

CLA 2015. **Grammaticalizing ‘big’ situations in Bulgarian.**

María Luisa Rivero, Ana Arregui, Nikolay Slavkov. University of Ottawa.

Semantic theories building on Kratzer-style situation semantics have appealed to minimal situation ‘size’ to account for adverb quantification, presupposition projection, etc. [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, a.o.]. In this paper, we argue that ‘big’ situations play a fundamental role in the semantics of viewpoint aspect, and propose that in Bulgarian (Bg), verbal morphology grammaticalizes the distinction in imperfectives between habitual readings (i.e. ‘big’ situations) vs. ongoing readings (i.e. ‘small’ situations).

Bg verbs encode aspectual relations in imperfective vs. perfective stems, prefixes (Pr), and aorist (Aor) vs. imperfect (Impf) contrasts. Habitual and ongoing readings arise with Vs in the imperfect tense, (1-2), which hosts a modal operator IMPF [1, 7]:

- (1) *Predi 20 godini, decata [gledaxa] po-malko televizija.* Habitual
[watch.Impf] ‘20 years ago, children **watched** less TV.’
- (2) *Včera Ivan [stroeše] pjasāčen zamāk.* Ongoing
[build.Impf] ‘Yesterday Ivan **was building** a sand castle.’

In (semantic) imperfective constructions with habitual and ongoing readings restricted by adjunct clauses, the morphology of the restrictor V discriminates between the two readings. [A] Iterative / ‘big’ situations conducive to habitual readings display a layered morphology dubbed **Perfective Imperfect** = [Perf.Impf] in (3): a perfective V with an imperfect tense inflection. [Perf.Impfs] exclude ongoing readings.

- (3) *Kogato Ivan [vlezeše] v stajata, az (vse) govorex po telefona.* Habitual

When Ivan [Pr.come.Perf.Impf] in room.the, I (always) talk.Impf.Impf on phone
‘Whenever Ivan **would enter** the room, I would (always) be talking on the phone.’

[B] Restrictors in episodic sentences with ongoing readings display (usually prefixed) aorist Vs, which exclude habitual readings: (4).

- (4) *Kogato Ivan [vleze] v stajata, az (*vse) govorex po telefona.* Episodic

When Ivan [Pr.come.Perf.Aor] in room.the, I (*always) talk.Impf.Impf on phone
‘When Ivan entered the room, I was (*always) talking on the phone.’

We argue that in Bg, [Perf.Impf] morphology derives in semantics **Sum-situations** with sub-situations as its atomic members. Thus, [Perf.Impfs] can only be true in ‘big’ (i.e. habitual) situations. We develop a compositional analysis of [Perf.Impfs] where perfective V-stems morphologically encode ‘small’/ episodic situations; the IMPF operator in the imperfect inflection scopes over the perfective V, and sums up such atomic situations. Given this proposal, ‘big’ situation size is grammaticalized in Bg.

To conclude, constraints on syntax and morphology can target ‘situation size’. Size constraints are familiar in the semantic literature, but the focus has been on ‘small’ (minimal) situations. We argue for both the necessity of constraints on ‘big’ situations, and their grammaticalization. In Bg, aspectual interactions encoded in morpho-syntax result in propositions that can only be true in ‘big’ situations, accounting for restrictions on the modal interpretations of imperfective aspect.

References. [1] Arregui, Rivero, Salanova. 2014. *Crosslinguistic var. in imperfectivity*. NLLT 32; [2] Berman. 1987. *Situation sem, adverbs of quantification*; [3] Buring. 2004. *Crossover sit*. NLS12; [4] Elbourne. 2005. *Sit. and individuals*. [5] Heim. 1990. *Donkey anaphora*. L&P 13; [6] Kratzer. 1989. *Invest ... lumps of thought*. L&P 12. [7] Rivero, Slavkov. 2014. *Imperfect(ive) var.: Bulgarian*. Lingua 150.