On the polysemy of cultural artifact nouns: an overview of Wolof

Olivier Bondéelle

HAL Id: hal-02425311

https://hal.science/hal-02425311

Submitted on 2 Dec 2020

ON THE POLYSEMY OF CULTURAL ARTIFACT NOUNS:
AN OVERVIEW OF WOLOF

Olivier Bondéelle, University of Picardie Jules Verne, CERCLL

olivier.bondeelle@u-picardie.fr

1. Introduction

In the framework of this article I define an artifact as an entity used by a person for an activity. To date, most descriptions of the meaning of nouns that denote artifacts have been included in more general studies on the description of nouns (Jacquey 2006; Polguère 2018; Pustejovsky 1995: 141-182). The most specific study I know of is that of Wierzbicka (1985). The descriptions proposed here mostly concern artifacts typical of Wolof society; for this reason, most of the descriptions are pioneering. However, the meaning of nouns of more universal artifacts such as money will also be described. Among the many nouns referring to artifacts, I have selected a few that raise the question of polysemy. The noun SABAR[1], for instance, denotes either a tam-tam used for a ritual dance or the dance itself (section 2). Similarly, the noun XAALIS denotes either a currency of exchange or the metal it is made of ("money", cf. section 3). Finally, the noun TÉERE denotes either a talisman or a book (section 4). The latter example is the most special, because the relationship between the two denotations is not initially transparent. I will show, however, that it is culturally motivated. The methodology proposed here consists first in providing encyclopaedic information on the artifacts denoted by the lexical units, and in describing their linguistic contexts. In a second step, the arguments for considering a single meaning or, on the contrary, a multiplicity of meanings of these lexical units are put forward. Lastly, the analysis is formalized with lexicographical definitions in Natural Semantic Metalanguage (henceforth abbreviated to NSM), whose units are semantic primitives equivalent in all the languages of the world, which ensures a perfect basis for comparison between different languages. Definitions are in English in the text and in Wolof in the appendix. About sixty primitives have been identified to date in more than thirty typologically and genealogically very diverse languages. I have identified those of Wolof (Bondéelle 2015) and the list can be freely downloaded.[2] However, in a few cases I refrain from giving a complete breakdown of the meaning, in order to make the proposed lexicographical definition more readable. In such cases, I use semantic "molecules", which are complexes of primitives. The molecules are symbolised by the index *m* in square brackets (see 4.3. and 4.4.).The descriptions and analyses require

---

[1] I adopt the convention sometimes used in NSM that a lexical unit or lexeme is in SMALL CAPITALS. I differentiate them from wordforms in *italics*.

[2] https://intranet.secure.griffith.edu.au/schools-departments/natural-semantic-metalanguage/downloads

almost no previous knowledge of Wolof, an African language of the Niger-Congo macro-family. It is classified as an Atlantic language and is spoken in Senegal and Gambia, including the surrounding areas. The language comprises a complex system of verbal particles which impose constraints on the basic SVO order (Sauvageot 1965; Church 1981; Bondéelle and Kahane forthcoming). They are abbreviated to PART in the examples below. Wolof is also characterized by a system of nominal class marking on determiners and pronouns (relative and integrative) and even on certain subordinating conjunctions (Sauvageot 1965; Thiam 1987; McLaughlin 1997). They are abbreviated to CL in the examples and identified by the initial consonant that marks them (CL: B for nouns in the nominal class B).

A semantic template of lexical units in NSM has three components: the lexico-syntactic frame, the motivational scenario, and the potential outcome (Goddard 2012). The lexico-syntactic frame specifies the lexical category of the lexical item together with its semantic category ("thing" versus "person" for example). The motivational scenario proposes a hypothesis about lexical meaning, and the potential outcome makes the consequences of the event described in the motivational scenario explicit. Wierzbicka (1985: 19-52) specifies the three components for artifacts as follows. The first part is intended to give its category (kind) and its function (purpose). The second part describes its use, the characteristics of the artifact, such as appearance, size, and the parts that make it up. Finally, the last section describes the consequences of its use. The content of the definition deserves a comment, however. Objects such as artifacts have many characteristics, and the list proposed above is far from exhaustive. The length of the motivational scenario is thus variable, since it is in this section that the different characteristics of the artifact are listed. In order to avoid unnecessarily lengthening the definitions, it seemed preferable to mention only those that are absolutely necessary, depending on the purpose of the decomposition. If it is a question of distinguishing between two artifacts that are used for similar events, then it is likely that they will have the same number of characteristics. To distinguish a spoon from a ladle, it needs to be mentioned that both are curved to hold liquid, but that a ladle is larger than the mouth and is not cutlery, unlike a spoon. My objective is different, however: at issue is whether the lexical sign described has only one meaning (monosemy) or several (polysemy). If an artifact noun also denotes the user, as is the case in French for the noun of the musical instrument *violon* 'violin', which also denotes the person playing it (in a statement such as French *le troisième violon joue bien*, English *the third violin plays well*), it is not necessary to mention many of the characteristics of the violin, because the aim is simply to establish the relationship between the two denotations. In this particular case, the only characteristics that seem relevant are its composition (it has strings that the user's fingers touch, and it has a part on which the user's head rests). These two characteristics appear sufficient to establish a contiguous relationship between the artifact and the user. The outcome of this discussion is that the granularity of the decomposition is variable; the choices made in the present study were therefore determined according to practical criteria. In other words, the degree of decomposition required will depend largely on whether the artifact noun is polysemous or

not.

2. A tam-tam: the *sabar*

The description given here is based on personal knowledge, supplemented by two very enlightening ethnomusicological studies on the subject (cf. Penna-Diaw 2005; Tang 2007).

2.1. Description of *sabar* and uses of the noun SABAR

The noun SABAR refers primarily to a variety of tam-tams traditionally used in ceremonies of the Wolof, Sereer and Lebou societies of Senegal. These ceremonies can be social rites such as baptism called TUDD in Wolof (class M) 'appellation', or entertainment such as traditional wrestling sessions called BËRE (B), MBAPPAT (M) or LÀMB (J), and therapeutic rituals called NDËPP (L). In fact, there are several nouns for *sabar* drums, and they are distinguished by their size, their timbre, and the rhythms produced. They are generally cylindrical in shape, as shown in the picture below. The small one on the left produces high-pitched sounds and the medium one on the right accompanies the others. *Sabar* tam-tams are often played together, but some can also be played as solo instruments.

Figure 1: *Sabar* tam-tams: a *tungune* on the left and a *mbëng mbëng* on the right. Michael Brouwer, Amsterdam. CC BY Creative Commons.

On the picture, we can see a vertical stick on the right tam-tam. It is made of wood like the tam-tam, and is used to beat the drum: the tam-tam player strikes the goatskin that is stretched across the top of the instrument. Example (1a) illustrates the co-occurrence of the noun SABAR and the verb TËGG generally translated as 'to beat a rhythm' when the noun SABAR has the function of verbal object as is the case here (cf. Diouf 2003; Fal et al. 1990). This verb is also combined with the noun WEÑ 'metal' to denote the action

of working metal, which corresponds to the French expression *battre le fer,* Engl. *strike.* That is why we have translated the verb TËGG as 'to hit continuously'.

