ASPECTUALITY IN NORWEGIAN AND GREEK

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Du spør meg, mitt barn, hva en regnbue er?
Nei, tenk, det er mer enn jeg vet.
De kloke forstår det? — Det tror vel enhver,
men regnbuen kommer man aldri så nær
at man fanger dens hemmelighet.
Ja, vel er jeg klok som en visdommens bok
og kjenner all verden til fjerneste krok,
men helt uten hell har jeg søkt å få svar
på hva regnbuen var.

André Bjerke

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Skulle det gjenstå feil eller mangler, er jeg selv ansvarlig for disse.

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0 Introduction

0.1 Background

Often when I am speaking Greek, I find myself wondering which aspect form it is correct to use to describe a certain situation, so I ask the one I am talking to: "Did I use the correct form of the verb?" Very often the person I am talking to will say: "Why, that's fine!" Then I repeat the utterance I am wondering about, but this time with the other aspect form of the verb, and the irritating thing is that he or she in most cases says: "That's fine!", again.

Greek[1] has two aspect forms, imperfective and perfective[2]. The two differ as to how the speaker presents the situation on the time axis (as opposed to different tense forms which mark *where* on the time axis a situation takes place). In general one can say that use of the perfective form implies no reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation in question[3]; the situation is seen from outside. Use of the imperfective form, on the other hand, implies that one "goes into" the situation; it is viewed from inside. Since both forms have several uses, this is not a sufficiently precise definition of the two forms.

One of the problems for non-native speakers is that the category of aspect in Greek is not easily definable, so even if one can make certain general statements about the difference between imperfective and perfective forms and state their basic uses, it is not easy to give a definition which covers all uses.

Norwegians learning Greek and other languages with morphologically marked aspect usually find it difficult to grasp the difference between the imperfective and the perfective form since Norwegian does not have aspect as a

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[1]By *Greek* I refer to Standard Modern Greek (SMG) as it is spoken in Athens today.
[2]See 1.3 for a discussion of the perfect constructions.
[3]Comrie (1976).

morpho-syntactic category. It takes time to get used to taking into consideration whether the situation one is referring to was (or will be) e.g. in progress, habitual or complete before choosing which verb form to use. Or more precisely: Be obliged to always having to consider which aspect form it is correct to use. Even after one has got used to varying between the two aspect forms, and one feels that one masters the system, there are cases when it is difficult to decide which form is correct, because there are many factors that play a role. The following quote from Mackridge (1985:102) illustrates the difficulty that foreigners have with the aspect system when learning Greek:

> The aspectual distinction in M[odern] G[reek] is one that comes so naturally to the native speaker that (s)he is normally unable to explain it (and books of grammar and syntax for Greek readers are usually more or less silent on the matter); but aspect is probably the most difficult concept for the learner of MG to master, and even those non-native speakers who can speak MG almost perfectly are often given away as foreigners by their mistakes in aspect.

Many situations can be referred to by either imperfective or perfective marking on the verb. The speaker has to decide which of the two aspect forms is correct, because as soon as he has decided what he wants to say (for example if he wants to refer to the progress of the situation or to emphasize the completion of it), it is almost always the case that only one of the forms is correct. So when I utter the same string of words twice, but with different aspect forms, as referred to above, it may perfectly well be acceptable both times, but the meaning is hardly ever exactly the same.

The difficulties I had with aspect when I started learning Greek made me wonder how the distinctions that are expressed by different aspect forms in Greek are expressed in Norwegian. Naturally, the fact that Norwegian does not have the morpho-syntactic category aspect, does not mean that aspectual differences cannot be expressed, but rather that they are expressed by other means than morphological marking on the verb stem. Expression of aspectual distinctions is lexicalized or expressed syntactically in Norwegian. This means that Norwegian sentences can be analysed and interpreted as to whether they express something bounded or complete, whether they describe an unbounded situation, progressiveness or habituality et cetera.

0.2 Terminology

Throughout this thesis, the term *aspect* will be used to refer to morphologically marked aspect on the verb stem as it is found in Greek and several other languages. In other words, *aspect* is reserved for the morpho-syntactic category aspect[4]. The term *aspectuality*[5] will be used with a wider meaning, referring to both aspect as in Greek, to *aktionsart*, (which is a term referring to inherent aspectual properties of verbs), and to the aspectual properties of whole phrases or sentences. Aspectuality, then, covers aspect, but not vice versa. Hence, one can study aspect in Greek but not in Norwegian, and one can study aspectuality in both languages[6].

The use of the term *situation* in this thesis indicates that all verbs denote situations. *Situation*, then, is used as a cover term for states, events, processes and actions.

0.3 Aims

In this thesis I will investigate aspectuality in Norwegian in the light of two approaches, namely Vendler's (1967) aspectual classification of verbs and Verkuyl's (1993) claim that aspectuality is something that concerns phrases and sentences, rather than verb forms, and that one has to consider how each word present contributes to the aspectuality of a phrase or sentence as a whole. The advantage of using two such different approaches is that it makes it possible to consider the aspectual contribution of different verb types as well as the role played by other elements present. In addition, such a comparison may tell us something about the applicability of the two theories, as I hope to find out more about what one has to take into consideration when studying aspectuality in a non-aspect language.

As part of my investigation, I will compare Norwegian with Greek. Since Greek and Norwegian differ fundamentally in how aspectuality is expressed, it is particularly interesting to compare data from these two languages. By doing that I hope that the expression of aspectuality in Greek can tell us something about the

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[4]See section 1.2.2 for a discussion of why aspect is considered a morpho-syntactic category in Greek.
[5]This term is adopted from Verkuyl (1993).
[6]Tenfjord (forthcoming) uses the terms *tense* and *temporality* in an analogous way: Tense covers the morpho-syntactic category as it exists in many languages, for instance Norwegian, while temporality says something both about tense and about time relations expressed by other means, as for instance in Vietnamese which is a language without tense morphology. Following Tenfjord's use of terminology, then, one can study tense in Norwegian but not in Vietnamese, while one can study temporality in both languages.

expression of aspectuality in Norwegian. Greek is here used as a measure of aspectuality, since it marks aspect on the verb stem.

Investigating the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian is interesting in itself but may also contribute to making it easier for Norwegians learning languages with aspect. My hope, then, is that the result will be of some pedagogical as well as theoretical interest.

0.4 Contents

The thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 1 provides a general presentation of aspect and addresses the question why aspect should be considered a morpho-syntactic category in Greek. In chapter 2 the two approaches to aspectuality which I will make use of are presented and compared. Chapter 3 is a description of aspect in Greek and aspectuality in Norwegian. In chapter 4 a number of translations between the two languages are presented and commented on, and the two theories presented in chapter 2 will be applied to data from both languages in question. Chapter 5 sums up the contents and results of the thesis.

1 Aspect

1.0 Introduction

I will start this chapter by considering the difference between imperfective and perfective aspect, this will constitute 1.1. Many grammarians (e.g. Comrie (1976) and Engberg (1995)) point out the subjective nature of aspect as opposed to aktionsart[7] which is considered objective in nature. Aspect and subjectivity are dealt with in 1.2.1. Section 1.2.2 discusses the arguments for considering aspect a morpho-syntactic category in Greek, and in 1.3 the perfect constructions are discussed. 1.4 gives a summary of the chapter.

1.1 Imperfective and perfective aspect

The most common opposition in languages with aspect is that between imperfective and perfective, but there are other aspectual features as well, like for instance habitual, iterative and inchoative. As Greek does not have separate verb forms instantiating these other features, I shall concentrate on the imperfective : perfective opposition.

First, something should be said about the belief expressed by some writers on the subject of verbal aspect that the imperfective is used for situations of long duration, while the perfective aspect is used to refer to situations that are of short duration or momentaneous (e.g. Triantafillidhis (1995) and Tsolakis (1995)). Since the imperfective is used with progressive, habitual or iterative meaning (as will soon be demonstrated), it is often the form used to present situations of long duration. As the perfective presents a situation without reference to its internal

[7]See 0.2 for an explication of the term *aktionsart*.

temporal constituency, it is understandable that one can be led to think that it refers to momentaneous situations, and no doubt, it often does.

Engberg (1995) criticizes the use of the terms *durative* and *terminative* for describing the imperfective and the perfective. Using this terminology, she argues, one can be led to think that the use of the two aspect forms has something to do with the duration of the verbal act. As will be clear from what follows, one can in many cases refer to two situations that have exactly the same extension on the time axis with different aspect forms.

As my point of departure, I will take Comrie's (1976:3) characterization of the notion of aspect: "Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation"[8]. He states that the notion of aspect is a *subjective* one, i.e. the speaker chooses the imperfective or the perfective form of a verb according to how he wants to present the situation (see section 1.2.1 for a discussion of the subjective nature of aspect). When a speaker uses the perfective form of a verb, he presents a situation "without reference to its internal, temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle and end rolled into one" (Comrie 1976:3). The use of the imperfective form of a verb, on the other hand, *does* make reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation described. Both aspect forms can be used to refer to the same situation, but

> [p]erfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. (Comrie 1976:16).

The basic distinction between aspectual forms, then, is a distinction not of *where* on the time axis a situation takes place (as is the distinction of the tenses), but of *how* a situation takes place on the time axis or, rather, how the speaker presents the situation on the time-axis.

Let me exemplify this with the use of past forms in English, since that language has a progressive construction although it does not have the morpho-syntactic category aspect. Consider (1) and (2):

(1) I ate.
(2) I was eating.

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[8]This is based on the definition given by Holt (1943:6).

Both (1) and (2) can be used to refer to a meal I had prior to the time of utterance. (1) simply states the fact that the speaker ate something, the meal might have lasted just for a moment or it might have lasted for hours. The duration is not emphasized, the situation is presented as something complete and in this sense viewed "from outside". In (2), on the other hand, the speaker "enters" the situation: "Just at that moment I was busy eating". In (2) the speaker refers to a time when the eating was in progress and in this sense views the situation "from inside".

1.2. Aspect, subjectivity and morpho-syntactic categories

1.2.1 Subjectivity

In section 1.1 I referred to Comrie's and others' characterization of aspect as a subjective category. This can be illustrated as follows: If I want to tell someone about something that happened yesterday (say in English or Greek), I would use the past form of the verb[9]. Likewise I must choose non-past forms if I talk about something that is going to happen in the future. In Greek, past as well as non-past verb forms must be marked for aspect, and, as pointed out already, one can often refer to the same situation with either the imperfective or perfective aspect. This has led many grammarians to claim that aspect is subjective in nature as opposed to tense, since one cannot choose whether one wants to refer to a situation by a non-past or a past form of the verb. For situations that have taken place before the time of utterance one chooses a past tense while for situations taking place at the time of the utterance or situations which will take place in the future one chooses non-past forms. For example, in a conversation with a friend, I could say:

(3) Yesterday I **ate** raviolis.
(4) While I **was eating**, John called.

The same situation (my eating) is referred to twice, once with the verb in the past non-progressive and once in the past progressive. In Greek the verb in (3) would be marked for perfective aspect, while the verb in (4) would be marked for imperfective aspect. Both would be marked for past tense. It is on these grounds that some writers have concluded that aspect is a subjective category, since the

[9]I disregard the possibility of presenting a narration by using historical present here.

speaker (normally) can choose between the two aspect forms while the tense forms are fixed.

In her introductory Greek grammar, Engberg (1995) also emphazises what she considers the subjective nature of aspect[10]: "Aspect marks whether the speaker sees the activity as unfinished/repeated or as finished. [...] It is not a question of an objective difference in the activity, but a difference of the view that the speaker puts on the situation"[11]. It is, she states, "the speaker who decides which aspect form to use". Only in a few cases, she says, one is not free to choose, like after the verb *arhizo* ('begin').

Mackridge (1985) points out the subjective nature of aspect, but adds that it would be incorrect to claim that the choice of aspect form in each case *is purely dependent on the whim of the speaker:* "once the speaker has decided what (s)he means the hearer to understand, there is hardly ever any choice" (Mackridge 1985:105).

There are other categories that resemble aspect in this respect. Take for instance definiteness, which is a morpho-syntactic category for Norwegian and Greek nouns. It is possible to refer to the same entity (or entities) with the noun marked for either definiteness or indefiniteness. Consider (5) and (6):

(5) Jeg kjøpte en kjole igår.
I BOUGHT A DRESS YESTERDAY
'I bought a dress yesterday.'

(6) Kjolen er rød.
DRESS-DEFINITE IS RED
'The dress is red.'

In (5) the word *kjole* ('dress') appears in the indefinite form (no addition to the stem), whereas in (6) it appears in the definite form. Does this, then, make definiteness a subjective category since two different forms can be used to refer to the same entity? I will argue that it does not, since one cannot choose freely between the two forms, but must choose the one or the other according to whether the referent of the noun is known to the hearer. Besides, many syntactic contexts require one or the other form of a noun. Definiteness, therefore, cannot

[10]The quotes are translated by me.
[11]"Der er ikke tale om en objektiv forskel i handlingen, men om den synsvinkel som den talende lægger på handlingen."

be considered a subjective category, and the same arguments can be used to claim that aspect should not be either.

As tense is a category that marks *where* on the time axis situations take place, it is only to be expected that one cannot choose between different tense forms when referring to a situation. Since aspect pertains to *how* situations take place on the time axis, the fact that two situations at the same point on the time axis can be referred to by either aspect form is not enough to consider aspect a subjective category. Besides, it is a fact that the context of a verb may require one particular aspect form (Cf. 1.2.2 for an example of this).

Verkuyl (1993:11) also criticizes the characterization of aspect as subjective: "I find the distinction between aktionsart and aspect distracting, in particular the identification of aspect with 'subjective' and aktionsart with 'objective'" (footnote omitted). He points out that if one assumes that the choice of constituents like *Judith* and *a sandwich* in a sentence like *Judith ate a sandwich* is a subjective one, then the whole distinction of a subjective and an objective way of presenting a sentence breaks down. He then refers to Galton (1984) who points out that one may describe one and the same situation as a state, a process or an event. A speaker will always be able to choose more than one way of presenting information. This leads Verkuyl (1993:11) to draw the following conclusion: "The distinction between subjective (aspect) and objective (aktionsart) remains impressionistic as long as there is no way to make the distinction sufficiently explicit."

In my opinion, the fact that a change of aspect form results in a change of meaning makes it hard to see how one can maintain that aspect is a subjective category.

It is now common to consider aspect in Greek a morpho-syntactic category (e.g. Mackridge (1985) and Engberg (1995)) and as will be clear from the following section, the definition of morpho-syntactic categories is not compatible with subjectivity.

1.2.2 Reasons for considering aspect a morpho-syntactic category in Greek

Simonsen et al. (1988) define morpho-syntactic categories as sets of obligatory morpho-syntactic features that are mutually exclusive. If a category x pertains to a class of words y, then every word in y must carry one (and only one) feature from x. The difference between two features of the same class is morphologically marked on the word stem.

Let me illustrate this with the morpho-syntactic category *number* for the class of nouns in English: This category has the features singular and plural and every noun must carry one of those two features. Once one of them is chosen, the other one is excluded: a noun cannot be marked for both singular and plural at the same time.

If the context requires that a given word carries a certain feature, it means that that feature is a morpho-syntactic feature. For illustration, consider the string of words in (7):

(7) Five ... came walking.

If one is asked to fill in the space with a noun, that noun must be plural, because of the number *five*. Choice of a singular noun results in an ungrammatical sentence:

(8) Five **men** came walking.
(9) *Five **man** came walking.

This test shows that plural is a morpho-syntactic feature for English nouns.

All Greek verbs must be marked for either imperfective or perfective aspect, and these two features exclude each other. It is easy to find contexts that require a verb to be marked for one particular aspect. Consider the string of words in (10):

(10) Eno ... irthe o Petros.
WHILE ... COME-PERFECTIVE-PAST-3.SG THE PETER
'While ... came Peter.'

If one is asked to fill in the space with a form of the verb *troo* ('eat') the only possible aspect form of the verb would be the imperfective:

(11) Eno **etrogha** irthe o Petros.
WHILE EAT-IMPERFECTIVE-PAST-1.SG COME-PERFECTIVE-PAST-3.SG THE PETER
'While I was eating, Peter came.'

The presence of the word *eno* ('while') requires the imperfective form of the verb following it.

Next I will discuss reasons for not considering the perfect a feature of the category aspect.

1.3 The perfect constructions

Comrie (1976) discusses the status of the perfect constructions, and even though he includes a description of them in his book on aspect, he underlines that this is not totally unproblematic. The perfect is rather different from the perfective and imperfective since it tells us nothing directly about the internal temporal constituency of the situation in itself, "but rather relates some state to a preceding situation" (Comrie 1976:52).

Using a perfect construction implies relating one point in time to another point in time, which means that the perfect is just as much a tense construction as an aspect construction. But it differs from the pure tense forms in that it expresses *relative* rather than *absolute* tense. Absolute tense forms are deictic, which means that their reference depends on the time of utterance[12]. Past tense, for instance, implies that the situation one describes occurred before the time of utterance. Future tense indicates that something will occur after the time of utterance. The perfect, on the other hand, relates two points in time, not necessarily including the time of utterance and is therefore not deictic. It is therefore considered a relative tense. This can be illustrated by the following sentence:

(12) I know that Mary will have written the letter before George arrives.

(12) implies that before a situation x (George's arrival) is going to take place in the future, another situation y (Mary writing the letter) will have taken place. It might be that y has already taken place when (12) is uttered, i. e. that it has taken place prior to the time of utterance, all that is implied is that x has not yet occurred when the sentence is uttered, while y either has occurred or will occur at some point in the future prior to the point when x occurs.

In Greek, the perfect constructions are formed by using the auxiliary *eho* ('have') and an indeclinable verb form based on the perfective stem of the verb in question. In Norwegian and English, the situation is much the same, with the

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[12]In Lyons (1977:636), deixis is defined as follows: "The term 'deixis' (which comes from a Greek word meaning "pointing" or "indicating") is now used in linguistics to refer to the function of personal and demonstrative pronouns, of tense and of a variety of other grammatical and lexical features which relate utterances to the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the act of utterance" (footnote omitted).

exception that there is no perfective stem of the verb, at least not the way it is in Greek.[13]

In many introductory books on Modern Greek (e.g. Ruge (1984)), the perfect constructions are taken to be aspectual constructions. For several reasons, that is a controversial matter. One reason is that the perfect constructions refer to a time anterior to another time, and is by many considered a relative tense (see above). Besides, the perfect constructions, unlike the perfective and imperfective forms, are hardly ever obligatory in Greek, since they can be exchanged by a perfective form without any real change of meaning, except to disambiguate a potentially ambiguous utterance (Mackridge 1985:116)[14].

Another problem is that unlike the pure aspect forms, the perfect constructions are periphrastically formed by two verbs, with the infinite main verb based on the perfective stem. This means that they do not conform to one of the requirements for features in a morpho-syntactic category mentioned above, namely the one which says that the difference between two features in the same morpho-syntactic category is shown on the word stem.

The perfect bears resemblance to both aspect and tense, but does not fit neatly into any of those two categories. Since this construction always implies perfectivity[15] in Greek I choose not to treat it further in this thesis because my main interest is the difference between the imperfective and perfective aspect.

1.4 Summary

I started out this chapter by describing the difference between the two aspect forms that Greek has and which I will concentrate on: The imperfective and the perfective; this was done in section 1.1. In 1.2.1, I discussed the subjective nature of aspect which many writers on the subject point out. I argued that the fact that different aspect forms have different meanings makes it difficult to maintain the

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[13]One could argue that the perfect participle in English and Norwegian carries perfective aspectuality and hence has a perfect stem which is opposed to the present participle which could be said to carry imperfectivity. However, that would be the only two forms in the verb systems of the two languages that show a perfective : imperfective opposition, and not enough to introduce the category of aspect in either.

[14]For example if I want to ask someone if he has ever been to Oslo, I can choose between the perfect or the perfective past: ***Ehis pai*** *(perfect) pote sto Oslo?* ('Have-you go ever to Oslo?') or ***Pijes*** *(piv) pote sto Oslo?* ('Went-you ever to Oslo?'). Both sentences could be translated to English with 'Have you ever been to Oslo?'. The second sentence is ambiguous and could also be translated with: 'Did you go to Oslo?'

[15]It implies perfectivity in the sense that it denotes a completed situation. This is true even for the so-called perfect of result, which indicates present relevance of a past situation as in *Peter has eaten Lebanese food*, which has the possible interpretation that Peter is still full. (As opposed to for example a situation of experience, as in *Peter has tried Lebanese food (at least) once*).

view that aspect is a subjective category. In 1.2.2, I presented a definition of morpho-syntactic categories and showed that aspect satisfies this definition. This should support the view that aspect is not a subjective category, since the definition is not compatible with subjectivity. In 1.3 I discussed the status of the perfect constructions and argued that there are good reasons for not considering them pure aspect forms on a par with the imperfective and the perfective.

