

## Aspectual complementation in Serbo-Croatian

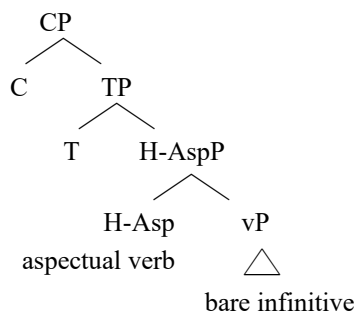
### A generative-grammar approach

Developmental stages of events are expressed by aspectual verbs of beginning/continuation/completion. Fukuda (2008) proposed that aspectual verbs are not raising/control verbs (VO) with different selectional characteristics, but rather heads of functional category Aspect. Instead of lexical ambiguity the suggested account was thus syntactic. Fukuda classified aspectual verbs allowing both infinitive and participial complements, or only participial complements. Aspectuals with infinitivals are positioned above vP, as High Aspect functional heads (1). Aspectuals with gerunds are below vP, as Low Aspect functional heads (2). This paper concerns two main questions: do aspectuals in Serbo-Croatian support Fukuda's proposal, and which complement is less limited.

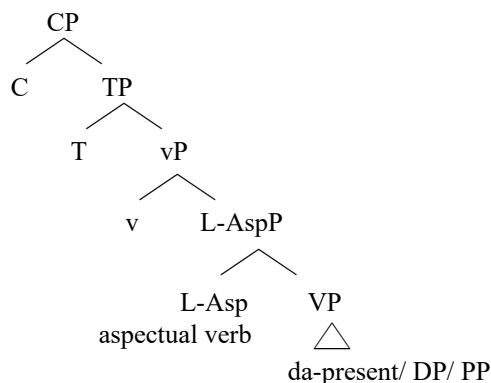
We show that aspectual verbs in S-C can select either infinitival or *da*-present/gerunds constructions as complements, and can thus occupy, following Fukuda, both H-Asp and L-Asp functional heads (3). Infinitive choice may be more frequent, but no semantic difference is observed. However, the completion verb *završiti* 'finish' does not allow bare infinitive or *da*-present complements, but only allows gerunds (4). Our data thus support Fukuda's structural approach.

In future work, we will also look at infinitival/*da*-present complementation with other types of verbs, e.g. modal verbs, as infinitives appear to be more limited in complementing modal verbs and imply semantic differences.

(1) Aspectual+bare infinitive



(2) Aspectual+gerund/*da*-present



- (3) a. Počeli/Nastavili/Prestali      su      dolaziti.  
 start/continue/stop<sub>3p. masc.pl.past</sub>      be<sub>3p.pl.present</sub>      come<sub>inf</sub>  
 They started/continued to come.

- b. Počeli/Nastavili/Prestali      su      da dolaze.  
 Start/continue/stop<sub>3p. masc.pl.past</sub>      be<sub>3p.pl.present</sub>      to come<sub>3p.pl.present</sub>  
 They started/continued/stopped coming.

- (4) a. Završili      smo      sa      čitanjem/ čitanje.  
 finish<sub>1p.pl.perf</sub>      be<sub>1p.pl.present</sub>      with reading<sub>Inst</sub> / reading<sub>Acc</sub>  
 We finished reading.

- b. \*Završili      smo      čitati/da čitamo.  
 finish<sub>1p.pl.perf</sub>      be<sub>1p.pl.present</sub>      read<sub>Inf</sub> / to read<sub>3p.pl.present</sub>  
 (Intended: We finished reading.)