ASPEKT KEELTES JA TEOORIATES: SAMA JA ERINEV
L'ASPECT DANS LES LANGUES ET LES THÉORIES : SIMILITUDES ET DIFFÉRENCES
ASPECT IN LANGUAGES AND THEORIES: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Teesid / Résumés / Abstracts

Marri Amon (University of Tartu)

L'expression de l'aspect dans l'interprétation simultanée: quel rôle peuvent jouer les contraintes spécifiques à ce type de discours?

Cette communication se concentre sur la façon dont sont rendues dans l' interprétation simultanée les expressions liées à l'aspect grammatical en essayant de tenir compte des choix et des contraintes auxquels doivent faire face les interprètes lorsqu'il s'agit de travailler à partir d'une langue étrangère avec très peu de flexibilité sur le plan du temps, du rythme, de la lexique etc.

Le corpus est constitué d'enregistrements (interventions en anglais et interprétations vers le français et l'estonien) de discours interprétés par des interprètes professionnels.

Il s'agit de langues pour lesquelles il est généralement admis qu'elles ne présentent pas une grammaticalisation bien développée de l'aspect, sauf quelques paradigmes spécifiques (et controversés) comme l'expression de l'aspect dans les temps du passé en français ou bien l'aspect progressif en anglais (be +ing).

Nous proposerons une réflexion sur les spécificités de ce type de discours en essayant de rendre compte de la place qu'occupent dans l'énoncé les informations sur l'aspect et la modalité d'action tout en soulignant les contraintes que doit subir l'interprète (absence d'informations sur la structure du discours, sur les informations à venir, souci de cohérence, etc). Pour ce faire nous nous réfèrerons entre autres au modèle de Hatim et Mason (présenté dans *Translator as a communicator*1997) qui distinguent trois types de textualité, à savoir la texture, la structure et le contexte qui peuvent servir à caractériser les trois types d'interprétation (consécutive, simultanée et de liaison).

Reili Argus (University of Tallinn)

Leksikaalse aspekti roll ajakategooria omandamisel

Ajakategooria omandamine algab kahe ajavormi vastandustest. Esimesed minevikuvormid moodustab laps sageli just sellistest verbidest, mis on kindlate

leksikaalsemantiliste omadustega. Kõige sagedamini on sellisteks verbideks seisundimuutust tähistavad verbid. Antinucci ja Milleri väitel (1976) on ajakategooria omandamise alguses lapse kasutatud minevikuajavormidel pigem aspektuaalne kui ajaline väärtus. Seega omandab laps esimesena just aspekti-, mitte niivõrd ajakategooria. Shirai (1995) väitel aga sõltub erinevate minevikuvormide omandamisjärjekord eelkõige nende distributsioonist sisendkeeles. Eelesitatud hüpoteesi paikapidavust analüüsides jõuab ta järeldusele, et on olemas n-ö prototüüpne minevikuvorm ning selleks on perfektiivne minevik, just sellest täiskasvanute kõnes sagedasemast vormist alustavad lapsed ajakategooria omandamist, laiendades tasahaaval esialgse prototüüpse kategooria piire täiskasvanupärasele normkasutusele.

Eesti keele ajakategooria ja leksikaalse aspekti omandamist käsitleva ettekande aluseks on ühe eesti keelt omandava lapse spontaanse kõne materjal lapse vanuses 1;7-2;6. Verbi ajakategooria ja leksikaalse aspekti seoste analüüsimiseks on verbid jagatud Bertinetto ja Delfitto (2000) esitatud verbide leksikaalsemantiliste tunnuste alusel: punktuaalseteks-kestvateks, piirivõimalusega-piirivõimaluseta ning staatilisteks-dünaamilisteks verbideks. Peamine uurimisküsimus on, kas erisus mingil leksikaalsemantilisel skaalal viib oluliselt erinevate omandamismallideni. Distributsioonihüpoteesi kontrollimiseks on vaadeldud ka seda, kuidas jagunevad samade tunnuste alusel verbid lapsevanema keelekasutuses.

