Aspect and subjectivity in modal constructions
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to my family

CONTENTS

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Abbreviations

AUX	auxiliary
CDIC	conditional directive imperative construction
CIC	conditional imperative construction
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
FUT	future
IMP	imperfective
IMPER	imperative
INF	infinitive
IRR	irrealis
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PF	perfective
PLUPERF	pluperfect
PRES	present
PRET	preterit
PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun
PRT	particle
S	subject
SUBJ	subjunctive

1   ASPECT AND SUBJECTIVITY IN MODAL CONSTRUCTIONS

1.1   Introduction

This dissertation deals with the interaction of aspect and subjectivity in modal constructions. In the linguistic literature dealing with the connection between aspect and modality, a link has often been observed between imperfective aspect and modal readings (Townsend 1979, Caenepeel 1989, Fleischman 1995, Smith 1997, Boogaart 1999, 2006, Ippolito 2004, Giannakidou & Zwarts, to appear). However, as I will show in this study, both aspect prominent languages, such as Slavic languages, and tense prominent languages, such as Germanic languages, present exceptions to this hypothesized rule, since perfective aspect can appear with modal readings in both types of languages[1]. There are two main questions which should be answered in this thesis:

(1)   Can the hypothesis about a link between imperfective aspect and modality be confirmed or rejected?
(2)   Is imperfective aspect attracted to more 'subjective' modal readings?

As an answer to these two general questions of this thesis, I would like to show that modal meanings can actually be expressed with both imperfectives and perfectives in aspect and tense prominent languages. However, modal readings that are more subjective (in the sense of Langacker (1985)[2]) most often correlate with imperfective aspect. The data which will be the focus of my attention involves modal infinitive constructions in Russian, German and Dutch, imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch and modal uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian.

    The main purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the literature on the proposed connection between imperfective aspect and modality, as well as to provide the reader with some counterexamples to this connection and to explain the choice of the data which will be subsequently analyzed in this study. In section 1.2 I will describe the problem of the thesis. Subsection 1.2.1 deals with the connection between imperfective aspect and modality, 1.2.2 investigates possible explanations of this connection, as they have been proposed in the linguistic literature, 1.2.3 deals with the counterexamples to the proposed connection, 1.3 gives an overview of the data which will be analyzed in the thesis, and 1.4 represents an outline of the thesis.

1.2   The problem

1.2.1   The proposed connection between imperfective aspect and modality

There are two distinct research traditions investigating the interaction between imperfective aspect and modal or subjective readings:

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[1] See more in Bhat (1999) about aspect and tense prominent languages.
[2] See chapter 2 on Langacker's (1985) definition of subjectivity.

(i)   Formal-semantic literature describes cross-linguistic preferences for the use of imperfective aspect in modal forms, such as conditionals, future tense, etc. (Ippolito 2004, Ginnakidou & Zwarts, to appear);

(ii)   Functionally oriented literature describes a connection between imperfective aspect and 'perspectivized', subjective information in narratives, where imperfective aspect can represent speech and thoughts of an individual other than the speaker (Caenepeel 1989, Fleischman 1995, Boogaart 1999, 2006).

A particularly interesting overview of phenomena that is unifying these two traditions is presented in Fleischman (1995). What is shown in her study is a spectrum of what she calls 'irrealis' contexts: hypothetical conditionals, motion-derived futures, politeness forms, the prefatory negotiation of children's make-believe games, hypocoristic baby-talk, the narration of dreams and other semi-conscious states, and various indirect forms of speech and thought quotation. The notion of irrealis suggested by Fleischman (1995:522) includes a range of modal readings that signal in different ways, "a speaker's *lack of belief in* or *lack of commitment* (italics by Fleischman) to (a) the reality, realization, or referentiality of an event or sequence of events predicated in an utterance; (b) the realization of an agent's wishes, hopes, or intentions, as expressed in the proposition of an utterance; (c) the authenticity of an utterance or chunk of discourse (i.e. a sequence of utterances); or (d) […] the 'canonicity' or normalcy of a discourse or of a communicative situation". It can be suggested that 'irrealis modality' in the terminology of Fleischman actually includes both modal and subjective, 'perspectivized' readings, which is in accordance with the above two cited research traditions.

I will briefly discuss some of the contexts which are described in Fleischman (1995) and other literature illustrating the connection between imperfective aspect, modal and subjective readings. Data cited from the literature will be discussed as a part of the next two subsections on imperfective aspect and grammatical forms and on imperfective aspect and discourse, respectively.

The content of these sections does not entirely correspond to the abovementioned research traditions, since in the subsection on imperfective aspect and grammatical forms the described literature includes both formal-semantic and functional research traditions. After this overview, I will make a link between the two subsections by explaining what connects both modal and subjective readings with the semantics of imperfective aspect.

1.2.1.1   Imperfective aspect and grammatical forms

(i) Imperfective aspect in conditionals

One of the most discussed contexts in which languages prefer the use of imperfective aspect is the conditional. In languages that distinguish between perfective and imperfective aspects, what is usually found in the apodosis of conditional sentences is the imperfective past or one of its subtypes (progressive or habitual), and not the perfective form that the context would predict (given that the main-clause verb most commonly denotes a single completed act). For typologically different languages, such

as French, Spanish, Italian, Modern Greek, German, Old Irish, Cree, Walpiri and various Balkan languages, it has been observed that they use the imperfective past rather than the perfective past in counterfactual contexts[3]. Fleischman (1995:523) presents examples from standard French and Spanish:

Nonpast conditionals

(1)   Fr. *Si j'avais* [IMP]   *le temps, je t' écrirais.* [COND]

       Sp. *Si   tuviera* [IMP SUBJ] *tiempo, te escribiréa.* [COND]

            'If I had time, I would write to you'

Past conditionals

(2)   Fr. *Si j' avais* [PLUPERF] *eu le temps, je t' aurais* [PAST COND] *écrit.*

       Sp. *Si hubiera* [PLUPERF SUBJ] *tenido tiempo, te habría escribiréa.* [PAST COND]

            'If I had had time, I would have written to you'

According to Fleischman (1995:523), for past unreality, like in (2), the general rule is to add a past tense marker, retaining imperfective aspect. The standard French and Spanish conditional constructions given in (1) and (2) use imperfective forms in the apodosis (main clause), but in French in the protasis (subordinate clause) as well.

Even in some languages that do not have morphologically expressed aspect, such as Dutch, similar tendencies have been observed (Boogaart 1999:266), for instance, in counterfactual wishes:

(3)   *Ik wou   dat ik dat boek las.*

       I wanted that I   that book read-PAST

       'I wish I was/were reading that book.'

According to Boogaart (1999:266), the simple past in (3) receives an imperfective reading although the Dutch unmarked past is compatible with both perfective and imperfective readings[4].

Iatridou (2000) proposes conditions under which imperfectives appear in counterfactuals in Greek. She describes the types of counterfactuals in Modern Greek which she calls 'future less vivid' (FLV). They contain past morphology together with imperfective aspect, which Iatridou (2000:234) illustrates with the following example:

(4)   *An eperne   afto to siropi   θa γ₁inotan   kala.*

       if take-PST-IMP this   syrup   FUT become-PAST-IMP   well

       'If he took this syrup, he would get better.'

---

[3] See, for instance, Fleischman(1995), Iatridou (2000), Dahl (1985).

[4] This is comparable to the situation in English. The English past simple is compatible with counterfactual readings in (imperfective) state clauses, but incompatible with such readings in (perfective) event clauses (Boogaart 1999:266):

(1) *I wish I owned that car.*

(2) ?*I wish I read that book.*

Iatridou observes that in many languages imperfective aspectual morphology in counterfactuals fails to receive its usual interpretation; in counterfactuals it is compatible with either a perfective or an imperfective interpretation. In example (4), aspectual (imperfective) morphology is in a sense fake, in that even though the sentence displays imperfective morphology, the event is interpreted perfectively. Iatridou shows that imperfective morphology found in an FLV is interpreted perfectively by means of completive adverbials (see example 5 below, from Iatridou 2000:237).

5) *An extizes   to   spiti   (mesa) se ena   mina   θa   prolavenes*
   if   build-IMP the   house   in   one   month   FUT   have-time-enough-IMP
   na to pulisis prin   to   kalokeru.
   to   it sell   before   the   summer
   "If you built this house in a month, you would be able to sell it before the summer."

Iatridou (2000:262) proposes that 'when the temporal coordinates of an eventuality are set with respect to the utterance time, aspectual morphology is real; when the temporal coordinates of an eventuality are not set with respect to the utterance time, morphology is always imperfective'.

In many languages, conditionals and habituals are represented by the same form, which will be shown in the next subsection.

(ii) Imperfective aspect in habituals

Giannakidou & Zwarts (to appear) have pointed out a relationship between imperfective aspect and the notion of non-veridicality[5], which covers, among other things, irrealis meanings, futures and habituals. Habitual does not refer to unique events but is rather an aspect of generic, non-referring expressions. The link between irrealis and habitual is confirmed by the fact that in many languages habitual and conditional are formally identical. In support of this position Fleischman (1995:538) cites Aronson (1977:15), who gives an example that illustrates an interesting parallelism between English and Serbocroatian:

(6)   English
                Iterative   when
                   He *would play* golf every day   he lived in Chicago.
                Conditional   if

        Serbocroatian
                Iterative   dok je
                   Svakog *bi* dana *igrao* golf,   živeo u Čikagu.
                Conditional   kad bi

---

[5] According to Giannakidou & Zwarts (to appear) 'an operator is non-veridical if we do not know whether the embedded proposition is true or false. Adverbs like *possibly* and modal verbs are typical nonveridical operators. Disjunction is also nonveridical. Other nonveridical environments include negation, nonassertive speech acts (questions, imperatives, exclamatives), the protasis of conditionals, the scope of strong intensional verbs like *want* and *hope*, and certain universal quantifiers'.

The form of the habitual main sentence is identical to that for conditional actions (*bi igrao*/would play); these two meanings can be differentiated by the presence/absence of the auxiliary *bi,* choice of the auxiliary and the conjunction in the subordinated clause of the conditional/habitual sentence (compare in the above example *kad bi* (COND) with *dok je* (ITER)).[6]

   Iatridou (2000:259) connects the use of imperfective aspect in counterfactuals with its use in generic/habitual sentences claiming that a particular aspect marking appears obligatorily in counterfactuals in a language if it also appears in generic sentences in that language. Imperfective can appear in progressive, generic, or counterfactual sentences. However, if genericity and the progressive take different forms, then counterfactuality will always pattern with the former, never with the latter.

(iii) Imperfective aspect and motion-derived futures.

Another context illustrating the link between imperfectives and irrealis involves grammaticalization of the motion verbs 'come' and 'go' as auxiliaries in future and future-of-the past constructions, as illustrated, for instance, in English and French (1995:525):

(7)   Eng. *I'm going* [PRES PROG] / *was going* [PAST PROG] *to do it myself.*
        Fr.   *Je vais* [PRES] / *j'allais* [IMP] *le faire moi-méme.*

Fleischman observes that the auxiliaries in many languages are either (a) in the simple present tense, (b) in the imperfective past, or, (c) in the progressive, an imperfective subtype; in most languages, the simple present tense (case a) is imperfective or neutral with respect to the perfective/imperfective distinction, but in any case not perfective. Fleischman emphasizes that if the perfective verbs are substituted for the imperfectives in the examples in (7), only a 'motion' reading is possible, no longer 'future-of-the-past':

(8)   Eng. *I went to do it myself.*

As Fleischman (1995:525) points out, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1987:116) trace the future meaning back to an original meaning according to which 'the subject is on a path toward a goal (which may be an event, state or activity)'. They claim that it is the meaning referred to as 'in progress' that correlates with imperfective aspect.

   Apart from the grammatical forms, imperfectives tend to convey subjective information in discourse, which will be shown in the next subsection.

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[6] Actually, the situation is somewhat more complicated because perfective forms are also possible in this context in Serbocroation. But this does not necessarily invalidate the parallel noticed by Aronson and by Fleischman.

1.2.1.2   Imperfective aspect and discourse

(i) Imperfective aspect and politeness forms

Another category of utterances discussed in the literature includes politeness forms as in the English example below (Fleischman 1995:527):

(9)   *I was thinking about* [PAST PROG] *going to Italy in the summer. Are you interested?*

Fleischman classifies these types of polite requests under the semantic rubric of 'irrealis' because 'indirect speech-acts of this type operate by camouflaging the illocutionary force of assertive and potentially face-threatening speech acts, such as requests, by clothing them in the form of simple declarative statements about the speaker's intentions or desires in the past' (Fleischman 1995:528). Statements of desire or intention in the past are generally used when the intended actions turn out to be unrealized. Fleischman emphasizes that what specifically marks these past intentions as unrealized is the imperfective of the mental-activity verb.

(ii) 'Pre-ludic' and 'hypocoristic' imperfect.

Imperfective verbs are used in the negotiation of roles that serves as a preface to children's make-believe games. Imperfectives locate the situations they refer to in the realm of fantasy, or fictional activity (see the French example below, Fleischman 1995:526):

(10)   a. Pretend I was moving this up and down and up and down.
        b. Fr.   *Moi, j'etais*[IMP] *le gendarme, et tu me volais*[IMP] *mon vélo*
                'Ptretend I was the policeman, and you were stealing my bike'.

Hypocoristic imperfect occurs in speaking to young children and pets. Though the temporal reference is to the present of the speech situation, statements of this type are characterized by use of the Imparfait together with reference to the addressee in the third person. According to Fleischman (1995:529), the hypocoristic imperfect operates 'as a kind of metalinguistic evidential signaling the non-authenticity or non-canonicity of the speech situation itself'. She illustrated that by the French example below:

(11)   Fr. *Comme il   était* [IMP] *sage*!
                'Now aren't you a good boy!'

(iii)   Dreams and fantasies

The contents of dreams and fantasies[7] tend to be presented by means of the imperfective past. Narration in the perfective past, which is taken to be the unmarked tense of narration, correlates with stories that are realis - including conventional fiction, whereas genres which choose a basic reporting tense other than the perfective past are often irrealis. Imperfective aspect of the present and the imperfect past enables these

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[7] See also Ippolito (2004) about the oneiric use of the Imperfect in Italian.

tenses to represent past experience as if it were in the process of occurring. In Romance languages and Dutch, these two tenses are used to report the contents of dreams, hallucinations, and other semi-conscious states; the example below is from Fleischman (1995:530):

(12)   *Now Winder was wanting to know what the hell the stage was doing on the pass at the night anyway.*

What is captured by the main-clause predicate in this sentence is the semi-conscious state of the narrator, who has been shot in the story, and the statement is represented by an imperfective form. Note that in this situation, a stative verb such as 'want' can have a progressive.

(iv) Speech, thoughts, perception[8]

According to Fleischman (1995:535), direct quotation is the most realis representation of speech and thoughts with respect to parameter 'of authenticity of an utterance'; if that is true, then the remaining styles represent varying degrees of irrealis. In languages with a perfective/imperfective opposition (of the Romance type) in the past, irrealis quotation styles consistently privilege imperfective past tenses. The example of free indirect discourse in Italian below illustrates the point:

(13)   *Domenico gli disse* [PRET] *di non poter accettare su due piedi l'invito a trasferirsi. Qui aveva* [IMP] *una rete di conoscenze, frequentava* [IMP] *ambienti che lo interessavano* [IMP]*, otteneva* [IMP] *riconoscimenti; laggiù, chissà? Ma potevano* [IMP] *riparlarne l'indomani, quando veniva* [IMP] *a cena da loro.*
(Cited by Bertinetto 1986:392/ Fleischman 1995:534).
'Domenico told [PRET] him not to accept right away the offer to move. Here he had [IMP] a network of acquaintances, he frequented [IMP] milieus that interested him, he received [IMP] recognition; / there, who knows? But they could [IMP] talk about it again tomorrow when he came [IMP] to their place for dinner.'

Free indirect discourse is the linguistic strategy for representing 'the contents of another mind, the subjectivity of other' (Fleischman 1995:534). The utterances above express the advice of the reported speaker Domenico, 'translated' into the language of an unpersonified narrator. The narrator's language imposes an imperfective past tense representation of Domenico's advice, mentioned by *disse* [PRET].

   In the next subsection, I will discuss possible explanations for a connection between imperfective aspect and modal forms, which are suggested in the linguistic literature.

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[8] See Fludernik (1993).

1.2.2   Possible explanations for a connection between imperfective aspect and modality

The linguistic literature contains some purported explanations for the link between imperfective aspect and modal forms. James (1982)[9] explains the use of imperfective pasts to express hypothetical modality with the semantic feature of non-completion. Both imperfectives and hypotheticals present predicated situations as unrealized at the time of reference.

The explanation which became popular during the 80's after several papers by Hopper (Hopper 1979, 1981) concerns a correlation between imperfective aspect and backgrounding. According to Hopper (1981)[10], backgrounding involves a reduced assertion of the finite reality of an event. If imperfective aspect is associated in discourse with a reduced degree of assertiveness, this provides a solution for why many languages choose it over perfective aspect to encode hypotheticals, since hypothetical statements likewise do not assert the truth of their propositions.

The explanation which seems to me the most appealing for the abovementioned link has recently been offered by Boogaart (2006). Applied to Romance and Germanic languages, he suggests a unified analysis for both modal and subjective, 'perspectivized' readings of imperfective aspect. Following the anaphoric approach to the semantics of imperfective aspect, which originated in Romance linguistics, his claim is that the modal (epistemic) and 'perspectival', subjective readings of imperfective aspect are related because they both represent specific instantiations of the underlying anaphoric semantics of imperfective aspect. The imperfective forms impose the anaphoric constraint that the situation is simultaneous with some independently provided antecedent time (reference point R). The reference point at the same time can function as a subjective point of perspective, or point of evaluation for the truth-conditional content of the clause. According to Boogaart (2006), the fact that a subjective point of perspective can act as a reference time for the interpretation of imperfective aspect is a definite step towards modality. Modal readings require the temporal ordering relation of simultaneity with a point in time that can function as the point of evaluation for the truth-conditional content of the clause. Boogaart represents this in the following way:

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[9] See Fleischman (1995:539).
[10] ibid.
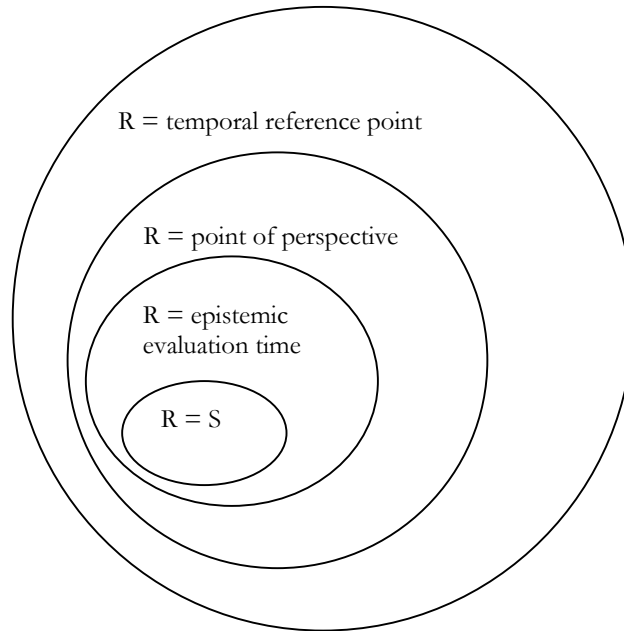
Figure 1 Different kinds of R allowed to function as antecedent time for the interpretation of imperfectives

In the case of a present tense, the reference point R, which is equal to the subjective point of perspective and which represents a point of evaluation for the content of the clause, is constituted by the point of speech. In the case of an imperfective past, R may be provided by a *when*-clause, a temporal adverbial, or the time of an event presented in the preceding discourse. In past narrative discourse, R will often be a point of perspective that can be identified by means of pragmatic inferencing, as in the subsequent examples:

(14)   *John entered the room. It was pitch dark in the room.*
(15)   *John switched off the lights. It was pitch dark in the room.*
(16)   *John switched on the lights. It was pitch dark in the room.*

In the case of (14) it was probably dark before, at and after the moment at which John entered the room. The most likely reading of (15) and (16) is that it was dark right after or right before John had switched off/on the lights. In all three examples the situation which presents a state needs to be linked to an independently provided reference time. The reference time is equal to a subjective point of perspective or point of perception at which John noticed that the room was dark, so its identification is left to pragmatic inferencing. In chapter 5, which is on the modal uses of tenses, I will talk in more detail about the anaphoric approach to imperfective aspect when I am dealing with the future tense.

1.2.3 **Counterexamples**

According to Fleischman (1995:542), one can sporadically encounter cases in the literature that do not support the claim about a connection between imperfective aspect and irrealis modality, which is supposed to be universal. Fleischman especially refers to examples from Slavic languages. For instance, in Bulgarian, it is perfective, not imperfective verbs that acquire a meaning that is more modal (i.e. conditional) than aspectual. The Russian perfective nonpast has the ability to convey modal (specifically future) meanings[11]. There is also evidence in the literature about a connection between 'perspectivized' information in narrative texts in Russian and perfective aspect[12]. Later, i.e. in the main part of this dissertation, I will discuss more data from Russian, Serbian, Dutch and German which represent counterarguments to the observed link between imperfective aspect and modality.

The counterexamples which I present here come from two different types of languages: aspect prominent and tense prominent languages[13]. Slavic languages belong to aspect prominent languages which have morphologically expressed aspect. I will present examples of modal uses of perfective aspect from two Slavic languages, namely Russian and Serbian. Before presenting these examples I would like to point out that in several of the examples presented above, the Slavic languages could also use forms with perfective aspect (examples (1), (2), (4) and (5)).

The most obvious use of perfective aspect with different modal readings is represented by the present perfective in Russian. Except for denoting the future tense (cf. (17)), which some linguists consider to be modal in nature, the Russian present perfective can have a reading of capacity[14] (cf. (18)), order (19), and conditionality (20), among other modal readings[15]:

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[11] See a discussion in chapter 5 on the nature of the future tense.

[12] Zaliznjak & Šmelëv (2000:42) give the following two examples:

(1) *Doroga   končaetsja   okolo   lesa.*
    road   end-PRES-IPF   near   forest
    'A road ends near to the forest.'

(2) *Doroga   končilas'   okolo   lesa.*
    road   end-PAST-PF   near   forest
    'A road ended near to the forest.'

According to them, the first sentence, with imperfective aspect, represents a simple fact of realilty, while the second sentence, with perfective aspect, describes a landscape from the point of view of a speactator (narrator). For more discussion of this topic, see also Apresjan (1995:644) and Padučeva (1996:99).

[13] According to Bhat (1999), this grouping can be based upon the relative prominence that languages attach to one or the other of the three verbal categories, namely tense, aspect and mood, by grammaticalizing the chosen category to a greater degree than others, and by making it more obligatory, more systematic and more pervasive than others.

[14] Although capacity is not always considered as modal in the literature, I include it as modal in this study, as it indicates a kind of possibility. In chapter 2, I will define the types of modality exploited in this dissertation.

[15] For a more detailed description of modal readings of tenses in Russian see chapter 5.

(17)   *Zavtra   ja   pridu   v   vosem' časov.*
       tomorrow I   come-PRES-PF in eight o'clock
       'Tomorrow I will come at eight o'clock.'

(18)   *On silën,   čto   ugodno podnimet.*[16]
       he strong   what   ever   take-PRES-PF
       'He is strong, he can take whatever comes.'

(19)   *Poedeš'   v Ekaterinoslav, –   skazal on – pred″javiš'   v*
       go-PRES-PF   in Ekaterinoslav   said   he   show-PRES-PF   in
       revkome   mandat.
       revolutionary committee credentials
       'You are to go to Ekaterinoslav, - he said- and you will show the credentials to
       the revolutionary commitee.' (adapted example from Bondarko 1971:103)

(20)   *Pridëš'   –   uvidiš'.*
       come-PRES-PF   see-PRES-PF
       'You will come and see'/ 'If you come, you will see'.

In Serbian, future tense (future I) can be expressed with both aspects. Capacity of the
person may be presented with perfective aspect:

(21)   *On će   ti   uvek sve iskreno   reći.*
       he FUT   you   always all honestly   say-INF-PF
       'He will always tell you the truth.'

Tense-prominent languages, such as Dutch and German, do not have morphologically
expressed aspect. The aspect can be inferred from the use of a certain tense which can
be related to one or the other of the two aspects. If the tense is unmarked for use of
aspect, then the lexical meaning of the verb will largely determine it. In the case of non-
finite verb forms aspect strongly depends on the meaning of the verb. Dutch and
German show similarity with the Slavic languages in the sense that modal readings
occur with both aspects. I will illustrate the point with German infinitive sentences: if
the infinitive of the sentence is durative (~imperfective[17]), the sentence prefers a modal
reading of possibility (see 22), if the infinitive is a terminative (~perfective) verb, then
the modal interpretation is dependent on the control of the Agent over the action. If the
realization of the action is completely controlled by the Agent, the construction gets a
necessity reading, as in (23):

(22)   *Der   Ton   ist zu hören.*
       The   sound is to hear
       'The sound can be heard.'

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[16] This example, as well as the two next ones, are from Bondarko (1971).
[17] See more on the relation between aspect and Aktionsart in the next chapter.

(23) *Ferner   ist zu beurteilen, invieweit   es dem   Kind gelingt,…*
      Further   is to evaluate   to what extent it the   child   succeeds
      'Moreover, it must be evaluated to what extent the child succeeds to…'

A possibility reading becomes available for terminative verbs if the agent has only partial control over the action, as is shown in (24):

(24) *Erst   nach   der Trocknung ist zu beurteilen,   wie   die Fleckentfernung*
      only   after the drying   is to evaluate,   how   the stain removal
      vorgenommen   wird
      proceed   become
      'It *can* only be evaluated after the drying process, how to proceed with the removal of the stains.'

In the next section, I will focus on the case studies I have chosen for this thesis, in order to investigate the interaction between aspect and modality.

1.3   Case studies

In order to improve our insight into the complex relationship between aspect and modality in different languages, we need some new concepts that will allow us to make useful classifications. In this dissertation I explore Langacker's concept of subjectivity and the semantic map approach of modality by Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) to this end. I will analyze the interaction between aspect and different types of modality in different modal constructions in terms of these two concepts. I will try to prove that the underlying parameter which attracts imperfective aspect to certain types of modality is its higher degree of subjectivity. In order to do so, and to see how the parameter of subjectivity behaves in typologically different languages, I will discuss infinitive constructions in Russian, Dutch and German, imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch and modal uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian. Mostly non-finite forms were chosen to neutralize the influence/interference of tense. Another important reason to choose these phenomena to study for this dissertation was that extensive material is available on the Russian infinitive and imperative constructions, especially in the dissertation of Fortuin (2000).

(i)   Modal infinitive constructions

Different modal readings of infinitive constructions in Russian, German and Dutch are classified according to the semantic map of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) (see chapter (3). The German and the Dutch modal infinitive constructions are very different from the Russian modal infinitive construction. Nevertheless, as will be presented in chapter 3, they exhibit a certain similarity in terms of the relation between aspect and subjectivity.

The Russian dative-infinitive constructions have the following readings:

(1)   Non-epistemic infinitive constructions[18]:

Participant-internal necessity:

(25)   *Vy   začem   prišli?*
       you   why   come
       Mne   pogovorit'   s   učitelem.
       I-DAT   talk-INF-PF   with   teacher
       'Why did you come?' – 'I have to talk to a teacher.' (Russkaja grammatika, 1980,
       II:374/Fortuin 2000:348)

Participant-internal impossibility:

(26)   *Im   ne stat'   soldatami.*
       they-DAT not become-INF-PF soldiers
       'They are not going to be/cannot become soldiers.' (in the sense: It is impossible
       for them to become soldiers).

Participant-external necessity:

(27)   *Ljuse   zavtra   vstavat'   rano.*
       Lusy-DAT   tomorrow get up-INF-IPF   early
       'Lucy has to get up early tomorrow'.

(2)   'Quasi-epistemic' readings:

(28)   *Gorodu   –   xorošet'.*
       city-DAT   get prettier-INF-IPF
       'The city will become nicer (with time).' (Bricyn 1990:219)

The German construction expresses either participant-external possibility or deontic
necessity.

Participant-external possibility:

(29)   *Der   Ton   ist zu hören.*
       The   sound is   to hear
       'The sound can be heard.'

Deontic necessity:

(30)   *Ferner   ist zu beurteilen, inwieweit   es dem   Kind   gelingt,…*
       Further   is   to evaluate   to what extent it the   child succeeds
       'Moreover, it must be evaluated to what extent the child succeeds to…'

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[18] See chapter 2 for the definitions of these kinds of constructions.

The Dutch infinitive construction **'zijn + te + INF'** such as the one in example (31), will be shown to be comparable in certain relevant respects to the German and Russian constructions mentioned above; it has a modal use, but it can only express a possibility reading, except in specific contexts that will be discussed in chapter 3.

(31) *Dat   boek   is   in de bibliotheek   te   vinden.*
      that   book   is   in the library   to   find
      'The book can be found at the library.'

Different modal readings of the infinitive constructions will be correlated with aspectual use and compared according to the subjectivity parameter on the basis of subjectivity tests, proposed in chapter 2. The results show that there is a correlation between imperfective aspect in Russian and German sentences, while in Dutch sentences both aspects can be used equally well because the possibility reading is practically the only possible reading.

(ii)   Imperative constructions

In chapter 4, devoted to imperative constructions, I will deal with directive, necessitive, conditional and concessive uses of the imperative in Russian and directive and conditional uses in Dutch. I will present a possible development of each of the imperatives. The suggested classification of the imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch will be based on the semantic map of modality from Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). Under non-epistemic participant-external modal meaning I will classify directive and necessitive uses of the imperative because they deal with obligation. See the examples below.

Directive use

(32) *Čitaj!*
      read-IMPER-IPF
      'Read!'

Necessitive use

(33) *Vse   ušli,   a   ja sidi[19]   doma   i   rabotaj.*
      all   went but   I   sit-IMPER-IPF   at home   and   work-IMPER-IPF
      'Everybody has gone out, but I have to stay at home and study.' (Fortuin 2000:115)

Conditional and concessive uses of imperative will be classified under epistemic modality, since according to Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), condition and concession developed either from epistemic possibility or epistemic necessity.

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[19] Outside the directive use, the Russian imperative form is generally used with first and third person subjects.

Conditional use

(34) *Mne   kažetsja,   čto   vyskažis'*   *my i*   *vsë*
      I-DAT seems   that   say-IMPER-PF   we and   everything
      pojdët   po-staromu.
      go-PRES-PF   as before
      'It seems to me that if we speak out, everything will become as before.'

(35) *Stemnej   včera   poran'še,   my by   ne   pošli*
      be dark-IMPER-PF   yesterday   earlier   we IRR   not   go-PRET-PF
      v   park.
      to   park
      'If it had been dark earlier yesterday, we would not have gone to the park.'

Concessive use

(36) *Čto   ni   govori,   a   mne   èto   plat'e   nravitsja.*
      what   not   say-IMPER-IPF   but   I-DAT this   dress   like
      'No matter what you say, I like this dress.'

After building a modal semantic map of imperative constructions, the non-epistemic and epistemic uses will be compared in terms of the aspectual and subjectivity parameters. The results will show that both in Russian and Dutch the non-directive imperative uses are more subjective than the directive imperative. In Russian, the general tendency for a correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity is sustained, although there are some exceptions (which will also be discussed). In Dutch, there is a correlation between imperfective aspect and a more subjective reading, since a non-directive reading, being more subjective, allows the use of states (imperfective aspect) more easily than the directive imperative.

(iii)   Modal uses of tenses

In the final chapter, I will deal with modal readings of tenses in Russian and Serbian to explore their relation to subjectivity and aspect. I will describe two types of modal uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian: (1) the temporal reading of tense with a modal inference and (2), a strictly modal reading of tense. Since there are several tenses with modal uses (see chapter 5), I will just cite two examples here, illustrating the above division:

Non-epistemic modal inference (participant-external necessity)

(37) *Poedeš'   v   Ekaterinoslav, skazal on   –   pred˝javiš'   v*
      go-PRES-PF in Ekaterinoslav said   he   show-PRES-PF   in
      revkome   mandat.
      revolutionary committee credentials
      'You are to go to Ekaterinoslav, - he said- and you will show the credentials to the revolutionary committe.' (Bondarko 1971:103)

Non-epistemic modal meaning (participant-internal necessity)[20]

(38)   *Pravo,   pozavidueš'.*
       true   become envy-PRES-PF
       'Really, one can only be jealous.'

Sentences with a modal inference such as (37) differ from sentences with a modal meaning such as (38) in the sense that the former keep a temporal meaning and their modal reading is still not part of the meaning because it arises only in specific contexts. Both types of uses will be classified according to Van der Auwera & Plungian's (1998) map of modality. I will apply linguistic tests in order to estimate degrees of subjectivity for each of the modal readings and then consider the correlation between it and aspect. At the end of the chapter I will argue that the initial hypothesis about the link between imperfective aspect and subjectivity need not be rejected (although perfective aspect can also be found with different modal readings), since these examples are just inferences which are not part of the meaning of the form. The only exclusively modal meaning in both Russian and Serbian which is connected with perfective aspect is the meaning of participant-internal modality and this meaning is the least subjective in the hierarchy of subjectivity of modal meanings.

1.4   Outline of the thesis

This thesis investigates the interaction between aspect, modality and subjectivity in infinitives, imperatives and modal uses of tenses. Chapter 2 offers the theoretical background for the three parameters mentioned above. The first section of chapter 2 introduces the main aspectual notions. The classification is based on a twofold distinction of aspect and Aktionsart, since the thesis deals with data from two types of languages: aspect prominent and tense prominent languages. Morphological aspect is based on the distinction between imperfectivity and perfectivity, while Aktionsart is based on the semantic ('Vendlerian') classification of verbs. A short outline is given of the tense system of Russian, Serbian and Dutch. This is needed for the sake of chapter 5, in which I will specifically deal with modal uses of tenses in these two languages, and for the sake of chapter 4, in which the Dutch tense system will be presented in correlation with perfective/imperfective aspect because this correlation will be used in chapter 4 as part of the discussion of the Dutch imperative constructions. The next section (2.2) presents the theoretical background of modality. Since all the data further on in this dissertation have to be classified according to different modal readings, I will describe the main notions from the semantic map of modality of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). In the next section of chapter 2, the focus of attention is on the notion of subjectivity which I adopt from Langacker (1985). In 2.4.1 this notion of subjectivity is briefly opposed to the 'perspectivized' kind of subjectivity which is often used in the

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[20] Arguably, one could say that the meaning here is a kind of general modality, both possibility and necessity, but necessity comes closer.

literature. Section 2.4.2 describes the main tests for estimating degrees of subjectivity in modal constructions; they concern the nature of the modal source, the role of the modal target participant and nature of the subject.

Chapter 3 deals with modal infinitive constructions in Russian, German and Dutch and the correlation between aspect and subjectivity in them. Section 3.2 presents an overview of the infinitive constructions in Russian. The infinitive constructions are classified according to different modal non-epistemic (participant internal and participant external kinds) and 'quasi' epistemic readings. The evidence for this type of classification as well as the distribution of subjectivity and aspect is also provided in this part. In section 3.2.5.1, different affirmative infinitive sentences are compared according to the subjectivity tests in order to establish a subjectivity scale of the Russian infinitive sentences. In 3.2.5.2, I compare the use of aspect and degree of subjectivity in all affirmative infinitive sentences in Russian and show that the higher degree of subjectivity, represented by epistemic sentences, is correlated with imperfective aspect. Section 3.2.5.3 is devoted to negative infinitive sentences. I will argue, with reference to Verhagen (2005), that negation induces an increase of subjectivity, since it includes two mental spaces. In the next section I focus my attention on German and Dutch infinitive sentences. I show that both types of sentences exhibit non-epistemic modality. In the case of German infinitive sentences, they express deontic necessity and participant-external possibility; thus they all share the expression of modality. Using the subjectivity tests I will show that participant-external possibility is more subjective than deontic necessity, and check whether this is connected to the use of aspect. The correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity is sustained in this type of sentences since participant-external possibility is expressed mainly with durative verbs. The Dutch sentences have generally just one modal reading, the one of participant-external possibility, and both aspects are possible. However, this situation does not contradict the general picture of the imperfective aspect-subjectivity correlation.

Chapter 4 investigates the problem of the aspect-subjectivity correlation in different imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch. Four uses of the imperative construction in Russian are studied in this chapter: directive, necessitive, conditional and concessive. In section 4.2, I classify those uses according to the semantic map of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). Directive and necessitive uses are classified under non-epistemic participant-external modality due to the fact that they both deal with obligation. Conditional and concessive uses are represented as imperative readings which have developed from an epistemic modal reading. The directive imperative is postulated to be the initial point from which all other imperative uses have developed. After representing possible ways of development of all the abovementioned imperative uses, and establishing the construction network of different imperative constructions, I will argue in each of the sections, using the subjectivity tests described in chapter 2, that the derived imperative constructions are more subjective than the directive imperative. Correlating subjectivity and aspect will allow us to conclude that there is a general tendency for imperfective aspect to be used with the more subjective non-directive imperative constructions. Section 4.3 deals with two imperative constructions in Dutch: directive and conditional. The conditional imperative is estimated to be more subjective than the directive, as in the case of the Russian imperative. Among conditional constructions, the most subjective is the optative which can be used only with the past perfect, which in these cases specifically denotes an imperfective state holding in the

past. Thus the correlation between the most subjective imperative reading and imperfective aspect is sustained.

Chapter 5 investigates modal uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian. The idea is to investigate whether the relationship of aspect and subjectivity works the same way with tense. Various uses of the tense forms are classified in this chapter according to two types: (1) temporal meaning with modal inference and (2) strictly modal meaning. Although some tenses with perfective aspect (like the perfective present in Russian) exhibit the possibility to express modal readings, I will argue that these readings can be seen just within the first use of tenses, i.e. temporal use of tenses with modal inference, which are less subjective than strictly modal readings. My conclusion, based on the data from this chapter, is that the correlation between a higher degree of subjectivity and imperfective aspect holds.

In chapter 6, I will elaborate on the results of this study and formulate some questions for future research.

2 ASPECT, MODALITY, SUBJECTIVITY

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the main theoretical notions which are important for this study. The chapter has three sections devoted to the three main parameters which are the subject of the thesis, namely aspect, modality and subjectivity.

Section 2.2 is devoted to the parameter of aspect. In 2.2.1 I discuss the difference between aspect and Aktionsart. I describe the terminology of Aktionsart from the Vendler classification which will be subsequently used. In 2.2.2 I turn to aspect in Slavic languages, since this system is quite homogenous and since part of my data comes from two Slavic languages, Russian and Serbian. 2.2.2.1 deals with the interaction of tense and the aspectual system of Russian and Serbian because chapter 5 is devoted to the modal uses of tenses and their interaction with aspect. 2.2.3 shows the temporal system of Dutch which is a tense prominent language. It describes three parameters which can be used in order to define aspect in Dutch.

Section 2.3 is devoted to modality. For the purpose of the data classification according to this parameter, I choose the semantic map approach to modality developed by Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). In this section I describe the main principles of this approach. Section 2.4 is the section on subjectivity; 2.4.1 describes Langacker's approach to subjectivity which I will apply to my data. This approach is briefly compared to another conception of subjectivity that is equated with the notion of perspective, and widely present in the linguistic literature. Section 2.4.2 describes the tests that will be used in this dissertation. Section 2.5 demonstrates how these three parameters –aspect, modality and subjectivity– will be investigated in the subsequent chapters.

