



ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA



EXPERIMENTAL
LAB

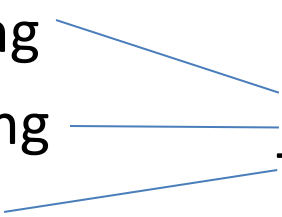
Temporal, aspectual and modal evaluation of reference

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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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THE NOUN PHRASE



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**'



...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)



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...*



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).



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*?



Methodology

- a) Data extraction
- b) Dataset



Data extraction

- ItWac, WikiConll, Repubblica

- Bottom up extraction of:

1. $[\{\text{pref}\}-N]_N$
2. ngrams of the following shape:



- Identification of semantic class of noun through inspection of occurrences

- ItTenTen20

- Top-down extraction of types through regex

$([a-z]^+)^* \{\text{pref}\} (-[a-z]^+)^+$

with *pref* being one of the considered elements

1. Cleaning of extracted lists
2. Identification of *ad-hoc* occurrences (see last slides)

ex-nove	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-detenuiti	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



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

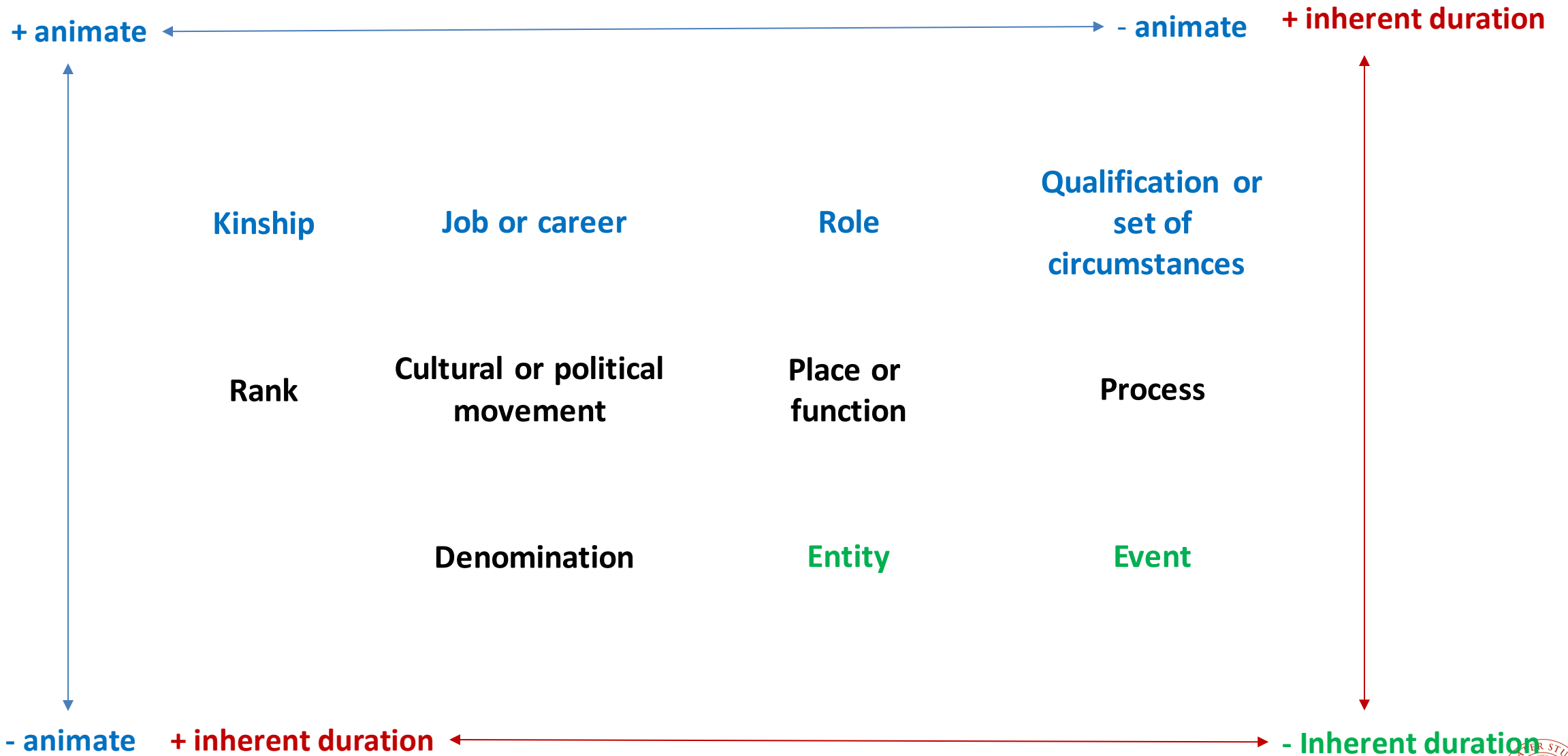
Left context

Occurrence

Right context

Loosely based on Wordnet and T-PAS





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	Grazia 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.



Results

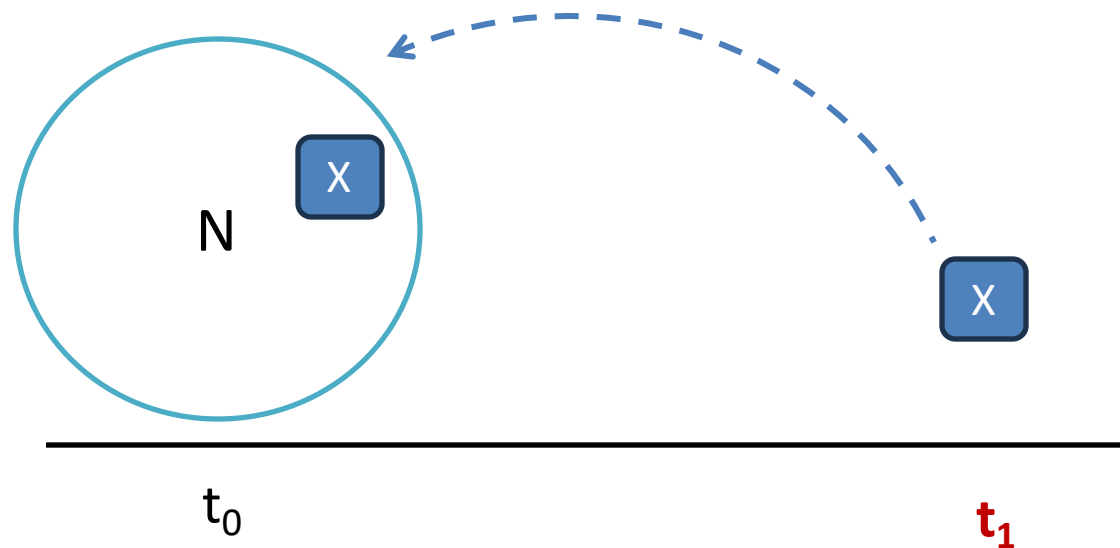
- a) Ended reference - *past***
- b) Started and ongoing reference**
- c) Circum reference**
- d) Potential reference**
- e) Mixed cases**
- f) Specific TAM constructions**



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

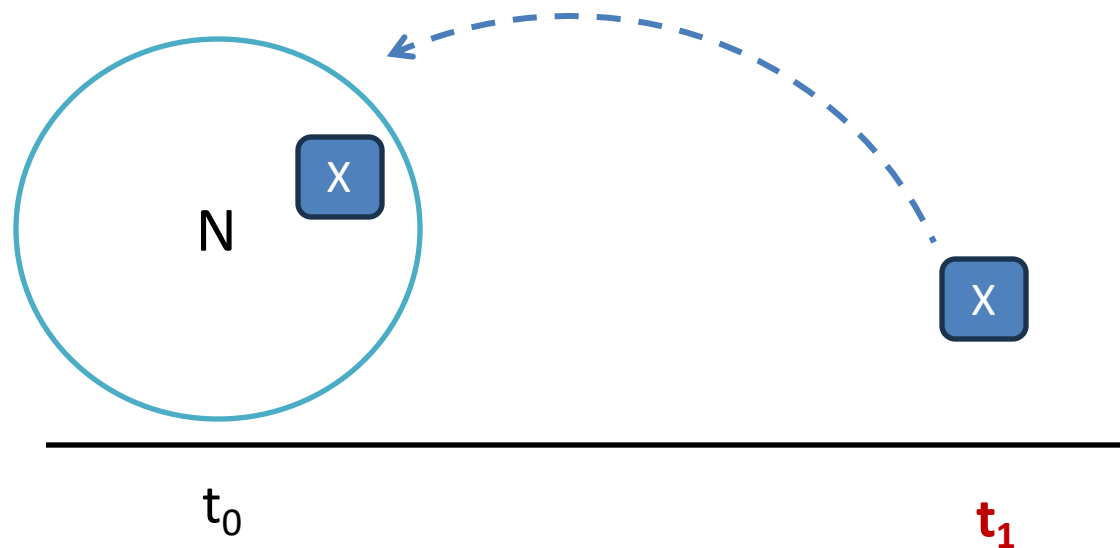
(11) il club fu messo in vendita per £5 dall' *allora-presidente*_[Role] Tony Wood