Florinela Comanescu (University de Bucarest, University of Paris VII)

Du rôle de l'aspect dans le fondement linguistique de l'opposition affecté/ effectué

Nous proposons dans ce travail une série d'arguments visant à soutenir le fondement linguistique de l'opposition affecté/ effectué, en nous appuyant, entre autres, sur l'observation de facteurs liés à la définitude de l'objet, à l'aspect et aux types de procès.
Nous récupérons les deux volets de la notion de définitude, comme suit :
Premièrement, les constructions transitives directes analysées possèdent comme constituants sujet et objet des noms renvoyant à des entités situées sur l'échelle de définitude vers le pôle le plus haut: humains pour le sujet, entités concrètes, spatiales ou temporelles, pour l'objet.
Secondairement, cette notion se rapporte strictement à la problématique linguistique de la détermination du nom, du point de vue des changements que la variaton de celle – ci entraîne généralement sur la nature du procès décrit, d'où notre décision de mesurer le possible apport de leur corrélation à appuyer l'opposition qui nous intéresse.
Il apparaît, à la suite de notre travail, que l'opposiition affecté/ effectué ne concerne pas le statut ontologique de l'entité objet, mais plutôt deux façons différentes de représenter l'humain, selon que ses actions peuvent ou non être définitoires pour sa nature.
Cette opposition repose principalement sur la recatégorisation du procès pour les phrases ayant un objet « effectué », et pour lesquelles le passage de la classe des actions dans celle des états (prédication de propriétés sur le sujet) est presque régulier. La problématique de l'aspect et celle de la définitude servent également à rendre compte de toute une série de constructions se plaçant dans le continuum qui relie « affecté » et

« effectué » et à expliquer la façon selon laquelle ces constructions intermédiaires tendent à se rattacher à un pôle ou à l'autre.

Östen Dahl (University of Stockholm)

An ecological semantics of tense and aspect

Pille Eslon (University of Tallinn)

UNIVERSAALNE vs SPETSIIFILINE

<u>Probleemiasetus</u>: kas objektnoomeni variatiivsus, aspektivastanduse arenemine on osa üldisest grammatikalisatsiooniprotsessist ning seega universaalne nähtus?
<u>Materjal</u>: vene ja eesti keel.
<u>Uurimismeetodid</u>: kõrvutavlingvistiline analüüs; väljameetod erinevate keelte uurimisel ja kirjeldamisel; analoogia kui inimese enda tunnetusmeetodi rakendamine keele modelleerimisel, erinevate keelte kõrvutamisel ja tulemuste interpreteerimisel; dialektilise loogika seadused.
<u>Aspekti mõiste universaalsed tunnused</u> ilmnevad eelkõige leksikaalsemantilisel ja -grammatilisel tasandil: tegevuse abstraktsus *vs* konkreetsus; staatilisus *vs* dünaamilisus; piiritletus *vs* piiritlematus; ajaline kestus – suunatus piiri (eesmärgi) saavutamisele – finaalsus (või üleminek uude seisundisse); korduvus – kestmine – punktuaalsus.
<u>Aspekti mõiste spetsiifilised tunnused</u> on seotud grammatika tasandiga: tegevuse imperfektiivsus *vs* perfektiivsus; määramatus *vs* määratus.

Aspekti mõiste universaalsete ja spetsiifiliste tunnuste alusel saab luua mitmemõõtelise kõrvutusmudeli, mis võimaldab hinnata grammatikalisatsiooni arengut ning muutusi keelemeeles. Kitsamalt käsitletakse ettekandes eesti objektnoomeni variatiivsusega seotud grammatikalisatsiooni ilminguid, mis viitavad verbi valmidusele aspektiopositsiooni kujunemiseks. Kuna viimasel ajal on üldlevinud arusaam, et muutused grammatikas saavad alguse keele leksikaalsemantilises süsteemis toimuvast, siis selles osas on huvipakkuv tegevusverbi leksikaalgrammatilise eripära ja rektsioonistruktuuride mõju objektnoomeni käände valikule. N.Vaiss on oma magistritöös "Eesti keele aspekti väljendusvõimalusi vene keele taustal" (Tallinn 2004, 180 lk.) täpsustanud eesti partitiiv- ja perfektiivverbe potentsiaalselt aspektiliste partitiiv- ja perfektiivverbide alamklassidega, mis viitab kindlale tendentsile aspektiverbide klassi avardumise suunas.
Ühelt poolt on normaalne, et keelesüsteemis (nagu ka mistahes muus süsteemis) on alati perifeerseid alasid, üleminekuid, asüsteemsust. Selles mõttes ei ole potentsiaalselt aspektiliste partitiiv- ja perfektiivverbide olemasolul eesti verbide aspektuaalses klassifikatsioonis midagi erilist. Teiselt poolt on aga huvipakkuv asjaolu, et markeeritud positsioonis olevad elemendid (partitiivverb + partitiivne objekt ja perfektiivverb +

