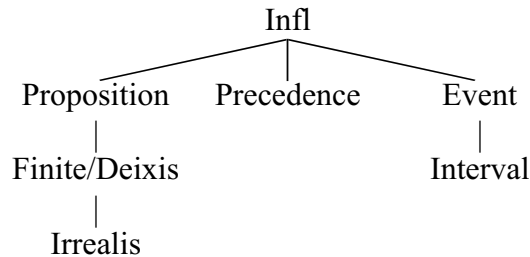# Parameters of INFL: English Aspect and Spanish Tense

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1   THE FEATURES OF THE ENGLISH INFL:

1)

```
                          Infl
            ┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
      Proposition      Precedence        Event
            │                              │
      Finite/Deixis                     Interval
            │
         Irrealis
```

• Infl is merely a label that, for the moment, hosts all the elements that make up the inflectional complex. The status of Infl as a syntactic category will be discussed as we go on.

• The structure in (1) is a dependency tree, formally similar to those proposed for segment structure by Sagey (1986) Rice and Avery (1991) and Avery (1996), and for pronouns by Harley and Ritter (2002) among others.

• The various elements are monovalent features with syntactic or semantic content, which correspond in some cases to particular inflectional morphemes.

1.1   Aspect

• Two possibilities: either Event and its dependent project AspP, or EventP, or they are dependents of the same syntactic head as the other inflectional features. See Cowper (1999), Travis (1993), Stowell (1995), Zagona (1990), among others. I leave the question open for now.

• Events are more complex than states. Event clauses contain an element that does not appear in stative clauses. Makes sense semantically , but also formally here. Events in English are further subdivided into imperfective (Interval) and perfective (Moment) events. So Event has a dependent feature and must thus be a feature itself.[1]

• [Event] does not seem to correspond to any particular morphological element. Crossclassifies with oppositions like telic/atelic, bounded/unbounded, and choice of verb.

2) a. Fritz wore a school uniform as a child. (Stative, characterizing sentence)
    b. Fritz wore a school uniform twice this week. (Eventive)

3) a. Anna was generous. (Stative)
    b. Katie was generous three times this morning. (Eventive)

• Stative reading unavailable in two contexts:

Bare infinitival complements of perception verbs:

4) a. They saw [the policeman be polite/?intelligent/??burly].
   b. We heard [the students heckle/?dislike the teacher].

Progressive clauses with *-ing:*

5) a. The children were playing in the yard.
   b. The heckler was being rude.
   c. ?The gymnast was being tall.

• progressive *-ing* spells out [Interval]. [Interval] entails [Event]. So progressive clauses are eventive, and stative clauses can't be divided into perfective and imperfective subclasses.

1.2   Narrow Tense.

Traditionally: [± Past]

Here: [Precedence], which signifies that the IP in whose head it appears is located temporally prior to its temporal anchor. [Precedence] is spelled out by the finite past tense marker *-ed*, and by the past participial morpheme *-en*.

1.3   Mood.

Propositions and plain events (Davidson 1967, Parsons 1990):

6) a. We saw [that Mary was reading the book]. (proposition)
   b. We saw Mary reading the book. (bare event)

The subordinate clause in (6)a is a proposition. The sentence as a whole means that we came to

What's a proposition anyway? A cognitive manifestation of an event or state. (Cowper and Hall 1999, and Hall 2001). The feature [Proposition] takes an event or state as its argument and "transforms it into its cognitive manifestation by linking it to a *consciousness*." (Hall 2001: 20).

Fine, so what's a consciousness?

"A consciousness comprises the set of all propositions that are indexed to it; it can be referred to by a temporal and personal index. If a proposition is finite and deictic, then the consciousness to which it is indexed is at the deictic centre. This consciousness corresponds roughly to the set of propositions believed by the speaker of the utterance, or, more precisely, the implied speaker at the moment of speech. The [implied] speaker is an individual; the consciousness at the deictic centre is a stage of an individual (in the terminology of Carlson (1977) and Kratzer (1988)). It contains those propositions believed at the moment of speech, not the full set of propositions believed by the speaker throughout his or her lifetime." (Hall 2001: 20)

Clauses denoting propositions include the feature [Proposition]; bare events lack it.

Non-finite propositions:

7) a. We believe [the square root of four to equal two].
   b. As a result of these calculations, the square root of four can be seen [t to equal two]
   c. The students decided [PRO to work together].
   d. The assignment seems [t to be very easy].

Finite propositions:

8) a. We believe that [the square root of four equals two].
   b. As a result of these calculations, it can be seen that [the square root of four equals two].
   c. The students decided that [they would work together].
   d. It seems that [the assignment is very easy].

[Proposition] and infinitival *to* are independent of each other:

Non-propositional clauses with and without *to*: (data from Cowper and Hall 2001)

9) a. We made [the children wash their hands].
      (non-propositional *v*P, forms a single event with the matrix clause)
   b. The children were made [to wash their hands].
      (non-propositional *v*P, as in (0a.)

10) a. We heard [Max play the recorder]. (bare event)
    b. Max was heard [to play the recorder]. (ambiguous: bare event or proposition)

Nonfinite propositional clauses with *to*: see (7) above.

Nonfinite propositional clauses without *to*:

11) a. We consider [Max a good musician]. (propositional small clause)
    b. We want [the books delivered on Tuesday]. (propositional small clause)

• No particular morpheme spells out [Proposition] alone.

Finiteness and Deixis: Bundled together in English, function separately in other languages (e.g. Spanish, coming soon). Hypothesis at this point: finiteness without deixis is spelled out by subjunctive forms.

[Finite]: a feature with purely syntactic content (Cowper 2002). Triggers case-checking on the subject, and phi-agreement on the verb.

[Deixis]: Sets the index of the consciousness (to which the proposition is indexed) as the deictic centre of the utterance—essentially the speaker at the moment of speech Hall (2001). The index is both temporal and personal, so we can in principle talk about T-deixis (the temporal part) and P-deixis (the personal part). No need to do this for English, but Spanish separates the two.

[Finite/Deixis] is a dependent of [Proposition], so all finite clauses are necessarily propositional.

