Two positions for viewpoint aspect below little v

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The phenomenon

Viewpoint aspect—Progressive, Ingressive, Prospective, Continuative…

Continuative aspect: "not stop"

English: [*continue to* V$_{inf}$], [*continue* V-*ing*], [*keep* V-*ing*], [V *on*]…

John asks Mary to stop reading and help him load the dishwasher, but…

   (1)   Mary **kept** reading.
   (2)   Mary read **on**.

The phenomenon

Continuative aspect: "not stop"

English: [*continue to* V_{inf}], [*continue* V-*ing*], [*keep* V-*ing*], [V *on*]…

John asks Mary to stop reading and help him load the dishwasher, but…

 (1) Mary **kept** reading.

 (2) Mary read **on**.

Kailyn wasn't invited to the party but showed up anyway. We expected her to give up by now, but…

 (3) Kailyn **kept** arriving. …

Special interpretation: Aspectual Coercion / Aspect Shift
(Moens & Steedman 1988; de Swart 1998; Michaelis 2011, among many others)

 (4) *Kailyn arrived **on**.

Ungrammatical: Aspectual Coercion Blocking

In a nutshell

Aspectual Coercion Blocking (**ACB**) effects   (Chief 2007; Fukuda 2012)

Clausal zones $[C > T > v > V]$ (e.g., Chomsky 2001; Ramchand & Svenonius 2014; Cinque & Rizzi 2015)

Independent of merger above/below little v (*pace* Fukuda 2012)

Proposal: Two positions for viewpoint aspect below v

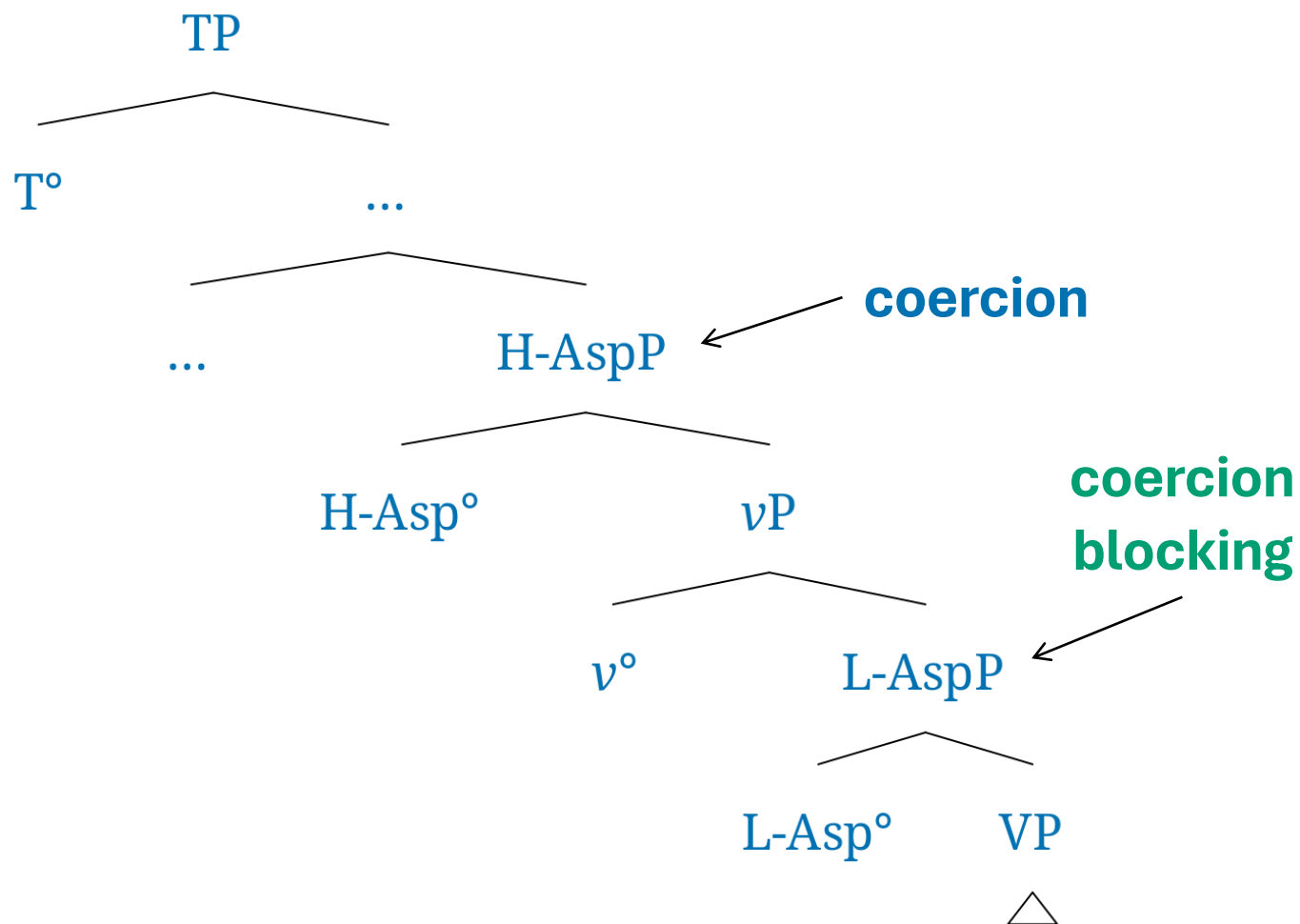Specific style of verbal decomposition (Travis 2010; Xuán 2011; Sybesma 2015, 2017, 2021; Lu et al. 2019, i.a.)