totaalobjekt) vahetavad selle aspektverbidele lähenedes marekeerimata positsiooni vastu (situatsioon on interpreteeritav nii imperfektiivse kui perfektiivsena). See kõneleb antud verbiklassidesse kuuluvate sõnade semantika abstraktsusest, mis võimaldabki sündmust interpreteerida nii imperfektiivse kui perfektiivsena ning kasutada selle diferentseerimiseks grammatilist väljendusvahendit – objektnoomeni käänet. Muutuse olemus seisneb selles, et mitte tegevusverbi semantika ei vali objektnoomeni käänet, vaid objekti kääne määrab, missuguses aspektuaalses tähenduses semantiliselt avarat verbi kasutatakse.

Zsuzsanna Frigy (University of Veszprém)

German and English functional equivalents of the Hungarian verbal particle meg. A crosslinguistic analysis of aspectual meanings and forms

The aim of my presentation is to execute a semantic analysis of the Hungarian verbal particle *meg* in contrast to its German and English functional equivalents.
A further-and theoretically relevant- aim of the contrastive analysis is to gain crosslinguistic and typologically relevant insights about the categories aspect and Aktionsart,their scopus, status and interactions.
A particular attention will be paid to the cross-linguistic variation of aspectual meanings.

The Hungarian verbal particle meg has already been described by Hungarian linguists in detail (Kiefer, Jászay, É.Kiss), however, its aspectually relevant functions have not been contrasted to its functional equivalents in other languages yet, although it promises insights about the different manifestations of aspectual meanings,with special regard to the manifestations of pefectivity.

The first part of my analysis will be devoted to the definition and distinction of the categories aspect and Aktionsart.
In the second part I will analyse the aspectually relevant functions of the Hungarian verbal particle and distinguish six different functions,which share the semantic components of perfictivity.
In the third part I will contrast the functions of the Hungarian verbal particle with its equivalents with a special focus on the forms of manifestation of aspectual meanings in Hungarian,German and English.

In my presentation I will show that aspectual meanings (with special focus on perfictivity) can be described in universal terms (regardless of their forms of manifestation,i.e.if they are grammaticalized,lexicalized etc.) but each aspectual meaning has language-specific semantic components (e.g. specificity function of meg).

Ewa Gwiazdecka (University of Warsaw)

L'opération de l'achèvement en polonais et en français

Notre analyse portera sur la notion d'*achèvement* dans la langue polonaise et française. Nous allons montrer comment les deux langues traduisent cette catégorie aspectuelle et nous proposerons un outil formel suffisamment fin pour sa description abstraite.

Le polonais exprime l'achèvement à l'aide du préverbe qui perfectivise le verbe de base. Sémantiquement, le préverbe, *via* sa signification liée à celle de la préposition, indique le changement sur le lieu (spatial ou temporel) ou sur l'objet. Lorsqu'on prend en considération les verbes de mouvement, l'achèvement consiste en atteinte d'un lieu spatial dans la manière signalée par le préverbe. Cette opération est souvent renforcée par la préposition : ***prze***biec[PERF] *ulicę* 'traverser la rue', ***do***biec[PERF] ***do domu*** 'arriver à la maison en courant'. En revanche, les jeux des préverbes indiquent l'affectation de l'objet : ***wy***pić[PERF] *herbatę* 'boire sa tasse du thé*, **na**pić[PERF] się herbaty* 'boire du thé', ***do***pić[PERF] *herbatę* 'terminer sa tasse de thé'.

