UPDATE NOW: DECOMPOSING "IAMITIVE"

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WHAT ARE "IAMITIVES"?

Iamitives (from Latin *iam* 'already') are markers commonly found in languages of Southeast Asia whose function overlaps with both *already* and the English present perfect (Olsson 2013).

Iamitives (i) mark a new situation (ii) with consequences for the speech situation; they are considered a distinct grammatical category (cf. also Dahl & Wälchli 2006; but cf. Vander Klok & Matthewson 2015).

OBJECTIVES AND CLAIMS

We investigate a prototypical example of iamitives, the enclitic =*in* in Bunun (Formosan, Austronesian).

Claim I. We highlight the differences of =*in* from both *already* and a perfect. (i) =*in* encodes a change of p-status without involving earliness effects; (ii) it is best analyzed as a discourse marker that signals the truth values of p have been <u>updated</u> at the utterance time.

- p is updated from $\neg p$ either on the level of truth-conditional meanings (inchoativity) or that of shared common grounds (counterexpectation).

Claim II. "Iamitives" are not a mixed or ambivalent category defined by *already* or a perfect, but a discourse particle concerning the epistemic states of the interlocutors.

FEATURES IN NATURAL SPEECH

We looked at 126 tokens of =*in* in 5 spontaneous texts.

▷ =*in* occurs frequently in temporal adverbial clauses as a marker of 'after' sequentiality (cf. Olsson, p.39). It is unclear how our proposal extends to this use.

▷ Hosts of =*in* with high token frequencies are negation and epistemic auxiliaries; =*in* seems to scope over everything in main clauses.

▷ =*in* can co-occur with any temporal/aspectual markers, e.g., past, future, IPFV/PROG & durative.

CHANGE OF "STATE"

A prior negative state. In out of the blue contexts, =*in* consistently gives rise to an incpetive/inchoative reading with activity and stative predicates.

(8) *Masabah=in   saia.*
AF.sleep=COS 3SG.NOM

(lit.) 'He slept and is still sleeping.'

(9) <u>Context</u>: I am teaching kids the color. I describe to them the color of the bananas over there:
#*Ma-diav=in   a   bunbun=a.*
AF-yellow=COS NOM banana=DIST.NOM

'Those bananas turned yellow.'

The change of state need not be truth-conditional. =*in* is not immediately accepted for "an initial state that does not originate in some previous state" (Olsson, p.18), but it just requires a different context:

(10) #*Ma-zumu=in   a   dalah=an.*
AF-round=COS NOM land=MED.NOM

Intended 'The earth is round.'
<u>Offered context</u>: It was [already] the case when God created the world.

Earliness implicature not required. =*in* is preferred with *dungzav* 'finally', which requires a state to be evaluated as "later than expected" (ibid., p.11).

(11) <u>Context</u>: Your sister couldn't sleep for the past two days, and she finally fell asleep.
Dungzav=in saia   masabah sangan.
finally=COS 3SG.NOM AF.sleep a.while.ago

'She finally fell asleep a while ago.'

Beyond duality with negation. While =*in* scoping over $\neg p$ may be taken as equivalent to $\neg(\text{still } p)$, it also scopes over an epistemic modal.

(12) *ni=in   hudan-an.*
NEG=COS rain-LF

'It is not raining anymore.'

(13) <u>Offered context</u>: Who will host that meeting?
Nau=in   tu   na=isai=cia.
EPIST=COS LNK FUT=3SG.POSS=DIST.OBL

'It must be him (lit. his stuff).'
Comment: There are two candidates and you are already sure it will be him.

REFERENCE TO CURRENT COMMON GROUND

Past-time adverbial restrictions (defeasible). Compare (1) and (11).

(1) *Masabah=in   saia   ??takna /??sangan*
AF.sleep=COS 3SG.NOM yesterday /a.while.ago
/laupakadau.
/now

'He is sleeping ??yesterday/??just now/now.'

Potential Lifetime effects. It awaits to see if Lifetime effects are cancellable in certain contexts. What the data suggest is that when there is no clear discourse context, UT is always the anchoring point.

(2) #*Taus-'uvaaz=in   inaak   nas-cinahudas*
AF.bear-child=COS 1SG.POSS late-grandmother
tu   ta~tau   mas 'uvaaz.
PRT HUM~three OBL child

'My late grandma gave birth to three children.'

Imminent future (defeasible). Imminent future readings are salient with a future reference time.

(3) *Na=hudan-an=in.*
FUT=rain-LF=COS

'It's about to rain.' ($\neq$ 'It will have/has rained.')
Comment: You'll need to come inside right away. (Rejected if raining is possible but not imminent.)

However, non-imminent readings are available if the speaker assumes that the addressee believes p is false:

(4) *Na=masabah=in   saia   mais*
FUT=AF.sleep=COS 3SG.NOM when.NPST
minaunin.
afternoon

'He will (then) sleep this afternoon.'
<u>Offered context</u>: I've been trying hard to put my kid to sleep. Mom comforts me, "It's okay..."

TWO SENSES OF EXPECTATION

Counter-expectation w.r.t. p in the common ground is notable with homogeneous states but we expect it to hold with any type of predicates.

(5) <u>Context</u>: You think he recently becomes fat; I say:
Nau tu   maisi'kauma-ikit saia   hai,
EPIST LNK AF.be.from.little 3SG.NOM TOP
masmuh=in.
AF.fat=COS

'Since he was young, he has been fat (contrary to what you thought).'

Expectation towards the change in the truth of p instead of the plain proposition being expected.

(6) <u>Context</u>: Someone came. Mom: "Who is it?" I:
#*Minsuma=in   tama Biung=a.*
AF.come=COS uncle Biung=DIST.NOM

'Uncle Biung came.'
<u>Offered context</u>: I had been waiting for Biung and he came.

(7) <u>Context</u>: Telling a friend my recent news:
Mapadangi=in   saikin.
AF.get.married=COS 1SG.NOM

'I got married.'

ANALYSIS

Soh (2009) proposes that uttering Mandarin SFP *le* (i) asserts p at UT, (ii) **presupposes [$\neg p$ before UT]**, and (iii) If the speaker **accepts** the presupposition, it becomes part of the current cg, meaning that the truth of p changes across times (within the same cg); if (s)he **rejects** it, its negation, [p before UT], is added to the current cg, presenting a contrast to the prior cg. **NB: [$\neg p$ before UT] is always in the cg prior to UT.**

A crucial criterion for counter-expectation is that the truth values of p do not change before & after UT; **it is the belief that p is false that is not shared in the cgs before & after UT.**

- Prediction: =*in* is felicitous as long as there is inconsistency across cgs [Yes for sentences with negation, imperatives & deontic/epist modals]

What =*in* shares with *already* is the change in polarity, without p being true at an earlier time than would have been expected. **The truth of p is updated at UT.**

A piece of information is updated for a reason. This may explain the sense of expectation in (6) and (7).

ON-GOING RESEARCH

- To examine the semantic effect of =*in* with polarity-associated items like 'only', 'almost', 'so that', 'rarely', etc.
- To account for why =*in* is infelicitous in downward-entailing contexts (or alters the intended reading).
- To establish typologically valid diagnostics for identifying the same type of discourse markers.

REFERENCES