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## Event theory: non eventive constructions in Japanese and Spanish and applications for the teaching of Imperfective in the L2 classroom

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# **Doctoral dissertation**

**Kobe City University of Foreign Studies**

**“Event theory: non eventive constructions in  
Japanese and Spanish and applications for the  
teaching of Imperfective in the L2 classroom.”**

**Author:**

Civit Contra, Roger.

Student ID: G 12105

**Professor:**

Dr. Montserrat Sanz, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies

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# Abstract

In this dissertation, I analyze the interactions between the grammatical systems that are involved in the expression of Aspect. These systems are: 1) lexical aspect, which is the aspectual information comprised in the verbal unit; 2) grammatical aspect, which is the aspectual information encoded through features in the inflectional component of the sentence, and 3) event quantification, which marks whether the predication refers to the subject as an individual (individual-level predication) or as defined instances bound to a point in time (stage-level predication).

I analyze the aspectual systems of modern Spanish and of Japanese (standard Japanese and Uwajima dialects). This study results in a new framework for the analysis of Aktionsart that takes into account not only the features and internal sub-structure of lexical aspect, but also the interaction of different lexical action types with the systems of grammatical aspect and event quantification. This framework, based on a comprehensive analysis of the predicative values of eventive and stative constructions, is a reliable tool to predict the impact that markers of imperfective and perfective grammatical aspect exert on the different action types and the transformations that they can experiment through the interaction with the quantificational event properties of the construction. This framework applies to Spanish and Japanese, but it can be extended to other languages.

Furthermore, this theoretical analysis can be applied to explain errors in the production of sentences in the past tense in Spanish by Japanese learners, which tend to become fossilized, such as:

(1) "\* El domingo pasado estaba en casa todo el día"

(1') "El domingo pasado estuve en casa todo el día"

Thus, the dissertation also offers pedagogical suggestions to deal with these issues and to teach aspectual markers in the L2 classroom.

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## **Chapter 0**

### **Preface**

In this dissertation, I analyze the interactions between the grammatical systems that are involved in the expression of Aspect. These systems are: 1) lexical aspect, which is the aspectual information comprised in the verbal unit; 2) grammatical aspect, which is the aspectual information encoded through features in the inflectional component of the sentence, traditionally considered to express the point of view of the action taken by the speakers, and 3) Event quantification, which marks whether the predication stated by the construction refers to the subject as an individual (individual level predication) or as defined instances bound to a point in time (stage level predication).

These three systems form a grammatical unit within the language. This implies that any analysis that deals with either of them has to take the other two systems into account. As my Doctoral Thesis, I have analyzed the aspectual systems of modern Spanish and of Japanese (standard Japanese and Uwajima dialects, since the latter present a system that differs from standard Japanese). My analysis results in a new framework for the analysis of Aktionsart (Vendler 1967) that takes into account not only the features of lexical aspect, but also their interaction with the systems of grammatical aspect and Event quantification. The insights gained from Japanese have been crucial in developing this new approach to Aktionsart properties: it reveals facts that are overlooked if one focuses only on Western languages and that have allowed me to expand previous frameworks like those of Pustejovsky (1991) and De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000). I have identified the sub-Events that may compose complex Aktionsart (which I will call “hybrid”) and therefore analyze a large array of possible interpretations of grammatical aspect markers. Given its theoretical nature, the framework here proposed can be extended to explain the interactions between the three aforementioned grammatical systems in any other language.

The comprehensive analysis of the predicative values of eventive and stative constructions that I introduce in this dissertation allows for a reliable framework from which to predict the impact that markers of imperfective and perfective

grammatical aspect will exert on stative and dynamic constructions. It also gives an account for the phenomena of Aktionsart coercion, in which the same verb takes different lexical aspectual properties depending on the construction where it is used. As said above, my analysis stems from Pustejovsky (1991) and De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) in that it assumes that action types have an internal structure and can therefore be compounded. My research allows me to claim that each of the internal sub-events that can form an action or a State<sup>1</sup> may be independently focused on in a construction and become active as a result of the aforementioned interaction between features of lexical aspect, grammatical aspect and Event quantification. Coercion, therefore, can be explained as an internal sub-event of the lexical entry becoming active in checking inflectional features of aspectual and eventive functional projections as a result of aspectual systems interacting with each other. Coerced meanings of verbs, therefore, stem from the internal structure of the verbal entry and therefore can be easily predicted.

Not only does this analysis contribute to our understanding of the lexical-syntactic interface (the interaction between internal properties of lexical items and aspectual features of a construction), but the practical potential of this new framework can also be considered remarkable. It provides the theoretical basis behind the grammaticality and ungrammaticality of markers of grammatical aspect in constructions in Spanish and in Japanese. It sheds light on the reasons behind errors in the production of constructions in the past tense in Spanish by Japanese learners. It also works as a cornerstone on which to build more effective and efficient teaching materials that deal with aspect.

As it will be shown in Chapter 1 below, Japanese learners of Spanish tend to systematically commit the same types of errors at some step of their process of learning Spanish. Some of these errors become fossilized, probably due in part to a lack of explanatory adequacy of the rules of thumb that are introduced in textbooks and in the classroom when imperfective and perfective aspect markers and verbal inflection are taught.

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<sup>1</sup> In this dissertation, I chose the capitalized spellings "State" and "Event" instead of lower-caps spellings so as to differentiate the linguistic term from other uses.



By the end of this dissertation, I aim to have proven my framework of aspect. In order to do so, I will undertake an analysis of existing literature in Japanese and Spanish regarding lexical and grammatical aspect in Chapters Chapter 3 and 4. In Chapter 5, I will also review existing literature regarding Event structure and Event quantification. These reviews will, in turn, serve as the theoretical foundations for my claim regarding aspect in Chapter Chapter 6. At the end of this dissertation, I will provide some pedagogical advice regarding aspect (Chapter Chapter 7) and wrap up the whole dissertation with a set of theoretical conclusions.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1.- Objective**

The objective of this thesis is to improve understanding of the syntactic/semantic features of the past tenses of Spanish, with special focus on the imperfect past form in non-eventive constructions in Spanish and its correspondences in Japanese. This thesis aims at clarifying these features by analyzing the theories of Event structure, as well as lexical and grammatical aspect in Spanish and Japanese. The goal is for the theories stated in this thesis to reach beyond these two languages and serve as a theoretical basis for a better understanding of Event structure in general. Furthermore, an additional goal of this research is to improve the learning of these Spanish features by Japanese students by identifying the locus of their difficulties through the contrastive linguistic analysis performed in this dissertation.

For these goals, this thesis includes a review of the existing literature on lexical and grammatical aspect in Japanese standard dialect and in Japanese Uwajima Dialect, as well as the existing literature on Neo-Davidsonian Event theory, the syntax of Events and the properties of psychological verbs and pure States.

#### **1.2.- The issue at hand**

This research was motivated by the issues faced by many Japanese learners of Spanish who struggle when attempting to produce correct sentences with non-eventive verbs in situations set in the past. It can be inferred from Sanz & Ramírez (2010) that students seem to confuse the lexical aspect of verbs and the grammatical aspect of structures. Basically, as explained in further detail in Sanz & Civit (2007), there are two main types of errors that will be dealt with in the current study, exemplified in (1) through (3) below. Their respective correct forms are (1') through (3'):

### **Usage of imperfective past instead of perfective past:**

(1)     "\* El domingo pasado estaba en casa todo el día"

(1')    "El domingo pasado estuve en casa todo el día"

"Last Sunday I stayed at home all day".

(2)     "\* Mi abuela tenía 5 hijos en 7 años"

(2')    "Mi abuela tuvo 5 hijos en 7 años"

"My grandmother had 5 kids in 7 years"

### **Use of perfective past instead of imperfective past:**

(3)     "\* Cuando tuve diez años, no tuve dinero"

(3')    "Cuando tenía diez años, no tenía dinero"

"When I was ten years old, I had no money"

A preliminary analysis led me to think that there might be several causes. In the case of (1) and (2), learners might be failing to recognize the difference between lexical and grammatical aspect, or even be unaware of the distinction. In the case of (3), there might be an interference of the learners' L1, as well as shortages in the teaching methods with which the students have been taught. In order to shed light on the underlying causes of such ungrammaticalities, I deemed consequent to carry out a research on the properties of those constructions from a semantic and a syntactic point of view, as well as the properties of the equivalent utterances in the L1 of the students, in this case, Japanese. The specific purpose of my research is to improve the proficiency of Japanese adult students of Spanish. However, a study that describes the properties of the aforementioned constructions is not only useful in improving the teaching methods currently being employed to teach them, but also contributes to the understanding of the representation and properties of aspectual features in human grammars.

### 1.3.- What the research points to: a new theoretical framework for eventivity

This thesis points to the possibility that the categories of Aktionsart, as defined by Vendler (1957, 1967), might be subject to some parameterization and might not be as clear-cut as they were thought to be. Other authors have already undertaken a refinement of these categories (Pustejovsky 1991, Moreno Cabrera 2003, De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000, García Fernández 2006b). Our data resulting from a comparative study between lexical and grammatical aspect features and markers of Japanese, Uwajima dialect of Japanese and modern Spanish contribute to this theoretical redefinition of Aktionsart categories by pointing to the following possibilities:

- **That Aktionsart categories can be complex:** a single verb can make reference to two Events that are linked to each other, such as an achievement that kick-starts a State, or an achievement that kick-starts an activity or accomplishment. This is clearly, but not exclusively, seen in Japanese. Spanish shows some cases in which Events can be complex. This points to the possibility that categories of Aktionsart can be more or less fluid depending on linguistic properties. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (4) “Puse el agua en el fogón y, al rato, hirvió” (*Spanish*)<sup>2</sup>  
 (“I put the water on the stove and, after a while, it boiled”)

This is an example of “hervir” seen as an achievement.

- (5) “El agua hirvió durante cinco minutos” (*Spanish*)  
 (“The water boiled for five minutes”)

In this example, “hervir” is seen as a resulting activity of the achievement in (4)

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<sup>2</sup> De Miguel (1999) states that verbs like “hervir” culminate in a point, but they subsequently lead up to a process that can continue for a while. The same phenomenon can be seen in “oscilar” (“to oscillate”).

- (6) “Sorosoro neru” (*Standard Japanese*)  
 (“I will go to bed [fall asleep] in a moment”)  
 In this example, “neru” is seen as an achievement that marks the change of State that happens when falling asleep.
- (7) “Mainichi juu-jikan mo neru” (*Standard Japanese*)  
 (“I sleep up to 10 hours a day”)  
 In this example, “neru” is seen as an activity of sleeping after falling asleep.
- (8) “Mou sugu hikouki ga tobiyoru” (*Uwajima Japanese*)  
 (“The plane is about to take off”)  
 In this example, “tobiyoru” refers to the instants before the action of “taking off”, which kick-starts the activity of “flying”.
- (9) “Tadaima hikouki ga tobiyoru” (*Uwajima Japanese*)  
 (“The plane is flying right now”)  
 In this example, “tobiyoru” refers to the activity of “flying” in progress that results from the achievement of “taking off” in example (8) above.
- (10) “Mou hikouki ga tondoru” (*Uwajima Japanese*)  
 (“The plane already took off”)  
 In this example, “tondoru” refers to the perfective of “taking off”.
- (11) “Hikouki ga juu-jikan tondoru” (*Uwajima Japanese*)  
 (“The plane flew for 10 hours”)  
 In this example, “tondoru” refers to the perfective of the activity of flying, after it reaches an end.

- **Aktionsart in Japanese seems to be underspecified in the verbal form:** The interaction between features of grammatical aspect markers, verb-external elements and the verb’s lexical aspectual features is what yields the aspectual value of a construction. The interpretation of aspectual markers like perfective/imperfective is not completely fixed, but depends on

their interaction with the different Aktionsart or with sub-events of an Aktionsart. This happens in systematic and predictable ways.

- **Event properties of Aktionsart categories can be quantified:** Neo-Davidsonian Event logic and plural logic theories can be employed in order to parameterize Aspect. Events, like lexical and grammatical aspect, can be codified in syntax through the presence of Event quantifiers in some

In order to prove the points claimed above, I will discuss and analyze previous literature on lexical and grammatical aspect in Japanese, Uwajima dialect of Japanese and Spanish, as well as literature regarding Event quantification. I claim that the overt phenomena seen in these languages can be adequately explained by introducing a theoretical element of Event quantification to the existing theories regarding the interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect.

#### **1.4.- Structure of the dissertation**

The contents of the dissertation are divided as follows: Chapters 2 , 3 and 4 aim at introducing the reader to the data on Spanish and Japanese aspectual constructions. Throughout these chapters, we will provide with examples and figures that illustrate the similarities and differences in the way aspect is expressed in both of these languages. As we present the descriptive data, we also offer a review of the relevant literature on aspect in both languages. We describe both the properties of lexical aspect and of grammatical aspect, and some interactions between the two.

Throughout those chapters, it will become clear that Japanese verbs and aspectual markers are quite underspecified, which makes the interactions between elements in the sentence complex and essential for the comprehension of the meaning of each sentence. As opposed to this, Spanish has quite a developed system of aspectual markers that express a variety of nuances. Therefore, the specification of lexical aspect in Japanese verbs must include several options from which constructions can be built, which leads to the need for a refinement of Aktionsart categories. We undertake this task in Chapter 5 .

Likewise, the data lead us to search for an explanation of how constructions can express the different aspectual meanings through the interaction with the aspectual nature of each verb. For that, we resort to Event quantification theories. This is developed in Chapter 5.

Finally, since the point of departure of this work is the difficulties experienced by Japanese native speakers in acquiring the aspectual system of Spanish, Chapter 6 will be devoted to pedagogical issues related to the theoretical claims of this dissertation.

## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Framework: Aspect

In this dissertation, I aim to shed light on the syntactic and semantic properties of different Event types. In order to do so, I will first review the relevant previous literature about lexical and grammatical aspect both in Spanish and Japanese. While some of their research is of great value for the purpose of building a theoretical framework that allows us to explain the phenomena underlying Events in Japanese and Spanish, a sizeable amount of previous research on the topic is eminently descriptive. This, nevertheless, does not undermine its usefulness, as they have been an immense source of insights that helped me greatly to attain my final purpose of approaching explanatory adequacy in my analysis of the properties of Events.

#### 2.1.- Aspectuality and Aspect

Before starting with the analysis of the issue at hand, it is necessary to understand what the concepts of Aspectuality and Aspect refer to. Aspectuality - according to De Miguel (1999) - is defined by Maslov (1978) as the general semantic field of aspectual meanings. Aspectuality is a general and comprehensive set of abstract semantic notions that is expressed in distinct ways in different languages through lexical and grammatical Aspect. Aspect, accordingly, is the information that a predicate provides about the way an Event develops and is distributed across time in a specific language. Aspectual systems vary across languages, but all of them are representations of the notion of Aspectuality itself. In this dissertation, I make reference mainly to the notion of Aspect, as we are dealing with the precise aspectual properties of Spanish and Japanese, and Aspectuality is a more abstract concept.

De Miguel (1999) describes the information that may be provided by aspect as information about the way an Event develops or happens, the length of an Event, the main phase of an Event and the intensity of an Event. In Spanish, aspect can be expressed in the verbal root, through derivative morphemes, inflectional morphemes, periphrases and contextual elements. As we have been stating so far, aspect can be lexical (*Aktionsart*) and inflectional (or grammatical).



Lexical aspect has been the topic of research in multiple works, such as Dowty (1977), Hinrichs (1985), Filip (1996, 2012), Bonomi (1997), Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (1999), Rappaport-Hovav and Levin (2002), Tenny (2000), Cipria & Roberts (2000), Binnick (2005, 2006), De Swart (2012), Filip & Rothstein (2005), Maienborn (2007), Beavers (2008) and Boneh & Doron (2008), amongst many others

Lexical aspect is the information included within lexical items of predicates. This information has no inherent bearing on the duration of the Event itself. Lexical aspect is compositional and can, therefore, be modified by properties of the subject, complements, adverbial phrases of time or place, negation and the verb's tense and inflectional aspect. Depending on the lexical aspect value of a sentence, they fall into one of the types of Events (or non-events): activities, accomplishments, achievements, semelfactives and states. These will be explained in section 2 below.

Inflectional or grammatical aspect is the information regarding “the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, 1976)<sup>3</sup>, which is provided by inflectional morphemes in the verb. Spanish, for instance, has a very rich inflectional aspect system. Further work on periphrases and the system of grammatical aspect of Spanish can be reviewed in Yamamura (2010), Yamamura & Takagaki (2010), Fernández Lagunilla (1999) and Yllera (1999), Rojo & Veiga (1999), Cartagena (1999), Carrasco Gutiérrez (1999, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2006e), Martínez-Atienza (2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2006e, 2006f, 2008), Camus Bergareche (2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c), Havu (1997), Depraetere (1998), Detges (2006), Fernández de Castro (1999), Bravo Martín (2008a, 2008b), Sánchez Prieto (2011), Torres Cacoullós (1999), Vinther (2006), Lenci & Bertinetto (2000), Moreno Cabrera (2003) and García Fernández (2000a, 2000b, 2006a, 2008).

The above authors, to mention a limited subset of an extensive bibliography, deal with the aspectual values of tensed forms in Spanish. Spanish grammatical

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<sup>3</sup> Comrie (1976) mentions “aspect” instead of “grammatical aspect”, although it is obvious by the context that he is making mention of not lexical aspect, but grammatical aspect.

aspect, which is external to its Aktionsart category, while equally complex to Japanese in terms of having multitude of aspectual periphrases, differs from Japanese in that it has a richer system of aspect in the inflected tensed forms of verbs. Whereas Japanese tensed forms (independent of periphrases) are restricted to non-past "-ru" and past form "-ta", Spanish shows a full paradigm of distinct tense forms with different tense and aspectual values. On the other hand, as it has been mentioned above, Japanese has to do with the forms "-ru" and "-ta", usually compounded with periphrastic forms as "-tei-", to yield the above meanings. This leads to a system of grammatical aspect in Japanese that is mainly based on "-ru", "-ta", "-teiru" and "-teita"<sup>4</sup>, aspectual periphrases and verb-external elements interacting with each other and with the lexical aspectual properties of the verb, that has account for all the aspectual meanings that Spanish can with distinct forms:

- (12) "Amaya nada en la piscina"<sup>5</sup>  
 "Amaya wa puuru de oyoi-deiru"<sup>6</sup>  
 ("Amaya swims in the pool")
- (13) "Amaya nadó en la piscina"  
 "Amaya wa puuru de oyoida"  
 ("Amaya swam in the pool")
- (14) "Amaya nadaba en la piscina de pequeña"  
 "Amaya wa kodomo no koro, puuru de oyoi-deita"  
 ("Amaya used to swim in the pool when she was little")

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<sup>4</sup> See Ogihara (1999), Kamata (1996), Yamamori-Matsui (1998) and Yamashita (2004), to mention a few. Japanese authors, however, tend to analyze lexical and grammatical aspect as a unit. This will be analyzed in Chapter Chapter 3 below.

<sup>5</sup> Example (12) is taken from De Miguel (1999). Subsequent examples are mine. These examples attempt to illustrate the many ways grammatical aspect of the tensed form can appear in a construction. Composite forms of "haber" + *participio* are technically periphrases, but have been included here because they can be compounded with another aspectual periphrasis such as in "Amaya ha nadado" ("Amaya has swum") → "Amaya ha estado nadando" ("Amaya has been swimming"). It can also be argued that it is not a periphrasis anymore because the *participio* has lost its agreement features, unlike the passive form "ser" + *participio*, as well as other periphrases that use *participio* as well (See García Fernández, 2006a). Also, future and conditional forms have been omitted deliberately from the above examples for the sake of brevity.

<sup>6</sup> "Amaya wa puuru de oyoi-da", using a regular "-ta" past form is valid as well.

- (15) "Amaya ha nadado en la piscina"  
 "Amaya wa puuru de oyoideiru"  
 ("Amaya has swum in the pool")
- (16) "Amaya había nadado en la piscina"  
 ("Amaya had swum in the pool")  
 "Amaya wa puuru de oyoideita"<sup>7</sup>
- (17) "Cuando Amaya hubo nadado en la piscina, se fue"<sup>8</sup>  
 "Amaya wa oyogiowatta ato ni kaetta"  
 ("When Amaya had finished swimming in the pool, she left")

The assumption of this thesis is that these differences in the aspectual systems are responsible, at least in part, for the difficulties that Japanese learners of Spanish as an L2 seem to experience in adjusting their system of grammatical aspect. In order to describe the locus and exact nature of these difficulties, we undertake a theoretical analysis of all the factors involved in aspectual phenomena.

## 2.2.- Tense

Based on the work by Rojo & Veiga (1999) about Spanish “tiempo”, a word that can be translated both as time and tense in English, the notion of tense (in Spanish, “tiempo lingüístico”) is the linguistic representation of the abstract, chronological dimension of time. Accordingly, tense allows us to locate an Event or State chronologically from a point of reference. The notion of tense is pervasive in all languages, but the way it shows up in grammar varies. In Spanish, that would be “tiempo verbal”, verbal tense, again as shown in Rojo & Veiga (1999). I will refer to “linguistic tense” as tense, as a single word and I will use the expression “verbal tense”, as well as the different ways it can be expressed, to refer to the concrete ways tense takes form in each language, as, for instance, imperfect past tense (“pretérito imperfecto”) to refer to that specific paradigm in Spanish.

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<sup>7</sup> This example can also take a progressive meaning, as in "Amaya was swimming in the pool".

<sup>8</sup> This form, the *Pretérito Anterior*, is slowly falling in disuse. Instead of it, it is more common to use a periphrastic form such as "acabó de" + *infinitivo* ("finished" + present participle). For more about this tense, see Moreno Alba (2006)

Tense can be absolute and relative. Absolute tense is described by Comrie (1985) as "[...] a tense which includes as part of its meaning the present moment as a deictic centre". Therefore it can be stated that, as absolute tense, future, present and past forms express a temporal relation of posteriority, simultaneity and previousness relative to the moment of utterance.

Relative tense is described by Comrie (1985) as a tense whose "[...] reference point is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment". Therefore, the notions of posteriority, simultaneity and previousness are relative to a point in time that itself bears a relationship of posteriority, simultaneity or previousness relative to the moment of utterance. Because of that, we can express the past of a future, the present within a past, the future relative to of a past Event, and so on.

The ways absolute and relative tense are expressed in both Spanish and Japanese are very different from each other due to the differences in their verbal tense paradigms and inflectional patterns. These differences are caused by the dissimilarities in the internal systems of linguistic tense, as well as aspectual reasons. Kudo (1995), Ogiwara (1999) and others describe Japanese relative and absolute tense, as well as the aspectual system of Japanese. Their points of view will be explained in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

### **2.3.- Aspect and tense in Spanish**

According to De Miguel (1999), aspectuality can manifest itself in an Event as qualitative or quantitative aspectuality. Qualitative aspectuality can express change or the lack thereof, movement of the Event towards an internal boundary or lack of internal boundary and can focus on a phase of the development of an Event<sup>9</sup>.

It is expressed with features such as staticity/dinamicity, boundedness or ingressive / progress / resultativeness. On the other hand, quantitative aspectuality can express whether an Event lasts through time or is instantaneous,

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<sup>9</sup> The notion of event phase will be substantiated in further detail in Chapter 5 below.

whether it is a single Event, a multiple one or an iterative one and whether it is intensive, non intensive or attenuative.

The different combinations of both qualitative and quantitative aspectuality lead us to the different classes of Events mentioned in section 2.4 below. On the other hand, the combination of linguistic tense and inflectional aspect gives us the rich verbal tense paradigm of Spanish.

Regarding the current research, the difference between perfective past form (pretérito indefinido) and imperfective past form (pretérito imperfecto) can be seen in one of two ways, each one of which has its own supporters. On the one hand, it can be seen as a difference of inflectional aspect (hence, an issue of boundedness), as stated by García Fernández (1998). On the other hand, it can be construed as a difference in terms of relative tense, as in Yamamura (2010).

García Fernández (1998) classifies grammatical aspect into two broad categories: Imperfective (in which only the inside of the action can be seen and therefore any endpoint of an Imperfective action is inferred pragmatically and not syntactically or semantically) and Aorist (in which the situation is seen as a whole and whose endpoint is not a pragmatically inferred one but an inherent one that is given by the grammatical features). García Fernández claims that this distinction implies that the Imperfective past, a form of Imperfective aspect, is incompatible with complements led by “en” and “durante” that have a quantified NP unless an interpretation of habitual aspect, comprised of microevents, is assumed. This is seen in example (18) below:

- (18) “De joven María bailaba vales todos los días durante dos horas”  
(García Fernández, 1998)  
 (“When she was young, Mary used to waltz for two hours every day”)

Yamamura (2010) criticizes the above classification of the aspectual features of forms of past tense in Spanish as presented in García Fernández (2010). She finds several counter-examples, one of them being sentence (19) below:

- (19) a. Juan estaba nervioso durante la fiesta  
b. Juan estuvo nervioso durante la fiesta  
("Juan was nervous during the party")

According to Yamamura, García Fernández's approach to grammatical aspect cannot explain what the difference is between (19) and (19) above. Both have an AdvP comprised of "durante" and a determined NP. According to García Fernández, Imperfective Past is acceptable as the NP is not determined. This is indeed so in (19a), yet that provides with no explanation to why both Imperfective and Indefinite Past forms are grammatical and what the differences in function between them are. In other words, his approach lacks both explanatory and descriptive adequacy.

I agree with Yamamura (2010), therefore, that an approach that is based exclusively on aspectual properties may not be sufficient to explain the differences between perfective and imperfective grammatical aspect.

Yamamura's (2010) point of view is noteworthy in the sense that it defines both tenses in a very intuitive way. The perfective form would show the passing between the non-occurrence of an Event to its occurrence; on the other hand, the imperfective past form would, essentially, carry on the same functions the Spanish present form does in the present, but moved back to a moment in the past, therefore, showing a meaning of relative tense as the present tense of a past moment. Her assumption holds up, given how closely the functions of present tense and imperfective past mirror each other, with the main difference between them being just the tense value. Yamamura's (2010) point of view implies that Imperfective Past is also indeed imperfective in its aspectuality. Imperfective aspect is an aspect that opposes perfective / aorist aspect. That implies that the difference between perfective and imperfective past tenses of Spanish, while being an issue of relative tense, would also be an issue of aspect. Therefore, it could be thought that relative tense and aspect are two sides of the same coin in Spanish and, therefore, their difference could be irrelevant in terms of this research. I shall proceed to explain Yamamura's definition of the temporal properties of the Imperfective and Indefinite Past forms of Spanish with further detail.

Yamamura (2010) describes the functions of Imperfective past as showing a relation of simultaneity between a determined time in the past and the proposition in question, which shows that the proposition is valid during the period of time in the past that is expressed. In other words, the relation between proposition and time in the past is akin to the one between the moment of speech and a proposition expressed in Present tense. Therefore, Imperfective past is a Present tense whose point of reference has been displaced from the present moment of speech to a past reference point. See example (20) below, from Yamamura (2010) and example (21), which is an attempt by me to move the reference point of (20) to the present moment of speech:

- (20) “*Durante el año 1958 la proporción era del 2,2 por ciento*”  
(During the year of 1958, the proportion was a 2,2 per cent)
- (21) “*En la actualidad la proporción es del 2,2 por ciento*”  
(Nowadays, the proportion is a 2,2 per cent)

From these examples, two things can be easily inferred: first, it can be seen that the relationship between proposition and time of reference is the same in both cases, thus justifying Yamamura’s claim that the Imperfective Past is functionally a Present tense displaced in time; second, it can be seen that the proposition “*era del 2,2 por ciento*” above is co-occurring and valid for the period of time determined in the AdvP “*Durante el año 1958*” and “*En la actualidad*”.

On the other hand, Yamamura (2010) describes what García Fernández (1998) considers the main representative of Aorist aspect, the Indefinite Past form, denoting a relation of precedence of the proposition regarding the moment of speech, which signifies the change between non-occurrence to occurrence of the proposition. This proposition occupies a determined space and time in the past. The Indefinite Past form indicates the moment in time during which the proposition occurred, but does not imply the period of time during which it is valid. Examples in (19) above can now be explained. They are repeated below as (22), along with explanations that can be drawn from Yamamura (2010)’s approach:

- (22) a. Juan estaba nervioso durante la fiesta  
(It is implied that “Juan being nervous” was valid during the whole time the AdvP “durante la fiesta” is valid)
- b. Juan estuvo nervioso durante la fiesta  
(There is no implication of the AdvP expressing the period of validity of “Juan being nervous”. Instead, the Indefinite Past simply implies that the situation happened some time in the moment signaled by the AdvP, but no other implicational claim is made)

I consider Yamamura’s approach to be a valid starting point in my aim to understand the interactions between Aktionsart and grammatical aspect. I will take it as my point of departure for an approach in which I will claim that the value of grammatical aspect markers depends on their interaction, not only with different Aktionsart, but also with sub-Events of complex Aktionsart. We will see that some combinations are ruled out, and that, depending on Aktionsart properties, some interpretations arise.

In order to undertake the task of creating such an approach, in section 2.4 below I will move to describe lexical aspectual categories (Aktionsart), beginning with the basics: what an Event is.

## **2.4.- Aktionsart and semantic properties of Events**

This section presents the main theoretical approaches to Events and States that are available in the literature. The examples, however, will be sometimes provided in Spanish, in an effort to start presenting the Aktionsart system of this language.

### **2.4.1.- Definition of Event**

According to Rosen (1999), linguistic Events are the linguistic realizations of things that happen. This is a very broad definition of an Event. Other definitions of Event have been given by other authors. Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005) introduces Events in the terms set by Zacks & Tverski (2001) from a psychological point of view as "a segment of time at a given location that is conceived by an



observer to have a beginning and an end". A more fitting description of the term "Event" is produced by Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005) in the following manner:

(23) Definition of Event:

"A definition of an Event  $e$  is a statement of the form  $\phi \rightarrow \text{Happens}(e,t)$  where  $\phi$  contains only *Happens* formulas, and  $e$  does not occur in  $\phi$ ." <sup>10</sup>

We have to ask ourselves whether any utterance can be an Event or not. In a narrow sense, an Event is a linguistic construction expressing something about something that happens; it has a truth value and has participants, also called Event roles, which are explained in further detail in Van Voorst (1988), Grimshaw (1990) and Tenny (1994), Tenny & Pustejovsky (2000) and Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005). Strictly speaking, a linguistic Event is also an affirmative speech act with inflection, in the sense that it tells us something that happened, is happening or will happen. The following (24) to (26) are possible Events in English, whereas (27) to (30) are not Events *strictu sensu*:

(24) John bought a motorbike

(25) Arthur is sleeping.

(26) The builders built a new high-rise building.

(27) Warning!

(28) Help me!

(29) Did you go to the cinema yesterday evening?

(30) I know German

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<sup>10</sup> See Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005) for a further explanation of primitive predicates such as *Happens* and a thorough analysis of events from a framework of *event calculus*.

Examples (29) and (30) above require further explanation for the sake of clarity. In the case of (29) , an interrogative speech act is not by itself an Event, although it is asking about the truth value of an underlying Event, as it is glossed in (29')

(29') [Asking about truth value of Event:] [EVENT: You went to the cinema yesterday evening]

Example (30) above can be more controversial. It corresponds to a State , in the terms of Godel (1950), Kenny (1963), Vendler (1967), Bennet & Partee (1972), Dowty (1979), Smith (1991), Pustejovsky (1991), De Miguel (1999), De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) and Sanz (2000), amongst many others. While States have been considered a type of Event in several works, I prefer to adhere to the thesis of De Miguel (1999) for the sake of consistency, according to which, a State does not happen and has not happened, so it should not be considered an Event. There are other underlying reasons that lead me to think that States should be definitively classified as non-events, namely the irrelevance of features such as [+/- telic] (Sanz, 2000) when the feature [- event] is checked in States. In this dissertation, I have chosen to refer to States as non-events, as in De Miguel (1999). In sum, in terms of the terminology for my research, I will consider States as non-events, according to the terminology used by De Miguel, among other researchers, and in connection to the title of my project.

The properties of an Event do not depend only on the properties of the verb. Instead, the properties of the whole Event depend on an interaction of properties of the verbal root and suffix, subject, objects, auxiliaries and several other elements. This should be stated now in advance to avoid any confusion.

I have, so far, mentioned States. They are crucial in my research. I shall define the semantic properties of States in more detail before dealing with the semantic properties of Events themselves.