En français, la catégorie d'achèvement est exprimée par les temps verbaux (passé simple et certaines valeurs du passé composé) et par la détermination de l'objet : *boire **du thé**, boire **une tasse de thé***. Par ailleurs, l'achèvement spatial exprimé en français par les opérateurs temporels et les prépositions diffère cognitivement de celui évoqué par le préverbe polonais. La comparaison de la catégorie de l'achèvement dans ces deux langues s'effectue dans le cadre la Grammaire Applicative et Cognitive développé par J.-P. Desclés depuis 1980. Pour représenter l'espace abstrait, nous ferons appel à des opérations topologiques sur des lieux (la frontière, l'intériorité, l'extériorité d'un lieu). Les opérateurs de temps et de l'aspect seront conceptualisés sur des intervalles topologiques d'instants.

Jukka Havu (University of Tampere)

Quelques observations sur l'actionnalité et l'aspect en finnois et en espagnol

Mon objectif est de passer en revue l'expression grammaticale de l'état résultant en finnois et en espagnol. En finnois, le système des construction biprédicatives (résultatives) est particulièrement riche et flexible, ce qui permet d'exprimer ou de qualifier avec des moyens grammaticaux la nature de l'état résultant d'une action achevée. Le fait que les constructions résultatives constituent une catégorie grammaticale bien précise en finnois et qu'elles font, par là même, partie intégrale du système verbal, les classes vendleriennes doivent être complétées et redéfinies. Une analyse compositionnelle comme celle présentée par Bertinetto en 1986 explique mieux la complexité des propriétés actionnelles. Cela est vrai aussi, en moindre mesure, en espagnol.

Galina A.Kalmykova (University of Ulyanovsk)

Representation of Aspectuality in Causal Constructions: Russian vs German

In this paper we deal with problem of aspectuality from a cross-linguistic perspective. Our aim is to study language tools of aspectuality, which occur in causal constructions in Russian and in German. The problem of aspectuality has a long tradition in the linguistic literature as well as the problem of causality. Aspectuality is understood traditionally as semantic categorical features of actions, which have time distribution (Bondarko 1987). In Russian aspectuality is mostly the sphere of verbal predicate, so the syncretism of causality is represented by means of perfective verb forms, whereas in German for lack of such special grammatical forms the same meaning of causality is expressed mostly by terminative verbs and resultative constructions.

Sentences from Russian and German fiction and press form the corpus of data. We consider sentences from pragmatic perspective as utterances, which may pertain to states, processes or events. They may express duration, frequency, habituality, perfectivity and many other forms of temporality. As aspectuality exceeds the bounds of a predicate, which is considered to be the bearer of an action, we understand under aspectuality the general characteristic of the whole utterance (cf.: Bondarko 1987). The sentences are studied from the point of view of event succession, which form the basis of causality.

e.g. *Чашка <u>упала</u> и <u>разбилась</u>.*
Die Tasse <u>fiel</u> und <u>zerbrach</u>.

In these sentences the first action is the cause of the next one, though the grammatical means for describing the same situation differ: perfective aspect in Russian and Imperfekt (as the tense form of the verb in German).

Moreover we study German compounds (*totschlagen, kaltmachen, totbeißen* etc.) as means of metaphorical type of Goal, which involve the interpretation of terminative action.

Helena Metslang (University of Tartu)

QUANTITY ADVERBIALS OF DIRECT OBJECT CASE IN ESTONIAN

Keywords:s*yntax, aspect, grammatical cases, quantity adverbials, Finno-Ugric languages, Estonian language*

In Estonian the aspectual differences can be expressed by the case alternation of the quantity adverbials of direct object case. This paper gives an overview of the role of the direct object cases (abstract cases) and their aspectual variation in Estonian and of the quantity adverbials as a peripheral means to express aspectual opposition via case alternation.

