
DONVM SEMANTICVM

OPERA LINGVISTICA ET LOGICA IN HONOREM BARBARAE PARTEE A DISCIPVLIS
AMICISQVE ROSSICIS OBLATA

Edited by

PETER ARKADIEV IVAN KAPITONOV
YURY LANDER EKATERINA RAKHILINA
AND SERGEI TATEVOSOV

with assistance of

PAVEL RUDNEV

MOSCOW
2015
LRC PUBLISHERS

Contents

Предисловие	1
1 Барбара Парти — задача наведения мостов Вера Исааковна Подлеская	3
2 Negative events: Evidence from Lithuanian Peter Arkadiev	7
3 Pair-list answers in naïve speakers and professional linguists Asya Achimova, Peter Staroverov, Viviane Déprez and Julien Musolino	21
4 Cause in Russian and the formal typology of coordination and subordination Oleg Belyaev	36
5 Notes on perspective-sensitivity Lisa Bylinina, Eric McCready and Yasutada Sudo	68
6 Формальная семантика и философия: мировой опыт и российские перспективы Екатерина Вострикова и Петр Куслий	82
7 Pronouns with multiple indices as conjunctions and disjunctions Natalia Ivlieva and Alexander Podobryaev	99

8	On the quantification of events	112
	Ivan Kapitonov	
9	Quantifiers in RSL: distributivity and compositionality	123
	Vadim Kimmelman	
10	Genitive of cause and cause of genitive	137
	Julia Kuznetsova and Ekaterina Rakhilina	
11	On how compositionality relates to syntactic prototypes and grammaticalization	148
	Yury Lander	
12	Factivity and unreal contexts: the Russian case	158
	Alexander Letuchiy	
13	Semantics of poetical tropes: Non-Fregeanity and paraconsistent logic	180
	Basil Lourié and Olga Mitrenina	
14	Tsakhur as a case-stacking language	195
	Ekaterina Lyutikova	
15	Русские местоимения и снятая утвердительность	219
	Елена Викторовна Падучева	
16	Cluster analysis in DLP technologies	243
	Ekaterina Pshehotskaya and Nikita Nikitinsky	
17	An alternative to the two solutions for the saturative <i>na-+-sja</i> construction	257
	Eugenia Romanova	
18	<i>Kendisi</i> revisited	267
	Pavel Rudnev	

19 Degree modifiers: A new perspective on their semantics and the role of stress in it	276
Galit Sassoon and Natalia Zevakhina	
20 Interpreting sentences without prosody and context	290
Natalia Slioussar	
21 On argument structure, lexical relations, prefixation and coercion	303
Sergei Tatevosov	
22 Две миссии Барбары	320
Владимир Борисович Борщев	
Bibliography	332

Abbreviations

1	First person	GEN	genitive
2	Second person	I	noun class I
3	Third person	II	noun class II
AA	animate attributive	III	noun class III
ABL	ablative	IN	in
ABS	absolute	INF	infinitive
ACC	accusative	INS	instrumental
ACT	active	IPF	imperfective
AFF	affective	IRR	irrealis
AGR	agreement	IV	noun class IV
ALL	allative	LOC	locative
AOBL	oblique attributive	M	masculine
AOR	eorist	N	noun
ATTR	attributive	NDIR	non-directed
AUX	auxiliary	NEG	negative
CNT	count	NEUT	neuter
COM	comitative	NH	non-human
COP	copula	NOM	nominative
CVB	converb	OBL	oblique
D	determiner	P	adposition
DAT	dative	PA	active participle
DEF	definite	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PFX	prefix
DU	dual	PL	plural
EL	elative	POSS	possessive
ERG	ergative	PRED	predicative
F	feminine	PRS	present
FUT	future	PRT	particle

PST	past	TOP	topic
PTCP	participle	TR	transitive
REFL	reflexive	V	verb
SG	singular	VBE	existential verb
SUPERS	superessive	VEXP	experiential verb

Negative events: Evidence from Lithuanian

Peter Arkadiev

To Barbara with love and thanks
for much more than introducing me
to formal semantics.

As a starting point of this article I take the following observation by [Stockwell, Schachter & Partee \(1973: 250–251\)](#):¹

“[T]here are certain cases where a negation of an event may, loosely speaking, itself be an event, e.g. *not paying taxes*, *not getting up early*, *not going to church*, *not eating dinner*, *not thinking clearly* (semantically, the “event” seems to be the breaking of a habitual or expected pattern of activity).”