2.2 Aspect

According to Boogaart & Janssen (to appear), 'whereas tense situates a state affairs with respect to the evaluative situation (usually the time of speech), aspect does not serve any such deictic, or grounding, function. Rather than linking the situation, externally, to the discourse's ground, aspect concerns the internal temporal structure of situations […]. More specifically, aspect indicates whether the situation is conceptualized as unbounded (imperfective aspect) or as bounded (perfective aspect)'.

Traditionally, the term 'aspect' is used specifically for grammaticized forms. The 'Aktionsart', or 'lexical aspect' in this thesis, pertains to the distinction between situation types presenting activities, states, accomplishments and achievements (see the classification by Vendler 1967). Lexical and grammatical aspect interact in various ways, and in a language such as Dutch, which does not systematically mark grammatical aspect, lexical aspect is an important clue to determining aspect[21]. Languages vary in how grammatical aspect relates to the category of tense. The two domains are

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[21] See Boogaart (1999).

complementary. Temporal location takes an external viewpoint of a situation: tense and certain time adverbials locate a situation in time. Aspect presents the internal temporal structure of a situation. Nevertheless, there is a considerable interaction between the two domains. Morphologically, tense may also express the grammatical aspect. Distributionally, there are constraints on the occurrence of certain tenses and adverbials with aspectual categories.

In the next section I will introduce the main notions concerning aspect and Aktionsart which will be used in this study.

2.2.1   Aspect and Aktionsart

Grammatical aspect is expressed by a grammatical morpheme associated with the main verb of a sentence. The morpheme may simply indicate the grammatical aspect, or may have lexical contents as well (for instance, Russian perfective verbs with prefixes). Perfective aspect presents a situation in its entirety, including both initial and final points. Imperfective aspect focuses on the internal part of the situation. An important function of imperfective often may also be the presentation of an unbounded repetition of the situation. The two most common imperfectives are the general imperfective and the progressive. The former can include verbs with any Aktionsart, the latter applies only to non-statives.

The terminology of Aktionsart, which I will stick to in this study, relies on the so-called Vendler classification. Vendler (1967) distinguishes four situation types: states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. The corresponding verb classes function as linguistic categories, though they are not marked overtly. They differ in the temporal properties of *dynamism*, *durativity* and *telicity*. Dynamic situations 'require a continual input of energy' (Vendler 1967:13). The term durative 'refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time' (Vendler 1967:41). Telic[22] events have a change of state which constitutes the outcome, or a goal of the event. When the goal is reached, a change of state occurs and the event is complete. Telic events have a natural final endpoint, or intrinsic bound. Atelic events have arbitrary final endpoints. The abovementioned properties of each of the verb classes can be illustrated in the following way (cf. Smith 1997).

(i) States

States are stable situations which hold for an interval. They have the temporal features (-Dynamic) and (+Durative). Typical states are described by verb phrases like *own the farm*, *be tall*. The property of duration holds for states, even the most temporary ones. States exist during an undifferentiated period and have no internal structure. They have no dynamics, and require external agency for change. The initial and final endpoints of a state are not part of it, they are distinct situations, constituting changes of state.

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[22] This term is not used by Vendler, but was introduced by other scholars. While it is a convenient expression to indicate both accomplishments and achievements, it is not always used in this way. Comrie (1976) uses it only for accomplishments.

(ii) Activities

Activities are processes that involve physical or mental activity, and consist entirely in the process itself. They have the temporal features (+Dynamic), (+Durative) and (-Telic). Typical Activities are *laugh*, *think about*, *enjoy*. The arbitrary final endpoint of an Activity is a temporal bound, explicit or implicit. Activities terminate or stop, but they do not finish: the notion of completion is irrelevant to a process event. Activities go on in time in a homogenous way and according to Vendler (1967:133) 'any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole'. Activities may have explicit, independent, bounds, as when they appear with certain time adverbials (*for an hour*).

(iii) Accomplishments

Accomplishments consist of a process and an outcome, or change of state. The change is the completion of the process; accomplishments are finite, intrinsically bounded. They have the temporal features (+Dynamic), (+Durative) and (+Telic). Typical examples are *build a bridge*, *walk to school*, *drink a glass of wine*. Accomplishments have successive stages in which the process advances to its natural final endpoint. They result in a new state. The result state of an accomplishment may or may not continue.

(iv) Achievements

Achievements are instantaneous events that result in a change of state. They have the properties (–Durative) and (+Telic). Typical examples are *leave the house*, *reach the top*. Preliminary or resultant stages may be associated with the event, but they are not considered part of it. The concept of an achievement is a single-state event, detached from any associated process. This is true although many achievements have a preliminary processes associated with them. They may be conventionally necessary, as in *win a race*: to win a running race one must run it.

The features that distinguish the verb classes are summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1   Temporal features of the verb classes

Situations	Dynamic	Durative	Telic
States	_	+	_
Activity	+	+	_
Accomplishment	+	+	+
Achievement	+	_	+

In the next subsections I will first talk about the aspectual system of Slavic languages in general since they have quite a homogenous aspectual system. Then I will describe the tense system of Russian and Serbian because chapter 5 investigates modal readings of tenses and their interaction with aspect in these languages. In the subsection 2.2.3 I will present the tense system of Dutch in correlation to aspect which will be subsequently used in chapter 4 which deals with tense-aspect paradigm of the imperatives in Dutch.

2.2.2   Aspect in Slavic languages

Slavic languages are aspect prominent languages[23]. Aspectual choice in Slavic languages is salient morphologically. Most verbs are not single lexical entities but occur in morphologically linked pairs in which 'perfective' is opposed to 'imperfective'[24]. It must be stressed that the morphological means of expressing "aspectuality" in the Slavic languages are homogeneous. But the closely related Slavic languages exhibit some interesting variations mostly in aspect usage. The Slavic languages are traditionally divided into three groups: East Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian), West Slavic (Polish, Sorbian, Czech, Slovak), and South Slavic (Slovenian, Serbian/Croatian, Bulgarian, Macedonian). The east-west division is the genetically prior division, whereas the South Slavic group developed to be a distinct entity after Slavs from the eastern and western halves migrated into the Balkans (Dickey 2000:5). Dickey shows that the aspectual variation is mainly a matter of the east-west divison. Geographically, it parallels other isoglosses that distinguish a macro-western group (consisting of West Slavic + western Balkan Slavic) from a macro-eastern group (consisting of East Slavic + eastern Balkan Slavic).

According to this division, Russian belongs to the eastern group, while Serbian is in a transitional zone, which means that it has some aspectual properties of the East and some of the West Slavic languages. Differences between the two languages mainly concern aspectual use; the means for expressing aspect are almost the same[25]. According to Dickey (2000:11), one of the main "morpho-syntactic" differences is in the use of perfective aspect in relation to the present tense. In the South Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian/Croatian, Slovene) perfective verbs distinguish a present and a future tense, unlike in North Slavic (i.e., the East and West Slavic languages: Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Polish, Czech, Slovak). In the North Slavic languages, the perfective present form is regularly used to denote situations located in the future which are viewed perfectively (it also has other functions, depending on the language). The South Slavic languages employ the perfective future form for this purpose; the perfective present is used in various other cases, such as the non-actual present[26] (depending on the language), and after conjunctions such as *if* or *that* (e.g., Serbian/Croatian *ako, da*).

Slavic aspect is less dependent on tense and time reference than in many other languages. For instance, Slavic aspect is expressed not only in inflected past tense forms, but also in the present and future tenses, as well as mainly non-finite verb forms such as

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[23] See the typological description of aspect, tense and mood prominent languages in Bhat (1999).

[24] Every Slavic language has a number of verbs that are biaspectual, i.e. they occur in both imperfective and perfective contexts, e.g. *ženit'sja* 'get married', etc. A number of verbs are imperfectiva tantum, which have no perfective partners, e.g. *znat'* 'know', *ljubit'* 'love'. Likewise, there are perfectiva tantum, which have no imperfective partners, e.g. *vosprjanut'* 'liven up'. Yet majority of aspectologists agree that Slavic aspectual systems are based on aspectual pairs of verbs, and that unpaired verbs constitute various kinds of peripheral or marginal cases.

[25] Differences in aspectual use in different Slavic languages are present in habituals, in the historical present, in performatives, in acceptability of imperfectives in sequences of events and imperfective general-factuals of single achievements, in the presence of the aspect opposition in verbal nouns. See more on that in Dickey (2000).

[26] Non-actual present occurs in general statements (with some authors also in metaphorical uses, like the historical present).

imperatives, infinitives, and gerunds; it is expressed obligatorily in the subjunctive (which is derived from the past tense form). Some Slavic languages even express aspect in verbal nouns. This contrasts with aspectual oppositions in other languages such as the Classical Greek aorist/non-aorist opposition[27], which is largely restricted to the past tense, or the English progressive/non-progressive opposition, which is mostly restricted to finite verb forms[28].

The morphological relationship between perfective and imperfective members of aspectual pairs in Slavic languages is usually considered to be derivational. There are two types of Slavic aspectual derivation: productive, but lexically idiosyncratic perfectivizing prefixation and imperfectivizing suffixation[29]. Verbal affixes contribute to both grammatical and lexical aspects. The stem of the verb may be simple and unprefixed or complex. Typically the simple verb stem conveys imperfective aspect. Perfective stems are formed by the addition of a prefix[30]. An example of prefixation is the Russian pair *delat'*- *sdelat'* 'to do', where the prefix *s-* is added to the imperfective verb *delat'* to yield a perfective verb. Perfectivizing prefixation is rarely a purely grammatical process. Often the addition of a prefix results in a significant change in the lexical meaning of a verb, i.e. it creates a new lexical verb as in the Russian example in (1):

(1)   *pisat'*   –   *pere-pisat'*
       write-IPF   re-write-PF
       'write'   'rewrite'

Prefixes with minimal semantic content are known as 'empty prefixes' in the literature. Stems with empty prefixes tend to have a simple imperfective form, not a derived one[31]:

(2)   *pisat'*   –   *na-pisat'*
       write-IPF   on-write-PF
       'write'   'write down'

A much more widespread and regular method of deriving aspectual pairs is imperfectivizing suffixation (see example (3)):

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[27] Bulgarian has also a past tense opposition aorist - imperfective, in which each of these forms can be made from both perfective and imperfective verbs.

[28] Sometimes the progressive/non-progressive opposition in English can also be used in imperatives and infinitives.

[29] Since the means of the aspectual expression are the same in Russian and Serbian, most of the subsequent examples come Russian, unless pointed out otherwise.

[30] Ramchand (2004) differentiates two types of Russian prefixes in terms of event structure, e.g., lexical prefixes, which induce argument structure changes on the verb and superlexical prefixes which never change the participant relation of original objects.

[31] Opinions on the existence of empty prefixes differ. These are generally considered to be cases when the prefix is more or less semantically "empty", serving only to perfectivize the source verb. Thus, na- in *napisat'* adds no real lexico-semantic content, but only grammatically perfectivizes *pisat'*. Some scholars, such as Isachenko (1962), have doubted whether any prefixation serves only to perfectivize a verb without changing its lexical meaning to some degree (Dickey 2000:8).

(3)   *pere-pisat'* – *pere-pis-yvat'*
        re-write-PF   re-write-IPF
        'rewrite'   'being in the process of rewriting'

Derived imperfectives are usually available for verb stems which have prefixes with lexical meaning. Unlike prefixation, imperfectivizing suffixation does not change the lexical meaning of a verb – its result is instead purely 'grammatical' imperfectivization.

In the next subsection I will present the tense system of the Russian and Serbian languages and its relation to the aspectual system of these languages.

2.2.2.1   Tense and aspect in Russian and Serbian

The tense system in Russian is aspectually constrained. The constraint is the following: perfective forms in the non-past (present) tense cannot get the interpretation of present time as opposed to imperfective forms. The verbs in perfective aspect appear in two tense forms, whereas imperfective aspect allows for the derivation of three tense forms. The full system of tenses is presented in Table 2[32]:

Table 2   Tenses in Russian

	IMPERFECTIVE	**PERFECTIVE**
PAST		
Past tense	*On čita**l** knigu* He read-PRET-IPF book 'He read/was reading/has been reading/had been reading the/a book'	*On pročita**l** knigu* He read-PRET-PF book 'He read/has read/had read the/a book'
NON-PAST		
Present tense	*On čita**et** knigu* He read-PRES-IPF book 'He reads/is reading the/a book'	
		*On pročita**et** knigu* He read-PRES-PF book 'He will read the/a book'
Future tense	*On bud**et** čitat' knigu* He FUT read-INF-IPF book 'He will be reading the/a book'	

The asymmetry presented in the table above manifests itself in the derivation of non-past forms: in imperfective aspect, two non-past tense forms can be derived, a simple (*čitaet*) and periphrastic (*budet čitat'*) form, whereas the perfective forms do not allow for the derivation of a periphrastic future tense:

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[32] Adapted from Borik (2002:138).

(4)   **Budet   pročitat'*
       be-pres.3sg   PF-read

l non-past forms in Russian show the same agreement morphology. The non-past verb form agrees with the subject of a sentence in person and number. While the morpheme which brings about the past interpretation of the past forms, -l-, can be clearly distinguished, there is no special indicator of present or future tense in the non-past forms; the morphology that these forms have is just the person/number agreement inflection. Historically the past forms evolved from a periphrastic perfect in which the participial element (PRET) is inflected for number and gender (in the singular). Modern Russian lost the auxiliary. Note that the combination of PRET with the particle *by* (e.g. *čital by* 'would be reading') forms the conditional, expressing irreality.

In Serbian, both aspects can appear in past, present (unlike in Russian) and future tenses. Similarly to Russian, perfective verbs in the present tense do not refer to the moment of speech. They usually appear in temporal and conditional clauses. In contrast to Russian, the past forms have retained the auxiliary. Note that this past form is very similar to the conditional: only the auxiliary is different (*bih, bi* etc.). Except for these three tenses, the following tenses exist: aorist (mostly perfective verbs), imperfect (imperfective verbs), past perfect (all verbs), future II (all verbs). Aorist, imperfect and past perfect are not very common in the modern Serbian language. In the modern language, the original simple past forms aorist and imperfect must be regarded as optional (stylistically marked) replacements for certain uses of the general past tense forms. By changing the auxiliary, two more periphrastic forms can be derived: pluperfect and future II. The relation between tenses and grammatical aspect is illustrated in table 3:

Table 3 Tenses in Serbian

PAST	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
Past tense	*On je pitao.* he AUX ask-PRET 'He asked/was asking/has been asking'	*On je **u**pita**o.*** he AUX ask-PRET 'He asked/has asked'
Pluperfect[33]	*On je bi**o** pitao.* he AUX be-PRET ask-PRET 'He had been asking'.	*On je bi**o** upita**o.*** he AUX be-PRET ask-PRET 'He had asked'.
Aorist		On u- pita. he perf- ask[aor] 'He asked'.
Imperfect	*On pitaše.* he ask [imperfect-imperf] 'He was asking'.	
NON-PAST		
Present tense	*On pita.* he ask-PRES 'He asks/is asking'.	*(Kad) on upita …* (when) he ask-PRES '(When) he asks...'
Future I[34]	*On će pitati.* he FUT ask-INF 'He will ask/be asking'	*On će upitati.* he FUT ask-INF 'He will ask'
Future II[35]	*(Ako) bude pitao…* (if) AUX ask-PRET 'If he will (would) be asking…'	*(Ako) bude upitao…* (if) AUX ask-PRET 'If he will (would) ask...'

In the next section I will present the Dutch tense system and its relation to the grammatical aspect.

2.2.3   The temporal system of Dutch

In the terminology of Bhat (1999), Dutch is a tense prominent language and aspect is invisible. The interpretation of aspect depends on at least the following categories:

(i) Tense;
(ii) Aktionsart;
(iii) Discourse type.

The Dutch temporal system has the following tenses[36]

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[33] An alternative form exists in which the normal past of the auxiliary (*je bio*) is replaced by an imperfect (*bejaše*).

[34] An alternative form exists in which the infinitive is replaced by the conjunction *da* + PRES: *On će da (u)pita.*

[35] The use of this form is restricted to certain dependent clauses.

Table 4   Tenses in Dutch[37]

Non-past tenses	Past tenses
1. Present *vertrekt / werkt* 'leaves /(is leaving)'/'works/(is working)'	5. Preterit/Simple past *vertrok / werkte* 'left (was leaving)'/'worked(was working)'
2. Dutch Present Perfect *is vertrokken / heeft gewerkt* 'has left' /'has worked (has been working)'	6. Dutch Pluperfect *was vertrokken / had gewerkt* 'had left' / 'had worked (had been working)'
3. Dutch Future *zal vertrekken / zal werken* 'shall/will leave'/'will work (will be working)'	7. Dutch Future of the past *zou vertrekken / zou werken* 'was (about) to leave' / 'was (supposed) to work'
4. Dutch Future Perfect *zal zijn vertrokken / zal gewerkt hebben* 'shall/will have left' / 'will have worked (will have been working)'	8. Dutch Future Perfect of the past *zou zijn vertrokken / zou gewerkt hebben* 'was (about) to have left' / 'would have worked (would have been working)'

According to Boogaart (1999), the basic, simple tenses of Dutch are not marked for aspect. Thus, in principle, they could be either perfective or imperfective. However, because of the semantics of 'present', the present tense will usually get an imperfective reading and present the situations that are going on at the time of speech. This interaction between tense and aspect is also well known in Russian. As was mentioned in the previous section, the Russian imperfective present refers to the current moment and the perfective present refers to the future actions.

The past tense can be perfective or imperfective. Here Aktionsart plays an important role: achievements are usually perfective (because they have no duration), states are standardly imperfective (because they have no bounds). Activities and accomplishments do not prefer one or the other reading. Aspect in Dutch can usually be determined in context. Even the standard reading of achievements and states may be overruled by context. This is where the discourse type comes in: the Dutch simple past tense of accomplishments and achievements gets a perfective reading in narrative sequences. In non-narrative discourse the simple past tense very much behaves like an imperfective past tense. So there is no real aspect in the Dutch basic, simple tenses at all. However, there are compound forms: the perfect and the locative construction, which are aspectually marked.

The perfect construction[38] expresses perfective aspect, at least as part of its meaning but it is used exclusively in non-narrative discourse. The Dutch present perfect can be expressed in sequences of the sort exemplified in (5), but such sequences definitely do not constitute the unmarked form for narration in Dutch. More

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[36] Adapted from Janssen (1996:99).
[37] In this study I will not treat futures in Dutch.
[38] The perfect combines with tense, so there is a FUTURE PERFECT, a PRESENT PERFECT and a PAST PERFECT. The latter refers to a 'result state' holding at a reference point in the past.

specifically, the events in (5) feel like independently linked to the moment of speech rather than merely linked to one another like in a narrative chain of events (Boogaart 1999:143):

(5)   *John   is   weggegaan   en   daarna   weer   teruggekomen.*
      John   is   left   and   afterwards again   come-back
      'John left and came back later.'

Dutch cannot use a present perfect to express imperfective past. This is shown in (6) and (7) (see Boogaart 1999:154):

(6)   *Jan   zei   dat   hij dat   boek   gelezen heeft.*
      Jan   said   that   he that   book   read   has
      'Jan said that he read/has read that book.'

(7)   *Jan   zei   dat   hij dat   boek   las.*
      Jan   said   that   he that   book   read
      'Jan said that he read/was reading that book'.

The present perfect in the complement clause of (6) cannot be used to express that Jan is in the middle of reading the book at the time of saying presented in the matrix clause. To get this reading, Dutch needs to use a simple past tense, like in example (7) (or one of the locative verb formations that I will turn to below). Thus, Dutch present perfect cannot present a situation from the past as holding at a contextually provided moment in time, as an imperfective past does, and, therefore, it cannot be treated as a general past tense. The contrast with the semantics of the past tense consists mainly in the fact that the present perfect, in addition to presenting a 'bounded situation occurring before the point of speech' (perfective past), explicitly refers to the state of the world holding at the moment of speech. Boogaart (1999:143) claims that the perfect actually can express imperfective aspect, but that is the other part of its meaning, i.e. the 'result state' holding at the point of speech. In Dutch this is expressed by means of a stative auxiliary of either *hebben* or *zijn*. These auxiliaries express some kind of (very abstract) situation, and this situation is an imperfective state.

    The other construction which is aspectually marked in Dutch is the locative construction. The locative constructions are like the English progressive, so they express IMPERFECTIVE aspect[39], at least as part of their meaning, since the meaning of the locative constructions like that of the progressive, is slightly more specific than that of general imperfectives. The two progressive-like verb formations in Dutch are shown in (8) and (9) (see Boogaart 1999:167):

(8)   *aan het INF   zijn*
      on the INF   to be

(9)   *zitten/liggen/staan/lopen/hangen   te   INF*
      to sit/lie/stand/walk/hang   to   INF

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[39] The meaning of the locatives seems to be more specific than that of the progressive in English. See more on that in Boogaart (1999:169).

According to Overdiep (1937:354), the construction historically meant the same as 'we are in (the middle of) the V-ing'[40]. The finite verb form of the locative verb formations refers to a state holding at a definite moment in time. The Dutch locatives do not cover the entire domain of imperfective aspect which has to do with restrictions on their use in the domain of Aktionsart. They cannot be used to present states at all and, furthermore, within the domain of events, they cannot be used in the following cases (Boogaart 1999:189):

(i) When the predicate is non-agentive, unless it denotes gradual change
(ii) In passive clauses
(iii) To express habits
(iv) To express future time.

The expression of imperfective aspect in event clauses is only obligatory for achievements in narrative discourse when they need to be marked for imperfective aspect. In the domain of activities and accomplishments, the issue of imperfective marking in Dutch is less clear than in the domain of either states or achievements. The concepts of activity and accomplishment allow for a perfective interpretation as much as for an imperfective interpretation[41]. This is because the categories of states and achievements impose certain restrictions on the choice of grammatical aspect by their meaning, whereas categories of activities and accomplishments do not.

In my analysis of the Dutch data I will most frequently use notions of 'durative/terminative verbs' or 'states/events' instead of the notions of 'imperfective/perfective verbs', since the latter are connected with languages with morphological aspect. However, sometimes for the convenience of comparison with Russian, the notions 'imperfective/perfective' will occur when talking about Dutch.

2.3   The semantic map of modality

In this section I will turn to the next parameter which is important in this study, which is the parameter of modality.

In order to compare the interaction of aspect and subjectivity in the data under investigation, it is useful to classify them according to the parameter of modality. For that purpose I will use the semantic map of modality suggested by Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). A semantic map is a geometrical representation of functions in "conceptual/semantic space" that are linked by connecting lines and thus constitute a network (Haspelmath 2003:213). The semantic-map approach[42] treats the set of functions of a particular linguistic unit as a coherent chunk of a universal network. The

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[40] See Boogaart (1999:169).
[41] Activities and accomplishments that are ongoing at the moment of speech can be expressed with a simple present tense in Dutch (Boogaart 1999:195).
[42] According to Haspelmath (2003:215), semantic maps are also similar to cognitive-grammar "networks", that is, spatial arrangements of the polysemy structure of an item in a particular language. However, these networks do not seem to imply anything about the universality of the spatial arrangement of the senses.

main idea of the semantic-map method is that multifunctionality of a linguistic unit occurs when different functions of the form are similar. Cross-linguistic comparison is very important, both for choosing the relevant functions and for arranging the functions on the map. Since the configuration of functions on a semantic map is claimed to be universal, a map makes predictions about possible languages that are easy to test on new languages. For instance, if a language has a multifunctional form with the functions 'function 1' and 'function 3', then the map makes the prediction that the form also has 'function 2'. Each semantic map embodies a series of implicational universals which emerge as a side effect of the construction of a map that allows the representation of cross-linguistic similarities and differences (Haspelmath 2003:232).

Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) sketch some features of the semantic map of modality, starting from the paths offered by Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), and they use this to make predictions about the ways languages express modality. The term 'modality' is taken by Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:80) to refer to just those (four) domains in which possibility contrasts with necessity, and 'semantic map' refers to a representation of cross-linguistically relevant synchronic and diachronic connections between modal, premodal, and postmodal meanings or uses. The first domain is what is called 'participant-internal modality'. This term refers to a kind of possibility or necessity internal to a participant engaged in the state of affairs. In the case of possibility we are dealing with a participant's ability (capacity), as in (10), and in the case of necessity with a participant's internal need, as in (11)[43]:

(10)   *Boris can get by with sleeping five hours a night.*
(11)   *Boris needs to sleep ten hours every night for him to function properly.*

The second domain in which possibility and necessity contrast is that of 'participant-external modality'. The term refers to circumstances that are external to the participant and that make the state of affairs either possible or necessary.

(12)   *To get to the station, you can take bus 66.*
(13)   *To get to the station, you have to take bus 66.*

The third domain is that of 'deontic modality'. It is a subdomain of participant-external modality. Deontic modality identifies the enabling circumstances external to the participant as some person(s), often the speaker, and/or as some social or ethical norm(s) obliging or permitting the participant to engage in the state of affairs:

(14)   *John may leave now.*
(15)   *John must leave now.*

The last domain is 'epistemic modality'. It refers to a judgement of the speaker: a proposition is judged to be uncertain or probable relative to some judgement(s).

(16)   *John may have arrived.*
(17)   *John must have arrived.*

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[43] The examples of the four domains are taken from Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:80-81).

Within the set of participant-internal, participant-external, and epistemic modalities three subgroups can be constructed: (i) participant-internal and participant-external modality together make up non-epistemic modality; (ii) participant-external and epistemic modality[44] together make up non-participant-internal modality; and (iii) participant-internal and epistemic modality together make up non-participant-external modality. This is illustrated in table 5[45]:

Table 5   Semantic map of modality

Possibility			
Non-epistemic possibility			Epistemic possibility (Uncertainty)
Participant-internal possibility (Dynamic possibility, ability, capacity)	Participant-external possibility		
	(Non-deontic possibility)	Deontic possibility (Permission)	
Participant-internal necessity (Need)	(Non-deontic necessity)	Deontic necessity (Obligation)	Epistemic necessity (Probability)
	Participant-external necessity		
Non-epistemic necessity			
Necessity			

Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) investigated the diachronic dimension of the development of the modalities which Bybee et al. (1994) suggested, namely that participant-internal possibility was the source of the development of participant-external possibility, whose subtype is deontic possibility, and out of which epistemic possibility developed. The same development applied to necessity modality. Van der Auwera & Plungian constructed their integrated map of necessity and possibility on the basis of interconnected so-called postmodal meanings which developed out of these modalities. In their view, modal meanings may yield postmodal ones, independently of whether the modal source meaning was possibility or necessity. This is the case for condition, concession, and complementation, as coming from epistemic modality, and for future, as coming from participant-external modality[46]. Van der Auwera & Plungian

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[44] In the subgroup of epistemic necessity Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) include the inferential reading of evidentiality because both categories are dealing with the certainty of a judgement. Cross-linguistically, inferential evidentiality often derives from a perfect or it is still a use of the perfect. Inferential evidentials often receive an English translation with epistemic *must* (Van der Auwera, Plungian 1998:85).

[45] Taken from from Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:82).

[46] Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) illustrate the development of the postmodal meaning of conditionality out of the epistemic modality with the case of Dutch *mocht,* which signals that the subordinate clause it introduces is a conditional clause:

(i) *Mocht   ik   ziek   worden, zoek   dan   een   vervanger.*
     might   I   sick   become search   then   a   substitute

hypothesize that there is one postmodal meaning that exclusively arises from necessity, more particularly participant-external necessity, and that is the imperative[47].

Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) added a fifth postmodal meaning, reachable via necessity as well as possibility, together with the condition, concession, complementation, and future meaning, namely optative. Since the paths of development of postmodal meanings are quite complicated, I will illustrate the development of only the last postmodal meaning, namely optative.

As Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:107/108) claim, optative meaning can develop out of necessity. As an example of such a development, they suggest the Russian modal infinitive. It can have the meaning of necessity (inevitability)[48]:

(18)   *Vam   vyxodit'.*
        you-DAT go out-INF-IPF
        'You have to go out.'

However, this infinitive can also get optative meaning, as in (19):

(19)   *Žit'   vam   do sta   let!*
        live-INF-IPF you-DAT till hundred   year
        'May you live a hundred years!' (Fortuin 2000:169)

Van der Auwera & Plungian (ibid.) consider that the optative meaning represents a later stage of the development of the modal infinitive, out of its necessitive use.

According to them, possibility and necessity can be connected in three ways: (i) paths of a further development of possibility and necessity can yield the same result, namely, they can share postmodal meanings[49], (ii) a possibility meaning can turn into necessity and vice versa[50], and (iii) possibility and necessity become associated with one another: meanings may be vague between possibility and necessity readings, without this vagueness being a transition stage from one reading to the other. The last mentioned situation is found in the Russian dative-infinitive construction, or German "modal passive" (or "modal infinitive"), where in some contexts the modal passive allows both readings, some contexts trigger the possibility reading and some the necessity reading[51]. The infinitive construction may be vague between possibility and necessity and also between participant-internal and participant-external modality (English *can* or *need*) (Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:101). I will return to this in sections 3.2 and 3.3.

The classification of modal readings of the semantic map of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) will be applied to my data, which will be then further compared for its

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'Should I get sick, look then for a substitute.'

[47] See more on the imperative in Russian and Dutch in chapter 4.

[48] See chapter 3 of this study on the Russian modal infinitive.

[49] The example of the first way how necessity and possibility can be interrelated is that the postmodal meaning of condition possibly developed out of both epistemic necessity and epistemic possibility (Van der Auwera & Plungian 1998:98).

[50] For instance, deontic necessity can develop out of deontic possibility, as in the case of English *must,* where the readings of permission and obligation were vague at certain stage of development (ibid., p. 99).

[51] See Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:100/101) and chapter 3 of this dissertation for both dative-infinitive constructions in Russian and modal infinitives in German.

aspectual use and according to the subjectivity scale. For the purposes relevant for this study modal and postmodal meanings will be used, while premodal meanings will not be the subject of interest in the thesis.

2.4 Subjectivity

The last section of this chapter is devoted to the third parameter which I will subsequently deal with, namely subjectivity.

In this section, I will describe the theoretical assumptions concerning subjectivity which this study is based on. I will apply a definition of subjectivity suggested by Langacker (1985). This approach to subjectivity can be well connected to other linguistic phenomena, like, for instance, aspect, and be easily 'operationalized' into precise linguistic tests, which will be shown in subsection 2.4.2. Although there were some claims earlier in the literature (Fleischman 1995, Boogaart 1999) about a connection between imperfective aspect and subjectivity, those definitions of subjectivity are not uniform, so it would be hard to apply them to my data.

In my next subsection, I will describe the main points concerning subjectivity as seen by Langacker and then briefly compare it to the so called 'perspectivized' type of subjectivity, which is widely presented in the linguistic literature. In subsection 2.4.2, I will offer tests for estimating degrees of subjectivity in my data.

2.4.1 Langacker's approach to subjectivity

According to Langacker (1987:128), every linguistic expression structures a conceived situation by means of a particular image. A speaker establishes a construal relationship between himself and the structured scene. The most important parameter for the analysis of subjectivity is the interplay between two parts of the construal relationship: conceptualizer and object of conceptualization. Langacker (1987:129) often presents the terms 'subjective' and 'objective' in perceptual terms, introducing the *optimal viewing arrangement*[52], represented with Figure 2(a):

a) Optimal viewing arrangement

(b) Egocentric viewing arrangement

Figure 2 Langacker's viewing arrangements

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[52] Langacker (1985:123) claims that there is no clear-cut boundary between perception and general conceptual abilities; they can be considered 'intergrading manifestations of the same basic cognitive principles.'

S ('Subject') in the figures above stands for the viewer or conceptualizer and O ('Object') for the object being observed. When the attention of S is solely focused on O, and S is not part of the conceptualization, S is 'off stage', the asymmetry in the roles of S and O is maximized, as is shown in Figure 2 (a). The construal of S in the perceptual relationship is then said to be maximally subjective, and that of O maximally objective. As soon as S becomes part of the conceptualization and it is put 'on stage', the objectivity of O diminishes, while the speaker's objectivity increases, which is represented with Figure 2(b) and which is called *egocentric viewing arrangement*.

The speaker participates in a construal relationship with respect to every linguistic expression. According to Langacker (1985:109), semantic structure is 'conceptualization structured in accordance with established patterns of linguistic convention'. The conceptualizer can be equated with the speech act participants, and the conceptualization with the meaning of the expression. Communication in Langacker's model is related to the 'Ground', which includes the speech event, speaker and hearer (the speech act participants), and speech event settings, such as the time and place (the 'here-and-now')[53]. If the Ground is put 'on stage' and explicitly expressed, then the speaker is more objective, while, if the Ground is 'off stage' and implicit, then the speaker is more subjective: this is illustrated in examples (20) and (21):

(20)   *In my opinion, he is stupid* (S is construed objectively).
(21)   *He is stupid* (S is construed subjectively).

Langacker's approach to subjectivity includes two distinct, but related dimensions. One has to do with the question to what extent some aspect of the speech situation (what Langacker calls 'Ground') is part of the meaning of the utterance. The other concerns the question whether the speaker explicitly puts himself (or some other aspect of the speech situation) explicitly 'on stage' (Pit 2003:96). In brief:

> (i)   The degree of involvement of the Ground in the conceptualization;
> (ii)   Explicit/implicit reference to the Ground;

There are certain maximally objective utterances where no aspects of the Ground are involved in the conceptualization, as in the case of 'scientific objectivity'[54]:

(22)   *Budapest is the capital of Hungary.*

But when the speaker is involved in the conceptualization, he can choose whether to refer explicitly to himself or not, as in examples (20) and (21). They are both evaluative expressions, so that the Ground is indeed involved in the conceptualization; in (20) the Ground is objectively construed, in (21) it is done subjectively. Thus, there are three major degrees of objectivity/subjectivity: conceptualizations in which the Ground is not involved (cf. (22)), those in which it is objectively construed (cf. (20)), and those in which it is subjectively construed (cf. (21)).

As was said earlier, in chapter 1, the connection between imperfective aspect and subjectivity or perspective is quite often mentioned in the functionally oriented

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[53] See Langacker (1985:113).
[54] See also Pit (2003:95).

literature. This kind of subjectivity is related to narrative texts and depends on the degree to which the narrator adopts the perspective of the characters and on the representation mode in which the narrator represents the utterances of his characters[55]. As Pit (2003:106) suggested, both Langacker's definition of subjectivity and 'perspectivized' kinds of subjectivity have in common the fact that they 'imply a certain degree of self-expression of some participant. In the first case, self-expression arises because the speaker's consciousness becomes part of the meaning of the utterance, whereas in the second case, self-expression arises simply because a character's thoughts, utterances, and perceptions are represented'.

2.4.2   Tests of subjectivity

In this study I will apply three tests in order to estimate degrees of subjectivity in modal constructions. These are the following:

(i)   The nature of the modal source;
(ii) The role of the modal target participant;
(iii) The nature of the grammatical subject.

(i)   The nature of the modal source:

Following Sweetser (1990)[56], I define the modal source as the causer of modality. This causer of modality can be expressed in three ways. It can be (1) an internal property of the subject-referent, (2) an external norm or authority, or (3) some piece of knowledge available to the speaker. The first two types of modal sources are connected to the non-epistemic type of modality (participant-internal and participant-external modality), while the last one is related to epistemic modality.

As was mentioned in the previous section, Langacker's approach to subjectivity is concerned with two criteria, namely:

(i)   The degree of involvement of the Ground in the conceptualization;
(ii)   The explicit/implicit reference to the Ground;

In modal utterances, the Ground is always, to some extent, part of the conceptualization, so they are all subjective. However, modal utterances differ in the degree to which the Ground is involved, which is related to the first criterion of subjectivity. *The more the Ground is involved in the conceptualization, the more subjective the utterance is.* Let us compare different kinds of modality on the basis of English 'can/could'.

(23)   *John can speak French (very well).*
(24)   *One can speak French here.* (It is allowed.)
(25)   *He could just as well be speaking French.*

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[55] See Banfield (1982), Caenepeel (1989), Fludernik (1993).
[56] See also Talmy (1998, 2000) and Boye (2005).

In (23), the participant-internal kind of modality, the Ground is involved in the conceptualization but only minimally so. Thus, participant-internal modality with its internally oriented modal source, which is represented by the internal need or capacity, is minimally subjective. The Ground is involved in (23) since the situation of John speaking French is not visibly or verifiably (and thus objectively) going on at the time of speaking, it has to be construed by the speaker. In order to be able to say something like (23), some degree of abstraction is needed on the part of the speaker. The speaker will have to rely, for instance, on his memory (of occasions on which he actually did hear John speaking French). This is exactly what makes (23) a 'modal' utterance, as opposed to the sentence *John is speaking French*[57] and what makes it subjective.

Participant-external modality, as in (24), is more subjective than participant-internal modality, as in (23), since the Ground is to a larger extent (a greater degree) involved in the conceptualization. In the directive kind, the Ground is clearly involved since these utterances are dealing with the speaker and the addressee. They might not be mentioned explicitly (which makes them even more subjective), but even if they are not, they are still needed to arrive at a coherent reading. Thus, in terms of subjectivity, the directive utterance in (26) can be compared to (27).

(26)   *Get out!*
(27)   *Mary is sitting across the table.*

The interpretation of (27) is dependent on the perspective of the speaker: Mary is sitting across the table *from me*. In a similar vein, a correct understanding of (24) involves knowing who the speaker and the addressee are. Of course, not all deontic utterances are also directive utterances. Thus, in (26) the 'modal source' is not the speaker, but rather some norm, law, or authority. Still, this implicit 'norm' may also be considered part of the Ground, more specifically part of the common Ground, the shared knowledge of the speaker and the addressee. Contrary to the modal source of participant-internal modal utterances, which is subjective only in the weak sense that it has to be construed by the speaker (and the speaker is part of the Ground), the modal source of participant-external modal utterances is actually itself part of the Ground (without necessarily being explicitly expressed as such), and, therefore, it is more subjective.

An epistemic utterances like (25) is still more subjective than a participant-external modal utterance since the involvement of the Ground is maximal: an epistemic evaluation as the modal source is totally dependent on the reasoning of the speaker. It is almost like, in epistemic utterances, the Ground and the conceptualization coincide. Participant-external modal utterances are still to some extent about the ('objective') world; a sentence such as (26), for instance, is about an actual event that the speaker wants to be realized in the world. Epistemic utterances, however, are confined to the world of reasoning.

In terms of the first criterion of subjectivity (the extent to which the Ground is involved in the conceptualization), we get the following ordering:

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[57] The general use of the simple present tense (*John speaks French*) can also express this kind of modality. Here, I am only concerned with the conceptual distinction between different types of modality, not with the ways these may or may not be expressed in, in this case, English.

Non-modalized utterances (*Budapest is the capital of Hungary*): subjectivity = 0
Participant internal modality (*John can speak French*): subjectivity = 1
Participant external modality (*One can speak French here*): subjectivity = 2
Epistemic modality (*He could be speaking French*): subjectivity = 3

This criterion for subjectivity is independent from the second criterion, namely, of the issue whether or not the Ground is explicit. It can be either explicit or implicit formally in all kinds of modality and this depends on the individual construction. If it is left implicit, then the utterance is more subjective than when it is explicit. Thus, the following three sentences are each less subjective than their counterparts in (23)-(25):

(23)'   *I know John can speak French (very well).*
(24)'   *One can speak French here, I think.* (It is allowed.)
(25)'   *He could just as well be speaking French, for all I know.*

This can be summarized with the following table:

Table 6   The nature of the modal source

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality		Epistemic modality
	Participant-internal	Participant-external	
Modal source	● Internal property of the subject-referent	● External norm or authority	● Knowledge of the speaker
1st criterion of subjectivity	(Ground minimally involved in conceptualization) +	(Ground partially involved in conceptualization) ++	(Ground maximally involved in conceptualization) +++
2nd criterion of subjectivity	Ground on stage/off stage –/+	Ground on stage/off stage –/+	Ground on stage/off stage –/+
Subjectivity scale	+/++	++/+++	+++/++++

In all the data in this study, the nature of the modal source will be judged from the following viewpoint: to what extent is the Ground part of the conceptualization and is the Ground represented on stage or off stage.

