TEMPORAL AND ASPECTUAL OPERATORS IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I will develop the syntactic form of the verbal complex that, in my view, is needed for the Romance languages. The state of affairs described by the Predication will not be regarded as an atomic entity, but as consisting of a nuclear part (consisting itself of a beginning, middle part and end) and of a certain number of 'satellites', which in this case are the states of affairs whose existence can be inferred from the existence of the nuclear one (a prestate and a poststate, for example). The nature of this kind of eventuality structure depends mainly on the aktionsart of the Predication and on the semantic functions of their arguments. It will be shown that the adjunction of an aspectual operator to the Predication has as its main function to select one (or more) of the phases of the nuclear state of affairs or of one of its 'satellites'. It will be finally shown that the choice of aspect influences the temporal structure discourse.

KEY WORDS: Functional Grammar, layering, operators, romance languages.

RESUMEN

En este artículo desarrollo la forma sintáctica del complejo verbal que, desde mi punto de vista, se necesita para las lenguas romances. El estado de cosas descrito por la Predicación no se considerará una entidad atómica, sino como consistente de una parte nuclear (compuesta asimismo de un principio, parte intermedia y un final) y de un cierto número de 'satélites', que en este caso son los estados de cosas cuya existencia se infiere de la existencia del estado de cosas nuclear (un pre-estado y un post-estado, por ejemplo). La naturaleza de este tipo de estructura de eventualidad depende principalmente del *Aktionsart* de la Predicación y de las funciones semánticas de sus argumentos. Se demostrará que la función principal de la asignación de un operador aspectual a la Predicación consiste en seleccionar una (o más) de las fases del estado de cosas nuclear o de uno de sus 'satélites'. Finalmente, se demostrará que la elección de aspecto influye el discurso de la estructura temporal.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Gramática Funcional, estratos, operadores, lenguas romances.

0. INTRODUCTION

Dik (1997) proposes a set of tense and aspect operators which are supposed to be universal. In this paper it will be shown that Dik's system does not apply to the
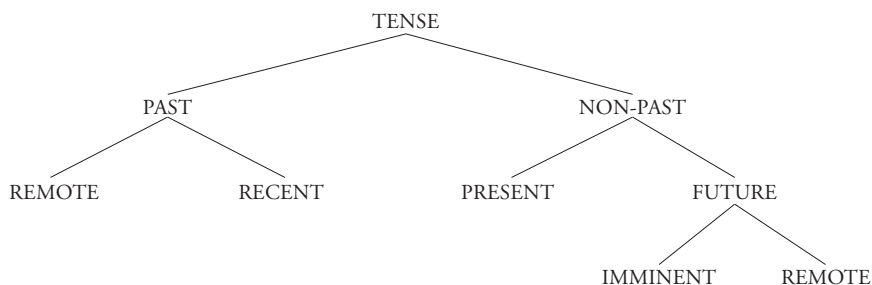
Figure 1.

Romance languages and that rather radical changes have to be made in the system in order to be able to explain the behaviour of these operators. These changes concern notably the absence in Dik's system of the Future in the past, the distinction between Imperfective and Perfective Pasts, the identical behaviour of the Posterior (Future) and the Prospective Aspect operators and the scope relations between Perfect and Progressive aspect and those between Perfective Past and the Posterior and Prospective operators. A set of rules will be proposed that predict the right combinations.

In section 1 I will give a overview of Dik's temporal and aspectual system. In section 2 I will deal with the structure of the utterance I will use in this paper. Section 3 will be devoted to the analysis of tense and aspect in French, which will give rise to a new proposal for the scope relations between tense and aspect operators. In a brief subsection I will deal with the Progressive aspect of Spanish (and Italian). In the last section I will propose a revised utterance structure.

1. ASPECT IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

Dik (1997: 237) defines tense as a category that serves to locate the state of affairs with respect to the moment of speech or to some other reference point. He argues that languages tend to make the following tense distinctions, shown in Figure 1 (Figure 2, from Dik 1997: 238).

This schema should be read as follows. If a language has tense the first distinction it generally makes is that between PAST and NON-PAST. The next distinction languages make within the PAST is that between REMOTE PAST and RECENT PAST and within NON-PAST between PRESENT and FUTURE. Finally, languages which have all these distinctions may distinguish between IMMINENT and REMOTE FUTURE.