#### **2.4.2.- Non-eventive predicates: States**

States are one of the basic classes of predicates by Vendler (1967), along with accomplishments, activities and achievements. There has been a distinction

between States and the other situations since then, but several researchers have challenged the practice of singling out States as an inherently different type of situation. Some of the reasons for States to have been considered distinct from activities, accomplishments and achievements are as follow:

- States are incompatible with manner modification (Katz, 2003; Maienborn, 2003)
- States are 'poorer' Events, which is why they co-occur with fewer adverbs (Mittwoch, 2005; Geuder, 2006)

On the other hand, the following points have been risen in favor of considering States a sub-set of Events and not a distinct set of entities:

- The empirical basis for the distinction between States and Events is poor (Rothstein, 2005)
- A broader definition that comprises both Events and States can be attained (Ramchand, 2005)
- Certain States' properties are merely conceptual (Husband, 2012; Roy & Soare, 2014)
- Their differences can be summarized in terms of structural complexity (McKoon & MacFarland 2000, 2002; Gennari & Poeppel, 2003; Mobayyen & de Almeida, 2005)

Nevertheless, in this dissertation, I will assume a position closer to the classic tenets of Vendler (1967) and Pustejovsky (1991), although keeping in mind that the singling-out of States could be nothing more than a theory-internal mechanism that serves no real theoretical purpose beyond being a useful label for classifying certain constructions that seem to share certain properties<sup>11</sup>. There is a more

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<sup>11</sup> Further information regarding the ongoing debate in literature on the subject of states and their properties can be found in Bach (1981, 1986) and Dowty (1979), on the topic of dinamicity vs.

powerful argument to consider them a separate category. You could say here that you consider them a separate category because you have identified their internal properties and it is not a homogeneous class. You have found different kinds of States, the same way as there are different kinds of Events. Also, because some eventive verbs can be turned into stative predicates by being transformed grammatically so that they can express individual-level properties.

Several linguists have produced a definition of the properties of States. According to Vendler (1967), States are durative atelic predicates. According to De Miguel (1999), in Spanish, a State does not happen nor has happened. It is, therefore, not dynamic, as it does not express an action. This is a point of view similar to Moreno (2013)'s. He claims that the main property of States is that they lack dinamicity, unlike all the other predicates<sup>12</sup> and refers to Dowty (1979)'s and Lakoff (1970)'s tests of dinamicity, explained later in this section. Further research on States can be found in Bache (1982, 1995), Bertinetto et al (1995), Mourelatos (1978), Pustejovsky (1988, 1991), Van Voorst (1988), Moreno (2013), Bosque Muñoz & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2009) and Cuartero Otal & Horno Chéliz (2011).

A State is also inherently non-delimited, and it is inherently durative. All this implies that it cannot express a change, either. Also, a State applies to every moment of the period of time throughout which it extends. States can express several different meanings, as we see below.

A State can express properties of the subject and facts that cannot be modified as long as the conditions for those facts are valid. States can also be verbalized with verbs that express possession, permanence in a situation, verbs that have an inherent duration to them, pseudoattributive verbs, verbs of thought, sensation and emotion. States can be copulas, transitive or unaccusative verbs.

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stativity; Maienborn (2003), Kalluli & Rothmayr (2006) and Marín (2013), on the topic of a Davidsonian vs. a Kimian approach to stativity; de Swart (1998) and Marín & McNally (2011), on the topic of inchoative states; Gehrke (2011) and Fábregas & Marín (2012), on the topic of lexical vs. derived states and Carlson (1977) and Milsark (1974), on the topic of individual vs. stage-level predicates.

<sup>12</sup> By this I refer to Vendler's classic classification of dynamic events into activities, achievements and accomplishments. As it will be explained in more detail in later sections, other event categories have been postulated, such as semelfactives and non-processes. Their properties will be explained in detail in their corresponding sections within this dissertation.

The above properties of States show up in the Spanish examples (31) through (36) below:

- (31) “Juan es alto” [Property][Copula]  
“Juan is tall”
- (32) “Sé hablar japonés” [Non-modifiable fact][Transitive]  
“I can speak japanese”
- (33) “Tengo mucho dinero” [Possession][Transitive]  
“I have a lot of money”
- (34) “En este pueblo habitan diez mil personas” [Permanence in a situation][Unaccusative]  
“Ten thousand people live in this town”
- (35) “Esta película dura dos horas” [Inherent duration][Unaccusative]  
“This movie is two hours long”
- (36) “Pedro se parece a Bill Gates” [Pseudoattributive][Unaccusative]  
“Pedro looks like Bill Gates”
- (37) “Manuel ama a sus hijos” [Emotion][Transitive]  
“Manuel loves his children”

Dowty(1979) and Lakoff (1970) offer a series of grammaticality tests for States. According to Moreno (2013), these tests would take shape in Spanish the following way:

States are incompatible with the periphrasis “estar” + gerund (unless they take an ingressive nuance), as shown in (38) below. States cannot appear with an agentive subject, which implies that States usually cannot be used in imperative form (39) and they refuse adverbs that show volition (40) . They do not accept a PP of instrument (41) , split constructions (42) , pro-form (43) and cannot be complement of verbs like “convencer”, “obligar” and “persuadir” (44) .

Examples (38) , (39) , (42) and (44) are taken from De Miguel (1999). Examples (40) (41) and (43) , as well as the English translations, are mine:

- (38) \* “Juan está queriendo a sus abuelos”  
\* “Juan is loving his grandparents”
- (39) \* “¡Ten libros!”  
\* “Have books!”
- (40) \* “María sabe inglés deliberadamente”  
\* “María deliberately knows English”
- (41) \* “Sé inglés con un curso de televisión”  
\* “I know english with a TV course”
- (42) \* “Lo que Inés hizo fue saber inglés”  
\* “What Inés did whas knowing English”
- (43) \* “Juan es estudiante y María también lo hace”  
\* “Juan is a student and María also does”
- (44) \* “He convencido a Juan de que prefiera vino”  
\* “I convinced Juan to prefer wine”

A long remark is due at this point: the grammaticality tests shown in examples (38) through (44) , however, fail to yield the expected result in a great amount of cases. Moreno (2013) identifies a few situations in which verbs that are supposed to express States take progressive form, imperative and split constructions and become objects of verbs of persuasion, such as those in the examples below, adapted from Moreno (2013):

- (45) “Ahora sé obediente y duérmete” → Imperative  
(Now be obedient and fall sleep)
- (46) “[...] El rodaje de *El ultimo emperador* le obligó a estar allí casi tres años” → Complement of a verb of persuasion.

(“The filming of *The Last Emperor* forced him to stay there for almost three years”)

(47) “Estás siendo injusto” → Progressive  
 (“You are being unfair”)

(48) “Lo que hizo fue tener una gran influencia en la política romana” → Split construction  
 (“What he did was having a big influence in Roman politics”)

The above examples seem to disqualify Dowty (1979) and Lakoff (1970)’s tests of stativity. What happens, however, according to De Miguel (1999) and Moreno (2013), is that there is a process of *dynamization*, a coercive process in which States take a subject with certain agentive features. Katz (2000) mentions some more issues<sup>13</sup> that apply to verbs expressing States that can be explained by resorting to Event quantification and Davidsonian arguments. Event quantification will be dealt with later in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Moreno describes this process as one belonging to the field of pragmatics. In a way, claiming that a State can behave like a dynamic Event because of syntax-external constraints is feasible, but my point in this thesis will be to give a theoretical basis for the properties of both States and dynamic events, which would shed some light on the process of coercion / dynamization of States from a syntax and semantics-internal point of view. This will be explained in later sections of this thesis, when the properties of Aktionsart categories in terms of the features of the Events that comprise them are laid bare for analysis.

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<sup>13</sup> Katz (2000) mentions Parsons (1990) giving an explanation to the ungrammaticality of the examples below.

\* John's believing of the con man. / \* Mary's having of a car.

According to Parsons, the above “-ing” nominalizations are unfeasible to states because they lack Davidsonian arguments. Parsons claims that “-ing” nominalization is a way of making Davidsonian arguments visible to syntax. This logically implies that states do not have event quantifiers. More on event quantification in Chapter Chapter 5.

To sum up, the above description explained in this section stands for States, the main type of inflectional non-eventive linguistic expressions. Next, I will define the four types of Events with reference to Spanish, taking cues from the works of Smith (1991), Rosen (1999), Sanz (2000) and Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005)<sup>14</sup> bearing in mind that, unlike in this research, States have been defined as a type of Event in their works<sup>15</sup>. Events can be activities<sup>16</sup>, accomplishments, achievements and semelfactives<sup>17</sup>. I will proceed to mention the main properties of each one in turn.

### 2.4.3.- Activities

Activities are Events that are typically (although not always) expressed with an intransitive form, which are durative and non-delimited. When an activity ends, it has already happened. Activities have a duration along which the Event occurs, and it occurs throughout the whole Event. Unlike States, activities allow the use of the progressive “estar”+ gerund construction and the imperative form. Some examples are shown below in (49) through (51)

(49) “María bailó durante dos horas”

“Maria danced for two hours”

(50) “El niño está llorando desconsoladamente”

“The boy is crying inconsolably”

(51) “La abuela caminaba despacio por la calle”

“The elder woman walked along the street slowly”

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<sup>14</sup> Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005) treats events and states from the formal point of view of *event calculus*. More on this subject can also be found in Kamp (1979).

<sup>15</sup> Pustejovsky (1991)'s take on event types will be dealt in a later section of this dissertation, as his classification does not follow Vendler's (1967).

<sup>16</sup> Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005) divide *activities* in two groups: activities in a strict sense and in a wide sense. We will refer to both as *activities* for the sake of simplicity.

<sup>17</sup> Also referred to as "points" by Moens & Steedman (1997). Van Lambalgen & Hamm (2005) also use this terminology



Notice that, although we are adding a limit to (49) above, the aforementioned properties of activities still stand, in the sense that, during the time the subject was dancing, it was true that she was performing that activity and that she had done that activity every moment of that period of time and up to every point of time in between. Notice also the interaction between that externally added limit (“durante dos horas”) and the perfective past form “bailó”, letting us know that a durative *Aktionsart*, or lexical aspect, typical of activities, is not in contradiction with an external added and eventually reached end, which is expressed via the grammatical aspect marker of perfective. That limit is not internal to the verb and does not diminish the validity of it being classified as an activity in the above example. This interaction between both kinds of aspect (lexical and grammatical) is at the center of my research.

An extension to (49) above, shown in (49') below works as a transition into the next type of Event, namely accomplishments:

(49') “María bailó un vals”.  
“María danced a vals”

Example (49') above shows the verb “bailar” but used in a different way. This Event has the properties of an accomplishment, described in the following section.

#### **2.4.4.- Accomplishments**

These are dynamic Events that are durative (both properties that are common to activities and accomplishments alike), but they have a limit towards which they progress. This means that if the action is stopped before reaching their limit, the Event is not completed and therefore it has not actually happened (see Dowty's (1979) imperfective paradox for an explanation). In these Events, if there is an expression of time, it shows us the time taken to finish and complete the Event. Let us see some more examples below:

(52) “Me estaba acercando a la pizarra.”  
“I was approaching the blackboard”

- (53) “El corredor corrió una maratón en 10 horas.”  
 “The runner ran a marathon in 10 hours”
- (54) “La constructora montó un puente de hormigón armado en una semana.”  
 “The construction company built a reinforced concrete bridge in a week”
- (55) “La profesora explicó un tema en media hora.”  
 “The professor taught a lesson in half an hour”

Notice that, unlike in the case of activities, as seen in examples (49) through (51) above, PPs of time that appear in accomplishments in Spanish take the form “en...” instead of “durante”. On the other hand, like activities and unlike States, accomplishments allow the progressive form “estar”+gerund, as well as the imperative form.

The determined direct object in the examples above is called a measuring object (Tenny 1994, further developed in Sanz, 2000), which is obligatory in some cases, and optional in other cases, but its lack thereof reverts the whole Event into an activity, as seen in examples (56) and (57) below.

- (56) “La excavadora derribó la pared” [Accomplishment]  
 “The excavator tore down the wall”
- (56') \* “La excavadora derribó” [Ungrammatical]  
 \* “The excavator tore down”
- (57) “María bailó un vals” [Accomplishment]  
 “María danced a waltz”
- (57') “María bailó” [Activity]  
 “María danced”

Hence, the limit set by the measuring object “la pared” in example (56) above is internal, but the limit set by the measuring object “un vals” in example (57) above is not, which gives us two main types of accomplishments: those that require a

measuring object and are ungrammatical without it, and those that without the measuring object become activities.

The last two types of Events, namely achievements and semelfactives, are closely related to each other. I will proceed to define them together in the next section.

#### **2.4.5.- Achievements and semelfactives**

These are the types of Events that are delimited but have a short duration. The main difference between both is that, according to Smith (1991), Rosen (1999) and Sanz (2000), achievements are instantaneous culminating Events, but semelfactives are instantaneous non-culminating Events. Notice the differences in the examples below:

- (58) Ha aparecido una nueva estrella en el cielo.  
[Achievement: instantaneous and culminative][The star appeared and that is all]  
A new star appeared in the sky”
- (59) Pablo tosió  
[Semelfactive: instantaneous and non-culminative][He coughed once and probably would cough more]  
“Pablo coughed”

Also, achievements and semelfactives are different in that semelfactive Events, due to their properties as non-culminative, instantaneous Events, cannot result in a State after the Event happened. See the examples below:

- (60) El agua hirvió. [Achievement][Resulting State: it is boiling<sup>18</sup>]  
 “The water boiled”  
 [After it boils up, it culminates in: “El agua está hervida”]
- (61) Juan tosió. [Semelfactive][There is not a clear resulting State]  
 “Juan coughed”  
 [It never culminates in: \* “Juan está tosido”]

The lexical aspect of verbs that can focus on different phases of an Event (as stated in De Miguel, 1999), such as ingressive, progressive and terminative/resultative falls beyond the main scope of this analysis of the main properties of *Aktionsart* and Events, but it is important to remember that such lexical properties have an influence on the distinction between achievements and semelfactive Events. In the literature, semelfactive Events have been considered a sub-category of achievements before being defined as their own category by Smith (1991), as there are many similitudes between them. However, that argument does not bear any relevance to my research at this time. Therefore, I decide to classify semelfactives as their own type of Event, as in Smith (1991) Rosen (1999) and Sanz (2000), although they share several properties with achievements.

I mentioned above that achievements and semelfactives are Events that have a limit and are short in duration. That is their main point in common. Both differ from Accomplishments in that they do not have duration, as, in effect, most of them are instantaneous verbs that can express a change of State or a resulting State (in the case of achievements). They are, therefore, dynamic but not continuous.

Kamata (1996) points to the existence of an additional category of *Aktionsart*, the *non-processes*. This category exists in Japanese and will be defined and

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<sup>18</sup> It can be argued that “hervir” is an Activity instead of a State, as it seems to fulfill the eventivity test of admitting the progressive form. In any case, the bottomline is that an achievement results in a different event type. The same thing happens with verbs such as “vivir” (to live in a place), that can be thought of as States, but in a way they share many of the eventive features of an Activity while still not showing any action themselves.

explained in section 3 below. In section 2.5 , I will review the parameterized features of the different Aktionsart categories, according to existing literature.

## 2.5.- Classifications of Event types according to their features

The various types of Events have been classified in several ways. The aforementioned classification as applied to Spanish is mainly based on De Miguel (1999). Other classic classifications present in the literature, taken from Rosen (1999), are shown in (62) though (66) below. Notice that States are added as a type of Event in most of these classifications and also that semelfactives are notably missing. Also, in Moens (1987)' classification, the traditional categories coined by Vendler (1967) and Dowty (1979) have been replaced with other labels, although they point to very much the same types of Events. Their analyses classify Events according to their semantic features:

### (62) Verkuyl's (1993) Parameters of Event Classes<sup>19</sup>

State: -bounded, -continuous

activity: -bounded, + continuous

achievement: +bounded, -continuous

accomplishment: +bounded, +continuous

### (63) Carlson's (1981) Parameters of Event Classes<sup>20</sup>

State: +continuous, -extended

activity: +continuous, +extended

achievement: -continuous, -extended

accomplishment: -continuous, +extended

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<sup>19</sup> Verkuyl (1993) defines the parameter [+/- continuous] as whether the event has a duration or not. The parameter [+/- bounded] refers to whether the event has a natural inherent endpoint.

<sup>20</sup> Carlson (1981) defines the parameter [+/-extended] as whether the event has a duration or it is a punctual event. The parameter [+/- continuous] refers to whether the event goes on without reaching a culminating point or if it reaches that culminating point.

(64) Moens' (1987) Parameters of Event Classes<sup>21</sup>

culmination: +consequence, atomic (recognize, win the race)

culminated process: +consequence, extended (build a house)

point: -consequence, atomic (hiccup, tap, wink)

process: -consequence, extended (run, swim, play the piano)

State (understand, love, resemble)

(65) Hoeksma's (1983) Parameters of Event Classes<sup>22</sup>

State: -countable, -duration

activity: -countable, +duration

achievement: +countable, -duration

accomplishment: +countable, +duration

(66) Most Common Parameters of Event Classes, by Rosen (1999)

extended: States, activities, accomplishments

nonextended (momentaneous): achievements

bounded (countable, definite): accomplishments, achievements

unbounded: activities, States

On the other hand, there are classifications of Events based not just on features, but on the sub-eventive properties of Events. Classifications by Pustejovsky (1991), along with follow-up work on this theory by Moreno Cabrera (2003), De

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<sup>21</sup> Moens (1987) defines the parameter [+/- consequence] as whether the event culminates. He defines [+/- atomic] as whether the event is momentaneous or not.

<sup>22</sup> Hoeksma (1983) defines [+/-countable] as whether the event can be counted, and [+/- duration] as whether the event lasts over time

Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) and Moreno (2013) will be described in Chapter 5 below, when I move the focus of my research to Event theory.

Both the approaches based on features and the approaches that try to analyze the internal structure of Events in terms of them being comprised of other Events are useful in order to define the properties of the complex Events. I claim that in Japanese, Spanish and arguably in other languages too, Event types can be defined as being complex, very much in the way Pustejovsky (1991) proposes for English. This will be substantiated in later sections.

So far, I can define a complex Event as one like “hervir” in Spanish, seen above in (60), which is comprised of two or more sub-events, as being “complex”. In the case of “hervir” (to boil), it consists of “reaching the boiling point” and “boiling up”. Further examples such as this one in Spanish and Japanese that prove the existence of complex Events in these languages will be shown in Chapter 5.

We have to bear in mind, in any case, that if we have complex Events, features of those sub-events will change their value between sub-events. For instance, an achievement that kick-starts an activity will have its [+bounded] feature become a [-bounded] feature, hence forcing distinct interactions with grammatical aspect markers depending on whether the kick-starting achievement or the resulting activity is focused on. This focusing mechanism is carried out through the interaction of the lexical item with grammatical aspect morphemes and Event quantifiers, as we will see later in this thesis. See the following examples in Standard Japanese and Spanish.

(67) “Hikouki ga tonda”<sup>23</sup> (“The plane flew off”) [+bounded] (Achievement)  
Implies → “Hikouki ga tondeiru” (“The plane is flying”) [-bounded] (Activity)

(68) “Mado ga wareteiru” (“The window is broken”) implies an Event of “the window breaking” ([+bounded]) and a resulting State of “the window being broken” ([-bounded])

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<sup>23</sup> This can be interpreted as distinct phases of a single event, in the manner of Coseriu (1976) and Dietrich (1973, 1996). My take is that such phases can be described as sub-events inside an event, with features with which the markers of grammatical aspect interact.

(69) "Alberto supo la verdad" ("Alberto found out the truth") implies an Event of "finding out the truth" ([+bounded]) and a resulting State of "Alberto knowing the truth" ([-bounded])

These changes in the value of features, along with the subsequent changes in the Aktionsart category that the Event goes through, are responsible for any distinct interpretation of the meaning in the construction. These features get licensed along features of grammatical aspect and other elements in order to allow for the properties of the Event to be interpreted. Interactions between features of lexical aspect of the different Event types and features of grammatical aspect in Spanish and Japanese regarding perfective, stative and progressive aspect will be dealt with in later sections of this dissertation.

In this section, we have seen the properties of tense, Aktionsart and grammatical aspect, with special attention to Yamamura (2010)'s approach to the aspectual differences between Imperfective and Indefinite Past forms of Spanish. The following chapter summarizes the theories about lexical and grammatical aspect in Japanese and the Western Japanese dialect of Uwajima, in the island of Shikoku, which happens to have a system of marking grammatical aspect that is very different from that of standard Japanese.



### Chapter 3

## Aktionsart and Grammatical aspect in Japanese (standard and Uwajima dialects)

### 3.1.- Events in Japanese according to Kindaichi (1950, 1976)

As summarized in Jacobsen (1992), early modern Japanese linguist Kindaichi<sup>24</sup> devised his own classification of Events in Japanese. By analyzing the feasibility of verbs co-occurring with the “-teiru” form, he divided Events in stative, instantaneous, durative or, failing all the others, a type of Event he called “4<sup>th</sup> class” Event.

The problem with Kindaichi’s approach is that having an undefined “4<sup>th</sup> class” where to put in those verbs that do not fit in any other category is not an elegant solution, since it leaves the properties of that category unaccounted for. An example of each of Kindaichi’s categories is shown below, paraphrased from Jacobsen (1992):

(70) “Eigo ga dekiru”

“(I) can speak English” → Stative: these verbs do not take “-teiru”

(71) “Kodomotachi ga kooen de asondeiru”

“The children are playing in the park” → Continuative: take a progressive reading with “-teiru”

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<sup>24</sup> The linguistic tradition of the 20th century in Japan regarding types of actions in standard Japanese has been based mostly on the works of Kindaichi (1950, 1976). Kindaichi described lexical aspect in terms of the verb and not the whole linguistic construction. Several linguists have dealt with the types of verbs and actions in Japanese in the last few decades besides Kindaichi, such as Kudo (1989, 1995), Kusanagi (1981), Konishi (1997), Yamamura & Takagaki (2010), Yamamori - Matsui (1998), Oki (2000), Ogiwara (1999), Kageyama (1995) and Kamata (1996), amongst many others. They are dealt in the following sections of this thesis.

The approach taken by these linguists differed in each case. Nevertheless, it can be said that nowadays it is accepted that lexical information cannot be considered as a property that is exclusive of the verbal entry of an event. In addition to it, there usually are other elements, like adverbial phrases, that convey their own meaning to the overall aspectual value of the construction and yield a more complex and derived aspectual meaning.

(72) “Denki ga tsuiteiru”

“The lights are on” → Instantaneous: take a perfect reading with “-teiru”

(73) “Yama ga sobieteiru”

“The mountain towers above” → Type Four: must take “-teiru” and are then stative

Table 1. Events according to Kindaichi (1950, 1976)

	Stative	Continuative	Instantaneous	“Type Four”
Accept “-teiru”	No	Yes	yes	Yes (forced)
Meaning with “-teiru”	N/A	Progressive	Perfective	Stative

Kindaichi’s approach makes sense from a descriptive point of view but lacks explanatory adequacy. He incorporates a grammatical marker, “-teiru”, into “type four” Events, thus blurring the distinction between Aktionsart and grammatical aspect. He, however, does not give a clear account of the properties of “-teiru” and why it is required for “type four” Events to be licensed. His approach only tells us that “type four” verbs always co-occur with “-teiru”, but he offers no reason as to why that is so. Kindaichi, in Kindaichi (1976) kept his classification of Japanese Events after Vendler’s (1957, 1967) classification of Aktionsart had been published and widely adopted in linguistic circles worldwide. It is understandable that he did so, as Vendler’s classification does not provide for a straightforward account to what happens with “type four” verbs.

Kindaichi’s works have exerted a pivotal influence on modern linguists in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Several of them published criticisms and amendments to Kindaichi’s initial classification. Let us see what some of the most important linguists in Japan claimed regarding aspect in Japanese.

Fujii (1966) details that Kindaichi (1950, 1976) 's Type Four verbs are, in many cases, not pure. This means, some verbs such as “herikudaru” (“be humble”) or “zoku-suru” (“belong to”), along with many other verbs that Kindaichi puts in that category, accept both a regular “-ru” form, as well as a “-teiru” form, without change in meaning. In other words, they belong at the same time in the categories of States and of Type Four. Kindaichi's work has been further criticized in later works, but the point to take from this group of verbs possibly belonging to two different categories (States and Type Four) is the following: classifications of Aktionsart (or classifications of types of verbs, which is how it was seen in times of Kindaichi, as Vendler (1957, 1967)'s analysis was still years away from being published then) might not be clear-cut.

In sum, Kindaichi's fourth category of verbs has merit, but, while it had descriptive value, it lacked a clear definition in terms of the lexical and syntactic properties of those verbs in it. This, in turn, made Kindaichi's fourth category of verbs a linguistic “mixed bag” in which to throw those verbs that did not fit in the categories of State, continuative and instantaneous verbs. In the following section, I will describe the criticism of Kindaichi by Okuda (1978a, 1978b).

### **3.2.- Okuda (1978a, 1978b)'s criticism of Kindaichi (1950, 1976)**

Okuda heavily criticises Kindaichi's on two fronts. First, he claims that Kindaichi's “continuative” verbs are not continuative because of lexical properties of the verb, but because of grammatical aspectual properties of “-teiru”. While it seems obvious that in example (71) above the verb “asobu” (“to play”), root form of “asondeiru”, expresses an Event that has duration, Okuda criticises Kindaichi's claim that they express actions that are inherently continuative. The action expressed in “asobu” implies that the action has to start in a certain instant of time; therefore, the verb is not by itself continuative, but takes that meaning – durative action free from boundaries – by its interaction with “-teiru”. This points to a very deep interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect in Japanese in order to

yield an aspectual meaning, which means that neither one of them can be analyzed by itself, but as the result of the interaction of their features<sup>25</sup>.

Okuda's second criticism of Kindaichi's work is that Kindaichi's "instantaneous" verbs include some verbs that, albeit showing – he claims – a perfective meaning when used with "-teiru", can hardly be considered instantaneous. This would be the case of, for instance, "futoru" ("to get fat")<sup>26</sup>, "iku" ("to go") and several more. In order for these verbs to be instantaneous, they have to forcibly be treated as such, which means, they have to be considered as a bounded Event that starts and ends; by doing this, they can take "-teiru" and yield Kindaichi's perfective meaning. I consider this to be very relevant, as it means that an Event can be focused on either the durative part of it (in case there is a duration) or the boundaries, which are the moments the Event starts or ends<sup>27</sup>. The possibility of focus being shifted between different moments of an Event is one of the realizations that led me to propose a new classification of Aktionsart categories in this dissertation. In Chapter 5, I will propose and argue in favor of such new classification.

More recent analyses of Japanese have provided with new insights in the matter. In the following section, I will summarize Kudo (1995)'s analysis of categories of verbs in this language.

### **3.3.- Events in Japanese according to Kudo (1995)**

Kudo (1995) provides a new classification that shares a commonality with Kindaichi (1950, 1976)'s and Okuda (1978a, 1978b)'s classifications: it considers lexical and grammatical aspect to be closely tied and, therefore, does not analyze their properties separately. Kudo's is another descriptive analysis that is somehow

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<sup>25</sup> This somehow explains why Kindaichi, when analyzing Japanese events from a descriptive point of view, resorted to blurring the line between lexical and grammatical aspect and, in consequence, used the whole inflected verbal form as the basis for an analysis of event categories. His analysis could not aim to explain the features of events, but only to describe and classify verbs into event categories according to their co-occurrence with "-teiru". This is due to the fact that a descriptive approach cannot see any deeper than the overt representation of the language and, therefore, will not be able to yield syntactic and semantic features needed to yield a classification of events with explanatory value.

<sup>26</sup> The verb "futoru" ("to get fat") is part of a group of "gradual completion verbs" (Bertinetto et al., 1995). These verbs do tend to an end point but it is not implied that it is reached.

<sup>27</sup> This is not an exclusive phenomenon of Japanese. Markers of grammatical aspect in Spanish do exactly the same: they allow to focus on different parts of the event.

more refined than Kindaichi's, albeit also somewhat lacking explanatory adequacy, as I will attempt to prove below.

Events have been classified by Kudo (1985, pp.69-79) in terms of the aspectual value of verbs. Kudo proposes verbs can be divided in categories A, B and C according to their semantic properties.

**Category A** is comprised of verbs of external movement, in which there is an opposition between the “-ru” and “-teiru” forms. Kudo (1995) further divides category A into groups A(1), A(2) and A(3).

**A(1)** can be broadly defined as containing verbs that express an action by the subject and a change in the object. This is the case of verbs such as “akeru” (“to open something”), “mageru” (to bend something), “dasu” (“to take out”) and “ageru” (“to give”), “tateru” (“to build”).

**A(2)** can be broadly defined as containing verbs that express a change in the subject. Verbs such as “kiru” (“to put on”), “aku” (intransitive “to open”), “deru” (“to leave”), “magaru” (“to bend”), “atatamaru” (“to warm up”), “kasanaru” (“to pile up”), “iku” (“to go”), “kuru” (“to come”), “kaeru” (“to go back home”) belong in this category.

Lastly, subcategory **A(3)** can be broadly defined as containing verbs that express an action by the subject. The verbs “aruku” (“to walk”), “naku” (“to cry”), “ugokasu” (“to move something”), “mawasu” (“to turn something”), “taberu” (“to eat”), for instance, are examples of A(3) type verbs. Verbs in A(1) and A(2) have an internal limit. On the other hand, verbs in A(3) do not reach an internal limit.

**Category B**, is comprised of verbs of internal feeling in which there is an opposition between the forms “-ru” and “-teiru” that is related to person. In this case, the non “-teiru” forms (“-ru”, “-ta”) cannot be used in third person constructions. See the following examples, Taken from Kudo (1995, p. 70) in which the verb “omou” (“to think”), which Kudo (1995) classifies as a category B verb, uses either the “-ru” or the “-teiru” form depending on whether third person is used or not:

(74) "Watashi, chichi wa shinu to omou wa" ("I think dad is going to die")

(75) "Chichi wa, shinu to omotteiru wa" ("Dad thinks he is going to die")

Kudo (1995) divides category B into **B(1)**, containing volitive verbs that express thought, as is the case of the aforementioned "omou" and "kangaeru" (both meaning "to think"); **B(2)**, containing non-volitive verbs of emotion such as "kurushimu" ("to suffer"); **B(3)**, containing verbs of perception, such as "kikoeru" ("to hear") and **B(4)**, containing verbs of feeling such as "kanjiru" ("to feel") and "tsukareru" ("to be tired")

Lastly, **category C** is comprised of a broad variety of stative verbs, in which the semantic opposition between the "-ru" and "-teiru" forms does not take place. Category C can be further divided into **C(1)**, which contains statives such as "iru"/"aru" (locative "to be"), which do not take the form "-teiru" and "sonzai suru / shiteiru" ("to exist"), which is valid in both the plain "-ru" form and "-teiru" form; **C(2)**, which contains verbs of spacial location such as "menshiteiru" ("to face") and "sobieteiru" ("to rise"), which must take the "-teiru" form; **C(3)**, which contains stative verbs that express relations, such as "atehamaru" ("to correspond"), which takes the "-ru" form, "imi suru/ shiteiru" ("to mean") and "niteiru" ("to look like") which takes the "-teiru" form; **C(4)** contains verbs that express properties, such as "niau / niatteiru" ("to suit"), potential forms such as "hanaseru" ("to be able to talk"), adjective + auxiliary "-sugiru" constructions such as "ookisugiru" ("to be too big") and properties that demand "-teiru" such as "sugureteiru" ("to excel"), amongst other verbs. I shall summarize Kudo (1995)'s classification in the following table:

Table 2. Classification of verbs according to Kudo (1995)

A	A1	Action by the subject and change in the object	Akeru, mageru, dasu, ageru, tateru
	A2	Change in the subject	Kiru, aku, deru, magaru, atatamaru, kasanaru, iku, kuru, kaeru
	A3	Action by the subject	aruku, naku, ugokasu, mawasu, taberu
B	B1	Volitive verbs of thought	omou, kangaeru
	B2	Non-volitive verbs of emotion	kurushimu
	B3	Verbs of perception	kikoeru
	B4	Verbs of feeling	Kanjiru
C	C1	Statives	iru, aru, sonzai suru / shiteiru
	C2	Verbs of spacial location	menshiteiru, sobieteiru
	C3	Verbs expressing relations	atehamaru, imi suru / shiteiru, niteiru
	C4	Verbs that express properties	niau / niatteiru, hanaseru, ookisugiru, sugureteiru

The main merit of Kudo (1995)'s classification is the level of detail in which Japanese verbs are divided into according to their semantic properties. Unfortunately, I consider it has a few flaws as well. Its main flaw is that, while reaching a very high descriptive adequacy, it lacks some explanatory adequacy regarding the acceptance of grammatical aspect marker "-teiru". This is seen in category C, in which the aspectual opposition between the "-ru" and "-teiru" is said to be irrelevant, yet some verbs demand either one or the other, while other verbs tolerate both; also, in this category, Kudo fits potential forms and derived forms such as the "to be too" + adjective, which turns category C into a mixed bag, in formal terms, and yields some confusion on whether Kudo is classifying verbal entries, conjugated forms or overall eventive meanings. It seems that Kudo is pointing towards the possibility that the resulting aspectual value of a verb depends not only on its lexical root but also the interaction with markers of grammatical aspect, which is an insight that seems to go in the right direction, but nevertheless she does not make this point clear enough nor she gives any explanation as to why. Moreover, I have to remark as well that the nuances of aspectual opposition between the "-ru" and "-teiru" forms shown in Kudo (1995) in subcategories A1, A2 and A3 are somewhat lost in the explanation. Lastly, it seems that Kudo (1995) applies the differences in feasibility of the "-teiru" form as a grammaticality test for the categories she skilfully classifies verbs into, but does not delve into the reasons for the acceptability or not of "-teiru" in sufficient detail.