(ii)   The role of the modal target participant:

The notion of the 'modal target participant' (mtp) is the modal analogue of the 'causally primary participant' (cp) introduced by Pit (2003:108), which in turn is based on the theory of 'force dynamics' of Talmy (1988)[58]. According to Pit (2003:112), the cp is 'the

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[58] See Pit (2003:108).

entity that is the point of application of the causal force, or event… The resulting event is constituted by the change of state this entity goes through'. The role and the nature of the cp is one of the most relevant factors in estimating how subjective an expression is. Pit suggests four different roles of the cp in her study on the function of different causal connectors:

(1)   evaluator
(2)   speech act performer
(3)   agent
(4)   non-agent.

She illustrates the roles of the cp with the following examples of the use of the English conjunction *because*[59]:

(28)   *Probably the neighbors are not home, because the lights are off* (evaluator, speaker).
(29)   *Do you know what the weather will be like this afternoon? Because I have a day off* (speech act performer, speaker).
(30)   *I've bought the trousers, because I liked them* (agent, referent of *I*, i.e. the speaker, objectively construed).
(31)   *The man fell, because he stumbled over the doorstep* (non-agent, referent of *he*).

The most subjective is the role of the evaluator and the speaker is equated with it, because he makes a judgment. The causality in (28) arises from the cp's 'subjective ideas' and the result is an evaluation, originating from a mental activity on the part of the cp. When the cp has the role of speech act performer, as in (29), the result of the causing event is a speech act. According to Pit, the cp's in (28) and in (29) might be equal in their subjectivity. Thus, in (29) the speaker justifies the speech act of the first sentence (a question) by giving a reason for it. The resulting event can also be an action volitionally performed in which case the cp is an agent, as in (30). These kinds of cp's are less subjective than the previous two. In case the cp is unwillingly involved in the causality as in (31), it is a non-agent and the cp is least subjective. The relation between the types of cp's and degrees of subjectivity could be represented in the following way[60]:

Table 7   The role of the modal target participant

Degrees of subjectivity	Type of cp
+ + +	Evaluator
+ + +	Speech act performer
+ +	Agent
+	Non-agent

The main parameter for differentiation of the types of cp is the notion of control, which is directly related to the way how the cp judges or acts in certain situations. In example (30), when the cp is the agent, he has control over the action whether to buy or not to buy trousers, while in (31) the cp (non-agent) does not have control over falling.

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[59] The examples were taken from Pit (2003:117-119).
[60] The table is adapted from Pit (2003:123).

According to Pit, the degree of control directly influences the degree of self-expression of the participant in the causality, i.e. on subjectivity of the sentence. The higher the degree of control, the higher the subjectivity of the sentence.

I adopt Pit's notion of 'cp' to the *modal target participant* for the purpose of describing infinitive and imperative constructions, as well as for the description of modal uses of tenses.

The modal target participant should be viewed as the participant or entity that is the point of application of a certain modal force. There could be three possible modal target participants: (1) evaluator, (2) agent and (3) non-agent. These three modal target participants differ in terms of degrees of control they have over the realization of the modal action. The degree of control (cf. above) directly influences the degree of self-expression of the participant, so the higher the control of the modal target participant, the higher the subjectivity of the modal target participant and the expression which includes it[61]. The most subjective modal target participant is the evaluator, the one who creates judgments and has opinions about the action of the expression. He has a complete control over judgments that he makes. This kind of modal target participant is related to epistemic sentences. Less subjective than the evaluator is the agent. The agent is the one who is supposed to fulfill the action which is imposed from the outside. This modal target participant has partial control over the fulfillment of this action: usually he can decide whether to do it or not; he is connected with non-epistemic participant-external modal sentences. The least subjective modal target participant is the non-agent. He does not have control over his internally situated needs which occur. This is represented in table 8:

Table 8   **The roles of the modal target participant and the degree of control**

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality		Epistemic modality
	Participant-internal	Participant-external	
Modal target participant	● non-agent	● agent	● evaluator
Degree of control	_	+	++
Degree of subjectivity	_	+	++

Although the modal target participant and the modal source are different roles, sometimes their referent might be identical, as in the case of participant-internal and epistemic types of modality. In the case of participant-internal modality, the modal source is the internal property of the subject-referent, while the modal target participant is the subject himself. The modal source of epistemic modality is the knowledge available to the speaker and the modal target participant is the speaker-evaluator.

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[61] See Pit (2003:107) on the interaction of control and subjectivity in expressions connected to causality.

(iii)   The nature of the grammatical subject[62]:

The subject of a modal sentence can be inanimate or animate, referential or non-referential, first, second or third person singular or plural. I suggest that if the subject is inanimate/non-referential more of the Ground is involved; the utterance is more dependent on the speaker in the absence of any other animate being that could take part in the responsibility for the claim being made, so the sentence is very subjective. The modal source cannot reside in an inanimate subject, hence it is subjectively construed; this is indicative of epistemic modality. This situation is related to the first test, when applied to epistemic sentences, where the modal source originates in the reasoning of the speaker.

Table 9 represents the connection between different kinds of subjects and types of modality[63]:

Table 9   The nature of the subject

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality		Epistemic modality
	Participant-internal	**Participant-external**	
Subject of the sentence	●Animate ●Referential	● Most often animate ●Most often referential	● Both animate and inanimate ● Both referential and non-referential
Subjectivity scale	+	+(+)	++

In the subsequent chapters I will apply the above subjectivity tests to the infinitive constructions in Russian and Dutch, imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch and modal uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian.

2.5   Concluding remarks

This chapter was devoted to three parameters which I will deal with in this study, namely: aspect, modality and subjectivity. Each of my three subsequent chapters will contain the following four steps related to these three parameters:

(1)   The data will be classified according to the semantic map of modality of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998);

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[62] This test is similar to the one that Pit (2003) applies to the nature of the causally primary participant. However, Pit's (2003) test shows opposite results, because the most subjective in her work are animate, referential and 1st person subject expressions. Pit connects this test directly with the self-expression of the causally primary participant, therefore animate and referential are the most subjective, since they are able to be self-expressive. I connect this test with the question of the degree till which the Ground (speaker) is involved in the sentence.

[63] The table will represent different kinds of subject according to two factors, animacy and referentiality, since modal sentences mostly differ in these two aspects, while the factor which is related to the use of different persons in singular and plural is not that prominent in my data.

(2) Different modal sentences will be observed in interaction with aspect;
(3) The subjectivity tests will be applied to the different modal sentences;
(4) The interaction of different modal sentences, their subjectivity and aspect will be studied.

In the next chapter, I will apply these four steps to infinitive sentences in Russian, German and Dutch.

3   MODAL INFINITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1   Introduction

This chapter investigates the interaction between aspect and subjectivity in modal infinitives. I will argue that modal infinitives provide evidence in favour of my hypothesis about a link between imperfective aspect and subjectivity. I will show, on the basis of modal infinitive constructions in Russian, German and Dutch, that imperfective aspect actually correlates with more subjective modal meanings.

The similarity of the infinitive constructions in these three languages concerns both form and meaning: all three constructions contain an infinitive (form) and all three constructions have been argued to express the modal notions of possibility and necessity. The fact that these constructions express some sort of modal meaning can be ascribed mostly to the nature of the infinitive which, not being tensed, presents an (as yet) unrealized situation without necessarily determining whether the realization of the situation is either necessary or merely possible (and, in either case, whether it is epistemic or deontic modality that we are dealing with). The three languages differ in the way and degree in which the aspect of the infinitive plays a role in shaping modal meaning. The modal meanings of the infinitive sentences are grouped according to the classification suggested by Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). To show how they are related to one another, and how they correlate with aspect, I will use the semantic-map approach (Haspelmath 2003).

Section 3.2 describes the meaning and the use of the Russian dative-infinitive construction, as well as the correlation between subjectivity, different modal meanings and aspect. Section 3.3 deals with the German and Dutch modal infinitives, and the role of aspect in them. In section 3.4, conclusions about these three languages and the correlation between aspect and subjectivity are presented.

3.2   The Russian dative-infinitive construction[64]

3.2.1   General remarks about infinitive constructions in Russian

Even though the infinitive does not belong to the category of mood, it is often used for different modal functions in Russian. According to Bricyn (1990:195), there are three main groups of modal infinitive constructions in the Russian language:

(i)   Infinitives used without the particle *by*:

(1)   *Ljuse   zavtra   vstavat'   rano.*
        Lusy-DAT   tomorrow get up-INF-IPF   early
        'Lucy has to get up early tomorrow' (dative-infinitive construction)

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[64] See also Trnavac (in prep.).

(2)   *Molčat'!*
      be quiet-INF-IPF
      'Be quiet!'

(ii)   Infinitives used with the particle *by*:

(3)   *Sdat'   by   èkzamen!*
      pass-INF-PF IRR   exam
      'If only I could pass the exam!' (optative use)

(4)   *Ne upast'   by!*
      not fall-INF-PF   IRR
      'Don't fall' / 'I don't want to fall' (warning).

(iii)   Infinitives used with the verb *byt'* ('to be')[65]:

(5)   *Mne   i   otsjuda   vidat'.*
      I-DAT and   from here see-INF-IPF
      'I can see from here.' (Bricyn 195:1990)

(6)   *Idti   bylo   50   metrov.*
      go-INF-IPF   was   50   meters
      '(I) had to go 50 meters.'

The subject of the study of this chapter will be the first group, more precisely, the dative-infinitive construction. There are two elements which, when combined, give rise to a modal interpretation of the construction:

> **(i)** The presence of the infinitive;
> **(ii)** The presence of the dative subject.

The infinitive expresses some sort of modal meaning since in this construction it presents an unrealized situation. As has been proposed by Fortuin (2005), three features constitute the basic meaning of the dative in the dative-infinitive construction: (i) There is some force directed at Y (the recipient); (ii) Y is potentially affected by this force; (iii) The potential effect results in a dynamic scene of 'receiving', 'coming into effect'. According to Fortuin (to appear), 'the participant in the dative is the potential subject/agent of the situation expressed by the infinitive because of the existence of some unspecified force, which is directed at the coming into being of the infinitive situation by the dative participant'.

The Russian dative-infinitive construction clearly prefers necessity readings over possibility readings. As we will see later in section 3.3, this is similar to the way the Dutch construction may be used to express necessity in a restricted set of well-defined contexts: the Russian construction may be used to express possibility only in a similarly

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[65] The present tense of the verb *byt'* 'to be' is not expressed ("zero-form"), but (5) differs from (1) in that it can be transformed in a past tense sentence with the form *bylo* (like example (6)).

restricted set of contexts, in particular negative contexts (including, in addition to explicit negation, such things as negative polarity triggers and interrogatives).

The dative-infinitive construction can express two kinds of modality:

(i)   Non-epistemic modality:

(7)   *Ložis',   tebe   že   zavtra   idti   v   sadik.*
      go to bed you-DAT PRT   tomorrow go-INF-IPF in kindergarten
      'Go to bed, you have to go to the kindergarten tomorrow.' (Bricyn 1990:208)

(ii)   'Quasi'-epistemic modality:

(8)   *Gorodu – xorošet'.*
      city-DAT   get prettier-INF-IPF
      'The city will become nicer (with time).' (Bricyn 1990:219)

Non-epistemic sentences can be classified further into sentences with participant-internal and participant-external necessity. 'Quasi-epistemic' sentences are sentences with the meaning of inevitability/ 'predestined' future: as will be shown in section 3.2.3, there are arguments in favour of calling these sentences 'epistemic' and counterarguments to naming them that way; hence the label chosen here.

    Besides aspect, which plays a big role in influencing the kind of modality that arises, the second important factor is negation.

In this section I will be concerned with four issues concerning dative-infinitive sentences:

        (i) the relation between form and meaning;
        (ii) the interaction of different types of modal meanings and subjectivity;
        (iii) the relation between subjectivity and aspect;
        (iv) the interaction of negation, aspect and subjectivity.

In the following two subsections, I will give a brief description of the form and meaning of the Russian dative-infinitive sentences[66]. In section 3.2.5, I will investigate the correlation between modality, aspect and subjectivity in these constructions.

3.2.2   Non-epistemic modal infinitive sentences

3.2.2.1   Participant-internal modal sentences (necessity reading)

A participant-internal type of necessity occurs in dative-infinitive constructions which express a need inherent to the first-argument participant[67]. These sentences are used

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[66] For a more detailed description of structural and semantic features of dative-infinitive sentences, see Fortuin (2000).

with perfective aspect. The following example illustrates this use of the infinitive construction:

(9) *Vy   začem   prišli?*
     you   why   come
     Mne   pogovorit'   s   učitelem.
     I-DAT   talk-INF-PF   with   teacher
     'Why did you come?' – 'I need/have to talk to a teacher' (Fortuin 2000:348).

Sentences like these can be paraphrased with *nužno* ('need') or *hotet'* ('want'). The subject of the sentence is most often the first person singular. But it can be omitted when it is recoverable from the context.

There is a similarity between these sentences and those expressing wishes, both in form and in meaning. Formally, wishes are also usually expressed with perfective aspect.

(10) *Mne   tol'ko   ešče   raz   uvidet'   eë*[68].
      I-DAT only   still   once   see-INF-PF her
      'If only I could see her one more time.'

An interesting parallel to this comparison is that diachronically, according to the semantic map of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), a postmodal optative[69], which expresses a wish, developed from the participant-internal necessity reading (need). The correlation between aspect and participant-internal modality can be summarized in the following way:

Table 10   Participant-internal necessity and aspect

	Imperfective	**Perfective**
Participant-internal necessity in affirmative sentences	–	+

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[67] As Fortuin (2000:348) emphasizes, 'the occurrence of the dative shows that the action is not conceptualized as the result of the will of the agent, but that an internal disposition or urge compels the subject to do the action'.

[68] Sentences like (9) and (10) *can* differ formally: in (10), the particle *by* can occur, which signals the expression of a wish.

[69] See more on that Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:110).

3.2.2.2   **Participant-external modal sentences[70] (necessity reading)**

There are also affirmative dative-infinitive sentences expressing participant-external necessity. Their meaning involves obligation. I will illustrate this use of the infinitive constructions with examples (11)=(7)) and (12):

(11)   *Ložiš',   tebe   že   zavtra   idti   v   sadik.*
       go to bed   you-DAT   PRT   tomorrow   go-INF-IPF   in   kindergarten
       'Go to bed, you have to go to the kindergarten tomorrow.' (Bricyn 1990:208)

(12)   *Im   zavtra   dokladyvat'   šefu   o   rezul'tatah raboty*
       they-DAT tomorrow   inform-INF-IPF   chef   about   results   work
       predyduščego   dnja.
       previous   day
       'Tomorrow, they have to inform the chief about the results of their work from the previous day'.

Notice the use of imperfective aspect in these examples. As noted before, the obligation reading of the Russian dative-infinitive construction can be attributed to the presence of the 'dative subject' (in combination with the infinitive). It is well known that, cross-linguistically, there is an analogy between possession and obligation. Verbs originally meaning 'possess' ('have') develop into markers for deontic necessity[71], the most famous example being English *have to*. There is also a parallel between possession being expressed by lexical verbs, such as *have*, and possession being expressed by 'dative-subject' + *be* kind of constructions, such as Latin *mihi est* ('to me is' = 'I have'), which developed an obligation meaning. It would be interesting to investigate the historical development of the dative-infinitive sentences in question, given that in present-day Russian, this construction has a modal meaning but not the allegedly more basic possessive meaning.

    The infinitive sentences with participant-external necessity can be paraphrased in Russian with modal auxiliaries like *nado, dolžen, sleduet, nužno* ('must', 'have to', 'should', 'need')[72] or the future tense. The action of the sentence is future-oriented. However, infinitive sentences with an interpretation of participant-external necessity differ from sentences with the future tense in that the former are defeasible (Bricyn 1990:210/Fortuin 2000:343):

(13)   *Mne   eščё   konja   poit',   no ja, požaluj, ètogo   ne budu   delat'.*
       I-DAT also   horse   water   but I   PRT   this   not FUT   do-INF
       'I also have to give water to the horse but I won't do that.'

---

[70] Dative-infinitive sentences with a reading of obligation can be labeled more precisely under deontic modality. However, since in the other chapters I deal with participant-external modality more generally, I keep the term 'participant-external modality' for these sentences in this chapter. The latter term is actually a hyperonym for deontic modality (see Van der Auwera & Plungian 1998:81).

[71] ibid, p. 92.

[72] Almost all of these auxiliaries (with the exception of *dolžen*) are used with a dative subject.

(14)   **Ja ešče budu   poit'   konja, no ja, požaluj, ne budu   ètogo   delat'.*
         I also   be   water horse but I PRT   not FUT   this   do-INF
         *'I also will give water to the horse but I won't do that.'

3.2.2.2.1   The subject of participant-external modal sentences

In the participant-external modal dative-infinitive sentences, the dative participant is not the initiator of the situation but only a potential agent[73] because there is some external force that obliges the participant to realize the infinitive situation. One of the main differences between the use of the dative-infinitive construction with an interpretation of participant-external necessity and sentences with modal auxiliaries, is that in the case of the modal predicate the dative subject may remain unspecified, as in (15), and can be interpreted as a generic agent, while such an interpretation is not possible with the dative-infinitive constructions:

(15)   *Nužno rabotat'.*
         need   work-INF-IPF
         'One has to work.'

The position of the dative participant is usually filled and it can occur with all persons, singular and plural. The agent of the action is always animate and concrete. In opposition to modal auxiliaries which can be used with a non-referential subject, as in (16), infinitive sentences cannot be used with such a subject (Bricyn 1990:211):

(16)   *Sud'ja   po   sportu dolžen byt' čestnym   i   bespristrastnym…*
         referee   according sport   have   be honest   and   objective
         'The referee has to be honest and objective…'

(17)   **Sud'je   po   sportu byt' čestnym i   bespristrastnym…*
         referee-DAT according sport   be honest and   objective

If the subject is omitted (usually in dialogues), then it is recoverable from the context and it refers to the speaker or hearer or to both of them. Cases without a dative participant can also be interpreted as directive expressions[74]:

(18)   *Vstavat'!*
         get.up-INF-IPF
         'Get up'.

According to Fortuin (2000:441), directive infinitives can be seen as special instances of the dative-infinitive-construction. However, the directive infinitive is prototypically used as an order or command (ibid).

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[73] For more on that, see Wierzbicka (1966).
[74] In such cases a perfective infinitive can be used very well: *Vstat'!* 'Get up!'

3.2.2.2.2   Aspect in participant-external modal sentences

There is an asymmetry in the use of aspects in the necessity reading. The aspect is most often imperfective, verbs with perfective aspect are found only rarely. Usually the sentences with perfective aspect occur with negative polarity triggers like the particles *ne* ('not'), *ni* ('neither'), *edva li* (unlikely), *vrjad li* (unlikely), and then they represent an (im)possibility interpretation. The cases without negative particles are highly peripheral, as in the examples (19) and (20):

(19)   *Pete   stancevat'   na otkrytii   vystavki.*
       Petja-DAT   dance-INF-PF   on opening   exhibition
       'Petja will perform a dance on the opening of the exhibition.'

(20)   *Mne   postroit'   dom   za pjat'   let.*
       I-DAT build-INF-PF house for five   years
       'I will have to build the house in five years.'

Depending on the context, these sentences refer either to a future action which will necessarily happen or to an action which the speaker construes as a necessity for the subject to implement.

The correlation between aspect and participant-external modality sentences may thus be presented as in the following table:

Table 11   Participant-external necessity and aspect

	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
Participant-external necessity in affirmative sentences	+	- (marginally+)

3.2.3   'Quasi-epistemic' modal infinitive sentences (sentences meaning in-evitability/'predestined future')

3.2.3.1   'Quasi-epistemic' sentences

Sentences (21) (=(8)) and (22) can be found in the literature under two names, either as sentences with a meaning of inevitability/'predestined future' (*Russkaja Grammatika* 1980, Bricyn 1990) or as sentences with a meaning of epistemic necessity (Rappaport 1985, Fortuin 2000):

(21)   *Gorodu – xorošet'.*
       city-DAT get prettier-INF-IPF
       'The city will become nicer (with time).' (Bricyn 1990:219)

Since there could be arguments both in favour of and against calling these sentences 'epistemic', I will use the term 'quasi-epistemic' to refer to them. Possible counterarguments to the idea that these sentences express epistemic modality are:

(i)   By using this construction the speaker presents the situation as a fact of the future world rather than just a possible situation. In this respect, it is very different from what is usually considered to be the epistemic sense of the modal auxiliary. The example *He must be sick* is about the high *probability* that *He is sick*, not about a *fact* of some reality (actual or future);

(ii)   The construction has the reading of epistemic modality just because it is about the future and all the statements about the future are to some extent epistemic[75].

The arguments which could be brought up in support of the idea that the sentences of predestined future are 'epistemic', are the following:

(i)   Dative-infinitive sentences expressing predestined future are about an estimation of the speaker (conceptualizer) concerning some future event and they are highly linked to the speaker's judgment;

(ii)   They express epistemic necessity because they have a reading 'inevitability'. The 'inevitability' element is not part of the conventional meaning of the future tense in Russian;

(iii)   Most often they occur with uncontrollable actions or states, therefore they can be considered epistemic[76].

According to Nuyts (2005)[77], the scale of epistemic modality is 'going from absolute certainty that the state of affairs is real, via intermediary stages of (on the positive side) probability, possibility and (on the negative side) improbability, to absolute certainty that it is not real'. Infinitive sentences with an interpretation of epistemic necessity, when affirmative, occupy the domain of certainty that the action will happen and, when negative, the domain of certainty that the action will not happen or is impossible to happen. By using the affirmative dative-infinitive construction, the speaker makes explicit that no alternative situation is possible, and that the dative participant will be necessarily and inevitably affected by the infinitive situation (Fortuin 2000:366).

    As emphasized by both Fortuin (2000) and Bricyn (1990), infinitive sentences with the interpretation of quasi-epistemic necessity, as in (22), and sentences with the future tense as in (23), differ:

(22)   *Byt'*   *groze.*
        be-INF[78]   storm-DAT
        'There certainly will be a storm.'

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[75] See chapter 5 on connection between the future tense and modal readings in genearal.

[76] See the discussion about the connection between controllability and epistemicity in tests (ii) and (iii) in section 2.4.2.

[77] See also Israel (1996) on polarity of modals.

[78] The verb *byt'* ('to be') is not marked for aspect in the Russian language.

(23)   *Groza   budet.*
       storm-NOM   be-PRES
       'There will be a storm.'

Sentence (22) expresses that the situation will inevitably occur because of the way things go or are, whereas a sentence with the future tense such as (23) just expresses that the storm will occur.

The most important characteristics of sentences with a 'quasi-epistemic' necessity reading are the following:

(i)   The position of the dative subject is almost always filled;
(ii)   The dative subject can have a non-referential interpretation;
(iii)   They exhibit some specific semantics of the verbs, viz. uncontrollable actions or states which are associated with an epistemic reading (see section 2.4.2);
(iv)   The prototypical word order is dative-infinitive; but in sentences with *byt'* ('to be') the order is infinitive-dative.

3.2.3.1.1   The subject of 'quasi-epistemic' sentences

In 'quasi-epistemic' sentences, the subject is almost always expressed; it can be animate or inanimate. If the subject is animate, then the action is not controllable, or it indicates a state as in (25), unless it occurs with specific formal features like accentuation of the infinitive verb or negative polarity items, like *bol'še ne* ('not anymore'), *uže ne* ('already not'), *vsë ravno ne* ('anyway not'), *nikogda ne* ('never'), as in (25):

(24)   *Vam   eščë   rasti* (non-controllable state).
       you-DAT still   grow up-INF-IPF
       'You will still be growing up'.

(25)   *Nam   bol'še   ne igrat'   vmeste.*
       we-DAT-not anymore   not play-INF-IPF together
       'It will not be possible for us to play together anymore'.

Sentences with inanimate agents often express the necessary occurrence of certain (natural or social) phenomena, as in (26) and (27), respectively:

(26)   *Byt'   doždju.*
       be-INF   rain-DAT
       'It will be raining for sure'.

(27)   *Byt'   svobode.*
       be-INF   freedom-DAT
       'The freedom will be for sure' ('Freedom will prevail').

These sentences are 'verb-specific' because they occur just with the verb *byt'* 'to be'. In contrast to sentences with participant-external necessity, the subject of 'quasi-epistemic' sentences is very often non-referential.

(28) *Ljudjam   buduščego   smerti   ne   bojat'sja.*
       people   future   death   not afraid
       'People of the future won't have to be afraid of death'.

Sentences where the subject is omitted are very rare and they are usually negated. They have a generic character[79].

(29) *Koli   tak,   protiv   ètogo   ničego   ne   sdelat'.*
       if   that   against that   nothing   not do-INF-PF
       'If the situation is like that, (one) cannot do anything against it'.

3.2.3.1.2   Aspect in 'quasi-epistemic' sentences

'Quasi-epistemic' sentences are expressed most often with imperfective uncontrollable verbs, as in (30) (=(24)):

(30) *Vam   ešče   rasti.*
       you   still   grow
       'You will still grow.'

Verbs representing controllable actions are also possible but only with a particular accentuation (31, 32) or the occurrence of negation (33) (Fortuin 2000:373). If the verb is not stressed, it will have a non-epistemic interpretation, as in (31), whereas in (32), it has an 'epistemic' reading (ibid.):

(31) *Emu   čitat'   knigu.*
       he-DAT   read   book
       'He has to read a book.'

(32) *Emu   **čitat'**   knigu* (bold face indicates stress).
       he-DAT   read   book
       'He will necessarily read the book'.

(33) *Emu   uže   ne   čitat'   knig.*
       he-DAT   already   not   read   book
       'He won't read books anymore.'

The use of perfective aspect is rare. The example given by Švedova (1980)/Fortuin (2000) sounds natural only because of the presence of the adverbial *skoro* 'soon'.

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[79] As will be shown in section 3.2.6, sentences with participant-external necessity when negated get an interpretation of participant-internal impossibility (NECESSARY NOT) if the verb occurs with perfective aspect.

(34) *Im   skoro   stat'   soldatami.*
     they-DAT soon   become-INF-PF   soldiers
     'They are to become soldiers soon.'

On the basis of these observations, the correlation between aspect and 'quasi-epistemic' affirmative sentences can be characterized in the following way:

Table 12[80]   **'Quasi-epistemic' sentences and aspect**

	Imperfective aspect	**Perfective aspect**
'Quasi-epistemic' sentences	+	– (marginally +)

3.2.4   Summary

In this section, I described different modal uses of dative-infinitive sentences in Russian, namely participant-internal, participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' necessity. From this, the following conclusion can be drawn: participant-internal modality is expressed only with perfective aspect in affirmative constructions. Participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' sentences are used mostly with imperfective aspect in affirmative constructions.

In the next section, I will try to connect the different modal uses of dative-infinitive sentences with degrees of subjectivity and see how the aspect of the infinitive correlates with subjectivity.

3.2.5   Aspect, modality and subjectivity in Russian dative-infinitive constructions

In this section I will try to answer the following questions:

> (1) What is the relation between subjectivity and different types of dative-infinitive sentences in Russian?
> (2) What is the relation between aspect and subjectivity in dative-infinitive sentences?
> (3) What is the role of negation in relation to aspect?

First I will consider the role of subjectivity in different affirmative dative-infinitive sentences.

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[80] As can be noticed, table 12 is the same as table 11. 'Quasi-epistemic' sentences behave the same way as participant-external modal sentences in terms of aspect.

3.2.5.1   Subjectivity and different types of affirmative dative-infinitive sentences

In the following discussion I will show that different meanings of the dative-infinitive sentences exhibit different degrees of *subjectivity*. I will base my understanding of what it means to be 'more subjective' on the two criteria used by Langacker, which I described in chapter 2. These criteria are the following:

(i)   Whether the Ground (speech event, speaker and hearer) is part of the conceptualization;
(ii)   If the Ground is part of the conceptualization, whether the speaker refers to himself explicitly or implicitly.

According to Langacker (2003:4), something is subjectively construed to the extent that it 'remains implicit as an aspect of the conceptualizer; an entity construed with maximal subjectivity is wholly 'off stage', having only a tacit presence at the locus of consciousness'. An entity is objectively construed to the extent that it is 'put 'on stage' as an explicit target of conception'. One of the examples suggested by Langacker (2003:4) are two expressions *the woman next door to us* and *the woman next door*. In the first expression the speaker is put on stage as an object of conception (*us*), whereas in the second example it is left implicit. In that case, the conceptualizer is more subjectively construed.

In the next subsection I will use the three linguistic tests discussed in chapter 2, which provide cues for estimating degrees of subjectivity in the dative-infinitive sentences:

(i) Nature of the modal source;
(ii) Role of the modal target participant;
(iii) Nature of the dative subject.

(i)   The nature of the modal source

As was already defined in chapter 2, the modal source (X) is the causer of modality. The nature of X determines what kind of modality is dealt with. In the case of dative-infinitive sentences, X may be some internally situated property of the subject referent (participant-internal modality), or it may be an external norm or authority (participant-external modality), or it may be the knowledge available to the speaker at the moment of speaking. An internally situated modal source in participant-internal sentences corresponds to the external source from the real-world in participant-external sentences and to the knowledge of the speaker in 'quasi-epistemic' sentences.

According to Langacker's first criterion of subjectivity, these three types of sentences differ to what extent the Ground is part of the conceptualization. As was already described in chapter 2, in the case of participant-internal sentences, the Ground is minimally involved in the conceptualization. The modal source of participant-internal sentences, an internal need of the subject, is construed by the speaker and, therefore, it is indirectly part of the Ground. Participant-external sentences are more subjective, since their modal source is directly part of the Ground. It can be the speaker himself, pronouncing an order, a request, etc. (directive meaning), or some norm/authority

(non-directive meaning), which is part of the common knowledge of the speaker and the addressee. The conceptualization of epistemic sentences coincides with the Ground. An epistemic evaluation as the modal source is totally dependent on the reasoning of the speaker, so these sentences are the most subjective ones.

According to Langacker's second subjectivity criterion, which is about whether the speaker is explicitly referring to himself or not (the speaker being on stage or off stage), the behavior of infinitive sentences varies. In the case of participant-internal sentences, the subject with his internal need as the modal source, is always on stage. Since the subject is often the speaker, the speaker often refers to himself by talking about his need, so he is on stage. In the case of participant-external and epistemic sentences, the Ground can be either explicit or implicit, depending on whether or not the speaker or the hearer is the subject of the infinitive sentence.

The correlation between the two criteria of subjectivity and the subjectivity scale is represented in table 13 below:

Table 13   The nature of the modal source in dative-infinitive sentences

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality		Epistemic modality
	Participant-internal	Participant-external	
Modal source	• Internal property of the subject-referent	• External norm or authority	•Knowledge of the speaker
1st criterion of subjectivity	(Ground minimally involved in conceptualization) +	(Ground partially involved in conceptualization) ++	(Ground maximally involved in conceptualization) +++
2nd criterion of subjectivity	• Ground is mostly on stage[81] +	•Ground is on/off stage –/+	•Ground is on/off stage –/+
Degree of subjectivity	++	++(+)	+++(+)

(ii)   The role of the modal target participant:

As was explained in chapter 2, the modal target participant should be viewed as the participant or entity that is the point of application of a certain modal force. Dative-infinitive sentences have three roles of the modal target participant:

(i)   evaluator
(ii)   agent
(iii)   non-agent.

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[81] As was mentioned in footnote 55, quantitive research of the data is needed in order to prove the dominant presence of the first person subject in participant-internal sentences.

(i) The modal target participant is an evaluator in 'quasi-epistemic' sentences and it denotes the speaker of the sentence, as is illustrated in example (35) (=8)) below. The speaker has complete control over his own judgment,[82] which shows that 'quasi-epistemic' sentences are the most subjective. (ii) In participant-external sentences, the modal target participant is an agent and also the subject. He is in partial control of the action which he is obliged to do, as in sentence (36), since he can decide whether to fulfill an obligation or not. (iii) The subject of the participant-internal sentences is the modal target participant, who is not in control of the fulfillment of the need which appears in him, as in (37) (=(9)).

(35)   *Gorodu   xorošet'.* (Bricyn 1990:219)
       city-DAT   get prettier-INF-IPF
        'The city will become nicer (with time).'

(36)   *Lene   zavtra   pisat'   otčët.*
       Lena-DAT   tomorrow   write-IPF-INF   report
       'Lena has to write a report tomorrow.'

(37)   *Vy   začem   prišli?*
       you   why   come
       Mne pogovorit'   s   učitelem.
       I-DAT talk-INF-PERF   with   teacher
       '"Why did you come?" – "I have to talk to a teacher."' (Russkaja grammatika 1980:/Fortuin 2000:348)

In sentence (35) the modal source and the modal target participant are identical. The modal source is the speaker's knowledge about the world (as he perceives it to be). The modal target participant is the speaker himself who evaluates the situation of the city on the basis of his world knowledge and the evidence available to him. Since the speaker has complete control over his evaluation, the sentence is very subjective. In sentence (36) the modal source is related to some external circumctances, which make Lena write a report, and the modal target participant (agent) is Lena, the subject of the sentence, who has at least partial control over whether to fullfill the action or not. The sentence is less subjective than (35), since the degree of control of the modal target participant in (36) is smaller. The modal source of (37) is an internal need of the subject and the modal target participant is the subject himself. The modal target participant in (37) is a non-agent because he does not have control over his need, so the sentence is the least subjective. As was previously mentioned in chapter 2, the modal source and the modal target participant of the sentences with participant-internal modality have the same referent, namely the subject of the sentence.

In the following table, I summarize the roles of the modal target participants in the dative-infinitive sentences in Russian.

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[82] See chapter 2 on the relation between the parameter of control and subjectivity.

Table 14   The role of the modal target participant in dative-infinitive sentences

Type of the dative-infinitive sentence	Non-epistemic sentences		'Quasi-epistemic' sentences
	Participant-internal	**Participant-external**	
Modal target participant	Non-agent (mtp=subject of the sentence)	Agent (mtp =subject of the sentence)	Evaluator (mtp might not be equal to the subject of the sentence; mtp=speaker)
Subjectivity scale	+	++	+++

(iii)   The nature of the dative subject:

If we look at the subjects of the different modal dative-infinitive sentences in Russian, then we have a case of increase of subjectivity in Langacker's sense[83]. Whereas in non-epistemic sentences the subject has to be animate and referential (in the participant-internal sentences there is a preference for 1 p.sing or pl.), in 'quasi-epistemic' sentences, the subject can be both animate and inanimate, referential and non-referential. As was previously explained in chapter 2, when the subject is inanimate and non-referential, sentences are more subjective, since there is no other 'subject of consciousness' than the speaker who is responsible for the claim.

The correlation between different kinds of subject and the subjectivity scale are illustrated in the table below:

Table 15   The nature of the dative subject

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality		'Quasi-epistemic' modality
	Participant-internal	**Participant-external**	
Dative subject of the sentence	●Animate ●Referential	●Animate ●Referential	● Both animate and inanimate ● Both referential and non-referential
Subjectivity scale	+	+	++

If we compare the degree of subjectivity of the three kinds of sentences, then we can conclude that 'quasi-epistemic' sentences are the most subjective, participant-external sentences are in between, and participant-internal sentences are at the end of the subjectivity scale. This is represented in table 16:

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[83] As was already explained in chapter 2, footnote 43, according to Pit (2003), animacy is directly related to self-expression of the participant, which is a precondition for the occurrence of subjectivity. Inanimate participants lack this property of self-expression, so sentences with such participants have a lesser degree of subjectivity. In my analysis, this test is connected with the question of the degree to which the Ground (speaker) is involved in the sentence, which is directly related to Langacker's understanding of subjectivity.

Table 16   Subjectivity and dative-infinitive sentences

Subjectivity scale	Type of modality
	Non-epistemic modality
++++	*Participant-internal*
++++++(+)	*Participant-external*
	'Quasi-epistemic' modality
++++++++(+)	*'Quasi-epistemic' sentences*

3.2.5.2   Aspect and subjectivity in affirmative dative-infinitive sentences

The correlation between aspect and types of modality in affirmative dative-infinitive sentences can be represented with the following table:

Table 17   Distribution of aspect in affirmative dative-infinitive sentences

	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
Participant-internal modality	–	+
Participant-external modality	+	±
'Quasi-epistemic' modality	+	±

As the table shows, there is a strict difference in aspectual distribution between participant-internal sentences, on the one hand, and participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' sentences, on the other. The initial hypothesis about the correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity can be sustained in one case and rejected in the other, in the following way.

Participant-internal sentences according to the linguistic tests used above are the least subjective sentences. They correlate with perfective aspect. Participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' sentences are possible with both aspects in the affirmative sentences (although they both prefer imperfective aspect), which is in accordance with their higher degree of subjectivity. However, the fact that the two latter types of sentences show similarity in the use of imperfective aspect contradicts the correlation between imperfective aspect and a higher level of subjectivity since 'quasi-epistemic' sentences are more subjective than participant-external sentences.

In the next subsection, I will look at negative dative-infinitive sentences in order to see whether the same kind of correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity exists there.

3.2.5.3 Negative dative-infinitive sentences

In this subsection I will argue that negative dative-infinitive sentences more transparently show a correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity than the affirmative sentences discussed thus far.

According to Verhagen (to appear), the 'Ground' of any linguistic usage event consists of two conceptualizers […] and the knowledge that they mutually share, including models of each other and of the discourse situation. The point of a linguistic utterance is that the first conceptualizer invites the second to jointly attend to an object of conceptualization in some specific way'. The coordination relationship between the two conceptualizers is represented by the lower horizontal line in figure 3, the relation of joint attention between the conceptualizers and the object of conceptualization by the vertical line.

O: *Object of conceptualization*

S: *Subject of conceptualization (Ground)*
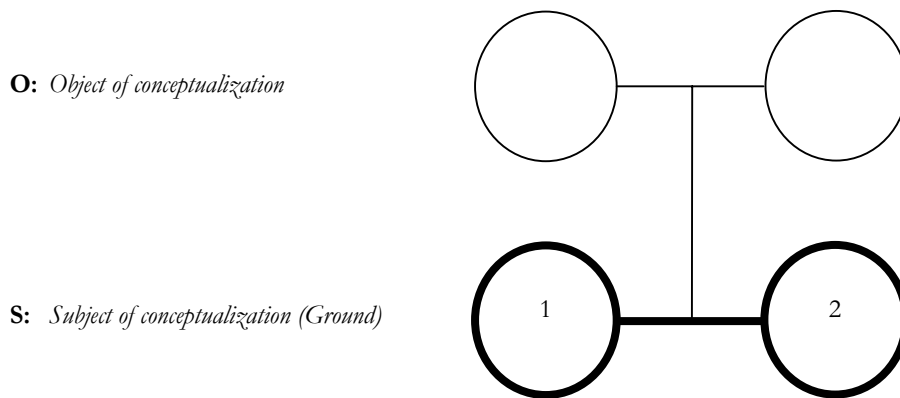
Figure 3 The construal configuration and its basic elements

Verhagen (to appear) points out that sentential negation profiles 'two distinct views with respect to the object', it profiles 'two conceptualizers with an opposite epistemic stance, in which conceptualizer 1 rejects the epistemic stance of conceptualizer 2'. The existence of another mental space, i. e. a different perspective, causes an increase in subjectivity because of the higher degree of self-expression of the speaker, whose consciousness becomes part of the meaning of the utterance (see chapter 2 on subjectivity).