The subject, the direct object and the predicative of a sentence can only occur in the abstract cases (the nominative, the genitive and the partitive case). The case variation

between the partitive and the genitive or nominative case is the main tool for realizing the aspect category in the Estonian language. The partitive is used when the speaker wants to express the imperfective aspect of a situation or unboundedness of some object. To express perfective aspect, a bounded situation or object, usually the genitive case is used but in exeptional situations also nominative.

In the Balto-Finnic languages the **aspect** is a quality of the whole sentence. In Estonian there are 3 means that deliver the aspectual meaning of a sentence together: the verbform, the choice of the direct object case and lexical means (e.g. the duration adverbials and the perfective adverbs used as state adverbials).

In the Estonian language there are three types of **quantity adverbials** that stand between the direct object and adverbial category: duration and iteration adverbials and adverbials of degree, e.g. *pool aastat* 'for half a year' *iga kord* 'every time', *125 dollarit* '125 dollars'. Structurally they are either noun phrases or quantity phrases.

Because of their lexical semantics the quantity adverbials are still categorized as adverbials in the Estonian linguistic literature. However, due to the abstract case usage and **expression of the grammatical aspectul meaning**, they are often compared to the direct object. The case alternation is not so universal and regular as of direct object. Still, the total form of the adverbials is marked by genitive or nominative case and delivers the meaning of perfective aspect and bounded quantity. The partial form of the quantity adverbials delivers the meaning of imperfective aspect and unbounded quantity and is marked by the partitive case.

By using the quantity adverbials it is possible to:
- bound the durative unbounded situation by specifying its quantitative features: duration, distance, weight, cost, degree of iteration, etc.;
- unbound a situation by specifying the degree of iteration;
- express the boundedness of the quantitative features of a situation (the referent of the quantity adverbial can be internally bounded or unbounded).

The unmarked form of the quantity adverbials is the total form, unlike the direct object whose unmarked form is partitive.

Merilin Miljan (University of Edinburgh)

On the (non-)relatedness of aspect and definiteness in Estonian

The existing theories and accounts which aim to illuminate object case alternation in Estonian point out that at least two crucial factors are involved relating to both verbs and nouns. With verbs, the alternation is said to express aspect (im/perfectivity (Vaiss 2004), un/boundedness (EKG II 1993), a/telicity (Hiietam 2003, Ackerman & Moore (1999)) on the object NP, and with nouns, either in/definiteness (Hiietam 2003, Rajandi & Metslang

1979), or un/boundedness (EKG II 1993). Yet, there is no single principled explanation which would describe how morphological case marking is related to telicity, or boundedness, or perfectivity. For instance, the boundedness account by EKG II (1993) provides an "algebraic" account of the case selection (i.e. iff a verb and an object NP are both bounded, the VP is bounded and receives genitive/nominative case marking; otherwise the partitive case is selected), but does not explain why and how morphological case marking of the direct object is related to the grammatical aspect of a VP, as opposed to its aktionsart (Verkuyl 1993). Why should the morphological case on the object NP be determined at the VP level? Secondly, the existing accounts tend to assume that the object case alternation in Estonian is systematic and regular, so that the "algebraic" explanation is also expected to capture the distribution of both object cases. However, there are reasons to believe that the semantic properties which are associated with case alternation are underspecified, and that it is the sum of the meanings of lexical items in a sentence plus the interaction with the case-marked object NP together with the position of the object NP in a sentence that gives rise to either aspectual or definite readings or both. It is these interactions, and the interacting factors that the talk will focus on.

Stefano Montes (University of Tartu)

For a semantics of aspect.
A semiotic and anthropological point of view

Rather than defining exclusively the aspect in terms of a grammar of a language, applied to its syntax and morphology, the category of aspect is seen in my communication more as a semantic component of narration. The basic question that I would like to ask concerns the semantic definition of aspect and the possibility of applying it to larger components of language than a sentence or a lexeme. Can we envisage a semiotic perspective of aspect? And what are the main advancements in this field from a semiotic point of view? To answer these questions, in my communication I will refer to some (i) studies concerning the aspect in semiotics, I will discuss some (ii) basic concepts connected to the definition of aspect (process, action, duration, etc.) and I will take into account, as examples, (iii) some specific texts-objects. A more specific attention will be dedicated to the question of feelings, their seizure by applying some categories of aspect and the (iv) anthropological implications deriving from this perspective.