12) a. We saw that the children were playing in the yard. (cognitive, propositional)
    b. We heard that the fireworks started at 10:00. (cognitive, propositional)

13) a. We saw the children playing in the yard. (visual, bare event)
    b. We heard the fireworks start at 10:00. (auditory, bare event)

[Irrealis]: spelled out by various modals, along lines suggested by Hall (2001).

Semantic effect is to change the relation between the proposition (call it p) and the consciousness (= the set of propositions) (call it C).

Unmarked relation is $p \in C$.

With [Irrealis], either a) p follows from C (put crudely, $C \rightarrow p$) as with modals like *will* & *must* or b) p is compatible with C (ditto, $\neg (C \rightarrow \neg p)$) as with modals like *may* & *can*.

Dependency structure in (1) generates 24 possible Infl's, of which 23 are observed (see Appendix A) The 24th is an INFL with no features at all (a bare state). Assuming that a functional category cannot be projected except by a feature, the absence of completely empty INFL is to be expected.

2   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE SYNTAX/MORPHOLOGY INTERFACE.

Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993):

• Syntactic computation manipulates only features grammaticalized in the language in question.

• Vocabulary items inserted cyclically, after syntactic computation on the cycle is finished. (Cowper and Hall 2002)

Insertion of inflectional morphemes thus depends both on which features are present in the syntactic structure, and on how they are arranged in syntactic projections. If two features α and β occupy the head of a single syntactic projection, as in (14)a, then the best vocabulary item will be one that carries both features. However, if the two features are on different syntactic heads, as in (14)b, then vocabulary insertion will apply to the lowest head first, choosing a morpheme bearing only β.

14) a.
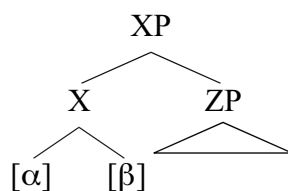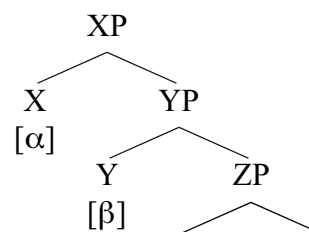
2.1   Progressives.

An ordinary progressive sentence like (15) has the inflectional features given in (16).

15) Ann was reading the book.

16)

Mood features	Narrow Tense Features	Aspectual Features
Proposition	**Precedence**	Event
Finite/Deixis		**Interval**

• [Interval] triggers insertion of the present participial morpheme -ing
• [Finite/Deixis] + [Precedence] trigger the insertion of the finite past auxiliary was.

Perhaps these happen on different cycles? See, e.g., Travis (1993) for EventP, a.k.a. AspP.

17)
```
                        IP
               _____/ _____
              /                   \
            Infl                  AspP
         ___/ \___              __/ \__
        /         \            /       \
  Proposition  Precedence    Event      vP
       |                       |       /  \
  Finite/Deixis             Interval  Ann read the book
       _____ _____/        |
              was              -ing
```
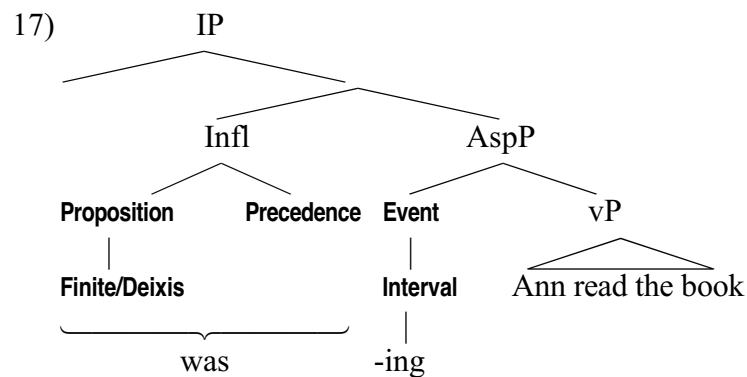
Another possibility: both vocabulary items are inserted on the same cycle:

18)
```
                    IP
             _____/ _____
            /               \
          Infl               vP
       ___/|\___            /  \
      /   |    \       Ann read the book
Proposition Precedence Event
     |              |
Finite/Deixis    Interval
     \____ ____/      |
         was         ing
```
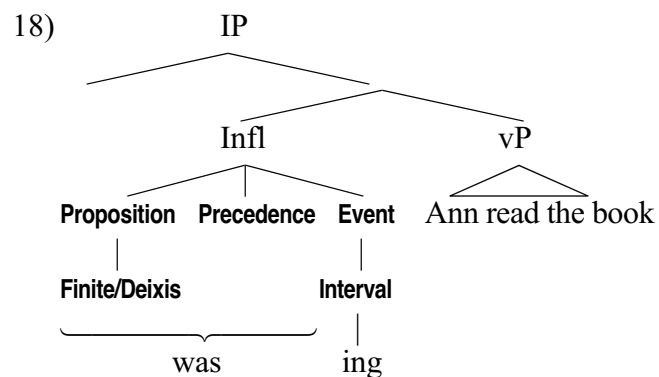
Yet another possibility: one Infl node per clause, but two clauses:

