

**Dissertation Committee Meeting***At the intersection of temporal and modal expression***16 September 2019****agenda**

- committee composition
- schedule to completion
- the current state of the dissertation

**schedule to completion****4 Dec 2017** Prospectus defense**Winter 2017** LSA *otherwise***Spring 2018** Fieldwork grant applications

Field planning

Oxford Handbook ch.

LSP volume ch.

Yolŋu studies (2)

**Summer 2018** NT fieldtrip (I – 6w)**Fall 2018** SLE *bambai*FoDS *bambai*; NECNELS *otherwise***CHAPTER** – LIT REVIEW: tense(lessness) & intensionality (comprehensive bullet points)*Job applications***Spring 2019** **CHAPTER** – DESCRIPTION of the ‘facts’ of TMA (and related categories) in djɛ

Field planning

NT fieldtrip (II – 9w)

**Summer 2019** NELS proceedings paper (*otherwise*)Manuscript (*otherwise*)**Fall 2019** **CHAPTERS** – ANALYSIS Yolŋu intensionality:

- Elements of aspect & present-reference
- Cyclicity
- Reality status & negation

NELS (*NEC*)FoDS (*Yolŋu irrealis*)**CHAPTER** – comparison & diachrony

Yolŋu studies (3)

*Job applications***Winter 2019** LSA (*NEC*; grammaticalisation workshop)**Spring 2020** **CHAPTERS**: (LESS) CONTENTFUL

- Lang. Bkgrd
- Intro/Conclusion
- Kriol – *bambai* (????)

**16 Mar 2020** Dissertation submission deadline

## the dissertation

Among its aims, (the presently relevant component of) my dissertation seeks to understand:

- **The proper semantics for (sc. meaning contribution of) Yolŋu inflectional categories &**
- **How temporal relations are encoded and understood in Yolŋu.**

## Temporal expression

- **Temporal remoteness** (“metrical/graded” tense) has received a number of treatments in the recent literature (e.g Bohnemeyer 2018, Cable 2013, Klecha and Bochnak 2016).
  - Grammaticalisation of finegrained markers of temporal location (Comrie 1983:84,Dahl 1983)
  - It is likely not a unified phenomenon semantically; authors show different ways in which their object languages encode temporal remoteness.
  - All provide evidence for an unmarked tense marker which is blocked in particular situations by MAXPRESUPP or similar principles.
- Djambarrpuyŋu does indeed seem to have a grammatical reflex for temporal remoteness (1-2)

### CONTRIBUTIONS OF GIKŪYŪ PST TRMs (Cable 2013:257)

IMPST  $t_e \circ \text{IMM}(t_u)$

NRPST  $t_e \circ \text{DAY}(t_u)$

RECPST  $t_e \circ \text{REC}(t_u)$

REMPST  $t_e \prec t_u$

### THE INVENTORY IN DJR

Future } NONPAST  
Today }

Today }  
Recent } PAST  
Remote }

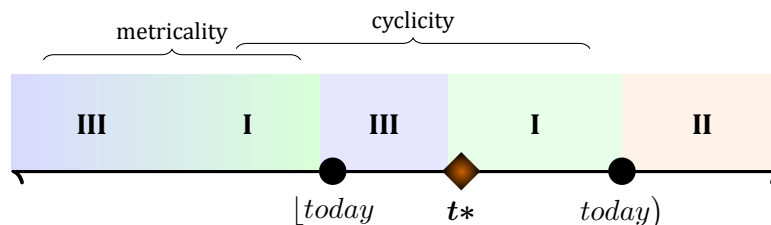
## Cyclicity

- What are the forms associated with these five categories?
- **I** is obligatory in PRESENT (3a) **and** RECENT PAST 1a) contexts
- **III** is to refer to an earlier event on the day of speech (3b) as well as in the REMOTE PAST (1b).
  - Times compatible with **I** and **III** are **discontinuous**.

**Cyclic tense** (Comrie 1983:88) has been reported only in languages spoken in this area of Arnhem Land.

**Figure 1.** Temporal expression in the Yolŋu Matha varieties of Central Arnhem, demonstrating two descriptive phenomena: (a) cyclicity — the interspersed/discontinuity of **I** and **III** forms and (b) metricality — the (subjective) division of the past domain between these two forms.

$[today)$  indicates the boundaries of the privileged interval *today*.  $t^*$  is utterance time



- Descriptions (particularly of the neighbouring ‘Maningrida’ language family’) have adopted a schema like the one in Table 1 (originally due to Glasgow (1964)).
- Wilkinson (1991) and other Yolŋuists discuss but seem uncommitted to this style of analysis (they’ve treated it largely as a type of polysemy, *pers. comm.*)

		FRAME	
		today	before today
INFL	I	now	yesterday/recently
	III	earlier today	long ago

**Table 1.** A Glasgow (1964)-style analysis of **past-time restrictions** introduced by the verbal inflections, adapted for the Dhuwal(a) data. **I** and **III** inflections correspond to Eather’s **contemporary** and **precontemporary** “tenses” (“precontemporary” is Eather’s (2011:166) relabelling of Glasgow’s “remote” tense.)

