAs can modify lexically perfective verbs, but only if the verb in question is understood as habitual (i.e. unbounded), as in (2).

- (2) Subotom kupim kilogram jabuka
Saturday.INST buy.PF kilogram apples.GEN
'Saturdays, I buy a kilogram of apples'

Since instrumentals, but not genitive/accusative BNPAs, show aspectual restrictions, I address the possibility that the unbounded interpretation of instrumental BNPAs arises because they modify AspP when Asp is marked [-B]. Moreover, if typical

(genitive/accusative) temporal adverbials are related to the TP domain (Alexiadou 1997, a.o.), relating instrumental BNPA's to AspP would mean that they are in a structurally lower position than genitives/accusatives. Some word order facts suggest that this might indeed be the case.

Finally, the issue of category membership with instrumental BNPA's is far from clear. I present three distinct possibilities. Namely, temporal instrumentals can be analyzed as: (i) PPs, (ii) NPs, or (iii) adverbs. Whereas these adverbials surface as bare NPs, they can be coordinated with PP adverbials, and the aspectual restrictions they observe are most often seen with frequency adverbs. I discuss each of the possibilities in turn, with a particular focus on the PP analysis. I explore the possibility that instrumental BNPA's are licensed by the null counterpart of the P *sa* (with), which is analyzed as a P of central coincidence (Rapoport 2014).

References:

- Alexiadou, Artemis. 1997. *Adverb Placement: A Case Study in Antisymmetric Syntax*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
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- Smith, Carlota. 1991. *The Parameter of Aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Event distributive markers are not universal quantifiers – evidence from Serbian

Ana Bosnić (University of Groningen/University of Nantes)

Issues: This paper brings forward novel experimental evidence bearing on the debate on Distributive Share (DS) markers across languages. Authors such as Balusu (2006) analyze DS markers as universal distributive quantifiers over events. In contrast, Knežević (2015) analyzes DS markers as pluractional markers with weak truth conditions (requiring plural of events). Both analyses make different predictions with regards to *exhaustivity*: Balusu's analysis requires the Sorting Key (SK) to be exhausted, while Knežević's has no such restrictions. We carried out a series of experiments with transitive sentences to confirm exhaustivity requirements found with intransitive sentences with the Serbian DS marker *po* (Bosnić et al. submitted). Specifically, while spatio-temporal SKs did not have to be exhausted (contra Balusu), groups of participants did (contra both Knežević and Balusu). The new results revealed three populations, each with its own systematic pattern of response: one pattern corresponds to the individual universal quantification pattern similar to English *each*, one to the universal quantification over events similar to the hypothesis from Bosnić et al, and one to the plurality of events similar to Knežević's proposal. In this talk we offer new evidence supporting Knežević's analysis by arguing that the source of the exhaustivity effects does not come from the DS *po*, but from a *maximality* requirement on the interpretation of the bare subject DP.

Method: 58 people were tested with a picture verification task and a 2x3 design with two factors of Group Size (*One* vs. *Four*) and Exhaustivity Type (*Exhausted*, *Non-exhausted* or *Non-exhausted differently*), creating six conditions. An example of each condition is given in Figure 1.

