

CHAPTER 4:

Tense-aspect Markers in French and English

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we turn to a detailed account of individual, language specific tense markers. This chapter will show how the distinctions inherent in the characterizations of tense-aspect categories proposed in the previous chapter, along with general mental space constructs and principles, can be used to account for a wide variety of problematic English and French tense data, as well as for certain distributional properties of language specific tense markers and time adverbs.

A number of important distinctions are inherent in the tense-aspect categories {PRESENT, PAST, FUTURE, PERFECT, PROGRESSIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, PERFECTIVE} proposed in chapter 3:

- the FACT/PREDICTION distinction (PAST, PRESENT vs. FUTURE);
- the prior/non-prior distinction (PAST vs. PRESENT);
- the V-POINT/FOCUS vs. non-V-POINT/FOCUS distinction
(IMPERFECTIVE vs. PERFECTIVE);
- FOCUS space distinctions (PAST vs. PRESENT vs. FUTURE);
- the FOCUS/EVENT vs. non-FOCUS/EVENT distinction
(non-PERFECT/PERFECT).

These distinctions will play a central role in the account of the language specific tense-aspect markers presented in this chapter, as well as in the account of tense in conditional constructions and embedded indirect speech presented in the chapters that follow.

In particular, the FACT/PREDICTION and the prior/non-prior distinction will play an important role in the analysis of the Simple Present with a future interpretation: for scheduled events; in performatives; in conditional protasis; and in clauses which begin with {when, before, until, as soon as, while}.

The FOCUS/EVENT vs. non-FOCUS/EVENT distinction will play an important role in the account of contrastive uses of the English 'will' and 'BE going to' Futures. The FOCUS space distinctions and the FOCUS/EVENT vs. non-FOCUS/EVENT distinction will also play an important role in the analysis of the behavior of the Past, Present, and Future Perfects in relation to time adverbs, both in the simple sentence and across clause boundaries. The FOCUS/ non-FOCUS distinction and the FOCUS space distinctions (PAST vs. PRESENT vs. FUTURE) will play an important role in the analysis of the French *Passé Composé*: its cooccurrence with past, present, and future time adverbials, as well as its past and present interpretations in the protasis of conditional constructions.

The V-POINT/FOCUS and non-V-POINT/FOCUS distinction provided by the IMPERFECTIVE and PERFECTIVE will provide a motivation for the distributional contrasts of the French *Imparfait* and *Passé Simple*, as well as distributional contrasts of the *Plus-que-Parfait* (Pluperfect) and the *Passé Antérieur*.

The nature of time spaces and the mental space notions of space partitioning and optimization will be central to the account of: past, present, and future generic and habitual

expressions; the implicatures associated with Perfects; and the use of the Past tense with a present or future interpretation in counterfactuals and politeness forms.

Although the focus here is on tense in simple sentences, this is done merely as a matter of expository convenience. Under our view, all sentences have a context. Sentence level data, which has traditionally been the concern of linguists, is just a special case of minimal context. The tense characterizations and principles employed in the analysis of tense in the minimal context are the same characterizations and principles employed in the analysis of tense in discourse and in more complex embedded sentences. The model of tense proposed here handles both sentence level and discourse data. Even in the minimal context, tense-aspect still plays the same "bundle" of roles, giving the speaker instructions about the construction and organization of spaces and links between spaces, the contextualization and distribution of information over a set of spaces, the access path taken to a given space, the accessibility of and connections between spaces, as well as the organization and distribution of BASE, FOCUS, V-POINT, and EVENT.

Before turning to the analysis of individual tense markers, the reader is reminded of the nature of the tense-aspect categories {PRESENT, PAST, FUTURE, PERFECT, PROGRESSIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, PERFECTIVE} proposed in chapter 3. These categories are putatively universal discourse construction notions. Each tense-aspect category is a certain universal type of link between spaces. These links may combine together in various ways. A link or set of links forms an 'access path' to a particular target space. The target space is always accessed from some anchor point; that anchor point may be V-POINT/BASE or some other V-POINT.

These discourse notions and combinations of these notions may be grammatically

encoded in a particular language, but they do not have to be.⁴⁹ The tense-aspect categories or combinations of categories may map onto language specific markers, but the mapping is not directly one to one. What is called a Present marker, for example, in a particular language does not necessarily correspond to the discourse link category PRESENT. Given a particular language, a particular tense marker 'X' may encode more than one category or combined category. For example, the English Pluperfect encodes both PAST PERFECT and PAST of PAST. 'X' may also encode both a universal category or combined category and some other more language specific notions. For example, the English 'will' Future encodes both a PRESENT FUTURE and PRESENT volition. A particular universal category or combined category may also be encoded by both marker 'X' and some other marker 'Y'. For example, the PRESENT FUTURE is encoded in English by both the 'will' Future and the 'BE going to' Future.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: Section 4.1 examines the English Simple Present (PRESENT). The data considered includes: generics; habituals; "timeless" expressions; use of the Simple Present for 'just prior' events and future scheduled events; and use of the Simple Present for (real-time) future events in performatives, in conditional protasis, and in clauses which begin with {when, before, after, until, as soon as}. Section 4.2 considers the English Present Progressive. Section 4.3 considers uses of the English 'will' and 'BE going to ___' Futures. These Futures are also contrasted with the use of the Present Progressive and Simple Present for future events.

Section 4.3 examines the English Simple Past, including its use in: past generic

⁴⁹ These discourse notions may be expressed in other non-grammatical ways.

and habitual expressions; in counterfactual conditional constructions, in counter to fact wishes, and in politeness forms, where its temporal interpretation is present or future. Section 4.5 examines the French *Imparfait* (PAST IMPERFECTIVE) and the *Passé Simple* (PAST PERFECTIVE) and the contrastive distribution of the two categories as components of the combined tense forms: *Future of Past*, *Plus-que-Parfait* (Imperfective Pluperfect), and the *Passé Antérieur* (Perfective Pluperfect).

Section 4.6 examines the English Present Perfect, the implicatures associated with this tense-aspect marker, and the restrictions it places on time adverbs in the simple sentence and in discourse. Section 4.7 investigates the past, present, and future interpretations available for the French *Passé Composé*. Section 4.8 investigates the English Pluperfect and the French *Plus-que-Parfait* and their interaction with time adverbs in the simple sentence and in discourse. Section 4.9 examines the English Future Perfect and the French *Futur Antérieur*. Section 4.10 considers the English 'would ___' and 'would have ___' constructions, the PAST FUTURE and the PAST FUTURE PERFECT.

4.1 The PRESENT

PRESENT identifies or cues construction of some PRESENT space N. It indicates that:

- i) N is in FOCUS
- ii) N or N's parent is V-POINT
- iii) the time frame represented in N is *not* prior to V-POINT/BASE
- iv) events or properties represented in N are FACT
- v) space N has certain relational properties vis-a-vis other spaces (accessibility)

A PRESENT space represents a time frame which is *not* prior to that of the V-POINT/BASE. Events or properties represented in N are construed as FACT rather than as PREDICTION. Canonically, a PRESENT space is concurrent to and includes the V-POINT of the BASE. However, since the restriction on the PRESENT space is only that it is *not* prior to BASE, a PRESENT space may be either concurrent or posterior to V-POINT/BASE. The PRESENT event may structure the BASE space, since the BASE space is PRESENT by default, or it may structure a PRESENT space which is distinct from BASE.

As with all time spaces, the temporal frame represented in a PRESENT time space may vary greatly in size. It is important to note that the time period which a PRESENT space represents is not limited to the current moment of consciousness, to a 'right now', or to the time or duration of a speech event, but may extend both before and after. Because the concept of present reality is not necessarily a precise point which coincides with the time of speech, but instead involves a time period which canonically includes or is construed as including the V-POINT, a PRESENT event need not necessarily coincide

with the V-POINT, the current moment, or the time of speech. This has important consequences for the analysis of the Simple Present in habitual and generic constructions in particular, as will be seen in the following discussion.

