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EXPERIMENTAL
LAB

Temporal, aspectual and modal evaluation of reference

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AIM:

to examine the evaluation of nominal reference in relation to time and reality, based on Italian written corpus data, by considering

- ✓ **temporal** marking
- ✓ **aspectual** marking
- ✓ **modal** marking

WITHIN
THE NOUN PHRASE

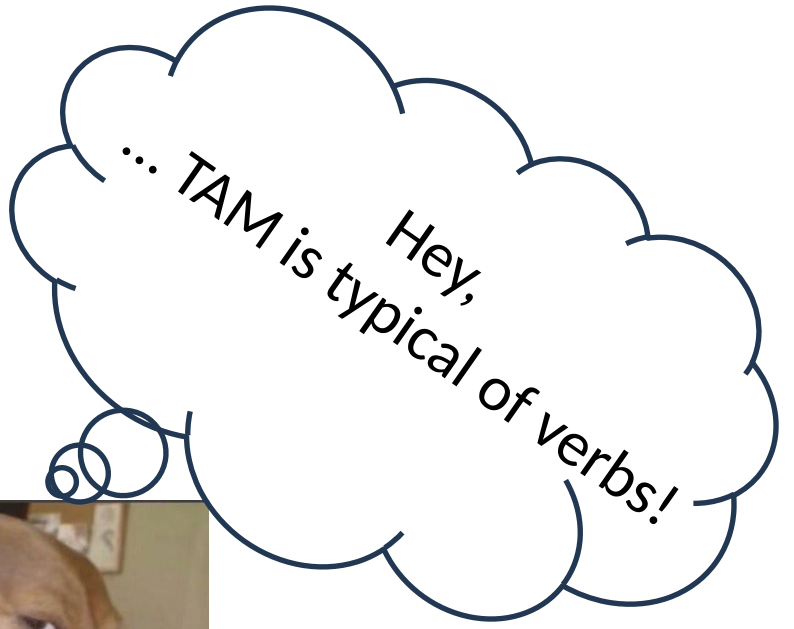
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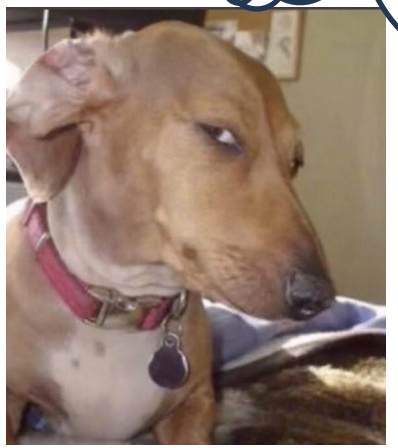
AIM:

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WITHIN
THE NOUN PHRASE





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Nominal TAM markers do exist

There exist languages that systematically (in some cases, obligatorily) mark **TAM features on nouns** (Nordlinger and Sadler 2004, Lecarme 2012, Bertinetto 2020)

(1) Bolivian-Guaraní [gui, Tupí-Guaraní]
(Bertinetto 2020: 317)

1a. *A-echa* *che* *ro-rã*
1SG-see 1SG house-**PROSP**
'I see/saw **my future house**'

1b. *A-echa-ta* *che* *ro-kue*
1SG-see-FUT 1SG house-**RETR**
'I will see **my former house.'**

(2) Wayana [way, Cariban]
(Camargo 2008: 94, ex. 18)

2a. *kanawa-tpë-me*
canoe-**RETR-PROSP**
'**what might have been a canoe**'

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…in Italian too?

(3) [. . .] *piccole soddisfazioni da **ex-fumatore** che i **mai-fumatori** neanche si sognano.* [. . .]
small satisfactions for an ex-smoker that never-smokers can't even dream of. (itTenTen20)

(4) [. . .] *rompere il ghiaccio della nostra **un-tempo-amicizia*** [. . .]
breaking the ice of our once-friendship [. . .] (itTenTen20)

(5) [. . .] *gli **appena-trentenni** si trasformano in trentenni a tutti gli effetti.*
the newly-thirty-year-olds develop into full-fledged thirty-year-olds. (itTenTen20)

(6) *Si è creato quel magico **non-equilibrio** per cui è arrivato un **forse-lavoro** pagato poco e poco appagante ma che dovrebbe essere stabile.*
That magical non-balance has been created where a perhaps-job has come up, a low paid and unsatisfying job, but that should be stable. (itTenTen20).

(7) [. . .] *lui il **padre-non-più-padre**, ma padre in altro modo, cioè ci siamo capiti.*
he, the father-not-father-anymore, but father in a different way, that is, you know what I mean. (itTenTen20)

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TAM reference evaluation *as Evaluative Morphology?*

Also in a language like Italian speakers evaluate reference along the temporal, aspectual and modal dimensions, **assessing the validity and certainty of referential categorization against the moment of speech.**

Evaluation is performed against a default value if no TAM value is made explicit, then the element can be framed as N at any time in the discourse world (cf. Grandi and Körtvelyessy 2015)

Evaluation happens at morphology level Speakers can use a variety of strategies at word level: *prefixes*, *prefixoids*, *ad-hoc compounding*, *phrasal compounding*…

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TAM reference evaluation: a definition

A specific **referent X** is identified in terms of a certain **property P_N (or set of properties) of a noun N, that:**

- **is** contextually identified as **relevant in the discourse context** (ad hoc categorization, cf. Mauri & Sansò 2018; Masini & Mauri 2020)
- **has to be modulated along TAM dimensions in order to be applicable**

Reference validity is thus evaluated on the basis of:

i. its collocation in **time** (past/present/future)

ii. its **duration** and **internal structure** (incipient/continuous/repeated/staged/…)

iii. its **certainty** (certain vs. uncertain/potential vs. impossible - attitude).

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Research questions

1. To what extent can TAM reference evaluation be considered relevant for the domain of evaluative semantics, in addition to *dimension*, *quantity*, *intensity*, *appreciation*, *prototypicality*?

2. To what extent may evaluating reference against the TAM dimensions lead to a **subjective evaluation** in terms of *prototypicality*, *approximation* and also in terms of *speaker's attitude*?

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Methodology

a) Data extraction

b) Dataset

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Data extraction

- ItWac, WikiConll, Repubblica
  - Bottom up extraction of:
    1. [{pref}-N]$_N$
    2. ngrams of the following shape:



  - Identification of semantic class of noun through inspection of occurrences
- ItTenTen20
  - Top-down extraction of types through regex

    ([a-z]+-)*{pref}(-[a-z]+)+

    with pref being one of the considered elements
    1. Cleaning of extracted lists
    2. Identification of *ad-hoc* occurrences (see last slides)

~~ex-novo~~	6941	ex-marito	1485
ex-Jugoslavia	3840	ex-studenti	1244
~~ex-voto~~	3687	ex-sindaco	1183
~~ex-aequo~~	3478	ex-convento	1054
ex-presidente	3102	~~tex-mex~~	999
~~ex-post~~	2815	ex-detenuti	998
ex-moglie	2451	ex-direttore	948
~~ex-ante~~	2435	ex-compagni	925
ex-ministro	1821	ex-comunisti	922
ex-allievi	1602	ex-compagno	909

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Dataset – shape and features

TAM element

ex, *neo*, *pre*, *post*, *non*, *quasi*, *già*, *ormai*, *allora*, *appena*, *forse*, *ancora*, *sempre*, *ieri*…

Type

1. prefix
2. ngram type
   - DET ADV NOUN
   - DET ADJ ADV NOUN

BASE NOUN

Bare form (no lemmatization applied) of noun appearing in compound or ngram.

TAM value

Evaluative semantics of the compound or ngram in context:
past, *inceptive*, *renewal*, … *evaluation*

Source

Italian Corpora:

- ITWAC
- REPUBBLICA
- WIKICONLL
- itTenTen (available through *SketchEngine*)

Semantic class

Attributed to base noun, possible values are:

Kinship, *Job or Career*, *Role*, *Qualification*, *Rank*, *Cultural Movement*, *Place*, *Process*, *Denomination*, *Entity*, *Event*

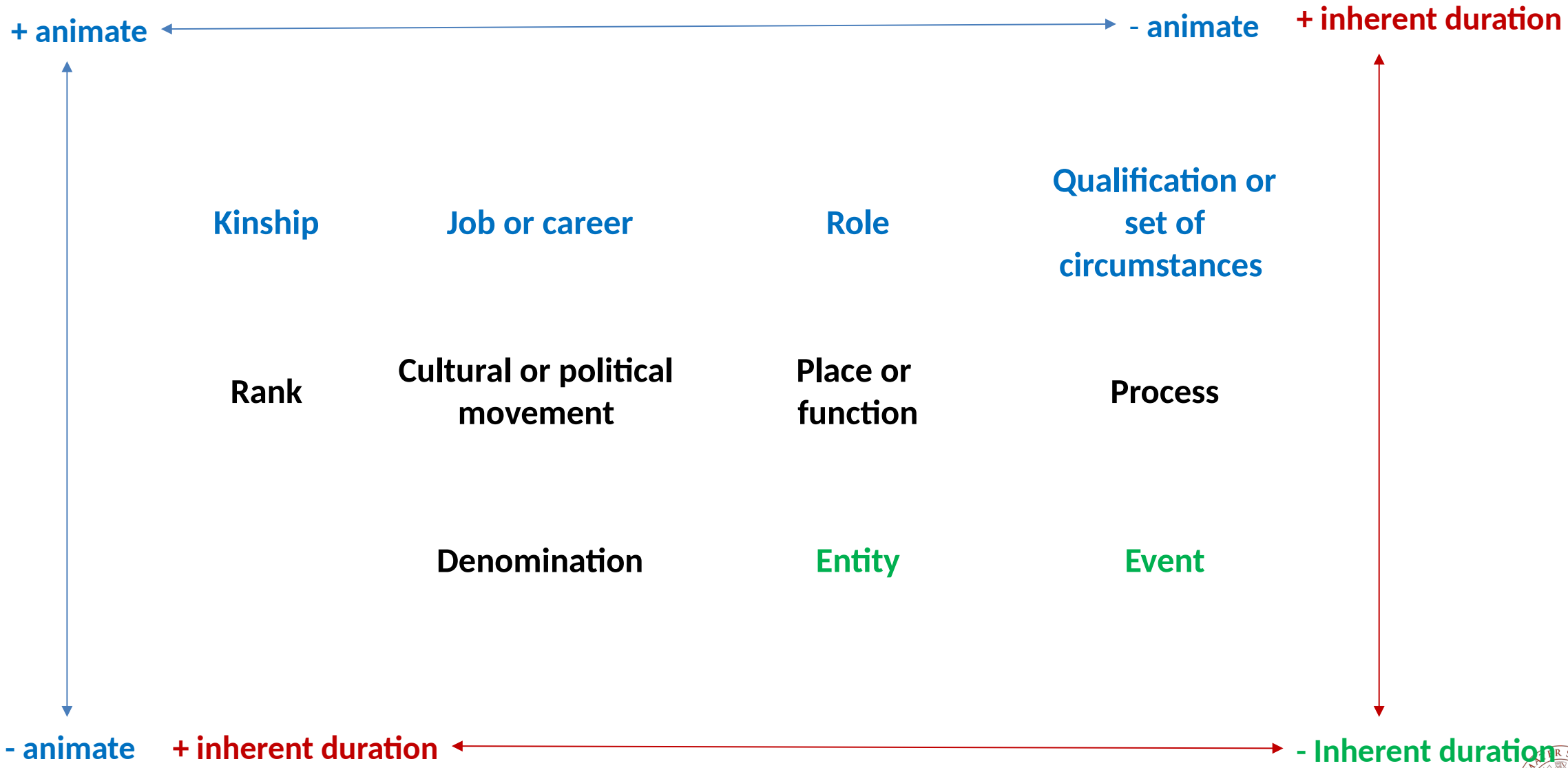
Loosely based on Wordnet and T-PAS

Left context

Occurrence

Right context

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Dataset – to be completed

TAM ele	type	base noun	sem class	source	TAM value	left ctx	occ	right ctx
Ex	prefix	Amante	Kinship	Itwac	Past	Grazie a Julia , sua	Ex-amante	e moglie del fratello , Frank riuscirà però a tornare in vita nutrendo e riedificando il proprio corpo con il
quasi	DET ADV NOUN	Adolescente	Qualification	Repubblica	Close to N	E c' è la ribellione di	una quasi adolescente	a suo padre , che pone un quesito più universale , persino del confronto tra culture : quello del rapporto donna
quasi	prefix	Monopolio		itTenTen				
post	prefix	Conflitto	Event	wikiconll	---	Annan presenta l' idea della PBC come uno strumento per l' identificazione di strategie per i Paesi in situazione di	post-conflitto	.
non-più-cxn	prefix			itTenTen		All'interno del tessuto veneziano sono presenti più di trenta casi di	chiese-non-più-chiese	che vanno a occupare più di centoventimila metri quadrati di suolo sulle isole.