As a result of all the above flaws, Kudo (1995)'s classification, while serviceable in terms of a descriptive analysis, can be confusing from a formal point of view, specifically when it comes to category C.

Nevertheless, regardless of whether it is adequate to classify verbs using a combination of lexical and grammatical features at the same time, it is a fact that Japanese verbs, when compounded with the "-teiru" marker of grammatical aspect, yield special aspectual meanings such as progressive, perfective or resultative. This in itself is crucial for my research. Japanese lacks the complex inflectional system of Spanish. In particular, the form "-teiru" takes two main meanings, depending on the lexical properties of the verb, as well as the linguistic and situational context in which they are used<sup>28</sup>:

- (76) "Hanako-wa hashi-teiru"  
Hanako-Top run-teiru  
"Hanako is running"
- (77) "Tadaima terebi-o mi-teiru"  
Right-now television-Acc watch-teiru  
"I am watching TV right now".
- (78) "Ano eiga-wa mou mi-teiru"  
That movie-acc already see-teiru  
I have already seen that movie.
- (79) "Ki-ga taore-teiru"  
Tree-Nom fall-teiru  
"There is a fallen tree" / "The tree fell"

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<sup>28</sup> The fact that durative activities or accomplishments such as "taoshi-teiru" ("to be felling down") and states such as "taore-teiru" ("to be lying on the ground having fallen down") share the same marker may be a reason why grasping the properties of events in Spanish proves challenging to some Japanese native learners, since these constructions are expressed through different aspectual markers in Spanish.



The form “-teiru” is, initially, part of the inflectional aspect of the construction, as I have mentioned before. One would expect it to bear no relevance to the *Aktionsart* of the Event. As I have already mentioned, it seems, however, that authors like Kudo (1995) seem to treat it as a part of the verb in those verbs that require it (“sugureteiru”, “to excel”), but treat it as inflection, in the case of those verbs that show an opposition between “-ru” and “-teiru” (“aku”, “to open” vs. “aiteiru”, “to be open”). In other words, it looks like, in some cases and with some verbs, the opposition between lexical and inflectional aspect in Japanese is somewhat blurred out. Kudo’s classification of verbs, therefore, suffers from the same flaw as Kindaichi (1950, 1976)’s one because of it.

The classification of Japanese verbs by Kudo (1995) mentioned above shows us that resorting to an *ad hoc* mechanism of checking the grammaticality or distinct aspectual value that shows up in verbs in Japanese with and without the “-teiru” form might be an unavoidable consequence of basing an analysis on a descriptive process and could impair the explanatory adequacy of a classification, as it seems to happen in her classification of verbs into categories A, B and C.

In the following section, I will summarize and explain the analysis of Events in Japanese by Kamata (1996). This is one of the most recent ones and it portrays the category of *non-processes*, a more polished equivalent to Kindaichi’s Type Four verbs, which I adopt in this thesis.

### **3.4.- Events in Japanese according to Kamata (1996)**

Kamata (1996) builds upon both the analyses by Kindaichi (1950, 1976), Vendler (1967) and Smith (1991) to produce a valid classification of types of Events in standard Japanese that is more in tune with the Western tradition of types of Events, or *Aktionsart*.

(80) Types of Events, by Kamata (1996):

a) States

- “Ie ni wa inu ga nihiki iru” – (“There are two dogs in the house”)

b) Activities

- “Seito tachi wa puuru de oyoida” – (“The students swam in the pool”)

c) Accomplishments

- “Kouen made aruita” – (“[I] walked to the park”)

d) Semelfactives

- “Tori ga habataki wo shita” – (“A bird flapped its wings”)

e) Achievements

- “Chuukintou de sensou ga okotta” – (“There happened a war in the Middle East”)

f) Non-processes

- “Watashi wa kanojo wo yoku shitteiru” – (“I know her well”)

The last class of Aktionsart, non-processes, is very relevant to my research. Its existence itself could have a cascade effect on the issues faced by Japanese students of Spanish in the process of learning the language. Non-processes would correspond to States in Spanish, yet Kamata claims that in Japanese they make their own category due to their semantic properties and syntactic requirements. The class of non-processes roughly corresponds formally to the so-called “4th class” verbs by Kindaichi (1950,1976).

Paraphrasing and summarizing Kamata (1996), “Non-processes” (in Japanese, 非過程, “hikatei”) can be defined as States that are derived from an achievement, whose feature of continuity is undefined and therefore require the atelic marker “-teiru” to be grammatical. Because of this close dependency on a morpheme of grammatical aspect, non-processes could be considered as a special type of Event. I anticipate that this could be a type of Event existing only in standard Japanese and not in Western dialects like the Uwajima dialect, which marks grammatical aspect in a different way that I will summarize later in this dissertation. Unlike regular States (due to their origins as achievements) many non-processes allow for an imperative use. They share, therefore, some properties with non-stative Events. This is a crucial point: they are semantically States that

syntactically share properties with non-stative action types and they are internally comprised of an achievement that leads to a resulting State. This puts us right into the conceptual framework we require in order to yield an explanation to why verbs belonging to the category of non-processes demand the “-teiru” marker of aspect. This will be dealt with in later sections of this dissertation, where we will delve deeper into the lexical and syntactic features of non-processes, as well as the properties of Event quantification that apply to them. In any case, a deeper analysis of non-processes is due at this point. In the next section, I will summarize in further extent non-processes according to Kamata (1996).

#### **3.4.1.- Kamata (1996)’s approach to non-processes**

As mentioned above, non-processes and States share the property of stativity. However, non-processes, unlike States, derive from dynamic Events. States can only take what Kamata (1996) calls a "perfective" marker of grammatical aspect. The term "perfective" here must be taken as "-ru" or "-ta", not as the typical Western meaning of perfective used in most research papers - having a definite beginning and end -), instead of the "imperfective" marker ("-teiru", "-teita"). Yet, they still in the end express an imperfective lexical aspect, which is the Aktionsart expected of States. This might be because “-teiru” and its past tense counterpart “-teita” are restricted to constructions of a dynamic, Eventive nature (activities, accomplishments, semelfactives, achievements) or those that share some properties of dynamic Events (non-processes). This would imply that, somehow, non-processes are States and Events at the same time. This can be explained if we theorize that, in Japanese, there happens to be an Event quantifier in those cases where “-teiru” and “-teita” appear. I am introducing the notion of Event quantifier in this section, but it will be explained in further detail in Chapter 5 below. In terms of syntactic structure, this could be an important point.

Non-processes are classified by Kamata into two groups: *adjectival non-processes* (like "sugureteiru", "to excel", and "sobieteuru", "to rise over") and *plain non-processes* (like "shitteiru", "to know"). Both share the common trait that they require the form "-teiru" to be grammatical when they express a State. This would be the basic common property of a non-process: stativity alongside the “-teiru”

morpheme, a form usually restricted to States. Adjectival and plain non-processes, have a few different traits, however:

Most adjectival non-processes allow for the use of the "-ta" form instead of "-teiru" in some cases when used in a subordinate adjectival clause, yet not in a main clause. In this case, they do not lose their stative value.

- (81) "Kore wa totemo sugureteiru / sugureta sakuhin desu" – ("This is an excellent piece of work") [Adjectival non-process]
- (82) "Takaku sobieteiru / ?sobieta<sup>29</sup> tou ga machi no doko kara demo me ni haittekuru"  
– ("That high-rising tower can be seen from anywhere in town")  
[Adjectival non-process; it is less acceptable but valid nevertheless<sup>30</sup>]

Adjectival non-processes do not allow for the use of the imperative form, like regular States.

- (83) \* "Sugurero" – ("Be excellent!") [Adjectival non-process]

On the other hand, plain non-processes do not allow the form "-ta" instead of "-teiru" when used in a subordinate adjectival clause without losing their stative meaning. This is seen in example (84) below, in which "shitta", the "-ta" form of "shiru" ("to know") can only be interpreted as an achievement meaning "finding out".

- (84) "Kinou shitta koto wa himitsu datta" – ("What I *found out* yesterday was a secret) [Plain non-process] → The State becomes an achievement.

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<sup>29</sup> In this case "sobieta", while not ungrammatical, seems to be less acceptable than "sobieteuru", according to Kudo (1995).

<sup>30</sup> This points to the possibility of a gradient in terms of stativity of non-processes: adjectival non-processes like "sugureteiru" might be considered states, from a semantic point of view; adjectival non-processes like "sobieteuru" seem to be somewhat between "sugureteiru" and plain non-processes like "shitteiru", which refuses an interpretation of stativity when it takes the "-ta" form, as seen in example (84) .

Plain non-processes also do allow for the imperative form, unlike adjectival non-processes. This happens because they are States derived from achievements, which do accept the imperative form. One of the most representative examples of this class is the psychological verb "shitteiru", "to know":

(85) "Onore wo shire" – ("Know thyself") [Plain non-process]

All these differences between adjectival and plain non-processes point to one possible internal difference: what Kamata (1996) defines as "adjectival non-processes" (such as "sugureru", "to excel") can be eminently stative, while plain non-processes (such as "shiru", "to know") are active. This is an analysis that will be carried over in later sections of this dissertation.

In any case, there still remains the doubt of whether verbs like "motsu - motteiru", which would correspond to either a State or an activity in both Spanish and English (to have / to carry), are States, one of the two types of non-processes, or activities in Japanese. They do not fit perfectly in any category, yet they share properties of many of them. It can be assumed that when a verb like "motsu – motteiru" expresses the meaning of "to carry", its Aktionsart is that of an activity. Yet, when it expresses the meaning of "to have", it can be considered a non-process, in the sense of "resulting State of the achievement of acquiring something". This points to the possibility that the division of types of Events between States, activities, accomplishments, achievements, semelfactives and non-processes might not be a clear-cut one, but a continuum, as it has already been hinted before. More likely, though, the different categories of Event can be the result of complex interactions of features of linguistic and contextual elements. This is a notion that I will retake later in this thesis, as I consider it to be a crucial one. In any case, if it is true that Events might not be divided in clear-cut categories of Aktionsart in Japanese, the current methods of teaching languages to Japanese speakers, as well as methods to teach Japanese as a L2 should reflect this reality. This is a pedagogical point that will be retaken in the last part of this dissertation.

To summarize non-processes, they are a whole group of verbs in Japanese, which are a cross between two different Aktionsart types, namely States and achievements; they can appear in two different Event structures, depending on whether they express an achievement or a State<sup>31</sup>. This is a reason why the aspectual system of a language should be described in terms of Events or situations and not simply in terms of properties of verbs, as there is much more involved in aspect than just the verb itself and the same verb can fit into more than one Event.

Kamata also deals with the interaction between the properties of lexical aspect and the influence that verb-external elements can exert on the construction. I will summarize Kamata (1996)'s points on this issue in the following section.

#### **3.4.2.- The influence of verb-external elements in eventivity, according to Kamata (1996)**

Besides non-processes, Kamata (1996)'s paper points to a few other bits of very relevant information that are extremely important in order to fully comprehend the aspectual system of Japanese.

In the first place, Kamata states that the aspectual value of a verbal construction does change due to the influence of other phrases and adverbs appearing in the construction. The aspectual situations derived from the interaction of the features of the verb and the features of those additional elements (which tend to prevail) are called "derived situations" in Kamata (1996). Out of them, the so-called "derived activity situations" happen frequently. These express a repetition of an Event, which can be interpreted as an activity and are translated into English through a progressive, as the glosses indicate:

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<sup>31</sup> Van Voorst (1988) mentions the existence in English of what could be interpreted as non-processes in his analysis of Vendler (1967). Van Voorst criticises the classical test of checking for the grammaticality of the progressive form in order to determine if a verb is an event or a state. Progressives such as the one in "This table is missing a leg" are obligatory. On the other hand, he claims that stative verbs such as "to see" and "to hear" usually refuse the progressive, yet they behave as events in other contexts. Kamata(1996)'s "non-processes" for Japanese would include the equivalent verbs to the ones mentioned by Van Voorst (1988).

- (86) "Kiyohara wa saikin yoku hōmuran wo utsu" - ("Lately, Kiyohara is hitting a lot of homeruns")
- (87) "Watashi wa maiasa kōen made aruku" - ("I walk to the park every morning")

According to Kamata, example (86) above is an activity derived from a repetition of semelfactive Events of “hitting”. Example (87) above is an activity derived from a repetition of accomplishment Events of “walking to the park”. They both express a situation of repetition over an undefined and unbounded period of time. In them, an interaction with the features of grammatical aspect would take place after taking into account the lexical aspect value of the construction. Grammatical aspect (“point of view”, in Smith (1991’s terms)) would exert its effect over the final lexical value of the whole lexical Event to yield the final aspectual value of the construction<sup>32</sup>.

I have an alternative point of view regarding “derived activities” such as the ones above: they can be better explained from a point of view of Event quantification. This will be substantiated in Chapter 5 below. Now, we will focus on the properties of markers of grammatical aspect in Standard Japanese and what has been written about them in previous literature.

### **3.5.- Grammatical aspect in Standard Japanese**

Grammatical aspect is the aspectual value of linguistic features of non-lexical type. In the case of Japanese, for instance, this would be the case of morphemes “-ru”, “-ta”, “-teiru” and “-teita”. A large part of the research made so far in Japanese in the topic of aspect deals with the properties of these markers. The tense and aspectual properties of Japanese “-ta”, “-ru”, “-teiru” and “-teita” forms have been widely discussed in the literature, as in Kudo (1995), Ogihara (1999),

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<sup>32</sup> The issue here is that “yoku” (“often”) and “maiasa” (“every morning”) may be playing some role in terms of feature checking in the derivation within the inflectional component of AspP, as well as some quantificational role. Kamata (1996) does not analyze this any further. Therefore, I will do so in further detail later in this dissertation.

Kusanagi (1981), Yamashita (2004), Yamamura (2010) and Yamamura & Takagaki (2010), amongst a multitude of other works in recent years.

Several researchers, such as Kusanagi (1981), Konishi (1997), Yamamori-Matsui (1998), Kudo (1989, 1995), Oki (2000), Fukushima (2000) and Kamata (1996), amongst others, deal with the issue of the multiplicity of grammatical meanings of the "-teiru" marker, the temporal and aspectual properties of the "-ru" and "-ta" alternation and the essential differences that appear to exist between standard Japanese and Western Japan dialects regarding the grammatical aspect of "-teiru" and their corresponding dialectal variants. I will deal with the properties of grammatical markers later in Chapter 4 .

For now, in order to explain Kamata (1996) and Smith (1991)'s research, it can be said that markers of grammatical aspect (called "points of view" by Smith (1991)) can be divided in two groups:

**Group 1:** Kamata calls this group "perfective" ("Kanryou"). The morphemes, "-ru" and "-ta" fall into this group. The action is viewed as potentially having a beginning and an end. In other words, the action is seen as a whole unit from an external point of view. Bear in mind, when Kamata says "perfective", it has to be understood as an action that has or can be understood as having a beginning and an end and it is seen from the outside, as a discrete unit. I mention this because sometimes, the "-ru" form is translated as present tense, in both English and Spanish, which have an imperfective nuance. Japanese "-ru" form does not map present tense perfectly. Thus, this is an issue that has to be taken into account when designing teaching methods for Western languages for Japanese native speakers.

**Group 2:** Kamata calls this group "imperfective" ("Mikanryou"). This is the group of morphemes "-teiru" and "-teita". According to Kamata, the action is viewed as disconnected from its beginning and end points. Therefore, the action is seen as focused from a point of view internal to the action itself. Bear in mind that both "-teiru" and "-teita" correspond to various different forms of grammatical



aspect in Spanish and English, depending on whether they are employed as means to express aspect or relative tense.

Of these markers, “-teiru” is the most interesting one. It comes in handy when determining the distinct properties of Events in Japanese. As summarized by Taga (2013), the morpheme “-teiru” can express:

- **Continuation of action:** It corresponds to a progressive aspect marker.
- **Continuation of result:** It corresponds to a marker of State resulting from a change.
- **Perfective of action:** It corresponds to a marker of perfective aspect of an action.

The morpheme “-teiru” interacts with different types of situations / Events and yields different meanings (examples (88) through (92) below are mine). As it has been said already, non-processes require “-teiru” to be grammatical. Let us see what happens when “-teiru” is combined with other types of Events, instead:

- **States:** Pure States refuse “-teiru”.

(88) \* “Madorido wa Supein ni atteiru” – (“Madrid is in Spain”)

- **Activities and accomplishments:** The form “-teiru” expresses a continuous process of the action.

(89) “Watashi wa kono onigiri wo tabete iru” – (“I am eating this rice ball”)

- **Achievements** (and some of what Kamata includes as Accomplishments, although they do not fit the definition perfectly): The form “-teiru” expresses a State resulting from the Event.

(90) “Sono sakana wa shinde iru” - (“That fish is dead” [as a result of dying])

- **Semelfactive:** Kamata States that, according to Smith (1991), the use of "-teiru" with a semelfactive yields a multiple Event, which can be considered a "derived activity"

(91) "Doa wo tataite iru" – ("I am knocking at the door")

- **Derived situations:** They all become derived activities expressing repetition.

(92) "Kiyohara wa saikin yoku hōmuran wo utteiru" - ("Lately, Kiyohara is hitting a lot of homeruns")

In the following section I will discuss the aspectual properties of the Western Japanese dialect of Uwajima, in the prefecture of Ehime. In order to understand the systems of lexical and grammatical aspect of both languages, I will compare the properties of the Uwajima dialect with those of standard Japanese and those of Spanish.

### 3.6.- The aspectual properties of the Uwajima dialect

In this section I will claim that in Japan there coexist two completely distinct systems of marking and interpreting aspect. I will claim that the aspectual system of modern standard Japanese is a class of its own but, on the other hand, Western Japanese dialects share several properties with the systems of aspect-marking of Western languages such as Spanish and English.

The differences between standard Japanese and Uwajima dialect are visible and obvious when it comes to the morphemes of grammatical aspect. I will claim, however, that there may be differences in the system of lexical aspect that are more subdued and hard to notice. The differences in grammatical aspect between both dialects stem from the existence of alternate morphemes to "-teiru" in the Uwajima dialect<sup>33</sup>, and the existence of two distinct morphemes instead of it, "-yoru" and "-toru". First, let us remember some of the properties of "-teiru"

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<sup>33</sup> In this dissertation, the concept of "Western Japan dialects" is used as a notion referring to the all-encompassing commonalities in grammatical aspect marking between dialects in Western

As I mentioned before, Taga (2013) summarizes the properties of the morpheme “-teiru” as being able to express continuation of action, continuation of result or perfective meaning of an action, as seen in examples (88) through (92) above.

Kudo (1995) and Oki (2000), summarized in Taga (2013) state that instead of “-teiru”, the dialect of Uwajima has distinct forms for progressive and stative perfective / action perfective constructions:

- **Continuation of action (progressive):** “-yoru”
- **Continuation of result / perfective of action:** “-toru”

If we compare this to standard Japanese, and Spanish, we see differences with standard Japanese but shocking similarities between Spanish and the dialect of Uwajima. Let us start with the progressive:

- (93) “Pan wo tabete iru” (Standard Japanese)
- (94) “Pan wo tabeyoru” (Uwajima dialect)
- (95) “Estoy comiendo pan”

Examples (93) through (95) above show the same sentence in the 3 different forms. Standard Japanese expresses progressive with the “-teiru” morpheme, as stated before. However, progressive meaning is restricted to dynamic verbs that have a durative meaning (namely, verbs events that express an activity (pure or derived) or an accomplishment). In the Uwajima dialect, progressive meaning is

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Japan. It is important to mention, however, that in the precise case of the Uwajima dialect, some traces of grammatical aspect marking akin to those in Eastern Japan, more precisely Sendai. This was the homeland of Date Masamune, whose clan, the Date, would rule over the area of modern day Uwajima. Members of the higher classes in Uwajima, therefore, would employ the Sendai dialect, whereas the lower classes would employ the Western Japanese dialect. Traces of the influence of the Dates' rule can be seen nowadays, as shown in Oki (2000 p.56), in that the “-teiru” form is still used in Uwajima nowadays. Nevertheless, for the sake of simplicity, I have chosen the Uwajima dialect as a basis for my claim as there is abundant literature on its properties regarding the “-toru” / “-yoru” pair of grammatical aspect marking forms. Bear in mind that when I refer to the Uwajima dialect as a “Western Japanese dialect”, I do so understanding it still has some aspectual features left from ancient times that come from the Sendai area. I thank Dr. Noritaka Fukushima for the clarification.

expressed through the use of the morpheme “-yoru”. In Spanish, the equivalent is a progressive form with the verbs “estar” + gerundio. Next, let us see the use of “-toru” expressing a resulting state:

(96) “Mado wa kowareteiru” (Standard Japanese)

(97) “Mado wa kowaretoru” (Uwajima dialect)

(98) “La ventana está rota”

In standard Japanese, the meaning of resulting state is expressed with the morpheme “-teiru”, but it is restricted to verbs that express a change of state. As we have seen before, the same morpheme “-teiru”, when added to a durative verb that does not express a change of state, yields a progressive interpretation instead. Therefore, in standard Japanese, “-teiru” is itself undefined in terms of whether it represents progressive or perfective. This does not happen with the Uwajima dialect or Spanish equivalent forms.

In the Uwajima dialect, the morpheme “-toru” is used instead of “-teiru”. When said morpheme is applied to a verb that expresses a change of state, the resulting aspect is that of the state of something after it has undergone a change. Spanish makes use of the form “estar” + participio. Both in Spanish and Uwajima dialect, the linguistic form expressing a resulting state is morphologically different to that expressing progressive. Next, let us take a look at the use of “-toru” as a morpheme marking the perfective of an action.

(99) “Ano eiga wo mou miteiru” (“mou” = already)

(100) “Ano eiga wo (mou) mitoru”

(101) “He visto (ya) esa película”

There is something that stands out from the above examples: we need to clarify first what an action perfective is. In this situation, perfective could be defined as a relative tense in which the consequences of an action are felt throughout time until a certain moment, in this case, the present. In Spanish, this is marked overtly so

the form employed in (98) to express resulting state and the form used in (101) to express an action perfective are different.

In the dialect of Uwajima, however, both resulting State and action perfective share the “-toru” marker of aspect. The interpretation, then, depends on lexical properties of the verb and other elements. In this case, the verb is an accomplishment, which is a durative verb with an internal limit. The form “-toru” in the Uwajima dialect expresses, therefore, that the speaker is in a point of time after the movie ended; we also see there is an effect of having seen the movie or, in other words, that the speaker can say that he or she had that experience of seeing it.

Interestingly, in standard Japanese, as mentioned above, the “-teiru” morpheme, when added to a verb with a durative aspect (durative in the terms of Kindaichi (1950, 1976), which would be equivalent to either an activity or an accomplishment in Vendler (1967)’s terms), should yield a progressive meaning, and not the aspect of an action perfective. It can be interpreted as such, especially if AdvP like “mou” (“already”) are present, as the aspectual properties of the AdvP enable an interpretation in which the action, although durative, is interpreted as having already ended and, therefore, being in the past. We see again the extreme reliance of the morpheme of grammatical aspect “-teiru” of standard Japanese” on the lexical aspect.

The above meanings of “-yoru” and “-toru” are the basic meanings those markers have. However, they can express other meanings as well. Oki (2000) claims that in the Uwajima dialect, “-yoru” can express a time before the beginning of an Event. In other words, it can express prospective aspect, as in Comrie (1976).

(102) “Hikouki wa tobiyoru” – (“the plane is flying”) → Progressive aspect

- (103) “Hikouki wa mou sugu tobiyoru” – (“the plane is about to fly”)→  
Prospective aspect<sup>34</sup>

Kudo (1995) and Oki (2000) describe this phenomenon. I have a personal take on why it could happen, which is sensibly different from what Oki (2000) says, but first, let us take a look at what happens with “-toru” and which other meanings it could take. Again, using the same verb, “tobu”, (roughly translated as “to fly” in virtually all dictionaries one could check), we see the following:

- (104) “Hikouki wa (1000 kiro) tondoru” – (“The plane has flown (1000 km)”) →  
Action perfective, the plane has finished the flight.
- (105) “Hikouki wa tondoru” – (“The plane has just taken off [achievement] and it is starting to fly [activity]”) → Inchoative aspect

The above phenomenon is interesting. Some verbs in the Uwajima dialect which express a durative action, be it an activity or an accomplishment, share the same verbal stem for both Event structures. The verb “tobu” above, although typically a verb expressing an activity, can also be interpreted as an achievement, in the sense that there is a moment in time when the activity starts and that, in terms of aspect, it is a relevant moment.

When the durative Event is focused on with “-yoru”, we get the usual progressive aspect, which is the basic meaning of “-yoru”. On the other hand, when the point of start of a durative Event is focused on with “-yoru”, the resulting meaning is that of a prospective aspect. In Spanish, that prospective aspect that the Uwajima dialect marks with “-yoru” would correspond to a periphrasis such as “está a punto de” (“is about to”) or “va a” (“is going to”). Prospective aspect focuses on the point just before an Event *is going to* happen. That Event would be the punctual Event of starting to fly.

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<sup>34</sup> According to Dr. Ryujin Nomura, unlike in the dialect of Uwajima, the “-yoru” form in the dialect of Nakatsu, in the prefecture of Ooita, Kyushu, is not used to express prospective aspect.

As we said, in the Uwajima dialect, “tobu” (to fly) can express two Event structures, an achievement, and an activity, as in having an Event taking place right when the ensuing activity begins. We have seen that “-yoru” can refer to either a prospective aspect or to a progressive aspect in the Uwajima dialect, depending on the lexical aspectual properties of the Event at hand. In standard Japanese, these aspectual values would fall under the scope of morphemes “-ru” for prospective aspect and “-teiru” for progressive aspect.

On the other hand, as seen in examples (104) and (105) above, “-toru” also partakes in special aspect marking with certain verbs. We have seen that “tobu” and similar verbs can take two different Event structures, an achievement at the beginning of a durative Event and a durative Event (typically an activity). We have seen the consequences of focusing on each of them when using “-yoru”. Something similar happens when “-toru” is used instead.

Oki (2000) claims that the phenomena seen above – in which “-toru” is applied to a durative verb and it does not imply that the activity has ended but it has just started – is because there is a neutralization of aspect and that in these situations, “-yoru” and “-toru” both can express an action in progress. I consider her approach to be lacking in explanatory adequacy. Therefore, I will state my own claim, based on a comparative approach between the Uwajima dialect and Spanish.

This is my take on this issue: should we assume that the action of flying is comprised of the above two Events, a marker of perfective aspect like “-toru” would be bound to yield two different aspectual meanings as well. If the Event at hand is the activity, “-toru” expresses an action perfective aspect, in which the action finished and its effect is felt later. If the Event is the starting point of the durative verb, “-toru” expresses inchoative aspect: the action just begun. This is summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Complex Events in the Uwajima dialect.

	Root: "tobu" (to fly) [Complex Event]	
	Event 1	Event 2
With "-yoru"	"Mou sugu <sup>35</sup> hikouki ga tobiyoru"	"Hikouki ga tobiyoru"
Meaning	"The plane is about to take off" (prospective)	"The plane is flying" (progressive)
With "-toru"	"Mou hikouki ga tondoru"	"Hikouki ga juu-jikan tondoru"
Meaning	"The plane already took off" (perfective of achievement - inchoative)	"The plane flew for 10 hours" (perfective of activity)

In sum, verbs that show a complex Event structure in the Uwajima dialect yield distinct aspectual meanings after they interact with grammatical aspectual markers, depending on which of the comprising Events is under focus.

In the following chapter, we will see the similarities and differences in Aktionsart and grammatical aspect between Spanish, Japanese standard and Uwajima dialects.

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<sup>35</sup> Notice that the AdvP "Mou sugu" enables a prospective interpretation. Without it, the interpretation would be of a progressive. The features in that AdvP interact with the features of the event and those of the grammatical aspect marker in order to yield the final aspectual meaning.



## Chapter 4

### Comparative study: Aktionsart and Grammatical Aspect in Japanese and its equivalences in Spanish

The comparison between these two languages opens a window into the nature of grammatical aspect in general. It is with the aim of gaining insights that can help us undertake 1) an analysis of the features that make up the different Aktionsart types and 2) a redefinition of grammatical aspect in terms of Event quantification.

#### 4.1.- A comparison between Spanish and the Uwajima dialect

If we compare this to standard Japanese, English and Spanish, we see differences with standard Japanese but shocking similarities between the other two languages and the dialect of Uwajima. Let us start with the progressive:

(106) “Pan wo tabete iru” (Standard Japanese)

(107) “Pan wo tabeyoru” (Uwajima dialect)

(108) “I am eating bread”

(109) “Estoy comiendo pan”

Examples (106) through (109) above show the same sentence in the four different forms. Standard Japanese expresses progressive with the “-teiru” morpheme, as stated before. However, progressive meaning is restricted to dynamic verbs that have a durative meaning (namely, verbs that express an activity (pure or derived) or an accomplishment). In the Uwajima dialect, progressive meaning is expressed through the use of the morpheme “-yoru”. In English, progressive aspect is expressed with a progressive construction (“to be” + *gerund*). In Spanish, the equivalent is a progressive form with the verbs “estar” + *gerund*. Next, let us see the use of “-toru” expressing a resulting State:

(110) “Mado wa kowareteiru” (Standard Japanese)

(111) “Mado wa kowaretoru” (Uwajima dialect)

(112) “The window is broken”

(113) “La ventana está rota”

In standard Japanese, the meaning of resulting State is expressed with the morpheme “-teiru”, but it is restricted to verbs that express a change of State. As we have seen before, the same morpheme “-teiru”, when added to a durative verb that does not express a change of State, yields a progressive interpretation instead. Therefore, in standard Japanese, “-teiru” is itself undefined in terms of whether it represents progressive or perfective. This does not happen with the Uwajima dialect, English or Spanish equivalent forms.

In the Uwajima dialect, the morpheme “-toru” is used instead of “-teiru”. When the said morpheme is applied to a verb that expresses a change of State, the resulting aspect is that of the State of something after it has undergone a change. English employs the resultative construction “to be” + past participle; Spanish makes use of the form “estar” + *participio*<sup>36</sup>. Both in English, Spanish and the Uwajima dialect, the linguistic form expressing a resulting State is morphologically different to that expressing progressive. Bear in mind, however, that there exist differences between English and Spanish regarding resultatives and progressives, but that falls beyond the scope of this analysis at the moment. Next, let us take a look at the use of “-toru” as a morpheme to mark the perfective of an action.

(114) “Ano eiga wo mou miteiru” (“mou” = already)

(115) “Ano eiga wo (mou) mitoru”

(116) “I have (already) seen that movie”

(117) “He visto (ya) esa película”

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<sup>36</sup> In Spanish, “Haber” + *participio* would be employed to express the perfective aspect of an action that has ended. This form does not imply a change of state. On the other side, “estar”+*participio* implies that the Theme undergoes a change of state, such as “romperse” (to break) / “estar roto” (to be broken), yet “haberse roto” (having broken). Both “estar roto” and “haberse roto” would correspond to “kowaretoru” in the Uwajima dialect.

There is something that stands out from the above examples: we need to clarify first what a perfective action is. In this situation, perfective could be defined as a relative tense in which the consequences of an action are felt throughout time until a certain moment, in this case, the present. In the case of the example in English above - (116) - a perfective action means that the action happened in the past and the effects of it last to the present. In this case, the effect is having seen the movie. Neither object nor subject suffers any change. In English, as in Spanish, this is marked overtly so the form employed to express resulting State and the form used to express action perfective are different.

