

1. What is a tense?**1.1 Tense as an Operator**

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|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | John lives in Paris | (Now) John LIVE in Paris |
| 2 | John lived in Paris | Past (John LIVE in Paris) |
| 3 | John will live in Paris Fut | (John LIVE in Paris) |
| 4 | John lived in Paris last year | |
| 5 | John will live in Paris next year | |

1.2 Tense as a Referential expression

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|---------|--|---|
| 6. | Someone/My brother discovered a diamond at the beach (last week) | Indefinite |
| 7. | What did you do after dinner? We went to a movie. | Definite |
| 8. | Jack walked into the room. It was cold and dark, so he turned on the lights and lit a fire | Ambiguous; Anaphoric Definite/indefinite |
| 9. | I didn't turn off the stove. (Partee 1973) | Definite/indefinite |
| 10 a. | Every boy on the team read five books. | Bound variable |
| b. | John always took the bus home from work. | |
| 11 a. | None of the girls in the class did their homework. | |
| b. | Bill never did his homework. | |
| 12 a. | George reads a book. | |
| b. | George may read a book. | |
| c. | George lives in Seattle. | |
| d. | George may live in Seattle. | |
| 13 a. | He likes the doctor . | |
| b. | The lawyer likes him . | |
| c. | He told me that the doctor was busy. | |
| 14 a. | Sam said that he read a book. | Non-coreference |
| b. | Sam met a woman who read a book to him. | |
| (15) a. | John told his mother that I visited you in Paris. | |
| b. | Sam said that his mother visited a man who met you in Salzburg. | |
| (16) a. | John told his mother that Jane lives in Budapest. | |
| b. | Sam claimed that his mother lent her car to a woman who lives in Budapest. | |
| (17) | Only I think I won the race. (For example, John does not think that <i>he</i> won it.) | |

1.3 Tense as a Predicate of temporal ordering

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| 18 a. | <i>The dinner</i> will be/was after <i>the reception</i> . |
| b. | <i>John left</i> before <i>Bill arrived</i> . |
| c. | <i>Sam read a book</i> while <i>George practiced on the piano</i> . |

- 19 a. *The concert ended **after** midnight.*
 b. *Martin's class begins **at** four o'clock.*
 c. *??Four o'clock was **after** the concert (ended).*

20 **Present/Simultaneous:** "at" or "in" **UT at ET**

21 **Past:** "after" **UT after ET**

22 John **lives** in Paris
 John PRES live in Paris (*lives* is composed of PRES + live)
 PRES [John live in Paris] (the subject originates in a VP-internal position)
 [UT] PRES [T [J be in Paris]] (tense has UT as subject and ET as object)
 [UT] **at/in** [T [J be in Paris]] (PRES means 'in/at')

23 John **lived** in Paris
 John PAST live in Paris (*lived* is composed of PAST + live)
 PAST [John live in Paris] (the subject originates in a VP-internal position)
 [UT] PAST [T [J be in Paris]] (tense has UT as subject and ET as object)
 [UT] **after** [T [J be in Paris]] (PAST means 'after')

2. Syntactic structure of tense

2d Present, Past and Future; stative & eventive predicates

- 22 a. Jake loses his wallet (every day / *right now) Eventive (EV)
 b. The sun is directly overhead (every day / right now). Stative (ST)
- 23 a. Jake lost his wallet (every day / yesterday at noon). EV
 b. The sun was directly overhead (every day / yesterday at noon) ST
- 24 a. Jake will lose his wallet (every day / tomorrow at noon). EV
 b. The sun will be directly overhead (every day / tomorrow at noon) ST

2e Present tense and the Utterance time (punctual versus non-punctual)

- 25 John reads a book Activity
 26 George builds a house Accomplishment Events
 27 Sam arrives at the station Achievement Eventualities
 28 John lives in Paris State States
- 29 I pronounce you man and wife Performative Events
 30 I promise to help you

2f Progressive, Habitual, Periphrastic Perfect

- 31 Jim is reading a book Progressive
 32 Susan walks to school (every day) Habitual
 33 Bob (never) takes the train to work Habitual