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Results

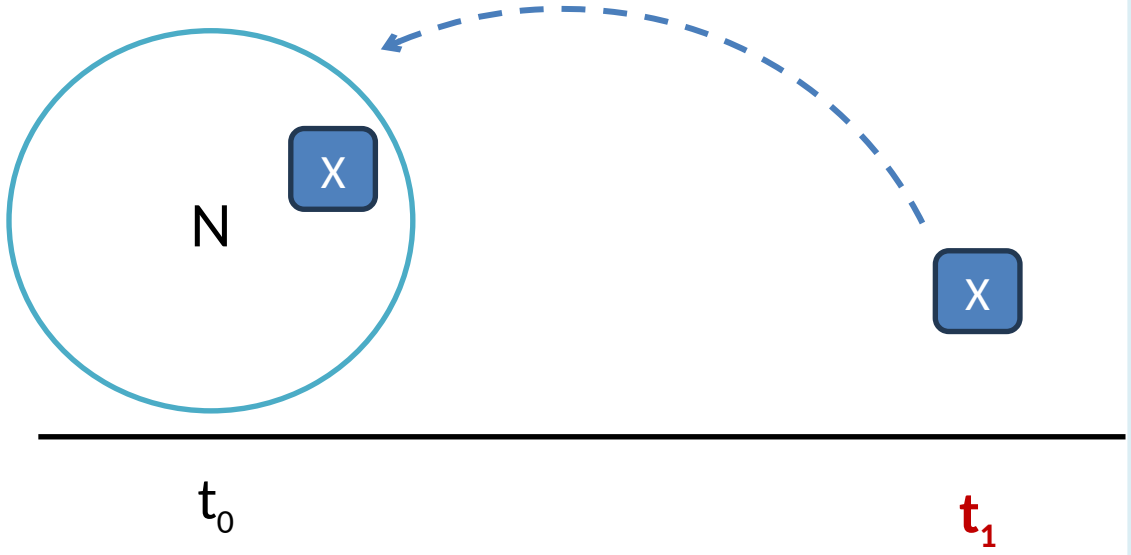
a) **Ended reference - *past***
b) Started and ongoing reference
c) Circum reference
d) Potential reference
e) Mixed cases
f) Specific TAM constructions

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ENDED REFERENCE

> *PAST EVALUATION*

>> X was N *in the past*



✓ X is identified through the **assignment** of P_N (Context-relevant Property of N) **at a past time**

(8) *Una ex-allieva*[Qualification] *della Scuola Sant'Anna, racconta la sua storia di emigrazione nella Silicon Valley Anni Novanta.*

A **former student** of Scuola Sant'Anna tells her story of emigrating to Silicon Valley 1990s.

(9) *Il primo confronto risale al 1960, nell'allora Coppa dei Campioni*[Denomination]

The first confrontation was in 1960, in the **then Champion's Cup.**

(10) *Mötley Crüe si riunirono nel 1997 , dopo che l'allora manager*[Role] *Allen Kovac, e quello di Vince, Bert Stein, organizzarono una riunione fra Vince, Tommy e Nikki .*

Moetley Crue reunited in 1977, when the **then manager** Allen Kovac and that of Vince, Bert Stein, organized a meeting with Vince, Tommy and Nikki

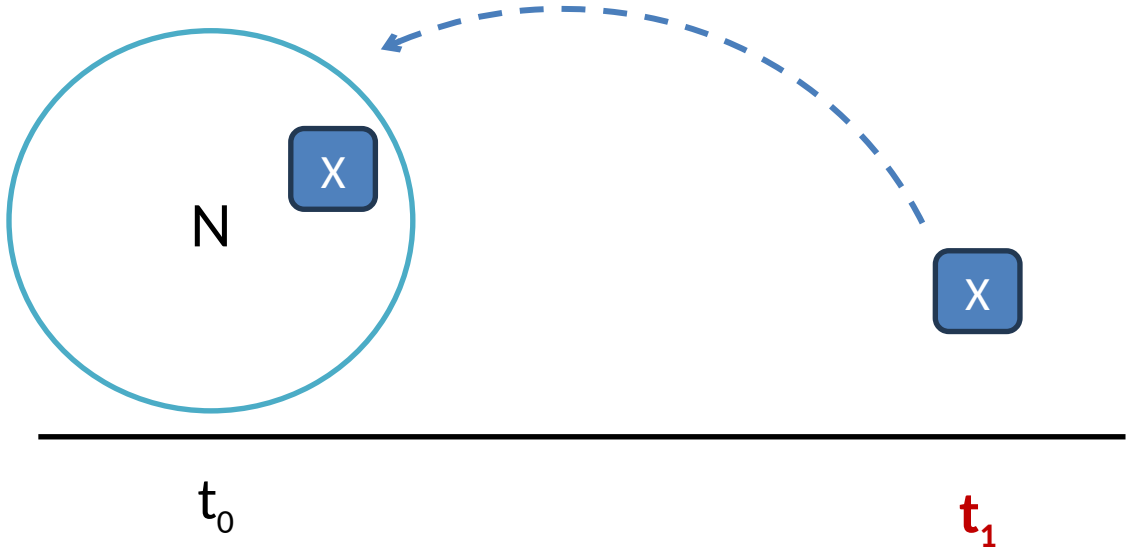
(11) *il club fu messo in vendita per £5 dall' allora-presidente*[Role] *Tony Wood*

The club was put up for sale for £5 by the **then-president** Tony Wood

ENDED REFERENCE

> PAST EVALUATION

>> X was N *in the past*



✓ X is identified through the **assignment** of P_N (Context-relevant Property of N) **at a past time**

ieri-N, un-tempo-N, non-più-N

yesterday-N, once-N, not-N-anymore

(12) *[…] non supera la precarietà, non mette una linea di demarcazione tra l' ieri-precario*$_{[qualification]}$ *e l'oggi-precario*$_{[qualification]}$.

[…] it does not overcome precarity, it does not put a line between the '**yesterday-precarious** and **today-precarious**.

(13) *Stefano, che vorrebbe vederci come un tempo, a fare da moderatore e a rompere il ghiaccio della nostra un-tempo-amicizia*$_{[entity]}$

Steven, who would like to see us like we used to, acting as moderator and breaking the ice of our **once-friendship**

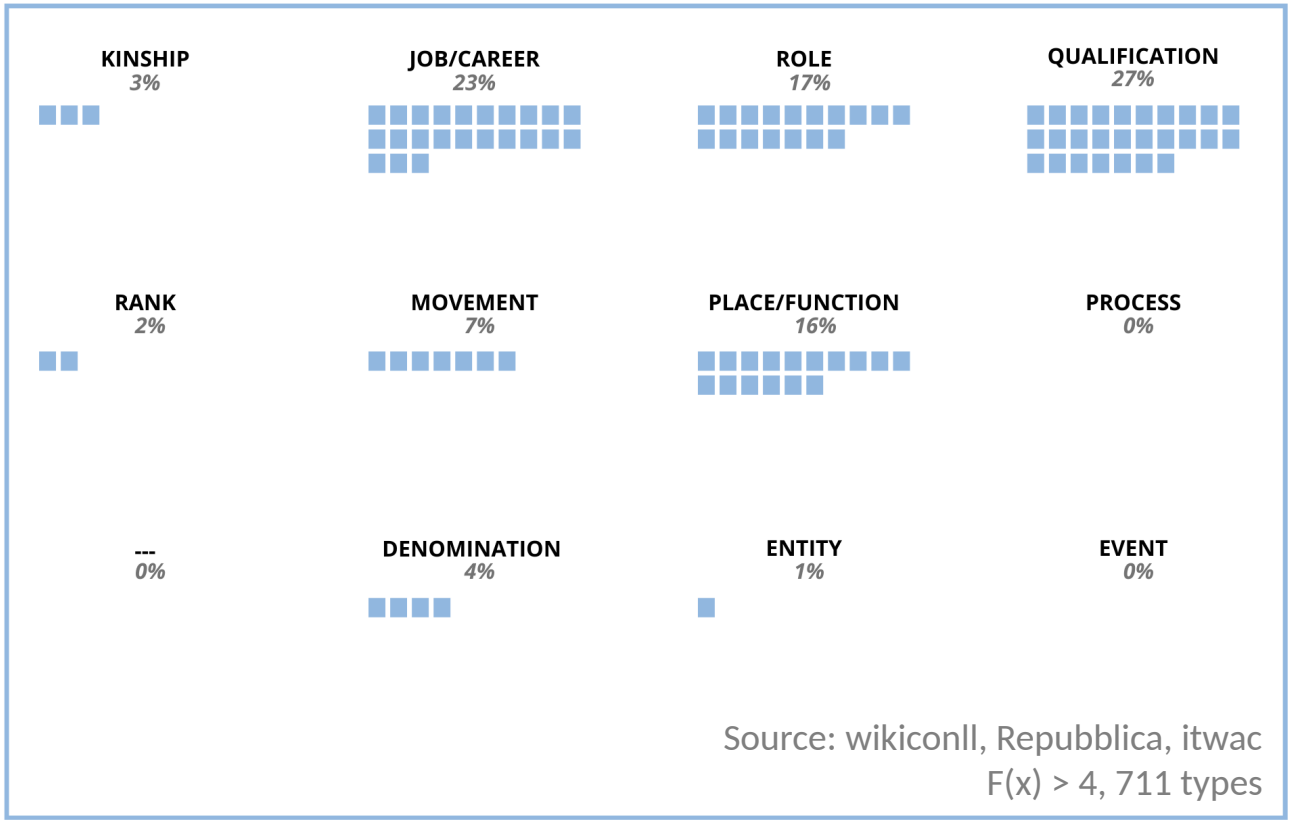
(14) non le offriranno alle aziende per cui questi *non-più-studenti*$_{[qualification]}$ lavoreranno.

[they] will not offer them to the companies for which these **not-students-anymore** will work

ENDED REFERENCE

Ex-, Allora

'former N'



Source: wikiconll, Repubblica, itwac
F(x) > 4, 711 types

SEMANTICS OF N

- *inherent duration*
  i.e. an X may become N at some point and may be N for a certain period

→ P_N is **acquired** and may be **temporary**

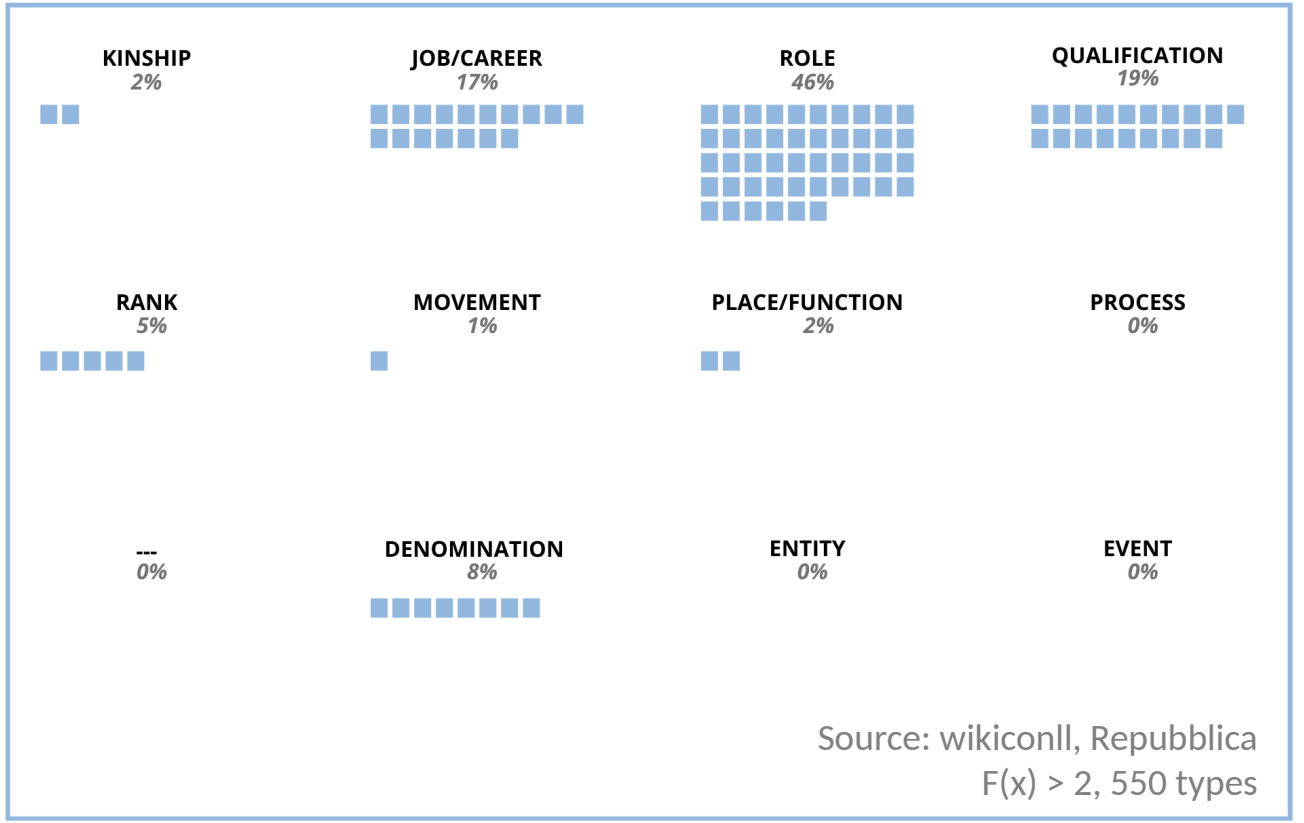
ex-Jugoslavia	3840	ex-direttore	948
ex-presidente	3102	ex-compagni	925
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ex-ministro	1821	ex-compagno	909
ex-allievi	1602	ex-capo	839
ex-marito	1485	ex-colonie	838
ex-studenti	1244	ex-membri	815
ex-sindaco	1183	ex-fidanzata	769
ex-convento	1054	ex-Presidente	757
ex-detenuti	998	ex-dipendenti	738

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ENDED REFERENCE

Ex-, **Allora**

‘then N’



Source: wikiconll, Repubblica
F(x) > 2, 550 types

SEMANTICS OF N

- *inherent duration*
  i.e. an X may become N at some point and may be N for a certain period

→ P_N is **acquired** and may be **temporary**

allora-presidente	3
allora-bambini	2
allora-conferenza	1
allora-Pacifico	1
allora-Papa	1
allora-Presidente	1
allora-Stanford	1
allora-trio	1
allora-ragazzo	1
allora-Mediterraneo	1

