



Unlike in (2a), however, in (5) the writing event can be conceived of as telic, (5a), and atelic, (5b). Crucially, in (5b), the argument NP ‘letters’ has the bare, not the unique maximal interpretation; denying explicitly that all the letters participate in the writing event does not yield contradiction. Telicity in (5a) implies unique maximal interpretation (‘all the letters’), as usually. Therefore, AC in Russian nominalizations is the same as in English clauses in (1).

In Nenets, an SDC is a  $vP$  denoting caused event (circled constituent in (4c), bracketed in (6)) embedded within the syntactic causative:

- (6) a.  $man^j$  [ $vP$   $s'id^j a$   $\check{c}as-xana$   $pet^j a-n^{\check{t}}$   $p'is^j mu$   $tola]-pte-ja-n.$   
 I two hour-LOC P.-DAT letter.ACC.PL read-CAUS-SFS-1SG  
 ‘I made Peter read (all the || \* $\emptyset$ ) letters in two hours.’  
 b.  $man^j$  [ $vP$   $s'id^j a$   $\check{c}as$   $pet^j a-n^{\check{t}}$   $p'is^j mu$   $tola]-pte-ja-n.$   
 I two hour P.-DAT letter.ACC.PL read-CAUS-SFS-1SG  
 ‘I made Peter read ( $\emptyset$  || \*all the) letters for two hours.’

As (6a-b) show, the predicate ‘Peter write letters’ can yield both telic and atelic interpretations, and this again correlates with the interpretation of incremental argument in a way characteristic of English-type AC. Crucially, in (3) a corresponding fully inflected clause is obligatorily telic, and its incremental argument is obligatorily quantized.

**Outline of the analysis.** In Russian and Nenets, undetermined NPs of predicative type  $\langle e, t \rangle$  can be shifted freely into one of the appropriate argumental types by type-shifting operators. The result of their application are DPs that denote individuals (of type  $e$ ) or generalized quantifiers (of type  $\langle \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ ). Specifically, two type-shifters available in Russian and Nenets are  $\exists$  (i.e.,  $\lambda P \lambda R \lambda e \exists x [P(x) \wedge R(x)(e)]$ ) and  $\sigma$  (i.e.,  $\lambda P \sigma x.P(x)$ ), where  $\sigma x P x$  denotes the maximal element in the extension of  $P$  in the sense of Link 1983. Applying  $\exists$  and  $\sigma$  to the denotation of cumulative NPs like ‘letters’ yield DP denotations  $\lambda R_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda e \exists x [\text{letters}(x) \wedge R(x)(e)]$  and  $\sigma x.\text{letters}(x)$ , respectively. After merging these DPs in the internal argument position, introducing the external argument via Event Identification (Kratzer 1996), and QRing the generalized quantifier, we get  $vP$  denotations in (7):

- (7)a.  $\| [vP P. \text{read} [DP \exists \text{letters}]] \| = \lambda e \exists y [\text{agent}(\text{Vasja})(e) \wedge \text{eat}(y)(e) \wedge \text{letters}(y)]$   
 b.  $\| [vP P. \text{read} [DP \sigma \text{letters}]] \| = \lambda e [\text{agent}(\text{Vasja})(e) \wedge \text{eat}(\sigma x.\text{letters}(x))(e)]$

(7b) is quantized, hence telic, since no part of an event in which the maximal entity that falls under the denotation of ‘letters’ is read is an event in which the same entity is read. (7a) fails to be quantized, since any part of an event in which some letters are read is an event in which some (smaller part of) letters are read, down to individual letters. If it is  $vPs$  like (7a-b) that are embedded under the nominal morphology in (4b) and under the causative morphology in (4c), this explains telic and atelic interpretations in (5a)/(6a) and (5b)/(6b). The fact that at the  $vP/VP$ -level aspectual composition is always English-type follows.

Now assume that  $vPs$  like (7a-b) continue projecting a clause in Russian and Nenets. At some point of derivation  $vP$  merges with the aspectual head  $Asp$ , as represented in (8).

- (8) a. Finite clause:  $[... [TP [ ... [AspectP \text{DEFAULT ASP} ... [ ... [vP [ ... [VP ... ]]]]]]]]$

At this point, I assume a version of Bohnemeyer and Swift’s (2004) default aspect theory. I do not have space to present this theory in detail, but its basic tenet is: telic predicates come out perfective, atelic predicates imperfective. The theory thus offers an explanation why perfective finite clauses in (2)-(3) are obligatorily telic and why their incremental argument receives UMI: perfectivity comes along with telic predicates in (7b), not with atelic predicates in (7a). The difference between languages with English-type AC and Russian-type AC is thus as follows. In languages like English, DPs cannot go without overt determiners, so aspectual ambiguity is minimal at the VP-level already. In languages like Russian/Nenets, where DPs can lack overt determiners, the ambiguity is not minimized at the VP level: this only happens at the level of functional structure dominating  $vP$ , where the default aspect does its job.

**Conclusion.** Evidence from SDCs (nominalizations and syntactic causatives) suggest that at the  $vP/VP$  level aspectual composition in languages like English and Russian/Nenets works in exactly the same way. The difference between languages comes at later stages of syntactic derivation, when functional (specifically, aspectual) structure is projected.

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