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

agenda

- the current state of the dissertation

- schedule to completion & defense date

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the dissertation

Adapted from the introduction. The body of this dissertation consists of a number of more or less related studies that consider the roles of conventionalised linguistic expressions and context (*sc.* the interplay of semantics and pragmatics) in "displacing" discourse – that is, how, in a given discourse context, reference is established to different possible worlds and different times. The role of this introduction is to introduce (and motivate) the major assumptions and theoretical commitments that underpin these essays and to highlight how, they connect with one another and (hopefully) constitute data and analyses that have the potential to further refine and nuance theories of natural language semantics, specifically in terms of what these have to say about the mechanics of displacement.

The essays variously consider data from English and from a number of languages spoken in Aboriginal Australia, on the basis of both published and original data, collected in consultation with native speakers.

otherwise • RESUBMITTED manuscript to J. Semant w/ Hadas a month ago

- Following Webber et al. (2001), a "discourse anaphor"—signals 'discourse relations between adjacent discourse units'.

- analysis of the meaning and interpretation constraints on the English lexical item *otherwise*.

- we argue that the antecedent is accommodated from the pronounced utterance preceding *otherwise* — analysis crucially deploys Roberts's "modal subordination" framework

- also appeals to information structural notions—the QuD—in determining the nature of the antecedent.

- Consequently, the chapter constitutes a **dynamic analysis of a discourse anaphor** (*sc.*, one that considers the development of discourse participants' information states over time)

- accounts for flexible distribution and previously unobserved limitations on its use.

- Potentially can migrate the content of appendix (our extension of the DRL) into the main body of the chapter, spell out some more of the formalism (e.g. ⌢)

- Possibility for variables over worlds in the domain of g/X

bambai unpublished manuscript: qualifying paper, developed into an LSP submission, significantly further developed since.

- formal semantic account of "**apprehensionality**"

- paying particular attention to an apparent meaning change trajectory, where future-oriented TFAs develop modal readings.

- An observation originally due to Angelo and Schultze-Berndt (2016, 2018), *bambai* started its life as a TFA ≈ 'soon'; developed so-called "apprehensional" uses.

- In many contexts *bambai* is translatable as 'otherwise' – on account of its reliance on accommodation processes, the account defended here treats *bambai*-type apprehensives as discourse anaphors that involve the modal subordination of their prejacent to elements of foregoing discourse.

- Detailed explanation of the range of uses available to *bambai* in both its temporal and modal functions.
- Lexical entry that unifies these uses
- Account of the emergence of explicitly modal readings in a future-oriented ("subsequential") temporal adverb, as well as a semantics for apprehensional marking.
- Needs significantly more detail on "finding the antecedent" (that is, the connections with *otherwise*)
- Needs some more detail on use-conditions probably (how much of the 2-dimensional/$\mathcal{L}_{\text{CI}}$ stuff do we think is necessary?)
- May need to spell out a c'factual example
- Potentially something akin to *insubordination* to get the non-precautioning/monoclausal/non-coordinate uses of *bambai*
- Unclear what adjustments will need to be made to get the epistemic future type uses as in ex. 108, pg. 55.

The *NEC* **The version currently in the document is a chapter TO APPEAR in a volume published by LSP in the next few months. The formal treatment is *somewhat* sidelined, but this has been at least partly published in the NELS50 proceedings.**

- formal semantic treatment of **the Negative Existential Cycle**
- comparative data from Thura-Yura, Yolŋu Matha and Arandic, arguing for semantic change cycle.
- PRIVATIVE is taken to realise the semantics of a negative existential.
- Diachronic evidence that erstwhile privatives generalise into sentential negators: this interpreted as an instantiation of the NEC
- Unified semantics for nominal and verbal negation.
- Taken to provide support for a treatment of **negation as a two-place (modal) operator**
- Suggests that this cycle can be united with general observations made in the grammaticalisation literatures regarding the functional pressures underpinning meaning change.
  - In particuar Ashwini's work on "discretional indexicality" (M-in-F and maybe some colloquia? though I don't know where else this exists?)
- The proceedings paper/LSA talk both provide more detail about the formal NEC treatment. The main points are in this LSP piece but they'll be centred a bit more and there'll be more motivation of the treatment of existential predication (Francez, McNally...)
- More discussion of the theoretical implications (spelled out more in proceedings paper?)
- I have some djr data elicited that tries to get at • scope judgments and • constraints on the possible semantic relations between subject/coda and pivot. These haven't been written up or incorporated into the work
- Sasha Wilmoth has spoken about a similar effect in the WD language she works on which i'd like to look into, though this is almost certainly a reach goal dissertationwise. This said she does have some written up here (just seeing this now, so I'll at least incorporate some what she has which sits v nicely w the data i do speak about.)

Yolŋu What was originally going to be the main thrust of the dissertation is still likely to appear in some form, but *that* dissertation is now a postdoctoral monograph in my mind if someone gives me a job one day ʕ˚̃ʔ

- Section on **lexical aspect** & statives (currently billed a description of present-time reference.])

– claim: djr verb (stems) strictly denote properties of events

cyclic tense (P instantiation at discontinuous intervals.)

- Had made some amount of progress on this last Winter, significant way to go
- There's a TODAY and PRE-TODAY frame, retrieved from context
- Treats **I** (cognate with PRES in other yolŋu) as realising an instantiation relation between an event/time/world
- Treats **III** (cognate with PAST in other yolŋu) as realising non-final instantiation of some event
- A MAXPRESUPP-type constraint gets us cyclicity?
- The "frames": Possibility of bringing insights from Culioli (*opérations énonciatives*) to bear on this question (given the apparent success they've had in dealing w IE aorists.)

negation-based asymmetries in reality-status marking (mood distinctions are collapsed in negative predications)

Content here is pretty much the facts/bones of the analysis from the FoDS4 talk.

- Neg sentences inflect similarly to other "unrealized" predications (future, cfact, circ. possibility, (past) habituality)
    - comparison to Krifka's treatment of the Daakie "mood-based" (Bhat) inflectional system
- Re-invokes possible treatments of sentential negators as modal expressions — or at least djr has reinterpreted NEG as a modal operator **(compare this to the conclusion in the NEC chapter)**
- Same day negative future is immune to this neutralization : evidence for distinct status/ grammaticalized futurate

- An additional observation is a perhaps kind of quirky observation about the structure of the "nonrealized" domain/modal displacement which needs to be worked out:
    - FUT/NEG/CIRC. MODAL/PST.HAB all categorically trigger the asymmetry.
    - epistemic modals / propositional attitudes / other subjunctive-like constructions don't participate in it.
- These two phenomena (to varying degrees) represent areal features of central Arnhem Land languages.
- There's ofc a lot to be said about semantic change in this domain (the original thought from which the project sprung, the FoDS 4 comparison of djr and rit) – (ironically) now likely out of the remit of the diss.

References

Angelo, D. and Schultze-Berndt, E. (2016). Beware bambai – soon it may turn apprehensive. In Meakins, F. and O'Shannessy, C., editors, *Loss and Renewal: Australian languages since contact*, pages 255–296. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Angelo, D. and Schultze-Berndt, E. (2018). Syntactically independent but pragmatically dependent: precautioning temporal markers. In *Syntax of the World's Languages*, Paris.

Roberts, C. (1989). Modal Subordination and Pronominal Anaphora in Discourse. *Linguistics & Philosophy*, 12:683–721.

Webber, B. L., Stone, M., Joshi, A., and Knott, A. (2001). Anaphora and Discourse Semantics. *University of Pennsylvania Institute for Research in Cognitive Science Technical Report No. IRCS-01-13.*, (30).