A similar phenomenon happens in Spanish, with verbs such as “hervir”, to boil, as described in De Miguel (1999) and De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000). The verb “hervir” is an achievement resulting in an activity. It is possible to say in Spanish the following:

(118) “El agua hirvió” (“The water evaporated completely / The water started boiling”)

The example above can express two different meanings: either all of the water evaporated (end of activity) or the water reached one hundred degrees Celsius and started boiling. The following sentence would also express the latter meaning:

(119) “El agua rompió a hervir” – (“The water started boiling”)

It seems self-evident, so far, that the phenomenon seen above with the verb “tobu” is the result of the same durative verb taking over two different Event structures, rather than a neutralization of aspect. By claiming that “tobu” has a double Event structure, we are introducing a new concept. My take on Event theory will be substantiated in a later section. For now, it is enough to mention that eventive constructions have an Event quantifier ( $\exists e$  for simple Events (lower case “e”),  $\exists E$  for complex Events (upper case “E”), as in Pustejovsky (1991). My take on this theory is that “tobu”, as well as non-processes and verbs such as “hervir” in Spanish might take a complex Event structure.

The possibility that “tobu” has two Event structures is not a strange phenomenon by any means. My analysis can also explain why “-toru” and “-yoru” can come to, seemingly, bear the same aspectual value. I claim that, rather than a neutralization of aspect, which in a way tarnishes the distinct aspectual values that “-yoru” and “-toru” have, a more accurate explanation is that, whereas their essential aspectual values stay, the interaction with different types of Aktionsart yields other aspectual meanings that are not incompatible with their basic meanings. A first attempt at summarizing this can be as follows:

a) “-Yoru” expresses progressive aspect when it interacts with the [+durative] feature of Aktionsart of an activity or accomplishment, if we focus on the action as it happens. This is the basic meaning of “-yoru”.

b) “-Yoru” expresses prospective aspect (the time before an action starts) when it interacts with the [-durative] feature of Aktionsart of an achievement that marks the beginning of an activity.

c) “-Toru” expresses action perfective aspect when it interacts with aspectual features of finiteness as the final limit of an accomplishment or the arbitrary limit applied to an activity is reached. This is the basic meaning of “-toru”.

d) “-Toru” expresses inchoative aspect when it interacts with the aspect of an achievement marking the beginning of a durative Event. This can be interpreted as a neutralization of the aspectual distinction between “-toru” and “-yoru”, as claimed by Oki (2000), or as a perfective aspect of the Event that kick-starts a durative action.

Table 4 below<sup>37</sup> shows the aforementioned similitude in Event structure some Spanish verbs, such as “hervir” (to boil) share with verbs such as “tobu” in Uwajima dialect. Notice that the form for both perfective meanings of the two Events in the complex Event structure can be expressed using the same form, the root form of the verb “hervir”, although it is true that more accurate forms with a

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<sup>37</sup> The above uses for “-yoru” and “-toru”, shown in a) through d), are added to the table in order to facilitate understanding of the aspectual meanings expressed by those aspectual markers.

simple Event structure can be used instead in order to clarify the ambiguity (“rompió a hervir”, which roughly equals to “to begin to boil”, and “hirvió totalmente / se evaporó”, which roughly corresponds to “boiled up / evaporated”). The forms for prospective and progressive aspect, however, are not the same in Spanish: different aspectual periphrases are used and no ambiguity is seen due to the interaction between the Aktionsart of the each Event and the grammatical aspectual values of the periphrases.

Table 4. Complex Events in Uwajima dialect and Spanish

		Japanese “tobu” (to fly)	Spanish “hervir” (to boil)
EVENT 1	Prospective	“Mou sugu hikouki ga tobiyori” (b)	“El agua va a hervir”
	Perfective of achievement - inchoative	“Mou hikouki ga tondoru” (d)	<b>“El agua hirvió”</b> [rompió a hervir]
EVENT 2	Progressive	“Hikouki ga tobiyori” (a)	“El agua está hirviendo”
	Perfective of activity	“Hikouki ga juu-jikan tondoru” (c)	<b>“El agua hirvió”</b> [hirvió totalmente, se evaporó]

The meaning of Events falling into the categories b) and d) above can be paraphrased in the Uwajima dialect, standard Japanese, English and Spanish using specialized, periphrastic constructions and different verbs with a clear, defined Aktionsart.

- (120) “Hikouki ga tobiyoru” (Uwajima) = “Hikouki ga ririku shiyou to shiteiru”  
(Japanese)  
– “El avión va a despegar” – (“The plane is about to *take off*”)
- (121) “Hikouki wa tondoru” (Uwajima) = “Hikouki wa ririku shita / shiteiru”  
(Japanese)  
– “El avión acaba de despegar” – (“The plane just took off / flew off”)

We see, therefore, that the double aspectual meaning that “tobu” can have in the Uwajima dialect is not something exclusive of that dialect and that there are similar occurrences in Spanish, such as what happens with the verb “hervir” (“to boil”). We also see, however, that such formal ambiguities can be easily avoided in Spanish, English and Japanese by paraphrasing the whole construction using a different, specialized verb for the starting action and another one for the main, durative action, as seen in examples (120) and (121) above.

In addition, we see that standard Japanese shows a different system for licensing aspectual features from that of the Uwajima dialect, Spanish and English, due to the lack of distinct forms for progressive and perfective forms and the inevitable ambiguity this could entail. The Japanese “-teiru” form is heavily dependent on the lexical meaning of the VP and other phrases. Certain secondary aspectual meanings that are common in the Uwajima dialect, such as the double Event structure possible for “tobu” (“to fly”) as both a durative Event and the point of start of the durative Event, are likely to be paraphrased with specialized constructions in standard Japanese or to rely heavily on adjuncts bearing their own aspectual meanings to the sentence.

There is one more thing to mention that links the properties of the aspectual system in the dialect of Uwajima and the properties of standard Japanese: as stated before, in standard Japanese, pure States cannot take the “-teiru” form under any circumstance. It is found, however, in conversation in some Western Japanese dialects, in the form of “iteru” (“iru”, to be [locative for subjects with animacy]), but it is far from an admitted form at the present time in written discourse. In the Uwajima dialect, however, the situation is different. Pure stative

verbs, according to Oki (2000), in the Uwajima dialect, accept the form “-yoru”, as in:

- (122) “Sakki kara zutto, heya ni oriyoru” – (“I am in my room, and have been for a while”)

From the above example, it looks like the verb “oru” (=“iru” in standard Japanese), which is a State, does not have to follow the same constraints regarding markers of aspect as its counterpart in standard Japanese “iru”. Moreover, “oriyoru” seems to express a derived aspectual meaning different from “oru”: it behaves like an activity that started sometime in the past and lasts until the present moment. In that way, the structure in “oriyoru” does not look like it is too different from the one in “tobiyoru” (“to be flying”). This, by itself, is very relevant. It implies that not only the system of grammatical aspect of the Uwajima dialect is different from that of standard Japanese and closer to that of Spanish and English, but it also hints to the possibility that the system of lexical aspect could be in some way different too, as States in the dialect of Uwajima seem to work in a way significantly different from standard Japanese. The implication here could be that the aforementioned non-processes of standard Japanese could behave in a different way in the Uwajima dialect or not be a category at all.

As it becomes clear from the comparison of the systems of grammatical aspect of standard Japanese and the Uwajima dialect, standard Japanese has certainly a system of grammatical aspect that does not share many traits in common with the system in Spanish. Accordingly, this could account for many of the hurdles in the process of acquiring Spanish as a second language that Japanese students have to overcome. Being aware as an instructor of these fundamental differences between languages and even within dialects of the same language is essential in order to guide the learner towards a clear understanding of the system of aspect of

the Spanish language, as we will discuss in Chapter 7 , when we turn to a discussion on the pedagogical consequences of these grammatical differences<sup>38</sup>.

This is not to say that the differences between the aspectual mechanisms of Spanish and Japanese can be explained just with an analysis of their respective systems of lexical aspect and the features of [ $\pm$  perfective] and [ $\pm$  progressive] grammatical aspect. Tense and aspect are closely interwoven with each other in both Spanish and Japanese, and the notion of relative tense is realized in different ways in both languages. Spanish has a very rich system of verbal inflection, with forms that express different values of aspect, absolute tense, relative tense and mood. The proper use of verbs that express a State in the past tense causes problems to Japanese students learning Spanish, even at high levels of proficiency. Japanese, on the other hand, as I have stated above, only has four basic forms, besides other periphrastic uses that fall beyond the scope of this research. These are the aforementioned “-ru”, “-ta”, “-teiru” and “-teita”. They have to account for all and every of the nuances that in Spanish (even more so than in English) are clearly distributed amongst different forms. The following sections analyze the properties of these aspectual systems in further detail.

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<sup>38</sup> There seems to be a less than perfect overlapping of Japanese “-yoru” and Spanish and English gerund, on the one hand, and Japanese “-toru” and Spanish and English past participle-based constructions on the other hand, but they are close, nevertheless. The distinction between “-yoru” and “-toru” is present to some degree in most Western Japanese dialects, but it is more prevalent and has been more thoroughly researched in the Uwajima dialect of Ehime Prefecture. Spanish grammatical aspect, on the other hand, would employ what I call a three-dimensional system when compounded with lexical aspect: Aktionsart + periphrastic aspect + verb form aspect. Table 5 shows these differences in dimensions of aspect between Spanish and standard Japanese. Uwajima Japanese would share the same dimensions as standard Japanese.

Table 5. Aspectual dimensions in Spanish and Standard Japanese

	Spanish		Japanese
Lexical Aspect	Aktionsart categories		Aktionsart categories
Grammatical aspect	Aspect markers (periphrastic)	Tense markers (imperfective, perfective)	Aspect markers (“-teiru”, etc.)

This approach, in which grammatical aspect is a two-tiered unit, could be explained in terms of either there being a super-aspect, or in terms of the aspect phrase within the inflectional component of the derivation of an event (AspP) having several internal projections, instead.



## 4.2.- The correspondences between Spanish and standard Japanese

An analysis of the correspondences between the aspectual systems of these two languages reveals that verbs can have a complex structure in their internal lexical aspect, referring sometimes to the point of beginning of an action, to the continuation, etc. This constitutes an important claim of this dissertation, since we will be attributing to their presumed internal aspectual properties the possibility or impossibility for each type of verb to appear with different grammatical aspectual markers. We will be discussing these phenomena in the following section, and then we will proceed to add English to our comparison, since some interesting phenomena come to light when the three languages are considered. In section, we will continue with the analysis of this comparison in light of the examples provided by Yamamura and Takagaki (2010).

### 4.2.1.- Asymmetrical mapping of “-ru” and “-teiru” between Japanese and their Spanish equivalents

The form “-teiru” is relevant in terms of it being used in a Japanese subordinate clause showing the time of action relatively to the action in the main clause. The verb in a subordinate clause in Spanish sentences like (3) above<sup>39</sup> takes the form of the imperfective past form, pretérito imperfecto. It is marked aspectually as [-perfective] and in terms of tense as a [+past]. A similar sentence in Japanese, extracted from Kudo (1995) would show the “-teiru” form in the position that the Spanish imperfective past progressive form occupies, as in (123) below:

(123) “Sarada-o tsuku-ttei-ru toki, houchou-de te-o ki-tteshima-tta”

Salad-Acc make-tei-ru Adv, knife-Instr hand-Acc cut-Asp-Past

"Cuando estaba haciendo la ensalada, me corté con el cuchillo".

“When I was making the salad, I cut my hand with the knife.”

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<sup>39</sup> Repeated here for your convenience:

(3) \* “Cuando tuve diez años, no tuve dinero”

(3') “Cuando tenía diez años, no tenía dinero”

“When I was ten years old, I had no money

See that in (123) above, the verb in the subordinate clause takes the “-teiru” form, not a “-teita” form, which includes “-ta”, a mark that can carry both past and perfective meanings. The meaning of past tense is, therefore, pushed back to the verb in the main clause due to the fact that Japanese is not constrained by the same issues of *consecutio temporum* that affect Spanish, as in (3) above. This is understandably so if we take into account Yamamura’s (2010) claims that the Spanish imperfective past form is, in few words, a present tense relative to a past moment. Therefore, it is logical to assume that the equivalent utterance in Japanese will show a form in the present or at least some non-past form ending in “-ru”, due to the lack of constraints regarding tense in the main and subordinate clauses in examples like (123) above. We see, therefore, that the Japanese “-teiru” [progressive, non-past] in example (123) above does not correspond to a progressive, non-past form in Spanish but a progressive, Imperfective Past. We see similar phenomena in examples<sup>40</sup> (124) and (125) below, by Kudo (1995).

(124) “Sarada-o tsuku-ru toki, chanto te-o ara-imashita-ka”

Salad-Acc make-Pres Adv, Adv hand-Acc wash-Past-Interr.

“Did you wash your hands properly before making the salad?”

“Te lavaste bien las manos antes de hacer la ensada?”

(125) “Sarada-o tsuku-tta toki, kirei-ni osara-ni moritsuke-mashita-ka”

Salad-acc make-Perf Adv, neat-Manner dish-Locat dish up-Past-Interr.

“Did you dish up the salad nicely on the plate after making it?”

“Colocaste de forma bonita la ensalada en el plato tras hacerla?”

The subordinate clause in example (124) above, according to Kudo (1995), shows a time that is simultaneous to the moment before the beginning of the action in the subordinate sentence; in other words, (124) above assumes that the salad was made and asks about whether an action (shown in the main clause) took place in a moment of time right before the action in the subordinate clause

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<sup>40</sup> Spanish gloss is mine.

actually started<sup>41</sup>. The “-ru” form in (124) implies prospective aspect of an action that is considered to have happened. Therefore, the “-ru” form puts the focus of the Event at the beginning of it. Interestingly enough, “-ru” is considered to be a rough equivalent to the Present tense in Spanish, yet we see here that the relation (in terms of relative tense) between the action of “making the salad” and “cutting one’s finger” in (124) is not the same relation of simultaneity established between moment of speech and a point of reference (speech time for Present tense, a moment in the past for Imperfective past, according to Yamamura (2010)) that is seen in Spanish. Therefore, we see that *tsukuru* (“to make”) in (124) above is not equivalent to a basic inflected form in Spanish like Present or Imperfective Past, but to a periphrastic form that would express prospective aspect (“antes de hacer la ensalada” [“before starting to make the salad”], “cuando iba a hacer la ensalada” [“right when I was going to make the salad”]).

Example (125) , on the other hand, inquires about whether the action in the main clause took place after the action in the subordinate clause ended. It expresses that the action in the subordinate clause did happen, but asks whether the action in the main clause happened after it. The “-ta” marker in example (125) above shows perfective aspect, while “-ru” in (124) above seems to show prospective aspect and “-teiru” in (123) seems to show relative tense, in this case, a relationship of co-occurrence in time between the action of the main verb (“*kitte-shima-tta*”) and the subordinate clause (“*tsukutteiru*”). This mirrors the properties of the Imperfective Past in Spanish described by Yamamura (2010)<sup>42</sup>.

In the following section, I will focus on the marker of grammatical aspect “-teiru” in Japanese and those markers in Spanish and English that are used in order to express the same aspectual nuances that “-teiru” expresses in Japanese.

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<sup>41</sup> It implies “before starting to make the salad”.

<sup>42</sup> Assuming that in example (123) the correct form in Spanish is one with Imperfective Past and also a progressive auxiliary. The plain, non Progressive, Imperfective Past form “*hacía*” does not feel one hundred percent grammatical. This seems to be related to the point I make in Chapter Chapter 5 that there is an event quantifier that demands a progressive form.

#### 4.2.2.- Interactions of lexical and grammatical aspect marker “-teiru” and their asymmetry between Japanese, Spanish and English

As mentioned above, the morpheme “-teiru” of standard Japanese can express *continuation of action*, *continuation of result* and *perfective of action*. In Spanish, all these aspectual meanings are expressed with overtly distinct markers of grammatical aspect. The following table attempts to summarize the equivalences. We shall use the Japanese “kiru” and find equivalents in Spanish and English from there. Examples in standard Japanese are taken from Jacobsen (1992); translations are mine:

Table 6. Equivalents to standard Japanese “-teiru” in Spanish and English

	Standard Japanese	Spanish	English
Continuation of action	“Ani wa tonari no heya de fuku o kiteiru”	“Mi hermano se <b>está</b> vistiendo en la habitación contigua”	“My brother <b>is</b> dressing up in the room next door”
Continuation of result	“Ani wa kuroi youfuku o kiteiru”	“Mi hermano <b>lleva</b> ropa negra”	“My brother <b>is</b> wearing black clothes”
Perfective of action	“Ani wa kuroi youfuku o kiteiru”	“Mi hermano se <b>ha puesto</b> ropa negra”	“My brother <b>put</b> on black clothes”

In the above table we see a series of very interesting phenomena that only come to light when both Japanese, Spanish and English are analyzed side to side. First, “kiteiru” (“to wear / to put on”) is ambiguous in that it can show *continuation of result* and *perfective of action* in the exact same sentence. In Spanish and English, however, very distinct forms are used to differentiate those meanings. In the case of Spanish, continuation of result (which happens to be a *State*), is expressed with a different verb from the *perfective of action*: “llevar” vs.

“ponerse”<sup>43</sup>. Also, notice that the State is marked with Present tense form and the perfective is marked with Complex Perfect Past form (“Pretérito perfecto compuesto”). These two Spanish forms are distinct from the form employed to express *continuation of action*, which is the Progressive periphrasis “estar” + *gerundio* form.

On the other hand, we see that, in English, in this case, although the verbs for *continuation of action* and *continuation of result* are different, the grammatical aspect markers are the same: the present continuous form. We see that, in English, *continuation of result* for this verb is actually an ongoing activity of “wearing”. It is obvious, then, that the mapping of Events in Spanish and English is not direct and, therefore, no single form has a biunivocal equivalent in the other language. It is even more so when comparing these Spanish and English to standard Japanese, which uses one single form, “-teiru” to express three different aspectual values.

Other authors have analyzed “-teiru” in terms of the value of “boundedness” that it brings to the meaning of the verb. In the following section, I will focus on Tani (2004)’s analysis.

#### **4.3.- The effects of “-teiru” and Progressive in the value of boundedness.**

In this section I will summarize Tani (2004)’s point of view on lexical aspect, especially regarding States. First, I will explain Tani’s view of States that take an Eventive aspect, such as “to know”. After this, I will review Tani’s theory of grammatical aspect effecting changes in the value of boundedness of a predicate in English.

Tani (2004) analyzes the lexical and grammatical aspect of stative verbs in English. Her analysis can be extended to Japanese for a few interesting insights. Tani focuses on verbs like “to know”, which do *not* take a progressive “to be knowing” form. According to Vendler (1967), “to know” expresses a State: it is stative, durative and unbounded. Tani (2004) supports Vendler’s point of view.

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<sup>43</sup> See Sanz (2012) for an analysis of the clitic “se” seen as a marker of eventivity.

However, she realises that, in certain contexts, "to know" works not as a State, but as an Achievement.

(126) “And then suddenly I knew!” (Vendler 1967, in Tani 2004)

On the other hand, in Japanese, the verb "Shiru"<sup>44</sup> not only takes the progressive/perfective morpheme "-teiru", but actually demands it, if it is to express a State of knowing something. Nevertheless, as it is the case with "to know" in English, "shiru" can also express an achievement in the correct context:

(127) “Sono tokini, kare ga uso wo tsuita koto wo shitta”  
 ("That moment, I knew that he lied")

A similar phenomenon of assymetrical mapping between verbs and their Events between Spanish, English and German can be seen in Moreno (2013). A translation from Spanish by me is shown below in Table 7<sup>45</sup>:

Table 7. Differences in dinamicity between Spanish, English and German regarding "conocer" and "saber".

Lexeme	Dynamic reading	Static reading
conocer	Eng: <i>Meet</i> Ger: <i>Kennenlernen</i>	Eng: <i>Know</i> Ger: <i>Kennen</i>
saber	Eng: <i>find out</i> Ger: <i>erfahren</i>	Eng: <i>Know</i> Ger: <i>wissen</i>

Tani (2004) fails to notice that "to know" has indeed a double Eventive structure, as I claim in this dissertation to be the case with "shiru" and other verbs in Japanese, Spanish and, arguably English too. She takes a *Vendlerian* approach to the Eventive properties of "to know", claiming that "though *know* sometimes

<sup>44</sup> The English verb "to know" can be translated into Japanese as "Shiru" or "Wakaru". Their differences in meaning are irrelevant here. In any case, both can express an achievement when used with the morpheme of past tense/perfective aspect "-ta", which is the point here.

<sup>45</sup> I am removing a part of the original table from Table 7 here for the sake of simplicity. In an additional row, it is stated that "tener un hijo" is equivalent to the German "ein Kind bekommen" in those cases in which the event of "giving birth" is implied, whereas it is equivalent to "ein Kind haben" in those cases in which only a static meaning is implied.

obtains another aspect, it does not lose [sic] its stative character even in such cases" (Tani 2004).

Tani defines States, in the terms of Vendler (1967)'s and Lyons (1977)'s: States are incompatible with progressive constructions, they are extended in time and they are both homogeneous and unchanging. Tani describes the two grammaticalized features of modern English: perfective and progressive (as features in terms of [+/- perfective] and [+/- progressive]). The reason why she focuses on these two features is probably because in standard Japanese, they both overlap and share a common marker, the "-teiru" morpheme.

Progressive grammatical aspect is incompatible with stative Aktionsart (Quirk et al 1985), as the notion of progress clashes with the notion of invariability inherent of States. Let us see what happens with the progressive form, when it interacts with different situations, in order to get a fuller picture of why it should not apply to pure States (based on Quirk et al 1985 and Leech 1987, in Tani 2004) :

#### **The effects of progressive on the aspectual value of a situation:**

- **The happening has duration:**

(128) "I raise my arm / I am rising my arm"

According to Tani (2004), when used alongside verbs of action, the progressive form expresses that the Event has a duration: it implies that it is extended over time. It can extend the duration of the Event and it can "focus in" on the Event (as in Kusanagi 1981)

- **The happening has limited duration:**

(129) My watch works perfectly / My watch is working perfectly

Tani claims that in this case, the progressive form turns a durative action into a temporary action, less general and more constrained to the present moment.

The seemingly contradictory double functionality of the progressive form in English, in that it can limit or remove a limit to an Event, can be explained with a further analysis of the present participle form, "-ing". According to Langacker (1987), " 'ing' imposes a restricted immediate scope of predication, comprising an arbitrary sequence of internal States; i.e. the initial and final States are excluded." Tani states that this restriction is why stative verbs are incompatible with the progressive form, as they have no evolution of internal States.

In order to explain Langacker's claim, Tani defines the notions of *bounding* and *unbounding*, which are properties with which the present participle form can contribute to the aspectual meaning of a sentence. It can be said that in example (128) above, the "-ing" in "raising" removes the initial and final States of the action. That is, the action is seen as removed from those boundaries. This process of unbounding happens because of the interaction of restricting the scope of predication of the morpheme "-ing", and the aspectual properties of the lexical items. On the other hand, in (129), we have the process that is the opposite of unbounding, in which the restricted immediate scope of predication applied by "-ing" interacts with the aspectual properties of the lexical items and the result is a more restricted (or bounded) Event than the one without "-ing".

Seemingly, the progressive construction acts as some sort of NOT operator, in terms of computational logic, on the value of boundedness of a construction. Similar phenomena can be seen also in Yamamura & Takagaki (2010), explained in section 4.4 below

Moving back to stative Events, other than the English verb "to know", we have the verb "to live", which can be interpreted as a stative verb. We have, however, the form "I am living", in progressive form, which seems to contradict the restriction on the use of progressive form with States.

Tani (2004) claims that a closer analysis lets us see that "to live" and "to know", although both allegedly States, have some differences between them. With "living", the State is not expected to last forever; on the other hand, "knowing" is supposed to last forever unless something happens that causes us to forget. It could also be



said that stativity in English is a continuum and that “to know” is more stative than “to live” and that “to live” is closer to an activity.

Let us compare English and Japanese at this point in Tani's terms. We have seen that in English, the progressive is acceptable in "I am living in ..." and not as "I am knowing ...". A similar thing can be said about them in Spanish. In Japanese, both verbs, "Shiru" and "Sumu", demand the "-teiru" form. In Kamata's terms (1996), "shiru" should be a non-process, but I do not think "sumu" is. Regardless of them sharing the same verbal ending, I consider that the "-teiru" forms in both "Shitteiru" and "Sundeiru" express different aspectual meanings. One can say "Shitta" (I found out about it), and the result is "Shitteiru" (I know about it), because the Event of finding out precedes and causes the State of knowing. On the other hand, if we were to say "Sunda" (I lived in...), it does not imply "Sundeiru" (I am currently living in...). The Event in "Shitta" is not the same type of Event as the one we find in "Sunda". "Shitta" is a punctual achievement, resulting in a non-process Event, while "Sunda" is a durative activity that eventually ended. Therefore, their original telicity values differ. This leads me to think that this disparity in the aspectual values of "shiru" and "sumu", both verbs that demand "teiru" in Japanese and that belong to different categories of lexical aspect, is somehow similar to some of the differences between “to know” and “to live” in English, both States but with different properties regarding the acceptability of “-ing”.

If this is so, and although I will deal with this further in detail in the chapter on the pedagogical consequences of these differences, I make a brief comment here about acquisition. I expect Japanese students of Spanish to have issues telling apart the aspectual properties of verbs such as “shiru” and “sumu”, and their Spanish counterparts “saber” y “vivir”. So far we have seen a very complex picture of the properties of lexical aspect and grammatical aspect of Japanese, Spanish and, in part, English. When Japanese students of Spanish as a second language make mistakes regarding grammatical aspect markers in Spanish, such as the conjugated forms for imperfective past and indefinite past, as well as the markers for continuousness, resulting State and perfectiveness, we can assume that it is, at least in part, because of a negative transference of properties of the aspectual system of Japanese into the Spanish they are learning.

In the following section, I will discuss the analysis by Yamamura and Takagaki (2010) regarding certain expressions with the aspect markers "-teiru" and "-teita" of standard Japanese, with special emphasis on "-teita" and its features. I will also see what equivalent tenses and periphrases can be used in Spanish to convey the same aspectual information.

#### **4.4.- The multiple equivalents in Spanish of standard Japanese “-teita”**

Yamamura and Takagaki (2010) analyze several expressions in Japanese and their counterparts in Spanish. Not all of them are relevant to my research, but I will focus on the few that are. Examples (130) through (131) are theirs.

(130) Mado wa aiteiru / Mado wa aiteita

(131) La ventana está abierta /La ventana estaba abierta.

(132) The window is open / The window was open

In examples (130) and (131) above (English translation in (132) it can be seen that in Spanish, those constructions in which there is a persistence of the result of a change tend to use the construction "estar "+ *participio*. Typically, such an expression would be built with the Imperfective past form, although, when an external limit is imposed to the result, Indefinite past (or Perfective past instead) is selected. More importantly, this happens regardless of the length in time of the State.

(133) “Mi abuelo trabajó durante 40 años.” – (“My grandfather worked for 40 years”)

We see in example (133) above that even though the action of working is a durative action, the existence of an external limit (in this case “ durante 40 años”) allows for the perfective aspect of the indefinite past. The whole “working” is seen as having a starting point and an end point. In example (134) below, by Yamamura and Takagaki (2010), we see, however, that the contrary can happen:

- (134) "Entonces yo iba a pie a la escuela todos los días" – ("Then, I used to walk to school every day")

The action of "walk to school" has a beginning and an end. Imperfective aspect interacts with these features to yield a meaning of repetition of which no starting point or end point are explicitly defined. This surfaces as an action that is repeated multiple times in a past situation, namely a habit.

If we focus on the aspectual value of the constructions, the difference between the Imperfective and Indefinite past forms can be seen from the above examples: the imperfective past focuses on the action from within and does not impose any external boundaries to it, while indefinite past does impose an external temporal limit to whatever situation it is used in (García Fernández, 1998)<sup>46</sup>. This is an aspectual value external to the lexical meaning of the verbs in examples (133) and (134) above. Spanish has, therefore, explicit markers for expressing a temporal limit of an action, regardless of the original Aktionsart of the verb.

Yamamura (2010) explains the differences between Imperfective and Indefinite Past in terms of relative tense. She states that indefinite past marks the passing of non-occurrence of an Event to occurrence of that Event, in the past<sup>47</sup>. Imperfective past is defined in Yamamura (2010) as marking an Event that is simultaneous to a point in the past, which is, in sum, a present tense moved from its original point of reference (the present time) to a new one in the past. Example (134) above shows that in an easy to understand way. If we were to move the reference point from the past to the present, it could be expressed using present tense, as follows:

- (135) "Ahora, como el desayuno todos los días a las 8 de la mañana" –  
("Nowadays, I eat breakfast every day at 8 in the morning")

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<sup>46</sup> García Fernández (1998) divides the differences in aspect between Imperfect Past, Indefinite Past and Perfect Past (as in "comía", "comí" and "he comido") in terms of Imperfective aspect, Aorist aspect and Perfect aspect. Since I am focusing on the different features of Imperfective and Indefinite Past, I have resorted to an Imperfective / Perfective aspect in the Imperfective / Indefinite Past forms, leaving aside Perfect Past, which is a composite form of "haber" and *participio*.

<sup>47</sup> It could be said that it also imposes an external temporal limit to it, therefore bounding the whole event.

Obviously, the final value of Aspect of the construction is obtained by combining lexical aspect, grammatical aspect and the aspectual values of other phrases in the sentence. The following examples are mine:

(136) “La ventana estuvo abierta (durante 3 horas)”

(137) “Mado wa san jikan aiteita.” – (“The window was open for 3 hours”)

A Quantifier Phrase "san jikan", "3 hours" is required in Japanese to yield the same meaning that in Spanish is conveyed by a grammatical aspect marker of perfective such as the tense conjugation of indefinite past. Without it, the expressed meaning would be that of an unbounded State that makes no mention of start or end points.

(138) “Mado wa aiteita” – (“The window was open”)

(139) “La ventana estaba abierta.”

More so, in Spanish, the limit in time is understood without the QP but in Japanese, the QP is required to set a limit to the State. We see here the extreme reliance that standard Japanese has on lexical aspect in order to license grammatical aspect, more so than Spanish.

Next, they analyze the following examples. In them, we see what textbooks analyze as a “habit in the past”, which is the final meaning of the construction:

(140) “Watashi wa sono koro mainichi aruite gakkou he kayotteita”

(141) “Entonces yo iba a pie a la escuela todos los días”

(142) “Back then, I used to walk to school every day”

There is something very noticeable in the examples above: The form "-teita", which is comprised of the aspectual marker "-tei-" compounded with tense marker

"-ta", is not translated into Spanish as a progressive form such as "*\*Estaba yendo a pie a la escuela todos los días*", but as an imperfective past form, "*iba*".

As it becomes obvious in the following examples, the form "-teita" has multiple translations in Spanish: The "-teita" marker can also be translated as a past progressive form "*estaba*" + present participle, as a *Pretérito Pluscuamperfecto* form, such as "*Había*" + past perfective, or even a resulting State in the past, be it bounded or not, as in "*estuvo / estaba*" + past participle. The following examples are mine:

- (143) "Denwa ga natta toki, watashi wa ie de neteita" / "Cuando sonó el teléfono, yo estaba en casa durmiendo" / "When the phone rang, I was home sleeping"
- (144) "Kinou eigakan e itta kedo, eiga wa mou zenbu miteita" / "Ayer fui al cine, pero ya había visto todas las películas" (alternatively, "pero ya tenía vistas todas las películas") / "Yesterday I went to the cinema, but I had already seen all the movies"<sup>48</sup>
- (145) "Mado ga kowareteita" / "La ventana estaba rota" / "The window was broken" (as in "it was in a broken State", and not as a passive)
- (146) "Mado ga san nenkan kowareteita" / "La ventana estuvo rota 3 años" / "The window was broken for 3 years"

Last, Yamamura and Takagaki (2010) examine the following construction:

- (147) "Sono mado wo akete aru"
- (148) "Tengo abierta la ventana" – ("I have / keep the window open", it implies that the window is in the State of "being open")

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<sup>48</sup> The Spanish auxiliary "tener" + *participio* can yield a similar meaning to that of "haber" + *participio*. Actually, "haber" comes from Latin "habere", "to have". According to Rodríguez Molina (2004) and Moreno (2013), there has been a process of grammaticalization of "habere" that lead to the Perfect Past form in modern Spanish. In cases such as (148) above, the original meaning of possession surfaces.