Focus on evidence from Dutch:
- Continuative   *blijven* vs. *door*
- Ingressive   *beginnen* (and *aan het…zijn*) vs. *aan het…gaan*
- Prospective   *op het punt staan (om) te* vs. *op…staan*

The problem

Fukuda (2012): Two positions for viewpoint aspect, bordered off by v

Assumption (following Fukuda): v^0 (Voice^0) is articulated by PASSIVE

TP
- T°
- ...
  - ...
  - H-AspP ← **coercion**
    - H-Asp°
    - vP
      - v°
      - L-AspP ← **coercion blocking**
        - L-Asp°
        - VP
          - △

The problem

coercion

coercion blocking

Assumption (following Fukuda):
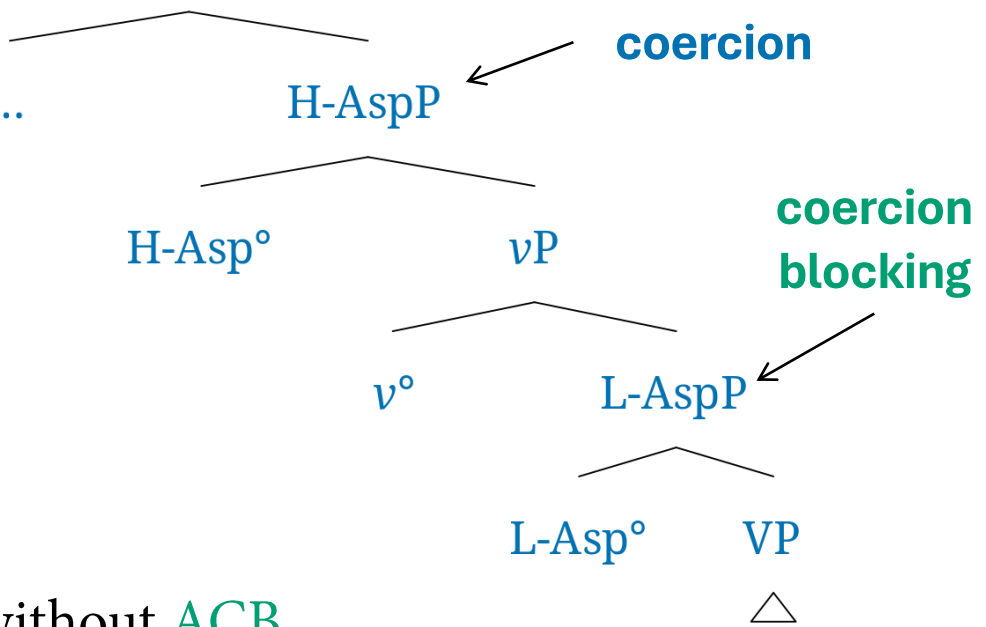v^0 (Voice^0) is articulated by PASSIVE

Mandarin Chinese

Jìxù 继续 'continue' can be above or below PASSIVE *bèi* 被, without ACB

(5) *Wǒ xīwàng hái huì yǒu gèngduō de cáiliào <jìxù> bèi <jìxù> fāxiàn.*   [weihai.gov.cn]
     1SG hope   still will have even.more SUB material CONT PASS CONT discover
     'I hope that more materials will continue to be discovered.'

English

Recent accounts of *ing*-progressive situate it within vP   (Sailor 2012; Harwood 2015; Ramchand 2018, i.a.)
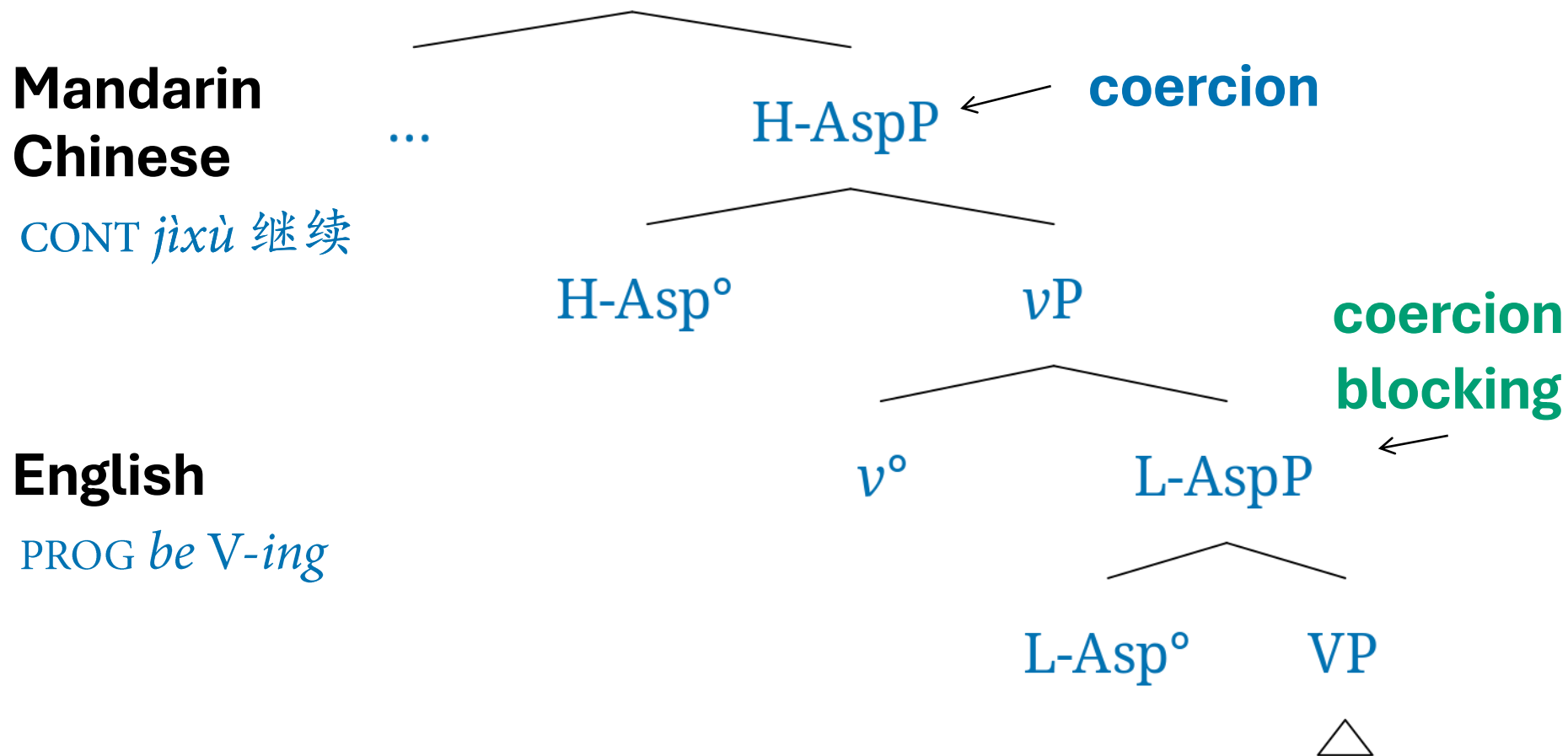
(6) **VP-fronting**
    a. * …   [eaten], they will have been being.
    b.   …   [being eaten], they will have been.
    c. * … [been being eaten], they will have. (Ramchand 2018:42)

