Non-culmination and agency: Exploring the hypothesis space

In this paper we explore and evaluate familiar and under-represented possibilities in the theoretical hypothesis space for non-culmination. We further show that one's choice of how to model non-culmination can make it easier or harder to relate non-culmination to agency.

Existing theories of non-culmination are split largely into two strategies: the (i) causation plus possible world strategy that uses two sub-events with a causal relation between them and have the caused event happening only in certain possible worlds (Matthewson 2004, Tatevosov 2008, e.g.) and the (ii) causal skeptic strategy, which avoids the problem of non-actual results by using a relation between a non-maximal (sub)event and a maximal event (Parsons 1990, Singh 1998, Koenig and Muansuwan 2000, Piñon 2009, e.g.). The possible worlds strategy is heir to Dowty's (1979) inertia worlds account of the English progressive, which builds on Lewis's (1973) counterfactual theory of causation. We present a third, under-utilized stratgegy: one can avoid complicating the semantics with possible worlds without being a causal skeptic if one's theory of causation does not entail the occurrence of the result. Non-result-entailing theories of causation exist and fall into two categories: force-dynamic theories (Wolff 2007, Wolff et al. 2010, e.g.) and probabilistic theories (Suppes 1970, Eells 1991, e.g.). But as far as we know, the (iii) non-resultentailing causation strategy has rarely been used to account for non-culmination, and then only the force-dynamic option (Dell 1987, Copley & Harley, 2012). We sketch an alternative, probabilistic approach to non-culmination, noting that non-result-entailing causation strategies should be palatable to causal skeptics, since other relationships besides the causal relation can be accounted for in either force-dynamic or probabilistic models of verbal predicates. And since strategy (iii) puts the complexity of "inertia" in the conceptualization of causation, it also has the advantage of expressing the truth conditions of non-culmination but not placing the burden of this complexity in the semantics (as does strategy (i)) or eliding the issue altogether (as does strategy (ii)).

Considering the Agent Control Hypothesis proposed by Demirdache & Martin 2013, an adequate theory of non-culmination should also make it easy to represent agency. We show in the second section of the paper that many if not all "agency" requirements in language—including the ACH— allow a limited set of non-volitional causers in certain stereotypical situations, as argued by Martin & Schäfer 2012, 2013 for cases as in (1):

- (1) a. Cette situation leur a montré le problème, #mais il ne l'ont pas vu. 'This situation showed them the problem, but they didn't see it.'
 - b. Clairement, cette situation leur a bel et bien montré le problème! C'est fou qu'ils ne l'aient pas vu!
 'Clearly, this situation well and truly showed them the problem! It's crazy that they didn't see it!"

We argue that a dispositional rather than a preference-based account of volition is desirable for accounting for such requirements: inanimate causers may have dispositions, but surely do not have preferences. Dispositions can be modeled using theories of causation (cf. strategies (i)-(iii), while there is no particular connection between dispositions and strategy (ii).

References

Copley, Bridget and Heidi Harley. 2012. A force-dynamic framework for event semantics. Ms., SFL (CNRS/Paris 8) and University of Arizona.

- Eells, Ellery. 1991. Probabilistic Causality. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dell, François. 1987. An Aspectual Distinction in Tagalog. *Oceanic Linguistics* 22-23(1-2): 175-207.
- Demirdache, Hamida, and Fabienne Martin. 2013. Agent control over non-culminating events. Ms., Université de Nantes and Universität Stuttgart.
- Dowty, D. 1979. Word Meaning in Montague Grammar: The Semantics of Verbs and Times in Generative Semantics and in Montague's PTQ. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Koenig, Jean-Pierre and Nuttanart Muansuwan. 2000. How to end without ever finishing: Thai semi-perfective markers. Journal of Semantics, 17:147–184.
- Lewis, D. 1973. Causation, Journal of Philosophy, 70: 556-567.
- Martin, Fabienne and Schäfer, Florian. 2012. The modality of *offer* and other defeasible causative verbs, in Nathan Arnett and Ryan Bennett (eds), Proceedings of the 30th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 248-258.
- Martin, Fabienne, and Schäfer, Florian. 2013. On the argument structure of verbs with bi-and monoeventive uses, in Stefan Keine and Shayne Sloggett (eds), Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society, 42, Amherst: GLSA, 297-308.
- Matthewson, Lisa. 2004. Cross-linguistic variation and the nature of aspectual classes. Handout of talk given at Cornell University.
- Piñon, Christopher. 2009. Incrementality by degrees. Talk presented at CHRONOS 9.
- Singh, Mona. 1998. On the semantics of the perfective aspect, *Natural Language Semantics*, 6, 171–199.
- Suppes, Patrick. 1970. *A Probabilistic Theory of Causality*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Tatevosov, S. 2008. "Subevental structure and non-culmination". In the proceedings of CSSP.
- Wolff, Phillip. 2007. Representing causation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 136*, 82-111.
- Wolff, P., Barbey, A. K., & Hausknecht, M. 2010. For want of a nail: How absences cause events. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*.