

Layers of Aspect

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Aspect –viewpoint aspect

- Gives us information about the development of the eventuality.
- Whether an event is about to happen, is happening or has happened

- (1) Bill is going to color the castle.
- (2) Bill is coloring the castle.
- (3) Bill colored/has colored the castle.

- Metaphorical descriptions
- Interval ordering descriptions
 - Reichenbach 1947
 - à la Stowell 1993; Kratzer 1998; Klein 1994.

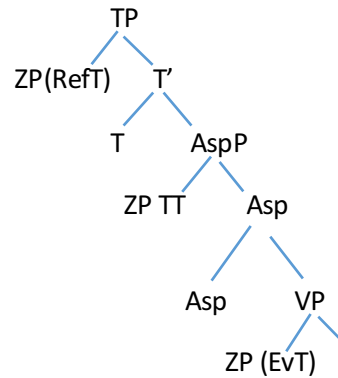
Viewpoints as predicates of interval ordering

| Viewpoints | Predicate |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| Imperfective | AT (WITH)IN EvT |
| Perfective | AT (Total) OVERLAP EvT |
| Perfect | AT AFTER EvT |
| Prospective | AT BEFORE EvT |

Syntax of Aspect

- Structure of the meaning; the layering of the meaning
- Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000 and ss work
- Stowell 1993

Syntax of Tense and Aspect



Is this enough?

