



# LES MÉTAMORPHOSES DU POINT DE VUE DU LOCUTEUR : DE L'ASPECT VERBAL À L'ARGUMENTATION

The speaker's viewpoint: from aspect to argumentation

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- Aspectual or tense markers **may acquire a modal value**

English progressive

(1) I'm warning you (Wright 1994)

(2) You're telling me you don't love me anymore (Wright 1995)

→ “ the **speaker's own assessment** of a particular situation.”

- Due to subjectification (Traugott 1995) or to subjective use (Wright 1994)
- Crosslinguistically widespread

Perfective in Tok Pisin (*pinis* < ‘finish’)

Tupela i pren pinis

The two are **real** friends (Mühlhäuser 1985 in Bybee et.al 1994)

## AIM

- Based on Wolof data, describe regular shifts of TAM : aspect, time, modality, argumentation
- Account for them: explanatory value of speaker's viewpoint (Culioli 1990)

## OVERVIEW

- Theoretical reminder: speaker's point of view and its role in assertion
- Brief introduction to Wolof verbal system
- Perfect : aspectual phases and argumentation; stance
- Perfective vs. Imperfective : aspect and epistemic modality
- Presentative : intersubjective effects of a strictly temporal viewpoint
- Narrative: outcomes of a lack of point of view and temporal anchoring

## A FEW THEORETICAL NOTIONS

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- **Utterance** (*énoncé*) : the situated realization of language in use vs.  
**Sentence**: abstract linguistic structure (no anchoring context)
- Cardinal role of the speech situation : providing reference frame
- Two (deictic) parameters :
  - $T_0$  : spatio-temporal one (time and place of speech)
  - $S_0$  : subjective one, i.e **point of view of the speaker**  
source of modal values, endorsement of utterance (assertiveness)
- Speaker's commitment and point of view must be specified for a sentence to become a well-formed utterance (whatever their value)
- Assertion : the first degree of modality

# OVERVIEW OF THE WOLOF VERB SYSTEM

- Wolof: Atlantic (mainly in Senegal) : ~ 10 millions speakers
- 10 (primary) conjugations :
  - Perfect, Presentative, Narrative
  - Verb focus, Subject focus, Complement focus
  - Negative, Emphatic negative
  - Obligative and Imperative

- Aspecto-temporal system :  
(tense locus  $T_0$ )

Simple conjugations	Suffixed conjugations
unmarked (perfective)	suffix <i>-y ~ di</i> (imperfective)
unmarked (present)	suffix <i>-oon</i> (anterior past)
unmarked (affirmative)	suffix <i>-ul</i> (negative)

- perfective unmarked < aspectual by-product of the conjugations' meaning  
(3 configurations)

- Temporal readings of the (unmarked) perfective conjugations :
  - Dynamique verbs : **past reading** (except for Presentative)
    - Perfect        *lekk na*     ‘s/he has eaten’
    - Subj. focus   *moo lekk*   ‘s/he is the one who ate’
  - Stative verbs: **present reading**
    - Perfect        *rafet na*     ‘s/he is beautiful’
    - Subj. focus   *moo rafet*   ‘s/he is the one who is beautiful’
- Imperfective suffix: most obvious effect
  - Dynamique verbs > **ongoing present, habitual or proximal future**
    - Subj. focus   *moo-y lekk*
    - ‘he is the one who is eating / usually / is going to eat’

- **Definition :**

‘A process already known to be ongoing has henceforth (in T0) **reached its expected end-point** so that there is nothing to add, no further variation: a stable resulting state has been reached at the time of speech.

Wasin	na.	
give.birth	PRF.3SG	
'(There) she has given birth.'		

cf. discursive constraints

- Core information : the reaching of an expected endpoint at the time of speech (terminative focus).
- Background: the previous aspecto-temporal phase of the process and its expected endpoint function as the background of the construal of the Perfect

*Temporal space:*

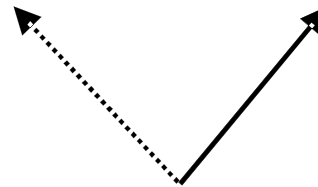
T<sub>x</sub>

T<sub>0</sub>

*Predicate:*



expected .....▶ **endpoint reached**



*Speech situation:*

Speaker's **viewpoint** at the time of speech

Depending on context : emphasis on one or another component :

‘to have finished’, ‘there it is, at last!’ (cf supra); ‘it has already been done now’ or ‘resulting state of a past action’!

