1.1. Temporal succession of events

- For Perfect (with dynamic verbs) and Null tense only
- Used in two different discourse contexts

Clause chaining with Perfect: sequencing of events in discourse

(1) Ágg na, taw bi door na. (Perfect, Perfect)
    arrive PRF.3SG, rain the begin PRF.3SG
    'He arrived, (then) it started to rain.'

(2) Mi ngi fóot, maa ngi tagg. (Presentative, Presentative)
    PREST.3SG wash, PREST.1SG cook
    'He is washing the laundry, I am cooking.'

(3) Dafa ágg (rekk), taw bi Ø door. (VerbFocus, Null tense)
    VBFOC.3SG arrive (only), rain the NULL.3SG begin
    '(As soon as) he arrived, the rains started = 'His arrival was enough for...''

Analysis

- Perfect indicates that a process has reached its expected end-point at the time of speech
- Clause chaining with Perfect: successive anchoring in speech-time of two resulting events, successive recording, by the speaker, of resulting events; juxtaposition of assertions.

Clause chaining with Null tense: sequencing of events in narratives

(4) Mu ágg, taw bi Ø door.
    NULL.3SG arrive, rain the NULL.3SG begin
    '(As soon as) he arrived, the rain started.'

(5) ... Mu ñëw, ma dem.
    NULL.3SG come, NULL.1SG go
    'Dès qu’il est venu, je suis parti.' [Sall, 2005: 267]
    ... 'As soon as he came, I left.'

Analysis

- Same temporal sequencing effect: succession of two events
- But in narratives only (= discourse)
- And produced differently: "situational anaphora" (Robert 1996, 2010)

1. Chaining of a single conjugation

- possible for all conjugations but not frequent, except for Null tense in narratives
- two semantic values for the most common types of chaining:
  - temporal succession of events
  - cumulative or contrasting assertion
As sosna dafa amoon doom ju jigeen. Bi doom ji matee sëy mu maye ko. Yalla def xale ba ëmb... 'Once upon the time there lived (Verb focus + past) an old woman with her daughter. When the daughter became (Null tense) nuble, her mother married (Null tense) her off. God willing (Null tense), the child became pregnant (Null tense)...'

Chaining in narratives and tales:
- Null tense clause never appears first : previous temporal anchoring
- Null tense clause then refers to this previous situation (situational anaphora)
- Then, Null tense-events follow one another as an inescapable chain of events (historical narration)

1.2. Cumulative assertion

Other cases : cumulative assertion, i.e. a succession of assertions with the same pragmatic effect or argumentative strength

Perfect with stative verbs:

Grand, ruslo ngaa ma, tooñ nga ma rekk. Grand, shame Pri.2SG me, wrong Pri.2SG me only

'Grand, you shamed me, you just plain wronged me.' [KSW]

Sant noaleen lool. Jërë ngeen jëf. Sama xol sedd na. thank Pri.1SG you much. be.worth Pri.2PL deed. My heart be.cold Pri.3SG

'Thank you very much. I say thank you. I am satisfied.' [G]

Subject focus:

Moo xam lu tilim ci sama doom, moo xam lu wara be.dirty in my child, SUBJFOC.3SG know REL:PR know REL:SUBJFOC.3SG SUBJFOC.3SG be.bad in my child, SUBJFOC.3SG know REL:FETAL POSS.3SG know REL:FETAL essen=maanagi,

'She is the one who knows what is unclean in my child, she is the one who knows what must be bad for my child, she is the one who knows if he is sick, she is the one who will carry him on her back.' [KSW]

Verb focus (rare):

Gëej gi dafa aay, dañuy tere ku fa sangu. see the VbFOC.3SG rage VbFOC.3PL:IPFV prohibit REL there bath

'La mer est en furie, on interdit de s’y baigner.' [Sall 2005: 269] 'The sea is very rough, swimming is prohibited'

Presentative: two situations happening at the time of speech, chaining often expresses contrast

Maa ngiy génn, yow, yaa ngiy dugg. PREST.1SG:IPFV exit you PREST.2SG:IPFV enter

'I am going out (whereas) you, you are coming in.'

Analysis

Non-temporal clause chaining: repetition of the same conjugation:

Argumentative orientation of the two clauses convergent → strengthening effect (6-9) divergent → emphasizing discordance (10)

1.3. Summary

Chaining of a single conjugation:

Null tense - temporal succession in narratives
Perfect (action verbs) - temporal succession in discourse
Perfect (stative verbs) or any other conjugation - cumulative assertion:
(a) reinforcing effect (all conjugations)
(b) contrastive effect (Presentative)

1.4. Clausal linkage:

No dependency between the 2 clauses: simple assertive juxtaposition
(for Null tense, cf. § 3.)

