Does perfective aspect entail culmination in Russian?

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The crosslinguistic availability of non-culminating interpretations of telic accomplishments has been increasingly recognized in the literature of the past two decades (e.g. Arunachalam & Kothari 2010, Filip 2008, Hay et al. 1999, van Hout 2018). However, Slavic languages, including Russian, are commonly argued to categorically disallow such an option, as demonstrated, for instance, by the contrast between (1a) and (1b):

(1) a. Mary ate the sandwich, but as usual she left a few bites. (from Hay et al. 1999)

b. Ivan s'el buterbrod, #no kusočeck ostavil. Ivan eat.PRF.3SG sandwich, #but piece-small left. 'Ivan ate the/a sandwich, #but left a small piece.'

(from Martin 2019)

Filip (2017) proposes that the morphosyntax of the perfective in Russian encodes the maximality of the event and enforces a culminating interpretation of accomplishments in its scope. However, our data show that non-culminating readings of telic accomplishments, particularly the cancelation of the maximal reading (e.g., 'but left a small piece'), are, in fact, freely available for Russian speakers.

Selected references: • Filip, H. (2017). The semantics of perfectivity. *Italian journal of linguistics*, 29(1), 167–200. • Hay, J., Kennedy, C., & Levin, B. (1999). Scalar structure underlies telicity in "degree achievements". *SALT* 9 (pp. 127–144). • Martin, F. (2019). Non-culminating accomplishments. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, *13*(8). • Tenny, C.L. (1994). *Aspectual Roles and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. • van Hout, A. (2018). On the acquisition of event culmination. In K. Syrett & S. Arunachalam (Eds.), *Semantics in Language Acquisition* (pp. 95–122). Amsterdam: John Benjamins •