Aspectual distinctions concern the internal temporal structure of states of affairs. Dik distinguishes the following subcategories of aspect (1997: 241):

(i) Aspect 1 (Predicational Aspect, Mode of Action or Aktionsart). This type of aspect is encoded in the Nuclear Predication. Further subclassification takes place along the lines of the following features [± Dynamic] [± Telic] [± Momentaneous] [± Control] [± Experience].
(ii) Aspect 2: concerns the "internal dynamics of the state of affairs," coded in the Qualifying predicate operators π_1; (Im)Perfectivity, Phasal Aspect (beginning, continuation, ending of the state of affairs) (these aspects concern the state of affairs or its stages).
(iii) Aspect 3: Quantificational Aspect, captured in Quantifying predication operators π_2 (iterative, habitual, frequentative aspect).
(iv) Aspect 4: Perspectival Aspect, coded in localising predication operators π_2. (Prospective) (Perfect, henceforth 'RETRO').

As far as Aspect-1 is concerned, for which I prefer the term 'predicational aspect' the main features seem to be [± Telic] and [± Momentaneous]. A well-known test for the [± Telic]-distinction is the (im)possibility to combine the predication with one of the two duration adverbials of English and many other languages (*for an hour*, Fr. *pendant une heure* vs *in an hour*/Fr. *en une heure*). Non-telic predications are compatible with the *for* adverbials and telic ones with the *in* type:

(1)   John wrote this letter in/?for an hour. [+ Telic]
       Jean a écrit cette lettre en/?pendant une heure. [+ Telic]
(2)   John walked for/?in an hour. [- Telic]
       John s'est promené pendant/?en une heure. [- Telic]

The main difference is that telic events lead to a result which blocks any continuation of the state of affairs (the result in (1) is 'the letter has been written' (as you can see)), whereas non-telic states of affairs just stop at a given moment without any result. In (2) the state of affairs does not lead to a resultative state (??'John has walked' (as you can see)).
This description is not complete since the nature of the direct object and the absence of a Directional argument can also play a role here (cf. Verkuyl 1993). Compare for example:

(3)   a. John filled the bottle in 10 minutes/?for minutes. [+Telic]
       b. John filled bottles ?in 10 minutes/for 10 minutes. [-Telic]
(4)   a. Mary walked for an hour/?in an hour. [-Telic]
       b. Mary walked to the station ?for an hour/in an hour. [+Telic]

(3a) has the feature [+ Telic] since it can be combined with a *in* adverbial, whereas (3b) has the feature [- Telic] because it is compatible with a *for* adverbial. In the same way, (4a) is [- Telic] whereas (4b) is [+ Telic]. The states of affairs in (3a), (3b) and (4b) are transitions, the one in (4a) is a non-transitional one. The former ones lead to a result. The difference between (3a) and (3b) is that (3b) refers to an indeterminate number of transitions so that the end point of the whole SoA re-

mains vague in the sense that John could have continued to fill bottles. In (3a) the number of transition is limited (one transition) so that the end point of the state of affairs is well defined. It is not possible for John to continue to fill the same bottle after the 10 minutes mentioned in the sentence.

Momentaneous states of affairs are conceived of as occurring at an indivisible moment of time. Predications that have the feature [+ Momentaneous] may pertain to both the telic and the non-telic categories:

(5) His arrival surprised me. [+ Telic], [+ Momentaneous]
Son arrivée m'a surpris. [+ Telic], [+ Momentaneous]
(6) John coughed. (once) [- Telic], [+ Momentaneous]
Jean toussa. [- Telic], [+ Momentaneous]

[+Momentaneous] predications are incompatible with any kind of duration adverbial. If they are nevertheless combined with such an adverbial this gives rise to a reinterpretation of the predication. The most frequent interpretative strategies are to interpret the predication as referring to a set of events (habitual or frequentative reading) as in:

(7) Peter coughed the whole night.

Another strategy is to reinterpret the predication as referring to a [- Momentaneous] state of affairs:

(8) Mary arrived at the summit in two hours.

(See for further details on this kind of 'coercion' readings Moens and Steedman 1988 and de Swart 1998).

Aspect 2 comprises Perfective and Imperfective Aspect. This contrast can be illustrated by the following examples:

(9) a. Marie lut la lettre (e_1) pendant que Jean préparait le repas (e_2).
 b. María leyó la carta (e_1) mientras que Juan estaba haciendo la comida (e_2)
 'Mary read the letter while John was preparing dinner'.