4.1.1 The English Simple Present

In English the PRESENT maps onto and is encoded by the Simple Present. In a simple, imperfective utterance, the Simple Present event will structure the BASE space. A BASE space is always a PRESENT one, since PAST or FUTURE spaces require a higher space for the interpretation of tense. For example:

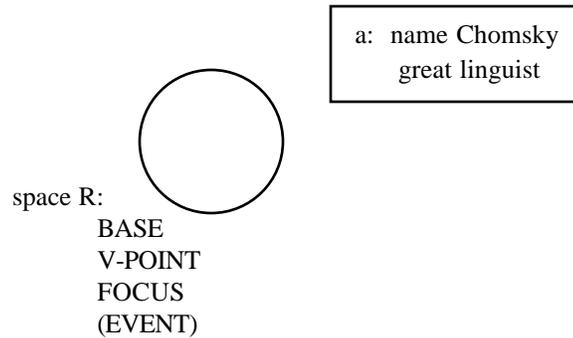
(4.1) Chomsky is a great linguist.

Since no explicit space builders are present, the information encoded in (4.1) structures the BASE; in this case, the BASE is speaker reality by default.

Figure 4.1 represents the space set up for the interpretation of (4.1):

FIGURE 4.1

'Chomsky is a great linguist'



Where no other space builders are present, the information in a simple imperfective sentence such as (4.1) structures the BASE and the BASE is put in FOCUS. In this case, the BASE space, the FOCUS space, EVENT space, and the V-POINT are the same. This space configuration meets the constraints imposed by the Simple Present.

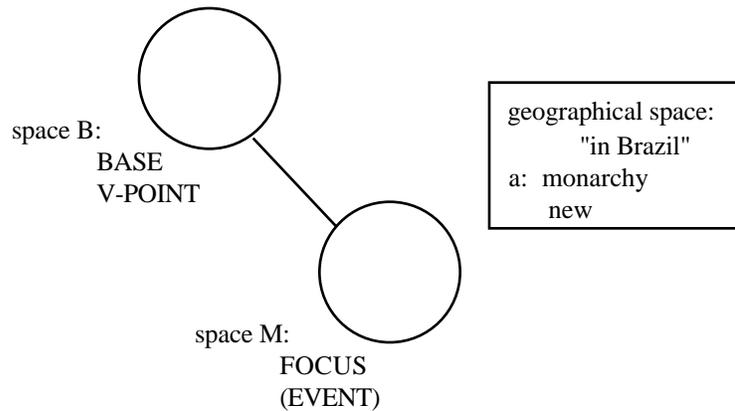
Given the presence of more explicit space builders, the Simple Present expression may also structure a daughter space of the BASE. For example:

(4.2) In Brazil, there is a new monarchy.

Figure 4.2 depicts the space configuration which results from the interpretation of (4.2).

FIGURE 4.2

'In Brazil, there is a new monarchy'



The space-builder 'In Brazil' sets up a geographical space, space M, distinct from BASE space R. The FOCUS space, space M is a PRESENT space which is temporally concurrent to the BASE; it represents a subpart of the conception of reality represented in BASE space R. In this case, the FOCUS space and the BASE space are not the same.

4.1.2 The Simple Present in Generic and Habitual Expressions

4.1.2.1 Simple Present Generics

The Simple Present appears in generic expressions such as (4.3).

(4.3) Angry camels grunt and spit.

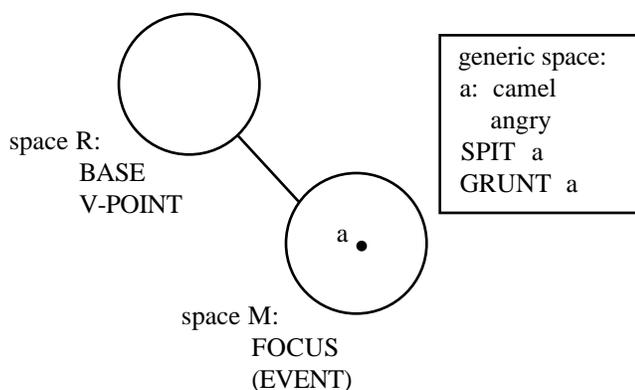
Generic expressions such as (4.3) ascribe a property to all members of a class, rather than to a specific individual or set of individuals. In (4.3), for example, angry camels are

delimited as a class of animals and all members of this class, 'angry camels', are assigned certain properties, that of grunting and spitting.

In the mental space account, a PRESENT generic expression sets up and structures a PRESENT space which is separate from BASE and which has frame like properties. Interpretation of the expression (4.3), for example, sets up two spaces, BASE space R and a PRESENT generic space M, as in Figure 4.3. The generic space M is put in FOCUS and is structured by the information in (4.3).

FIGURE 4.3

'Angry camels grunt and spit'

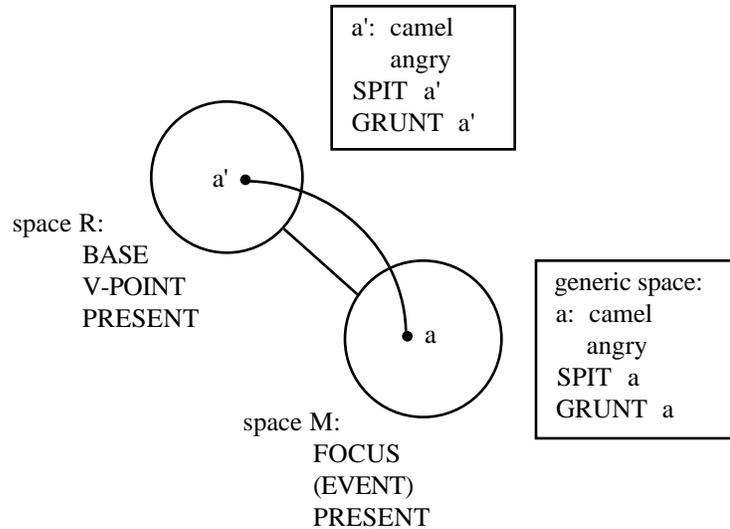


In generic spaces, which represent idealized cognitive notions about the world, classes of objects have properties. Generic spaces operate much as frames; knowledge, roles, information, etc... contained in the generic space may be imported into the BASE space for any specific instance of the class. In generic space M, entity **a**, which is an "angry camel", is a role which is assigned certain properties, that of grunting and spitting. For any instance of 'an angry camel' in BASE space R, the properties associated with entity **a** in generic space M may be transferred into BASE space R by default, as

diagrammed in Figure 4.4. The entity **a** in space M, serves as a role for entity **a'**, a particular instance of an angry camel in the BASE. A cognitive link is established between the role and its value.⁵⁰

FIGURE 4.4

‘Angry camels grunt and spit’



Part of our folk theory of the world is that if an entity belongs to a species, it has the properties associated with that species, although logically this is not true. Although the transference of properties is the default, in the presence of conflicting information the default transference is defeasible. The properties will not be imported into space R where space R already contains conflicting information. For example, given a specific camel in space R which neither grunts nor spits, the default transference of properties from the generic space is blocked.

⁵⁰ Cognitive links between roles and their values were discussed in chapter 2.

4.1.2.2 Simple Present Habituals

The Simple Present also appears in habitual expressions such as (4.4). In habitual expressions, individual entities (or groups of entities) are assigned habitual properties. We may interpret PRESENT habitual expressions as indicating that the repetition of an activity through time is part of the normal course of events for that individual (or group of individuals).