Yet, the *ing*-progressive displays no ACB
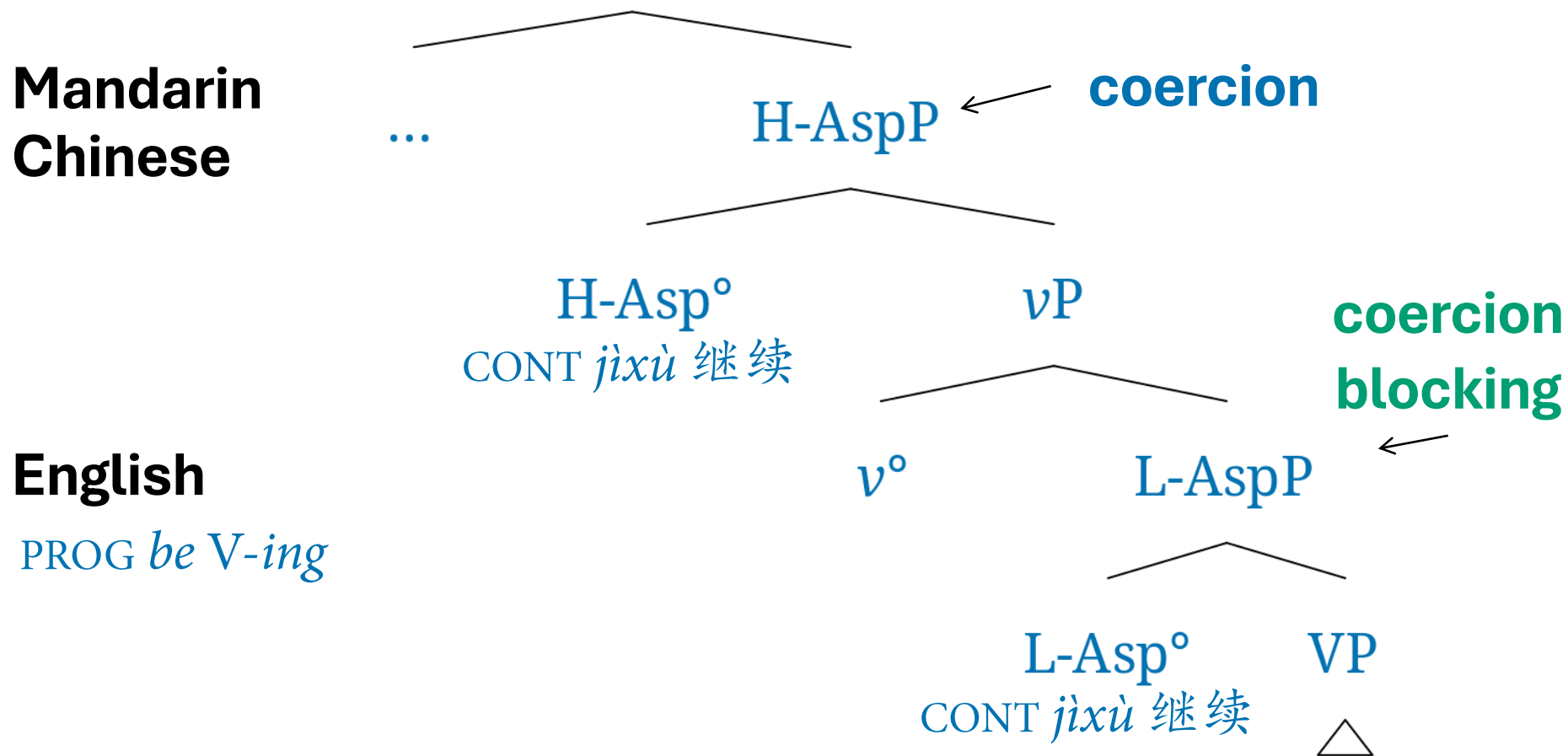
(7)   More materials **are being** discovered.

H-AspP

H-Asp° vP

v°   L-AspP

L-Asp°   VP

The problem

Assumption (following Fukuda):
v^0 (Voice^0) is articulated by PASSIVE

Mandarin Chinese

CONT *jìxù* 继续

English

PROG *be* V-*ing*

The problem

Assumption (following Fukuda):
v^0 (Voice^0) is articulated by PASSIVE

Mandarin Chinese

English

PROG *be* V-*ing*

The problem

Assumption (following Fukuda):
v^0 (Voice^0) is articulated by PASSIVE

Mandarin Chinese

English

The proposal

The proposal

TP
T°
...
...
H-AspP ← **coercion**
H-Asp°
*v*P
v°
L-AspP ← **coercion**
L-Asp°
Asp2P
Asp2°
Asp1P
coercion blocking →
Asp1°
VP

- Extended projection of (big) VP
- Lexical/Verbal decomposition
  (e.g., van Hout 2000; Borer 2005; MacDonald 2008; Ramchand 2008; Travis 2010)
- Syntactic articulation of situation type

Verbal decomposition

Standard 4-way taxonomy of situation type   (Vendler 1967; Dowty 1979, i.a.)

