

## Adjectives of completion as maximality modifiers of eventive nominalizations\*

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### 1 Introduction

- Adverbs and adjectives of completion (*completa(mente)* ‘complete(ly)’, *total(mente)* ‘totally’) are modifiers that operate in the verbal and the nominal domain, respectively

(1) a. Elena tradujo **completamente** {la novela / ??novelas}.

Elena translated completely the novel novels

b. La **completa** traducción {de la novela / ??de novelas} (por Elena)

the complete translation of the novel of novels by Elena

- In both examples, the contribution of the modifier is to assert that the event has reached its endpoint
- They show the same distribution with incremental theme verbs and their nominalizations

### Questions

- Are aspectual features inherited in the nominalizations of incremental theme verbs?
- Are adjectives of completion aspectual modifiers?
- Can these uses be connected to their uses as maximizers in the adjectival domain?

### In this talk

- Show that adverbs and adjectives of completion behave as maximality modifiers when modifying incremental theme verbs (ITVs) and their nominalizations
- Adopt a syntactic approach to nominalizations and adapt [Kennedy's \(2012\)](#) scalar approach to ITVs
- Provide an analysis of adjectives of completion (ACs) as degree modifiers of eventive nominalizations of ITVs

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## 2 Maximality modifiers in the adjectival domain

- Adjectives differ with respect to the structure of the scale they use (Kennedy and McNally, 2005)

Open scale	○————○	( <i>alto</i> ‘tall’, <i>guapo</i> ‘handsome’)
Upper closed scale	○————●	( <i>limpio</i> ‘clean’, <i>oscuro</i> ‘dark’)
Lower closed scale	●————○	( <i>sucio</i> ‘dirty’, <i>impuro</i> ‘impure’)
(Fully) closed scale	●————●	( <i>lleno</i> ‘full’, <i>opaco</i> ‘opaque’)

- Maximality modifiers are sensitive to the scale structure of the adjective: They only appear with upper- and totally closed scale adjectives (Rotstein and Winter, 2004; Kennedy and McNally, 2005)

- (2) a. *completamente* {*oscuro*/*lleno*/*libre*/*visible*/*opaco*}  
 completely    dark/full/free/visible/opaque
- b. ?? *completamente* {*alto*/*ancho*/*guapo*/*impuro*/*peligroso*}  
 completely    tall/wide/handsome/impure/dangerous

- Maximizers are degree modifiers that restrict the value of the degree argument of the adjective  $G$  to being a maximum on the adjective’s scale  $S_G$ .

$$(3) \llbracket \textit{completely} \rrbracket = \lambda G \lambda x. \exists d [d = \mathbf{max}(S_G) \wedge \mathbf{G}(d)(x)] \quad (\text{Kennedy and McNally, 2005})$$

- Maximality modifiers have the following **properties**:

- They entail that the end of the scale has been reached

- (4) # El avión está **completamente lleno**; hay un asiento libre detrás.  
 the plane is completely full there.is a seat free back  
 ‘The plane is completely full. There is an empty seat at the rear.’

- The construction *maximizer G* is a total construct, in the sense that it has the distribution of an upper-closed scale adjective (Rotstein and Winter, 2004). This is shown by the fact that it is compatible with *almost*

- (5) El avión está **casi completamente lleno**.  
 the plane is almost completely full

- Total adjectives accept exceptive phrases (Rotstein and Winter, 2004). As a total construct, *maximizer G* is also compatible with the construction *except for*.

- (6) El avión está **completamente lleno**, excepto un asiento en la primera fila.  
 the plane is completely full except a seat in the first row  
 ‘The plane is completely full, except for a seat in the first row.’

## 3 Maximality modifiers in the verbal domain

- Completamente* ‘completely’ and *totalmente* ‘totally’ have a similar behavior in the verbal domain (see e.g. Piñón, 2005).
- They require that the event be extended in time (that it be **durative**) and that it have an endpoint (that it be **telic**). Hence, they only occur with **accomplishments** (7a).

