

## English Abstracts

**Tatiana MILLIARESSI : Internal structuring of eventualities and aspectual morphology**

This study aims to compare, on the basis of Russian and French, the morphological expression of the internal structure of eventualities (in the Davidsonian sense of this term) in Slavic languages and their external delimitation (“taxis”) expressed by inflectional morphology in Romance languages. The study concentrates on the lexical level. It shows that the internal structuring, which consists of three stages (process, natural term, state), is relative to the ontology of eventualities. By contrast, the external boundaries (starting point and end point) are relative to the duration of the eventuality, independently of its internal structure. These two types of structuring, internal and external, are articulated differently in Slavic languages and in Germanic and Romance languages. In Slavic languages, the internal structure is grammaticalized while the external delimitation is lexicalized. In Germanic and in Romance languages, however, the internal structure is lexicalized, while the external structure is grammaticalized. Our analysis also focuses on the typologically determined distinction between the referential structuring of eventualities and the semantic structuring of Aktionsart, as well as the interaction between Aktionsart and aspect, and the relationship between telicity and its morphological (either lexical or grammatical) shape.

**Danièle VAN DE VELDE : Aspectual conditions of interpreting nominalizations in terms of events**

The starting point of this article is the idea that there are no “event nouns” in the sense of nouns uniquely referring to events: every deverbal noun can be interpreted as referring, for instance, to an action, a process, an event or a fact. The eventive interpretation itself is context-sensitive, but its very existence depends on the aspectual properties of the verbal base. The reason for that dependency lies in the fact that, in our view, the main semantic property of events as such is to be punctual, which implies that the best candidates for eventive interpretation are nominalizations derived from an achievement verbal base. However, any verbal (and even adjectival) predicate can provide a basis for an eventive nominalization, provided that: 1) it is intrinsically bound or can be bound by some external device; 2) its duration can be reduced to nothing. These conditions are aspectual in another, non strictly linguistic sense of the word, since they rely upon the various “points of view” that one can adopt on one and the same thing: a certain state, for instance, although being durative (but also bound) can easily be “viewed” as an event, from an external and distant point of view. In other words, every

event appears to be connected to aspect in two different ways: the first one has to do with the aspect of the verbal base of the noun that refers to it, the other with the point of view (in a phenomenological sense) that the speaker is adopting on the situation in point.

**Adeline PATARD & Walter DE MULDER : *En*-preverbs in Old French: a case of aspectual prefixation?**

It is well known that Old French developed a system of preverbs expressing aspectual distinctions. In this paper, we concentrate on two homonymic preverbs: (i) *en-* which originates from the Latin preposition *in* and (ii) *en-* originating from the anaphoric adverb *inde*. The analysis of a set of dictionaries and a diachronic corpus reveals that these two preverbs are declining in medieval French. This can be explained by the fact that the *en*-preverbs do not allow the construction of a transparent aspectual system, because the prefixed verbs and the verbal bases are polysemous and because this polysemy gives rise to variable aspectual interpretations. However, the decline of the aspectual system in Middle French can also be seen in continuity with an evolution that already started in Late Latin (Haverling (2000, 2008, 2010)), where semantic changes affecting the imperfect and the perfect have neutralized the aspectual opposition between certain bare verbs and their corresponding prefixed forms. In the last part of the paper, we look into the complex interaction between verbal and grammatical aspect and its influence on the use of tenses.

**Dany AMIOT & Dejan STOSIC : Aspectual and evaluative morphology in French and Serbian**

This paper sets out to test Grandi's (2009: 62) hypothesis that there must be in verbal morphology some sort of typological task-sharing between aspectual marking and evaluation marking. In order to do this, we rely on data from two typologically different languages, Serbian (a Slavonic language with a developed aspectual morphology) and French (a Romance language with a poor aspectual morphology). Our study does not confirm Grandi's assumption: we show that, even though Modern French, just like Italian, complies with Grandi's hypothesis, it was not the case in Old French and in Middle French, in which developed morphological aspect and morphological evaluation coexisted. This is even more obvious in present-day Serbian, in which aspectual marking and evaluation marking are fully conflated.