➤ State, Activity, Accomplishment, Achievement

Isomorphic semantics-to-syntax mapping   (Borer 2005; Ramchand 2008; Travis 2010, i.a.)

3 ingredients: DYNAMIC [**VP**]; STATIVE [**Asp1P**]; SCALE REDUCTION [**Asp2P**]

(Lu et al. 2019; Sybesma 2021, i.a.)

1. Activity   ↔   [**VP**]
2. Accomplishment ↔   [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]
3. Achievement   ↔   [**Asp2P** [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]]

Verbal decomposition

1. Activity   ↔   [**VP**]
2. Accomplishment ↔   [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]
3. Achievement   ↔   [**Asp2P** [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]]

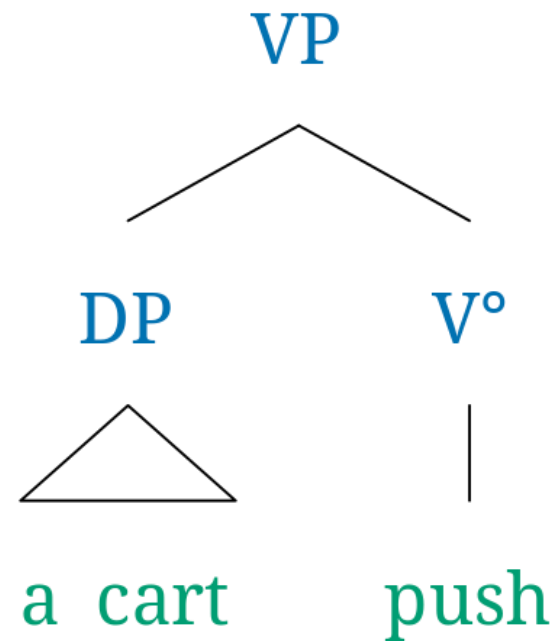# Verbal decomposition

1. **Activity** ↔ [**VP**]
2. **Accomplishment** ↔ [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]
3. **Achievement** ↔ [**Asp2P** [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]]

No telicity *(for 5 minutes / #in 5 minutes)*

Laugh, walk, eat bread, push a cart…

VP
  DP   V°
  a cart   push

Verbal decomposition

1. Activity ↔ [VP]
2. **Accomplishment** ↔ [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]
3. Achievement ↔ [**Asp2P** [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]]

Telicity *(#for 5 minutes / in 5 minutes)*—e.g., *Eat the sandwich, write an article, dry up…*

Asp1P = Stative predication as functional projection

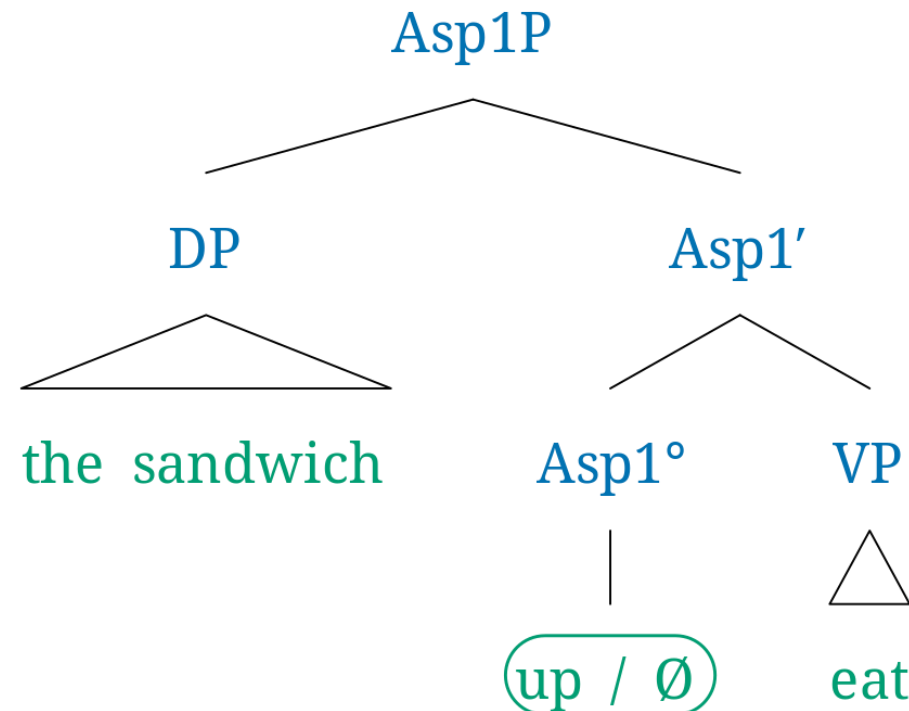SC-complements generalized to all durative, telic predicates: $Asp1^0 = \emptyset$

Verbal decomposition

1. Activity ↔ [VP]
2. **Accomplishment** ↔ [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]
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Telicity *(#for 5 minutes / in 5 minutes)*—e.g., *Eat the sandwich, write an article, dry up…*

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SC-complements generalized to all durative, telic predicates: $Asp1^0 = \emptyset$

Verbal decomposition

1. Activity ↔ [VP]
2. Accomplishment ↔ [Asp1P [VP]]
3. **Achievement** ↔ [**Asp2P** [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]]

Non-durativity *(almost, #PROG)*—e.g., *Arrive, explode, win, reach the top…*

Asp2P = Functional projection doing SCALE REDUCTION (Rothstein 2008; Sybesma 2017; Lu et al. 2019)

Marker in Standard Mandarin, Dongying Mandarin, Changsha Xiang (Song 2018; Lu et al. 2019)