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Results

a) Ended reference
b) Started and ongoing reference - *now*
c) Circum reference
d) Potential reference
e) Mixed cases
f) Specific TAM constructions

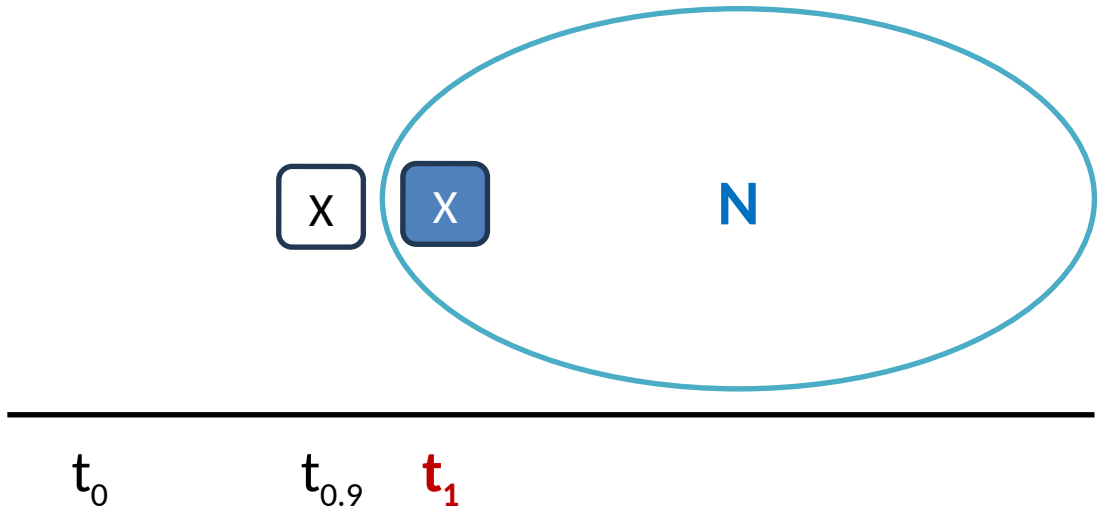
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STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

> *INCEPTIVE EVALUATION*

>> X has *newly* become N

>>X is *not yet full-fledged* N



✓ an X has recently started to be N
→ X has **acquired** P_N **at a *recent* time**

(15) *Il neo-campione*$_{[rank]}$ *del mondo Neil Hodgson ha ottenuto il terzo posto*

The **newly crowned world champion** Neil Hodgson took third place

(16) *A Hollywood il giovane neo-attore*$_{[job]}$ *stava ore davanti alla tv per vedere il suo film preferito*

In Hollywood, the young **neo-actor** stood hours in front of the TV watching his favorite movie

(17) *Qualcosa era cambiato nell'aria, gli appena-trentenni*$_{[qualification]}$ *si trasformano in trentenni a tutti gli effetti*

Something had changed in the air, the **newly 30-year-olds** turning into full-fledged 30-year-olds

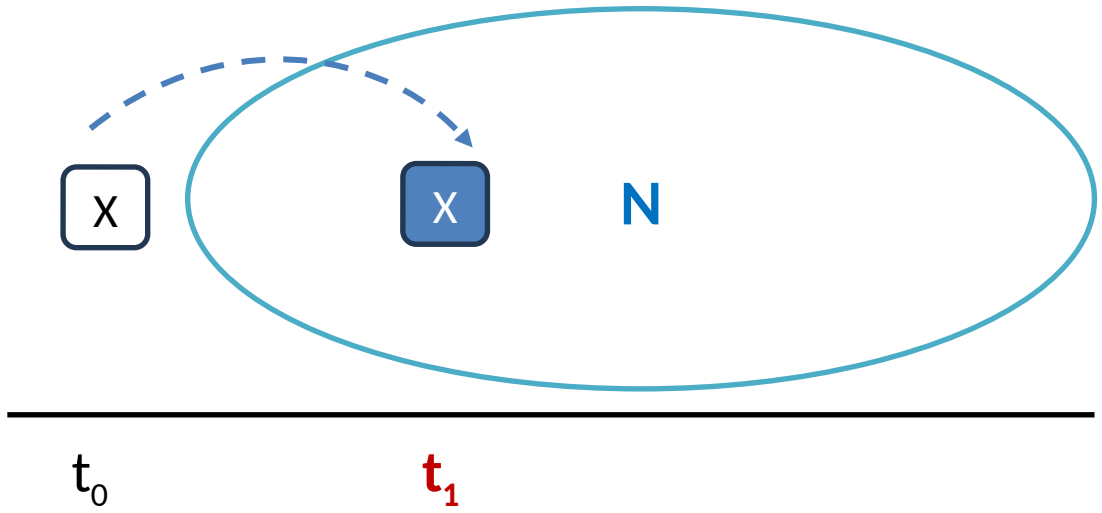
X may not be a full-fledged N:
✓ **towards approximative uses!**

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STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

> *TRANSITION EVALUATION*

>> X has *already / now* become N



✓ an X has undergone a *transition* towards N

(18) *rivolgendosi non alla platea definita e consolidata dei "già-clienti*$_{[role]}$*", ma a quella tutta da costruire dei "non-ancora-clienti"*

Addressing not the defined and established audience of "**already-customers**," but the yet-to-be-built audience of "not-yet-customers"

(19) *A questa già-famiglia*$_{[qualification]}$ *vanno i nostri migliori auguri.*

Our best wishes go out to this **already-family**.

(20) *mentre cenavo con i miei ormai-amici*$_{[qualification]}$

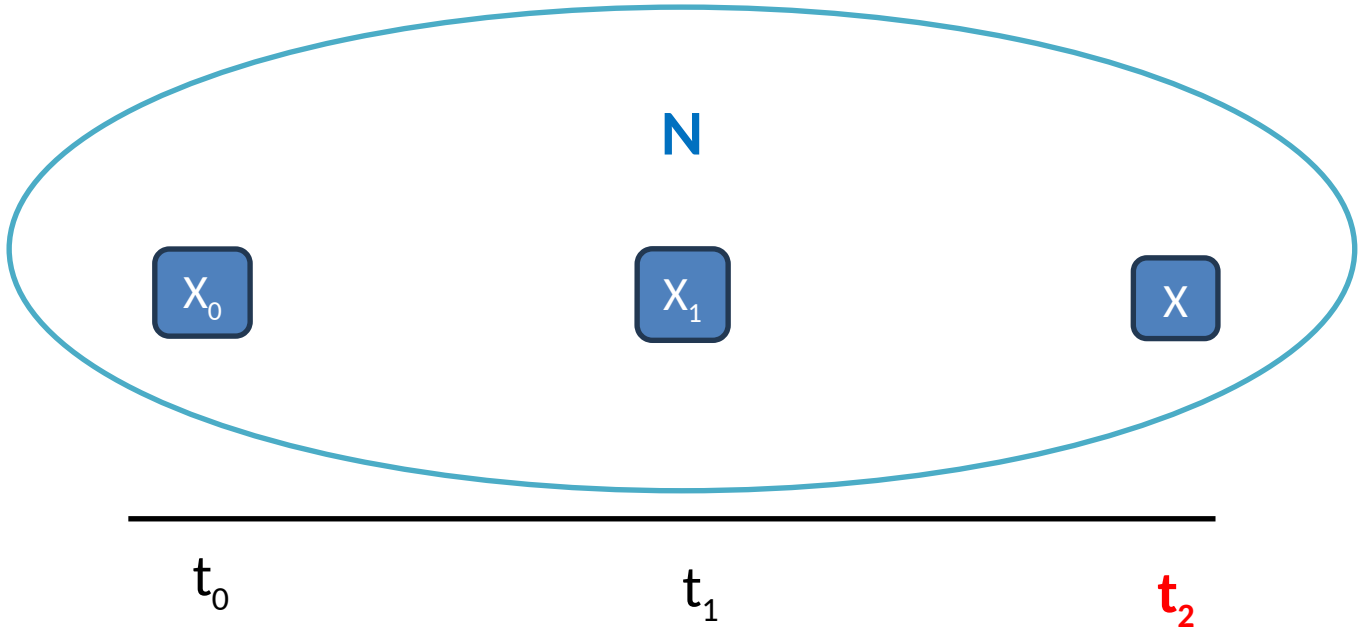
as I had dinner with my **now-friends**.

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STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

> CONTINUITY EVALUATION

>> X is *still / always* N



(21) *procura ai suoi potenziali* ancora-interlocutori$_{[role]}$ *il labile legame*

[he/she] gives to their potential **still-interlocutors** the tenuous link

(22) *Incompresa nel suo desiderio per un "dopo" di* ancora-vita$_{[entity]}$

misunderstood in her desire for an "after" of a **still-life**

(23) *desidera conformarsi al decoro dei* sempre-amici$_{[qualification]}$ *del principe*

[he/she] wishes to conform to the decorum of the prince's **ever-friends**

✓X was considered as N in the past, at t_0 and never stopped being N

✓X may be feared to stop being N (*speaker's expectation*)

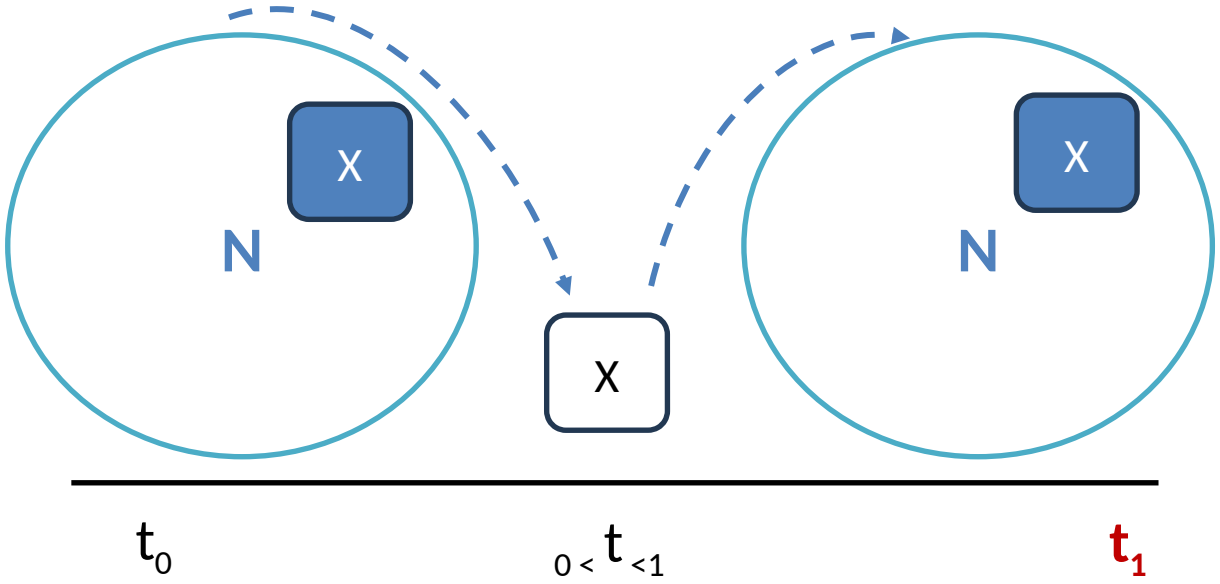
→ P_N is **continuously** applicable to X

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STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

> *DISCONTINOUS ITERATION EVALUATION*

>> X is N *again*



(24) *sfiducia dei suoi di-nuovo-alleati*$_{[role]}$ *della Lega.*
distrust of his **allies-again** from Lega (italian party).

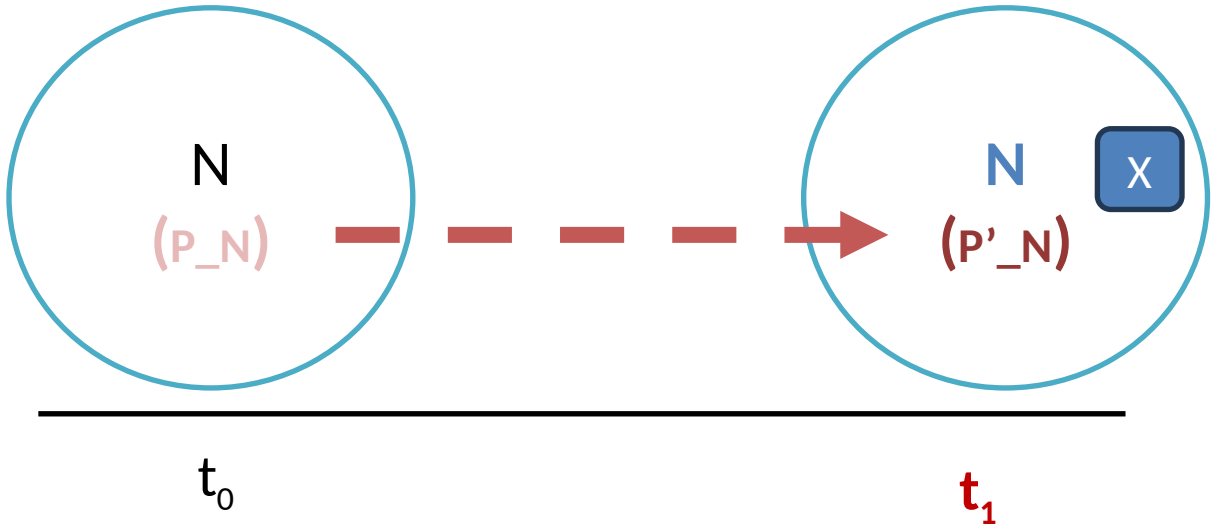
✓X was considered as N in the past, at t_0 , then stopped being N and is considered N again now at t_1
→ P_N is **discontinuously** applicable to X

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STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

> *RENEWAL EVALUATION*

>> X is N *in a renewed way*



✓ P_N is applied to X in different way than it was in its original temporal anchoring
→ P_N is **revisited and renewed**
→ it is thus **P'_N** to be applicable to X

(25) *Con il neo-capitalismo*[movement] *è ritornato in vita, in forma sottile, il sistema coloniale (il neo-colonialismo*[movement] *).*

With **neo-capitalism**, the colonial system (**neo-colonialism**) came back to life in a subtle form.