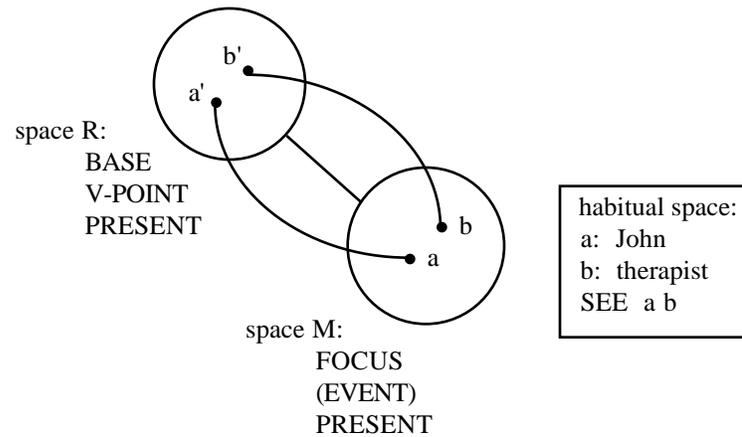
- (4.4) a. John sees a therapist.
b. On Tuesday, John sees a therapist.

Habitual expressions are handled in the same way as generics. PRESENT habitual expressions such as (4.4) set up a PRESENT space which is separate from BASE and which has frame-like properties. In habitual spaces, particular properties are assigned to a specific entity or set of entities. In contrast to generic spaces, the habitual spaces set up for the interpretation of examples (4.4) are more specific, since they have particular entities rather than roles.

Interpretation of (4.4a), for example, sets up a PRESENT habitual space, space M, as diagrammed in Figure 4.5 below. In this space, it holds that a specific entity named John sees a therapist.

FIGURE 4.5

'John sees a therapist'



The habitual space also operates like a frame. Since it is PRESENT, the frame applies to the portion of time which surrounds speaker reality. By inferencing, information in the habitual frame can map onto points in space R both before and after speech time, hence with the habitual the event may map onto part of what is real-time future and real-time past. Through mapping the repetition of the event through time may be represented in the non-habitual PRESENT space. The Simple Present tells us nothing about the relationship between the event and the V-POINT. Hence, an actual instance of the event does not necessarily coincide with the temporal zero-point associated with the V-POINT.

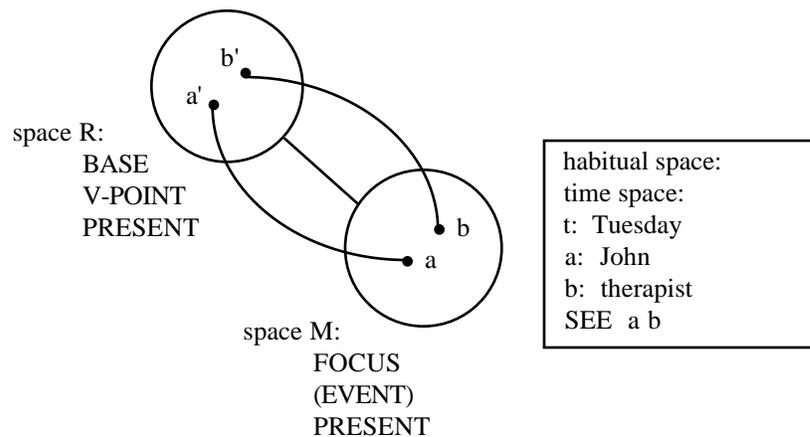
For the interpretation of (4.4b), the space builder 'on Tuesday' sets up a space, habitual space M, and assigns the value 'Tuesday' to the time role t .⁵¹ The habitual expression assigns a specific entity **a**, named John, the habitual property of seeing his

⁵¹ Lenci, in work in progress, suggests that the function of a temporal adverbial depends on its position in the sentence. Sentence initial, 'on Tuesday' functions as a true space builder. Sentence final, 'John sees his therapist on Tuesday', the temporal adverbial functions not as a true space-builder, but to add information to the space.

therapist within that domain.⁵² Given a time frame in BASE space R which matches the time role in the habitual space, the information in the habitual space M is available for mapping into space R. If today is Tuesday, for example, then the default inference that John sees a therapist today is transferred into space R, as diagrammed in Figure 4.6.

FIGURE 4.6

‘On Tuesday, John sees a therapist’



The default inference may of course be canceled by conflicting information, for example, if we know that John canceled his normal Tuesday appointment today.

Habituals and generics may combine together, as in (4.5), to set up a local frame which is both generic and habitual.

- (4.5) a. Academics see therapists.
b. Anteaters eat ants.

⁵² The same mechanism of space building is used for generics, habituals, and for quantification. See Fauconnier (1986b) for a discussion of space building for quantification.

In examples (4.5a,b), the categories or classes of entities are assigned habitual properties. In the generic/habitual space, there are roles ('academic' or 'anteater') which have habitual properties. In terms of tense, the grammar in English does not make a distinction between the two.⁵³

Under the mental space analysis, where temporal semantics is handled in terms of time periods, rather than time points, and where all time spaces have the same property of extendibility, PAST, FUTURE, and PRESENT habituais and generics can be handled in the same way, by the construction of a local habitual or generic frame. The PERFECT may also set up an habitual EVENT space.⁵⁴ The information in a PAST habitual or generic frame will be available for mapping over a PAST domain. The information in a FUTURE habitual or generic frame will be available for mapping over a FUTURE domain. The information in the EVENT frame will be available over the time period represented in that frame. The scope over which the habitual or generic frame holds may be generally defined by the local time relations specified by the tense-aspect link, or it may be more precisely defined by time adverbials, such as 'last year', 'on Tuesday', 'next week', or by pragmatic information.

⁵³ Some languages may encode this distinction. In Swahili, for example, there are separate markers for present ongoing events, for general truths, and for habits (Comrie 1985:40).

⁵⁴ See section 4.6 for a discussion of this.

4.1.2.3 Event Time = Speech Time: Generics and Habituals

Habituals and generics have traditionally been considered problematic for the standard characterization of the Present tense, where event time equals speech time. The habitual or generic event or situation does not necessarily coincide with speech time; both generic and habitual events may refer to what is objectively the past or future. In this section, we will consider a number of strategies have been taken to account for the intuition that generics and habituals somehow have a past-ness, future-ness, as well as a present-ness as part of their meaning.

One strategy is to propose temporal neutrality for the Present tense in a generic or habitual context. Positing temporal neutrality is a strategy which has often been used for tense, where the temporal interpretation is non-canonical. Fleischman (1990) is one example of this type of strategy. She proposes that generics are time neutral and that the temporal scope of the predicate includes all relevant time moments.

Comrie's approach to habituals is similar to Fleischman's approach to generics, except that the habitual is not stripped of its temporality. Comrie (1985) treats habituality as a special aspectual meaning. Habituals refer to "a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times" (1985:39). In the expression '*John goes to work everyday at 8*', a certain property of going to work is assigned to John. The habit holds even if John is not on his way to work at this very moment.

Another strategy taken for generics is to propose that the generic expression only refers to speech time, and that the past-ness and future-ness of the generic event or situation is derived by other factors. This is the approach taken by Comrie who claims

that a generic expression such as (4.3), '*angry camels grunt and spit*', refers only to the present moment. The interpretation of (4.3) as a universal truth is "on the basis of structural and extralinguistic factors beyond the meaning of the present tense" (1985:40). These structural and extralinguistic factors are not defined. This approach is in contrast to his analysis of habituais.

Another strategy for both habituais and generics taken by Langacker (1991) is to embed the event or situation indicated by the verb in a higher order perfective process, a kind of structured world model. In Langacker's analysis, the Present tense indicates that a full instantiation of the profiled process (the event) coincides precisely with the speech event. In order to handle habituais, where the event does not coincide with the speech event, he invokes an idealized cognitive model, the structured world model. The habitual construal of perfectives involves the structured world model, in which the process type indicated by the verb is embedded as the component state of a higher order imperfective process. Habituais do not profile a particular instance of the perfective process typically designated by the verb, rather habituais profile "a higher-order, imperfective process consisting of the continuation through time of the stable configuration in which events of this type constitute a regular, expected occurrence" (Langacker 1991:ch6).

The habitual construal designates the process type in question as part of the structured world model, part of the normal course of events. In the structured world model, "certain events are direct manifestations of the world's structure - they are in some sense regular and predictable, and are thus expected to occur whenever the appropriate preconditions are satisfied" (Langacker 1991:ch6). With generics, the process type in question is part of the world's structure, except that the property is ascribed to all members of a class rather than a specific individual.