2 Two approaches to aspectuality

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the two approaches which I will make use of in analysing and comparing data from Norwegian and Greek in chapter 4. I will start with a presentation of Vendler's (1967) classification of verbs on the basis of the aspectual features inherent in the semantics of each verb[16]; this will constitute section 2.1. 2.2 presents some of the basic points of Verkuyl's (1993) theory of aspectuality. In 2.3 the two approaches will be compared, and 2.4 is a summary of the contents of this chapter.

2.1 Vendler's semantic classes

Vendler (1967) states that in addition to the fact that verbs have tenses, the use of a verb often suggests "the particular way in which that verb presupposes and involves the notion of time" (Vendler 1967:97). He introduces the term *time schemata of verbs,* which refers to the aspectual features inherent in verbs. "These time schemata", Vendler says, "will appear as important constituents of the concepts that prompt us to use those terms[17] the way we consistently do" (Vendler 1967:98). In Comrie's (1976) terminology one can say that the term *time schemata of verbs* refers to the differing internal temporal constituency of verbs.

Vendler starts out by pointing to the well-known fact that not all verbs can appear in the progressive construction: While it is perfectly acceptable to say *I am walking, I am working* or *I am painting a picture,* it is not possible to say **I am*

[16]As will be clear from what follows, Vendler does not make a clear distinction between verbs and verb phrases.

[17]Vendler does not say what he means by *terms,* but my impression is that it refers to verbs as well as verb phrases. For further comments on Vendler's terminology, see 2.3.

*knowing, *I am hating* or **I am recognizing (something).* The verbs that cannot appear in the progressive construction are divided into two classes which he calls **states** (like *know* and *hate*) and **achievements** (like *recognize*). The verbs that do allow for the progressive construction are divided into **activities** (e.g. *run, walk*) and **accomplishments** (e.g. *paint a picture*).

A state verb denotes a stable period of time without reference to the termination of the situation. States are homogeneous situations in the sense that every subpart is equal to the situation itself; e.g. if I loved someone for three years, then at any stretch of those three years I loved that someone. Vendler characterizes states as follows: "States involve time instants in an indefinite and non-unique sense" (Vendler 1967:107). By *indefinite* is meant that state verbs do not imply a terminal point that has to be reached before it is true that a situation denoted by a state verb can be said to have occurred. By *non-unique* is meant that the time instants a state consists of are equal to each other.

Recognize and *reach the summit* belong to the category of achievements. Achievements denote situations with a terminal point which has to be reached before the achievement can be said to have taken place: While climbing a mountain in order to reach its summit one cannot say that one is reaching the summit all the way as one is approaching it. The actual reaching of the summit happens when the terminal point is reached, independently of the process leading up to it; achievements are therefore not homogeneous. "Achievements involve unique and definite time instants" (Vendler 1967:107). They are *unique* because a change is implied, for instance from not having reached a summit to having reached it, and *definite* because a terminal point has to be reached. "Achievements can be predicated only for single moments of time (strictly speaking)" (Vendler 1967:102).

Verbs like *walk, run* etc. are classified under the heading of activities. These admit the progressive construction and denote homogeneous *processes* which consist of successive phases. For example, if I ran for an hour yesterday, then at any stretch of time from that hour started until it ended I was running. "[T]he concept of activities calls for periods of time that are not unique or definite" (Vendler 1967:106). By *not unique* is meant homogeneous: All phases of a run imply running. Activities are described as *not definite* because, like states, they do not imply a terminal point. Activities, then, differ from states by denoting processes going on in time. "The man who is running lifts up his right leg one moment, drops it the next, then lifts up the other leg, drops it and so on" (Vendler 1967:99). States, on the other hand, are described as denoting time

instants because what is denoted by state verbs can be predicated of a subject for shorter or longer periods of time, but it is not a question of processes going on, rather of stable periods of time. If I hate someone, for instance, it is not something I am doing (performing), I can be said to hate that someone when I am bicycling, having a bath or reading a book: It is simply a state I am in.

> [A]lthough it can be true of a subject that he knows something at a given moment or for a certain period, knowing and its kin are not processes going on in time. It may be the case that I know geography now, but this does not mean that a process of knowing geography is going on at present consisting of phases succeeding one another in time. (Vendler 1967:99)

Accomplishments have in common with achievements that they imply a terminal point which has to be reached before an accomplishment has taken place. They differ from achievements by the fact that accomplishments put emphasis on the process leading up to the terminal point, as well as on the terminal point. One of Vendler's examples of accomplishments is *draw a circle*. If it is true that someone has drawn a circle, then the terminal point at which the circle is completed must have been reached. The fact that one can say while drawing a circle that one is drawing a circle, shows that the process leading up to the reaching of the terminal point is part of the situation (even if it is not true that one actually *has* drawn a circle if one suddenly stops drawing it before it is completed)[18]. Even if this is so, accomplishments, like achievements, are not homogeneous. It is not the case that at any subpart of a time stretch in which I am engaged in the process of drawing a circle, I am actually drawing a (completed) circle; every subpart is rather a necessary contributor to the result (the completed circle), but none of them is equal to the whole process itself, as is the case with activities. "Accomplishments [...] imply the notion of unique and definite time periods" (Vendler 1967:107). As opposed to states and activities which denote situations without the idea of a terminal point, achievements and accomplishments have in common that they indicate that some point of termination has to be reached before it is true that the situation denoted by the verb has occurred. To illustrate: *Recognize*, *reach the summit*, and *paint a picture*

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[18]Accomplishments are telic events or situations as opposed to activities which are non-telic. A telic situation x is a process with a terminative point that has to be reached before it is true that one has done x, and when that point is reached, the process necessarily comes to an end: If I am drawing a circle, and then stop, it is not true that I have drawn a circle, while if I am running, and then stop, it is still true that I have run.

require that someone has recognized someone or something, that the summit has been reached or that a picture has been painted, respectively. The difference between these two verb classes is that while achievements denote a terminal point that is realized momentaneously, accomplishments include a process leading up to the terminal point (which, like the terminal point denoted by achievements, is reached at a single point in time).

Vendler (1967:106) provides the following examples to illustrate his classification from another angle:

> For activities: *A was running at time t* means that time instant *t* is on *a* time stretch throughout which *A* was running.
> For accomplishments: *A was drawing a circle at t* means that *t* is on *the* time stretch in which *A* drew that circle.
> For achievements: *A won a race between t_1 and t_2* means that *the* time instant at which *A* won that race is between t_1 and t_2.
> For states: *A loved somebody from t_1 to t_2* means that at any instant between t_1 and t_2 *A* loved that person.

Vendler, then, operates with the following four semantic classes:

STATES:	Love, believe, have, know
ACTIVITIES:	Walk, run, swim, work, push a cart
ACHIEVEMENTS:	Recognize, find, win, reach the summit
ACCOMPLISHMENTS:	Paint a picture, sing a song

Verkuyl (1993) sums up the main points of Vendler's classification as follows:

> Vendler's division must be analysed as a partition in which the four classes are intended to be on an equal footing. [...] States and Processes[19] share the property of pertaining to non-unique, indefinite temporal entities; States and Achievements pertain to instants, whereas Activities and Accomplishments are conceived of as *processes going on* at time stretches; and finally Achievements and Accomplishments involve unique temporal units (footnote omitted) (Verkuyl 1993:34f).

[19]Verkuyl writes *processes*, and as seen in table 1, by this he means activities and accomplishments. According to the description of states and processes in the quote, he probably means to write *activities* instead of *Processes*.

Verkuyl presents the following table showing that the four verb classes that Vendler postulates can be derived from two underlying parameters, involving the features [+/-Process] and [+/-Definite]:

Table 1

	-PROCESS	+PROCESS
-DEFINITE	State	Activity
+DEFINITE	Achievement	Accomplishment

Vendler points to the fact that not all verbs can be placed in one and only one category, and he discusses some cases where a verb will have to belong to different categories according to context. An example of this is *smoke*: *To smoke*, as in *Peter smokes*, denotes a state: *Peter is a smoker*. The fact that it is possible to say *Peter is smoking* does not force us to reconsider whether or not *smoke* is a state, because used in this way it is an activity, cf. the sentence *Peter is smoking this very moment*. His classification, he says, is made to present some objects of comparison, which can be used as a measuring rod; "not as a preconceived idea to which reality must correspond" (Vendler 1967:98).

Having had a look at Vendler's classification, I will now turn to Verkuyl who approaches aspectuality from a different angle.

2.2 Verkuyl's theory of aspectuality

Verkuyl (1993) is interested in the aspectuality of sentences rather than in the aspectuality of verbs or verb types. He takes the view that the aspectuality of a sentence is a product of the aspectual contribution made by all of its subparts. A sentence can be either **terminative** or **non-terminative.** If a sentence is terminative it is bounded, that is, it implies that the situation referred to was or will be complete. Terminative sentences, then, denote events, i.e. "temporal entities that can be counted and quantified over." (Verkuyl 1993:19).

Thus, terminative resembles the perfective aspect. Non-terminative covers both durative sentences and sentences that express neither durativity nor

terminativity, that is sentences that are neutral with respect to aspectuality.[20] Verkuyl's main concern is what characterizes terminative sentences.

Sentences (1)-(4) taken from Verkuyl (1993:5/20/22) are provided for illustration of what has been said about Verkuyl's approach so far:

(1) Judith ate a sandwich.
(2) Judith ate.
(3) Judith ate sandwiches.
(4) Nobody ate a sandwich.

Of these sentences, only (1) is terminative. It implies a complete action, where the whole sandwich has to be eaten for the proposition to be true. In (2), (3) and (4) nothing is implied as to whether the sandwiches are eaten up completely or not. On the basis of such examples Verkuyl introduces two requirements for sentences to be terminative:

Both arguments must be specific. By *specific* is meant that they must be definite or that their cardinality must be expressed (the quantity of the arguments must be specified) and not equal to 0. Arguments which meet these requirements have the value [+SQA], which stands for **specified quantity of argument**.

The second requirement is that the verb must have a feature called **[+ADD TO]**. Verbs with this feature are those which refer to some kind of movement or process going on in time, i.e. verbs expressing some kind of change. [ADD TO], Verkuyl states, "refers to the dynamic semantic information distinguishing verbs like *eat, walk, drink, knit,* etc. from *not eat* and from verbs like *want, hate,* etc." (Verkuyl 1993:16). Verbs like *want* and *hate,* then, have the feature [-ADD TO][21].

If a [+ADD TO]-verb is negated, then the sentence is non-terminative (e. g. *Judith did not eat five sandwiches*).

The terminative (1) has a verb with the feature [+ADD TO] and both arguments are specific. (2) does not fulfil the requirement of a specific object and the result is non-terminative. Sentence (3) is non-terminative, since the

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[20] A durative sentence is one referring to unbounded situations, like for instance situations that were or will be in progress or sentences that do not emphasize the termination of the situations they refer to. Durative, then, resembles the imperfective aspect.

[21] *[ADD TO]* is taken from Verkuyl (1972) where a generalization was made over verbs like *walk, eat, drink, knit* and so on (although rather informally). "The semantic element associated with *walk*," Verkuyl says, "was MOVEMENT, with *drink* and *eat* TAKE, with *play* PERFORM, with *die* TRANSITION, with *knit* ADD TO" (Verkuyl 1993:16f). In later work, [+ ADD TO] has been taken to refer to all those categorial nodes written with capital letters in the passage just quoted.

cardinality of the object is not specified, and sentence (4) is non-terminative because the cardinality of the subject is equal to 0.

Verkuyl makes use of some well-known tests for determining whether a certain sentence is terminative or not: If the sentence is acceptable and allows for a semelfactive or terminative interpretation with the addition of *in an hour,* it is terminative, otherwise it is not. If it is acceptable with the addition of *for an hour* it is non-terminative. Cf. the following sentences taken from Verkuyl (1993:6):

(5) Judith ate a sandwich in an hour.
(6) ?Judith ate sandwiches in an hour.
(7) #Judith ate a sandwich for an hour.
(8) Judith ate sandwiches for an hour.[22]

(5) is acceptable and gives a terminative interpretation. (6) is hardly acceptable, while if (7) can be given any interpretation it indicates that Judith repeatedly ate a sandwich for an hour or that she ate from one and the same sandwich during a period which lasted for one hour. (The symbol # is adapted from Verkuyl and indicates a forced repetition or forced stretching interpretation[23]).

Let us go back and consider sentences (1) and (2) again: Since (2) is non-terminative and (1) is terminative, we can say that the addition or the removal of material from a sentence may create a sentence with a different aspectual result from the original sentence.

Verkuyl (1993:14) notes this, and in connection with that he refers to one of his earlier works where he made a distinction between *inner* and *outer* aspect. He based this on observations like the following: While *Judith ate a sandwich* is terminative and *Judith ate sandwiches* is non-terminative, both *#Judith ate a sandwich for hours* and *Judith ate sandwiches for hours* are non-terminative. Verkuyl argues that the fact that the terminative *Judith ate a sandwich* becomes non-terminative by the addition of *for hours,* "strongly suggests that aspectual theories should distinguish between aspectual levels" (Verkuyl 1993:14). As I understand it, inner aspect is formed in sentences of the same type as (1)-(4), i.e. where we have a verb and its argument(s). Outer aspect is formed in sentences with the presence of other words modifying the verbal act or situation, as for

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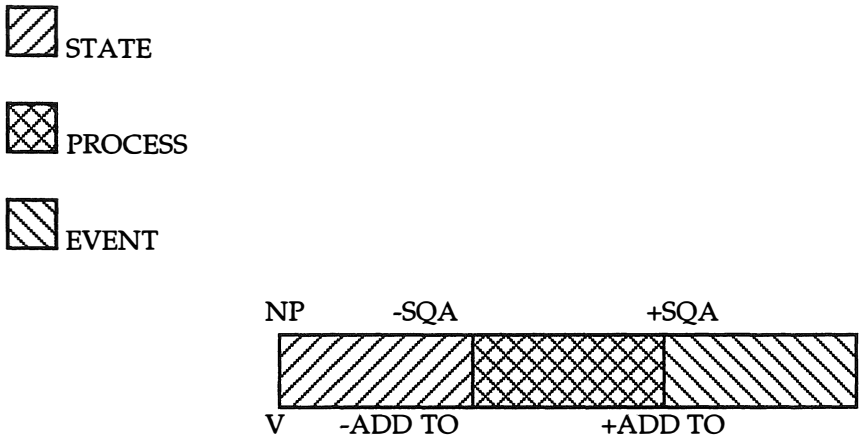
[22]There are counterexamples which show that this test is not completely reliable, cf. the following example: *Judith read a book for two hours,* which can, as observed by Fillmore (1971) (see Verkuyl 1993:10) get the interpretation that she only read parts of a book.

[23]To illustrate "stretching interpretation", Verkuyl gives the example that it took Judith an hour to eat the sandwich in (7). In this sense the event is *stretched out.*

instance the phrase *for an hour* in the examples above. Verkuyl points out that his study "is crucially focused on the composition of inner aspect [...] in the absence of a sufficiently articulated theory of adverbial modification." (Verkuyl 1993:14). I will return to the notion of outer aspect below, since this will be of importance to the analysis in chapter 4.

Verkuyl presents the following figure to illustrate the way the combination of the different values of [SQA] and [ADD TO] results in the denotation of different situation types:

Figure 1



In figure 1 the leftmost rectangle illustrates that [-ADD TO] is sufficient to yield states. The rectangle in the middle illustrates that [+ADD TO] coupled with [-SQA] yields unbounded processes. The rightmost rectangle illustrates that only the combination [+ADD TO] and [+SQA] yields events. "States, Processes and (terminative) Events", Verkuyl (1993:19) says, "are construed by combining semantic information expressed by the verb with semantic information expressed by its argument NP(s)". The three partitions cutting across in figure 1 are the following:

> an ontological tripartition: state vs. process vs. event;
> a lexical bipartition: [-ADD TO] (state) vs. [+ADD TO] (change);
> a structural bipartition: durative (state/process) vs. terminative (event).
> (Verkuyl 1993:20)

To illustrate that terminative aspect can be seen as a molecule composed by different atoms which have + for the values [SQA] and [ADD TO], Verkuyl (1993:20) presents the following scheme, where [+/-T] stands for +/- terminative:

(9)

(a) Judith ate three sandwiches	[+SQA] + [+ADD TO] + [+SQA] = [+T]
(b) Judith ate sandwiches	[+SQA] + [+ADD TO] + [-SQA] = [-T]
(c) Judith ate no sandwich	[+SQA] + [+ADD TO] + [-SQA] = [-T]
(d) Judith wanted nothing	[+SQA] + [-ADD TO] + [-SQA] = [-T]
(e) Nobody ate a sandwich	[-SQA] + [+ADD TO] + [+SQA] = [-T]
(f) Nobody ate sandwiches	[-SQA] + [+ADD TO] + [-SQA] = [-T]
(g) Judith wanted a sandwich	[+SQA] + [-ADD TO] + [+SQA] = [-T]
(h) No one wanted a sandwich	[-SQA] + [-ADD TO] + [+SQA] = [-T]

To obtain a terminative molecule all atoms that are part of the molecule must carry a plus-value. As seen in (9), only (a) fulfils this requirement, and (a) is the only molecule with the value [+T]. All molecules containing an element carrying a negative feature receive the value [-T]. In this connection, Verkuyl introduces the term *plus-principle* to refer to "the requirement that all aspectual 'atoms' involved are plus-values" (Verkuyl 1993:20).

Having presented Verkuyl's approach to aspectuality, I will next compare his approach with Vendler's in the following section.

2.3 Comments and comparison

Verkuyl (1993:33) criticizes several issues of Vendler's approach, among them Vendler's terminology, cf. the following quote:

> He [Vendler] used the term "term" to denote verbs, even though he seemed to be aware of the fact that his categories are complex in the sense that, for example, the direct object appears to co-determine whether or not a transitive verb belongs to one of the four categories.

This important point made by Verkuyl deserves a few comments. Vendler alternates between *term* and *verb* without explicating what he means by *term*. My impression is that he uses *term* to be able to refer to both *verb* and *verb phrase*, since he does not only classify simple verbs[24]. Recall that he classifies *draw a circle* as an accomplishment and *reach a summit* as an achievement). But sometimes he refers to *terms* like *draw a circle* as a verb, e.g. on page 102:

[24]By *simple verb* I refer to verbs that stand alone without an object or modifier. The term *complex verb* is used to refer to verbs which have an object or a modifier.

> Thus we have arrived at the time schemata of two important species of verbs. Let us call the first type, that of *running, pushing a cart,* and so forth, "activity terms", and the second type, that of *running a mile, drawing a circle,* and so forth, "accomplishments terms." (Footnote omitted).

That Vendler classifies complex verbs as well as verbs, would have been less problematic if he had discussed his use of terminology and the fact that for example *draw* is different from *draw a circle.*

Verkuyl also criticizes Vendler's criteria for categorizing verbs and provides examples like *he is dying* and *I am living at a hotel,* which one would not expect possible by Vendler's definition of accomplishments and states respectively, since these are said not to allow for the progressive construction.

I mentioned above that Vendler allows for the possibility that some verbs must be assigned to different categories according to the context. An example is the verb *think,* which Vendler considers as a verb which must be placed in different categories according to the context. Cf. *Peter thinks John is a rascal, Peter thinks that the earth is flat* and *Peter is thinking. Think* in the two first sentences are states and synonymous with 'hold the opinion that' (Peter can think that John is a rascal without actually thinking about John, the rascal, all the time) and 'believe', respectively. *Think* in *Peter is thinking* is an activity, it is something one can be busy doing.[25]

The verb *die* as used in the examples above is also an example of such verbs. *He is dying* is normally used in the sense that the person referred to is very ill, in fact so ill that he is soon going to die. *Die* is an achievement, but used in the progressive construction it (paradoxically enough) becomes a state, at least it has a strong resemblance with states; although it must be called a temporary state since it is not something that one can be doing for a long period of time (*he was dying for ten years* sounds somewhat odd). Vendler would probably have considered the use of the progressive construction with *live* as marked. It is normally used when one is staying at a place temporarily (as in *I am living at a hotel down town*) and this use must be considered a marked use.

In spite of this, I do see that it can sometimes be difficult to know which category a certain verb should be assigned to. This concerns in particular some verbs that seem to be something between activities and states. Consider for instance the verb *sit* which does allow for the progressive construction, and

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[25] In Norwegian, there are three different verbs for these three meanings of think, namely: *Synes* ('hold the opinion that'), *tro* ('believe') and *tenke* ('think', as an activity) respectively.

probably would be classified as an activity by Vendler. But unlike verbs like *run* and *swim*, *sit* cannot be said to denote time periods, since one cannot say that a process of sitting is going on when one is sitting any more than one can say that a process of knowing is going on when one knows something (cf. the quote from Vendler (1967:99) above). It seems, therefore, more natural to say that *sit* denotes time instants like states do. Another example is *sleep*, which also allows for the progressive construction. But is a process of sleeping going on when one is sleeping? Does it consist of time periods or time instants? Observe that this verb also, like *sit*, seems to be state-like when it is in the progressive construction: *He is sleeping* implies that he is in a state. Vendler (1967:106) points out that what is denoted by states (and some achievements) cannot be done deliberately or carefully: "[W]e find that one cannot know, believe, or love deliberately or carefully, and none of us can be accused of, or held responsible for, having "done" so either." (In a footnote he adds that they are not "done" or "performed" at all.) To sit is something that one can do deliberately. To control when one sleeps is also possible up to a certain extent (more than to control hate, love and beliefs). Another problematic verb is *to learn*. Take a verb phrase like *learn a language* for instance. It is difficult to say whether Vendler would classify this as an activity or as an accomplishment. Learning a language is a gradual process without a certain point at which the learner suddenly knows the language. To learn a game might be less problematic, if by that one understands the same as learning the rules of the game in question. Finally consider to *open a door*. If someone is opening a door, and then stops, before it is wide open, has he then opened it? If the answer is no, then *open a door* must be considered an accomplishment, if the answer is yes, then *open a door* must be considered an activity.