The scare quotes in the quotation above seem to be due to the well-known philosophical debate regarding the possibility of “negative events” or “negative facts”, see [Horn \(1989: 51–55\)](#) for a historical overview, which is concluded by the following statement:

¹ This article is an outcome of an investigation whose results have been presented at the Workshop on the Typology of the Perfect at the Institute of Linguistic Studies in Saint-Petersburg (April 2013), at the 46th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea in Split (September 2013), and at the research seminar of the Philological Faculty of Vilnius University (April 2013). I thank all my Lithuanian consultants and the participants of the above events, especially Axel Holvoet, Timur Maisak, Rolandas Mikulskas, Jurgis Pakerys and Ruprecht von Waldenfels, for their feedback, as well as Sabine Iatridou and Sergey Tatevosov for an enlightening discussion. None of the above colleagues bears responsibility for any shortcomings of this paper. In particular, the formal analysis is presented here for the first time, and any errors or inconsistencies thereof solely belong to the author. The research has been supported by the Russian Foundation for the Humanities, grants Nos. 12-34-01345 and 14-04-00580.

“The question of whether there are negative events cannot be answered directly, by invoking the evidence of natural language, especially in the absence of a consensus as to what counts as an event.” (Horn 1989: 55)

This short paper aims at providing linguistic evidence for the existence of negative events, coming from the interaction of negation with perfect in Lithuanian, a Baltic language, which has not hitherto received enough attention from theoretical linguists (see Arkadiev, Holvoet & Wiemer 2015). The argument will be both empirical and theoretical, invoking recent proposals concerning the semantics of the perfect (Nishiyama & Koenig 2010) crucially relying on the notion of event, which, as it seems, has become fairly uncontroversial in the last decades (see, inter alia, Ramchand & Svenonius 2014 for a discussion of the status and representation of events in grammar, and references therein).

Lithuanian has complex morphology with rich inflection in both nominals and verbs, the latter distinguishing four synthetic tenses (present, simple past, habitual past, future); there is also a Slavic-style system of deriving telic (“perfective”) verbs from atelic (“imperfective”) verbs primarily by means of prefixes. This system is hardly as productive and regular as the corresponding Slavic one and does not interact with tense in any significant way. For an overview of the verbal system of Lithuanian, see Ambranzas (1997: 220–376), and Arkadiev 2011, 2012 and references therein specifically on the question of aspect.

In addition to the synthetic tenses, Lithuanian has periphrastic constructions consisting of the auxiliary verb *būti* ‘be’ fully inflected for tense and person and the past active participle of the lexical verb inflected only for the agreement in number, gender and (nominative) case with the subject of the clause. These constructions are called “perfect” or “resultative” (see Geniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988) and generally denote a state resulting from a previous event. This state may be the **target state** (Parsons 1990: 235) of the event denoted by the verb phrase, as in (1); in this case the construction expresses the resultative meaning proper, restricted to telic verbs denoting a change of state in their subject. Alternatively, the state denoted by the perfect construction may be more abstract and relate to the property of the subject arisen due to its mere participation in the event (cf. Parsons’ **resultant state**), as in (2); in general this is the only interpretation of the perfect available with lexical verbs not denoting a change of state of the subject.

- (1) **Es-u** **apsireng-us-i** nauj-a suknel-e.
 AUX-PRS.1SG put.on.oneself-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F new-INS.SG.F dress-INS.SG
 ‘I have put on my new dress.’ (the speaker is wearing her dress at the moment of speech)
- (2) Tai turbūt geriausi-as anekdot-as, kok-į **es-u**
 that perhaps best-NOM.SG.M joke-NOM.SG what-ACC.SG.M AUX-PRS.1SG
girdėj-ęs.
 hear-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
 ‘This is perhaps the best joke I’ve (ever) heard.’ (LKT)

The use of the perfect in Lithuanian is more restricted than the use of its English counterpart. First, the restrictions on the resultative proper use of the perfect are more stringent in Lithuanian, such a use being largely unattested with verbs denoting the change of state of a participant other than the syntactic subject. Second, Lithuanian does not have the so-called “universal” or “inclusive” use of the perfect (cf. e.g. [Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski 2001](#)); it is not possible to express a durative situation lasting up to the reference time by means of the perfect in Lithuanian. Thus, only (4a) with the present tense form can serve as a felicitous translation for English (3).

