

Introduction

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The papers collected in this volume were presented at the Workshop on Tense and Aspect in Generative Grammar, which was held at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, in July 2010. The goal of the workshop was to bring together researchers working on the syntax and semantics of tense and aspect in the framework of Generative Grammar. A total of sixteen papers were presented at the workshop, focusing both on theoretical aspects and on L1 and L2 acquisition. Seven of these papers are published in the present volume.

In this introduction, we present a brief summary of each paper, focusing on their contribution to the discussion around tense and aspect in syntax and semantics. The first five papers deal with theoretical approaches to tense and aspect, covering other languages besides Portuguese: Vietnamese, Saamáka, and Standard and Palestinian Arabic. The last two papers focus on the acquisition of aspectual distinctions in L2 Greek and English. Given the theoretical framework adopted in all the papers, the discussion around the theoretical implications of the different empirical data described in the various studies may help us understand which properties are universal and which are language-specific, hence enabling us to better determine the limits of variation.

The paper by Ana Maria Brito, “Tensed and non-tensed nominalization of the infinitive in Portuguese”, provides arguments for distinguishing three types of nominalized infinitives in European Portuguese – the two types commonly assumed, the nominal infinitive and the nominalization of an infinitival clause, and a third type, the nominalization of a reduced clause, which is a mixed construction – and extensively exemplifies their behavior in interaction with tense and aspectual effects. One of the most interesting points of the discussion regarding these constructions concerns their temporal and aspectual properties and the attempt to establish whether there are

semantic restrictions on the nature of the verbs that are nominalized. The syntactic analysis is based on the framework of Distributed Morphology, more precisely Alexiadou's (2001) and Alexiadou, Iordăchioaia & Schäfer's (2011) reworking of it. Under this analysis, the gradual nominal and verbal properties that the three types of nominalization of the infinitive exhibit can be accounted for by the varied distribution of nominal and verbal layers. The main contribution of this analysis is that it allows us to confirm that the infinitive marker, *-r*, is not a uniform element: it can be projected as a nominal head (first type of nominalization) or as the head of AspP, moving either to C (second type) or to T (third type).

The paper by Trang Phan, "The realization of Inner Aspect in Vietnamese", argues that Inner aspect is syntactically represented in Vietnamese, supporting the view that Outer Aspect and Inner Aspect are independent aspectual components and encoded in the syntax differently. Based on the interpretational and distributional behaviour of postverbal aspectual morphemes in Vietnamese, the author argues that Inner Aspect is projected within the VP shell and independently of the projection of Outer Aspect (following Travis, in press). This approach also contributes to a unified account of verb-particle constructions and complex causatives in the language.

Marleen van de Vate's paper, "to *Bi* or not to *Bi*: A pronominal analysis for past time reference in Saamáka", focuses on Saamáka (also known as Saramaccan), an English/Portuguese-based creole spoken in Suriname. It investigates the meaning and the syntactic distribution of *bi*, which has been described as a temporal morpheme which expresses a simple past reading with stative verbs and a past-before-past with nonstative verbs. The author argues that *bi* is a discourse morpheme which has the role of a temporal pronoun (in the sense of Partee 1984; Kratzer 1998) and is able to establish the anchor time directly (in the sense of Enç 1987, 2004; Giorgi 2006). Furthermore, she proposes that, similarly to what has been suggested for other anaphoric elements, *bi* is located in FinP, and not in TP. This allows her to explain why the morpheme can be omitted and why it is not distributionally sensitive to *aktionsart*.

Nasser Al-Horais's paper on "The interaction of negation with tense in Standard Arabic" presents a very interesting discussion and overview of negative constructions in Standard Arabic. Its main aim is to provide a new analysis of the negation system in Arabic by linking this system with Information Structure. Building on this, the author provides a unified analysis, in which negation in Arabic can be accounted for without a NegP projection. The author starts by referring that there are six negative markers in Arabic, e.g., *laa*, *lam*, *lan*, *lammaa*, *laysa* and *maa*. Considering the interaction of these negative markers with tense, mood and focus, the author argues that, in Arabic, at least two should be distinguished from all the others in not projecting NegP: *lam* and its variants should be analyzed as negative modals, they are first merged with T (there is a co-occurrence restriction

between these negative modals and both temporal adverbs and verbs), and they mark the tense of the sentence; hence, the T headed by these negatives has the [+ neg] [+ modal] features, whereas the free negative *maa* bears a focus feature, thus, residing in a Focus head.

Karawani & Zeijlstra's paper, "The Semantic Contribution of the Past Tense Morpheme *kaan* in Palestinian Counterfactuals", adds to the much debated problem of the aspect-tense system in Arabic, concentrating on the origin of the counterfactual interpretation. It presents an interesting set of data about the temporal and modal interpretations of the past morpheme *kaan* in Palestinian Arabic, a language that has received little attention in the semantics literature. Regarding the distribution and the interpretation of *kaan*, it is argued that, in the absence of any other tense marker, it receives a temporal interpretation and occupies the Tense category; if, on the other hand, the tense interpretation is provided by another particle, *kaan* acts as a mood marker, expressing counterfactuality, and occupies the Mood head. Since *kaan* denotes Non-Actual-Veridicality, it is also able to refer to the future. The paper also discusses other morphemes that may occur in a counterfactual conditional in Palestinian Arabic, describing the semantic differences among them.

The two papers on L2 acquisition focus on the acquisition of aspectual distinctions. Karpava & Grohmann's paper, "Embedded aspect in L2 acquisition: Evidence from L1 Russian learners of Greek", investigates knowledge of perfective/imperfective aspectual distinctions, in embedded contexts, in the L2 Greek (Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek) of child and adult L1 Russian learners. It is a theoretically well grounded experimental study, which discusses the importance of different variables (length of residence, age of onset, age, proficiency) in the L2 acquisition process. The authors argue that the results of the study support Schwartz & Sprouse's (1994, 1996) Full Transfer/Full Access Hypothesis, according to which L2 learners can reach native-like attainment due to unrestricted access to Universal Grammar, while at the initial stage of acquisition there is transfer from the L1.

A similar conclusion is reached in the study conducted by Karpava & Agouraki, "L2 acquisition of English present perfect interpretations", which focuses on the L2 acquisition of English present perfect interpretations by Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek speakers. The paper aims to discuss the different hypotheses about access to Universal Grammar in L2 acquisition, by considering different contexts of the present perfect, as well as to investigate whether there are transfer effects from the L1 into the L2 and at what age these effects can be observed. On the basis of an extensive study, conducted with 398 schoolchildren aged 10-19, the authors argue that their findings support the Full Transfer/Full Access Hypothesis, revealing evidence of transfer from the L1 into the L2, with transfer effects decreasing as the level of L2 proficiency and length of exposure increase. It is also

argued that age and the amount of L2 input play a crucial role in the acquisition of the present perfect.

Although focusing on different languages and on different aspects of the tense/aspect/modality systems, all the papers presented in this volume share the assumption that the construction of meaning results from the interplay of syntactic and semantic factors – hence each phenomenon is characterized not only in terms of its semantic properties but also in terms of how the temporal, aspectual and/or modal properties of functional morphemes are mapped onto the syntax.

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