Let us now turn to the last point of Verkuyl's criticism of Vendler, namely his objection to the whole idea of classifying verbs as such: Verkuyl's view that aspectuality is something pertaining to sentences and which has to be studied compositionally, leads him to claim that Vendler's classification is redundant. His own view that one should take the contribution of every word present into consideration, he claims, is incompatible with Vendler's aspectual classes: "The compositional approach on the basis of semantic information scattered over constituents in the sentential structure is in conflict with the idea of aspectual classes, such as Vendler's popular verb classes [...]. These two things cannot be married: if aspect formation is a process at a structural level it is hard to see how a lexical division can be maintained" (Verkuyl 1995:3f).

However, a comparison between Vendler's and Verkuyl's approaches reveals that they do not differ as fundamentally as one might think: All of Vendler's categories except that of states contain verbs to which Verkuyl assigns the feature [+ADD TO]. States have the feature [-ADD TO]. Vendler's achievements and accomplishments contain [+ADD TO]-verbs and (those that do have an object) an object argument with the feature [+SQA]. Since Vendler allows for verb phrases in his classes, *draw circles* and *eat sandwiches* would be classified by him as activities.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Vendler does not make a distinction between inner and outer aspect, since he concentrates on verbs and verb phrases, but if we apply Verkuyl's terminology to Vendler, it becomes clear that Vendler deals exclusively with inner aspect.

2.4 Concluding remarks

I have presented two different approaches to aspectuality. The one is concerned with the inherent aspectual properties of verbs and classifies them into four different classes on the basis of such properties. The other is concerned with the contribution of each word present in a sentence to the aspectual result of the whole sentence.

In chapter 4, I will present a number of Norwegian sentences, some of which are identical except for the verb types used. The aspectuality of these sentences will then be interpreted according to Verkuyl's approach. Following Vendler's approach, one expects that one always obtains the same aspectual result when analysing the aspectuality of sentences containing verbs from the same class. Following Verkuyl, it should be possible to predict the aspectual result of the sentences simply by taking the [ADD TO]-value of the verb and the [SQA]-values of the arguments used in each sentence into consideration.

In spite of the fact that both Vendler and Verkuyl deal exclusively with what Verkuyl refers to as *inner aspect*, I will present sentences expressing outer aspect as well as sentences expressing inner aspect. In my opinion, the tools for investigating aspectuality obtained by making use of these two different approaches allows one to compare *inner-aspect-sentences* with *outer-aspect-sentences*. This means that I will present sentences consisting of two clauses, the one being a matrix clause and the other being an adverbial clause. The purpose of doing that is that it enables me to investigate the interaction between verb types and different subordinating conjunctions.

By proceeding in this way I hope to shed light on which factors play the most important role for the expression of aspectuality in a language like Norwegian. Is it enough to concentrate on the verb type, or is Verkuyl right when he argues that aspectuality is a compositional phenomenon? And even if he is right about that, is it enough simply to divide verbs into those that are [+ADD TO] and those that are [-ADD TO]? In other words: Can these two approaches be used to say something about the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian, and which one of them is best suited for the kind of data I will present?

3 Aspectuality in Greek and Norwegian

3.0 Introduction

I will start this chapter with a presentation of the formal aspect marking in Greek; this will constitute section 3.1. 3.2 is a presentation of how aspect is described by different authors of Greek grammars. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 are devoted to a description of the different uses of the perfective and imperfective aspect in Greek, while 3.5 consists of a presentation of how the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian is described in *Norsk referansegrammatikk* ('Norwegian Reference Grammar', 1997) and my comments on some issues of that description. 3.6 presents some Norwegian sentences which would be aspectually ambiguous out of context, but which are not in the context they are presented. 3.7 sums up the contents of this chapter. Note that all translations from the Greek and Norwegian works referred to are mine.

3.1 Aspect marking in Greek

Since attention was drawn to aspect in Greek about half a century ago, this phenomenon has been considered a very important part of the Greek verbal system. In fact so important that some scholars have argued that it should be ranked higher than tense on a ranking list of the importance of categories (Mirambel 1942:28). In spite of that, aspect has not been treated as a separate grammatical category in traditional grammars (e.g. Tsolakis (1995) and Triantafillidhis (1995)). That aspect should be considered a separate category independent of tense has simply been overlooked. This is true of descriptions of other aspect languages as well. Lyons (1977:705) puts it this way:

> [A]spect has frequently been confused with tense in the standard treatments of particular languages; and [...] this has had its effect upon the more theoretical discussions of temporal relations in language by linguists, philosophers and psycholinguists.

It is worth noting that Greek does not have a well established term for aspect; that shows how little attention this phenomenon has been subject to until quite recently. However, in the last decades a large amount of books and articles have been written on the matter (cf. Mackridge 1985:102), and several linguists and philologists have come up with suggestions as to what could be a good term. Among them are Mackridge (1985), who has suggested the term *opsi* (a translation of the Russian word *vid* ('view' or 'aspect').[26] Other suggestions are *pjon enerjias* ('nature of action', 'aktionsart') by Babibniotis-Kontos and others, *apopsi* ('view') by Karatzas and *tropos* ('way') by Triantafillidhis[27].

According to traditional Greek school grammars, Greek has the following eight tenses: Present (*enestotas*), perfective past, (*aoristos*), imperfective past (*paratatikos*), present perfect (*aparemfatos*), pluperfect (*ipersintelikos*), imperfective future (*eksakoluthitikos mellontas*), perfective future (*stighmieos mellontas*) and perfect future (*sintelesmenos mellontas*). Since some of these differ only as to aspect (the perfective and imperfective past and the perfective and imperfective future) and others are periphrastically built (all perfect and future constructions), it is now common to postulate only two morphological tenses, past and non-past (cf. Mackridge 1985:104), and it is common to distinguish between three aspect forms: Imperfective, perfective and perfect.[28]

Most Greek verbs have three stems: The imperfective stem (e.g. *ghraf-* 'write') (which is the same for active and mediopassive[29]), the active perfective stem (*ghraps-*) and the mediopassive perfective stem (*ghraft-*). This holds for almost all verbs, but there are a few exceptional verbs that lack one or more forms. Table 2 shows all possible forms[30] of the verb *ghrafo* 'write'.

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[26] In fact, the English term *aspect* is a translation from *vid* as well.

[27] Moser (1993a).

[28] See section 1.3 for a discussion of the perfect.

[29] The term *mediopassive* is used rather than passive because there are verbs with passive form but active function (deponent verbs), and the passive form has a number of functions other than passive, like reflexivity, reciprocity etc. Mediopassive is a merger of the Ancient Greek medium and passive.

[30] Since the perfect forms are always formed with the perfective stem of a verb (see section 1.4), I choose to leave them out of this table.

Table 2

Active

	PAST	NON-PAST (PRESENT)	NON-PAST (FUTURE)	IMPERATIVE	PRESENT PARTICIPLE
IMPERFECTIVE	eghrafa	ghrafo	(tha) ghrafo	ghrafe!	ghrafondas
	I wrote	I am writing	I shall write	write!	
PERFECTIVE	eghrapsa		(tha) ghrapso	ghrapse!	
	I wrote		I shall write	write!	

Table 3

Mediopassive

	PAST	NON-PAST (PRESENT)	NON PAST (FUTURE)	IMPERATIVE	PRESENT PARTICPLE
IMPERFECTIVE	ghrafomun	ghrafome	(tha) ghrafome		ghramenos
	I was written	I am being written	(I shall) be written		
PERFECTIVE	ghraftika		(tha) ghrafto	ghrapsu!	
	I was written		I will be written	be written!	

Note first that there is no difference between the verb forms in indicative and subjunctive (as the subjunctive is formed periphrastically) and that the perfective past is not found in the subjunctive (Mackridge 1985:274). Table 2 shows that the non-past forms are used for present and future. In spite of that, I have chosen to list them in two separate columns to illustrate that only the imperfective form can be used for referring to the present (as one can hardly imagine completed situations in the present[31]). All future constructions are periphrastically formed

[31]Comrie points out that in some Slavonic languages, the perfective form of a verb is compatible with the present tense, but he adds: "The uses of the Perfective Present in South Slavonic involves cases where the Present Tense is used in ways that are not strictly referring to the present moment" (Comrie 1976:67).

with either imperfective or perfective aspect. Note also that there is no mediopassive imperfective imperative.

It was stated above that traditional grammars fail to describe the category of aspect. In the first part of the next section I will therefore consider the description of the Greek verb system in two grammar books for Greek school children. Next, I will consider the description of aspect in a Greek grammar for foreign learners.

3.2 The description of aspect in books on Greek grammar

3.2.1 Two grammars for Greek school children

Triantaphillidhis (1995) and Tsolakis (1995), which are used in the Greek primary school today, both postulate two present, three past and three future tenses in Greek. Present tenses[32] are *present* (imperfective non-past) and *perfect.* The three past tenses are *continuous past* (imperfective past) *momentaneous past* (perfective past) and *past perfect.* The future tenses are *continuous future,* (imperfective non-past) *momentaneous future* (perfective non-past) and *perfect future*[33]. Before commenting on this division, I will show how these two authors define tense:

> The forms of the verb (*i tipi tu rimatos*) that show when an action happens are called the tenses of the verb (*hroni tu rimatos*) (Tsolakis 1995:202).

> [T]here are different verb forms which show when what the verb means happens. Those forms are called tenses (Triantafillidhis 1995:146).

The fact that both authors postulate the eight verb forms and verb constructions listed above implies that they treat the two aspect forms as different *tense forms.* This is modified by both authors by the fact that they mention "another distinction of the tenses" than the three just mentioned, namely: The distinction that concerns "the way (*tropos*) in which what the verb means is presented" (Triantafillidhis 1995:147). Both Triantafillidhis and Tsolakis distinguish between three "ways" for both past and future: Continuous, momentaneous and pluperfect for past, and continuous, momentaneous and perfect for future.

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[32]The correspondent terms from table 2 are listed in parenthesis.

[33]Triantafillidhis divides the tense forms into "single word tenses" (*monolehtiki hroni*) and "periphrastic tenses" (*perifrastiki hroni*).

Triantafillidhis describes the difference between the continuous and momentaneous future and past forms as follows:

> The continuous future shows something which is going to happen with uninterrupted duration or with repetition [...]. The continuous past shows that what the verb means, happened in the past, continuously or iteratively [...]. The momentaneous future shows something which is going to happen in the future without duration or repetition [...] the momentaneous past shows that what the verb means, happened in the past" (Triantaphillidhis 1995:147f).

Tsolakis describes the difference between continuous and momentaneous future as follows:

> The continuous future shows something which is going to happen continuously without or with breaks. The momentaneous future shows that something is going to happen in the future and it is presented as something which is going to happen in one moment (Tsolakis 1995:203).

They both note, then, that the difference between for instance the imperfective past and the perfective past is one of aspect. This means that although they do not consider aspect a category of its own, they both distinguish between tense and aspectual distinctions.

The following examples are provided by Triantafillidhis (1995:146) to show the difference between the continuous and momentaneous past[34].

Paratatikos (imperfective past):

(1) Htes to apojevma dhjavaza.
YESTERDAY THE AFTERNOON READ-IPIV-PAST-1.SG.
'Yesterday afternoon I read.'

(2) To kalokeri ksipnusa stis eksi.
THE SUMMER WAKE-UP-IPIV-PAST-1.SG AT SIX
'In the summer, I woke up at 6 o'clock.'

Aoristos (perfective past):

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[34] In order to avoid confusion with the perfect and imperfect, I abbreviate *perfective* and *imperfective* as "piv" and "ipiv", respectively.

(3) Htipisa tin porta.
KNOCK-PIV-PAST-1.SG THE-DOOR
'I knocked on the door.'

(4) Perasame orea sto taksidhi.
PASS-PIV-PAST-1.PL NICELY/BEAUTIFULLY AT-THE TRIP
'We had a good time on the trip.'

Since these are grammars for Greek children and aspect is not considered problematic for native Greek speakers, it is not surprising that no further explanation follows the examples presented here.

3.2.2 Aspect in a Greek grammar for foreign learners

Mackridge (1985:105) describes the difference between the two aspect forms in Greek as follows:

> The most basic concepts behind M[odern] G[reek] aspect are the following: in using a verb in the *perfective,* the speaker is viewing the action (or series of actions) as a single, completed whole (neither progressive nor habitual); with the *imperfective,* (s)he sees the verb as referring to a series of repeated actions not viewed as a whole (iterative) or to a continuous action in progress (progressive or durative)[...]When a speaker uses the perfective, (s)he tends to stand at a distance from the action, seeing it as a completed whole, irrespective of whether it occurs in the past or the future; when using the imperfective, the speaker's mental standpoint is not the time of speaking but the time of the action expressed by the verb (Mackridge 1985:105).

He provides several examples, four of which are presented here as (5)-(8):

(5) Htes pigha sto panepistimio.
YESTERDAY GO-PIV-PAST-1.SG TO-THE UNIVERSITY
'I went to the university yesterday (single action).'

(6) Fitisa sto panepistimio Thessalonikis.
STUDY-PIV-PAST-1.SG AT-THE UNIVERSITY THESSALONIKI'S
'I studied (carried out my studies) at the University of Salonica.'

(7) Otan imun mikros
WHEN BE-PAST-1.SG SMALL/YOUNG
pijena stin ekklisia kathe evdhomadha.
GO-IPIV-PAST 1.SG TO-THE CHURCH EVERY WEEK
'When I was young I went to church every week.'

(8) Htes, tin ora pu pijena stin ekklisia,
YESTERDAY THE HOUR WHERE GO-IPIV-PAST-1 SG TO-THE CHURCH,
sinandisa tin Katerina.
MEET-PIV-PAST-1 SG THE KATERINA
'As I went to church yesterday, I met Catherine.'

The use of the perfective form in (5) implies that the duration of the journey to the university is not emphasized. The speaker simply states that he went there yesterday. In (6), the use of the perfective form of the verb implies that the speaker simply states that he carried out his studies at the University of Salonica without emhpasizing that that was a habitual situation and without emphasizing the process of studying.

In (7), the use of the imperfective form implies that the speaker had the habit of going to church when he was young. If the adverbial *every week* is dropped in (7), the difference between the perfective and the imperfective form would correspond to the difference of meaning between doing something once as opposed to habitually.

Mackridge states that the duration of the journey to the university in (5) may have been exactly the same as the duration of the journey to the church in (8) and that the use of the imperfective form in the latter is conditioned by "the fact that something is expressed as having occurred *during* the journey". Mackridge comments on the sentence presented here as (8) as following:

> [T]he journey to the church has begun but has not been completed by the time the speaker meets Catherine: the journey here constitutes the circumstances of the single event (the meeting) which is expressed by a verb in the perfective (1985:105f).

Recall what was said above about "viewing the situation from inside" when using the imperfective form. As this form is used for referring to the progress of a situation, the speaker is conceived of as "entering the situation" he refers to with the imperfective form of a verb.

3.2.3 Summary

The two Greek authors writing for native speakers treat the two aspect forms simply as different tense forms, in spite of the fact that Greek verbs are marked for aspect and should be classified as to aspect independently of tense. Their description of the difference between for instance the perfective and the imperfective past (momentaneous and continuous past) as different "ways" of

presenting the verb's meaning shows that they note the difference between tense and aspect. It is unfortunate that they do not postulate a separate category aspect. In addition, they can be criticized for using the term *stighmeos* ('momentaneous') for denoting the perfective forms, and *sinehismenos* ('continuous' or 'durative') for denoting the imperfective forms as that gives the impression that the difference of the perfective and imperfective forms is reference to momentaneous and continuous situations respectively.

In chapter 1 I referred to Engberg (1995) who, like Mackridge, emphasizes the subjective nature of aspect, as the speaker decides which of the two forms to choose. In addition, it was pointed out that she criticizes the use of the terms *durative* and *momentaneous* for the description of imperfective and perfective.

Both Mackridge and Engberg consider aspect a separate category independent of tense. Both note that the description of the imperfective as a marker of durativity and the perfective as a marker of momentaneousness is misleading. Engberg criticizes the use of those terms strongly. Mackridge emphasizes the completed : incompleted distinction between the two aspect forms. He describes the difference as a single completed whole on the one hand (perfective) vs. progressive, habitual or durative on the other (imperfective).

Having seen how aspect is described both by some Greek and non-Greek grammarians, I will next present a description of the functions of the two aspect forms in Greek, based on my own experience and different descriptions of the subject. This will constitute sections 3.3 and 3.4.

3.3 The perfective form in Greek

3.3.1 Introduction

The perfective is by many considered the unmarked aspect form (e.g. Mackridge 1985:106) since it is the one used when one does not put weight on the internal temporal constituency of the situation presented, i.e the speaker does not specify whether a situation was (or will be) continuous, iterative or habitual[35]. "[I]t may simply state that something happened or will happen" (Mackridge 1985:106). Therefore, Mackridge states that the perfective form is far more frequent than the imperfective as it is the most natural form to use unless there are special reasons for using the imperfective.

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[35]Note that I use the term *iterative* to refer to the repetition of a situation taking place at a certain time, while the term *habitual* is used to refer to the same kind of situation taking place regularly.

Many scholars describe the perfective as a form referring to completed situations. Comrie (1976:19) criticizes the use of the term *completed* as use of that term puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation. We will see below that the perfective in Greek is often used to indicate the entrance into a state (as is not unusual in other languages with morphological aspect). This means that even if the perfective is often used to refer to completed situations, that is just one of its many functions and "certainly not its defining feature" (Comrie 1976:19). Comrie, therefore, proposes a division between *complete* and *completed* situations:

> The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle and end. The use of *completed*, however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of a situation than any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole (footnote omitted) (Comrie 1976:18).

As the perfective often emphasizes the termination of a situation, when two clauses are combined with a conjunction, both containing a verb in the perfective, no overlap between the two situations referred to is implied.

As noted above, the perfective is often used to refer to momentaneous situations. However, it may also be used to refer to situations of long duration, when the exact duration is specified, or when the duration is not emphasized. Use of the perfective often implies that a situation occurred once, as opposed to habitually. But the perfective may be used for habitual situations, when it is specified how many times the situation in question occurred. The perfective is also used for denoting entrance into a state. Moser (1993b) points to the fact that when combined with activity verbs, the perfective form always implies completion, while when combined with states it implies either completion or ingressiveness:

> [V]erbs which by virtue of their lexical meaning lay the stress on the duration of an event, whether this be a state or an activity, interact with the grammatical category of aspect in such a way that their perfective always brings out one of the limits of their duration: either the end (and this is the case always with activities and sometimes with states) or the entry into a state (and this is the case with most stative verbs (Moser 1993b:142).

Moser also points out that accomplishments in combination with the perfective form either emphasize the termination, or present the situation as neutral, that is, without specifying further the temporal constituency of the situation referred to. Achievements imply completion of the situation denoted by each verb (as situations denoted by achievement verbs are completed as soon as they occur) and are therefore marked for perfectivity except when the meaning is iterative or habitual. The ingressive function of the perfective form leads Moser to conclude that the perfective form in Greek is not really unmarked, as postulated by for instance Comrie (1976:21)[36].

3.3.2 Use of the perfective for reference to the completion of a situation

Consider first (9) which gives an example of the perfective non-past form:

(9) Tha **ghrapso** to ghramma se mia ora.
SHALL WRITE-PIV-NONPAST-1-SG THE LETTER IN ONE HOUR
'I will write the letter in (i.e. after) one hour.'

The use of the perfective form in (9) indicates that the speaker intends to write the whole letter one hour after the time of utterance. Naturally, the writing of the letter will not occur momentaneously, but the situation is presented as a complete whole, without reference to its progress. (Use of the imperfective would give no information as to whether the letter would be completed or not, but simply state that the speaker intends to be busy writing the letter after one hour).

Now consider (10) which describes two situations, with both verbs in the perfective form:

(10) **Eghrapsa** to ghramma, ke **kapnisa** ena tsigharo.
WRITE-PIV-PAST-1.SG THE LETTER AND SMOKE-PIV-PAST-1.SG A SIGARETTE
'I wrote the letter, and smoked a cigarette.'

The fact that both verbs are in the perfective form implies that the first situation (the writing of the letter) must have been completed before the second situation (the smoking of the cigarette) took place. In other words, there is no overlap at all between the two situations described. Use of the conjunction *ke* ('and'),

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[36]The following quote illustrates what Comrie means by *unmarked*: "[...]we may consider the view that the perfective represents the action pure and simple, without any additional overtones. In effect, this claims that perfectives are the unmarked members of any aspectual opposition based on perfectivity" (Comrie, 1976:21).

contributes to this interpretation, as it indicates succession in time between the two situations.