In the main clause we have a Passé Simple (*lut*) and a Pretérito Definido (*leyó*). The use of these tenses gives rise to a reading in which the state of affairs 'Mary read the letter' is presented as being complete: the assertion includes the beginning, the middle, and the end of the state of affairs. In the temporal clause, however, the assertion is limited to (part) of the middle of the state of affairs, more precisely its middle part as far as it coincides with the event (e_1) of the main clause. When an utterance describes a complete event it has [+ Perfective] aspect. If (part of) the middle of the state of affairs is referred to it has [- Perfective] (Imperfective) Aspect. The two aspects can be represented by the schemas of Figures 2 and 3, respectively:
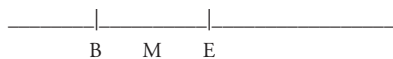
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_____|_____|_____
        B     M    E
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Figure 2. Perfective Aspect (read the letter).

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_____(|)__/////__(|)_____
       {B}    M    {E}
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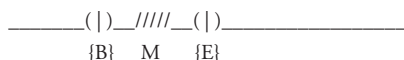
Figure 3. Imperfective Aspect (was preparing dinner).

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    PROSP      e₁     RETRO
___///////////|_____|///////////_____
   prestate   SoA    poststate
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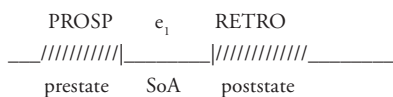
Figure 4.

where B: beginning, M: middle, E: end of the state of affairs. Perfective Aspect leaves the event structure intact: all the phases (B, M, E) are asserted. In Figure 3, however, only the part indicated by the slices (/////) is asserted. The speaker does not assume any responsibility for the beginning and the end. He simply does not provide any information about these parts of the state of affairs.

In this paper I will not deal with inchoative or egressive aspect, which limit the utterance's assertion respectively to the beginning and the end of a SoA, since the Romance languages do not possess these aspects. I will not deal either with what Dik calls Aspect 3 since this kind of aspect is not expressed by morphological means in the languages I deal with here. If utterances of these language have a habitual or a frequentative reading, this reading is the result of the combination of elements which are in principle incompatible (as in (7)) or habituality and frequency are expressed by lexical means (by *often* or *generally*).

The Prospective Aspect and the Retrospective Aspect (or Perfect)[1] select not a part of the state of affairs itself, but its prestate (prepararatory state) and its poststate (resultative state) as in Figure 4.

Dik (1997: 238) gives the following examples:

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[1] I prefer the term 'Retrospective Aspect' (RETRO) to Perfect in order to avoid confusion between Perfect and Perfective.

(10) Stocks are going to rise again. (Present + Prospective Aspect)
(11) One day, stocks will rise again. (Posteriority (Future tense))

In (10) the point of speech is temporally included in the prestate of the state of affairs 'stocks rise'. In (11) the state of affairs 'stocks rise' is posterior to the point of speech. In (12) the speech point is temporally included in the poststate of the state of affairs 'Peter arrive in New York', whereas in (13) the state of affairs 'Peter arrive in New York' is anterior to the speech point (the examples are mine):

(12) Peter has arrived in New York. (Present + Retrospective Aspect)
(13) Peter arrived in New York on Monday the 4th. (Past Tense)

Example (14) exhibits a combination of tense, which in the standard view is also a π_2 operator, Aspect-4 (a π_2 operator), Aspect 2, which belongs to the class of π_1 operators and Telic (predicational) Aspect (Aspect-1), which I have added to Dik's example:

(14) Bill has been being called by John. (Dik 1997: 382-384)
      PRES PETRO PROGR PASS [call [V] (John)$_{Ag}$ (Bill)$_{GoSubj}$]$_{telic}$
      π_2 π_2 π_1 (Dik 1997: 382)

In the next section the scope relations will be represented in a derivational tree.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE UTTERANCE

We regard utterance as the basic unit of linguistic communication. We will adopt here the utterance structure which was proposed in Vet (1998) (Figure 1).

As can be seen in Figure 5, utterances consist of a content (called 'dictum') and an illocutionary operator (ILL), which is meant to inform the interlocutor what he or she should do with the information provided by the dictum. ILL can take the values DECL (declarative), INT (interrogative), IMP (imperative) (see for the interpretation of these operators Dik, 1997: 302).[2]

The utterance's dictum contains a proposition, which is modified by a modal operator. This kind of operator expresses the speaker's attitude with respect to the proposition ('true', 'false' (negation of the propositional content), 'possibly true', 'true on the basis of inference, of hearsay', and so on). A proposition corresponds to

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[2] In contrast to the generally accepted view in Functional Grammar (Dik, 1997: 302), I regard 'Exclamative' as a subclass of Declarative.