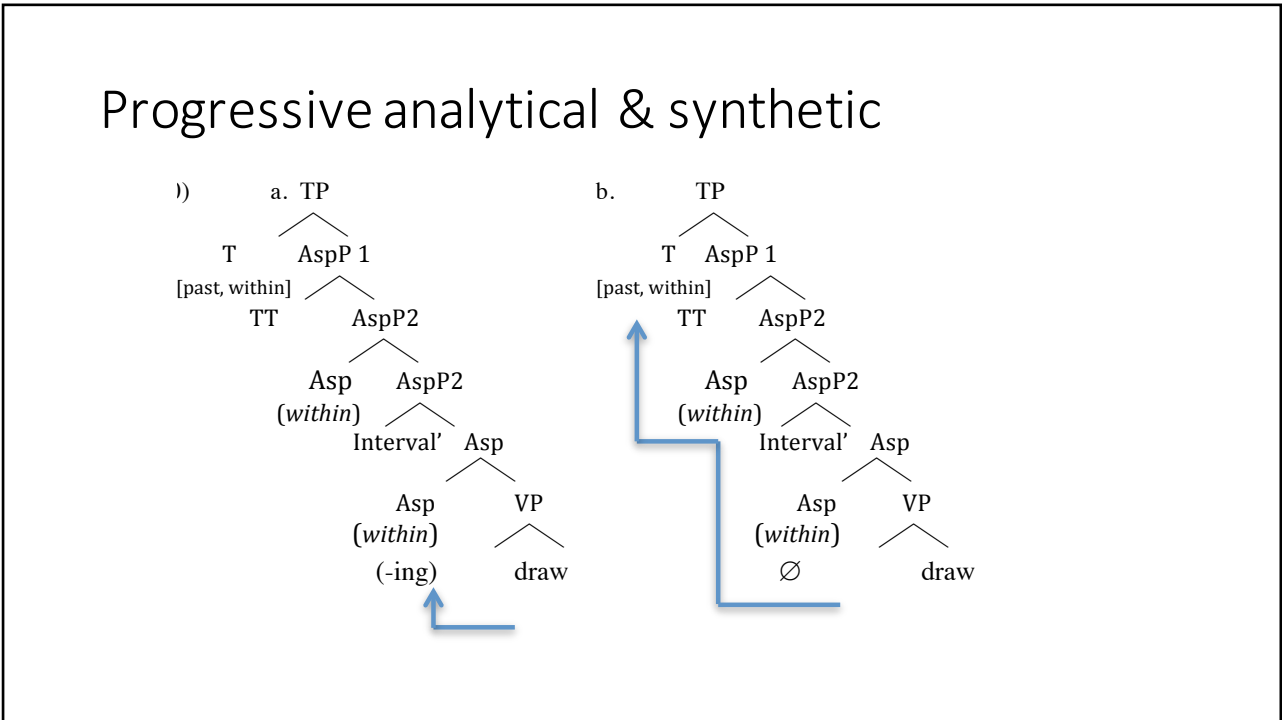
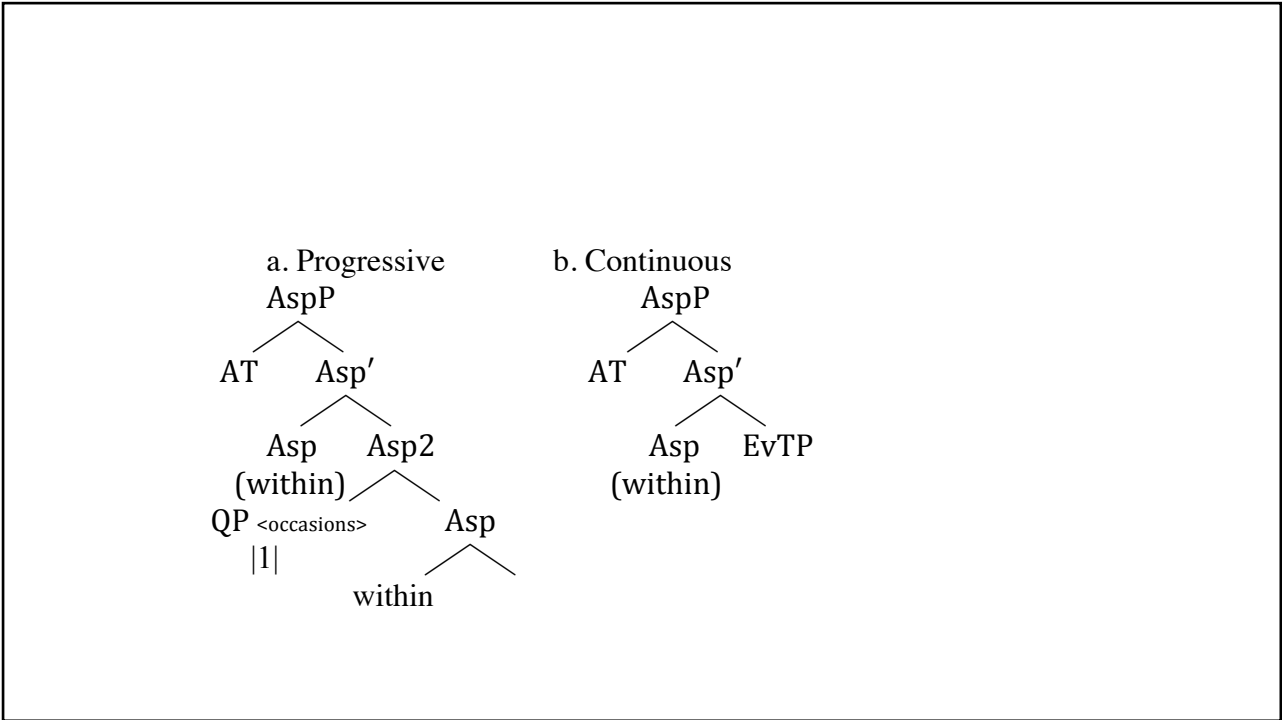
- Correspondence between the syntax and the morphology?
- What do we want to show in our syntax?
- What are the cues to discern what we want to distinguish?
- Are the intervals & predicates above all we need to account for Aspect?
- Is this way the only/best way of representing Aspect syntactically?