The mental space solution of invoking a frame is similar in certain respects to Langacker's invocation of a structured world model. However, the frame is not a structured world model, only a local idealized frame. In the mental space account, no higher level imperfective process is needed to make the event coincident with speech time, since the PRESENT may represent a time period of any size. The mental space approach has in common with Comrie's approach that habits are properties assigned to entities. However, in the mental space approach, meaning is partitioned within a frame which holds only over a particular time period. Habits do not hold at all times. The mental space approach proposed here is distinct from all of these approaches in that the PRESENT event does not indicate that the event coincides with speech time. The PRESENT event will structure a PRESENT space which, like PAST and FUTURE spaces, represents a time period. Generics and habituals are handled by space partitioning and the mapping behavior of frames, mechanisms which are theory internal and independently motivated.

The mental space approach has a number of advantages for the analysis of habituals and generics. First, PAST, FUTURE, and PRESENT habituals or generics, are handled in the same way; no different or additional mechanisms are needed. Second, there is no need to posit temporal neutrality, as does Fleischman (1990). The account gives us an explanation for the intuition that Present tense habituals somehow indicate that the habit is part of the present world structure, but an actual instance of the event may be past or future to 'now'. The present-ness, as well as the past-ness and future-ness of present habituals is accounted for. Fourth, since the PRESENT event does not have to be coincident with speech time, no higher order imperfective process need be postulated, as in the case of Langacker (1991).

Finally, the space partitioning gives us a way to handle the fact that a generic assigns a property or properties to all members of a class, yet some members of the class may not have the property in question. The generic frame allows a property to be assigned to all members of a class, yet the partitioning and defeasibility of mapping allows that any particular member of the class may not have the property in question. For habituals, the partitioning and defeasibility of mapping allows an entity in the habitual space to have different properties than its counterpart in the space onto which the habitual frame may map, for any given instance where the habit does not hold.

4.1.3 Recipes, Instructions and other "Timeless" Expressions

The Simple Present may also appear in recipes and instructions, as in (4.6), taken from Langacker (1991).

- (4.6) a. To turn off the dishwasher, you move the lever all the way to the left.
- b. First you get a big mixing bowl. Next you put in two cups of flour and the whites of three eggs.
- c. You go down to that light and turn left. Then you drive about six miles and look for a big water tower.

In general, we may interpret recipes and instructions as giving general instructions which apply "at any time". Recipes and instructions may be handled in two different ways, depending on whether they are interpreted as instructions given in a particular instance or instructions which may be interpreted as applying "at any time". In the more general interpretation, recipes and instructions invoke a frame-like space. Typically, instructions

and recipes which are intended to be general will be encoded without a subject, as in: *'In a large mixing bowl, put two cups of flour and three eggs. Mix until smooth'*. In the more specific, personal interpretation, recipes and instructions will be processed like any other discourse. The Simple Present will identify or set up a PRESENT space, that space may be speaker reality or some other offspring of the BASE.

The Simple Present may also appear in so-called "timeless" or "omnitemporal" expressions:

- (4.7) a. Two times two makes four.
 b. The earth revolves around the sun.
 c. The area of a circle equals pi times the radius squared.

Again, there are two approaches to examples (4.7). These universal truths may structure speaker reality or they may structure a frame which represents information about a particular domain, about the world as we know it, the rules of the universe, the rules of math, etc...

4.1.4 Simple Present for Prior Events

The Simple Present may be used to encode just prior events. For example:

- (4.8) a. J'apprends [Present] a l'instant qu'il est ici.
 'I just learned an instant ago that he is here'
 b. He catches the ball. He runs. He makes the touchdown.

In (4.8), the French Present or the English Simple Present are used to encode a just prior event.⁵⁵ Although the event is logically past in relation to 'now', it is construed as PRESENT FACT rather than PAST FACT. It is construed as belonging to the PRESENT space which contains V-POINT, in this case the BASE of speaker reality. In these examples, the Present tense serves its normal function of identifying and structuring a PRESENT space. Since the PRESENT represents a time period rather than a temporal point, and since the time period may include parts of the past and parts of the present, the PRESENT space may represent a time period sufficiently large to accommodate both V-POINT and 'just prior' events. This construal is available because of the proximity of the events to V-POINT.

I would argue that examples such as (4.8) are not a result of a 'shift in vantage point' or a 'shift in deictic center', but rather a result of the nature of time spaces, and of PRESENT spaces in particular. In many cases, the Simple Present may also refer to a truly past situation, one which is not 'just prior' to speech time, as is the case with the Historical or Narrative Present (4.9).

(4.9) I walk into this bar last night and this guy comes up to me, and he says...

In these cases, a shift in deictic center, in mental space terms a 'shift in BASE' is involved. We will return to an in-depth discussion of the Historical or Narrative Present and shifts in BASE in chapter 6.

⁵⁵ The phenomenon in (4.8b) is a common feature of sportscasting.

4.1.5 Simple Present for Real-time future Events

4.1.5.1 Simple Present for future Scheduled Events

The Simple Present may be used in certain contexts to express events which have a (real-time) future interpretation. One such context is where the posterior event is on a definite schedule or timetable, as in (4.10).

- (4.10) a. The train leaves tomorrow at 8 o'clock.
 b. Classes start Sept 23rd.

The use of the Simple Present for (real-time) future events as in (4.10) may be accounted for by appealing to the distinction between FACT and PREDICTION.

Under the analysis presented here, a PRESENT space represents a temporal frame which is not prior to BASE and which is FACT. The prior/non-prior distinction is cross-linguistically the most common tense distinction. The FUTURE space represents a time period which is posterior to BASE and which is PREDICTION. The FACT/PREDICTION distinction distinguishes the FUTURE as different from other tense categories and reflects a basic cognitive model of the world in which the past and present (in real time) are fixed and unchangeable, but the future (in real time) is not. Objectively, events which are future to 'now' can only be predictions; they cannot be asserted with the same certainty as events which are prior to 'now'. However, events which are future to 'now' may be construed as fact.

Canonically, the PRESENT space represents a time period which is concurrent to

the BASE, since most posterior events will be construed as PREDICTIONS and thus encoded by the Future tense. The PRESENT space may also represent a time period which is posterior to BASE. Since the PRESENT space only need be non-prior to BASE, events which are posterior to 'now' may be encoded in the PRESENT where those events can be construed as FACT, rather than as PREDICTION.

In (4.10), the scheduled events are construed as FACT and encoded in the PRESENT, even though the event is interpreted as future to 'now'. There is no objective certainty that the event will in fact happen. However, among all possible (real-time) future events, events with a definite schedule or timetable are perhaps the easiest to construe as certain to happen, as FACT. They may be construed as factual, as a fixed part of the world structure, much as present habits are construed as a fixed part of the world structure.⁵⁶

In the following sections, we will see that the construal of (real-time) future events as FACT rather than PREDICTION is at work in a number of other cases where the Simple Present has an interpretation of futurity: in performatives, in clauses which begin with {when, until, before, after, while, as soon as}, and in the protasis ('if clause') of conditional constructions.

⁵⁶ In English, the choice between the two ways of construing the (real-time) future scheduled event are available, i.e. the Simple Present is not obligatory. In any given language, both construal choices may not be available. A certain construal choice may be codified in the grammar.

4.1.5.2 Simple Present in Performatives

Construal of a (real-time) future event as FACT is also at work with performative uses of the Simple Present, as in the following example suggested by Fauconnier.

(4.11) "That does it! Your mother goes home tomorrow!"

With the Simple Present of 'go' in (4.11), the event is construed as FACT, rather than as a PREDICTION. By using the Simple Present rather than the Present Progressive ('you're mother is going home tomorrow') or the 'will' Future ('you mother will go home tomorrow'), the speaker asserts that the event will happen, that 'the world will be as I say it is', although there is no objective certainty that the event will in fact happen.

4.1.5.3 Simple Present after {when, until, before, after, while, as soon as}

Construal of real-time future events as FACT is also at work in the use of the Simple Present in clauses which begin with {when, until, before, after, while, as soon as} such as (4.12).