Denis Paillard (University of Paris VII)

Une typologie de l'aspect est-elle possible ? Pour une théorie des opérations
aspectuelles"

Si l'aspect tend à être présenté comme une catégorie universelle, la question se pose de savoir sur quel(s) plan(s) et en quels termes peut-on formuler cette universalité, sans perdre la singularité du système aspectuel des langues dans leur très grande diversité.
Nous envisagerons deux réponses possibles.

Dans une première partie nous reviendrons sur l'approche typologique de l'aspect, en pointant deux problèmes : la délimitation « consensuelle », d'une langue à l'autre, des phénomènes que recouvre la catégorie de l'aspect, d'une part, le mode de prise en compte de la singularité des phénomènes aspectuels propre à telle ou telle langue, d'autre part. Les réponses des typologues à ces questions oscillent entre deux démarches :
- ériger une langue ou un groupe de langues en représentant privilégié de la catégorie étudiée ; comparer les langues revient alors à identifier des écarts plus ou moins grands avec la ou les langues choisies comme « étalon » ;
- définir la catégorie sur la base d'une moyenne, basée sur les propriétés que l'on retrouve dans un grand nombre de langues, ce qui tend à rejeter à l'extérieur de la catégorie nombre de phénomènes déclarés marginaux ou atypiques ;

Dans une seconde partie, nous présenterons une approche de l'aspect en termes d'opérations. Nous montrerons que ces opérations sont de trois ordres : a. opérations de construction sur le plan quantitatif et /ou qualitatif d'une occurrence de procès ; b. détermination du procès (occurrence singulière / itération, occurrences plurielles / générique), c. repérage énonciatif (notion de point de vue, mais aussi discours / histoire / récit de E. Benveniste).
Sur quelques exemples empruntés à des langues diverses (français, russe, khmer) nous essaierons de voir comment cette approche en termes d'opérations permet de rendre compte de configurations et de valeurs *a priori fort* diverses.

Janika Päll (University of Tartu)

Translating Ancient Greek categories of time and aspect

In Ancient Greek, as in several other Indo-European languages, the categories of time and aspect of a verb are difficult to distinguish morphologically. Usually it is understood that in Ancient Greek, time can be expressed by indicative verb forms only, thereas other modes (imperative, optative, conjunctive, participles) express mainly the aspect (eventuality, definitiveness etc) of a given verb. In order to demonstrate the range of the shifts from expressing the time to expressing the aspect and vice versa, which occur in Ancient Greek verb forms, the usage of verb forms in Sappho's first Ode (To Aphrodite) is analysed. This analyse is tested by the contrastive analyse of a selection of translations (into Latin, French, Italian, English, German, Russian and Estonian) of the same ode.

Lavanya Sankaran (University of Cambridge)

Aspectual theory: Language specificity versus universal properties - comparing English and Tamil

It is crucial to understand which concepts of aspectual theory are universal and which are language specific. Verb semantics, for instance, is language dependent while situational

properties are language independent. In other words, a given situation which is classified according to certain temporal properties independent of language may encode only some of those temporal properties in one language but that same situation may encode other temporal properties in another language. For example, the verb 'see' in English is stative (non-dynamic, durative and atelic) and is thus incompatible with the progressive –*ing*. In the Dravidian language, Tamil, however, 'see' is conceived as an activity verb (dynamic, durative and atelic) which would make it compatible with the progressive marker. In practice it is invariably seen that classifications of situations often overlap with the classification of verbs because there are correspondences between the temporal properties of situations. (Li Ping, 1990: 1-17)

'Aspect' by itself is a grammatical system that not independent of 'aktionsart' (the classification of verbs according to their inherent temporal properties). Aspect is traditionally divided into two viewpoints, the perfective and the imperfective. Languages vary in how they combine these viewpoints with aktionsart and also in how they conceptualise '*aspect markedness*'. In Tamil, marking aspect is optional rather than obligatory so native speakers presuppose that an action is vague for completion unless it is definitely inflected with the perfective marker. The lack of occurrence of an aspectual verb indicates that the aspectual notion that is not present is neutral rather than absent. In English, however, it is presupposed that an action is completed unless otherwise stated. Such concepts need to be applied to all languages and developed in order to decide which domains of aspectual theory are universal and which domains are language specific.

