BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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Contents

Time marking beyond tense and aspect with particular focus on Bantu

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Temporal meanings in verbal expressions are commonly subsumed under the two macro-categories tense and aspect. At the same time, several verbal forms that are recurrently identified within and across languages with reference to certain temporal meanings, for example, perfect, progressive, pluperfect etc., are notoriously difficult to accommodate in this simple binary scheme. My presentation argues that one should go beyond the traditional macro-categories of tense and aspect, which I conceptualize as encoding "absolute time" and "internal time", respectively. With particular focus on the complex verb systems in Bantu languages, I propose that there are at least two other temporal macro-categories that are frequently encoded cross-linguistically, namely "relative time" aka taxis and "relevance time", potentially subsuming such less typical "aspects" as progressive and perfect.

Modal functions of (tense-)aspect markers in Bantu

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Bantu languages are famous for their rich tense-aspect systems, which frequently encode complex aspectual distinctions and multiple degrees of past and future tense. However, modal systems in Bantu are generally less well described (Nurse and Devos 2019), and the interaction of tense, aspect, and mood is typically given even less attention. There are nonetheless clues from across the language family that tense and aspect markers frequently have modal functions.

For example, evidentiality as a dedicated and obligatory category is not typical in Bantu languages. However, a number of languages have two or more aspectual markers that are differentiated largely by their evidential value. For example, Roth (2018) describes a *Vka-* "nucleative" prefix in Ikoma that has both progressive-like and perfective-like uses, but necessarily encodes firsthand or eyewitness evidentiality. Both nucleative evidential *akáßooka* and perfective *naßookiri* can mean 's/he has just woken up', but the former can only be used if the speaker has direct visual or auditory evidence that the person in question is awake (Roth 2018:89).

Similarly, in several Bantu languages, the distinction between a near/hodiernal past form and a stative/resultative one can relate to evidentiality: in Fwe (Crane 2012; Gunnink 2018), the stative *-ite* suffix and the near past perfective *-i* suffix can both refer to a present state resulting from a past change. However, when contrasted with each other, the near past forms highlight knowledge of how the precipitating event occurred, while the *-ite* forms focus on the state itself, regardless of how it came to be. Thus, *òzyû mbwà àfwìtè* 'the dog is dead' is used when "the speaker has no knowledge of when or how the dog died", while *èzyôkà rìnáfwì* 'the snake is dead' can be used when, for example, the speaker herself has killed the snake (Gunnink 2018:371). Kanijo (2019) describes similar contrasts in Nyamwezi.

Nzadi (Crane, Hyman & Tukumu 2011) has two present tense markers, *a* and *e*. While *e* has a somewhat more progressive flavour and *a* is more of a general present imperfective, their aspectual semantics overlap in many cases. Crane, Hyman, and Tukumu describe the difference between the markers as epistemic: speakers using *e* must be certain of the truth of their utterances, usually (but not necessarily) through eyewitness evidence. In frames like 'Maybe they are writing', a speaker using the *e* present with 'write' must be certain that the writing event *started* previously, although the speaker may not be sure whether the subject continues to write; the *a* present requires no such background knowledge (Crane, Hyman & Tukumu 2011).

In my talk, I will present a survey of these and other modal(-like) functions of (tempero-)aspectual markers across Bantu. I will also include preliminary data from my investigation of modality in South African Bantu languages (main data collection to start in November 2019). These languages also show evidence of modal functions of forms that primarily mark tense and aspect distinctions. For example, in Southern Ndebele (South Africa), a future/prospective *za-* prefix (contrasting with at least two other future forms) appears to indicate a situation- or speech-act *external* "director" (in the sense of Copley 2009) "who is both capable of and committed to an eventuality's coming to pass" (Crane & Mabena 2019). Thus, in different

contexts, the marker can have significantly different pragmatic functions, including indicating doubt, reassurance, lack of choice, or contrast with expectations.

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Towards a unified account of temporal and pragmatic values of aspectual constructions:

The case of Wolof

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In Wolof (an Atlantic language mainly spoken in Senegal), the verbal system is characterized by an inflectional morphology whereby grammaticalized focus, polarity distinctions, modal and other verbal specifications have fused with personal and aspectual specifications (see Robert forthcoming on the diachronic evolution leading to this distribution), providing an interesting case for studying the interaction of aspect with other grammatical subsystems. The basic verbal system is thus organized into eleven primary paradigms (or conjugations), along different shared features:

- *Focus, + other*: Perfect, Presentative, Narrative (also called Minimal, Aorist or Null tense)
- *+ Focus*: Verb Focus, Subject Focus, Complement Focus
- *+ Neg.*: Negative, Emphatic Negative, Prohibitive*
- *+ Mod.*: Obligative, Imperative (*and its negative counterpart, the Prohibitive).

The term 'focus' is used here in a narrow sense, referring to instances where the rheme (or new information) corresponds to a syntactic constituent of the sentence and is morphologically marked (Robert 2010a). Therefore Perfect is not classified as a focal conjugation. However, with a broader definition of focus including 'auxiliary focus', it could be viewed as conveying aspectual focus with terminative value, the expected endpoint of a previously ongoing process corresponding here to the presupposition.