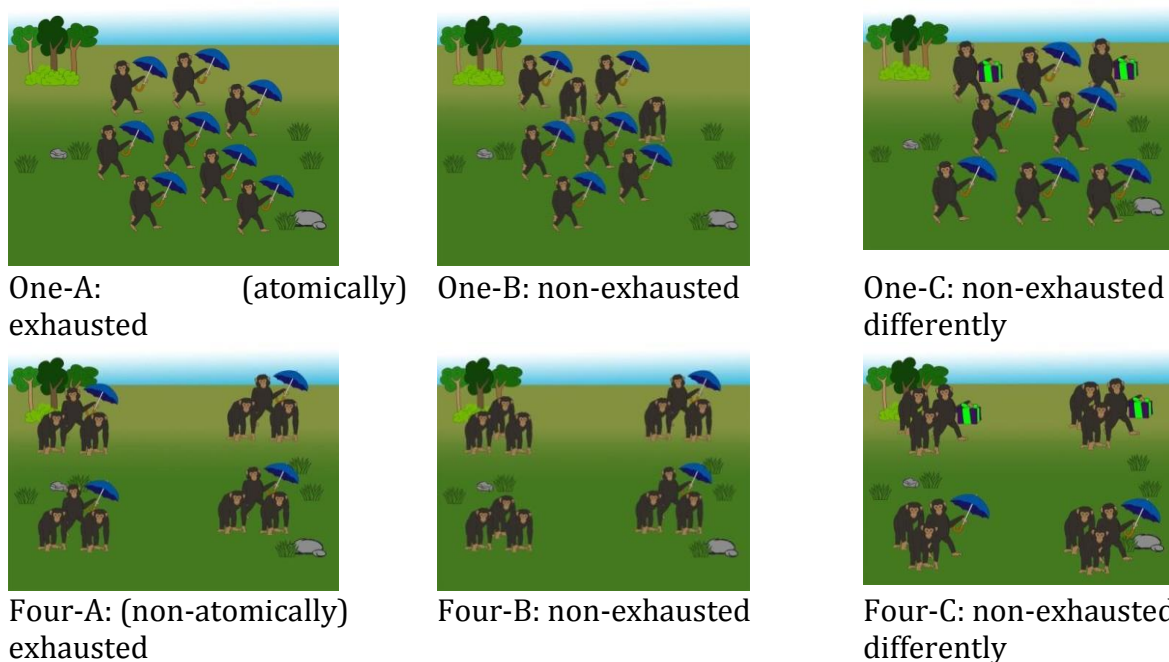


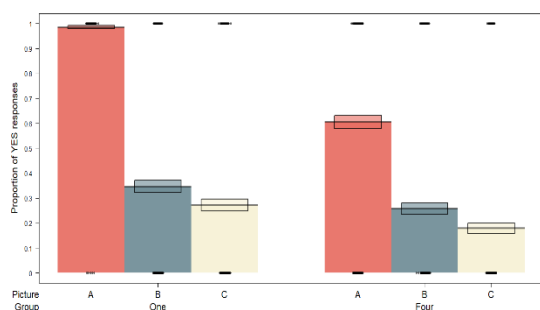
Figure 1

Each illustration was accompanied by a transitive sentence beginning with a plural bare noun referring to the relevant animal, an action, and a *po*-marked object (1):

- (1) Majmuni nose *po* jedan kišobran.
 “Monkeys are carrying DIST one umbrella.”

In order to confirm our previous results and further test Balusu’s and Knežević’s respective predictions, we pose the following research questions (matched with the relevant condition):

- I. Is spatial distribution reducible to individual/participant distribution? (*One-A*)
- II. In intransitive sentences with *po* on the subject, spatially distinct sets of event participants (groups) need to be exhausted. Does this generalization carry over to transitive sentences with *po* on the object? (*Four-A, Four-B, Four-C*)
- III. Is spatial distribution more widely accepted than individual distribution in *po* sentences? (*One-A* and *Four-A*)



Results clearly showed that spatial distribution can be reduced to individual/participant distribution (*One-A*), but the *Four-A* condition was not accepted as much as predicted. Upon closer examination, we found that there are actually two different populations of people that either systematically say YES or NO to *Four-A*. The YES-saying group further splits in two more patterns. All three patterns fit different theoretical analyses – universal quantification

over individuals, universal quantification over events and pluractional analysis.

We conducted two follow-up experiments focusing on definite and indefinite interpretation of the bare plural subject. We contend that the source of the exhaustivity effects does not come from the DS *po*, but rather from a maximality requirement on the interpretation of the bare subject DP. That is, the main two-way split stems from interpretational preferences on the subject: since there are no determiners in Serbian, bare plural nouns are ambiguous between indefinite and definite interpretations. Assuming definite plurals have a maximal interpretation, when the bare plural subject “monkeys” is interpreted as definite, all the monkey participants will have to be exhausted. Furthermore, we tested both sentences with and without *po* for comparison. This proposal entails that no exhaustivity requirement is associated with *po* at all. Instead, we give further evidence that *po* is a pluractional marker and not a quantifier. The results and implications of all these experiments will be discussed in the talk.

References:

- Balusu, Rahul. 2006. Distributive reduplication in Telegu. In Proceedings *NELS*, Vol. 36, No. 1, p. 39.
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Measure Phrases in Serbian

Iva Dozet and Isidora Dekić (University of Novi Sad)

Measure Phrase (MP) is defined as a special type of a noun phrase which is a part of a hierarchically higher phrase. This higher phrase can be another NP (1a), AP (1b), PP (1c) or VP (1d) (Corver 2009: 57–58).