Generalized to all non-durative, telic predicates: $Asp2^0 = \emptyset$

Verbal decomposition

1. Activity   ↔   [VP]
2. Accomplishment ↔   [Asp1P [VP]]
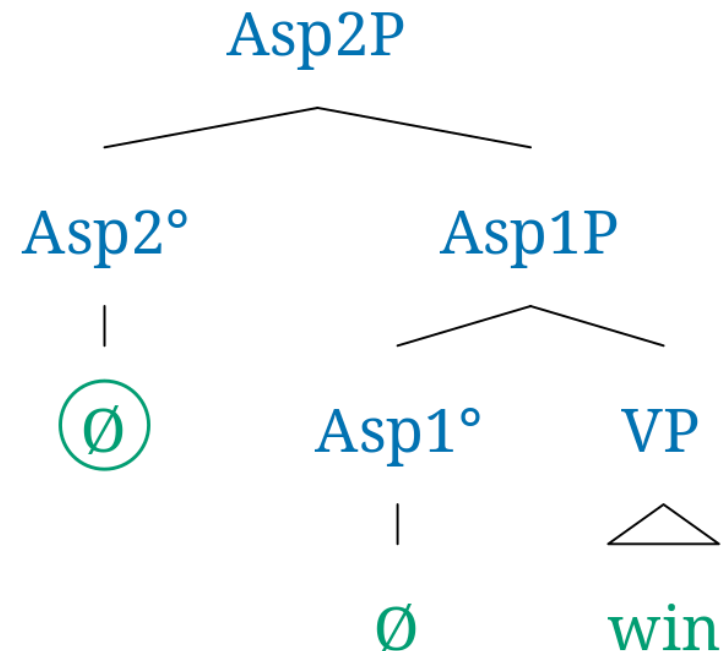3. **Achievement**   ↔   [**Asp2P** [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]]

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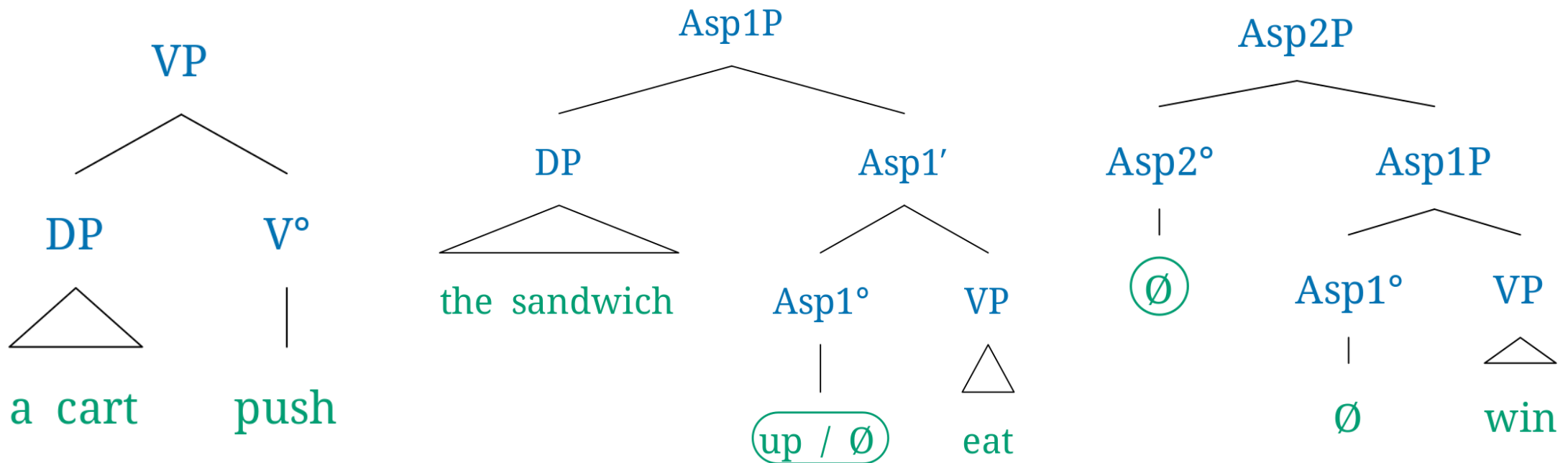(Rothstein 2008; Sybesma 2017; Lu et al. 2019)

Marker in Standard Mandarin, Dongying Mandarin, Changsha Xiang (Song 2018; Lu et al. 2019)

Generalized to all non-durative, telic predicates: $Asp2^0 = \emptyset$

Verbal decomposition

1. Activity $\leftrightarrow$ [**VP**]
2. Accomplishment $\leftrightarrow$ [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]
3. Achievement $\leftrightarrow$ [**Asp2P** [**Asp1P** [**VP**]]]

The data

Coercion vs. **Coercion Blocking**

Continuative ('keep on')   *blijven*   vs.   *door*

   (8)   a.   De toeristen *bleven arriveren.*   ✓
              'The tourists kept arriving.'
        b.   *De toeristen *arriveerden door.*   ✗

Ingressive ('begin')   *beginnen* vs.   *aan het…gaan* (cf. *aan het…zijn*)

   (9)   a.   De trein *begon te vertrekken.*   ✓
              'The train started to leave.'
        b.   *De trein *ging aan het* vertrekken.   ✗
        c.   De trein *was aan het* vertrekken.   ✓

Prospective ('be about to')   *op het punt staan (om) te* vs. *op…staan*

   (10) a.   We *staan op het punt om te* eten.   ✓
             'We're about to eat.'
        b.   *We *staan op* eten.   ✗

1. Argument Licensing

Coercion vs. **Coercion Blocking**

Coercion Blockers: Normally transitive verbs cannot license **internal argument**

Continuative ('keep on')   *blijven*   vs.   *door*

(11) a. De toeristen *bleven (broodjes) eten.*
         'The tourists kept eating (sandwiches).'
     b. De toeristen *aten (*broodjes) door.*

Ingressive ('begin')   *beginnen* vs.   *aan het…gaan* (cf. *aan het…zijn*)

(12) a. De toeristen *begonnen (broodjes) te eten.*
         'The tourists started to eat sandwiches.'
     b. De toeristen *gingen (*broodjes) aan het eten.*
     c. De toeristen *waren (broodjes)   aan het eten*