One first remarkable point about this system is that these basic or primary conjugations share a common perfective value and have the speech moment as tense locus, resulting in different temporal readings depending on verb types: dynamic verbs (e.g. *lekk* 'eat', *daanu* 'fall down') refer to previously completed, i.e. past events, while stative verbs (e.g. *bëgg* 'love, want', *tàng* 'be warm') refer to present states. Perfective aspect is therefore the *unmarked* value of this verbal system, in both morphological and functional terms. These primary conjugations enter into secondary oppositions by means of aspectual and temporal suffixes - i.e., imperfective and past reference are derived from the bare (perfective) conjugations by suffixation - and the whole system displays a neat aspectual organisation through this formal opposition crisscrossing the different paradigms.

Simple verb forms		Secondary verb forms
zero suffix	(perfective)	suffix *-y ~ di* (imperfective)
zero suffix	(present)	suffix *–(w)oon* (past anterior); suffix *–(w)aa(n)* (remote past)
zero suffix	(affirmative)	suffix *-ul* (negation of affirmative paradigms cf. Robert 1990)

From a semantic point of view, the imperfective suffix combines with the temporal anchoring of other conjugations to indicate (i) an action in progress at the time of speech for durative dynamic verbs, (ii) a modal present (with connotations of uncertainty or incompletion) for stative verbs, or, for all verb types (iii) a proximal future or (iv) a habitual interpretation (details about tense and aspect can be found in Robert 2016).

A first challenge is then to account for the absence of marking of perfective aspect in this language where the verbal system is organized along other categories, such as focus, negation, imperative modality or features that need to be specified for the '-Focus' conjugations. How does the perfective aspect relate to the specific meaning of the various conjugations so that in each case it does not need to be marked? For space reasons, I will limit the present study to the affirmative paradigms. A second challenge is to account for the pragmatic values regularly taken on in various contexts by most of these conjugations, be it in narration (as we will see for the Narrative, contrasting here with the Perfect), in dialogue (e.g. Perfect used for a polemic or decisive assertion) or in clause chaining (see Robert 2010b on this last point).

In order to introduce a new unified account of these various phenomena around the aspectual constructions in Wolof, I will first focus on the analysis of the Narrative. This Narrative conjugation stands out from other conjugations, because of its unique temporal behaviour (depending on the context, the perfective form can take on present, past or future readings for all verb types, and contrasts with the imperfective form only by the durative aspect of the latter), and second because of its problematic array of uses, displaying different degrees of syntactic integration and various semantic values (cf. Robert 1991):

Table 1. The various uses of Narrative in Wolof
In independent clauses:
- as narrative aorist in tales and historical narration
- in stage directions
- in injunctive clauses
- in interrogative clauses
As a subordinating mood :
- *without a subordinating morpheme :*
- clauses with a consecutive value (resultative or purpose clauses)
- complement clauses
- *with a subordinating morpheme :*
- the Narrative is obligatory in all subordinate clauses
- except causal clauses, complement clauses and comparative clauses

For this analysis, I will first introduce a key concept (taken from Culioli 1990 and his 'théorie de l'énonciation' or utterance-centered approach), namely that of the 'speech situation' (Sit_0) defined by two correlated parameters functioning as the origin of modal/pragmatic and temporal specifications: a subjective one (S_0 corresponding to the speaker as the source of endorsement and point of view) and a spatio-temporal one (T_0 corresponding to the space and time of speech). This concept broadens Fauconnier's (1985) model of Mental Spaces by adding the source of endorsement as a component of the 'space builders' while defining the situation of speech as the default space builder for every utterance. Correlated with the contextual specifications (or lack of specifications) about the situation in which the event is located (Sit_2, also defined by two temporal and subjective parameters), this approach will allow me to both provide a unitary analysis of the Narrative and account for its various semantico-pragmatic and temporal values across the different syntactic uses (Robert 2010b).

Building on this case study illustrating the general method and framework I have used for analysing the Wolof verbal system, I will then briefly give a novel account of the unmarked character of perfective aspect in this language. Perfective aspect is analyzed here as an aspectual by-product of the conjugation's core meaning. It is induced by three different configurations

depending on each conjugation's semantics: (i) resulting state (and its ongoingness presupposition) for the Perfect, (ii) temporal presupposition entailed by the three focusing conjugations (Verb Focus, Subject Focus, Complement Focus), and (iii) minimal structuring and a comprehensive view of the process for the Narrative and Presentative. These three configurations converge in a common 'perfective effect' when contrasted with the derived imperfective forms (Robert 2016).

In sum, this contribution aims to (a) analyze the interaction of aspect with information structure in a language where focus has grammaticalized in the verbal morphology, and (b) demonstrate that, rather than deriving from one another, the pragmatic uses and the temporal readings of a same verbal construction can more fruitfully be conceived of as the result of a dynamic interaction of its core semantics with different contexts (be they at phrastic, clausal or interclausal levels), informing and specifying their meaning in discourse.