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]

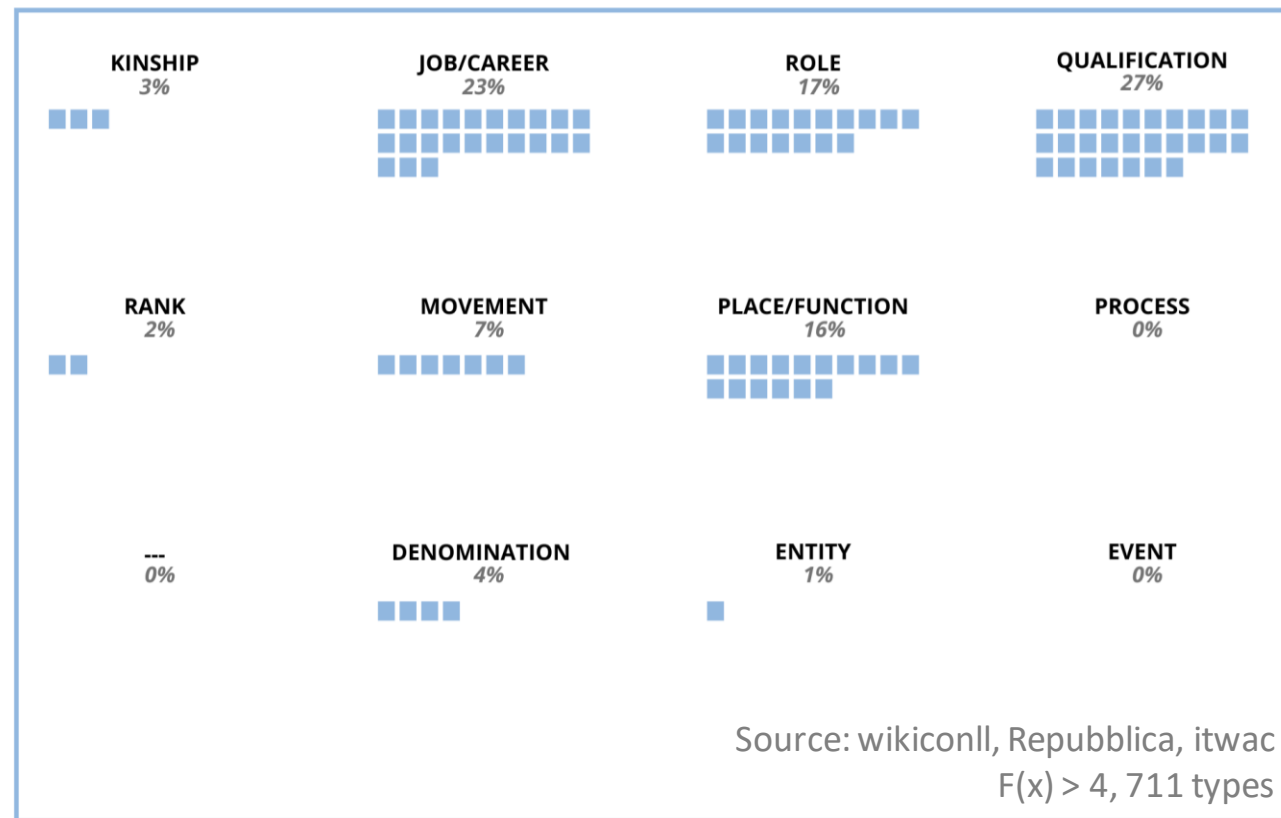
Steven, who would like to see us like we used to, acting as moderator and breaking the ice of our **once-friendship**

(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’



SEMANTICS OF N

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

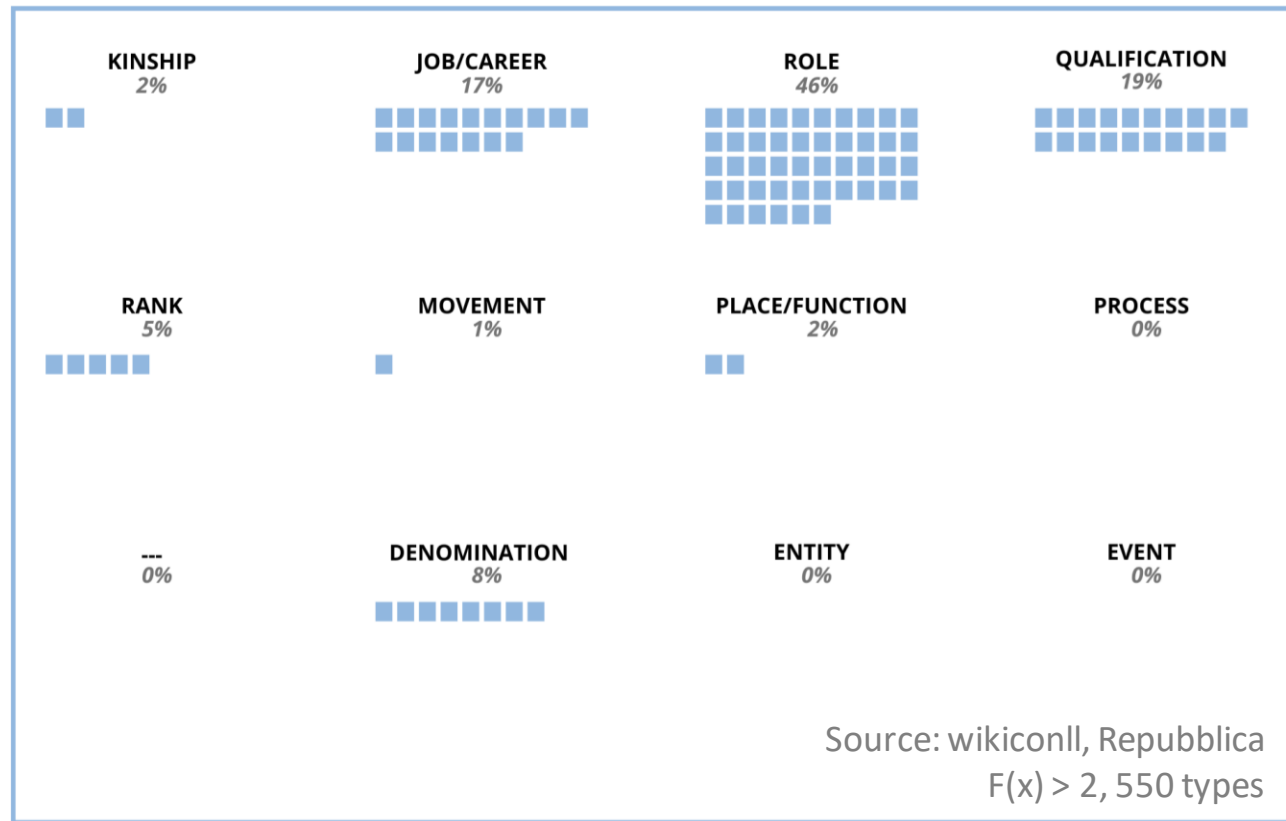
→ P_N is **acquired** and may be **temporary**

ex-Jugoslavia	3840	ex-direttore	948
ex-presidente	3102	ex-compagni	925
ex-moglie	2451	ex-comunisti	922
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-detenuiti	998	ex-dipendenti	738



ENDED REFERENCE

Ex-, Allora
'then N'



SEMANTICS OF N

- o *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



Results

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

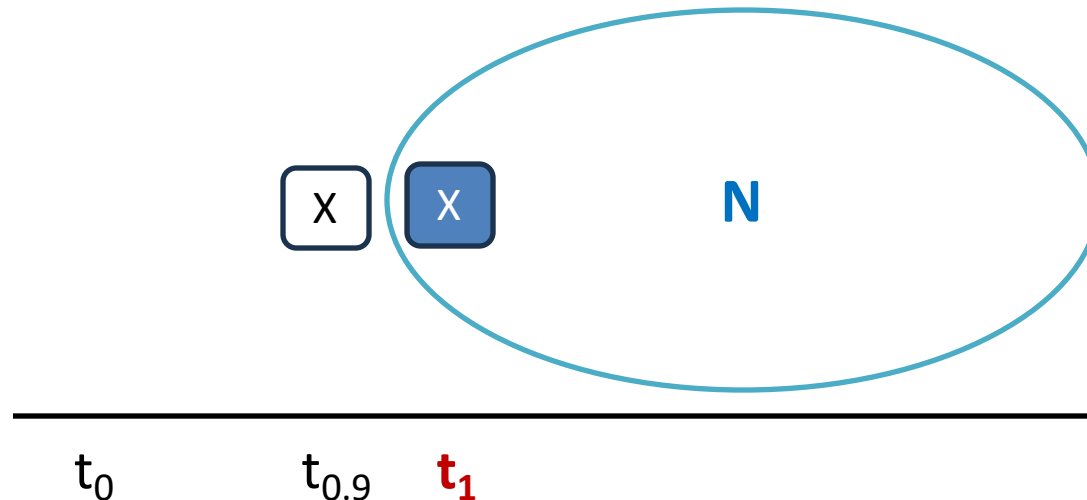


STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

> 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:

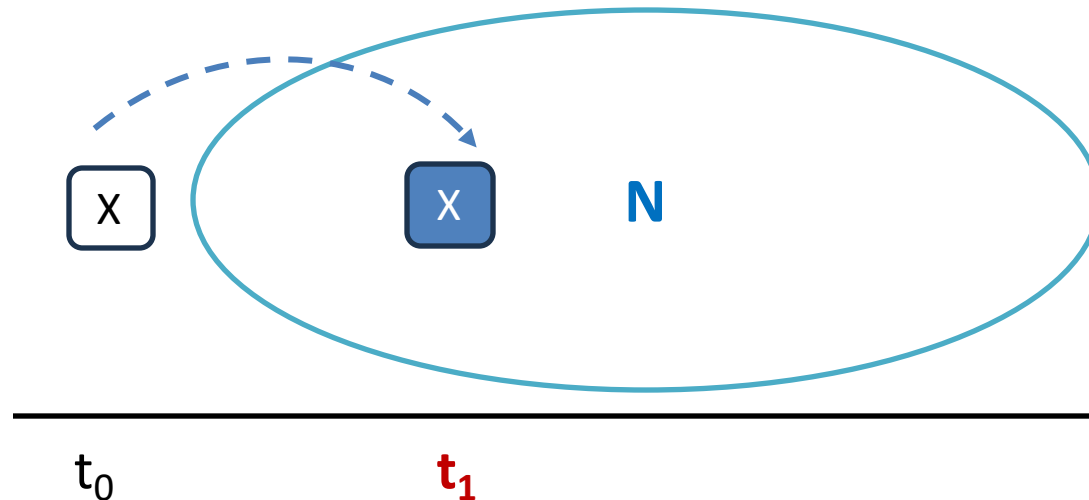
✓ **towards approximative uses!**



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.

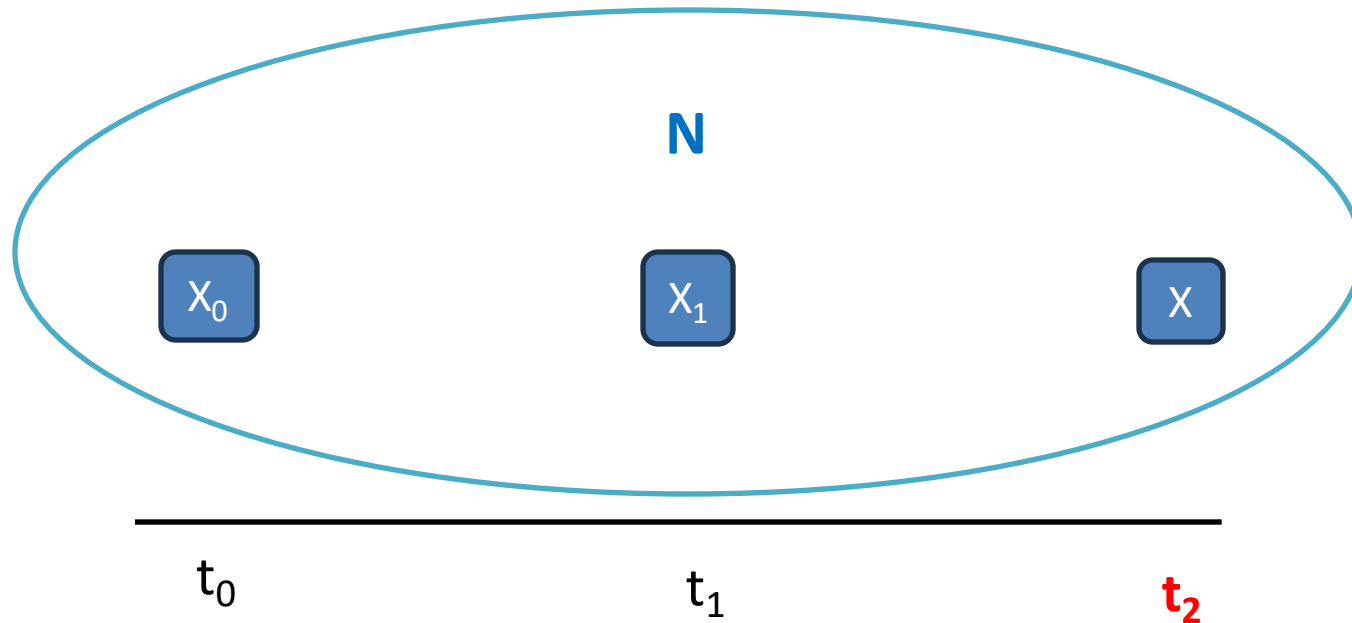
Our best wishes go out to this **already-family**.

(20) mentre cenavo con i miei **ormai-amici**_[qualification] as I had dinner with my **now-friends**.

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

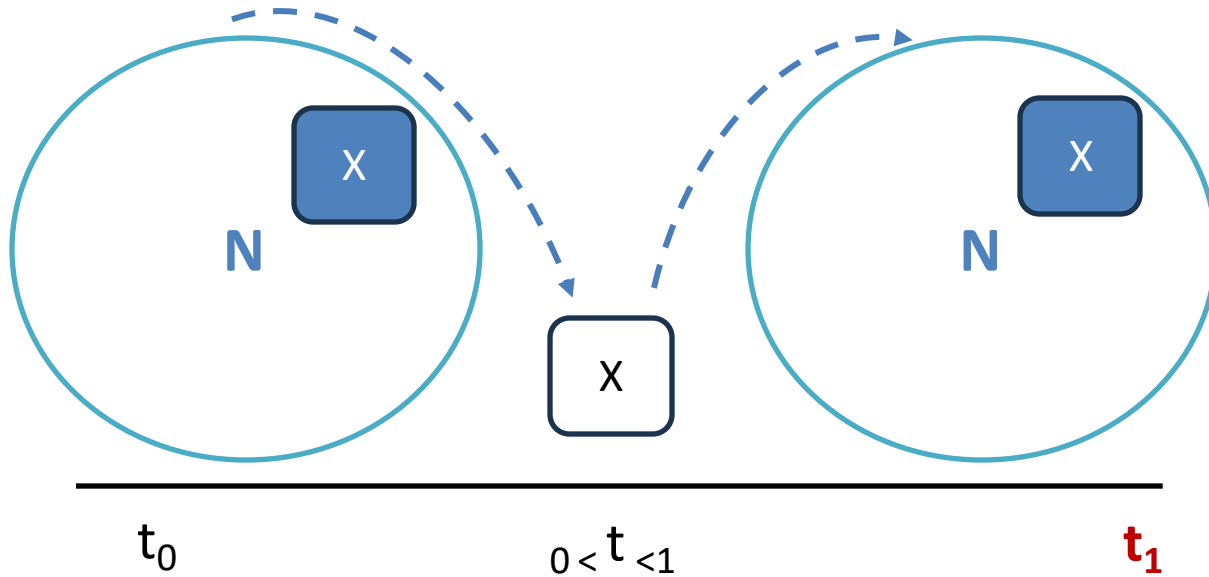
[he/she] wishes to conform to the decorum of the
prince's **ever-friends**

- ✓ 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

STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

> DISCONTINUOUS ITERATION EVALUATION

>> X is N again



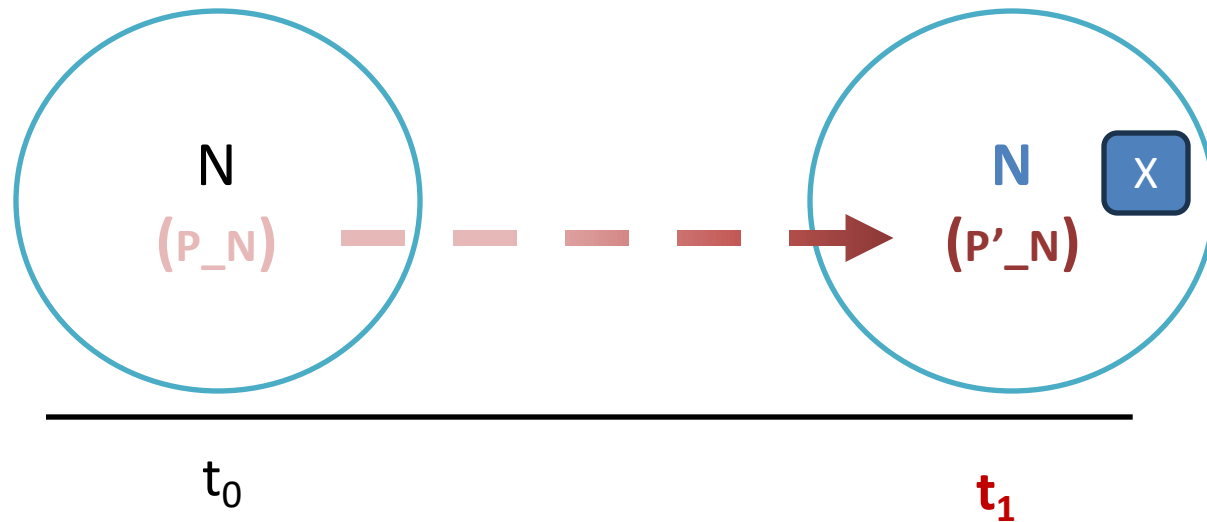
(24) *sfiducia dei suoi di-nuovo-alleati_[role] della Lega.*
distrust of his **allies-again** from Lega (italian party).