From their research, we can see that when in Spanish the construction "Tener" + *participio* is linked to the State resulting of an action as expressed by "estar" + *participio*, Japanese can map it to the form "-tearu". On the other hand, when the Spanish expression does not show a change in the object (in other words, the object is not affected), as in the following examples, the Japanese morpheme "-tearu" is not valid:

- (149) "Tengo oído que... / Tengo entendido que ..." (= "He oído que") - ("I have heard that....")
- (150) " \* ~ (to iu koto) wo kiite aru"

The above is yet more evidence of the extreme reliance of Japanese grammatical aspect markers on both lexical aspect properties and the aspectual properties of other phrases. This implies that verbs are underspecified in terms of the Event structures in which they can take part.

In the following section, I will discuss the implications drawn from my analysis of lexical and grammatical aspect so far.

#### **4.5.- Implications derived from the comparison of Japanese, Spanish and English.**

I have shown so far that not only the systems of grammatical aspect morphemes of Spanish and Japanese are vastly different, but so are their uses. On the other hand, it seems plausible that Japanese does not share fully the system of lexical aspect in the terms of Sanz (2000), Vendler (1967) and Dowty (1979). This is seen in Kamata (1996)'s classification of lexical aspect, which introduces the category of non-processes as States resulting from an action, with which they might keep some kind of semantic link, therefore licensing the "-teiru" marker, but whose meaning of stativity is prevalent. This would take into account why verbs in the category of non-processes in Japanese tend to be pure States in Spanish and English.

Moreover, Kamata (1996)'s *non-processes* and the above analysis of the properties of the Uwajima dialect of Japanese give rise to a few more theoretical questions. It is possible that verbs that fall into the category of non-processes in standard Japanese might be undertaking some kind of evolution through time. It has been mentioned that the boundaries between categories of Aktionsart might be less strict than previously thought. This seems to account for the double Event structure of accomplishments (as the sum of activity + achievement) and resulting States (as the sum of achievement + State). A possible double structure would show up not only for non-processes, but other types of Events as well. The existence of a double structure seems to be blatantly obvious in the Uwajima dialect and present in certain verbs in Spanish such as “hervir” and it is even noticeable in standard Japanese constructions such as prospective “tobu” (to fly) versus progressive “tondeiru” (to be flying), as well.

In any case, both English and Spanish seem to have more clear-cut categories of Aktionsart than Japanese. The verb “volar” and its English counterpart “to fly” express activities; their Japanese counterpart, “tobu”, is, however, underspecified in terms of its Aktionsart. Whereas it is true that “tobu” has a default lexical aspectual value of activity, it can also refer to the instant in which the activity starts. As seen above, in both Spanish and English, that instant would be referred to by using different verbs that express achievements, such as “despegar” and “to take off”, or even “to fly off”, or through periphrases using some kind of auxiliary verb. Japanese can also employ a distinct verb with a clear-cut Aktionsart in a situation like this, such as “ririku suru”, but the fact that it is not required points to the likelihood that boundaries between types of Events could be a little more blurry than expected in Japanese and, by extension, other languages. Later, in section 5.1.3, I will explore the reasons behind this by positing a set of internal sub-events internal to certain Aktionsart.

If the above is correct, there could also be a process of evolution happening within what could be interpreted as, in a wide sense, the category of stative Aktionsart (comprising pure States and, in the case of Japanese, non-processes). Therefore, it could be inferred that non-processes, defined as States that are related to an Event that kick-starts them, can gain back some of that eventivity via

markers of grammatical aspect and other elements external to the root lexical unit, in a similar way as “tobu” above, which defaults as an activity, but can be interpreted as an achievement pointing to the moment when the activity starts with the aid of markers of aspect external to the verb itself.

In the following section, we will review Jacobsen (1992)’s point of view regarding Aktionsart and his unified analysis of “-teiru” in Japanese, which will further justify the claim that will be made in Chapter 5 , regarding the existence of complex Event types. Jacobsen's analysis can be taken as proof of Aktionsart being either simple or hybrid. Although Jacobsen does not refer to it in these terms, his claim would further support my aim of proving that lexical and grammatical aspect and Event quantification are interconnected and that, as a result of it, any classification of Aktionsart is insufficient by itself if grammatical aspect and Event quantification are not taken into consideration as well. This will be dealt in further detail in Chapter Chapter 5.

#### **4.6.- Jacobsen (1992)’s approach: theory and implications**

Jacobsen (1992) offers a unified analysis of “-teiru” that matches with this research’s topic. According to him, “-teiru” yields what he considers to be a “homogeneous quality”, or what in this thesis is referred to as “continuation”. Therefore, pure States in Japanese, such as “iru” and “aru” and similar, will refuse “-teiru” because pure States already have a feature of “homogeneity” and, therefore, do not require it to show that aspectual quality.

Regardless of the terminology used, be it “homogeneous quality” or “persistence” or “continuity”, this analysis looks sound. His theory also explains why non-processes admit - and, actually, require - the form “-teiru”: because non-processes share features of dynamic Events (namely, the achievements that kick-start the stative meaning of non-processes), the “homogeneous quality” is not inherent to them, but only to *true* States. This clearly points to Japanese verbs having multiple possible Event structures, such as non-processes being comprised of achievements and resulting States (“shiru”), activities having a starting point - an achievement -and the activity itself (“tobu”) and, lately, the already well documented property of accomplishments being activities with a telic feature



added at the point where the action is completed ("100 meetoru hashitta", "[I] ran for 100 m").

The interactions between the verb and other elements and their correct interpretation can be seen as well in the following example: the phrase "Shokuji wo suru" (which can be roughly translated as "(To) eat the meal") is, in my opinion, underspecified in terms of its aspectual meaning. It is a durative, non-instantaneous action, yet it obviously has a beginning and ending point. This implies that, depending on where the focus is put, "Shokuji wo shiteiru" can imply *persistence of the activity internal to the accomplishment*, (a progressive meaning).

On the other hand, if the focus is put on the end of the activity, where the action reaches its natural endpoint (in this case the food having been eaten and therefore there being no more food), "Shokuji wo shiteiru" expresses a perfective meaning, as in a relative tense that is before the moment of speech, whose action - that is, *eating the meal* - affects the present moment in some way: "*I am in a situation of having eaten the meal*", which is what "I have eaten the meal" would express in English. In either case, the desired aspectual meaning can be eased into the construction by external adverbial elements such as "mou" or "sude ni" ("already"), "tokku ni" ("long ago") for the perfective meaning and "ima" ("now") and the connector "tokoro da" ("in the process of"), which, according to Jacobsen, are the arguably most salient ones in Japanese. Aspect can also be licensed according to contextual factors without the intervention of any adverb or particle, but an analysis of context falls beyond the scope of the linguistic analysis of this thesis.

The analysis in Jacobsen (1992), therefore, seems to support the point I claim to be true: that verbs in Japanese are underspecified in terms of lexical aspect and that they rely on interaction with external factors for licensing it. Research by Kindaichi (1950), Vendler(1957), Fujii (1966), Yoshikawa (1973), Soga (1983) and Okuda (1978a, 1978b), summarized in Jacobsen (1992) hint to that direction as well.

In the next section, I will review an approach to Events that, unlike the one I adopted in this dissertation, argues that Events are comprised of internal phases, instead of sub-Events.

#### 4.7.- An alternative approach: phases of an Event

I claim in this dissertation that Events can be compounded. Other authors, however, tackle the issues of the interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect from a different theoretical framework, which I consider to be complementary: that one Event is comprised of phases rather than sub-events.

This theory goes back to the works of Guillaume (1970), Molho (1975), Muller (1975), Coseriu (1976), Dietrich (1973, 1996), Moens (1987), Berschin et al. (2005). According to these authors, Events have phases. Such phases are related to different verbal periphrases and mark different landmarks in the development of an Event. A good compilation of the possible phases of an Event can be found in Moreno (2013), based mostly on Dietrich (1996) and Coseriu (1976). What follows is a list of the possible phases of an Event (examples translated to English by me, taken from Moreno (2013), themselves taken from their corresponding authors, referenced below):

- a. Imminent: "Mi hermano está para llegar" ("My brother is about to arrive") (Dietrich 1996)
- b. Ingressive or inceptive: "Se echó a correr" ("He / she started running") (Dietrich 1996)
- c. Progressive: "Voy diciendo" ("I am saying...") (Coseriu 1976)
- d. Continuative: "Llevo tres años escribiendo este libro" ("I have been writing this book for 3 years")<sup>49</sup> (Dietrich 1996)
- e. Conclusive: "Acabó de escribir el artículo" ("He / she finished writing the article") (Dietrich 1996)
- f. Egressive: "Acaba de llegar" ("He / she just arrived") (Dietrich 1996)

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<sup>49</sup> This continuative expression does not translate neatly into English as a construction that has continuative aspect; Spanish has the periphrasis "llevar" + *gerundio*. Instead, English has to resort to a perfective form of the progressive "I am writing" in the form of "I have been writing". This is the reason why I added the original found in Moreno (2013) for clarity.

The first and last phases are considered to happen before and after the Event itself, respectively. This is a common point between the approaches by Guillaume (1970), Moens (1987), Berschin et al. (2005) and Dietrich (1996).

We will go back to this classification in Chapter 5 below, when I compare it to my own theory. I will show that I consider that Events not only have phases but they also comprise sub-events. Evidence will come in the form of an analysis of the eventive properties of several constructions in Japanese and Spanish that will clarify the differences between pure States and non-processes from a new theoretical standpoint.

#### **4.8.- Recapitulation and conclusions so far.**

In chapters 2, 3 and 4, we have offered a summary of the properties of both lexical and grammatical aspectual systems of Spanish and Japanese (both standard and the Uwajima dialect, which shows some points in common with Spanish). In the process, we have relied also on insights from English data. We have alluded to numerous theories that have been proposed in the literature to deal with these issues. In particular, we have assumed Yamamura (2010)'s interpretation of the imperfect and preterite in Spanish, and Kamata (1996)'s and Taga (2013)'s analyses for Japanese. We have also pointed out that verbal items may hold complex internal Aktionsart features by not only having a dominant lexical aspect, but a secondary one as well. Hence, we have States that have an eventive component, such as "shiru" ("to find out / **to know**<sup>50</sup>"), activities that have an initial sub-Event, such as "tobu" ("to fly off / **to fly**") and achievements that result in an activity, such as "hervir" ("to boil").

In what follows we attempt to find a theoretical framework to explain how the interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect may actually take place. On the one hand, we will reconsider the nature of Aktionsart in light of the data that we have been providing. On the other, we will re-examine the nature of grammatical aspect with reference to the literature on Event quantification that has developed since Davidson (1967). Finally, I will explain the phenomena of complex Events

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<sup>50</sup> Emphasis on the dominant lexical aspect.

seen above from the theoretical framework of Event quantification and Neo-Davidsonianism.

## Chapter 5

### A brief overview of some issues related to Event structure.

The issue at hand is to explain the possible and impossible interactions between lexical and grammatical aspect. As we have seen in the previous chapters of this dissertation, there are grammatical and ungrammatical combinations of aspectual morphemes (-ta, -teiru in Japanese, preterite forms in Spanish) with certain predicates. This chapter is an effort to clarify the source of these (im)possible combinations. In short, I will explain the interactions through a mapping between the internal parts of the Aktionsart of a lexical entry, systematized in a new way, and the presence of an Event quantifier in the construction. We will see that some properties of certain types of Events (Aktionsart) make it possible for the construction to have a certain type of Event quantifier, whereas others ban the quantifier. In other words, some Aktionsart types, due to their internal composition, are quantifiable, whereas others lack the properties to be quantified.

In this section, I will claim that there are at least three different ways a construction can license the presence of an Event quantifier<sup>51</sup>:

1. Due to internal lexical properties: In Chapter 6 below, I will apply Pustejovsky (1991)'s theory of Event structure to my claim that Events are complex if they include a Transition or a Process within them. This will be the case of activities, accomplishments and achievements, as in Pustejovsky (1991), but I claim that Kamata (1996)'s *non-processes* are defined as complex Events at this level due to implications from Pustejovsky's proposal.
2. Through the marking of progressive grammatical aspect: I claim that the feasibility of progressive "-teiru" in Japanese, "-yoru" in the Uwajima dialect and progressive "-ando / -iendo" in Spanish imply the existence of an Event

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<sup>51</sup> Due to the interactions between lexical and grammatical aspectual features and Event quantification, the ways of licensing an Event quantifier do not exclude each other in principle.

quantifier, as those markers are only feasible in those Event types<sup>52</sup> that are not homogeneous, such as Transitions and Processes, defined as being compatible with an Event quantifier in point 1 above. This point will also be developed in Chapter 6 below

3. Through the marking of perfective grammatical aspect. The perfective is the marker of the presence of an Event quantifier. Dynamic Events can all take this marker. Regarding States, I claim that only individual level stative predicates are true States. Stage level stative predicates in Spanish that take the Indefinite Past form do so because they have the right internal structure in their lexical aspect to allow them to enter in a construction with an Event quantifier. In other words, the predicate is composed of several parts and therefore the Event can be quantified as with dynamic Events. In the case of Japanese stative predicates, "-ta", perfective and resultative "-teiru" and the form "-toru" from the Uwajima dialect will only apply a perfective meaning to stage level predicates. Individual level predicates will either outright refuse them or have them show no aspectual features<sup>53</sup>. This will be explained in further detail in Chapter 6 below.

Besides the above ways an Event quantifier can quantify a construction, there is also the question of whether the Event is a simple Event, a true plural Event or a distributive<sup>54</sup> plural Event. This will be explained in detail in Chapter 6 below.

There is also one more theoretical issue that has to be addressed before proceeding with the analysis regarding the quantificational properties of Events and States: there are two sides in the current theoretical discussion about Neo-Davidsonianism. On the one hand, linguists such as Parsons (1990), Higginbotham (1985) and Landman (2000) follow the canonical Neo-Davidsonian approach to quantification, assuming that States are distinct from Events and

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<sup>52</sup> In the terms of Pustejovsky (1991).

<sup>53</sup> This would be the case of "-ta" in "Sora ga aokatta" ("The sky was blue"), in which the "-ta" form is used as a marker of past tense and not perfective aspect. This is seen with more clarity when analyzing its Spanish counterpart "El cielo era azul", which takes an Imperfective Past form. The form "El cielo estaba azul" is acceptable, but it implies a stage level predicate in the sense that the sky being blue is a situation resulting from a certain change.

<sup>54</sup> Scha (1981).

therefore there is such a thing as a *State quantifier* along with the clearly established Event quantifier<sup>55</sup>. On the other hand, there is a critical school of thought, spearheaded by Katz (2000, 2003, 2008) and Maienborn (2003), claiming that there is no typological difference between States and Events<sup>56</sup>. I am siding with the Neo-Davidsonian linguists, in that my research points to the existence of a distinction between Events and States. I will claim that pure States are non-quantifiable through an Event quantifier, but other kinds of States and non-processes are. The classification of types of Aktionsart that I propose can justify this approach without the insertion of a new category of State quantifiers, as we will see.

## **5.1.- Redefinition of lexical aspect categories**

In this section I will introduce Pustejovsky (1991)'s classification of lexical aspect categories. I will reexamine and extend his theory, which will justify Kamata (1996)'s claim to the existence of the Aktionsart category of non-processes and justify my claim of the existence of compounded Aktionsart categories in language. This analysis will also provide the theoretical basis for my claim that compounded Aktionsart categories are quantifiable.

### **5.1.1.- Pustejovsky (1991)'s Event types**

In section 2.4 above we saw the classification of predicates into Aktionsart categories, based on Vendler (1957, 1967)'s work. We have seen that predicates are typically classified into States, activities, accomplishments, achievements, semelfactives (as a sub-class of achievements) and, according to Kamata (1996), non-processes. Pustejovsky (1991) presents an alternative classification of Events into two primary categories (States and Processes) and a derived category, the Transitions. I shall review their properties in this section.

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<sup>55</sup> *Event quantifier* is a Neo-Davidsonian term. It is not to be confused with *Event argument*, which is the term employed by Davidson (1967) himself. In this dissertation, the Neo-Davidsonian terminology will be employed.

<sup>56</sup> Mittwoch (2005), Geuder (2006) and Ernst (2011) claim, like Katz, that there is no typological distinction between events and states, but unlike him, they claim that states are a conceptually "poorer" version of events, which is why they co-occur with fewer adverbs.

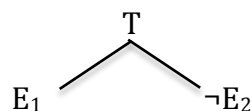
Pustejovsky (1991) defines a State as "a single Event<sup>57</sup>, which is evaluated relative to no other Event". He quotes as an example the constructions *be sick*, *love* and *know*.



Processes are defined as "a sequence of Events identifying the same semantic expression". His examples are *run*, *push*, *drag*.



Finally, Transitions are defined as "an Event identifying a semantic expression, which is evaluated relative to its opposition (Jackendoff, 1972; Lakoff, 1970; von Wright, 1973)". He produces the following examples: *give*, *open*, *build*, *destroy*. In other words, a Transition marks the change<sup>58</sup> between a proposition being true and it being false or vice versa. We can see in "The door closed"<sup>59</sup> that there is a Transition between the States of "door not closed" and "door closed".



Transitions are defined in terms of the change from one situation to another one. The letter E in the graphic above represents any predicate type. This will be an important detail that will be brought back in my review of the following section, as it

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<sup>57</sup> As mentioned before, I opted to refer to the whole of Aktionsart categories as predicates. Pustejovsky refers to all predicates as events. The above is a direct quote, so I am copying Pustejovsky's words verbatim.

<sup>58</sup> The notion of change in a Transition is closely related to Yamamura (2010)'s notion of change between non-occurrence and occurrence of an action.

<sup>59</sup> Example from Pustejovsky (1991)



means that there can theoretically be a transition between different combinations of a Process and a State.

Pustejovsky (1991)'s predicate types can be used to analyze Aktionsart categories and break them down into smaller components. This breakdown is the point of departure of my approach. In the following section, I will review other authors' classifications of predicates based on Pustejovsky (1991) and substantiate my reanalysis of Aktionsart categories in terms of Pustejovsky's predicate types.

### 5.1.2.- Alternative classifications of predicates based on Pustejovsky (1991)'s in literature.

Pustejovsky (1991)'s classification of Events into States, Processes and Transitions has been further refined by De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000). Their classification of predicates<sup>60</sup> (with special reference to Spanish) is as follows:

(151) De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s predicate types:

- a. **State**: simple durative Events without phases: *tener* (to have), *detestar* (to loathe). Their structure is [S(tate)], comprised of [e(vent)]
- b. **Process 1**: sequence of identical durative Events with phases; non-bounded Events: *estudiar* (to study), *nadar* (to swim). Their structure is [P(rocess)], comprised of [ e<sub>1</sub>... e<sub>n</sub> ]
- c. **Transition 1**: process or activity that culminates in a point that is followed by a change of State: *leer un libro* (to read a book), *ver una película* (to watch a movie)<sup>61</sup>. Their structure is [T1] comprised of [P] and [Ach(ievement)<sup>62</sup>], which

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<sup>60</sup> Examples are provided in Spanish in the original.

<sup>61</sup> The Event category *Transition 1* in De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) does not seem to have a resulting State, which they claim exists. I argue that expressions that shows a change of state in the object such as "el libro está leído" and "la película está vista" are extremely awkward at best and most likely ungrammatical. Even if we assume the resulting state is experienced by the actor, as in "haber leído el libro" ("having read the book") and "haber visto la película" ("having watched the movie"), one cannot say that the object undergoes a change of state resulting in a new state. The only change that could be assumed, therefore, is one undergone by the actor, in that after the action is complete, the actor goes through an *experiential* change. The object is not affected by any change, however.

<sup>62</sup> De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) use [L] for Achievement, from the Spanish word "logro". I decided to change it to [Ach] instead for the sake of clarity.

itself is comprised of [Ach] and [S]

d. **Achievement 1**: bounded Event that happens at a point in time: *llegar* (to arrive), *explotar* (to explode). Their structure is [Ach1], comprised of [¬S] and [S]

e. **Achievement 2**: bounded Event that culminates in a point in time and that is followed by a State: *marearse* (to get dizzy), *ocultarse* (to hide). Their structure is [Ach2], comprised of [Ach] and [S]

f. **Achievement 3**: bounded Event that culminates in a point in time and is followed by a process: *hervir* (to boil), *floreecer*. (to bloom). Their structure is [Ach] and [P].

g. **Transition 2**: bounded Event that implies the existence of a transition between two culminating points; both the initial sub-event and the final sub-event can be further decomposed into two phases: *aparecer(se)* (to appear), *bajar(se)* (to get off), *caer(se)* (to fall). Their structure is [T2], comprised of [Ach], which is comprised of [Ach] and (P)<sup>63</sup>, and [Ach], which is comprised of [Ach] and (S).

h. **Process 2**: gradual completion verbs: *adelgazar* (to lose weight), *engordar* (to gain weight), *envejecer* (to age). Their structure is [P2], comprised of [P] and (Ach).

De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s classification has been criticized by Moreno (2013) on the basis of it lacking any justification for splitting Event types into "achievement 1 / 2 / 3", "process 1 / 2" and so on. He criticises g) *Transition 2* above as being counter-intuitive, due to achievements having only a single culminating point. A clarification of *Transition 2* can be found in De Miguel (2004): she claims that Events such as "salir"<sup>64</sup> ("to come out") can contain an internal Process phase, as seen in "El agua sigue saliendo" ("Water keeps pouring out"). According to De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000), *Transition 2* Events have two culminating points, therefore they can be depicted as T2 [Achievement, Achievement], and in term, as T2 [[Achievement, (Process)], [Achievement,

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<sup>63</sup> The parentheses () indicate that the event does not happen in all cases.

<sup>64</sup> This would be the case in "caer" ("to fall") in De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)

State]]<sup>65</sup>. I agree with Moreno (2013) in that the second culminating point in *Transition 2* Events is unnecessary: it is not feasible to claim that, from a linguistic point of view, "El agua sigue saliendo" culminates in a resulting State. Therefore, I consider that *Transition 2* Events can be included in the category of *Achievement 2* Events.

Moreno (2013) also criticizes the category of gradual completion verbs in h) *Process 2* above, on the basis of pragmatic constraints: De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) claim that *Process 2* predicates are comprised of a *Process* and a possible *Achievement* that might be reached or not. Moreno claims, however, that although "engordar" ("to get fat") does not directly imply "being fat", the Event implies some degree of change of State, of "getting fat". Moreno, therefore, claims that even if a person put on a little amount of weight like half a kilo and, therefore, one could say that they got fatter, pragmatic constraints render such small change of State irrelevant, although it exists. My opinion is that De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s inclusion of Gradual Completion Verbs (Dowty 1979, Bertinetto et al. 1995) in their classification of predicates is theoretically sound from the point of view of semantics. I consider that pragmatic constraints do not apply at the level of Aktionsart and, therefore, dismiss Moreno (2013)'s criticism of *Process 2* predicates based on pragmatics on these grounds at this level of language structure.

Other criticism to De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) has been published by Moreno Cabrera (2003). Unlike Pustejovsky (1991) being made of States. Moreno Cabrera (2003) tackles the issue of classifying actions by approaching it from the field of formal semantics. According to him, predicates are defined in terms of Actions, Processes and States. These are ordered hierarchically:

(152) Moreno Cabrera (2003)'s hierarchy of Events:

**Actions** are defined in terms of processes and their relationships with entities.

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<sup>65</sup> De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s terminology used seems to define event categories such as Transitions as being comprised of internal achievements that can be composed of internal sub-events as well. I choose to define predicates in terms of Pustejovsky (1991) and then define Aktionsart in terms of those predicates and combinations thereof, as shown in Table 8 below.

They can be *modifications* and *locomotions*.

**Processes**<sup>66</sup> are defined in terms of States. They are transitions between States. They can be *mutations* and *displacements*.

**States** can be States of attribution, location and location of continent.

García Fernández (2006b) builds upon Moreno Cabrera (2003) and defines broad Aktionsart categories in terms of their smallest internal components, States<sup>67</sup>.

(153) García Fernández (2006b)'s internal composition of Aktionsart categories:

- States: *estar enfermo* (to be sick), *estar en Madrid* (to be in Madrid)  $\Rightarrow S$
- Activities: *caminar* (to walk)  $\Rightarrow S^{\text{First}} \dots S^{N-1} \dots S^N$
- Accomplishments: *construir una casa* (to build a house)  $\Rightarrow S^{\text{First}} \dots S^N \dots S^{\text{Goal}}$
- Accomplishments (2): *ir de Madrid a Barcelona* (to go from Madrid to Barcelona)  $\Rightarrow S^{\text{Origin}} \dots S^N \dots S^{\text{Goal}}$
- Achievements: *morir* (to die)  $\Rightarrow S^{\text{Origin}} - S^{\text{Goal}}$
- Semelfactives: *estornudar* (to sneeze)  $\Rightarrow S^{\text{First}} - S^N$

It seems to me that Moreno Cabrera (2003)'s classification is not a classification of lexical entries of verbs. Whereas it is undoubtedly true that any Event makes the entities involved progress from a certain State to a different one, the classification provided by Moreno Cabrera fails to make clear the differences between those States that are a result of a previous action (what we call a Transition), and those that are not. It seems to me that the  $S^{\text{Goal}}$  of Accomplishments has different properties from that of Achievements, for instance, as we will see in some cases later on, which is obscured in this way of classifying action types. We therefore will adhere to the Pustejovsky labels for the sub-Events of each Aktionsart.

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<sup>66</sup> Moreno Cabrera (2003)'s uses the term Process for purposes that are different to Pustejovsky (1991). Moreno Cabrera uses the term Process to encapsulate all dynamic events, whereas Pustejovsky refers to Processes to durative events with an internal structure comprised of  $e_1 \dots e_n$ .

<sup>67</sup> The original abbreviates States as E, from Spanish "Estado". I will use "S" for State instead in order to avoid confusion with complex event marker "E". Translation is mine.

Regardless of the minor criticism I addressed above regarding De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s Event types, specially those regarding *Transition 1* and *Transition 2*, I consider their analysis to be a very insightful one and it has proven helpful in my endeavor to classify Aktionsart in a way that explains the phenomena of Compounded Aktionsart (equivalent to De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s *Achievement 3*) and non-processes that I have described in this dissertation in previous chapters. However, their classification is terminologically confusing, as they describe predicates using terminology from Pustejovsky (1991), such as Processes, Transitions and States, but also from Vendler (1967), such as Achievements and Activities. In section 5.1.3 below, I will present my own classification of predicates, which will be based in Pustejovskyan predicates (T, P, S) that will combine in order to yield Pure and Hybrid Aktionsart categories. I base my claims on the data that I have been presenting in this dissertation about possible/impossible interactions between lexical and grammatical aspect in Japanese and Spanish, and on the interpretations that we obtain in constructions depending on those interactions. My theoretical basis can be summarized this way: Vendler (1967)'s Aktionsart categories can be broken down into Pustejovsky (1991)'s predicate types. Using the variables that Pustejovsky proposes, I come to the conclusion that there are Compounded Aktionsart categories, which I will call “hybrid Aktionsart”. These, in turn, will provide with the theoretical basis to explain non-processes, verbs such as “tobu” and “hervir” and the issues faced by learners of Spanish when making constructions in the past with stative verbs.

In the next section, I will structure my point into a set of tables that aim to classify Aktionsart into categories that can be distinguished from one another through the interactions between lexical and grammatical aspect and quantificational features of the Event.

### **5.1.3.- A proposal for Hybrid Aktionsart.**

So far, I have shown evidence backing my claim that Vendler (1967)'s Aktionsart categories, while being useful theoretical devices for classifying predicates, do not efficiently account for the existence of compounded Events. Contributions to Aktionsart, such as Kamata (1996)'s *non-processes* hint to hybrid

Aktionsart categories. Kamata's analysis is based on the fact that non-processes are defined as being States that take the "-teiru" form, as in "shitteiru" (to know). However, the "-teiru" form is supposed to be incompatible with stativity. He defines non-processes in these terms, therefore his analysis does not shed light into their internal structure. We have also seen verbs such as "tobu" in Oki (2000)'s analysis of the properties of grammatical aspect markers "-yoru" and "-toru" in the Uwajima dialect of Japanese, as well as and Spanish verb "hervir" (De Miguel, 1999). I claim that verbs like these, along with non-processes, can take part in different predicative structures due to their internal composition as hybrid Aktionsart: "tobu" can refer to the actions of "taking off" and "flying", whereas "hervir" can refer to "reaching the boiling point" and "boiling". The classic way in which Aktionsart categories have been classified is an insufficient device in order to understand the fine nuances in the internal structure of different types of States and Events.

Pustejovsky (1991)'s analysis, as seen in the previous section, serves as a tool for a more detailed analysis of the internal structure of Aktionsart and, as such, allows us to postulate Compounded Aktionsart categories, comprised of different Events that are related. We have seen De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s reinterpretation of Pustejovsky (1991), which shows a classification of predicates that attempts to harmonize Vendler (1967) and Pustejovsky (1991). We have also seen Moreno Cabrera (2003)'s reinterpretation of Pustejovsky (1991)'s predicates and García Fernández (2006b)'s redefinition of Vendlerian predicates in terms of Pustejovskyan States. I have criticized these approaches in the previous section as being unable to account for some of the behavior observed in Spanish and in Japanese. In this section I will substantiate my claim in terms of Compounded Aktionsart categories. This classification is open to expansion; it aims to provide a framework in which to explain verbs with more than one Eventive structure. In the following sections after this one, I will approach the matter of the internal properties of verbs and their interaction with grammatical aspect through the syntax of Events and Events from a quantificational, Neo-Davidsonian point of view, as there are a few issues that this following table itself cannot address but will be addressed later in this dissertation. Table 8 below shows my initial proposal for Aktionsart, with examples from Japanese, Spanish and English, when available

or necessary. This table classifies predicates through a combination of P (Process), T (Transition) and S (State), following Pustejovsky's insights.

Table 8. Aktionsart in terms of sub-events

Predicate type	Structure	Example
<b>Dynamic Events</b>		
Hybrid Aktionsart		
Accomplishments	P, T(ransition) [ State 1 / State 2]	<b>Eng:</b> "to run 10 miles", "to cut a cake into slices" <b>Spn:</b> "instalar un programa" ("to install a program") <b>Jpn:</b> "tatemono wo tateru" <sup>68</sup> ("to build a building")
Achievements of Type 3 De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) <sup>69</sup>	T, P	<b>Spn:</b> "hervir" ("to reach the boiling point" / "to boil"), "salir" ("to leave" / "to hang out") <b>Jpn:</b> "tobu" ("to fly off" / "To fly")
Simple Aktionsart		
Activities <sup>70</sup>	P(rocess)	<b>Eng:</b> "to run in the park" <b>Spn:</b> "bailar" ("to dance") <b>Jpn:</b> "hikou suru" ("to fly")
Achievements / Semelfactives <sup>71</sup>	T [ not finished / finished] OR [ State 1 / State 2]	<b>Eng:</b> "to arrive", "to cough" <b>Spn:</b> "encender la luz" ("to turn on the lights"), "llamar a la puerta" ("to tap on the door") <b>Jpn:</b> "touchaku suru" ("to arrive")

<sup>68</sup> Assuming the object is definite. Otherwise, an interpretation such as "to build buildings" would fall into the category of Activities.

<sup>69</sup> This category is comprised of those complex events we saw in previous chapters of this dissertation such as "hervir" and "tobu", which are comprised of predicates implicationaly related. They can be used to express either event that they are made of. Therefore "tobu" can be both an Achievement and an Activity, as internally it is comprised of Pustejovskyan sub-events. Either of them can be focused on when producing a sentence. They are examples of Compounded Aktionsart.

<sup>70</sup> This includes Type 2 Processes by De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000).

<sup>71</sup> The distinction in terms of Aktionsart between Achievements and Semelfactive events will be dealt with later when I introduce Event Theory. I consider their difference to be quantificational, not predicative.