- (4.12) a. When John has time, he will finish his book.
 b. Until I finish my thesis, I will be stressed.
 c. Before your mother arrives, you will clean the house.
 d. After I master salsa, I'll learn the tango.
 e. While I am in San Diego next summer, I'll be working on my tan.
 f. As soon as he arrives, we will leave.

In clauses which begin with the expressions {when, until, before, after, while, as soon as}, the Simple Present is used with a (real-time) future interpretation. The PRESENT is appropriate in these cases because the future occurrence of the event is construed as PRESENT FACT, as certain to occur. The events construed as PRESENT FACT are certain enough to occur that a PREDICTION is made in relation to the event. The PREDICTION is dependent in some sense on the FACT.⁵⁷ For example, in (4.12a) the PREDICTION is made that 'John will finish his book' when it holds as a FACT that 'John has time'. In the reading of (4.12a), that John will have time at some future point is assumed, not predicted. Again there is no objective certainty that the event will happen, the choice is one of construal. In English, that choice of construal is codified in the grammar; the construal as PREDICTION is not available in these contexts.⁵⁸

4.1.5.4 Simple Present for future Events in Conditional Protasis

The FACT/PREDICTION distinction and construal of (real-time) future events as FACT may also be used to account for behavior of the Simple Present in the protasis ('if clause') of conditional constructions. Consider for example:

- (4.13) a. If it rains tomorrow, I will buy an umbrella.
 b. *If it'll rain tomorrow, I will buy an umbrella.

⁵⁷ Of course, the contents of the main clause need not be a PREDICTION. It can, for example, be a FACT or a suggestion.

⁵⁸ The opposite is true in French; only the FUTURE construal is available.

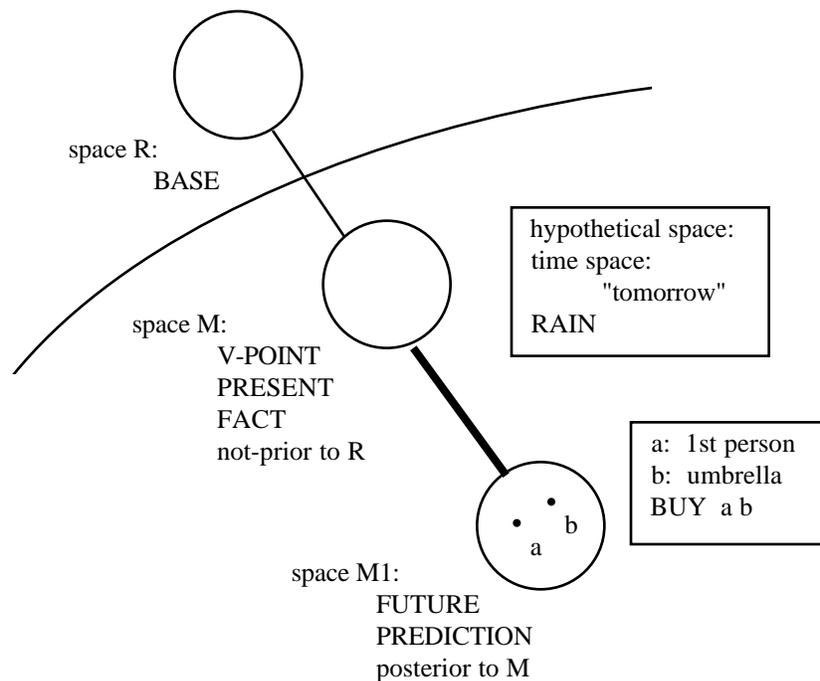
The Simple Present is used with a (real-time) future interpretation in the protasis in (4.13a). In contrast, even though the event is interpreted as future to 'now', the 'will' Future is inappropriate, as shown in (4.13b).

Let us consider the space configuration set up for (4.13a). The space builder 'if' sets up a special type of space, a hypothetical space,⁵⁹ which is structured by the contents of the protasis 'it rains'. The Simple Present (PRESENT) sets up a PRESENT space M from V-POINT/BASE and indicates that the event 'it rains' is construed as FACT. With the expression 'I will buy an umbrella', V-POINT will shift to space M and a FUTURE PREDICTION space will be set up from the V-POINT in the hypothetical space where the FACT 'it rains' holds. The output of the dynamic interpretation of (4.13a) is diagrammed in Figure 4.7.

⁵⁹ Note that with combined tense-aspect categories the protasis may set up a configuration of spaces.

FIGURE 4.7

'If it rains tomorrow, I will buy an umbrella'



In this familiar type of conditional construction, a hypothetical FACT space is set up, and a PREDICTION is made from a V-POINT in the hypothetical space where the FACT holds. This type of conditional constructions corresponds to Sweetser's (1990) notion of a 'content level conditional'. In the content level conditionals, the realization of the event or state of affairs in the apodosis is conditioned on the realization of an event or state of affairs described in the protasis.

If for (4.13a) the conditional relationship is a content level one, between a hypothetical FACT and a PREDICTION made based on that FACT, then the choice of the Simple Present for the protasis and the restriction on the 'will' Future in (4.13b) is explained. With the Simple Present, the protasis is construed as FACT, although only a hypothetical FACT, which serves as the basis from which a PREDICTION (from a

PRESENT V-POINT) is made. The PREDICTION construal is an inappropriate choice for the protasis.⁶⁰

Langacker (1991) tentatively proposes that the use of the Simple Present in clauses which begin with {if, when, until, before, after, as soon as} involve a shift in deictic center. Under the analysis of conditional constructions given here, tense in the protasis is anchored to V-POINT/BASE. The Simple Present may appear in the protasis not a result of a shift in BASE, but rather as a result of the construal of (real-time) future events as FACT. Chapter 5 will investigate in-depth the anchoring possibilities available for tense in both the protasis and the apodosis of conditional and counterfactual constructions.

⁶⁰ The 'will' Future is acceptable in the protasis in certain semantically restricted instances, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

4.2 The PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

PROGRESSIVE identifies or cues construction of an EVENT space N. It indicates that:

- i) N is not in FOCUS
- ii) N's parent is V-POINT
- iii) the time period represented in N includes V-POINT;
 V-POINT is during N

This characterization of the PROGRESSIVE is based on the work of Dinsmore (1991), and Lansing (to appear). The PROGRESSIVE may combine with the PRESENT, as well as other tense categories.

4.2.1 The English Present Progressive

In English, the PRESENT PROGRESSIVE is encoded by the PRESENT auxiliary 'BE' and a Present Participle, the '-ing' form of the verb.⁶¹ For example:

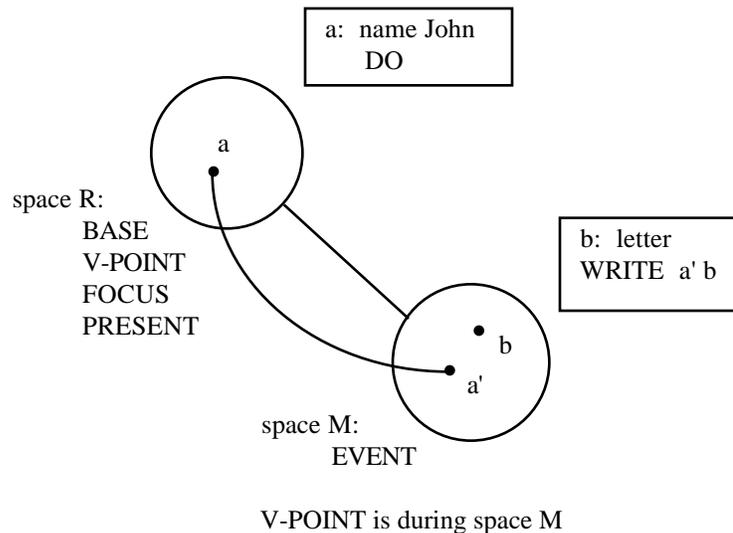
(4.14) John is writing a letter.