19)
```
                     IP
              _____/ _____
             /               \
           Infl               VP
        ___/ \___           _/ \_
       /         \         /     \
 Proposition  Precedence  V       IP
      |                         __/ \__
 Finite/Deixis                 /       \
      _____ _____/     Infl      VP
              was              |       /  \
                             Event  Ann reading the book
                               |
                            Interval
```
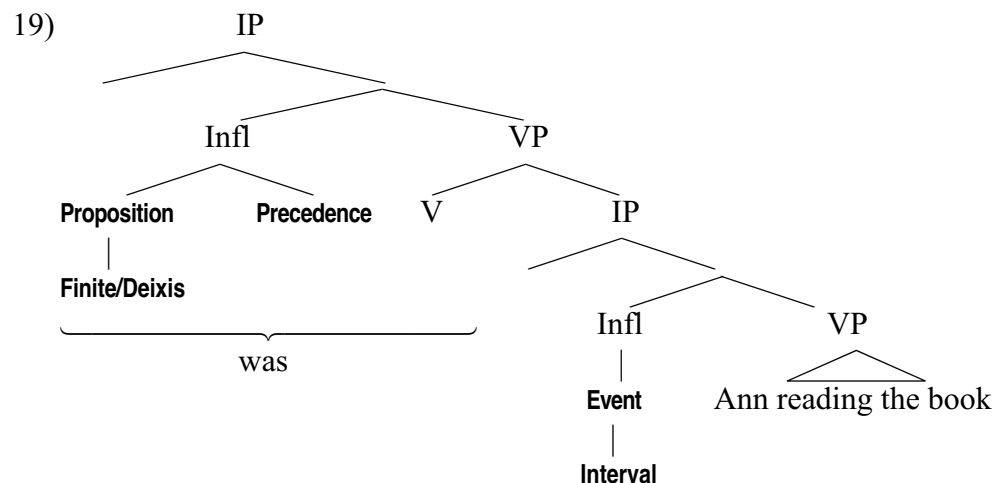
How to choose? (17) seems to correspond to syntactic structures that others have proposed, and permits one morpheme to be inserted per cycle. (18) minimizes projections, always a good thing, other things being equal. (19) captures the intuition, assumed by Schmitt (2001), that progressive clauses are in some sense stative.

Proposal: ordinary progressive clauses have either the structure in (17) or the one in (18). (19) is the structure of what I'll call the stative progressive.

20) a. Ann's reading a lot these days.
   b. Kate was smoking very little before the war.
   c. Barry's working too hard at the moment. That's why he's losing his temper so much. It's a good thing he's asleep right now; otherwise he'd probably be yelling at us.

Compare the so-called "characterizing" use of the simple tenses (Krifka et al. 1995):

21) Bill drives an old pickup truck.

Characterizing sentences are stative, attributing a property to their subject rather than denoting an event or set of events. This follows from the structure in (19).

2.2 Perfects.

22) Albert had brought his sister.

• backshifted meaning: event of the main verb earlier than a reference time, which is in turn earlier than the moment of speech.

• Two instances of [Precedence], one spelled out by *-en* on the participle, the other by the past tense on the auxiliary. Requires two instances of Infl, since each Infl can accommodate only one.

23)
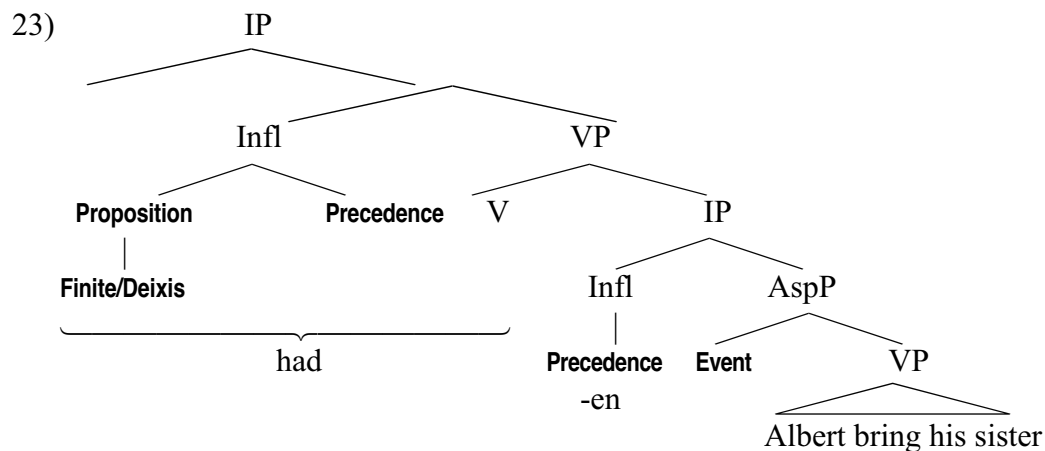
What about present perfects? Are they biclausal or monoclausal? Is this an empirical question?

24) a. Albert has brought his sister
   b. Albert brought his sister.

25)

Mood features	Narrow Tense Features	Aspectual Features
Proposition	**Precedence**	Event
Finite/Deixis		

26)

```
                    MoodP
            _____
          Mood                      TP
           |              _____
      Proposition      Precedence                 AspP
           |                             _____
     Finite/Deixis        -en         Event                    VP
         \____/                                        _____
          has                                     Albert bring his sister
```
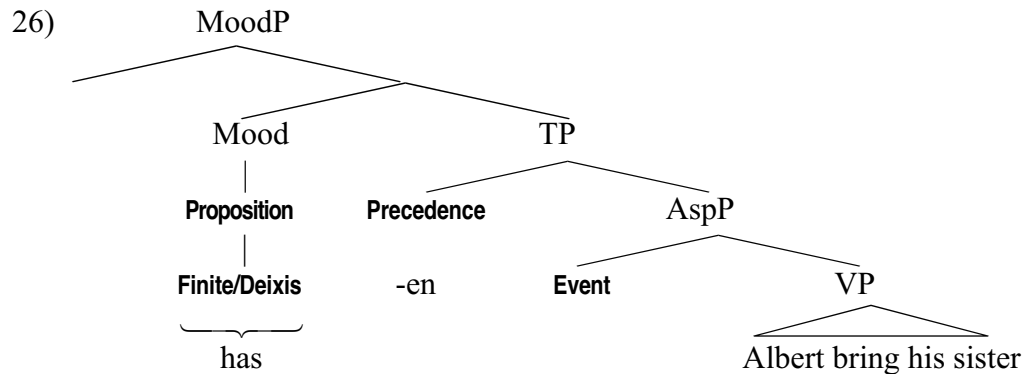
• accommodates the morphemes of the present perfect in a single clause

• English present tense (the auxiliary, in this case) encodes not tense, but only agreement (Stowell 1995, among others).

Two big problems:

1. Predicts that there should not be a simple past tense in English. The past participle would **always** be inserted before the computation reached the projection bearing [Finite/Deixis].

2. The English present perfect should have exactly the same meaning as the simple past (if we could somehow generate the simple past).