(11) shows the use of the perfective in combination with a phrase specifying the duration of the situation denoted by the verb[37]:

(11) **Emina** sti Norvijia ja dheka hronia.
LIVE-PIV-PAST-1.SG IN-THE NORWAY FOR TEN YEARS
'I lived in Norway for ten years.'

If the phrase *ten years* were substituted by an adverbial like *a long time*, the imperfective would be the correct form to use, because the duration would not be specified.

Now consider the use of the perfective for reference to an iterative situation when the number of times the situation took place (or will take place) is specified:

(12) Se **htipisa** dheka fores.
YOU HIT-PIV-PAST-1.SG TEN TIMES
'I hit you ten times.'

If the phrase *dheka fores* were removed, then (12) would have a semelfactive interpretation i.e. that the speaker hit the one addressed once or on a single occasion (as opposed to habitually).

Now consider sentences (13) and (14):

(13) Mi **ksehasete** na svisete ta fota.
NEG FORGET-PIV-NONPAST-2.PL TO[38] SWITCH-OFF-PIV-NONPAST-2.PL THE LIGHTS
'Don't forget to switch off the lights!' (Once, e.g. tonight)

(14) Na mu **ghrapsis.**
THAT TO-ME WRITE-PIV-NONPAST-2.SG
'Write to me.' (Once, or more than once)

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[37]Note that even when the duration of a situation is specified, the imperfective may be used. To illustrate that, Comrie gives the following example from Ancient Greek: *Ebasilevse dheka ete*, vs *ebasileve dheka ete* ('he ruled for ten years') . The first sentence has the verb in the perfective and the second in the imperfective. With the perfective form the sentence gets the meaning: 'He had a reign of ten years', with the imperfective form: 'during that period of ten years he reigned indeed'. This should make it clear that the choice of aspect form is not determined by the duration of the situation that is described.

[38] *Na* is a subjunctive marker which is usually translated to English as 'to' or 'that'.

The use of the perfective form of the verbs in (13) gives the sentence the interpretation that the order or request concerns one special occasion and is not meant as a general request never to forget. In (14) (according to Mackridge) the use of the perfective[39] implies no specification as to whether the request concerns once or several times.

3.3.3 Use of the perfective for denotation of entrance into a state

Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:177) state that Greek has no means to mark ingressive aspect morphologically, but as stated above, Moser (1993b:142) notes that use of the perfective aspect is the most common way of expressing entrance into a state. Consider (15):

(15) **Kathisa** ston ilio.
SIT-PIV-PAST-1 SG IN THE SUN
'I sat in the sun.' (e.g. for three hours) or 'I sat down in the sun.'

(15) can be uttered to describe a situation where the speaker has sat in the sun, and the use of the perfective form emphasizes the completion of the situation. But (15) also allows for the interpretation that the speaker entered a sitting-situation: *I sat down in the sun.* Mackridge (1985:111) presents the following examples for the illustration of how the perfective can be used to emphasize the entrance into a state:

(16) Prepi na **thimithite.**
MUST TO REMEMBER-PIV-NONPAST-2.PL
'You must remember' (i. e. 'start remembering!')

The perfective form in (16) implies that the speaker encourages the person(s) addressed[40] to try to enter a state of remembering.

Ruge (1984:147f), provides the example here presented as (17) to illustrate the ingressive function of the perfective form:

(17) Mi **fovithis.**
NEG BE-AFRAID-PIV-NON-PAST-2.SG
'Don't be afraid.' (don't become afraid)

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[39]In (13) and (14) there are no imperative verbs. In both cases a subjunctive construction is used to express an order.

[40]Use of the 2. person plural form is the polite way of adressing one person. Therefore, (16) can be used both for addressing one and more persons.

In (17) the perfective form implies that the speaker wants to encourage the person addressed not to enter a state of being afraid.

(18) shows how the perfective form of a verb in imperative can be used for expressing an order with immediate validity:

(18) **Akuse** to tilefono!
LISTEN-IMPERATIVE-PIV-2.SG THE TELEPHONE
'Listen to the telephone!' (i. e. it is ringing this very moment)

In (18) we get the interpretation that the person addressed should start listening immediately, e.g. if the speaker thinks he hears the telephone ringing and wants the person addressed to hear it too.

3.4 The imperfective form

3.4.1 Introduction

The imperfective form has more functions than the perfective. In spite of the fact that the perfective by many is considered to be the unmarked aspect for both past and future expressions, the imperfective is considered the basic form of the verb. That is because only the imperfective can be used for referring to the present. The imperfective stem is therefore the one listed in dictionaries (in the non-past 1. person singular form).

As the imperfective form is used to refer to the internal temporal constituency of a situation, it often emphasizes the progress of the situation denoted by the verb. It has as one of its functions to form the background of another situation. When referring to situations of long duration the imperfective form is often used when the exact duration is not specified[41]. Another function of the imperfective is to denote iterative and habitual situations. As the imperfective often implies durativity and on-going situations, it is used in general statements, for denoting qualities and for generic statements. Finally, the imperfective is used for reference to potential situations.

3.4.2 Use of the imperfective for indication of progressiveness

One of the main functions of the imperfective is to indicate progressiveness (i.e. reference to the progress of a situation).

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[41]But see footnote 37.

(19) **Kolimbusa.**
SWIM-IPIV-PAST-1.SG
'I was swimming.'

In (19), the use of the imperfective form of the verb indicates that the swimming was in progress at the time referred to, and that the progress of the situation has relevance for what the speaker wants the sentence to express, like for instance if the situation is set as a background for another situation as in (20):

(20) Eno **kolimbusa** ehasa to dhahtilidhi mu.
WHILE SWIM-IPIV-PAST-1.SG LOSE-PIV-PAST-1.SG THE RING MY
'While I was swimming this morning, I lost my ring.'

Here, the situation described by the first verb sets the background for the situation denoted by the second verb, hence it is indicated that there was overlap between the two situations. It was while the speaker was swimming that the other situation occurred, i.e. that he lost his ring. In (20) the speaker refers to the internal temporal constituency of the situation denoted by the first verb (his swimming), which is in progress and seen from inside. The other situation is presented with the perfective form of the verb. *Hano* ('lose') denotes a momentaneous situation, and can only be marked for imperfectivity if the meaning is habitual (see 3.4.4). But even if the verb in the second clause had been a verb which allows the imperfective form for other functions than expression of habituality, it could be marked for perfectivity, as in (21):

(21) Eno **kolimbusa,** o Petros traghudhise.
WHILE SWIM-IPIV-PAST-1.SG THE PETER SING-PIV-PAST-3.SG
'While I was swimming, Peter sang.'

Traghudhao ('sing') is in the perfective form, as the internal phases of that situation are not of interest here. What is important is that while another situation was in progress (the speaker's swimming) something else occurred (Peter's singing).

3.4.3 Use of the imperfective form for durativity

The imperfective is also a marker of durativity in the sense that it is used for reference to lasting situations whose exact extension on the time axis is not specified:

(22) Otan imuna mikri, **emena** sto Oslo.
WHEN BE-IPIV-PAST-1-SG SMALL LIVE-IPIV-PAST-1. SG IN-THE OSLO
'As a child, I lived in Oslo.'

The exact time span is not specified and the correct form to use is the imperfective. But, as was also pointed out in section 3.3.2, a long period of time can perfectly well be referred to by using the perfective form when the length of duration is specified. (23) shows how use of the imperfective form can be used to emphasize the duration of a situation:

(23) **Evlepa** ena fidhi ston kipo.
SEE-IPIV-PAST-1.SG A SNAKE IN-THE GARDEN
'I have been watching a snake in the garden.'

The past perfective form of the verb *vlepo* ('see') would give the interpretation that the speaker caught sight of a snake in the garden. The imperfective form indicates that the speaker must have watched the snake for an unspecified period of time.

Use of the imperfective in (24) implies reference to the time in which the speaker was sitting in the sun or implies durativity without a specified duration.

(24) **Kathomuna** ston ilio.
SIT-IPIV-PAST-1SG IN-THE-SUN
'I was sitting in the sun/sat in the sun (for an unspecified quantity of time).'

3.4.4 Imperfective aspect for habitual and iterative situations

Consider first (25):

(25) Tha **pijenume** sinema.
SHALL GO-IPIV-NON-PAST-1.PL CINEMA
'We shall go to the cinema.'

The use of the imperfective form in (25) indicates that the speaker intends that the referents of "we" shall go regularly or several times to the cinema. Use of the perfective form here would indicate that they would go once to the cinema. (26) shows how the imperfective form of a punctual verb results in expression of iterativity or habituality:

(26) Se **htipusa.**
YOU HIT-IPIV-PAST-1.SG
'I hit you.'

Use of the imperfective in (26) implies that the speaker hit the person addressed many times in a row with no specification as to how many times (iterative situation) or that he hit the person addressed habitually. Note that verbs describing momentaneous situations (i.e. those that Vendler classifies as achievements) are essentially incompatible with the imperfective form, except when used to denote iterative or habitual situations (Moser 1993b:142).

Just as the imperfective form is used when one does not specify the exact duration of a situation, it is used for repeated situations whose number is not precisely specified, as illustrated in (27a-b):

(27a) Su **eghrafa** otan emena sto eksoteriko.
TO-YOU WRITE-IPIV-PAST-1. SG WHEN LIVE-IPIV-PAST-1. SG IN-THE ABROAD
'I wrote (used to write) to you when I was abroad.'

(27b) Min anisihis, tha su **ghrafo.**
NEG. WORRY-IPIV-NONPAST-2-SG SHALL TO-YOU WRITE-NON-IPIV-PAST-1-SG
'Don't worry, I will write to you.' (several times)

According to Egil Danielsen (pers. comm.), (27b) can also be interpreted as *I will write to you, sooner or later*, without any indication of iterativity. As opposed to *tha ghrapso* (I shall write-perfective), which would indicate an intention of carrying out the action in the near future.

3.4.5 Use of the imperfective for general statements and denotation of qualities

Sentence (13) from section 3.3.2 is presented here as (28) with the verbs in the imperfective instead of the perfective. While (13) received a semelfactive interpretation, (28) has general validity:

(28) Mi **ksehnate** na svinete.
NEG FORGET-IPIV-NONPAST-2PL TO SWITCH-OFF-IPIV-NONPAST-2PL
ta fota.
THE LIGHTS
'Don't forget (in general) to switch off the lights at night.'

Use of the imperfective form of *ksehno* in (28) gives a general meaning, i.e. "never forget" or "do not forget (for an unspecified period of time)". However,

(28) could be uttered as an order concerning a special occasion, but then it is emphasized that the persons addressed must not forget to switch off the lights, and the interpretation would be "keep in mind continuously not to forget to switch off the lights".

(29) and (30), which are taken from Mackridge (1985:108), show how the imperfective aspect can be used for denoting qualities or permanent states:

(29) Dhen **ekove** to maheri.
NEG CUT-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THE KNIFE
'The knife did not cut (i. e. was not sharp at all).'

(30) Ti dhulja kanis? **Ghrafo.**
WHAT WORK DO-IPIV-NON-PAST-2. SG[42]. WRITE-IPIV-NON-PAST-1.SG
'What kind of work do you do? I write.' (i. e. I am a writer)

3.4.6 Use of the imperfective for generic statements and potential situations

(31) shows how generic statements are expressed by use of the imperfective form:

(31) O hameleon ehi tin ikanotita
THE CHAMELEON HAS-IPIV[43]-NONPAST-3-SG THE ABILITY

na **allazi** to hroma tu.
TO CHANGE-IPIV-NON-PAST-3SG THE-COLOUR HIS
'Chameleons have the ability of changing their colour.'[44]

In (31) the imperfective form is used because this is a generic statement. Changing their colour is a permanent quality of all chameleons.

Now consider (32) and (33)[45], which illustrate how the difference between the imperfective and perfective aspect can be used to distinguish between a specific and a generic statement:

(32) I kopeles prepi na **pantrevunte** mikres.
THE GIRLS MUST-NON-PAST[46] TO MARRY-IPIV-NON-PAST-3-PL SMALL
'Girls should marry young.'

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[42] The opposition between perfective and imperfective is neutralized for the verb *kano*. Originally the form *kano* is marked for perfectivity while *kamo* is the imperfective form, but today, many speakers of SMG use *kano* for both aspects.

[43] *Eho*, ('to have'), has only one aspect form and as it is used in combination with the present tense, one must consider it imperfective.

[44] (31) is taken from the Oxford Greek-English Dictionary.

[45] (32) and (33) are taken from Mackridge (1985:114) who attributes them to Newton (1979:158-9).

[46] *Prepi* ('must') is indeclinable for person and aspect.

(33) I kopeles prepi na **pandreftun** mikres.
THE GIRLS MUST-NON-PAST TO MARRY-PIV-NON-PAST-3.PL SMALL
'The girls should marry young.'

Use of the imperfective makes (32) a generic statement. The only interpretation is that this is a generic statement concerning girls. The speaker sees the girls as a group, marrying one after the other. "or else there is a scenario: 'whenever girls exist...'" (Mackridge 1985:115). In (33) on the other hand, the statement concerns a certain group of girls.

(34) and (35) show the use of imperfective for potential situations:

(34) Afti i protasi tha **boruse**
THIS THE SENTENCE SHOULD CAN-IPIV-PAST-3SG
na metafrastei os eksis...
TO TRANSLATE-PASSIVE-PIV-NON- PAST-3SG AS FOLLOWS
'This sentence could be translated as follows...'

(34) describes a potentiality of the sentence in question, and the imperfective form of *boro* ('can') is used.

One of the examples provided by Mackridge (1985:125) to illustrate the use of the imperfective form for expression of potential situations is presented here as (35):

(35) Min **angizis** tin katsarola - kei.
DO-NOT TOUCH-IPIV-NON-PAST-2.SG THE SAUCEPAN BURN-IPIV-NON-PAST-3.SG
'Do not touch the saucepan - it is very hot.'

In (35) *angizo* ('touch') is in the imperfective form as it is uttered as a warning against a situation that might occur. Note that if the speaker's intention was to prevent a situation which is about to occur, the perfective form of *angizo* ('touch') would be used.

3.4.7 Use of the imperfective in orders and encouragements

We have seen examples of the perfective's function as a marker of entrance into a state. The examples provided with the perfective form in 3.3.3 are here repeated with the imperfective form. (36) is taken from Ruge (1984:147f):

(36) Mi **fovase.**
NEG BE-AFRAID-IPIV-NON-PAST-2.SG
'Don't be afraid.'

The use of the imperfective form in (36) implies that the situation is in action, and the person addressed is asked to stop being afraid. (37) is taken from Mackridge (1985:111)

(37) Prepi na **thimaste.**
MUST TO REMEMBER-IPIV-NONPAST-2.PL
'(Surely), you must remember.'

Use of the imperfective form in (36) and (37) (most likely) results in the interpretation that they refer to the present. The speaker assumes that the person addressed[47] is in a state of being afraid, or remembering, respectively.

Use of the imperfective imperative of *akuo* ('listen/hear') in (38) results in an order with durative interpretation:

(38) **Aku** to tilefono!
LISTEN-IPIV-IMPERATIVE-2.SG THE TELEPHONE
'Listen if the telephone should ring.'

(38) has the interpretation that the person addressed should listen for a while, continuously as in "listen for the telephone (it might ring, and then I need you to answer it)".

Mackridge (1985:122) refers to Bakker (1965) who observes that the imperfective is the natural form to choose "in ordering or forbidding action which is already in progress or which seems to the speaker to be imminent [...]or else it is used for a general command covering an unspecified number of future actions".

3.4.8 Summary

We have seen that the perfective aspect presents a situation as if it took place at a single point in time, or as a complete whole, disregarding the different time phases of the situation. Although it is often used to refer to momentaneous situations, it is the most likely form to choose when describing a situation with a long extension on the time-axis when the exact duration of the situation referred to is specified[48].

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[47]See footnote 40.
[48]Recall that also the imperfective form may be used when the exact duration of the situation referred to is specified. See footnote 37 for an example of that.

Use of the perfective often implies that the situation described is semelfactive, but as shown above, it can be used when referring to iterative situations when the number of occurrence is specified. In 3.3.1 it was pointed out that in combination with states and activities, the perfective has the task of marking one of the outer points of the situation described, while in combination with accomplishments, it may simply present the situation referred to in a neutral way. Achievements are normally combined with the perfective form, unless for an iterative or habitual interpretation.

As the imperfective is used to refer to the internal time phases of a situation, it is the form to choose for reference to the progress of a situation. It is also used to set the background of another situation, and it is the form used to express habituality, iterativity as well as long-lasting situations of unspecified duration. Therefore, it is used to express generic statements, general statements, to denote qualities and potential situations. It is often used to refer to situations with long extensions on the time-axis, but that is no necessity, just as the perfective form does not only refer to momentaneous situations.

3. 5 Aspectuality in Norwegian

3.5.1 Introduction

In Greek it is not possible to construct sentences without either imperfective or perfective marking on the verb. As mentioned above, Norwegian makes use of other means to express those distinctions that in Greek are expressed by morphological marking on the verb stem. When a situation in the past is presented with the verb *spise*, 'eat', for example, the verb will (unless the perfect construction is used) appear in the preterite form: *spiste* ('ate'), as in *jeg spiste* ('I ate'), which could be translated to Greek with either the perfective or imperfective form of the verb. Which of the two translations to choose depends on the context. Not very much is written about aspectuality in Norwegian, but in *Norsk referansegrammatikk* ('Norwegian Reference Grammar' (1997), henceforth NRG) 24 pages are devoted to the subject. In sections 3.5.2 to 3.5.4 I will present the main points of the description given in NRG.

3.5.2 The description of aspectuality[49] in NRG

In NRG, the description of aspectuality in Norwegian is divided into two main sections: One on aktionsart and the other on different aspect constructions. In the section on aktionsart, four factors that have relevance for the aktionsart of an action[50] are presented. These four factors are combined in different ways, and on the basis of those combinations, verbs or situation types are classified into five groups (see figure 2 below).

The second main section starts out with a description of morphologically marked aspect. Then a number of "analytic, syntactic constructions that can be used for focusing on and emphasize different phases of an action or a situation[51]" in Norwegian are presented (NRG:645).

In the following, I will present the main points of the NRG description, and then comment on certain issues.

3.5.3 NRG's description of aktionsart

NRG introduces the section on aktionsart by stating that: "Aktionsart describes the internal time lapse (*tidsforløp*) of the action as this is determined by the semantics of the verb or the verb phrase" (NRG:637). It is pointed out that aktionsart concerns properties of the verbal action qua action, "and can therefore be said to express inherent lexical properties of the verb" (NRG:637f).

Then the following four factors which have relevance for determining aktionsart are presented:

+/-durative
+/-dynamic
+/-telic
+/-iterative

Verbs which are -durative are called punctual. These are not further divided. All other verbs have the value +durative and are classified as either non-dynamic (stative) or dynamic, with dynamic verbs subdivided as telic or non-telic, and the

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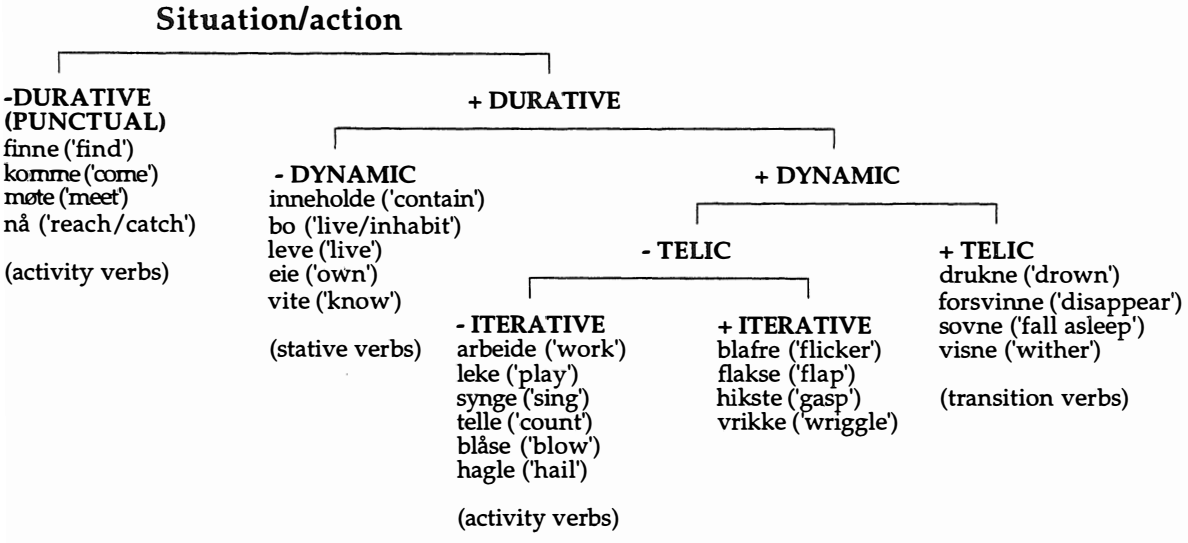
[49]The term *aspectuality* is not used in NRG. Instead a division is made between *aktionsart* and *aspect constructions*. For the sake of consistency, I prefer to use *aspectuality* even when referring to works that do not use that term.