When negated, dative-infinitive sentences get the following readings:

(i)   Participant-internal modal sentences with a necessity reading get an interpretation of impossibility (NECESSARY NOT):

(38) *Mne   uže   ne   pogovorit'   s   učitelem.*
      I-DAT already not   talk-INF-PF   with   teacher
      'I can't talk to the teacher any more.'

(ii)   Participant-external modal sentences with a necessity reading get two interpretations:

(a)   With imperfective aspect they get the interpretation of participant-external modality, a reading denoting 'lack of necessity' (NOT NECESSARY), as in (39):

(39)   *Vam   ne   vstavat'   zavtra   rano.*
       you   not get up-INF-IPF   tomorrow early
       'You don't have to get up early tomorrow.'

(b)   With perfective aspect, we get the interpretation of participant-internal impossibility (NECESSARY NOT)[84]:

(40)   *Emu   ved'   ne   ujti   iz   goroda.*
       he-DAT   PRT   not   go-INF-PF   from   town
       'After all, he can't leave the town.'

In sentences (38) and (40), the negation has narrow scope and the modal operator takes wide scope[85]. One of the explanations which are suggested in the literature for the exclusive use of imperfective aspect with negated deontic (participant-external) necessity is given by Rappaport (1985). He distinguishes statement of a 'process' (leading up to the endpoint) from the actual telic statement. Rapapport shows that the following principles make it possible to associate imperfective aspect with deontic statements of denied necessity:

> (a) The process statement is asserted when the verb is in the imperfective aspect, but backgrounded when the verb is perfective. Only an assertion properly falls in the scope of a semantic operator of modality or negation.

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[84] Maurice (1995) emphasized that in general impossibility readings of the dative-infinitive sentences can be analyzed as necessity readings with negation taking narrow scope (and the modal operator taking wide scope). However, according to Fortuin (2000:389), the dative-infinitive construction does not express a logical operator NEC, as Maurice claims, but a more abstract meaning and, therefore, the possibility reading cannot (and does not have to be) reduced to logical necessity. It is true that this reading often occurs in negative contexts, but not all of them are necessarily negative. It can also occur in the following contexts:

(1)   interrogative sentences;
(2)   contrastive sentences;
(3)   sentences with *tol'ko* ('only');
(4)   sentences with *štoby* ('in order');
(5)   sentences with *xot'* ('even', 'almost')
(6)   sentences with *pered tem, kak/do togo, kak/prežde čem* ('before').

However, in my opinion, most of the sentences with a possibility reading occur either with negation or at least negative polarity triggers. That is why I do not consider the cases (1)-(6) as constituting a separate category but as included in the present discussion about negation.
[85] Affirmative: It is necessary that X. Negative: It is necessary that NOT X = It is impossible that X.

(b) The process statement is a precondition for the telic statement.

Rappaport claims that to say that the telic statement is not necessary by using perfective aspect is to leave open the possibility that the process statement may be necessary. Imperfective aspect achieves the effect of being more 'categorical' since it negates not only the result of the action but also the process and initial need to do the action. The same phenomenon is observable with Russian negated directive imperatives[86].

(iii)   When we negate 'quasi-epistemic' sentences, two possibilities occur:

(a)   Negated imperfectives retain the interpretation of 'quasi-epistemic' sentences ('certainty that the action will not happen'), as in example (41):

(41)   *Emu   bol'še   ne   rasti.*
       he-DAT   more   not   grow-INF-IPF
       'He won't grow any more.'

(b)   Negated perfective verbs get another reading of participant-internal impossibility.

(42)   *Im   ne stat'   soldatami.*
       they-DAT not become-INF-PF   soldiers
       'They are not going to be/cannot become soldiers.' (in the sense: It is impossible for them to become soldiers).

On the basis of the description given above, it is possible to draw a table which shows the correlation between aspect and different types of modality in negated dative-infinitive sentences.

Table 18   Aspect in negative dative-infinitive sentences

	Imperfective aspect	**Perfective aspect**
Participant-internal impossibility	–	+
Participant-external necessity	+	–
'Quasi-epistemic' necessity	+	–

As in the case of affirmative dative-infinitive sentences, negative dative-infinitive sentences confirm the correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity in the following way:
       (i) Negated participant-internal sentences keep perfective aspect and express participant-internal impossibility, which is, in the analysis of the subjectivity scale

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[86] See chapter 4.

presented above, the least subjective among the three types of sentences for the same reasons as affirmative participant-internal sentences;

(ii) Negated participant-external sentences with imperfective aspect still express a necessity reading of the participant-external type;

(iii) Negated participant-external sentences with perfective aspect switch their meaning to participant-internal impossibility, which provides clear evidence for the correlation between perfective aspect and a lower degree of subjectivity;

(iv) Negated 'quasi-epistemic' sentences with imperfective aspect remain 'quasi-epistemic'.

(v) Negated 'quasi-epistemic' sentences with perfective aspect, similarly to participant-external sentences with perfective aspect, switch to the less subjective kind of modality, namely to the participant-internal impossibility.

Negated participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' sentences with perfective aspect, by switching to participant-internal impossibility, which is the least subjective in the scale of subjectivity among three types of sentences, show the tendency for perfective aspect to correlate with lower subjectivity even more transparently than affirmative dative-infinitive sentences. In addition to that, negative necessitive sentences with participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' readings, as being more subjective, have only imperfective aspect. Negative dative-infinitive sentences in that respect represent a nice example of the correlation between imperfective aspect and a higher degree of subjectivity. It may be suggested that the 'looseness' in use of imperfective aspect in affirmative sentences with participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' modality, which also allow use of perfective aspect, and its strict use in negative sentences, are consequences of the increase of subjectivity, which comes with negation. This is additional evidence for the hypothesized correlation I am investigating in this study.

3.2.6   Summary

The distribution of aspectual markers in Russian dative-infinitive sentences shows that an increase of subjectivity correlates with the use of imperfective aspect. The three types of dative-infinitive sentences were scaled according to the subjectivity parameter and compared by the use of aspect. Imperfective aspect is dominant in affirmative participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' sentences, which both express higher degrees of subjectivity, and it is obligatory in their negative counterparts, which in the best way illustrates the hypothesized correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity. However, in affirmative dative-infinitive sentences there is no strict difference in the use of imperfective aspect between non-epistemic and 'quasi-epistemic' sentences since in both categories imperfective aspect can occur.

In the next section, I will investigate the interaction between infinitive sentences and aspect in German and Dutch, which are known to be tense prominent languages, as opposed to Russian, which is an aspect prominent language.

3.3   German and Dutch infinitive constructions[87]

Although the German and Dutch infinitive constructions seem to be quite different from the Russian dative-infinitive constructions, I have chosen to analyze them for two reasons:

(i)   They also represent modal constructions;
(ii)   Similarly to Russian, the German infinitive construction shows an interaction between aspect (on the lexical level of Aktionsart)[88] and different modal readings.

I will first provide the reader with a short description of the German and Dutch infinitive constructions and then give a unified treatment of the interaction of aspect, modality and subjectivity in the German and Dutch infinitive constructions.

3.3.1   The German infinitive construction

The German infinitive construction can have both necessity and possibility readings. According to Thim-Mabrey (1986), the German construction expresses either 'Instanzbezogene notwendigkeit' (deontic/participant external necessity) or 'Umstandsbezogene Möglichkeit' (participant-external possibility). Examples are (44) and (45) below. The type of modality which the construction gets depends on at least three factors:

(i)   Aktionsart of the infinitival verb;
(ii)   Control which the agent has over the action;
(iii)   Negation.

In the next subsection I will specifically deal with these three factors.

3.3.1.1   Possibility or necessity reading?

The use of the German construction is restricted since it is a passive and can thus only be used with transitive verbs. As in other passive constructions, the thematic role of the subject is Theme. Since the infinitive is a transitive verb, there is also an implied Agent (the Agent is usually in the background, but it can be explicitly expressed in a *von*-phrase just as with 'ordinary' passives.). The Aktionsart plays a role in the differentiation of the modal meanings of infinitive sentences in German.

The infinitive of durative verbs typically has a possibility reading, as in example (43):[89]

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[87] This section is based on joint work with Ronny Boogaart.
[88] The discussion, in chapter 2, about the interaction between aspect and Aktionsart in Dutch is equally applicable to German.
[89] These findings on the role of Aktionsart and control in German are reported on by Thim-Mabrey (1986), who also provides an extensive overview of the German literature on the subject.

(43) *Der   Ton   ist zu hören.*
      The   sound is to hear
      'The sound can be heard.'

These sentences present a property of the Theme-subject. The possibility is always (partially) circumstantial, dependent on external circumstances[90]. If the infinitive is a terminative verb, then the modal interpretation is dependent on the control of the Agent over the action. If the realization of the action is completely controlled by the Agent, then the construction gets a necessity reading, as in (44):

(44) *Ferner   ist zu beurteilen, inwieweit   es demKind   gelingt,*
      Further   is to evaluate   to what extent it the child succeeds
      'Moreover, it must be evaluated to what extent the child succeeds to…'

A possibility reading is available for terminative verbs if the agent has only partial control over the action. In that case, the realization of the action is also partially dependent on external circumstances.

(45) *Erst   nach   der Trocknung ist zu   beurteilen, wie die Fleckentfernung*
      only   after   the drying   is to   evaluate,   how   the stain removal
      vorgenommen   wird
      proceed   become
      'It *can* only be evaluated after the drying process how to proceed with the removal of the stains.'

With negation, the possibility as well as the necessity cases often get an 'impossibility' reading (NECESSARY NOT rather than NOT NECESSARY), so both durative and terminative verbs occur in these sentences. Consider the negative sentences (46) and (47).

(46) *Die   Spanische Wegschnecke   ist nicht   zu erwähnen.*
      the   Spanish   Road Snail   is not   to mention
      'The Spanish Road snail should not/cannot be mentioned' (not: '… does not have to be mentioned').
(47) *Es is nicht   zu beurteilen, inwieweit…*
      it is   not   to evaluate   to what extent...
      'It is impossible to evaluate to what extent …' (not: '… does not have to be evaluated')

The properties of the German infinitive constructions can be represented in the following way:

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[90] According to Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:101), the German construction is vague between participant-internal and participant external modality. It can be used for a property of the subject, but 'because the property is passive it also involves an agent, either explicitly or implicitly and one can construe the modality as referring to conditions external to this agent, e.g., to some circumstances'.

Table 19   **Properties of the German infinitive constructions**[91]

Aktionsart	Durative verbs	Terminative verbs	
Control of the agent		+	±
Type of modality	Participant-external possibility	Participant-external necessity	Participant-external possibility

3.3.2   The Dutch infinitive construction

The Dutch language has a number of modal infinitive constructions which can express either possibility or necessity. The one which mostly corresponds to the German infinitive construction is the construction 'zijn + te + INF', which expresses possibility rather than necessity:

(48)   *Dat   boek   is in de   bibliotheek te vinden.*
        that   book is in the   library   to find
        'The book can be found at the library.'

There are some contexts in which we can get necessity reading:

(i) The absolute *met*-construction (Bennis 1990:35):

(49)   *Met   nog drie   sommen op   te lossen, verliet hij het lokaal.*
        with   still three sums PART to solve left   he the class-room
        'While there were still three problems to be solved, he left the classroom.'

(ii) The construction with prenominal, attributive use (Hoekstra & Moortgat 1979; Sassen 1990):

(50)   *de te nemen   stappen*
        the to take   steps
        'the steps that must be taken'

(iii) The construction '*Wat te doen in geval van/bij/What to do in case of* [SOMETHING BAD]'-construction

(51)   *Wat   te   doen   bij   een ramp?*
        what   to do   with   a   disaster

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[91] It is important to stress that these correlations between Aktionsart and specific kinds of modal readings in German are presented by Thim-Mabrey (1986) as generalizations that may always be overruled by specific contextual information.

> *Wat   moet   u   doen   bij   een ramp?* (Leaflet City Council Hillegom)
> what   must   you   do   with   a   disaster
> 'What to do in case of a disaster? What do you have to do in case of a disaster?'

In this chapter, I will restrict myself to discussing the Dutch predicative infinitive constructions.

3.3.2.1   Possibility meaning ('zijn + te + INF' construction)

The meaning of the 'zijn + te + INF' construction may be paraphrased using the modal auxiliary *can*, as in (52) (=(48)):

(52)   *Dat   boek   is   in   de   bibliotheek   te   vinden.*
       that   book   is   in   the library   to   find
       'The book can be found at the library.'

As in German, the construction is a passive one, so it can be used only with transitive verbs[92]. According to Bennis (1990:37), this construction has both an 'epistemic and a deontic interpretation'. In his view, the following example does not only show an ambiguity between epistemic and deontic modality, but also an ambiguity between possibility and necessity:

(53)   *Deze   som   is   op   te   lossen.*
       this   sum   is   PRT   to   solve
       'This sum can be solved.'

The Dutch construction in (53) is neither deontic nor epistemic. Contrary to what Bennis suggests, it can be claimed that the modal infinitive construction 'zijn + te + INF' mainly expresses participant-external possibility, and not necessity. The Dutch construction always predicates a property of the subject and the realization partially depends on external circumstances. Since we are dealing with a passive construction, however, there is also another participant involved, namely the (implicit) Agent, as in German.

A reading of participant-external necessity in the predicative construction may seem possible in the following two cases:

(i)   When there are verbs denoting 'cause-effect' relations

Out of a total of 378 instances of the construction in the Eindhoven Corpus, only about 20 could be paraphrased using *must* rather than *can*, but the majority of these are compatible with a possibility analysis as well. Most of them are cases of *X is te wijten aan Y* ('be due to', negatively evaluated) and *X is te danken aan Y* ('be due to', positively evaluated), as well as the comparable cases offered below, that likewise concern a causal relationship.

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[92] There are some well known exceptions such as *te verschijnen*, in *het te verschijnen boek* or *het boek is te verschijnen.*

(54) (a) *De afzijdigheid van het onderwijs is te zien   als een van de*
the aloofness of the education is to see   as one of the
belangrijkste   oorzaken…
most important   causes
'The fact that education kept itself apart can/must be seen as one of the main causes…'

(b) *De   reden hiervoor   is te zoeken in …*
the   reason here for   is to search in…
'The reason for this can/must be sought …'

(c) *Die   te herleiden   is tot de christelijke traditie*
that   to reduce   is to the Christian tradition
'which can/must be traced back to the Christian tradition.'

(d) *De stijging van de inkomsten is volledig toe   te schrijven   aan...*
the rise   of the earnings   is fully   PART to ascribe   to…
'The rise of the income can/must be attributed completely to …'

(e) *De   meeste klachten   zijn terug te voeren op vitamine-gebrek.*
The   most complaints   are back to trace to vitamin-lack
'Most complaints can/must be traced back to a vitamin deficiency'.

All these sentences may be paraphrased using *must*. But a paraphrase using *can* is also possible here. This suggests that the difference between necessity and possibility is neutralized in such contexts or that the writer uses the construction precisely to avoid having to choose between the two.

The second case in which participant-external necessity is possible is the following:

(ii)   When the speaker expresses 'evaluation' or 'judgement'

Just like the sentences in (54), cases such as '*x is (niet) aan te bevelen*' ('x is (not) to be recommended') may be paraphrased using *can* as well as *must*. So are these necessity or possibility readings? The *must*-paraphrase is triggered mainly by the 'directive' meaning of the verb *aanbevelen* (to recommend), as well as the feeling that these sentences are used instead of formulations that are more directly directive in force. Thus, (55)a is an alternative for (55)b.

(55) a. *These are to be recommended.*
b. *I recommend them to you.*

The modal infinitive construction, like other passive constructions, allows the speaker to leave the agent unmentioned (backgrounded). The sentence in (55)a, therefore, enables the speaker to background himself as the Agent, and to suggest a more general, impersonal agent. The use of the modal infinitive may be motivated precisely by the fact that this construction provides a more 'cautious' formulation (it represents a politeness strategy), partially perhaps due to its expressing possibility, rather than necessity.

Three more cases from the corpus that fit in this group are given in (56).

(56)   a.   *Het   is   te   betreuren   dat …*
           It   is   to   regret   that …
           'It is regrettable that…'

       b.   *Conferenties   zouden te   prefereren   zijn   boven ….*
           conferences   would to   prefer-INF   be-INF   above
           'Conferences would be preferable over…'

       c.   *Het tot   stand   komen van plannen is   onmisbaar   te   achten.*
           the until   existence come of plans is   indispensable to consider
           'The emergence of plans is to be considered indispensable'.

For (56)a, once again, both a paraphrase using *can* and the one using *must* are possible ("*Het kan/moet betreurd worden*"); the latter paraphrase is, again, triggered by the lexical content of the infinitive and some pragmatic inferencing (if the speaker claims that something MAY be regretted, he probably means to say that he regrets it; the weaker formulation may be motivated by a politeness strategy.) For (56)b and (56)c, it is even more clear than it is for (56)a that the speaker really means to say that X SHOULD be preferred over Y and that X SHOULD be considered indispensable. Paraphrasing these sentences using *can* is, therefore, inadequate. At some (pragmatic) level, therefore, these might be cases of necessity, and even of deontic necessity (with the speaker as the external source), but this seems to be part of the pragmatics rather than of the semantics of the modal infinitive construction. Thus, neither the examples in (54) nor those in (56) need to be analyzed as necessity readings.

Both durative and terminative verbs are possible in the 'zijn + te + INF' construction. In a significantly large number of sentences 'zijn + te + INF' is used in 'negative' contexts (containing either explicit negation or expressions like *moeilijk* ('difficult')). This is true for almost half of the instances from the Eindhoven Corpus, namely 175 out of the total of 387. Some of them are real negative polarity items in the sense that they need the negation to be grammatical, as in (57).

(57)   a.   *X is   niet te   rijmen met   Y*
           X is   not to   rhyme with   Y
           'X is incompatible with Y.'

       b.   *Hij is   niet   weg   te   branden.*
           he is   not   away   to   burn
           'There's no getting rid of him.'

       c.   *Hij is   niet vooruit   te   branden.*
           he is   not forward   to   burn
           'He won't get up off his ass'.

       d.   *Er   is geen land   met   hem   te   bezeilen.*
           there is no land   with   him   to   sail
           'You can't get anywhere with him.'

3.3.2.2   Necessity reading

In the entire Eindhoven Corpus there are only one or two cases (out of 378) that, more clearly than the cases discussed in the previous section, express participant-external necessity. An interesting case is cited in (58).

(58)   *Er   waren   nog heel   wat   handen te   drukken   voordat ze   konden*
        there   were   stillquite   a few   hands to   press   before they   could
        afdalen   naar   de wachtende   sloep.
        descend   to   the waiting   sloop.
        'There were quite a few hands to shake before they could go down to the waiting sloop'.

If the modal infinitive occurs in a 'there'- construction (*er* in the first position, with an indefinite subject), as in (58), it does allow for a deontic necessity reading. This is true more generally, cf. (59).

(59)   *Er   is (nog)   een som op   te   lossen.*
        there   is (yet)   a   sum PRT   to   solve
        'There is a sum that must be solved.'

Actually, unlike the rest of the Dutch infinitive constructions, these sentences seem close to the Russian dative-infinitive construction (possibility and necessity readings)[93], even though in (58) and (59) there is no dative. Still, in the interpretation of the construction, some 'recipient' or 'target' participant seems to be understood. It can be made explicit as in (60).

(60)   *Er   waren voorhen   nog heel   wat   handen te   schudden.*
        there   were   for them   stillquite   a few   hands to   shake
        'There were still quite a few hands for them to shake'.

Interpretively, the 'dative-infinitive' construction in (60) is very close to the 'possessive' construction with *hebben* ('to have') in (61).

(61)   *Ze   hadden nog heel   wat   handen te   schudden.*
        they   had   stillquite   a few   hands to   shake
        'They had quite a few hands to shake'.

This construction likewise gets a deontic necessity reading and may be regarded as one of the Dutch analogues of the Russian dative-infinitive construction.

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[93] It should be noted, however, that Russian has another construction, namely the existential construction, that is even more like the construction used in these Dutch examples. This construction has its own formal properties, different form the dative-infinitive construction. See Fortuin (2000: 456 ff.)

3.3.3   Aspect, modality and subjectivity in German and Dutch infinitive sentences

Having provided a survey of German and Dutch modal infinitive constructions, I am going to investigate the interaction between aspect, type of modality and subjectivity in these sentences in this section.

The linguistic manifestations of subjectivity in the German and Dutch modal infinitive constructions are conditioned by the fact that these constructions are passive. In this section, I want to show two things:

(i) Two out of the three subjectivity tests do not differentiate the German and Dutch infinitive sentences in terms of degrees of subjectivity;

(ii) In the case of the German and Dutch sentences, the control test is not valid for the higher type of subjectivity.

The modal source in both types of German and Dutch infinitive sentences, no matter whether they express possibility or necessity, is externally situated. If we apply the first subjectivity test, we can conclude that both types of sentences do not differ from each other, neither according to the first subjectivity criterion, nor according to the second one.

As was already explained in section 2.4.2, the first subjectivity test is actually based on two criteria, namely:

(i)   The degree of involvement of the Ground in the conceptualization;

(ii) The explicit/implicit reference to the Ground;

According to the first criterion, both German and Dutch infinitive sentences are equally subjective, since the Ground is equally involved in the conceptualization. The modal source in the participant-external type of sentences can be either the speaker or some norm or authority, which is part of the common knowledge between the speaker and the addressee.

According to the second criterion of subjectivity, the Ground in both types of sentences is represented off stage.

As far as the second subjectivity test is concerned, in all types of infinitive constructions described here, the modal target participant is an agent. I will elaborate on this point in more detail.

As was mentioned in chapter 2, Pit (2003:120) says: A higher degree of control of the causally primary participant corresponds to a higher degree of subjectivity. In her case, she is talking about the subjectivity in causal relations such as in (62):

(62)   *She bought this dress because she liked it.*

The reason for the event of buying the dress ('because she liked it') is presented from the perspective of 'she', the causally primary participant. This kind of subjective reading is easier to get if the causally primary participant has control over the action (she can decide herself whether or not to buy the dress). If there is no such control, then it is difficult to get a 'subjective' reading of the because-clause, as in the case of a non-agent:

(63)   *The man fell because he stumbled over the doorstep.*

Here the reader or the hearer does not get the idea that the reason in the *because*-clause is presented from the perspective of the man. Pit (2003:117) claims that some roles are inherently more subjective than others, since they involve self-expression to different degrees. Thus, going from less to more subjective, the roles are ranked as follows: non-agent, agent, speech-act performer, evaluator. I applied this model of control to the modal infinitive sentences in Russian, and to what I called the modal target participant. A higher degree of control of the modal target participant corresponds to a higher degree of subjectivity. In Russian infinitive sentences the modal target participants were ranked in the following way:

(i)   Participant-internal sentences: mtp = non-agent;
(ii)   Participant external sentences: mtp = agent;
(iii)   Epistemic sentences: mtp= evaluator.

The Dutch and the German modal infinitive constructions are quite different from the Russian construction, mainly since they have a passive meaning which involves the fact, among other things, that the agent is backgrounded and usually not mentioned at all. On the basis of the following German example, I will explain the properties of the modal target participant, which are also valid for the Dutch sentences.

In German, the construction, as in (64), has two different readings, paraphrased in A and B[94].

(64)   *Das Buch ist zu lesen.*
        A. The book has to be read [by X].
        B. The book can be read [by X].

The A-reading is clearly deontic (participant-external necessity), thus, the modal target participant must be the person who is supposed to execute the situation, i.e. the person who has to read the book. This modal target participant is not mentioned explicitly, but it will by default be the hearer/addressee. The modal target participant is also an agent. He has some control over whether or not he will read the book. In this respect, reading A is similar to the Russian example:

(65)   *Lene   zavtra   pisat'   otčët.*
        Lena-DAT   tomorrow write-INF-IPF   report
        'Lena has to write a report tomorrow.'

The B-reading is a modal meaning of possibility. Again, the modal target participant is not mentioned explicitly. In this reading, the agent is, in fact, even more backgrounded. The agent is typically generic, whereas in the A-reading it is typically the addressee

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[94] This example, in addition, nicely illustrates the correlation between Aktionsart and modality: on the necessity reading, the predicate 'read a book' is interpreted as presenting a terminative event (the whole book has to be read), whereas on the possibility reading, the focus seems to be on the (durative) activity phase (the book is easily readable) (cf. Thim-Mabrey 1986:272).

(specific). Now, the crucial question that differentiates the two types of sentences in terms of subjectivity concerns the degree of control which the two modal target participants have over the action. In my opinion, the agent in the A-reading has a higher degree of control than the agent of the B-reading. In the A-reading, the modal target participant can decide whether or not to execute the event; but in the B-reading, it is at least partly dependent on properties of the book whether or not the agent can read it, or on other external or internal circumstances (including the reading abilities of the agent).

So even though it seems that the possibility reading in B is 'less subjective' than the obligation reading in A, because, as Pit (2003:120) suggests, the higher the control the higher the degree of subjectivity, the degree of control does not seem to have a decisive role in this test for the following reason: both in A and B the modal target participant is an 'agent', so a comparison between different modal target participants and their different degrees of control cannot be performed. In the Russian construction, there is a link between different kinds of modality and different roles for the modal target participant, but in the German sentences there is only one kind of modality and there is only one role - agent. Thus, it is only to be expected that the two subjectivity tests do not work all that well here.

Since the modal sentences in German and Dutch are passive, the third test concerns the nature of the (backgrounded) agent. This test differentiates the two sentences in terms of subjectivity. In the A-reading, the agent is usually specific, the addressee, which is often implicit but which can be also explicitly mentioned. In contrast, the agent is generic in the B-reading, which means that the reading is dependent on the conceptualization of the speaker to a high degree, which makes the B-reading more subjective. There is a correlation in German between imperfective aspect and more subjective sentences: imperfective aspect (durative verbs) typically occurs with sentences expressing participant-external possibility. In Dutch, this correlation is not sustained: in possibility-sentences, both aspects are present. The necessity reading can be also expressed with both aspects but it is very rare; moreover it occurs only in very specific constructions (cf. section 3.3.2.2). I would argue that the presence of both aspects is not so strange because, as was already explained, sentences with a participant-external possibility meaning differ only in a minor way from sentences expressing participant-external necessity.

The correlation between different types of modality, subjectivity and aspect in German infinitive sentences is represented in table 20. The Dutch sentences will not be presented separately since aspect in Dutch infinitive sentences does not show sensitivity towards subjectivity.

Table 20   Types of modality, subjectivity and aspect in the German infinitive construction

Type of modality	Subjectivity		Aspect
	Subjectivity tests	**Degrees of subjectivity**	
Participant-external possibility	Modal source: external	++	Durative or terminative
	Modal target participant: Agent		
	Nature of the agent: Generic		
Participant-external necessity	Modal source: external	+	Terminative
	Modal target participant: Agent		
	Nature of the agent: Addressee		

3.3.4   Summary

German and Dutch infinitive sentences express participant-external possibility or participant-external necessity (in the case of Dutch infinitive sentences, the readings of participant-external necessity are quite rare). Their interaction with subjectivity is largely conditioned by their passive nature, so the agent, rather than the subject, is the one which has to be tested for subjectivity. In both languages, only one subjectivity test shows a difference between the two types of sentences, namely the nature of the agent. The modal source in both languages, in both types of sentences, is externally situated. The modal target participant is always the agent. Regardless of the fact that aspect is sensitive to the issue of control with terminative (perfective) verbs in sentences with participant-external necessity and participant-external possibility, control is not indicative of subjectivity in these sentences, since the nature of the modal target participant is the same: it has the role of agent. The test concerning the nature of the agent shows only a subtle difference in degrees of subjectivity. Both in German and Dutch, the agent is specific in the case of participant-external necessity: it is the addressee. However, in the case of participant-external possibility, it is generic. Sentences with a participant-external possibility reading are more subjective in both languages, since their conceptualization depends on the conceptualization of the speaker to a higher degree than in the case of sentences with participant-external necessity, because in the latter case, the agent is the addressee. This subtle difference in subjectivity between sentences with a participant-external necessity reading and sentences with a possibility reading in terms of aspect has different consequences in the

two languages. In German, the more subjective type of sentence is correlated with imperfective (durative) verbs. In Dutch, both aspects are possible with both types of sentences. However, this does not say anything against the assumed correlation between subjectivity and imperfective aspect, since the cases with a necessity reading are very rare in Dutch; that is why aspect can barely differentiate these readings in terms of subjectivity.

3.4   Conclusions

In the previous two sections an attempt was made to establish a correlation between subjectivity and the type of infinitive modal sentences in Russian, German and Dutch, on the one hand, and subjectivity and aspectual markers used in the modal infinitive sentences in these three languages, on the other.

   The notion of subjectivity was mainly based on Langacker's theory (see chapter 2). Three linguistic tests were used for the purpose of estimating the degree of subjectivity in the phenomena in the three languages, viz.:

   (i) The nature of the modal source;
   (ii)The role of the modal target participant;
   (iii) The nature of the subject.

The results of the analysis show that the link between subjectivity and the use of imperfective aspect is rather clear in an aspect prominent language such as Russian, where imperfective aspect induces an increase of subjectivity. The features which differentiate Russian dative-infinitive sentences from the German and Dutch infinitive constructions are the following:

   (i)   The existence of two domains of modality, such as: 'non-epistemic' and 'quasi-epistemic'.
   (ii)   A clear division in the aspectual use between participant internal sentences on the one hand, where perfective aspect is used, and participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' sentences on the other hand, where imperfective aspect is used.
   (iii)   The existence of wide and narrow scope of negation and different uses of aspect in these two kinds of negative sentences.
   (iv)   Cases of participant-external necessity are predominantly used with imperfective aspect, while cases of impossibility are used with perfective aspect combined with negation.

German and Dutch differ in the sense that aspect plays a role in expressing modal meanings in German but not in Dutch. This does not necessarily constitute a problem for my hypothesis about the connection between aspect and subjectivity since the different modal readings associated with the German and Dutch constructions differ very little on the parameter of subjectivity anyway. In German, a relation between aspect and subjectivity becomes manifest in the sense that aspect is sensitive towards more

subjective environments. Durative Aktionsart is correlated with participant-external possibility. In Dutch, such a correlation does not exist.

On the basis of the above description it can be concluded that languages can have different correlations between the aspectual and modal domains, but if the language uses aspect as a tool for the expression of modality, then imperfective aspect is correlated with more subjective meanings.

4   IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity in imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch. Imperative constructions will be classified according to different modal readings on the basis of the semantic map of modality of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). In addition, I will show the possible ways of development of the imperative sentences in Russian and Dutch. On the basis of the subjectivity tests, I will illustrate that non-directive imperative readings in both languages are more subjective than directive readings. After that, I will compare the occurrence of aspect in different imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch and establish its relation to subjectivity.

In section 4.2, I describe four Russian imperative constructions, their possible ways of development and the relation between aspect and subjectivity in them. In section 4.3, I present two Dutch imperative constructions, the distribution of the tenses in these constructions and the correlation between tenses, aspect and subjectivity. In section 4.4, I present the conclusions concerning the relation between aspect and subjectivity in imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch.

4.2   Imperative constructions in Russian

Imperative sentences are sentences whose main verbs are in the imperative mood. The Russian verb possesses a specific morphological imperative form. When used in directive sentences it expresses second person singular. To address a second person plural addressee one adds the element *-te*. When used with a single addressee this form with *-te* expresses a kind of 'distance', often for politeness reasons. The form without *-te* can also have various other uses, such as necessive, optative, conditional, concessive and narrative[95]. For the purpose of the analysis of the correlation between aspect and subjectivity, I will devote my attention to the directive, necessive, conditional and concessive uses of the imperative form. The optative imperative will be included in the discussion of conditional use, because the conditional use of the imperative itself might be seen as an extension of the optative use[96]. Narrative use of the imperative form will not be a topic of investigation here, because this dissertation deals with the correlation between aspect and subjectivity in forms which have strict modal interpretations.

Using the semantic map of modality of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:98), I present a classification of the uses of the imperative in Russian in the remainder of this section.

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[95] An example of narrative use of the imperative in Russian is given below:

(i) *I   vdrug   togda, v   tu   sekundu, kto-to   šepni   mne   na   uxo.*
     and suddenly   then   in   that second someone   whisper-IMPER-PF-2sg me   in   ear
     'And then suddenly, at that very moment, someone whispered something in my ear' (Fortuin 2000:134).

[96] See Fortuin (2000:193) and section 4.2.2.1.4 of this chapter.

I. Non-epistemic participant-external modal reading

Under non-epistemic participant-external modal reading I classify directive, necessitive and optative uses of the imperative. The directive imperative often expresses obligation coming from the speaker, which I consider to express participant-external necessity. It may sometimes also express permission, which could be classified as participant-external possibility. The example below could be used for both readings in different contexts:

(i)   Directive use

(1)   *Čitaj!*
        read-IMPER-IPF
        'Read!'

A necessitive imperative expresses obligation too. It seems that there is a very strong tendency to express obligation directed at the speaker himself. This can be expressed explicitly, as in (2), or implicitly (cf. (18) and (19) below, where I will return to this issue).

(ii)   Necessitive use

(2)   *Vse ušli, a ja sidi   doma   i   rabotaj.*
        all   went *but* I sit-IMPER-IPF at.home and   work-IMPER-IPF
        'Everybody has gone out, but I have to stay at home and study.' (Fortuin 2000:115)

Historically, the Slavic imperative developed out of the Indo-European optative. According to Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:107), an optative meaning may develop out of non-epistemic modality (either necessity or possibility). An optative imperative expresses a wish of the speaker for some event to happen. Given the historical source of the imperative, we can leave open the possibility that the optative use in (3) is in fact a relict of the older meaning of the imperative which developed out of the optative.

(iii)   Optative use

(3)   *Bud'   by   zdes' tixo!*
        be-IMPER   IRR   here   quiet
        'If only it were quiet here.' (Russkaja Grammatika, 1980, II:106/Fortuin 2000:171)

The optative imperative of the verb *byt'* in conjunction with the particle *by* indicates that the predicate to which it is applied does not occur in the real world but in a counterfactual world (Fortuin 2000:171).

II. Epistemic modal reading

I will classify two uses of the imperative as epistemic modal readings, namely conditional and concessive uses. Evidence for this is provided by Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:98), because they showed in their semantic map that in some languages conditional and concessive markers developed out of epistemic ones. According to Dancygier & Sweetser (2005:31), 'everyday human decision-making constantly involves the conceptualization of a scenario wherein some action has been taken, and the imagination of the possible results. Imagined futures constitute the basis for an important human activity: prediction...' I assume that the human capacity for prediction and for reasoning about the hypothetical future and past situations forms the basis for classifying conditionals (and conditional imperatives) under epistemic modality. According to Dancygier & Sweetser (2005:158), concessives also refer to the setting up of alternative scenarios: their function is to deny the validity of such scenarios and to make predictions independent of them. So again, concessives (and concessive imperative) are based on human reasoning and knowledge of the situation. The examples (4), (5) and (6) illustrate the conditional and concessive readings of the imperative.

(iv)   Conditional use

(4)   *Mne   kažet'sja,   čto   vyskažis'   my i   vsë*
         I-DAT seems   that   say-IMPER-PF   we and   everything
         pojdët   po-staromu.
         go-PRES-PERF   as before
         'It seems to me that if we speak out, everything will become as before.'

(5)   *Svari   ja ètu kartošku   vo vremja, my by   ne opozdali.*
         boil-IMPER-PF   I   this potatoes   in time   we IRR   not late
         'If I had boiled the potatoes in time, we would not have been late.'

(v)   Concessive use

(6)   *Kriči   on xot'   do   utra,   my ne otkroem dveri.*
         scream-IMPER-IPF he even   until   morning   we not open   door
         'He can even scream until morning, we won't open the door.'

(7)   *Skol'ko   durnuju travu   ni   topči   –   ona vsë ravno   rastët.*
         no matter   bad   grass   not step over-IMPER-IPF   she all no matter   grow
         'No matter how much you walk/step on the weeds, it grows.'

In the next four subsections I will briefly describe the formal and semantic properties of the abovementioned imperative constructions. I will present possible ways of development for each of the imperative uses, apply the subjectivity tests and establish a correlation between subjectivity and aspectual markers in all of the imperative readings. The starting point of my description will be the directive imperative. All other uses of the imperative will be compared in terms of subjectivity to the directive imperative.

4.2.1   Non-epistemic participant-external modal meaning

4.2.1.1   Directive use of the imperative

4.2.1.1.1 Language-specific features of the directive imperative in Russian

The imperative form in the Russian language is inflected with a special imperative mood morphology. As was already pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the imperative form, when used in directive sentences, expresses second person singular. To address a second person plural addressee one adds the element *-te*. Directive imperative sentences have a deontic modal force and can be paraphrased with modal verbs like *hotet'* ('want'), *dolzhen* ('must') and with infinitives[97]. The following formal features characterize the directive use of the imperative:

(i)   The subject of the imperative directive use in Russian is second person singular or plural and can be both explicit and implicit, which is exemplified in (8) and (9), respectively:

(8)   *Ty   rasskaži   mame   ob   ètom.*
       you   tell-IMPER-PF-2sing.   mother   about it
       'Tell your mother about it.'

(9)   *Napišite   domašnee zadanie.*
       write-IMPER-PF-2pl.   homework
       'Do your homework.'

Generic use of the subject is also possible in text types such as instructions.

(10)   *Uxodja,   gasite   svet!*
       leaving   turn off-IMPER-IPF light
       'Leaving (the room) turn off the light!'

(ii)   The use of aspect in the directive imperative is often quite transparent, i.e. conditioned by the question whether the verb denotes a single complete event (PF) or an ongoing or repeated event (IPF). However, in the literature on Russian much attention has been paid to the various pragmatic effects, connected with the choice of aspect in the directive imperative. Many usefull references can be found in Benacchio (2002). According to this author, aspect in such cases expresses distance or closeness between the speaker and the addressee. Imperfective aspect is mostly used when the conversation is informal. Depending on whether the addressee benefits from the imperative action or not, and whether the imperative action is desirable for the addressee or not, the use of imperfective aspect can be defined either as very polite, as in (11) or as extremely impolite, as in (12).

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[97] See chapter 3.

(11)   *Kušajte,*   *kušajte,*   *požalujsta.*
         eat-IMPER-IPF   eat-IMPER-IPF   please
         'Eat, eat, please!'

(12)   *Uxodite*   *vy*   *otsjuda!*
         go out-IMPER-IPF   you   from here
         'Get out from here.'

According to Benacchio (2002), the illocutionary force of perfective aspect in the imperative is focused on the result of the action, i.e. the previous stages of the action are not covered by its meaning. Between the moment of beginning of the action and its realization, there is a certain 'interval', so the speaker is felt to be psychologically distanced from the action and from the agent of the action. The perfective imperative form may sound formal or neutral in that situation. When imperfective aspect is used, the illocutionary force is focused on the phases which come before the result of the action and the realization of the action is very 'close' to the moment of speech. This closeness of the action between its beginning and its realization produces psychological closeness between the speaker and the agent of the action, i.e. in an intuitive sense the interpretation becomes more subjective. The imperfective imperative very often has a permissive use. An example is the following:

(13)   — *Možno otkryt'*   *okno?*
            may   open-INF-PF   window
         — *Konečno,*   *otkryvajte!*
            of course   open-IMPER-IPF
            'Can I open the window? Of course, you can.'

(iii)   According to Forsyth (1970:256), the distribution of aspect in negative imperatives correlates with two different kinds of speech acts: negative imperfectives denote prohibitions, and negative perfectives denote warnings, as is exemplified in (14) and (15), respectively:

(14)   *Ne otkryvajte*   *dver'!*
         not open-IMPER-IPF   door
         'Don't open the door!'

