

Goals, end-points and scales

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Fong and Poulin (1998), Folli (2001), and Folli and Ramchand (2005), among others, argue that complex prepositions such as Fr. *jusqu'à* and It. *fino a* are accomplishment prepositions because they can combine with manner of motion verbs to derive telic interpretations:

- (1) *Gianni è/*ha corso fino a casa*
Gianni is/has run up.to at home
'Gianni ran up to his house'
- (2) *Gianni ha camminato *(fino) a casa in un secondo.*
Gianni has walked up.to at house in one second
'Gianni has walked to his house in one second'. (Italian; Folli and Ramchand 2005:page)

The above-mentioned authors argue that (1) and (2) are counterexamples to Talmy's (1985, 2000) typology, because the two verb-framed languages exhibit a construction in which a manner of motion verb appears with a PP introducing a goal, a construction found mainly in satellite-framed languages (e.g., Eng. *John walked to the store*). Beyond Romance languages, Beavers (2008) shows that this sort of preposition exists also in Japanese, another verb-framed language. This author argues that the postposition *-made* is not restricted to denoting goals, since it can also function as a temporal modifier of the duration of the event, equivalent to English *until*. To Beavers, *-made* is a postposition that establishes that an entity is a limit, without necessarily carrying the semantics of a path, so it does not constitute a true counterexample to Talmy's typology. In this paper, I set eyes on the Catalan complex preposition *fins a*, which functions much as the delimiter prepositions described before by Beavers (2008). The objective of this investigation is to extend Beavers's analysis to account for the many meanings that *fins* exhibits in Catalan: *fins* appears in PPs with a goal interpretation as in (4), in PPs denoting a temporal boundary as in (5), modifying NPs as in (6), and as a scalar focal modifier as in (7):

- (4) *Vam arribar fins a Montserrat.*
Aux.1PL arrive up at Montserrat
'We arrived at Montserrat.'
- (5) *Hi serem fins a les tres de la tarda.*
Loc be.1PL up at the three of the afternoon
'We will be there until three o'clock in the afternoon.'
- (6) *Van arribar tard fins a tres persones diferents.*
Aux.3PL arrive late up at three different people
'Up to three people arrived late.'
- (7) *Fins (i tot) la Maria va aprovar l=assignatura.*
Up and all the Mary aux pass the=course
'Even Mary passed the course.'

First, I argue that the analysis of *fins a*-PPs as an accomplishment preposition (as proposed in Folli 2001 for It. *fino*) is empirically inadequate. First, the interpretation of *fins a*-PPs as a goal always depends on the verbal type: if the verb does not entail a goal, as *ballar* 'to dance' for example, *fins a*-PPs can also define the limits of the area where the movement takes place,

without necessarily entailing the existence of a path (compare 9 and 10); second, if *fins a*-PPs were accomplishment prepositions, we would expect them to change the aspectual interpretation of the predicate they combine with, contrary to fact. Activity predicates (like *ballar* ‘dance’ in (10)) in combination with *fins a*-PPs can combine with durative adverbials, without necessarily receiving the *series of identical events*’ interpretation (SIE), which it is obtained with accomplishment PPs of the English type (11) (from MacDonald 2008).

(9) *Vam arribar fins a la porta de l=habitació.*
 Aux.1PL arrive up at the door of the=room
 ‘We arrived at the door of our room.’

(10) *Vam ballar fins a la porta de l=habitació durant hores.*
 Aux.1PL dance up at the door of the=room for hours
 ‘We dance in the space that is limited by the door of our room for hours.’

(11) The farmer dragged a log into the barn for an hour. (fine in the SIE interpretation)
 The evidence in (9) and (10) shows that the *fins a*-PP is not an accomplishment preposition. Moreover, the examples in (4-7) indicate that the semantics of *fins* goes beyond motion events. Consequently, I propose that the spatial *fins a*-PP is a complex preposition that contains a locative bounded preposition (whose exponent is *a*) and a modifier, *fins*. The status of *fins* as a modifier, and not as a preposition, comes from, first, its cross-categorical distribution as shown in the examples 4 to 7, where *fins* is shown to modify PPs, NPs or CPs; and, second, the fact that *fins* does not drop before complementizers as run-of-the-mill prepositions in Catalan do, (12):

(12) *Me=’n vaig oblidar *(fins) que m’=ho=vas dir.*
 CL.1SG=cl.OBL aux.1SG forget up that CL.DAT.1SG=CL.ACC.3SG=AUX.2SG say
 ‘I forgot it until you told me.’

In this paper I put forward that the semantic contribution of *fins* is that of specifying that a particular individual is an end-point, (13), which carries the presupposition that there is a set of ordered points, a scale G, such that x is the maximal point in that scale. The precise content of G depends on the type of individual that *fins* modifies. That the scalar meaning of *fins* is presuppositional is argued on the basis that the scalar meaning of *fins* survives negation, as exemplified here in (14). The definition that we propose is in (13):

(13) $[[Fins]] = \lambda x: \exists G[x \in G \wedge \forall y [y \in G \rightarrow y \leq x]. \text{End-point}(x)$

(14) *Fins i tot la Maria (no) va venir a la festa.*
 Up and all the Maria (not) aux come to the party
 ‘Even Mary (did not) come to the party’

The analysis of *fins* defended here gives us several benefits. The proposal allows us to understand why spatial *fins a*-PPs gives rise to a path interpretation in certain contexts, without having to assume that it inherently has a path semantics. Moreover, it paves the way to a unified analysis of the different uses of *fins* in Catalan, without having to assume multiple lexical entries. **Selected references.** Beavers, J. (2008). On the nature of goal marking and delimitation: Evidence from Japanese1. *Journal of Linguistics*, 44(2), 283-316. Folli, R. (2001). Constructing Telicity in English and Italian. PhD Dissertation. University of Oxford; Fong, Vivienne and Christine Poulin. (1998). Locating Linguistic Variation in Semantic Templates. In Jean-Pierre Koenig (ed.), *Discourse and Cognition*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications; Talmy, L. (1985). Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. In T. Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 57-49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.