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                        utterance
           ┌───────────────┼───────────────────────────┐
          π₄            dictum        (utterance content)
          ILL
                   ┌────────┴─────────────────┐
                  π₃                      proposition
                  MOD
          ┌────────┬────────┬────────┬────────┬────────┐
         π₂       π₂       π₂        e       σ₂       σ₂
        tense   PROSP     HAB                DUR    LOC/TEMP
                RETRO
                                    │
                            Nuclear Predication
                          ┌─────────┼─────────┐
                         π₁       pred_{V/A}   (args)
                        PROG
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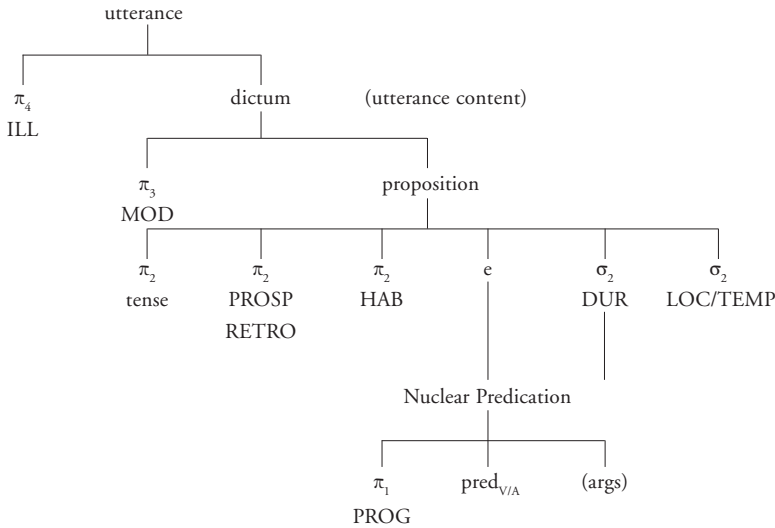
Figure 5. The structure of the utterance.

a (possible) fact (state of affairs) symbolised by e_i. This e_i can be localised on the time axis with respect to some reference point. In traditional approaches this reference point can be anterior (past), simultaneous (present) or posterior (future) to the speech point. We will show in the next section that an approach in which the present and past operators are not treated at the same level as the future operator leads to a descriptively more satisfactory result (cf. Fig. 6).

Dik assumes that RETRO (Retrospective Aspect) and PROSP (Prospective Aspect) are π_2 operators (Aspect-4) operating at the same level as the tense operator. We have placed them within the scope of tense. We will show in section 3.2 that RETRO and PROSP cannot pertain to the same class, since, at least in French, RETRO can be in the scope of PROSP . The RETRO or PROSP operator can be followed by HAB (the habitual operator, Aspect-3), which pertains to the same group of π_2 operators. We have assumed that two adverbial satellites (σ_i) belong to the same level: DUR (duration adverbials like *for/in an hour*) and the satellites that indicate the spatial (LOC) (*in the garden*) and/or temporal (TEMP) location (*yesterday*) of the state of affairs.

The Nuclear Predication contains the PROG operator (progressive aspect), which is sometimes regarded as a representative of the larger class of imperfective aspect (but see section 3.3 below for a different view), the predicate (Pred) and its argument(s) (arg(s)). Figure 5 represents the scope relationships between the tense operator and the aspectual operators as proposed by Dik (1997). In the next sections we will show that application of Dik's ideas to the Romance languages (and especially to French) necessitates a rather radical change of the utterance structure.
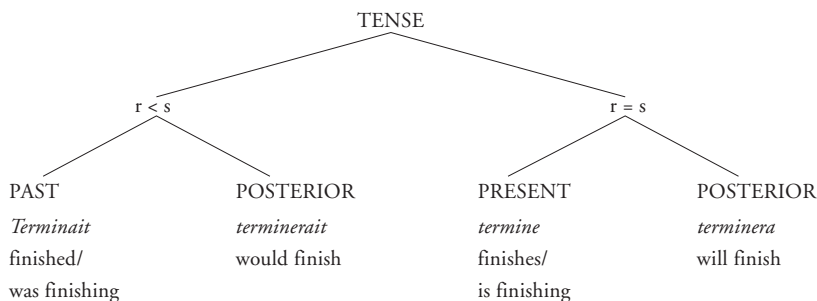
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                              TENSE
                  ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
                r < s                         r = s
          ┌───────┴───────┐           ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        PAST          POSTERIOR     PRESENT           POSTERIOR
      Terminait       terminerait    termine          terminera
      finished/       would finish   finishes/        will finish
      was finishing                  is finishing
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<div align="center">Figure 6.</div>