Stative predicates		
Hybrid statives		
Resulting States (Including Type 2 Achievements in De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000) <sup>72</sup>	T [not State / State], S	<b>Eng:</b> "to be broken" <b>Spn:</b> "estar cocido" ("to be cooked") <b>Jpn:</b> "Kabin ga ware-teiru" ("A flower pot is broken")
Non-processes (Kamata 1996)	T [not State / State], S	<b>Eng:</b> "to own", "to know" <b>Spn:</b> "saber" ("to know"), "conocer" ("to get acquainted with / to be acquainted with") <b>Jpn:</b> "shiru" ("to find out" / "to know")
Stage-level adjectival predicates <sup>73</sup>	T [not State / State], S	<b>Eng:</b> "to be smart" (= "to behave in a smart manner") <b>Spn:</b> "ser inteligente" (= "comportarse de manera inteligente", "to behave in an intelligent manner") <b>Jpn:</b> "akai" ("to be red" = "to have turned red" - See Spanish "El cielo estaba rojo" ("The sky was red [because it had turned red]"))
Simple statives		
Pure States (individual level stative predicates)	S(tate)	<b>Eng:</b> "to be blue" <b>Esp:</b> "ser inteligente" <sup>74</sup> (to be intelligent) [not implying behavior, but property]

The above table classifies predicates into dynamic Events and stative predicates. Each category is broken down into a hybrid category and a simple category, yielding Hybrid Aktionsart and Simple Aktionsart. On the one hand, Hybrid Aktionsart categories are comprised of a plurality of Pustejovskyan

<sup>72</sup> The main difference between non-processes and resulting states is that, in Spanish, the latter is limited to verbs of explicit change of state and therefore can express the resulting state by means of "estar" + *participio*, whereas the former requires an imperfective form meaning the resulting state, like the Present Tense, the "haber" + *participio* form or "tener" + *participio* in certain cases. See the following examples:

- a) "La ventana está rota"
- b) "He conocido a Manuel" ("I have met Manuel")
- b') "Conozco a Manuel"
- b'') \* "Estoy conocido a Manuel" / \* "Manuel está conocido"

<sup>73</sup> In Japanese, adjectival predicates do not allow for the "-teiru" form. I claim, however, that when an adjectival predicate can express a resulting state (therefore, allowing for the form "-natteiru", "to have become [state]"), they become non-pure states derived from events. I claim that, in Spanish, the way to tell out individual level and stage level adjectival predicates is by checking for the grammaticality of the Indefinite Past form while retaining the qualificational meaning. A more detailed analysis will be provided in section 6.2.1.-. See examples below:

- a) "Pedro es inteligente" ("Pedro is intelligent")
- b) \* "Pedro fue inteligente" (Except if it implies "Pedro behaved in an intelligent manner", therefore gaining an eventive meaning)

<sup>74</sup> The predicate "inteligente" is a pure state when it predicates an attribute. See the section 6.2.1.- for a detailed analysis of pure vs non-pure states.



predicates: Accomplishments [P,T] and De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s Type 3 Achievements [T,P] (or to simplify, I will refer to them as Compounded Achievements, although they fit into De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla's category perfectly). Simple Aktionsart categories are comprised of only one Pustejovskyan predicate: Activities [P] and Achievements / Semelfactives [T]. On the other hand, Hybrid Statives are comprised of a Pustejovskyan Transition and a State, which is the case of Resulting States, Non-processes and Stage-level adjectival predicates. Simple States are comprised of a single Stative Pustejovskyan predicate.

All Hybrid predicates are quantifiable; therefore, they will enter into constructions in which an Event Quantifier (EQ) is present, which are constructions with perfective grammatical aspect ("-ta" and "-teiru" in Japanese, morphemes of perfective in Spanish). Therefore, Table 8 presents two problems: On the one hand, because both Dynamic and Stative predicates are comprised of Hybrid and Simple versions of each, distributing categories of predicates according to how simple (or pure) they are could be helpful. This way, we can systematically explore the interactions of markers of grammatical aspect more easily. I attempted this in Table 9 below. On the other hand, the three Hybrid Stative categories seem to be structurally identical ([T,S]), yet they are classified as different entities. In Table 9 below I will attempt to explain the different properties of S in those three Hybrid Aktionsart categories.

Table 9. Pure Aktionsart and Hybrid Aktionsart

Predicate type	Structure	Example
<b>Pure Aktionsart</b>		
Activities	P	<b>Eng:</b> "to run in the park" <b>Spn:</b> "bailar" ("to dance") <b>Jpn:</b> "hikou suru" ("to fly")
Achievements / Semelfactives	T	<b>Eng:</b> "to arrive", "to cough" <b>Spn:</b> "encender la luz" ("to turn on the lights"), "llamar a la puerta" ("to tap on the door") <b>Jpn:</b> "touchaku suru" ("to arrive")
Pure States (individual level stative predicates)	S	<b>Eng:</b> "to be blue" <b>Esp:</b> "ser inteligente" (to be intelligent) [not implying behavior, but property]
<b>Hybrid Aktionsart</b>		
Accomplishments	P/ T/ S	<b>Eng:</b> "to run 10 miles", "to cut a cake into slices" <b>Spn:</b> "instalar un programa" ("to install a program") <b>Jpn:</b> "tatemono wo tateru" ("to build a building")
Achievements of Type 3 De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)	T/ P	<b>Spn:</b> "hervir" ("to reach the boiling point" / "to boil"), "salir" ("to leave" / "to hang out") <b>Jpn:</b> "tobu" ("to fly off" / "To fly")
Non-processes (Kamata 1996)	T/ S <sup>affected Subj</sup>	<b>Eng:</b> "to own", "to know" <b>Spn:</b> "saber" ("to know"), "conocer" ("to get acquainted with / to be acquainted with") <b>Jpn:</b> "shiru" ("to find out" / "to know")
<i>Stage Level hybrid Stative Predicates</i>		
Resulting stage-level predicates (Including Type 2 Achievements in De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000)	T/ S <sup>obj</sup>	<b>Eng:</b> "to be broken" <b>Spn:</b> "estar cocido" ("to be cooked") <sup>75</sup> <b>Jpn:</b> "Kabin ga ware-teiru" ("A flower pot is broken")
	T/S <sup>Causative Subject</sup>	<b>Spn:</b> "La película estuvo interesante" ("The movie was interesting") (=it caused a feeling of interest in me)
Non-resulting Stage-level predicates	T/ S <sup>Active Subject</sup>	<b>Eng:</b> "to be smart" (= "to behave in a smart manner") <b>Spn:</b> "ser inteligente" ("comportarse de manera inteligente", "to behave in an intelligent manner")

<sup>75</sup> Notice that, although resultative predicates are stage level predicates by nature, they can be coerced into predicating properties out of the subject, therefore becoming something closer to individual level predicates. This happens when resultatives interact with imperfective grammatical aspect. In these cases, the predication in a stage level predicate can be applied to the individual as a whole, yielding imperfective aspect valid. This is the case of "La ventana está rota" ("The window is broken"), in which the property of "being broken", which is originally a stage of the window after breaking, is predicated of the individual as though it is an individual level predication.

This table presents the data in a different manner to Table 8. Here, I decided to use the term Pure instead of simple because it implies that Pure Aktionsart categories have not undergone any process of coercion and, therefore, have not been combined with other predicates in order to become hybrid. There are a few more considerations to be made regarding the distinct terminology used in Table 9.

First, Non-processes have been defined as being comprised of  $T, S^{\text{Affected Subj}}$ . The affectedness of the subject implies that the State is applied to the subject undergoing the Transition. It is the case of "I know his secret", in which the State of "knowing his secret" is applied to the subject of a kick-starting Transition of "finding out his secret". This is different from resultatives in that these show a change undergone by the syntactic object, which is generated in a Verb-internal position in the derivation<sup>76</sup>.

Second, "Resulting States" have been renamed as "Resulting Stage-level predicates". The reason is that this category is comprised of predicates that in Spanish would be overtly marked with the stative copula "estar". In the case the State is that of the object, we get a typical resultative construction, which in Spanish corresponds, as mentioned, to "estar" + *participio* and in Japanese corresponds to a resultative "-teiru". In the case the State is that of an implicit causative subject, however, the corresponding construction is one that, in Spanish is comprised of "estar" + Adjective, such as "La película está interesante"<sup>77</sup> ("The movie is interesting"), which implies "The movie is causing a feeling of interest in me", hence  $S^{\text{Causative Subject}}$ . This category would also be comprised of Japanese adjectives that allow for that causative meaning, such the one in "Sono eiga wa omoshiroi" ("That movie is interesting").

Third, "Stage-level adjectival predicates" have been renamed as "Non-resulting Stage-level predicates". The stative predicate  $S^{\text{Active Subject}}$  in this hybrid Aktionsart

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<sup>76</sup> "He broke the chair" implies "The chair is broken". Although "the chair" takes the position of subject in the intransitive sentence, it does so by rising from its Verb-internal position of object.

<sup>77</sup> Notice that "La película está interesante" yields a stronger causative meaning than "La película fue interesante". The latter employs the verb "ser", by which the attribute "interesting" is being predicated of the movie in terms that seem to imply a lesser causation than when "estar" is used instead.

stage level predicate implies that there is an implicit Event with a subject that can control the situation.

In sum, I have introduced in Table 9 a new way of classifying Aktionsart based on De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000), but focused on whether the predicate belongs to the category of Pure Aktionsart or Hybrid Aktionsart. From this point on, I will summarize the current literature on two subjects required to prove the validity of my classification. First, in section 5.2 , I will review the existing literature on syntax of Events in order to determine the structure of VP and the inflectional component of a derivation and where features of Aspect are checked. In section 6.1 , I will review the existing literature on Event Quantification. This will allow me to understand the syntactic structure of Pure and Hybrid Aktionsart categories and their properties in terms of whether they contain a Quantifier Event Phrase or not and, if they do, what kind of quantifier it is.

## **5.2.- The syntax of Aspect**

In this section, I will review the literature on the syntax of lexical and grammatical aspect, on one hand, and then propose a syntactic structure for the types of Aktionsart shown in section 5.1.3

### **5.2.1.- The syntax of lexical aspect: the AspP projection.**

Both the features of lexical and grammatical aspect are coded in syntax in their own projections. Lexical aspect is also called inner aspect (Travis 1991), due to being checked in a projection within VP. Lexical aspect also receives the name of situation aspect (Smith 1991). MacDonald (2008) locates this projection (AspP) between  $\nu$ P and VP. Slabakova (2001) locates this projection in VP, between two VPs, but whether one follows Slabakova or MacDonald is irrelevant for our current purposes: features of lexical aspect like telicity (whether an action has an endpoint or not) are coded within VP-internal AspP in languages like English and Spanish, which mark telicity depending on the cardinality of the object, according to Slabakova (2001).

According to Slabakova (2001), languages can code telicity in a VP-internal AspP projection or in a VP-Internal PerfP projection. Languages that check for features of telicity in the AspP position do so by checking the object's cardinality<sup>78</sup>.

(154) The man ate **an** apple [+telic]

(155) The man ate apples [-telic]

In example (154) telicity in the determiner of the noun "apple" is checked. In (155), the action is an atelic activity because the object NP is not marked for any cardinality or determinacy. According to Slabakova (2001), languages that check for the feature of telicity in VP-internal AspP have particles, resultative constructions and double objects. On the other hand, languages that check for telicity in PerfP do it overtly with morphemes independently of the telicity of the object; those languages do not allow for particles, resultatives and double objects, which is the case of Slavic languages. Spanish, interestingly, checks for telicity in AspP, according to Slabakova (2001), yet it does not allow for particles, resultatives or double objects. According to her, the parameter for lexical aspect in Spanish is set to a value that is different from both English (as it lacks resultatives and the such) and Slavic languages (as telicity is coded in the cardinality of the object).

(156) "María escribió un libro" [+telic]  
("Mary wrote a book")

(157) "María escribe libros" [-telic]  
("María writes books")

I assume Japanese lexical aspect is encoded the same way as Spanish. Japanese does not allow for particles, resultatives or double objects either, yet

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<sup>78</sup> Slavic languages do not check for telicity in the VP-internal AspP but in a PerfP projection. Telicity is independent of the cardinality of the object and is marked overtly.

cardinality of the object is a factor, even when it is understood by the context and not overtly marked.

(158) "Taro wa **tomato wo ikko** tabeta"  
("Taro ate *one tomato*")

(159) "Taro wa **tomato wo** tabeta"  
a) ("Taro ate tomatoes") or  
b) ("Taro ate [that] tomato") [recovered from a possible context]

Based on Slabakova (2001), I speculate that both Spanish and Japanese encode telicity the same way, in an VP-internal AspP. The projection of PerfP is likely to exist in both languages and maybe the aspectual telic markers *se* in Spanish and "-teshimau" in Japanese are checked in PerfP. This, however, is not relevant to the point I want to make here in this section. In sum, both in Spanish and Japanese, the telicity value of predicates is checked and licensed in AspP within VP.

### 5.2.2.- The syntax of grammatical aspect:

Grammatical aspect is also called outer aspect (Travis 1991) and viewpoint aspect (Smith 1991). In syntax, the aspectual projection for grammatical aspect (AspP) is located outside VP and under the inflectional component of the derivation. Different authors have placed the IP-internal AspP projection in different locations. However, the number of different sub-levels in the inflection of a construction is not uncontroversially established, nor is the hierarchy between them. For instance, Rosen (1999, 2000) shows that Borer (1996) and Travis & Baker (1997) and Travis (1994, 2000) place TP at the top of the IP hierarchy, paraphrased below:

(160) Borer's (1996) Event Syntax

[TP Spec [T' T [AsppP Spec [Aspp' Aspp [AspeP Spec [Aspe' [Aspe VP]]]]]]]

(161) Travis' (2000) Event Syntax

[TP Spec [T' T [EP E [VP Spec [V' V [AspP AspP [VP Spec [V' V [... ]]]]]]]]]]

On the other hand, Sanz (2000) proposes that, at least in the case of Spanish, EP occupies the top position in the hierarchy of IP and therefore TP takes the position right below it. This is an interesting proposition, as States, not being really Events, could be considered terminated at TP in IP, just removing the top layer of EP.

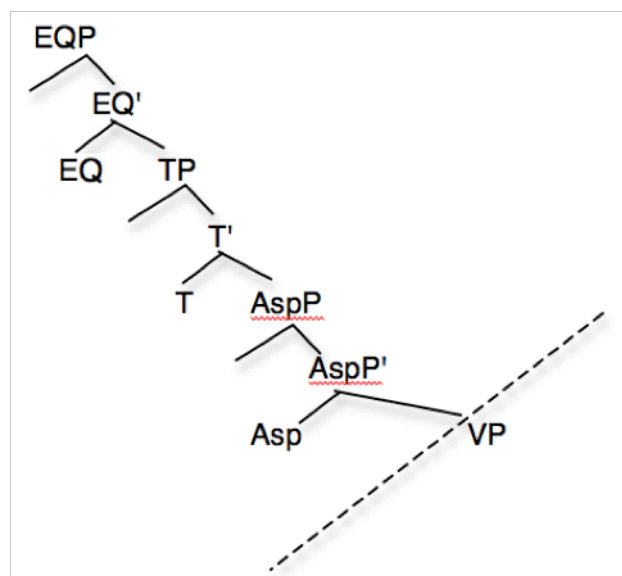
(162) Sanz's (2000) Event Syntax

[EP [Evt' Evt [TP [T' T [VP]]]]]

In this dissertation, I claim that Event Phrase (EP) should be named Event Quantifier Phrase (EQP). Under this projection in the inflectional part of the derivation, there should be, at least, a Tense Phrase (TP) for the checking of tense features and an Aspectual Phrase (AspP) for the checking of the features of grammatical aspect. Under this, the realm of VP is placed. My proposal is as follows:

(163) EQP-based derivation:

[EQP [EQ' EQ [TP [T' T [AspP[Asp' Asp[VP...]]]]]]]



There are several reasons for the proposal of these IP projections: AspP<sup>79</sup> is required for the derivation to check the grammatical aspectual features (perfective / imperfective) of VP. In this projection, the derivation would check for features of aspectual markers such as "-teiru" and "-ta" of Japanese, "-yoru" and "-toru" of the Uwajima dialect of Japanese. For Spanish, features of Indefinite Past and Imperfective Past forms, as well as periphrastic aspectual forms (like progressive) would be checked in AspP. TP is required to check for features of tense. EQP is required to check for features of quantification. The notion of quantification will be explained in detail in the next section. Suffice it to say here that the EQ determines whether the whole construction denotes a sum of Events, whether it acts as an individual predicate or not and whether it is a case of **simple predication** or **plural predication**<sup>80</sup>. We have seen in table Table 9 within section 5.1.3 that those are the main features driving my classification of predicates. In the next section, I aim, therefore, to provide a theoretical basis for Table 9 as well as show how my proposal for EQP-based derivation is valid in order to explain the phenomena observed in this dissertation.

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<sup>79</sup> IP-internal AspP is not to be confused with VP-internal AspP. The former checks for features of grammatical aspect. The latter checks for features of telicity.

<sup>80</sup> As in Schein (1993), Sanz (2012), Rayo (2002, 2006), Boolos (1984, 1985a, 1985b), Nicolas (2008), Gillion (1987, 1992), Schwartzchild (1996) and Landman (2000).



## Chapter 6

### Event Quantification: a representation of the non-eventive constructions in Japanese and Spanish

The point of departure of this thesis is the existence of constructions in which a stative predicate can be combined with a perfective aspect, and the observation that in some cases this yields ungrammaticality. Our goal is to explain the possible and impossible interactions between different verbs and the perfective and imperfective constructions. So far, we have analyzed lexical Aktionsart and grammatical aspect separately. On the one hand, we have concluded that there are simple and hybrid modes of action or Aktionsart. Following previous literature on the matter, we have identified three basic features as being involved in Aktionsart: P, T and S. Different combinations of these features yield hybrid Aktionsart types, among which there are also stative predicates. On the other hand, we have reviewed the literature on grammatical aspect, and have seen that this is checked in a projection in the functional / inflectional component of the sentence. Our next step is to account for the way in which the interaction between a certain verb and perfective/imperfective constructions takes place. The following sections are devoted to this.

Following the literature on Events, we will assume that, when a sentence describes an Event or a series of Events, there is an Event Quantifier in the uppermost part of the construction. When individual-level stative predicates (pure States) are inserted in an eventive construction (a construction with an Event quantifier), they change their meaning<sup>81</sup>, as we have seen in cases like *Pedro **fue inteligente** al aceptar aquella propuesta* ("Pedro **behaved in an intelligent way** when he accepted that proposal" [= "It was intelligent of Pedro to accept that proposal"]). The predicate "ser inteligente" in this case is interpreted as "behaved in an intelligent way", that is, as a stage-level predicate. As we will see below, verbs like *tener* change their meaning to an eventive interpretation when combined with the perfective ("tuvo tres hijos", with the verb *tener* in the perfective form, does not in principle mean that "she had [=was the mother of] three children", but

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<sup>81</sup> The interaction between the lexical aspect of the verb and the quantificational features of the Event seem to cause a phenomenon of coercion.

rather than “she gave birth to three children”). Individual level predicates, however, can also co-occur with perfective aspect without implying the existence of an Event Quantifier. This is the case of “Einstein fue inteligente” (“Einstein was intelligent”, meaning that he is not anymore because he is dead). In this case, the Indefinite Past form, which brings perfective aspect to the construction, modifies the whole proposition, which allows for an interpretation of the proposition as a non-eventive individual level predicate that was true in a moment of the past but is not true anymore<sup>82</sup>. This will be developed in section 6.2.1 below.

Event quantifiers may be of several kinds, just as quantifiers that apply to nouns are. There may be singular and plural Event quantifiers, weak and strong, specific and non specific. Each of them has features that the verb must be able to check. This is how different constructions acquire different interpretations. Furthermore, quantifiers are transitive elements, that is to say, they need two arguments: a restrictor and a scope (see section 6.2.1 ). We will see how different combinations of restrictor and scope yield the various meanings that a construction is able to acquire.

## 6.1.- Theory of Event quantifiers

This thesis aims to bring the properties of Events in Japanese and Spanish into the field of Event quantification from a Neo-Davidsonian point of view. This approach to Event theory, based on Davidson (1967, 1970)’s work on logic of Events, assumes that in a given linguistic Event, there exists an *Event argument*, a concept that has evolved in later works on this field into an *Event quantifier*<sup>83</sup>. This would be reflected in syntax, in that this *Event quantifier* would have quantificational properties and would interact with other elements in the derivation to license eventivity values. According to Sanz (2012, 2014), the Event quantifier

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<sup>82</sup> This, however, is not valid with all predicates. Those predicates whose truth value cannot be interpreted as “likely to end” will refuse the Indefinite past form. Such is the case of examples like “\*Mi libro fue azul” (“\* My book was [perfective] blue”), for instance. This is a point that deserves further research in the future.

<sup>83</sup> The works by Parsons (1990), Higginbotham (1985) and Landman (2000) regarding quantification, which I mentioned in Chapter 5 are the basis for my theoretical claim in this dissertation, as well as Sanz (2012) employ *event quantifier* instead of *event argument*. I will follow their terminology in my work.

would be equivalent to what is usually referred to as *Event phrase* (EventP, Sanz 2000). In other words, the head of that EventP is an Event quantifier. Therefore, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, I will refer to this projection as Event Quantifier Phrase (EQP), because within this projection, quantificational features (simple Event / multiple Event) are checked. Different languages would have different properties that can be checked under EQP.

## 6.2.- Logical properties of Events

Ramírez (2009) and Sanz (2012, 2014) apply Davidson's (1967) theory of logic regarding Events to analyze respectively the passive form in Japanese and the feasibility of constructions with the Spanish clitic "se" as an Event quantifier. The scope of my research is not the same as theirs, but I faced a series of challenges that led me to think that an analysis of the logical quantificational properties of Events (and, by extension, non-Events) could prove fruitful.

To begin, let us go back to the notion of stage-level and individual level predication. As it is shown in Table 9, individual-level predicative States are considered in a different category from stage-level predicative States. That distinction stems from the terms set by Carlson (1977) when dealing with bare plurals in English<sup>84</sup>, as quoted in Sanz (2012, 2014)<sup>85</sup>. Bare plurals in English can have two interpretations, namely *existential* and *generic*. See the following examples by Kratzer (1995):

- (164) a) "Firemen are available"  
b) "There are firemen available"
- (165) a) "Firemen are altruistic"  
b) " \*There are firemen altruistic"

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<sup>84</sup> See also Kratzer (1995), Yi (2005a, 2005b).

<sup>85</sup> Sanz (2012) attempts to prove that the Spanish *impersonal, reflexive passive and medial voice* constructions, which all share the existence of a non-variable "se", don't take their respective meanings because of "se", but "se" appears because of the properties of these constructions: these forms express *kinds of actions*, in a similar way to Carlson (1977)'s *kinds of things*, because of the existence of an Event Quantifier in their structure.

The bare plural "firemen" in the examples above appears in different types of predicates in each example. In (164) we see that "firemen" has an existential<sup>86</sup> interpretation (Diesing , 1992), since it refers to a certain sub-group of firemen in a location at a certain time, whose existence is predicated. This way of predicating is stage-level. On the other hand, in (165) "firemen" does not refer to a certain group of entities; on the contrary, it appears in a predicate that applies to "firemen" as a label for all the individual cases of "firemen". It refers to the abstract notion of *properties shared by all instances of "firemen"*, of which no existence is singled out, being therefore an *individual-level predicate*. Therefore, for instance, the existential construction with "there is/are" is not valid for this predicate.

Several works, such as Schein (1993), Sanz (2012, 2014), Rayo (2002, 2006), Boolos (1984, 1985a, 1985b) and Nicolas (2008) have dealt with the possibility of *Event quantification*. Similarly to the above "Firemen are available" being paraphrased with an existential construction such as "There are firemen available", Events can also be expressed in terms of existential quantification<sup>87</sup>:

- (166) "The president died"  
 (=There is an Event of [the president dying])

Example (166) is athetic sentence (Kuroda 1972). In this example, there is no predication about the subject "The president". Nothing is stated about the subject by itself, but about the whole predicate "The president died". There is a predication of the existence of an Event of "president dying". There is an Event and, therefore, we assume that there is an Event Quantifier. Compare it to (167) below:

- (167) "The president is the head of the army"

In this last example, a predication is made of "the president", not referring to any Event in which he or she takes part, but as an individual property of the post of

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<sup>86</sup> See Krifka (2004)

<sup>87</sup> According to Schein (1993), event quantifiers can be existential, universal or second-degree definite descriptions.

"president". In this case, we assume that there is no Event Quantifier in the construction. We cannot process (167) as being equal to "There is an Event of [the president being the head of the army]". The predication is not of an Event, but of the subject "The president", unlike in (166) "The president died". In the following section, I will analyze the Pure and Hybrid Aktionsart that I classified in Table 9 in terms of their interaction with the quantificational properties of the construction in which they appear.

### **6.2.1.- Applying Event Quantification to Aktionsart**

In Table 9, I claimed that predicates can be hybrid or pure Aktionsart. I also claimed that States can be either pure or hybrid. In this section, I will justify my classification of predicates according to their properties of Event quantification.

First, I claim that Pure Aktionsart can be Achievements / Semelfactives, Activities and Pure States. By Pure Aktionsart, I refer to them being made up of a single Pustejovskyan Event type. Activities are P(rocesses), Achievements / Semelfactives are T(ransitions) and Pure States are S(tates).

Pure States, on the one hand, are cases of individual-level predication, and also lack an Event quantifier.

- (168) "María es inteligente"  
("María is intelligent")  
[There is no Event quantifier, there is no Event of "María being intelligent". This sentence states a property of María as an individual]

Activities and Achievements / Semelfactives, on the other hand, are typically stage-level predicates: they refer to a certain action that takes place in a certain moment of time.

- (169) "María trabajó en la fábrica ayer"  
("María worked at the factory yesterday")
- (170) "Mi padre llegó en avión el martes pasado"  
("My father arrived on a plane last Tuesday")

Notice that examples (169) and (170) above take a perfective form in Spanish, the Indefinite Past form. Let us see, however, what would happen if we substitute it by an imperfective form<sup>88</sup>:

- (171) "María trabaja (en la fábrica)"  
("María works at the factory")
- (172) "Mi padre llega siempre<sup>89</sup> tarde"  
("My father is always late")

In example (171) the habitual activity of "trabaja (en la fábrica)" can be interpreted as a property that is predicated of María. Therefore, even though work is an eventive activity predicate, construction (171) lacks an Event Quantifier, as it is equivalent to an attributive, individual level predicate such as "María es trabajadora" ("María is a worker"). Therefore, we see that an Activity, which is a dynamic Aktionsart category that typically refers to an Event that happens, can be stripped off of its eventivity and be turned into a description of an individual, when used in the imperfective. In other words, the sum of all the instances of "María trabaja en la fábrica" can be interpreted as a property of María, instead of a dynamic Event of "working" in which she is involved. For this interpretation to be possible, all the Events of working that have María as their subject are being linguistically conceived as a sum (which is a quantificational property of the construction that we will return to later in section 6.5 ).

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<sup>88</sup> I used the Present tense, but imperfective Past would essentially express the same meaning, displaced to the past, as in Yamamura (2010).

<sup>89</sup> The AdvP "Siempre" ("always") is not necessary but I added it for clarity. In any case, (171) is an example of individual level predication.

Example (172) shows a similar phenomenon. While in (170) above, the verb "llegó" expresses an Event set in a determined moment of time, "llega" in (172) transforms "llegar" into a derived activity<sup>90</sup>. Consequently, as in "trabaja" in example (171) "llega" can be stripped off of its eventivity and be turned into a description of an individual as well. In sum, Pure Aktionsart categories are either individual level predicates (Pure States) or stage-level predicates that can be turned into individual level predicates when taken as a sum of Events, which allows us to strip them off their eventive properties. Notice that there are a few restrictions to this de-eventivization process:

(173) "María trabajó en la fábrica **ayer**" → It refers to an Event in a determined moment in time. It cannot be turned into an individual level predicate without removing the temporal reference.

(174) "María trabajaba en la fábrica" → This sentence is in the Imperfective Past form. Similarly to the Present tense form in example (171) this one is an individual level predicate: it predicates a property of the subject as an individual set in a *past* situation. As we saw in Chapter 4, according to Yamamura (2010), the Imperfective Past form expresses a relation of *simultaneity* between a determined time in the past and the proposition in question.

(175) \*"María trabajaba en la fábrica ayer" → In this case, the temporal reference in the AdvP "Ayer" ("yesterday") prevents the individual level predicative meaning seen in (174) from arising.

A similar phenomenon would apply to Achievements: AdvP that interfere with the summative meaning of "All the instances of the Event" are not allowed in those cases in which a Pure Aktionsart stage-level dynamic Event (Achievement / Semelfactive, Activity) is stripped off of its dynamicity and turned into an individual level description of a property of an individual. Therefore, Pure Aktionsart predicates can be either individual level stative predicates or dynamic Events that can be turned into individual level predicates by entering into a construction that

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<sup>90</sup> See Kamata (1996), also section 3.4.2.- in this dissertation.

lacks an Event Quantifier. In these Event-stripped categories, the use of perfective forms such as Indefinite Past is not acceptable in those cases in which something is predicated out of the subject as an individual, as in examples (171) and (172). However, there are cases in which Indefinite Past can be applied to individual level predicates without colliding with the lack of Event Quantifier of the construction, which licenses it. In these cases, Indefinite Past is applied as a marker of tense to the whole predicate, instead of being applied to the quality attributed to the subject:

- (176) "María trabajó en la fábrica"  
 ("María worked at the factory")

In example (176) it is implied that the proposition "María trabaja en la fábrica" ("María works at the factory") is *true* in the past. Unlike (174) above ("María trabajaba en la fábrica"), which implied *simultaneity* between the proposition and a certain referential point in the past, this one focuses the predicate as being *previous to the time of speech*, according to Yamamura (2010). Therefore, both "María trabajaba en la fábrica" and "María trabajó en la fábrica" can be considered individual-level predicates if they are interpreted to be cases of predication about "María being a worker": the imperfective "trabajaba" shows that the predication on the individual "María" is valid as long as it is simultaneous to a referential moment in the past, which is implicit in this example; on the other hand, a perfective "trabajó" expresses the validity of the proposition as a whole - and not only the verb. It implies that the predication is made of the **whole** proposition as being valid at a point in time previous to the time of speech, without mention to it being valid at the same time of some situation in the past. In both cases, though, if the interpretation is that María was a worker in that factory, the construction lacks an Event quantifier.

Note that, in a less preferred but nevertheless possible situation, both constructions could also be interpreted as being under the scope of an eventive quantifier, given the activity nature of "trabajar". In that case, the meaning of the constructions changes. In the case of "María trabajaba en la fábrica", with the



imperfective past, we would have to assume a plural Event quantifier that would encompass several Events of working. This allows for a series of adverbial modifications that make reference to the activity of working, and for the somewhat forced but oftentimes quoted use of the imperfective as equivalent to a progressive, as in example (177) b:

(177) a. Cada vez que María trabajaba en la fábrica, los compañeros se contagiaban de su entusiasmo

b. María trabajaba en la fábrica cuando recibió la llamada del colegio

In those cases, the sentences are about Events of working (activities that have not been deprived of their eventive nature, in contrast to what we discussed above). That is to say, they are not about María being a worker, as in the individual-level predication that was made possible through the consideration of all the Events of working as a sum. In the examples above, the sentences present a plurality of individual (separate) Events of working. Therefore, the Aktionsart of the verb remains as that of an activity, and there is an Event quantifier present in the construction. That Event quantifier must be plural, since it marks the construction as being comprised of a plurality of Events of working. Note that this discussion implies that aspectual markers like the imperfective and the preterite do not have a unique function or interpretation; the quantificational properties of the construction, marked at the level of the EQP, contribute to the way in which the verb (belonging to a particular Aktionsart) and its grammatical aspect markers are to be interpreted.

Since quantifiers need a restrictor (what the sentence is about) and a scope (to which element the action applies, see Piatelli-Palmarini 2008<sup>91</sup>), several possibilities for interpretation are possible with regards to the function that the adverbial elements encode:

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<sup>91</sup> Unlike in Piatelli-Palmarini (2008), Restrictor and Scope are not applied to NPs, but to the whole event predication. In his research, the construction "All men are mortal", in which a Quantifier "All" quantifies a restrictor, "men", of which is predicated the scope "are mortal". In my dissertation, I apply this concept to Event Quantification. In (178) below, we understand the Event structure as: "There exist events of [María trabajar en la fábrica] that happen [con entusiasmo]". The type of events differ in (179) and (180) due to them containing different restrictors and scopes.