- (7) a. Jenny tradujo **completamente** el poemario.  
Jenny completely translated the book of poems.' ACCOMPLISHMENT
- b. ?? Jenny sabe francés **totalmente**.  
'Jenny totally knows French.' STATE
- c. ?? Jenny corrió **completamente**.  
'Jenny completely ran.' ACTIVITY
- d. ?? Jenny advirtió **totalmente** el cuadro.  
'Jenny totally noticed the painting.' ACHIEVEMENT
- They display the properties of maximizers (cf. point 3 in §2)
    1. They entail that the event has come to its endpoint (8), cf. (4)
      - (8) a. # El incendio destruyó **totalmente** la ciudad; quedaron algunos edificios en pie.  
the fire destroyed.3SG totally the city remained.3PL some buildings in foot  
'The fire totally destroyed the city; some buildings still remain.'
      - b. # El cielo se oscureció **completamente**; quedó un claro de luz.  
the sky SE darkened.3SG completely remained.3SG a break of light  
'The sky darkened completely; there was a break in the clouds.'
    2. As a total construct, *maximizer* + VP is compatible with *casi* 'almost', which asserts that the event is close to reaching its end (9), cf. (5).
      - (9) a. El incendio destruyó **casi totalmente** la ciudad.  
the fire destroyed.3SG almost totally the city  
'The fire almost totally destroyed the city.'
      - b. El cielo se oscureció **casi completamente**.  
the sky SE darkened.3SG almost completely  
'The sky almost completely darkened.'
    3. They accept exceptive phrases (10), cf. (6).
      - (10) a. El incendio destruyó **totalmente** la ciudad, excepto un par de edificios.  
the fire destroyed.3SG totally the city except a pair of buildings  
'The fire totally destroyed the city, except for a couple of buildings.'
      - b. El cielo se oscureció **completamente**, salvo por un claro de luz.  
the sky SE darkened.3SG completely except for a break of light  
'The sky completely darkened, except for a break.'
  - Event descriptions display certain characteristics that are akin to those found in domain of degree semantics. The realization of an event can be mapped onto a scale
    - Progress of an event corresponds with movement along a scale that measures out the change in a property of an event participant
    - Boundedness of a scale corresponds with a telic (bounded) event —————●
  - Telicity is built compositionally (from the interaction of properties of verbs and those of a participant in the event) (Verkuyl, 1972; Mourelatos, 1978; Dowty, 1979, 1991; Krifka, 1989, 1998; Tenny, 1994, a.o.)

- Verbs showing variable telicity:

– **Incremental theme verbs:** telicity depends on the referential properties of the theme

(11) a. El incendio destruyó la ciudad {en / ??durante} una hora.  
 the fire destroyed.3SG the city in for a hour  
 ‘The fire destroyed the city {in / ??for} an hour.’ TELIC

b. El incendio destruyó ciudades {??en / durante} una hora.  
 the fire destroyed.3SG cities in for a hour  
 ‘The fire destroyed cities {??in / for} an hour.’ ATELIC

– **Degree achievements:** telicity depends on the source adjective

(12) a. El cielo se oscureció {en/?durante} dos minutos.  
 the sky SE darkened in for two minutes  
 ‘The sky darkened {in/?for} two minutes.’ TELIC

b. La grieta se ensanchó {??en/durante} dos minutos.  
 the crack SE widened in for two minutes  
 ‘The crack widened {??in/for} two minutes.’ ATELIC

– **Motion verbs:** telicity depends on the path (Dowty, 1991; Tenny, 1992; Krifka, 1998; ?, a.o.)

(13) a. El avión cruzó el Atlántico {en/??durante} siete horas.  
 the plane crossed the Atlantic in for seven hours  
 ‘The plane crossed the Atlantic {in/??for} seven hours.’ TELIC

b. El avión ascendió {??en/durante} cinco minutos  
 the plane ascended in for five minutes  
 ‘The plane ascended {??in/for} five minutes.’ ATELIC

- From a scalar perspective, all these verbs share in their meaning a function that measures the degree to which an object changes relative to some dimension over the course of the event (see, e.g., Krifka, 1989, 1992; Hay et al., 1999; Piñón, 2005, 2008; Zwarts, 2005; Kennedy and Levin, 2008; Kennedy, 2012; Winter, 2006; Rappaport Hovav, 2008)
- Adverbs of completion only occur with the telic versions of ITVs (I’ll come back to the other verbs in section 7.1)

(14) a. El incendio destruyó **totalmente** la ciudad.  
 the fire destroyed totally the city  
 ‘The fire totally destroyed the city.’ TELIC

b. ?? El incendio destruyó **totalmente** ciudades.  
 the fire destroyed totally cities  
 ‘The fire totally destroyed cities.’ ATELIC

#### 4 ACs + deverbal nominalizations

- Deverbal nominalizations differ with respect to whether they obligatorily take arguments and to whether they denote eventualities (Grimshaw, 1990; Borer, 2003, a.o.)