- (1) a. **pet litara vina**
five liters wine_{GEN}
'five liters of wine'
b. **visok dva metra**
tall_{NOM} two meters
'two meters tall'
c. **tri metra iznad neba**
three meters above sky_{GEN}
'three meters above the sky'
d. **trčati tri puta**
run three times
'run three times'

What can be observed is that MPs vary in their linear position depending on which hierarchically higher phrase they are part of. In the literature, there are two proposals for the syntactic analysis of measure phrases (Schwarzschild 2005: 208–209). The first approach interprets them as being argumental noun phrases (e.g., Creswell 1976, Heim 2001, Meier 2003), and the other (Schwarzschild 2005, Corver 2009), treats them as predicate nominals. According to diagnostic tests given by Schwarzschild (2005:223, 228) and Corver (2009: 67–76), measure phrases in Serbian also behave like nominal predicates. Thus, we will adopt Corver's approach (2009) in analyzing MPs in nominal and adjectival domains in Serbian. Specifically, we will also assume that MP is a predicate of a small clause (XP), which may undergo movement to the specifier position of a higher functional projection FP. FP can be further dominated by DP or DegP, which may host other displacements from XP, necessary to derive various linear orderings observed with MPs. In the nominal domain, there are three distinct linear positions that measure phrases can have - premodifying (MP + N) as in (2a), and (N + MP / N + *od* 'of' + MP_{GEN}), which can be with or without the preposition *od*, as in (2b) and (2c), respectively.

- (2) a. **dva metra dubine**
two meters depth_{GEN}
b. **dubina od dva metra**
depth_{NOM} of two meters
c. **dubine dva metra**
depth_{GEN} two meters

These three linear orders are not available for all NPs. Nouns denoting matter can have only one linear order, and that is the one in which measure phrases are in the premodifying

position (e.g. *dve kante peska* ‘two buckets of sand’); nouns denoting dimensions (e.g. *dubina* ‘depth’) can have any of the three orders (e.g. *dva metra dubine*, *dubine dva metra*, and *dubina od dva metra*); and nouns denoting any kind of object that can be measured can only have the postmodifying MP + *od* ‘of’ + MP_{GEN} order (*put od sto kilometara* ‘road of hundred kilometers’).

In the domain of dimensional adjectives, MPs can have two different linear positions. In fact, they behave in a similar way as with nouns denoting dimensions. They can occur in the premodifying position (MP + A), as in (3a), and the postmodifying position (A + MP) as in (3b), but the construction A + *od* ‘of’ + MP_{GEN} is not available in this case.

- (3) a. ***dva metra visoka***
 two meters tall_{NOM}
 b. *visoka dva metra*
 tall_{NOM} two meters
 c. **visoka od dva metra*
 tall_{NOM} of two meters
 ‘two meters tall’

Since MPs are here treated as predicate nominals and their linear structure does not seem to mirror this, internal structure of noun and adjective phrases with MPs need to be further explained. Like Corver (2009), we too propose the inclusion of a functional phrase which allows for the MP predicate to move higher, but also for the nominal copula to be introduced, as the spelled out *od* or as a zero copula.

Linear structures MP + N and MP + A (*dva metra dubine*, *dva metra visoka*), need only one operation: predicate displacement of MP from the small clause XP to the specifier of the FP. For the structures N + MP and A + MP (*dubina dva metra*, *visoka dva metra*) after predicate inversion, movement of remnant XP to the specifier of DP is also needed. The linear structure N + *od* + MP_{GEN} (*dubina od dva metra*), available only in the nominal domain, firstly needs the predicate inversion, then the head movement of the nominal copula from F⁰ to D⁰, and finally, the remnant XP movement, resulting in the noun moving to the specifier position of DP (for adjectives, the higher position is DegP).

Two issues require further examination. First, we need to look into the question of why the linear order available to MPs depends on the noun they modify. Second, the fact that dimensional adjectives share the same structure with nouns denoting dimensions in all but one case of A + *od* + MP_{GEN}, (which is a possible structure for APs in other languages, e.g. French) (Corver 2009:79) should be examined further.

Keywords: measure phrases, Serbian language, nominal domain, adjectival domain

References:

- Corver, Norbert. 2009. Getting the (syntactic) measure of Measure Phrases. *The Linguistic Review* 26(1): 67-134.
 Schwarzschild, Roger. 2005. Measure phrases as modifiers of adjectives. *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes* 34: 207-228.