- ✓ 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

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

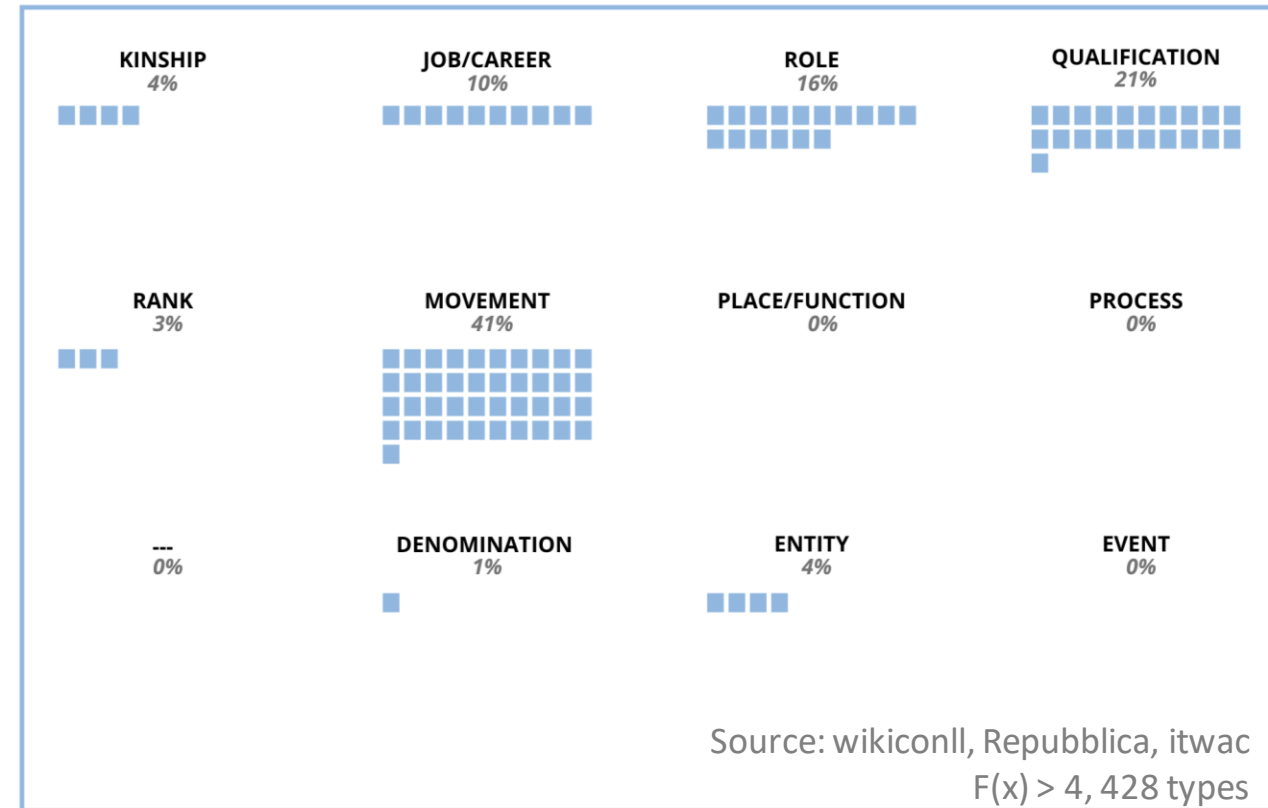
STARTED AND ONGOING REFERENCE

Neo-

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

SEMANTICS OF N

- *inherent duration and temporal beginning*
i.e. an X may become N at some identifiable moment in time
→ P_N is **acquired at time t₁**;
- *inherent anchoring 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 t₁**;



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

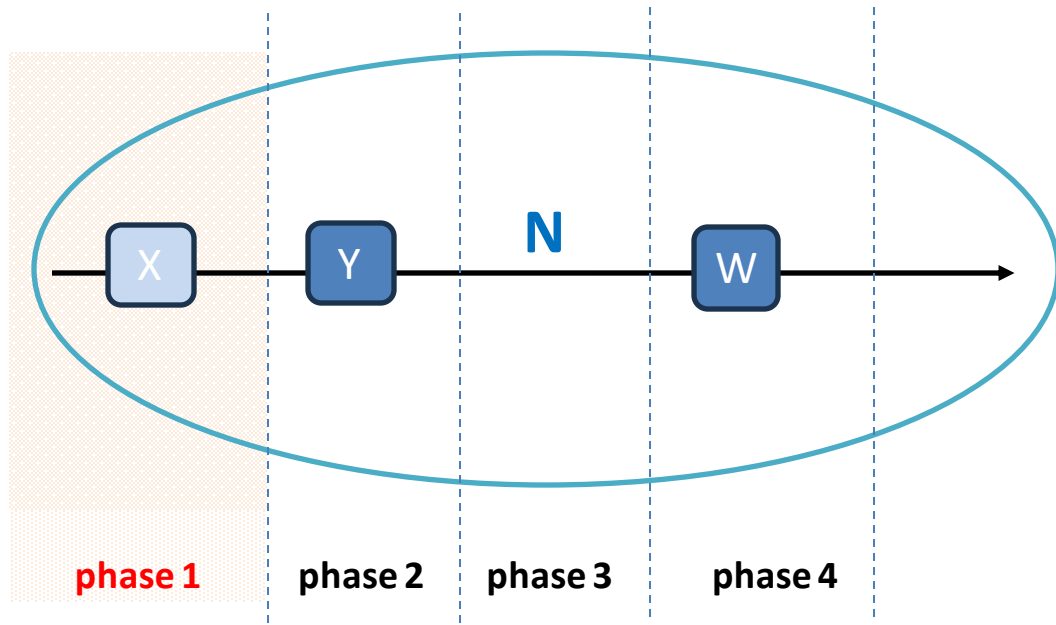


CIRCUM REFERENCE

> 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

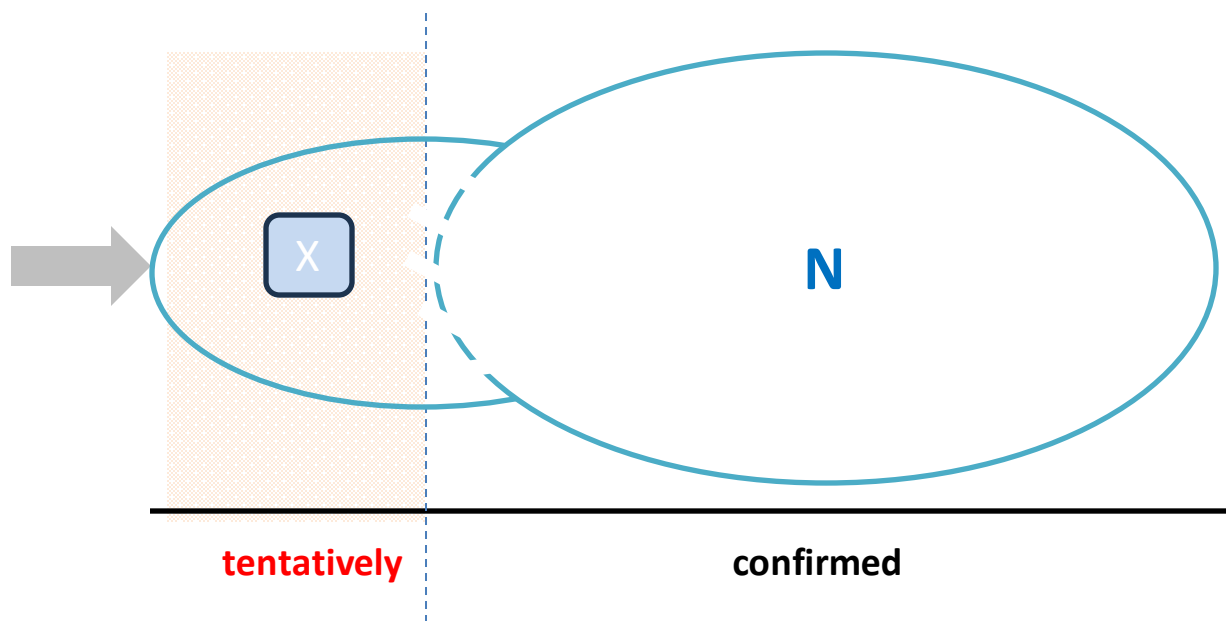


CIRCUM REFERENCE

> (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`)