- (15) a. La traducción ??(del poemario) tuvo lugar en abril.  
the translation of.the book.of.poems had.3SG place in April  
'The translation of the book of poems took place in April.' AS-NOMINAL
- b. La traducción (del poemario) está encima de la mesa.  
the translation of.the book.of.poems is on.top of the table  
'The translation (of the book of poems) is on the table.' R-NOMINAL

- AS-nominalizations of incremental theme verbs in *-ción* preserve aspect and take *in-/for*-adverbials (see, e.g., Gross and Kiefer, 1995; Haas et al., 2008); R-nominalizations do not

(16) **AS-nominals**

- a. La traducción del poemario {en/??durante} dos horas tuvo lugar en abril.  
the translation of.the book.of.poems in for two hours had.3SG place in April  
'The translation of the book of poems {in/??for} two hours took place in April.' TELIC
- b. La traducción de poemas {??en/durante} dos horas tuvo lugar en abril.  
the translations of poems in for two hours had.3SG place in April  
'The translations of poems {??in/for} two hours took place in April.' ATELIC

(17) **R-nominals**

La traducción (\*en dos horas) está encima de la mesa.  
the translation in two hours is on.top of the table  
'The translation (in two hours) is on the table.'

- ACs combine with the two types of nominalizations, but with different effects
  - **AS-nominals:** ACs are aspectual modifiers and show the same distribution as their adverbial counterparts

- (18) a. La **completa** destrucción de la ciudad se produjo en abril.  
the complete destruction of the city happened in April  
'The complete destruction of the city took place in April.'
- b. ?? La **completa** destrucción de ciudades se produjo en abril.  
the complete destruction of cities happened in April  
'The complete destruction of cities took place in April.'

- **R-nominals:** ACs have their literal reading. They change their meaning depending on their relative position to the noun (prenominal is non-restrictive, postnominal is restrictive) (see, e.g., Demonte, 2008)

- (19) a. La **completa** traducción está encima de la mesa.  
the complete translation is on.top of the table  
'The complete translation is on the table.'
- b. La traducción **completa** está encima de la mesa.  
the translation complete is on.top of the table  
'The complete translation is on the table.'

- With AS-nominals, ACs display the **properties of maximizers** (cf. point 3 in §2)

1. They entail that the event has come to its endpoint (20), cf. (4, 8)

- (20) a. # La **completa** destrucción de la ciudad tuvo lugar en abril; quedaron algunos edificios en pie.  
the complete destruction of the city had.3SG place in April remained.3PL  
some buildings in foot  
'The complete destruction of the city took place in April; some buildings still remain.'
- b. # El **completo** oscurecimiento del cielo tuvo lugar en abril; quedó un claro de luz.  
the complete darken.NMLZ of.the sky had.3SG place in April remain.3SG a  
break of light  
'The sky darkened completely; there was a break in the clouds.'

2. They compatible with *casi* 'almost', which asserts that the event is close to reaching its end (21), cf. (5, 9).

- (21) a. La **casi completa** destrucción de la ciudad tuvo lugar en abril.  
the almost complete destruction of the city had.3SG place in April  
'The almost complete destruction of the city took place in April.'
- b. El **casi total** oscurecimiento del cielo tuvo lugar en abril.  
the almost total darken.NMLZ of.the sky had.3SG place in April  
'The sky's almost total darkening took place in April.'

3. They accept exceptive phrases (22), cf. (6, 10).

- (22) a. La **completa** destrucción de la ciudad, excepto un par de edificios, tuvo lugar en abril.  
the complete destruction of the city except a pair of buildings had.3SG  
place in April  
'The complete destruction of the city, except for a couple of buildings took place in April.'
- b. El **total** oscurecimiento del cielo, salvo un pequeño claro, tuvo lugar en abril.  
the total darken.NMLZ of.the sky except a small break had.3SG place in  
April  
'The total darkening of the sky, except for a small break, took place in April.'