(1a) *ñi   doon   **tëgg   sabar** yi   daldi   taxaw*
CL:Ñ   PART.PAST   hit.continuously tam-tam CL:Y PART   stop
'The drummers stop beating the drums immediately,' lit. Those who kept banging the tam-tam stop at once
(Kesteloot and Dieng 1989: 32)

Moreover, the nominal derivative TËGGKAT designates the jeweller and the blacksmith, as well as the tam-tam drummer, as illustrated by the second example. In (1a), it is the determiner *ñi* which is the subject of the verb TËGG 'to beat' (this nominal class plural applies only to humans and spirits), which could be translated in English by a demonstrative pronoun such as 'those'. But in (1b) below, it is the derived noun TËGGKAT that is used to designate the person who plays. The suffix *-kat* designates the agent of the event denoted by the basic verb.

(1b) *Duudu Njaay Roos, **tëggkat**   bu   siiw   la-ø*
D.   N.   R.   drummer CL:B   be.famous   PART-3SG
'Doudou Ndiaye Rose is a famous drummer'
(Diouf 2003, TËGGKAT)

The noun that denotes the tam-tams of the *sabar,* and the noun SABAR itself, also denotes a rhythm, as illustrated by the following example where the noun NDEER denotes the largest tam-tam, usually used for solos. The *-i* suffixed to the quality verb NEEX 'to be pleasant' is the plural form (singular *-u*) of the morpheme that often marks a relation of possession between the possessed entity denoted by the lexeme to which it is suffixed (here the quality verb) and the possessor that follows it (here the noun of the tam-tam). This construction is typical of that of the construct form of the noun (Kihm 1998; Kihm 2000; Creissels 2009), but its instantiation here is a deviation, because normally a verb does not precede a noun in this construction. This means that although the noun denotes the tam-tam, the meaning of 'rhythm' can only be interpreted because it is the product of the tam-tam.

(2)   *neex-i   ndeer!*
be.pleasant-PL tam-tam
'How nice these drum beats are,' lit. Pleasant *ndeer* drums
(Cissé 2006-2010, 263:5)

In the following example, the noun SABAR denotes the rhythm itself. I will comment on it at greater length because its meaning is not transparent. The

4

noun SABAR is the object complement of the verb DEGG 'to hear'. We know that it is the same noun as in example (1a) because it controls the same class morphemes (*g-* in the singular in (3a) and *y-* in the plural in (1a)). The third person object personal pronoun in the singular *ko* is complementary to the verb MBALEÑFAÑ 'to deceive', and refers to the noun SABAR. According to my informants, it is not used with an object complement that denotes a person. The only possible interpretation of the meaning associated with the noun SABAR is that of the rhythm that the tam-tam produces. But why should a person who hears a rhythm intend to thwart it? To answer this question, we need further information about the ceremonies related to the use of the *sabar*.

(3a) **sabar**   *ga*   *ma* *dégg* *Mbaakol* *maa*   *koy*   *mbaleñfañ*
    tam-tam CL:G 1SG hear Mbakol 1SG.PART 3SG.OBJ.IMPF deceive
    'The drums I hear in Mbakol, I'm the one who will deceive him'
    (Cissé 2006-2010, 420:3-4)

Nowadays, the rhythms produced by the *sabar* drums are increasingly used in the context of street or neighbourhood festivals, and are replacing traditional ceremonies. It is mostly, if not exclusively, women who organize these festivals and who get together to dance. A large circle is formed around the drummers, who are men. The women dance to codified rhythms. The dance is very physical and because of this it lasts only a few tens of seconds. The rhythm set by the drummer requires attention from the woman dancing, and vice versa. It is a competition as well as complicity that links the drummer and the dancer (Penna-Diaw 2005). Only with this information can we understand the meaning of example (3a). The producer (the woman no doubt) of this statement thus swears that she will direct the rhythm during her dance performance.

Other interpretations of the noun SABAR are common. Yet I have often heard the expression *fecc sabar* 'dancing the *sabar*'. On the other hand, I have encountered the noun SABAR several times in statements where the noun denotes the event that gives rise to the use of tam-tams. The following example illustrates this. The noun SABAR is the subject of the verb DOOR 'to begin' and denotes an event. The noun SABAR can also denote where it takes place, for example, as the subject of the verb DEM 'to go'. Thus, the *dem sabar* collocation conveys the meaning 'to go to the dance'. As such, the noun SABAR in Wolof behaves like the noun BAL in French in the expression *aller au bal,* English *go to the dance*.

(3b) **sabar**   *gi*   *door;*
    tam-tam   CL:G   start
    ñuy   *fecc,* *tëgg* *mi* *ak*   *tàccu*   *yi*   *xumb*
    3PL.IMPF dance rhythm CL:M with applause CL:Y be.animated
    'The drumming begins; they dance, the rhythm (of the drums) and the clapping is lively.'
    (Kesteloot and Dieng 1989: 32)

In summary, the noun SABAR has five denotations: the noun denotes a variety of tam-tams (example 1), a rhythm produced by the tam-tam (example 2), a festive event that gives rise to the use of the tam-tam (example 3); it can also denote a dance, and the gathering place where the event takes place. The question now is how to describe the meaning of this noun. In other words, we can describe it by a multiplicity of meanings (polysemy), or by a single meaning (monosemy).

2.2. Description of the meaning of the noun SABAR

To begin the discussion on whether the name SABAR is polysemous or not, it should be noted at the outset that the different denotations are interrelated. We know that the rhythm is produced by the tam-tam, that the dance is caused by the rhythm, that the festive gathering is due to the dance performances, and that the gathering place hosts this event. I deduce that the different denotations of SABAR are not related by homonymy. The absence of homonymy does not result in the presence of polysemy. A polysemic analysis of the lexical meaning requires first of all showing that the different denotations are indeed distinct meanings and are not determined by the verbs with which the noun co-occurs. Secondly, it needs to be shown that it is not possible to describe a unique meaning associated with this form. It should be noted that the denotation of the noun SABAR depends to a large extent on the meaning of the verb with which it is combined. When the noun SABAR has the object function of a verb that denotes an action of physical contact such as TËGG 'to strike continuously' as in (1a), it denotes a tam-tam. In the same object function and with a verb of auditory perception such as DEGG 'to hear' in (3a), the noun SABAR denotes a rhythm. Combined with a verb that denotes a physical activity such as FECC 'to dance', it denotes a dance. We can thus list the different combinations in which the noun SABAR is involved, and note the different denotations. In addition, it is possible to produce a statement in which two verbs denoting two different events share the same object complement SABAR, such as *tëgg te fecc sabar* (lit. to strike continuously and dance *sabar*) 'to beat (the tam-tam) and dance (the *sabar*)'. This remark argues in favour of considering that there is only one lexical unit SABAR. Note that the different denotations are different points of view adopted about the same situation. The tam-tam is used for a festive event. Its use produces a rhythm. This rhythm makes you dance. The dance is a manifestation of a festive event. And the festivity is a gathering. In other words, the tam-tam is inseparable from a situation that integrates different points of view about the situation. It is the meeting point of all these points of view. If we break down the 'tam-tam' meaning of the noun SABAR, we must mention these points of view. This analysis implies that we describe a single meaning of the noun SABAR, and that we consider that this noun is not polysemous.

2.3. Definition of the SABAR lexical unit 'tam-tam'

Let us now recapitulate the different elements of meaning of the lexical unit SABAR: (1) it is a kind of musical instrument; (2) it is a variety of percussion

6

instruments; (3) these percussion instruments are used for festive events; (4) they produce dance rhythms; (5) the dances give rise to gatherings. Each of these elements of meaning corresponds to a denotation of the noun. Element (1) corresponds to the denotation 'tam-tam'. Element (2) corresponds to 'rhythm'. Element (3) corresponds to 'event'. Element (4) corresponds to 'dance'. And the element (5) corresponds to 'place'.