(26) Il video arriva nelle mani dei neo-marxisti[movement] che, montandolo adeguatamente, lo mandano in TV.

The video gets into the hands of **neo-Marxists** who, properly editing the video, send it to TV .

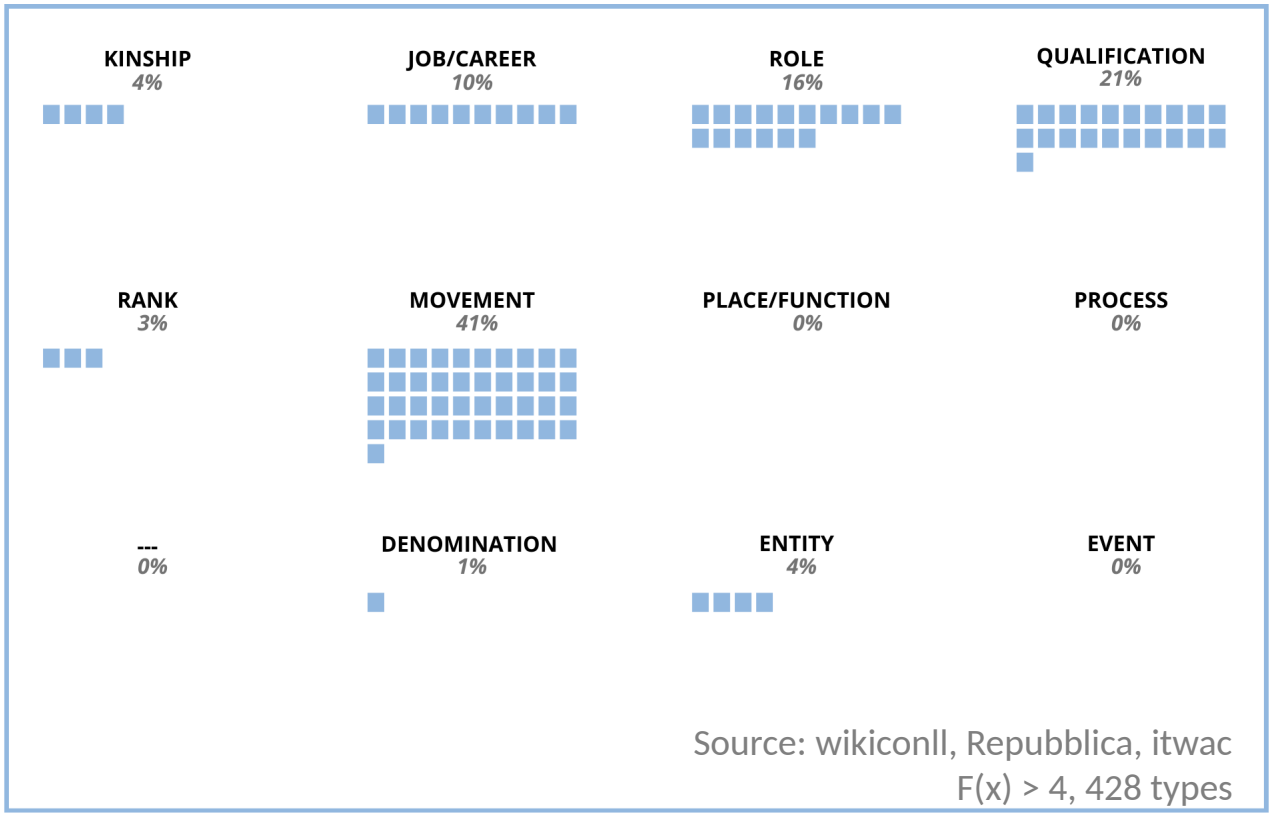
N is *inherently anchored* to a specific moment in time

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STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

Neo-

- ✓ aspectual > ingressive ‘newly’
- ✓ aspectual > iterative ‘again’



Source: wikiconll, Repubblica, itwac
F(x) > 4, 428 types

SEMANTICS OF N

- *inherent duration and temporal beginning*
  i.e. an X may become N at some identifiable moment in time
  NO GLYPH P_N is **acquired at time t_1**;

- *inherent anchoring at a specific moment in time*
  i.e. an X has been labeled N with reference to a specific historical period
  NO GLYPH P_N is **associated to t_1;**

neo-laureati	2816	neo-nazisti	862
neo-presidente	2808	neo-laureato	808
neo-mamme	2062	neo-diplomati	785
neo-liberista	1764	neo-acquisto	782
neo-mamma	1484	neo-gotico	773
neo-assunti	1484	neo-classico	772
neo-liberismo	1332	neo-fascisti	640
neo-genitori	1288	neo-nazista	614
neo-liberale	871	neo-fascista	610
neo-ministro	863	neo-sindaco	606

Results

a) Ended reference
b) Started and ongoing reference
c) Circum reference – *before and after*
d) Potential reference
e) Mixed cases
f) Specific TAM constructions

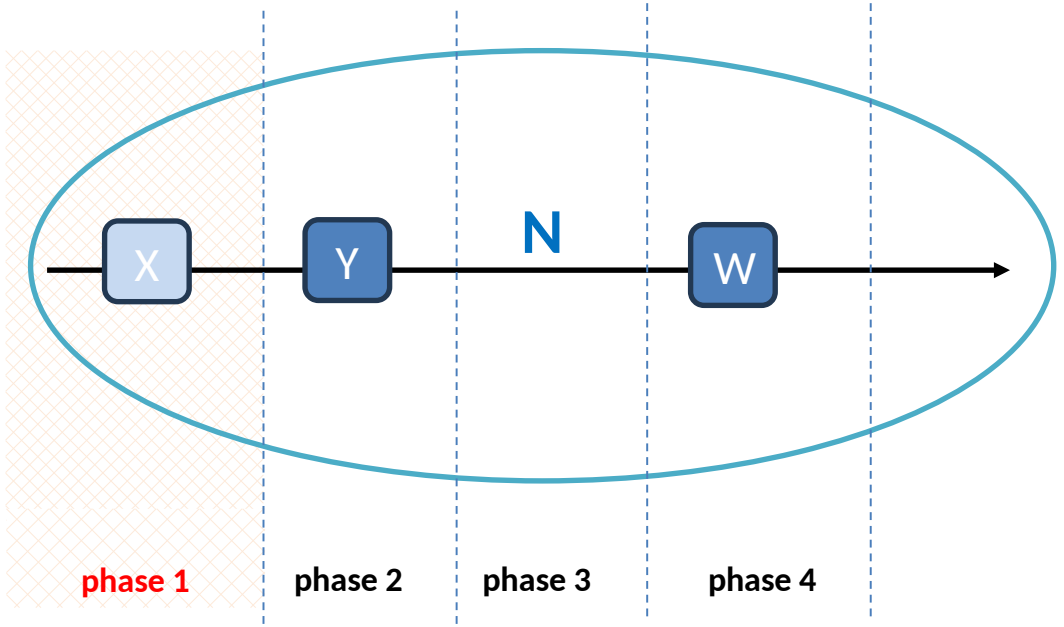
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CIRCUM REFERENCE

> *INCEPTIVE PHASAL EVALUATION*

>> X is N *in its first phases*

>> X is *not yet full-fledged* N



- ✓ X can be partially identified based on P_N (pre-analysis)
- ✓ is likely to be N soon (pre-adolescent) >> X is *almost* N

(27) *Si invita […] a verificare attraverso una pre-analisi*[process], *se la banca erogatrice del finanziamento ha superato i tassi soglia*

You are invited […] to check through a **pre-analysis**, whether the lending bank has exceeded the threshold rates

(28) *dichiarato lo stato di pre-allarme*[qualification] *e grave pericolosità dal 14 luglio.*

a state of **early-warning** and severe danger was declared since July 14.

(29) *come confermato dagli autori, è solo un pre-gioco*[qualification], *il gioco vero è l'avanzato.*

as confirmed by the authors, it is only a **pre-game** , the **real game** is the advanced one.

➢ **towards approximative uses?**

before N > 'before *fully-fledged* N' > almost N

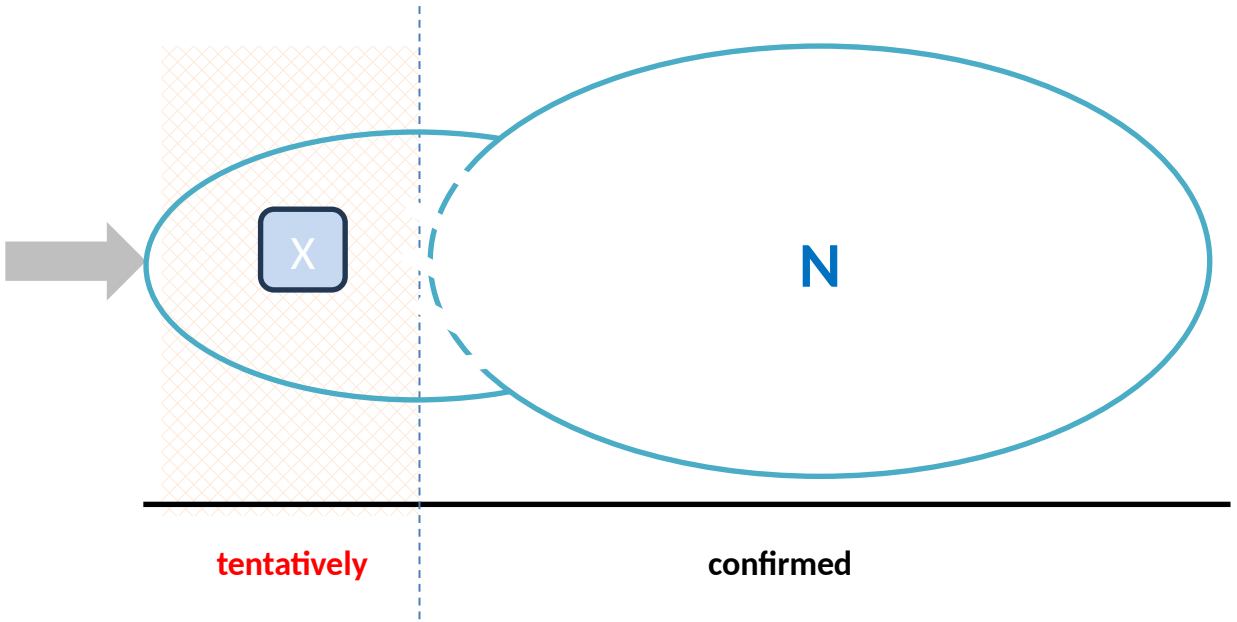
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CIRCUM REFERENCE

> *(MODAL) TEMPORARINESS EVALUATION*

>> X is *tentatively, uncertain* N

>> X is *not yet full-fledged* N



- ✓ X can be identified based on P_N, but it has *to be confirmed*
- ✓ X may become N with certainty in some future time

(30) *UCapital24 ha presentato oggi domanda di pre-ammissione*$_{[event]}$ *a Borsa Italiana per la quotazioni delle proprie azioni ordinarie*

UCapital24 today submitted a **pre-admission** application to the Italian Stock Exchange for the listing of its ordinary shares

(31) *avevo portato all'attenzione il pre-accordo*$_{[event]}$ *di massima tra Telecom Italia e Apple*

I had brought to attention the **pre-agreement in principle** between Telecom Italia and Apple

- **towards approximative uses?**
- >> X is N, *in principle (it. `di massima`)*

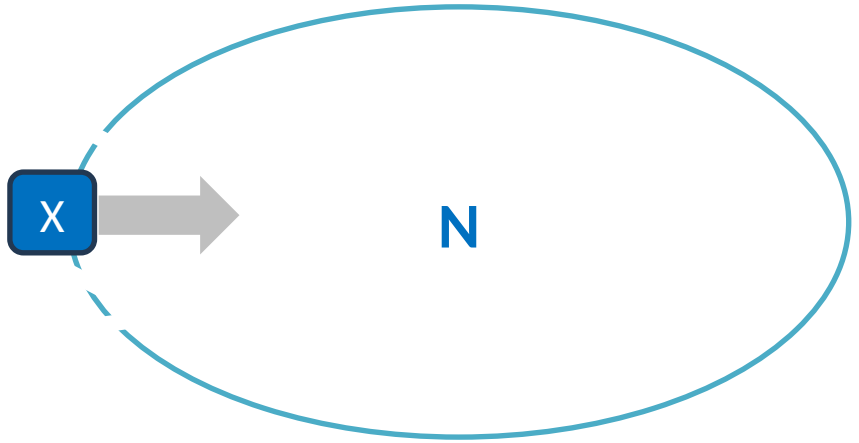
before N > 'before *certainly* N' > tentatively N

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CIRCUM REFERENCE

> *(MODAL) NECESSITY EVALUATION*

>> X is a *necessary* N



✓ X is identified as N, and it has priority (both temporal and modal) over any Ns following

(32) *un coordinamento nazionale come pre-condizione*$_{[qualification]}$ *per la cooperazione a livello internazionale*

National coordination as a **pre-condition** for cooperation at the international level

(33) *Un pre-requisito*$_{[qualification]}$ *indiscutibile per una società inclusiva è il principio della solidarietà*

An indisputable **pre-requisite** for an inclusive society is the principle of solidarity

N implies a conditional chain (e.g., *condizione*, *requisito*…)