→ ACs are maximizers when they modify eventive nominalizations

## 5 Eventive nominalizations of ITVs

### 5.1 Scalar approach to incremental theme verbs

- ITVs describe events in which the internal argument undergoes an incremental change over the course of the event (Verkuyl, 1972; Krifka, 1989; Dowty, 1991, a.o.)
- The referential properties of the theme argument determine the telicity of the event (both for the verb and for its nominalization)
- In scalar terms, the part structure of the referent of the theme argument constitutes a scale that is homomorphic to the progress of the event (Krifka, 1989)

- Objects with quantized reference (*la ciudad* ‘the city’) can be mapped onto bounded scales; objects with cumulative reference (*ciudades* ‘cities’) are mapped onto unbounded scales (see (11)). That scale boundary corresponds with a telos for the event (Krifka, 1989; Caudal and Nicolas, 2005; Piñón, 2005; Kennedy, 2012; Bochnak, 2013)

### ITVs do not lexicalize a degree argument

- Two options for the source of the degree argument: 1) it is part of the semantics of the incremental theme verb (Caudal and Nicolas, 2005; Piñón, 2005); 2) it is provided by the theme argument (Rappaport Hovav, 2008; Kennedy, 2012; Bochnak, 2013)

- In favor of the second option:

- Resultatives. Degree achievements (which lexicalize a scale) are very restrictive with their resultatives. By contrast, ITVs occur with a variety of resultative secondary predicates (Rappaport Hovav, 2008)

(23) a. We froze the ice-cream {solid / ??blue / ??sweet}.

b. We steamed the clothes {dry / clean / stiff}. (Rappaport Hovav, 2008)

- Degree morphology. VPs headed by degree achievements accept a full range of degree morphology, ITVs are more restricted (Gawron, 2007)

(24) a. Elena {acortó/??tradujo} el artículo más que Juan.  
Elena shorten translated the article more than Juan  
‘Elena {shortened/translated} the article more than Juan did.’

b. Elena {acortó/??tradujo} demasiado el artículo.  
Elena shorten translated too.much the paper  
‘Elena {shortened/translated} the article too much.’

c. Elena {acortó/??tradujo} tanto el artículo que Juan casi no hizo  
Elena shorten translated so.much the article that Juan almost NEG did  
nada.  
nothing

‘Elena {shortened/translated} the article so much that Juan barely did anything.’

→ It is the incremental theme what is associated with a function that measures the extent to which the mereological structure of the object changes over the course of an event.

### The incremental theme

- The degree argument is introduced by an incremental partitive head  $\text{PART}_{inc}$  (Kennedy, 2012)
- The function  $\text{partof}_{\Delta}$  returns the degree  $d$  to which a portion  $y$  of an individual  $x$  changes as the result of its participation in an event  $e$  (Kennedy, 2012)

(25)  $\llbracket \text{PART}_{inc} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda d \lambda y \lambda e. \text{partof}_{\Delta}(x)(y)(e) = d$  (Kennedy, 2012, 119)

- The degree argument can be saturated by degree terms

(26) El fuego destruyó 100 ha del bosque.  
 the fire destroyed 100 ha of the forest  
 ‘The fire destroyed 247 acres of the forest.’

- In the absence of degree morphology, the degree argument is set to the contextually most relevant standard (a minimum or a maximum by the principle of interpretative economy (Kennedy, 2007)), by a typeshift or a null POS morpheme (Kennedy, 2012)

- Cumulative themes: only a minimum is available ●————○
- Quantized themes: both a minimum and a maximum are available ●————●

- This corresponds with atelic and telic readings, respectively

(27) a.  $\llbracket \text{PART}_{inc} \text{ cities} \rrbracket = \lambda y \lambda e. \text{partof}_{\Delta}(\text{city}^*)(y)(e) > 0$   
 b.  $\llbracket \text{PART}_{inc} \text{ the city} \rrbracket = \lambda y \lambda e. \text{partof}_{\Delta}(\text{the\_city})(y)(e) = 1$

(adapted from Kennedy, 2012)