[50]The term *handling* ('action') is the one used by NRG here. As this division concerns all verbs, this term must here be used synonymously with my use of *situation* (see 0.2)

[51]For instance the progress or the termination of a situation.

latter further subdivided as iterative or non-iterative. Figure 2 shows the classification given in NRG of the different verb types.

Figure 2



The different verb types are described as follows: Punctual verbs are defined as denoting momentaneous actions/situations, which do not involve time phases as they have no extension in time, "the whole action is realized momentaneously" (NRG:638). For these verbs, the factor +/- dynamic is not relevant, they are all dynamic (see below). As shown in figure 2, punctual verbs are labelled *activity verbs*.

Durative verbs are defined as denoting actions with extension in time, with or without the idea of a terminal point (see below). The time lapse in all durative actions is taken to be constituted by phases (NRG:639). As shown in figure 2, these are divided into +/-dynamic.

What separates non-dynamic verbs from dynamic verbs is that while dynamic verbs denote "actions/situations that imply a change or require some kind of 'supply of energy'" (NRG:639/640) and involve *different* phases, non-dynamic verbs are described as denoting continuous situations consisting of phases that are alike. Non-dynamic verbs are termed *stative verbs*.

The non-telic verbs termed "non-iterative" are, like punctual verbs, called activity verbs and are described as denoting actions with extension in time with no emphasis on the termination of the situation. Non-iterative verbs, then, denote different phases, cf. the following quote: "for verbs like *work, play* and *run* etc., the activity will change during different phases of the action" (NRG:639).

Non-telic verbs labelled 'iterative' denote repetition of an action. If it is true that a candle has flickered, for example, it must have moved in a certain way at least a few times.

Telic verbs are described as follows: "If the verb denotes a durative action, but at the same time contains the idea of an end point, the aktionsart is telic". The following test for telic verbs is presented: In order to find out whether a verb x is telic or not, ask the following question: If you are x-ing, then stop, have you then x-ed? If the answer is yes, x is not a telic verb; if the answer is no, the verb is telic. The verbs *leke* ('play') and *drukne* ('drown') are used as examples: "If you were playing, but something stopped you while you were playing, have you then played? The answer is yes. If you were drowning, but something stopped you while you were drowning, have you then drowned? The answer is no." NRG therefore concludes that *play* is non-telic, while *drown* is telic.[52]

From the descriptions given of punctual and telic verbs, respectively, it seems that punctual verbs do not have a process leading up to the terminal point whereas telic verbs do. Recall that punctual verbs are described as momentaneous and hence without phases; the terminal point is reached as soon as the situation occurs. Telic verbs, on the other hand, are described as durative verbs with the idea of an end point. This difference is not explicitly stated in NRG, but it is pointed out that the distinction between these two verb types is not always clear. This is illustrated with the verb *dø* ('die'). Because of the existence of expressions like *Han er døende*, 'he is dying', i.e. he is so ill that he is soon going to die, and *jeg går her og dør sånn litt etter litt* ('I walk around dying little by little'), it is considered problematic to consider *dø* a punctual verb and suggested that it should be classified as durative-telic.

Let us now turn to examples given in NRG of aspectuality expressed by other factors than simple verbs. On page 640 it is shown how the repetition of a non-telic verb results in emphasis on the duration of an action:

(39a) Han spilte og spilte.
'He played and played.'

(39b) Han arbeidet og arbeidet.
'He worked and worked.'

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[52]See below for a discussion of this test.

It is pointed out that this kind of syntactic iteration is normally not possible with stative or telic verbs:

(40) *De bodde og bodde på gården.
'They lived and lived on the farm.'

(41) *Han druknet og druknet.
'He drowned and drowned.'

In a section dealing with verbal modifications which have effect on the aktionsart of verbs or verb phrases, it is illustrated how non-telic verbs become telic by the addition of certain prepositions[53]: "While verbs like for example *lese* ('read'), *skrive* (write') and *spise* ('eat') are non-telic, these verbs are clearly telic in combination with prepositions like *ut* ('out'), *opp* ('up'), *ned* ('down')" (NRG:642). Among the examples provided are the following:

(42) Jeg skal lese ut boka om Knut Hamsun i kveld.
I SHALL READ OUT BOOK-THE ABOUT KNUT HAMSUN TONIGHT
'I will finish reading the book about Knut Hamsun tonight.'

(43) Vi spiser opp maten.
WE EAT UP FOOD-THE
'We are finishing the food.'

In both (42) and (43) the terminal point of the action is clearly emphasized. This is contrasted with cases where the addition of certain prepositions results in non-telicity (NRG:642):

(44) Jeg skal lese i boka om Knut Hamsun i kveld.
I SHALL READ IN BOOK-THE ABOUT KNUT HAMSUN TONIGHT
'I shall read in the book about Knut Hamsun tonight.'

(45) Hun spiser på en banan.
SHE EAT ON A BANANA
'She is eating on a banana.'

In (44) and (45) the progress of the actions is emphasized.

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[53] It is usual to consider *opp* ('up') and *i* ('in') as used here, particles as rather than prepositions. As NRG refers to them as prepositions, that distinction is not made there.

Examples of durative, non-telic verbs which have derivations made with prefixes like *for-* and *til-* which result in a telic aktionsart are also given: *Blø* ('bleed'), *forblø* ('bleed to death'), *bruke* ('use'), *forbruke* ('consume'), *kjempe* ('fight'), *tilkjempe* ('earn by fight').

NRG notes that the aspectual properties of a sentence are not always tied to verbs or verb phrases alone. In that connection examples are given of how the specificity of the subject and/or the object may have aspectual effects or "have influence on the aktionsart in a sentence" as it is put (NRG:643):

(46a) All bensinen rant ut fra tanken.
ALL GASOLINE-THE RAN OUT FROM TANK-THE
'All the gasoline leaked out of the tank.'

(46b) Bensin rant ut fra tanken.
GASOLINE RAN OUT FROM TANK-THE
'Gasoline leaked out of the tank.'

(47a) Inge vasket koppene.
INGE WASHED CUPS-THE
'Inge washed the cups.'

(47b) Inge vasket kopper.
INGE WASHED CUPS
'Inge washed cups.'

In each of the (a) sentences the situation described is seen as limited in time, in the (b) sentences it is not. In (46b) the fact that the subject is non-specific gives the sentence an unbounded interpretation. In (47b) the non-specific object contributes to the unbounded aspectual result.

The fact that adverbs like *ofte* ('often') *regelmessig* ('regularly'), *daglig* ('daily') etc. give an iterative interpretation, is also exemplified. Among the examples provided are (48) and (49):

(48) Lise reiste daglig til byen.
LISE TRAVELLED DAILY TO TOWN-THE
'Lise went daily to town.'

(49) Hun gikk regelmessig til kontroll.
SHE WENT REGULARLY TO CONTROL
'She went regularly for a (health) check.'

Let us now turn to the part of the NRG description which deals with aspectual constructions. This part starts out by listing eight different types of what is termed *aspect constructions*:

> **Current**: Constructions which focus on an action or situation extended in time without any form of delimitation: *Barna sitter og skriver* 'the children sit and write'.
> **Close-to-aspect (*nær-ved-aspekt*)** constructions denoting a situation that is about to occur: *Han holdt på å drukne,* 'he was about to drown'. Use of these constructions normally implies that the action denoted by the verb does not occur.
> **Continuous:** Constructions which focus on the continuation of an action which is (or has been) in progress: *Gutten fortsatte å øve,* 'the boy continued to rehearse'.
> **Habitual aspect:** Constructions focusing on an action which continues as a consequence of habit or custom: *De bruker (å) reise bort om helgene* 'They use to go away in the weekends'.
> **Ingressive:** Constructions that focus on the starting phase of an action: *Det tok til å mørkne,* 'it started darkening, it started getting dark'.
> **Egressive:** Constructions which focus on the end phase of an action: *Han sluttet å le,* 'he stopped laughing'.
> **Iterative:** Constructions that focus on the repetition of an action: *Hun hostet og hostet* 'she coughed and coughed'.
> **Resultative:** Focus on the result of an action: *De fikk reparert skaden i løpet av ettermiddagen,* 'they got the damage repaired during the afternoon'.

The rest of the section on aspect constructions is devoted to comments on these eight construction types. I will here leave the presentation of the NRG description and turn to comment on some issues of NRG in the next section.

3.5.4 Comments

3.5.4.1 Notes on the terminology in NRG

As we have seen above, NRG divides the presentation of aspectuality in Norwegian into one part on aktionsart and one on aspect constructions. In the section on aktionsart, four factors are postulated as having influence on the aktionsart of a verb: Durative, dynamic, telic and iterative. Verbs are marked with values of + or - for these factors. This results in a division of five verb classes as shown in figure 2. In the section on aspect constructions eight construction types expressing different aspectual properties are presented.

In this section I will address some terminological issues in NRG. Next, I will discuss the verbs that in NRG are categorized as telic and punctual. That

discussion leads over to a comparison between the verb classes postulated by NRG and those postulated by Vendler.

The two main sections in NRG are entitled 'aktionsart as a grammatical category' (*aksjonsart som grammatisk kategori*) and 'aspect as a grammatical category' (*aspekt som grammatisk kategori*), respectively. Although I have been unable to locate a general definition of the term *grammatical category* in the NRG text, the following quote shows that it is intended to cover much the same as my term *morpho-syntactic category*. Referring to the examples *Barna synger* ('The children sing') and *Barna sang* ('The children sang'), the text reads:

> In the first sentence the action is localized to the present, while in the other it is localized to the past. This difference in tense is expressed through the opposition between the two grammatical inflection forms of the verb, present and preterite. Therefore we say that the location in time is grammaticalized. This is also the reason why we say that the verb has tense inflection and that tense is considered a separate **grammatical** category (NRG:539).

Consider first the title of the first section dealing with aktionsart in NRG: "Aktionsart as a grammatical category" (*Aksjonsart som grammatisk kategori*). Next, consider the NRG definition of *aktionsart*:

> Aktionsart describes the internal time lapse (*tidsforløp*) of the action as this is determined by the semantics of the verb or the verb phrase. Aktionsart, then, has to do with properties of the verbal action qua action and can therefore be said to express inherent lexical properties of the verb (NRG:637f).

It should be clear that aktionsart is conceived of as fundamentally different from tense and, hence, should not be labelled a grammatical category. An additional problem with this categorization is that the term *aktionsart* is also used with a wider meaning, namely to refer to the aspectual properties of expressions like *lese i boken* ('read in the book') and *vasket koppene* ('washed the cups'), which can hardly be said to be grammaticalized.

In the introduction to the second main section it is pointed out that Norwegian does not have a grammatical category aspect:

> In many languages, aspect appears as a separate grammatical category on a par with tense and mood. In Norwegian, we do not have a separate aspect category with fixed grammatical means of expression, (*faste grammatiske uttrykksmidler*). When we speak of aspect in Norwegian this concerns certain syntactic constructions which can have a meaning that corresponds to certain meanings expressed by aspect in other languages" (NRG:644).

It is stated, therefore, that the description will concern aspect constructions which can be used to express certain aspectual distinctions. These constructions are presented in sub-sections of the main section titled *Aspect as a grammatical category*, which is unfortunate, as that title does not fit for the contents of the sub-sections.

There are also problems related to the NRG use of the terms *aktionsart* and *aspect*. First, as both may involve verb phrases, it is sometimes hard to keep them apart. Second, it is hard to see how the definition of aktionsart as involving *inherent lexical properties* is compatible with the fact that this term is used about units that are larger than the word. The definition of aktionsart is also incompatible with the view held by NRG that the addition of a preposition to a verb may *change* the aktionsart of that verb as illustrated in the examples presented above as (42-45).

Another problem with the NRG description related to the discussion of aktionsart vs. aspect constructions is that complex verbs like *spise opp* ('eat up') sometimes are referred to as a *verb*. On page 596, the sentence *Hun spiste opp maten* ('she ate up the food') is commented as follows: "If the verb expresses a durative action, and the action at the same time implies a terminative point, the aktionsart is telic."

A consequence of this lack of a clear distinction between verb and verb + modifying preposition is that in some examples presented for the illustration of properties of the verb, other elements may be present which influence the aspectual properties of the unit in question. The division between aktionsart and aspect constructions would prove fruitful if *aktionsart* were reserved for referring to inherent and, hence, unchangeable properties of simple verbs. *Aspect constructions*, then, could be used for all kinds of verb constructions (e.g. verb phrases and verbs + modifying prepositions).

3.5.4.2 The telic : punctual distinction in NRG

In this section I will address some problems with the NRG criteria for classifying verbs as telic and punctual, respectively.

The NRG description of telic and punctual verbs, implies that for a telic verb x, there is a process leading up to the terminal point in which one is x-ing, while for a punctual verb y, there is no such process. The difference between the description of telic verbs by NRG and the description of accomplishments by Vendler is that in NRG it is not stated that the process leading up to the terminal point is of the same type as what is actually occurring at the terminal point. This is strengthened by the fact that the verb *drukne* ('drown') is considered to pass the telicity-test presented in NRG (see 3.5.3).

The fact that NRG does not specify the exact nature of the process leading up to the terminal point denoted by a telic verb makes it difficult to draw a clear distinction between telic and punctual verbs. Vendler's strict criteria for accomplishment verbs, on the other hand, make his system more applicable than the NRG system. As the process leading up to the moment when a person drowns makes *drukne* ('drown') a telic verb, then NRG must have different criteria for a verb to be telic than Vendler has for a verb to be an accomplishment. According to Vendler's description of accomplishment verbs, the verb *drukne* ('drown') would not pass the telicity test presented above. This is because of the lack of a process being of the same type as what is actually occurring when a person drowns leading up to the terminal point: the drowning.

In fact, of the examples provided as examples of telic verbs in NRG, *visne* ('wither') and *forsvinne* ('disappear') would according to Vendler qualify as accomplishment verbs, the others would not. Let us apply the telicity-test on those two verbs, starting with *wither*; If a flower is withering, then the process of withering stops, has the flower then withered? The answer is no. As it is possible to say of a withering flower that it is withering, Vendler would classify *wither* as an accomplishment verb. Now consider *disappear*: If the sun is disappearing, and then suddenly (for some strange reason) stops disappearing, has it then disappeared? The answer is no. As it is possible to talk of the sun disappearing gradually, Vendler would probably classify *disappear* as an accomplishment verb as well.

It should be noted that one of the verbs classified as telic verbs in NRG, namely *sovne* ('fall asleep'), does not necessarily imply reference to a terminal point. Moser (1993b) who I referred to above, would probably say that *fall asleep* denotes the entrance into a state. When we consider other verbs in Norwegian denoting transition, we find that there are several that do not fit easily in any of NRG or Vendler's verb classes, for instance *mørkne* ('darken') *rødme* ('redden/blush'), *blekne* ('become pale') and *falme* ('fade').

As the distinction between telic and punctual verbs is so difficult to draw on the basis of the NRG description, it might be suggested that those two classes could be merged into a single class of verbs whose defining feature is transition, as they all involve some kind of change. The four transition verbs introduced here would fit neatly in that class.

3.5.5 Comparison between NRG's and Vendler's verb classes

As both NRG and Vendler postulate a number of verb classes, I will here investigate to which extent the two classifications are compatible.

As will be recalled, Vendler's starting point is a division between verbs that may appear in the progressive construction, activities and accomplishments, and those that do not, states and achievements.

Activities are described as homogeneous processes consisting of successive phases with no emphasis on the end of the process. Accomplishments are described as denoting a terminal point, with a process leading up that point in which one can be said to be doing what is denoted by the verb (even if one has not really done that before that point is reached). States have the lack of a terminal point in common with activities, but denote stable periods of time rather than processes. Achievements have the idea of a terminal point in common with accomplishments, but differ in that they denote situations which are realized momentaneously without a foregoing process in which one can be said to be doing what is denoted by the verb, leading up to that terminal point.

If we compare NRG's classification of verbs with Vendler's, we find that non-telic verbs in NRG correspond to Vendler's activities and that NRG's stative verbs correspond to Vendler's states. Recall that stative verbs in NRG are described as denoting continuous, stable situations without an implication of a terminal point. NRG's punctual verbs equal Vendler's achievements. These are in NRG described as verbs requiring some kind of 'supply of energy', with a terminal point, but without a certain time lapse or different phases leading up to that point. The whole action occurs momentanously.[54]

As pointed out above, the NRG characterization of telic verbs and Vendler's of accomplishments resemble each other[55], but the NRG description does not specify that the process leading up to the terminal point is of the same kind as what occurs at the terminal point.

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[54]Note that punctual verbs are also labelled activity verbs by NRG, that is apparently due to the requirement of supply of energy, therefore the use of the term *activity* in NRG differs from Vendler's use of the term.

[55]But see below for a discussion of the examples given by NRG for this category.

Tables 4 and 5 show the classes postulated by NRG and Vendler, respectively. The NRG-table shows the classification shown in Figure 2, while in table 5 it is shown how the same verbs would be classified by Vendler's criteria.

Table 4
NRG's verb types

-ITERATIVE	+ITERATIVE	STATIVES	PUNCTUAL	TELIC
work	flicker	be	find	drown
play	flap	live	come	die
sing	wriggle	own	meet	disappear
count		contain	reach/catch	wither
blow		know	crack	fall asleep
hail				perish

Table 5
Vendler's verb types

ACTIVITIES	STATES	ACHIEVEMENTS	ACCOMPLISHMENTS
work	be	drown	wither
play	live	die	disappear
sing	own	fall asleep	
count	contain	perish	
blow	know	find	
hail		come	
flicker		meet	
flap		reach/catch	
wriggle		crack	

As can be seen from tables 4 and 5, the non-iterative and iterative verbs in NRG, coincide with Vendler's activity class, and the NRG verbs in the stative column coincide with Vendler's class of states. NRG's examples of punctual verbs would all be placed in Vendler's class of achievements. However, for the class of telic verbs, there is no corresponding verb type in Vendler's system.

I said above that in NRG, the verb + preposition *spise opp* ('eat up') is used as an example of a telic verb. Recall that Vendler also allows for what we may term complex verbs in his classification and classifies phrases like *paint a picture* and *draw a circle* as accomplishments. He would therefore classify *spise opp* ('eat up') as an accomplishment.

3.5.6 Summary

In spite of the fact that NRG provides a thorough description of aspectuality in Norwegian and that the most important factors are taken into consideration, I have argued that the description has certain shortcomings. In my opinion, the label 'grammatical category' fits neither aktionsart nor the class of constructions used to express aspectual properties in Norwegian. Further, I have argued that the NRG description lacks a clear distinction between aktionsart and aspectual constructions, and that it is unfortunate that the former is presented as a changeable rather than as an inherent property. Finally, I argued that the distinction drawn between punctual and telic verbs is not sufficiently clearcut. I therefore proposed a merger between the classes of telic and punctual verbs in NRG into a class of transition verbs, as this would accomodate certain verbs which fit neither the NRG nor Vendler's classification.

Next, I will show how the context may affect the aspectual interpretation of certain Norwegian sentences.

3.6 Context and aspectuality

Not surprisingly, almost all examples in NRG contain elements which secure a certain aspectual result. As NRG aims at describing how aspectuality is expressed in Norwegian, that is only to be expected as the means for securing expression of particular aspectual distinctions is essential to the study of aspectuality in Norwegian. However, there are many utterances in ordinary speech that do not contain elements which secure a certain aspectual result, as the context usually allows for only one aspectual interpretation or, sometimes, aspectuality is simply not relevant. For my purpose, it is just as interesting to study the aspectuality of sentences without such elements, as this thesis is concerned with all means of expressing aspectuality in Norwegian. In this section, therefore, I will consider some sentences which out of context would be aspectually ambiguous, but which are disambiguated by the context they are presented in here.

Consider first (50)-(51):

(50) Hva lærte du å spille som barn?
WHAT LEARNED YOU TO PLAY AS CHILD
'What did you learn to play as a child?'

(51) Jeg spilte fiolin.
I PLAYED VIOLIN
'I played the violin.'

As an answer to (50), (51) clearly expresses habituality: *I used to play the violin.* This is so well taken care of by the context that it would be redundant to add information to emphasize the habituality expressed by the sentence.

Now consider (52)-(53):

(52) Hva var ditt bidrag på konserten igår?
WHAT WAS YOUR CONTRIBUTION AT CONCERT-THE YESTERDAY
'What was your contribution at the concert yesterday?'

(53) Jeg spilte fiolin.
I PLAYED VIOLIN
'I played the violin.'

The answer in (53) is the same as in (51). But the meaning in (53) cannot be habitual, since it is a question of what one did on a specific occasion.

(54) Jeg har aldri vært noen Bibel-leser, men min kone leste Bibelen.
I HAVE NEVER BEEN ANY BIBLE READER BUT MY WIFE READ BIBEL-THE
'I never was much of a Bible reader, but my wife read the Bible.'

