

Tense, Aspect, Mood and Evidentiality

Lecture 3:

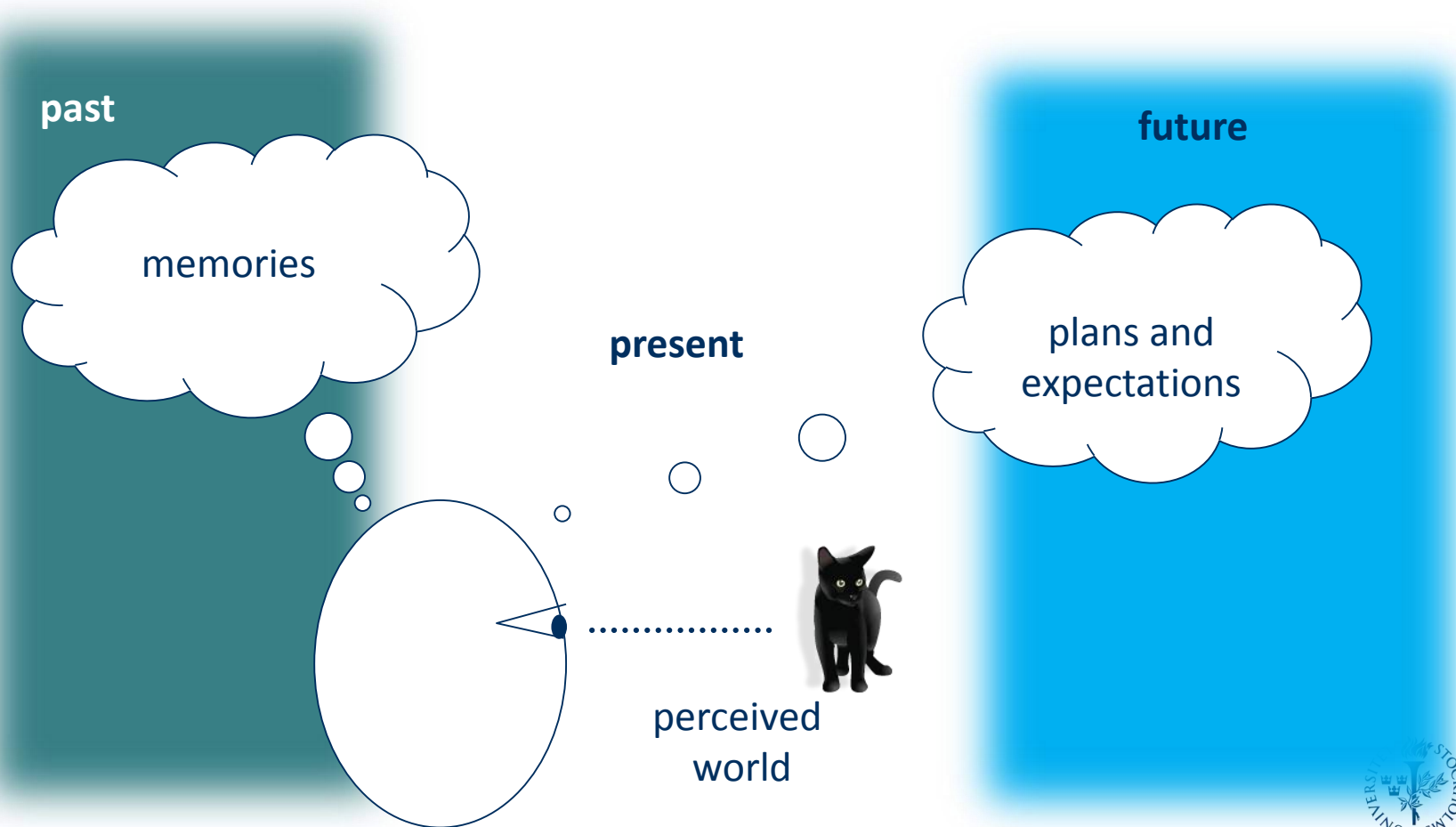
TAME systems of the world

Östen Dahl

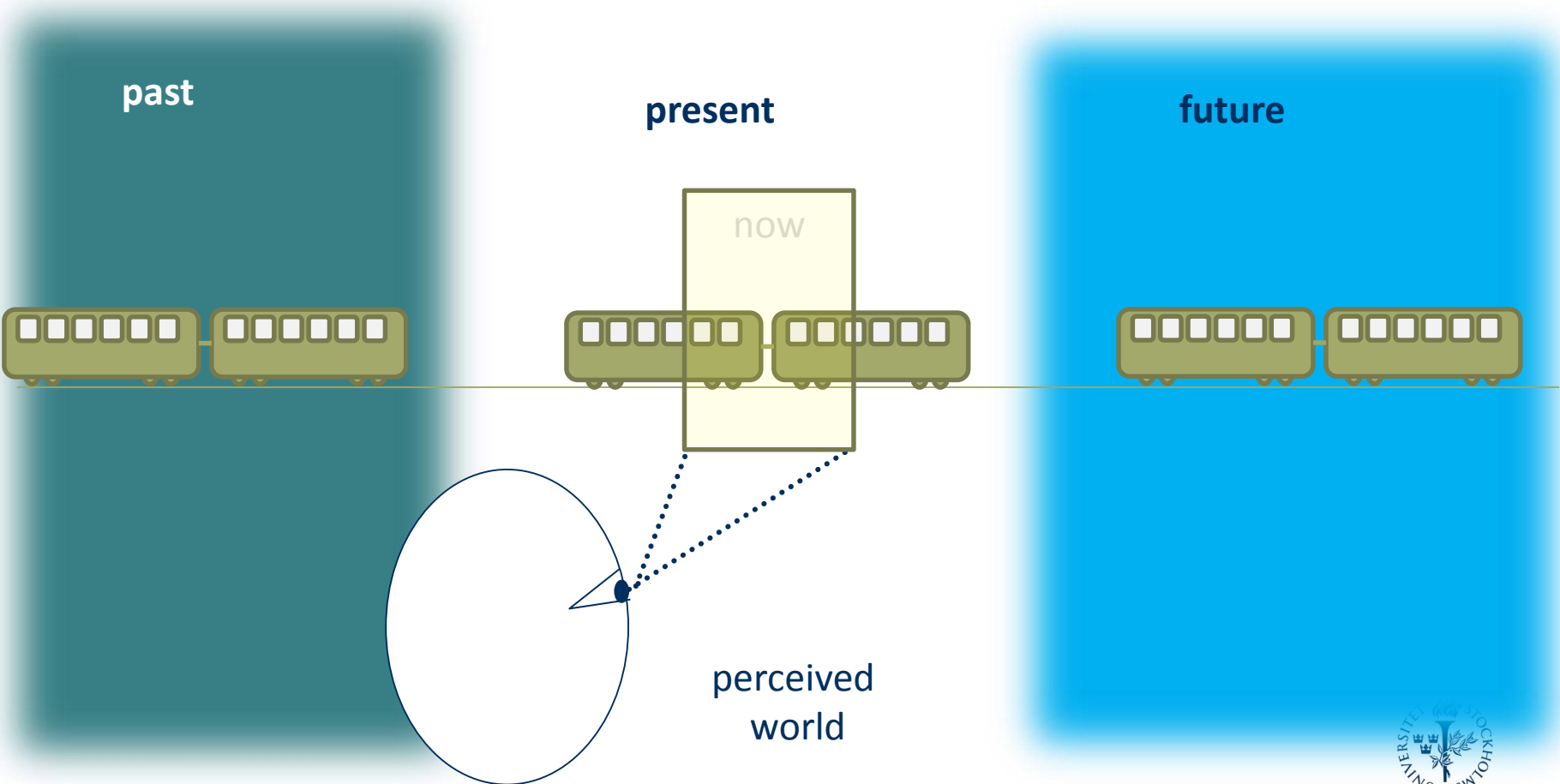


**Stockholm
University**

"Embodied time" once more

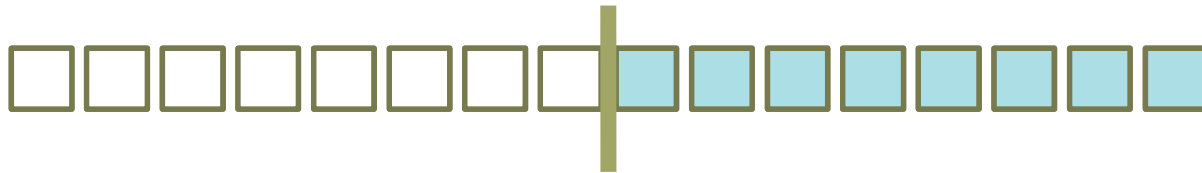


The "now" window



The unfinished present

- You cannot observe a boundary until it has passed



- Any finished bounded entity has to be in the past
- Anything you see in the present is unfinished
- ...or almost (more about this later!)



A strong affinity at different levels

telicity/ boundedness	grammatical aspect	grammatical tense	temporal reference
telic/bounded	perfective	past tense	past time
atelic/ unbounded	imperfective	present tense	present time



Stative vs. dynamic

- However, in TAME systems, there is a further association between the rows in the diagram and the distinction between stative and dynamic