- (3) I **have been working** at the University for 2 years already.
- (4) a. Universitet-e **dirb-u** jau dvej-us met-us.
 university-LOC.SG work-PRS.1SG already two-ACC.PL.M year-ACC.PL
 ‘=(3)’
- b. #Universitet-e **es-u** **dirb-ęs** dvej-us
 university-LOC.SG AUX-PRS.1SG work-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M two-ACC.PL.M
 met-us.
 year-ACC.PL
 ‘I have worked at the university for two years [and now I don’t work there].’

Let us now turn to the interaction of the perfect with negation. Negation in Lithuanian is expressed by the prefix *ne-* attaching to the left of the word in its scope, and in clauses with synthetic tenses sentential negation attaches to the verb, as in (5b).

- (5) a. Miegoj-au. sleep-PST.1SG
‘I was sleeping / slept.’
- b. **Ne**-miegoj-au. NEG-sleep-PST.1SG
‘I was not sleeping / didn’t sleep.’

What is non-trivial and constitutes the main empirical point of my article is the fact that the perfect sentence in (6a) has two negative counterparts: in (6b) negation attaches to the auxiliary, while in (6c) it shows up on the participle.

- (6) a. Es-u miegoj-us-i.
AUX-PRS.1SG sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
‘I [female] have slept.’
- b. **Ne**-s-u miegoj-us-i.
NEG-AUX-PRS.1SG sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
‘I have not slept.’
- c. Es-u **ne**-miegoj-us-i.
AUX-PRS.1SG NEG-sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
‘I have not slept.’

The two negative variants of the perfect at first glance and out of context seem to be truth-conditionally equivalent, however, they are clearly used in different situations, see naturally occurring examples (7) and (8).

- (7) Aš dar niekada anksčiau **ne-s-u** miegoj-us-i
I.NOM yet never earlier NEG-AUX-PRS.1SG sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
vien-a kambar-yje.
one-NOM.SG.F room-LOC.SG
‘I have never slept alone in a room before.’ [<http://tinyurl.com/p6x5dzj>, accessed 4 March 2015.]
- (8) Aš **es-u ne-miegoj-us-i** pusantr-os
I.NOM AUX-PRS.1SG NEG-sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F one.and.a.half-GEN.SG
par-os.
24.hours-GEN.SG
‘I have not slept for 36 hours.’ [<http://tinyurl.com/nutcg1j>, accessed 4 March 2015.]

Examples like (7) with the negation on the auxiliary (henceforth “higher negation”) are used when the speaker denies the relevance of the situation denoted by the verb phrase, e.g. asserting the lack of experience of participating in the relevant event. By contrast, examples like (8) with the negation attached to the participle of the lexical verb (“lower negation”) are used to assert the result of not having participated in the event; thus, (8) denotes the state of the speaker resulting from her not having slept for 36 hours. Importantly, the two constructions differ with respect to the types of adverbials they co-occur with and their scope; higher negation freely admits adverbials of universal quantification like *niekada* ‘never’ or *gyvenime* ‘in the lifetime’, denoting the time span of the perfect state. However, such adverbials are rarely if at all attested in sentences with lower negation; here various durational adverbials are found, and what they take in their scope is not the perfect state but rather the negated event: in (8) it is “not sleeping” that lasted for 36 hours.²

The “duality” of negation in the periphrastic perfect illustrated above is a fully systematic phenomenon in Lithuanian, amply attested in the existing corpora and recognized by native speakers. Below I give several further examples illustrating the sometimes subtle contrast between the higher and the lower negations.

- (9) Nei vien-o blog-o komentar-o apie j-uos
 nor one-GEN.SG.M bad-GEN.SG.M comment-GEN.SG about 3-ACC.PL.M
ne-s-u **skaiči-us-i**.
 NEG-AUX-PRS.1SG read-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
 ‘I have not read a single bad comment about them.’ [<http://tinyurl.com/mqxryty>,
 accessed 4 March 2015.]

In (9) the existence of any event of reading is denied, highlighted by the use of the universal quantifier *nei vienas* ‘not a single’; although the situation in (10) is superficially similar, here the speaker uses the lower negation to assert her being in the state of not having read some books and imply that not having read them is a fact important for the current discourse. From the data at hand it appears that this kind of discursive highlighting of the negative event by

² It has to be acknowledged that in (8) the temporal adverbial indicates not only the duration of the non-sleeping event, but also the duration of the perfect state as well; examples like (8) could be argued to constitute the only cases when Lithuanian perfect appears to have the “universal” meaning. However, such an interpretation is most likely to arise pragmatically: normally, for the resultant state of the non-occurrence of the event to hold, the event should not occur during the time span of this state. There are examples, however, when this pragmatic implication is overridden, see (19) below.

overtly marking it as such is one of the primary uses of the construction with the lower negation in Lithuanian.