➢ **towards ~~approximative~~ deontic uses?**

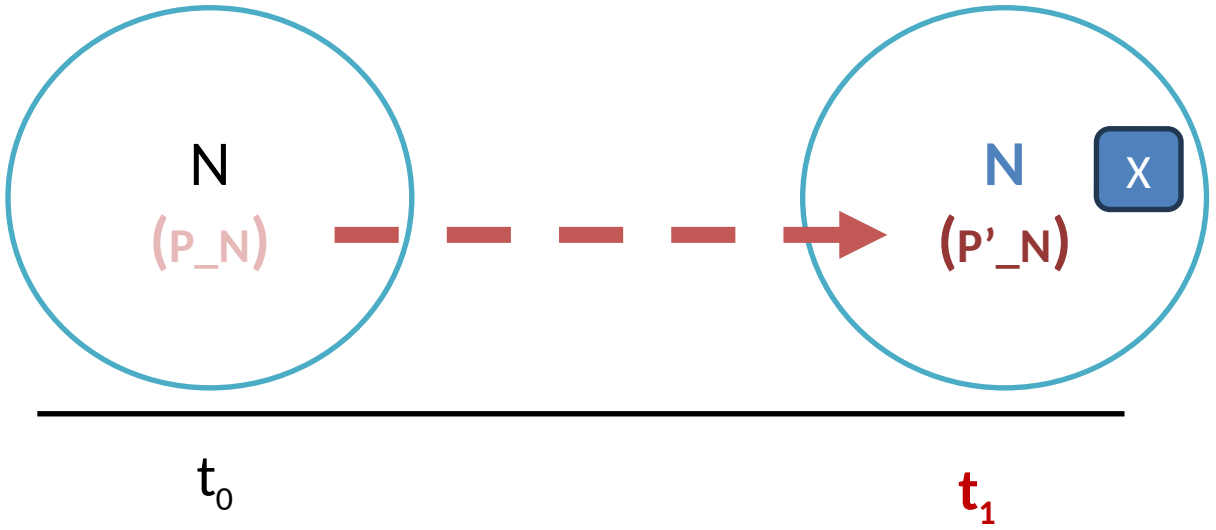
before N > '*necessary for* N' > obligatory for further Ns

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CIRCUM REFERENCE

> *RENEWAL EVALUATION*

>> X is N *in a renewed way*



(34) *Con i Depeche Mode in Germania Est, alla ricerca della scena Post-Punk*$_{[movement]}$ *e New Wave*

With Depeche Mode in East Germany, in search of the **Post-Punk** and New Wave scene

N is *inherently anchored* to a specific moment in time

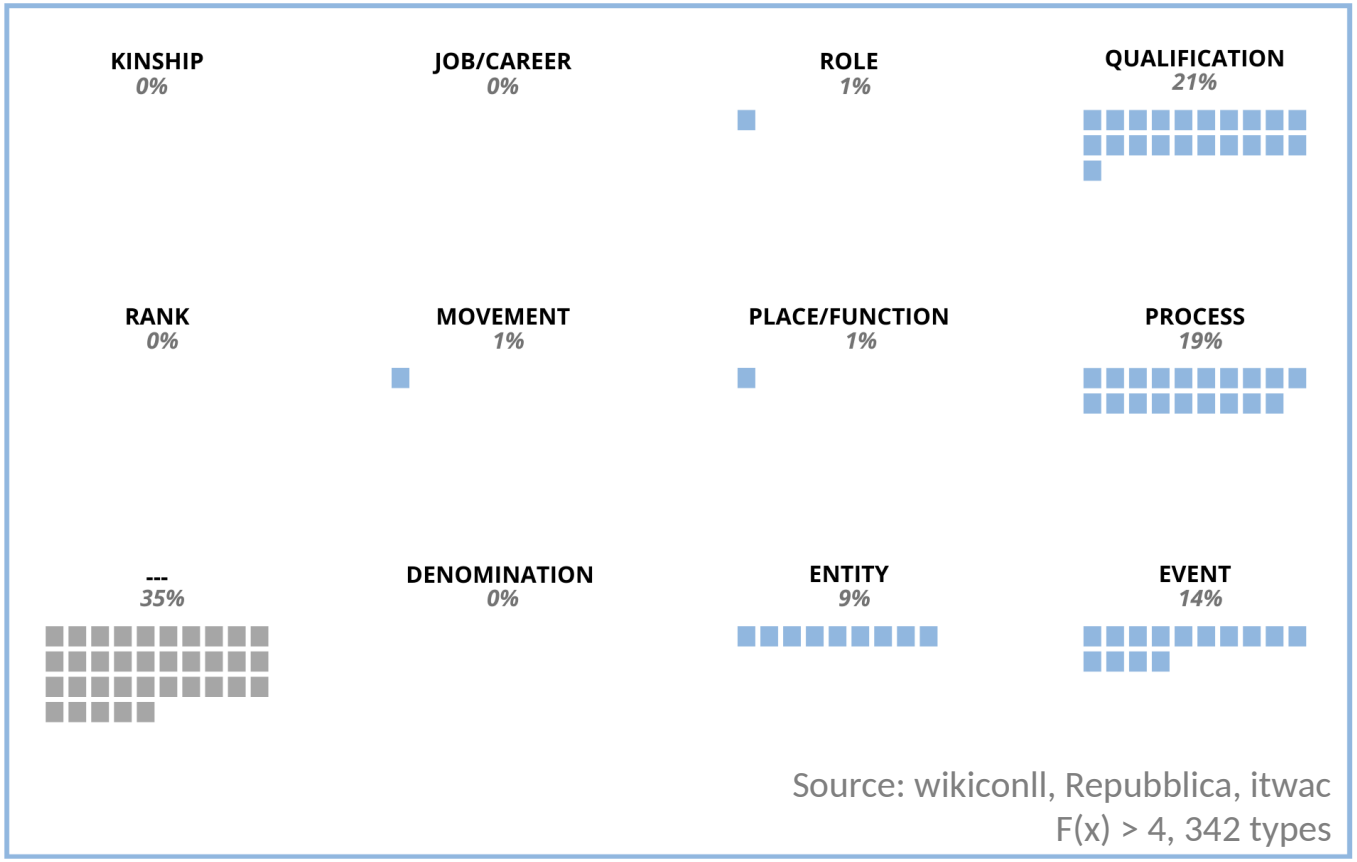
✓ P_N is applied to X in different way than it was in its original temporal anchoring
→ P_N is **revisited and renewed**
→ it is thus **P'_N** to be **applicable** to X

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CIRCUM REFERENCE – before and after

pre-, post

✓ temporal > before



Source: wikiconll, Repubblica, itwac
F(x) > 4, 342 types

SEMANTICS OF N

- *Inanimate Ns with inherent duration*
  i.e. An X may be N for a certain period, potetially with internal phases
  → P_N is **kept along successive phases**

- *Ns with inherent puntual aspect*
  i.e. an X may occurr as N at some specific point
  → **P_N occurs at t_1**

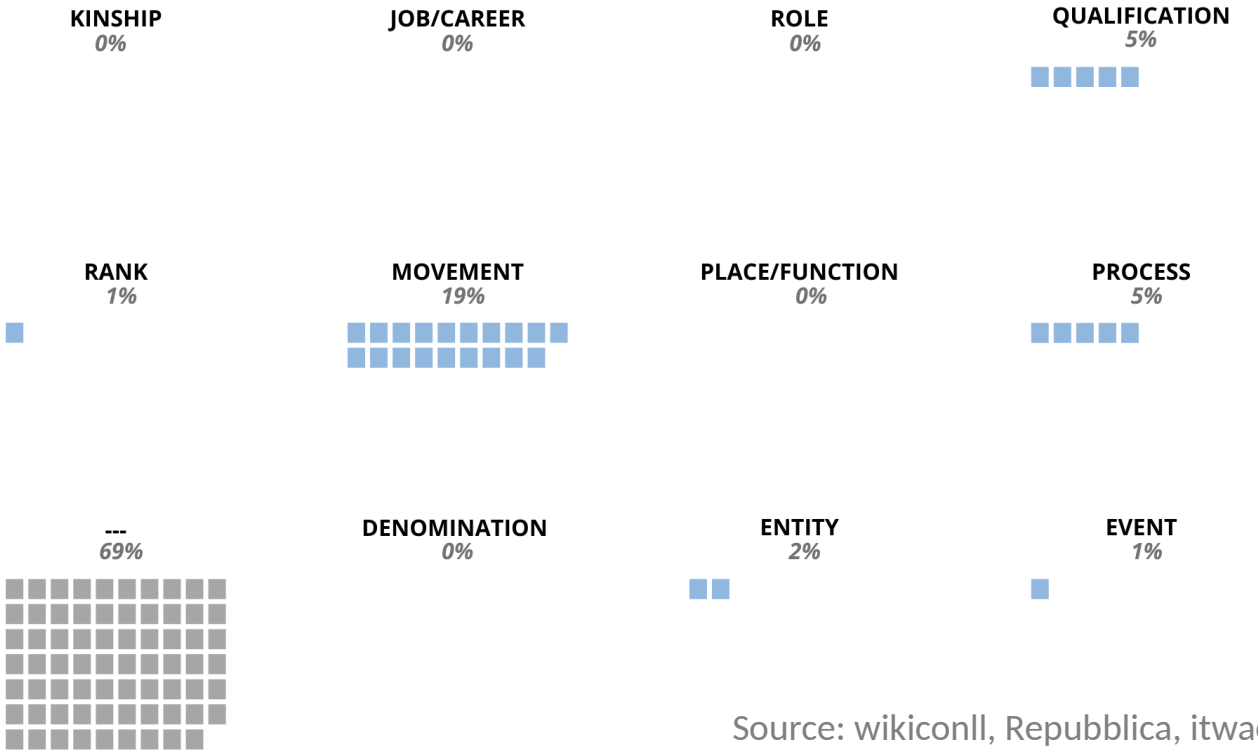
pre-crisi	6404	pre-ordini	1688
pre-produzione	4563	pre-vendita	1669
pre-gara	3881	pre-allenamento	1615
pre-iscrizione	3510	pre-iscrizioni	1585
pre-partita	3282	pre-morte	1472
pre-campionato	2878	pre-selezione	1440
pre-ordine	2730	pre-registrazione	1397
pre-impianto	1956	pre-ruolo	1312
pre-trattamento	1947	pre-adolescenti	1251
pre-parto	1690	pre-serie	1116

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CIRCUM REFERENCE – before and after

pre, **post-**

✓ temporal > after



Source: wikiconll, Repubblica, itwac
F(x) > 4, 250 types

SEMANTICS OF N

- *(inanimate) N is inherently anchored at a specific moment in time*
  i.e. an X has been labeled N with reference to a specific historical period
  → **P_N is associated to t_1;**

post-vendita	15522	post-parto	2651
post-produzione	12751	post-modernità	2331
post-laurea	9365	post-trattamento	2202
post-rock	4879	post-partita	2178
post-punk	4507	post-intervento	1997
post-sisma	3273	post-verità	1937
post-diploma	3095	post-allenamento	1737
post-terremoto	3050	post-comunista	1632
post-dottorato	2690	post-raccolta	1581
post-menopausa	2664	post-gara	1553

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Results

a) Ended reference
b) Started and ongoing reference
c) Circum-reference
d) Potential reference – *almost, perhaps, not (exactly)*
e) Mixed cases
f) Specific TAM constructions

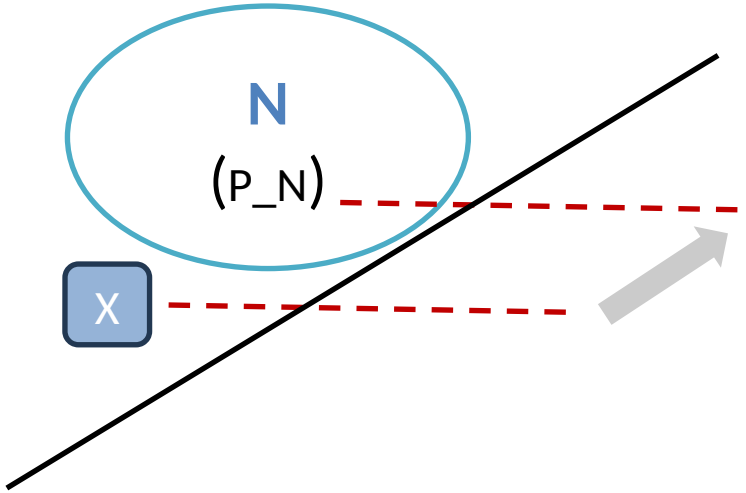
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POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> CLOSE-TO DEGREE EVALUATION

>> X is *close to (the degree of)* N

>> X is *not yet full-fledged* N



✓ X can be identified based on P_N at a lesser extent

(35) *In realtà il Sud italiano, parecchio più che la Spagna, ebbe per l'intero secolo XIX un quasi-monopolio*$_{[rank]}$ *per la produzione di olio*

In fact, southern Italy, much more than Spain, had for the entire 19th century a **near-monopoly** for olive oil production

(36) *Il presagio ha assunto praticamente i connotati della quasi-certezza*$_{[qualification]}$ *quando sul tabellone compariva il punteggio di 2017 per i russi.*

The omen practically took on the connotations of **near-certainty** when the score of 2017 for the Russians appeared on the scoreboard.