3. THE FRENCH TEMPORAL AND ASPECTUAL OPERATORS

3.1. TENSE OPERATORS

The tense schema of Figure 1, which Dik regards as universal, does not apply to the Romance languages (at least not to French, Spanish and Italian). These languages make in the NON-PAST and the PAST a distinction between PRESENT and POSTERIOR and between PAST and POSTERIOR , respectively. This is proved by the complete parallelism between (15a) and (15b):

(15) a. Valérie dit qu'elle terminera (PRES + POST) son travail avant midi.
         'Valérie says that she will finish her work before noon'.
     b. Valérie disait qu'elle terminerait (PAST + POST)[3] son travail avant midi.
         'Valérie said that she would finish her work before noon'.

In (15a) the state of affairs is posterior to the speech point, it is a future seen from the present moment. In (15b) the reference point is in the past and the future is presented as seen from that point. Dik's schema should be adapted to the Romance languages as in Figure 6.

In Figure 6 r < s means that the reference point r is anterior to the speech point (s) and r = s that it is simultaneous to s. The order in which the tense operators apply can be represented by the following schema (cf. also Dik 1997: 382).

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[3] In French grammar this form is generally called 'conditionnel'. The conditionnel is often regarded as a mood, which in our view is wrong. Both Future and Future-in-the-Past have modal uses, but examples such as (15a, b) clearly show that these forms are first of all tense forms since they serve to locate the state of affairs on the time axis.
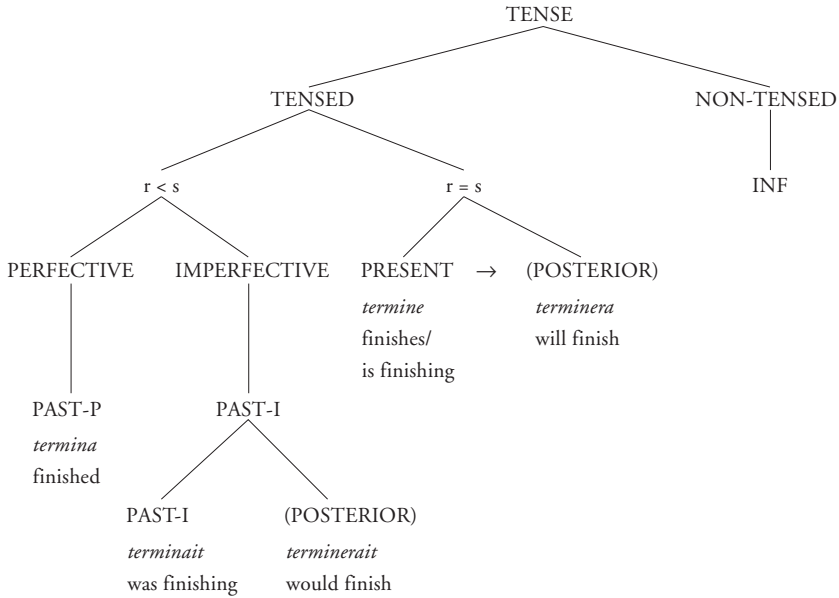
Figure 7.

(16) $\begin{pmatrix} \text{PRES/PAST} \\ \text{INF} \end{pmatrix}$ (POST) [pred [V]]

The schema given in Figure 6 is not complete, however, because French, Spanish and Italian make within r < s a distinction between Imperfective Past (*Imparfait, Imperfecto, Imperfetto*) and Perfective Past (*Passé Simple, Pretérito Definido, Passato Remoto*), so that the complete schema of tense distinctions for the Romance languages has to be that of Figure 7.

The first option is between TENSED and NON-TENSED (INF). If TENSED is chosen, one has to select either r < s or r = s. Within r < s a PERFECTIVE (PAST-P) or IMPERFECTIVE (PAST-I) has to be selected. Only PAST-I allows for the combination with POSTERIOR. Within r = s one can choose PRESENT combined or not with POSTE-RIOR. The possible combinations of operators are represented in the following schema:

(17) $\begin{pmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRES} \\ \text{PAST-I} \end{bmatrix} (\text{POST}) \\ \text{PAST-P} \\ \text{INF} \end{pmatrix}$ [Pred[V]]

This schema correctly accounts for the fact that only PRES and PAST-I can be combined with POSTERIOR in the Romance languages.