## 5.2 The syntax of eventive nominalizations of ITVs

- The argument supporting properties of AS-nominals result from the presence of verbal syntactic structure (Hazout, 1991; Harley and Noyer, 1998; Van Hout and Roeper, 1998; Fu et al., 2001; Alexiadou, 2001; Borer, 2003)

- The difference between AS-nominals and result nominals is structural:

- \* AS-nominals: the nominalizer attaches on top of a number of functional projections
- \* result nominals: the nominalizer merges directly with the category-neutral root

- Spanish nominalizations of ITVs in *-ción* exhibit a number of verbal features that can be attributed to verbal structure

### – vP

- \* Eventive reading (*take place*) (cf. López, 2015)
- \* Licenses the internal argument (Hale and Keyser, 1993; Marantz, 2005; Alexiadou and Schäfer, 2010) (cf. Marantz, 1997; Harley and Noyer, 1998; Borer, 2005; Lohndal, 2014, a.o.)

### – No AspP

- \* No aspect shift (de Swart, 1998) takes place (the inner aspect of the event description is preserved in the nominalization)
- \* No adverbial modification

(28) \* La destrucción de documentos {diariamente / constantemente} nos  
 the destruction of documents daily constantly ACC.1PL  
 preocupa.  
 worry.3SG

Intended: ‘We are worried about the {daily / constant} destruction of documents.’

### – probably VoiceP

- \* the agent can only be realized as a PP headed by *por* (*parte de*) ‘(lit.) by part of’



(29) La traducción de una carta de Epicuro {por (parte de) / \*de} Emilio empezó  
 the translation of a letter of Epicurus by part of of Emilio started  
 ayer.  
 yesterday

(adapted from Picallo, 1999)

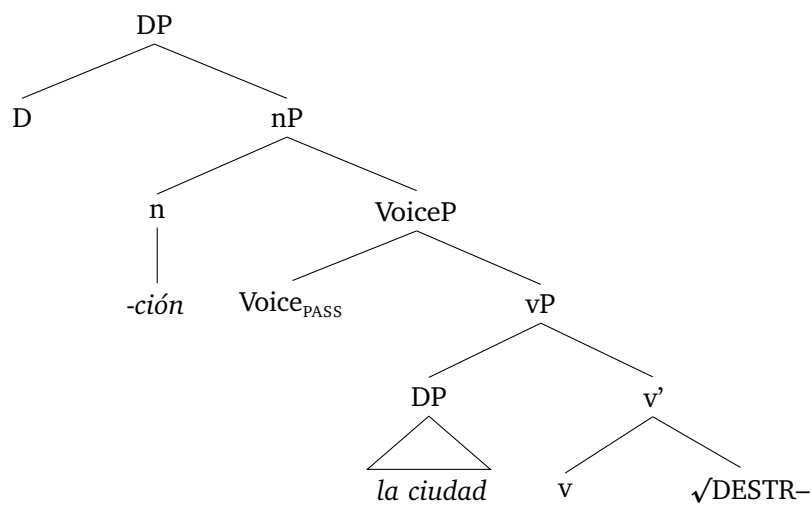
\* The agent seems to be present even if it is not overt

(30) La extinción del fuego [para PRO salvar las obras de arte]  
 the extinction of.the fire to PRO safe.INF the works of art

(Picallo, 1999)

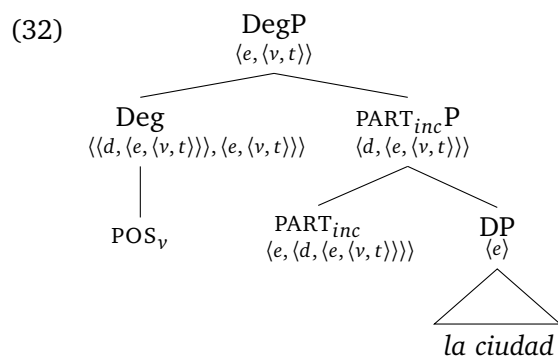
\* passive (licenses the optional external argument)<sup>1</sup>