- A formal tool for relating a reference interval to a related interval comes from Condoravdi and Deo (2014).
- In order to capture the meaning component of the PERFECT aspect they define a relation NONFINAL INSTANTIATION that holds between a property and two intervals  $i, j$ :

$$\text{NFINST}(P, j, i) \leftrightarrow \exists k [\text{INST}(P, k) \wedge k \sqsubseteq j \wedge k \prec i]$$

such that this relation holds when we can find some interval  $k$  contained in  $j$ , **preceding** the reference interval  $i$ , in which  $P$  is instantiated.

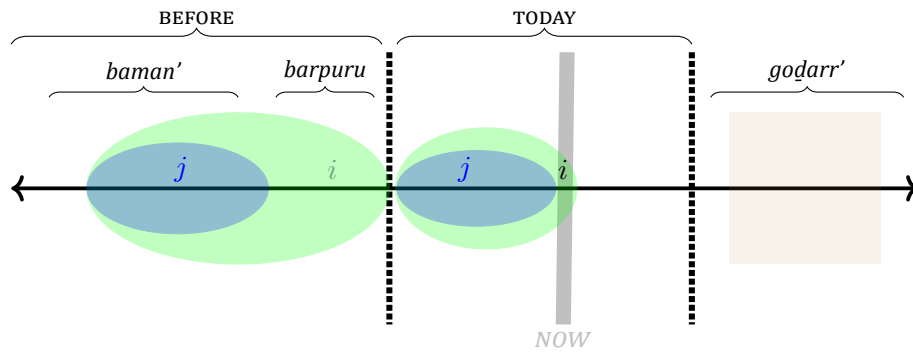
- **A first tilt**

- Adapting from a treatment of the PERFECT in Condoravdi and Deo (2014):

$$[\text{III}]^{g,c} = \lambda P \lambda i_c. \exists j [i_c \sqsubseteq_{\text{final}} j \wedge \text{NFINST}(P, j, i)]$$

- Which may for current purposes be equivalent to a simpler denotation... (?)

$$[\text{III}]^{g,c} = \lambda P \lambda j_c. \exists k [k \sqsubseteq_{\text{nonfinal}} j_c \wedge \text{INST}(P, k)]$$



**Figure 2.** Appealing to ‘nonfinal instantiation’ to provide a unified entry for the temporal reference of **III**

- What this genre of analysis would buy us is a situation in which  $i$  is identified either as the time-of-speech (roughly **now**) or some constrained (recent) period *prior to the day-of-speech*.
- **III** is then licensed when the property which is denoted by the verb that it inflects is instantiated within  $j$  (a superinterval of  $i$  that shares its right boundary) but not in  $i$  itself.
- An implication of this initial treatment would be that the temporal work that **III** is not really that of an absolute tense marker (taken by, e.g. Klein 2009 to be the relation of utterance time to a reference time. Here eventuality time is directly built in to the semantics.)

- It's likely possible to maintain a pronominal treatment of tense in the style of Partee (1973) (roughly,  $\llbracket \text{PST} \rrbracket = \lambda t : t \prec \mathbf{now}.t$ ), but how to do or what the implications are aren't immediately clear to me as I get this handout together.
- The temporal contribution of future-tense operator *dhu* might be simply analysed as placing a pre-supposition on the temporal location of *i* (or at least on the INST relation) such that  $\tau(\varepsilon) \succ \mathbf{now}$ 
  - This is likely to be truth-conditionally insufficient given that it says nothing about the modal (necessity) contribution of *dhu*.

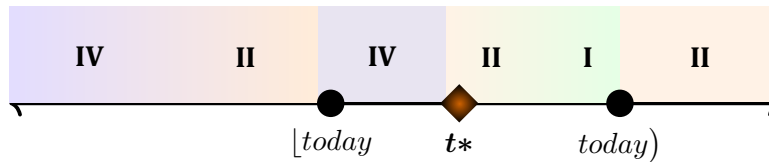
### A potential functional explanation

- The TODAY and NOTODAY frames in the descriptive lit correspond to two different discourse modes: **conversational** and **narrative** respectively.
- In **conversation**, where we might be less concerned with remote displacement, we might expect to be concerned with the immediate past as distinguished from the non-past. These presuppositions are grammaticalised as **III** (the Glaswegian “remote”/“precontemporary”) and **I** (the Glaswegian “contemporary”) respectively.
- Conversely, in **narration**, which concerns the past almost exclusively, a distinction between states-of-affairs that hold in (relative) here-and-now as against the remote past is (arguably) more relevant than past/nonpast.

### Interactions with modality

- The picture becomes more complicated when we admit data describing **non-instantiated** events (which includes negated, modalised, and generic/habitual predications)
- clausal negation *triggers the appearance of irrealis-type* modal markings

**Figure 3.** The effect of negation as a licensing condition for verbal inflections



- The basic picture is given in 2:

**Table 2.** neutralisation of inflectional system under negation

INFLECTIONS	
–NEG	+NEG
I	II
II	
III	
IV	IV

- This provides support for the semanticisation of an INSTANTIATION relation in the verbal inflections
- I assume that it is not a coincidence that **II** is licensed in both FUTURE predications and the negations/modalisations of **I**-predications.