One small problem:

Introduces a counter-intuitive structural difference between the present perfect and the past perfect. Both are semantically complex, crucially involving a reference time. The only difference between them is whether the reference time is at or before the moment of speech.

To generate the simple past, we need a structure in which the features determining tense and mood occupy a single syntactic head, as in (27).

27)

```
                    IP
          _____
        Infl                          AspP
     _____         _____
  Proposition    Precedence   Event          vP
       |                                     /___\
  Finite/Deixis
```
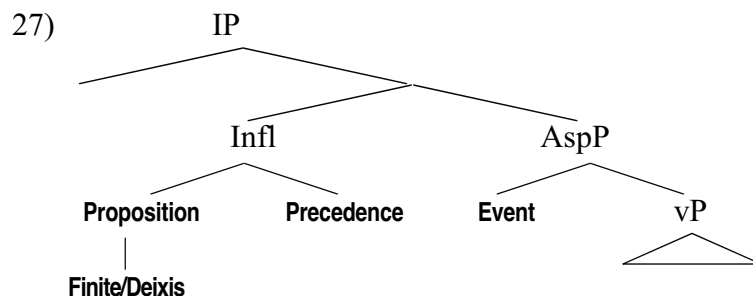
The difference between the simple past and the present perfect is not in which features they have, but rather in how the features are arranged. The simple past is monoclausal; the present perfect is biclausal.

28)

```
                    IP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        Infl                  VP
          │           ┌───────┴───────┐
     Proposition      V               IP
          │          have      ┌──────┴──────┐
    Finite/Deixis           Infl            AspP
    └────┬────┘               │         ┌────┴────┐
        has                Precedence  Event      vP
                                              ┌────┴────┐
                                        Albert bring his sister
```
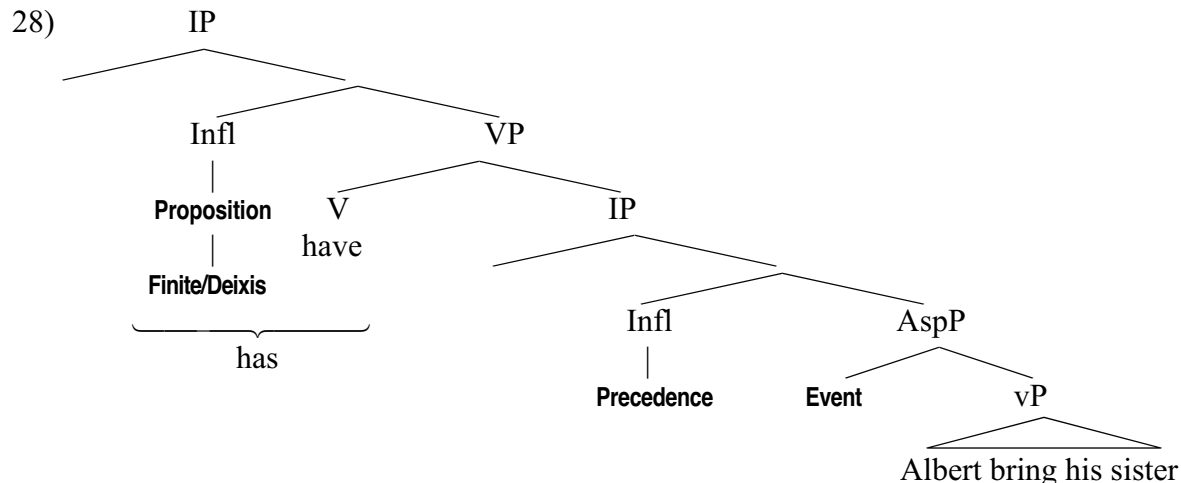
The structure in (28), accounts for the particular semantics associated with the present perfect. The matrix IP is a present tense clause, with standard requirement of current relevance.

29) a. *Henry VIII has been married six times.
    b. *Henry VIII is the first English king to be a Protestant.
30) a. Henry VIII was married six times.
    b. Henry VIII was the first English king to be a Protestant.

What about infinitival perfects? No current relevance requirement:

31) We believe Henry VIII to have been married six times.

Dependency structure predicts the existence of monoclausal "perfect" infinitives. Nothing blocks insertion of *-en*, since the only other morpheme spelling out [Precedence] also spells out [Finite/Deixis]. Auxiliary *have* is inserted for syntactic reasons; *to* for reasons discussed in Cowper and Hall (2001).

32)

```
              VP
       ┌──────┴──────┐
       V             IP
    believe    ┌─────┴─────────┐
              DP               ...
          Henry VII    ┌───────┴───────┐
                     INFL             AspP
              ┌───────┴───────┐   ┌────┴────┐
          Proposition  Precedence Event     vP
                                        ┌────┴────┐
                                  have been married six times
```
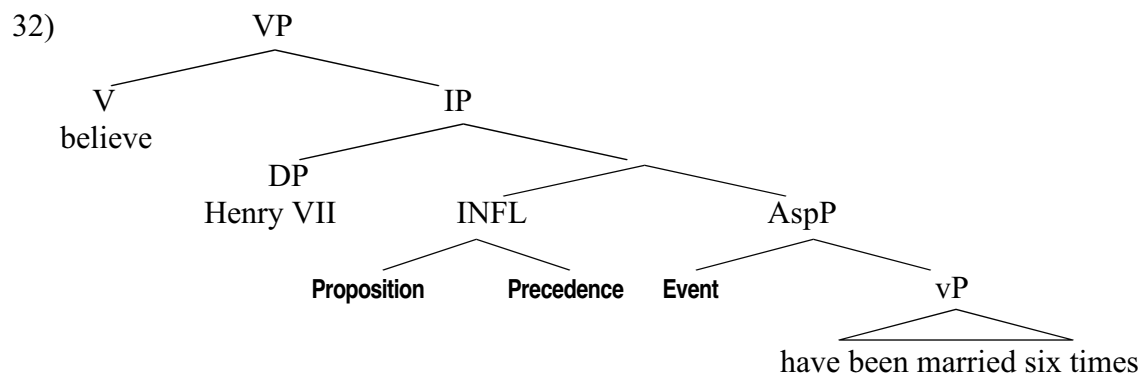
Further evidence that "perfect" infinitives aren't always perfect:

33) a. We believe the children to have eaten the ice cream at exactly three o'clock.
    b. We believe that the children ate the ice cream at exactly three o'clock.
    c. We believe that the children have eaten the ice cream *at exactly three o'clock.