- (178) [María trabajar en la fábrica] [con entusiasmo]  
 Restrictor Scope  
 Events of [Restrictor] that happen [scope].
- (179) [Trabajar en la fábrica con entusiasmo] [María]  
 Restrictor Scope  
 Events of [Restrictor] by [scope]
- (180) [María trabajar con entusiasmo] [en la fábrica]  
 Restrictor Scope  
 Events of [Restrictor] at [scope]

About the sentence with the preterite (*María trabajó en la fábrica*), it can also refer to concrete activities of working, not to the property of María being a worker:

- (181) *María trabajó ayer de diez a doce en la fábrica*

Again, in this case, an Event quantifier must be posited in the structure. The sentence means that María performed activities of working for a period of time. These activities are considered as a sum, but they are predicated of María as a stage-level, given the adverbial specifications of the time in which the proposition [María work in the factory] applies.

Hybrid Aktionsart predicates do enter into constructions with Event Quantifiers, but under certain circumstances, they can be turned into individual-level predicates as well. We will return to this shortly. We classified Hybrid Aktionsart in Table 9 as either Accomplishments, Type 3 Achievements<sup>92</sup> (Compounded Aktionsart), Non-processes<sup>93</sup> and Stage-level hybrid stative predicates, which are comprised of resulting and non-resulting stage level predicates. Let us take a look at whether they behave in the same way as Pure Aktionsart categories do:

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<sup>92</sup> De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000).

<sup>93</sup> Kamata (1996)

- (182) "José instaló un programa (ayer)"  
 ("José installed a program") (Accomplishment)
- (183) "\*José instala un programa"  
 (\*"José installs a program")
- (184) "José instala un programa cada semana"  
 ("José installs a program every week")
- (185) "José instala programas"  
 ("José installs programs") (Activity)

See that in example (182) above, there is a clear meaning of an Event happening at a certain moment in time that can be explicit or implicit. Unlike with a Pure Aktionsart, it is impossible to remove the Event Quantifier from the structure of a Hybrid Aktionsart category: as it is seen in example (183) the predicate "instala un programa", even if it appears in the imperfective, cannot be considered an individual level predication of the subject "José" taken as a sum of all instances of "José". Therefore, example (183) is agrammatical in Spanish. In contrast, we see in example (184) that by adding an AdvP of frequency, "cada semana", the sentence becomes grammatical. This is, however, not the same phenomenon of Event Quantifier removal seen in Achievements and Activities; in Accomplishments, (184) is seen as a distributive plural Event: the whole sentence is taken as a repetition of the **Event** of "installing a program" instead of expressing an individual property of the subject. Also, if we incorporate the measuring object "programas" into the verb, as in example (185) the whole sentence becomes an Activity, a simple Aktionsart, and therefore, as we saw above with "trabajar", can express an individual level predicate in which a property is attributed to the subject.

De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)'s Type 3 Achievements like "hervir" in Spanish and "tobu" in Japanese are also Hybrid Aktionsart: they are comprised of T and P. Type 3 Achievements can behave in different ways regarding whether they can express an individual level predicate and which sub-event can express that individual level predication. Let us see the case of "hervir" ("to boil") in Spanish, first:

- (186) "El agua hirvió"  
("The water boiled")
- (187) "El agua está hirviendo"  
("The water is boiling")
- (188) "El agua hierve a los 100°C"  
("Water boils at 100°C")

Example (186) above shows us "hervir" as a stage level predicate in which an Event of "water reaching the boiling temperature" happens. Indefinite Past form interacts with the Event Quantifier and the Aktionsart of the T(ransition) and yields a dynamic Event in the past. Example (187) shows that a periphrasis of progressive interacts with the resulting P(rocess) and an Event Quantifier yielding a dynamic action in process. Example (188) on the other hand, shows an individual level predicate without an Event Quantifier: a property ("boiling when it reaches the boiling point") is predicated of "El agua" ("water"<sup>94</sup>). In this case, individual level predication is licensed when the sub-event of "reaching the boiling point" is focused on. In other words, it is licensed when the Aktionsart is turned into a simple Aktionsart by focusing only on the T point.

In contrast, the Japanese verb "tobu", both in Standard and Uwajima dialects, licenses individual level predication in a slightly different way:

- (189) "Hikouki wa *mou sugu* tobu [tobiyoru]<sup>95</sup>"  
("The plane is about to take off")
- (190) "Hikouki wa tonda [tondoru]"
- (191) "Hikouki wa tondeiru [tobiyoru]"
- (192) "Hikouki wa 1000 kiro tonda [tondoru]"

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<sup>94</sup> Notice that the English equivalent to "El agua" in example (188) is "water", an uncountable noun, whereas a DP "The water" is acceptable in examples (186) and (187). The uncountable noun, as a **sum** of all instances of "water" is employed, as a recipient for the properties of the predicate.

<sup>95</sup> Uwajima form provided between brackets.

The above examples (189) through (192) express stage-level Events. Examples (189) and (190) are focused on the initial T(ransition) sub-event of the T/P structure (Transition → taking off / Process → flying); examples (191) and (192) refer to the P(rocess). In this case, individual level predication can be attained when a property is predicated of "Hikouki" ("plane"); that property would be "the ability to fly" and likely not "the ability to take off", as seen in the following example:

- (193) "Hikouki wa tobu *mono da*"  
 ("Planes fly" ["Planes *are things that fly*"])

Notice that in example (193) the sub-event that receives the focus of the individual level predication is, as mentioned, the P(rocess). It is also highly noticeable that Japanese turns activities into individual level predications by turning the verb in the imperfective into a relative clause modifying a generic noun (*mono*, "thing") and a copula, *da*<sup>96</sup>, as in "Planes **are** things that fly". In sum, Type 3 achievements are eminently eventive, yet they may take the form of individual level predication when one of their sub-events is focused on, thus turning the hybrid Aktionsart into a simple one, following the transformations expressed above for Activities and Achievements. We also see that, in Japanese, Individual level predication can be marked overtly as a copulative form by turning the eventive verb into a subordinate relative clause, as seen in example (193). Next, let us take a look at non-processes, the category of Aktionsart proposed by Kamata (1996).

Non-processes are comprised of a Transition and a resulting State, as shown in Table 9. According to Kamata (1996), their main distinctive property is that they are States that demand the "-teiru" form. We have already seen that "-teiru" can express progressive aspect, perfective aspect and resultative aspect. None of those aspectual values seem to be applicable, on a first look, to a stative predicate, so one might wonder what aspectual value that "-teiru" is bringing to the predicate. Defining non-processes as States that are derived from Transitions (or States that

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<sup>96</sup> Not to confuse with the emphatic "mono da". In this case, "mono" is equivalent to "thing" in English. It could be replaced with "hito" ("person") or any other noun that expresses the category to which the participant belongs.

derive from an initial Achievement) allows us to clarify that "-teiru" is actually marking a perfective meaning, namely the perfective of the Transition in the T/S eventive structure.

Plain non-processes, such as "shiru / shitteiru" ("to know") can take part of two different structures. On the one hand, they can take part in a stage-level stative predicate derived from a Transition, as seen in example (194) below; on the other hand, they can take part in an individual level stative predicate derived from a Transition, as seen in example (195) :

(194) "Taro wa himitsu wo shitteiru"  
("Taro knows the secret")

(195) "Taro wa supeingo wo shitteiru"  
("Taro knows Spanish")

Due to the nature of the object in (194) ("himitsu", secret), the predicate "know the secret" is a stage level one. We therefore assume a construction with an Event Quantifier. On the other hand, in (195) the property of "knowing Spanish" can be predicated of the individual "Taro", therefore turning the expression into an individual level predicate. Seemingly, the nature of the resulting State bears influence on whether it can be predicated as a property of the subject as an individual or whether it can only be predicated as a stage-level State (as in a State that happens in a defined moment of time). Notice also that the past form can be applied to both cases, putting the Transition under focus:

(196) "Taro wa himitsu wo shitta"  
("Taro found out the secret")

- (197) "Taro wa supeingo wo shitta"<sup>97</sup>  
("Taro learned *some* Spanish")

Note that the past form in (196) refers to the fact that Taro came to know the secret, and does not mean that Taro knew the secret and he does not know it anymore, which would be the expected interpretation of a past form. A similar phenomenon is seen in example (197) This is so because the non-process "shiru" is not an individual-level property in this construction. Past "-ta" form in plain non-processes in Japanese, therefore, allows us to focus on the Transition, while the "-teiru" form focuses on the resulting State. The State, on the other hand, can in some cases be understood as an individual level predicate, as in (195) , and as a stage level predicate, as in (194) .

The Spanish equivalent to "shitteiru" is "saber". However, in Japanese, "shitteiru" is a non-process, comprised of a Transition and a State. Both these sub-events fall under the lexical predicate "shiru" as the Transition ("shitta", in the past tense) and the resulting State "shitteiru". In Spanish, the lexical item "saber" is more commonly used to express a stative meaning, although internally it is comprised of the same structure as its Japanese counterpart. The Transition in Spanish can be expressed either with a different lexical item, such as "aprender" ("to learn"), descubrir ("to find out") or with the Indefinite past form, such as "supe" ("I found out") implying the following:

- (198) "Lo he descubierto. Por lo tanto, lo sé"  
("I have found out about it. Therefore I know it")

In example (198) the Perfective Past form of "descubrir" ("Pretérito perfecto") can be used to refer to the Transition. Remember, however, that Japanese can use the same lexical item "shiru" in different forms ("-ta" for T, "-teiru" for P in this case") to express both sub-events:

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<sup>97</sup> Example (197) is grammatical only in the sense of "having **learned** a few words in Spanish". It cannot express the meaning of "Having learned Spanish as a whole". I thank Dr. Hiromi Yamamura for the clarification.

- (199) "[...] wo shitta. Kekka to shite, [...] wo shitteiru"  
 ("I found out [...]. As a result, I know [...])"

Spanish allows us to use the same lexical item, "saber" for the Transition, too, but it takes a special form: the "tener" + *participio* periphrasis<sup>98</sup>. This is a form of perfective aspect that implies continuation of the result of an action. Therefore, the whole "shitteiru" structure in Spanish can be paraphrased as a single expression, as follows:

- (200) "Lo tengo sabido"<sup>99</sup>  
 ("I know it"<sup>100</sup> [implying I found out about it and thus I know it as a result])"

Next, we will turn an eye to the resulting stage-level predicates, shown in Table 9. These can be divided into two categories, T/ S<sup>obj</sup> and T/ S<sup>Causative Subject</sup>. Example (201) below shows a resulting State in which the object undergoes a change:

- (201) "La puerta está rota" (Spanish)  
 "Doa wa wareteiru" (Japanese)  
 "The door is broken" (English)  
 (Implies that there is an Event of "door breaking" and a resulting State of "door being in a broken State")

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<sup>98</sup> In modern Spanish, the periphrasis "tener" + *participio* is not very productive. It is limited to a few cases in which the meaning of *continuation of the result of an action* surfaces. Some common uses are "lo tengo hecho" ("I have done it [and therefore it is done]"), "lo tengo visto" ("I have seen it [and therefore I am acquainted with it]"), "te lo tengo dicho" ("I told you [I told you in the past and therefore it is valid now that I have told you]"). This periphrasis does not translate straightforwardly into English. The overall meaning, however, can be summarized as "perfective action whose result exerts an influence on the point of reference / speech". This nuance of "exerted influence" is missing in the regular periphrasis of perfective aspect, "haber" + *participio* in modern Spanish, although it is more widespread in modern Portuguese.

<sup>99</sup> "Tengo sabido el secreto" however, is not acceptable. There are heavy restrictions on the use of the "tener" + *participio* periphrasis in Spanish, which is linked to why it is not a very productive construction.

<sup>100</sup> The difference between "lo tengo sabido" and "lo sé" can be defined in terms of "lo sé" focusing on the resulting state and "lo tengo sabido" focusing on the whole process of learning and knowing. This is what I mean in example (200) .



Similarly to non-processes, resultative stage-level predicates of the T/ S<sup>obj</sup> kind stem from a Transition. However, the object undergoes a change of State. In Spanish, this shows up in different ways: the "estar"+ *participio* form; predicates like "tener"+NP ("tengo frío"<sup>101</sup>, "I'm cold"); Japanese shows the change of State via the morpheme "-teiru", which, unlike in non-processes above, here expresses *resultative State* and not *perfective of action*, as well as with adjectival predicates, such as "samui" ("cold"), "atsui" ("hot") whose equivalent in Spanish is can be a "tener" + NP construction. The Uwajima dialect of Japanese would employ "-toru" instead of "-teiru", but the meaning expressed is the same, namely, a resulting State.

These States are always derived from an Event that occurs at a certain point in time. This implies that because the resulting States are intrinsically bounded to an Event of change of State, they have an Event quantifier in their structure. Individual predication can be attained, however, if the stage level property is predicated of the subject as an individual, removing the connection between resulting State and the transition that originated it, in a process similar to the one seen in non-processes above.

Besides resultative stage-level predicates of the T/S<sup>obj</sup> kind, there are those that take the eventive structure of T/S<sup>Causative Subject</sup>. This is the case of example (202) below:

- (202) "La película estuvo interesante"  
 ("The movie was interesting" = "The movie caused a feeling of  
 interest in me")

The meaning implied in the previous example is that there is an Event of *the movie causing a feeling of interest in me*; this construction does not predicate about the movie but about the effect it caused on the person who saw the movie.

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<sup>101</sup> Notice that the equivalent in Japanese to "tener frío" is an adjectival predicate, "samui", which can, in turn, mean "tener frío" and "hacer frío" in Spanish. "Tener frío" is a stage level predicate whereas "hacer frío" is an individual level predicate in which the property of "cold temperature" is predicated of a situation ("Aquí", "here"; "hoy", "today", etc.)

There is, therefore, an implicit Event quantifier, as the construction is functionally equivalent to a causative in which the subject<sup>102</sup> of the sentence - "la película", in example (202) - takes part in an Event of causation, whose effect is felt by the speaker. This implicit causation Event forces an interpretation of (202) as a stage level predicate, which licenses the Indefinite Past form. Notice that changing the verb form to an Imperfective Past form yields an extremely awkward, if not totally ungrammatical sentence. The reason is that the stage-level predicate in (202) cannot be given a distributive meaning, unlike what happens in example (184) , "José instala un programa cada semana" ("Jose installs a program every week") and the existence of an Event Quantifier Phrase renders an interpretation of example (203) below as an individual level predicate ungrammatical.

(203) " \* / ## La película estaba interesante"

("The movie was interesting", not implying causation by the subject  
"the movie" but an individual property of the subject)

Last, let us take a look at non-resulting stage level predicates. This would be the category where example (204) would fit in. This meaning has been already introduced earlier, when discerning whether "Einstein fue inteligente" meant a property of the whole predicate in the past (as an individual-level predicate) or an eventive construction meaning a behavior on the part of the subject (as a stage-level predicate). A behavior in a certain place and time is inherently eventive. Therefore, this meaning of eventivity, consequence of there being an Event Quantifier Phrase in the derivation, licenses Indefinite Past. Compare it to (205) a predication on an individual property of "Einstein", which would fit into the category of Pure States (as an individual level predicate). Notice that the Indefinite Past form in example (205) below, an individual level predicate that is true in the past (due to the interaction between the lack of EQP and the perfective grammatical aspect) does not imply the transition between non-occurrence and occurrence of the proposition in the past, as in Yamamura (2010), as much as imply that the proposition was valid in the past and that validity **ended** (in other words, the

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<sup>102</sup> Hence the T/S<sup>Causative Subject</sup> structure

aspectual marker indicates the transition between the validity of the proposition and its non-validity). I claim that this is valid for individual level predicates that interact with a perfective marker.

(204) "Einstein fue inteligente"<sup>103</sup> ("Einstein se comportó de forma inteligente en una cierta situación")

("Einstein was smart" = "Einstein behaved in a smart way in a certain situation")

(It implies that there is an Event of "Einstein behaving in a smart way"; there is no predication about Einstein, but about his behavior, which is inherently eventive)

(205) "Einstein fue inteligente"<sup>104</sup>

("Einstein was intelligent", meaning he is not anymore because he is dead) (It implies that the predication "Einstein = intelligent" was valid in a time in the past<sup>105</sup>)

So far, in this section, I have explained the theoretical basis for the classification of Aktionsart shown in Table 9. I will summarize it before turning an eye on the issue that sparked my motivation to do a dissertation on the topic of stative verbs in the past in Spanish and Japanese.

First, I have divided Aktionsart into Pure and Hybrid Aktionsart, as shown in Table 9. Pure Aktionsart categories are comprised of a single Pustejovskyan Event predicate (P, T, S). Hybrid Aktionsart categories are comprised of different combinations of such predicates. Pure States are cases of individual-level predication, and they usually do not enter into a construction with an Event Quantifier Phrase (example (168) ). These predicates typically take an

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<sup>103</sup> The restrictor / scope structure in a Stage-level predicate like this would be: [SCOPE: "Einstein"] [RESTRICTOR: "fue inteligente"], implying there are Events of "being intelligent" that apply to "Einstein".

<sup>104</sup> The restrictor / scope structure in an Individual-level predicate like this would be: [RESTRICTOR: "Einstein fue inteligente"]. This construction would be scopeless and the restrictor would encompass the whole predication.

<sup>105</sup> This does not imply that the evaluation "Einstein = intelligent" was made in the past. It implies that its validity took place in the past, but the evaluation happens at the point of speech.

imperfective form, such as Present tense of Imperfective Past. However, they can take an Indefinite Past form (a marker of perfectivity), which moves the validity of the whole proposition to a point in the past (example (205) ). Activities and Achievements are inherently eventive Pure Aktionsart categories (examples (169) (170) ), a trait that licenses Indefinite Past. These Pure Aktionsart categories, however, can be turned into an individual level predication (examples (171) and (172) ), by appearing in the Imperfective Past form. In this case, the properties of Individual level predicates in terms of the feasibility of imperfective and perfective forms of grammatical aspect would apply.

Second, Hybrid Aktionsart categories, which are comprised of different combinations of Pustejovskyan Event types, do enter into constructions with an Event Quantifier Phrase. Accomplishments bear a strong meaning of eventiveness, as seen in example (182) . The existence of an Event Quantifier Phrase in sentences with Accomplishments implies that an imperfective aspect form can only be licensed in those cases in which a distributive meaning (that is, the repetition of the same Event across time) can be assumed, as seen in example (184) Type 3 Achievements (De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000) also have an Event Quantifier Phrase in their structure. Due to them being comprised of more than one sub-event, however, they can lose their EQP in order to yield an individual level predicate, due to them being comprised of Event types that allow for these predicates to surface (T, P, S). In this category, perfective aspect will mark the EQP in one of the sub-Events (example (186) whereas imperfective aspect can signal that there has been a removal of the EQP in the construction (example (188) therefore implying the sub-event has turned into an individual level predicate.

Non-processes, similarly to Type 3 Achievements, will allow for an interpretation as an individual level predicate in those cases in which imperfective aspect interacts with the Aktionsart of the stative sub-event, although the nature of the object can force an interpretation of a stage level predicate regardless of marking (compare examples (194) and (195) ). Accordingly, a marker of perfectivity will either interact with the EQP, yielding the meaning of the initial Transition inherent to non-processes happening in the past, or interact with EQP-less State, yielding

an individual level predication (examples (196) and (197) and their subsequent analyses).

Last, the Hybrid Aktionsart Category of stage level predicates is comprised of those forms that are either derived from individual level predicates, such as the ones that take the structure  $T/S^{\text{Causative Subject}}$  and  $T, S^{\text{Active Subject}}$ , in which a EQP appears to yield a derivate meaning stemming from a stative predicate that initially was an individual level predicate (examples (202) through (205) ), or the forms belonging to the structure  $T/S^{\text{obj}}$ , which are those States in which the subject is an object that underwent a change of State in a previous causative construction (example (201) ).

All this has several implications: grammatical aspect marking (either perfective or imperfective) is independent of Event Quantification. We have seen constructions with imperfective aspect that appear in eventive constructions, such as distributive plural Events, as well as those in which imperfective aspect appears in non-eventive individual level predicates, such as pure States, for example. On the other hand, perfective aspect marking can appear in constructions that have a EQP and yield that eventive meaning, but it can also appear in constructions that lack a EQP (individual level predicates) and express that the proposition is valid in the past and it is not valid anymore. Event quantification and grammatical aspect are, therefore, independent elements that interact with each other and with Aktionsart (lexical aspect) in order to yield the overall spectrum of Event types that can be produced.

In this section, I have dealt with the eventive properties of the Aktionsart Categories introduced in Table 9. I have proved that Event quantification and grammatical aspect interact with each other and with the lexical aspectual features underlying Aktionsart categories to yield the aspectual meaning of predicates. In the following section, I will jump back to the errors found in Japanese students of Spanish that I introduced in the first chapter of this dissertation. At this point, I am in a situation to explain what the properties of those predicates are and why the students might have committed the errors they did. I will explain the properties of those predicates from my framework of Aktionsart and Event quantification and

analyze one of them in further detail to prove that my proposed framework is efficient in predicting the feasibility of different marks of grammatical aspect.

### **6.3.- Analyzing errors in production of Spanish Past sentences by using Event Quantification**

In Chapter 1 , I mentioned two types of mistakes made by Japanese learners of Spanish when trying to express a stative predicate in a past form in Spanish. I will repeat these examples here for convenience:

#### **Usage of imperfective past instead of perfective past:**

(206) \* “El domingo pasado estaba en casa todo el día”

(207) “El domingo pasado estuve en casa todo el día”  
“Last Sunday I was home all day”.

The sentence in example (206) is ungrammatical and the explanation can be given in terms of Event quantification and the interaction between EQP, grammatical and lexical aspect.

Imperfective aspect is incompatible with the aspectual features contributed to the construction by the AdvP "todo el día" ("all day"). The features that this AdvP brings in demand an aspectual marking that shows an end to the predication. This is why this construction requires the use of a perfective form like Indefinite Past. Imperfective Past cannot be used in a sentence with an EQP, unless there is a plurality of Events (as in "José leía un libro cada semana", "José used to read one book a week"). The predicate "estaba en casa todo el día" ("I was home all day") is not an individual level predicate, but a stage level predicate. This is made obvious by the AdvP "todo el día" ("all day"). In this example, we have a conflict between the need to express an Event (as it is a stage level predicate) and the imperfective aspect, which will imply the existence of an individual level predicate or a distributive stage level predicate. In the case of (206) it is clear that the verb does not imply either of those meanings. This renders "estaba" ungrammatical.

Also, notice that "estar" is a stand-in for "quedarse" or "permanecer" ("to stay"). In other words, "estar" in (206) is used in a phrase that denotes an Event, signaling the existence of an EQP. An eventive structure akin to "quedarse" ("to stay") that includes an AdvP like "todo el día" ("all day") will enter in conflict with the properties of imperfective aspect, as Stated above. Compare (206) to (208) :

- (208) "La Atlántida estaba en medio del mar"  
("Atlantis was in the sea")

Example (208) shows an individual level predicate: a property ("being in the sea") is predicated of the individual that is the subject ("Atlantis"). There is no implication that that "being in the sea" is the result of an Event of "moving to the sea". Unlike (208) however, the predication in example (192) "[estar] en casa todo el fin de semana" ("staying at home all weekend"), is the result of an action of someone moving there, which implies the existence of an Event Quantifier. The differences in grammaticality between the imperfective form of "estar" in (192) and (208) therefore, can be described in terms of differences in Event quantification. Next, let us see example (209) which can be explained in similar terms:

- (209) \* "Mi abuela tenía 5 hijos en 7 años"  
(210) "Mi abuela tuvo 5 hijos en 7 años"  
"My grandmother had 5 kids in 7 years"

In this case, "tener" is supposed to take part in an eventive construction: it is a stand-in for "parir" ("to give birth to"). As such, it cannot take an imperfective form unless a plurality of Events is implied. In example (209) the AdvP "en 7 años" ("in 7 years") does not denote a plurality of Events. Compare it to (211) below:

- (211) "Mi abuela tenía 1 niño cada año"  
("My grandmother used to have one kid a year")

In this case, the whole sentence is grammatical with the Imperfective Past tense, unlike (209) above. Both are eventive predicates, as "tener" in (211) is also a stand-in for "parir". The crucial difference, however, is that "tener" in (211) takes a distributive meaning implying a plurality of Events. The construction contains a plural EQP and the Imperfective Past form applied to the Aktionsart of "tener" yields an aspectual meaning of multiple Events of the type "parir". Therefore, (209) is ungrammatical, but (211) is perfectly grammatical because of how EQP, lexical and grammatical aspect interact.

The verb "tener" can also be part of an individual level predicate. Unlike "tener" in examples (209) and (211) above, "tener" in (212) and (213) does not take part in eventive constructions:

(212) "María tenía dos hijos"

(213) "María tuvo dos hijos"<sup>106</sup>

In example (212) the imperfective aspect of "tener" is licensed by the lack of EQP and the stative Aktionsart of the lexical item. In this case, a predicate is Stated of the subject as an individual: "María was the mother of 2 kids". In example (213) too, "tener" takes part in an individual level predicate. Perfective aspect is licensed in the terms stated in section 6.2.1.- by which perfective aspect marks the temporal relation (past) to the reference point (the moment of speech, in this case) and also indicates the endpoint of the predicate: an external limit to it, which in this case implies that probably María is dead and her condition of "being a mother" does not apply anymore. In (213) therefore, "tener dos hijos" can be considered an individual level predicate, instead of a stage level predicate (which would be the case if "tener" meant "parir", "to give birth"). Therefore, perfective aspect is licensed as it predicates on the validity of the whole construction in the

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<sup>106</sup> Notice that "Mi abuela tuvo 5 hijos en 7 años" ("My grandmother gave birth to 5 babies in 7 years"), a Stage-level predicate and "Mi abuela tuvo dos hijos" ("My grandmother had two children"), an Individual-level predicate are not distinct because of the AdvP of frequency "en 7 años" ("in 7 years"). The difference is that the former has an EQP in its structure and the latter does not. Also, the former's EQP is of the Plural Event quantifier variety, whose features can be checked by the AdvP, yielding a valid derivation.



past. Next, let us see one last case with "tener" that can be explained in similar terms:

**Use of perfective past instead of imperfective past:**

(214) \* "Cuando tuve diez años, no tuve dinero"<sup>107</sup>

(215) "Cuando tenía diez años, no tenía dinero"  
"When I was ten years old, I had no money"

In this case, "tener" takes part in an individual level predicate. The properties "being 10 years old" and "not having money" are predicated of the subject individual. In this case, an interpretation of transition between occurrence and non-occurrence of the predicate is not acceptable. In this example, no coercion of Aktionsart is possible<sup>108</sup>. Compare it to the following example:

(216) "Cuando era pequeño, nunca tuve frío"  
("When I was a kid, I was never cold [I never felt cold]")

In this example, "tener" refers to Events of "feeling" that happened a certain amount of times, which in this case is "never". The verb "tener" in (216), a resultative stage level predicate, is clearly not the same as "tener" in (198) where an individual level predicate is supposed to go. In example (216), the presence of an Event Quantifier Phrase allows for the verb to be used instead of "sentir" ("to feel"), and the perfective aspect marker is licensed as a result, and example (216) is, therefore, grammatical. In example (198), however, "tener" is inserted in a

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<sup>107</sup> The CREA Corpus of Spanish (<http://corpus.rae.net/creanet.html>) yields what appear to be counter-examples of "tener" being used in the Indefinite past form in a similar structure as the one seen in (214) "Años más tarde, cuando tuve 12 o 13 años, un amigo de mi misma edad me dijo que..." ("Years later, when I was 12 or 13, a friend of my same age told me that..."). The form "tuve" is the least problematic of the two forms of "tener" in that example, in that it can still mean an individual-level predicate whose validity ended in the past, a nuance that is made overt by the use of the Imperfective past form. In any case, example (204) can be interpreted as extremely awkward instead of grammatically wrong in certain circumstances. I thank Dr. Yamamura for the advice and comment on these counter-examples.

<sup>108</sup> Such coercion would be the case of "Ayer tuve frío" ("Yesterday, I was cold"), in which "tener" is a stand-in for "sentir" (to feel), a predicate that allows for a EQP to appear, therefore permitting perfective aspect indicating an event of "feeling".

EQP-less construction and the perfective marker can neither interact with it nor yield a transitional meaning of "valid proposition" / "non valid proposition" that we see in cases such as "Einstein fue un gran científico" ("Einstein was a great scientist"). In a nutshell, "tener" in (214) would require an EQP in order to allow for the Indefinite Past, which marks perfective aspect. In this example, Indefinite Past cannot coerce the Aktionsart value of the verb, for which it would need the EQP nor imply the endpoint of an individual level predicate of "having". Next, let us take a look at some of the issues not covered in this dissertation that I will leave as a subject for further research in the near future.

#### **6.4.- Issues regarding quantification left for future research:**

There are a few issues that could not be dealt with in sufficient detail in this dissertation. I decided to leave them out of the current analysis of Aktionsart because of time and space constraints and also because they are not essential for the point I wanted to make in this dissertation: that the predicative properties of Events are essential, along with the properties of lexical and grammatical aspect, in order to understand the aspectual values of a construction in a given language.

Consequently, I have not analyzed in detail what the properties of the different Event quantifiers are, how they apply to individual and stage level predicates, and the feasibility or not of the notion of quantification in individual level stative predicates.

Regarding the properties of quantifiers, let us take a look at examples (217) (218) and (219) below:

- (217) "Mainichi ha wo migaku" (Japanese)  
"Me lavo los dientes todos los días" (Spanish)  
"I brush my teeth every day" (English)
- (218) "Mainichi ha wo migaiteiru" (Japanese)  
"Me lavo los dientes todos los días" (Spanish)  
"I brush my teeth every day" (English)

- (219) "Saikin, mainichi ha wo migaiteiru" (Japanese)  
 "Últimamente, me estoy lavando los dientes todos los días"  
 (Spanish)  
 "Recently, I am brushing my teeth every day" (English)

Example (217) shows an individual level predicate (derived from an activity) wherein something is predicated of a subject as an individual<sup>109</sup> ("to brush one's teeth every day"). In (218) , however, plurality of Events is assumed, in the shape of "there being Events of brushing one's teeth that occur every day". In (219) there is a plurality of plural Events, a superplural (a notion that we will not cover in detail in this dissertation, since it exceeds its purpose, but see Rayo 2006, Linnebo & Nicolas 2008) in which Events of "brushing one's teeth every day" apply to "recently". In all cases, the Event structure, in terms of restrictor and scope (Lewis 1975), works differently. It is noticeable that, while in Japanese the "-teiru" form can be used in both the constructions that show a plural of Events (218) and a superplural<sup>110</sup> (219) in Spanish, the progressive form does not partake in the plural Event construction in (218) , being restricted to the superplural in (219) .

These are issues that have caught my attention so far but that exceed the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, there is a lot of margin to refine the theoretical claims I made here. Therefore, the next step in the research regarding the eventive properties of Past tenses in Spanish and Japanese could focus on an analysis of the properties of quantifiers, the role of restrictor and scope in Events in Spanish and Japanese and, just as we saw the influence of an EQP in the structure, the influence of plurality and *superplurality* in the structure of both languages.

In the following section, I will summarize the theoretical framework and claims of Chapters 5 and 6 before moving to the next chapter, where I will argue the

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<sup>109</sup> Notice that when the subject is omitted in Japanese, unless contextual elements bring an information of who the subject is, the subject is considered to be first person singular.

<sup>110</sup> The "-teiru" can also be used in a progressive form, signaling an event happening simultaneously to the moment of speech, as in "Tadama ha wo migaiteiru" ("Right now, I am brushing my teeth"). While this fact carries its own share of weight when explaining the roles of the different quantifiers, I decided to leave it to a footnote here for simplicity in the above examples.

merits of introducing in some way the notions of Event and quantification in the classroom.

## **6.5.- A summary of the theoretical points in this dissertation**

In chapters 5 and 6 I introduced the theoretical basis for my analysis and classification of Aktionsart according to Event Theory. Chapter 5 focused on paving the way for a shift from a framework of analysis of Aktionsart based on lexical and semantic features to a framework based also on internal Event structure and Event quantification. My final analysis is summarized in Table 9. To attain it, I applied Pustejovsky (1991)'s theory of Events, based on States, Processes and Transitions, to Vendler (1967)'s classification. I built upon De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) as well, whose classification also applies Pustejovskyan Event types to Vendlerian Aktionsart categories. My analysis, however, went further, as I also applied the Neo-Davidsonian notions of Event Quantification. The result, as seen in Table 9, is a new way of classifying Aktionsart, as follows:

From the point of view of internal eventive structure, Aktionsart can be Pure or Hybrid, according to whether an Aktionsart category is comprised of one or more than one Pustejovskyan Event type. Pure Aktionsart are subsequently divided into Pure States, Activities and Achievements. On the other hand, Hybrid Aktionsart categories, which are comprised of different combinations of Pustejovsky (1991)'s P, S and T, are divided into Accomplishments, Type 3 Achievements<sup>111</sup>, Non-processes (Kamata, 1996), Resulting stage level predicates and Non-resulting stage level predicates. Their properties are defined earlier in this chapter, under section 6.2.1 .