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The mirative extensions of motion verbs in non-canonical questions

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This paper explores the meaning of *aller* (go) and *venir* (*come*) in two non-canonical uses of *qu'est-ce que* (*what*) questions in French. The first one is an argumental use. It is illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) '[…]Tu vois, de savoir d'où je viens, l'histoire de ma terre, quoi!'
'T'es pas français? Elle est là, ta terre. C'est Blanc-Mesnil, ta terre. Mais qu'est-ce que tu **vas** chercher? Ça change quoi de savoir d'où tu viens? Ça t'aidera pas à savoir où tu vas.'
Lit: But what you go fetch
'You see, to know where I come from, the story of my home country, you know!
Aren't you French? Your home country is here. Blanc-Mesnil is your hometown. What the hell are you talking about? What difference does it make to know where you come from? It won't help you to know where you're going.'
(2) ça ne te regarde pas si j'ai ou pas des papiers français! et qu'est-ce que ça **vient** faire dans ce débat.
Lit: And what this comes do in this debate
'Whether I have French documents or not is none of your business. What the hell does this have to do in this debate.'

Aller et *venir* are both motion verbs that have developed aspectual meanings. In (3) and (4), *aller* expresses prospective aspect and *venir* recency respectively:

(3) mais qu'est-ce que je **vais** devenir ??
Lit: but what I am going to become
'What the hell am I gonna do?'
(4) Ton nouveau vernis renversé sur l'ordinateur de papa... AAAHHHH , mais qu'est-ce que tu **viens** de faire !!!!
Lit: But what you come to do
'Your new nail polish spilled on Dad's computer… Oh, what the hell have you done!'

Clearly, *aller* and *venir* convey neither a motion meaning nor an aspectual meaning in (1) and (2). Rather, these verbs encode the speaker's modal attitude. In both (1) and (2), the speaker is surprised at the addressee's previous statement. However, surprise as an emotion is not enough to account for the special meaning of *aller* and *venir*. As can be seen in (3) and (4), the aspectual meaning of *aller* and *venir* is perfectly compatible with expressive questions triggered by some unexpected state of affairs. I argue that *aller* and *venir* take on a mirative meaning when some state of affairs is judged incongruous.

The question aims to stress that the topic (tracing one's roots in (1), having French civil-status documents or not in (2)) is incongruous in the situational context. I take this type of question to be a mirative construction and to share several morphosyntactic properties with the WXDY construction identified by (Kay and Fillmore 1999) in English. First, such questions permit a limited number of verbs. *Venir* only co-occurs with *faire* (*do*) and *foutre* (an expressive variant of *faire* with a negative polarity connotation) and is always followed by a deictic spatial adjunct. *Aller* co-occurs with *chercher (look for)*, *imaginer (imagine)*, *aller faire/foutre (go do)*, *trouver (comme idée délirante/ find a crazy idea)*, *chanter* (lit. *sing*, meaning *tell crazy stories*), ie verbs

that refer to a mental or verbal activity that is presented figuratively. Secondly, the interrogative word is not referential. These questions are not information-seeking. As part of a rhetorical scenario, they do not permit the following answers:

(1') # Je vais chercher une solution. / I am going to look for a solution.

(2') # ça apporte un élément important. / It brings up an important element.

The meaning of (1) and (2) is conventionalized. In these questions, "aller chercher / imaginer" and "venir faire là" are idiomatic verb phrases that stress a pointless activity and an incongruous state of affairs respectively. Because the incongruous meaning is conventionalized, the construction can be used non-argumentally. This is the second variant of the mirative construction, as illustrated in (5) and (6):

> (5) Elle secoue la tête, « Tu le sais quand même ce qu'ils veulent, qu'est-ce que tu **vas** raconter des histoires de plages et de dodos. »
> What you go tell stories about beaches and dodo birds
> 'She shakes her head "You know what they want, don't you? How come you tell them stories about beaches and dodo birds?"'
> (6) Flucke s'il te plait, ferme ta bouche. Si on voulait débattre on en avait le droit, et puis on a eu la maturité de stopper la conversation, qu'est-ce que tu **viens** la ramener ?
> What you come her bring back
> 'Flucke, please, shut up. If we wanted to debate we had the right to do so, and then we were mature enough to stop the conversation. How come you are sticking your oar in?'