2. Focus in clause chaining

2.1. A causal meaning

Causal source in protasis

Verb focus

Dafa ko fetal, mu dee. VbFOC.3SG him shoot, NULL.3SG die

'He shot him (therefore) he is dead.'

Ágg na, tow bi door na. arrive Pri.3SG, rain the begin Pri.3SG

'He arrived, (then) it started to rain.' (purely temporal succession)

Dafa øgg (rekk), tow bi Ø door. (Verb Focus, Null tense) VbFOC.3SG arrive (only), rain the NULL.3SG begin

'(As soon as) he arrived, it started to rain.’ = ’His arrival was enough for...’ (causal source)

Cf. informant’s comment: “it could be used, for instance, to denote the supernatural power of a marabout whose arrival would trigger the rains, would cause the rain to fall.”
Subject focus

[People are talking about a man called Kebe and the crowd of people visiting him]

(15) Kebe moo am alal, moootax nit fi di ko topp
Kebe FOCSUB.3SG have wealth that is why human the IMP.PRED him follow
Kebe, (it is because) he has money that the people come to him
(lit. KEBE has money, that is why people follow him).

No examples found for Complement focus

• Explanation in apodosis

(16) Sama càmmiñ waxal mboog, man dama yäkkamti.
My brother speak:IMP therefore me VbFOC.1SG be.rushed
'Come my friend, make up your mind (because) I am in a rush.' [XCL]

(17) Maytul paaka bi, dafa ñaw de!
avoid:IMP knife the VbFOC.3SG be.sharp PTCL
'Be careful with the knife (because) it is sharp!' [SP]

2.2. Analysis

Focus: From prominence inside a clause to causation in clause chaining
The role of presupposition and discursive linkage (Robert 2000, 2010)

Focused clause: the assertion consists in the qualitative designation of an element whose existence is presupposed (JOHN went there presupposes that ‘someone went there’)

- In prototypical focus contexts: the preceding clause corresponds to the presupposition (e.g. who went there? or Mary went there → (no) JOHN went there.)

- In other cases: there is no such a simple chaining (presupposition / focused assertion) but the presupposition invoked by focus marker forces one to infer a relation with the preceding context

→ the presupposition is related to the preceding clause (which serve a discursive reference point or landmark), and thus creates the interclausal relation

→ relation between two( full) clauses: causative rather than adverbial (circumstancial) relation

Cf (16) ‘be careful with the knife, (as) it is sharp’

2.3. Clausal linkage: pragmatic dependency

This causal meaning of focused forms (verb or subject) in clausal linkage relies on the general mechanism of connections between the discursive landmark (preceding clause) and the internal landmark (presupposed assertion).

The interclausal dependency marked by forms indicating information hierarchy is attested in many languages such as French, Berber (Leguil 1987), Umpithamu (Verstraete 2010) or some Oceanic languages (Bril, 2010).

This corresponds to a particular type of dependency, different from embedding, subordination or syntactic dependency, i.e. ‘pragmatic dependency’ of a focused clause on its discursive landmark.

3. Null tense in clause chaining

A large array of uses from apparently independent ones to the most integrated ones:

Independent uses: narrative aorist in tales and historical narration, in proverbs, stage direction, in injunctive clauses, in interrogative clauses

As a subordinating mood :
- without a subordinating morpheme : resultative or purpose clauses, complement clauses
- with a subordinating morpheme : the Null tense is obligatory in all subordinate clauses except causal clauses, complement clauses introduced by ne and comparative clauses. (Robert 1991, 1996)

3.1. Independent uses: situational anaphora

Narratives: obligatory in tales and historical narrations

→ After a previous sentence (other conjugation) setting the reference frame (discursive landmark)
Null tense-events follow one another as an inescapable chain of events out of this initial situation ‘Situational anaphora’ (cf supra 1.1.)

3.2. Paractactic subordinating uses (in apodosis): consecution

Consecutive or purpose clause: depending on temporal and epistemic status of main clause’s event

• consecutive clause: the event in the main clause is accomplished

(18) Dafa ko fetal. [mu dee.]
VbFOC.3SG him shoot, NULL.3SG die
'He shot him [(therefore) he is dead.]

