

Czech Temporal Adjuncts

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2 types of Czech temporal adjuncts (TAs):

- I. až do + NP_GEN ('until' + NP)
až do rána ('until morning')

- II. nejméně + NP_ACC ('at least' + NP)
nejméně hodinu ('at least one hour')

Outline of the presentation

Primary data contrast

Possible way to explain it

Corpus data + interpretation

Semantic properties of the context

Basic observation I

*Petr dočetl knihu *až do rána / nejméně hodinu.*

(‘Petr finished reading the book until morning /
at least one hour.’)

dočetl → read: 3. Sg Past **Perf**

Basic observation II

*Petr **nedočetl** knihu až do rána /nejméně hodinu.*

‘Petr didn’t finish reading the book until morning
/ at least one hour.’

nedočetl → **NEG** read: 3. Sg Past **Perf**

Two ways to deal the contrast

- A) TAs are NPIs
(polarity hypothesis)
- B) TAs are aspectual sensitive
(homogeneity hypothesis)

Basic observation III

Petr četl knihu až do rána / nejméně hodinu.

- ‘Petr was reading the book until morning / at least one hour. ’

četl → read: 3.Sg Past **Impf**

Corpus research: input

Goal:

Precise the semantic context enabling TAs
→ accurate definition

Instrument: SYN2010 (Czech National Corpus)
cca 3 000 analyzed sentences with TAs
(1 500 : 1 500)

Corpus research: output

result:

TAs + imperfective PRED ✓

TAs + perfective PRED ✓

ONLY ATELIC!

Aspect

(i.e. Csirmaz 2006; Dočekal & Kučerová 2009)

- a) grammatical (external): perfectivity
- b) lexical (internal): telicity

Telicity (von Stechow 2002):

only homogeneous predicates are atelic

P is homogeneous iff $P(t): \forall t' [t' \subset t \rightarrow P(t')]$

Homogeneity hypothesis

Data clasification:

I. imperfective PRED – atelic ✓

II. perfective PRED – 4 groups (...)

1. Simple atelic predicates

<i>...<u>nechám</u></i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>před branami</i>	<i>až do poledne</i>
leave: 1SG Pres Perf here		outside the gates	until the noon

(...) skupinu vojáků.

a group of soldiers

‘I will leave a group of soldiers outside the gates until noon.’

more predicates: *zůstat* / *setrvat* ‘to stay’, *strávit* ‘to spend’, *jít* ‘to go’, *uchovat* ‘to conserve’, *zabrat* ‘to take’

(...) a stráví

and spend: 3. Sg Pres **Perf**

nejméně

at least

hodinu

hour

v tichém meditování.

in silent meditation

‘(...) and [she] will spend at least an hour in silent meditation.’

2. Predicates with superlexical prefixes

Povaříme [jídlo] *nejméně hodinu.*

cook: 1 Pl Pres **Perf** [*the dish*] *for at least one hour.*

‘We will continue to cook [*the dish*] at least for an hour.’

more predicates: *přetrvat* ‘to be preserved’, *prožít* ‘to experience’, *pospat si* ‘to sleep in’, *podržet si* ‘to retain’...

Husu *jsme* *si* *ponechali*
goose: AccSg AUX 1. Pl REFL keep: PTC past, Pl, Masc

až do dnešního rána.
until today's morning

‘We have kept the goose until this morning.’

3. Modal above telic perfective

<i>Výstavu (...)</i>	<u><i>mohou</i></u>	<i>zájemci</i>
exhibition: AccSg	can: 3Pl	those interested: 1Pl

<i>navštívit</i>	<i>až do konce října.</i>
visit: Inf Perf	until the end of October.

‘Those interested can visit the exhibition until the end of October.’

$\exists$ x $\forall$ contrast: *až do*

$\exists$ ✓ :

*Výstavu **mohou** zájemci navštívit až do konce října.*

‘Those interested can visit the exhibition until the end of October.’

$\forall$ *:

Výstavu **musí zájemci navštívit až do konce října.*

(‘Those interested must visit the exhibition until the end of October.’)

$\exists$ x $\forall$ contrast: *nejméně*

$\forall$ ✓ :

*Karel Poborský se bude **muset** nejméně týden obejít bez fotbalu.*

‘K. P. will need at least a week to do without football.’

$\exists$ *:

Karel Poborský se bude **moci nejméně týden obejít bez fotbalu.*

(‘K. P. will be able to at least a week to do without football.’)

$\exists x \forall$ contrast: *až do x nejméně*

- až do + NP_GEN ('until' + NP): $\exists \checkmark / \forall *$
- nejméně + NP_ACC ('at least' + NP): $\exists * / \forall \checkmark$

4. Negation + telic perf. predicate

Jeho zbytky (...) nikdo nenajde
his:Acc remain: AccPl nobody NEG find: 3Sg Pres **Perf**

nejméně dalších padesát tisíc let.

at least next fifty thousands years

‘Nobody will find his remains at least next fifty thousands years.’

Až do té chvíle si toho
until that: Fem moment REFL that: Gen, Neu

vůbec nevšimla.

at all NEG notice: Past, PTC **Perf**, Sg, Fem

‘Until that moment she did not even notice.’

Summary I

1. corpus research
2. až do + NP_GEN ('until' + NP)
nejméně + NP_ACC ('at least' + NP)
3. *dočetl* (read: 3. Sg Past **Perf**) → *
nedočetl (**NEG** read: 3. Sg Past **Perf**) → ✓
četl (read: 3.Sg Past **Impf**) → ✓

Summary II

homogeneity of the event:

- I. lexical semantics** (atelic $\rightarrow$ subinterval property)
 - imperfectives
 - simple atelic perfectives
 - verbs with superlexical prefix

- II. compositionally** (PRED + operators $\rightarrow$ subint. property)
 - modals
 - negation

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