- (10) Nors yra keli-os knyg-os, kuri-ų dar
 though be.PRS.3 several-NOM.PL.F book-NOM.PL which-GEN.PL yet
es-u ne-skaiči-us-i.
 AUX-PRS.1SG NEG-read-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
 ‘Though there are several books [by that author] which I have not yet read.’
 [<http://tinyurl.com/lyvn7s7>, accessed 4 March 2015.]

In the following examples with the verb *mokytis* ‘study’ we observe a similar contrast: in (11) with the higher negation it is denied that the subject has an experience of purposefully studying a craft, while in (12) the fact ‘did not study in the 3rd grade’ is asserted and its consequences are discussed.

- (11) Ši-o amat-o j-is **nėra** specialiai
 DEM-GEN.SG.M craft-GEN.SG 3-NOM.SG.M NEG+AUX.PRS.3 specially
mok-ęs-is...
 learn-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M-REFL
 ‘He has not specially studied this craft...’ (LKT)

- (12) Teko su juo atskirai padirbėti ir labai daug, visus metus, kad galėtų baigti ketvirtą,
 nes **buv-o ne-si-mok-ęs** treči-oje
 since AUX-PST.3 NEG-REFL-learn-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M third-LOC.SG.F
 klas-ėje.
 grade-LOC.SG
 ‘We had to work with him separately and for a long time, for the whole year, in order for him to be able to finish the fourth grade, since he had not studied in the third grade.’ (LKT)

Of course, in many cases there is very little if any truth-conditional difference between the upper and the lower negations, and both constructions can sometimes be used in the same contexts, like in (13) and (14).

- (13) Tauragė-ės rajon-o savivaldyb-ė dar nėra
 Tauragė-GEN.SG district-GEN.SG municipality-NOM.SG yet NEG+AUX.PRS.3
grąžin-us-i 2 milijon-ų lit-ų iš
 return-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F 2 million-GEN.PL litas-GEN.PL from
 pasiskolint-ų 6 milijon-ų lit-ų.
 borrowed-GEN.PL 6 million-GEN.PL litas-GEN.PL
 ‘The municipality of the Tauragė district has not yet returned 2 million litas from the 6 million loan.’ [<http://tinyurl.com/kt6ckwv>, accessed 7 March 2015.]
- (14) Tačiau ministr-ė dar yra **ne-grąžin-us-i** 218
 however minister-NOM.SG yet AUX.PRS.3 NEG-return-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F 218
 tūkst. lit-ų paskol-os.
 thousand litas-GEN.PL loan-GEN.SG
 ‘However the minister has not yet returned the 218 thousand litas loan.’ [<http://tinyurl.com/lgerbys>, accessed 7 March 2015.]

The difference between the two constructions of the negated perfect in Lithuanian can be informally summarized as follows: the higher negation involves the denial of the result of an event (and normally implies the non-occurrence of the event itself), while the lower negation makes an assertion about the state resulting from the non-occurrence of an event. In other words, the morpho-syntactic position of negation iconically reflects the mutual scope of negation and perfect:

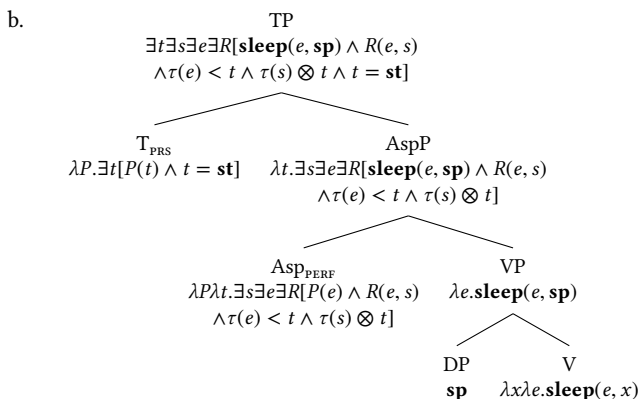
higher negation: NEG > PERF
 lower negation: PERF > NEG