- Note, importantly, that today-nonpast utterances **still receive I**-marking. I expect that the analysis will build in something to do with perceptual access and/or a PLAN type operator.

The story for this will be that things that are **currently not happening** can be thought of as perceptually-supportable facts of the world.

- Functional explanations for the NEGATIVE ASYMMETRY generally emphasise the fact that negated predicates '[belong] to the realm of the non-realized', a domain that is associated with irrealis marking (Miestamo 2005: 225).

## data

### (1) Temporal remoteness (past)

#### a. RECENT PAST with **I**

*yo barpuru-ny ηarra marrtji(\*-na) shop-lil*  
 yes, yesterday-PROM 1s fo-I/\***III** shop-ALL  
 ‘Yes, I went to the store yesterday.’

#### b. REMOTE PAST with **III**

*yo ηarra marrtji-na ηunhawala ηäthil baman’*  
 yes 1s go-**III** DIST.ALL before long.ago  
 ‘Yes, I went there long ago.’

### (2) Temporal remoteness (future)

#### a. *yalala ηarra dhu nhokal lakara-m* later 1s FUT 2s.OBL tell-I

‘Later (today) I’ll tell you.’

(Wilkinson 1991:373)

#### b. *Barpuru godarr ηarra dhu nhä(-ηu/\*-ma)* funeral tomorrow 1s FUT see(-**II**/\*-**I**)

‘I’ll see the funeral tomorrow’

[AW 20180730]

### (3) Cyclicity (the HODIERNAL “frame”)

#### a. PRESENT with **I**

*ηarra ga nhä-ma warrkun’ (dhiyan bala)*  
 1s IPFV-I see.I bird ENDO.ERG MVTAWY  
 ‘I’m looking at a bird (now)’

#### b. TODAY PAST with **III**

*ηe gäthur ηarra ηanya nhä-ηal (\*nhäma) godarr dhiyal*  
 yes, today 1s 3s.ACC see-**III** (\*see.I) morning PROX-LOC  
 ‘Yes, I saw him here this morning’

(Wilkinson 1991)

### (4) Vagueness in the TFA domain

#### a. *ga (yawungu) ηuriηi-ny bala ga dhuwal dumurru’-ηu-y,* and (yesterday) ENDO.ERG-PROM MVTAWY IPFV.I PROX big-ηu-ERG

*bäyηu-n yolηu walal wukirri waηara-n ga dhärra*  
 NEGQ-SEQ people 3p school empty-SEQ IPFV.I stand.I

‘Last week there was nobody at school.’

(Wilkinson 1991:256)

#### b. Compatibility of FUTURE **II** with *ηuriηi bala*

*ga ηuriηi-n bala dhu bongun, bäyηu-n gol,*  
 and ENDO.ERG-SEQ MVTAWY FUT tomorrow NEGQ-SEQ school

*waηara-n dhu gi dhärra*  
 empty-SEQ FUT IPFV.II stand.II

‘And next (week), there’ll be nobody at school, it’ll be empty.’

(Wilkinson 1991:256)

- c. *dirramu-wal yothu-wal bäpa-'mirriṇu-y rrupiya barpuru dju'y'u-n mǎrr barpuru ga*  
 man-OBL kid-OBL father-PROP-ERG money yesterday send.I somewhat yesterday and  
*barpuru buna-ny dhiyal-nydja*  
 yesterday arrive.I-PROM PROX.ERG-PROM

'The father sent money to the boy recently and it arrived here yesterday' (Wilkinson 1991:343)

(5) **Productive derivation of temporal frame from nominal**

- bala ṇayi yaryu'~yaryu-n danga-y wāṇa-y*  
 MVTAWY 3S wade~RED-I fine-ERG place-ERG

'Then he went along the water's edge (hunting) while it was fine out (not raining).'

 (Wilkinson 1991:159)

(6) **Compatibility of *dhiyaṇ bala* with non-present reference**

- a. *dhiyaṇ bala napurr bäpi nhä-ṇal gāthur*  
 PROX.ERG MVTAWY 1p.EXCL snake see-III today

'We saw a snake today' (Wilkinson 1991:256)

- b. *dhiyaṇ bala walal dhu buna, yalala*  
 PROX.ERG MVTAWY 3p FUT arrive.I later

'They're coming later today.' (Wilkinson 1991:256)

(7) ***Ṇuriṇi bala* 'at (some other) time'**

- Way, marṅgi nhe (ṇarra-kalaṇa-w bäpa-'mirriṇu-w-nydja [ṇunhi [ṇayi dhiṅga-ma-ny ṇuriṇi bala*  
 hey know 2S 1S-OBL-DAT father-PROP-DAT-PROM ENDO 3S die-I-PROM ENDO-ERG then  
*dhungara-y]]]*  
 year-ERG

'Hey, did you know my father, who died last year?' (Wilkinson 1991:343)

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