Evidence that "perfect" infinitives are sometimes perfect:

34) a. Anna has lived in Kenora all her life. (Anna is still alive - must be the subject of a present tense clause)
    b. Anna lived in Kenora all her life. (Anna's life is now over)

35) a. We believe Anna to have lived in Kenora all her life. She certainly lives there now. (Anna is still alive - must be subject of a present tense clause)
    b. We believe Henry VIII to have lived in England all his life. He certainly lived there the year before he died.

3   THE SPANISH TENSE SYSTEM.

A superficial comparison:

Indicative tenses: Spanish has everything English has, plus one extra past tense (preterite), morphological future, morphological conditional, and a preterite perfect and preterite continuous.

Subjunctive tenses: Spanish has a full set: present & past plain, present & past continuous, present & past perfect subjunctives.

Apparent redundancy:

Two past tense forms — the imperfect and the past progressive —seem to cover essentially the same semantic ground as the English past progressive.

36) a. Yo <u>habla-ba</u>   con los   vecinos   cuando llega-ron   los bomberos
     I   speak-<u>imp</u>.1<u>sg</u> with the   neighbours   when arrive-<u>pret</u>.3<u>pl</u>   the firemen
     'I was talking to the neighbours when the firemen came.'

    b. Yo <u>esta-ba</u>   habla-ndo   con los vecinos   cuando llega-ron   los bomberos
     I   be-<u>imp</u>.1<u>sg</u> speak-<u>gerund</u> with the neighbours when   arrive-<u>pret</u>.3<u>pl</u> the firemen
     'I was talking to the neighbours when the firemen came.'

Features of INFL in Spanish:

37)   Infl

         Proposition   Precedence   Event

     Finite/T-deixis   Entirety

         P-deixis

          Irrealis
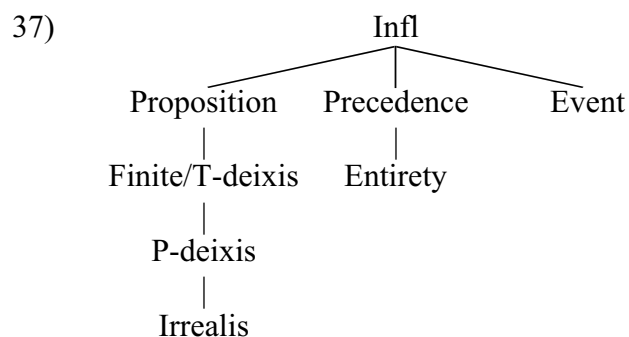
Differences from English:

• one less aspectual feature

• one more narrow tense feature

• different arrangement of Finite & Deixis

3.1 [Entirety]

38) a. Est-uve   enfermo   (BB: 202)
     be-<u>pret</u>.1<u>sg</u>   **ill**
     'I was ill.' (and got better)

     b. Esta-ba   enfermo   (BB: 202)
     be-<u>imp</u>.1<u>sg</u>   **ill**
     'I was ill.' (at the time; no implication as to current state)

39) a. Ayer   <u>and-uve</u>   más   de   quince kilómetros   (BB: 198)
     Yesterday walk-<u>pret</u>.1<u>sg</u> more of   fifteen   kilometers
     'Yesterday I walked more than fifteen kilometers.'

     b. Cuando <u>entr-é</u>   en el cuarto <u>not-é</u>   que ol-ía   a quema-do   (BB: 201)
     when   enter-<u>pret</u>.1<u>sg</u> in   the   room   notice-<u>pret</u>.1<u>sg</u> that smell-<u>imp</u>.3<u>sg</u> to burn-<u>pp</u>
     'When I entered the room I noticed there was a smell of burning.'

A difference between English & Spanish simple present: Spanish cannot be default perfective. (more later on this)

40) *Mary eats her lunch at the moment.

41) a. Escrib-e   una novela   (BB: 195)
     write-<u>pres</u>.3<u>sg</u>   a   novel
     'He's writing a novel.'

     b. María mira   la   televisión   en este   momento   (Schmitt 2001: 430)
     Maria   watch.<u>pres</u>.3<u>sg</u> the television   in   this   moment
     'Maria is watching TV.' (right now)

        [Entirety] can't be an aspectual feature; it subdivides states as well as events. But it has some semantic effects rather similar to perfective aspect. If all of the moments during which an event takes place precede the moment of speech, and if nothing requires these moments to be distinguished from one another, then a perfective point of view is possible.

3.2 [Irrealis]

        In English, [Irrealis] is spelled out by modal verbs. In Spanish, there are two morphological paradigms that spell out [Irrealis]: the future and the conditional.

42) a. En un   remoto futuro   el   sol   se   apaga-rá   (BB: 204)
     in   a   remote future   the   sun   <u>se</u>   extinguish-<u>fut</u>.3<u>sg</u>
     'In the remote future the sun will go out.'

     b. Esta noche ire-mos   al   cine   (BB: 203)
     this   night   go-<u>fut</u>.1<u>pl</u> to.the   cinema
     'Tonight we'll go to the cinema.'

     c. Hab-rá   más   de   cien personas   en   la   fiesta   (BB: 205)
     have-<u>fut</u>.3<u>sg</u> more   of   100   person.pl in   the   party
     'There must be more than 100 people at the party.'

d. María tend-rá   unos   veinte años   (BB: 205)
    Maria have-<u>fut</u>.3<u>sg</u> some   20   years
    .Maria's about 20 years old.'