Prospective ('be about to')   *op het punt staan (om) te* vs. *op…staan*

(13) a. We *staan op het punt om (de wedstrijd) te winnen.*
         'We're about to win the match.'
     b. We *staan op (*de wedstrijd) winnen.*

1. Argument Licensing

Coercion vs. **Coercion Blocking**

Coercion Blockers: Normally transitive verbs cannot license **internal argument**

Continuative ('keep on')

(11) a. De toeristen *bleven **(broodjes)** eten.*
'The tourists kept eating (sandwiches).'
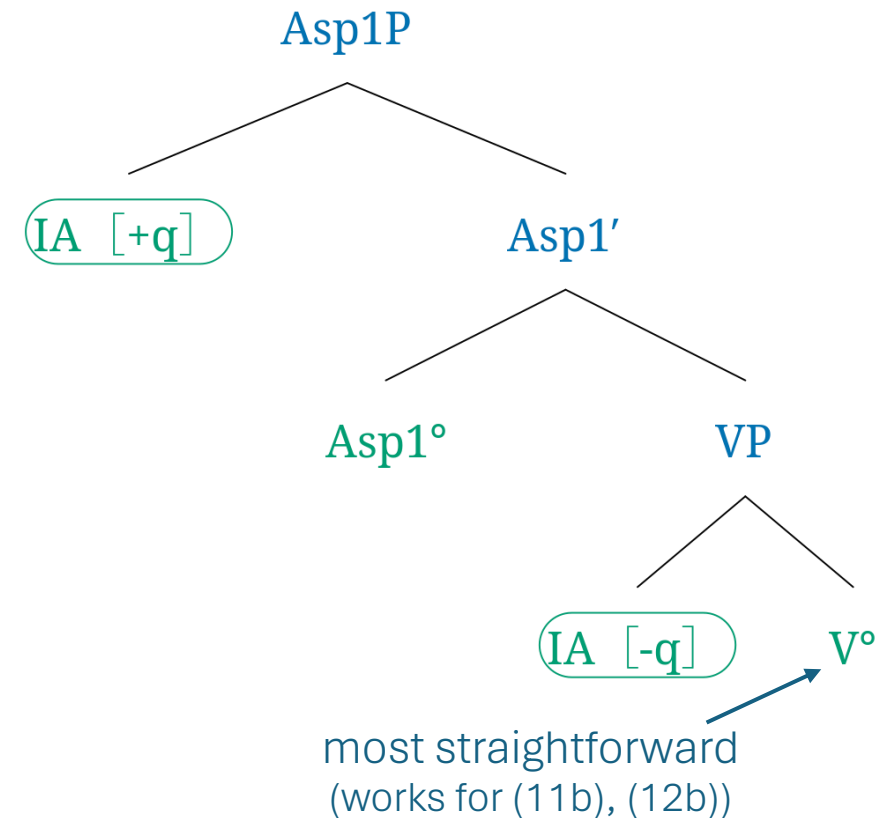b. De toeristen *aten **(*broodjes)** door.*

Ingressive ('begin')

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Prospective ('be about to')

(13) a. We *staan op het punt om **(de wedstrijd)** te winnen.*
'We're about to win the match.'
b. We *staan op **(*de wedstrijd)** winnen.*

selectional restriction
including Asp2P (for (13b))

Asp1P

IA [+q]   Asp1'

Asp1°   VP

IA [-q]   V°

most straightforward
(works for (11b), (12b))

2. Distribution w.r.t. Asp1^0

Coercion vs. Coercion Blocking

Coercion Blockers: Complementary distribution with SC-complements (i.e., Asp1 heads).

Continuative ('keep on')   *blijven*   vs.   *door*

   (14) a. De fietsband *bleef **leeg**lopen.*
            'The bike tire kept deflating.'
        b. De fietsband *liep **leeg** (*door).*

Ingressive ('begin')   *beginnen*   vs.   *aan het…gaan* (cf. *aan het…zijn*)

   (15) a. De fietsband *begon **leeg** te lopen.*
            'The bike tire started deflating.'
        b. *De fietsband *gingaan het **leeg**lopen.*
        c.   De fietsband *was aan het **leeg**lopen.*

Prospective ('be about to')   *op het punt staan (om) te* vs. *op…staan*
      n/a

2. Distribution w.r.t. Asp1^0

Coercion vs. **Coercion Blocking**

Coercion Blockers: Complementary distribution with SC-complements (i.e., Asp1 heads).

Continuative ('keep on')

(14) a. De fietsband *bleef* **leeg***lopen.*
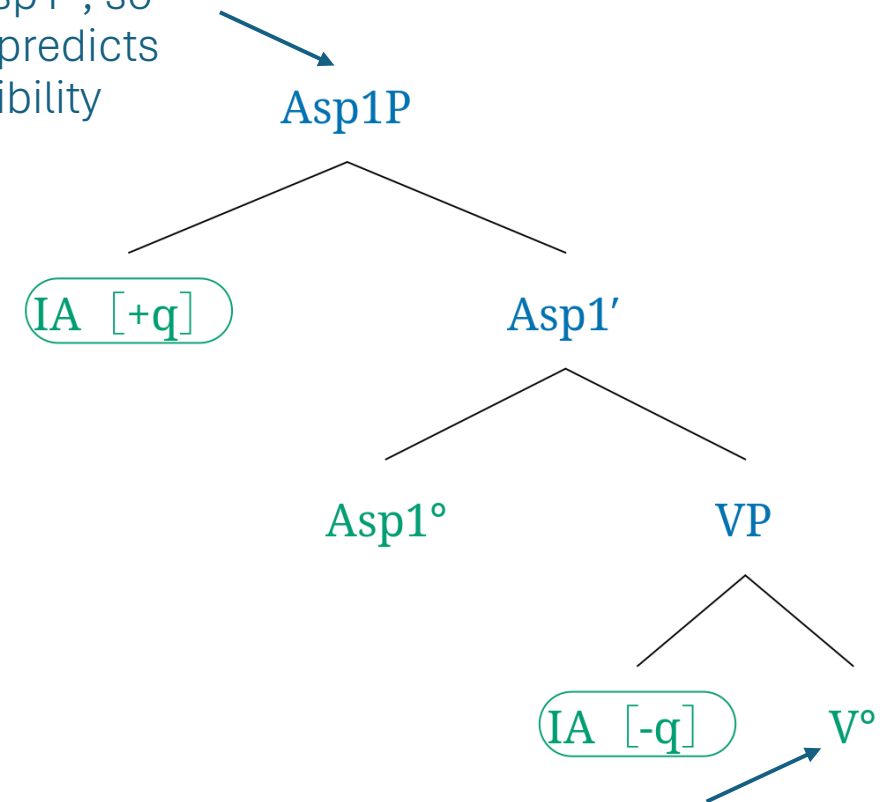'The bike tire kept deflating.'
b. De fietsband *liep* **leeg** *(*door)*.