Both Pure and Hybrid Aktionsart categories can be defined also in terms of Event quantification and divided into two groups: The first one is comprised of structures expressing individual level predication (Pure States, Event-less Activities and Achievements, the internal sub-events in Type 3 Achievements, the internal State in Non-processes). Individual level predicates do not enter into

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<sup>111</sup> See De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000).

constructions with an Event Quantifier Phrase (EQP) and they predicate something out of the subject as a sum of all the individual stages that comprise it. This is shown in the following example:

(220) "The Sun rises from the East"

In example (220) above, the predicate "rises from the East" is applied to "The Sun" not referring to a precise Event of "rising" but as a property of the sun itself, at least as seen from the Earth, that is true of "The Sun" for every instance of it.

The second one is comprised of structures of stage level predication, which, unlike individual level predicates, do have an Event Quantifier Phrase (EQP) in their syntactic structure, which will license grammatical aspect in a different way to those expressions lacking it and yield distinctive grammatical meanings. Under this denomination, we can find EQP-checking Activities and Achievements, Accomplishments, EQP-checking Type Achievements and Non-processes, as well as Resultative and Non-resultative stage level predicates. Their properties are also explained in detail under section 6.2.1 of the current chapter. To explain, let us compare example (220) above to (221) :

(221) "The Sun rose from the East yesterday"

In this example, we have a stage level predicate, which means that the Event of "The sun [rising] from the East" applies to a certain moment, "yesterday". In this case, unlike what is shown in example (220) a property of the individual "The Sun" is not predicated, but an Event of "[rising]" is predicated instead. In (221) therefore, "The Sun" is not treated as a sum of stages that define an individual, but as a stage of the individual of which an Event is predicated. The construction contains an Event Quantifier and the perfective therefore fulfills its usual function of marking the transition from the non-occurrence to the occurrence of the proposition.

In Chapter 6 , section 6.2.1 I have also shown the interactions between overt markers of grammatical aspect and eventive properties of Aktionsart. I have proved that imperfective grammatical aspect interacts with constructions that lack

an EQP yielding individual level predicates, on the one hand, and on the other hand I have also proved that it interacts with constructions that have an EQP yielding the meaning of plurality of Events. This is seen in the following examples:

(222) "María trabajaba en la fábrica" (= "María era obrera de fábrica")  
("María used to work at the factory") (= "María was a factory worker") [Individual level predicate]

(223) "María trabajaba en la fábrica todos los días"<sup>112</sup>  
("María worked at the factory every day") [Stage level predicate]

Example (222) is an individual level predicate derived from an Activity, "trabajar" appearing in a construction where the EQP is missing. This is an individual level predicate in which the property "trabajaba en la fábrica" is predicated of the individual "María" and, by virtue of being a past tense, this individual level predication applies to some time in the past. Example (223) however, shows a totally different construction in which the same Activity verb "trabajar" takes part. In this case, we have a distributive plurality of Events. The Event is "María [working] at the factory" repeated several times over time, as shown by "every day".

I have also proved that perfective grammatical aspect interacts with constructions that lack an EQP by applying an external final limitation to it, on the one hand, as seen in example (207) below. On the other hand I have also shown that it interacts with constructions that have an EQP yielding a variety of stage level predicates, as in (224) (225)

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<sup>112</sup> In this construction, the features of plurality of events brought into the construction by the AdvP are checked in the EQP projection. The difference between (224) and (225) in terms of quantification is not one having or not having an AdvP that **brings** the features of plurality of events into the construction, but the whole construction being able to check the features in the EQP projection with those in the whole construction. Example (225) can still imply a plural Event if the features can be recovered from the context. See the following example:

a) "Mi abuela trabajó en la fábrica toda su vida, al igual que su hermana, que también trabajó ahí" ("My grandmother worked at a factory all her life, as did her sister, who also worked there")

In example a) above, the grandmother's sister worked at the factory not just once, but understandably several times. Although it is omitted from the overt form, the plural Event features of the construction are still present and are checked in the derivation of its corresponding phrase at the EQP.

- (224) "María trabajó en la fábrica" (= "María fue obrera de fábrica")  
 ("María worked at the factory") (Implying she is not working there  
 anymore for whatever reason) [ Individual level predicate ]
- (225) "María trabajó en la fábrica (ayer)/(toda la semana)/(cada día)"  
 ("María worked at the factory (yesterday)/(all week)/(every day)"  
 [Stage level predicate indicating an Event occurring one or several  
 times]

Finally, in section 6.3 I have applied my theoretical framework of Aktionsart according to Event structure, quantification and interactions with grammatical aspect to explaining the errors in production Stated in Chapter 1 . Although a few issues regarding the nature of quantifiers remain untouched in this dissertation and are left for future analysis and research, I have proven that tackling the proper use of Imperfective and Indefinite Past forms in Spanish, whose distinction has proved problematic for Japanese students of Spanish, from the point of view of Event Theory, is a fruitful approach from a theoretical point of view. In the next chapter, I will discuss how these findings can be applied to teaching and learning the features of aspect in Spanish and how to use Imperfect and Indefinite Past in that language. My proposal shall be succinct, as the main aim of this dissertation was to lay the theoretical framework required to systematically catalog and classify verbs in terms of their Aktionsart as seen through the prism of Event Theory. Nevertheless, some modest proposals shall be offered both for instructors and learners.

## Chapter 7

### **Pedagogy of non-eventive constructions in Spanish for native speakers of Japanese: inducing a linguistic awareness.**

In this chapter, which is to be considered complementary to the linguistic analysis proposed in this dissertation, I will discuss some issues regarding the theoretical background of instructors and the dynamics and methods involved in the processes of teaching and learning. The final objective is to contribute to the improvement of teaching methods for Spanish as L2.

#### **7.1.- Instructing the instructor: Why I think the instructor must have a theoretical background on linguistics.**

In Civit (2005) I undertook an analysis of the characteristics of several textbooks of Spanish published in Japan at the time. Most of them showed features stemming directly from on the Audio-lingual Method and the Grammar and Translation method, which are heavy on the repetition of patterns and overt grammatical explanations of how expressions are used, respectively. On the other hand, most Western textbooks take the radically opposite approach and are based almost exclusively on more communicative methods, forgoing any grammatical explanation or reference to linguistic notions almost completely.

In Japan, which is the environment where I have performed my work as an instructor of Spanish and my research on linguistics, language lessons at a college level are commonly divided between lessons heavily focused on grammar and lessons focused on communication. While I am not criticizing the choice of splitting teaching into two subjects (grammar and conversation) *per se*, although it seems to me that they should not be considered mutually exclusive, I have some proposals for improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the processes of teaching and learning.

In the first place, we are teaching languages in terms of "how language is used". For instance, most textbooks that offer any grammatical explanation about Indefinite and Imperfective Past in Spanish refer to the differences in how (the inflected pattern of conjugation) and when ("When you want to express habit in the



past, use imperfective; when you want to express a single action in the past, use perfective") they are used. This would not be much of an issue if those *rules of thumb* on which most textbooks rely were accurate and had any basis in actual linguistic research. The problem is that they usually have none. Allow me to develop this point.

Language is not what we hear or we read. That is the **overt** representation of it, an externalization. Language underlies as a complex network of systems that interact with each other: syntax and semantic, phonetics, pragmatics, etc. Most textbooks take into account all these systems. They do so, however, in a way that could be argued not to be the most adequate from the point of view of linguistics. As I mentioned, syntax is taught through *rules of thumb*, yet those rules of thumb are in no way related to syntax itself. If anything, they reflect *the use* of language, that is, they are based on **descriptive analyses of the pragmatics of a language**. While pragmatics is a very important part of language, I think descriptive analyses are not the best source of theoretical insight in order to understand how a language works. The following is an analogy that helps illustrate my point.

Most if not all of us use a computer every day, be it for work-related reasons or for leisure. When asked how a computer works, many of us would not be able to provide a convincing enough answer. We could say that a computer is a machine that allows us to type documents, watch movies or browse the Internet. That, while technically true - because a computer does that and more things - is not a proper definition of how a computer works. That is, instead, what a computer is *used for*. The same could be said about USB drives, DVDs and other peripherals. One could argue that, as regular users, we do not need to learn how a computer actually works internally, because that is why computer engineers exist. That would also be correct. However, imagine that we, in our limited understanding of how a computer works, began teaching other people what we know. It is unlikely that, unless they get further input about computers from other sources, they ever get to understand how a computer works. As I have mentioned, how a computer works is not what it is used for, but something more abstract and complex. Now imagine that we are asked to build a computer from scratch and all the training we

get to do so is a certain amount of hours of seeing the computer running doing different processes and seeing other people handle the computer. It is absolutely impossible to assume that one would be able to reverse-engineer a computer from scratch by seeing it from the outside. A technical and theoretical basis of electronics, physics and mathematics would be required to even start imagining how to do the task.

Two paragraphs above, when I mentioned that it is necessary to know how language actually works, I was talking about language in similar terms to those I have used in the previous paragraph to talk about computers. The facet is that a certain amount of theoretical knowledge is necessary in order to understand what language **is**. And a fairly larger amount of theoretical knowledge is necessary in order to teach the said language. As adults that most L2 learners of a language are, they do not have the ability to learn a language simply by exposure to it. Learners must develop their own internal rules of how the L2 works and work towards polishing it. As I mentioned, however, *rules of thumb* are not sufficient: they do not teach us about language, but about how and when to use it. It is extremely difficult to internalize the processes needed for producing constructions in another language if we have to rely on hundreds, if not thousands, of overt rules and their exceptions.

Language, however, is a system that stems from a limited set of syntactic, semantic, phonetic and pragmatic features and parameters, all coherently linked in subtle but elegant and simple ways. While it is true that learning the vocabulary of a new language can be a grueling task, learning grammar should not take the massive amounts of time and effort that it takes and the dropout rate should not be as high as it seemingly is.

I am not claiming that language lessons should be linguistics lessons. What I am claiming is that instructors should have a solid, even if basic, background in linguistics. In the issue I have focused on in this dissertation—aspect in Spanish and the issues faced by Japanese learners—the instructor must be aware of several basic linguistic concepts. The reason is that, sooner or later, a student is going to ask about something or they are going to call the instructor on some exception or rule of thumb and the instructor will not know how to address the

issue, the same way we do not know how to answer a question about computers if we never asked ourselves the same question before and done research on it.

In the case at hand—aspect—, an instructor must be aware, to begin with, of the notion of aspect itself and its value as a result of the interaction between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect. I have yet to find a single textbook of Spanish that addresses lexical aspect and Aktionsart at all; however, understanding the existence of different types of Events is absolutely **crucial** to understanding aspect. Grammatical aspect, on the other hand, is indeed treated in many textbooks, albeit in the same *descriptive* way in which it is explained how and when to use each tense. We have seen throughout this dissertation that the issues involved are profound and thus I claim that this is definitely not the best way to address what grammatical aspect is.

Therefore, I consider crucial that any instructor of Spanish, when addressing the teaching of what Imperfective Past and Indefinite Past in Spanish are and also how they are used, needs to get acquainted with some basic notions. I will provide a few sources for the following notions. This list is in no way extensive, so, while they are not meant to be the original authors who wrote about such notions, their analyses can be useful in understanding the basics:

- For Aktionsart, see Vendler (1967), Smith (1991), Sanz (2000), Kamata (1996), and Ogihara (1999)
- For Events, see Pustejovsky (1991), De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000), Moreno (2013).
- For the features of Imperfective and Indefinite past in Spanish, see Yamamura (2010), García Fernández (1998).

In the next section, I will discuss the more practical side of teaching and learning the aspectual system of Spanish in the classroom.

## 7.2.- Improving teaching and learning: a rethinking of dynamics and attitudes

In the previous section I discussed the need for a more linguistics-based approach to teaching, specially regarding the basic knowledge an instructor should be acquainted with in order to teach past tenses in Spanish. In this section, I will discuss a few issues regarding classroom dynamics, engagement and attitude, as well as provide an example of a thought exercise that can be employed in the classroom in order for the instructor to instill a certain degree of linguistic awareness<sup>113</sup> into the learners and make them think about the aspectual system of their language and how it could relate to the target language they are trying to learn.

In the previous section I mentioned that lessons in Japanese universities are commonly divided into grammar and conversation. As I mentioned, I am not criticizing this division, but there are a few issues that both instructors and students must be aware of in order for the learning to take place in the most efficient way. In the first place, teaching is not a unidirectional process from teacher to student in which the knowledge is put into the student's mind. Teaching does not imply learning (Sanz and Igoa, 2012). This means that a student might not understand something even if it has been taught before. As obvious as this looks, there is still a tendency of considering that learning mimics and follows teaching. Teaching is usually linear; however, learning is not (Sanz, Civit and Rodríguez 2005, 2006; Sanz and Civit 2007). At several stages in the learning process, the student is going to face mental processes of re-structuring the knowledge that has been learnt up to that point and in doing so, a process of *regression* is likely to happen (Sanz and Fukushima, 2003). The "You should know this because I already taught it" attitude is noxious to the aim of facilitating learning because it does not take into account the student and their learning process. This is something to be taken into account when the system of aspect of an L2 (in my case, teaching the system of aspect of Spanish to Japanese students) is introduced in the classroom.

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<sup>113</sup> A thorough discussion on the subject of applying linguistics to teaching can be reviewed in Romero Díaz et al. (2014).

I reiterate that I do not claim that the student should be taught cumbersome theoretical notions, although I claim that an awareness of language as a whole has to be encouraged. I think the best way to do so is to engage the students in thought exercises. For instance, a student could develop an understanding of lexical aspect in their own language and in the L2 by using an exercise such as this<sup>114</sup>:

The exercise can be done first for the L1 of the student. In it, the student gets five predicates. Each one belongs to a different Aktionsart, but the student is not told about it. Then the student is shown two AdvP: one that expresses the duration of an action, and another one that expresses the time an action takes to be finished. Then the student is asked to combine them and see what the differences are. For instance<sup>115</sup>:

Table 10. Thought experiment for Aktionsart awareness (blank)

J: "Okane ga iru" S: "Necesito dinero" E: I need money	J: "Booru wo keru" S: "Pateo un balón" E: "I kick a ball"	J: "Kouen de hashiru" S: "Corro por el parque" E: "I run around the park"	J: "Shousetsu wo yomu" S: "Leo una novela" E: "I read a novel"	J: "Touchaku suru" S: "Llego" E: "I arrive"	AdvP 1: J: "ichi-jikan de" S: "en una hora" E: "in an hour"
					AdvP 2: J: "ichi-jikan" S: "durante una hora" E: "for an hour"

In Table 10, the student is introduced to four predicates in whatever language is theirs. The first one is a State, the second one is a Semelfactive, the third one is an Activity, the fourth one is an Accomplishment and the last one is an Achievement. The student is asked to try to add either of the AdvP presented above and see whether the resulting sentence is grammatical or not. If it is, then the student is asked to reflect about why. Then the student is asked to think about

<sup>114</sup> This exercise is based on an unpublished exercise developed for its use in the classroom by Prof. Ramírez and Prof. Sanz at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies in 2013. It is available in Romero Díaz et al. (2014).

<sup>115</sup> J is for Japanese; S is for Spanish; E is for English.

the differences between the predicates shown, regarding why they can or cannot co-occur with each of the AdvP. The result should be something like Table 11 below:

Table 11. Thought experiment for Aktionsart awareness (analyzed)

J: "Okane ga iru" S: "Necesito dinero" E: "I need money"	J: "Booru wo keru" S: "Pateo un balón" E: "I kick a ball"	J: "Kouen de hashiru" S: "Corro por el parque" E: "I run around the park"	J: "Shousetsu wo yomikuru" S: "Me leo una novela" E: "I read a whole novel"	J: "Touchaku suru" S: "Llego" E: "I arrive"	AdvP 1: J: "ichi-jikan de" S: "en una hora" E: "in an hour"
AdvP 1: X <sup>116</sup> AdvP 2: OK <sup>117</sup>	AdvP 1: X AdvP 2: OK	AdvP 1: X AdvP 2: OK	AdvP 1: OK AdvP 2: X	AdvP 1: OK AdvP 2: X	AdvP 2: J: "ichi-jikan" S: "durante una hora" E: "for an hour"

The student is expected to think about the grammaticality of AdvP 1 and 2 above when used with each predicate. The predicates that accept "in an hour" are telic predicates, which have an intrinsic internal limit: when they reach the endpoint of the action (an action that can be durative or instantaneous) they finish naturally. Those that accept "for an hour", however, are atelic<sup>118</sup> and do not reach an internal limit: Activities fall into this category and States can somehow be considered to do so as well (see footnote 104).

While the above exercise does not delve deep into the internal sub-eventive properties of Aktionsart categories, it works as a starting point in order for the students to understand that verbs are not all the same. Instead, verbs have features of duration and telicity, which is something that verbs in all languages

<sup>116</sup> The AdvP "in an hour" can signal, in Japanese, the time remaining for the State in "Okane ga iru" to become active. Japanese lacks an overt morpheme for future tense, therefore the plain non-past form can be used to imply "I will need money (in an hour)"

<sup>117</sup> "For an hour" would imply the period the "need" applies. This example is awkward, although it is valid at this point in order for the student to realize the durative properties of the predicate "to need". The awkwardness of "I will need money for an hour" can be explained by applying my framework: "To need" and its counterparts in Japanese and Spanish are typically employed in individual level predicates; the AdvP "for an hour" clashes with that interpretation, as it seems to require a stage level predicate. This in itself can also be a topic of conversation with the students: why it reacts poorly to AdvP 2.

<sup>118</sup> While semelfactives are themselves telic, their repetition can be considered a derived activity devoid of telicity.

have, although, and this is important, those features might not map neatly between languages. Learning the features of verbs and the kinds of predicates they can appear in is one step in the long process of learning the system of aspect of an L2. Guiding them to thinking about their first language by exposing them to tables similar to those that we have proposed in this dissertation (Table 9, for instance), seems like a shortcut in learning the vocabulary of verbs.

In sum, the student must take the responsibility in the process and actively think about what they are being taught. Similarly to when I mentioned that the instructor must be aware that teaching something does not mean that what has been taught has been learnt, the students must be aware that the brunt of the process of learning is an individual mental process that they must go through. In other words, the students need to be proactive and inquisitive about finding out what pieces of their mental puzzle of the L2, which they are building one piece at a time, are missing. Different students will react in different ways to this challenge, but the bottom line is that students need to be made aware that learning a new language is a process of discovery and that the instructor will be there to guide them, but in the end, language is a mind-internal process.

## Chapter 8

### Recapitulation and general conclusions

The aspectual value of a construction is the result of the interaction of three grammatical systems: the system of lexical aspect, the system of grammatical aspect and the system of Event quantification. In this dissertation, I analyzed the properties of these systems and how they interact in Spanish and Japanese. The result of my analysis is a new framework for aspectuality that, among other things, can account for the errors in the production of sentences in Spanish by adult Japanese learners. In particular, stative constructions in the past tense in Spanish cause trouble to Japanese subjects. Many learners commit errors in stative constructions in the past tense in Spanish, errors that involve the incorrect use of Imperfective Past (*pretérito imperfecto*) and Indefinite Past (*pretérito indefinido*). See the examples below:

(226) “\* El domingo pasado estaba en casa todo el día”  
( “Last Sunday I stayed at home all day”)

(227) “\* Cuando tuve diez años, no tuve dinero”  
 (“When I was ten years old, I had no money”)

My analysis offers an explanation for the ungrammaticality of such sentences. I have reviewed literature on the three systems involved (lexical and grammatical aspect and Event quantification) regarding Spanish and Japanese. I refined Vendler (1967)'s classification of predicates in Aktionsart categories by applying the findings by Pustejovsky (1991), De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) and Kamata (1996) regarding Event types and their internal structure. I claim that Aktionsart can be Pure (containing a single Pustejovskyan Event type) and Hybrid (containing multiple Events). Verbs belong to one of these categories.



Table 9. Pure Aktionsart and Hybrid Aktionsart

Predicate type	Structure	Example
<b>Pure Aktionsart</b>		
Activities	P	<b>Eng:</b> "to run in the park" <b>Spn:</b> "bailar" ("to dance") <b>Jpn:</b> "hikou suru" ("to fly")
Achievements / Semelfactives	T	<b>Eng:</b> "to arrive", "to cough" <b>Spn:</b> "encender la luz" ("to turn on the lights"), "llamar a la puerta" ("to tap on the door") <b>Jpn:</b> "touchaku suru" ("to arrive")
Pure States (individual level stative predicates)	S	<b>Eng:</b> "to be blue" <b>Esp:</b> "ser inteligente" (to be intelligent) [not implying behavior, but property]
<b>Hybrid Aktionsart</b>		
Accomplishments	P/ T/ S	<b>Eng:</b> "to run 10 miles", "to cut a cake into slices" <b>Spn:</b> "instalar un programa" ("to install a program") <b>Jpn:</b> "tatemono wo tateru" ("to build a building")
Achievements of Type 3 De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)	T/ P	<b>Spn:</b> "hervir" ("to reach the boiling point" / "to boil"), "salir" ("to leave" / "to hang out") <b>Jpn:</b> "tobu" ("to fly off" / "To fly")
Non-processes (Kamata 1996)	T/ S <sup>affected Subj</sup>	<b>Eng:</b> "to own", "to know" <b>Spn:</b> "saber" ("to know"), "conocer" ("to get acquainted with" / "to be acquainted with") <b>Jpn:</b> "shiru" ("to find out" / "to know")
<i>Stage Level hybrid Stative Predicates</i>		
Resulting stage-level predicates (Including Type 2 Achievements in De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000)	T/ S <sup>obj</sup>	<b>Eng:</b> "to be broken" <b>Spn:</b> "estar cocido" ("to be cooked") <b>Jpn:</b> "Kabin ga ware-teiru" ("A flower pot is broken")
	T/S <sup>Causative Subject</sup>	<b>Spn:</b> "La película estuvo interesante" ("The movie was interesting") (=it caused a feeling of interest in me)
Non-resulting Stage-level predicates	T/ S <sup>Active Subject</sup>	<b>Eng:</b> "to be smart" (= "to behave in a smart manner") <b>Spn:</b> "ser inteligente" (se de manera inteligente", "to behave in an intelligent manner")

The errors in examples (226) and (227) above can be explained in terms of the interaction between the features of the lexical aspectual category to which the verb belongs, the features contributed to the construction by the markers of grammatical aspect and the properties of Event quantification.

The ungrammaticality of "estaba" in example (226) can be explained in the following way: the existence of an Event Quantifier Phrase (EQP) in its structure implies that "estar" ("to be in a place") is a stand-in for "quedarse" ("to stay"), which is a stage level predicate, a meaning further reinforced by the AdvP "todo el día" ("all day"). The Aktionsart features of the verb (shifted in Aktionsart from a State to an Activity) and the features of the AdvP are in conflict with the features of Imperfective Past. This, in consequence, renders "estaba" ungrammatical.

On the other hand, example (227) lacks an EQP<sup>119</sup>. The implied meaning is one of an individual level predicate. Perfective forms can only interact with individual level predicates by expressing either an overt end to the individual predication or by coercing the aspectual value of the predicate into shifting its Aktionsart to a stage level predicate. Such implications, however, are missing from (227) which shows an individual level predication on the subject in a past tense without reference to its endpoint, which will require an imperfective form. Compare examples (226) and (227) to the examples below:

(228) "La Atlántida estaba en medio del mar"  
("Atlantis was in the sea")

(229) "La Atlántida estuvo en medio del mar hasta que se hundió"  
("Atlantis was in the sea until it sank")

(230) "María tuvo tres hijos ayer"  
("María had three babies yesterday" = "María gave birth to [...]")

(231) "María tenía un hijo cada año"  
("María had one baby each year" = "María gave birth to [...]")

(232) "De niño, tuve un perro"  
("When I was a kid, I owned a dog")

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<sup>119</sup> We have assumed that when the interpretation of a sentence involves individual level predication, there is no Event Quantifier, following the insights of Carlson (1977). However, there is a possible alternative in which there is an Event Quantifier in the construction, although it is of a kind which takes all the events and considers them a sum, a unique event. The result would be the same from our point of view, and therefore we have kept the simpler approach that considers that the construction lacks an event quantifier altogether

- (233) "De niño, tenía un perro"  
("When I was a kid, I owned a dog")

Examples (228) through (233) show other Events in which the same verbs shown in examples (226) and (227) can show up. The properties of Aktionsart, Event quantification and the features that grammatical aspect adds to the construction are different and, consequently, the resulting aspectual meaning is different to that in the previous examples.

Example (228) shows "estar" in an individual level predicate construction, unlike example (226) which is a stage level predicate. In (228) the location "under in the sea" is predicated of the individual subject "Atlantis". Imperfective aspect interacts with this individual level predicate by indicating that the predication is valid in the time of the verb (the past). Example (229) however, while being also an individual level predicate, shows an external limit to the predication: the end is marked by "hasta que se hundió" ("until it sank"). Indefinite Past is required to express the end to validity of the individual level predication. Notice that, because it lacks an EQP, "estar" in (228) and (229) does not mean "quedarse" ("to stay"), unlike what we saw in example (226) which contained an EQP in its structure.

The verb "tener" in (230) and (231) is part of eventive constructions: both examples are constructions that contain an EQP. The stative meaning of "tener" is coerced into a meaning of "giving birth to", which corresponds to an Accomplishment. In example (230) the perfective features of Indefinite Past and the features of the AdvP "ayer" (yesterday) interact with the Aktionsart of the verb yielding the eventive meaning of "tener". In example (231) the imperfective aspect of the verb and the aspectual features of "cada año" ("every year") yield an aspectual meaning of plurality of Events: the Event happens a repeated amount of times. This distributive meaning can arise when the Aktionsart of a construction that contains a Process (in this case, "tener", a stative verb), changed its aspectual features to those of an Accomplishment because of the existence of an EQP, resulting in a verb that has the same meaning as "parir", ("to give birth to")

In examples (232) and (233) we see the different effects that the grammatical aspectual features of the verb can add to the construction. Example (232) in a similar way to the correct form for example (227) shows an individual level predication: "being the owner of a dog" is predicated of the individual subject. The verb takes the imperfective form in example (232) an individual level predicate that, by definition, lacks an EQP. The resulting meaning is that of the predication being valid in a past that is simultaneous to the past shown in "de niño" ("when I was a kid") without reference to its endpoint. Example (233) on the other hand, implies that the validity of the individual level predicate has an endpoint in the past.

The analysis or the interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect that has been proposed in this dissertation means that all phenomena concerning lexical and grammatical aspect must be described taking into account three factors: Lexical Aktionsart (simple or hybrid), Grammatical aspect (Perfective or imperfective) and the presence and nature of an Event quantifier (present or not, and if present, whether plural, specific, etc.). This gives us the whole spectrum of possibilities of interpretation for both eventive and stative predicates and non-processes, and it can be applied to any language, but the three places are susceptible of parameterization. Therefore the visible differences between languages. The following table establishes the interpretation of the different interactions between Aktionsart, grammatical aspect and Event quantifiers. As it becomes obvious, the function of grammatical aspect markers of imperfect and preterite varies depending on whether the construction involves a kind of Aktionsart or another:

Table 12. Spanish interactions

Predicate type	Impf., Event Q	Impf. No Event Q	Pret, Event Q	Pret, no Event Q
<b>Hybrid Aktionsart</b>				
Accomplishments P/ T/ S (can be turned into Activities by integrating the measuring object in the verb)	"leía un libro" (several concrete Events of the Accomplishment) P/T/S  [If reduced to P, it becomes an activity: "Leía un libro cuando le sobrevino la muerte"]	Not possible  [If reduced to P: Activity turned into Individual level predicate] "Leía libros"	"leyó un libro" (One complete Event of the Accomplishment) P/T/S	Not possible  [If reduced to P: Activity turned to individual level predicate with an endpoint] "leyó libros"
Achievements of Type 3 De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) T/ P	"hervía" (1.- several concrete Events of the transition) T (2.- Ongoing process) P	"hervía" (individual level predicate derived from T) S	"hirvió" (One Event of the activity or several Events taken as one unit) T	"hirvió" (individual level predicate with an endpoint) S [Unnatural]
Non-processes (Kamata 1996) T/ S <sup>affected Subj</sup>	Not possible	"sabía inglés" "#(Ya) sabía la noticia" (individual level predicate) S	"supo la noticia" (One Event of "finding out") T	"supo inglés (pero ahora ya no lo sabe)" (individual level predicate with an endpoint) S [Unnatural]
<i>Stage Level hybrid Stative Predicates</i>	Impf., Event Q	Impf. No Event Q	Pret, Event Q	Pret, no Event Q
Resulting stage-level predicates (Including Type 2 Achievements in De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000)	Not possible	T/ S <sup>obj</sup> "estaba roto" (turns into an individual level predicate) S	T/ S <sup>obj</sup> "estuvo roto"	T/ S <sup>obj</sup> "estuvo roto" (individual level predicate with an endpoint) S
	T/S <sup>Causative Subject</sup>	T/S <sup>Causative Subject</sup> "estaba interesante" (turns into an individual level predicate) S	T/S <sup>Causative Subject</sup> "estuvo interesante" (One Event of causing an effect on the speaker. = "me causó interés") T	T/S <sup>Causative Subject</sup> "estuvo interesante"
Non-resulting Stage-level predicates	"era inteligente" (several concrete Events of the		"fue inteligente" (One Event of the activity or	

T/ S <sup>Active Subject</sup>	activity resulting from a coercion) P [Non-resulting stage level predicate]		several Events taken as one unit) P [Non-resulting stage level predicate]	
<b>Pure Aktionsart</b>	Impf., Event Q	Impf. No Event Q	Pret, Event Q	Pret, no Event Q
Activities P	"Trabajaba" (several concrete Events of the activity) P	"Trabajaba" (turns into an individual-level predicate) S	"Trabajó" (One Event of the activity or several Events taken as one unit) P	"Trabajó" (turns into an individual-level predicate) S
Achievements / Semelfactives T	"llegaba" (several concrete Events of the activity) P	"llegaba" (turns into an individual-level predicate) S	"llegó" (One Event of the activity or several Events taken as one unit) T	"llegó" (turns into an individual-level predicate) S
Pure States (individual level stative predicates) S		"era inteligente" (individual level predicate) S		"fue inteligente" (individual level predicate with an endpoint) S

The above table shows the aspectual meanings stemming from the interaction between Aktionsart, grammatical aspect and the possible presence of an EQP in the structure. In constructions that do not have an EQP, namely individual level predicates and forms that derive into them, the role of grammatical aspect is to signal whether the proposition is valid in the time of speech or whether its validity expired in the past. On the other hand, in those constructions that have an EQP, the interactions are much richer: the EQP can coerce an individual level predicate into becoming a stage level predicate, as in "ser inteligente" (= "to behave in an intelligent way").

For stage level predicates that by definition always enter in constructions with an EQP, the roles of imperfective and perfective grammatical aspect markers differ from those without an EQP. Imperfective aspect can either signal a distributive plurality of Events ("Mi abuela trabajaba en la fábrica todos los días", "My grandmother used to work at the factory every day") or imply a process as it happens, as in "el agua hervía" ("water was boiling"), in a way that is similar to

what a progressive form would. Imperfective can also coerce a stage level predicate into becoming an individual level predicate by focusing on a sub-Event that can be predicated of the subject as an individual (as in "Mi abuela trabajaba en la fábrica", "My grandmother used to work at the factory", meaning "My grandmother was a factory worker", a construction in which "working at the factory", as in the case of "being a factory worker" is predicated of the individual "mi abuela" ("my grandmother") as a sum of her stages. Perfective aspect in expressions with an EQP, on the other hand, will imply that one or several Events<sup>120</sup> of the action occur.

My analysis proves that the range of interactions between lexical aspect, grammatical aspect and quantificational features can be systematically predicted. The above table shows the case of Spanish. In Japanese, the lack of an overt marking for the distinction between Indefinite Past and Imperfective Past means that some of the features handled by these forms in Spanish will be handled in Japanese by other elements in the construction.

The task of the instructor of an L2 must therefore be to aid the learner in understanding the differences in interaction between lexical aspect, grammatical aspect and Event quantification in both languages and the distinct mechanisms that the L1 and the L2 (in this case, Japanese and Spanish) employ.

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<sup>120</sup> Several events taken as a single instance indicating a true plurality of events, instead of a distributive plural.

## Chapter 9

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