43) a. Prometi-ó   que   vend-ría   (BB: 201)
        Promise-<u>pret</u>.3<u>sg</u> that   come-<u>cond</u>.3<u>sg</u>
        He promised he would come

    b. Se-ría   una locura   pon-er-lo en marcha sin   aceite (BB: 207)
        be-<u>cond</u>.3<u>sg</u> a   madness put-<u>inf</u>-it in go   without oil
        It would be crazy to start it up with no oil

    c. Aquel día   anda-ríamos   más   de   cincuenta   kilómetros   (BB: 207)
        that   day   walk-<u>cond</u>.1<u>pl</u> more of   50   kilometres
        That day we must have walked more than 50 km.

    d. Yo quer-ría   hac-er-lo   (BB: 208)
        I   want-<u>cond</u>.1<u>sg</u>   do-<u>inf</u>-it
        I'd like to do it

Future and conditional clauses in Spanish exhibit much the same range of meanings as do English clauses containing <u>will</u> and <u>would</u>.

Following Hall's (2001) treatment of <u>will</u> and <u>would</u>, among other modals, the Spanish future spells out [Irrealis], while the conditional spells out [Irrealis] and [Precedence].

Prediction: Irrealis tense forms are necessarily finite. Another account will have to be found for the Latin future participle: *moriturus* 'someone who is about to die'

What about Spanish modal verbs?

44) a. Pod-ía   hace-r-lo   (BB: 199)
        can-<u>imp</u>.3<u>sg</u> do-<u>inf</u>-it
        'He was able to do it.' (and may or may not have done it.)

    b. No he   podi-do   hace-r-lo   (BB: 210)
        not have.<u>pres</u>.1<u>sg</u>   can-<u>pp</u>   do-<u>inf</u>-it
        'I couldn't do it.'

    c. Debe-rías   habe-r-lo   hecho   (BB: 208)
        must-<u>cond</u>.2<u>sg</u> have-<u>inf</u>-it   do.<u>pp</u>
        'You should have done it.'

    d. Deb-ieras   habe-r-lo   hecho   (BB: 208)
        must-<u>subj</u>.<u>pst</u>.1<u>sg</u> have-<u>inf</u>-it do.<u>pp</u>
        'You should have done it.'

    e. Pod-ría   da-r   la   casualidad de que hub-iera   huelga   (BB: 231)
        can-<u>cond</u>.3<u>sg</u> give-<u>inf</u>   the   chance   of   that have-<u>subj</u>.<u>pst</u>.3<u>sg</u>   strike
        'There might possibly be a strike.'

More fully verbal than English modals

• occur in a full range of inflected forms, including finite, infinitival and participial forms.

• appear in subjunctive, indicative and irrealis moods.

Claim: (to be refined & given more substance in Cowper & Hall (in progress). While Spanish modal verbs carry irrealis meaning, this meaning is part of the lexical semantics of the modal verb, not an inflectional feature. In contrast, the irrealis feature associated with English modals is inflectional.

3.3 [Deixis] and [Finite]

Three degrees of temporal dependence: (from last presentation)

<u>Temporally transparent</u>: the clause must have the same time referrence as its governing clause. Likely doesn't even project its own INFL (Wurmbrand 2001).

45) On Tuesday, Anna tried to go to the movies (*on Friday).

<u>Temporally relative</u>: the clause may have a distinct time reference from its governing clause, but the time reference is computed with respect to that of the governing clause.

• Russian finite tenses

• English "tensed" infinitives

46) a. We decided to cut the grass. (Matrix prior to moment of speech, infinitive after matrix, unspecified w.r.t. moment of speech)
   b. We decided on Tuesday to cut the grass the following/*previous day.
   c. We claimed to have cut the grass. (Matrix prior to moment of speech, infinitive prior to matrix.)

<u>Temporally deictic</u>: The time reference of the clause is computed with respect to the deictic centre of the utterance (normally the moment of speech)

47) a. Fred knew that Mary was ill. (complement clause simultaneous with matrix, prior to moment of speech)
   b. Fred knew (this morning) that Mary is ill. (period of Mary's illness must include both the time of the matrix clause and the moment of speech)

Spanish subjunctive clauses are temporally deictic.

Present subjunctives appear when the time reference of the clause is at, or possibly later than, the moment of speech, as in (48), while past subjunctives, like English past indicatives, must appear when the time reference of the clause precedes the moment of speech, as in (49).

48) a. No   creo   que   sea   verdad   (BB: 220)
        not believe-<u>pres</u>.1<u>sg</u> that be-<u>pres</u>.<u>subj</u>.3<u>sg</u> truth
        'I don't think it's true.'

   b. Ha   dado   ordenes de que nos <u>rindamos</u>   (BB: 245)
        have.<u>pres</u>.3<u>sg</u> give-<u>pp</u> orders   of   that us   surrender-<u>pres</u>.<u>subj</u>.1pl
        'He's given orders for us to surrender.'

   c. Quiero   que   <u>dejes</u>   de   fumar   (BB: 245)
        want-<u>pres</u>.1<u>sg</u> that   leave-<u>pres</u>.<u>subj</u>.2<u>sg</u> of   smoke-inf
        'I want you to stop smoking.'

d. Quizá   venga   mañana   (BB: 243)
   perhaps come-<u>pres.subj</u>.3<u>sg</u> tomorrow
   'Perhaps she'll come tomorrow.'

e. Te   daré   cuanto   me   <u>pidas</u>   (BB: 241)
   you give-<u>fut</u>.1<u>sg</u> how.much me ask-<u>pres.subj</u>.2<u>sg</u>
   'I'll give you anything you ask for.'

49) a. Sería   mejor que le   reconociese   el   médico   (BB: 224)
   be-<u>cond</u>.3<u>sg</u> better that him examine-<u>imp.subj</u>.3<u>sg</u> the doctor
   'It would be better if the doctor examined him.'

b. Permitió   a   su   hija   que   bailara   (BB: 224)
   allow.<u>pret</u>.3<u>sg</u> to his daughter that dance-<u>imp.subj</u>.3<u>sg</u>
   'He allowed his daughter to dance.'

c. No recuerdo   que tu   madre   fuera   esbelta (BB: 227)
   not remember-<u>pres</u>.1<u>sg</u> that your mother be-<u>imp.subj</u>.3<u>sg</u> thin
   'I don't remember your mother being thin.'

d. Yo no sabía   que   él   estuviera   ahí   (BB: 228)
   I not know-<u>imp</u>.1<u>sg</u> that he be.<u>imp.subj</u>.3<u>sg</u> there
   'I didn't know he was there.'

e. Posiblemente <u>quedara</u>   algo de alcohol etílico en nuestras venas humorísticas
                                                                   (BB: 244)
   possibly   remain-<u>imp-subj</u>.3<u>sg</u> sthg of alcohol ethyl in our   veins humoristic
   'Perhaps there was still some ethyl alcohol left in the veins of our humour.'