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Martin Steinrück (University of Fribourg)

Aspects of Plato

In Ancient Greek morphology there is an opposition between the infinitive of aorist and infinitive of present, which is often considered as the best corresponding example of what slavists call 'vid' or verbal aspect. Part of classical scholars (e.g. Duhoux, Schwyzer) regards aspect as a semantic category, referring to oppositions such as action with/ without duration (it can be regarded as an extension of the category of 'Aktionsart', of transformative/ nontransformative). There are others (Ruiperez, Sicking), however, who defend a pragmatic approach: according to them we are in these cases dealing with marked and unmarked forms. This paper is supporting the second hypothesis. The corpus is based on Plato's *Critias,* with many parallels drawn from his others dialogues using as a criterion the topic/focus (or thema/ rhema according to Aristotle) distribution in infinitives depending from a modal verb. The result is that topic-related, unmarked infinitives tend to occur in aorist stems, whereas focus-related, marked infinitives occur rather in present stems.

Anne Tamm (University of Florence)

Aspect and the Estonian partitive objects: a review of arguments for analysing partitive NPs as instances of incorporation

This contribution examines the pros and cons of analysing some Estonian partitive objects as instances of incorporated NPs and the relationships between such partitive NPs and the aspectual interpretation of the sentence. The incorporation of partitive marked phrases may be assumed on the basis of the following grounds:

1. The lack of the accusative (the morphological genitive/nominative).
2. A higher degree of discourse opacity.
3. The syntactic position, combined with a distinct prosodic pattern.
4. Scopal behavior.

The interaction between case, opacity and aspect shows that partitive phrases are not uniform. Two partitive object types can be distinguished: possibly incorporated and non-incorporated ones. Most importantly, the possibly incorporated and non-incorporated NPs behave differently in terms of aspect: the non-incorporated partitive NPs can change the sentential aspect and the incorporated ones cannot. Moreover, an incorporated NP cannot combine with the bounding-perfective particle *ära*. Consider the data in Metslang (2001), which records usages of non-incorporated NPs with total (accusative) objects and the particle *ära* (1), (2). These NPs contrast with the incorporated NPs (3), which cannot combine with *ära*.

(1)
Ta	*suudles*	*tüdruku*	***ära.***
s/he	kiss.3sg.pst	girl.gen	*ära*

'S/he did the kissing of a girl.'

(2)
Mind	*kutsuti*	*reklaamipäevale*	*klouni*	*mängima.*
I.part	invite.pass.past	advertising_day.allat	clown.part	play.mainf

Mängisin	*klouni*	***ära***	*ja*	*sain*	*sada*	*krooni.*
play1.sg.past	clown.gen	ptcl	and	get.1.sg.past	a hundred.nom	kroon.part

'I was invited to play a clown on the advertising day. So I played the clown and got 100 kroons.'

(3)
*Ta	*mängis*	*klaveri*	***ära.***
s/he	play.3sgpst	piano.gen	*ära*

Intended to mean: 'S/he did the piano-playing.'

These findings open up an area of a cross-linguistic study: the relationship between aspect and incorporation with its characteristic case phenomena.

Hannu Tommola (University of Tampere)

Aspect, actionality, Slavonic verbal aspect and Finnic object case

This paper is devoted to different types of aspectual systems in various languages. A classification of actional types of verbs (development of Vendler's) will be presented, and the functions of different grammatical (and lexical) categories relevant to aspect semantics will be discussed.