(15)   *Ne razbej*   *butylku!*
         not break-IMPER-PF   bottle
         'Don't break the bottle!'

In this question a central role is played by the semantic feature of presence/absence of voluntary agency. According to Kučera (1985:125), constructions denoting a situation in which one assumes an underlying activity that is under the control of the addressee to whom the imperative is directed, indicate prohibition when negated, while verbs with a lexical meaning that suggests a lack of a deliberate activity on the part of the addressee, trigger a warning reading.

The features of the imperative which can be conditioned by pragmatic factors and which may be important in the use of aspect in the directive imperative are summarized in the table below:

Table 21   Pragmatic effects connected with aspect in the directive imperative

Aspect in affirmative sentences	Imperfective	Perfective
	Closeness	Distance
Aspect in negative sentences	**Imperfective**	**Perfective**
	Prohibitions	Warnings (Uncontrollable events)

(iv)   The word order between subject and the verb is not fixed, it can be both SV and VS (see examples (8) and (12)).

4.2.1.1.2   Aspect and subjectivity in the directive imperative in Russian

As was shown in the previous subsection, the directive imperative can be used with imperfective and perfective aspects both in affirmative and negative sentences. In affirmative sentences the use of aspect might be conditioned by the distance/closeness of the speaker to the addressee. If the speaker and addressee are close, imperfective aspect will be used, if they are distanced, perfective aspect will occur instead. In negative sentences prohibitions are expressed with imperfective aspect and warnings with perfective aspect. In both cases, the more subjective meaning is correlated with imperfective aspect.

Recall the two criteria of subjectivity suggested by Langacker (1985):

(i)   To what extent the Ground (speaker and hearer, time and place of speech) is part of the conceptualization;
(ii)   If the Ground is part of the conceptualization, whether the speaker refers to himself explicitly or implicitly.

In the case of sentences with imperfective aspect, the Ground is rather part of the conceptualization because the speaker expresses closeness to the addressee. In the case of perfective aspect, the speaker is not part of the conceptualization, as the moment of speaking is not included in the conceptualized event; hence the sentence expresses distance of the speaker from the addressee and the action itself. The Ground of the directive imperative is explicitly expressed with the optional use of the subject pronoun and a separate inflection for the 2nd person imperative singular or plural, which both refer to the addressee.

When we consider negative sentences, namely prohibitions expressed in a negative imperative, there is a parallel in aspectual use to negative participant-external infinitive sentences (see section 3.2.6). The explanation for this can be the one suggested by Rappaport (1985): imperfective aspect achieves the effect of being more "categorical" since it negates not only the result of the action but the process, the *attempt* to do the action. Prohibitions and warnings can be differentiated in terms of the role of the modal

target participant. The nature of the modal source and the subject is the same. Prohibitions (imperfective aspect) are more subjective than warnings (perfective aspect), because their modal target participant (agent) has control over the actions, while the modal target participant of warnings is a non-agent and has much less control over the action. As was mentioned in chapter 2, according to Pit (2003), the higher the degree of control, the higher the subjectivity of the sentence. Compare the following examples:

(16) *Ne čitaj   sejčas!*
      not read-IMPER-IPF now
      'Don't read now!'

(17) *Smotri   ne   upadi!*
      watch-IMPER-IPF   not   fall-IMPER-PF
      'Be careful, don't fall.'

The conclusion can be that in directive uses of the imperative, the more subjective meanings correlate with imperfective aspect[98].

As has been noted in the literature, the basic semantics of directives involves hypotheticality (Bolinger 1977), potentiality (Davies 1986), or irrealis (De Haan 1986), which can be viewed as a common feature of all other non-directive imperative meanings as well. In the subsequent sections I will describe the other uses of the imperative constructions and possible ways of its development as it is found in the literature, as well as the correlation between the type of the imperative, subjectivity and aspect. The descriptive part on the imperatives mainly relies on the study of Fortuin (2000), since this study seems to be, together with Xrakovskij & Volodin (1986), the most elaborate description of the imperative uses in Russian. I will consider the directive imperative to be the basis from which all other uses of the imperative developed.

4.2.1.2 From directive to necessitive imperative

4.2.1.2.1 Language-specific features of the necessitive imperative

The necessitive imperative is used to express that the imperative action is obligatory; two semantic features are foregrounded: hypotheticality and obligation, as illustrated in (18):

(18) *Doma   užin   vsegda vo vremja bud'   gotov, a   on daže ne*
      at home   dinner always in time   be-IMPER ready but he even not

---

[98] In this section no attention has been given to the fact that unbounded repetition can only be expressed by an imperfective imperative. This imperfective use is not analyzed in connection with subjectivity, since repetition is a temporal function of aspect, not one of its modal functions, which this study deals with.

> *utružďaetsja   spasibo skazat'.*
> put effort   thanks say-INF-PF
> 'The dinner at home has always to be ready on time and he even doesn't make an effort to thank you for that.'

A necessitive imperative can be paraphrased in Russian with modal forms such as *dolžen, nado, prihodit'sja* ('must', 'need', 'have to') and the dative-infinitive construction. In contrast to the directive imperative, in which the speaker plays an important role (cf. above), the speaker and/or hearer are not part of the conceptualization any more in the necessitive imperative. In a necessitive imperative, the speaker expresses that there is some force other than himself that directs the agent of the action to realize the imperative action. The force may be a person, a social norm, or rather the circumstances in general. The necessitive imperative prototypically occurs in contrastive contexts, with the conjuction *a* ('but') in the connected (preceding or following) clause. The following formal features characterize this use of the imperative:

(i)   The subject of the necessitive use of the imperative is 1 or 3 p. singular or plural, animate or inanimate, as is exemplified in (19) and (20):

(19)   *Im   udovol'stvie, a   my mučajsja.*
       they-DAT pleasure   but   we suffer-IMPER-IPF
       'They have pleasure, but we have to suffer…' (Fortuin 2000:115)

(20)   *U   nas bud'   tišina, a   im   možno šumet'*
       with   us be-IMPER   silence but they-DAT may   make noise-INF
       'We have to be quiet, but they are allowed to make noise?' (Russkaja Grammatika, 1980, II:116/Fortuin 2000:122)

Example (20) is complex, in that it does explicitly mention the speaker (first person plural) in a prepositional phrase, so the speaker is, in some sense, part of the conceptualization. However, the role of the speaker here is like that of any other entity affected by the obligation, and the source of the modal force is clearly not the speaker. As Fortuin (2000:121) pointed out, it might be expected that second person sentences give rise to ambiguity between a directive reading and a necessitive reading. However, the second person subjects implicitly refer to the speaker himself:

(21)   *Nesusvestnaja žara, a   ty sidi   i   zanimajsja   kak*
       unbearable   heat but you sit-IMPER-IPF and study-IMPER-IPF as
       milen'kij.
       sweet child
       'The heat is unbearable, but you [=I/we; cf. 'one'] have to sit and study like a sweet child.' (Vasil'eva 1969:40/Fortuin 2000:121)

So conceptually, such sentences involve only first person reference, and they only have a necessitive reading.
     Similarly to infinitive modal sentences, the intended agent can also be expressed by a dative. This variant typically describes the demands of the person indicated by the

dative. In contrast with the 'normal' cases, the agent is usually a third person here (Fortuin 2000:122):

(22) *Emu   i   rabota   bud'   lëgkaja, i   zarplata   bol'šaja.*
      he-DAT   and   work-NOM   be-IMPER easy   and   income   high
      'He wants his work to be easy, and his income to be high.'(Fortuin 2000:122)

These sentences have a strong colloquial character.

(ii) A necessitive imperative usually occurs with imperfective aspect. Sentences with perfective aspect are possible in the narrative sequence of events[99]. The sequence is thought of as repeated. This is an example of the so-called 'exemplary use' of perfective aspect in indicating general statements (a kind of unbounded repetition). In Russian this use of perfective is usually highly marked stylistically:

(23) *Ja i   produkty   kupi,   i   obed   svari,   i*
      I   and   food   buy-IMPER-PF   and   lunch   make-IMPER-PF and
      kvartiru   uberi,   a   muž   tol'ko sidit   i
      apartment arrange-IMPER-PF   but   husband only   sit-PRES.3sg   and
      čitaet   gazetu.
      read-PRES.3sg   newspapers
      'I have to get the food, to make lunch, to put the apartment in order, and my husband is only sitting and reading the newspapers.'

In the case of negation we find perfective aspect.

(24) *On menja obo   vsëm   rasprašivaet, a ja ego   ne sprosi*
      he me   about everything ask-PRES.3sg but I him   not ask-IMPER-PF
      ni   o   čëm.
      NEG PRT   about   what
      'He is asking me about everything, and I am not allowed to ask him about anything'.

In this example we have, again, an instance of 'exemplary' use of the perfective. In combination with negation in this sentence we get the sense 'not even one single question may be asked'.

(iii) As opposed to the directive imperative, a necessitive imperative is possible with uncontrollable verbs:

(25) *On postojanno govorit gluposti,   a ja krasnej   za   nego.*
      he regularly   says   stupidities but I blush-IMPER-IPF   instead him
      'He is constantly saying foolish things and I have to blush instead of him'.

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[99] See Fortuin (2000), Barentsen (1998).

(iv)   The suffix *–te* is not present in the second person plural. The example below is, again, an example of the 'generic' use of the second person, which can easily refer to the speaker himself (cf. (22)):

(26)   *Vy   vsegda   ubiraj   za nim,   a   on   daže   ne*
       you   always clean-IMPER-IPF   for him   but he even   not
       poblagodarit.
       thank-PRES-PF
       'You always have to clean after him, and he will not even thank you.'

(v)   The protasis/apodosis order is not fixed (compare examples (21) and (22)).

(vi)   The cases that contain a necessitive imperative usually have SV order, as can be seen in the above examples.

4.2.1.2.2   The development from directive to necessitive imperative

According to Fortuin (2000:125), the necessitive imperative can be seen as an extension of the directive imperative. The speaker-hearer features are backgrounded and the impulse for the action comes from the external situation. Fortuin (2000:128) suggests that the necessitive use of the imperative can be seen as an extension of the basic directive imperative because of the occurrence of (directive) cases with generic subjects; such cases can be considered to be intermediate 'steps' between the directive and the necessitive use (see example (20)).

   The extension from the directive imperative to the necessitive imperative can be analyzed in terms of 1) foregrounding of the two features 'hypotheticality' and 'obligation', and 2) backgrounding both of speaker-commitment[100] to the realization of the imperative action and of the presence of the hearer, except in the case of 2nd person singular where the speaker implicitly referes to himself (cf. (21)).

4.2.1.2.3   Subjectivity and necessitive imperative

In order to show that the necessitive imperative is more subjective than the directive imperative I will use the same linguistic tests of subjectivity which were used in the previous chapter for the infinitive constructions, namely:

   (i)   The nature of the modal source;
   (ii)   The role of the modal target participant;
   (iii) The nature of the grammatical subject.

(i)   The nature of the modal source:

In both directive and necessitive uses of the imperative, the Ground is to a large extent part of the conceptualization. However, it is more involved in the conceptualization in

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[100] See more on the notion of speaker commitment in section 4.2.2.1.4.

the case of the necessitive imperative. In directive use (speaker-hearer interactions), the modal source is part of the Ground, whereas in necessitive use (external circumstances) the modal source is not part of the Ground and the Ground itself is, therefore, more subjectively construed. A necessitive imperative conceptualizes the Ground in the sense that it is about the awareness of the speaker concerning a certain obligation. The necessitive imperative involves more of the Ground since it is dependent on reasoning of the speaker about states that are not visibly, objectively the case in the speech situation.

The Ground of a directive imperative is put on stage because of the optional use of the subject pronoun and separate inflection for the 2nd person imperative singular or plural, which are both related to the addressee. In necessitive use, the Ground can be presented both on stage and off stage. The Ground can be represented on stage since the subject of the sentence can be the speaker or the addressee, and they can be explicitly mentioned.

Both of Langacker's criteria differentiate directive and necessitive uses in terms of the degrees of subjectivity, which is represented in table 22:

Table 22   Modal source of the directive and necessitive imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality	
	Directive imperative	**Necessitive imperative**
Modal source	• Externally situated (speaker) • Ground is on stage	•Externally situated (circumstances) • Ground is on / off stage
Subjectivity scale	+	+(+)

(ii)   The role of the modal target participant:

The modal target participant of both directive and necessitive imperatives is the agent, the subject of the sentence. This test does not give us a precise picture about the difference in subjectivity between these two uses of the imperative because, as is presented in the table below, both imperatives have the same role for the modal target participant. However, as the next test will show, the necessitive imperative subject, which is equal to the modal target participant, occurs with 1st and 3rd persons singular and plural. When we talk about a 3rd person modal target participant, this puts the speaker and the hearer, as well as their interaction, off stage. This makes the use of the necessitive imperative more subjective.

Table 23   The modal target participant in directive and necessitive imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic participant-external modality	
Imperative use	Directive	Necessitive
Modal target participant	Agent (mtp=subject of the sentence)	Agent (mtp=subject of the sentence)
Subjectivity scale	+	+

(iii)   The nature of the subject

The nature of the subject shows an increase of subjectivity from the directive to the necessitive imperative. In contrast to the directive use which can be expressed with 2nd person singular and plural (addressee), the necessitive imperative is expressed with 1st and 3rd persons singular and plural. The possibility of using 3rd person singular and plural or an entity that is not necessarily present in the speech situation, makes the necessitive imperative more subjective than the directive for the following reason: if the speaker attributes some kind of necessity/obligation to some 3rd party, but this obligation is not being issued by the speaker himself (Ground), nor is it imposed on the addressee (Ground), then the Ground (speaker and addressee) is only indirectly involved, and it is 'more subjectively construed'. The fact that some kind of necessity/obligation exists has to be conceptualized by the speaker.

The subsequent table shows similarities and differences related to the nature of the subject between directive and necessitive imperatives.

Table 24   The nature of the subject in directive and necessitive imperatives.

Type of modality:	Non-epistemic participant-external modality	
Imperative use:	Directive	Necessitive
Subject of the sentence:	●2 p. sing. and pl. (addressee) ●Animate ● Generic	● 1st and 3rd singular and plural ● Both animate and inanimate ● Generic
Subjectivity scale:	+	++

It may thus be concluded, after running the tests, that the necessitive imperative can be considered more subjective than the directive imperative.

4.2.1.2.4   Negation

As we have seen in section 4.2.1.2.1. (cf. example (24)), there is an aspectual difference between affirmative and negative imperative sentences which express necessity: affirmative ones are imperfective, but negative ones are perfective:

(27)   *On vse dni   gde-to   propadaet, a   ja iz   domu   ne*
       he all days   somewhere   vanishes but   I from   house not
       vyjdi.
       go out-IMPER-PF
       'Every day he goes somewhere else, but I cannot even leave the house.'
       (Xrakovskij & Volodin, 1986:238/Fortuin 2000:120).

(28)   *On vse dni   xodit serditym   i   ni   slova   emu   ne*
       he all days   goes angry   and   NEG word   him   not
       skaži.
       say-IMPER-PF
       'He is angry all the time and you may not even say a single word to him.'

These sentences dislapy narrow scope of negation; they indicate impossibility ('necessary not'). In fact, they express participant-external necessity. Thus, affirmative and negative sentences with a necessitive imperative reading express the same type of modality, namely participant-external modality. As we have seen, affirmative sentences occur mostly with imperfective aspect, so here the correlation between (imperfective) aspect and (higher degree of) subjectivity holds. But negative necessitive imperative sentences are generally marked with perfective aspect, with the special kind of 'exemplary' use discussed in section 4.2.1.2.1. So for negative necessitive sentences, the correlation between aspect and subjectivity does not hold; we might speculate that it is overridden by another, special regularity in this special type of sentences.

4.2.1.2.5   Aspect and subjectivity in necessitive imperatives

The occurrence of aspect in directive and necessitive imperatives is represented in table 25:

Table 25   Aspect in directive and necessitive imperatives

	Imperfective aspect		Perfective aspect	
Imperative construction	Affirmative sentences	Negative sentences	Affirmative Sentences	Negative sentences
Directive	+	+	+	+
Necessitive imperative	+	−	±	+

According to the results from this table, affirmative imperative sentences with a necessitive interpretation confirm the correlation between subjective use and

imperfective aspect, since in the directive affirmative sentences both aspects can be used, while in the affirmative necessitive sentences, the predominant aspect is imperfective. However, negative imperative sentences with a necessitive interpretation do not provide us with an argument for a correlation between imperfective aspect and a higher degree of subjectivity, as was already explained in the previous subsection.

4.2.2   Epistemic modal meaning

4.2.2.1   From directive to conditional use of the imperative

In this section, I will briefly describe some features of two Russian constructions with a conditional interpretation, namely the conditional imperative construction (CIC) and the conditional directive imperative construction (CDIC). The features concern the following parameters:

(i)   subject of the conditional imperative sentence;
(ii)   aspect;
(iii)   controllability of the verb;
(iv)   presence/absence of the suffix *-te* in the second person plural;
(v)   the protasis/apodosis order;
(vi)   VS order.

The first four parameters will be especially important afterwards for comparing CIC and CDIC in terms of subjectivity.

4.2.2.1.2   The conditional imperative construction (CIC)

(i)   In Russian, the subject of the imperative in conditional sentences can be any person in both numbers[101]. The subject in (29) (=(5)) is 1st person singular, the one in (30) (=(4)) is 1st person plural.

(29)   *Svari   ja ètu kartošku vo vremja, my by   ne   opozdali.*
       boil-IMPER-PF I   this   potatoes   in   time   we   IRR   not   late
       'If I had boiled the potatoes on time, we would not have been late.'

(30)   *Dogovoris'   my i   vsë   pojdët   po-drugomu.*
       agree-IMPER-PF we and   everything   go-PRES-PF   differently
       'If we agree, everything will become different.'

       The subject of a conditional imperative is always explicit; in the directive, the subject need not be explicit. In addition, impersonal verbs may occur in the conditional part of a Russian conditional sentence:

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[101] However, in contrast to CDIC, the second person singular is virtually impossible in CIC. Second person plural can occur more freely, because there the difference with CDIC can be indicated by not using *-te*.

(31) *Stemnej*   *včera*   *poran'še, my by*   *ne pošli*   *v*   *park.*
be dark-IMPER-PF   yesterday   earlier   we IRR   not go-PRET to   park
'If it had become dark earlier yesterday, we would not have gone to the park.'

(ii) In Russian[102], the hypothetical reading of the CIC can be distinguished from the counterfactual reading on formal grounds, since, on the hypothetical reading, the apodosis usually contains perfective present (see 30), or imperfective future, while on the counterfactual reading, the apodosis usually contains the conditional mood (subjunctive) (see 29). However, it should be emphasized that the forms with the hypothetical imperative, such as the one cited in example (30), are rather rare. Moreover, the occurrence of the conditional mood (subjunctive) in the apodosis does not exclude a hypothetical reading either. In fact, sentences (33) and (34), which contain the conditional mood (subjunctive), are ambiguous between the hypothetical and the counterfactual reading, and their interpretation can be determined only with the help of temporal adverbs or context.

      In the protasis, there seems to be a subtle difference between the hypothetical and counterfactual sentences: on the hypothetical reading, the imperative form prefers perfective aspect, as in (30), while on the counterfactual reading, it can have both perfective and imperfective aspect, as in (32) and (29). However, the frequency of occurrence of imperfective aspect in conditional (counterfactual) imperative constructions is quite low.

(32) *Zanimajsja*   *ona vo vremja, sejčas by*   *ne bojalas'*   *èkzamena.*
study-IMPER-IPF   she in time   now   IRR   not be afraid   exam
'If she had studied on time, now she wouldn't have been afraid of the exam.'

(iii) The conditional imperative is possible both with controllable and uncontrollable verbs as opposed to the directive imperative, which is impossible with uncontrollable verbs. The following example illustrates the use of an uncontrollable verb with the conditional imperative:

(33) *Očutis'*   *on v Moskve, on by*   *eë navestil.*
happen to be-IMPER-PF   he in Moscow   he IRR   her visit
'If he had happened to be in Moscow at that time, he would have visited her.'

(iv) An important formal property of the conditional imperative is that the suffix *–te*, normally marking 'agreement' for second person plural, is absent in the second person plural, as is illustrated in (34):

(34) *Sdelaj*   *vy*   *tak, ne*   *bylo by*   *nikakix*   *problem.*
do-IMPER-IPF   you   that   not   PRET IRR   NEG-PRON problems
'If you would do/have done it that way, there wouldn't be/have been any problem.'

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[102] See Boogaart & Trnavac (2004).

(v)   The order of protasis and apodosis in conditional imperative sentences is relatively fixed: the events are presented iconically, i.e. in the order in which they happened, or would happen in a hypothetical or counterfactual world.

(vi)   Conditional imperative sentences have a fixed VS order, which differentiates them from the conditional directive imperative construction that will be presented in the next subsection.

4.2.2.1.3   The conditional directive imperative construction (CDIC)

The conditional directive imperative is a construction independent from CIC since it has formal and semantic characteristics that make it different from CIC. It is exemplified in (35):

(35)   *Skaži   komu-nibud'   xot'   slovo   i   ja nikogda tebja   ne*
        tell-IMPER-PF   anybody   even   word   and   I   never   you   not
        prošču!
        forgive-PRES-PF
        'Tell anyone about this and I will never forgive you.'

The following formal features characterize the CDIC construction:

(i)   The CDIC is possible with implicitly or explicitly expressed 2nd person singular or plural subjects only (see 36):

(36)   *Sdelaj(te)   tak   i   vsë   budet   xorošo.*
        do-IMPER-IPF   this way   and   everything be-FUT   good
        'Do it like that and everything will be good.'

(ii)   The conditional directive imperative in Russian has a hypothetical reading, as in (36). A counterfactual interpretation is not possible. The aspect in the conditional directive imperative can be both perfective and imperfective (see 36 and 38), whereas in the hypothetical conditional imperative, the imperative can only be perfective (see 4.2.2.1.2, point (ii)).

(iii) Non-controllable events are not possible in the CDIC, whereas in the CIC they are always possible. This is illustrated in (37):

(37)   **Očutis'   v   Moskve, i   vsë   budet   xorošo.*
        happen to be-IMPER-PF   in   Moscow   and   everything be-FUT   good
        'If you happen to be in Moscow at that time, everything will be fine.'

(iv)   The suffix *–te* is present in the second person plural.

(38)   *Prixodite   ko mne   i   ja prigotovlju bol'šoj užin.*
        come-IMPER-IPF   to   me   and   I   make   big   dinner
        'Come to my place and I will make a big dinner.'

(v)   The order of protasis and apodosis is fixed.

(vi)   The second person pronoun is usually absent from CDIC, so it is hard to talk about fixed VS order.

The features of conditional imperatives can be summarized in the following way:

Table 26   Features of CDIC and CIC

	Conditional directive imperative	**Conditional imperative**
Subject of the sentence	● Implicit ● 2nd person sing. or pl.	● Explicit ● any person sing. or pl.
Aspect	●Both	● Hypothetical meaning: perfective ● Counterfactual: both
Controllability of the verb	● Controllable verbs	● Both controllable and uncontrollable verbs
Suffix –te in the second person plural	● Present	● Absent
The order of protasis and apodosis	● Fixed	● Not fixed
SV/VS order	● 2nd person usually absent	● VS order

If we look at the formal properties of CDIC construction, then we can conclude that this construction is still a part of the directive imperative construction. Five out of six formal properties overlap with the directive imperative and differ from the conditional imperative construction, namely:

(1)   The properties of the subject;
(2)   The use of aspect;
(3)   The controllability of verbs;
(4)   The presence of the suffix *-te* in the second person plural;
(5)   VS order.

Therefore, when talking about subjectivity and the conditional imperative, I will consider this construction to be a part of the directive imperative construction.

4.2.2.1.4   The development of the conditional imperative construction

On the basis of the work of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), I classified conditionality under epistemic modality, as was explained in the introductory part of this chapter. The common semantic denominator of directives and conditionals is that they both refer not to an actual event but to an event that may be realized in some

'possible world', in a 'mental space' that is not the 'base space' but rather a generic, a hypothetical, or counterfactual space (Fauconnier 1985). It is part of the meaning of directives that the event presented is not realized (yet); directives, in addition, have as part of their meaning that the speaker wants the addressee to make sure that the event gets realized. The latter part of the meaning of directives – the fact that they are 'hearer directed' – is mostly absent when an imperative is interpreted as a conditional. However, some element of 'hearer directedness' still remains here since the hearer is invited to imagine the action as realized. This can be regarded as the main difference between the conditional imperative and conditional sentences with the conditional mood.

Takahashi (1994:375) argues that the existence or non-existence of speaker commitment[103] is the key for differentiating directives from conditionals. He compares the following sentences:

(39)   *Sleep until noon.*
(39)'   *Sleep until noon, and you'll miss lunch.*

Sentence (39) is analyzed most naturally as a command, while (39)' can be understood both as a condition and as a warning: 'If you sleep until noon, then you will miss lunch, so don't sleep until noon.' If we try to add an adverbial *please,* which "serves as an 'attitudinal' in the sense that the word represents the speaker's polite but 'intense' feeling toward the addressee's future action" (Takahashi 1994:376), we will find out that it is compatible with (39) but not with (39)':

(40)   *Please sleep until noon.*
(41)   **Please sleep until noon, and you'll miss lunch.*

Takahashi (1994:376) explains the oddity of (41) as a "mismatch between the positive ring of *please* and the lack of commitment toward the carrying out of the event". Incorporating this concept of speaker commitment, he hypothesizes the relationship between directive and conditional as depicted in Figure 4:

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[103] Under the notion of speaker commitment Takahashi assumes the degree of directive force that the speaker is applying (at the utterance time of an imperative) toward the addressee carrying out the action (Takahashi 1994:375). This type of speaker commitment is also absent in the necessitive use of the imperative, see section 4.2.1.2.

−1	0		1
− maximum	zero	neutral	+ maximum

Low	High
More conditional	More directive
Warning	Command
Threat	Plea
	Suggestion/advice

Figure 4   Imperative and speaker commitment continuum

As Figure 4 shows, the negative side of the scale is more conditionally oriented. The meaning of conditionality of the imperative arises out of negative illocutionary forces of the directive imperative, such as warning, threat, etc. Another idea, similar to that suggested by Takahashi, is to introduce the concept of desirability/undesirability in the analysis of imperatives. Clark (1993:84) argues that not only the notion of potentiality, but also that of desirability is needed for a proper account of all types of imperatives. Shinzato (2004) argues, on the basis of Japanese imperatives, that the concept of desirability dictates how imperatives are to be interpreted: if the imperative action is desirable to the speaker, the speaker makes a commitment to the proposition in the imperative clause, which in turn exerts a force on the addressee to realize the situation. If the imperative clause presents a state undesirable to the speaker, then it is natural for the addressee to assume that the speaker does not really wish for the realization of that state. This negative interpretation leads, on the one hand, to the cancellation of the illocutionary force to act upon the addressee, and on the other hand, to an increased level of hypotheticality from 'probable' to 'improbable'.

In Russian, the concept of *positive* vs. *negative* desirability does not play a key role in the development of the imperative, although, in my opinion, the notion of desirability itself might have some part in it, since the disappearence of 'desire/wish' is a very important stage in the development of the conditional imperative. Let us look at the possible ways of the extension of the conditional imperative in Russian.

According to the existing linguistic literature there are two main approaches to the development of the conditional imperative in Russian. As pointed out by Fortuin (2000:190), these are the following two approaches:

(i)   The conditional imperative can be seen as a directive use of the imperative where the speaker gives an impulse to the hearer to imagine the action rather than perform it (Ebeling (1956) in the interpretation of Fortuin (2000:190));

(ii)   The conditional imperative can be seen as an extended case of the optative imperative (e.g. Isačenko, 1957; Percov, 1998).

A third approach was suggested by Boogaart & Trnavac (2004), according to whom the conditional imperative construction developed from the conditional directive imperative construction. This approach actually can be considered as included in the first one, since the conditional directive imperative, as was mentioned in the previous subsection, can be considered part of the directive imperative.

According to Ebeling (in the interpretation of Fortuin (2000:190)), the speaker of a directive imperative gives an impulse to the hearer to perform the action and the action is desirable for the speaker, whereas in the case of the conditional imperative, the speaker gives an impulse to the hearer to suppose or 'imagine' the action (Fortuin 2000:190).

Another approach to the conditional imperative is advocated by Isa Isačenko enko (1957), who claims that the conditional imperative must be seen as closely related to the optative use (ibid, 193).

(42) *O, vernis'   ja ran'še! Ničego   by   ne   slučilos'.*
oh come-IMPER-PF   I   earlier nothing   IRR   not   appen-PRET
'Oh, if only I had returned earlier! Nothing would have happened.' (Fortuin 2000:193)

According to Fortuin (2000:195), this hypothesis about the development of the conditional imperative from optative is sustained by the following correspondence of formal features between these two imperatives:

(i)   VS order;
(ii)   Absence of the suffix *-te* in the case of the second person plural;
(iii)   Conjuction of the imperative with the particle *by* (IRR) in some cases.

In the optative imperative, the speaker-hearer context is less relevant than it is in the directive use , because an optative imperative can be expressed with any person singular or plural and even with inanimate and impersonal subjects (see 43).

(43) *Esli   ty   goloden i   nag / bud'   tebe   utexoj*
if   you   hungry and   naked be-IMPER   you-DAT consolation
učebnyj   šag.
training   step
'If you are hungry and naked/May the drill-training be like a consolation to you.' (Fortuin 2000:167)

Aspect in the optative imperative can be both perfective and imperfective (Fortuin 2000:166).

Fortuin (2000:195) suggested the following diachronic development from the optative to the counterfactual conditional imperative:

a.   Optative imperative
b.   Optative imperative with conditional structure
c.   Hypothetical conditional imperative
d.   Counterfactual conditional imperative

The optative imperative in (a) is used to express that the speaker gives an impulse to some concrete or abstract entity to realize the action. In (b), the optative is extended with a clause with the desirable consequences of the realization of the action. Since there is a temporal sequence between the events of the two clauses, the inference of conditionality arises. In (c), the idea of a wish for the realization of the action in real

world disappears; the speaker wishes for the realization of the action in a possible world, he wishes the hearer to imagine the situation. The imperative situation is transferred to the epistemic world. The loss of the feature of wish in the domain of the real world, according to Fortuin (2000:196), helped the occurrence of the conditional in counterfactual cases (d). These sentences make it clear that the action cannot be realized, because it occurs only in the domain of the counterfactual world.

In Boogaart & Trnavac (2004), it was argued that the conditional imperative in Russian developed from the directive imperative through the directive conditional imperative construction. In the case of the conditional imperative, the feature of desire is lost: the speaker no longer wishes the action to be realized in the real world, he rather wishes the hearer to imagine the situation in the hypothetical world. The directive conditional meaning constitutes a compositional construction which consists of the directive imperative construction, a coordinating conjunction (*i* 'and') and a declarative construction. The conditional element arises as an invited inference (Traugott 1989), enabled by the hypothetical feature of the directive imperative. The development from directive to conditional imperative in this case could be represented in the following way.

> Do X! (Because) then Y will happen
> (Inference: If you do X, Y will happen)
> $\Rightarrow$ If X, then Y.

In my opinion, the previously mentioned concept of 'desirability' is a crucial ingredient of both approaches to the development of the conditional imperative. According to Takahashi (1994), the development of conditionality in Japanese was enabled thanks to negative illocutionary forces related to the (un)desirability, such as warning, threat, etc. In Russian, the development of the conditional imperative is enabled through the notion of 'wish' (positive or negative desire) that the speaker has towards the realization of a certain action which is transferred from the real world to a possible world.

In the next section, I will devote my attention to the interaction between subjectivity and the three uses of the imperative mentioned above: directive, optative and conditional.

4.2.2.1.5   The conditional imperative and subjectivity

Based on Traugott (1989), Shinzato (2004) presents the development of the conditional imperative in Japanese as a case of de-subjectification, since it presents a change from highly expressive/interpersonal functions to textual functions, which is against the unidirectionality hypothesis of Traugott: propositional – textual – interpersonal/expressive. According to Traugott (1989:90), subjectificaton in grammaticalisation is the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of a speaker belief or speaker attitude towards what is said. It is a gradient phenomenon, whereby forms and constructions that at first express primarily concrete, lexical, and objective meanings, come through repeated use in local syntactic contexts to serve increasingly abstract, interpersonal, and speaker-based functions. However, I would like to argue the opposite: at least in Langacker's understanding of subjectivity, the

conditional imperative is characterized by increased subjectivity in comparison to the directive and optative imperative. I will show this by applying, once again, the three tests for subjectivity.

(i)   The role of the modal source:

As was previously mentioned, two criteria are important for the subjectivity of a construction according to Langacker:

(1)   To what extent the Ground is part of the conceptualization;
(2)   Whether the Ground is represented on stage or off stage.

According to Langacker's first criterion, the conditional use of the imperative is more subjective than the directive and optative uses. The modal source of the directive and optative imperatives is the speaker, as he is the one who pronounces an order or expresses a wish. The modal source of the conditional imperative is a cognitive frame, constituted by the speaker's knowledge about the world. As was already described in the previous subsection, the Ground of the directive imperative is part of the conceptualization because it is about the speaker's commitment and the interaction with the hearer. In the case of the optative imperative, the utterance represents a wish of the speaker for himself, the hearer, or a 3rd party. In the case of the conditional imperative, it represents an epistemic evaluation of the speaker concerning himself, the hearer or a 3rd party, and it is totally dependent on the reasoning of the speaker. The Ground and the conceptualization of these sentences coincide, which makes them the most subjective.

As was previously mentioned, the Ground of the directive imperative is put on stage because of the optional use of the subject pronoun and separate inflection for the 2nd person imperative singular and plural, which are both related to the addressee. The Ground of both optative and conditional imperatives can be expressed both explicitly or implicitly. If the subject (pro)noun, which is obligatory in these two constructions, is referring to the speaker or the addressee, then the Ground is on stage. If the subject pronoun is a 3rd person singular or plural, then the Ground is off stage. This is represented in the table below:

Table 27   Modal source of the directive, optative and conditional imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality		Epistemic modality
	Directive imperative	Optative imperative	Conditional imperative
Modal source	• Speaker (as actor) •Ground is on stage	• Speaker (as conceptualizer) •Ground is on/off stage	• General knowledge (also the speaker's) •Ground is on/off stage
Subjectivity scale	+	+(+)	+(+)

(ii)   The role of the modal target participant:

The modal target participant of the directive imperative, as was previously said, is the addressee of the sentence, the one who is obliged to fullfill the action, so he has the role of agent. In the case of the optative imperative, the modal target participant is a person, object or situation to which the wish applies. If the wish applies to a person, the modal target participant can have the role either of agent or non-agent, depending on whether he is in control of what is wished for or not. In the following sentence, the modal target participant is not in control of the action:

(44)   *Sgin'*   *ona!*
        die-IMPER-PF   she
        'May she die!' (Fortuin 2000:162)

If the wish applies to an object or situation, we are talking about a non-agent modal target participant. In the case of a conditional imperative, the speaker is the modal target participant, he is an evaluator of the situation, the application of the modal source results in his judgement. The agent-evaluator line shows an increase of subjectivity from directive to conditional imperative (see chapter 2 on the roles of the modal target participant). The optative imperative seems to be less subjective than the directive imperative in relation to this test, since its modal target participant can be a non-agent.
    The following table represents the roles of the modal target participants in the directive, optative and conditional imperative uses.

Table 28   Modal target participant of the directive, optative and conditional imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic participant-external modality		Epistemic modality
Imperative use	Directive/directive conditional	Optative	Conditional
Modal target participant	Agent (mtp=addressee of the sentence)	Agent/non-agent (mtp = person, object or situation)	Evaluator (mtp=speaker of the sentence)
Subjectivity scale	++	++/+	+++

(iii) The nature of the subject

The nature of the subject shows an increase in subjectivity from the directive to the conditional imperative. In the directive use of the imperative, the subject is a speech act participant, 2nd person singular or plural, animate, and he is on stage, while in both optative and conditional uses the subject can be any person singular or plural, both animate and inanimate. As was already explained in chapter 2, the existence of non-animate, non-referential and 3rd person subject shows a higher degree of subjectivity,

since the utterance is more dependent on the speaker in the absence of any other animate being that could be responsible for the claim being made.

The development from directive to conditional does not show a strict difference between non-epistemic and epistemic modality in terms of subject. The borderline between different kinds of subjects lies between the basic directive and other non-directive uses of the imperative. The subsequent table shows the differences in the nature of the subject in the directive, optative and conditional uses of the imperative.

Table 29   The nature of the subject of the directive, optative and conditional imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic participant-external modality		Epistemic modality
Imperative use	Directive /directive conditional	Optative	Conditional
Subject of the sentence	●2 p. sing. and pl. ●Animate	●All persons sing. and pl. ● Both animate and non-animate	●All persons sing. and pl. ● Both animate and inanimate
Subjectivity scale	+	++	++

If we compare the application of the various tests to the three uses of the imperative, it can be concluded that the conditional imperative is the most subjective among them, then comes the optative imperative, and the least subjective among them is the directive imperative.

4.2.2.1.6   Negation

As opposed to the necessitive imperative, the aspect of a negative conditional imperative does not change in comparison to affirmative sentences. It stays the same, namely, hypothetical sentences are used with perfective aspect, and counterfactual sentences are used with both aspects. The meaning of conditionality does not change under negation either; hypothetical sentences stay hypothetical and counterfactual sentences stay counterfactual, as is shown in (45) and (46) (cf. (30) and (29)).

(45)   *Ne vyskažis'   my – vsë   pojdët   po-staromu.*
         not say-IMPER-PF   we   everything go-PRES-PF   old way
         'If we don't speak out, everything will become as before.'

(46) *Ne svari*   *ja ètu*   *kartošku*   *vo vremja*, *my by*   *opozdali.*
     not boil-IMPER-PF   I   this   potatoes   in time   we IRR   late
     'If I had not boiled the potatoes in time, we would be late.'

The counterfactual meaning of the affirmative conditional imperative is similar to sentential negation in that it profiles two opposite epistemic stances, one of which represents the state in the real world, while the other is its counterpart. The existence of another mental space, as in the case of sentential negation (see the section on negation in the previous chapter), causes an increase in subjectivity. As was said earlier, hypothetical sentences are expressed only with perfective aspect and counterfactual sentences with both aspects. The occurrence of imperfective aspect in counterfactuals correlates with an increase in subjectivity as compared to the hypothetical imperative.

4.2.2.1.7   Aspect and subjectivity in the conditional imperative

The correlation between aspect and directive, optative and conditional imperatives is represented in the subsequent table:

Table 30   Aspect and subjectivity in imperative constructions

Aspect	Imperfective aspect		Perfective aspect	
Imperative construction	Affirmative sentences	Negative sentences	Affirmative Sentences	Negative sentences
Directive/ Directive conditional	+	+	+	+
Optative	+	+	+	+
Conditional				
Hypothetical	−[104]	−	+	+
Counterfactual	+[105]	+	+	+

In the previous subsection I graded these three types of imperative uses according to the parameter of subjectivity in the following way:

     (i)   directive imperative,
     (ii)   optative imperative,
     (iii)   conditional imperative.

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[104] In the existing literature on conditional imperative, a small number of examples could be found on the hypothetical imperative. However, all the examples which I checked, have perfective aspect in the protasis of the sentence.

[105] The frequency of the use of imperfective aspect in conditional (counterfactual) imperative sentences is lower than with perfective forms.