3.4   Grammatical Aspect in Spanish

[Entirety] mimics perfective viewpoint aspect in Spanish. What about the aspectual features?

In English, imperfective viewpoint aspect requires overt marking (progressive *-ing*)

50) a. The students wrote the exam yesterday.
    b. Flora baked some cookies.

51) a. The students were writing the exam yesterday.
    b. Flora was baking some cookies.

Evidence that English progressives spell out aspectual features:

52) a. *Bonnie was disliking the pie.
    b. *The children are resembling munchkins.

OK only with eventive interpretation. Biclausal progressives (see above) are stative in the matrix clause, but eventive in the lower clause, which is where *-ing* shows up.

Recall that both the imperfect and the preterite in Spanish occur freely in both stative and eventive clauses, and the difference between them therefore lies in a feature of the narrow tense system.

What about the Spanish continuous tense forms? Do they spell out an aspectual feature, or something else?

Evidence suggesting that they should spell out an aspectual feature: apparently Spanish progressives exhibit the same eventive/stative alternation that English ones do. So perhaps there should be both monoclausal and biclausal progressives, with the event/interval specification either in the matrix clause, as in (53), or in the lower clause, as in (54).

53) Está   escribie-ndo una   novela   (BB: 195)
    Be.pres.3sg   **write-gerund**   **a**   **novel**
    'He's writing a novel.'

54) Está   yendo   mucho al   cine   estos   días
    be.imp.3sg   **go-gerund** **much**   **to.the**   **cinema** **these**   **days**
    'He's going to the cinema a lot these days.'

Evidence suggesting that the Spanish progressive should be handled differently:

1. different range of meanings from English progressive. Lacks futurate reading.

2. consequences for interpretation of simple present. If grammatical aspect (moment vs. interval) plays a role in Spanish, then we predict, that the simple present should be interpreted consistently, either as perfective or as imperfective. In fact, the simple present can express perfective and imperfective viewpoint aspect with equal ease. If the progressive spelled out [Interval], the the simple present in Spanish should have the same meaning as in English, since it would receive a default [Moment] interpretation.

Proposal (not yet worked out in detail): The Spanish continuous tenses are actually copular sentences taking small clause complements. The present participle/gerund is more like an adjective (except that it can still take bare DP direct objects), and doesn't spell out any features of tense, mood or aspect. There is, in fact, no grammatical aspect in Spanish.

4   ENTIRETY AND P-DEIXIS

As can be seen from Appendix B, whenever [Entirety] appears, it seems that [P-deixis] is present as well. Cases where [Entirety] appears without [P-deixis] are unattested: Examples (3), (5), (9), (11) and (16), in Appendix B are of this sort.

A dependency structure such as (would account for this distribution.

55)   INFL
              ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐
        Proposition   Precedence   Event
              │   │
        Finite/T-deixis   │
              │   │
         P-Deixis   │
         ┌──────────┐   │
      Irrealis   Entirety
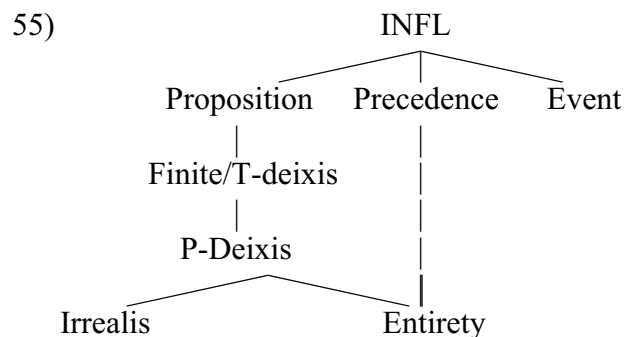
There is another systematic gap involving entirety: no clauses marked with Irrealis (future and conditional clauses) bear the entirety feature. Since the future lacks precedence, it's no surprise that it lacks entirety. But why no conditional with entirety? (Examples (26) and (28) in Appendix B)

5 APPENDIX A: THE MANIFESTATIONS OF INFL IN ENGLISH

1)	INFL | Event	We heard [the dog bark].
2)	INFL | Event | Interval	We heard [the dog barking].
3)	INFL | Precedence	The Smiths have (always) [been rich].
4)	INFL /\\ Precedence Event	The Smiths have [bought a new car].

5)	INFL
	/\\
	Precedence Event
	        |
	        Interval
		The Smiths have [been looking for a house].

6)	INFL | Proposition	We believe [the children to be intelligent].
7)	INFL /\\ Proposition Event	We believed [the children to eat the popsicles] cf: The children eat the popsicles. We expect [the children to eat the popsicles] We decided [PRO to eat the popsicles]

8)	INFL
	/\\
	Proposition Event
	        |
	        Interval
		We believe [the children to be watching the movie]

9)	INFL /\\ Proposition Precedence	We believe [Churchill to have been a talented politician]
10)	INFL /|\\ Proposition Precedence Event	We believe [the children to have watched the movie].

11)	INFL
	/|\\
	Proposition Precedence Event
	                 |
	               Interval
		We believe [the children to have been watching the movie].

12)	INFL | Proposition | Finite/Deixis	The children like ice cream.