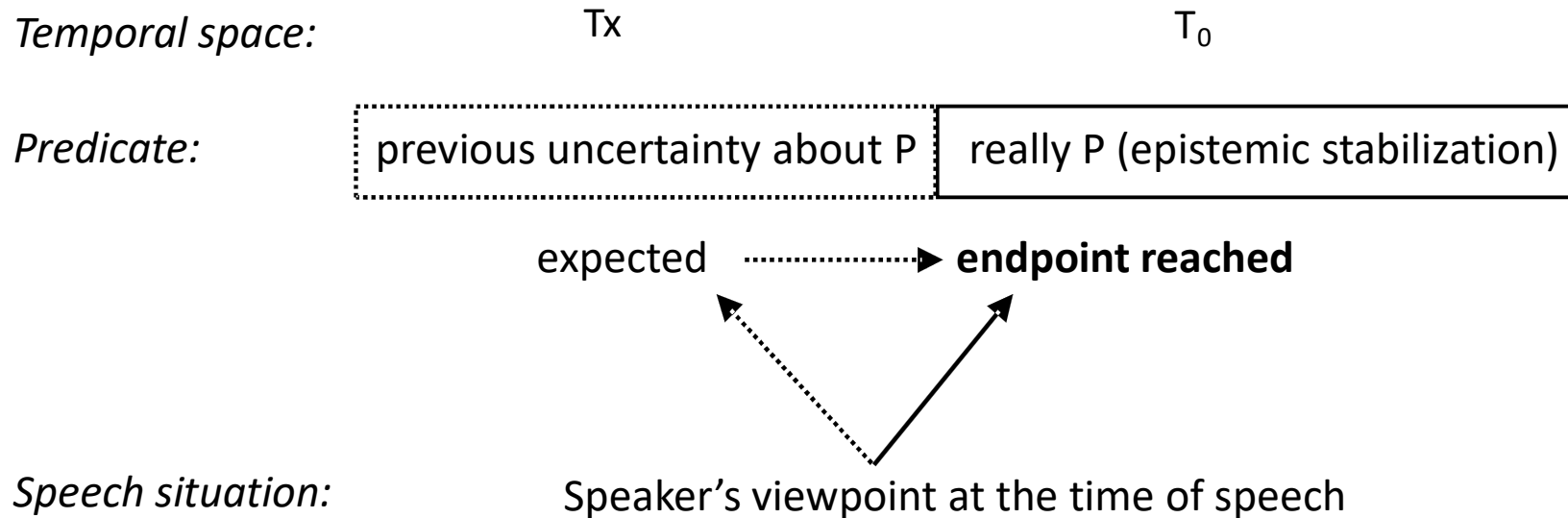
Yow	Yàlla	tàccu	na	la!			
you	God	applaud	PRF.3SG	O.2SG			
‘You, God has applauded you’ a formulaic expression meaning ‘you are lucky’							



- In discourse, Perfect may also take on purely modal values and inter-subjective functions
  - < different contextual conditioning of a same semantic schema
  - main conditioning factor : verb type or Aktionsart
- **Dynamic verbs** take place over time and have a temporal boundary, (intrinsic or externally specified )
- **Stative verbs** do not unfold over time and cannot be segmented in temporal phases: there are 'compact', i.e. indivisible (Culioli 1995: 145)
- Perfect with stative verbs :
  - distinguishing different temporal phases  $\Leftrightarrow$  distinguishing between **different moments of assertion**
  - elimination of variation or instability  $\Leftrightarrow$  **elimination of the epistemic variation** at previous time

## Perfect's reading with stative verbs

- Perfect indicates that, after a moment of uncertainty, there is now no more doubt over the assertion (expected endpoint has been reached).



- Several meanings depending on context (clause chaining)

- Expected conformity

[a person who was looking for a rope of some length]

Buum bii gudd na.

rope DEM be.long PRF.3SG

‘(It’s all right), this rope is long (enough).’

[meaning: here we are! at long last]

- Rope has not been lengthened: is long enough for the intended purpose
- Comparison between the previous need for a long rope (the background phase) and the confirmation that the present rope meets the expectations

- Agreement of the speaker

[two people looking at a boubou (robe)]

A - Mbubb bii, dafa rafet.  
boubou DEM FOCV.3SG be.beautiful  
'This boubou is beautiful.'

B - Rafet na (de)!  
be.beautiful PRF.3SG PTCL  
'This boubou is beautiful indeed' ~ 'it is definitely a beautiful one'

- The previous assertion functions as the preceding phase of the same process
- Perfect is used by the speaker to confirm that his point of view (validation of P) definitely confirms that of his interlocutor (previous phase of P).

- Polemic or decisive assertion

[At the end of a discussion where the speakers disagree]

Tàng na (de) !

be.hot PRF.3SG PTCL

‘(I’m telling you), it is hot!’

[consultant’s comment: it is certain, there is no more discussion, there is nothing to be added, no comment, period].