What is interesting is that the Periphrastic Future of French, which is formed by *aller* 'go' followed by the infinitive, behaves in fact in the same way as the Future and the Future-in-the-Past. The Periphrastic Future is not a future tense but expresses, at least originally, prospective aspect (PROSP) (see section 3.2. below). The PROSP operator only combines with PRES and PAST-I just as the POST(ERIOR) operator. All the other combinations are excluded (cf. (19)).

(18) a.   Valérie va terminer (PRES + PROSP) son travail.
           'Valérie is going to finish her work'.
     b.   Valérie allait terminer (PAST-I + PROSP) son travail.
           'Valérie was going to finish her work'.
     c.   *Valérie alla terminer (PAST-P + PROSP) son travail.
           'Valérie was going to finish her work'.
     d.   *Valérie ira terminer (PRES + POST + PROSP) son travail.
           'Valérie will be going to finish her work'.
     e.   *Valérie irait terminer (PAST-I + POST + PROSP) son travail.
           'Valérie goes/ went/ will go/ would go finish her work'.
     f.   *Valérie est allée terminer (PRES + RETRO + PROSP) son travail.
           'Valérie has been going to finish her work'.
     g.   *Valérie était/fut allée terminer (PAST-I/PAST-P + RETRO + PROSP)
           son travail.
           'Valérie was been going to finish her work'.

The schema of (17) should be changed in the following way:

(19) $\begin{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \text{PRES} \\ \text{PAST-I} \end{pmatrix} \begin{array}{c} \text{(POST)/} \\ \text{(PROSP)} \end{array} \\ \quad \text{PAST-P} \\ \quad \text{INF} \end{pmatrix} [\text{Pred} [\text{V}]]$

In the next section I will elaborate the analyses of the Prospective and Retrospective Aspects.

3.2. PROSPECTIVE AND RETROSPECTIVE ASPECT

As we have seen Prospective Aspect can be expressed in French by the Periphrastic Future (also called the *Futur proche* 'Near Future').

(20) Valérie va partir.
      Valérie goes leave
      'V. is leaving'.

(20) refers to the prestate (the preparatory phase) of the state of affairs 'Valérie partir' 'Valérie leave'. This prestate is true at the speech point, witness the possibility to embed (20) under a verb of visual perception:

(21) Je vois que Valérie va partir.
      I see that Valérie goes leave
      'I see that Valérie is leaving'.

      If the Periphrastic Future is replaced by the Simple Future the sentence becomes unacceptable:

(22) *Je vois que Valérie partira.
      'I see that Valérie will leave'.

at least if one wants to interpret *voir* 'see' as a verb of visual perception (the sentence is acceptable if *voir* is understood as 'realise', 'understand'). The difference can be explained by the fact that in (21) there is something to see at the moment of speech whereas this is not the case in (22) where the state of affairs is in the future so that nothing can be perceived at the moment of speech.
      In French Retrospective Aspect can be expressed by the Passé Composé (Composed Past) as in (23):[4]

(23) Valérie est partie.
      Valérie is left
      'Valérie has left'.

      (23) means that the poststate of the state of affairs 'Valérie partir' is true at the moment of speech. This postate can be perceived:

(24) Je vois que Valérie est partie.
      I see that Valérie is left
      'I see that Valérie has left'.

      If the Passé Composé of (24) is replaced by the Past-P (*Passé Simple*) as in (25):

(25) *Je vois que Valérie partit (Past-P).
      'I see that Valérie left'.

the sentence is unacceptable since a state of affairs in the past cannot be seen.
      As we have seen, Dik (1997) regards Prospective and Retrospective Aspect as belonging to the same category (π_2) (see Figure 5), but it is obvious that they do

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      [4] The periphrastic Future and the Passé Composé are in fact ambiguous. The Periphrastic Future is synonymous with the Simple Future and the Passé Composé can be replaced by the Passé Simple (PAST-P) in contexts that are not in the scope of the moment of speech. In this paper I will restrict myself to the aspectual meanings (PROSP and RETRO) of these forms.

not have the same syntactic properties. RETRO can be in the scope of PROSP, but not the other way around as can be seen in (26) and (27):

(26) Valérie va/allait avoir terminé son travail.
　　 PRES/PAST-I + PROSP + RETRO
　　 Valérie goes/went have finished her work
　　 (literally) 'V. is going to have finished her work'.
(27) *Valéry est/était allée terminer son travail.
　　 *PRES/PAST-I + RETRO + PROSP
　　 Valérie has gone finish her work
　　 (literally) 'Valérie has been going to finish her work'.