The existence of two BEs

Valentina Đorić (University of Novi Sad)

The topic of this paper is the existence of two syntactically different realizations of the verb *be* in SC, just like *ser* and *estar* in Spanish or two different copular verbs that exist in Bengali. One *be* is found in existential construction and the other in copular clauses (specificational and predication). According to Chvany (1975), in Russian, the existential *byt* appears in existential, locative and possessive constructions, whereas the non-existential *byt* appears in predicative copular constructions. I propose a division into existential and non-existential verbs *be* in SC and this is supported by their syntactic and semantic behavior. In the Serbian linguistic literature, it is stated that there are two separate realizations of the functional *be*: *biti* and *jesam*. My suggestion is that they are the same and that the difference between two different realizations is not lexical, but syntactic and semantic and primarily oriented towards existential and non-existential constructions. The major difference is in the distribution of the present tense and the fact that existence is governed by semantic restrictions. However, there are smaller nuances in their syntactic behavior, which will be displayed through various tests. The important question is also how this difference is reflected in the structure of the small clause, assumed for *be*-constructions.

Various syntactic tests, such as sentential negation, raising to object, case distribution, extraction etc, will be applied to examine the behavior of these constructions. For example, one of the tests includes raising to subject and this test in particular indicates the presence of small clause predication. In existentials, it is not possible to raise the verb and form a sentence with the verb *seem* or *činiti se*. However, in copular constructions it is possible to do so. The sentences with existentials are ungrammatical or less acceptable in comparison to other typical copular constructions.

- (1) a. Petar se čini najboljim igračem u timu
 Peter_{NOM.SG} SE seem_{PRES.SG} best_{INSTR} player_{INSTR} in team
 'Peter seems to be the best player in the team'
- b. Najboljim igračem u timu se čini Petar
 best_{INSTR} player_{INSTR} in team SE seem_{PRES.SG} Peter_{NOM.SG}
 'The best player in the teams seems to be Peter'
- c. *Knjiga se čini da je bila na stolu
 book_{NOM.SG} SE seem_{PRES.SG} to be_{PAST.SG.FEM} on table
 'The book seems to have been on the table'
- d. ?Čini se da je bilo knjige na stolu
 it seem_{PRES.SG} to be_{PAST.SG} book_{GEN.SG} on table_{LOC.SG}
 'It seems that there's been a book on the table'
- e. ?Čini se da ima knjiga/ neke knjige na stolu
 seem_{PRES.SG} SE to have_{PRES.SG} book_{GEN.PL}/ some book_{GEN.SG} on table
 LIT. 'It seems that there HAS books/some book on the table'

The semantic behaviour of the constructions will be also addressed. Specifically, I will look into the semantic type of predicate the two verbs *be* select (stage level predicates (SLP) and

individual level predicates (ILP), cf. Kratzer 1976). On a preliminary examination, it seems that that copular *be* selects SLP and the existential selects ILP. Finally, the structure and syntactic derivation in SC for both constructions will be proposed.

Keywords: be, copulas, existentials, predication, specificational

References:

- Belvin, Robert and Marcel den Dikken. 1997. There, happens, to, be, have. *Lingua* 101: 151-183.
- Dikken, Marcel den. 1995. *Copulas*. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam/HIL.
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Methodological issues in language acquisition research with young children

Nina Ilić (University of Novi Sad)

In this talk, the author will first briefly present methods which are commonly used in language acquisition research (data from spontaneous speech and experimental methods). Both the advantages and disadvantages of the methods will be discussed. Even though analyzing naturalistic data has many advantages, such as age-independency, higher validity and frequency and input information available, its major problem is the lack of data for analyzing certain less frequent phenomena (Eisenbeiss 2010). On the other hand, experiments allow researchers to control for variables and look into some more language specific phenomena. However, they are usually age dependent. Moreover, researchers cannot check for frequency or analyze the input children are exposed to (Eisenbass 2010). An overview of elicited production experiments will then be provided, since this is the second most-widely used method in language acquisition research, coming after the analysis of spontaneous speech data (Ambridge & Rowland 2013). The author will then focus on other difficulties a researcher can face if they opt for an experimental method (the number of participants, obtaining parental consent forms, ensuring stimuli reliability, participants' attention, and the lack of child language corpus in Serbian).