SABAR 'tam-tam dance drum'

Lexico-syntactic frame

(a) it's a sort of thing done by people

(b) when other people want to move their bodies

(c) someone does something like this with this sort of thing:

Motivational Scenario

(d) someone moves their hands $_{[m]}$ on this sort of thing.

(e) when someone does something like this

(f) many people can hear what this sort of thing does

(g) people may want to move their bodies

(h) other people may want to see how people move their bodies

(i) all such persons are in the same place

Potential result

(j) when all these people do something like this

(k) that something happens for a long time

Components (a-b) correspond to the element of meaning (1), except that I have placed the musical instrument component in (e). The lexico-syntactic frame must indeed specify the function of the artifact. The function of playing a tam-tam is not that of a kora (a kind of harp used in West Africa) which is listening, but dancing. Component (a) makes explicit the status of the entity: it is an artifact ('thing made by people'). It specifies that the artifact noun is a generic noun ('kind of'). I have preferred to use the noun 'people' in component (a) to reflect the socio-professional category of the artisans who make the artifacts.

Components (c-g) reflect the use of the artifact, and correspond to items (2) to (4). I have not limited the use to the tam-tam beater (component d) but

have extended it to its festive use because it is not only a question of describing the meaning of the verb TËGG 'to beat continuously' when its direct object is the noun SABAR 'tam-tam'. In other words, I mention an event only because it illustrates characteristics of the artifact (cf. 2.2.). In component (d), the semantic molecule 'hand' is used and denoted with the subscript [m] to account for the contact of the tam-tam with the drummer. Components (h-i) correspond to element (5). I have thus made it explicit that this is a festive event.

This definition brings together all the denotations that the noun SABAR can have: artifact in (a-e), rhythm in (f), dance in (g), event in (h), and place in (i). I have proceeded in this way because an artifact is inseparable from the event that gives rise to its use.

3. Money

In Wolof, as in many other languages of the world (Urban 2012: 475), the same noun denotes either a currency or a metal. This is the case in French with ARGENT, but not in English, which distinguishes between the metal SILVER and money MONEY. This section describes the two uses of the noun XAALIS in Wolof, which corresponds to the noun ARGENT in French.

3.1. The two uses of the noun XAALIS

As for the noun SABAR, the noun XAALIS is a generic noun. It refers to the currency of exchange, whether in the form of banknotes or coins. The nouns WÉCCET (class W) and KOPPAR (class G) are used only to denote small change, without much market value. This remark is not unimportant, as it shows that the noun XAALIS is associated with the element of meaning 'something that has value'. In other words, the noun XAALIS when denoting a currency is used in the sense of a market value at which transactions can be made. Thus, the clause *am-u-ma xaalis tey* (/have-NEG-1SG money today/) 'I have no money today' (cf. Diouf 2003, XAALIS) does not mean that the person has no coins on him, but that he considers that what he has, has no market value. Note that in this clause, XAALIS is a bare noun, i.e. it is used without a nominal class morpheme (its class is B).

(4a) *bu   la   ko   nit   jay-ee   ci   marse*
     TEMP   2SG.OBJ 3SG.OBJ person sell-CIRC   LOC market
     xaalis bi*   *ngay*   *ñëw jox   ko   ko
     money CL:B   **2SG.IMPF**   come give 3SG.OBJ   3SG.OBJ
     'When a person sells it to you at the market, it's money you're giving him'
     (Robert 1985: 265)

The noun XAALIS, on the other hand, is not used with numerical quantifiers. In (4b), the combination of the numeral *benn* 'one' and the noun XAALIS makes no sense, although it is grammatically correct. To produce a statement with the same intention as statement (4b), nouns such as WECCET

8

or KOPPAR should be used, as they denote accounting entities such as coins.

(4b) *bu   la   ko   nit   jay-ee   ci   marse,* **benn xaalis**
　　　TEMP 2SG.OB 3SG.OBJ person sell-CIRC LOC market **one   money**
　　　ngay   ñëw   jox   ko   ko
　　　2SG.IMPF come give 3SG.OBJ 3SG.OBJ
　　　# 'When a person sells it to you at the market, it's one money you're giving him'

To sum up, when the Wolof noun XAALIS denotes a currency of exchange, the noun is a mass noun, and therefore incompatible with numerals. The definite form of the noun (noun followed by the determiner) marks the partitive of the mass noun.

Now let's see how the noun XAALIS behaves when it denotes the metal silver. In example (4c), the noun XAALIS has the function of syntactic head in an attributive construction, built on the [X *di* Y] scheme, *di* being an auxiliary that can function as a copula. Note that XAALIS is a bare noun.

(4c) *der   wa di   xaalis*
　　　skin CL:W   PART   silver
　　　'the skin is silver'
　　　(Cisse 2006-2010, 263: 7)

Another construction that where this use of the noun XAALIS is found is that of the construct form of the noun (see 2.1). It is a possessive construction built on the scheme [N1-*u* N2], where the noun N1 denotes an entity owned by an entity denoted by the noun N2. The morpheme -*u* is the relator that marks the relation of possession between the two entities. Thus, the combination *lam-u xaalis* /bracelet-REL silver/ 'silver bracelet' means that the bracelet is made of silver. In this construction, it is the noun of the owned entity that can be determined and not the noun of the possessor. By adding the determiner *bi* at the end of the construction (*lam-u xaalis bi* /bracelet-REL silver CL:B/ 'the silver bracelet'), it is the noun N1 (LAM) that has the defined form and not the noun N2 (XAALIS).This shows that the noun XAALIS is a mass noun whatever the entity it denotes (currency or metal). Nevertheless, it has two clearly distinct uses, and each of these is associated with a meaning. In the first use, the noun XAALIS has the meaning of something of value (cf. 'I have no money') and which makes it possible to trade with other people (4a). Its most frequent grammatical function is that of object complement of a verb that denotes either a possession such as 'to have (money)' or a transfer of possession such as 'to give (money)'. I have not yet clarified the meaning associated with the second use. I have just highlighted that the most frequent grammatical functions of the noun in this second use are either the syntactic head (attributive construction) or the possessive function in the possessive construction of the construct form. In summary, I have identified a lexical unit associated with a meaning

9

('currency of exchange'). It remains for us to describe the meaning linked to the second use, and then to analyse whether these two meanings are linked (polysemy) or not (homonymy).

3.2. The meaning of the noun XAALIS

Let's start by describing the meaning related to the second use of the noun XAALIS. As already mentioned, the noun in this second use denotes a mineral material (metal). It will therefore be necessary to make it explicit that metal has the property of being hard, but that someone can break it and make objects (bracelets or other objects) with the broken parts. We thus account for the two constructions, attributive and construct form of the noun, in which the noun XAALIS is used. Leaving the further specifications necessary for distinguishing silver from other metals (like the precious aspect of silver), as this is not relevant for the issue discussed here (see Introduction), I describe the meaning associated with this second use as follows: (1) it is a thing that is hard; (2) this thing is in the ground; (3) people can see and touch it but they cannot take it; (3) they can break it; (4) they can then make objects with the remaining parts.

