
Unifying the many readings of Wolof imperfective *di*

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We present a case of one-to-many mapping in semantics in the case of the morpheme *di* in Wolof (Niger-Congo), which is associated with several readings (Robert 1991): event-in-progress/progressive; habitual; and future. Without *di*, an episodic reading obtains. Interestingly, the availability of these readings depends on *di*'s structural position. When *di* is below T, all readings are available, but when *di* is in C (in non-copular sentences), only the future is possible (Martinović 2015).

We capitalize on the event-relativity of modality to derive a unified modal semantics for the different readings of *di* in its high and low positions, following ideas from Hacquard (2010). For low *di*, the modal base is circumstantial, deriving a Portner (1998)/Ferreira (2016) semantics for progressives and habituals. For high *di*, the modal base is epistemic, and only a future interpretation is derived. Future readings of low *di* are accounted for by making reference to preparatory stages of events. Thus, the apparent one-to-many mapping associated with *di* is due to semantic underspecification, familiar from a Krazterian framework for modals, rather than ambiguity.

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