After this theoretical introduction, the author will present some of the problems previously encountered in her research on verb production in first language acquisition, and the way she has dealt with them so far. Some of the results of the pilot research into the acquisition of *se*-verbs in Serbian (real reflexive, lexicalized reflexive, real reciprocal, lexicalized reciprocal and anti-causative verbs) will be presented as well, focusing on the problems that need to be corrected in further research. These mainly involve trying to find more adequate verbs for children, which can be easily presented as well, and improving stimuli reliability. The results of the research have indicated that anti-causative *se*-verbs, which have a more complex syntactic structure than other types (since they involve a complex syntactic process of derivation from a transitive verb including the elimination of the external +Cause theta role) are acquired at a later stage of speech development in comparison with real reflexive and real reciprocal verbs. However, no statistically significant difference was found between other verb types. It is necessary to involve a greater number of participants in the future and make necessary improvements.

Keywords: first language acquisition, experimental methods, verb production

References:

- Ambridge, Ben, and Caroline F. Rowland. 2013. Experimental methods in studying child language acquisition. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science* 4: 149–168.
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A rule-based approach to the automatic identification of suffixes on Serbian nouns

Aniko Kovač and Miloš Košprdić (University of Novi Sad)

In languages which have a transparent orthographic system with a near one-to-one correspondence between phonemes and graphemes, the developmental process implies a transition from phonological recoding to whole word reading, which has been shown to be essential for reading expertise (Mahony, Singson, and Mann 2000). Children are increasingly aware of certain chains of letters associated with meaning, thus conforming meaningful processing units larger than letters and smaller than words – morphemes. In such languages, the role of suffix frequency in lexical access has also been proved to be highly relevant (Lázaro, Illera, and Sainz 2016). Frequent suffixes speed up responses in morphologically complex words, showing that derivational suffixes are activated as significant units leading to faster word recognition. In Serbian, the most efficient way to coin new words is through derivation, not through composition. Intuitively, this suggests that the role of suffixes might be more relevant in Serbian than in other languages such as English, for instance. The goal of this paper is to develop a program that will be the first step towards generating a database of suffix frequencies as there is currently no such information available for Serbian.

The program was developed using Python 3.x with an aim to identify all nouns that contain a suffix. Suffixes were viewed from a synchronic perspective – suffixes that have fused with the base over time so that they are not identified by contemporary speakers were not treated as suffixes (e.g. *krpelj* [tick]). We have also identified suffixes not only on nouns derived through suffixation as the last step of the derivational process, but also on nouns involving other derivational processes (e.g. *primorje* [seaside]). Our program takes an automatized, rule-based approach to suffix identification. Our rule-set relies on 2 basic criteria: (1) whether the base (after removing the suffix) is a lexicalized element in Serbian; (2) the possibility of substituting a suffix candidate with another suffix thus forming a lexicalized noun. For the program to treat an element as a suffix, at least one of the rules needs to be satisfied. The list of noun suffixes and their allomorphs used in the code was devised based on literature (Klajn 2002), but excluded suffixes of foreign origin.

The program will be tested on the Lemmatized and Annotated Corpus of Contemporary Serbian, *SrpLemKor* (Popović 2010, Utvić 2011), which contains 19,000 noun lemmas. The accuracy of the program will be evaluated on a random sample of 200 nouns evaluated by 10 subjects taking into account inter-annotator agreement. Based on their answers, we will establish the precision and recall of our algorithm, as well as the harmonic mean F_1 score.

Keywords: suffixes, nouns, frequency, automatic identification, computational linguistics

References:

Mahony, Diana, Maria Singson, and Virginia Mann. 2000. Reading ability and sensitivity to morphological relations. *Reading and Writing* 12(3): 191–218.

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Gaps in the aspectual paradigms of experiencer verbs in Serbian

Peda Kovačević (University of Novi Sad)

In this talk, I will address the gaps that appear in the aspectual paradigms of experiencer verbs in Serbian. My attempt will be to link those gaps to differences in argument structure possibilities of those verbs.

While most experiencer verbs can have both a perfective and an imperfective version (1), there are a few that only have imperfective options (2). A relatively small group of experiencer verbs can have a secondary imperfective version as well (3).

The picture seems to be that the aspectual gap of the first type (i.e. the lack of imperfective) appears with only two verbs belonging to Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) Class 1 (subject experiencers) (4) and several verbs belonging to Class 3 (oblique-cased object experiencers) while all Class 2 (accusative-cased object experiencers) have both versions. Interestingly, both Class 1 verbs that do not have perfective counterparts contain the infix – **va** typical of secondary imperfectives. The same infix is also present with several Class 1 and 2 verbs which do not exhibit a full three-member paradigm suggesting the lack of a primary imperfective and another potential gap (5). Full three-member paradigms are available only with some Class 2 verbs.