- Preceding context : disagreement between the two interlocutors about the same process.
- Previous phase of instability (not P) corresponds here to the point of view of the interlocutor.
- The conclusive affirmation of the speaker’s point of view (P is validated) contradicting that of his interlocutor (not P) results in a polemic or decisive assertion.  
cf. Consultant’s gloss

- Stative verbs: shift to modal reading due to Aktionart  
Dialogic context: [inter-subjective](#) values

- [The stance triangle](#) (Du Bois 2007)

Act of stance taking in dialog: 3 components

- An object evaluated by two different ‘subjects’ (interlocutors)
  - A positioning of each subject regarding this object
  - The ‘alignment’ of the two : varying degrees to which their positions converge (or diverge).
- Extension : object > predicate
  - Previous examples: the two phases of P are associated each with a position of one of the two interlocutors regarding the same evaluated assertion

- Correlation between stances and aspectual phases in dialogue (schematization)

*Temporal space:*

T<sub>x</sub>

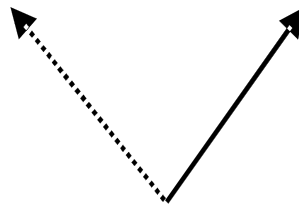
T<sub>0</sub>



.....> **endpoint reached**

Interlocutor's position

speaker's position



*Speech situation:*

Speaker's viewpoint at the time of speech

## Summary

- Perfect : aspectual phasing of the correlates with epistemic modality
- In turn taking in dialogue: Perfect takes on pragmatic (inter-subjective) functions associated with an argumentative strategy
- This subjective component lies
  - in speaker's viewpoint spanning two different phases and moments
  - in the previous expectation of an endpoint that is now evaluated as having been reached
- This modal component is particularly salient with the stative verbs
- Also at work in its temporal readings with the dynamic verbs, as visible in particular in their 'already' meaning'...



- A polite way for declining an alms request

Sarax bi àgg na.

alms DEF arrive PRF.3SG

lit. 'The alms have (already) arrived' ~ 'I have already given  
[meaning: I won't give any more, I do not have to].' [SP]

Politeness : the person having already given alms, no longer has to do so.

This argument softens his refusal.

It is an indirect way to align with the addressee.

## (2) (IM)PERFECTIVITY AND EPISTEMIC MODALITY

- Stative verbs: perfective and imperfective, a same present reading  
Differences ?
- Imperfective: ‘The process is on its way, oriented toward its term but the end/term has not yet been reached (aspectual instability)’
- Epistemic differences** : certain (perfective) vs. uncertain (imperfective)

Mu	ngi	dund.	(perfective)
PRST.3SG	PRST:PROX	live	
‘He is alive.’			

Mu	ngi-y	dund.	(imperfective)
PRST.3SG	PRST:PROX-IPFV	live	
‘He seems to still be alive (for the time being, apparently, let’s hope it will last).’			

- Appreciative (in)completeness

Picc	bii	moo	mel	ni	ndobin
bird	DEM	FOCS.3SG	look.like	as	bird.SP
'This bird looks (definitely/indisputably) like a big calao.'					
Picc	bii	moo-y	mel	ni	ndobin
bird	DEM	FOCS.3SG-IPFV	look.like	as	bird.SP
'This bird sort of looks like a big calao (to my mind, questionable)'					

Moo	tolloog	garab	gi
FOCS.3SG	reach:with	tree	DEF
'He is as high as the tree.'			
Moo-y	tolloog	garab	gi
FOCS.3SG-IPFV	reach:with	tree	DEF
'He is almost as high as the tree.'			

### (3) PRESENTATIVE

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- Presentative : a current present (présent d'actualité)
  - indicates that **the predicate comprehensively defines the current state of affairs at the time of speech**
  - the event is viewed globally (not in progress  $\Rightarrow$  + imperfective)
  - Instantaneous processes: an imminent or recent event just witnessed by the speaker (cf. deictic suffix **-i/-a**)
  - typically used by reporters for live events (soccer games)
- Present reading for all verb types
  - Mu ngi rafet** 'she is beautiful'
  - Mu ngi lekk** 'she is eating (overthere)'
- A true tensed perfective
- What kind of point of view ?

- A mere temporal and global view of the process

- no presupposition
- no previous phase in the background
- no previous foresight or expectation
- the process occurs at the time of speech and strictly defines the discourse situation.
- the speaker only reports what is going on at  $T_0$  in his (narrow or broad) deictic space: a spatio-temporal commitment

- A deceptive simplicity :

A very specific point of view on the events i.e. that of **a mere witness**

Remarkable modal outcomes.

## USES

- Common for locational information or report on live events  
Where is X ? What is s/he doing now ? What is going on ?
- Otherwise: Why should the speaker describe to the addressee the situation witnessed by both of them?
- to indicate that the event happens to him/her suddenly and **unexpectedly**, cf frequent **mirative** value

[a child shocked by the bad behaviour of his brother]

Mu=ngi                fekk ma-y                nelaw, mu                door ma!  
PRST.3SG=PROX find O.1SG-IPFV sleep ZERO.3SG beat O.1SG  
'He finds me asleep and he hits me!'

