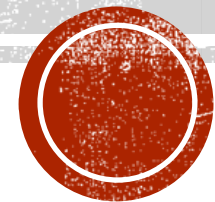# The semantics of viewpoint aspect in nonculminating accomplishments

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Non culminating accomplishments

- Heterogeneous events

- Do not entail the culmination of the situation

- Tackle the heart of the relation between:

    - Telicity
        - Heterogenous events
        - not event terminus/completion/telos

    - Perfective viewpoint aspect
        - Perfective: supposed to bring completion; interval bounded

This talk

- Properties of perfective viewpoint when an accomplishment has not culminated in Spanish.

- Semantics and morphosyntax correspondences of viewpoints, more complex than previously thought –see Arche 2014a for an overview.

- Within one given language one form can correspond to more than one meaning

- Different arrays of meanings for apparently the same form across languages

- Imperfective: different readings; vast body of literature
  - modality involved etc. Arregui, Rivero & Salanova 2014, a.o.

- What about the Perfective?

- Monolithic and simplex semantics within a given language and across languages?

- Does not seem so (e.g., Altshuler 2014, a.o.)

Leading cases and points of investigation

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

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

    Pedro colour-pfve.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"

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.

1. Quality of the eventuality

True accomplishment?   yes

1.1. **Culmination** is **possible**

(2) Pedro coloreó   el castillo durante tres horas y lo terminó.

   Pedro coloured.pfve the castle for three hours and it finished

   'Pedro coloured the castle for three hours and he finished it'

- → The event is susceptible of culminating per se, *ergo*, it is not an activity.

- The sentence

Pedro coloreó el castillo durante tres horas
Pedro colored.pfve the castle for three hours

is **vague with respect to culmination.** It is compatible with both scenarios, one where there is no culmination and another one where it is (Arche 2014a).

  - In a similar way in which we speak about vagueness in temporal ordering in the so-called Independent temporal construal observed in relative clauses (Stowell 1993; Arche 2001 for Spanish).

Quality of the eventuality

1.2. Ok after "finish"

(3) √Pedro no **terminó de** colorear el castillo

Pedro did not finish to colour the castle

(4) *Pedro no terminó de pasear.   ***ACTIVITIES**

Pedro not finish strolling

- **(not) finish + accomplishments**: ok only (Pustejovsky 1988)
- Elided VP same kind of eventuality

2. The meaning of the perfective

- In all these cases, the perfective can be paraphrased with what can be called "perfective progressive":

(5) Pedro **estuvo coloreando** el castillo durante tres horas, pero no terminó.

Pedro was.pfve coloring   the castle for three hours,   but not finished.

N.B. Note that this form **IS NOT** equivalent in any sense to an imperfective progressive (the typical form known as progressive in short).

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.pfve 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.pfve 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

- 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 colured the castle in three hours, but not finished

