

RELEVANCE OF THE PROBLEM. The deep relations between categories (Ross 1972, Mourelatos 1978) bring up the question of whether there are nominal correlates of tense and aspect. Even though full-fledged aspect seems to require verbal structure, there are at least some temporal and aspectual adjectives that, under certain conditions, can be assumed to be licensed internally to a DP. This talk provides evidence for the presence of temporo-aspectual information in DPs and contributes to defining the restrictive conditions under which it can be present.

DATA. Frequentative adjectives (FA, 1) act as operators that need to bind a spatiotemporal variable. Even though they are generated internally to a nominal constituent, they take scope over an eventuality which is normally contained in the verbal predicate. (2) is interpreted as ‘ten times a day, Juan smokes a cigarette’. (3) is ungrammatical because there is no spatiotemporal variable to bind in the verb (Bosque 2007).

- (1) *diario* ‘daily’, *semanal* ‘weekly’, *mensual* ‘monthly’...
- (2) Se fuma diez cigarrill-os diari-os.
SE smokes ten cigarette-m.pl daily-m.pl
‘He smokes ten daily cigarettes’
- (3) *Este paquete contiene diez cigarrill-os diari-os.
this package contains ten cigarette-m.pl daily-m.pl

PROBLEM. What has not been noticed, to the best of our knowledge, are some cases where the frequentative adverbs does not take scope over the main verb and / or is within a stative construction. These cases involve definite DPs, preferably with a possessive. (4) does not mean that ‘twenty times a day, Juan carries a cigarette in his suitcase’.

- (4) Juan lleva en la maleta sus veinte cigarrillos diarios.
Juan carries in his suitcase his twenty cigarettes daily
‘Juan carries in his suitcase his twenty daily cigarettes’

We will argue that spatiotemporal variables can be licensed internally to definite DPs, through a high functional projection that can only be projected in the area where strong determiners are merged. Thus, in (4), at LF the frequentative adjective does not take scope over the main verb, but over a DP internal constituent (5).

- (5) [DP [sus] D [XP [diarios] [~~sus~~] XP [QP [20] [NP cigarrillos]]]]

This DP internal constituent defines a subject-predicate relation using the possessive as the notional subject and binding the qualia structure of the NP to build the predicate. A definite DP is necessary in order to license the subject of the predication. We argue that X is the same head that licenses the ‘silent have’ reading of (7) – ‘the car that he has recently come to have’ – (Larson, Den Dikken & Ludlow 1997).

- (7) his new car

We correctly expect definite DPs not to be able to license FA with natural object nouns, which lack a telic or agentive qualia structure (**lleva en la maleta sus diez piedras diarias* ‘carries in the suitcase his 10 daily stones’). We expect that the frequentative adjective will be licensed in any case when the NP denotes an event, as then the subject can be inferred as some kind of PRO without help from XP.