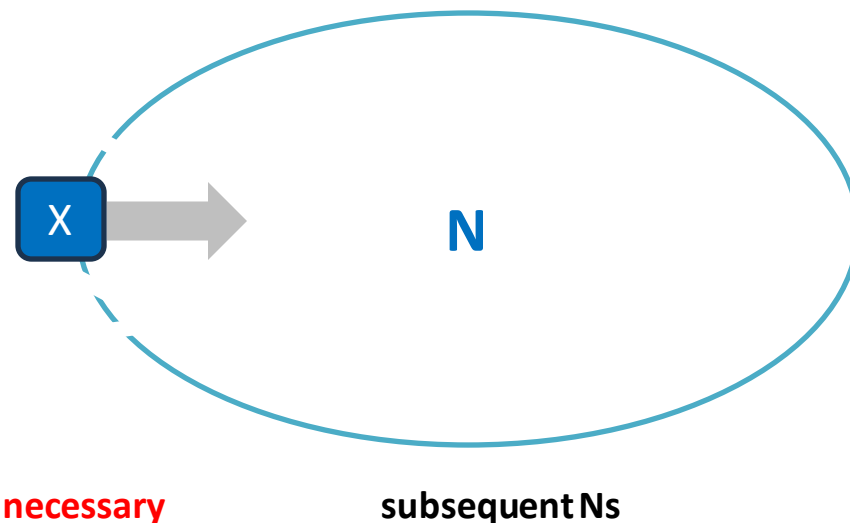
before N > 'before *certainly* N' > tentatively N



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?**

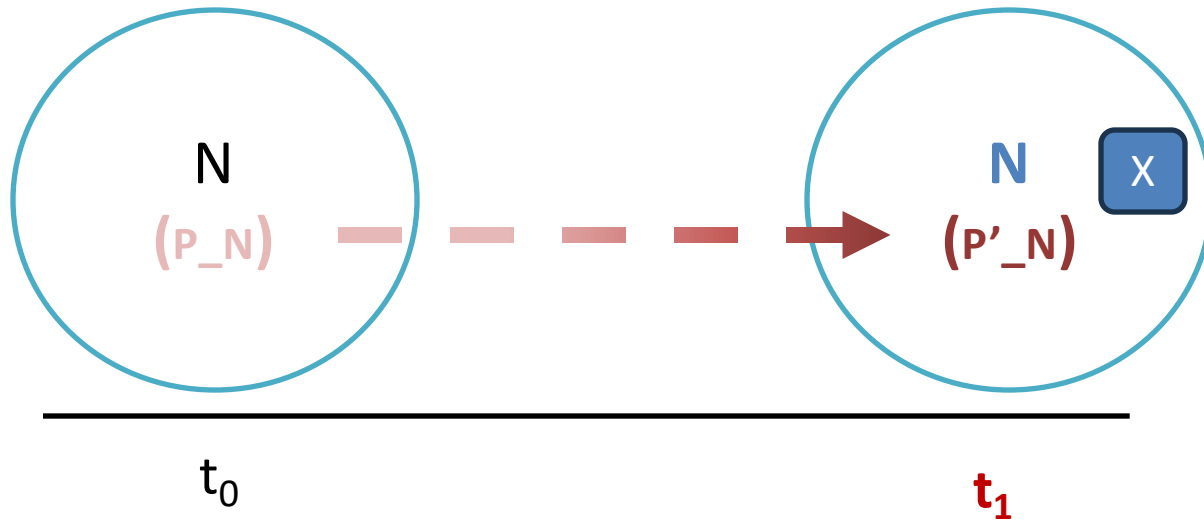
before N > 'necessary for N' > obligatory for further Ns



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



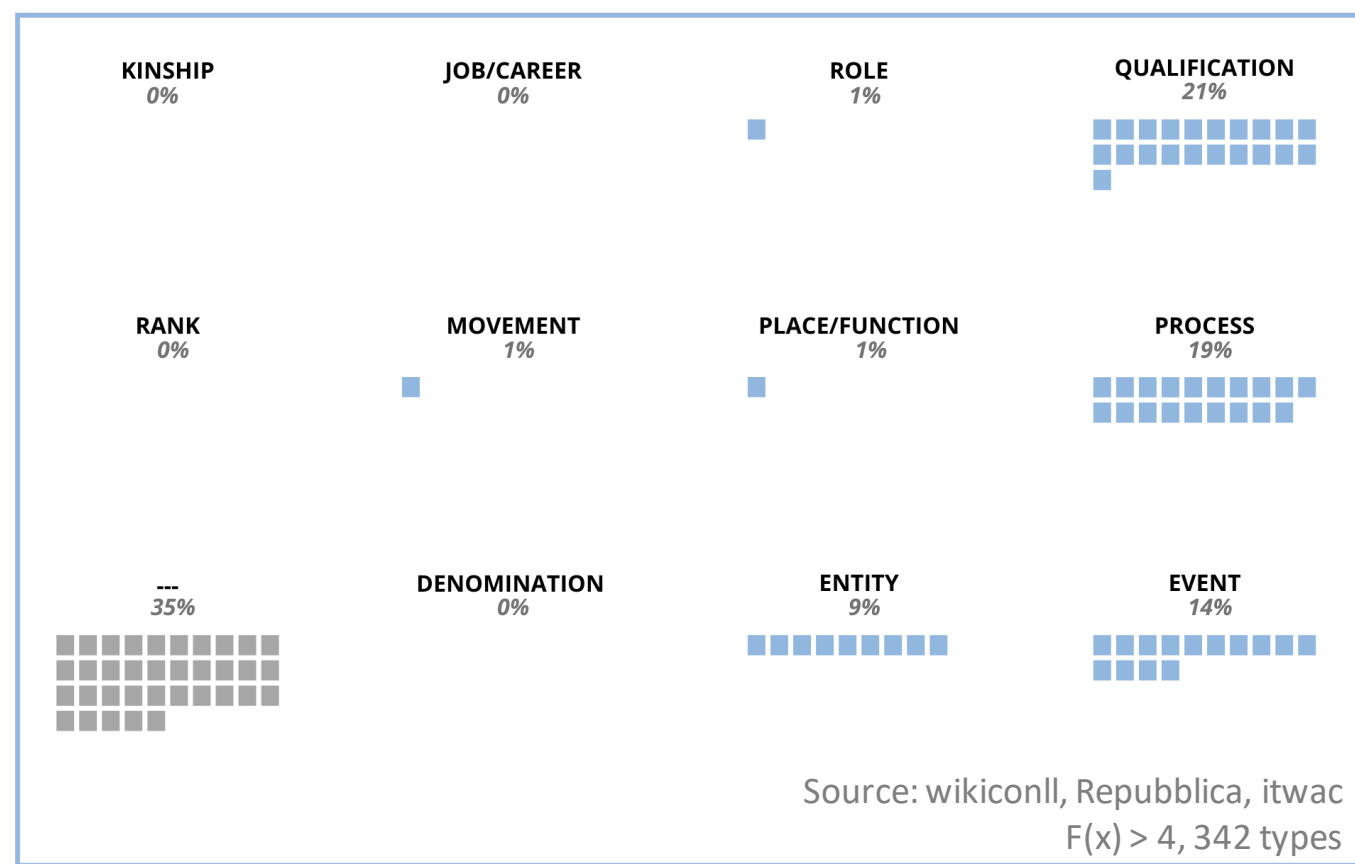
CIRCUM REFERENCE – before and after

pre-, post

✓ temporal > before

SEMANTICS OF N

- *Inanimate Ns with inherent duration*
i.e. An X may be N for a certain period, potentially with internal phases
→ P_N is **kept along successive phases**
- *Ns with inherent puntual aspect*
i.e. an X may occur as N at some specific point
→ P_N **occurs at t₁**