Inflected Spanish imperfective –aba/-ía

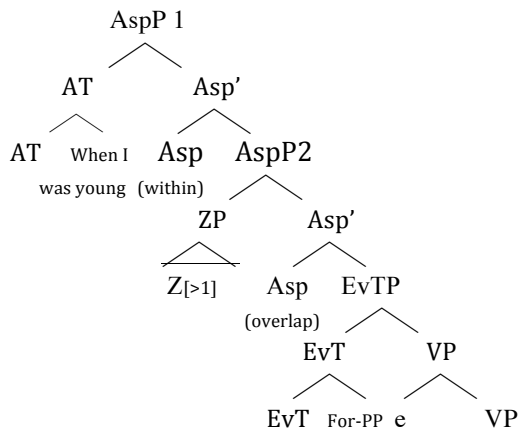
Meanings:

- Progressive: Marta cantaba cuando entré en el cuarto.
Marta sing.past.imp.3ps when entered-I in the room
'Marta was singing when I entered the room'
- Habitual: Marta nadaba cuando era pequeña.
Marta swim.past.imp.3ps when she was little
'Marta used to swim when she was little'

- Continuous: Marta tenía los ojos claros.
Marta have.past.impf.3ps the eyes light
'Marta had blue eyes'
- Attitudinal –ability: Marta comía carne
Marta eat.past.impf.3ps meat



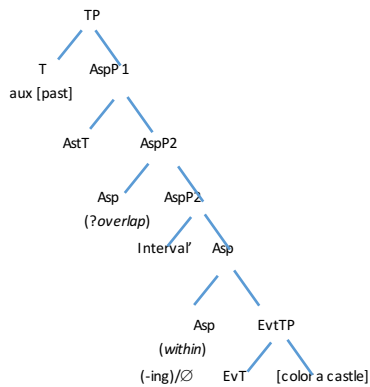
Habitual



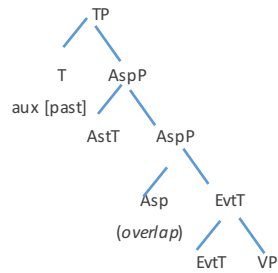
Syntax of the Spanish perfective

(16) Pfive Progressive (analytical & synthetic)

Estuvo coloreando/coloreó
was.pfve coloring/coloured



(17) Non-progressive



Questions

- What about the lower interval in the tree?
- If we can have a perfective progressive, what is at the heart of the difference between imperfective and perfective?
- How many perfectives can we say we have in Spanish?

Testing ground to probe for answers

- Non-culminating accomplishments in the perfective

Non culminating accomplishments

- Heterogeneous events
- Do not entail the culmination of the situation
- Tackle the heart of the relation between:
 - Telicity
 - Heterogeneous events
 - not event terminus/completion/telos
 - Perfective viewpoint aspect
 - Perfective: supposed to bring completion; interval bounded

Leading cases and points of investigation

- For the sake of the discussion, focus on cases such as (1):

(1) Pedro **coloreó** **el castillo** durante tres horas, pero **no terminó**.
 Pedro colour-pfv.3ps the castle for three hours, but not finished
 'Pedro coloured the castle for three hours but he did not finish to'

Points for exploration

1. Quality of the eventuality: true accomplishments?
2. Semantics of the perfective
 - paraphrases as **perfective progressive**
3. Syntax-semantics of the temporal modifiers that seem to foster nonculmination in these cases
 - “**For x time**”; “from x to y”
 -
4. The **compatibility** of the overt clause declaring the lack of culmination explicitly “**not finish to**” (vs. not completely).

I will explore

- A sort of correlation among these elements
- Which may point to the availability of **PARTITIVE** semantics in the **perfective** in Spanish.
- Which takes us to the issue of what the key difference with the imperfect is.

3. The semantics of the temporal modifier

(6) Pedro coloreó el castillo, pero no terminó.

Pedro coloured the castle, but not finished (to)

- OK for some speakers, but many react by adding a “*for-time*” modifier.

(7) Pedro coloreó el castillo **durante tres horas**, pero no terminó.

Pedro coloured the castle for three hours, but not finished

The meaning of the temporal modifier

- Why does this adverbial make the sentence better?
- What does it mean?
- *For three hours* gives us the size of an interval
- Which interval?

(8) Pedro coloreó el castillo **durante tres horas...**

Pedro coloured the castle for three hours ...