In (54), *min kone leste Bibelen* ('my wife read the Bible') has a habitual interpretation in the context it is presented. The speaker's wife used to read the Bible. But the sentence could have the meaning that she read the Bible at a certain occasion in a different context, consider (55):

(55) Vi gikk ikke i kirken på julaften iår,
WE WENT NOT TO CHURCH-THE ON CHRISTMAS EVE IN-YEAR,

men min kone leste Bibelen.
BUT MY WIFE READ BIBLE-THE
'We did not go to church on Christmas eve this year, but my wife read the Bible.'

As the speaker in (55) refers to a specific occasion, the clause *my wife read the Bible* in this sentence has a semelfactive interpretation.

The few examples provided here, should give an indication of how important the context is for the analysis of aspectuality in Norwegian.

3.7 Summary

I began this chapter with a description of how aspect is marked in Greek and how it is described by three different authors of grammars for two different groups of readers. Then I turned to the functions of the two aspect forms and showed that both are multifunctional. Attention was then turned to aspectuality in Norwegian. That part started out with a presentation of the description of aspectuality in Norwegian in NRG which is mainly concerned with the aspectuality of verbs and verb phrases. However, other factors which may influence the expression of aspectuality are mentioned as well, like the presence of adverbs and the specificity of subjects and objects. Then a discussion of some parts of that description followed. Finally it was shown how the context may disambiguate aspectually ambiguous sentences.

As can be seen from what has been said so far, many factors have to be taken into consideration when describing aspectuality in a language like Norwegian. The NRG description concentrates on verb types and verb phrases because, it is argued, these play the most important role for the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian. The fact that the context in many cases is crucial to the aspectuality expressed by a sentence, however, shows that, in many cases, an analysis of verb types (or verb phrases) is not enough.

What remains now, is first to see if it is possible to detect more about the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian by a comparison with Greek. In chapter 4, I will therefore look at and compare data from Norwegian and Greek. I will show how some Greek sentences should be translated to Norwegian and vice versa, maintaining the aspectual properties of each original sentence in the correspondent translation. As Greek has aspect marking on the verbs, and we

have been acquainted with the different functions of the two aspect forms in chapter 3, it often easier to state what aspectuality is expressed by a Greek sentence than by a Norwegian one. As certain subordinating conjunctions carry aspectual information in Norwegian, I will also investigate the interaction of different verb types and a certain sub-ordinating conjunction in Norwegian. The purpose of the investigation is to shed light on to which extent verbs of the same class give a regular contribution to the aspectual result of a clause or a sentence, other factors being equal. To attempt to answer this question, I will proceed with investigating the aspectuality of clauses containing different verb types according to Vendler's classification. I will then investigate to what extent the [ADD-TO] values of verbs and [SQA] values of arguments of Verkuyl's (1993) approach can account for the results of different combinations of Vendler's verb types. In other words: How valuable is it to operate simply with [ADD-TO] and [SQA]-values, as opposed to operating with a system which concentrates on verb types which are described with several features when investigating the kind of data I will present in chapter 4?

4 Analysis of data

4.0 Introduction

In the first part of this chapter I will present data from Greek and Norwegian and discuss how certain sentences should be translated from one language to the other, maintaining important and not gaining unnecessary aspectual information. The purpose of this comparison is twofold: First, I want to illustrate some of what has been said about aspectuality in the two languages so far. Second, such a comparison might prove fruitful for illustrating the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian. After the presentation of the functions of the two aspect forms in Greek in chapter 3, it should be possible to tell what aspectuality is expressed by a Greek sentence on the basis of the aspect form of the verb(s) and of the context (as both aspect forms are multifunctional). Greek will here be used as a measure of aspectuality in the following way: Suppose we have a Greek sentence, x, with a Norwegian translation, y. If y is a suitable translation of x, then y must express the same aspectuality as x. If y is aspectually ambiguous (and x is not), one can try to find ways to disambiguate y so that it unequivocally expresses the same aspectuality as x.

In the second part of this chapter I will present a number of Norwegian sentences, containing verbs belonging to different classes according to Vendler's (1967) classification. The aspectuality of these clauses and sentences will be interpreted. By investigating the aspectual properties of clauses containing different verb types of Vendler's (1967) classification, I hope to find out whether the [ADD-TO]-value of the verb and the [SQA]-value of the arguments according to Verkuyl (1993) are enough to predict the aspectuality expressed by a clause.

Before the proceeding, it should be noted that as the term *aspect* here is reserved for the morpho-syntactic category aspect, I will avoid using the terms

perfective and *imperfective* when referring to Norwegian. Instead, the term *unbounded* will be used of sentences that imply no reference to the termination of the situation denoted, while *bounded* will be used to refer to sentences that imply reference to the termination of the situation denoted, but which are not telic. The term *telic* will be used of situations where the termination is emphasized and which have a process leading up to the terminal point which is of the same kind as what occurs at the terminal point. I will use the term *ingressive* to refer to the denotation of the entrance into a situation and the term *progressive* for reference to the progress of a situation. The term durative will be used rather than progressive for reference to on-going situations denoted by state verbs. Finally, situations that occur momentaneously will be called *punctual*.

The chapter is organized as follows: In 4.1.1, I will investigate the expression of *progressiveness* in Norwegian. In 4.1.2 reference to a semelfactive situation vs. habituality is dealt with. 4.1.3 is a presentation of some ways of making general statements in Norwegian, and 4.1.4 deals with how what is expressed by the use of the perfective form in Greek is expressed in Norwegian. 4.1.5 sums up the first part of the chapter and introduces the second part. 4.2 presents sentences with different Vendler-verbs and investigates how the interaction of a certain subordinating conjunction and particular verb types contribute to the aspectual result of the sentences. 4.3 discusses Vendler's class of activities, on the background of the investigation in 4.2. In 4.4 some of the Norwegian sentences from 4.2 will be translated to Greek. This is done to test which aspect form should be chosen for the Greek verbs in order to preserve the aspectual properties of the corresponding Norwegian sentences. In 4.5, I will analyse the elements of the clauses according to Verkuyl's (1993) approach, and then briefly compare it to Vendler's approach. 4.6 is a summary of the chapter.

4.1 Comparison of Greek and Norwegian

4.1.1 Progressiveness and durativity in Norwegian

As the point of departure for my investigation of how Norwegian expresses progressiveness and durativity, I will take (1) and (2):

(1) Tote **etrogha.**
THEN EAT-IPIV-PAST-1 SG
'Then I was eating.'

(2) Da spiste jeg.
THEN ATE I

(2) is a possible translation of the Greek (1), which has the verb in the imperfective form. But (2) is aspectually ambiguous and does therefore not maintain the exact aspectual information contained in the Greek sentence. (2) could mean either that the eating was in progress at the time referred to (progressive), or that the speaker started eating at that time and completed the meal (ingressive-bounded). The adverb *da*, then, does not contribute in such a way so that one aspectual result is guaranteed. To emphasize the progress of the situation a construction like e.g. *holde på med*, literally 'hold on with', which means something like 'be engaged in', can be added:

(3) Da holdt jeg på med å spise.
THEN HELD I ON WITH TO EAT
'I was eating then.'

Let us try to put the verb *etrogha* ('I ate') in a context.

(4) Ti ekanes otan **eftase** o Petros?
WHAT DO-IPIV-PAST-2SG WHEN ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-3SG THE PETER
'What did you do when Petros arrived?'[56]

(5) Etrogha otan **eftase** o Petros.
EAT-IPIV PAST 1.SG WHEN ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-3.SG THE PETER
'I was eating when Peter came home.'

Consider now (6)-(7) as Norwegian translations of (4)-(5):

(6) Hva gjorde du da Peter ankom?
WHAT DID YOU WHEN PETER ARRIVED
'What did you do/were you doing when Peter arrived?'

(7) Jeg spiste da Peter ankom.
'I ate when Peter arrived.'

(7) is also ambiguous between an ingressive-bounded and a progressive reading. Before considering more translations of this kind, let us look more closely at the lexical item *da* which, as shown in (2)-(3) and (6)-(7), may function either as a

[56]In chapter 3 it was pointed to that the verb form *kano* ('do'), which originally is the imperfective form of the verb, is used both for perfective and imperfective. *Ti ekanes* could therefore both be translated with *what were you doing* and *what did you do*.

subordinating conjunction (henceforth *complementizer*) introducing an embedded adverbial clause or as a temporal adverb[57]. Consider (8):

(8) Peter ankom da jeg spiste.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I ATE
'Peter arrived when I was eating.'

Unlike (7), (8) is not ambiguous. The only possible interpretation of (8) is that the eating was in progress when Peter arrived. The eating here sets the background for Peter's arrival. As can be seen from sentences (7) and (8), we have a difference in the aspectual result according to which clause *da* introduces. When *da* introduces the adverbial clause *da Peter ankom* ('when Peter arrived'), the whole sentence allows two interpretations: Either that the eating was in progress when Peter arrived (progressive), or that it started just after Peter had arrived, and then was completed (ingressive-bounded). When *da* introduces the adverbial clause *da jeg spiste* ('while I ate'), only an interpretation where the eating was in progress is allowed for (progressive). This behaviour of *da* is interesting, and will be further dealt with below.

First, consider (9) and (10), which are like (7) and (8), except that *da* has been replaced by *mens* ('while'):

(9) #Jeg spiste mens Peter ankom.
I ATE WHILE PETER ARRIVED
#'I was eating while Peter was arriving.'

(10) Peter ankom mens jeg spiste.
PETER ARRIVED WHILE I ATE
'Petros arrived while I was eating.'

Mens ('while') implies progressiveness of the situation described by the clause it introduces and we see that when it introduces the clause *mens Peter ankom* ('while Peter arrived') the result is unacceptable. When it introduces *mens jeg spiste* ('while I ate'), on the other hand, the result is acceptable, and the only interpretation is that the eating situation was in progress when the punctual situation of Peter's arrival occurred. The reason why (9) is unacceptable is that *mens* forces the interpretation that Peter's arrival is a situation in progress.

Let us now return to considering Greek sentences and their translations into Norwegian. In the following sentence, the use of the imperfective form implies

[57]Some writers do not consider *da* a real sub-ordinating conjunction.

that the situation described is durative. Note that the sub-conjunction *eno* ('while') is used, as *otan* ('when') is not compatible with verbs denoting durative situations.

(11) Eno **emena** stin Anglia, katalava
WHILE LIVE-IPIV-PAST-1. SG IN-THE ENGLAND UNDERSTAND-PIV-PAST-1. SG
oso aghapo tin Elladha.
HOW-MUCH LOVE-IPIV-NONPAST-1.SG THE GREECE
'While I lived in England, I understood how much I love Greece.'

The aspectual information in (11) is maintained in Norwegian if it is translated with *mens*:

(12) Mens jeg bodde i England forsto jeg
WHILE I LIVED IN ENGLAND UNDERSTOOD I
hvor høyt jeg elsker Hellas.
HOW HIGHLY I LOVE GREECE

In (12) the presence of *mens* contributes to the progressive result. Let us try to substitute *mens* by *da*:

(13) Da jeg bodde i England forsto jeg
WHEN I LIVED IN ENGLAND UNDERSTOOD I
hvor høyt jeg elsker Hellas.
HOW HIGHLY I LOVE GREECE
'When I lived/while I was living in England I understood how much I love Greece.'

The progressiveness is maintained even with *da* instead of *mens.* The only possible interpretation of (13) is that "when I lived in England" sets the background for the love-situation. From the above examples it seems that the verb used in a clause decides whether that clause can be introduced by *mens* or not. When a clause is introduced by *da*, the verb used decides which interpretation(s) the whole sentence receives.

I will leave *da* for a while, turning to sentence (14), found in the novel *Sofies verden* (Gaarder 1991), and its Greek translation (1994):

(14) Den neste filosofen[...] er Anaximander, som også levet i Milet.
THE NEXT PHILOSOPHER IS ANAXIMANDER, WHO ALSO LIVED IN MILETUS
'The next philosopher[...] is Anaximander, who also lived in Miletus.'

(15) O epomenos filosofos[...] ine o Anaksimandros
THE NEXT PHILOSOPHER IS THE ANAXIMANDER
Zuse ke aftos sti Milito.
LIVE-IPIV-PAST-3.SG ALSO HE IN-THE MILETUS

In (14) the time period is unspecified and the correct form of the verb in Greek is the imperfective.

4.1.2 Single occasion vs. habituality

As described above, the imperfective form in Greek often denotes habituality. In Norwegian one way of expressing habituality is the use of the complementizer *når* as opposed to *da*. Both must be translated to English by 'when'. In sentences with the past tense of the verb, these two represent a difference between something happening once (semelfactive reading) (*da*), as opposed to habitually (*når*). In general statements and statements of future situations, only *når* is used[58].

(16-17), also taken from Gaarder (1991) and the Greek translation of that (1994) illustrates the use of *da* for a semelfactive meaning:

(16) Sofie møtte moren på bussen
SOPHIE MET MOTHER-THE ON BUS-THE
da hun reiste hjem fra byen.
WHEN SHE TRAVELLED HOME FROM TOWN-THE
'Sophie met her mother on the bus when she was going home from town.'

(17) Tin ora pu **jirize** spiti apo tin poli,
THE TIME WHEN RETURN-IPIV-PAST-3.SG HOUSE FROM THE TOWN
i Sofia sinandise ti mama tis.
THE SOPHIE MEET-PIV-PAST-3.SG THE MOTHER HER

Here *da* is used in Norwegian, and it is understood that this is a situation that occurred on one special occasion. In Greek therefore, "the moment when" is used instead of "when". If *når* had been used instead of *da*, (16) would have had a habitual meaning. In the Greek translation the semelfactive meaning is expressed by the perfective form of the verb *sinandise* ('met'). *Jirize* ('returned') is marked for imperfectivity because it sets the background for the meeting situation. If this

[58]It is claimed that the distinction between *da* and *når* in past expressions is not based on any spoken variant of Norwegian and there are many dialects which use exlusively *da* or *når*. But in writing, this distinction is obligatory, and many speakers do make the distinction.

had been a habitual situation, both verbs would have been in the imperfective in Greek.

Consider also (18-19):

(18) Men den veien gikk hun bare
BUT THAT WAY-THE WENT SHE ONLY
når hun måtte skynde seg hjem.
WHEN SHE HAD-TO HURRY HERSELF HOME

(19) [D]hen **pijene** apo to jipedho, para mono
NEG GO-IPIV-PAST-3. SG FROM THE COURT EXCEPT
otan **vjazotan** na **jirizi** spiti.
WHEN HURRY-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THAT RETURN-IPIV-NONPAST HOUSE

Again, *når* is used and the meaning is habitual. Therefore, the correct form to use in Greek for *walked* and *hurried* is the imperfective.

4.1.3 Use of the imperfective in general statements

In 3.4.5 it was described how imperfectivity in Greek can be used for general statements. The following two examples from Gaarder (1991) illustrate expression of general validity:

(20) Hvilken far ville snyte sin egen datter fra å motta
WHAT FATHER WOULD CHEAT HIS OWN DAUGHTER FROM TO RECEIVE
et burdagskort ved å sende det på ville veier?
A BIRTHDAY CARD BY TO SEND IT ON WILD ROADS

'What father would cheat his own daughter of receiving a birthday card by sending it to the wrong place?'

(21) Pjos pateras tha' **stelne** se lathos dhiefthinsi
WHICH FATHER WOULD SEND-IPIV-PAST-3.SG TO WRONG ADDRESS
tis efhes ja ta jenethlia tu pedhju tu?[59]
THE WISHES FOR THE BIRTHDAY OF-THE CHILD HIS

In this translation the imperfective form of *stelno* ('send') is used because this is a general question concerning any father.

(22), also from Gaarder (1991), illustrate expression of a general question in Norwegian:

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[59]Note that the Norwegian sentences from Gaarder (1991) are not always directly translated. This is seen by the words chosen in Greek, some of which do not correspond directly to those used in Norwegian. Sometimes the translation has a different structure than the Norwegian sentence, as seen in (22) and (23).

(22) Men var det virkelig selve fødselen som bestemte
BUT WAS IT REALLY ITSELF BIRTH-THE THAT DECIDED
hvordan man så ut?
HOW ONE LOOKED
'But was it really the birth itself which decided how one looked?'

(23) Ama itan, st' alithja, i jenna pu **epeze**
BUT IS-IPIV-PAST[60]-3.SG, IN-THE TRUTH, THE BIRTH THAT PLAY-IPIV-PAST-3.SG
protarhiko rolo ja tin eksoteriki emfanisi enos anthropu?
DECISIVE ROLE FOR THE OUTER LOOK OF-A HUMAN BEING

Since this is a general question concerning all human beings the expression *that played a decisive role* in Greek has the imperfective form of the verb. In Norwegian the use of *man* ('one') indicates that (22) is a general question.

Now consider (24), which illustrates how *når* can be used for expression of general statements:

(24) Og når det kom regn, spirte det og grodde fint på åkeren.
AND WHEN IT CAME RAIN SPROUTED IT AND GREW NICELY ON FIELD-THE
'And when it rained, the seeds sprouted and grew nicely on the fields.'

(25) Ke otan **evrehe,** **fitrone**
AND WHEN RAIN-IPIV-PAST-3.SG, SPROUT-IPIV-PAST-3.SG
ke **filone** to stari sta horafja.
AND GROW-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THE SEEDS ON-THE FIELDS

In (24), *når* is used in Norwegian and therefore that sentence denotes a habitual situation, i.e. 'every time it rained...'. In the Greek translation, therefore, the imperfective forms of the two verbs *fitrone* ('sprouted') and *filone* ('grew') are used.

For illustration of another way in Norwegian to express generality sentence (13) from chapter 3 is here repeated as (26). (27) is a Norwegian translation:

(26) Mi **ksehasete** na **svisete** ta fota!
NEG FORGET-PIV-2.PL TO SWITCH-OFF-PIV-NON-PAST-2.PL THE LIGHTS
'Don't forget to switch off the lights!' (Once, e. g. tonight)

(27) Ikke glem å slukke lysene!
NEG FORGET-IMPERATIVE TO SWITCH-OFF LIGHTS-THE

[60]The verb *itan* ('it was') is the past (3.SG) form of *ime* ('be'), which has only an imperfective form.

(27) could be interpreted as an order concerning a certain occasion, but could also be used as a general request. Therefore, (27) is aspectually ambiguous and could also be a translation of the Greek (28) which have both verbs in the imperfective, and expresses a general request:

(28) Mi **ksehnate** na **svinete** ta fota!
NEG FORGET-IPIV-NONPAST-2 PL TO SWITCH-OFF-IPIV-NONPAST-2 SG THE LIGHTS
'Don't forget to switch off the lights!'

To express the unambiguously unbounded aspectuality of the Greek sentence (28) in Norwegian, the word *aldri* ('never') can be used instead of *ikke* ('do not'):

(29) Glem aldri å slukke lysene!
FORGET NEVER TO SWITCH-OFF LIGHTS-THE
'Never forget to switch off the lights!'

In Greek, a general interpretation is secured by the imperfective form of the verb. (28) can therefore do without the word *never.* However, the Greek word for 'never' (*pote*) will often be present in Greek as well, to emphasize the general validity.

Now consider (30) where an adverbial phrase is added:

(30) Mi **ksehnate** na **svinete** ta fota ti nihta!
NEG FORGET-IPIV-NONPAST-2PL TO SWITCH-OFF-IPIV-PRES-2PL THE LIGHTS AT NIGHT
'Don't forget (in general) to switch off the lights at night!'

(31) Glem ikke å slukke lysene om natten!
FORGET NOT TO SWITCH-OFF LIGTS-THE AT NIGHT-THE

(31) preserves the aspectual information of (30) even without the word *aldri,* because of the presence of the adverbial phrase *om natten* ('at night').

4.1.4 Expression of boundedness and ingressivity in Norwegian

In chapter 3 we saw examples of how the addition of modifiers to a verb may result in a complex verb with different aspectual properties than the aktionsart of the verb. I will therefore not repeat such examples here.

Instead, consider sentence (11) from chapter 3, here repeated as (32):

(32) **Emina** sti Norvijia ja dheka hronia.
LIVE-PIV-PAST-1 SG IN-THE NORWAY FOR TEN YEARS
'I have lived/I lived in Norway for ten years.'

In chapter 1, I pointed to the fact that in Greek the perfective past is often used synonymously with the past perfect. And when translating (32) into Norwegian, it would be correct to use either the present perfect (as in (33a)) or the preterite, as exemplified in (33b):

(33a) Jeg har bodd i Norge i ti år.[61]
I HAVE LIVED IN NORWAY FOR TEN YEARS

(33b) Jeg bodde i Norge i ti år.
I LIVED IN NORWAY FOR TEN YEARS

(33a-b) both have bounded interpretations. (33a) because of the perfect construction and (33b) because of the adverbial phrase *i ti år* ('for ten years').