In Slavonic, aspect has traditionally been interpreted as a lexical-grammatical morphological category of its own, practically independent of the tense forms. In Romance languages, on the contrary, aspect is tightly intertwined with the tense system (the preterite/past being differentiated according to aspect meaning, similarly as the opposition of aorist/imperfect in Greek and some South Slavonic languages). An apparently unique way of expressing differences in aspect is found in Finnic languages with functional parallelity of object marking and aspect meaning.

In contrastive analysis the question of universal aspect meanings arises. It is essential to distinguish universal semantic (logical) concepts (e.g. temporal punctuality, deictic origo and the like) that hardly will be grammatically marked, and to keep semantic features apart from grammatical categories (e.g. future *time reference* vs. future *tense*, temporal and inherent *boundedness* vs. *„(im)perfective" aspects* in various individual grammemes across languages).

It is also worthwhile to question whether one or another feature in a grammatical form can be taken as secondary; often the traditional category labels the grammeme as if it would express just this very feature, while others implied are seen as following from this. It might be good to consider the possibility that both features are necessary to produce the expression needed (cf. definiteness and perfective aspect).

Junichi Toyota (University of Lund)

Historical development as a key to understand the aspectual distinction

Aspect is a very elusive category. This is partly due to the fact that aspect is gradually replaced or overtaken by tense and what we can observe in modern languages (i.e. mixture of tense and aspect) is an intermediate stage of development. Aspect can be an important indicator of historical development and the complexity can be better understood once the system is viewed diachronically. This is demonstrated in this paper using Indo-European (IE) languages.

The initial distinction in the tense-aspect was made between perfective and imperfective aspect. This was originally expressed using nouns. So nominal marking affecting the aspectual distinction in some modern languages (such as the use of partitive, the singular/plural marking or dative/accusative distinction) are not surprising, e.g. English *I*

read a book vs. *I read books*. This distinction can be more complex in historical data, e.g. the use of genitive as a partitive marker, as well as the singular vs. plural distinction in Old English. After the appearance of the verb, the tense-aspect became strongly associated with it. This happened reasonably recently in the history of human language (ca. 6,000-7,000 years ago), if the whole history is considered to stretch as far back as 100,000 years ago. So the complexity and the diversity in modern IE languages can be due to the fact that the construction is reasonably new.

The aspectual system, as far as IE languages are concerned, was once very complex but it later developed into a tense-oriented system and became somewhat simplified. This suggests that the earlier system was more complex, and it is possible to speculate that the more complex the system is, the better preserved older systems are. The complexity of aspectual system is often iconic to other grammatical features (such as the presence/absence of the case system or the passive voice, i.e. the presence of the case system normally indicates that the system is older). So the complexity concerning the aspect can be systematically analysed in conjunction with other constructions.

Marc Wilmet (University of Bruxelles)

Cent ans après… Agrell

Après un survol rapide des précurseurs en matière d'aspect (le Latin Varron, le Tchèque Bahoslav, le Français Beauzée), on en arrive aux grandes lignes de la réflexion contemporaine (principaux auteurs soumis à la critique : Guillaume, Comrie, Vendler…).

L'aspect sera d'abord défini par le signataire en termes de grammaire générale, puis divisé en deux volets : 1° aspect lexical (dichotomie de verbes statifs et de verbes dynamiques, ces derniers subdivisés à leur tour en verbes imperfectifs ou atéliques et en verbes perfectifs ou téliques), 2° aspect grammatical en relation nécessaire avec le temps grammatical : global, sécant (liés aux désinences) et précursif, cursif, postcursif (liés aux auxiliaires).

Passant alors au français, l'exposé montre l'importance 1° de l'aspect lexical pour le choix des périphrases verbales et des compléments circonstanciels, 2° de l'aspect grammatical pour la sélection des auxiliaires parmi les coverbes. Il se clôt sur un panorama des ressources temporelles et aspectuelles capables d'éclairer les emplois des formes verbales, avec une attention plus particulière accordée aux formes simples de l'« imparfait » et du « conditionnel », mais aussi aux formes composées (en *avoir/être* + participe ou en *aller* + infinitif) et aux formes surcomposées (toujours privées du blanc-seing scolaire quoique attestées sans discontinuer de l'ancienne langue à l'époque contemporaine).