- Focus of attention on novelty of event (good or bad surprise)
- Specific viewpoint of the speaker on the events : a **mere witness**

- In dialogue, associated with an intersubjective function:  
 → drawing the addressee's attention : often **warning**  
 (unexpected events tend to be perceived as detrimental)

Jàppal            xale bi,    mu.ngi            daanu!

catch:IMP.SG   child DEF   PRST.3SG:PROX   fall

'Hold the child, (can't you see that) he is about to fall!'

Speaker : a powerless witness of the event calls on addressee to intervene

- This holds true for stative verbs verbs too            (Pres. ≠ Foc.Vb)

Mu.ngi                            rafet            (de) !

PRST.3SG:PROX            be.beautiful   PTCL

'(Look) she is beautiful!' [= you should do something]

## (4) THE NARRATIVE OR ZERO-TENSE

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- Narrative ~ Minimal ~ Aorist ~ Zero-tense
- Aspect: a true perfective (event viewed as a whole, cf Presentative)
- The only non-tensed conjugation of the system
  
- A crosslinguistically widespread form (Africa, Oceanic lgs...)
- Its various functions require a more integrative analysis
- A prototypical narrative & prototypical subordinating mood
  - (~ passé-simple)
  - (~ subjonctif)

Various discourse functions



■ Uses

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***In independent clauses***

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- as narrative aorist (i.e. for the main event line) in tales and historical narrations
- in procedural texts
- in proverbs
- for stage directions
- in directive clauses
- in echo-questions
- in *wh*-questions

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***As a subordinating mood***

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- *without a subordinating morpheme* :
    - in purpose and result clauses
    - in complement clauses
  - *with a subordinating morpheme* :
    - mandatory in relative, temporal and conditional clauses
    - precluded in complement and causal clauses
- 

The only way to account for this diversity: going back to the **definition of assertion**

- Analysis : process located relative to an unspecified situation

A predicative operator (as other conjugations) but

- (1) lacks a viewpoint defining its temporal and assertive specifications
- (2) depends on an extra-clausal locator to become a full-fledged assertion
- (3) a necessary and sufficient link between the locator and the clause  
(a particular type of dependency; situational anaphora  $p \in [ ]_{\text{sit}_0}$  )

Unifying mechanism for the different functions, a variable :  
the nature of the locator and its degree of integration in the utterance

A few examples

## INDEPENDENT USES (1)

- The most independent uses: A key finding
- In tales, the Zero-tense clause never appears first
  - a previous clause with a tensed conjugation defining the situational context of the narration

Dafa	am-oon	kenn	nit	ku	∅	am-oon	ñaari	jabar.		
FOCV.3SG	have-PST	one	person	REL	ZERO.3SG	have-PST	two:CONN	spouse		
'(Once upon a time) there was a man who had two wives'.										
Ku	∅	nekk	ci	ñoom	∅	am	jenn	doom	ju	jigéen.
REL	ZERO.3SG	be.located	LOC	PRO.3PL	ZERO.3SG	have	one	child	REL	woman
'Each of them had a daughter'.										
Yàlla	∅	def	mu	am	jenn	jabar	ju	∅	dee...	
God	ZERO.3SG	do	ZERO.3SG	have	one	spouse	REL	ZERO.3SG	die	
'Allah caused one of the women to die..' [T: 25]										

- After the introductory sentence : **anaphoric reference to situational context**
- Situational anaphora : **discourse dependency**
  - ‘temporal and assertive dependency of a syntactically independent clause vis-à-vis a preceding one’
- Semantic effects and discourse function:
- Necessary and sufficient link between the Zero-tense clause and its locator and lack of commitment on the part of the speaker
  - **a necessary and inescapable chain of events** (history)
  - root modality: **necessity**
- Lack of speaker’s commitment confirmed by the alternation with Perfect in narratives

- Main event line vs. speaker's view point  
(Zero-tense) (tensed forms)
- Perfect used to step out of the inside perspective:  
e.g. for broader temporal view (a); personal judgment on events (b)

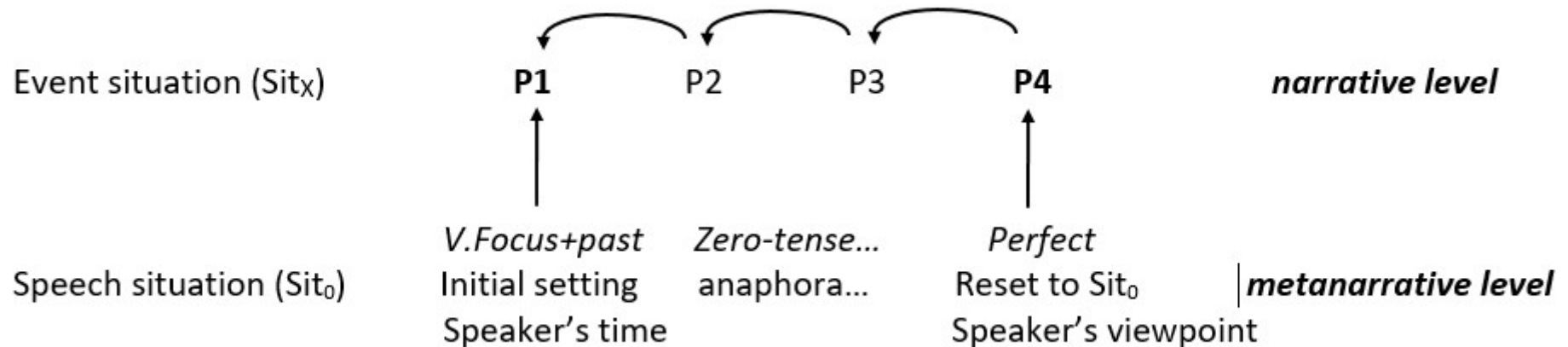
(a)