A more complex relationship

	telicity/ boundedness	grammatical aspect	grammatical tense	temporal reference
dynamic	telic/bounded	perfective	past tense	past time
stative	atelic/ unbounded	imperfective	present tense	present time



Stative vs. dynamic predications

stative predications

(be) tired

adjectives

nouns

verbs

- copula obligatory in many languages
- mainly intransitive
- no animacy constraints
- non-agentive subject, hence imperatives uncommon
- finite morphology uncommon unless copula
- aspectual distinctions marginal or non-existent

dynamic predications

open the door

verbs

- transitive or intransitive
- typically subject animate and agentive
- finite morphology normal
- aspectual distinctions common



Manifestations of the affinities

- The affinities between stativity/dynamicity, telicity/boundedness and time reference give rise to default interpretations of stative and dynamic predications



Stative vs. dynamic predications

stative predications

(be) tired

Default interpretation

present time reference =
state holds at time of
speech

dynamic predications

open the door

Default interpretation

perfective past time
reference =
event is finished at the
time of speech

Both interpretations are
realis = they provide
information about a
specific situation in the real
world



Zero-marked constructions get default interpretations

- Constructions that are zero-marked for TAME will tend to get the default interpretations
- Nigerian Pidgin English:

A kari nyam
I carry yam
'I carried yam'

A layk nyam
I like yam
'I like yam'

A dè kari nyam
I IMPF carry yam
'I am carrying yam'

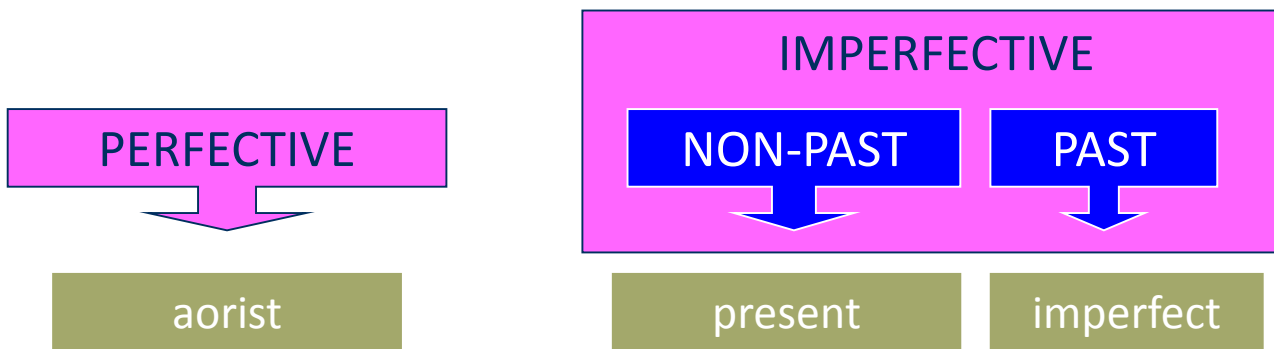
Forms with these interpretations are called "factative" in the Africanist tradition