　　 We had already argued that POST and PROSP behave in exactly the same way. This is confirmed by the fact that POST can also be combined with RETRO, but not the other way around:

(28) A huit heures Valérie aura/aurait terminé son travail.
　　 'At eight o'clock Valérie will/would have finished her work'.
　　 PRES/PAST-I + POST + RETRO

(28) refers to the future poststate of the state of affairs 'Valérie terminer son travail' as seen from the present moment or from a moment in the past. The combination in which POST is in the scope of RETRO cannot be expressed in the Romance languages:

(29) *PRES/PAST-I + RETRO + POST[5]

　　 This observation gives rise to the following general schema:

(30) $\left\{\begin{pmatrix} \text{PRES} \\ \text{PAST-I} \end{pmatrix}\begin{matrix}(\text{POST})/ \\ (\text{PROSP})\end{matrix}\ \right\}$ (RETRO) [Pred [V]]
$\quad\quad\ \left|\begin{matrix}\text{PAST-P} \\ \text{INF}\end{matrix}\right.$

This schema correctly predicts that infinitives combine with RETRO (*avoir* (INF) *terminé* (Past Participle, 'have finished') and that PAST-P also combines with this aspect, witness the acceptability of:

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[5] In Dutch this combination is possible although some speakers find it marginal:
(i)　Piet heeft zullen komen.
　　　Piet has will (INF) come (INF).
which may be paraphrased as: "'Piet will come' has been the case."

(31) Dès que Valérie eut terminé son travail elle rentra chez elle.
'As soon as Valérie had finished (PAST-P + RETRO) her work she went (PAST-P) home'.

We have seen that RETRO can be in the scope of PROSP as in (26) and that RETRO cannot have PROSP in its scope (cf. (27)).

The next section deals with the progressive aspect (*gerundio*) in Spanish. This form exists also in Italian, but is absent in French.

3.3. PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

In contrast to French, Spanish and Italian possess Progressive Aspect. This shows that Progressive Aspect should not be regarded as a variant of Imperfective Aspect since this type of aspect is compatible with Progressive Aspect (cf. (32a). (32b) shows that PROG can also be in the scope of PERFECTIVE PAST.

(32) a.   La abuela estaba leyendo (PAST-I + PROG) en el sillón.
           'The grandmother was (PAST-I) reading in the armchair'.
     b.   Estuve dos años estudiando ((PAST-P + PROG) en Barcelona.
           'I-was (PAST-P) two years studying in Barcelona'.

The next example shows that Spanish PROG can be also in the scope of RETRO:

(33) Pablo ha estado durmiendo (PRES + RETRO + PROG) toda la mañana.
'Pablo has been sleeping the whole morning'.

The following schema give a complete schema of possible combination of tense and aspect operators in the Romance languages:

(34)
$$
\begin{pmatrix}
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{PRES}\\
\text{PAST-I}\\
\text{PAST-P}\\
\text{INF}
\end{pmatrix}
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{(POST)/}\\
\text{(PROSP)}
\end{pmatrix}
\end{pmatrix}
(\text{RETRO}) \; [(\text{PROG}_{S/I}) \; \text{Pred} \; [\text{V}]]
$$

The following examples illustrate the combinations predicted by (36). I limit myself to French):

(35) a.   Chantal termine son travail. (PRES + Pred)
           'Chantal finishes/is finishing her work'.
     b.   Chantal finira son travail. (PRES + POST + Pred)
           'Chantal will finish her work'.
     c.   Chantal va finir son travail. (PRES + PROSP + Pred)
           'Chantal is going to finish her work'.

d.   Chantal aura terminé son travail (ce soir). (PRES + POST + RETRO + Pred)
     'Chantal will have finished her work. (this evening)'.
e.   Chantal va avoir fini son travail. (PRES + PROSP + RETRO + Pred)
     literally: "Chantal is going have finished her work'.
f .   Chantal terminait son travail. (PAST-I + Pred)
     'Chantal finished/was finishing her work'.
g.   Chantal finirait son travail. (PAST-I + POST + Pred)
     'Chantal will finish her work'.
h.   Chantal allait finir son travail (PAST-I + PROSP + Pred)
     'Chantal is going to finish her work'.
i.   Chantal aurait terminé son travail ('ce soir-là). (PAST-I + POST + RETRO +Pred)
     'Chantal would have finished her work (that evening)'.
j.   Chantal allait avoir fini son travail. (PAST-I + PROSP + RETRO + Pred)
     literally: "Chantal is going have finished her work'.
k.   Chantal termina son travail. (PAST-P + Pred)
     'Chantal finished her work'.
l.   Chantal eut terminé son travail (en un clin d'oeil). (PAST-P + RETRO + Pred)
     'Chantal had finished her work (in no time)'.