Ingressive ('begin')

(15) a. De fietsband *begon* **leeg** *te* *lopen.*
'The bike tire started deflating.'
b. *De fietsband *gingaan het* **leeg***lopen.*
c. De fietsband *was aan het* **leeg***lopen.*

Prospective ('be about to')

n/a

requires Asp1^0, so (correctly) predicts compatibility

Asp1P

IA [+q]   Asp1′

Asp1°   VP

IA [-q]   V°

below Asp1^0, so works for (14b) and (15b)

3. Distribution w.r.t. *v*/Voice

Coercion vs. Coercion Blocking

Assumption: Passive marker heads *v*/Voice (e.g., Fukuda 2012; Harley 2017)
Prediction: Non-coercers never embed **passives** (Dutch: *worden*)

Continuative ('keep on')　　　*blijven*　vs.　*door*
　n/a

Ingressive ('begin')　　　*beginnen*　vs.　*aan het…gaan* (cf. *aan het…zijn*)

(16) a.　*De* brug *begint gebouwd te **worden**.*
　　　　'The bridge starts being built.'
　　b.　* De brug *gaat gebouwd aan het **worden**.*
　　c.　%De brug *is   gebouwd aan het **worden**.* (cf. Bogaards et al. 2022)

Prospective ('be about to')　　　*op het punt staan (om) te* vs. *op…staan*

(17) a.　De vaas *staat op het punt om te* <breken> **<worden gebroken>**.
　　　　'The vase is about to <break> <be broken>.'
　　b.　De vaas *staat op* <breken> **<*worden gebroken>**.
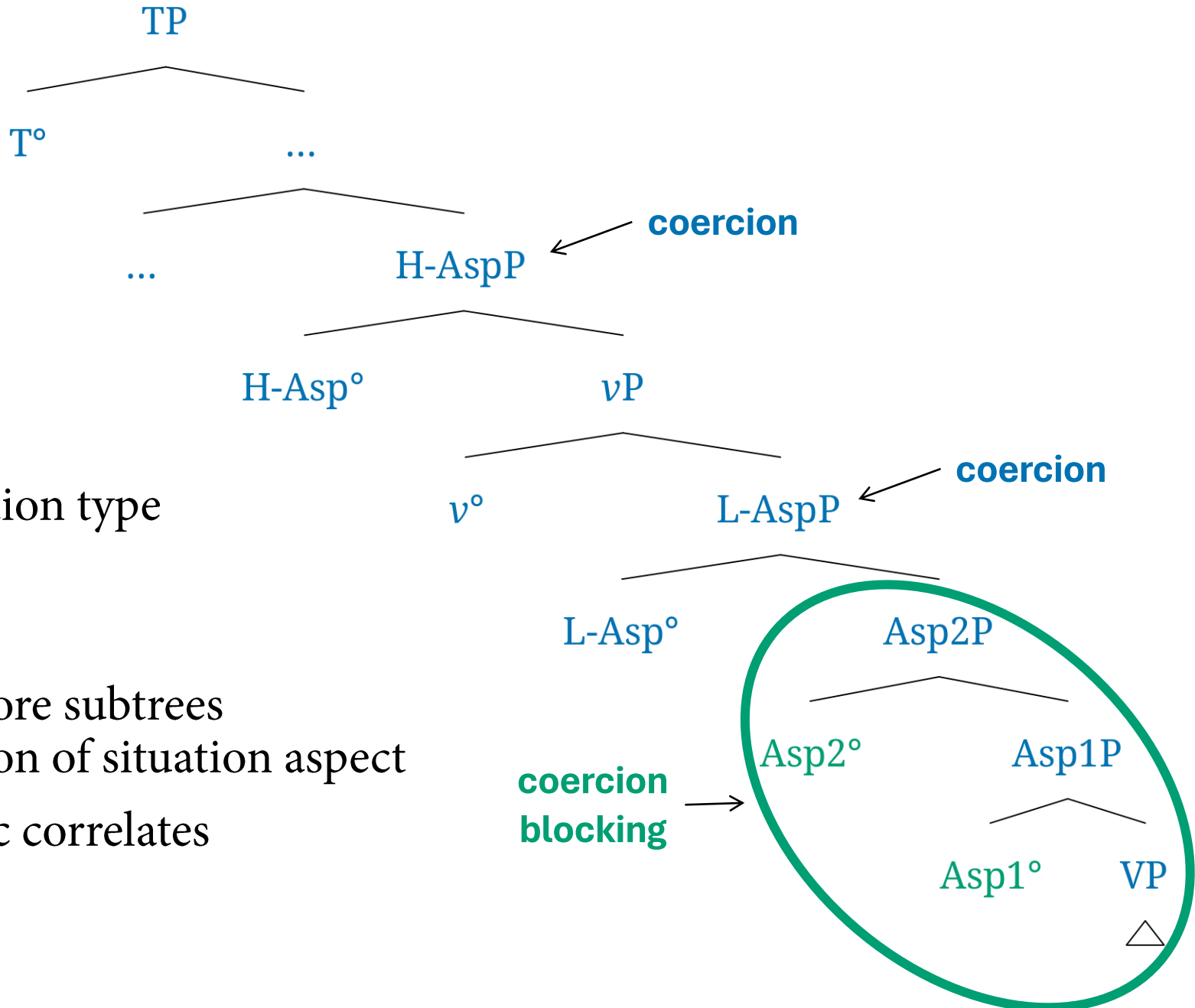
Back to the proposal