Below I will attempt to present a tentative compositional account of the difference between the higher and the lower negations in the Lithuanian perfect. I analyse the meaning of the Lithuanian perfect in line with the proposal by Nishiyama & Koenig (2010) that the perfect introduces an unspecified state whose identity is supplied by the context. However, since the Lithuanian perfect is arguably more restricted with respect to the possible interpretations of the perfect state than the English perfect, I hypothesize that the Lithuanian perfect introduces also a contextually specified relation *R* between the event and the state (akin to the “free relation” invoked in the semantic description of genitive modifiers by Partee & Borschev 1998). Besides that, the fact that the Lithuanian perfect does not have a “universal” reading is captured by specifying that the event denoted by the verb phrase is located before the reference time, see (15).

$$(16) \quad \llbracket \text{PERF}_{\text{Lith}} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda t. \exists s \exists e \exists R [P(e) \wedge R(e, s) \wedge \tau(e) < t \wedge \tau(s) \otimes t]$$

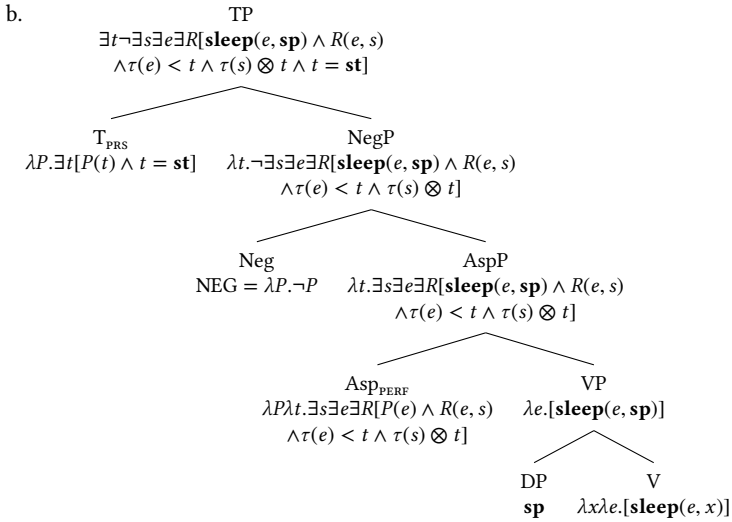
Under such an analysis, the interpretation of the affirmative sentence with the perfect such as (6a) repeated here as (16a), will look like (16b) (**sp** is ‘speaker’ and **st** is ‘speech time’).

- (17) a. Es-u miegoj-us-i.
 AUX-PRS.1SG sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
 ‘I [female] have slept.’



The corresponding sentence with the higher negation, i.e. (6b) repeated here as (17a), is represented in (17b); I assume that the higher negation is located between Asp and T, thus yielding an intuitively acceptable interpretation that at the reference time (in this case coinciding with the speech time) there is no state related to an event of “my sleeping”; a more sophisticated analysis, e.g. along the lines of [Kratzer 1989](#) is also feasible.

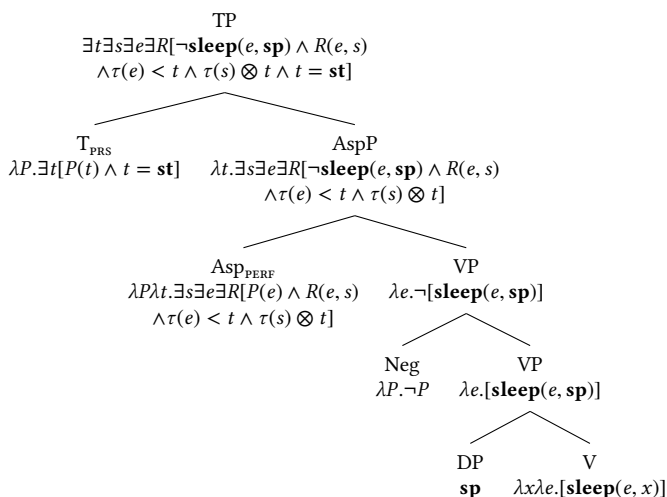
- (18) a. Ne-s-u miegoj-us-i.
 NEG-AUX-PRS.1SG sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
 ‘I have not slept’



The compositional representation of constructions with lower negation such as (6c) repeated below as (18a) is at first glance also fairly straightforward. To account for the intuition that in such sentences the perfect has scope over negation, the negative morpheme has to attach below Asp, as in the tentative representation in (18b).