The interpretation of (4.14) results in a space configuration as diagrammed in Figure 4.8.

⁶¹ In French, the Simple Present may encode either the PRESENT or the PRESENT PROGRESSIVE. An expression "etre en train de" is also available to express progressivity, but this form is not highly grammaticized, nor is its usage particularly common.

FIGURE 4.8

'John is writing a letter'



Interpretation of (4.14) results in the construction of two spaces, a PRESENT FOCUS space and an EVENT space which represents a time period which includes the time of V-POINT (parent). In the PRESENT FOCUS space, the entity named John is set up and associated with the verbal notion or property 'DO', which is a part of the event WRITE.⁶² The PROGRESSIVE sets up or identifies construction of an EVENT space M which is structured by a complete description of verb. Only the EVENT space is structured by a full description of the verb.

The relationship between the two spaces is defined by Dinsmore (1991:212) as a "during" relationship. In terms of the discourse notions of V-POINT and EVENT, the PROGRESSIVE indicates that the time period represented in the EVENT space includes the time period (or temporal point) of the V-POINT in the parent space. The V-POINT is temporally located during the time period represented in the EVENT space, and hence

⁶² What John is actually doing in space R may not be writing, he may in fact be going to the kitchen to make coffee or look in the refrigerator.

during the actual temporal structure of the EVENT. The exact location of the V-POINT during the actual structure of the EVENT or of the event space is not grammatically specified, although it may be specified by lexical or pragmatic means.

The entity **a'** is constructed in space M and linked to its counterpart, entity **a** in space R. The entity **b**, which has the property "letter", is constructed in space M. In the absence of conflicting information, a counterpart of **b** would also be constructed in the parent space via default inferencing and spreading. In (4.14), however, we know that if John is writing a letter, it is not yet completed and therefore, default inferencing is blocked and the letter is not constructed as an entity in space R (although some partially written letter might be). In a similar example, 'John is reading a letter', a counterpart of **b**, entity **b'**, would be constructed in space R. We know that in order for John to read the letter, a letter must exist in BASE space R. In this case, there is no conflicting information and the default inferencing would proceed. An example such as 'John is typing a letter' is ambiguous as to whether the entity 'letter' already exists in space R and is being typed, or whether the letter does not yet exist in space R, since it is being written as it is typed. In this case, the sentence alone is ambiguous; only contextual information will determine whether the default inferencing proceeds.

4.2.2 The Present Progressive: Habituals

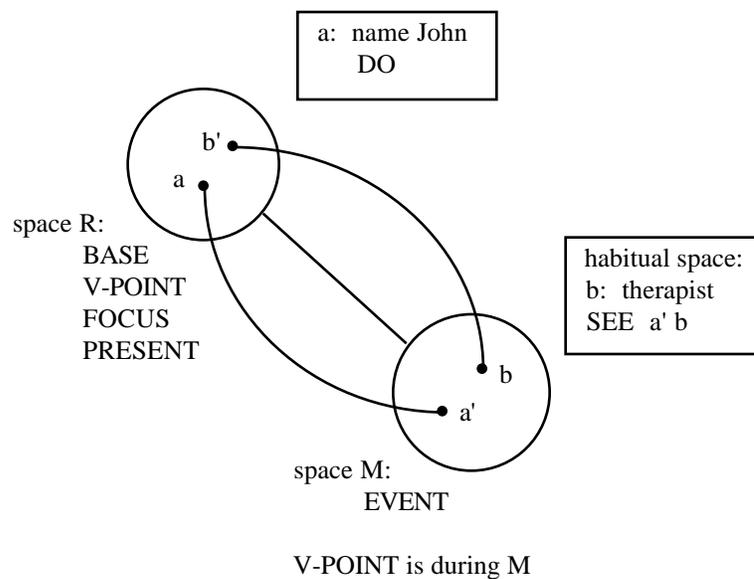
The Present Progressive is typically used to refer to situations which hold or are in progress at this very moment. Other readings available to the Simple Present are also available to the Present Progressive. For example, the Present Progressive may also have an habitual reading as in (4.15).

(4.15) John is seeing a therapist.

We may interpret (4.15) to mean that John is seeing a therapist at this very moment (in progress reading) or to mean that John is seeing a therapist these days (habitual reading). Habitual readings of the Present Progressive are handled in the same way as all other habituals, by construction of an additional habitual space. The space configuration which results from the habitual interpretation of (4.15) is diagrammed in Figure 4.9.

FIGURE 4.9

‘John is seeing a therapist’



In addition to BASE space R, an habitual EVENT space is built, space M. Space R serves as the PRESENT FOCUS space and V-POINT. For any appropriate instance of John in space R, the structure of space M, the properties and connections associated with John's counterpart in the habitual space may be mapped onto space R.

Semantically, the habitual reading of the Present Progressive differs from the habitual Simple Present in that it carries an associated meaning of a temporary 'change of state'; the habitual event is somehow different from the normal course of events. In the habitual reading of (4.15), we interpret 'John is seeing a therapist' to mean John is seeing a therapist in a more limited time frame, such as 'right now' or 'these days' or 'lately'. This change of state meaning is derived from the combination of the semantics of the habitual and progressive which results in a habit in progress, not an ordinary habit which holds at all times. From a habit in progress arises the implication of a 'change of state'. A habit in progress 'now', like all events in progress, carries the implication that it has not always been and will not always be in progress and hence with the PROGRESSIVE, the habit is re-construed as a temporary habit and not a permanent one.

4.2.3 The Present Progressive: future Events

The Present Progressive may also refer to (real-time) future events, as in (4.16).

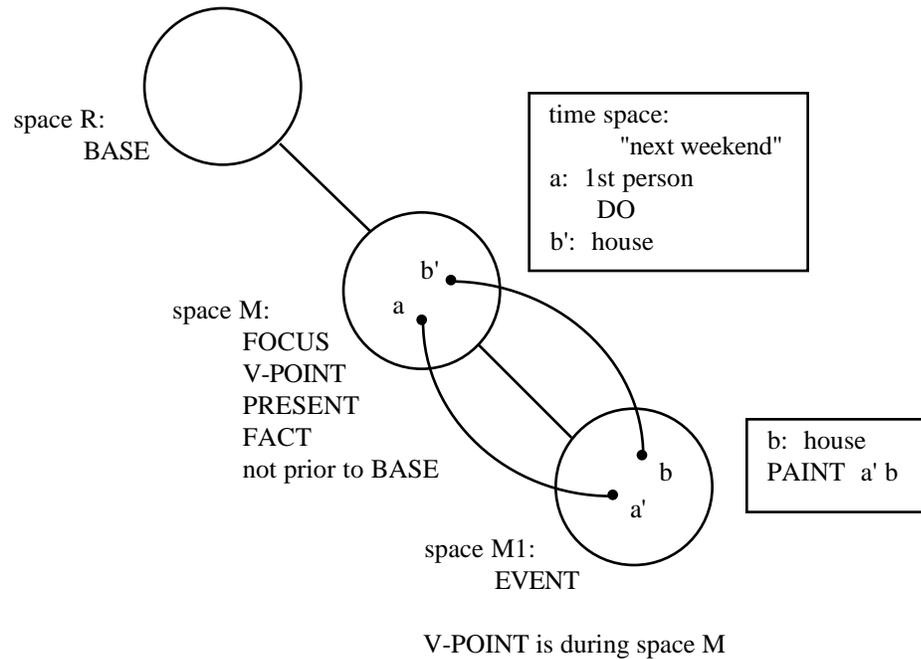
(4.16) What are you doing next weekend?

- I'm painting my house

Note that without the temporal adverb, the Present Progressive may be ambiguous as to whether the event is to be interpreted as in progress 'now' or a plan for a future event. Interpretation of the response 'I'm painting my house' in (4.16) will result minimally in the construction of two spaces: a PRESENT FOCUS FACT space M and an EVENT space M1, as diagrammed in Figure 4.10.