This description highlights that this meaning is different from the meaning of 'money' that I have described. Since these two meanings are different and each meaning is linked to a specific use, it can be considered that two different lexical units have been identified. Although these two lexical units have the same form, this is not enough to deduce that the noun XAALIS is polysemous: the two directions must also be connected. Additional encyclopaedic knowledge of the currency is needed to establish a link between the two lexical units. Considering coins, we need to know that the currency is made of metal. We must therefore add this element of meaning to the meaning 'money' so that the two lexical units are in a polysemous relationship. Note that this addition is only necessary at this stage of the analysis. Without it, the description of the meaning 'currency' may be incomplete but it is valid. Nor is this addition artificial. The element of meaning 'this thing (money) is made with something else (metal)' is indeed an element of the meaning 'money'. But mentioning it is necessary only because it establishes a relation between the meanings of the two lexical units. Two lexical units of the nominal lexeme XAALIS, that stand in a relation of polysemy, have thus been identified. Some definitions can now be proposed. It is just necessary to first assign an order to the description. In other words, the meaning of one lexical unit may depend on the meaning of the other one. In the present case, we know that the meaning 'money' depends on the meaning 'metal' because we need the meaning 'metal' so that the element of meaning 'thing made with metal' is understandable. We follow the same conventions as in NSM, whereby the lexical unit is given a distinctive number and indexed. Here the lexical unit which has the meaning 'metal' is noted $XAALIS_1$, and that which has the meaning 'money' is noted $XAALIS_2$.

3.3. Definition of $XAALIS_1$ 'silver metal'

Let us briefly recall the elements of meaning that this definition must contain: (1) metal is a mineral material; (2) metal is divisible because it is

hard; (3) metal can be worked; (4) artifacts can be made from metal. In the following definition I propose, some elements of meaning are more fully developed than others. For example, events such as the extraction of the metal, or of the manufacturing of metal objects are not broken down. However, the proposed definition does break down the meaning of 'metal' sufficiently to account for the uses of the noun that denotes it, and also to distinguish it from the second meaning 'money' of the noun.

XAALIS₁ 'metal'

Lexico-syntactic frame

(a) it's something

(b) that something is not made by people

(c) that something is under people's feet$_{[m}$

(d) people can see and touch this something

(e) people cannot have in their hands $_{[m]}$ that something

(f) that something is hard $_{[m]}$

(g) someone can do something to a place of that something as someone wants to do it:

Motivational Scenario

(h) when someone does something like this the way someone wants it done

(i) after that that something has a part that someone may have in their hands $_{[m}$

(j) someone can do things with that part of that something

(k) when people see and touch these things

(l) people know that these things are made with that something

Let us comment on this definition. Proposal (a) makes it explicit that the noun is a mass noun ('something' and not 'thing'). Proposals (b-c) make it explicit that metal is a natural material (b), a mineral (c). Proposals (d-g) describe the metal property of divisibility. A clarification is in order here. Other properties of the metal could have been added, such as its brightness and weight. Indeed, these properties explicitly convey the value that humans can give to silver and some other metals like gold, and to objects that are made from silver. I have limited myself to the property of divisibility, which is absolutely necessary for the decomposition of the meaning 'money' to be coherent with that of the meaning 'metal'. Moreover,

the proposed definitions are not exhaustive, and are only intended to distinguish and connect meanings. Similarly, the different phases of the events mentioned in (h) such as extraction and (j), metal working, have not been broken down. It is the propositions (i-l) that account for the uses of the noun in the attributive and construct form of the noun. By differentiating the metal ('something') from the product ('thing'), we account for the relationship of constitution of one by the other, and the property of a thing to be able to be contained in a hand. I use here the semantic molecule 'hand' to formalize this distinction. This definition can no doubt be refined, but on the one hand it reflects the use of the noun it defines, and on the other hand it is sufficient to be linked to the second definition.

3.4. Definition of XAALIS₂ 'currency'

It is worth recalling the elements of meaning of XAALIS₂ 'money': (1) money is an artifact; (2) money is made from metals; (3) its function is to trade with other people; (4) money has value because it allows such trade. Contrary to the previous definition, it is necessary here to break down the phases of the event that gives rise to the use of money (the transfer of possession) because the use of the artifact is an intrinsic element of the meaning of the artifact.

XAALIS₂ 'currency'

Lexico-syntactic frame

(a) it is something done by people

(b) when a person wants to have something that another person has

(c) that something can be done with (XAALIS₁ 'metal')

(d) a person may have something like this something in his hand $_{[m]}$ (size)

(e) a person can do something like this with that something:

Motivational scenario

(f) that person may think that this something is like the something that another person has

(g) that person may say to the other person :

      (h) "I want to have the thing you have

      (i) I have something that's like the thing you have."

(j) the other person may say the same thing as that person;

(k) when both people say the same thing,

(l) after that the person who had that something now has the thing that the other person had.

(m) after that the other person who had the thing now has that thing that the person had

Potential result

(n) when two people do something like this

(o) other people may think :

(p) the two people did something that's right.

Note that I have taken into account the compatibility of the mass noun with the nominal class morpheme. This is made clear in (d) by the formula *something*. In proposition (c), I have used the formula *that something can be done with ($XAALIS_1$ 'metal')* to take into account the generic nature of the $XAALIS_2$ 'money' lexical unit, since money can be made of paper. To finish with the properties of the artifact, proposition (e) takes into account the accounting character of the nouns for which the $XAALIS_2$ lexical unit 'currency' is the generic. The propositions (f-m) decompose the phases of the transfer of possession, rendered here by the equivalence of the currency and the other object (f), the communication of the two persons between whom the transfer takes place (g-i), as well as their mutual agreement (j-k), and the transfer that is rendered by a change in the temporal sequence (l-m). In this way, I also account for the most frequent object grammatical function of the $XAALIS_2$ lexical unit 'currency'. Finally, propositions (n-p) are necessary to account for the social nature of the use of the artifact.

4. The two artifacts of the noun TÉERE: the book and the amulet

In this section, I consider the case of the noun of an artifact TÉERE that denotes either a book or an amulet. I use the noun *amulet* to refer to an artifact that has occult powers of protection (Epelboin et al. 2007) in preference to the term of "grigri" (also spelled "gris-gris") used in common discourse, because it has fewer pejorative connotations.

4.1. Overview of the object of protection in the Wolof language

Like the tam-tam, the amulet has social, religious and therapeutic functions that are necessary to understand the linguistic meaning of the nouns that denote it. The description here is based on personal knowledge, supplemented by consulting specialist documents by authorities in the field. These documents are either written (cf. Hamès 1987), filmed (available on

the university audiovisual resources website put online by the anthropologist Alain Epelboin),[3] or photographed (Epelboin 2014). We can roughly characterize an amulet as an artifact endowed with occult power, intended for the protection of its user. The Wolof noun MUSLAAY meaning 'protection' is derived from the state verb MUCC meaning 'to be saved'. The suffix *-aay* transforms a state verb into a noun that denotes that state. This transformation is furthermore marked by the alternating consonant /s/ and the reduction of the consonant /c/. Protection can concern the body (illness), social status, misfortune, and many other areas of social life (Epelboin et al. 2007). Many protective objects are used. The language distinguishes them by the event to which their use gives rise. Example (5a) illustrates this. In (5a), the noun XÀMB refers to a large pot in which the person is bathing. It is the verb SANG 'to wash something' that co-occurs with the noun artifact, to which the middle-voiced morpheme *-u* is suffixed. The event denoted by the verb in the middle voice is that of an action performed on the body ('to wash'). Note that the verb SANG with a middle voice (form *sangu*) can be used in everyday discourse without a locative complement (the locative complement is introduced here by the preposition *ci* 'in'). Thus, the expression *dama dem sang-u* /PART.1SG go wash.something-MID/ can be interpreted as 'I will purify myself', but also as 'I will wash myself'.