Kumba	∅	aw	ci	yoon	wi	di	jooy,	di	dem.
Kumba	ZERO.3SG	go.through	LOC	way	DEF	IPFV.COP	cry	IPFV.COP	go
'Kumba set off, in tears.'									
Dox	na	ñaari	bëccëg	ag	ñaari	guddi.			
walk	PRF.3SG	two: GEN	day	with	two: GEN	night			
'She walked for two days and two nights.' [T: 25]									

(b)

Baay	bi	∅	né	doom	ji
father	DEF	ZERO.3SG	tell	child	DEF
'The father said to his son: « .... »'					
Góór	gi	wax	na	dëgg...	
man	DEF	tell	PRF.3SG	truth	
'The old man said the truth...' (end of the tale)					

- The narrator switches from Zero-tense to Perfect (or to other tensed conjugations) for metadiscursive purposes.
- This alternation : going back and forth between two discourse levels
  - the event space at the narrative level (different time and situation)
  - the metadiscursive (or metanarrative) level (space of the speech acts)



## INDEPENDENT USES (2)

Another configuration: again in a syntactically independent (or main) clause but after an **irrealis clause** (contextual locator)

- Commands (directives) : after a **conditional** clause (or imperative clause)

<b>Su</b>	<b>ñu</b>	bañ-ee,	yow,	<b>nga</b>	def	ko!
if	ZERO.3PL	refuse-ANTER <sup>9</sup>	PRO.2SG	ZERO.2SG	do	O.3SG
'If they refuse to do it, you, just do it (yourself)!'						

- Procedural texts (2d person) : after a **generic temporal** clause + imperf V.Focus  
gnomic + deontic value

<b>Boo-y</b>	<b>togg</b>	<b>sa</b>	<b>domodaa,</b>	<b>danga-y</b>	<b>saaf</b>	<b>sa</b>	<b>jén</b>	
when:ZERO.2SG-IPFV	cook	POSS. 2SG	sauce.SP	FOCV. 2SG-IPFV	fry	POSS. 2SG	fish	
<b>ba</b>	<b>mu</b>	<b>baax,</b>	<b>nga</b>	<b>teg ;</b>	<b>nga</b>	<b>rósi</b>	<b>sa</b>	<b>géjj...</b>
until	ZERO.3SG	be.good	ZERO.2SG	put	ZERO.2SG	brown	POSS. 2SG	dry.fish
'When you prepare your <i>domodaa</i> , you fry your fish properly, you <b>put</b> aside; (then) you <b>brown</b> your dry fish...'								

Proverbs, stage directions...

## INTERROGATIVES

An intermediary type of dependency between independent and subordinated uses

- Echo-questions : after a previous statement made by the interlocutor

[the speaker was previously invited to return the money]						
Kon	<b>ma</b>	delloo	la	xaalis	bi?	
so	<b>ZERO.1SG</b>	give.back	0.2SG	money	DEF	
'(half-heartedly) Must I really give you the money back?' [XCL: 29]						

→ the clause is **dis-asserted** : the previous assertion is suspended (questioned)

Cf. Fr.: *Moi, te rendre l'argent ?!* ; Lat. *Me ne tam turpiter fugisse ?*

- *Wh*-questions : after an interrogative marker (obligatory for the-*u* series)
  - Interrogative function : ultimate manifestation of spkr's lack of commitment
  - Speaker calls on the interlocutor for further specification (valid statement)
  - I call this suspensive value an **assertive dependency**



## SUBORDINATE USES

Tighter integration between the Zero-tense clause and its locator

Various types of dependency (with or without subordinating morpheme)

- Semantics of the Zero-tense is at work in all types
- Here paractactic subordination (only): Zero-tense comes second

Two cases:

- Purposive meaning : after an realis event in the main clause

Dafa	sàcc,	ñu	kaaf	ko.
FOCV.3SG	steal	ZERO.3PL	imprison	0.3SG
'He stole therefore he was put in jail.'				