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



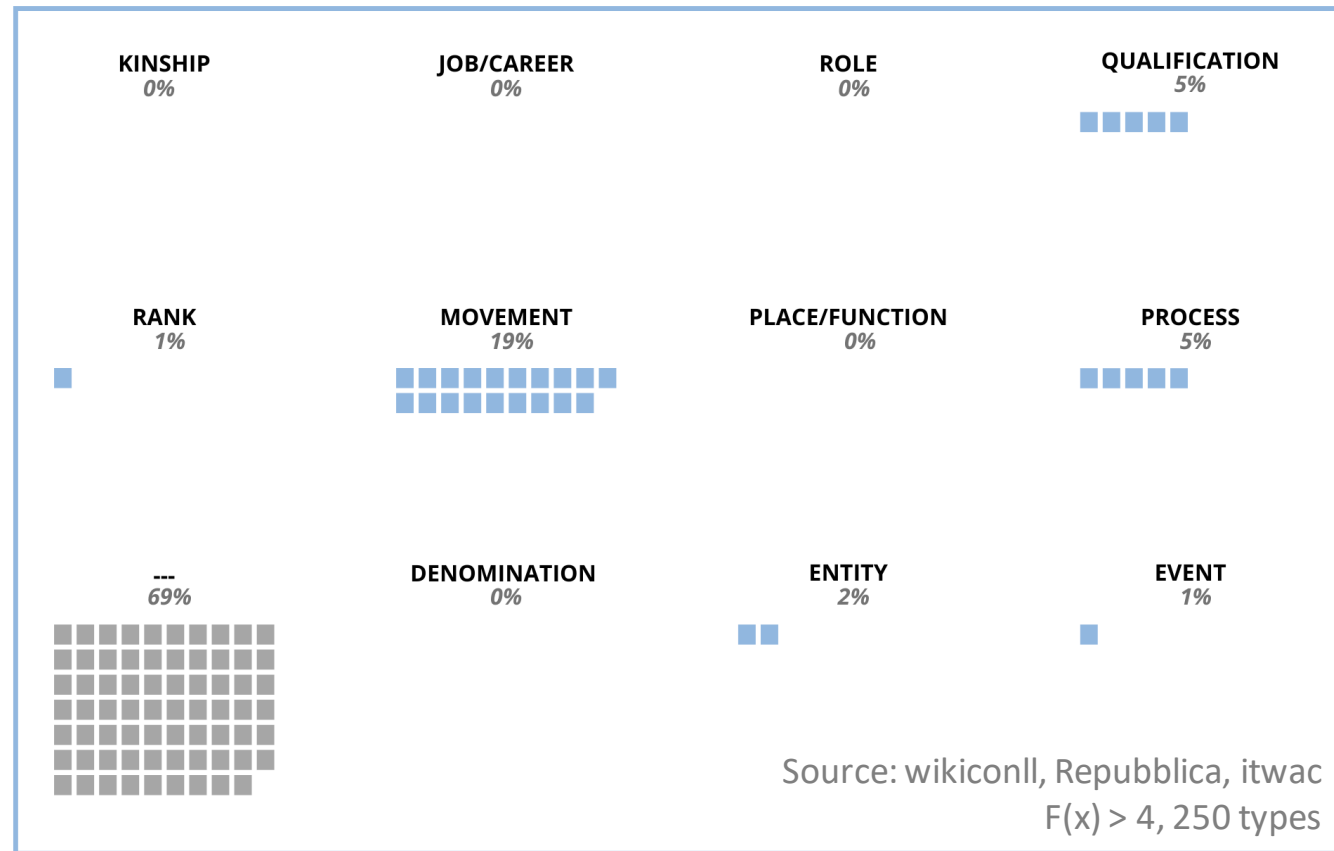
CIRCUM REFERENCE – before and after

pre, **post-**

✓ temporal > after

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 t₁**;



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



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

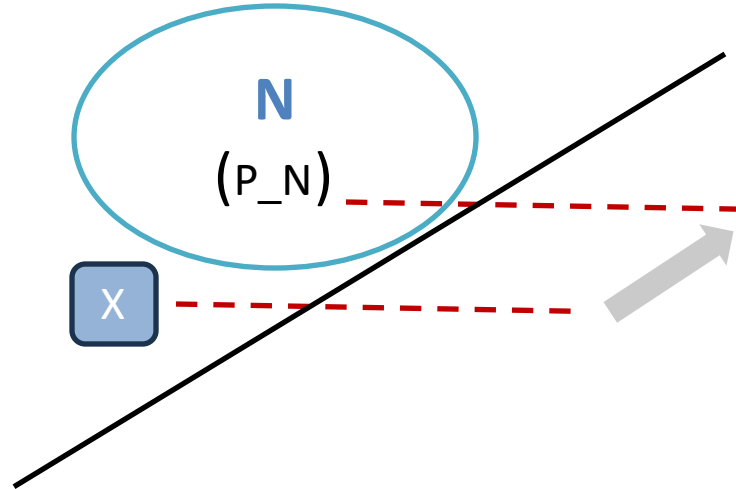


POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> 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*

➤ **towards approximative uses?**

➤ >> X is *slightly less than N*

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

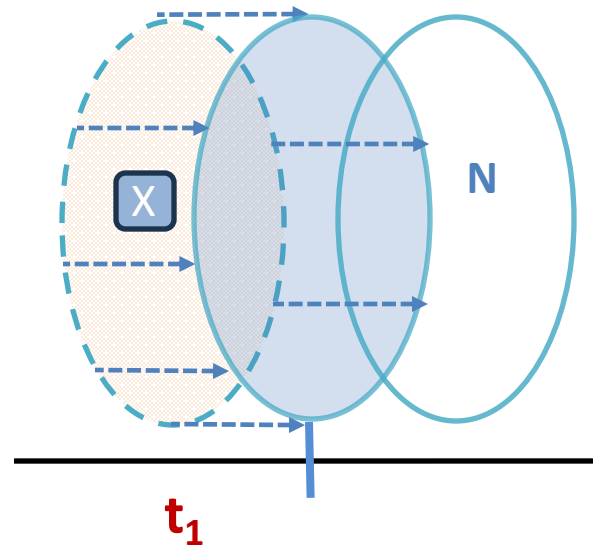


POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> 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*

➤ towards approximative uses?

➤ >> X is almost N

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

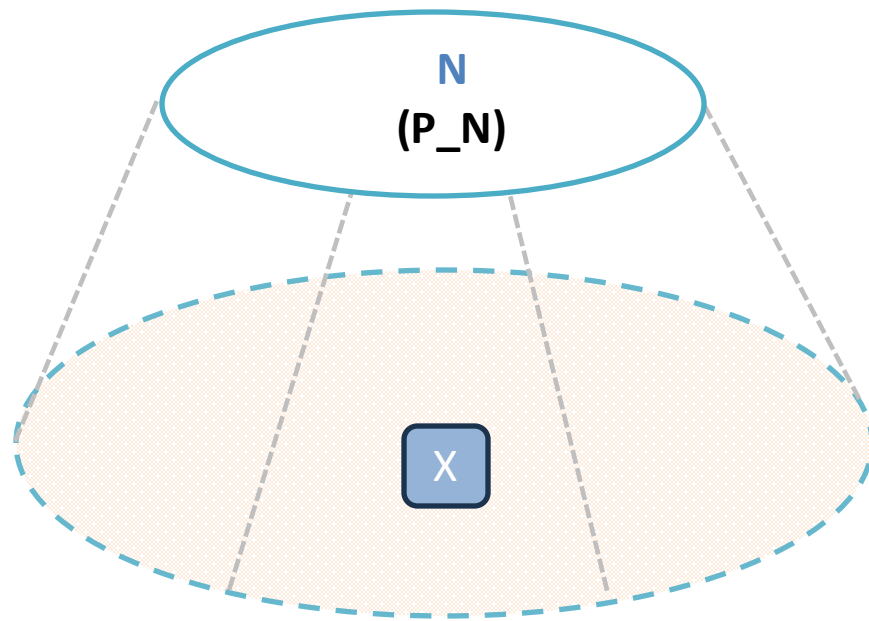


POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> 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*