(5a) *Lat Joor sang-u   ci   **xàmb**   yi*
      L.   J.   wash.something-MID LOC   pot.of.purification CL:Y
      'Lat-Joor washed in the purification pots'
      (Diagne 2005: 423)

In (5b), the noun TÉERE which designates an amulet co-occurs with the verb TAKK which denotes the action of attaching something. The form *moo* is that of the third person singular *mu* morpheme, and results from the fusion of the vowel /u/ and the vowel /a/ of the focus particle (cf. Diouf 2003: 28).

(5b) ***téere* *wurus* *ba*   *mu*   *takk,* *mooy*   *melax***
      amulet gold   CL:B   3SG   attach   3SG.PART.IMPF shine
      'the golden amulet he attaches shines'
      (Diagne 2005: 772)

These examples show that Wolof distinguishes the use of the nouns of artifacts by their co-occurrence with verbs that denote different events. It also distinguishes artifacts by the type of body contact involved in the use of the protective object. Purification pots, for example, induce contact with the whole body since the body is immersed in what the pot contains. But an amulet only comes into contact with one body part. Physical contact as such is not necessarily required, since an amulet can be sewn into a garment (cf.

---

[3]   https://www.canal-u.tv/recherche/?q=Epelboin%20Alain

Epelboin et al. 2007). One consequence of this distinction is that objects of protection are also distinguished by the material of which they are made. This is also marked linguistically. In (5b), the noun WURUS 'gold' is postponed to the noun TÉERE, in a construction scheme [N1 N2]. N1 and N2 are variables and symbolize the nouns that instantiate this construction. From a semantic point of view, the relation that connects the two nouns is a relation of possession. N1 denotes the entity that owns the entity denoted by N2. Here, the TÉERE noun 'amulet' instantiates N1. N2 is instantiated by WURUS 'gold'. The construction [TÉERE WURUS] must be interpreted as the expression of the relation of constitution which binds N2 to N1, with the meaning 'N1 is made of N2'. This construction is frequently used in nominal composition. The meaning of the relationship between N1 and N2 varies according to the nouns that instantiate N1 and N2, but these meanings are always in the realm of possession. A second distinction can therefore be made between the nouns of protection tools marked by language, namely the material they're made of.

The following images give a more precise idea of what an amulet is. It is a small object that varies in shape and size and that can fit in one hand. It is pierced by a cord, often made of leather, which allows it to be attached to a place on the body (see the mention "on the loins" in the third photo). This is part of the prescription of the marabout who creates the amulets. As can be seen in the pictures, an amulet can be richly decorated.

VITRINE 2

Collection ALEP
Écrits talismaniques au sortir des mains du marabout, avec les indications et prescriptions écrites pour le cordonnier, puis gainés de différentes matières.
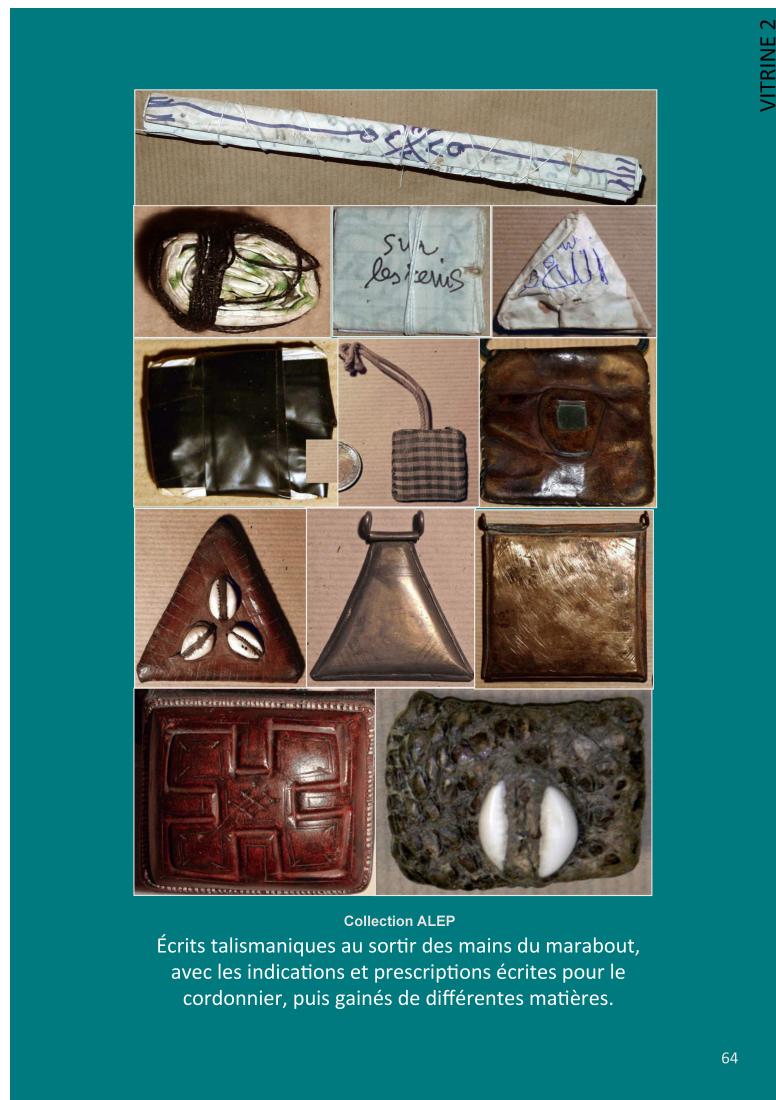
64

Figure 2: image from the catalogue of the exhibition *Un art secret. Les écritures talismaniques de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (Epelboin 2014: 64) © Alain Epelboin, collection ALEP CNRS-MNHN Paris (with his kind permission)

There is a wide variety of nouns for amulets: CAWDI (class B) 'amulet sewn into a small leather pad and held in place by a cord' (Diouf 2003), DÀKK (class G) 'amulet composed of two parts, a dorsal and a pectoral, held in place by cords that pass around the shoulders and ribs, used by wrestlers (Diouf 2003); amulet worn by a wrestler' (Diouf 2003); NDOMBO 'amulet sewn into leather and worn around the arm, leg or waist' (Diouf 2003); ÑIIR 'amulet to heal a baby's stomach ache' (Fal et al. 1990). The noun TÉERE is used as a quasi-generic term in everyday language.

These brief linguistic and encyclopaedic remarks make it possible to propose elements of meaning for the nouns of protective objects: (1) it is a kind of object intended for the protection of the person who uses it; (2) objects of this kind are distinguished by the way in which they are used; (3) these objects come into contact (directly or indirectly) with the body of the user; (4) the event which gives rise to the use of the object determines the point of contact with the body of the user. Now that we have circumscribed the elements of meaning of an object of protection, let us turn to the second use of the noun TÉERE.

4.2. The two meanings of the noun TÉERE

The noun TÉERE also denotes a book, another artifact. This artifact has often been taken as an example in the literature since Pustejovsky proposed an analysis of the meaning of the English noun BOOK (Pustejovsky 1995: 141-182). Since then, it has been recognized that equivalent nouns in other languages can denote a physical object, the text it contains, or the information provided by the text. The different denotations are determined in particular by the meaning of the verbs that co-occur with the artifact noun. The French verb LIRE 'read', when co-occurring with the noun LIVRE 'book', leads to the denotation of the text, whereas the verb POSER 'put' determines the denotation of the physical object. The following example illustrates this in Wolof. Here, the preposition *ci* 'in' follows the verb SEET 'to look'. It introduces a locative complement which is realized by the noun TÉERE. The phrase *seet ci* thus determines the denotation of the text because it is associated with the meaning 'to look into' which awaits the meaning 'something that is written' in the case of the book artifact. I nevertheless translate by 'book' because analyses such as those of Pustejovsky have shown that the lexical meaning of book nouns integrates the elements of meaning: (1) the book is a kind of thing intended to be read; (2) the person reading it looks at text; (3) the person reading it touches things on which the text is written.