- (19) Es-u **ne**-miegoj-us-i.
 AUX-PRS.1SG NEG-sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
 ‘I have not slept.’

(20)



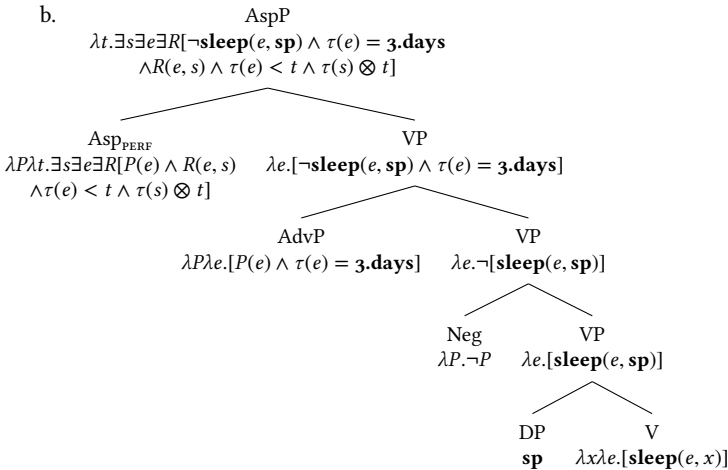
An objection can be raised against the representation in (18b), since the purely logical negation does not in fact yield the adequate semantic interpretation. Indeed, the negated VP in (18b) denotes the set of events complementary to the set of sleeping events whose subject is the speaker, which is evidently too broad an extension (e.g. a sleeping event whose subject is someone else would fall into it). What sentences like (18a) and other similar examples discussed above express, however, is not the result of **any** possible event outside of the extension of the non-negated VP, but rather the result of the non-occurrence of a **contextually expected** event from the extension of the VP (cf. the above quotation from [Stockwell, Schachter & Partee 1973](#) regarding the “breaking of a habitual or expected pattern of activity”, or [Higginbotham 2000](#): 73–74). Therefore, the lower negation cannot be the logical negation pure and simple and should rather instantiate an operator yielding negative events of the type discussed in [de Swart & Molendijk 1999](#) or [Higginbotham \(2000](#): 74–75).³ I will not, however, pursue this option here, since, first, the fleshing out of all formal details of the analysis is not my goal, and, second, because the issue of the correct representation of the meaning of linguistic negation and its largely pragmatically determined “flavours” is much broader than the rather modest scope of the present study. To this I will only add that such a “more complex negation” is certainly needed for the fully adequate description of the higher

3 Another potential solution would be the one along the lines of [Champollion 2010](#).

negation as well, since the representation of (17b) yields truth conditions too loose to accurately reflect the meaning of (17a).

However formally represented, the crucial point of the current analysis is that the perfect in Lithuanian can scope over negation, which, given that what the perfect applies to is an event description, implies that negation can operate on “positive” events and yield “negative” events (cf. *de Swart & Molendijk 1999*). This not only aligns well with the informal intuition about examples like (8), (10), (12) and (14), but finds support in the already mentioned fact that perfects with the lower negation can combine with temporal adverbials indicating the duration of the negative event itself, as in (8) or especially (19a) below, since adverbials of duration take scope over events, and not, for instance, propositions (see e.g. *Krifka 1989*). The simplified semantic representation of the AspP of (19a) is given in (19b).

- (21) a. O armij-oje **es-u** **ne-miegoj-ęs** tr-is
 and army-LOC.SG AUX-PRS.1SG NEG-sleep-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M three-ACC.PL
 par-as.
 day-ACC.PL
 ‘When I was in the army I [once] did not sleep for three days.’ [<http://tinyurl.com/pxb28nh>, accessed 9 March 2015.]



Given that the Lithuanian clause contains two sites for the attachment and interpretation of negation, it is not surprising that examples of double negation with the perfect are also attested, cf. (20) and (21), denying the existence of

negative event of non-helping or non-coming, respectively, cf. a very schematic semantic representation in (22).