FIGURE 4.10

'I'm painting my house'



The PRESENT FOCUS space contains an entity **a**, 'I', associated with the verbal property 'DO', which is part of the event 'PAINT'. EVENT space M1 contains: the full structure of the event 'PAINT'; an entity **a'**, a counterpart of entity **a** in space M; and an entity **b**, with the property "house". A counterpart **b'** is constructed in space M via inferencing, since in order to paint the house, the house must exist not only in space M1, but also in space M.

The PROGRESSIVE specifies that the V-POINT is temporally located at some point during the time period represented in EVENT space N, and hence at some point in the event structure. The grammar does not specify exactly where that temporal point is, although a more precise location may be suggested lexically or pragmatically. With 'I'm painting my house' what is in the PRESENT/FOCUS/FACT space is the action in progress, the verbal property 'DO', part of the event 'PAINT', assigned to the entity 'I'.

What the entity 'I' is actually doing in speaker reality may or may not be 'painting'. The PROGRESSIVE gives the construal that the event has actually started. The action does not actually and objectively have to be in progress, it only need be construed as being in progress. The PRESENT PROGRESSIVE is hence appropriate to express PRESENT plans for future events, where by virtue of making plans to paint, the process of painting may be construed as already in progress.

Independently of future temporal adverbs or other contextual information, the interpretation of futurity associated with the Present Progressive has two possible sources. The first source is that a PRESENT space is simply non-prior to BASE and therefore may refer to a (real time) future time period where that time period is construed as FACT. The second source for the interpretation of futurity is the presence of a trajectory associated with the Progressive event. In order to place the V-POINT "during" the event or EVENT space, the temporal trajectory which is part of the structure of the event must be invoked. The futurity arises from the (metaphorical) notion of a journey on that present trajectory. If the event is in progress now, by default its completion may be interpreted as future.

The Present Progressive may express futurity in the same cases as the Simple Present:

- (4.17) a. As soon as he is watching the game, we can slip out the back door.
 b. While I am singing, you will be crying.
 c. If it is raining tomorrow, you should stay home.

The futurity associated with the Present Progressive is of a future event in progress. Note

that the Present Progressive with a future interpretation is typically ruled out in the case of the temporal conjunction 'before'.

(4.18) *? Before I am singing, you will be crying.

The semantics of progressivity clashes with the meaning of before, typically 'before some point'.

One advantage of the mental space approach, under which a PRESENT space is an extendable time period rather than a temporal point, is that the Present Progressive falls out as the unusual case. The Simple Present simply indicates that the event structures a PRESENT space without specifying the relationship of the event to V-POINT. The PRESENT PROGRESSIVE specifies a particular V-POINT relation. This is consonant with cross-linguistic facts, since cross-linguistically, the Progressive is the marked case, while the Simple Present is unmarked.

4.3 The FUTURE

FUTURE identifies or cues construction of some FUTURE space N. It indicates that:

- i) N is in FOCUS
- ii) N's parent is V-POINT
- iii) the time frame represented in N is posterior to V-POINT
- iv) events or properties represented in N are PREDICTION from V-POINT
- v) N has certain relational properties vis-a-vis other spaces (accessibility).

A FUTURE space represents a time period construed as posterior to V-POINT. Canonically, the V-POINT will be V-POINT/BASE, but it may also be some V-POINT other than BASE. Like all time spaces, a FUTURE space may represent a temporal frame, a slice of time of any size. Events or properties represented in N are construed as PREDICTION rather than FACT. That the FUTURE assigns the FOCUS space a PREDICTION status, rather than a FACT status reflects the special conceptual nature of the FUTURE in relation to other tenses, and the special conceptual nature of time as it is encoded in language. Given the nature of time, events which are future in real-time cannot be asserted in the same way that real-time past and present events can be asserted. Future events can only be predicted with more or less certainty. Of course, real-time past or present events do not have to be asserted, but non-asserted past or present events are handled by some non-indicative tense form, such as the subjunctive, or by "metaphoric" pasts or futures, as in the case of counterfactuals or politeness forms.

4.3.1 The English 'will' Future and 'BE going to' Future:

PRESENT FUTURE (PREDICTION from a PRESENT V-POINT)

Both the 'will' Future and the 'BE going to' Future are used to make predictions about Future events. For example:

- (4.19) a. According to the weather report, it will snow tomorrow.
 b. According to the weather report, it's going to snow tomorrow.

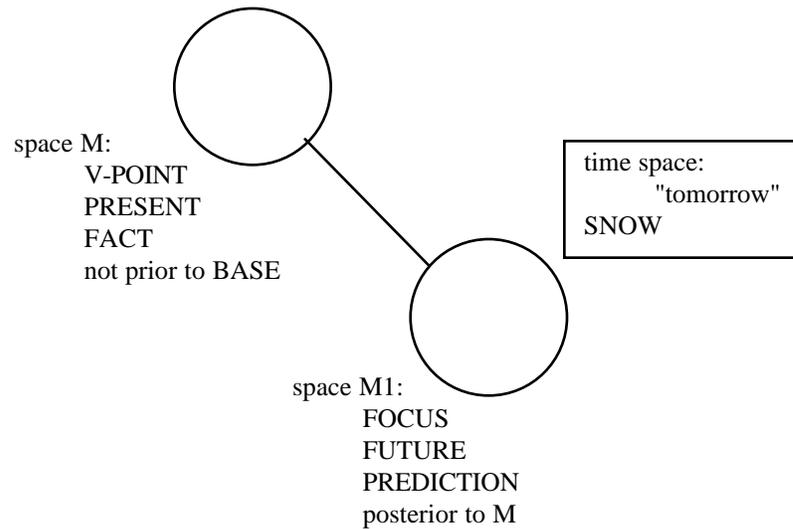
Both the 'will' Future and the 'BE going to' Future are analyzed here as encoding a PRESENT FUTURE (FUTURE of the PRESENT)⁶³ for two reasons. First, morphologically both contain a PRESENT form. Second, with 'will' or the PRESENT of the auxiliary 'BE', anchoring to a PAST V-POINT is not possible. In this way, they pattern like the PRESENT. A PAST FUTURE counterpart is available with 'would' and the PAST of the auxiliary 'BE'.

As a PRESENT FUTURE, the Future forms in (4.19a) and (4.19b) identify a FOCUS space N which is both posterior to, as well as a PREDICTION from a PRESENT V-POINT. The output of the PRESENT FUTURE may be diagrammed as in Figure 4.11:

⁶³ The 'will' Future is farther along the path to becoming a true FUTURE. It is more restricted in ability to refer to the present than the 'BE going to' Future.

FIGURE 4.11

PRESENT FUTURE



Essentially, the PRESENT FUTURE encodes PREDICTION from a PRESENT V-POINT. The PRESENT identifies a FOCUS space which is not prior to BASE. The FUTURE uses the PRESENT space as V-POINT and identifies or sets up a FOCUS space which is PREDICTION and posterior to V-POINT.

The 'will' Future may be used to encode events which are predicted to be true at the present moment. Imagine for example two speakers who arrive at a party. Looking around for their friend Jack, speaker A utters the following:

(4.20) Jack'll be here somewhere.

Although Jack might actually be at the party at the present time, that situation is presented as a PREDICTION rather than a FACT. The speaker expects to verify at some point in the future that this situation holds. In this case, it is the PREDICTION encoded by the

'will' Future, rather than temporal posteriority, which is important.⁶⁴

Mapping of the category FUTURE onto language specific markers is not one to one. Both the 'will ___' Future and the 'BE going to ___' Future also cover other semantic territory in addition to the PRESENT FUTURE (PREDICTION from PRESENT V-POINT).

4.3.2 PRESENT Volitionality: 'will' Future

The 'will' Future also covers the semantic territory of PRESENT volitionality, as in (4.21).

(4.21) You look sleepy. I'll make some coffee.

Whereas in (4.19) above, the speaker makes a PREDICTION about a situation or event s/he thinks will be true in the future, in (4.21), the speaker is not making a PREDICTION. Rather, the speaker is volunteering, expressing his/her willingness to do the action, to make coffee, even though the action will necessarily be a (real-time) future one. In this reading, the 'will' Future expresses PRESENT volitionality, reflecting its diachronic source.