Coercion vs. **Coercion Blocking**

Coercers select minimally the full extension of a given VP

Syntactic articulation of situation type no longer visible; **s-selection**

Non-coercers select one or more subtrees responsible for the computation of situation aspect
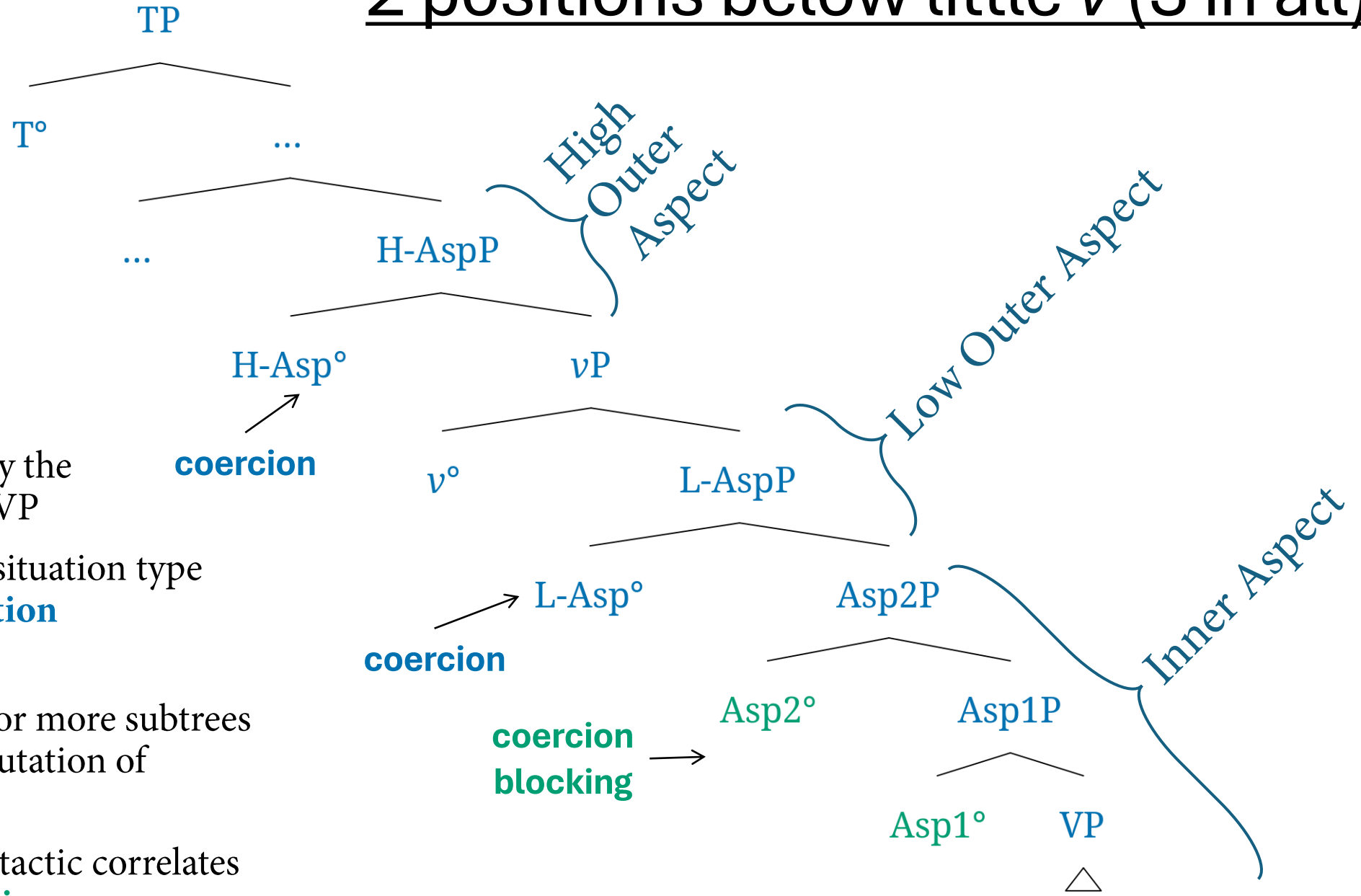
Select specifically for syntactic correlates of situation type; **c-selection**

Back to the proposal

Coercion vs. **Coercion Blocking**

TP

T°

...

...

H-AspP

High Outer Aspect

H-Asp°   *v*P

→ **coercion**

Coercers select minimally the full extension of a given VP

Syntactic articulation of situation type no longer visible; **s-selection**

v°   L-AspP

Low Outer Aspect

L-Asp°   Asp2P

→ **coercion**

Non-coercers select one or more subtrees responsible for the computation of situation aspect

coercion blocking   Asp2°   Asp1P

Inner Aspect

Select specifically for syntactic correlates of situation type; **c-selection**

Asp1°   VP

△

Conclusion

Aspectual Coercion Blocking (**ACB**) effects

Independent from Merge above/below *v*/Voice   (*pace* Fukuda 2012)

ACB reflex of Merge *inside* Inner Aspect domain (extended VP)

- ➤ Two positions for viewpoint aspect below little *v*
- ➤ No strict structural separation viewpoint/situation aspect   (*pace* Smith 1997)
- ➤ Syntactic restatement of classic idea that verbal particles modify Aktionsart

(cf. Boogaart 2004)

ACB observations and suggestions for more *v*/Voice diagnostics are
    always welcome!

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Thank you!

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