Such non-argumental questions are considered to be conflicting rhetorical questions by (Dekhissi 2016). Although she does not specifically focus on *aller* and *venir*, (Dekhissi 2016) stresses that these questions are highly expressive and used to convey reproach. The first goal of this paper is to compare the argumental use and the non-argumental use of the mirative construction. In both cases, the mirative meaning is based on the actualization of an unexpected eventuality. In the argumental use, stressing the incongruity of the state of affairs has a rhetorical effect. The topic chosen is judged discursively irrelevant in (1) and (2). In the non-argumental use, stressing the incongruity of the eventuality triggers a search for a cause. In (5) and (6), the question is about the reason for the actualization of an unexpected eventuality. The second goal of this paper is to distinguish between mirative *aller* and *venir*. In the mirative construction, *aller* and *venir* both lose their motion meaning and their aspectual potential. They function as operators that encode the speaker's attitude. In a previous study (Celle and Lansari 2015), it was argued that the meaning of *aller* dubbed "extraordinary" by (Damourette and Pichon 1936) is in fact mirative. In this paper, I argue that the deictic component of *venir* accounts for the difference in meaning between mirative *aller* and *venir*. This difference has important consequences on the verbs that co-occur with *aller* and *venir* in the argumental construction. In the non-argumental construction, however, this difference appears to be less significant – as in (6), all the verbs found following *venir* are speech verbs.

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Stylistic functions of abrupt aspectual shifts:
Examples from modern Italian narrative texts

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The availability of overt morphological devices to express the basic contrast perfective *vs* imperfective allows the speakers of the relevant languages to adequately express the appropriate aspectual perspective, as suggested by the given discourse situation. This most frequently occurs in the domain of past-referring tenses, and the reason for that most likely lies in the speaker's need to adjust, in the most flexible way, to the contingent communicative goals set out by the narrative function. No wonder, then, that this is typically found in literary works of narrative. Although this paper discusses examples from modern Italian literature, the textual effects to be described (or a large share thereof) can be found in other Romance languages as well, and possibly in any literary tradition based on a language with an aspectual contrast of perfective *vs* imperfective in the past-referring tenses.

Literary texts offer abundant examples of aspectual shift. This is typically exploited to highlight the contrast between fore- and background in a narrative, as in the so-called 'incidence-scheme' (e.g. *When Mary came, John was cooking*), featuring what is perhaps the most conventional type of aspectual shift. Of special interest here are the abrupt shifts, which present the reader with a sharp alternation of competing (or maybe even conflicting) values. The most interesting ones are those that involve imperfectivity in its 'continuous' value – i.e. the most neutral, and thus most flexible imperfective manifestation – rather than in the more specific, and therefore less frequently encountered, values of 'progressive' and 'habitual'. This allows the writer to obtain a wide array of stylistic effects, of which the paper will try and offer a significant choice.

For example, a tight aspectual shift from Imperfect to Simple Past may be exploited to convey the idea of a kind of focalization mechanism, i.e. a sudden turn in the propulsive line of the plot from an essentially static to a dynamic situation. The opposite result can be observed when the abrupt appearance of the Imperfect creates a sort of temporal expansion. An indeed relatively frequent stylistic device, in modern Italian literature, consists in the juxtaposition (in whatever order) – by means of a coordinating conjunction or else in an asyndetic structure – of a propulsive Simple Past and a deceivingly descriptive Imperfect. The result consists in reducing, so to say, the contrast between fore- and background, for in such cases the Imperfect can hardly be understood as merely confined within the descriptive background. It is worth observing, in this connection, that the examples considered will not involve the so-called 'narrative' Imperfect, i.e. the usage of this tense in a purely perfective context, which feeds typical, and widely studied, stylistic effects of its own.

Although one might at times get the (purely superficial) impression that the writer is simply aiming at a cheap effect of *variatio*, the competent speaker can detect precise stylistic motivations, at least in the case of expert writers. This is evidently due to the unshakable aspectual characterization of the Imperfect as past imperfective, as contrasted with its perfective counterpart, the Simple Past (or, much more rarely in literary texts, the Compound Past). The basic imperfective value of the Imperfect, in its 'continuous' reading, can generate an impression of temporal indeterminacy.

Aspect and modality

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It has long been observed that tense markers such as English simple past and aspect markers such as Greek imperfective are obligatory in the expression of counterfactual statements in some languages (Iatridou, 2000). In von Prince (2019), I have developed an account of how past markers and perfect aspect can give speakers access to the counterfactual past, present and future: In a branching-time framework, the counterfactual domain can be modeled as those continuations of past moments that do not pass through the actual present (compare figure 1).

TAM expressions of natural languages need not be restricted to one of the three modal domains. Past tense markers such as English Simple Past may extend to (parts of) the counterfactual domain. Perfect aspect, too, can be used to access the counterfactual domain, in that it shifts the perspective to a moment prior to the actual present, relative to which counterfactual developments are still possible futures.

In this talk, I would like to take a closer look at the relation between imperfective aspect and counterfactuality. I will extend the analysis of Dowty (1977) to my framework and propose that imperfective aspect creates a two-dimensional index space from an atomic index, its two dimensions corresponding to time and modality. This space is in effect a set of indices that includes the reference index, and its closest predecessors and successors:
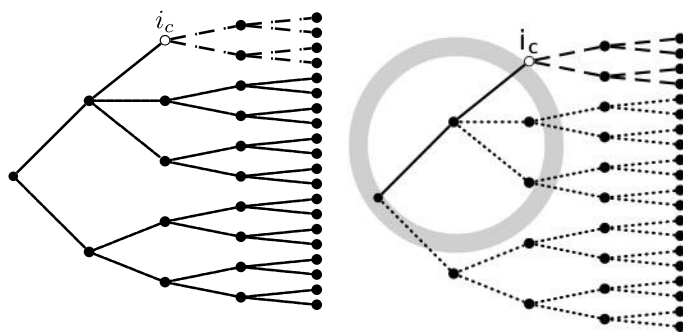

Figure 1: Left: A branching-time model with three modal domains. Solid: the actual; dotted: the counterfactual; dashed: the possible (future). Right: Imperfective aspect creates a two-dimensional space around an atomic index.