In the expression of PRESENT volition, 'will' cues the construction of a PRESENT space which is structured by 'will' and a volition space which is structured by

⁶⁴ In section 4.8.2, we will see that the French Futur Anterieur can also be used for predictions about past events, as in 'Il aura sans doute fait une betise' ("he will undoubtedly have done something stupid").

the basic verb form. The volition space is an untensed EVENT space and is the diachronic source for the separate FUTURE space. The close diachronic relationship between volitionality and PREDICTION is not surprising. Events or situations in a volition space are canonically unrealized. If we have the volition to do something, that event or situation is unrealized. If the event or situation is realized, it will be by nature future from the V-POINT from which the volition is expressed.

4.3.3 PRESENT Plans for future Events

The 'BE going to ___' Future encodes the PRESENT FUTURE (PREDICTION from a PRESENT V-POINT). It also encodes PRESENT (PROGRESSIVE) plans for future events. Consider the difference between the 'BE going to' Future in (4.22) and the 'will' Future in (4.23).

(4.22) speaker A: Why did you buy this paint?

speaker B: I'm going to paint my house.

(4.23) speaker A: Why did you buy this paint?

speaker B: *I will paint my house.

In this example, what the 'BE going to ___' Future expresses is not a PREDICTION about a future event, but PRESENT plans for a future event. Only the 'BE going to ___' form may be used to express already arranged plans, plans which are already construed as FACT, as in (4.22). The 'will ___' form is not appropriate for already arranged plans, only for future plans that the speaker decides 'now', at the time of speech, as shown by the

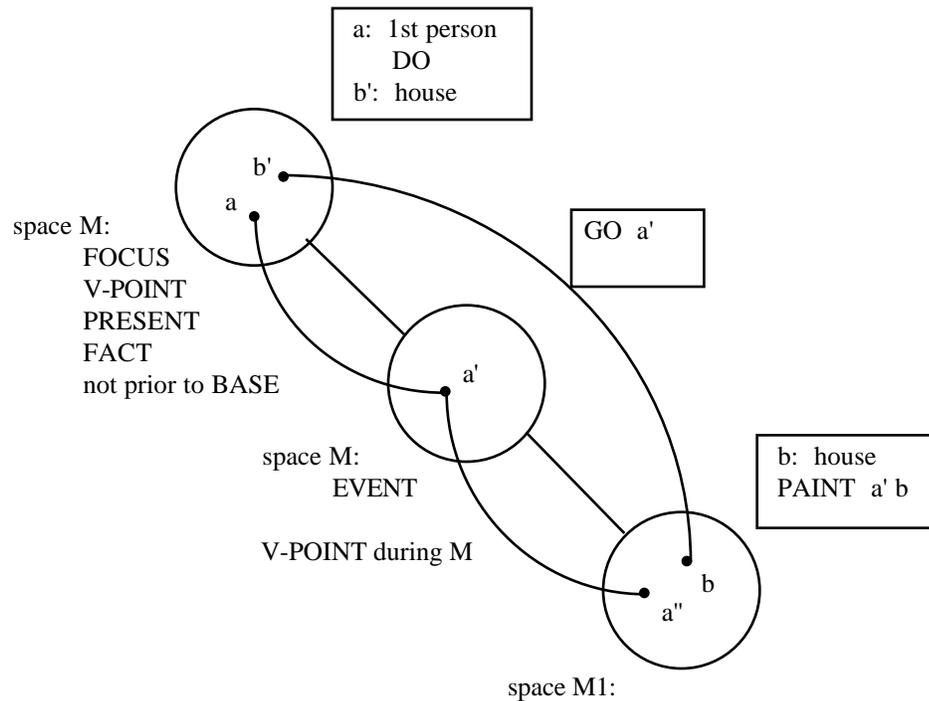
unacceptability of (4.23). We will discuss examples (4.22) and (4.23) in turn.

In this use for the expression of already arranged plans, the 'BE going to' Future is closer in meaning to its historical source. The futurity associated with the expression 'BE going to' is derived diachronically from the spatial metaphor of a journey on a present path. The journey on a present path, on a spatial trajectory towards some point, serves as a metaphor for a journey on a temporal trajectory towards the future. While the 'GO' verb gives us a metaphorical notion of futurity, the PRESENT PROGRESSIVE gives an additional notion that the going is already "in progress". The fact that the event is construed as "in progress" makes the 'BE going to' Future appropriate for already arranged (i.e. in progress) plans. By virtue of having a plan to paint the house, the subject 'T' is already in motion towards the future accomplishment of that event.

The output of the 'BE going to ____' Future interpreted as a PRESENT (PROGRESSIVE) plan may be diagrammed as in Figure 4.12:

FIGURE 4.12

'I'm going to paint my house'



In this interpretation, the PRESENT PROGRESSIVE of the verb 'GO' structures a FOCUS space M and an EVENT space M. The full event 'GO' structures EVENT space M. The event 'PAINT' structures a third space, space M1. We will not be concerned with the nature or structure of spaces constructed for infinitives. In the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space, the subject entity **a** is assigned the verbal property 'DO', part of the event 'GO'. The subject is 'going' and therefore, metaphorically on a journey on a present path, in motion on a trajectory towards a goal. The full structure of the events 'GO' and 'PAINT' are not in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space. In this way the 'BE going to' Future is appropriate for PRESENT plans, where by virtue of having the present plan, motion down the path towards the goal is already underway.

In contrast, the 'will' Future cannot be used for already arranged plans, as shown

by (4.23). The 'will' Future cannot express a PRESENT plan, only a PRESENT volition. This is a result of the semantics of volitionality still associated with the 'will' Future. With the 'will' Future, what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the volition expressed by 'will'. The 'will' Future does not metaphorically place the subject on the path towards a goal. For these reasons, the 'will' Future is not appropriate for already arranged plans, but is appropriate for expressing the present volition to perform some future action.

The 'BE going to' Future and the 'will' Future may also be contrasted to the future interpretation of the Present Progressive. Consider again the Present Progressive in (4.24). A similar example was discussed in section 4.2.

(4.24) speaker A: Why did you buy this paint?

speaker B: I'm painting my house (next weekend).

With the Present Progressive, what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the verbal notion or property 'DO' (part of the event 'PAINT') assigned the entity 'I'. The entity 'I' is associated with the painting, the painting is construed as in progress. The full structure of the event 'PAINT' is not in the FOCUS space, but rather, in the EVENT space. With the 'BE going to' Future, what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the verbal property 'DO' (part of the event 'GO'). The subject is associated with the motion process, the going is construed as in progress. The notion of futurity associated with the Present Progressive is also based on spatial metaphor of a journey on a path.⁶⁵ The 'will' Future, 'BE going to' Future, and the use of the Present Progressive with a future

⁶⁵ The 'BE going to' Future is perhaps more of a PRESENT plan and less certain to occur than the Present Progressive in (4.24). With the Present Progressive, the activity is construed as already in motion. We may infer that if it is already in motion that it is perhaps more likely to be completed.

interpretation may also be contrasted with the use of the Simple Present for future scheduled events, as in 'the train leaves at 8'. With the Simple Present, what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the event itself. The entire event is asserted as FACT.

If the PRESENT space represents what is construed as non-prior FACT, what is construed as immutable is different for each of the four ways of expressing futurity. With the 'BE going to' Future what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the verbal property 'DO', part of the event 'GO'; what is construed as immutable is the motion in process towards a goal, but not the completion of that motion towards the goal. With the 'will' Future what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the volition; what is construed as immutable is the volition, but not the occurrence of the actual event. With the Present Progressive what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the verbal property, part of the event which structures the PROGRESSIVE EVENT space; what is construed as immutable is the event in progress, but not the completion of event. With the Simple Present, what is in the PRESENT FOCUS FACT space is the entire structure of the event; the occurrence of the event itself is construed as immutable. The Simple Present is the strongest construal of the entire event as FACT.