THE AMBI-PERFECTIVE IN YONGREN LOLO

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DATA BACKGROUND. In Yongren Lolo (Tibeto-Burman: Yongren County of P.R. of China), the sentence-end particle do^{55}, called *ambi-perfective operator*, conveys imperfective (progressive) and perfective (immediate completive: 'just finished') meanings depending on the aspectual make-up of the lower clause.

Singular (= Punctual) Events *(Gerner 2007)*

(1) ɔ^{55}mɯ^{21}lɔ^{33} tʰie^{21} ɔ^{55}mɯ^{21}ba^{21} tʰɯ^{21} lɔ^{33} **do^{55}**. | only: (ii) Immediate Completive
sky   LOC flash   exit come AMP
'A flash has just appeared in the sky.'

(2) z̩ɔ^{21} tʂʰu^{33}sɛ^{21} tʰɔ^{21} mo^{33} ba^{33} tʰɯ^{21} ʐə^{33} **do^{55}**. | Dispreferred: (i) Progressive
3P SG bullet   NUM:1 CL shoot exit go AMP | Preferred: (ii) Immediate Completive
(i) 'He is shooting a bullet.' (ii) 'He has just finished shooting a bullet.'

[The preferred / dispreferred readings relate to the possibility of interpreting the referring event as punctual vs. extended.]

Quantized Events *(Krifka 1989, 1992, 1998)*

(3) z̩ɔ^{21} a^{33}ʑe^{33} ŋ̩^{21}tsɨ^{33} sɨ^{55} dɔ^{33} **do^{55}**. | Preferred: (i) Progressive
3P SG   water   NUM:20 bowl   drink AMP | Dispreferred: (ii) Immediate Completive
(i) 'He is drinking 20 bowls of water.' (ii) 'He has just finished drinking 20 bowls of water.'

[The preferred reading is implicated by the the relatively *high* number quantizing the incremental object NP.]

(4) tsʰɔ^{33} sɔ^{33} mo^{33} ɔ^{55}du^{21}di^{33} tʰie^{21} lɔ^{55} **do^{55}**. | Dispreferred: (i) Progressive
person NUM:3 CL   doorsill   LOC cross AMP | Preferred: (ii) Immediate Completive
(i) 'Three people are crossing the doorsill.' (ii) 'Three people have just finished crossing the doorsill.'

[The preferred reading is implicated by the the relatively *low* number quantizing the incremental subject NP.]

Bounded Events *(Naumann 2001)*

(5) z̩ɔ^{21} dʑə^{21}pʰi^{21} lɯ^{33} tʂo^{33} mɔ^{33} **do^{55}**. | only: (ii) Immediate Completive
3P SG money   burse search perceive AMP
'She has just found her burse.'

Homogenous Events *(Quine 1960, Cheng 1973)*

(6) ŋo^{33} sɨ^{55}dzi^{33} dzo^{21} gə^{33}sə^{33} **do^{55}**. | only: (i) Progressive
1P SG   chilli   eat   like   AMP
'I love eating chilli.'

(7) z̩ɔ^{21} ŋo^{33} ɔ^{21}bo^{21}tɛ^{55} ŋɔ^{33} **do^{55}**. | only: (i) Progressive
3P SG 1P SG uncle   COP   AMP
'He is my uncle [= father's younger brother].'

(8) z̩ɔ^{21} lo^{33}ti^{33} tʰie^{21} di^{33} **do^{55}**. | only: (i) Progressive
3P SG   stone   LOC sit   AMP | (**do^{55}** obligatory with positional verbs)
'He is sitting on the rock.'

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND. There are two competing theories of the progressive aspect: the theory of Parson (1989, 1990) which is basically non-modal centered on the notion event, and that of Landman (1992) who views the English progressive as an intensional operator to be analyzed within possible worlds semantics. Both theories have taken pains to account for the truth conditions of the English progressive in clauses with creation verbs and in clauses whose denotations are bounded events such as *Max is crossing the street*. The examples discussed by Parson, Landman and by many more recent scholars do not apply to the Lolo ambi-perfective operator do[55], since this particle automatically switches to the completive meaning in sentences referring to bounded events, thus avoiding most of the difficulties of the English progressive aspect. The much bigger challenge posed by the Lolo ambi-perfective operator do[55] is to provide a unified treatment of the progressive and completive meanings.

THE PROPOSAL. I propose to provide unified truth-conditions for the ambi-perfective operator in an extensional Davidsonian event semantics (as opposed to an intensional Montagueian possible world semantics). In contrast to Parson who takes the notion of culminating event as a theoretic primitive, I propose to define the idea of *culmination* in function of the four event properties: *singular* (Gerner 2007), *quantized* (Krifka 1989, 1992, 1998), *bounded* (Naumann 2001), *homogenous* (Quine 1960, Cheng 1973, Krifka 1992). Singular, quantized and bounded events naturally encode or implicate endpoints in their semantics which I take to be the culmination point. For homogenous events the culmination point is its onset point. The truth-conditions of the ambi-perfective will evaluate a relevant clause as *true* iff there is a time t and an event e such that t and e stand in the Cul relationship $Cul(t,e)$.

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