The results from the table show that the interaction of aspect and different readings of the imperative do not exhibit a correlation with subjectivity. All of the above uses of the imperative can be expressed with both aspects. According to my data, the only use which prefers perfective aspect, is the hypothetical use of the conditional imperative. This might even represent a counterargument to the correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity in the sense that the hypothetical imperative is more subjective than both optative and directive imperatives, but it is characterized with perfective aspect. However, on the basis of my data, 'inside' the conditional imperative itself, the more subjective counterfactual conditional imperative, which profiles two opposite epistemic stances, can be used with both aspects, while the hypothetical imperative prefers the use of perfective aspect. In that sense, within the domain of the conditional imperative, an increase of subjectivity is correlated with the occurrence of imperfective aspect.

In the next section I will turn to the concessive use of the imperative and its aspectual features.

4.2.2.2   From directive to concessive imperative

4.2.2.2.1   Language-specific features of the concessive imperative

On the basis of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), I classified concession under epistemic modality, similar to conditionality. Concession is characterized by two modal features, namely: hypotheticality and permission. The feature of permission in concessives has the following semantics: 'People are ALLOWED/PERMITTED to say/believe X, but still Y is the case'. In the subsequent text I will be concerned with a description of the following features of the concessive imperative:

> (i)   Presence of the scalar/universal particles *xot'* 'even'/ *ni* 'not';
> (ii)   The subject of the conditional imperative sentence;
> (iii)   Aspect;
> (iv)   Controllability of the verb;
> (v)   Presence of the suffix –te in the second person plural;
> (vi)   The protasis/apodosis order;
> (vii)   VS order;

(i)   There are two types of concessive imperative constructions (Fortuin 2000:206)[106]:

(1)   A concessive imperative construction with a scalar meaning, which is used with the particle *xot'* (even), as in (47):

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[106] There is one more construction with concessive interpretation which could be distinguished, namely the concessive conditional construction (see examples 6 and 53 of this chapter). It formally differs from the concessive imperative construction (different word order, different placement of *xot'*, non-occurrence of the suffix *-te*, Fortuin (2000:220)). The semantic difference between the two construction types is small. For a more general overview of the development of the concessive conditionals in different languages see Haspelmath, König (1998). The concessive conditional imperative will not be a topic of a special investigation in this section.

(47)   *Xot'   kriči   do   utra,   on   ne otkroet dver'.*
       even   scream-IMPER-IPF   until   morning   he   not open   door
       'You can even scream until morning, he won't open the door.'

(2)   A concessive imperative construction with a universal meaning, expressed with the
      particle *ni*, as in (48):

(48)   *Čto   ni   govori,   a   mne   èto   plat'e   nravitsja.*
       what   not say-IMPER-IPF   but   I-DAT this   dress   like-PRES-3sg
       'No matter what you say, I like this dress.'

(ii)   Both types of concessive imperative can be used with any subject both singular or
       plural. The most frequent use is with 2nd person singular or plural, while the ones
       with 1st person singular or plural are less frequent[107].

(49)   *Skol'ko ni govori   ja / on   s   nim –   ničto   ne*
       no matter   talk-IMPER-IPF   I   he   with   him   nothing   not
       pomogaet.
       help-PRES-3sg
       'No matter how much I/he talk(s) with him, nothing helps.' (Xrakovskij &
       Volodin 1986:243)

The 3rd person singular and plural is not used anymore in the modern language (Fortuin
2000:225). The sentences can also be expressed with a generic subject, as in (50).

(50)   *Skol'ko   durnuju travu   ni   topči   –   ona vsë ravno*
       no matter bad   grass   not   step over-IMPER-IPF   she all no matter
       rastët.
       grow
       'No matter how much you walk/step on the weeds, it grows.'

(iii) Sentences with both types of concessive imperative prefer imperfective aspect[108],
       although perfective aspect is also possible, as in (51) and (52).

(51)   *Xot'   ubej   ego,   on ničego   ne skažet.*
       even   kill-IMPER-PF   him   he nothing   not say-PRES-PF
       'You may kill him, he won't say anything.'

(52)   *Čto   emu   ni   prigotov',   on   vsegda   budet*
       what   he-DAT   PRT   prepare-IMPER-PF   he   always   be-FUT
       nedovolen.
       unsatisfied
       'Whatever you prepare for him to eat, he will always be unsatisfied.'

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[107] See Fortuin (2000) and Xrakovskij & Volodin (1986).
[108] ibid.

(iv)   Both concessive imperatives can be expressed with uncontrollable verbs:

(53)   *Pereživaj*   *on xot'*   *dnjami,*   *èto*   *emu*   *ne pomožet.*
      worry-IMPER-IPF   he even for days this   him   not help-PRES-PF
      'He may worry for days, it won't help him.'

(54)   *Kak*   *ty*   *ni*   *padaj,*   *vsë ravno*   *podnimeš'sja.*
      how   you   PRT   fall-IMPER-IPF   anyway   stand up
      'No matter how you fall, you will stand up again.'

(v)   The suffix *-te* occurs in both types of sentences:

(55)   *Zanimajtes'*   *xot'* *po desjat' časov* *v den',* *ne*   *uspeete*   *v*
      study-IMPER-IPF   even for ten   hours in day   not   manage   in
      srok   *podgotovit'sja*   *k* *ètomu* *èkzamenu.*
      time   prepare   for this   exam
      'You can even study ten hours a day, you will not manage to prepare for this exam in time.'

(56)   *Kak*   *ni*   *starajtes',*   *vy*   *svoego* *ne*   *dob'ëtes'.*
      how   PRT   put an effort-IMPER-IPF   you   your   not   get
      'No matter how much effort you put, you won't get what you want.'

(vi)   The usual order between the sentences is protasis-apodosis order in both types of imperatives.

(vii)   The VS order in both types of sentences is not strict.

4.2.2.2.2   The development from directive to concessive imperative

According to Isachenko (1957)[109], the concessive imperative developed from the combination of two constructions, an exclamative sentence/directive imperative (*Govori što hočeš*!/ 'Say whatever you want!') and a declarative sentence (*Ja tebe ne poverju* / 'I want to believe you'). Following Shinzato (2004), König (1986), Haspelmath & König (1998), I would suggest that in parallel with other, typologically different languages which developed a concessive imperative, the semantic property of *irrelevance* may have been a possible trigger for its development in Russian. According to Haspelmath and König (1998:563), irrelevance can be expressed in three ways: scalar (e.g., *even if*), alternative (*whether A or B*), and universal (*no matter wh*). As was pointed out in the previous section, Russian concessive imperatives can express scalar and universal meanings. Tracing the development of the concessive imperatives in Japanese, Shinzato claims that there are two possible contexts where concessive meanings evolved. In one context, the imperative clause expresses a proposition to which the speaker is *indifferent*, while in another context, the proposition of the imperative clause is *irrelevant* for the realization

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[109] See Fortuin (2000:221).

of the consequent clause. On the basis of my data, it seems that the second context, where the result of the consequent clause is not conditioned by the imperative clause, played a prevailing role in the development of the concessive imperative in Russian.

4.2.2.2.3   Subjectivity and the concessive imperative

As was suggested for the conditional imperative, I would like to argue that the concessive imperative is more subjective than the directive imperative. In order to check the subjectivity level, I will use the same linguistic tests, as in the previous subsections.

(i)   The role of the modal source:

The modal source of the directive imperative, as was already shown, is externally situated and it comes from the speaker, while the modal source of the concessive imperative comes from a frame of knowledge of the speaker about the world, similar to the conditional imperative. The different modal source of these two kinds of imperatives shows the higher degree of subjectivity of the concessive imperative (first criterion used by Langacker), since the conceptualization of the concessive imperative completely coincides with the Ground. The modal source of the directive imperative only partly belongs to the Ground. The second criterion of subjectivity also differs in the two uses, since in the case of the directive imperative the Ground is on stage, while in the case of the concessive imperative, the Ground can be both explicit or implicit depending on whether it refers to the speaker/hearer or not. This is shown in the following table.

Table 31   The modal source of directive and concessive imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modality	Epistemic modality
	Directive imperative	**Concesssive imperative**
Modal source	• Externally situated (speaker) • Ground is on stage	• General knowledge about the world • Ground is on/off stage
Subjectivity scale	+	+(+)

(ii)   The role of the modal target participant:

The modal target participant in the directive imperative, as was previously concluded, is the agent, the subject of the sentence, the one who is in partial control of realizing the action requested by the speaker. In the concessive imperative, the speaker is the modal target participant, he is an evaluator of the situation, his knowledge about the world results in his judgement over which he has control. The evaluator is a more subjective modal target participant than an agent. The roles of the modal target participants of the directive and concessive imperatives are compared in the following table:

Table 32   Modal target participants of directive and concessive imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic participant-external modality	Epistemic modality
Imperative use	**Directive**	**Concessive**
Modal target participant	Agent (mtp=subject of the sentence)	Evaluator (mtp=speaker of the sentence)
Subjectivity scale	+	++

(iii)   The nature of the subject

The nature of the subject shows a slight increase of subjectivity from the directive to the concessive imperative. In the directive use of the imperative, the subject is a speech act participant, 2nd person singular or plural, and animate, while in the concessive use, the most frequent subject is 2nd person singular or plural, but 1st person singular or plural is also possible. Less frequent in modern language use is 3rd person singular or plural subject, when the Ground is involved in the conceptualization through the reasoning of the speaker, which makes this kind of the imperative more subjective than the directive imperative. The following table shows the comparison between directive and concessive imperatives in terms of subject.

Table 33   Subject of directive and concessive imperatives

Type of modality	Non-epistemic participant-external modality	Epistemic modality
Imperative use	Directive	Concessive
Subject of the sentence	•2 p. sing. and pl. •Animate	•2 p. sing. and pl. . • Possible also with 1 p. sing. and pl. • (3 p. sing. and pl. occur rarely in modern language use) • Mostly animate in the modern language
Subjectivity scale	+	++

The tests show that the concessive use of the imperative is more subjective than the directive use.

4.2.2.2.4 Negation

According to Verhagen (2005:162), the concessive construction involves negation in its meaning. It allows a speaker to acknowledge the possible validity of some inference, and still propose a contrary conclusion. In terms of representation of mental spaces, the cognitive configuration associated with the sentence *John failed his exams although he worked hard* is represented by Verhagen in the following way:
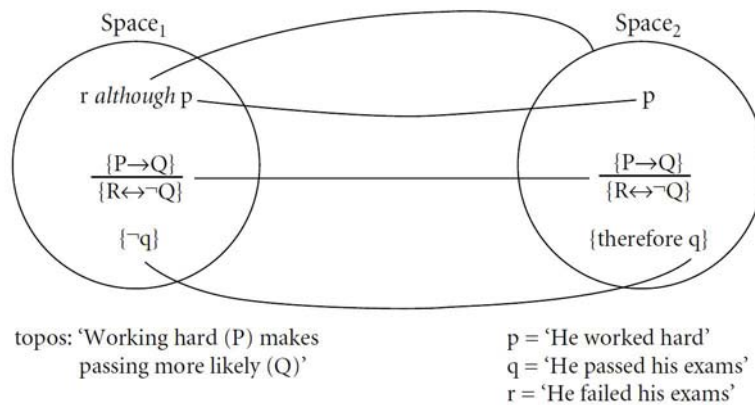
Figure 5 Mental spaces and concession [Figure 4.4 in Verhagen 2005]

Verhagen (2005:169) explains that the conventional function of *r although p* is that its use by conceptualizer 1 projects a second mental space in which the proposition p ("he worked hard"), which is valid in Space 1, is valid as well. In Space 2, the topos (shared knowledge of the speakers) licences a positive epistemic stance towards the conclusion q, e.g. that John has passed his exams. The speaker/writer acknowledges that, given p, there may be good reasons to adopt q, but she nevertheless invites the addressee to adopt r, which is incompatible with q.

Since negation is part of the meaning of the concessive imperative, and two opposite epistemic stances are present, the concessive imperative can be treated to be quite subjective, as is the case with the counterfactual imperative. In a negated concessive imperative, aspect does not change; it is used in the same way as in affirmative sentences:

(57)   *Xot'   ne govori   emu   ničego,   on vsë budet znat'.*
       even   not talk-IMPER-IPF him   nothing   he all FUT   know-INF-IPF
       'Even if you don't tell him anything, he will know everything.'

Affirmative sentences are much more frequent with this kind of imperative.

4.2.2.2.5 Aspect and subjectivity in the concessive imperative

In the following table a comparison between directive and concessive imperatives in terms of aspectual use is represented:

Table 34   Aspect and subjectivity in the concessive imperative

Imperative construction	Affirmative sentence		Negative sentence	
Aspect	Imperfective	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfective
Directive	+	+	+	+
Concessive	+	±	+	±

The table shows that there is a tendency for a predominant use of imperfective aspect with the more subjective concessive imperative (see section 4.2.2.2.1, point (iii)). Perfective aspect is much less common with this use of the imperative. The use of aspect in concessive imperatives supports the hypothesis about the link between imperfective aspect and more subjective readings.

4.2.3   Aspect and subjectivity in the imperative uses in Russian

From the previous discussion it is clear that all non-directive uses of the imperative are more subjective than the directive imperative itself. From the tables on the interaction of aspect and these uses of the imperative it can be concluded that there is a general tendency for imperfective aspect to occur with the more subjective non-directive imperative constructions. This can be confirmed by the following pieces of evidence:

(1) Necessitive imperatives, as more subjective than directive imperatives, are used predominantly with imperfective aspect in affirmative sentences;
(2) Concessive imperatives, as more subjective than directive imperatives, are used predominantly with imperfective aspect;
(3) Within the conditional imperative, the more subjective counterfactual reading is expressed with both imperfective and perfective aspects, while the less subjective hypothetical reading prefers perfective aspect.

However, some problematic evidence for the hypothesis about the link between imperfective aspect and more subjective readings comes from the following observations:

(1) Both optative and conditional imperatives, as more subjective than directive imperatives, are used with both aspects, just as the directive imperative;
(2) Negative necessitive imperatives with a participant-external reading are used only with perfective aspect, although they have the same degree of subjectivity

as affimative necessitive sentences, which are predominantly expressed with imperfective aspect.

(3) Conditional and concessive imperative, having the same level of subjectivity, differ in the choice of aspect.

These pieces of evidence show that the assumed connection between imperfective aspect and subjectivity exists in the Russian imperative constructions, although it should not be claimed to be strict.

In the next section I will turn to the Dutch imperative constructions and compare its aspectual-subjectivity correlation to the Russian one.

4.3 Dutch imperative constructions

4.3.1 Form

Determining the form of the imperative in Dutch is somewhat more complex than it is in Russian, since Dutch does not have a morphological category of imperative mood. The only verb that has a specialized imperative form in Dutch is the verb *zijn* ('to be'), namely the form *wees*. For all other verbs, the imperative form of the verb equals the form for the 1st person singular present tense. There also used to be a plural form of the imperative, ending in *–t*, but this is considered archaic. As a consequence, it is more suitable for Dutch to talk about imperative *clauses* than about imperative *verb forms*: the Dutch imperative is not marked on the verb, but rather constituted by a specific clause type (Proeme 1984, De Haan 1986). Thus, the Dutch imperative is basically a *construction* in the sense of construction grammar. This construction exhibits the following properties:

(i) Verb in clause initial position (V1);
(ii) Form of the verb is the 'root' of the verb (the same form as 1st person singular);
(iii) There is no explicit subject, but the implied subject is always 2nd person (addressee or generic).

The last feature is debatable, since both (58) and (59) are possible in Dutch.

(58) *Kom   eens   hier.*
     come-IMPER PRT   here
     'Come here.'

(59) *Kom   jij   eens   hier.*
     come-IMPER   you.2p.sing PRT   here
     'You come here.'

Thus, the 2nd person subject is sometimes expressed explicitly, as in (59), especially when accompanied by (untranslatable) particles such as *maar*, *eens* and *maar eens*[110]. In

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[110] See Fortuin (2004) on the combination of explicit subject and particles.

these instances, the verb form shows agreement for number. Thus, if the explicit subject is a 2nd person plural, as in (60), then the verb has to be plural as well.

(60)   *Komen*   *jullie*   *eens*   *hier.*
        come-IMPER.pl   you.2p.pl   PRT   here
        'Come here.'

Therefore, the imperative in (59) and (60) is sometimes called the *congruerende imperatief* ('agreeing imperative') in the Dutch literature.

    De Haan (1986) does not consider (59) and (60) to instantiate a grammatical (formal) imperative, most notably since they cannot be distinguished on formal grounds from other clause types, such as questions. However, in this chapter, I will look at both types of Dutch 'imperatives' because the presence or absence of the subject seems to correlate in interesting ways with the two types of its use, namely directive and conditional imperative. Most notably, an explicit subject is incompatible with a conditional reading of the Dutch imperative[111] and this constraint may be related to the concept of subjectivity in the sense of Langacker (1985).

    Finally, it should be noted that, in addition to the two types of imperatives illustrated in (58) and (59), Dutch may also use infinitives, past participles or non-verbal forms in directive speech acts (see e.g. De Haan 1986), but these remain out of the scope of the present study.

4.3.2   Non-epistemic modal meaning

4.3.2.1   The directive imperative

4.3.2.1.1   Language-specific features of the directive imperative in Dutch

Especially since Proeme (1984), it has become customary to divide the uses of the Dutch imperative into two groups:

(i)   *Uitvoeringsvariant* ('execution variant'): the situation needs to be executed by the hearer;
(ii)   *Voorstellingsvariant* ('imagination variant'): the hearer does not need to realize the situation but only needs to imagine the situation to be true.

The first group is basically similar to the directive use of the Russian imperative. Within this group, there are already many cases in which the hearer is not expected to literally execute the action indicated by the imperative; in addition to orders, it includes instructions (as in recipes), advice, permission, wishes (*sleep well!*), curses (*fuck off!*) and warnings (*don't fall*) (De Haan 1986:255-256). Since all of these in some way concern the realization of the situation by the addressee, we can refer to them generally as *directive*. The following formal features characterize the directive imperative:

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[111] See Boogaart & Trnavac (2004).

(i) The subject of the directive imperative in Dutch is just like in Russian: it is second person singular or plural and can be both implicit and explicit, as was exemplified above.

(ii) It is interesting to note that the difference between formal and non-formal, or 'close' and 'distant' directives, that is indicated in Russian by different aspects (imperfective versus pefective), could be expressed in Dutch by the presence or absence of particles such as, most notably, *maar* (literally 'only') and *eens* (literally 'once'). The intuitions about the Russian examples and their Dutch equivalents are similar if the Russian imperfective imperatives get translated by means of *maar* + imperative or *eens* + imperative (or *maar eens* + imperative) rather than without *maar* or *eens*. Thus, depending on whether or not the realization of the action is in the interest of the hearer, *maar* and *eens* may make an utterance either more friendly, as in (61), or not polite at all, as in (62) (assuming a situation in which the addressee does not want to leave). Compare the Russian examples to their Dutch equivalents:

(61) a. *Eet   maar.*
    Eat-IMPER   only
    'Just start (or go on) eating'

  b. *Kom   eens   langs*
    come-IMPER once   by
    'Drop by sometime'

(62) *Ga   jij   maar eens   weg*
    go-IMPER   you   PARTICLES away
    'You just get out.'

(63) *Kušajte,   kušajte,   požalujsta.* (=(11))
    eat-IMPER-IPF   eat-IMPER-IPF   please
    'Eat, eat, please!'

(64) *Uxodite   vy   otsjuda!* (=(12))
    go out-IMPER-IPF   you   from here
    'Get out from here.'

Whether or not the presence of *maar* and *eens* makes an utterance more polite seems to depend primarily on the lexical content of the verb and, ultimately, on the context. This, however, is equally true for the 'polite' use of the imperfective imperative in Russian discussed in section 4.2.1.1.1. However, what is more important for the present discussion is that translating the Russian imperfective imperative apparently requires the use of one or more particle more often than translating the perfective imperative does. Furthermore, in the first case there is probably a bigger choice in different particles than in the second. This may provide an additional argument for the claim that the imperfective imperatives in Russian are more 'subjective' than the perfective ones: the Dutch particles have been independently argued to trigger 'subjective' readings. For instance, Postma (2004) argues that *eens* gives rise to a 'forum reading': a reading where all arguments/participants are interpreted within the immediate forum of the speech act. Postma's *forum* is equivalent to the cognitive linguistic notion of *Ground*. Fortuin

(2004:372) claims that the modal particles in such utterances convey information about 'the attitude of the subject towards the action'.

(iii) With negation, the imperative can be interpreted as prohibition or warning depending on the feature of control. The imperative of controllable verbs expresses prohibition, while uncontrollable verbs express warning.

(65) *Doe*   *de deur*   *niet*   *open.*
     do-IMPER the door not   open
     'Don't open the door.'

(66) *Val*   *niet.*
     fall-IMPER not
     'Don't fall.'

In this respect, the Dutch directive imperative is quite similar to its Russian counterpart.

4.3.2.1.2 Tense/aspect in the directive imperative in Dutch

The Dutch imperative differs from the Russian one in that it can be used with different tenses. As for the aspectually marked forms of Dutch (see chapter 2, section 2.2.3), the present perfect and progressive-like verb formations of Dutch hardly ever occur in the imperative, but they are not entirely excluded. If they are used, they just get their normal, transparent aspectual reading. This is illustrated for the present perfect imperative in (67). However, just like in the English translation, Dutch would prefer the use an imperative like 'make sure that…' rather than a perfect imperative.

Present perfect directive imperative:

(67) *Heb*   *het* *vóór* *volgende week* *tenminste* *één*   *keer* *gelezen,*
     have-IMPER it before next week at least   one   time read
     alsjeblieft! (marginal)
     please
      'Make sure you will have read it at least once by next week please'

Such an imperative with a present perfect necessarily gets a future reading (paraphrase: 'Make sure you will be in the result state of reading the paper by next week')[112]. The reason that it occurs so rarely may be that the speaker may direct the hearer to execute an action simply by using a simple present imperative. Thus, if one says *read the paper by next week*, then it is equally clear that the hearer is expected to read the entire paper (and thus be in the result state of having read it) by the following week.

It is not uncommon to find claims that the Dutch perfect 'tenses' express perfective aspect. However, I assume that the imperative version of the present and past perfect express imperfective aspect, which I already mentioned in chapter 2 in the section on the Dutch tense system, and which I will repeat here for convenience. The Dutch perfect 'tenses' consist of two parts: a finite verb form of the verb *zijn* ('to be') or

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[112] The same applies to the 'normal', present imperative.

hebben ('to have'), and a past participle form of the main verb. Now, one might say that the past participle in these verb formations expresses a kind of perfective aspect: they present the event as having ended at some point in time preceding the reference point (i.e. the point of speech in the case of the present perfect, and some additional reference point in the past in the case of the past perfect). However, it is the finite verb form that appears as the imperative form in, for instance, example (67). So the imperative form presents a stative situation, as expressed by either *zijn* (to be) or *hebben* (to have). Although the perfect has a perfective and an imperfective component, the imperative seems to emphasize the latter one. The finite verb form of the perfect 'tense' clearly expresses a state and, therefore, imperfective aspect. In fact, both formally and semantically, the imperative of the perfect is not all that different from the imperative form of other lexical statives, including *zijn* and *hebben* when used as main verbs.

The past perfect does occur in the imperative form as well, but such uses are not strictly directive in nature and will be discussed separately below.

Progressive directive imperative:

(68) *Wees   hard   aan het werken   als   hij binnenkomt!* (marginal)
     be-IMPER   hard   at the working   when he enters
     'Make sure you are working hard when he comes in.'

Progressive imperatives are more common in English than in Dutch, but this is obviously related to the higher degree of grammaticalization of the English progressive in general[113]. Most importantly, it seems that the Dutch locative verb formations typically need an agent who takes the initiative for the action, since there is a certain purpose he wants to fulfil, or simply because he wants to execute that action (Boogaart 1999:182) and the semantics of directive imperatives is incompatible with that. For the same reason, the Dutch construction does not occur in passives, whereas the English one is okay there as well.

As for the simple past tense, the directive reading of the imperative seems to be incompatible with it. Yet, Duinhoven (1995) argues that a past tensed directive is developing in Dutch. An example would be (69).

Simple past directive imperative

(69) *Nou   heb   je   een boete. Stopte   dan   ook   voor   het*
     now   have you   a fine   stop-PAST-IMPER PRT PRT before the
     oranje   licht!
     orange   light.
     'Now you are fined. You should have stopped when the traffic light was yellow.'

A problem is that it is not clear if cases such as (69) are really directive in meaning. In this particular example, the speaker could also have used what I will refer to as an 'optative'. i.e. non-directive, past perfect in section 4.3.3.1.7 below, and this would not change the interpretation all that much. Examples with a simple past tense seem to be

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[113] Note that searching for 'wees aan het' on the Internet using Google does not result in one single authentic example of a progressive imperative in Dutch.

very rare, but they are possible, especially in combination with certain particles such as *dan ook* ('then also') or *niet zo* ('not that much').

In the next section I will deal with the second group of uses of the Dutch imperative, namely the conditional imperative.

4.3.3   Epistemic modal meaning

4.3.3.1   The conditional imperative

The second group of uses of the Dutch imperative, distinguished by Proeme (1984) and De Haan (1986), is referred to as the 'imagination variant': the hearer does not have to realize the situation referred by the imperative, but he/she needs only to imagine the situation occurring (and its possible consequences). Basically, all of these uses allow for a 'conditional' analysis with the imperative form providing the protasis of a conditional construction. However, the apodosis of the conditional construction does not always have to be explicit. This is particularly true for two sub-types of the conditional constructions: the *maar eens* imperative construction and the 'optative' past perfect imperative. In the next section, I will describe general properties of the Dutch conditional imperative.

4.3.3.1.1   Language-specific features of the Dutch conditional construction[114]

The subject of the Dutch conditional imperative construction (CIC) can be either the addressee (paraphrase: 'if you hang the laundry outside now, it will start raining') or it can be generic (paraphrase: 'every time one hangs the laundry outside, it starts raining')[115], as is illustrated in (70):

(70) *Hang   de was   buiten   en   het gaat   regenen.*
      hang-IMPER the laundry   outside   and   it goes   rain
      'If you hang the laundry outside, it starts raining.'

The Dutch imperative, both in its directive and its conditional use, does not allow for a 1st or 3rd person implicit subject. Thus, the sentence in (71), despite the 1st person plural subject in the second part of the CIC, can only be interpreted as 'if *you* miss this train, we'll definitely be late', and not as 'if *we* miss this train, we'll definitely be late'. (The latter, according to Clark (1993:116), is a possible reading of its English equivalent.)

(71) *Mis   die   trein   en   we komen zeker   te laat.*
      miss-IMPER that   train   and   we come definitely toolate
      'Miss that train and we'll definitely be late.'

In addition to being restricted to 2nd person subjects, the imperative part of the Dutch CIC does not allow for the subject to be explicit. Unlike the first constraint, this one

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[114] This section is adapted from Boogaart & Trnavac (2004).
[115] Proeme (1991:39).

cannot be regarded as inherited from the directive use of the imperative since in the directive use, the subject of the imperative can be explicit, at least in the presence of (untranslatable) particles such as *maar*, *eens*, and *maar eens*. The sentence in (72)a, for instance, is fine, but the one in (72)b is incoherent.

(72)a. *Hang   jij   de was   maar   eens   buiten.*
hang-IMPER you   the laundry   PRT   PRT   outside
'Hang the laundry outside.'

b. **Hang   jij   de was   buiten   en   het gaat   regenen,*
hang-IMPER you   the laundry   outside   and   it goes   rain

As opposed to Russian, impersonal constructions in Dutch are incompatible with an imperative form, like in (73). (cf. the Russian sentence (31)).

(73)   **Was eerder donker geweest en   we waren niet naar   het park   gegaan.*
was   earlier dark   been   and   we were not to   the park   gone
'Had it gone dark earlier and we would not have gone to the park.'

The order of protasis and apodosis in the CIC is fixed: the events are presented iconically, i.e. in the order in which they happened, or would happen in a hypothetical or counterfactual world.

4.3.3.1.2   Kinds of conditional relations compatible with the Dutch CIC

Dutch may use tense to distinguish between hypothetical and counterfactual readings of the CIC. More specifically, a past perfect imperative in the protasis of the construction indicates 'counterfactuality to the past' (Duinhoven 1995); the apodosis in these cases may contain either a simple past form, or a 'future in the past' (consisting of the past tense of the auxiliary *zullen* ('will') and an infinitive).

(74)   *Had   het gisteren   afgemaakt en   je   hoefde vandaag niet te*
had-IMPER it yesterday finished   and   you   needed today not to
werken.
work
'If you had finished it yesterday, you would not have to work today.'

However, unlike in Russian, the counterfactual reading of the Dutch CIC is marginal at best. While it is possible to express 'counterfactuality to the past', as in (74), it is difficult to trigger 'counterfactuality to the present or future'. In principle, one could use a simple past, rather than past perfect, imperative in the protasis of the CIC to get this reading, as in (75), but such cases seem to be rare.

(75)   *?Stopte   met   roken en   je   voelde je   veel   fitter.*
stop-PAST-IMPER with   smoke and   you   felt   you   much fitter
'Quit smoking and you would feel much better.'

Moreover, instances of the Dutch CIC containing a past imperative in the protasis such as (75), prefer a habitual past reading. In fact, all of the Dutch examples given so far[116] allow for a habitual reading, whereas the Russian CIC is incompatible with such an interpretation.

For ease of comparison, I present the formal properties of the Dutch and Russian CIC in the following table.

Table 35   Features of the Dutch and Russian CIC

	Subject	**Order**	**Relation**
Dutch CIC	● 2nd person hearer or generic ● not explicit	Fixed	● Hypothetical ● Counterfactual? ● Habitual
Russian CIC	● 1st/(2nd)/3rd ● impersonal verbs ● explicit	Free	● Hypothetical ● Counterfactual

4.3.3.1.3   Conditional or directive-conditional?

To show how directive and conditional meaning are related, and how the Dutch and the Russian CIC are related, I will use the semantic map approach. Starting at the left hand side of the directive-conditional continuum, it should first be noted that an imperative occurring in the Dutch grammatical pattern "IMPERATIVE + *en* + DECLARATIVE" may still be a pure directive. This is at least one of the readings of (76).

(76)   *Zet   dat   boek   daar   neer   en   je   mag   naar   huis.*
put-IMPER   that   book   there   down   and   you   may   to   home
'Put the book there and you can go home.'

In the first clause, the speaker directs the addressee to put the book at the appointed place; the imperative is interpreted no differently than when occurring in an independent clause. Such examples, then, allow for a strictly compositional analysis: they can be treated as the coordination of two different constructions – a Directive Imperative Construction (DIC) and a Declarative Construction – rather than as instances of one complex CIC. In (75), the conditional element may be the result of a pragmatic inference, more specifically a 'bridging inference' needed to arrive at a 'maximally relevant' interpretation (Clark 1993).

Let us now turn to the conditional part of the continuum. There are four types of contexts in which the imperative in the CIC necessarily gets a conditional rather than a directive reading. The first type is constituted by contexts in which it is clear that the speaker does not want the addressee to execute the action of the imperative. This is similar to the phenomenon which Takahashi (1994) has described in relation to the development of the conditional imperative in Japanese out of the imperative which expresses negative desirability (see the section on the development of the Russian

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[116] In (74) this reading is ruled out because of the deictic adverbials.

conditonal imperative). Thus, in (77), the imperative cannot be strictly directive (unless, of course, the addressee is looking for a place to put a book that he would rather never see again in his life.)

(77) *Zet   dat   boek   daar   neer   en   je   vindt   het nooit*
      put-IMPER   that   book   there   down   and   you   find   it never
      meer   terug.
      again   back
      'Put the book there and you will never find it again.'

A directive reading is also ruled out in the generic cases mentioned earlier; in order for an imperative to be interpreted as a directive, the agent of the imperative clause has to be the addressee. Thus, on the generic reading of (77), the sentence constitutes an unambiguous instance of the CIC. Yet another 'felicity condition' of a directive speech act is that the hearer is able to execute the action requested. Therefore, a number of situations that are beyond the control of the addressee[117] cannot occur in the Directive Imperative Construction, as demonstrated in (78).

(78) *?Heb   blond   haar!*
      'Have-IMPER   blonde   hair.'

However, they can be used in the CIC, as in (79), which is then necessarily interpreted as strictly conditional.

(79) *Heb   blond   haar   en   ze   denken dat   je   dom   bent.*
      have-IMPER   blonde hair   and   they   think   that   you   stupid are
      'If you are a blonde, people automatically assume you are stupid.'

Finally, the Dutch CIC allows for past tensed imperatives, as in (80).

(80) *Vergat   je   fiets   op slot   te   zetten   en   hij   werd*
      forgot-IMPER   your   bike   on lock   to   put   and   he   became
      gestolen.
      stolen
      'When you forgot to lock your bike, it got stolen.'

Many other occurrences of the Dutch grammatical pattern "IMPERATIVE + *en* + DECLARATIVE" are more difficult to 'put on the map', since, as discussed with respect to example (77), the Directive Imperative Construction (DIC) is not incompatible with an inference of conditionality either and it is impossible to determine at precisely which point such a conditional inference becomes part of the conventionalized meaning of the construction.

   As, in many respects, the Dutch construction is much more like the Russian CDIC than like the Russian CIC, it makes sense to refer to the Dutch construction as a CDIC as well. It can still be assumed that the Dutch construction covers part of the strictly

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[117] As we saw earlier, uncontrollable verbs may be acceptable in warnings, such as in (66).

'conditional' domain, because of its compatibility with uncontrollable events, counterfactual readings, and past tense. The different semantic domains covered by the directive and conditional imperative constructions of Dutch and Russian can now be represented in the following way:

Table 36   Directive-conditional continuum

	Directive	Directive conditional/hypothetical	Conditional hypothetical counterfactual
Dutch	DIC		
		CDIC	
Russian	DIC		
		CDIC	
			CIC

4.3.3.1.4   Tense/aspect in the Dutch conditional imperative

In the preceding sections, we saw examples of the Dutch conditional imperative containing present tense, past tense, and past perfect. According to Duinhoven (1995:351), providing the examples cited in (81) and (82), the present perfect is possible with the conditional imperative as well.

<u>Present perfect conditional directive:</u>

Duinhoven (1995:351)

(81) *Heb   dat   drankje   eenmaal gedronken en   je   bent*
      have-IMPER that   drink-DIM   once   drunk   and   you   are
      eraan   verslaafd.
      there-to   addicted
      'If you have that drink once, you will get addicted to it.'

(82) *Ben   maar   eens   door   een hond   aangevallen, dan   blijf   je*
      be-IMPER   PRT   PRT   by   a   dog   attacked   then   stay   you
      bang!
      afraid
      'If you have been attacked by a dog, you will be afraid of it forever.'

These sentences with a present perfect refer to being in the result state of 'having drunk that drink' and 'having been attacked by a dog', respectively. It should be noted that such examples seem to be very rare. As stated earlier, the same is true for conditional imperatives containing a simple past imperative. To the extent that the conditional imperative construction is used at all in Dutch, it clearly favours the use of either a 'normal' (present tense) imperative or a past perfect imperative – the latter getting a counterfactual wish-reading (see 4.3.3.1.7 below). The findings on the compatibility of

tense and the (different readings of the) the conditional imperative in Dutch have been summarized in Table 37.

Table 37   Tenses in the conditional imperative

Tense	Conditional imperative	
	Hypothetical	Counterfactual
Present simple	+	−
Present perfect	(+)	−
Past simple	−	(+)
Past perfect	−	+

4.3.3.1.5   Subtype 1: the *maar eens* imperative construction

Example (82) contains the particle combination *maar eens*. In that example, it is part of the protasis of a conditional construction. Sometimes, the apodosis can only be found in the following discourse, as in (83).

(83)   *Wees   maar   eens   te laat   met   het betalen van een boete.*
    be-IMPER   PARTICLES too late   with   the paying of a   fine
    Dan   moet   je   nog   meer   betalen.
    Then   must   you   even   more   pay
    'Just try being late paying your fine! Then they make you pay even more.'

However, the '*maar eens* imperative' can also occur as an independent construction. The standard example is given in (84), from Proeme (1991:39):

(84)   *Verlies   maar   eens   je   paspoort   in de Sovjet- Unie!*
    loose-IMPER PARTICLES your   passport   in the Soviet Union
    'Imagine loosing your passport in the USSR.' (= Imagine what happens if…)

Coppen (2000) doubts whether this construction really contains an imperative. As an argument against this, he notes that one does not use the special imperative form of *zijn* (to be), namely *wees*, in such cases, but rather *ben*. However, this is not true. Even though one can find instances with *ben*, like (85), the cases with *wees* are actually easier to find; (83) was an instance of it, and so is (86).

(85)   *Ben   maar   eens   100% doof.*
    be-IMPER   PARTICLES 100% deaf
    'Imagine being deaf a 100%.'
    (www.joepmarijke.tmfweb.nl/Wereldreis/augustus2000.htm)

(86)   *Wees   maar   eens   twee   meisjes van 9   en 10.*
    be-IMPER   PARTICLES two   girls   of nine   and ten
    'Imagine being two 9 and 10 year old girls.'
    (http://www.tuttebel.web-log.nl)

Except for the simple present tense (and, marginally, the present perfect, as in (82)), conditional *maar eens* sentences can occur in the simple past. Proeme uses a normal, present tense imperative in example (84), which is possible since the USSR still existed at the time of his writing. However, if somebody wants to express the same idea now, he/she would have to use a past tense, as in (87) below, to do so, since the USSR no longer exists[118]:

(87) *Verloor   maar eens   je   paspoort   in de Sovjet-Unie!*
      lost-PAST-IMPER   PARTICLES   your   passport   in the Soviet Union
      'Imagine having lost your passport in the USSR' (= Imagine what happened if…)

4.3.3.1.6 Subtype 2: the 'optative' past perfect imperative

The 'optative' past perfect imperative, expressing a counterfactual wish (about something that should have happened but did not), seems to have developed out of a conditional construction[119]. At least according to Duinhoven (1995), it was originally the protasis of a conditional construction, as in (88) (=(74)).

(88) *Had   het gisteren   afgemaakt en je   hoefde vandaag niet te   werken.*
      had-IMPER   it yesterday   finished   and you   needed today   not to   work
      'If you had finished it yesterday, you would not have to work today.'

As a result of ellipsis of the apodosis, the optative past perfect became an independent construction of its own, as in (89)[120].

(89) *Had   het afgemaakt!*
      had-IMPER   it finished
      'You should have finished it.'

The tense of the construction is past perfect which presents an imperfective state holding in the past[121]. The compatibility of the past perfect with counterfactual (wish) readings accords well with Boogaarts (1999:266) observations with regard to the sentences in (90) en (91).

(90) *Ik wou   dat   ik dat   boek   las.*
      I wanted that   I that   book   read
      'I wish I was/were reading that book.'

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(91)   a.   *?I wish I read that book*
           b.   *I wish I had read that book*
           c.   *I wish I was/were reading that book*

The English sentence in (91)a, with an eventive (perfective) embedded clause, is unacceptable, whereas (91)b, containing a past perfect, and (91)c, containing a progressive, are fine. Apparently, a stative/imperfective complement clause is required in such a counterfactual wish context. The reason that the Dutch sentence in (90), contrary to English (91)a, is acceptable, is that the Dutch simple past tense does allow for imperfective readings; indeed, Duch (90) is acceptable only on an imperfective reading of the eventive clause (see the progressive in the English translation).