(35k) and (35l) exhibit the only possible combinations which are allowed with the Perfective Past (PAST-P). (34) correctly predicts that combinations of this tense with POST and PROSP are excluded.

4. FINAL REMARKS

In this paper it was shown that the tense distinctions as they were given in Dik (1997) do not apply to the Romance languages. First, the primary distinction that these languages make in the past is that between Perfective Past (Past-P) and Imperfective Past (PAST-I). Next, only the Imperfective Past can be combined with POST (future) and Prospective Aspect so that only the combinations exhibited by (35g) and (35h) lead to acceptable results. The only operator that can appear with PAST-P is RETRO (cf. (35l). This shows clearly that Retrospective Aspect and Prospective Aspect do not belong to the same category. Since the behaviour of PROSP is exactly the same as that of the Posteriority operator POST these two operators must pertain to the same class. These two operators can have RETRO in their scope, but not the other way around (cf. (27) and (29)).

Finally it was shown that in Spanish (and Italian) PROG can be in the scope of both PAST-P and PAST-I as well as in the scope of RETRO. This shows that the Imperfective Aspect of PAST-I should not be identified with Progressive Aspect. As in Dik (1997) we have given to this operator a position close to the Predicate since no other aspect can be in the scope of PROG (at least in Spanish and Italian).

Rule (34) predicts that (INF) can combine with RETRO and PROG (but not with POST or PROSP). It does not predict, however, the numerous constraints on these combinations, which seem to be caused by some lexical features inherent to the

utterance

π₄   dictum   (utterance content)
ILL

π₃   proposition
MOD

INF/   π₂   π₂   e   σ₂   σ₂
       ⎡PRES/ (PROSP)/⎤   DUR   LOC/TEMP
       ⎢PAST-I (POST) ⎥
       ⎣PAST-P   ⎦

                    Predication

            π₁   Nuclear Predication
            RETRO

                    π₀   pred_V/A   (args)
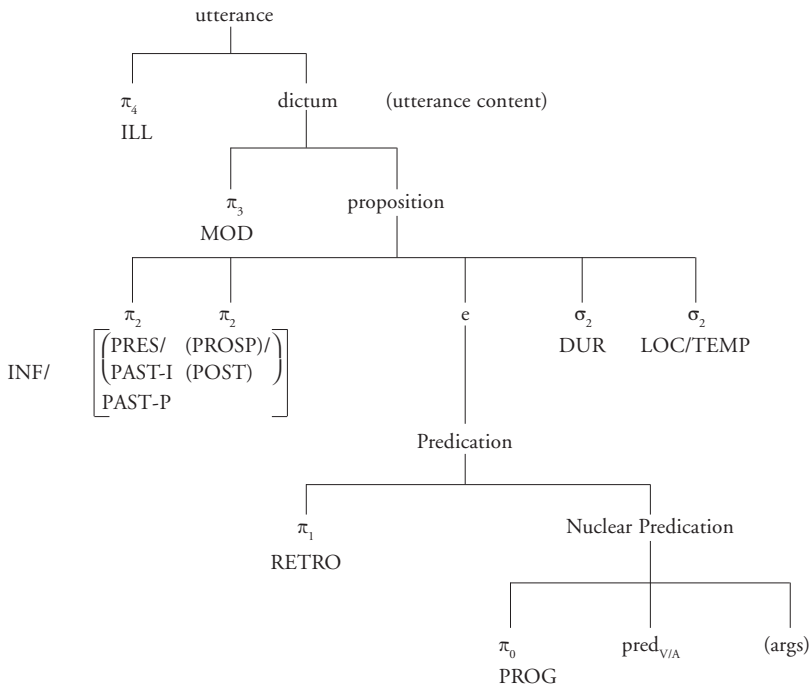   PROG

Figure 8. The structure of the utterance (revised).

Predicate. For example, after a verb of perception (34) correctly predicts that (PROSP) is not acceptable, but it does not foresee the oddity of the combination INF + RETRO:

(36) Je vois les voisins sortir/*aller sortir (INF + PROSP) /*être sortis (INF + RETRO).
     'I see the neighbours leave/going to leave/have left'.

     After a verb of belief the combination INF + RETRO is possible:

(37) Je cois l'avoir vue.
     'I believe (to) have seen her'.

     I will not elaborate this question here and leave it for future research.
     The observations I made in this paper necessitate a change in the structure of the utterance (Fig. 5). This structure should be as in Figure 8 (at least for the Romance languages).

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