16

13) INFL 　　／　＼ Proposition　　Event 　│ Finite/Deixis	**The inspector enters the room. He walks over to the desk, and turns on the light.**
14) INFL 　　／　＼ Proposition　　Event 　│　　　　│ Finite/Deixis　　Interval	**The children are eating the ice cream.**
15) INFL 　　／　＼ Proposition　　Precedence 　│ Finite/Deixis	**Winston Churchill resembled his father.**
16) INFL 　　／　│　＼ Proposition　Precedence　Event 　│ Finite/Deixis	**Winston Churchill won several elections.**
17) INFL 　　／　│　＼ Proposition　Precedence　Event 　│　　　　　　　│ Finite/Deixis　　　　　Interval	**The children were eating the ice cream.**
18) INFL 　│ Proposition 　│ Finite/Deixis 　│ Irrealis	**The exam may be difficult.**
19) INFL 　　／　＼ Proposition　　Event 　│ Finite/Deixis 　│ Irrealis	**The teacher will leave at 4:00 p.m.**
20) INFL 　　／　＼ Proposition　　Event 　│　　　　│ Finite/Deixis　　Interval 　│ Irrealis	**It may be snowing in Tromsø.**

21)	INFL
	
	Proposition Precedence
	     |
	Finite/Deixis
	     |
	   Irrealis
		Those old cars could be noisy.

22)	INFL
	
	Proposition Precedence Event
	     |
	Finite/Deixis
	     |
	   Irrealis
		The children would eat those cookies (if they knew we had them).

23)	INFL
	
	Proposition Precedence Event
	
	Finite/Deixis Interval
	     |
	   Irrealis
		The prime minister could be reading this report, if only we had given it to him.

24)	INFL	

6 APPENDIX B: THE MANIFESTATIONS OF INFL IN SPANISH

1)	INFL | Event	Te vi [entrar] I saw you come in
2)	INFL | Precedence	Yo siempre he [sido un problema para mis padres] I've always been a problem for my parents

3)	INFL
	   |
	Precedence
	   |
	Entirety
		???

4)	INFL Precedence Event	Me ha [dado diez mil pesetas]. He has given me 10000p.
5)	INFL Precedence Event | Entirety	???
6)	INFL | Proposition	Creo [tener razón] I think I'm right

7) **INFL** **Proposition** **Event**	**Durante años no pudimos [hablar de otra cosa]** **For years we could talk of nothing else**
8) **INFL** **Proposition** **Precedence**	**Expect something like (10), only stative:** **Creíamos [haber sido benvenidos]** **Accidental gap in data set?**

9)   **INFL**
 	
 Proposition   **Precedence**
                  |
              Entirety
	???

10) **INFL** **Proposition** **Precedence** **Event**	**Creíamos [haberla visto antes]** **We thought we'd seen her before**

11)   **INFL**
 	
 Proposition   **Precedence**   **Event**
                  |
            Entirety
	???

12) **INFL**
      |
 Proposition
      |
 Finite/T-Deixis
	No creo que [sea verdad]
	 I don't think it's true

13) **INFL** **Proposition** **Event** **|** **Finite/T-Deixis**	**[Tal vez te llame mañana]** **Perhaps (s)he'll call you tomorrow**
14) **INFL** **Proposition** **Precedence** **|** **Finite/T-Deixis**	**Me sorprendió que [fuera tan alto]** **It surprised me that he was so tall**
15) **INFL** **Proposition** **Precedence** **Event** **|** **Finite/T-Deixis**	Nadie impidió que [Hemingway escribiera y publicase sus libros] **Nobody prevented Hemingway from writing and publishing his books**
16) **INFL** **Proposition** **Precedence** **Event** **|** **|** **Finite/Deixis** **Entirety**	**???**

17)   INFL
        |
    Proposition
        |
    Finite/T-Deixis
        |
     P-Deixis

[Pedro está cansado]
Pedro is tired

---

18)   INFL
         /   \
    Proposition   Event
        |
    Finite/T-Deixis
        |
     P-Deixis

[Escribe una novela]
He's writing a novel
[Te llamo esta noche]
I'll call you tonight

---

19)   INFL
          /   \
    Proposition   Precedence
        |
    Finite/T-Deixis
        |
     P-Deixis

[Sabía que [no era certo]]
I knew it wasn't true

---

20)   INFL
         /   \
    Proposition   Precedence
        | |
    Finite/T-Deixis   Entirety
        |
     P-Deixis

[El problema fue difícil]
The problem was difficult (but we solved it.)

---

21)   INFL
         / | \
 Proposition Precedence   Event
        |
    Finite/T-Deixis
        |
     P-Deixis

[Yo hablaba con los vecinos] cuando llegaron los bomberos
I was talking to the neighbours when the firemen came

---

22)   INFL
          / | \
 Proposition Precedence   Event
        | |
 Finite/T-Deixis Entirety
        |
     P-Deixis

Yo volvía del cine cuando [vi a Niso]
I was coming back from the cinema when I saw Niso

---

23)   INFL
        |
    Proposition
        |
    Finite/T-Deixis
        |
     P-Deixis
        |
     Irrealis

[María tendrá unos veinto años]
Maria's about 20 years old
[Para entonces todos estaremos calvos]
We'll all be bald by then (remote)

24)	INFL 　　／＼ Proposition　　Event 　│ Finite/T-Deixis 　│ 　P-Deixis 　│ 　Irrealis	[**Esta noche iremos al cine**] **Tonight we'll go to the cinema** [**En un remoto futuro el sol se apagará**] **In the remote future the sun will go out**
25)	INFL 　　／＼ Proposition　　Precedence 　│ Finite/ T-Deixis 　│ 　P-Deixis 　│ 　Irrealis	[**Sería una locura ponerlo en marcha sin aceite**] **It would be crazy to start it up with no oil** [**Tendría unos treinta años**] **He must have been about 30.**
26)	INFL 　　／＼ Proposition　　Precedence 　│　　　　　│ Finite/ T-Deixis　Entirety 　│ 　P-Deixis 　│ 　Irrealis	**???**
27)	INFL 　　／｜＼ Proposition　Precedence　Event 　│ Finite/ T-Deixis 　│ 　P-Deixis 　│ 　Irrealis	[**De nada serviría un nuevo golpe**] porque [**sólo perjudicaría al país**] **Another coup d'état would be pointless, because it would only damage the country** [**Aquel día andaríamos más de cincuenta kilómetros**] **That day we must have walked more than 50 km.**
28)	INFL 　　／｜＼ Proposition　Precedence　Event 　│　　　　│ Finite/Deixis　Entirety 　│ 　Irrealis	**???**
29)	INFL	

7   REFERENCES