(31) la destrucción de la ciudad  
 the destruction of the city



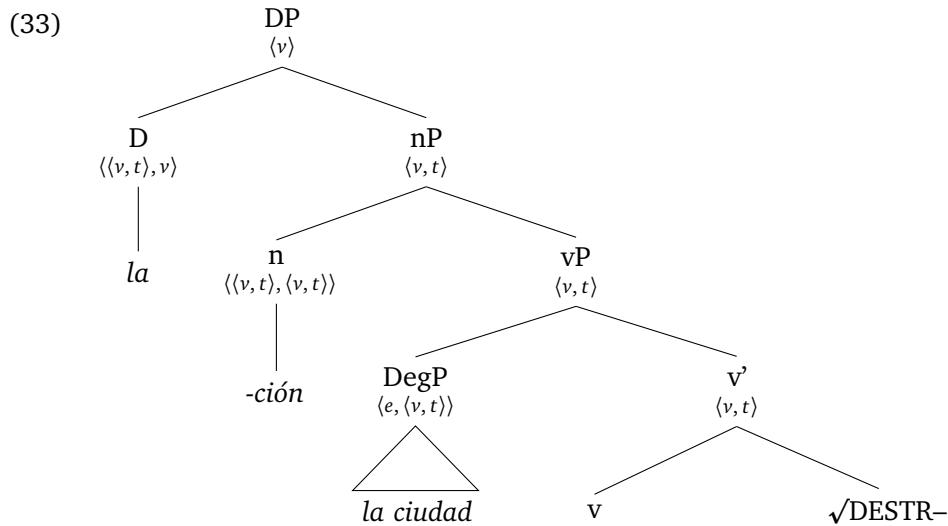
### 5.3 The semantics of eventive nominalizations of ITVs

- AS-nominalizations of ITVs denote eventualities
- I assume that semantic composition follows the order of syntactic composition
- The theme argument is syntactically a DegP (32)



<sup>1</sup>For the relation between passives and event nominalizations, see, e.g., Picallo (1991, 1999); Alexiadou et al. (2009); Varela (2012); Fábregas (2016, §4.3)

- The theme argument is selected by v and combines with the verb via event identification (Kratzer, 1996)
- Up to this point, the structure is eventive. The categorizer head n nominalizes the structure, but has no semantic effect



- The DP denotes an event

## 6 ACs are maximality modifiers

- ACs are degree morphology. They set the degree of affectedness of the theme during the course of the event to the maximum value

(34) a.  $\llbracket \text{complete}(ly) \rrbracket = \lambda g_{\langle d, \langle e, \langle v, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda y \lambda e. g(y)(e) = \mathbf{max}(S_g)$   
 b.  $\llbracket \text{[la completa destrucción de la ciudad]} \rrbracket =$   
 $= \iota e \exists y. [\mathbf{destroy}(e) \wedge \mathbf{partof}_{\Delta}(\text{the city})(y)(e) = 1]$

- Adverbs and adjectives of completion have the same semantics (both are aspectual modifiers). The difference between them is syntactic rather than semantic

– Evidence for keeping the semantics of adverbs and adjectives separated from their morphology: *doing so* anaphora (Alexiadou, 2001, 2009; Fu et al., 2001; Borer, 2013, a.o.)

- (35) a. Mary's deliberate concealment of the evidence in the bedroom and John's doing so in the warehouse (=John's doing so deliberately) (Borer, 2013)  
 b. Mary's complete destruction of the documents in the office and John's doing so in the warehouse (=John's doing so completely).

- (36) a. \* Mary's deliberate concealment of the evidence in the bedroom and John's unintentional doing so in the warehouse. (Borer, 2013)  
 b. \* Mary's complete destruction of the documents in the office and John's partial doing so in the warehouse.

**In favor of a degree analysis of ACs (+ eventive nominalization)**

- They show maximality behavior (20–22)
- The correlation between position and (non)restrictive interpretation does not apply

(37) a. La **completa** destrucción de la ciudad se produjo en abril.  
the complete destruction of the city happened in April

b. La destrucción **completa** de la ciudad se produjo en abril.  
the destruction complete of the city happened in April  
'The complete destruction of the city took place in April.'

(38) a. La **completa** traducción está encima de la mesa.  
the complete translation is on.top of the table  
'The comprehensive translation is on the table.'

b. La traducción **completa** está encima de la mesa.  
the translation complete is on.top of the table  
'The complete translation is on the table.'