N has *inherent rank or scale*

Ø **towards approximative uses?**

Ø >> X *is slightly less than* N

'not completed (missed telicity) N' > 'very close to N'

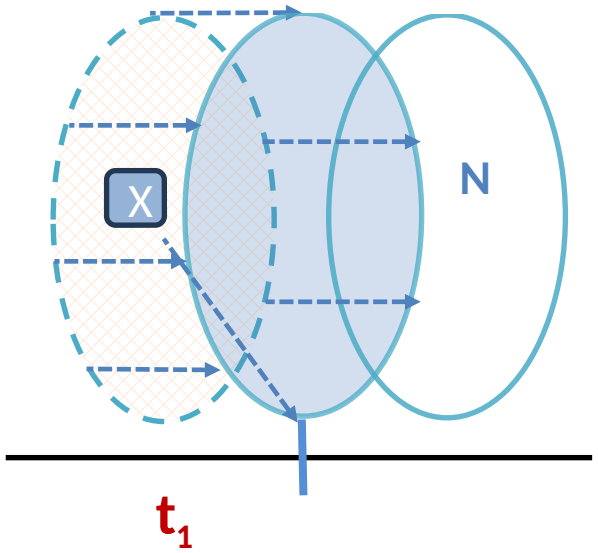
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POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> CLOSE-TO OCCURRENCE EVALUATION

>> X is *close to (becoming)* N

>> X is *not yet full-fledged* N



✓ X can be partially identified based on P_N

(37) *questo porterebbe troppe persone a stare bene, un quasi-suicidio*$_{[event]}$ *per medicina e farmacologia*

this would lead too many people to get well, a **near-suicide** for medicine and pharmacology

(38) *(l'unica) via d'uscita ad una quasi-catastrofe*$_{[event]}$ *ambientale e d'immagine*

(the only) way out of an environmental and image **near-catastrophe**

(39) *alle elementari che frequenta il figlio del quasi-marito*$_{[kinship]}$

the primary school that the son of the **almost-husband** attends.

N has *inherent punctual aspect and specific temporal beginning*

Ø **towards approximative uses?**

Ø >> X is *almost* N

'not (yet) N' > 'very close to N'

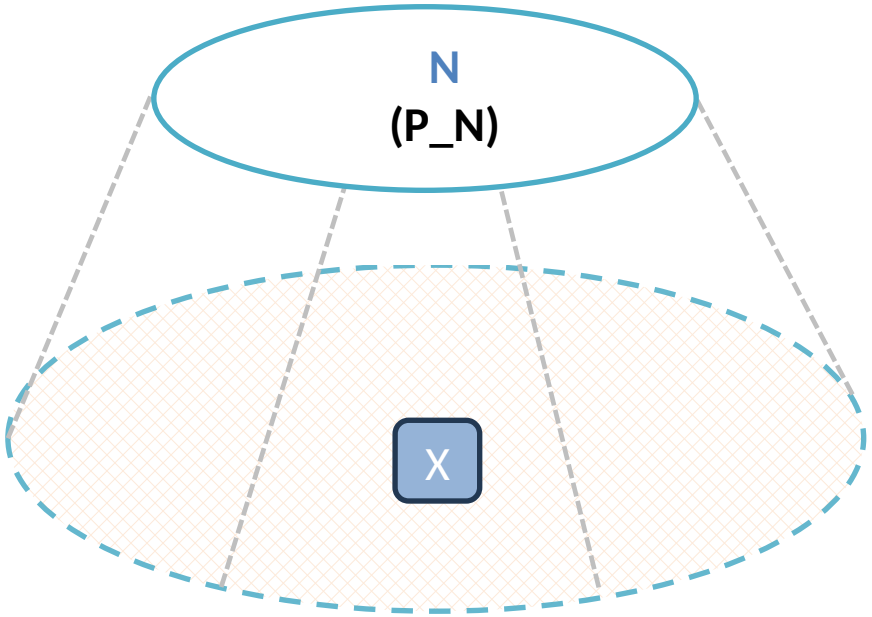
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POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> CLOSE-TO CONCEPT EVALUATION

>> X is *close to* (*the concept of*) N

>> X is *not yet full-fledged* N



- ✓ P_i_N (Context-relevant **ideal, abstract** Property of N) is not applicable to X
- ✓ Reference to N is the most context-relevant and economic way to identify X, through cancelation of the ideal property of N

(40) *È un luogo feroce, geloso, vendicativo come sanno esserlo le quasi-città*[qualification] *[…] e la provincia*

It is a fierce, jealous, vengeful place as **quasi-cities** can be, and the province too

(41) *mira alla creazione di una quasi-religione*[qualification] *antifumo basata solo su emozioni*

Aims at the creation of an anti-smoking **quasi-religion** based only on emotions

(42) *E' pur vero che nell'Italia tribale di oggi ogni giornale è un quasi-partito* [qualification]

It is also true that in today's tribal Italy, every newspaper is a **quasi-party**

N denotes *an entity* or *a qualification*

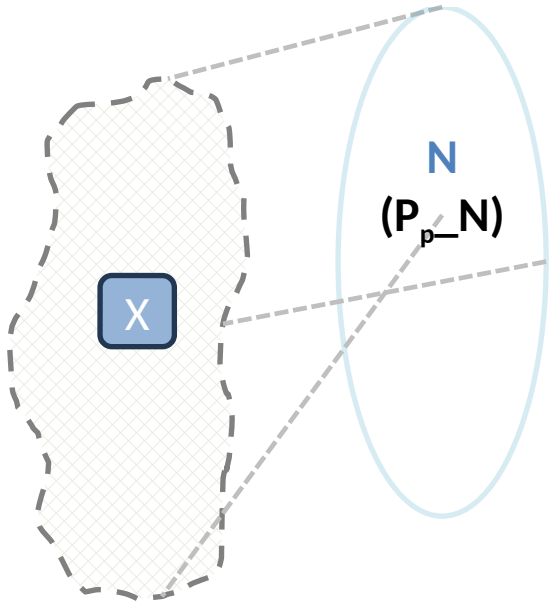
- Ø **towards approximative uses?**
- Ø >> X *is a sort of* N

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POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> NON PROTOTIPICALITY EVALUATION

>> X is *a non-prototypical instance of* N



- ✓ P_p_N (Context-relevant **prototypical, expected** Property of N) is not applicable to X
- ✓ Reference to N is the most context-relevant and economic way to identify X, through cancelation of the prototypical property of N

(43) *Il libro è un non-romanzo*$_{[entity]}$*, la trama non è altro che un susseguirsi di eventi volutamente confusi*

The book is a **non-fiction**, the plot is nothing more than a succession of deliberately confusing events

(44) *[…] chiedendomi che senso avesse quel non-rapporto*$_{[qualification]}$ *con la mia nuova non-amante*$_{[kinship]}$

wondering what was the point of that **non-relationship** with my new **non-lover**

(45) *ho guardato tutto con attenzione, i visi, i movimenti, il buio, la scenografia essenziale, la non-città*$_{[entity]}$ *costituita da pochi segni tracciati per terra*

I watched everything carefully, the faces, the movements, the darkness, the essential setting, the **non-city** made up of a few signs traced on the ground

Ø **towards disproximative and depreciative uses?** (Capelle et al. 2023)

'absence of N' > 'absence of P_p_N' > deviating N

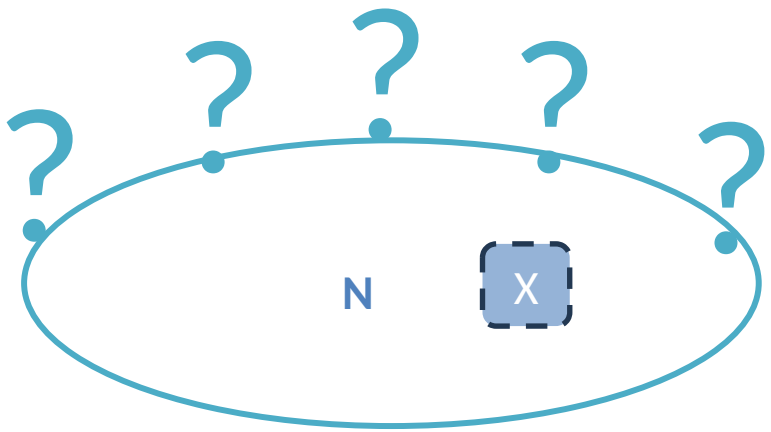
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POTENTIAL REFERENCE

maybe-N, perhaps-N **forse-N**

> *POTENTIALITY EVALUATION*

>> X is *a possible* N



- ✓ P_N (Context-relevant Property of N) is *potentially* applicable to X
- ✓ Reference to N is the most context-relevant and economic way to identify X, through the *potential* assignment of P_N

(46) *aspetto una risposta dal forse-relatore*$_{[role]}$

I wait for an answer from the **maybe-supervisor**

(47) *il certamente sette volte presidente e l'ancora forse capo*$_{[role]}$

the certainly seven-time president and the **still possibly** chief

(48) *a prima vista non sembra un corno, ma chissà a parte il forse-strumento a due canne*$_{[entity]}$*, hai notato quell'altro oggetto*

at first glance it doesn't look like a horn, but who knows apart from the **maybe-two-pipe instrument**, did you notice that other object

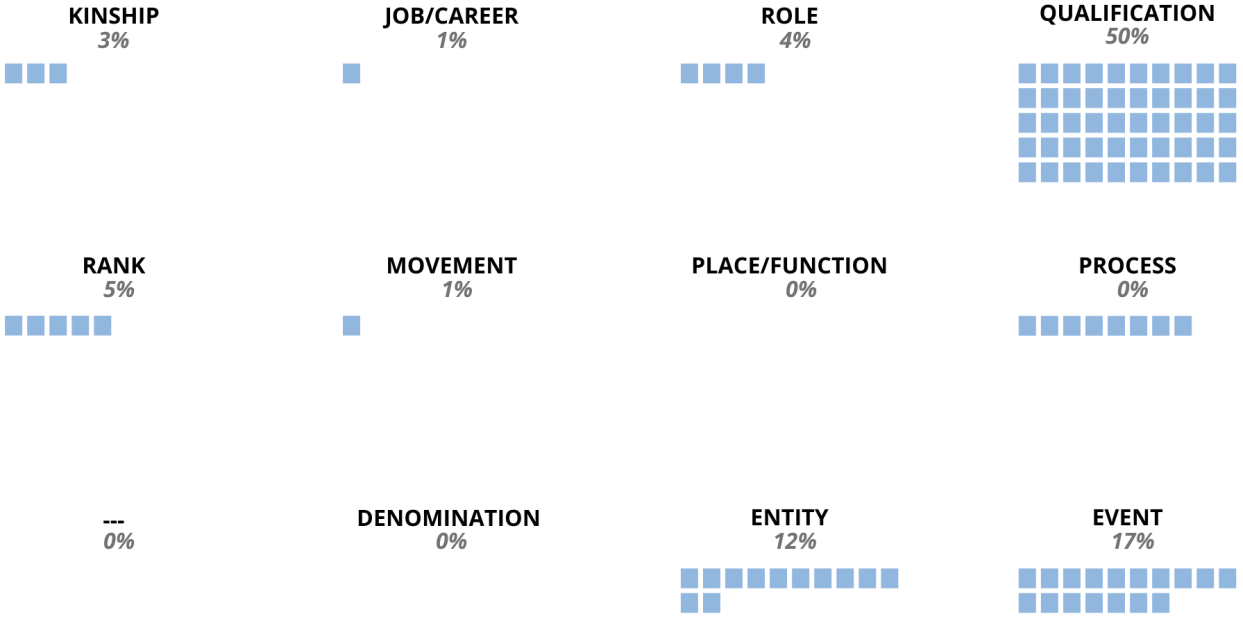
ü **towards approximative uses!**

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POTENTIAL REFERENCE

quasi(-), non

✓ aspectual > ‘close to’



Source: wikiconll, Repubblica, itwac
F(x) > 4, 113 types

SEMANTICS OF N

- *inherent punctual aspect*
  - ✓ i.e. an X may occur as N at some specific point
- *inherent rank*
  - ✓ i.e. P_N denotes a specific degree within a scale
- *Entities and qualifications*
  - ✓ i.e. an X may be N