The meaning of the temporal modifier

En tres horas
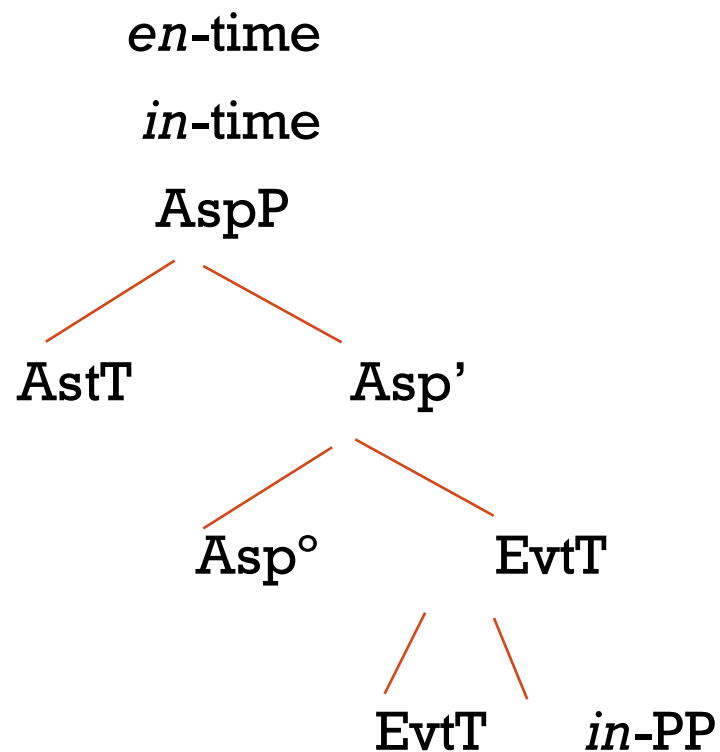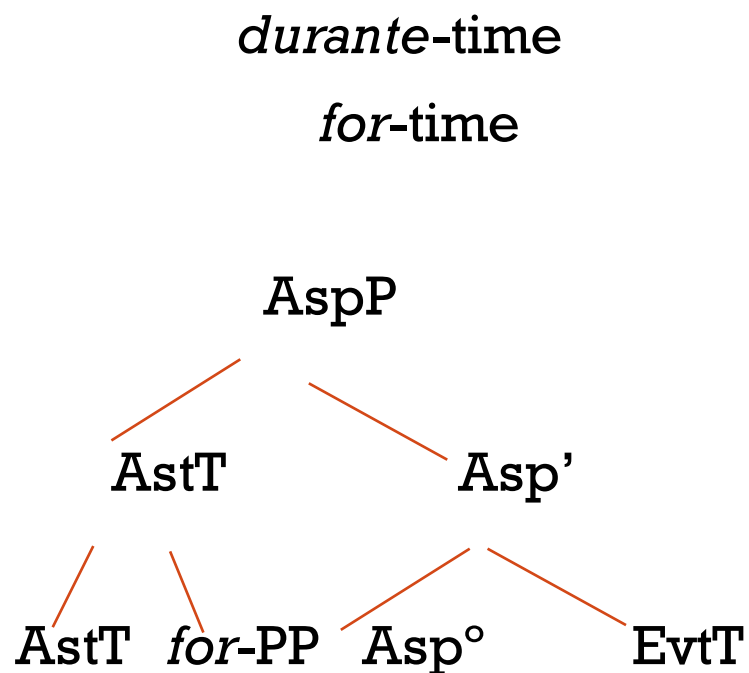**in three hours** → interval of the whole actual event

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

durante-time
for-time

en-time
in-time

AspP
AstT
Asp'
AstT *for*-PP Asp° EvtT

AspP
AstT
Asp'
Asp° EvtT
EvtT *in*-PP

Cont. Semantics of interval size modifiers

- Both *for*-time & *in*-time give the **size** of an interval

  - Hence both are compatible **only with perfective** (in Spanish)

- ❖ *For*-time: measures the Assertion Time, hence 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.)

4) Compatibility with "not finish to" vs. "not completely"

- Both used in the literature as expressions marking incompatibility with culmination

(11) *Pedro coloreó el castillo **en tres horas** pero no terminó/no del todo.

     Pedro coloured.pfve the castle in three hours but not finished/not completely

- However, as noticed by Demirdache & Martin 2015, it is not the case that both are equally compatible with any case of nonculmination. This seems to be the case in the Spanish cases contemplated here:

(12) Pedro coloreó   el castillo durante tres horas pero no terminó.

     Pedro coloured.pfve the castle for three hours   but not finished

(13) ??*Pedro coloreó   el castillo   durante tres horas   pero no del todo.

     Pedro coloured.pfve the castle   for   three hours   but not completely

"not finish to" vs. "not completely" & pfve progr

(14) Pedro estuvo coloreando el castillo durante tres horas, pero no terminó.

Pedro was.pfve colouring the castle for   three hours but not finished

(15) ??* Pedro estuvo coloreando el castillo durante tres horas, pero no del todo

Pedro was.pfve colouring the castle for three hours but not completely

The correlations noted here

▶ *Pfve progressive

▶ *For-time

▶ *Not completely

▶ √Pfve progressive

▶ √ For-time

▶ √ 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

Some working idea to add to the puzzle

- Spanish perfective may be a partitive perfective
  - Viewpoint aspect properties are responsible for making the partial completion available (Arche 2014a; Demirdache & Martin 2015)