Further manifestations of the affinities

- TAME paradigms tend to be asymmetric or skewed in systematic ways:
 - aspectual distinctions, in particular perfective/imperfective ones, tend to be restricted to the past, or sometimes to non-present forms
 - perfective forms tend to have past time reference only and be unmarked for tense
- Some past tense markers are used as pasts with statives and as pluperfects with dynamic predicates
- TAME forms representing default interpretations tend to have much higher frequencies in texts



Example: New Testament Greek system



éluse

lúei

élue

lu- 'let go, untie, open, solve'

Form	Frequency	BE+HAVE	%OTHER	% VERBS	
aor	5945	0	0%	5945	42%
ipfv	1683	509	22%	1174	8%
pfct	844	0	0%	844	6%
plpfct	91	0	0%	91	1%
pres	6332	1594	69%	4738	33%
fut	1599	201	9%	1398	
	16494	2304		14190	



Perfective presents?

- As was noted before, an entity that is observed in the present is normally unfinished, because if it were finished, it would belong to the past.
- However, there are exceptions:
 - performatives = what you say is what you do:
 - I promise to come tomorrow
 - sports reports = the report is assumed to be simultaneous to the event
 - Smith throws the ball
- The historical present is also relevant here = the story is told as if it happened in the present



Perfective presents – stepchildren of TAME systems

- It is not so common for TAME systems to have special forms for perfective presents
- Usually the form used in performatives is either a present – which is otherwise used for imperfective presents – or a perfective – which is otherwise used for completed events in the past



Examples of TAME systems

- We shall look at some (partial) TMA systems focusing on the manifestation of typical aspectual and temporal distinctions



template

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now					default
now	default				
after now					

English

stative

dynamic

	on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now		past		default
now	default	progressive <i>be V-ing</i>	present	
after now		future <i>will</i>		

have+PP perfect



Swedish

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now		past			default
now	default	present			
after now		ha+SUP perfect			



Spanish

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now			imperfect		default preterit
now	default	progressive <i>estar V-ndo</i>	present		
after now			future		
		haber+PP	perfect		



Yoruba

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now		imperfective <i>n-</i>			default
now	default				
after now					

máa, yio future
 máa n habitual
 ti perfect



Classical Arabic

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now		past			default
now	default	imperfect			perfect
after now		future			





Eastern Karaboro [xrb]

stative

dynamic

	on-going	habitual	generic	completed	
before now	past <i>bá</i> *			past ipfv <i>L + nāa</i>	default
now	default	presprog <i>H mà H</i>	hab-gen <i>H</i>		
after now	future <i>gā</i>				

**bá* also pluperfect use with dynamic predicates



Swahili

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now					default past <i>-li-</i>
now	default	progressive <i>-na-</i>	habitual <i>-hu-</i>		
after now					future <i>-ta-</i>

-me- perfect
 -ka- narrative
 -sija- not yet





West Greenlandic

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now			<i>-tar-</i>		default
now	default				
after now					future <i>-saa-</i>





Seneca

stative

dynamic

on-going

habitual

generic

completed

before
now

"Repetitive
particle"

"Punctual
default
indicative"

now

default

"Iterative"

after
now

"Punctual future"



Gram types

- Now for some common gram types!



standard tenses

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now		past			default
now	default	present			
after now		future			



progressives, habituais

	stative	dynamic		
		on-going	habitual	completed
before now				default
now	default	progressive	habitual	
after now				



marked perfectives

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now					default
now	default				
after now					



(general) imperfectives

	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now					default
now	default				
after now					