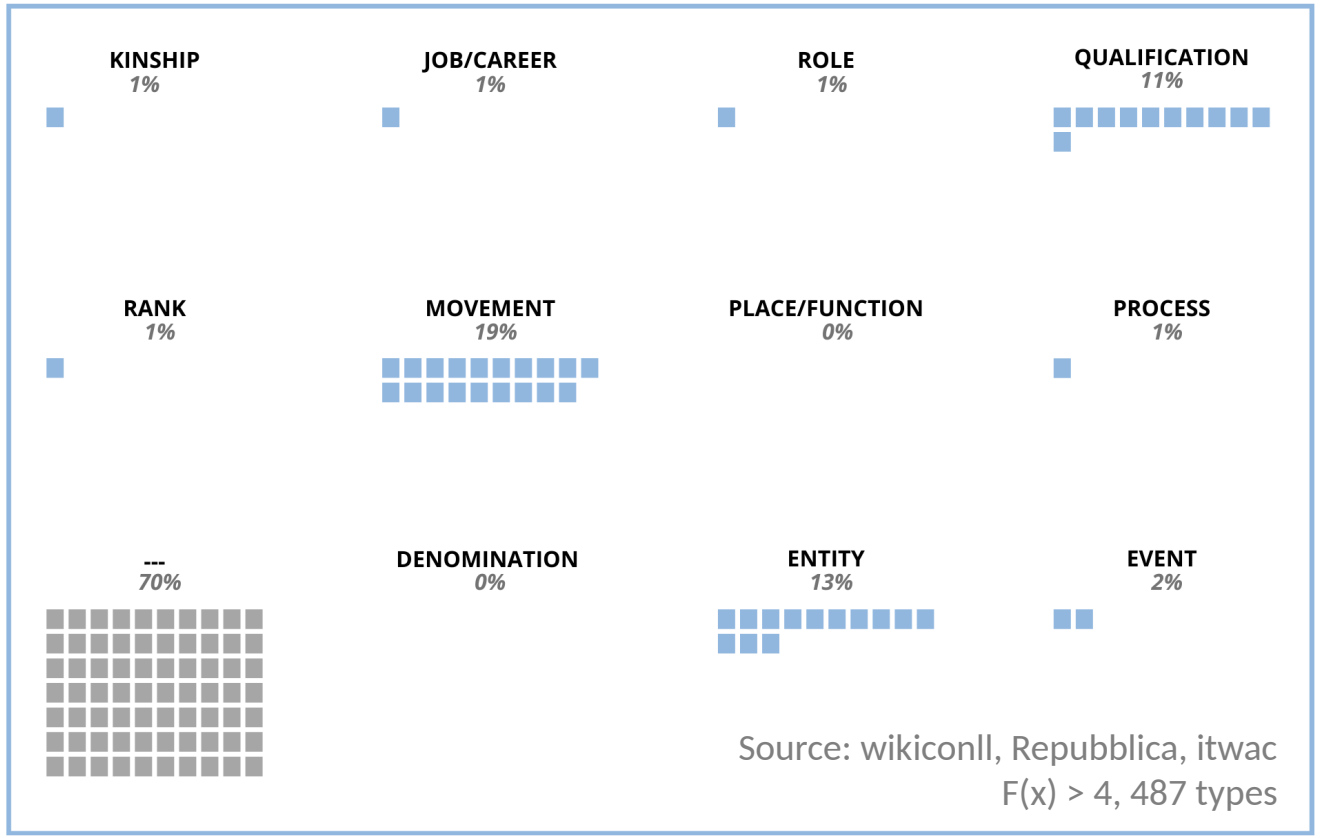
quasi-monopolio	186	quasi-particelle	58
quasi-macchine	183	quasi-satellite	56
quasi-mercato	109	quasi-gol	45
quasi-macchina	106	quasi-capolavoro	43
quasi-morte	99	quasi-guerra	41
quasi-domicilio	91	quasi-città	40
quasi-moneta	83	quasi-mercati	38
quasi-marito	81	quasi-contratto	35
quasi-certezza	70	quasi-particella	33
quasi-cristalli	61	quasi-religione	33

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POTENTIAL REFERENCE

quasi, **non(-)**

✓ modal > ‘non-factual, impossible’



SEMANTICS OF N

- *inherent duration*
  i.e. an X may become N at some point and may be N for a certain period
  → P_N is **acquired**

- *entities:*
  i.e. an X is inherently N

non-violenza	4066	non-inferiorità	844
non-morti	3604	non-ebrei	839
non-luogo	3095	non-musulmani	804
non-senso	2187	non-voto	737
non-luoghi	1739	non-contraddizione	720
non-morto	1472	non-proliferazione	685
non-vita	1306	non-lavoro	660
non-fumatori	1256	non-umano	644
non-esistenza	1142	non-credenti	632
non-umani	942	non-dualità	584

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Results

a) Ended reference
b) Started and ongoing reference
c) Circum-reference
d) Potential reference
e) Mixed cases – *ad hoc chains*
f) Specific TAM constructions

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MIXED CASES – ad hoc chains

Linguistic creativity!

allora-non-ancora-fidanzato (then-not-yet-engaged)

appena-non-più-teenager (just-not-teenager-anymore)

non-ancora-vecchiaia-non-più-giovinezza (not-old-age-yet-not-youth-anymore)

quasi-non-più-adolescente (almost-not-teenager-anymore)

semi-quasi-fidanzato-forse-più-scopamico (semi-quasi-boyfriend-perhaps-more-friend-with-benefit)

ormai-ex-lingua (now-ex-language)

ex-ancora-alleati (former-yet-allies)

forse-ex-ragazzo (maybe-ex-boyfriend)

neo-forse-sposo (neo-maybe-groom)

quasi-non-uomo (almost-not-man)

ex-e-sempre-comunista (former-and-always-communist)

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SPECIFIC TAM CONSTRUCTIONS – more to come...

>> transitional non-prototypicality

Discontinuous temporal reduplication: N_1-TAM-N_1 (cf. Masini & Di Donato)

Bambina-non-più-bambina (*Child-not-child-anymore*)
Fascisti-non-più-fascisti (*Fascists-not-fascists-anymore*)
Cinema-non-più-cinema (*Cinema-not-cinema-anymore*)
Uomo-non-più-uomo (*Man-not-man-anymore*)
Stato-non-ancora-stato (*State-not-yet-state*)
Partito-non-ancora-partito (*Party-not-yet-party*)
Comunisti-ex-e-sempre-comunisti (*Then-communists-always-communists*)

>> transitional reference

Discontinuous temporal *quasi*-reduplication: N_1-TAM-N_2

Bambole-non-più-bambine (*Dolls-not-children-anymore*)
cittadino-non-più-suddito (*Citizen-not-subject-anymore*)
respiro-non-più-pensiero (*breath-not-tought-anymore*)
Paese-non-ancora-città (*village-not-town-yet*)
custodi-forse-parenti (*caretakers-maybe-relatives*)
nemico-già-alleato (*enemy-already-ally*)
attore-ormai-regista (*actor-now-director*)

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SPECIFIC TAM CONSTRUCTIONS –more to come...

N-per-un-N_t

>> X is *temporarily* N

bambina-per-un-giorno (*child-for-a-day*)
fama-per-un-minuto (*fame-for-a-minute*)
royalty-per-un-notte (*royalty-for-a-night*)
admin-per-un-mese (*admin-for-a-month*)

N di massima

>> X is N *in general terms*
>> *X is a first approximation of N, to be revised*

concetti di massima (*outline concepts*)
direttive di massima (*general guidelines*)
indicazioni di massima (*general directions*)
accordo di massima (*preliminary agreement*)
[linea di massima]

futur*-N

>> X will be N
>> X is going to be N

futuro-papà (*dad-to-be*)
futuro-bambino (*future-kid*)
future-donne (*women-to-be*)
futuri-padani (*future-padania-citizens*)

nuovo-N

>> X has newly become N
>> X is N in a renewed way

nuovi-partigiani (*new-partisans*)
nuovi-preti (*new-partisans*)
nuova-storicità (*neo-historicity*)
nuovi-comici (*new-comedians*)

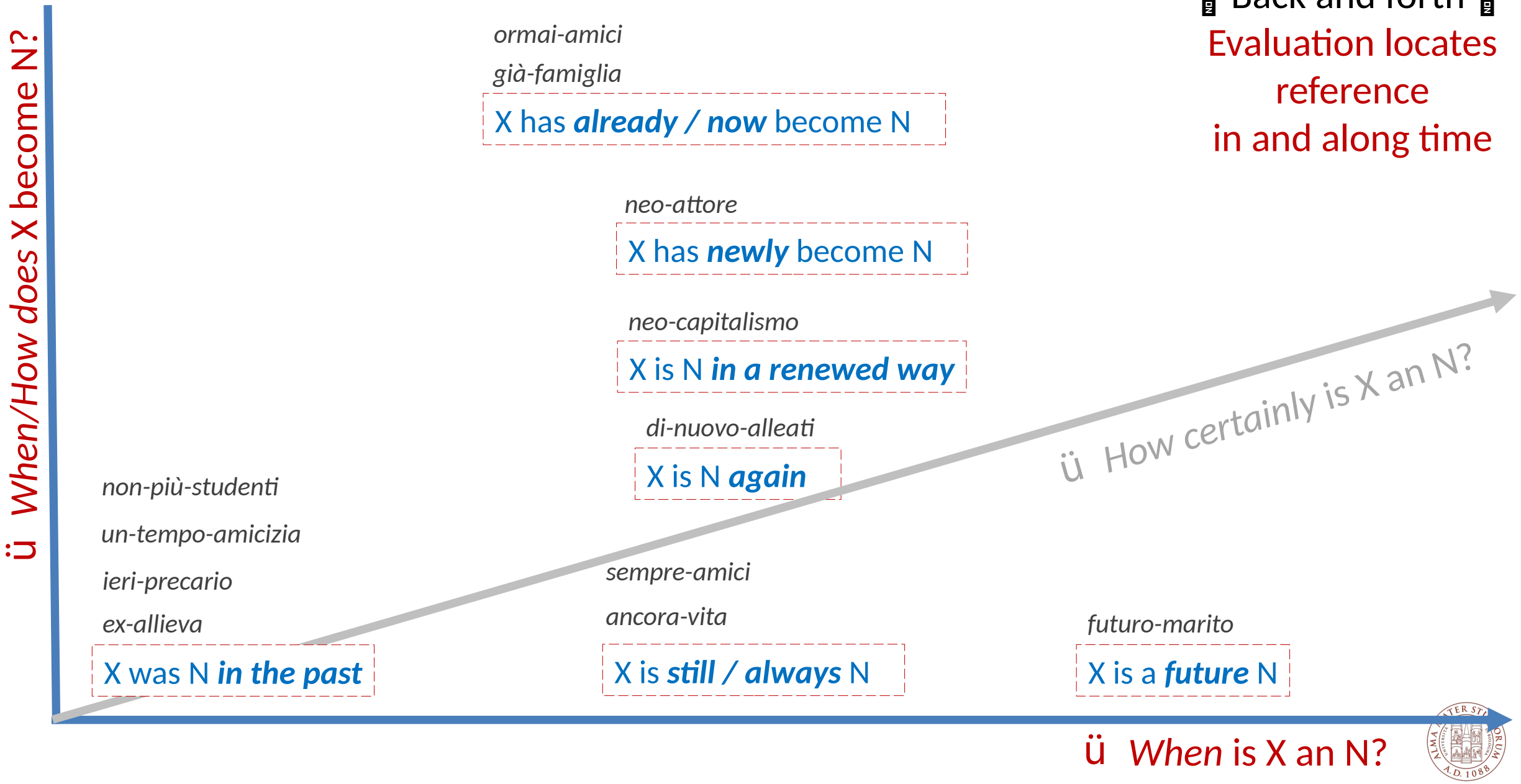
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Towards some conclusions…