- Array of cases small scale. Not all verbs yield equally acceptable sentences when culmination is negated.
  - Koening & Davis 2001; Martin & Schaeffer 2015; Demirdache & Martin 2015: lexical semantics seems a factor.
  - Creation/non-creation/performance verb differences
  - Non-creation verbs yield the best formed sentences in Spanish (Arche 2014c)
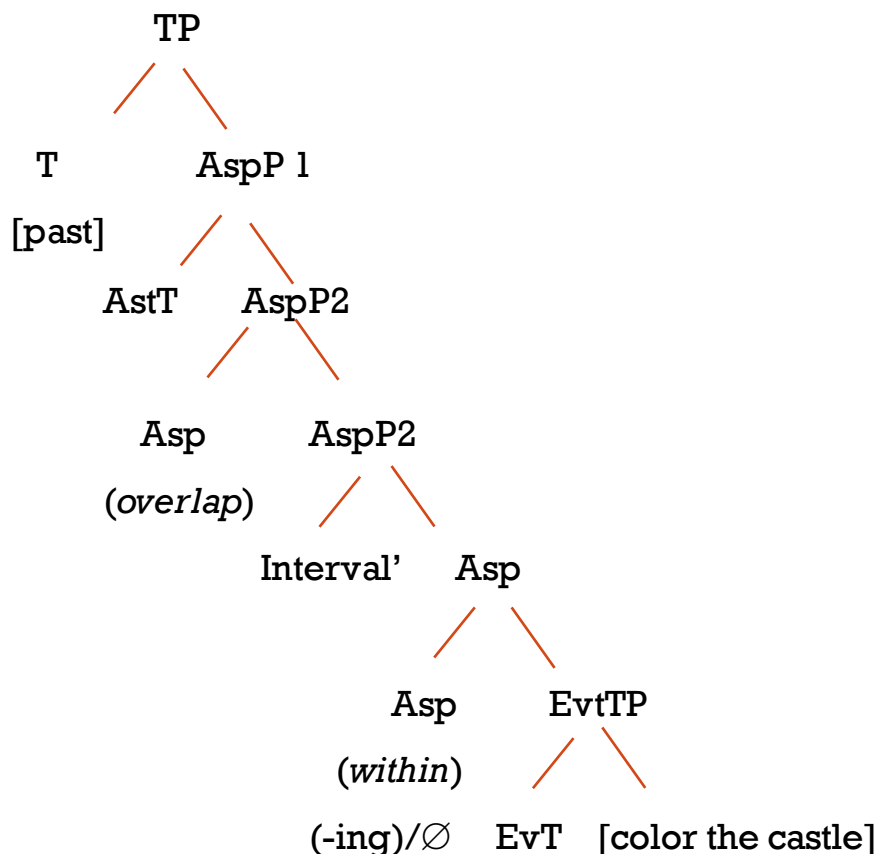
- The cases where the mentioned correlations hold are agued to be accounted for by the properties of the syntax-semantics of viewpoint aspect, that is:

- Where the perfective can be paraphrased by a perfective progressive. In these cases, the perfective is homophonous to the non-progressive one but different syntax-semantics as in Arche 2014a (next slide)
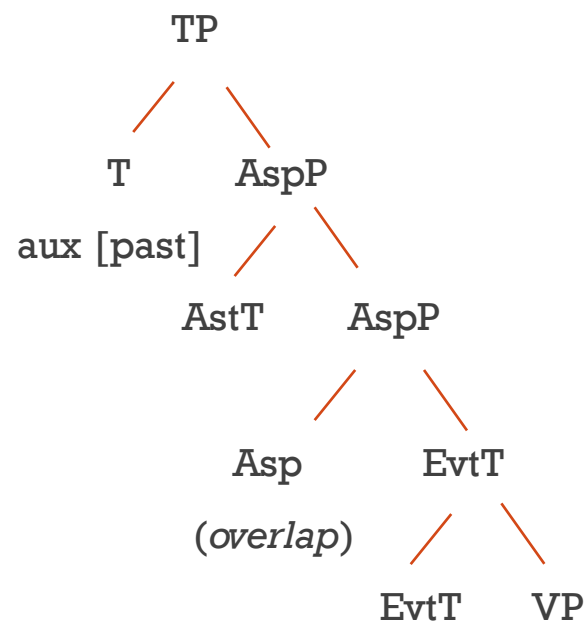
Syntax of the Spanish perfective

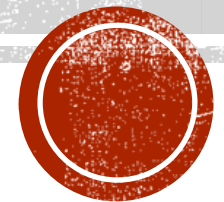(16) Pfve Progressive (analytical & synthetic)

Estuvo   coloreando/coloreó

was.pfve   coloring/coloured

```
            TP
           /  \
          T    AspP 1
       [past]  /  \
            AstT   AspP2
                   /  \
                 Asp   AspP2
              (overlap) /  \
                   Interval'  Asp
                             /  \
                          Asp    EvtTP
                        (within) /  \
                       (-ing)/∅  EvT  [color the castle]
```

(17) Non-progressive

```
           TP
          /  \
         T    AspP
    aux [past] /  \
           AstT    AspP
                   /  \
                 Asp    EvtT
              (overlap) /  \
                     EvtT    VP
```

That's it for the moment

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