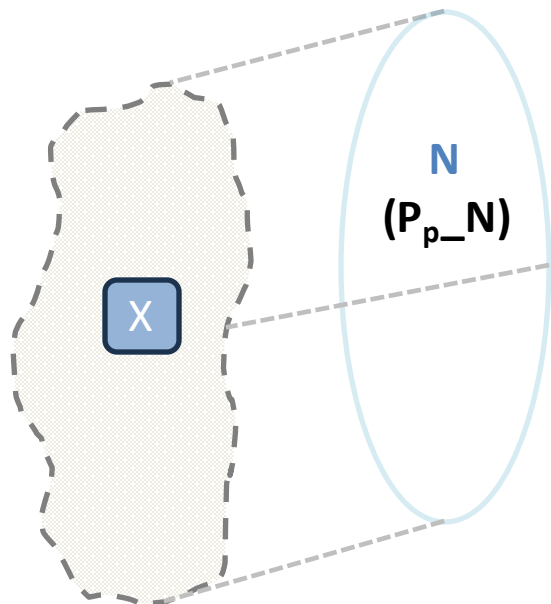
➤ **towards approximative uses?**

➤ >> X is a sort of N

POTENTIAL REFERENCE

> **NON PROTOTYPICALITY 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

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

‘absence of N’ > ‘absence of P_{p_N} ’ > deviating N

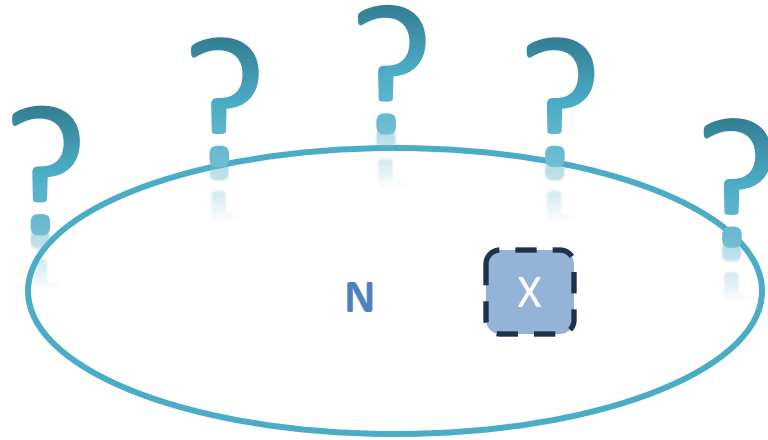


POTENTIAL REFERENCE

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

- ✓ **towards approximative uses!**



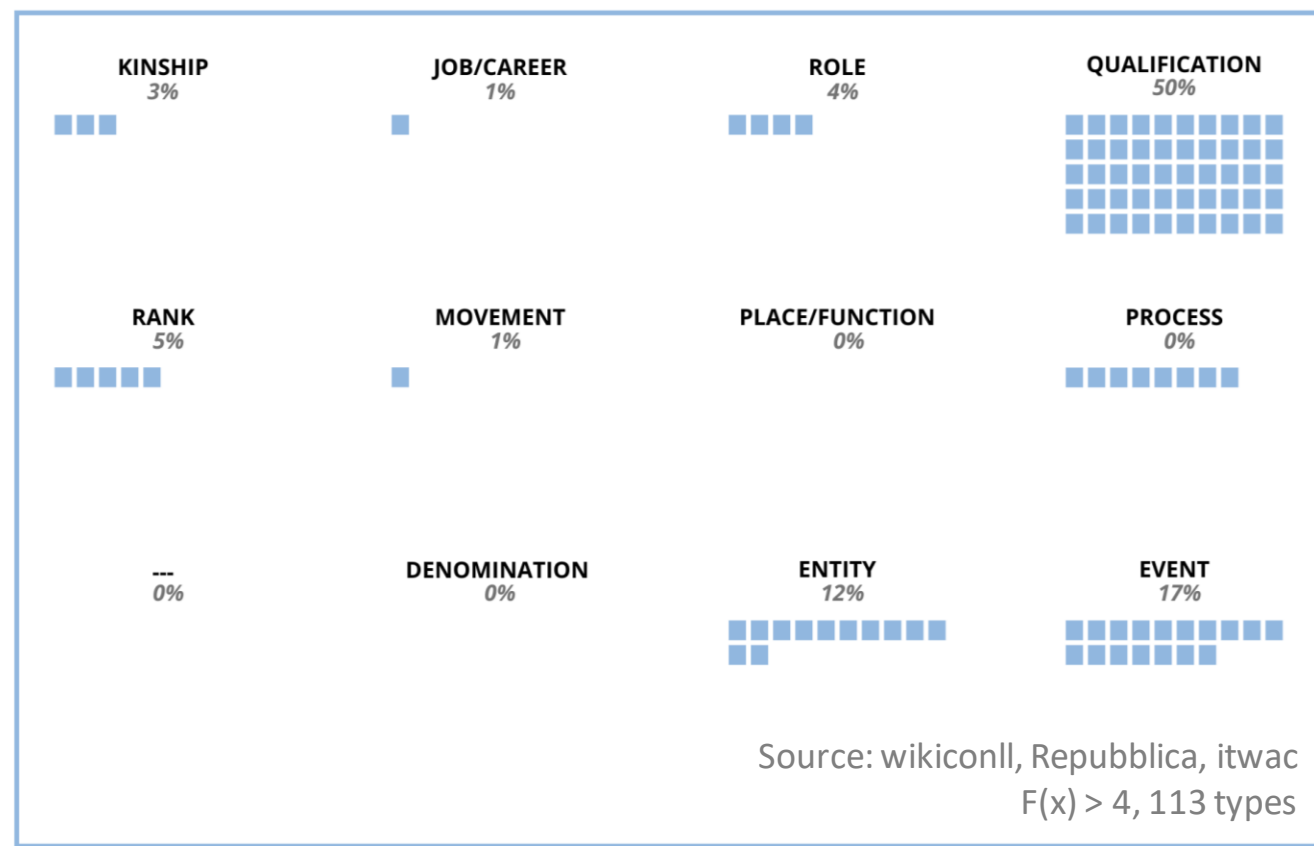
POTENTIAL REFERENCE

quasi(-), non

✓ aspectual > 'close to'

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



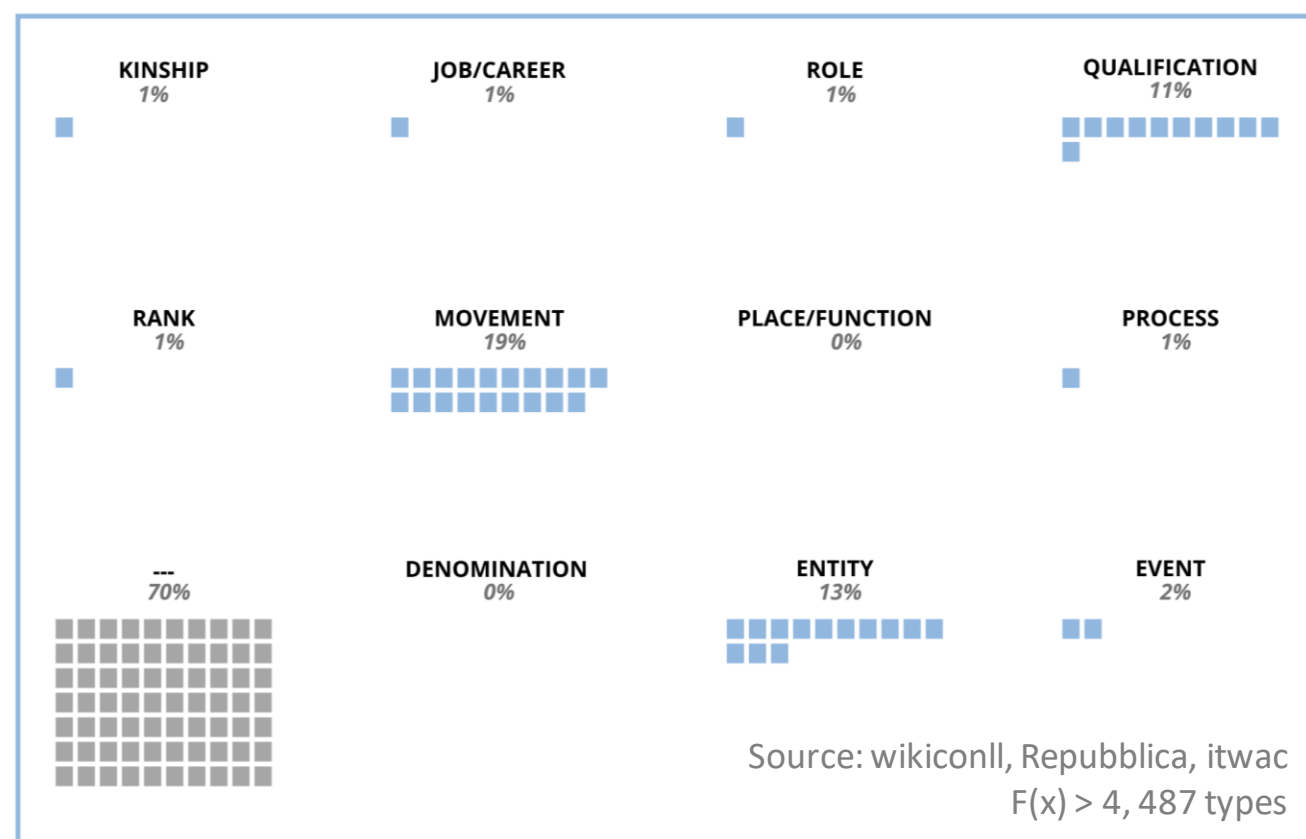
POTENTIAL REFERENCE

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



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**



Linguistic creativity!

MIXED CASES – ad hoc chains

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)



SPECIFIC TAM CONSTRUCTIONS – more to come...

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)

Comunisti-ex-e-sempre-comunisti (Then-communists-always-communists)

Uomo-non-più-uomo (Man-not-man-anymore)

Stato-non-ancora-stato (State-not-yet-state)

Partito-non-ancora-partito (Party-not-yet-party)

>> transitional non-prototypicality

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-thought-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)

>> transitional reference



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)

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)

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*]

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)



Towards some conclusions...