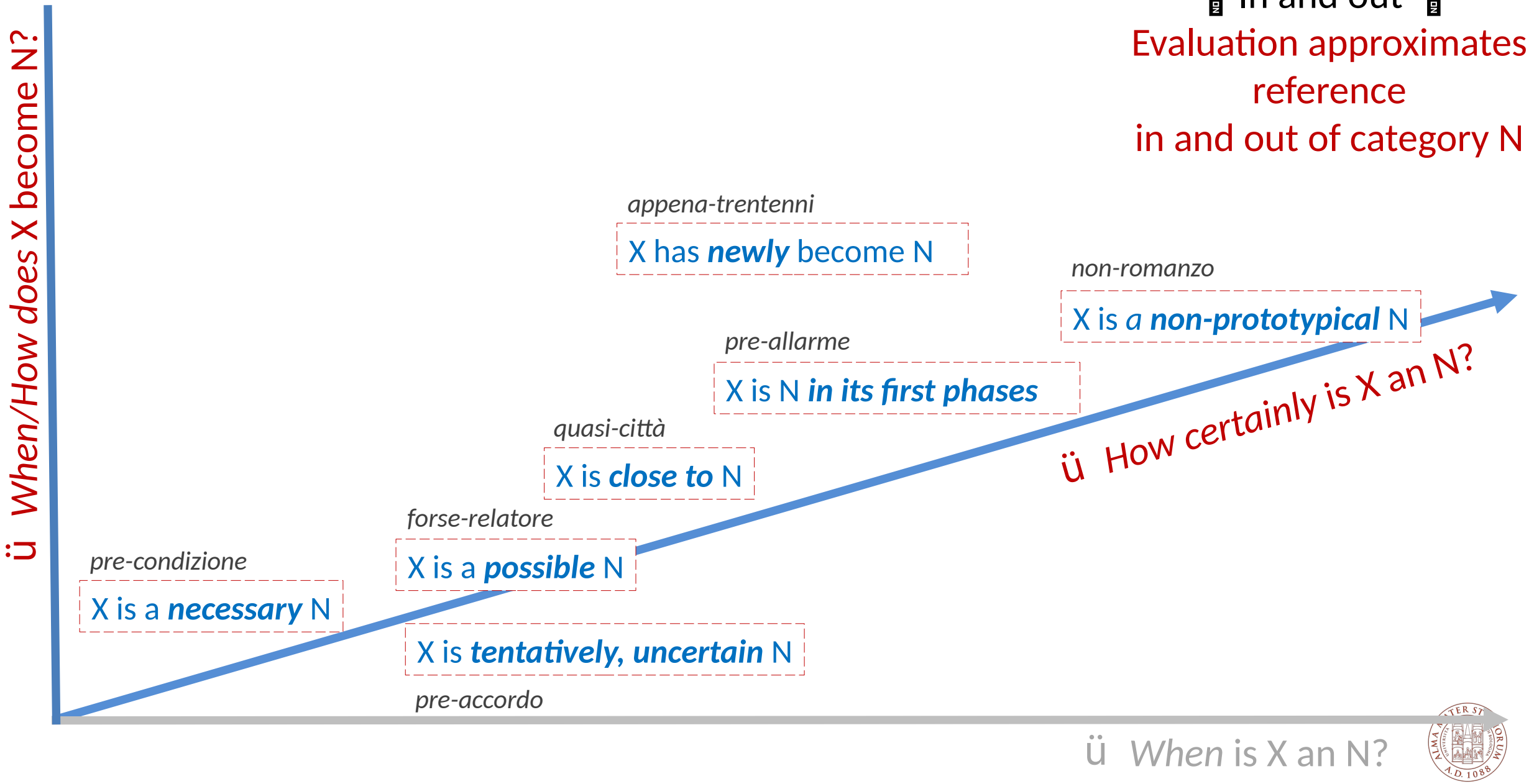


Back and forth

Evaluation locates reference in and along time



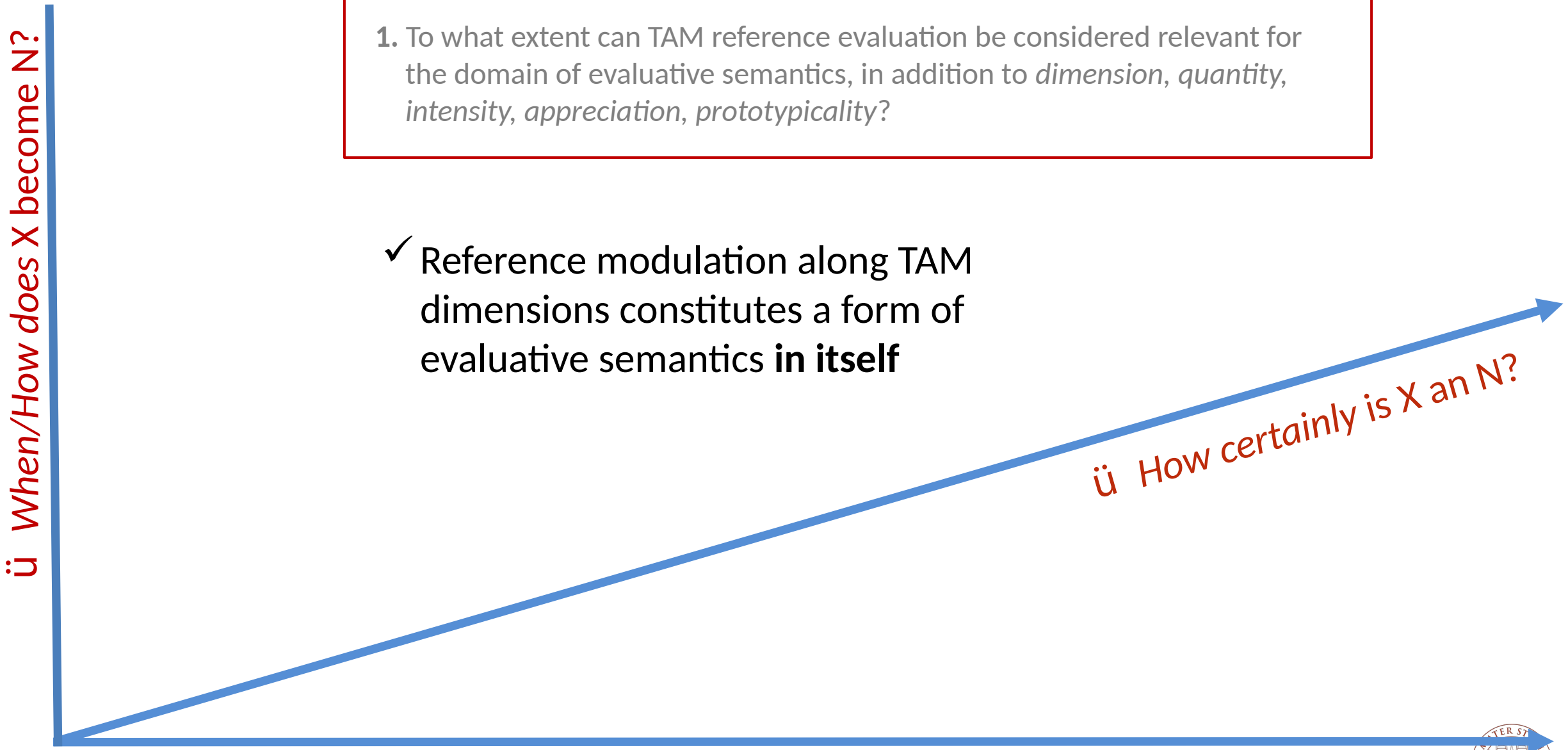
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1. To what extent can TAM reference evaluation be considered relevant for the domain of evaluative semantics, in addition to *dimension*, *quantity*, *intensity*, *appreciation*, *prototypicality*?

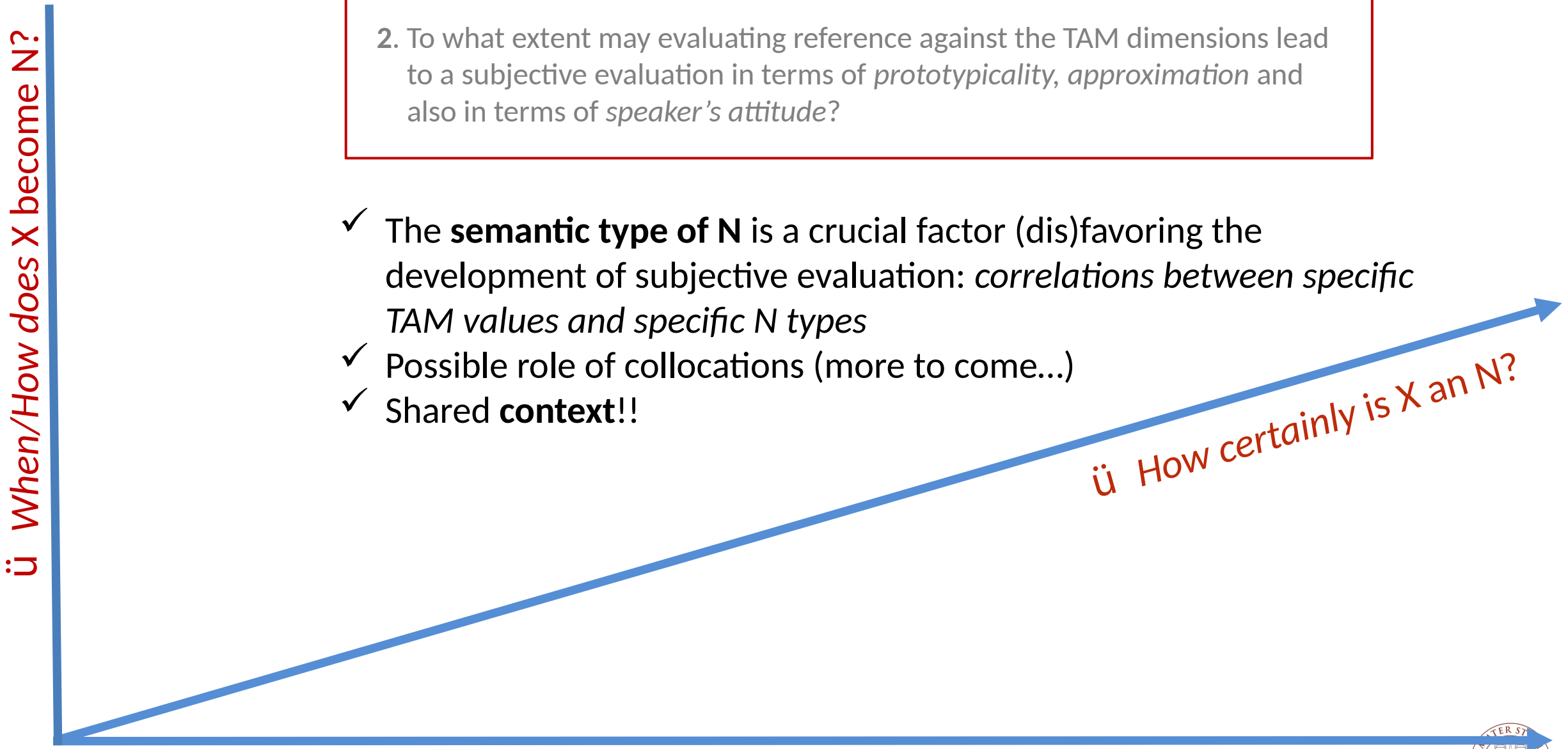
✓ Reference modulation along TAM dimensions constitutes a form of evaluative semantics **in itself**



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2. To what extent may evaluating reference against the TAM dimensions lead to a subjective evaluation in terms of *prototypicality*, *approximation* and also in terms of *speaker's attitude*?

- ✓ The **semantic type of N** is a crucial factor (dis)favoring the development of subjective evaluation: *correlations between specific TAM values and specific N types*
- ✓ Possible role of collocations (more to come…)
- ✓ Shared **context**!!



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2. To what extent may evaluating reference against the TAM dimensions lead to a subjective evaluation in terms of *prototypicality*, *approximation* and also in terms of *speaker's attitude*?

ü *When/How does* X become N?

o Aspectual evaluation is **more prone** to develop approximative uses

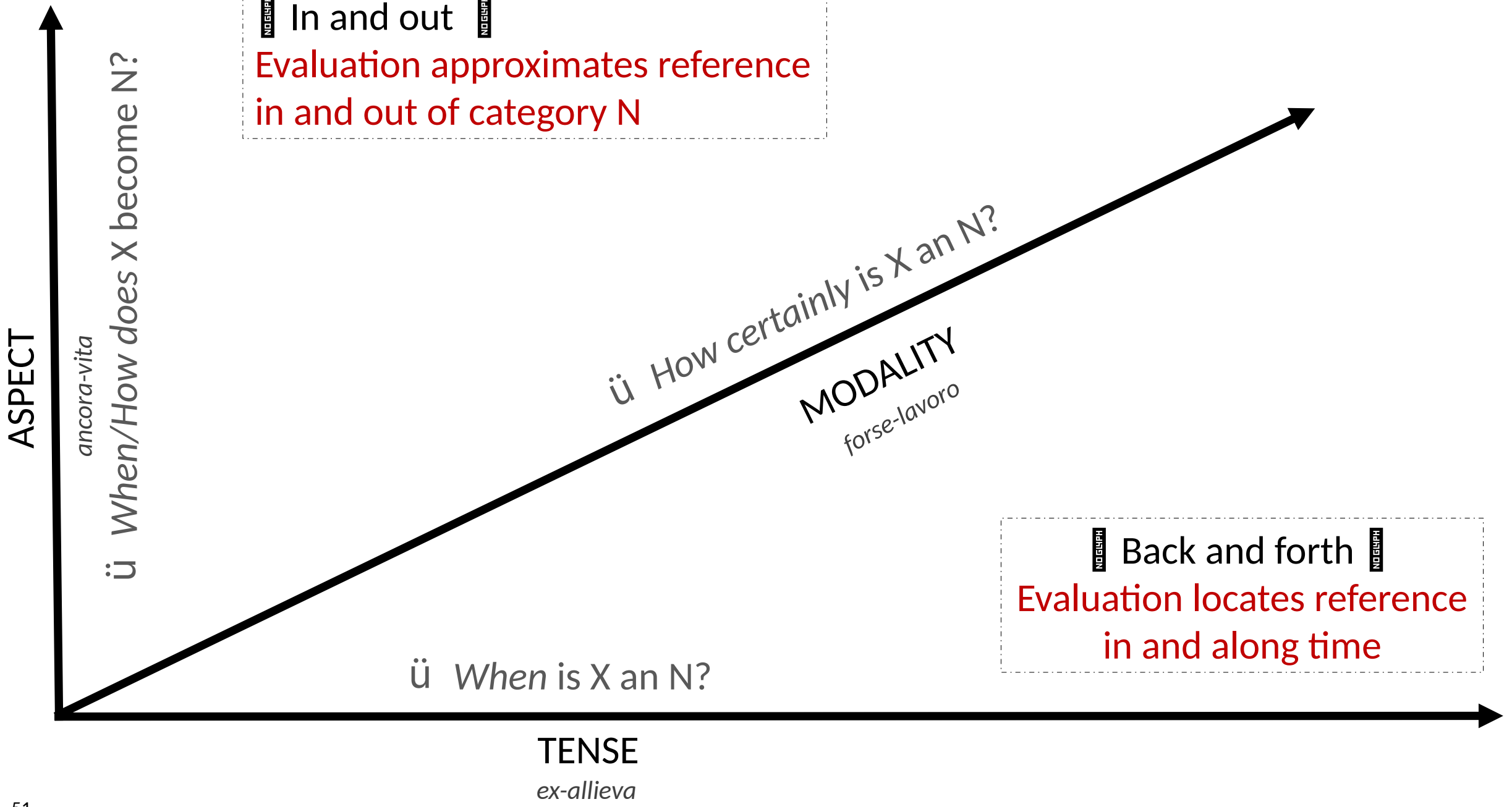
o Modal evaluation is **highly available** for subjective evaluative uses

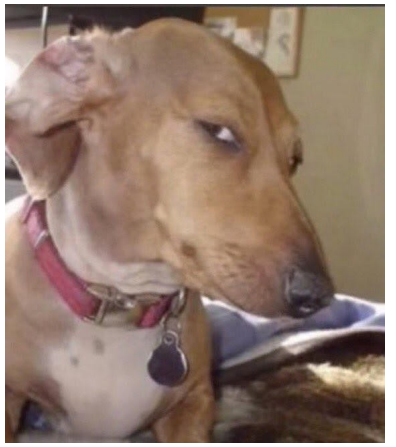
ü *How certainly* is X an N?

o Temporal evaluation seems **less likely** to develop subjective evaluative uses

ü *When* is X an N?

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In and out
Evaluation approximates reference in and out of category N
ASPECT
ancora-vita
ü When/How does X become N?
ü How certainly is X an N?
MODALITY
forse-lavoro
Back and forth
Evaluation locates reference in and along time
ü When is X an N?
TENSE
ex-allieva



ü *When/How does* X become THANKS?

already / now THANKS

newly THANKS

THANKS ***in a renewed way***

non-prototypical THANKS

THANKS ***in its first phases***

ü *How certainly* is X THANKS?

close to THANKS

THANKS ***again***

possible THANKS

necessary THANKS

tentatively *THANKS*

THANKS ***in the past***

still / always THANKS

future THANKS

ü *When* is X THANKS?

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