(6) *damay   seet   ci **téere** maladie bi muy   correspond*
     PART.1SG.IMPF look.at LOC book disease CL:B 3SG.IMPF match
     'I'm looking at the book to see which disease it is'
     (Robert 1985, 1: 140)

The elements of meaning of 'book' associated with the noun TÉERE differ

greatly from those of 'amulet' associated with the same noun. Element (1) identifies two artifacts, each of which has a very different function (to inform *versus* to protect). Elements (2) and (3) indicate that the use of these artifacts is also different (touch *versus* reading), although the common point is body perception. (e.g. the touch of the pages and the vision of the text for a book, and the contact on the body for the amulet). I infer that these are two distinct meanings. It can therefore already be stated that this description of the meanings associated with the single noun TÉERE cannot be satisfied by monosemy. We also know that the noun in both directions controls the same morphemes of nominal classes (*b-* in the singular and *y-* in the plural). The question that arises is that of the relationship between the two meanings.

4.3. The shared meaning of a book TEERE and an amulet TEERE

To find out this relationship, we need more information on protective artifacts. They contain various kinds of objects such as animal parts, plants and minerals. Mixing is *de rigueur* in their preparation (Epelboin et al. 2007, see image below).

Figure 3: Image from the catalogue of the exhibition *Un art secret. Les écritures talismaniques de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (Epelboin 2014: 43), © Alain Epelboin, collection ALEP CNRS-MNHN Paris (with his kind permission)

The list of their contents is sometimes surprising, as illustrated by example (7). The vocabulary used is infrequent (in the dictionaries consulted, I did not find the lexeme TUPP 'oakum' and GEMBEÑ 'dried slime', and I relied on the author's translation). TUPP refers to a set of fibres. In the third line of the example, the suffix *-e* transforms the nominal lexeme TUPP into a verbal lexeme. From a lexeme that denotes an artifact intended to surround something, we get a lexeme that denotes an event ('surround something'). The second line of the example also deserves a comment. It illustrates the rhetorical figure of euphemism. Here, the point is to avoid naming what is considered impure (the urine of a menstruating woman). The speaker therefore used a construction that we can paraphrase by 'the worst thing about a woman'. It is a possessive construction realized by the construct form of the noun, built on the scheme [N1 *u-cl* N2]. The variable N1 is realized here by the qualifying phrase (*jigéen j-u yées /*woman CL:J-U be worse/ 'the woman who is impure'). The variable N2 is realized by the nominal lexeme JULLIKAAY, composed of the verbal lexeme JULLI 'to make the prayer' and the instrumental derivation suffix *-kaay*. We can paraphrase the

19

relationship between the two instances of N1 and N2 with a formula such as 'the impurity of the woman in the place of prayer'. The location of a person in a place is therefore realized here by a possessive construction.

(7) *ñu jax **xàmb** yi; jël ca bal-u wuru ak xaalis*
    3PL mix purifying.jar CL:Y take LOC ball-REL gold with silver
    'they mix the pots of purification (purification baths); (they) take out a gold and silver bullet from them'

    bu ñu suul ci jigéen ju yées ub julli-kaay
    CL:B 3PL bury LOC woman CL:J be.worse CL:B perform.prayer-INST
    'which they buried in the urine of a menstruating woman'

    tupp-e ko gembeñ-u mbaam
    oakum-TRL 3SG dried.slime-REL donkey
    '(and) surrounded by dried donkey drool'
    (Diagne 2005: 443-445)

It is important to remember that a protective artifact contains a set of objects whose mixture produces an occult power. In the case of amulets, these mixtures usually include what we will call a text (Hamès 1987). The pictures below provide some examples. Let's clarify this point. In the first photo (figure 4), we can recognize Arabic characters and other signs. The Arabic characters below the square are taken from a sura of the Koran. The square is called "magic square" in the Muslim cabbalistic tradition. The figure of a square is divided into boxes, each of which contains a "text". By "text" here, we mean a letter of the Arabic alphabet as well as a sign. Here, it is a sequence of seven signs to which scholarly traditions attribute powers. In the second photo (figure 5), the same sign is repeated as many times as the writing medium can hold it. According to the authors who collected these data, this sign shows a trident that has both defensive and offensive functions.

Figure 4: ALEP30126 5-buckle belt, image from the catalogue of the exhibition *Un art secret. Les écritures talismaniques de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (Epelboin 2014: 208), © Alain Epelboin, collection ALEP CNRS-MNHN Paris (with his kind permission)

Figure 5: ALEP78120 1-buckle belt, image from the catalogue of the exhibition *Un art secret. Les écritures talismaniques de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (Epelboin 2014: 208), © Alain Epelboin, collection ALEP CNRS-MNHN Paris (with his kind permission)

All these details are not trivial, as they allow us to discuss the translation of the noun TÉERE proposed by Diouf in his dictionary: 'talisman from the Koranic writings' (Diouf 2003, TÉERE). Indeed, an amulet contains text. The texts and writing in the amulets have their origin not only in the practice of Islam, but also in pre-Islamic African traditions (Hames 1987). These practices are common in Arabo-Muslim and Islamic African societies, of which Wolof society is a part. The text contained in an amulet can take different forms, such as an incantation or a formula derived from tradition. The following example gives linguistic evidence of this. The first sentence shows that an amulet can contain fabric such as here the loincloth used to carry a child on one's back (the noun MBOOTU is derived from the verb BOOT 'to carry a child on the back'). In the second sentence, the BAAX lexeme in its nominal use has the meaning of 'tradition'. The third sentence has a cleft construction of the complement of the verb ËW 'to sew in leather', realized by means of the auxiliary LA which functions as a copula in an equative construction. The subject of the verb *ëwale* 'to make something by someone in sewing with something' is omitted in the second proposition. I have interpreted it as a first person singular in the translation because the verb is preceded by the second person singular object personal pronoun *la*. In this

example, the text is made according to the traditions of the person using the amulet. In Wolof society, traditions are often conceived not only as transmitted practices but also as oral texts (Diagne 2005, Cissé 2006).

(8)   *xotti*   *mbootu* *ëw-al*   *téere*
       rip   loincloth sew.in.leather-CAUS amulet
       'Tear the loincloth into an amulet'

       won   *ma* *sa*   *baax-ub*   *maam*
       show.INJ.2SG1SG POSS.2SG tradition-CL:B ancestor
       'show me the traditions of your ancestors'

       baax   *la*   *lay*   *ëw-al-e*
       tradition PART.3SG 2SG.IMPF sew.in.leather-CAUSE-INSTR
       'I make it for you by tradition'
       (Cissé 2006-2010, 416: 1-4)

We see therefore that an element of meaning that refers to the notion of text must be added to the meaning of the noun TÉERE when it denotes an amulet. More generally, the meaning of the nouns of protective objects contains an element of meaning that refers to their content. Thus, the noun XÀMB denoting a purification pot contains an element of meaning that refers to the liquid mixture it contains. We must take this into account in our lexicographical definition. I propose to formulate it in the following way, after the other four: (5) Protective objects contain a set of things that protect the user. In the case of the noun TÉERE, it is the notion of text which is common to both denotations 'amulet' and 'book'. From this analysis, I deduce that the two meanings of the name TÉERE are in a polysemous relationship. I conclude that the nominal lexeme TÉERE is composed of two lexical units, one of which has the meaning 'book' and the other has the meaning 'amulet'. These two lexical units have the shared element of meaning 'the thing is composed of text'. In the next section, we still need to determine the order of the definitions. In other words, we have to determine which is the lexical item TÉERE$_1$ and which is TÉERE$_2$.