- (22) Niekada **ne-s-u** **ne-padėj-ęs** žmog-*ui*
 never NEG-AUX-PRS.1SG NEG-help-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M person-DAT.SG
 vien dėl to, kad jis yra vienos ar kitos partijos narys.
 ‘It has never been the case that I didn’t help a person just because he was a member of a particular party.’ (LKT)

- (23) Ir dar niekada **ne-buv-o** **ne-atėj-ęs** ar
 and yet never NEG-AUX-PST.3 NEG-come-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M or
 pavėlav-ęs.
 be.late-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
 ‘And it has never been the case that he didn’t come or was late.’ (LKT)

- (24) $\neg\exists s\exists e.\neg P(e) \wedge R(e, s)$

I hope that the above discussion has demonstrated the relevance of negative events for the morphosyntax-semantics interface of Lithuanian, and has shown that a compositional analysis is both necessary and feasible for an adequate account of these data, although the full presentation of all the details of such an analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. I would like to conclude my article by pointing out that parallel phenomena exist in English as well, though they have not received enough attention in the literature. It has been observed in McCawley (1999: 179) that the English perfect can interact with negation in basically the same two ways as has been shown above for Lithuanian, cf. (23) and (24) and the quotation from McCawley.

- (25) John hasn’t received any encouragement.
 (26) John has [not returned my calls] many times.

“In [(23)], one says that (in the relevant past interval that stretches up to the present) there is no event of John receiving some encouragement; in [(24)], one says that there are many past events of John not returning my calls.” (McCawley 1999: 179)

Thus, according to McCawley, in English the perfect can have scope over negation, in contradiction to, e.g., Janssen (1983: 84), who claimed that “negation always has wider scope than the perfect”. McCawley’s observation is corroborated by Zanuttini (1996: 189–190), de Swart & Molendijk (1999: 19) and

de Swart (2012: 773–776); for example, Zanuttini (1996) gives the following pair of examples notable for the clear formal (word order) distinction between the “higher” and the “lower” negations:

- (27) a. Mary **hasn't** always **paid** taxes. (NEG > PERF > ‘always’)
 b. Mary **has** always **not paid** taxes. (PERF > ‘always’ > NOT)
 (Zanuttini 1996: 189)

In (26) and (27) non-constructed examples with such “split” negated Perfect are given:

- (28) They really love nursery and **have** sometimes **not wanted** to come home!
 [<http://tinyurl.com/mvvyvou>, accessed 11 March 2015.]
 (29) I **have** often **not slept** or **eaten** for 2 days at a time. [<http://tinyurl.com/oxntpop>, accessed 11 March 2015.]

It must be noted, however, that such examples of “split Perfect” are quite rare in modern English: according to BNC (100 mil. words), the strings *have/has sometimes/often/always not* occur 10 times, while the string *has/have not* occurs about 11,000 times.⁴

Finally, as Zanuttini (1996: 189–190) observes, in Italian both the “higher” (25a) and the “lower” (25b) interpretations of negation can only be expressed by a construction with the negation modifying the auxiliary (28a); attaching the negation to the participle of the lexical verb is ungrammatical, cf. (28b).

- (30) a. Maria **non ha** sempre **pagato** le tasse.
 ‘=25a, 25b’ (Zanuttini 1996: 190)
 b. *Maria **ha** sempre **non pagato** le tasse.
 intended ‘=25a’

In sum, though from a purely logical stand the “lower” scope of negation with respect to the perfect, serving as an important piece of evidence for the existence and grammatical relevance of negative events, can well be universal, languages differ in whether they have morphosyntactic means to overtly distinguish between these two semantic construals, as well as in the extent to which they employ such means (see Arkadiev 2013 and Arkadiev forthcoming for more cross-linguistic data). Lithuanian presents a clear example of a language where the difference in semantic scope is reflected in the morphosyntax

⁴ As a side note it is worth observing that examples like (26) and (27) are not even mentioned in a 800-page long study of the English verb phrase by Declerck (2006).

Negative events: Evidence from Lithuanian

in the most iconic way.

Sources

BNC – British National Corpus, <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>