(34) is taken from Gaarder (1991) and (35) from the Greek translation of the book (1994):

(34) Alberto leste det som stod på kortet
ALBERTO READ THAT WHICH STOOD ON CARD-THE
og ble stående og riste på hodet.
AND REMAINED STANDING AND SHAKE ON HEAD-THE
'Alberto read what was written on the card and remained standing, shaking his head'

(35) O Alberto ti **dhjavase** ke kunise to kefali.
THE ALBERT IT READ-PIV-PAST-3.SG AND SHAKE-PIV-PAST-3.SG THE HEAD

The situation denoted by the verb in the first clause is clearly bounded. This is emphasized by the fact that *og* ('and') introduces a new clause, denoting a situation following the first situation. The situation denoted by the verb in the second clause, on the other hand, is clearly presented as unbounded in (34). In the Greek translation both verbs are presented in the perfective form: *He read it, and he shook his head.* Both situations are presented as bounded. (Here, that is not very important for the meaning, but still, a correct translation to Greek would require the imperfective form of *kuno* ('shake')).

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[61]Sentence (33a) is possible whether I still live in Norway or not (the Greek sentence does not allow for the interpretation that I still live in Norway).

Let us have a look at (36)-(37):

(36) Sofie leste igjennom brevet to ganger.
SOPHIE READ THROUGH LETTER-THE TWO TIMES
'Sophie read through the whole letter twice.'

(37) I Sofia **dhjavase** to ghramma dio fores.
THE SOPHIE READ-PIV-PAST-3.SG THE LETTER TWO TIMES

(36) has three different markers of boundedness: First, it has a specific object. In addition the presence of the preposition *igjennom* ('through'), emphasizes that she read the whole letter. Third, *tre ganger* also implies boundedness. Clearly, the perfective form of the verb *dhjavazo* ('read') is the only possible one in Greek.

We saw above how the perfective form in Greek can mark the entrance into a state. Let us now see how two Norwegian sentences from Gaarder (1991) are translated into Greek, one with the imperfective form of the verb, the other with the perfective:

(38) På en brygge ved naustet satt en lyshåret pike
ON A PIER BY BOAT-HOUSE-THE SAT A BLOND GIRL
og speidet utover sjøen.
AND WATCHED OUTWARDS SEA-THE
'On a pier by the boat-house, a blond girl was sitting, looking to the sea.'

(39) Sto mikro ksilino molo, brosta tu, **kathotan**
AT SMALL WOODEN PIER IN-FRONT OF-IT SIT-IPIV-PAST-3.SG
ena ksantho koritsi ke **kitaze** kata ti limni.
A BLOND GIRL AND LOOK-IPIV-PAST-3.SG BEYOND THE SEA

(38) refers to the time in which the girl was sitting at the pier, and it is therefore presented as an on-going (durative) situation. We see that in Greek the imperfective form of the verb *sit* is used, likewise with *kitaze* ('watched').

(40-41), also taken from Gaarder, illustrate the expression of entrance into a state:

(40) Sofie satte seg på sengen.
SOFIE SAT HERSELF ON BED-THE
'Sofie sat down on the bed.'

(41) I Sofia **kathise** stin akri tu krevatju tis.
THE SOFIA SIT-PIV-PAST-3.SG AT-THE EDGE OF-THE BED HER
'She sat down on the bed.'

We saw that the past form of the verb *sitte* ('sit') was used in (38) and the interpretation was durative. In (41) the reflexive verb construction *sette seg* ('sit down', literally 'set oneself') is used and the interpretation is ingressive.

In chapter 3 some examples of how the perfective form in Greek can be used to emphasize the entrance into a situation were provided. The sentences presented as (16) and (36) in chapter 3, taken from Mackridge (1985), illustrated how the difference between the imperfective and perfective form can imply a difference of being in a state versus entrance into a state. Those two sentences are repeated here as (42) and (44), respectively, with the Norwegian translations in (43) and (45):

(42) Prepi na **thimaste.**
MUST TO REMEMBER-IPIV-NONPAST-2. PL
'(Surely), you must remember.'

(43) Du må da huske det!
YOU MUST SURELY REMEMBER IT
'Surely, you must remember!'

(44) Prepi na **thimithite!**
MUST TO REMEMBER-PIV-NONPAST-2. PL
'You must remember!

(45) Du må komme på det!
YOU MUST START-TO-REMEMBER IT
'Do remember it!'

In the Greek sentences (42) and (44) the difference of being in a state as opposed to entering a state is expressed by use of the imperfective and perfective form, respectively. In the Norwegian translation of the first sentence, the verb *huske* ('remember') is used, while in the sentence with ingressive meaning, the verb construction *komme på* ('start remembering') is used. Just as shown in example (40) above where a reflexive verb construction was used, Norwegian makes use of an analytic construction to express ingressivity.

4.1.5 Summary

We have seen that reference to the progress of a situation in Norwegian can be expressed by introducing clauses with the complementizer *mens* ('while'). The use of *da* ('when'), however, does not give a consistent contribution to the

aspectual result of sentences. In 4.1.2 it was shown how the use of *da* ('when') and *når* ('when') in sentences with the verbs in the past tense, implies a difference between something happening once as opposed to habitually. In 4.1.3 we saw a few examples of denotation of qualities and of the expression of general statements. In 4.1.4 we saw examples of expression of boundedness. In that section it was also shown how reference to being in a state vs. entering a state is expressed by a single verb and analytic verbs respectively.

An interesting observation that has come out of this investigation is the behaviour of the complementizer *da* ('when'), which unlike *mens* ('while'), does not give a consistent contribution to the aspectual properties of the clause it is a part of. It is likely that the verb types used in the clauses introduced by *da* are decisive for the aspectual result of the clause. In the following section I will therefore investigate how different verb types according to Vendler's (1967) classification interact in sentences containing a *da*-clause, and interpret their aspectuality. In 4.4, I will present translations to Greek of some of the sentences presented in 4.3 and see how the aspect marking on the Greek verbs corresponds to the interpretation I have given the Norwegian sentences. In 4.5, I will analyse the elements of the clauses according to Verkuyl's (1993) approach. It is interesting to see if we find that knowing the [ADD TO]-value of a verb and the [SQA]-value of its arguments is enough to predict the aspectual result of a sentence, i.e. if sentences which are constructed with elements with exactly the same [ADD TO]- and [SQA]-values have the same aspectual properties. By this analysis, I hope to find out which of the two approaches is most applicable on data of the kind presented here, i.e. which of the two can account for the results of the investigation in the best way.

4.2 The interaction of different verb types with *da*

I will start the investigation by considering (7) and (8) repeated from above once again:

(7) Jeg spiste da Peter ankom.
I ATE WHEN PETER ARRIVED
'I ate/was eating when Peter arrived.'

(8) Peter ankom da jeg spiste.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I ATE
'Peter arrived when I was eating.'

As pointed out in section 4.1.1, (7) allows two interpretations, one in which the eating is seen as an unbounded process that was in progress at the time of Peter's arrival and another in which the eating took place after Peter's arrival and is presented as bounded. Sentence (8), on the other hand, allows only a progressive interpretation: *I was eating at the time when Peter arrived.*

Before continuing, I will present a way of testing the aspectuality of sentences of this kind in Norwegian. To test if a sentence allows for a progressive interpretation phrases like *da jeg holdt på med og x-et* ('when I was engaged in x-ing') will be added. To test if a sentence allows for an ingressive interpretation one can add phrases like *da jeg begynte å x-e* ('when I started x-ing'). Likewise, to test if a sentence allows for a telic interpretation one can add particles like *opp* ('up') + an object, as in *spiste opp maten* ('ate up the food') or adverbials like *ferdig* ('skrev ferdig'). To test if a clause denotes an ingressive-telic situation, a quantifying element like *hele* ('the whole') can be added. If the resulting sentence preserves the aspectual properties of (one possible interpretation of) the original one, the original sentence allows for an interpretation in which it expresses the aspectual features we are testing it for. If the resulting sentence is not a paraphrase which is compatible with the aspectual properties of the original sentence, it means that the original sentence does not have the aspectual features we are testing it for. Comparing sentences with paraphrases containing elements which forces a particular aspectual interpretation seems to be a useful tool for interpreting the aspectuality of the original sentences.

Let me now carry out this test on sentence (7), repeated here as (7a):

(7a) Jeg spiste da Peter ankom.
I ATE WHEN PETER ARRIVED
'I ate/was eating when Peter arrived.'

(7b) Jeg satt og spiste da Peter ankom.
I SAT AND ATE WHEN PETER ARRIVED
'I was sitting and eating when Peter arrived.'

(7c) Jeg begynte å spise da Peter ankom.
I STARTED TO EAT WHEN PETER ARRIVED

(7d) Jeg spiste opp maten da Peter ankom.
I ATE UP FOOD-THE WHEN PETER ARRIVED

Both (7b) and (7c) are aspectually compatible with (7a). (7c) emphasises the beginning of the situation and as it does not imply anything as to the termination

of the situation, it must be considered ingressive-progressive. (7d) emphasizes the terminal point strongly (and not the beginning). This seems to be a reliable test, as the clearly expressed aspectual distinctions of the paraphrases makes it easier to state whether the original sentence has the same aspectual properties as the paraphrases or not. I will therefore make use of the test to interpret other sentences below.

Now consider the same test applied to (8), repeated here as (8a):

(8a) Peter ankom da jeg spiste.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I ATE
'Peter arrived when I ate/was eating.'

(8b) Peter ankom da jeg holdt på med å spise.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I HELD ON WITH TO EAT
'Peter arrived when I was engaged in eating.'

(8c) Peter ankom da jeg begynte å spise.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I STARTED TO EAT
'Peter arrived when I started eating.'

(8d) Peter ankom da jeg spiste opp maten.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I ATE UP FOOD-THE
'When I finished eating my food, Peter arrived.'

Of these sentences, only (8b) preserves the aspectual properties of (8a).

The two verbs used so far are *spise* ('eat') and *ankomme* ('arrive'). *Spise* is an activity verb in Vendler's classification; it allows for the progressive construction and denote homogeneous processes which consist of successive phases. *Ankomme* is an achievement verb, as it denotes a momentaneous situation.

If the verb type is decisive for the aspectual result of a two-clause sentence, then it holds that: When *da* introduces an adverbial clause containing an activity verb, and the other clause contains an achievement verb, only a progressive interpretation of the situation denoted by the activity verb is allowed for, hence there is an overlap between the two situations described (see sentence (7)). When *da* introduces an adverbial clause containing an achievement verb and the second clause contains an activity verb, the whole sentence allows two interpretations: Either that the situation denoted by the activity verb was in progress when the situation denoted by the achievement verb occurred, or that it started just after the situation occurred (see sentence (8a)).

Let us now test clauses with other verb types. First consider (46) and (47), both of which contain two state verbs. Note that here objects are present, as it is difficult to find intransitive state verbs. As Vendler accepts verb phrases as well as verbs in his classification, this represents no problem for this illustration. *Hates Maria* and *loved Peter* have the same aspectual properties as *hates*:

(46) Peter hatet Maria da Maria elsket Peter.
PETER HATED MARIA WHEN MARIA LOVED PETER

(47) Maria elsket Peter da Peter hatet Maria.
MARIA LOVED PETER WHEN PETER HATED MARIA
'Maria loved Peter when Peter hated Maria.'

Both (46) and (47) denote unboundedness of both situations involved. That is to be expected, as state verbs denote durative situations. I will therefore not pursue the class of state verbs any further and rather continue with presenting a combination of two activities:

(48) Jeg spiste da Peter svømte.
I ATE WHEN PETER SWAM

(49) Peter svømte da jeg spiste.
PETER SWAM WHEN I ATE

In (48) the speaker's eating sets the background for Peter's swimming while in (49) Peter's swimming sets the background for the speaker's eating. This strengthens what was said about *da* introducing a clause with an activity verb: the situation denoted by the activity verb then sets the background for the other situation. But there is a difference bertween the two, and that is that (48) allows for an ingressive-bounded interpretation of the situation denoted by the verb *spise*. That is not the case in (49). As the verbs used are both activity verbs, this difference is unexpected, and I will come back to activity verbs below.

(50) and (51) illustrate the combination of two achievement verbs:

(50) Paul gikk da Kim ankom.
PAUL LEFT WHEN KIM ARRIVED
'Paul left when Kim arrived.'

(51) Kim ankom da Paul gikk.
KIM ARRIVED WHEN PAUL LEFT
'Kim arrived when Paul left.'

(50)-(51) both denote two punctual situations, and allow for two interpretations: either that both situations occured at the same moment in time, or that they followed each other in time. For the latter interpretation, the situation denoted by the *da*-clause is understood to have happened before the other situation.

Next, consider the combination of an achievement verb with an accomplishment verb:

(52) Peter sang den fine sangen da jeg ankom.
PETER SANG NICE SONG-THE WHEN I ARRIVED

(53) Jeg ankom da Peter sang den fine sangen.
I ARRIVED WHEN PETER SANG THE NICE SONG

To interpret the aspectual properties of the clause containing the accomplishment verb in (52), I will apply the aspectuality test presented above. In (53), the accomplishment verb is contained in a *da*-clause. The situation denoted by that clause allows for both a progressive and a progressive-telic interpretation, and sets the background for the speaker's arrival. The achievement verb allows only for a punctual interpretation in both sentences. Let us then test (52):

(52a) Peter holdt på med å synge den fine sangen da jeg ankom.
PETER HELD ON WITH TO SING THE NICE SONG-THE WHEN I ARRIVED
'Peter was engaged in singing the nice song when I arrived.'

(52b) Peter begynte å synge den fine sangen da jeg ankom.
PETER STARTED TO SING THE NICE SONG-THE WHEN I ARRIVED
'Peter started singing the nice song when I arrived.'

(52c) Peter sang hele den fine sangen da jeg ankom.
PETER SANG WHOLE THE NICE SONG-THE WHEN I ARRIVED
'Peter sang the whole nice song when I arrived.'

(52a)-(52c) are all paraphrases which are compatible with the aspectual properties of (52). One interpretation of (52), then, is that Peter had already started singing when the speaker arrived (as in (52a)); in that case the terminal point is not emphasized (progressive). The interpretation in (52b) implies that Peter started singing just after the speaker had arrived, and the terminal point is not emphasized (ingressive-progressive). The interpretation in (52c), which is the preferable interpretation, implies that Peter started singing after the speaker arrived and completed the song (ingressive-telic). We see then, that

accomplishment verbs are partly similar to the verb *spise* ('eat') as in (48). The difference is that when the situation denoted by *spise* is given the interpretation where both the starting point and the terminal point are emphasized, it is ingressive-bounded rather than ingressive-telic.

Next, let us consider the combination of two accomplishment verbs:

(54) Peter strikket den genseren da jeg malte dette bildet.
PETER KNITTED THAT SWEATER-THE WHEN I PAINTED THIS PICTURE-THE
'Peter knitted/was knitting that sweater when I was painting this picture.'

(55) Jeg malte dette bildet da Peter strikket den genseren.
I PAINTED THIS PICTURE-THE WHEN PETER KNITTED THAT SWEATER-THE
'I was painting this picture when Peter was knitting that sweater.'

In (54)-(55) the *da*-clauses set the background for the other situation, and denote progressive or progressive-telic situations. To interpret the aspectuality of the clauses not containing *da*, I will apply the aspectuality-test and as the verbs in those clauses are both accomplishment verbs, I will concentrate on the clause *Peter strikket den genseren* ('Peter knitted that sweater').

(54a) Peter holdt på med å strikke den genseren
PETER HELD ON WITH TO KNIT THAT SWEATER-THE
da jeg malte dette bildet.
WHEN I PAINTED THIS PICTURE-THE

'Peter was engaged in knitting that sweater while I was painting this picture.'

(54b) Peter begynte å strikke den genseren
PETER STARTED TO KNIT THAT SWEATER-THE
da jeg malte dette bildet.
WHEN I PAINTED THIS PICTURE

'Peter started knitting that sweater when I was painting this picture.'

(54c) Peter strikket hele den genseren
PETER KNITTED WHOLE THAT SWEATER-THE
da jeg malte dette bildet.
WHEN I PAINTED THIS PICTURE-THE

'Peter knitted that whole sweater when I was painting this picture.'

Again, (54a)-(54c) are compatible with the aspectual properties of (54). One interpretation of (54), then, is that both situations are progressive or progressive-

telic, (54a). Another interpretation, which is the most preferable, is that the ingression of Peter's knitting is emphasized (ingressive-progressive), while the speaker's painting is progressive or progressive-telic, (54b). Finally, (54) allows for the interpretation that Peter's knitting started after the painting started and was completed before or simultaneously with the completion of the painting, (ingressive-telic), (54c). Again, the ingressive-telic interpretation of the first clause is the preferable one. Note that in (52), when the accomplishment verb is given an ingressive-telic interpretation, then the situation denoted by the verb in the other clause, the achievement verb, is understood to have occurred *before* the situation denoted by the accomplishment verb. This suggests that when the clause without *da* contains an accomplishment verb, the verb type in the other clause might play a role for the interpretation of the situation denoted by the accomplishment.

Let us see what happens when we have a clause containing an activity verb and a clause containing an accomplishment verb:

(56) Peter sang den fine sangen da jeg strikket.
PETER SANG NICE SONG-THE WHEN I KNITTED
'Peter sang the nice song when I was knitting.'

(57) Jeg strikket da Peter sang den fine sangen.
I KNITTED WHEN PETER SANG NICE SONG-THE
'I knitted when Peter sang the nice song.'

In (56) the speaker's knitting sets the background for Peter's singing and allows only for a progressive interpretation. Peter's singing allows for a progressive, an ingressive-progressive or a progressive-telic interpretation. Note that, as the interpretation of *jeg strikket* ('I knitted') in (57) does not allow for an ingressive-bounded interpretation, it seems to resemble *svømme* ('swim') rather than *spise* ('eat'), as we have seen that the latter allows for an ingressive-bounded interpretation when the clause it appears in does not contain *da*, (for example in sentence (48)).

We have investigated several combinations of verb types and *da*. Let us next take each verb type in turn and state the result of the investigation, starting out with activities; (the numbers in parenthesis refer to the leftmost column in table 6). In the investigation, we have used three verbs which according to Vendler's approach would be classified as activities, namely *spise* ('eat'), *strikke* ('knit') and *svømme* ('swim'). For each of these verbs, it holds that when contained in a *da*-

clause, the only possible interpretation is that the situation denoted is in progress (2, 4, 5, 10). But for clauses without *da*, we have found that there is a difference of the aspectual properties of those containing *spise* on the one hand and those containing *strikke* and *svømme* on the other. When *da* is not present, clauses with *spise* allows either an ingressive-bounded or a progressive interpretation, (2, 5), while when *strikke* or *svømme* is present, the only possible interpretation is progressive (4, 11).

Regarding the achievement verbs used, we see that clauses containg such verbs always receive a punctual interpretation. That holds whether *da* introduces the clauses they are a part of or not (1, 2, 6, 7 and 8).

Use of state verbs result in a durative interpretation of the clause they are contained in, disregarding the presence or absence of *da* (3). When *da* introduces a clause with an accomplishment verb[62], the situation denoted by that phrase sets the background for the situation denoted by the verb in the other clause.

Finally, for accomplishment verbs it holds that the aspectual result of the clause they are a part of is either progressive or progressive-telic whenever that clause is introduced by *da* (8, 9 and 11). The aspectual interpretation of clauses containing an accomplishment verb without the presence of *da*, is either progressive, ingressive-progressive or progressive-telic (7, 9 10). It seems that when the verb in the clause containing *da* is a verb which can set the background for the accomplishment verb, the preferable interpretation is ingressive-telic. In addition, we saw that in some cases the aspectual properties of a clause with an accomplishment verb is influenced by the verb in the other clause. For all other verb types, when contained in a clause x, it seems that the verb contained in the other clause has no influence on the aspectual properties denoted by the verb in x.

Table 6 shows the results of the investigation. Of the two clauses in each sentence, the second is always the one containing *da*. The second column shows which sentences above illustrate the combinations in question.

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[62]Note that I use the term *accomplishment verb* even if all the examples from that class presented here consist of verb phrases rather than verbs.

Table 6

	SENTENCES	VERB COMBINATION	FIRST CLAUSE	SECOND CLAUSE
1	(7)	activity + achievement	ingressive-bounded or progressive	punctual
2	(8)	achievement + activity	punctual	progressive
3	(46), (47)	state + state	durative	durative
4	(48)	activity + activity	progressive or ingressive-bounded	progressive
5	(49)	activity + activity	progressive	progressive
6	(50), (51)	achievement + achievement	punctual	punctual
7	(52)	accomplishment + achievement	progressive, ingressive-progressive or progressive-telic	punctual
8	(53)	achievement + accomplishment	punctual	progressive or progressive-telic
9	(54), (55)	accomplishment + accomplishment	progressive, ingressive-telic or ingressive-progressive	progressive or progressive-telic
10	(56)	accomplishment + activity	progressive or ingressive-telic or ingressive-progressive	progressive
11	(57)	activity + accomplishment	progressive	progressive or progressive-telic

It seems that when verbs are combined in this way, it holds that the aspectual contribution of a verb to the clause it is contained in is not influenced by which verb type is represented in the other clause. The only exception to this is accomplishment verbs.