- Result clause: after a completed event

Jox	ma	ko,	ma	seet.
give-(IMP) <sup>13</sup>	0.1SG	0.3SG	ZERO.1SG	look.at
'Give it to me so that I can have a look.' [SP]				

## Tightest integration : embedding

- The locator is not a clause but a previous verb: complement clause

Dama	bëgg-oon	ngeen	ànd-al	maak	sama	doom.
FOCV.1SG	like-PST	ZERO.2PL	accompany-APPL	O.1SG:with	POSS.1SG	child
'I would like you to accompany my daughter for me.' [T: 169]						

- Nominal functioning made possible by the lack of assertive specifications of the Zero-tense
- Summary:

- A common semantics: a specific type of non-finiteness
  - the process is located relative to an unspecified situation  
i.e is lacking temporal specifications and assertive viewpoint
  - depends on a discursive landmark providing the missing specifications
- Different types of dependency and functions, according to nature and syntactic integration of the locator

<i>Syntactic integration</i>	<i>Nature of the locator</i>	<i>Nature of the dependency and functions</i>
Min.	zero	<b>assertive dependency</b> (interrogation to addressee)
↓	addressee's assertion	dis-assertion (echo-question)
	contextual performance	illustrative proverb or stage directions
	different sentence	<b>situational anaphora</b>
	- past	- reconstructed consecution of history (narration)
	- irrealis	- directive, deontic modality
	- generic	- procedural discourse
	different clause	<b>subordination</b> (purposive or result clause)
Max.	different verb	embedding (complement clause)

- The speaker's viewpoint (with the specific definition of assertion)  
a powerful tool to account for the various functions taken on by TAM markers in discourse, while maintaining a unitary definition for each of them

Summary:

- Presentative

A mere temporal and global view of the process (no foresight :  $S_0 = T_0$ )

- speaker : a powerless witness of the events
- frequent mirative value and intersubjective warning

- Zero-tense

A new type of reduced finiteness: a predicative marker with

Complete lack of deictic framing ( $S_0$  and  $T_0$ ) :

- a pending assertion validated provided that an extra-clausal locator specifies its frame of reference
- Various types of dependency (according to degree of integration)
- With various modal values:
  - interrogative, directive and deontic modality (dialogue, procedural)
  - **modality of necessity** connecting clauses in a sentence or events in a narrative.

- Perfect

A hierarchical view of two aspectual phases and the validation, by the speaker, of the expected stabilization of the process at  $T_0$

- regular shift from temporal (dynamic v.) to modal reading (stative v.)
- strictly modal reading < compact character, blocking internal viewing of their temporal unfolding
- A theoretical basis for the modal interpretation of stative predications in general.

- In dialogue, the different aspectual phases can be associated with different positions of the interlocutors:

- different stances and various types of alignment between the two, associated with strong argumentative effects

- Correlations between **aspect** and **epistemic modality** (when anchored in  $T_0$ )  
perfective and certainty  $\neq$  imperfective and uncertainty

- Homology between temporal space of events and space of the speech acts

- New characterization of finiteness :

A functional family rather (not a binary opposition) :

- Various converbs, sequential, narrative or bare forms attested across languages (e.g. in Payne and Shirtz 2015) :

- verbal forms where  $T_0$  and  $S_0$  are left unspecified or underspecified, requiring contextual information to complete their situational and assertive anchoring

- Possible decoupling of  $S_0$  and  $T_0$

cf. Presentative: partial decoupling

- Point of view of the speaker reduced to their spatio-temporal anchoring
- Speaker still a point of view and a commitment (well-formed utterance)
- This particular view of the event singles it out and conveys a surprise or a warning.

- applicable to various verbal forms with mirative values across languages

- By operationalizing the speaker's viewpoint and the time of speech as the founding parameters of the space of the speech acts
- this theoretical framework provides a matrix for an account of the various uses of TAM markers in context
- and to integrate pragmatics, discourse functions, and language interaction more tightly into the analysis of these grammatical constructions



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- The eleven primary conjugations in Wolof for *lekk* ‘eat’ and *loolu* ‘that’