    Assuming that the tensed, finite part of the perfect construction in (89) (and in English (91)b) presents an imperfective state, these data confirm the connection between imperfective aspect and counterfactuality that Boogaart (1999) proposes.[122]

4.3.4   Tense, aspect and subjectivity in the Dutch imperative constructions

The distribution of tenses in Dutch imperative constructions is presented again in the following table:

Table 38   Tenses in directive and conditional imperatives

Modality Imperative Use **Imperative forms**	**Non-epistemic modality** **DIRECTIVE**	**Epistemic modality**			
		CONDITIONAL			
		Hypothetical	Counter-factual	*Maar eens* cond. imp.	'Optative' past perfect
Present	+	+	–	+	–
Present Perfect	+	(+)	–	+	–
Past	(+)	–	(+)	+	–
Past Perfect	–	–	+	+	+

Similar to the Russian imperative construction, the conditional use of the imperative in Dutch is more subjective than the directive use. After applying the subjectivity tests, the results are similar to Russian with regard to two of tests tests, namely the modal source

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[122] It can, furthermore, be noted in this respect that the eventive, simple past equivalent of (89) (*Maakte het (dan toch) af!*) does not sound very natural as the expression of a counterfactual wish.

and the modal target participant, while the nature of the grammatical subject does not always make the difference between the two types of the imperative:

(1) The modal source of the conditional imperative is knowledge of the speaker about the world. In the directive use, the modal source is the speaker who refers to himself by directing the hearer to do a certain action according to his, i.e. the speaker's, own desire. According to Langacker's first criterion, the conditional imperative is more subjective, since this construction is dependent on the reasoning of the speaker. The Ground and the conceptualization coincide. In the directive imperative, the Ground is partially involved in the conceptualization because the directive imperative is about speaker-hearer interaction. According to Langacker's second criterion, the speaker in the directive imperative is presented on stage, while in the conditional imperative, it is off stage, which makes the latter construction more subjective.

(2) The modal target participant in the conditional imperative is the evaluator, who is more subjective than the modal target participant of the directive imperative (agent);

(3) The nature of the grammatical subject does not always make the difference in terms of subjectivity since in both cases the subject is the 2nd person. However, in the directive imperative, the subject can be expressed explicitly, at least in combination with different particles (see 4.3.2.1.1), while in the conditional imperative, the subject is always off stage, which makes the conditional imperative more subjective.

As was pointed out in chapter 2, Dutch is a tense-prominent language (Bhat 1999) that uses tense rather than aspect to convey various modal notions. Indeed, it is apparent from Table 37 that Dutch uses past tense (simple past and especially past perfect) to express counterfactuality. Nonetheless, as for the general connection between aspect and subjectivity with imperatives, it seems to me that there may be a connection in Dutch as well. Recall that for Dutch, I assume that lexical aspect (events versus states) is an important clue to determine 'grammatical' aspect, i.e. perfective vs. imperfective aspect (see Chapter 2). Now, the (less subjective) directive imperative seems to favour the use of events[123]. This does not mean that stative predicates can never occur in the directive imperative, but then they often get a kind of eventive reading. More specifically, if one says something like 'be x' or 'have x' (present imperative) then, typically, the interpretation is like an inchoative ('start being x', 'start having x'), i.e. like a kind of perfective[124]. One might even say that in such instances the directive imperative coerces states into events. Put differently: when performing a directive speech act, the speaker normally wants the hearer to execute an action that he is apparently not yet executing. However, in the more subjective conditional imperative, such considerations obviously do not play any role. In conditional rather than directve contexts, states can occur more easily and they can remain stative (imperfective) situations; they do not have

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[123] This may be a matter of control rather than aspect: a person can only ask someone to execute an event, not a state.

[124] This is not true, of course, for 'continuative' imperatives that mean something like 'keep on doing x'.

to be coerced into events or get a kind of inchoative reading. This was already illustrated, in fact, by means of example (79), repeated here for convenience.

(79) *Heb   blond haar en   ze   denken dat je   dom bent.*
      have-IMPER blonde hair and they think that you   stupid are
      'If you are a blonde, people automatically assume you are stupid.'

A further possible connection between aspect and subjectivity in the Dutch imperative was mentioned at the end of the previous section. If we simply say that, in Dutch, the past tense is used to express modal notions such as counterfactuality, then we cannot explain why specifically the past perfect imperative (rather than simply the past imperative) is used to express counterfactual wishes. I suggested that this may be related to the stative/imperfective nature of the tensed (imperative) part of the past perfect imperative construction.

Even though it seems clear that the category of tense rather than aspect has a more important role to play in Dutch when it comes to expressing 'modal' meaning (the past tense being used in conditional and counterfactual contexts), aspect may be of significance here as well. Whereas in the (less subjective) directive imperative, imperfectives are marked, they can occur more freely in the (more subjective) conditional use of the imperative and the (most subjective) counterfactual use prefers the past perfect.

4.4   Conclusions

In this chapter I compared correlations between imperfective aspect and subjectivity in Russian and Dutch imperative constructions. I described four Russian imperative uses, namely: directive, necessitive, conditional and concessive. On the basis of the previously established parameters of subjectivity, I deduced that all non-directive imperative uses are more subjective than the directive imperative. The correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity is not completely sustained, although the general tendency certainly exists. Three kinds of evidence support the hypothesis: (1) the necessitive affirmative imperative, being more subjective than the directive imperative, is predominantly used with imperfective aspect, (2) the concessive imperative, being more subjective than the directive imperative, is expressed mostly with imperfective aspect, (3) while the hypothetical conditional imperative is exclusively expressed with perfective aspect, the more subjective counterfactual conditional imperative allows the use of both aspects.

Problematic points for the hypothesis are the following: (1) both optative and conditional imperatives, being more subjective than the directive imperative, are used with both aspects, just as the directive imperative, (2) negative necessitive imperatives with a participant-external modal reading are used only with perfective aspect, although they are subjective in the same way as affimative necessitive sentences, which are expressed predominantly with imperfective aspect, (3) although conditional and concessive imperative have the same level of subjectivity, they differ in the choice of aspect. This indicates that a correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity is not strictly sustained.

The chapter also dealt with two major types of use of the Dutch imperative construction, namely directive and conditional imperatives. Dutch, as a tense–

prominent language, primarily uses tenses to express modal notions. The subjectivity tests showed that the conditional imperative in Dutch is more subjective than the directive imperative, as the case in the Russian examples. There may still be some correlation between aspect and modality in the Dutch imperative as well, namely (1) the directive imperative, as less subjective, mainly expresses events (perfective aspect), while the more subjective conditional imperative allows for the use of states (imperfective aspect) more easily, (2) counterfactual and optative conditional imperatives are expressed with the past perfect – this form presents an imperfective (result) state and is incompatible with the (less subjective) directive use of the imperative.

5   MODAL READINGS OF TENSES
IN RUSSIAN AND SERBIAN

5.1   Introduction

The most convincing argument against the alleged connection between imperfective aspect and subjectivity/modality – and between perfective aspect and objectivity – is constituted by the case of the perfective present in Russian and Serbian. However, I will show in this chapter that the occurrence of modal readings with perfective aspect does not represent a real counterexample to the hypothesized link between imperfective aspect and subjectivity.

The semantics of perfective aspect, marking an action which is or will be accomplished, clashes with the semantics of the present tense, which usually refers to the moment of speech. In some languages, this clash leads to ungrammaticality of the combination of perfective aspect and the present tense, and in others, like Russian and Serbian, to future and modal readings. In this chapter, I will not only deal with the perfective present, but also with modal readings of other tenses; I will explore their relation to subjectivity and aspect in these two languages. I will describe two types of uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian: (1) the temporal reading of tense with a modal inference and (2) the strictly modal reading of tense.

I will apply the linguistic tests introduced in chapter 2 in order to estimate degrees of subjectivity for each of the modal readings and then look at the correlation with aspect. As a result of these tests, I will argue that the hypothesis about the link between imperfective aspect and subjectivity can still be sustained.

In section 5.2, I briefly give an overview of the connection between tenses and modality. In 5.3, I introduce some preliminaries about the terminology of tenses which I am going to use in this chapter. In 5.4 and 5.5, I describe a number of modal readings of tenses in Russian and Serbian. In 5.6, I apply the subjectivity tests in order to compare different modal readings of tenses in terms of subjectivity. In 5.7, I discuss the relation between aspect and subjectivity of tenses in Russian and Serbian, and in 5.8, I summarize the chapter.

5.2   Tense and modality

As an introduction to the discussion of modal readings of tenses in Russian and Serbian, I will present some brief observations about the general connection between tenses and modality. Usually, this topic concerns the use of the past and future tenses as non-factual tenses as opposed to the present tense, which is considered to be factual. According to Palmer (1986:209-210), although "the future may be thought to be the most 'modal', yet it is the past tense that is in fact mostly interrelated with modality, and particularly with unreality". A number of languages use past tense forms to indicate unreal conditions, unfulfilled wishes[125], and unachieved intentions. In Russian, what is

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[125] See Palmer (1986:201) for a list of languages which use the past tense for the expression of unreal conditionality.

called the subjunctive consists of the particle *by* and the past tense (Palmer 1986:213). The usual explanation for this link between the past tense and irrealis lies in the sense of remoteness expressed by the past tense, which may be either remoteness from the present moment (temporal reading), or remoteness from reality (modal reading).

According to many linguists[126], the future tense is rarely a purely temporal concept; it necessarily involves an element of prediction or intention. For instance, Palmer (1986:216) gives the following list of uses of the future marker *will* in English:

(i)   Volition:
        Well, I'll ring you tonight sometime.
(ii)   'Power':
        Certain drugs will improve the condition.
(iii)   Habit:
        So one kid will say to another…
(iv)   In conditions:
        If John comes, Bill will leave.
(v)   Implicit condition:
        Your nurseryman will probably spare you a few understocks.
(vi)   Planned action (often with the planning verb expressed):
        My government will make it their duty to protect the freedom of the individual under the law.
(vii)   Epistemic modality:
        They'll be on holiday.

The spectrum of kinds of modality attaching to futures in those languages that operate with an explicit future paradigm, raises the problem whether future is best viewed as a temporal or a modal category. Mattoso Camara (1956:33)[127] attempts to resolve the question by postulating three grades of future: modal, modal-temporal, and temporal, each corresponding to a different level of grammar: (1) future as pure mood, with time being either past or present (=nonpast), (2) future as tense with a modal coloration that allows it to be substitute for nonpast forms (including the future), and (3) future as pure tense on an equal footing with past and present.

According to Bybee et al. (1994:244), futures evolve from a restricted range of lexical sources – from constructions involving movement verbs, from markers of obligation, desire, and ability, and from temporal adverbs. In addition to futures from these sources, which Bybee et al. refer to as *primary futures*, a future marker may arise as one use of a form "whose principal function is marking of the present tense or perfective or imperfective aspect" (Bybee et al. 1994:244).

5.3   Preliminaries on terminology

Before turning to the descriptive part of this chapter, I would like to make some preliminary remarks about the terminology that I am going to use, in particular with respect to the following terms:

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[126] For instance, Fleischman (1982), Bybee et al. (1994), Palmer (1986).
[127] See Fleischman (1982:24).

1) Modal reading of tense;
2) Perfective present in Russian;
3) Imperfective future in Russian.

The notion 'modal reading of tense' is an encompassing notion which covers both the 'temporal reading of tense with modal inference' and the 'strictly modal reading of tense'.

Two tenses in Russian will be labeled differently from what they are called in the Russian traditional grammar. These are the perfective present and the imperfective future. In the *Russkaja grammatika* (1980), the perfective present is called 'simple future tense' (*prostoe buduščee*) and the imperfective future is called 'the complex future tense' (*složnoe buduščee*). These labels are based on the meaning of the tenses, because they both refer to future time. Since I am exploring the topic of aspect and subjectivity, it is better for me to choose labels based on the form of tenses. What is called the 'simple future tense' is actually the perfective present form of the verb, and what is called the 'complex future tense' is the special future tense of the verb *byt'* ('to be') and the infinitive form of the imperfective verb, which I will call 'imperfective future' here.

The Serbian perfective present has a meaning similar to the Russian perfective present. It does not refer to the moment of speech, but rather to a moment in the future or to the non-actual present, as in habitual use; however, in contrast to Russian, it is most often found in temporal and conditional clauses. The perfective present form in Serbian, unlike the Russian form, is labeled "present tense" in traditional grammars of Serbian[128], so I will stick to this tradition and not change its name in my analysis.

In the next two sections, I will describe the modal readings of tenses in Russian and Serbian.

5.4   Modal readings of tenses in Russian[129]

Russian has the following system of tenses: there are two tenses that refer to future time (perfective present and imperfective future), one present tense and one past tense. Perfective present and imperfective future are opposed to each other in terms of aspect, but they both refer to a moment in the future. Present tense referring to an action actually occurring at the moment of speech can only be found with imperfective aspect. The past tense is the only tense in Russian which can be used with both perfective and imperfective aspects. For convenience, I will here repeat table 2[130] from chapter 2:

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[128] See Stevanović (1967:7-47).
[129] See also Trnavac (2006) on modal readings of tenses in Russian.
[130] Adapted from Borik (2002:138).

Table 39   Tenses in Russian

	IMPERFECTIVE	**PERFECTIVE**
PAST		
Past tense	*On čital knigu* He read-PRET-IPF book 'He read/was reading/has been reading/had been reading the/a book'	*On pročital knigu* He read-PRET-PF book 'He read/has read/had read the/a book'
NON-PAST		
Present tense	*On čitaet knigu* He read-PRES-IPF book 'He reads/is reading the/a book'	*On pročitaet knigu* He read-PRES-PF book 'He will read the/a book'
Future tense	*On budet čitat' knigu* He FUT read-INF-IPF book 'He will be reading the/a book'	

Following Camara (1956), tenses can be said to have the following readings: (1) strictly temporal, (2) temporal with modal inference and (3) strictly modal. Strictly temporal readings of the tenses will not be the topic of this chapter. The most prominent tenses with modal readings are the perfective present and the imperfective future, as will be shown later. Sentences with a modal inference keep their temporal meaning. In such cases, the modal inference is not yet 'conventionalized'[131], i.e. it is not part of the inherent meaning of the form, since it arises only in specific contexts, and is defeasible[132].

Before I describe the modal readings of tenses, let me give some examples of temporal readings of the four tenses:

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[131] See the model of Traugott (1989:38).

[132] For instance, the imperfective present can be used to express participant-external necessity in certain limited types of contexts, as in the following example:

(1) *V   slučae   požara   vse   vyxodjat   na   ulicu.*
    in   case   fire   all   go out-PRES-IPF   in   street
    'In case of fire everyone has to go into the street.'

However, this inference of participant-external necessity is defeasible, as can be shown by adding an adversative sentence :

(2) *V   slučae   požara   vse   vyxodjat   na   ulicu,   no   obyčno   nikto*
    in   case   fire   all   go out-PRES-IPF   in   street   but   usually   nobody
    nikomu   ne   pomogaet.
    nobody-DAT   not help-PRES-IPF
    'In case of fire, everyone goes into the street, but usually nobody helps anybody.'

Perfective present:

(1) *Zavtra   ja pridu   v   vosem' časov.*
tomorrow I   come-PRES-PF   in eight   o'clock
'Tomorrow I will come at eight o'clock.'

Imperfective future:

(2) *Zavtra   my budem   guljat'.*
Tomorrow   we be-FUT   walk-INF-IPF
'Tomorrow we will be walking.'

Imperfective present:

(3) *Ja sejčas   čitaju   knigu.*
I   now   read-PRES-IPF   book
'I am reading a book now.'

Imperfective/perfective past:

(4)a *Ja čital   ètu knigu.*
I   read-PAST-IPF   this book
'I was reading/have been reading/read a book.'

(4)b *Ja pročital   ètu   knigu.*
I   read-PAST-PF   this   book
'I read/have read/had read a book.'

The tenses in the Russian language can have 'basic' (*prjamoe upotreblenie vremeni*) and 'metaphorical' (*perenosnoe upotreblenie vremeni*) uses. The basic use of tense concerns the cases when the temporal meaning of the tense form and the temporal meaning of the context overlap (Bondarko 1971:112). When the tense is used metaphorically, there is a clash between the basic meaning of the tense form and the temporal meaning of the context. If the context, for instance, refers to the past and the form has the temporal meaning of present, then the past is presented as if it coincides with the present. The grammatical form can be strongly contrasted to the temporality of the context, as in the case of the historical present or in the case of the perfective present with the reading of intermittent repetition when the series of actions can even coincide with the moment of speech, although perfective aspect itself cannot refer to the current moment[133]. See example (5):

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[133] A corresponding Serbian example with this use of the perfective present is the following:

(i) *Vidi, vidi… oblaci zastru   mesec i   opet   ga*
look   look   clouds cover-PRES-PF moon and   again CLIT

(5)   'Posmotrite, čto   delaet   zajac: to   vstanet,
      look   what   do-PRES-IPF rabbit CONJ stand up-PRES-PF
      to   ljažet.'
      CONJ lie-PRES-PF
      'Look what the rabbit keeps doing: it all the time stands up and lies down again.'
      (Stevanović 1967:37)

Comparable to the classifications in previous chapters, tenses will also be classified on the basis of the semantic map of modality of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) and, depending on the modal inference or the modal meaning, they will be grouped as non-epistemic or epistemic.

The Russian tenses can have the following non-epistemic modal <u>inferences:</u>

(i)   Participant-internal necessity expressing volition[134];
(ii)   Participant-external necessity;

Russian has the following epistemic modal <u>inferences:</u>

(i)   Conditional reading;
(ii)   Concessive reading
(iii)   Certainty that the action will happen.

The only modal <u>meaning</u> which occurs with the Russian tense system is participant-internal possibility or necessity (cf. section 5.4.3).

The data for Russian are either taken from Bondarko (1971) or constructed and checked with native speakers. They include only the modal uses of tenses without any other additional markers of modality, since the objective of the chapter is to analyze strictly the interaction of tense, aspect and modality.

5.4.1   Non-epistemic modal inference

Tenses with a non-epistemic modal inference express participant-internal and participant-external necessity. Temporal features of the tenses are still present together with the pragmatic inference of modality. As the following examples will show, most modal inferences occur with either perfective present and imperfective future, which is in accordance with expectations, since the future meaning of these two tenses is generally tightly connected with modality. Participant-internal necessity expressing volition occurs with the perfective present and imperfective future, which implies the

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      otkriju.
      uncover-PRES-PF
      'Look, look…the clouds are continuously blocking and unblocking the moon.' (adapted example from Stevanović 1967:37)

[134] According to Nuyts (2005), this kind of modality can be labeled *boulomaic* modality. It indicates the speaker's liking or disliking of a state of affairs and the category of 'volition' can be classified under it.

use of both aspects. Participant-external necessity includes imperfective future, perfective present and imperfective present tenses and again both aspects are employed. The following examples illustrate the points:

Participant-internal necessity volition:

Perfective present

(6) *Pogovoriš'   s   nim   zavtra? – Pogovorju.*
talk-PRES-PF with him   tomorrow   talk-PRES-PF
'Will you talk with him tomorrow? – I will'.

Imperfective future

(7) *Pit'   budete?   –   Budu.*
drink-INF-IPF   be-FUT.2pl   be-FUT.1sg
'Will you have a drink? – I will'.

In the two examples given above, the speaker emphasizes that the future actions depends on the intentions of the hearer.

Participant-external necessity:

Russian very often expresses orders using the future tense instead of an imperative, in order to make the orders more categorical. Both the perfective present and the imperfective future are capable of expressing orders in Russian, as is shown in (8) and (9). The perfective past can be used with a sense of order as well. In such cases, we are dealing with a metaphorical use of tense: a future action is presented as if it were finished already (which suggests a sense of immediacy) (see 10). The imperfective present tense expresses a somewhat different reading of necessity in comparison with the previous three tenses because it has a sense of genericity, as in (11).

Perfective present

(8) *Poedeš'   v   Ekaterinoslav, - skazal on - pred"javiš'   v*
go-PRES-PF in Ekaterinoslav said   he show-PRES-PF in
revkome   mandat.
revolutionary committee credentials
'You are to go to Ekaterinoslav, - he said- and you will show the credentials to the revolutionary commitee.' (adapted example from Bondarko 1971:103)

Imperfective future

(9) *Budeš'   ždat',   esli   žrat'   nečego.*
be-FUT.2sg   wait-INF-IPF if   eat-INF-IPF   nothing
'You will have to wait if there is nothing to eat.'

Perfective past

(10)   *Načali!*
         begin-PRET-PF
         'Let us begin!'

Imperfective present

(11)   *V slučae požara vse vyxodjat   na ulicu.*
         in case   fire all go out-PRES-IPF   in street
         'In case of fire everyone has to go into the street.'

In these three sentences, the temporal reading is still present, but the hearer can also infer an order from the speaker.

5.4.2   Epistemic modal inference

Uses with epistemic modal inferences occur with all tenses in Russian. Three kinds of epistemic modal inferences may be distinguished: conditional, concessive and 'certainty about a future action'. Conditional and concessive modal inferences are related to the use of the perfective present and imperfective future[135], so they can be expressed with both aspects, while certainty about a future action can be expressed with the perfective past and imperfective present tense, both of which are then used in a metaphorical sense.

Conditionality:

Two factors are important in sentences with a conditional modal inference:

(i)   They denote future action;
(ii)   The events are coordinated (sequenced).

Similar to the directive conditional imperative constructions in Russian and Dutch, where the conditional sense occured as an invited inference of the directive imperative (see section 4.2.2.1.3), a temporal sequence of situations of future and past events is not always a sufficient condition for a coherent interpretation, so hearers are entitled to expect more than just a temporal ordering of situations (Grice 1975). A temporal sequence will often be interpreted as cause-effect, so sentences with a sequence of

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[135] In principle the epistemic inference of conditionality could be deduced with the use of the imperfective present but additional discourse markers are needed in order to get this inference, as, for instance, in (1):

(1) *Predstav',   ja edu   domoj…*
     imagine   I   go-PRES-IPF   home
     'Imagine that I am going home…'

future and past events will be interpreted as conditional sentences, which is shown in example (12):

Perfective present

(12)   *Pridëš'*   –   *uvidiš'.*
       come-PRES-PF   see-PRES-PF
       'You will come and see'/ 'If you come, you will see'.

Imperfective future

(13)   *Budeš'*   *soprotivljat'sja*   –   *my tebja   ub'ëm.*
       be-FUT   struggle-INF-IPF   we you   kill-PRES-PF
       '(If) you will struggle, we will kill you'.

   Concessivity:

A concessive modal inference presents two modal features: hypotheticality and permission. As was already explained in chapter 4, section 4.2.2.2.1, the feature of permission in concessives has the following semantics: 'People are ALLOWED/PERMITTED to say/believe X, but still Y is the case.' It usually arises due to the previous context, as in sentence (14) or due to extra words signalizing concessivity, as for instance *daže* 'even', when used in sentences with the perfective present or the imperfective future:

Perfective present

(14)   *Ty*   *pojmi,*   *čto   ja ne mogu   ètogo   sdelat'. U   menja*
       you   understand-IMPER   that   I   not can   this   do   with   me
       dočeri   rastut, i   ja dolžna žit'   v   svete   dlja muža.   Nu,
       daughters   grow   and   I   have   live   in   world   for husband   PRT
       ja priedu   k   Anne   Arkad'evne;   ona pojmët,   čto
       I   come-PRES-PF   to   Ana   Arkd'evna   she understand-PRES-PF that
       ja ne mogu   zvat'   eë k   sebe,   èto   eë   že   oskorbit.
       I   not can   invite   her to me   this   her PRT   hurt-PRES-PF
       'Understand I cannot do that. I have daughters who are growing up and I have to live in harmony with society for my husband's sake. Even if I come (lit. Well, I will come) to Anna Arkad'evna, she will understand that I cannot invite her and this will hurt her.' (Bondarko 1971:104)

(15)   *Nu,*   *budu*   *ja zarabytavat'   mnogo*   *deneg…   I   čto*
       well   be-FUT   I   earn-INF-IPF many/much   money   and   what
       s   ètogo?
       with   that
       'Even if I will be earning lot of money… So what?'

<u>Certainty</u>

The perfective past tense in Russian can express certainty of the speaker about a future event in a case of metaphorical use; there is a clash between the necessary futurity of the situation depicted in (16) and the past time indicated by the tense.

Perfective past

(16) *My pogibli.*
    we dead-PAST-PF
    'We are dead.'

Similar to the dative-infinitive 'quasi-epistemic' constructions discussed in chapter 3, these kinds of sentences are strongly linked to the speaker's judgement and his belief that the result situation will be the way he represents it. They have a very strong sense of anticipation. This use of the perfective past is extremely limited. One practically only finds examples with the verb *pogibli* as in (16) or with the synonymous verb *propali* (*My propali*/we are dead). These cases might be regarded as idiomatic expressions.

In contrast with this, anticipation is quite often expressed with the imperfective present (the so-called 'praesens pro futuro'). In view of the fact that the normal way of indicating future actions in Russian is perfective present or imperfective future, the use of Russian imperfective present has always a special nuance of 'present relevancy' (see 17)[136]:

'Praesens pro futuro'

(17) *Zavtra   ja   uezžaju   v   Moskvu.*
    tomorrow I   leave-PRES-IPF in Moscow
    'Tomorrow I am leaving for Moscow.'

In the next subsection, examples with a purely modal meaning will be presented.

5.4.3   Non-epistemic modal meaning

Two purely modal readings which occur with the Russian tenses are participant-internal possibility and participant-internal necessity, where the sense of time is backgrounded much more than in the case of a modal inference. As a consequence, the modal meaning dominates. The difference between possibility and necessity is sometimes very hard to grasp. In (19), as in (20) the basic meaning of the perfective present is to indicate that the subject may react to a certain stimulus in the way indicated. In both cases this can be understood as a certain property of this person. The only difference is, then, that the action in (19) asks for a certain capacity that not all people have. As for (20), it is important that the action is presented as a <u>typical</u> reaction of the subject to a certain stimulus. In some cases both interpretations are so close that it is practically impossible to decide which is meant, e.g. *Ivan ljuboj prazdnik isportit* 'Ivan <is such a

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[136] See for a survey of different variants of this use Barentsen (1984).

person that he> disturbs (can disturb?) every party'. The two modal meanings of possibility and necessity are illustrated with examples (18) through (21):

Participant-internal possibility:

Perfective present

(18) *Ja nikak   ne   pojmu.*
      I no way not understand-PRES-PF
      'I just can't understand'.

(19) *On silën,   čto   ugodno podnimet…*
      he strong what ever lift-PRES-PF
      'He is strong, he can lift everything you want..'

Participant-internal necessity:

Perfective present

(20) *On vsegda skažet   dobroe slovo.*
      he always tell-PRES-PF good word
      'He will always put in a good word.'

Imperfective future

(21) *Mužčina   ne   sposoben zdravo   rasščityvať v ljubvi. On budet*
      man   not   able   healthy   analyze   in love   he be-FUT.3sg
      prežde vsego   stremit'sja   zavoëvyvat'.
      predominantly incline-INF-IPF conquer-INF-IPF
      'Man is not able to think sensibly when in love. He will predominantly try to conquer.' (adapted example from Bondarko 1971:165)

5.4.4   Summary

The three tables below show the correlation between modal uses of tenses and the distribution of aspect in Russian[137]:

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[137] Information on aspect in these three tables seems to be redundant because certain aspects in Russian correlate with certain tenses, except for the past tense where both aspects are possible. This information is given in order to make the tables symmetric with the corresponding table of Serbian, since in this language, most tenses can be used with both aspects and then the column on aspect is a necessary, non-redundant element.

Table 40   Sentences with non-epistemic modal inference and aspect

Non-epistemic sentences	Tense	Aspect	
		Impf.	Perf.
Participant-internal necessity expressing wish and volition	Perfective present	–	+
	Imperfective future	+	–
Participant-external necessity	Perfective present	–	+
	Imperfective future	+	–
	Imperfective present	+	–
	Perfective past	–	+

Table 41   Sentences with pistemic modal inference and aspect

Epistemic sentences	Tense	Aspect	
		Impf.	Perf.
Conditional	Perfective present	–	+
	Imperfective future	+	–
Concesive	Perfective present	–	+
Certainty	Perfective past	–	+
	'Praesens pro futuro'	+	–

Table 42   Sentences with the participant-internal modal meaning and aspect

Non-epistemic sentences	Tense	Aspect	
		Impf.	Perf.
Participant-internal possibility	Perfective present	–	+
Participant-internal necessity	Perfective present	–	+
	Imperfective future	+	–

For further discussion, the following three points from the tables are important:

(i)   Participant-internal necessity expressing volition and participant-external necessity occur as modal inferences of the tenses and they are expressed with both aspects;

(ii)   Epistemic modal inferences occur with both aspects;

(iii)   Two strictly modal meanings that arise with the Russian tenses are participant-internal possibility and participant-internal necessity. They occur with both aspects.

5.5   Modal readings of tenses in Serbian[138]

In Serbian, both aspects can appear in the past (formally present perfect), present and future tenses. Except for these three tenses, the following tenses exist: aorist (mostly perfective verbs), imperfect (imperfective verbs), past perfect (both aspects) and future II (both aspects) (see chapter 2). Aorist, imperfect and past perfect are not very common in modern Serbian. Future I, present tense and metaphorically used past tense are employed for expressing a modal inference or a modal meaning. The following table presents the form of these tenses:

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[138] See also on modal readings of tenses in Serbian Trnavac (in press).

Table 43   Tenses in Serbian with modal readings

PAST	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
Past tense	*On je pitao* he AUX ask-PRET 'He asked/was asking/has been asking'	*On je upitao* he AUX ask-PRET 'He asked/has asked'
Pluperfect[139]	*On je bio pitao* he AUX be-PRET ask-PRET 'He had been asking'.	*On je bio upitao* he AUX be-PRET ask-PRET 'He had asked'
Aorist		On u- pita. he perf- ask[aor] 'He asked'.
Imperfect	*On pitaše.* he ask [imperfect-imperf] 'He was asking'.	
NON-PAST		
Present tense	*On pita* he ask-PRES 'He asks/is asking'	*(Kad) on upita …* (when) he ask-PRES '(When) he asks...'
Future I[140]	*On će pitati* he FUT ask-INF 'He will ask/be asking'	*On će upitati* he FUT ask-INF 'He will ask'
Future II[141]	*(Ako) bude pitao* (if) AUX ask-PRET 'If he will (would) be asking…'	*(Ako) bude upitao* (if) AUX ask-PRET 'If he will (would) ask...'

Before going into the modal readings of tenses, let me make a remark concerning the use of the perfective present in Serbian. As in Russian, perfective verbs in the present tense do not refer to an action that is actually occurring at the moment of speech. They are either used for expressing some future or habitual action, or as complements to verbs[142] after the conjunction *da*, for instance in purposive constructions[143]. The perfective present quite often occurs in temporal and conditional clauses in Serbian.

   Tenses in Serbian express the same kinds of modal uses as in Russian, namely: non-epistemic modal inferences, epistemic-modal inferences and non-epistemic modal meaning. They give rise to the following non-epistemic modal inferences:

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[139] An alternative form exists in which the normal past of the auxiliary (*je bio*) is replaced by an imperfect (*bejaše*).

[140] An alternative form exists in which the infinitive is replaced by the conjunction *da* + PRES: *On će da (u)pita.*

[141] The use of this form is restricted to certain dependent clauses.

[142] See the list of the verbs in Serbian after which perfective and imperfective present forms are used in Ivić (1958).

[143] The *da*-construction is functionally equivalent with an infinitive in most other Slavic languages.

(i)   Participant-internal necessity (volition);
(ii)   Participant-external necessity;

Similar to Russian, the following epistemic-modal uses occur:

(i)   Conditional use;
(ii)   Concessive use;
(iii)   Certainty that the action will happen.

As in Russian, the only modal meanings which arise are participant-internal possibility and necessity. The Serbian data are partially taken from Stevanović (1967) and partially constructed and checked with native speakers. They represent the modal uses of tenses without any modal markers, except in a few cases when the existence of the markers is emphasized.

5.5.1   Non-epistemic modal inference:

A non-epistemic modal inference is found with participant-internal necessity expressing volition and participant-external necessity. Participant-internal necessity can be found with Future I and expresses the intention of the agent to fulfill a certain action, as is illustrated in (22) and (23):

Participant-internal necessity expressing volition:

Future I

(22) *Uze   čašu   iz   koje   će   vodu   piti.*
      take-AOR glass from which will water   drink-INF-IPF
      'He took the glass from which he would drink water.'

(23) *On odgovori   pozdravom, kako će   ga   Petar   primetiti.*
      he answer-AOR   greeting   how   will   him   Peter   hear-INF-PF
      'He answered with greetings, so that Peter would hear.'

Participant-external necessity:

Participant-external necessity is expressed with the future, present and past tenses. The future form, as well as the present and past tenses with the conjunction *da*, are used to express orders, which sound more categorical than those which occur in the form of the imperative. The difference between the present and the past tense with the conjunction *da*, as in (25) and (29), is in the fact that in (29) there is a sense of immediacy of the action which should be fulfilled, since the future action is presented with a past tense form (cf. the Russian example (10)). The present tense and the past participle may give rise to an optative inference, as in (27), (30) and (31) below. The forms with a past participle are idiomatic and they are not very productive in the modern Serbian language. The present tense with the verbs in the first person plural are interpreted as

proposals, and not of orders or wishes, as is shown in (26). Both aspects can be employed with any of these modal uses of tenses.

Future I

(order)

(24) *Ti   ćeš, Petronije, sutra   ići/otići   u   Beograd.*
you   will Petronije tomorrow go-INF-IPF/PF in Belgrade
'You, Petronij, will go to Belgrade tomorrow.'

Imperfective/perfective present tense with *da*

(order)

(25) *Da   me slušaš   pažljivo!*
CONJ me listen-PRES-IPF carefully
'Listen to me carefully!'

(proposal)

(26) *Da   zaboravimo   na to!*
CONJ forget-PRES-PF on it
'Let us forget'.

(wish)

(27) *Da   živite   još   sto   godina!*
CONJ live-PRES-IPF   more hundred years
'May you live a 100 years!'

(28) *Da   poživite   još   malo.*
CONJ live-PRES-IPF   more little
'May you live a bit longer!'

Past tense with *da*

(order)

(29) *Da   ste   odmah   pošli/išli   kući!*
CONJ AUX immediately go-PRET-PF/IPF   home
'You should go home immediately!'

(wish)

Past participle

(30)   *Živeo!*
       live-PRET-IPF
       'May (you) live!'

(31)   *Dabogda   izgoreo!*
       God give   burn-PRET- IPF
       'May you burn!'

5.5.2   Epistemic modal inference

Similar to Russian, epistemic modal inferences include certainty of the speaker that the action will happen, and conditional and concessive readings. As in Russian, epistemic uses in Serbian can occur with both aspects. In the following examples these uses are illustrated.

<u>Conditional use:</u>

Serbian expresses conditionality with a conjunctionless construction which in its protasis has the past participle[144]. This use of the past participle is limited and idiomatic. It often occurs with perfective aspect. The verb in apodosis can be expressed either with the past participle, as in (32), or with the present tense, as in (33). A temporal sequence of the two events gives an inference of conditionality (cf. the Russian example (12)):

Past participle

(32)   *Jedan   prošao,   drugi   došao.*
       one   leave-PRET   other   come-PRET
       'If one left, another one arrived.'
(33)   *Laž   čuo[145],   laž   kazujem.*
       lie   hear-INF-PF   lie   tell-PRES-IPF
       'If I heard a lie, then I am telling it to you.'

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[144] For instance, the Russian subjunctive form which is formed with the past participle and the particle *by* is used in similar contexts (see Palmer 1986).
[145] Although the verb *čuti* is bi-aspectual, in this context it is understood as perfective.

Concessive use:

Past participle

Doubled past participles can be used in a frozen type of construction with the negation situated in the middle and then they can convey an epistemic concessive inference, as in examples (34) and (35):

(34) *Bežao   ne   bežao,   isto   je!*
     run-PRET-IPF not   run-PRET-IPF same   is
     'Whatever you do, run or stay, it is all the same.'

(35) *Pomoglo   ne   pomoglo,   odmoći   neće.*
     help-PRET-PF   not   help-PRET-PF   hinder-INF-PF   NEG FUT
     'Even if (this) does not help, it will not hinder.'

Both aspects can be employed in these sentences.

Certainty

Serbian, like Russian, can express certainty of the speaker about a future action with the metaphorically used perfective past tense[146] and 'praesens pro futuro':

Past tense

(36) *Propao   si,   ti   i   konj, kažem   ti.*
     fall through-PRET-PF   AUX   you   and horse tell-PRES-IPF you
     'It is finished with both you and the horse, I am telling you that.'

'Praesens pro futuro'

(37) *Sutra   putujem u   Moskvu.*
     tomorrow travel   in Moscow
     'Tomorrow I am leaving for Moscow.'

5.5.3   Non-epistemic modal meaning

Similar to Russian[147], Serbian tenses express two types of non-epistemic modal meaning, namely participant-internal possibility and participant-internal necessity. As is shown in

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[146] See Russian example (16). This use of perfective past in Serbian is much more productive than in Russian.

[147] In the case of sentences in this section, as in the corresponding Russian ones, one might consider them to express epistemic meaning, since they all have an element of reasoning by the speaker. The statements usually have a kind of 'extrapolation', based on certain experience and believes. However, this 'epistemic' element, in my opinion, is conditioned by the presence of the

the examples below, both participant-internal possibility and necessity occur with Future I.

Participant-internal possibility:

Future I

(38) *On je pametan   čovek. Daće   ti   uvek   mudar savet.*
      he is smart   man   give-FUT-PF you   always wise advice
      'He is a smart person. He will/can always give you a wise piece of advice.'

(39) *Ona   je   veoma   radna.   Radiće   u kancelariji po   čitavu*
      she   is   very   hard-working work-FUT-IPF   in office   over   whole
      noć.
      night
      'She is a very hard-working person. She will/can work in the office the whole night.'

Participant-internal necessity:

Future I

(40) *On će   uvek   reći   pravu   reč.*
      he will   always tell-FUT-PF   right   word
      'He will always put in a good (right) word.'

(41) *On je dobar čovek. Uvek   će   pomagati   drugima.*
      he is good   man   always   FUT   help-INF-PF   others
      'He is a good person. He will always help others.'

As in the Russian examples discussed earlier, the difference between possibility and necessity in the Serbian examples is subtle. The possibility cases indicate a certain capacity that not all people have, while the necessity cases present a typical reaction of the subject to a certain situation. Both meanings are expressed with Future I, and both aspects can occur with these two meanings.

Before turning to the discussion about subjectivity and aspect in the Russian and Serbian sentences with a modal reading of tense, I would like to summarize the interaction between modality and aspect in Serbian:

(i)   As in Russian, sentences with participant-internal necessity, participant-external necessity and epistemic modality as modal inferences of the tenses occur with both aspects, with all tenses. The two cases which occur only with perfective aspect and which expresses epistemic modality are the past tense when denoting

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future tense, and the predominant element in the meaning of the sentence is a property of the agent.

certainty and the past participle when occurring with the inference of conditionality. This is represented in the table below:

Table 44   Epistemic sentences and aspect

Epistemic sentences	Tense	Aspect	
		Impf.	**Perf.**
Conditional	Past participle	–	+
Concessive	Past participle	+	+
Certainty	Past tense	–	+
	'Praesens pro futuro'	+	–

(ii)   The two modal meanings which arise with the Serbian tenses are, as in Russian, participant-internal possibility and participant-internal necessity and they occur with both aspects.

5.6   Subjectivity and different types of modal readings of tenses in Russian and Serbian

In order to determine the degree of subjectivity of the different modal uses of the Russian and Serbian tenses, I will apply the same tests on the nature of the modal source, the role of the modal target participant, and the nature of the subject that I used in previous parts of this dissertation.