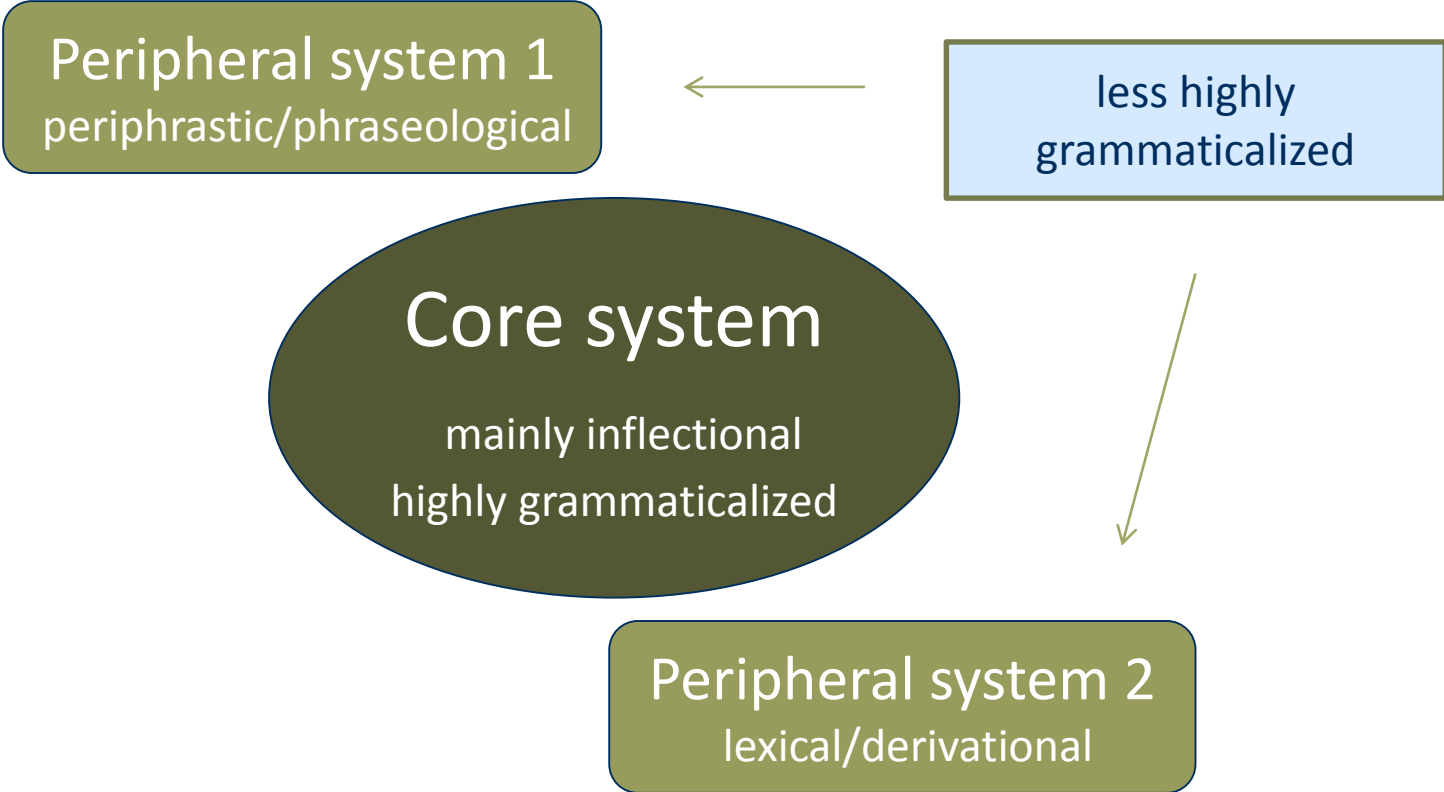


past imperfectives

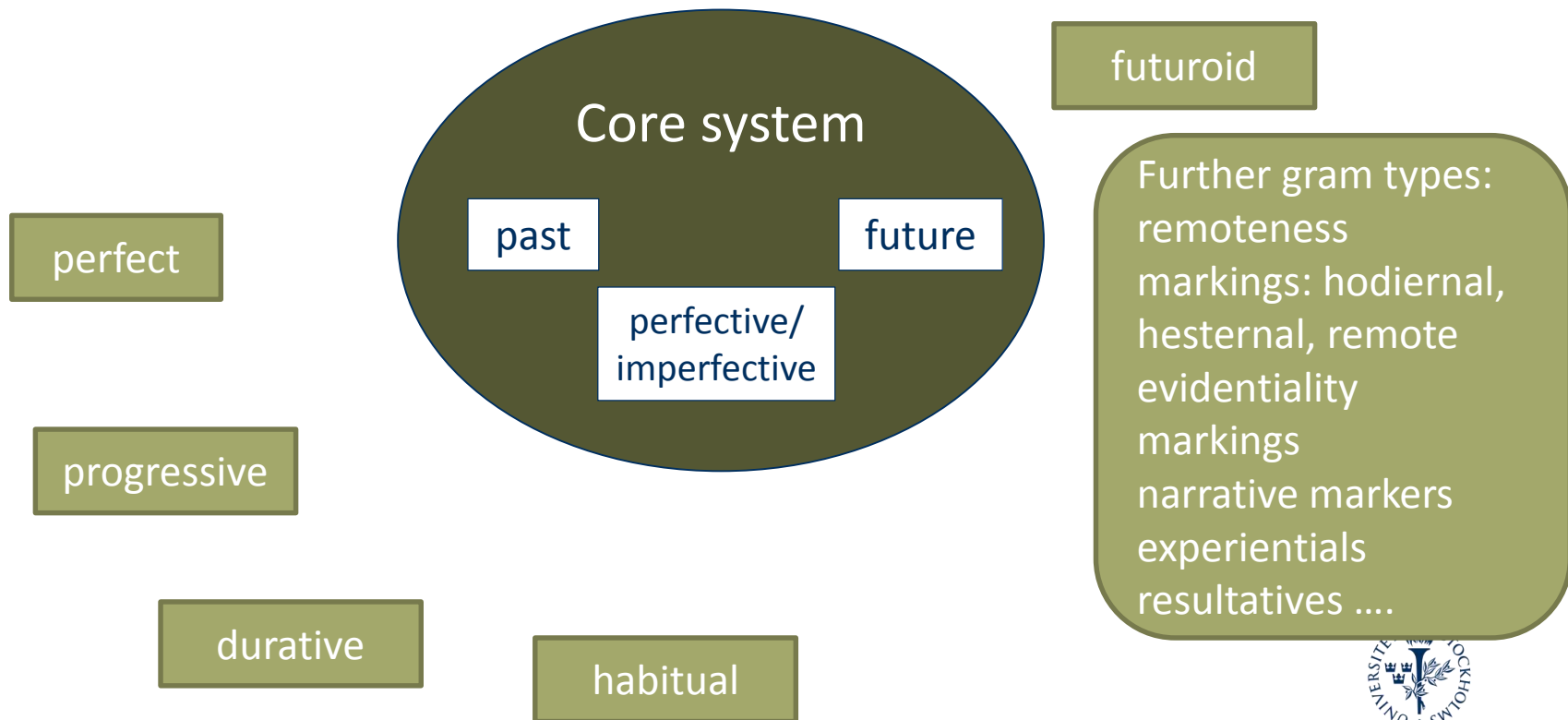
	stative	dynamic			
		on-going	habitual	generic	completed
before now					default
now	default				
after now					