✓ When/How does X become N?

← Back and forth →
Evaluation locates
reference
in and along time

ormai-amici
già-famiglia

X has **already / now** become N

neo-attore

X has **newly** become N

neo-capitalismo

X is N **in a renewed way**

di-nuovo-alleati

X is N **again**

non-più-studenti

un-tempo-amicizia

ieri-precario

ex-allieva

X was N **in the past**

sempre-amici

ancora-vita

X is **still / always** N

futuro-marito

X is a **future** N

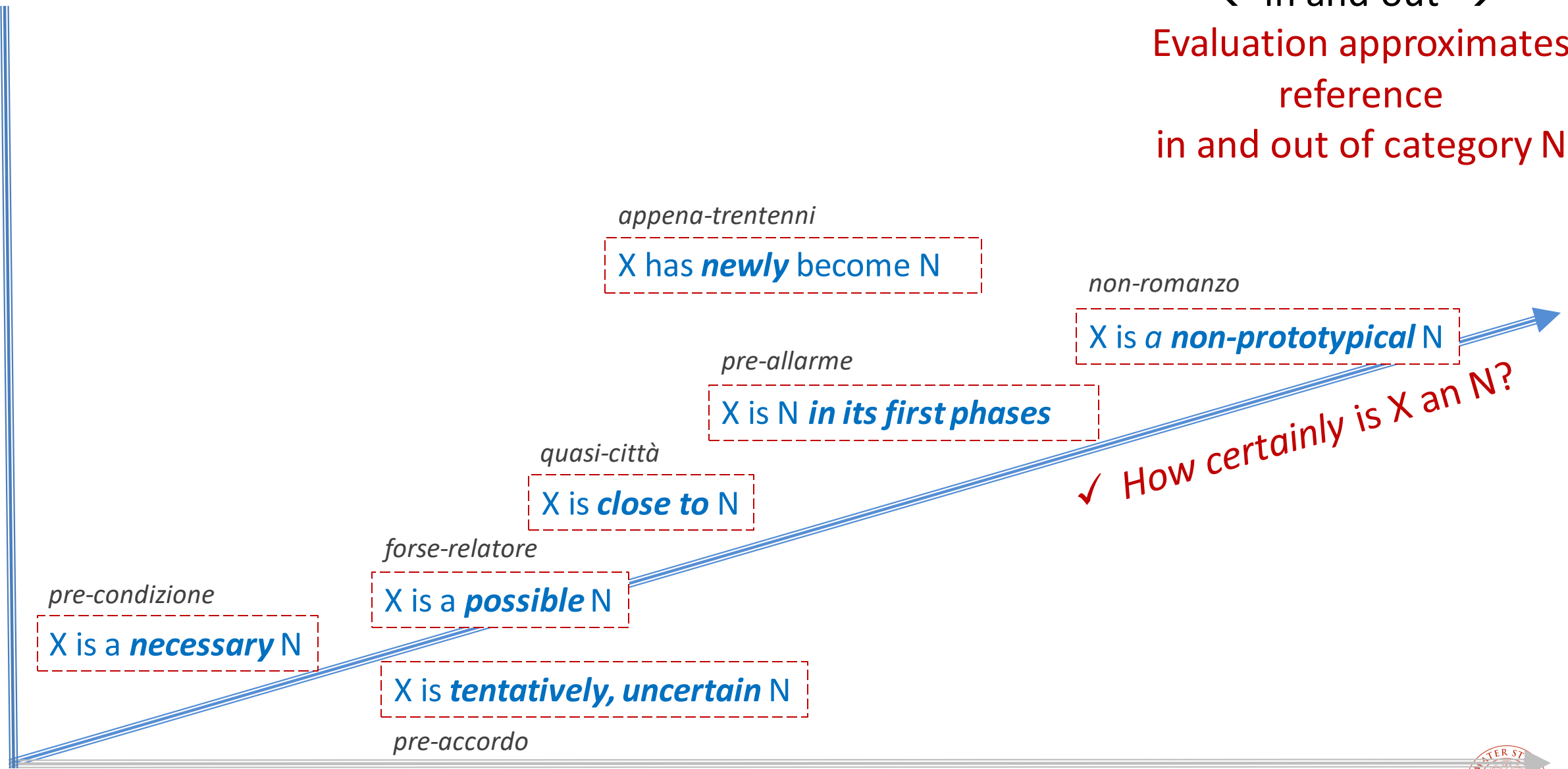
✓ How certainly is X an N?

✓ When is X an N?



← In and out →
Evaluation approximates
reference
in and out of category N

✓ When/How does X become N?



✓ How certainly is X an N?

✓ When is X an N?



✓ When/How does X become N?

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**

✓ How certainly is X an N?

✓ When is X an N?



✓ When/How does X become N?

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!!**

✓ How certainly is X an N?

✓ When is X an N?



✓ When/How does X become N?

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

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

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

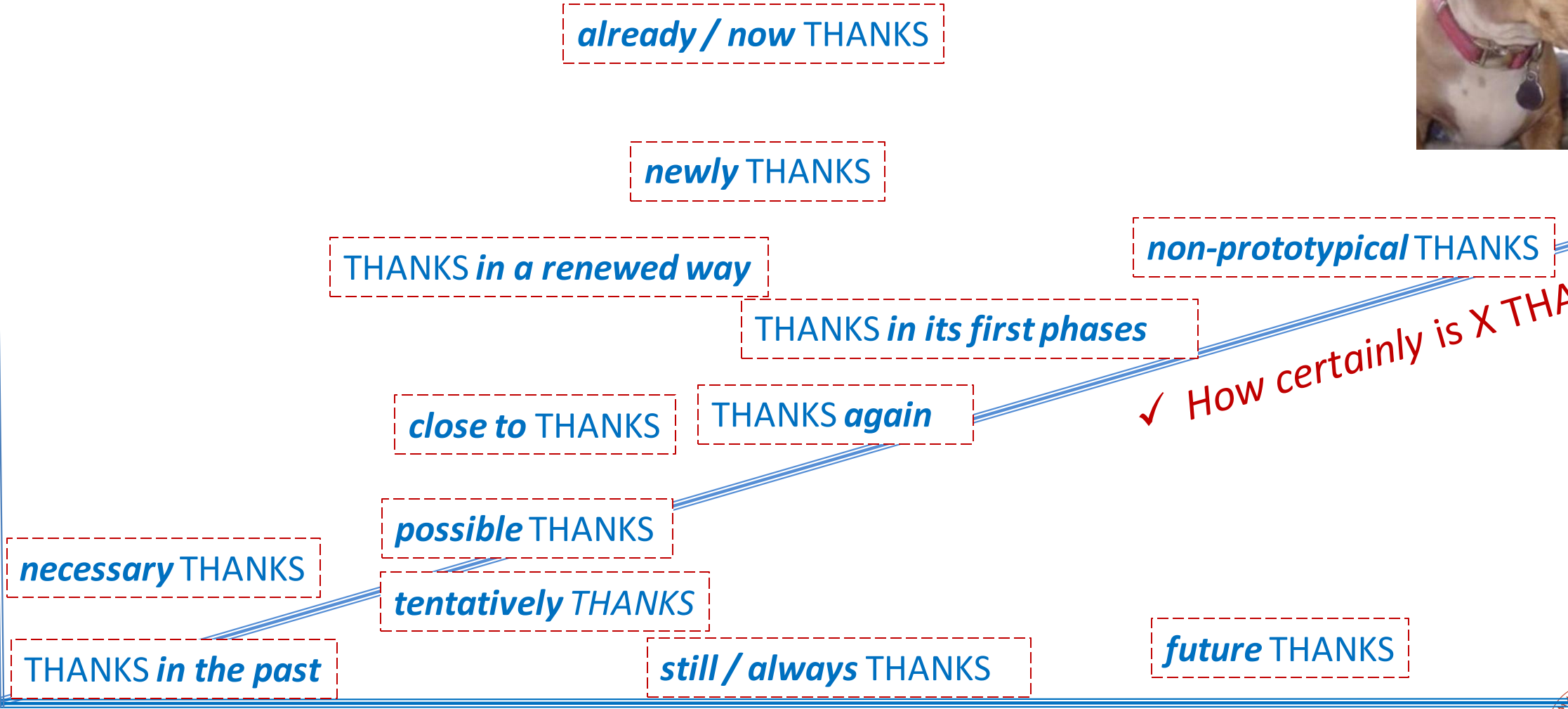
2. To what extent may evaluating reference against the TAM dimensions lead to a subjective evaluation in terms of *prototypicality*, *approximation* and also in terms of *speaker's attitude*?

✓ How certainly is X an N?

✓ When is X an N?



✓ When/How does X become THANKS?



✓ How certainly is X THANKS?

✓ When is X THANKS?





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