34 Ed has finished his book Perfect

2g Anaphoric construals of stative predicates; cross-sentential tense relations

35 Jack walked into the room. He turned on the air conditioner. It was very hot.

36 Jack walked into the room. He felt sick.

37 Jack walked into the room. He was reading a book.

38 Jack walked into the room. He had turned off the light.

3. Complement clauses of intensional predicates

3a Absolute versus relative tense, and tense versus aspect

3b Embeddings under past and future; parallels with control theory

39 Jack will say/tell his mother/believe [that Bill is sitting in his office] Rel-SIM

40 Jack will say/tell his mother/believe [that Bill will visit Paris] Rel-FUT

41 Jack will say/tell his mother/believe [that Bill lost his wallet] Rel-PST

42 Jack said/told his mother/believed [that Bill is sitting in his office] DA (*Rel-SIM)
was Rel-SIM

43 Jack said/told his mother/believed [that Bill will visit Paris] DA (*Rel-FUT)

44 Jack said/told his mother/believed [that Bill lost his wallet] would Rel-FUT
Rel-PST

45 Jack says/is telling his mother/believes [that Bill is sitting in his office] (SIM)

43 Jack says/is telling his mother/believes [that Bill will visit Paris] (FUT)

44 Jack says/is telling his mother/believes [that Bill lost his wallet] (PST)

39' Jack will say that Bill is in his office:

PRO-UT before [T1 [Jack say CP]]
PRO-T1 at [T-2 [Bill be in his office]]

3c Preference for Simultaneous readings with stative predicates

4. Relative clauses and Independent readings

4a Relative Clauses in main clauses have an independent construal

45 a) Elizabeth **gave** an ice cream cone to the boy who **stole** your bike.

b) Keren **will have** lunch next week with the woman who **is** in your office.

4b Interactions between relative clause tense and de dicto/de re distinctions

46. a) Bill **told** me [that a woman [who **stole** his car] **married** your sister.]

b) Bill **told** me [that the woman [who **married** your sister] **stole** his car.]

- 67 If John is in Paris, then he didn't steal the jewels.
 68 If Bill didn't go to the party, then his wife is probably in Las Vegas

5c Causative and Concessive clauses: ambiguous levels of attachment

- 69 Sam **sold** his car **because/even though** his wife **lives** in Paris (no oblig agr)
 70 Sam's wife **lives** in Paris **because/even though** he **sold** his car
 71 Sam **sold** his car **because** his wife **moved** to Paris (CP2 causes/precedes CP1?)
 72 Sam's wife **moved** to Paris **because** he **sold** his car
 73 Sam **sold** his car, **even though (although)** his wife **moved** to Paris
 74 Sam's wife **moved** to Paris, **even though (although)** he **sold** his car.

6. Sequence of Tense

6a Simultaneous readings in Complement clauses of Intensional Predicates

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|-------|---|---------------------|---------------|
| 75 a. | Robert lives in Paris | Stative | |
| b. | Susan feels/is feeling sick | Stative/Progressive | |
| c. | Jake loses his wallet every day | Habitual | |
| d. | *Jake loses his wallet (right now) | Eventive | |
| | | | |
| 76 a. | Rex told me/believed that Robert lived in Paris | | SIM |
| b. | Rex told me/believed that Susan felt/was feeling sick | | SIM |
| c. | Rex told me/believed that Jake lost his wallet every day | | SIM/HAB |
| d. | Rex told me/believed that Jake lost his wallet (then) | | *SIM; P-SHIFT |
| | | | |
| 77 a. | Sam will claim/think that Robert lives in Paris | | SIM |
| b. | Sam will claim/think that Susan feels/is feeling sick | | SIM |
| c. | Sam will claim/think that Jake loses his wallet every day | | SIM/HAB |
| d. | *Sam will claim/think that Jake loses his wallet (then) | | |

6b Relative clauses and *de dicto/de re* revisited

- 78 a Bill **told** me [that a woman [who **was** in your office] stole his car.]
 b Bill **told** me [that the boy [who **was** reading the comic book] ate your lunch.]
 c Bill **told** me [that a man [who **took a helicopter to work**] married his sister.]

6c Theories of SOT: classical theory; Abusch (1); Ogihara, Enc

6d Abusch and Kamp-Rohrer sentences

- 79 John told me last night that he would inform his mother next week at lunch that he **was** angry at her.

6e Theory of Past polarity: PPI in head of ZP; Null tense

- 80 John was angry past is a past-polarity item (PPI);
 PPI requires a c-commanding PAST;
 so T must contain PAST.