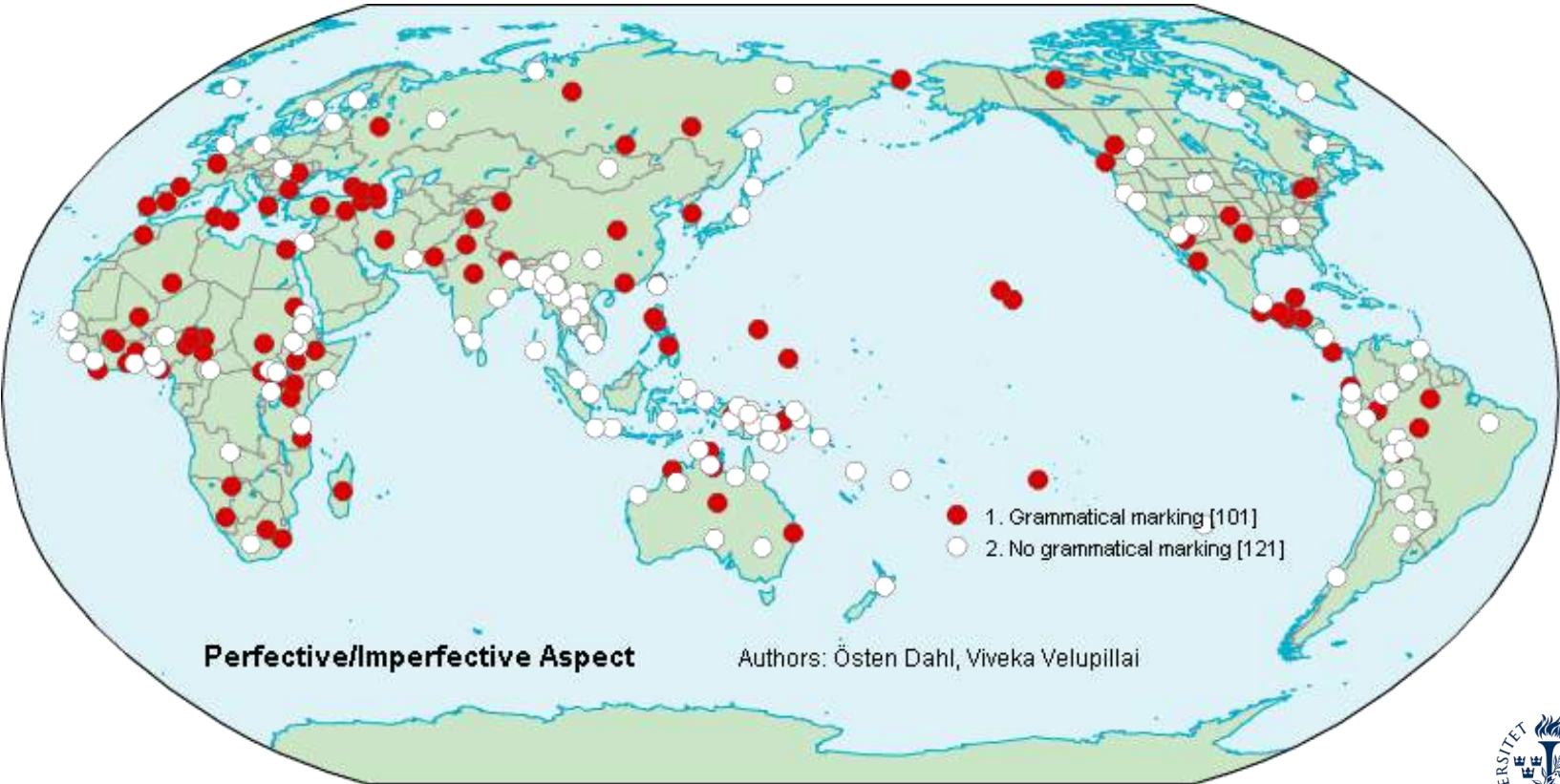
TAME systems



Gram types in TAME systems



Areal distribution: Perfective/Imperfective

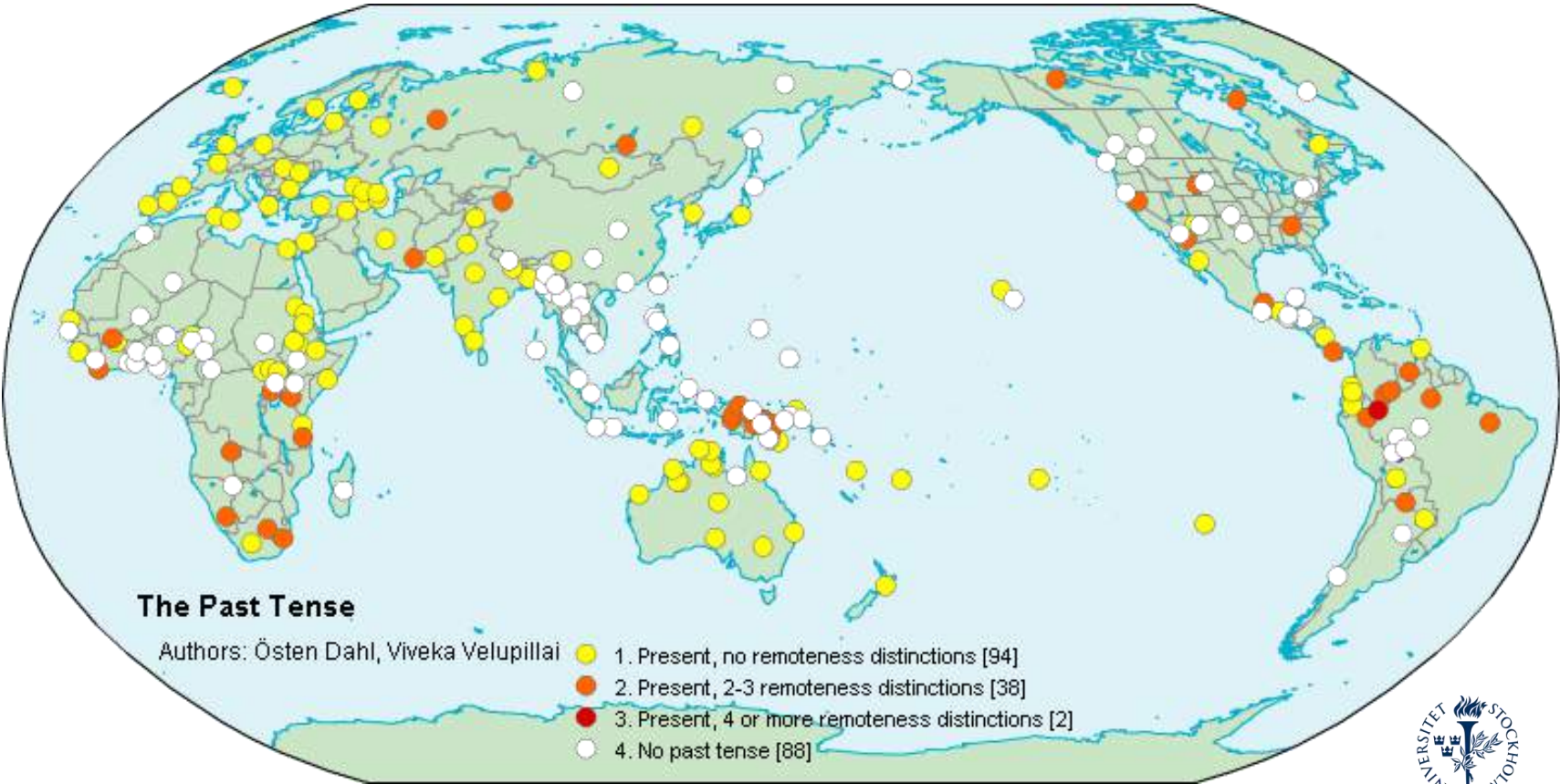


Perfective/Imperfective Aspect

Authors: Östen Dahl, Viveka Velupillai



Areal distribution: The Past Tense



The Past Tense

Authors: Östen Dahl, Viveka Velupillai

- 1. Present, no remoteness distinctions [94]
- 2. Present, 2-3 remoteness distinctions [38]
- 3. Present, 4 or more remoteness distinctions [2]
- 4. No past tense [88]



Combinations of past and PFV/IPFV