Additionally, some verbs that do not fit the relevant classification allow the imperfective option but in that case they turn into typical Class 2 verbs (6). These verbs obligatorily appear with the SE particle which marks argument structure alterations with other verbs. Finally, perfectivization of imperfective verbs is sometimes accomplished by presenting the onset of a state/process as an event (7a) and sometimes with respect to the outcome or result (7b).

I will argue that perfectivization with respect to the onset of a state is possible only with those verbs whose subject is interpreted as the initiator and the object is an unaffected theme (e.g. *voleti* 'love'). The denotation of such verbs does not include RESULT (and their VP structure does not include Result Phrase – cf. Ramchand 2008). When the denotation of the verb includes RESULT, perfectivization can only make reference to the outcome or result state. Next, I will suggest that the lack of primary imperfectives with some verbs can be explained as a consequence of the lack of the process component. Finally, the semantic incompatibility of some verbs with either initiator or result will be taken as the reason behind the impossibility of any form of perfective aspect with such verbs. This happens because their subject cannot be interpreted as initiator to license perfectivization with reference to the onset nor can their object be interpreted as an affected theme to license resultative perfectivization.

- (1) a. Jovana nervira glasna muzika
 John.ACC annoy loud.NOM music.NOM
 'Loud music annoys John'
- b. Jovana je iznervirala glasna muzika
 John.ACC is PF.annoy loud.nom music.NOM
 'Loud music annoyed John'
- (2) a. Jovan se boji glasne muzike

- John.NOM SE scare loud.gen music.GEN
'John is afraid of loud music'
- b. *Jovan se pobojava glasne muzike
John.NOM SE PF.scare loud.GEN music.GEN
'John got scared of loud music'
- (3) a. Jovana je brinula tatina priča
John.ACC is worry dad's story.NOM
'Dad's story worried John'
- b. Jovana je zabrinula tatina priča
John.ACC is PF.worry dad's story.NOM
'Dad's story got John worried'
- c. Jovana je zabrinjavala tatina priča
John.ACC is PF.worry.IMPF dad's story.NOM
'John was getting worried by dad's story/Dad's story got John worried repeatedly'
- (4) a. Jovan obožava Ivanu
John.NOM adore Ivana.ACC
'John adores Ivana'
- b. Jovan očekuje Ivanu
John.NOM expects Ivana.ACC
'John expects Ivana'
- (5) a. Tatina priča je uzrujala Jovana
Dad's story.NOM is upset John.ACC
'Dad's story made John upset'
- b. Tatina priča uzrujava Jovana
Dad's story.NOM upsets.IMPF John.ACC
'Dad's story is getting John upset/Dad's story is upsetting John'
- (6) a. Jovan se divi tatinoj priči
John.NOM SE admire dad's story.DAT
'John admires dad's story'
- b. Jovana je zadivila tatina priča
John.ACC is PF.admire dad's story.NOM
'John was amazed by dad's story'
- (7) a. Jovan je zavoleo Ivanu na moru
John.NOM is PF.love Ivana.ACC at seaside
'John fell in love with Ivana/John started to love Ivana at the seaside'
- b. Jovan je iznervirao Ivanu na žurci.
John.NOM is PF.irritate Ivana.ACC at party
'John got Ivana irritated at the party'

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UNIVERZITET U NOVOM SADU,
FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET NOVI SAD,
21000 Novi Sad,
Dr Zorana Đinđića br. 2
www.ff.uns.ac.rs

Elektronsko izdanje
<http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2018/978-86-6065-494-8>

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Библиотека Матице српске, Нови Сад

811.111(082)

NOVI Sad Linguistic Colloquium 8 (2018 ; Novi Sad)

Book of abstracts [Elektronski izvor] / Novi Sad Linguistic Colloquium 8 - NSLingColl 8, 27
December 2018 ; [editors Tanja Milićev, Ivana Đurić Paunović]. - Novi Sad : Faculty of Philosophy,
2018

Način dostupa (URL): <http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2018/978-86-6065-494-8>. - Opis
zasnovan na stanju na dan 21.12.2018. - Nasl s naslovnog ekrana. - Bibliografija uz svaki apstrakt.

ISBN 978-86-6065-494-8

a) Енглески језик - Зборници
COBISS.SR-ID 327434759