(1) $\{i | i \leq i0 \cup i0 < i, \neg \exists i'[i < i' < i0 \cup i0 < i' < i]\}$

While there is potentially an infinite number of indices in any given interval, I assume with Solt (2014) that con- textually given granularity allows for the identification of a unique predecessor and a finite set of successors. This is how imperfective aspect, in combination with past tense, may allow speakers access to the counterfactual domain.

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A Contrastive Epistemic Approach to the Aspectual Systems of English and Slavic

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This paper attempts to provide an alternative to traditional typologies of verbal aspect, which have generally relied on reified features such as telos, bounders or related temporal configurations such as durativity or sequentiality (cf., e.g., Comrie 1976; Smith 1997). The epistemic approach proposed here is based on the hypothesis that the "perfective" in some languages expresses the conceptualizer's *epistemic control* of a situation, i.e., the speaker's full knowledge of the event type and its realization in a context.

We argue that there are different ways in which languages can use aspectual marking to express epistemic control, and that these different ways are determined by the morphological markers of verbs in a given language. In short, we identify two main types. The first type, which is seen in the English simple tenses, is at its core non-temporal, i.e., it imposes no temporal configuration on the situation. The second type, which is characteristic of Slavic derivational aspect systems, imposes a change-of-state configuration ¬P > P > R, in which the initial state is the lack of a situation (¬P), followed by a situation (P), which is in turn followed by a distinct resultant state (R).

What unites the various uses of the English simple tenses is that they involve situations that can be fully and instantly identified at the time of speaking. These events can include a change of state (cf. *The book fell off the shelf*), but need not do so (cf. *The ice cream tasted good*). This sense of epistemic control expressed by the English simple tenses can only be assessed in contrast to the *epistemic contingency* expressed by progressive verb forms (cf. *I'm reading books about linguistic diversity* versus *I read books about linguistic diversity*) (De Wit & Brisard 2014).

In contrast, all Slavic systems are based on perfectivizing prefixation, which specifies spatial or figurative changes of state (cf. Czech *ode-jít* 'go away.PF', *na-psát* 'write.PF'). As such, Czech prefixation does not perfectivize verbs; rather, it imposes on a situation *type-classification by outcome*, which entails a synoptic construal by default (which is avoided by the use of simplex verbs, e.g., *psat* 'write.IMPF' or canceled by additional imperfective morphology, e.g., *odcházet* 'go away.IMPF'). That is to say, the knowledge required to identify a situation by its outcome has a high correlation with a perfective construal. But Slavic aspectual systems are not homogeneous (cf. Dickey 2015), and within Slavic a group of eastern languages whose chief representative is Russian has developed the category of (ordinarily prefixed) perfective verbs beyond the category of classification by outcome. In these languages the perfective expresses a particular type of epistemic control, which we term *epistemic contiguity*. Epistemic contiguity is defined as reference to some situation other than that lexically expressed by a given perfective verb. Situations qualifying as another relevant situation may be background situations, or preceding events, or in some cases, the subsequent resultant state. Importantly, epistemic contiguity also has a meta-discourse function, in which the relevant situation referred to is a prior discourse utterance.

This paper discusses these three systems in more detail, with a focus on examples of the meta-discourse function of epistemic contiguity expressed by the Russian perfective.

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The control cycle and the perfective/imperfective contrast in Polish

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The aim of the present paper is to consider further the role of the perfective/imperfective contrast in the system of clausal grounding in Polish. I have argued elsewhere (cf. Kochańska 2002, 2015, and 2018) that in addition to its prototypical import, which has to do with deriving conceptions of higher-order process types or with quantification over a process instance, the relevant aspectual contrast in Polish also plays a role in the language's system of clausal grounding, as understood by Langacker (cf. e.g. 2008:259–309 and 474; 2009:148–184). Specifically, the claim made in Kochańska (2002) is that in non-past indicative clauses the perfective grounds the profiled process as epistemically non-immediate to the conceptualizer, while the import of the imperfective is that the process it profiles is construed as epistemically immediate to the conceptualizer. In Kochańska (2015 and 2018) a similar analysis is extended to certain instances of the perfective/imperfective contrast in imperative clauses: the claim is that the perfective imperative profiles a process which figures in a directive scenario and which is construed as effectively and epistemically non-immediate to the conceptualizer, while the imperfective imperative brings about the construal of the relevant process as effectively and epistemically immediate.