4.4. The relationship between the book and the amulet

In the minds of today's speakers, the primary meaning of the noun TÉERE refers to the amulet and not to the book. In his dictionary, Diouf (2003) even goes so far as to specify that the 'amulet' meaning of the noun TÉERE is 'talisman made of Koranic writings'. We have observed, however, that the encyclopaedic reality does not correspond exactly to this representation in that many amulets that are designated by the noun TÉERE contain texts that are not Koranic. From these remarks, we can deduce that the primary meaning of the noun TÉERE is that which denotes an amulet. What it contains protects, and the texts have this protective role. The second meaning of the noun TÉERE is that of the book which is made of texts. It remains to be explained why it is precisely this part (the texts) that has been

given the privilege of conveying the second meaning of TÉERE. We believe that it is by virtue of the importance given to the past - religious or not - and conveyed by texts - oral or written - that this polysemy can be explained. It is highly motivated, culturally. It is by virtue of the highly symbolic value accorded to texts in this society that they have the power to protect people from bad luck. It is precisely the function of an amulet to protect against evil spells. In other words, the two artifacts (book and amulet) do not have the same function, and that is why there are two different meanings. If we sum up what links the two meanings of TÉERE, we can say that an amulet is an instrument to protect oneself from evil spells, because it contains the words and knowledge of the ancients or the words of God. From this example, we can see that the link between the two meanings combines meronymy (the texts are part of the talisman and are constitutive of the book) and metonymy (these texts have the function of protecting the person who wears it). The two definitions in the following section formalize these links.

4.5. Definition of TEERE₁ 'amulet'.

TEERE₁ 'amulet

Lexico-syntactic frame

(a) it is something done by people

(b) when someone doesn't want something bad to happen

(c) someone can do something like this with this thing:

Motivational Scenario

(d) that thing may be on a part of someone's body

(e) someone may think that this thing is part of someone

(f) there are things that are not the same in this thing

(g) there are words in this thing

Potential result

(h) people think that these words can do a lot of good

(i) because of that people think that the person who puts that thing on his body

(j) what is bad cannot happen

Proposal (b) reflects the function of the artifact, which is the protection of the person using it. Note that the element of meaning (5), which specifies the constitution of the artifact, only comes into play in proposition (f). It is proposal (g) that reflects the notion of text. We will see that in the definition of TEERE$_2$ 'book', this proposition also has a connecting role with the definition of the lexical unit of TEERE$_1$ 'amulet'.

4.6. *Definition of* TEERE$_2$ *'book'.*

Let us recall here that we have dispensed with providing encyclopaedic information on the book entity. However, it seems useful to mention that the book is a physical object made up of words that deliver information. In other words, these three basic elements of meaning must be present in a definition of the noun that denotes it. In the definition below, proposals (a-c) explain the nature of the entity and its function. I prefer to associate the function of the book with knowledge more than with reading. The term "reading" indicates the use of the book rather than its function, which is the acquisition of the information contained in the book. It is therefore more coherent to use a formula that makes explicit the element of meaning linked to knowledge. The propositions (d-f) of the motivational scenario describe the essential characteristic of the book that is part of its constitution since it is about words. We wanted to capture a social reality, which is important in defining this artifact.

TEERE$_2$ 'book

Lexico-syntactic frame

(a) it is something done by people

(b) when someone wants to know things

(c) someone can do something like this with this thing:

Motivational Scenario

(d) there are a lot of words in this thing as in TEERE$_1$ 'amulet'.

(e) when people see all the words in this thing

(f) these persons may know what these words say

Potential result

(g) many people think that these words say what is true

(h) because of this many people want to see, say and know these words

Note that the two TÉERE₁ 'amulet' and TÉERE₂ 'book' are actually connected in two different ways. The first is included in the definition by proposal (d). I have rendered it by a proposal almost identical to proposal (g) of the previous definition, but adding the comparative as a way of clearly specifying the direction of the polysemy relationship. As argued above, the noun TÉERE has two meanings, and the meaning 'amulet' is the primary meaning. On the other hand, proposals (g-h) of the second definition refer back to proposal (h) of the previous definition. In other words, I consider that the meaning of 'book' has a more specific and less general meaning than the meaning of 'amulet'. Both artifacts contain text. But the text in an amulet is conceived as writing as well as the voice of tradition. Moreover, the beneficial power of the text on the person in an amulet covers all areas of social life, whereas that of the book is limited to knowledge (cf. proposition (h) of the second definition). What can be concluded from this last section is that the meaning of TEERE₁ 'talisman' is more general than that of TEERE₂ 'book'.

5. Conclusion

This article has explored the semantics of artifact nouns. I have favored artifacts typical of Wolof society such as the tam-tam and the amulet, and the definitions I give are pioneering. The nouns that denote these artifacts often have other denotations. I have not retained polysemy for the noun SABAR, which can denote a tam-tam, a dance, a rhythm, a party, or a place of celebration. I first showed that the denotations of the noun depend on the event denoted by the verb with which the noun is combined, and that the unique lexical meaning of SABAR includes the lexical meanings 'dance', 'rhythm', 'party', 'place of party'. The XAALIS lexeme, on the other hand, which designates either a material (silver metal) or an artifact made of this material (money), has been described and analysed as a polysemous lexeme. My argumentation was based on the identification of two very different meanings, linked by a clearly motivated link: the link from 'producer' to 'product'. Similarly, the noun TÉERE that denotes a book or an amulet is polysemous in that the two denotations are not correlated with combinations of the noun with particular types of verbs. The two meanings are, on the other hand, connected by the culturally motivated connection of the text and the word contained in both the amulet and the book. In other

words, polysemy must be recognized as a gradual relationship of meaning, even in the very specific cultural lexicon where polysemy predominates a priori.

Abbreviations

CAUS: causative	CIRC: circumstantial	CL: nominal class
IMP: imperfective	INJ: injunctive	INST: instrumental
LOC: locative	MID: middle voice	NEG: negative
PART: particle	PAST: past	PL: plural
POSS: possessive	REL: relator	SG: singular
TEMP: temporal	TRL: translative	

Acknowledgements

References

Bondéelle, Olivier. 2015. *Polysémie et structuration du lexique : le cas du wolof.* Utrecht: LOT (Dissertation Series).

Bondéelle, Olivier & Sylvain Kahane. Forthcomming. *Les particules verbales du wolof et leur combinatoire syntaxique et topologique.*

Church, Eric. 1981. *Le système verbal du wolof.* Dakar: Dakar University (coll. "Documents linguistiques").

Cissé, Momar. 2006. *Parole chantée ou psalmodiée wolof : collecte, typologie et analyse des procédés argumentatifs de connivence associés aux fonctions discursives de satire et d'éloge.* Dakar : UCAD, thesis, ms.