	PERFECT	PRESENTATIVE	VERB FOCUS	SUBJECT FOCUS	COMPLEMENT FOCUS
1 sg	<i>lekk naa</i>	<i>maa ngi lekk</i>	<i>dama lekk</i>	<i>maa lekk</i>	<i>loolu laa lekk</i>
2	<i>lekk nga</i>	<i>yaa ngi lekk</i>	<i>dang lekk</i>	<i>yaa lekk</i>	<i>loolu nga lekk</i>
3	<i>lekk na</i>	<i>mu ngi lekk</i>	<i>da(fa) lekk</i>	<i>moo ~ NP-a lekk</i>	<i>loolu la lekk</i>
1 pl	<i>lekk nanu</i>	<i>nu ngi lekk</i>	<i>danu lekk</i>	<i>noo lekk</i>	<i>loolu lanu lekk</i>
2	<i>lekk ngeen</i>	<i>yeena ngi lekk</i>	<i>dangeen lekk</i>	<i>yeena lekk</i>	<i>loolu ngeen lekk</i>
3	<i>lekk nañu</i>	<i>ñu ngi lekk</i>	<i>dañu lekk</i>	<i>ñoo lekk</i>	<i>loolu lañu lekk</i>
	ZERO-TENSE a.k.a NARRATIVE	(FUTURE) cf. PERFECT	OBLIGATIVE	NEGATIVE	EMPHATIC NEGATIVE
1 sg	<i>ma lekk</i>	<i>di-naa lekk</i>	<i>naa lekk</i>	<i>lekk-uma</i>	<i>duma lekk</i>
2	<i>nga lekk</i>	<i>di-nga lekk</i>	<i>nanga lekk</i>	<i>lekk-uloo</i>	<i>doo lekk</i>
3	<i>mu ~ ∅ lekk</i>	<i>di-na lekk</i>	<i>na lekk</i>	<i>lekk-ul</i>	<i>du lekk</i>
1 pl	<i>nu lekk</i>	<i>di-nanu lekk</i>	<i>nanu lekk</i>	<i>lekk-unu</i>	<i>dunu lekk</i>
2	<i>ngeen lekk</i>	<i>di-ngeen lekk</i>	<i>nangeen lekk</i>	<i>lekk-uleen</i>	<i>dungeen lekk</i>
3	<i>ñu ~ ∅ lekk</i>	<i>di-nañu lekk</i>	<i>nañu lekk</i>	<i>lekk-uñu</i>	<i>duñu lekk</i>
	IMPERATIVE	PROHIBITIVE			
2 sg	<i>lekk-al</i>	<i>bul lekk</i>			
2 pl	<i>lekk-leen</i>	<i>buleen lekk</i>			

### 1.3. THE VALUES OF PERFECT WITH STATIVE VERBS



- Modal or subjective values:
  - expected conformity (8)
  - agreement/presence of S0 (9) (10)
  - polemic / decisive assertion  
(the discussion is closed) (11)

(8) *Buum bi gudd na*

rope the be-long PFT3sg

(It's all right) the rope is long (enough) (here we are ! at long last)

(9) [two persons watching a boubou]

A - *bubu bii, dafa rafet*

boubou this, VB.FOC3sg be-beautiful

this boubou is beautiful

B - *rafet na (de) !*

PFT 3sg be-beautiful (PTCL)

It is indeed (beautiful) ~ it is (definitely) a beautiful one = agreement of Spkr

# USEFUL NOTIONS FROM THE “THEORY OF ENUNCIATION” (CULIOLI 1990)



- Sit0 = Situation of utterance with its two variables;  
S0 (speaker) and T0 (time of speaking) → “assertive space”
  
- S0 = Speaker, source of modal specifications and argumentative values  
T0 = Time and space of speaking, origin of the temporal specifications  
S'0 = Addressee
  
- T0 / predicate → effective level (actualisation, location in time)
- S0 / predicate → epistemic level (validation of p, commitment of S0 )
- = identification S0 = S2 “I” T0 = T2 present
- ≠ differentiation S0 ≠ S2 “you” T0 ≠ T2 past / futur
- ω disconnexion S0 ω S2 “(s)he” T0 ω T2 irrealis, gnomic, aorist...



■ 3. A regular mechanism CONCLUS ?

Aspectual morphemes in Wolof :

a regular shift from temporal to modal or subjective values

This shift is conditioned by the properties of the different Aktionsarten :

aspectual specifications yield a temporal value with dynamic verbs

turn into modal specifications with stative verbs

Modality being understood here as the indication of the attitude on the part of the speaker toward the subjective component of the situation.

	Space and time	Subjective modality (epistemic ; appreciative)
Perfect	completed in time - certain (definitely true)	- really P
Imperfect	uncompleted in time	- probable but not certain almost but not really / totally P

- In their uses in synchrony, the different aspectual morphemes in Wolof show a **regular shift** from temporal to modal or subjective values

- A regular pattern conditioned by Aktionsarten :

Aspectual specifications : → temporal value with dynamic verbs  
→ modal value with stative verbs

- A common “semantic structure” with various effects
- Two types of modal values :
  - Subjective : epistemic value
  - Intersubjective : argumentative and pragmatic effects
- :



(10) [beginning of tale telling]

(the tale teller) : *dafa amoon*... (VB.FOC to-have+past)

= once upon a time...

(the audience) : *amoon na*... (to-have+past PFT3sg)

= once upon a time... (phatic; presence)

(11) [At the end of a discussion where the interlocutors disagree]

*tàng na !*

be-cold PFT3sg

(I'm telling you) it is hot

gloss : “it is certain, there is no more discussion”,

“there is nothing to be added, no comment, period”.

