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## Anaphoric reference by Russian imperfective past passive participles

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(based on joint work with Olga Borik, UNED, Madrid)

In this talk, we focus on Russian periphrastic passives with imperfective (IPF) past passive participles (PPPs), which are standardly assumed not to be grammatical, but for which we find ample evidence in contemporary corpora, for example (1).

- (1) Stroeno bylo èto ploxo, xromo, ščeljasto.  
*built.IPF was this badly lamely with holes*  
'It was built badly, lamely, with holes.'

We argue that this construction exemplifies the event counterpart of definite descriptions. In particular, we show that the licensing conditions for this type of construction necessarily involve a link to a previously established or inferable eventive discourse referent. This use of the IPF aspect that relies on anaphoric reference is called 'presuppositional' (after Grønn 2004). We show that presuppositional IPF PPPs are parallel to definite descriptions in the sense that they signal under which file card/dr the event description has to be stored. We argue that such uses of the IPF are parallel to definite descriptions in the sense that the IPF signals an anaphoric link to a previously introduced or inferable eventive discourse referent, for example (2).

- (2) Čto kasaetjsja platy deneg, to plačeny byli naličnymi [...]  
*what concerns payment.GEN money.GEN then paid were in cash*  
'Regarding the payment, it was paid in cash.'

We will also show that just like definites, they can establish anaphoric links that are not based on identity but on associative contextual relations, which we take to be parallel to bridging.

**References:** • Grønn, A. (2004): *The Semantics and Pragmatics of the Russian Factual Imperfective*. PhD Oslo.