LKT – The Corpus of Modern Lithuanian, <http://tekstynas.vdu.lt>

Bibliography

- Ambrazas, Vytautas (ed.). 1997. *Lithuanian grammar*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos.
- Arkadiev, Peter. 2011. Aspect and actionality in Lithuanian on a typological background. In Daniel Petit, Claire Le Feuvre & Henri Menantaud (eds.), *Langues baltiques, langues slaves*, 57–86. Paris: Éditions CNRS.
- Arkadiev, Peter. 2012. Аспектуальная система литовского языка (с привлечением ареальных данных) [The aspectual system of Lithuanian (with some areal data)]. In Vladimir A. Plungjan (ed.), *Типология аспектуальных систем и категорий* [*Typology of aspectual systems and categories*] (Исследования по теории грамматики [Studies in the Theory of Grammar] 6), 45–121. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* 8(2). Saint-Petersburg: Nauka.
- Arkadiev, Peter. 2013. Perfect and negation in Lithuanian vs. Standard Average European. Talk at the 46th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea, Split, 18–21 September 2013.
- Arkadiev, Peter. Forthcoming. Взаимодействие перфекта и отрицания в литовском языке: ареальная и типологическая перспектива [The interaction of perfect and negation in Lithuanian: an areal and typological perspective]. In Vladimir A. Plungjan (ed.), *Типология перфекта* [*Typology of the perfect*] (Исследования по теории грамматики [Studies in the Theory of Grammar]).
- Arkadiev, Peter, Axel Holvoet & Björn Wiemer. 2015. Introduction. Baltic linguistics: state of the art. In Peter Arkadiev, Axel Holvoet & Björn Wiemer (eds.), *Contemporary approaches to Baltic linguistics* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 276), 1–110. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Champollion, Lucas. 2010. Quantification and negation in event semantics. In Barbara Hall Partee, Michael Glanzberg & Jurgis Škilters (eds.), *Formal semantics and pragmatics. Discourse, context and models*, vol. 6 (Baltic International Yearbook of Cognition, Logic and Communication 1), 1–23. Manhattan, KS: New Prairie Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4148/biyclc.v6i0.1563>.

- Declerck, Renaat. 2006. *The grammar of the English Verb Phrase*. Vol. 1. *The Grammar of the English Tense System. A Comprehensive Analysis* (Topics in English Linguistics 60.1). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geniušienė, Emma Š. & Vladimir P. Nedjalkov. 1988. Resultative, passive, and perfect in Lithuanian. In Vladimir P. Nedjalkov (ed.), *Typology of resultative constructions* (Typological Studies in Language 12), 369–386. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/tsl.12.27gen>.
- Higginbotham, James. 2000. On events in linguistic semantics. In James Higginbotham, Fabio Pianesi & Achille C. Varzi (eds.), *Speaking of events*, 49–80. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Horn, Laurence R. 1989. *A natural history of negation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Iatridou, Sabine, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Roumyana Izvorski. 2001. Observations about the form and meaning of the perfect. In Michael J. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language*, 189–238. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Janssen, Theo. 1983. Scope ambiguities of tense, aspect and negation. In Frank Heny & Barry Richards (eds.), *Linguistic categories: Auxiliaries and related puzzles*, 55–99. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1989. An investigation of the lumps of thought. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 12(5). 607–653. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00627775>.
- Krifka, Manfred. 1989. Nominal reference, temporal constitution and quantification in event semantics. In Renate Bartsch, Johan van Benthem & P. van Emde Boas (eds.), *Semantics and contextual expression*, 75–115. Dordrecht: Foris.
- McCawley, James D. 1999. Some interactions between tense and negation in English. In Peter C. Collins & David A. Lee (eds.), *The clause in English: In honour of Rodney D. Huddleston*, 177–185. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Nishiyama, Atsuko & Jean-Pierre Koenig. 2010. What is a perfect state? *Language* (3). 611–646. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/lan.2010.0014>.
- Parsons, Terence. 1990. *Events in the semantics of English: A study in subatomic semantics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Partee, Barbara Hall & Vladimir B. Borshev. 1998. Integrating lexical and formal semantics: Genitives, relational nouns, and type-shifting. In Robin Cooper & Thomas Gamkrelidze (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2nd Tbilisi Symposium on Language, Logic, and Computation*, 229–241. Tbilisi: Tbilisi State University.

- Ramchand, Gillian & Peter Svenonius. 2014. Deriving the functional hierarchy. *Language Sciences* 46(B). 152–174. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2014.06.013>.
- Stockwell, Robert P., Paul Schachter & Barbara Hall Partee. 1973. *The major syntactic structures of English*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- de Swart, Henriëtte. 2012. Verbal aspect. In Robert I. Binnick (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, 752–780. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- de Swart, Henriëtte & Arie Molendijk. 1999. Negation and the temporal structure of narrative discourse. *Journal of Semantics* 16(1). 1–42. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jos/16.1.1>.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1996. On the relevance of tense for sentential negation. In Adriana Belletti & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), *Parameters and functional heads. Essays in comparative syntax*, 181–207. Oxford: Oxford University Press.