→ in the space of speech acts





- So with the stative verbs, the aspectual morphemes convey **an attitude on the part of the speaker** :
  - with regard to the **certainty** (perfective) vs uncertainty (imperfective) : (epistemic value)
  - or - to the **completeness** (perfective) vs incompleteness (imperfective) of the process (it is really / not really P) (appreciative value)
  - cf De Smet and Verstraete (2006), after Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Hasan (1976) « **ideational subjectivity** »
- Subjective values are also associated with regular **argumentative effects** :
  - the discussion is over / I disagree / I agree / I am relieved...
  - cf De Smet and Verstraete (2006): « **interpersonal subjectivity** »
    - “positioning of the speaker with respect to [the representation of the extralinguistic and extra-discursive world] and his or her interaction with the interlocutor”.

## 1.4. PERFECT: COMPARISON BETWEEN DYNAMIC AND STATIVE VERBS



### Dynamic verbs (discret)

### Stative verbs (compact)

Temporal value

past

present

Modal value

(certain)

certain

Uses

Temporal uses

Subjective uses

- to have finished

- expected conformity

- resulting state

- agreement/presence of S0

- it has already been done

- polemic / decisive assertion

Argumentative values

- here we are ! at long last

- relief

- sorry, it has already been done

- approval

- controversial

“ THE PROCESS HAS REACHED A TERM/END NOW (IN  
TO),  
SO THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO ADD, NO MORE

A STABLE RESULTING STATE HAS BEEN OBTAINED”

- ... applied to different “domains” (Aktionsarten)
- - Dynamic verbs unfold in time, have a temporal term: they are “discret”
- - Stative verbs have no temporal phases : there are “compact” (yes/no in time)  
■ (space of validation)
- ... producing various semantic effects:
- Perfect with dynamic verbs: elimination of the temporal variation / instability  
■ = temporal effect
- Perfect with stative verbs: elimination of the epistemic variation :  
■ no doubt concerning assertion
- Homology between the temporal space and the space of the speech acts and modality



Tx (previous moment)	T0 (time of speech)
----------------------	---------------------

aspectual phases  
(space of the predicate)  
dynamic verbs  
(temporal space)  
(effectiveness)  
stative verbs  
(assertive space)  
(validation of p)

variation of p	stability of p
uncompleted	completed in time
	(resulting state)
uncertain	completely certain

# WITH STATIVE VERBS:

Temporal space :

$T_x$

$T_0$

Space of the predicate :  
(topology)

$p' = \text{non } p$	$p$
----------------------	-----

*Positions of interlocuteurs / p*

Space of the speech acts :  
(validation of p)

$S'_0$

$S_0$

**details of argumentative values:**

- relief ( $S_0 / S_0$ ) cf (8)
- approval ( $S_0 = S'_0$ ) cf (9), (10)
- controversial assertion ( $S_0 \neq S'_0$ ) cf (11)



- the same cognitive structuring (or image-schema) applied to different Aktionsarten (=domains), producing various semantic effects:
  - Dynamic verbs develop in time and have a temporal term; they are “discret”
  - Stative verbs have no temporal phases : there are “compact” (yes/no in time)
- aspectual phasing and variation (completedness vs uncompletedness: transferred to the “domain” of the assertion

(completely/uncompletely true or certain).

	<b>IMPERFECTIVE</b>	<b>PERFECTIVE</b>
aspectual phases (space of the predicate)	variation/instability of p	stabilization of p
dynamic verbs (temporal space) effectiveness)	uncompleted process	completed in time (resulting state)
stative verbs (validation of p)	uncertain/probable	completely certain (assertive space)

**Homology between the temporal space and the space of speech act**  
**Correlation of the phases of p with different positions of s0 = s'0**

1) English progressive (Wright 1994, 1995)

a. I'm warning you

b. You're telling me you don't love me anymore (Wright 1995)

→ “the speaker's own **assessment** of a particular situation.”


(2) Perfective Tok Pisin (Mühlhäuser 1985)

tupela i pren pinis (= finish)

The two are **real** friends

(3) Perfective Engenni (Gur group, Thomas 1978)

“he flat finish” = “it is **really** flat”



(1) English

a. *I'm warning you* (Wright 1994)

b. *You're telling me you don't love me anymore* (Wright 1995)

→ “the speaker’s own **assessment** of a particular situation.”

(2) Tok Pisin (Mühlhäuser 1985)

*tupela i pren pinis* (= *finish*)

The two are **real** friends

(3) Engenni (Gur group, Thomas 1978)

“he flat finish” = “it is **really** flat”

→ diachronic evolution ?

→ or “the modal progressives are **non-aspectual**” (Wright 1994) ?  
problem...



# A REGULAR MECHANISM, A COGNITIVE HOMOLOGY



- in their uses in synchrony, the different aspectual morphemes in Wolof present a **regular shift** from temporal to modal or subjective values
- conditioned by Aktionsarten :
  - aspectual specifications → temporal value with dynamic verbs  
→ modal value with stative verbs
- the same **image-schema** applied to different Aktionsarten (= domains)
  - various semantic effects
- the modal values: **two different types of subjectivity**
  - ideational subjectivity / epistemic values
  - interpersonal subjectivity / argumentative values
- homology between the **temporal space** and the **space of the speech acts**