• purpose clause: the first event is irrealis

(19a) Dafa sacc, ñu koaf ko.
VbFOC.3SG steal NULL.3SG imprison him
'He stole (therefore) he was put in jail.'

(19b) Jox ma ko, ma seet.
give me it, NULL.1SG look
'Give it to me (so I can) have a look.' [SP]
→ in both cases: the Null tense clause depends syntactically on the main clause, and semantically on the situation expressed by the main clause’s predicate

3.3. Paractactic subordinating uses (in apodosis): complement clauses

(20) Dama bëggoon [ingeen ñdàal maak sama doom.] VbFoc.1SG like:PST Null.2PL accompany me:with my child ‘I would like you [(to) accompany my daughter for me.’] (T: 169)

→ Null tense clause: complement (here object) of the main predicate

3.4. Analysis

A unifying analysis: - a common semantic definition for Null tense
(20) [Robert 1996, 2010] - a variable: the syntactic integration of locator in the Null tense clause

Semantics

Null tense: - process is located in an unspecified situation (assertion is not complete)
- process is expected to be located via an extra-clausal locator (situational dependency)
- there is a necessary and sufficient link between the Null tense clause and its locator

→ - the specification of the locator triggers the validation of the Null clause
- semantic effect: consecution (as soon as the locator is specified the clause is validated)

A gradient of syntactic integration

The various uses of this conjugation, the more or less subordinating function and embedded status of the Null tense clause can be explained through the various syntactic statuses of the situational locator, as it is defined in discourse:

Situational Locator might be: absent, a different sentence, another clause, another verb

Syntactic integration: Nature of the locator: Nature of dependency:
Ø zero assertive dependency (interrogation)
different sentence situational anaphora
different clause embedding (purposive or consecutive)
different verb embedding (complement clause)

Max.

Table 1. Null tense-clauses and the syntactic integration of their locator (cf Robert 2010)

4. The role of the imperfective in clause chaining:

P1 any conjugation, P2 imperfective Null tense: concomitance ± opposition

‘P1 while P2’ (22, 23)
‘P1 though/and yet P2’ (24)

(22) [A first spouse is talking to her husband about the bad behaviour of his second spouse]
Nëme na ñëw fekk ma lay defaral ngar, dare PRF.3SG come find me you:IPFV prepare: BEN curdled.milk:with:water
muy PRF.3SG:IPFV bring quarrel
‘She would dare come make trouble (while) I am making you curdled milk?’ [XSW]
(Lit. She dares come find me preparing milk for you (and) she makes trouble?)

(23) Maa ngi toog ci sama biir nég di dégg yèpp, PREST.1SG be.sitting at my inside room IPFV hear all
ngoy wax.
null.2SG:IPFV talk
‘I am sitting in my room hearing everything (while) you are speaking.’ [XSW]

(24) Paaka bi mu ngi flaw be, nga koy fo ye! knife the PREST.3SG be.sharp so NULL.2SG OPR:IPFV playing
‘The knife is so sharp (and yet) you are playing with it!’

Simultaneity: role of imperfective on the dependency expressed by the Null tense.
Opposition: when the argumentative orientation of the two clauses is divergent (cf 2.2.)

Conclusion

Paractactic clause chaining in Wolof:

- A large array of regular interclausal meanings produced by the TAM and focus markers
- Different types of dependency, depending on the semantic integration (Cristofaro 2003) of the events of the complexe sentence

Semantic interclausal meanings

Conjugations involved in clause chaining

Chaining of the same conjugation:
- Null tense dynamic verbs with Perfect
- other cases

Semantic interclausal meanings

- temporal succession in narratives
- temporal succession in discourse
- cumulative assertion:
  (a) reinforcing effect (all conjugations)
  (b) contrastive effect (Presentative)

Focusing conjugations
- causation (causal source, explanation)

Null tense in second position
- consecution

Imperfective combined with Null tense
- concomitance ± opposition
Different types of dependency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of dependency</th>
<th>Conjugations involved in clause chaining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Simple assertive juxtaposition</td>
<td>chaining of the same conjugation (expt. Null tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Pragmatic dependency</td>
<td>chaining with Subject or Verb focus conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Situational dependency</td>
<td>Null tense in a different sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Embedding</td>
<td>Null tense clause integrated in P1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


Corpus references

G: Gancax qi, a TV play from the radio program Jomony Tey, broadcast by the ORTS (Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision du Sénégal) on July 8, 1984.

H: Feebar yi ak garab yi. Debate on traditional healers in the radio program Horizon, broadcast by the ORTS (Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision du Sénégal) on November 21, 1985.