The present talk will be an attempt at elucidating what exactly is meant by epistemic and effective immediacy/non-immediacy in the cases under consideration. It will be argued that it might be useful to think about the relevant contrast in terms of the notion of the control cycle (cf. Langacker 2002) and – more specifically – in terms of absence vs. presence of epistemic or effective striving to achieve epistemic or effective control.

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Modality-specific and language-specific elements of sign language acquisition: Perfective aspect in Kata Kolok

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Kata Kolok is a rural signing variety that has been used by the deaf and hearing members of a Balinese village for at least six generations. Unlike the vast majority of deaf children in urban environments, deaf children in this village acquire sign language in a similar fashion as hearing children in speaking environments, because not just their close relatives, but many of their peers and neighbors also sign. This paper constitutes the first case study of what sign acquisition in such a non-WEIRD signing communities may look like.

The focus lies on the perfective aspect marker which is formed by two open hands rapidly turning palm upward along with a lip smack glossed as 'pah'. Previous research on the acquisition of signed languages has emphasised the stages in language development that are cross-modally robust. In this presentation, I argue that there may also be modality-specific developmental steps that occur across sign languages. The simultaneous coordination of non-manual and manual grammatical markers, and more generally, the acquisition of modality-specific structures, inevitably dominates such cross-linguistic investigations.

Children's development of Time, Modality and Aspect:

Constructing a world within language

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If as suggested by Boas (1911), Sapir (1921, 1927), Whorf (1956), Gumperz and Levinson (1991) or Lucy (1997) language shapes experience, language can also create worlds of its own, out of our remembrance of things past, our projects or dreams of things to come and the figments of our imagination, thanks to the linguistic forms we perform with all the semiotic resources at our disposal.

During their first years of life, children experience language (Ochs 2012) as they are involved in the mundane activities of their everyday lives, through sound, texture, visual and embodied forms. In this process, children progressively *language* their experience: they learn to filter experience and shape it, refer to it, index it into language forms. Enactments of language performed by adults and children are multiple, diverse, multimodal. Children can language about objects and events that they perceive in the here and now, but also and progressively, about objects and events they are not perceiving and experiencing in the here and now. They memorize scenarios with their strings of events and the temporal unfolding of language in daily situations and extend linguistic forms to similar situations.

Weist (1986) suggests that in the course of child language acquisition, the concept of time develops in several stages organized according to Reichenbach's principles (1947). In the final stage, children master reference time, they have entered the TMA system, and have the ability to tell stories or talk about imaginary people, objects or events. It is fundamental to understand how children can learn these complex linguistic functions as they do not correspond to referents that can be perceived or manipulated. Our hypothesis is that children can productively use the forms to express displacements and abstract reference around their fourth year because they have been socialized to them very early on, thanks to their interactive input.

We tested this hypothesis on the longitudinal data of seven French-speaking children videotaped monthly with their parents. We focused on a form that is mainly used to mark a displacement between the speaker and the here and now, the *imparfait* (Patard, 2007). Our goal was to understand how children can learn its function. We categorized the sequences into several genres that were either displaced and good candidates for switches of reference time, or non-fiction grounded in the here and now. We coded all the verb forms in the adults' and children's productions. The results showed that the *imparfait* was used very early on by the adults to express displacement. For some genres such as narratives without books, the *imparfait* was used twice more than in other situations in both adults and children. This trend was even stronger when narrating self-experiences. In pretend play, only the children used the *imparfait*, which suggests that they have the ability to generalize its use to relevant contexts.

Children can thus find exemplars in situations that afford specialized forms within recurrent scripts and can generalize them to other situations with similar affordances.

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Aspect and event comprehension

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In this talk I will present psycholinguistic studies of language comprehension, language production and event perception, investigating the interplay between language and other domains of cognition. In particular, I focus on how aspect may modulate our perception of events. Events are units of experience (e.g., walking to school, eating an apple), that we construct from the activity happening around us. They are important units in the way in which we use language, as we often talk about the events happening in our lives. Event descriptions contain aspectual markers, which provide a viewpoint on the event, with consequences for how we perceive certain event dimensions, such as affected objects (the apple, in the event of eating an apple), and spatial goals (school, in the event of walking to school). I will discuss event description patterns, as well as psycholinguistic measurements, such as eye movements and event-related brain potentials which shed light on perception and attention, to illustrate how aspect influences online cognitive processing.