- Comparison with simple event (SE-) nominals
  - SE-nominals are eventive, but do not involve degree arguments

(39) La clase (\*de los alumnos) duró mucho tiempo.  
the class of the students lasted a.lot time  
'The class of the students lasted a lot.'

- ACs do not have a degree reading (and only *completo* is acceptable)

(40) a. La {**completa** / \***total** / \***absoluta**} clase sobre *Rayuela* nos sorprendió.  
the complete total absolute class on hopscotch ACC.1PL surprised

b. La clase {**completa** / \***total** / \***absoluta**} sobre *Rayuela* nos sorprendió.  
the class complete total absolute on hopscotch ACC.1PL surprised  
'The {complete / total / absolute} class on *Hopscotch* surprised us.'

- Cf. frequency adjectives, which modify the event itself (e.g., [Gehrke and McNally, 2015](#))

(41) La clase {**semanal** / **periódica**} sobre *Rayuela* nos gustaron.  
the class weekly periodic on hopscotch DAT.1PL liked.3PL  
'We liked the {weekly / periodic} class on *Hopscotch*.'

**Problem**

- Degree readings seem to be possible (to some extent) in predicative position, which is unexpected

(42) a. La destrucción de la ciudad fue {completa / total / ?absoluta}.  
the destruction of the city was complete total absolute  
'The destruction of the city was {complete / total / absolute}.'

b. La traducción del poemario fue ??{completa / total / absoluta}.  
the translation of.the book.of.poems was complete total absolute  
'The translation of the book of poems was {complete / total / absolute}.'

## 7 Conclusion

- ACs are sensitive to the aspect of the nominalization (in particular, they only combine with nominalizations of accomplishments), just like their adverbial counterparts
- ACs are maximality modifiers of eventive nominalizations of incremental theme verbs
- A scalar approach to aspect allows to give a unified analysis for maximality uses of adverbs and adjective of completion (in the adjectival, verbal, and nominal domain)

### 7.1 Extensions: nominalizations of other verbs showing variable telicity

#### Degree achievements

- Telicity depends on the scale structure of the source adjective (and the presence of an explicit boundary)
- ACs only combine with degree achievements derived from upper-closed scale adjectives

- (43) a. El cielo se oscureció **completamente**.  
 the sky SE darkened completely  
 ‘The sky darkened completely.’ TELIC
- b. ?? La grieta se ensanchó **completamente**.  
 the crack SE widened completely  
 ‘The crack widened completely.’ ATELIC

- ACs show the same distribution with nominalizations of degree achievements

- (44) a. El **completo** oscurecimiento del cielo se produjo en abril.  
 the complete darken.NMLZ of the sky happened in April  
 ‘The sky’s complete darkening took place in April.’
- b. ?? El **completo** ensanchamiento de la grieta se produjo en verano.  
 the complete widen.NMLZ of the crack happened in summer  
 ‘The widening of the crack took place in the summer.’

- Adapting a scalar approach to degree achievements (e.g., [Kennedy and Levin, 2008](#)) to their nominalizations can extend the analysis of ACs as degree modifiers

#### Motion verbs

- Telicity depends on the boundedness of the path
- Adverbs of completion only combine with telic event descriptions<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The facts are more complicated for motion verbs that do not lexicalize the path (manner of motion verbs), for which the aspectual properties of the event description are contributed by directional PPs ([Jackendoff, 1991](#); [Piñón, 1993](#); [Zwarts, 2005](#); [Winter, 2006](#), a.o.). In this case, adverbs of completion are not acceptable in either the telic or the atelic version.

(i) a. Norberto corrió (\*completamente) hacia su casa {??en/durante} cinco minutos.  
 Norberto ran completely towards his house in for five minutes

- (45) a. El avión cruzó **completamente** el Atlántico.  
 the plane crossed completely the Atlantic  
 ‘The plane crossed the Atlantic completely.’ TELIC
- b. ?? El avión ascendió **completamente**.  
 the plane ascended completely  
 ‘The plane ascended completely.’ ATELIC

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‘Norberto ran towards his place (completely) {in/for} five minutes.’ ATELIC

- b. Norberto corrió (\*completamente) hasta su casa {en/??durante} cinco minutos.  
 Norberto ran completely to his house in for five minutes

‘Norberto ran to his place (completely) {in/??for} five minutes.’ TELIC

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