So far we have stated which of Vendler's classes each verb belongs to. In section 4.4, I will apply Verkuyl's approach to the clauses used and consider the [ADD TO]-values of the verbs and the [SQA]-value of the arguments of each clause, before discussing to which extent Vendler's and Verkuyl's approaches can account for the results of the investigation.

Before that discussion I would like to compare the the two activity verbs *spise* ('eat') and *strikke* ('knit') and try to account for the the asymmetry we have found between them.

4.3 Vendler's class of activity verbs

In (7) above we saw that when *spise* is contained in a clause without *da*, it allows for either an ingressive-bounded or a progressive interpretation of the clause it appears in. In (8) we saw that *spise*, when contained in a clause with *da*, allows only a progressive interpretation of the clause. To see if the same result is obtained with the activity verb *strikke* ('knit'), I will here repeat (7) and (8), and then replace *spise* by *strikke* in (58) and (59):

(7) Jeg spiste da Peter ankom.
I ATE WHEN PETER ARRIVED
'I started eating/was eating when Peter arrived.'

(8) Peter ankom da jeg spiste.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I ATE
'When I ate Peter arrived.'

(58) Jeg strikket da Peter ankom.
I KNITTED WHEN PETER ARRIVED
'I knitted when Peter arrived.'

(59) Peter ankom da jeg strikket.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I KNITTED
'Peter arrivedwhen I knitted.'

As the only thing distinguishing (7) from (58) is the use of *spise* vs. *strikke*, it is expected that those two sentences have the same aspectual properties. However, that is not the case. While (7) allows for an ingressive-bounded interpretation as well as for a progressive, (58) allows only for a progressive interpretation. (8) and (59) have the same aspectual properties, both giving a progressive interpretation. As we have seen how the verb types contribute to the aspectual result of the clause they are a part of, (7) and (58), show that *spise* and *strikke* must have different aspectual properties, as the contribution of *spise* to the aspectuality of a clause without *da* is different from the contribution of *strikke*. We might have to consider strikke ('knit') and *spise* ('eat') as belonging to different classes. Both are activities according to Vendler, but the following sentences might make us reconsider the classification of *spise*:

(60) A: Spis litt salat mens jeg ringer min mor.
EAT SOMESALLAD WHILE I CALL MY MOTHER
'Have some sallad while I am calling my mother.'

(61) B: Nei takk, jeg har allerede spist.
NO THANKS I HAVE ALREADY EATEN
'No thanks, I have already eaten.'

(62) A: Jeg må ta en telefon.
I MUST TAKE A TELEPHONE CALL

Du kan strikke mens du venter
YOU CAN KNIT WHILE YOU WAIT

'I have to make a phone call. You can knit while your waiting.'

(63) B: Nei takk, jeg har allerede strikket!
NO THANKS I HAVE ALREADY KNITTED
'No thanks, I have already knitted'

In (60)-(61), the fact that B has already eaten is an argument for not eating again until he is hungry again. In (62)-(63), the fact that the speaker in B has knitted is not such a strong argument for not doing it again. The reason is that *eat* may be interpreted as implying a terminal point, namely when one is full. *Knit*, on the other hand, cannot be interpreted as implying a terminal point without a specific object. The main difference between the verbs *eat* and *knit*, is that for *eat*, it normally takes only a short period of time to reach a point in which it is natural to stop eating, while for *knit*, it might take weeks, months or even years (for some incorrigible!), before the activity of knitting naturally comes to an end.
Another verb like *spise* in Norwegian is *dusje* ('have a shower') which also can be said to imply a terminal point, namely when the person who undergoes one is clean. One can say *I have eaten* or *I have had a shower* as long as the result of that action is still valid, i.e. as long as one is not still full (or not hungry) or clean.[63] A third example of an activity verb which may imply a terminal point is *tippe* ('do the pools').

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[63]Comrie mentions that for taking a shower, when the terminal point is reached varies from person to person. His humourous example concerns Cleopatra and a medieval munk: Cleopatra could probably utter: "I have had a shower" (or bath) only for an hour after she had had one, because after that she would not consider herself clean anymore. A medieval munk, on the other hand, could say that he had had a shower for a whole year after he had had one, he would consider himself clean that long.

If we make use of the test presented in connection with the description of Verkuyl's approach, we find that *spise* ('eat') and *dusje* ('have a shower') may be combined both with *på en time* ('in an hour') and *i en time* ('for an hour'), while *strikke* cannot be combined with *på en time* (in an hour).

(64a) Jeg spiste/dusjet på en time.
'I ate/had a shower in an hour.'

(64b) Jeg spiste/dusjet i en time.
'I ate/knitted for an hour.'

(64c) *Jeg strikket på en time.
'I knitted in an hour.'

(64d) Jeg strikket i en time.
'I knitted for an hour.'

Spise and *dusje*, therefore, seem to have resemblances both with pure activities (the ones that fit neatly into Vendler's class of activity verbs) and with accomplishment verbs. All this means that Vendler's activity class might be divided into two classes. The one containing verbs like *knit* and *walk*, the other verbs like *eat*. Note that *dusje* is expressed by a complex verb in English, and should be classified as an accomplishment verb according to Vendler's approcah.

I will here leave the discussion of the behaviour of different verb types, and move on to translate some of the sentences presented above to Greek, for testing the correspondence of the aspect form is correct to choose in Greek and my interpretations.

4.4 Translations to Greek

In this section I will have a look at what happens when some of the Norwegian sentences above are translated to Greek. I will start with sentence (7):

(7) Jeg spiste da Peter ankom.
I ATE WHEN PETER ARRIVED

(7)' **Etrogha** otan **eftase** o Petros.
EAT-IPIV-PAST-1.SG WHEN ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-3. SG THE PETER
'I was eating when Peter arrived.'

(7)'' **Efagha** otan **eftase** o Petros
EAT-PIV-PAST-1.SG WHEN ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-3.SG THE PETER
'I ate when Peter arrived (I started after he arrived)'

As we can see from the translations, the two different interpretations of the Norwegian sentence (7), require different aspect forms of the verbs in Greek. If the progressive interpretation of *spise* in (7) is to be preserved, the imperfective form of that verb must be chosen, as shown in (7)'. To preserve the ingressive-bounded interpretation, the perfective form must be chosen, as shown in (7)''. In both translations *otan* is the right conjunction to choose as *eno* ('while') cannot introduce a clause containing an achievement verb, except when the interpretation is habitual. Now consider sentence (8):

(8) Peter ankom da jeg spiste.
PETER ARRIVED WHEN I ATE

(8') O Petros **eftase** eno **etrogha.**
THE PETER ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-3.SG WHILE EAT-IPIV-PAST-1.SG
'Peter arrived when I was eating.'

In (8') the only possible choice of aspect forms of the verbs is imperfective for *eat* and perfective for *come*. Note that the only possible conjunction in Greek is *eno* ('while'), as *otan* ('when') cannot introduce a clause denoting a situation in progress.

I will continue with (46), one of the sentences containing two states:

(46) Peter hatet Maria da Maria elsket Peter.
PETER HATED MARIA WHEN MARIA LOVED PETER

(46)' O Petros **misuse** ti Maria
THE PETER HATE-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THE MARIA

eno i Maria **aghapuse** ton Petro.
WHILE THE MARIA LOVE-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THE PETER

Not unexpectedly, the imperfective form is the correct to choose for both verbs in Greek to preserve the aspectual properties of the Norwegian sentence.

Let us then continue with (48) which contains two activities:

(48) Jeg spiste da Peter svømte.
I ATE WHEN PETER SWAM

(48)' **Etrogha** eno **kolimbuse** o Petros.
EAT-IPIV-PAST-1.SG WHILE SWIM-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THE PETER

(48)'' **Efagha** eno **kolimbuse** o Petros.
EAT-PIV-PAST-1.SG WHILE SWIM-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THE PETER

Not unexpectedly, (48) allows two interpretations to Greek, one with both verbs in the imperfective form (both situations are progressive) and one in which *troo* ('eat') is in the perfective form receiving a progressive-telic interpretation, while *kolimbo* is in the imperfective form.

(49) Peter svømte da jeg spiste.
PETER SWAM WHEN I ATE

(49') O Petros **kolimbuse** eno **etrogha.**
THE PETER SWIM-IPIV-PAST-3.SG WHILE EAT-IPIV-PAST-3.SG

(49'') O Petros **kolimbise** eno **etrogha.**
THE PETER SWIM-PIV-PAST-3.SG WHILE EAT-IPIV-PAST-3.SG

Both (49)' and (49)'' are adequate translations of (49). That is a reason to reconsider the aspectual properties of (49). Recall that when presenting the combination of *spise* ('eat') and *svømme* ('swim') above, I stated that (49) allows only a progressive interpretation of both clauses. One might, however, have a situation where Peter takes weekly swimming lessons, in which case the clause *Peter swam* may have a bounded interpretation: *He completed his weekly hour of swimming, while I was eating in a restaurant.* This shows that pragmatics plays an important role for deciding the aspectual properties of such clauses.

Let us proceed to translating (52) , which contains an achievement verb and an accomplishment verb:

(52) Peter sang den fine sangen da jeg ankom.
PETER SANG THE NICE SONG WHEN I ARRIVED

(52)' Otan **eftasa** **traghuduse**
WHEN ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-1.SG SING-IPIV-PAST-3.SG
o Petros to oreo traghudhi[64].
THE PETER THE NICE SONG

'Peter was singing the nice song when I arrived.'

[64]The fact that the order of the two clauses in Greek is different than in the Norwegian has no consequences for the aspectuality of the Greek sentence.

(52)'' Otan **eftasa,** **traghudhise**
WHEN ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-1.SG SING-PIV-PAST-3.SG
o Petros to oreo traghudhi
THE PETER THE NICE SONG

'Peter sang the nice song when I arrived, '

(52) can be translated to Greek either with *traghodho* ('sing') in the imperfective form (progressive) or the perfective form (ingressive-telic). This rhymes with the interpretation given to the Norwegian (52).
Now consider (53):

(53) Jeg ankom da Peter sang den fine sangen.
I ARRIVED WHEN PETER SANG THE NICE SONG

(53)' **Eftasa** eno **traghouduse** o Petros to oreo traghudhi.
ARRIVE-PIV-PAST-1.SG WHILE SING-IPIV-PAST-3.SG. THE PETER THE NICE SONG
'I arrived while Peter was singing the nice song.'

(53) allows only a translation with *traghodho* ('sing') marked for the imperfective aspect.

Finally, I will have a look at sentences combining two accomplishment verbs:

(54) Peter strikket den genseren da jeg malte dette bildet.
PETER KNITTED THAT SWEATER-THE WHEN I PAINTED THIS PICTURE-THE

(54)' Eno **zoghrafiza** afton ton pinaka
WHILE PAINT-IPIV-PAST-1.SG THIS THE PICTURE
epleke o Petros afto to pulover.
KNIT-IPIV-PAST-3.SG THE PETER THAT THE SWEATER

'Peter was knitting that sweater while I was painting this picture, .'

(54)'' Eno **zoghrafiza** afton ton pinaka,
WHILE PAINT-IPIV-PAST-1.SG THIS THE PICTURE
eplekse o Petros afto to pulover.
KNIT-PIV-PAST-3.SG THE PETER THAT THE SWEATER

'While I was painting this picture, Peter knitted that sweater.'

(54) allows for two the interpretations: Either that both situations are progressive, or progressive-telic. To get that interpretation in Greek, both verbs must be in the imperfective form, as in (54)'. The other possible interpretation is that while the

speaker was painting the picture, Peter started knitting the sweater, and he finished it before or at the same time when the speaker stopped painting. To preserve that interpretation in Greek, the verb *zoghrafizo* ('paint') must be in the imperfective form and *pleko* ('knit') in the perfective, as in (54)".

The above translations show that, with the exception of (49), the choice of aspect form in Greek corresponds to the interpretations that I had given to the Norwegian sentences. The two Greek translations of (49), however, led me to reconsider the interpretation of the Norwegian (49) and to state that the clause *Peter svømte* ('Peter swam') may receive a bounded interpretation in certain contexts.

4.5 Vendler vs. Verkuyl

The above investigation has shown that the aspectual properties of clauses of the type introduced here vary according to what verb type of Vendler's four classes is contained in the clause and whether the clause is introduced by the complementizer *da* or not. For Vendler's states and achievement verbs, it is possible to predict the aspectual result of a clause when knowing which verb type is used, and whether the clause is introduced by *da* or not. For accomplishment verbs, one must also know which class the verb in the second clause belongs to. The class of activity verbs, however, turn out not to be as homogenous as the others, as some verbs in that class resemble accomplishment verbs as much as activities.

Let us now apply Verkuyl's terminology to the clause types that have been analysed. First, it should be noted that all the subjects used are specific, as they all consist of a proper name or a personal pronoun, and hence the quantity is specified, which means that they have the value [+SQA]. Activity verbs and achievement verbs are [+ADD TO] and these have no objects in the clauses used here, the clauses are expected to be non-terminative in Verkuyl's terminology, as the requirement of the presence of a [+SQA]-object is not satisfied. Vendler's state verbs are [-ADD TO] in Verkuyl's terminology, while all the examples of accomplishment verbs consist of an [+ADD TO] verb and an object which is [+SQA]. We have seen that the activity verb *spise* ('eat') in some cases has an ingressive bounded interpretation, while in other cases the result is progressive. In addition, the two achievement verbs used contribute to a bounded (as punctual must be said to be bounded) interpretation of the clauses they appeared in. This means that in some cases a [+SQA] subject and an [+ADD TO]-verb is enough to get a bounded interpretation. The clauses containing accomplishment verbs are the

only ones of those presented that fulfil Verkuyl's requirements for a sentence to be terminative, as they consist of two [+SQA]-arguments and an [+ADD TO]-verb. Those clauses, therefore, are expected to be terminative (bounded or telic in my terminology) according to Verkuyl's approach. But we have seen that accomplishment verbs sometimes contribute to a progressive result of the clause they appear in. This means that two clauses, each consisting of a [+SQA]-subject, an [+ADD TO]-verb and a [+SQA]-object can have different aspectual properties. In other words, two clauses which have exactly the same [SQA] and [ADD TO]-values may have different aspectual properties.

The fact that the use of verbs from the different Vendler classes gives different results regarding the aspectual properties of the clause they are contained in, speaks in favour of Vendler's quadripartition of verbs, although he could have made a finer distinction of activity verbs. It was pointed to above that Verkuyl's approach cannot explain why it is possible to say *jeg spiste på en time* ('I ate in an hour'). Verbs like *spise* ('eat'), then represent a problem to both approaches dealt with here.

4.6 Summary

I started out this chapter with a presentation of how some Greek sentences are translated to Norwegian and vice versa. This was done to illustrate some of what has been said about the expression of aspectuality in the two languages in chapter 3, and to investigate further the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian. I then presented a number of Norwegian sentences constituted by two clauses, one of which is introduced by the complementizer *da*. *Da* was chosen because it proved not to give any consistent contribution to the aspectual result of the whole clause, and that made it necessary to consider the contribution of the verb types to the aspectual properties of each clause.

The investigation showed that the verb types used, and the presence or absence of *da* in a clause, play an important role for the aspectual properties of the clause. Furthermore, it turned out to be the case that some verbs in Vendler's activity class behaved differently from what one might expect.

In 4.4 some of the sentences from 4.2 were translated to Greek. This was to see how the interpretations I have given the Norwegian sentences correspond to the aspect marking of the verbs in Greek. The translations showed that in most cases the Norwegian sentences with only one possible interpretation allowed only for one translation to Greek regarding the aspect forms of the verbs. The

Norwegian sentences which allowed for two interpretations, allowed for two translations to Greek.

Finally, I briefly considered how Vendler's and Verkuyl's approaches could account for the results of my analysis and argued that Vendler's classification, in spite of some shortcomings, has proved fruitful, as verbs from his four different classes have different consequences for the aspectuality of clauses, and that certain phenomena cannot be straightforwardly accounted for on Verkuyl's approach.

5 Summary and conclusion

In chapter 1, I gave a general presentation of aspect and I argued against the view that it should be considered a subjective category. Chapter 2 was devoted to a presentation of Vendler's (1967) and Verkuyl's (1993) approaches to aspectuality, and chapter 3 discussed how aspectuality is described and expressed in Greek and Norwegian. In chapter 4, data from Greek and Norwegian were compared and certain Norwegian sentences investigated more closely. The comparison with Greek proved to be of use to shed light on how Norwegian expresses aspectuality. The investigation showed that Vendler's classification is useful, but certain problems were identified.

We also saw that Verkuyl's approach proved fruitful in most cases, but again there are certain problems. First, many clauses whose constituent parts have exactly the same features on his approach proved to have different interpretations. Second, in several of the clauses, the interpretation is bounded or terminative despite the lack of an object (and hence of a [+SQA]-argument). We also saw that clauses which fulfil Verkuyl's terminativity criteria, in some cases allowed for a progressive interpretation.

The sentences we have looked at have shown that even though it is important to consider the contribution of everything present in a sentence and in which context it is uttered, the role played by the verb type is so important that one must be able to say something more about the qualities of different verbs and their contribution to the aspectuality of the whole sentence, than simply whether they have the feature [+ADD TO] or not, and whether their arguments are [+SQA] or not. Even so, Verkuyl's view that all linguistic material present contribute to the aspectual result of a sentence is useful when studying aspectuality in Norwegian.

In chapter 2, I pointed to the unfortunateness of Vendler's lack of distinction between verbs and verb phrases. But since his criteria for classification of verbs are as clear as they are, it does not represent a major problem in practice. Verkuyl also criticizes Vendler for not discerning between verbs and verb phrases as well as for classifying verbs as such, as he holds the view that aspectuality should be studied at a structural level. The fact that Vendler discusses phrases like *draw a circle*, however, means that his approach also captures what Verkuyl calls [+SQA]-objects. In chapter 4 we saw that Vendler's state verbs correspond to the verbs which Verkuyl gives the value [-ADD-TO]. The three remaining of Vendler's verb classes correspond to [+ADD-TO]-verbs in Verkuyl. Some achievement and accomplishment verbs correspond to [+ADD TO]-verbs and [+SQA]-objects. This shows that the difference between Vendler and Verkuyl is not as large as one initially can be led to think.

In chapter 3 it was pointed out that the interaction of different verb types of Vendler's classes interact differently with the perfective form. This also gives us a reason to defend the classification of verbs on the basis of inherent aspectual properties, as that phenomenon cannot be accounted for simply on the basis of [ADD TO]-values and [SQA]-values.

All the sentences presented in 4.2 consist of two clauses, one of which is an adverbial clause. The data which have been analysed therefore represent what Verkuyl calls *outer aspect*, by which he means sentences containing more than a verb and its arguments.[65] Recall that Verkuyl (1993:14) states that his study "is crucially focused on the composition of inner aspect [...] in the absence of a sufficiently articulated theory of adverbial modification." Now Verkuyl probably does not hold the opinion that studying outer aspect will not prove fruitful. We have seen that it may, and that the aspectual properties of a clause may be different when standing alone and hence expressing inner aspect, than when being part of a sentence expressing outer aspect. In addition, as studying outer aspect might lead to the discovery of other aspectual properties of clauses than when studying them separately, it might tell us something about inner aspect.

The most fruitful result of Verkuyl's approach for my purpose is that he suggests a procedure for interpreting the aspectuality of sentences and claims that all the words present in a sentence may contribute to the aspectual result of the whole sentence.

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[65]Verkuyl's (1993) notions of inner and outer aspect are mentioned in 2.2.

So many factors play a role for the expression of aspectuality that when studying the field, the researcher should take into consideration both the aspectual properties of verbs, the contribution of other words in the sentence, the aspect marking of verbs (in languages with aspect) as well as the context. We have seen that both Vendler's and Verkuyl's approach contribute in a fruitful way to the study of aspectuality, the differences between them are not as large as it seemed at first, but where they do differ, they seem to complement each other in a positive way.

Before concluding this thesis, I would like to mention a couple of phenomena which are beyond the range of this study, but which would be interesting to pursue in the future. The first is the complementizer *da*, which has proved to be interesting in studying aspectuality. We have seen that the contribution of *da* to the aspectual properties of the sentence it is a part of is not consistent. It may allow for a punctual interpretation ('at the point when'), as well as an extended interpretation ('all the period that'). Therefore, studying *da* in other constructions as well might be interesting, as well as studying the behaviour of other complementizers and their aspectual properties.

The second is the role played by the context for aspectuality. A few examples of the importance of the context were given in chapter 3. This was also partly illustrated in chapter 4. The importance of pragmatic factors for aspectuality is a wide field that invites for further investigation, which no doubt will reveal more about the phenomenon.

I started out by pointing to my problems with aspect in Greek which made me wonder how Norwegian expresses the distinctions that are expressed by different aspect forms in Greek. Investigating the expression of aspectuality in Norwegian, and comparing Norwegian and Greek, have made me more familiar with how aspectual distinctions are made in Norwegian as well as with the use and functions of the aspect forms in Greek. My hope is that the issues shed light on here, also may be of some use for others who are interested in aspectuality in aspect languages as well as non-aspect languages.

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