Differential Focus in Ongoing and Completed Events

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I am interested in how we use cues such as grammar to activate contextually appropriate meanings of described events, and how these representations are grounded in our real perceptual-motor experience. I'll present a series of experiments investigating how grammatical verb aspect constrains our understanding of events. As embodied theories of language would predict, pictures of instruments in use (open corkscrew) better match readers' event simulations than instruments not in use (closed corkscrew). Interestingly, this "use" effect is stronger for ongoing events (imperfective aspect) rather than completed events (perfect aspect). This is consistent with linguistic theory, which postulates that an event described in the perfect aspect should evoke a simulation of a finished event with focus on the resulting state, whereas an event described in the imperfective aspect should evoke a simulation of the event as ongoing, including all stages of the event, and focusing all entities relevant to the ongoing action (instruments, objects, agents, locations, etc.). To further investigate this difference in focus, we presented perfect and imperfective aspect sentences, one word at a time, in which the instrument and the recipient of the action were replaced by pictures (John was using/had used a *corkscrew* to open the *bottle* at the restaurant). Although experimental sentences always made sense, half of the object and instrument pictures did not match the temporal constraints of the verb (corkscrew open, in use vs. closed, no longer in-use; wine bottle open or not yet). Participants were faster to process images that matched rather than mismatched the aspect of the verb, especially for resulting objects in perfect sentences. A separate experiment replicated and extended the results to confirm that this was not due to the placement of the object in the sentence. These experiments extend previous research, showing how verb aspect drives not only the temporal structure of event representation, but also the focus on specific roles of the event. In addition, the findings of visual match during online sentence-picture processing are consistent with theories of perceptual simulation.

Why do grammaticalization pathways recur? An experimental approach

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Bybee et al. (1994) found that across a sample of many different languages from different language families and different geographical areas, similar lexical meanings give rise to the same implicatures, leading to the same grammaticalization pathways, which we call the *Lexical Determinism Hypothesis*. For instance, they give examples for anteriors based on the lexical meaning 'finish' for languages as diverse as Sango (Central Africa), Mwera (Tanzania), Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea) and Palaung (Burma). In the Palaung example (1), the verb cluster *hwǭ-i hǭm* ('finish eating') "signals a situation prior to and relevant to the situation in the next clause" (Bybee et al. 1994: 72). Modern Spanish shows a similar process, in that the *acabar* 'finish' + *de* 'of' + infinitive construction has developed into a marker of recent past (see 2).

(1) PALAUNG *mī **hwǭ-i hǭm** yǭ pǭm v̄eng*
      2.SG finish eat EMP rice return
      'Come after you have eaten' (Bybee et al. 1994: 72)

(2) SPANISH *Juan **acab-a de compr-ar** un coche.*
      Juan finish- of buy-INF DET.INDF.M.SG car
            PRS.3SG
      'Juan just bought a car'

In a recent study (Rosemeyer & Grossman 2017), we analyzed the discursive conditions for the emergence of the implicature that enables the reanalysis of the aspectual 'finish' meaning as a recent past anterior. On the basis of a longitudinal study of the development of the Spanish *acabar* + *de* + infinitive construction from Old to Early Modern Spanish, we showed that the recent past meaning first occurred in past-of-past contexts in which the infinitive expresses an event that is uninformative. For instance, in example (3), the infinitive *hacer* 'make' could have easily been omitted without loss of information, given that the meaning 'to finish a bridge' implicates that the full meaning of the sentence is 'to finish **building/making** a bridge.' In contexts such as (3), the apparent overinformativity of the sentence leads to focus on the event and consequently the temporal sequence between the two events ('making the bridge' and 'passing over the bridge'), such that direct temporal succession of the events is implicated.

(3) SPANISH *Y en este tiempo como **fuese***
      and in DET.DEF.M.SG time when be.PST.IPFV.SBJ.3SG
      acab-a-da de hacer la puente
      finish-THEME-PTCP.F of make.INF DEF.DET.F.SG bridge
      pas-ó la Infantería española
      pass-PST.PFV.3SG DEF.DET.F.SG infantry Spanish
      'And then, when they had finished building the bridge (lit. the bridge had been finished building), the Spanish infantry passed over it' (*CAR*, 16th century)

The Lexical Determinism Hypothesis would make the prediction that this implicature is language-independent, in that a language possessing a verb with the same meaning as *acabar* 'finish' could in principle undergo the same grammaticalization pathway. In our talk we present preliminary results from a study that aims at testing the Lexical Determinism Hypothesis

experimentally, and thus "experiments on the past" (see, e.g., Grossman & Noveck 2015; De Smet & Van de Velde 2017; Hilpert & Saavedra 2018). As seen in the gloss of example (3), the English language possesses the verb *finish*, which can occur in very similar syntactic configurations as Spanish *acabar* (cf. *when they had finished building the bridge...*). Although this construction has not been grammaticalized into a recent past marker in English, the Lexical Determinism Hypothesis would predict that in contexts such as (3), a recent past reading might emerge.

In order to test this hypothesis, we develop a two-step experimental approach. In a first questionnaire study we explore whether syntagms such as *finish the bridge* indeed have default interpretations such as 'finish building the bridge.' Using the results from this questionnaire study, we then conduct a self-paced reading experiment in order to demonstrate that the use of such uninformative infinitives, as opposed to their omission, triggers a recent past reading even in English, where no grammaticalization process of *finish* + gerund constructions is attested.

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The English Resultative Present Perfect: What is the Event Elaboration Constraint?