Creissels, Denis. 2009. The construct form of nouns in African languages. In Peter K. Austin, Oliver Bond, Monik Charette, David Nathan & Peter Sells (eds.), *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation & Linguistic Theory 2*, 73-82. London: SOAS.

Diagne, Mamoussé. 2005. *Critique de la raison orale : les pratiques discursives en Afrique noire.* Paris: Karthala.

Diouf, Jean Léopold. 2003. *Dictionnaire wolof-français et français-wolof.* Paris: Karthala.

Epelboin, Alain. 2014. *Collection ALEP : amulettes et objets magiques collectés dans les ordures (Mbebess Joal, Mbour, Sénégal, Afrique, Europe) 1983-2014. Catalogue multimédia de l'exposition 2014 IMA Tourcoing « Arts secrets : les écritures talismaniques d'Afrique de l'Ouest ».* https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01081672.

Epelboin, Alain, Constant Hamès & Anne Raggi. 2007. Cinq tuniques talismaniques récentes en provenance de Dakar (Sénégal). In Constant Hames (ed.), *Coran et talismans : textes et pratiques magiques en milieu musulman,* 147-174. Paris: Karthala.

Fal, Arame, Rosine Santos & Jean Léonce Doneux. 1990. *Dictionnaire wolof-français: suivi d'un index français-wolof.* Paris: Karthala.

Goddard, Cliff. 2012. Semantic primes, semantic molecules, semantic templates: Key concepts in the NSM approach to lexical typology. *Linguistics* 50(3). 711-743.

Hames, Constant. 1987. Taktub ou la magie de l'écriture islamique. Textes soninké à usage magique. *Arabica* 34(3). 305-325.

Jacquey, Evelyne. 2006. Un cas de 'polysémie logique': modélisation de noms d'action en français ambigus entre processus et artefact. *Traitement Automatique des Langues* 47(1). 137-166.

Kesteloot, Lilyan & Bassirou Dieng. 1989. *Contes et mythes wolof II. Du tieddo au talibé.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

Kihm, Alain. 1998. A propos de l'état construit. In Jacqueline Guéron & Anne Zribi-Hertz (eds.), *La grammaire de la possession,* 61-82. Nanterre: Publidix.

Kihm, Alain. 2000. Wolof genitive constructions and the construct state. in Jacqueline Lecarme, Jean Lowenstamm & Ur Shlonsky (eds), *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar, Papers from the Third Conference on Afroasiatic Languages, Sophia Antipolis 1996,* 151-182. Amsterdam: Johns Benjamins.

McLaughlin, Fiona. 1997. Noun classification in Wolof: When affixes are not renewed. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 26(1). 1-28.

Penna-Diaw, Luciana. 2005. La danse sabar, une expression de l'identité féminine chez les Wolof du Sénégal. *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie* (formerly *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles)* 18. 201-215.

Polguère, Alain. 2018. A lexicographic approach to the study of Copolysemy Relations. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 22(4). 788-820.

Pustejovsky, James. 1995. *The Generative Lexicon.* Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Robert, Stéphane. 1985. *Les maladies et les remèdes : débat sur les guérisseurs,* collection, transcription and translation of a radio debate on TV Horizon on 21/11/1985. ms.

Sauvageot, Serge. 1965. *Description synchronique d'un dialecte wolof : le parler du dyolof.* Dakar: I.F.A.N.

Tang, Patricia. 2007. *Masters of the sabar: Wolof griot percussionists of Senegal.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Thiam, Ndiassé. 1987. *Les catégories nominales en wolof : aspects sémantiques.* Dakar: Centre de linguistique appliquée de Dakar.

Urban, Matthias. 2012. *Analyzability and semantic associations in referring expressions: A study in comparative lexicology.* Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) Phd. Thesis.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1985. *Lexicography and conceptual analysis.* Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Appendix: Wolof Natural Semantic Metalanguage Definitions

Monosemy

SABAR

(a) li ay nit defe, dara la loo xam ne

(b) bu ko nit laalee

(c) ñeñeen nit degg li muy def

(d) nit ñii mën nañu bëgga yëngal seen yaram ci li muy def

(e) loolu dafa kawe, loolu dafa dëgër [m]

(f) nit ñi mënuñu gis ci biir loolu ndaxte

(g) li nekk ci kaw dafa tàpp [m] te mërgëlu [m]

(h) bu ko nit laalee

(i) nit ñu bare mën nañu degg li muy def

(j) moo tax nit ñii ñepp dañu bëgga nekk fu nekk ñeñeen nit

(k) moo tax nit ñii ñepp dañu bëgga yëgg lu baax

(l) ay jigéén [m] bëgga yëngal seen yaram ci li muy def

29

(m) ñeñeen nit bëgga gi li jigéén [m] ñeey def

(n) bu nit ñi ñépp defee noonu
(o) dafay yàgg

Polysemy

XAALIS$_1$

(a) li la loo xam ne
(b) loolu mu nekk ci biir suuf si

(c) loolu dafa dëgër [m]
(d) nit ñi mëna ko gis, nit ñi mëna ko laal
(e) nit ñi dañu wara def dara ak loolu
(f) bu nit ñii bëggee loolu ci seen loxo [m]
(g) bu ko kenn tojee [m]
(h) kenn mën na def dara ci loolu

XAALIS$_2$

(a) li ay nit defe, dara la loo xam ne
(b) bu kenn bëggee am lu keneen am
(c) loolu dañu ko def ak lu dëgër [m]
(d) kenn mën na ko def ci loxoom
(e) kenn mën na def lu mel ni ak loolu:

(f) kenn mën na xelaat ni dara loolu dafa mel ni li keneen am
(g) nit kii mëna ni:
(h)   "bëgge naa am li nga am
(i)   am naa dara lu mel ni li nga am".
(j) keneen nit mën na ni ay baati yooyu

(k) bu ñaari ñooñu ñu ne ay baati yooyu

(l) nit ku amoon dara am na léegi li kooku amoon

(m) li keneen nit amoon am na léegi dara loo nit ku amoon

(n) bu loolu jexee ni ku amoon yëf boobu am na léegi yëf bu kooku amoon

(o) bu ñaari nit defee lu mel ni

(p) ñaari nit ñooñu mën nañu yëgg lu baax lan ñu def

(q) ñeñeen mën nañu xelaat

(r) ñaari nit ñooñu def ñanu lu baax

TEERE₁

(a) li ay nit defe dara la loo xam ne

(b) bu nit ñi xelatee ni ku nekk ak loolu

(c) kenn mën na lu ko dara

(d) loolu ci yaramu nit la bokk

(e) kenn mën na xelaat ne loolu bokk ci yaramu nit

(f) am na yëf yu bare ci loolu

(g) am na ay baat ci loolu

(h) nit ñi mënuñu gis baati yooyu

(i) nit ñi mën nañu xealaat ni baati yooyu mën nañu def lu baax

(j) loolu tax nit ñi xealaat ni

(k) bu kenn nekkee ak dara loolu

(l) kenn mën na lu ko dara

TEERE₂

(a) li ay nit defe dara la loo xam ne

(b) bu nit ñi gisee ci loolu

(c) nit ñi mën nañu xam dara

(d) am na ay baat yu bare ci loolu

(e) nit ñu leen def bëgg nañu ñeñeen nit xam lu bare

(g) bu nit ñi gisee baat yooyu

(h) nit ñooñu mën nañu xam lan mooy baat yooyu

(i) nit ñu bare xelaat nañu ne baat yi degg lañu

(j) loolu tax nit ñu bare bëgga gis, bëgga ne , bëgga xam baat yooyu