**Svetlana VOGELEER : *Pouvoir* and *devoir*: interaction between modality, aspect and temporality**

The aim of this study is to examine to what extent aspect and temporality contribute to the variation of modal meanings of *pouvoir* and *devoir*. Three kinds of aspect are taken into account: "viewpoint" aspect expressed by tenses, lexical aspect of non-finite complement verbs and, as regards perfective aspect, aspect as an abstract semantic operator. The imperfective "viewpoint" aspect is conveyed by the

présent and the imparfait. This aspect is compatible with any type of root modality as well as with epistemic modality. Within this aspect, the interdependence is established between lexical aspect of non-finite complement verbs and specific types of modalities. As for the passé composé, this tense is compatible with two readings of *pouvoir* and *devoir*: demodalized (factual) reading and epistemic modality. I argue that the demodalized reading is licensed when the passé composé is associated with the semantic perfective operator. The analysis shows that this reading is available only if the non-finite verb denotes an agentive process. As for the epistemic reading, it is compatible with both agentive and non-agentive processes. I claim that this reading is licensed when the passé composé is assigned a present perfect reading.

Carl VETTERS & Cécile BARBET : **Illocutionary uses of *pouvoir***

In this paper, we study the illocutionary uses of the French modal verb *pouvoir* (“can” / “may”). Traditionally, linguists only distinguish root and epistemic uses of modal verbs. More recently, it has been observed that some uses of *pouvoir* and *devoir* (“must”) do not belong to any of the root or epistemic category. Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) described such uses as “post-modal” because: a) in contrast to the other uses of modal verbs, they can hardly be described in terms of possibility or necessity; b) in diachrony, they appear later than the others and seem to derive from them. These “post-modal” uses, which have been observed in many languages, are mostly of an illocutionary nature. In the literature on French, the post-modal uses of the modal verbs have remained relatively overlooked. This paper proposes a non-exhaustive inventory of the post-modal uses of *pouvoir* and tries to explain their meanings on the basis of the literal meaning of *pouvoir*. We distinguish three different categories of illocutionary uses depending on whether: a) the modal is in an indirect speech act of request; b) the modal modulates the illocutionary force of the sentence without any change of sentence type (from assertion to interrogation as in a) for example); c) the modal is used to perform an ordinary speech act for which there is no specific syntactic form, such as threatening or reproaching.

Philippe ROTHSTEIN : ***Espérer* and *souhaiter*. Subjunctive mode in French, whirlwind of modals and the axiological category of euphoria**

The title of the paper hints at the interference of modals, which turns out to be a true whirlwind, when the issue of French verbs *espérer* and *souhaiter* is dealt with in depth. The French title of this article speaks of a round dance (“une ronde”) of modalities because we claim that, in the case of these two verbs, there is a twofold modal reference point, where the modal starting and ending points are bound to merge into one single point. It also points at a possible interference between such axiological values as euphoric and dysphoric judgements. Pleasure and displeasure, satisfaction and dissatisfaction or well-being and ill-being can indeed prove to

hamper this too easy (modal) going around in circles. But first and foremost, the title asserts that this profusion of interference-prone phenomena will be put into full light by the choice of the subjunctive or indicative mood in the complement clause of *espérer* and *souhaiter*. I contend that this choice of mood goes far beyond what is usually deemed to be its one and only governing factor, namely the truth value of the complement clause. I shall posit what I consider to be a new decisive criterion, viz. the orientation of the interlocutionary pattern in favour of the addressee.

**Laurent GOSSELIN : Modal meaning of the main clause verb and the choice of mood in the complement clause**

This paper deals with the interaction between the modality of the main clause verb in constructions “V that p” and the modal meaning of the mood in the complement clause. I consider, from a modal point of view, the issue of alternation of moods in complement clauses. The article shows that classic explanations are confronted with counter-examples and proposes a new analysis of these constructions within the framework of the Modular Theory of Modalities (Gosselin (2010)). It is because modality receives a very wide definition in this theoretical framework that this notion is usable for describing both the modal meaning of moods and the modality of the main clause verbs. It is however rigorous enough so that their interactions can be studied with a great precision, in terms of total, partial or zero convergence. The examination of these cases leads to a thorough analysis of the modal meaning of certain classes of verbs.