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A Present Perfect (PrP) predication denotes a state whose time of evaluation (R) follows one or more events of a given kind (De Swart 1998, Michaelis 1994, 1998, 2011). In its resultative function, the PrP describes the resultant state of a unique causal event (E), which may be the target state of a telic eventuality, as in (1), or not, as in (2) (Nishiyama & Koenig 2004):

1. The Eagle has landed. (Entailed resultant state: Eagle is in contact with lunar surface)
2. Dear Feel Like a Fool: Brother, I have walked in your shoes. (Inferred resultant state: speaker understands addressee's experience)

A seemingly paradoxical behavior of the PrP in its resultative function (RPrP), is that while the causal event is unique, its time cannot be specified adverbially, at least in most PDE dialects: *I have seen it yesterday, *We have moved here in 2012 (cf. Engel & Ritz 2000 on Australian English). Klein's (1992) influential pragmatic explanation (the constraint arises from the quantity-based injunction against simultaneously fixing the times of both E and R) is hard to reconcile with some of the facts: (a) the constraint is not defeasible and (b) it does not apparently apply to discourses involving the past perfect, e.g., *She came to work at noon yesterday. **She had woken up at 10** (Kiparsky 2002). Michaelis (1994, 1998), inspired by Dinsmore (1981), proposes that the time-specification constraint is in fact an aspect of a broader constraint, attached exclusively to the RPrP, that prevents its use to specify the circumstances of E when E's occurrence is mutually presupposed or must be taken for granted. The examples in (3-6) illustrate the operation of this constraint in various presuppositional contexts (the # indicates that many such sentences are redeemable on an existential PrP reading):

3. WH-interrogative: #*How have you fixed it?* (cf. How did you fix it?)
4. Manner modification: She has fixed it (#skillfully). (cf. She fixed it skillfully.)
5. Cleft: #It's LAWYERS that #have gotten seat belts in cars. (cf. …that got seatbelts in cars)

The purpose of this paper is to extend the event-elaboration constraint to a series of contexts, only vaguely described in my prior work, in which verb class, and in particular the *directionality* of the denoted event, plays a role in the felicity of RPrP. This account draws on Mittwoch's (2008) concept of *target state*. Relevant contrasts are given in (6-8):

6. Bi-directional transfer predication
    a. Someone has borrowed my Latin dictionary.
    b. [You can borrow this Latin dictionary, but be careful with it.] #It has been borrowed.
7. Creation predication
    a. My daughter has painted a landscape.
    b. [A: What a lovely landscape!] #B: My daughter has painted it.
8. Object-disposition predication
    a. Where have you hidden my glasses?
    b. #Where have you found my glasses?

I propose to refine the event-elaboration constraint by addressing exceptions concerning the target state, and the interpretive factors that define the target state. The primary interpretive

factor, a metaphorical one, is presence at the speaker's deictic center. If a theme entity is understood as mutually accessible to speaker and hearer, any predication in which that theme plays an argument role will be construed as specifying circumstances of the causal event E (of transfer, creation, disposal) rather than to S, the target state. I will discuss paraphrase diagnostics that we can use to determine the target state for each such predication.

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Tense use in discourse and dialogue:

Prototypical and non-prototypical uses of the PERFECT

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Since Kamp & Rohrer (1983), the literature on tense use in discourse focuses on story telling: sequences of events create narrative progress, and states provide background descriptions. In contrast to the anaphoric, definite nature of the *Simple Past*, Partee (1973, 1984) analyses the *Present Perfect* as quantificational and indefinite. This view is in line with the non-narrative character of the PERFECT as a typological category (Bybee et al. 1994, Lindstedt 2000). However, cross-linguistic variation complicates the picture: according to de Swart (2007) and Schaden (2009), German and French make a more liberal use of the PERFECT than English and Spanish, especially in narrative contexts. A better understanding of the prototypical and non-prototypical conditions of use of the PERFECT is crucial for building a cross-linguistically robust semantics. Rather than focusing on constructed examples, we investigate actual use in a parallel corpus. Under the assumption that translators aim to render the meaning in context in the target language, form variation between original and translation can inform us of the semantics and pragmatics of the various verb forms.

In this talk, we report results on tense use in J.K. Rowling's book *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* and its Dutch, German, Spanish, French, Italian and Swedish translations. We chose this novel as our parallel corpus, because it has both narrative parts and dialogue. We find that the discourse has a 'classic' narrative style which fits the analysis proposed by Kamp & Rohrer (1983) and Partee (1973, 1984). The dialogues are short, but they feel like 'natural' spoken language, so we use them to generate a multilingual conversational corpus.

PERFECT forms are exclusively found in the dialogue parts of *Harry Potter*, and do not appear in narrative discourse. This pattern was found in all translations under investigation. The frequency with which the PERFECT is used in dialogue varies across languages, though. The Swedish and Spanish translations are fairly close to the English original, but Dutch and German make a wider usage of the PERFECT to report events in the past (Le Bruyn et al. 2019). Dutch avoids the PERFECT in narrative sequences, though, in contrast to French and Italian where the PERFECT replaces the PERFECTIVE PAST in dialogue. The talk reflects on the dynamic semantics of the PERFECT: what do PERFECTS 'do' in conversation?

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