

The Varieties of Temporal Anaphora & Temporal Coincidence

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Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2014) extend the parallels established in the literature between tenses and pronouns to viewpoint *aspect* on the basis of three simple assumptions. (i) Aspect, just like Tense, serves to order time intervals (Klein 1995). (ii) Anaphora can also serve to order time intervals. (iii) Just like anaphora between individual-denoting DPs can be resolved via either (variable) binding or coreference (with binding the default construal, Reinhart 1997), anaphora in the temporal realm (that is, between time denoting DPs/ Zeit-Ps) can also be construed as binding or coreference. On a referential approach to temporal phenomena — be it tense or aspect — this is indeed the null assumption. The claim is that when temporal anaphora between the time of the eventuality and the reference time is resolved via binding, the resulting aspectual viewpoint is imperfective, while when it is resolved via coreference, the resulting viewpoint is perfective.

In this talk, I show how this proposal accounts for one of the most well-known differences between imperfective and perfective aspect: while an imperfective past (i.e. the *imparfait* in French or the *imperfecto* in Spanish) can be used to convey either a simultaneous or a past-shifted reading relative to a matrix past, a perfective past only allows the past-shifted reading. In line with recent accounts of Sequence of Tense phenomena (Altshuler & Schwarzschild 2012, Altshuler 2016, Kauf & Zeijlstra 2018), the proposal developed here does not posit zero-tense/tense deletion to account for the simultaneous reading. Rather, on both readings, the embedded past is semantically interpreted, but while an imperfective viewpoint yields either a simultaneous or a past shifted construal (via temporal binding), a perfective viewpoint only yields the past shifted reading (via temporal coreference).

I also tackle the question of why the *imparfait/imperfecto*, unlike the progressive, allow a perfective viewpoint, and conversely why perfective accomplishments in Spanish appear to allow an imperfective viewpoint under certain conditions (Maria J. Arche 2014).