Some contrasts between aspectual operators in English and Slavic

Over the last ten years a number of pieces of evidence have suggested a parametric difference between Russian and English aspectual systems. While English aspectual operators clearly operate at the VP level, aspectual operators in Russian seem to operate on the V. Filip (2000) and Filip & Rothstein (2005) point to a number of factors suggesting that perfectivity is a V operator. These include the existence of root perfectives, the apparent connection between verbal prefixation and perfectivization and the fact that in English, the quantized status of the direct object determines the telicity of the V (John drank wine/the wine) while in Russian, the aspectual status of the V seems to determine the specificity or non-specificity of the direct object as in (1):

(1) a. Ivan pil\textsuperscript{MPF} vino.
   “Ivan drank wine/?the wine”
   b. Ivan vypil\textsuperscript{PERF} vino.
   “Ivan drank the wine/*wine”

Rothstein (2013) further suggests that crosslinguistic contrasts in the interpretation of the progressive can be explained if the progressive operator in Russian has scope over V but is a VP operator in English. In this talk, I will review the evidence that at least some aspectual operators in Russian are V operators, in contrast to the English pattern. I will first discuss the arguments concerning the progressive from Rothstein (2013) and I will then develop the central hypothesis from Filip and Rothstein (2005), which will require clarifying the semantic basis of perfectivity and the distinction between perfectivity and telicity, as well as the role of prefixes in the perfectivization process.