T: The anthology of traditional Wolof tales and mythological narratives edited by Kesteloot & Mbood (see bibliography).

XCL: The play Xët ciil lëndem, the manuscript of which was provided in 1985 by the Daniel Sorano Theater Company in Dakar.

XSW: Xam so waru gozar, a play from an educational TV program, by the ORTS (Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision du Sénégal) in 1986.

APPENDIX

The eleven primary conjugations in Wolof

lekk ‘eat’ and loolu ‘that’ (anaphoric demonstrative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERFECT</th>
<th>PRESENTATIVE</th>
<th>VERB FOCUS</th>
<th>SUBJECT FOCUS</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT FOCUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>lekk naa</td>
<td>maa ngi lekk</td>
<td>dama lekk</td>
<td>maa lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lekk nga</td>
<td>yaa ngi lekk</td>
<td>dang lekk</td>
<td>yaa lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lekk na</td>
<td>mu ngi lekk</td>
<td>da(fa) lekk</td>
<td>moo lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>lekk nanu</td>
<td>nu ngi lekk</td>
<td>dana lekk</td>
<td>noo lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lekk ngeen</td>
<td>yee na ngi lekk</td>
<td>dangeen lekk</td>
<td>yee na lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lekk naafa</td>
<td>fiu ngi lekk</td>
<td>daafi lekk</td>
<td>foo lekk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NULL TENSE</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
<th>OBLIGATIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
<th>EMPHATIC NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>ma lekk</td>
<td>di-naa dem</td>
<td>naa lekk</td>
<td>lekk-uloom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nga lekk</td>
<td>di-nga dem</td>
<td>nanga lekk</td>
<td>lekk-uloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mu ~ lekk</td>
<td>di-naa dem</td>
<td>na lekk</td>
<td>lekk-ul</td>
<td>du lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl mu lekk</td>
<td>di-nanu dem</td>
<td>nanu lekk</td>
<td>lekk-unu</td>
<td>duunu lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ngeen lekk</td>
<td>di-ngen dem</td>
<td>nangeen lekk</td>
<td>lekk-uloen</td>
<td>dungeen lekk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fiu ~ lekk</td>
<td>di-naafi dem</td>
<td>naafi lekk</td>
<td>lekk-ulfi</td>
<td>duflu lekk</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>PROHIBITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg lekk-al</td>
<td>bul lekk*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl lekk-leen</td>
<td>buleen lekk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Primary (non derived) conjugations have a present perfective meaning (unmarked form).

Simple verb forms

- zero suffix (perfective) = suffix - ~ di (imperfective)
- zero suffix (present) = suffix -o(o) (past anterior); suffix -oa(n) (remote past)
- zero suffix (affirmative) = suffix -ul (negative)

Suffixed verb forms

- Affix: future, imperfective, perfective, negative
- Affix: null tense, past, present, imperfective

Abbreviations

ANTER: anterior suffix ~ee ; CL: classifier (class consonant in noun modifiers); COM: comitative suffix; COMPFOC: Conjugation; COMP: complementizer (introducing complement clauses); CNCLN: connective suffix (~u ga, , + pl); CONJ: conjunctive verb suffix ~a; DEF: definite determiner (class consonant suffixed with proximal or distal deictics); DEM: demonstrative; DIS: discontinuous suffix (~o); EMPIF: Implicative; PERF: perfective suffix (~y); PERF: perfective suffix (~a); INF: infinitive; PERF: perfective; PERFEV: existential; PREF: preverb; PROX: proximal; PROX: proximal; PT: past tense (~wleel); SUB: subject-focus particle or suffix (~o); IMP: imperative; IMPF: implicative perfective suffix (~a); full variant: di~d: imperfective copula; IP: imperative copula (~l~d); IMPF: perfective negator (~ul); ITER: iterative suffix; LOC: locative; SUB: subject-focus particle (C proximal, ca distal) or parative pronoun; NEG: negative suffix (~u); POS: possessive prefix (~u); POS: possessive suffix (~a); PRO: Proto; PROX: proximal spatial suffix (~a); NEG: negative prefix (~u); POS: possessive prefix (~a); XSW: Remote past suffix (~wleel); SUBFOC: Subject-focusing conjugation; VINF: Noun:verb focusing conjugation; ven: ventive verbal suffix.

* For this paradigm, the Null tense inflection (postposed to the bu morpheme) replaces the Imperative one for the 1st and 3rd persons (e.g. 1sg bu ma lekk).