(i)   The nature of the modal source

As in previous chapters, the two subjectivity criteria used by Langacker are also applicable in the case of the modal readings of tenses. According to Langacker's first criterion, sentences with a participant-internal modal inference are the least subjective. Their modal source is internally situated, because it is represented by the will of the subject. However, the modal source itself is not present or visible in the speech situation, it is to some degree dependent on the interpretation or abstraction of the speaker, who is part of the Ground. For that reason, the modal source is only indirectly part of the Ground. The modal source of sentences with participant-external necessity is external to the agent of the action, as it consists of an obligation imposed either by the speaker or by some other external circumstance, such as a norm or an authority that is part of the shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer (Ground). In that sense, the modal sourse is directly part of the Ground, and these sentences are more subjective than the sentences with the participant-internal modal inference. The modal source of sentences with an epistemic inference is the most subjective, since the locus of the epistemic evaluation completely coincides with the Ground; epistemic evaluation is totally dependent on the speaker.

The second criterion of Langacker does not make a difference in terms of subjectivity. The Ground can be both on stage or off stage in all types of sentences. The

speaker and/or hearer are on stage in case the speaker talks about their will or obligation, or reasons about them. If the speaker and/or hearer is not the subject of the sentence, they are off stage in all three cases. This is represented in table 45:

Table 45   The nature of the modal source in sentences with the modal inference

Type of modality	Non-epistemic modal inference		Epistemic modal inference
	Participant-internal	**Participant-external**	
1st criterion of subjectivity	• Internal property of the subject-referent +	• External norm or authority ++	•Knowledge of the speaker +++
2nd criterion of subjectivity	• Ground is on stage/off stage –/+	•Ground is on stage/ off stage –/+	•Ground is on stage/ off stage –/+
Subjectivity scale	+(+)	++(+)	+++(+)

Sentences with a modal meaning have an internally situated modal source; the speaker can be both on stage or off stage, so according to this test, they are quite similar to sentences with an inference of participant-internal modality.

(ii)   The role of the modal target participant

The modal inferences of the Russian and Serbian tenses represent two roles of the modal target participant, namely: agent and evaluator. The modal target participant of sentences with a participant-internal inference is an agent, because he is in control of his own intention; the modal target participant of sentences with participant-external necessity is again an agent, since he is in partial control of fulfilling the action; the modal target participant of sentences with an epistemic inference is an evaluator, who is in control of his own reasoning. There is a cline of increasing subjectivity since, as was demonstrated in the previous chapters, an evaluator is more subjective than an agent.

Table 46   The role of the modal target participant in tenses with the modal inference

Modal inference	Non-epistemic modal inference		Epistemic modal inference
	Participant-internal	Participant-external	
Modal target participant	Agent (mtp=subject of the sentence)	Agent (mtp=subject of the sentence)	Evaluator (mtp might not be equal to the subject of the sentence; mtp=speaker)
Subjectivity scale	+	+	++

Sentences with a participant-internal modal meaning can have two possible roles of the modal target participant, namely:

(42)   Non-agent (if mtp is not in control of the action) (=(18)):
    Ja   nikak   ne   pojmu.
    I   no way   not   understand-PRES-PF
    'I just can't understand'.

(43)   Agent (if mtp is in control of the action) (=(20)):
    On vsegda skažet   dobroe slovo.
    he always tell-PRES-PF good   word
    'He will always put in a good word.'

(iii)   The nature of the subject

The nature of the subject of a sentence in which tense evokes a modal inference in Russian and Serbian is related to the modal interpretation in the following ways.

    The subject of sentences with a participant-internal modal inference can be expressed with all persons. The subject is also animate and referential, since these sentences express the subject's intention. Sentences with participant-external necessity are expressed with the subject in all persons singular or plural, also referential and animate. Subject of sentences with an epistemic inference can be all persons as well, but in these sentences it may also be both animate and non-animate, referential and non-referential. The fact that sentences with an epistemic inference interpretation can occur with non-animate and non-referential subject implies that they exhibit the highest degree of subjectivity among these sentences, as their conceptualization depends on the reasoning of the speaker in absence of any other animate agent who could be responsible for the utterance.

    This is represented in table 47:

Table 47   The nature of the subject

Modal inference	Non-epistemic modal inference		Epistemic modal inference
	Participant-internal	**Participant-external**	
Subject of the sentence	●All persons sing. and pl. (often 1 p. sing..) ●Animate ●Referential	●All persons sing. and pl. ●Animate ●Referential	●All persons sing. and pl. ● Both animate and inanimate ● Both referential and non-referential
Subjectivity scale	+	+	++

Sentences with a participant-internal modal meaning, just like sentences with a participant-internal or a participant-external inference, can be expressed with all persons; the subject is animate and referential.

On the basis of the tests used above, it is possible to draw a conclusion about the correlation between the modal uses of tenses in the two languages and subjectivity:

Table 48   Subjectivity and modality in modal readings of tenses in Russian and Serbian

Subjectivity	Sentences with modal inference
+++(+)	Participant-internal necessity
++++(+)	Participant-external necessity
++++++++(+)	Epistemic sentences
	Sentences with modal meaning
+++(+)	Participant-internal modality

The table shows that sentences with an epistemic inference represent the highest degree of subjectivity.

In the next section, I will compare aspect and subjectivity of the different modal readings of the tenses in Russian and Serbian.

5.7   Aspect and subjectivity in the modal uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian

Tables 49 and 50 show the correlation between aspect and modal uses of tenses in Russian and Serbian:

Table 49   Modal readings of tenses in Russian

Modal use	Aspect	
Sentences with modal inference	**Imperfective aspect**	**Perfective aspect**
Non-epistemic inference		
Participant-internal necessity	+	+
Participant-external necessity	+	+
Epistemic inference		
Conditional	+	+
Concessive	−	+
Certainty	+	+
Sentences with modal meaning		
Participant-internal possibility	+	+

Table 50   Modal readings of tenses in Serbian

Modal use	Aspect	
Sentences with modal inference	**Imperfective aspect**	**Perfective aspect**
Non-epistemic inference		
Participant-internal necessity	+	+
Participant-external necessity	+	+
Epistemic inference		
Conditional	−	+
Concessive	+	+
Certainty	+	+
Sentences with modal meaning		
Participant-internal possibility	+	+

On the basis of these tables, one might conclude that there is no straightforward connection between aspect and more or less subjective modal readings of tenses, since almost any modal reading can appear with both aspects. Even the epistemic modal inference, i.e. the most subjective in the line of the modal inferences of the Russian and Serbian tenses, occurs with both aspects.

This might also be an argument against a strictly 'anaphoric' approach to imperfective aspect although this is, in my opinion, a very attractive explanation for the connection between imperfective aspect and the most subjective modal readings, namely epistemic readings.

5.8   The 'anaphoric' approach to imperfective aspect

According to Boogaart (2006), a general connection between imperfective forms and subjective information fits within the anaphoric analysis of imperfective aspect that has a tradition in Romance linguistics. Situations presented by means of imperfective forms always need to be linked to a reference time independently provided by the surrounding discourse; the situation is then interpreted as simultaneous with the reference time. Situations presented by means of perfective forms are incompatible with any kind of

simultaneity interpretation in time; they happen either before or after the reference time provided by the context. Boogaart ascribes the fact that imperfectives have so many modal uses (whereas perfective forms quite generally lack them), to the anaphoric nature of imperfectives: according to him, imperfectives are linked to the reference time in context, which serves as an epistemic evaluation point, or point of perspective, for the sentence, while the interpretation of perfectives is incompatible with a simultaneous epistemic evaluation time. Different functions of the reference time of imperfectives are represented with the following Figure 5 (repeated Figure 1 from chapter 1, Boogaart (2006)):
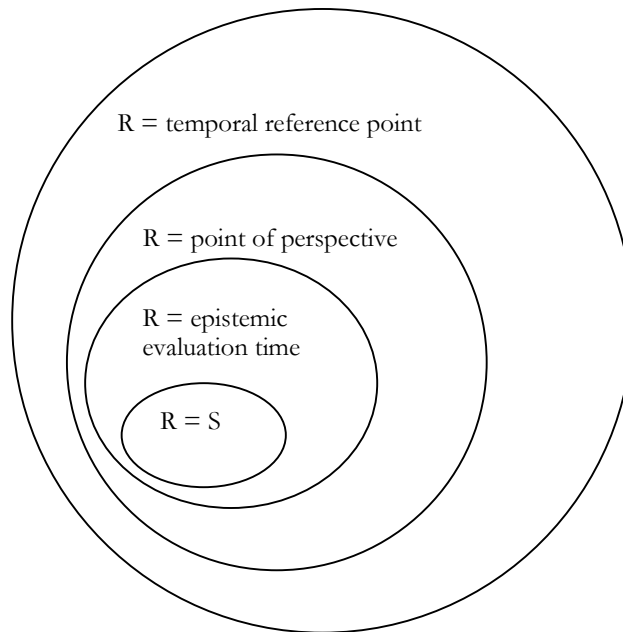
Figure 5   Different functions of the reference time of imperfectives

In Figure 5, different kinds of R are represented, which are allowed to function as antecedents for the interpretation of imperfectives. The notion of reference time for an imperfective situation is linked to the notion of perspective, which can considered equal to the point of evaluation of the speaker. This notion might also be associated with the self-expression of the speaker, a property which is characteristic both for the 'perspectivized' approach to subjectivity, and for Langacker's approach to subjectivity (see the comparison between the two approaches in chapter 2).

Boogaart (1999) applies the abovementioned anaphoric analysis of imperfective aspect to the past and present tenses of English and Dutch. In Boogaart (1999:72), he presents a one-dimensional analysis of the perfective past and a two-dimensional analysis of the imperfective past for Dutch and English, as in (i) and (ii).

(i)   perfective past: $E < S$
(ii)   imperfective past: $E, R < S$

The one-dimensional approach to the past tense handles events which are, for instance, presented with a simple past in English, which gets a perfective reading. The same analysis is not applicable to clauses presenting a state, such as (44):

(44)   *Mary was sick.*

According to Boogaart (ibid.), the clause in (44) can only be used if some situation in the past is already under discussion, for instance, as an answer to the question *Why wasn't Mary at the meeting last week?* Sentence (44) claims that the state of being sick held at a definite time in the past, but it does not claim that this situation no longer holds in the present. Because of that, the one-dimensional claim that 'E precedes S' is false for imperfectives. The category of perfective past is incompatible with a situation which overlaps with the point of speech, as in (45):

(45)   *?Mary wrote a letter and she may still be writing it now.*

One of the problems for the anaphoric approach to imperfective aspect, which Boogaart (1999:265) also emphasizes, is that it is not so obvious in what way a future reading is compatible with the semantics of imperfective aspect, and what constitutes the time of reference at which the situation holds.

I want to argue that there is no necessary link between imperfective aspect and epistemic evaluation time (expressing epistemicity/subjectivity) (Boogaart 2006), when the situation being talked about is in the future; epistemic readings are also possible with non-imperfective forms, at least in the following types of data that I considered here:

(i)   The use of the perfective present can give rise to epistemic inferences in Russian;
(ii)   Metaphorical use of the perfective past tense instead of the future tense can give rise to epistemic inferences both in Russian and Serbian;
(iii) Metaphorical use of the perfective past participle instead of the future tense can give rise to epistemic inferences in Serbian.

In the case of the perfective present giving rise to a modal inference, there is no implication of a link between reference time/epistemic evaluation time/perspective on the one hand, and aspect on the other. The epistemic evaluation time is provided independently from aspect and it overlaps with the moment of speech. The independency of aspect from the reference /epistemic evaluation time can be presented also by Reichenbach's system of tenses, where the future tense is opposed to the past tense for the distribution of R.

Table 51   Past and future simple tenses according to Reichenbach (1947)

Past tense	Future tense
Simple	Simple
E, R < S	S, R > E

As the table shows, the reference time is linked to the event in the case of the past tense but not in the case of the future tense. That is why both in Russian and Serbian, future tense is used with perfective and imperfective aspects, and in both languages it serves to express different modal readings, which appear to be a result not of the use of aspect but of tense itself and its epistemic nature.

As far as the past tense in Russian and Serbian is concerned, as well as the past participle in Serbian, these forms have metaphorical uses in both languages, instead of the future tense, as illustrated by (46), (47) and (48), which I will repeat here for convenience:

Russian

(46)   *My pogibli.*
       we dead-PRET-PF
       'We are dead.' (=16))

Serbian

(47)   *Propao*   *si,*   *ti*   *i*   *konj,*   *kažem*   *ti.*
       fall through-PRET-PF   AUX   you   and   horse   tell-PRES-IPF   you
       'It is finished with both you and the horse, I am telling you that.' (=(36))

(48)   *Pomoglo*   *ne pomoglo,*   *odmoći*   *neće.*
       help-PRET-PF   not help-PRET-PF   hinder-INF-PF   NEG FUT
       'Even if (this) does not help, it will not hinder.' (=(35))

This use of the past tense is quite subjective, since it appears with an epistemic inference and it is still expressed with perfective aspect. The reference time again overlaps with the speech time, as in the case of imperfective/perfective future.

The use of perfective aspect in epistemic function in the examples above may serve as a counterexample to the 'anaphoric' approach to imperfective aspect and epistemic modality. Moreover, Barentsen (1998), for instance, argues for a property of perfective aspect in Russian which he calls *sekventnaja svjaz'* ('sequential connection'), which is absent from the semantics of imperfective aspect. According to him, the event of the perfective verb in Russian has to be linked to an external situation situation, located before or after the event itself. A well known manifestation of the property of the 'sequential connection' is shown in the aoristic use of the perfective forms, when there is a chain of verbs one after another, in which the situation of one verb is linked to the result state of the previous verb[148]. See example (49) from Barentsen (1998:52):

(49)   *On vstal,*   *pošël*   *k oknu*   *i*   *maxnul*   *rukoj.*
       he get up-PRET-PF go-PRET-PF to window   and waved-PRET-PF hand
       'He got up, went to the window and waved.'

---

[148] This 'anaphoric' capacity of the aoristic use of perfective aspect is also used in Kamp & Reyle's (1993) Discourse Representation Theory.

This property of 'sequential connection' is clearly expressed also with the 'potential' use of the perfective present. In my own terminology this use is called: perfective present meaning participant-internal possibility; Barentsen (1998:53) illustrates it with the following example:

(50) *Xorošij grim   vse nedostatki skroet.*
      good makeup   all defects   hide-PRES-PF
      'Good make-up can hide all defects.'

In this case, an event described with a perfective form is linked to the existence of a situation which is not concrete, but is perceived as being 'typical' or 'possible'. The perfective present itself signals a reaction to this typical situation (Barensten, ibid.). In (45), this 'starting situation' consists of the presence of some defects. Good make-up has the potential to respond succesfully to this situation: its application will hide the defects.

By mentioning the notion 'sekventnaja svjaz', I do not claim in any sense that Boogaart's (1999, 2006) concept 'anaphoric' and Barentsen's (1997) 'sekventnaja svajz' overlap completely. The term 'anaphoric', as Boogaart uses it, basically means that an event is simultaneous in time with some reference point, while the term 'sekvetnaja svjaz' means being linked to an external situation, which follows or precedes some 'reference situation'. As an illustration of this claim about the term 'sekventnaja svajz', I will again use the examples (49) and (50). In example (50), the situation of the existence of some defects in a 'possible world' precedes the event of hiding these defects by way of good make-up, which is represented with the perfective present. In the case of (49), the resultant situation of each event is linked with the starting situation of a following one. In this way a sequence of events is created. It would be interesting to investigate the relation between the concepts 'anaphoric' as Boogaart understands it and Barentsen's 'sekventnaja svjaz' more deeply, and see to what extent 'anaphoric' readings of aspect in Slavic languages are possible and whether they influence the occurrence of subjective interpretations. An interesting possibility, that Barentsen (1998) suggested himself, is that there is some general concept of 'connectedness' that may play a role in the aspectual system of many languages: this term serves as a cover-term for both the 'anaphoric' link required by imperfectives according to Boogaart and for Barentsen's own 'sekventnaja svjaz'. Languages would differ, then, with respect to (i) which aspect requires this linking, and (ii) the temporal constraints on the 'anaphoric' relation (simultaneity versus sequence).

At this point, it should be emphasized that the examples with non-epistemic and epistemic readings of tenses with perfective aspect presented in this chapter, are only modal inferences and not modal meanings. Perfective present and metaphorical perfective past allow for epistemic inferences but these inferences follow from the future interpretation of these forms and they are available for imperfective futures as well. It should also be added that if perfective aspect of tenses occurs with a strictly modal meaning, namely participant-internal modality, then this is the least subjective modality, as was demonstrated in previous chapters[149]. So in that sense, both modal

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[149] According to Nuyts (2005), participant-internal modality may even be treated as 'non attitudinal' and, basically, non-modal.

inferences and the modal meaning of the tenses themselves do not present a counterargument to my initial hypothesis about a link between imperfective aspect and subjectivity of modal costructions.

5.9   Conclusions

On the basis of the application of my subjectivity tests to the abovementioned examples, the following conclusion can be drawn.

The modal readings of tenses both in Russian and Serbian allow uses of both aspects. The clearest counterexample to the hypothesis about a link between imperfective aspect and subjectivity could thus be constituted by the occurrence of the various modal readings for perfective tenses. However, I argued for the position that the use of perfective aspect in sentences with an epistemic inference and participant-internal modality are not real counterarguments to the hypothesis itself for two reasons:

(1)   Sentences with epistemic inferences have epistemicity as part of their inferred interpretation and not as part of their conventional meaning. They get a flavour of epistemicity from the future tense (either perfective or imperfective), so it is not aspect which imposes an 'epistemic' or 'perspectivized' reading.

(2)   Sentences with participant-internal modality both in Russian and Serbian allow for the use of perfective aspect. However, this kind of modality is the least subjective, as was also demonstrated in the previous chapters, and does not contradict the hypothesis about a correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity.

6   CONCLUSIONS

6.1   Introduction

The objective of this study was to answer two main questions concerning the relation between aspect and modality:

> (1)   *Can the assumption in the literature of a connection between imperfective aspect and modality be confirmed?*
>
> (2)   *Do more 'subjective' modal readings of constructions correlate with the use of imperfective aspect?*

The answer to the first question of this study is quite straightforward: the connection between imperfective aspect and modality is not systematic. Some counterexamples to this hypothesis were already provided in 1.2.1.4. The answer to the second question is less straightforward. Three types of utterances were chosen for analysis: infinitive constructions, imperative constructions, and modal readings of tenses. The infinitive and imperative constructions were taken from Russian, Dutch and German, which are representative of two typologically different groups of languages, namely aspect prominent and tense prominent languages. This choice was made in order to check whether morphological and lexical aspects play a different role in the assumed link between imperfective/durative aspect and subjective, modal readings. The analysis of modal readings of tenses were based on Russian and Serbian.

This study operates with three linguistic notions: **subjectivity, modality** and **aspect.** The notion of subjectivity adopted in this thesis is based on the definition suggested by Langacker (1985). It includes two main parameters (2.4.1):

> (1)   The degree of involvement of the Ground in the conceptualization;
>
> (2)   The explicit/implicit reference to the Ground.

As was pointed out by Langacker (1985:144) himself, the main charge against the notion of subjectivity can be its vagueness. In order to avoid this problem, this thesis offers three tests for determining degrees of subjectivity in modal uses of the different constructions being studied here. The tests are the following (see section 2.4.2.):

> (1)   The nature of the modal source;
>
> (2)   The role of the modal target participant;
>
> (3)   The nature of the subject.

Two of these tests, namely (2) and (3), were inspired by tests suggested by Pit (2003) for the nature and the role of causally primary participants in her research. However, the tests in this study are modified in accordance with the topic: Pit (2003) applied her tests to causal relations, and this thesis is devoted to subjectivity in modal readings.

The first two tests of this study deal with the source and target of modality in the constructions. The test on the nature of the modal source investigates to what degree the source of modality is part of the Ground, and whether it is represented on stage or

off stage. The role of the modal target participant is conditioned by the degree of the control which the participant has over the action. If the participant has a higher degree of control, the utterance is more subjective. There are three possible roles of the modal target participant, namely:

(1)   Evaluator;
(2)   Agent;
(3)   Non-agent.

The role of evaluator is related to epistemic modality, while the roles of agent and non-agent are connected to non-epistemic readings. The last test, concerning the nature of the subject, deals with the referent of the subject, especially its animacy, and referentiality. In my analysis, inanimate and non-referential (abstract) subjects give rise to more subjective expressions, since the conceptualization of these utterances completely depends on reasoning of the speaker, who is part of the Ground (see the explanation of the test in all the analytical chapters related to the examples with epistemic modality). In addition, 3rd person singular or plural subjects in my study are indicative of higher subjectivity than 1st person singular or plural ones, because the former indicate that the conceptualization of an utterance again, as with non-animate and non-referential subjects, is dependent on reasoning of the speaker.

The three tests provide a way of operationalizing a correlation that is well known in the linguistic literature, namely: constructions which are classified as expressing epistemic modality are typically considered to be more subjective than non-epistemic constructions. The classification of the constructions according to the second parameter of the thesis, modality, was based on the semantic map of modality of Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), as explained in section 2.3. All the data were divided into two main domains of modality: non-epistemic and epistemic. Under non-epistemic modality, two domains were distinguished, the domain of participant-internal and the domain of participant external modality. After the subjectivity tests were applied to the data, the following subjectivity scale of the constructions was established:

Table 52   Subjectivity scale and modal constructions

Subjectivity scale	Type of modality
	Non-epistemic modality
+	*participant-internal modality*
++	*participant-external modality*
	Epistemic modality
+++	*epistemic modality*

The third parameter in this thesis, which was correlated with the previous two, is the parameter of aspect. Slavic languages were compared in terms of morphological aspect (imperfectivity vs. perfectivity), and Germanic languages in terms of lexical aspect (durativity vs. terminativity/states vs. events).

Most of the data showed a correlation between more subjective readings and imperfective (durative) aspect, but there were also counterexamples. In the following

section, I will summarize the facts supporting and contradicting my initial hypothesis, as well as those cases that came out as 'neutral'.

6.2 Facts supporting and contradicting the hypothesis about an imperfective aspect-subjectivity correlation

In this section I will first provide the reader with an overview of the arguments from my data which support the hypothesis of an imperfective aspect-subjectivity correlation.

(i) Evidence supporting the hypothesis

(a) Dative-infinitive constructions in Russian

(1) There is a difference in the use of aspect in affirmative examples between sentences expressing participant-internal modality, on the one hand, and sentences expressing participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' modality, on the other. On the basis of the subjectivity tests, sentences with participant-internal modality are evaluated as least subjective and they are found with perfective aspect, while sentences with participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' modality, as being more subjective, are found mostly with imperfective aspect.

(2) There are three types of negative dative-infinitive sentences: (a) sentences which express participant-internal impossibility; (b) sentences which express negative necessity and (c) negative 'quasi-epistemic' sentences. Sentences with participant-internal impossibility, as the least subjective, are always used with perfective aspect, while the other two kinds of sentences, as more subjective, are expressed with imperfective aspect.

(b) Infinitive sentences in German

(3) Sentences with participant-external possibility, as more subjective sentences, are expressed mostly with durative verbs, while sentences with participant-external necessity, as less subjective, are typically expressed with terminative verbs.

(c) Imperative constructions in Russian

(4) Affirmative imperative sentences with a necessitive interpretation, as more subjective than the basic directive imperative, are used predominantly with imperfective aspect, while the directive imperative is expressed with both perfective and imperfective aspects.

(5) The concessive imperative, as more subjective than the directive imperative, is expressed mostly with imperfective aspect.

(6) The counterfactual reading of the conditional imperative is expressed with both perfective and imperfective aspects, which correlates with

the presence of a higher degree of subjectivity than in the hypothetical imperative, which is used only with perfective aspect.

(d)   Imperative constructions in Dutch

(7)   The directive imperative in Dutch, as less subjective, is generally used with events, represented by terminative verbs, while the conditional imperative, as more subjective, is used more easily with states (terminative verbs).

(8)   The past perfect, which in imperative constructions highly profiles its imperfective component, is used only with counterfactual sentences, which are the most subjective on the cline of directive-hypothetical-counterfactual imperative.

Now I will turn to counterarguments to the hypothesis about the imperfective aspect-subjectivity link.

(ii)   **Evidence against the hypothesis**

(e)   Imperatives in Russian

(1)   Both the optative and the conditional imperative, even though they are more subjective than the directive, are used with both aspects, just like the directive imperative;

(2)   The negative necessitive imperative is used exclusively with perfective aspect, although it is more subjective than the directive imperative, which, as said previously, is expressed with both aspects.

(3)   Although conditional and concessive imperative have the same level of subjectivity, they differ in the choice of aspect.

Finally, I will present the pieces of evidence which are neutral to the hypothesis about the correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity.

(iii)   **Evidence neutral to the hypothesis:**

(f)   Dative-infinitive constructions in Russian

(1)   There is no difference in use of aspect between non-epistemic participant-external and 'quasi-epistemic' dative-infinitive sentences, although the latter are more subjective. Both types of constructions prefer the use of imperfective aspect. However, this does not represent a counterargument against the hypothesis about the correlation between imperfective aspect and subjectivity, since this is not a case where the less subjective modal meaning occurs with imperfective aspect while more subjective modal meaning occurs with perfective aspect.

(g)   Infinitive constructions in Dutch

(2)   Sentences expressing both participant-external possibility and participant-external necessity are used with both aspects, although sentences with participant-external possibility are considered to be slightly more subjective. The explanation may be that most of the infinitive constructions in Dutch have a possibility reading, while very few sentences allow for a necessity interpretation.

(h)   Modal readings of tenses in Russian and Serbian

(3)   Tenses with an epistemic inference in Russian appear only with perfective aspect and in Serbian with both aspects, so this might be taken as evidence against the imperfective aspect-subjectivity hypothesis. However, these kinds of sentences are temporal in their essence and have epistemicity as part of their inferred interpretation, and not as part of their meaning. They get a flavor of epistemicity from the future tense and it is not aspect that imposes an 'epistemic' or 'perspectivized' reading.

(4)   Sentences with a participant-internal modal meaning, – the only sentences in which tense is used in a purely modal sense, allow the use of perfective aspect. However, if we take the hierarchy of modal uses of constructions into account, then we can see that participant-internal modality is characterized as the least subjective anyway.

In the next section of this chapter I will consider a general answer to the question concerning the link between imperfective aspect and subjectivity.

6.3   Is there a connection between imperfective aspect and subjectivity?

Based on the data which I provided in this thesis, the answer to this question would be that there is a general tendency for the use of imperfective aspect to correlate with more subjective readings. If we compare the list of three types of arguments concerning the hypothesis, we can see that the fullest list consists of arguments which are in favour of it. In both Slavic, aspect-prominent, languages, and Germanic, tense prominent languages, imperfective aspect more often occurs with more subjective meanings. However, perfective aspect also occurs with some, not necessarily the most subjective, modal readings in Slavic languages. This may be explained by the fact that aspect in Slavic languages is obligatory in all verb forms, thus it is not to be expected that it will serve only to differentiate between 'objective' and 'subjective' readings, since that distinction is not relevant in every utterance. Sometimes the temporal structure of the situation leaves the speaker no choice. In tense prominent languages, explicit imperfective forms, such as the progressive in English, are marked forms, so it is expected that precisely this aspect may be used to convey 'special' meanings[150]. An

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[150] In the classical Slavic aspectual literature imperfective aspect is considered to be unmarked but it does not have the same consequences for the expression of modality as in tense prominent

explanation for the connection between imperfective aspect and subjective readings for tense prominent languages like Dutch and English, was suggested by Boogaart (1999, 2006). This explanation lies in the anaphoric function of imperfective aspect. On the surface, this suggestion does not seem to fit into the structure of Slavic aspect, because of the occurrence of perfective aspect with modal and subjective readings. It is left for further research whether one or both of the Slavic aspects can have a comparable anaphoric function, and if the hypothesis is rejected, then it should be investigated what is the factor which in general links the more subjective readings with imperfective aspect in these types of languages.

6.4　　　Possible further research

On the basis of the data and results of this thesis there are four lines of research, in my opinion, which could be carried on. The first line may be devoted to a more elaborate investigation of the differences between Langacker's type of subjectivity and the 'perspectivized' type of subjectivity in relation to aspect. Would the results always be the same? Would we in certain cases get opposite results, in the sense that one type of subjectivity is attracted to perfective aspect (see section 1.2.1.4 and footnote 12 in chapter 1 about a connection between perspectivized information in narratives and perfective aspect in Russian), and the second type of subjectivity to imperfective aspect? If the answer to the last question is affirmative, then would it be possible at all to postulate a unique answer concerning the relation between aspect and subjectivity?

Another intriguing issue is the question of the interaction between negation and subjectivity: in which cases does negation not increase subjectivity as postulated in chapter 3? Why do theses cases occur?

A third line of research may be carried on in terms of grammaticalization of the infinitive and imperative constructions. A comparative study of typologically different languages which have similar non-basic readings of these constructions would give interesting results. For instance, it is quite intriguing that for Russian, there is a hypothesis that the conditional imperative developed out of the optative imperative, which is opposite to the hypothesis for Dutch, which says that optative imperative developed out of the conditional counterfactual reading (see sections 4.2.2.1.4 and 4.3.3.1.7). However, although very different, both languages have optative and conditional readings of the imperative, which are non-basic. What differences, if any, do these different developments give us in terms of subjectivity? Is the optative imperative in Dutch more subjective than the optative imperative in Russian?

A fourth line of research may deal with the comparative study of modal readings of tenses. How many modal readings do occur with tenses in different languages and why do they occur?

Since *subjectivity* is still a very complex notion to be used in linguistic research, I tried to make it more concrete, and actually more 'linguistic', by proposing the three linguistic tests. Whether or not the attempt was successful is for the reader to decide. However, it seems to me that the development and further refinement of such tests for the evaluation of subjectivity is the only way that such a notion can be used in a

languages. As this study shows, both imperfective and perfective aspects occur with modal readings in Russian and Serbian.

linguistically relevant sense. Investigating all these abovementioned questions would widen the scope of our knowledge about this phenomenon and, particularly, its manifestation in language.

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Aspect en subjectiviteit in modale constructies

Het doel van deze studie was om de volgende twee vragen te beantwoorden over de relatie tussen aspect en modaliteit:

(1) *Bestaat er een relatie tussen imperfectief aspect en modale lezingen, zoals in de literatuur wordt beweerd?*

(2) *Is het zo dat modale lezingen die 'subjectiever' zijn dan andere, vaker gepaard gaan met het gebruik van imperfectieve vormen?*

Het antwoord op de eerste vraag is relatief eenvoudig: er is in elk geval geen systematische, één op één relatie tussen imperfectieve vormen en modale lezingen, zoals al bleek uit de tegenvoorbeelden bij deze aanname die in 1.2.1.4 gegeven werden. Het antwoord op de tweede vraag, dus of er wel een systematische relatie bestaat tussen aspect en 'subjectiviteit', is moeilijker te geven. Om deze vraag te beantwoorden werd het modale gebruik van drie typen constructies geanalyseerd: infinitiefconstructies, imperatiefconstructies en werkwoordstijden. Het aspectgebruik in de eerste twee soorten constructies werd niet alleen voor het Russisch onderzocht, maar ook voor het Nederlands en het Duits. De motivatie daarvoor was dat op deze manier twee verschillende soorten talen aan bod komen: het Russisch is een voorbeeld van een *aspect prominent language*, terwijl het Nederlands en het Duits *tense prominent languages* zijn (in de terminologie van Bhat 1999). Zo kan onderzocht worden of het onderscheid tussen morfologisch uitgedrukt (grammaticaal) aspect en lexicaal aspect relevant is bij het bepalen van de samenhang tussen aspectualiteit en modaliteit. De modale lezingen van de werkwoordstijden werden onderzocht voor het Russisch en het Servisch.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een overzicht van de literatuur over de connectie tussen imperfectief aspect en modaliteit en presenteert een aantal voorbeelden die voor de aannames in de literatuur een probleem vormen. In 1.2 wordt de probleemstelling van deze dissertatie gepresenteerd: 1.2.1 gaat over de vermeende relatie tussen imperfectief aspect en modaliteit; 1.2.2 bespreekt een aantal verklaringen die in de literatuur gegeven zijn voor de mogelijke connectie tussen deze twee categorieën; in 1.2.3 worden tegenvoorbeelden besproken. In 1.3 volgt een kort overzicht van de data die zullen worden geanalyseerd. Paragraaf 1.4 ten slotte bevat een samenvatting van de hele dissertatie.

Hoofdstuk 2 dient als theoretische achtergrond bij de drie noties die in dit proefschrift worden gehanteerd: aspect, modaliteit en subjectiviteit.

In de eerste paragraaf komt de categorie aspect aan bod. Er wordt hier een onderscheid gemaakt tussen aspect en Aktionsart, aangezien in dit proefschrift ook *tense prominent* talen aan bod komen die geen morfologisch aspect kennen. Er worden twee (grammaticale) aspecten onderscheiden: perfectief en imperfectief aspect; voor de classificatie van lexicaal aspect is het uitgangspunt de semantische, 'Vendleriaanse' indeling van werkwoorden. Naast aspect worden in 2.1 ook kort de tempussystemen van het Russisch, het Servisch en het Nederlands besproken omdat dat relevant is voor

de discussie in hoofdstuk 4, over imperatieven, en hoofdstuk 5, over het modaal gebruik van werkwoordstijden.

Voor de beschrijving van modaliteit, en de classificatie van alle data in dit proefschrift, is gekozen voor de *semantic map of modality* van Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), die in 2.3 wordt toegelicht.

De derde notie, subjectiviteit, komt aan bod in 2.4. In de literatuur over aspect en modaliteit wordt die term wel gebruikt als equivalent voor 'perspectief' (2.4.1), maar in dit proefschrift gaat het om subjectiviteit in de zin van Langacker (1985). Die notie wordt in 2.4.2 geoperationaliseerd door middel van drie testen die bedoeld zijn om de mate van subjectiviteit van een modale constructie vast te kunnen stellen: ze hebben betrekking op respectievelijk de *modal source*, de *modal target participant*, en de aard van het grammaticaal subject.

Hoofdstuk 3 gaat over infinitiefconstructies in het Russisch, Duits en Nederlands en dus met name over de vraag of er bij de verschillende modale gebruikswijzen van deze constructies een relatie is te ontdekken tussen de mate van subjectiviteit en aspect. Paragraaf 3.2 biedt een overzicht van de Russische datief-infinitiefconstructie. De verschillende gebruikswijzen worden geclassificeerd volgens de indeling van Van der Auwera & Plungian. In 3.2.5 worden de data getoetst aan de drie testen voor subjectiviteit, zodat een schaal ontstaat van minder subjectieve naar meer subjectieve gebruikswijzen van de constructie (3.2.5.1). Vervolgens blijkt dat in de meest subjectieve gevallen, met name de epistemische gevallen, inderdaad imperfectieve vormen overheersen (3.2.5.2). Een aparte paragraaf (3.5.2.3) is gewijd aan zinnen met negatie: in navolging van Verhagen (2005) wordt betoogd dat negatieve zinnen subjectiever zijn dan affirmatieve zinnen aangezien ze altijd de constructie van twee mentale ruimtes 'triggeren'.

Paragraaf 3.3 gaat over modale infinitiefconstructies in het Duits en het Nederlands, die uitsluitend niet-epistemische modaliteit kunnen uitdrukken. De Duitse constructie kan worden gebruikt in contexten van 'deontische noodzaak' (verplichting) en van 'participant-externe mogelijkheid'. Toepassing van de drie testen voor subjectiviteit maakt duidelijk dat de mogelijkheids-lezing subjectiever is dan de verplichtingslezing. Er lijkt in het Duits een relatie met (lexicaal) aspect te bestaan aangezien de subjectievere mogelijkheidslezing vaak gepaard gaat met het gebruik van duratieve werkwoorden terwijl de minder subjectieve verplichtingslezing een voorkeur lijkt te hebben voor telische/terminatieve infinitieven. Voor het Nederlands is zo'n correlatie niet vast te stellen aangezien de Nederlandse constructie, in tegenstelling tot de Duitse, eigenlijk maar één type modale interpretatie toestaat, namelijk de mogelijkheidslezing; de verplichtingslezing is alleen beschikbaar in een beperkt aantal specifieke contexten.

Hoofdstuk 4 onderzoekt de relatie tussen aspect en subjectiviteit in verschillende imperatiefconstructies in het Russisch en het Nederlands. Voor het Russisch worden vier verschillende gebruikswijzen van de imperatief bekeken – directief, 'necessitief', conditioneel en concessief gebruik – die in 4.2 op de semantische kaart van Van der Auwera en Plungian worden gesitueerd. Directief en 'necessitief' gebruik zijn te beschouwen als gevallen van niet-epistemische, participant-externe modaliteit; conditioneel en concessief gebruik vertonen eerder kenmerken van epistemische modaliteit. Betoogd wordt dat het directieve gebruik van de imperatief primair is en dat

de andere gebruikswijzen zich uit de directieve imperatief ontwikkeld hebben. De testen voor subjectiviteit tonen voor alle secundaire gebruikswijzen aan dat ze subjectiever zijn dan de directieve imperatief. Wanneer we vervolgens kijken naar de relatie met aspect dan blijkt er in het algemeen een voorkeur te bestaan voor het gebruik van imperfectieve vormen in de subjectievere, niet-directieve constructies.

In 4.3 wordt de Russische situatie vergeleken met twee imperatiefconstructies in het Nederlands: de directieve en de conditionele imperatief. Net als in het Russisch, is het conditioneel gebruik van de Nederlandse imperatief te beschouwen al subjectiever dan het directief gebruik. Het meest subjectief is het tegenfeitelijke, optatieve gebruik van de voltooid verleden imperatief (*Had dat toch gezegd!*). Aangezien met het hulpwerkwoord van de voltooide tijd een (imperfectieve) toestand wordt aangeduid, kunnen we hierin een bevestiging zien van de relatie tussen imperfectief aspect en een grote mate van subjectiviteit.

Hoofdstuk 5 onderzoekt het modaal gebruik van werkwoordstijden in het Russisch (5.4) en het Servisch (5.5). De motivatie daarvoor is dat met name van het perfectieve presens in deze talen vaak is beweerd dat het verschillende modale lezingen kent; dit zou mogelijk een probleem kunnen vormen voor de aangenomen relatie tussen imperfectief aspect en subjectiviteit. Twee soorten 'modaal' gebruik van de werkwoordstijden worden onderscheiden: 1) gevallen waarin de vorm een temporele betekenis heeft en de modale lezing hooguit als inferentie te beschouwen is, 2) gevallen waarin de werkwoordtijd primair een modale betekenis heeft. Dan blijkt dat de modale lezingen van perfectieve vormen in het Russisch en het Servisch met name van de eerste categorie zijn. Bovendien: in die gevallen waarin het perfectief presens wèl een modale betekenis heeft, gaat het systematisch om de minst subjectieve vorm van modaliteit. Op grond daarvan wordt betoogd dat het modaal gebruik van werkwoordstijden in het Russisch en het Servisch geen tegenvoorbeeld is voor de stelling dat imperfectief aspect correleert met subjectieve modale lezingen.

In hoofdstuk 6 worden de resultaten van het onderzoek samengevat en volgen ten slotte een aantal vragen voor verder onderzoek.

Curriculum vitae

Radoslava Trnavac was born on 18 august 1974 in Belgrade, Serbia. She graduated from the Department of Russian language and literature in Moscow State University, Russian Federation, in May 1998. In October 2001, she obtained her Masters degree in linguistics at the University of Belgrade with a thesis entitled *The semantic analysis of the cultural concept of 'hope' in Russian and Serbian*, and taught the Russian language at the Department of Slavic studies. In September 2002, she became a doctoral researcher ('Assistent in Opleiding') at the University of Leiden Centre for Linguistics (ULCL, merged into LUCL in 2005), where she worked until November 2005. This thesis is the result of the research carried out during the three years at ULCL and LUCL.