(8) is **true** even if Pedro coloured the castle **for five hours**.

(Arche 2014)

The meaning of the temporal modifier

- So, which interval?
- The Topic Time/ Assertion Time? Klein 1994
- The Event Time?
- The interval we want to assert (the TT, AstT), rather than the interval of the whole event per se.
- *For three hours* can give us only **part** of the interval the event may extend over.

The meaning of the temporal modifier

- *For-time* adverbials sharply contrast with *in-time* adverbials:
- (9) Pedro coloreó el castillo **en tres horas**.
- Pedro coloured the castle in three hours
- **cannot be true** if it took Pedro five hours to colour the castle.
 - **cannot** be continued by “**not finish to**”
- (10) *Pedro coloreó el castillo **en tres horas**, pero no terminó.
Pedro coloured the castle in three hours, but not finished

The meaning of the temporal modifier

En tres horas

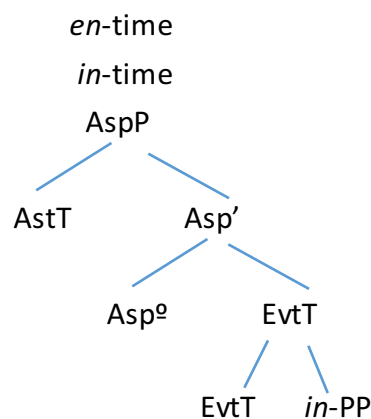
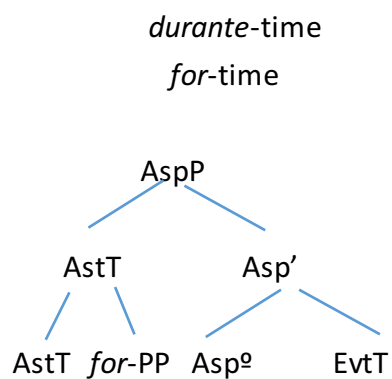
in three hours → interval of the whole actual event

Durante tres horas

for three hours → interval of the assertion

- Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2004: temporal adverbials are modifiers of the Assertion Time or the Event Time.

The syntax of *interval size* modifiers



Cont. Semantics of interval size modifiers

- Both *for-time* & *in-time* give the **size** of an interval
 - Hence both compatible **only with perfective**
- *For-time*: measures the Assertion Time, then the interval can give us only **PART** of the Event Time.
- *In-time*: measures the Event Time (→ bounds the whole event– and that is why it is not okay with activities or states.)

Some correlations

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ▶ *P _{fve} progressive | ▶ √P _{fve} progressive |
| ▶ *For-time | ▶ √ For-time |
| ▶ *Not completely | ▶ √ not finished to |

Correlations

1. *For*-time: partitive
2. Perfective is progressive: partitive
3. “Not finished to”: compatible with those cases that allow for perfective progressive and *for*-time adverbials

Partitive perfective

- Only a *part of* the event time is asserted.
- The asserted part can be said to be contained *within* the whole event time.
- What is the difference with the imperfective, then?

- Only intuitive answer:
 - With the imperfective: the interval of the *event* may continue
 - With the perfective: seems finished.
- But then, why do we still say that the event that matters is the topic time/assertion time?
- How critical is the role of the predicates to distinguish across viewpoints?

That's it for the moment

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- Subinterval property: does not hold of accomplishments
- Cortó el césped del jardín de 10 a 2/en un momento.
- Estuvo cortando el cespced del jardín de 10 a 2/*en un momento.
- Coloreó el castillo de 10 a 11:30am/durante una hora y media.

Qs

- What do we have with an “incomplete accomplishment”?
- Maybe “incomplete accomplishment” is a bad label. We have an accomplishment insofar as it has been substantiated up to a point.??
- Coloreó el castillo durante tres minutos pero no terminó/y terminó:
- The for-interval modifier is vague wrt culmination.
- The in-interval modifier is NOT vague. It is only compatible with culmination. The event does finish in a more obvious way.