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Variation in Circumstantial Modality.

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In this paper, we explore morphosyntactic and semantic variation in the expression of modality in natural language. We establish parallels and differences between three circumstantial modals: (a) a new modal we propose for Polish (1), which in our view heads a High Applicative, (b) the Lillooet Salish (St'át'imcets) circumstantial proposed for (2) by Davis, Matthewson, and Rullmann (DMR) (2007), which is affixal, and (c) the goal/teleological modal (verb) in (3) by von Stechow and Iatridou (2004).

- (1) *Na-pisało mi się własne imię.* Polish
Pref-wrote.Neu **I.Dat** Refl own name.Acc
'I wrote up my own name (by accident).'
- (2) **ka-** mets-s= kan- **á=** k'a ti=n-skwátsits=a. Lillooet
CIRC- write-CAUS= 1SG.SUBJ- **CIRC=** EPIS DET=1SG.POSS-name=EXIS
'I drew my name by accident.' (DMR 2007)
- (3) *You **have** to take the A-train to go to Harlem.*

On the one hand, the agent performing the action in Pol (1) has no choice, or is not in control of the event. Likewise, in Lill (2), the action is not done on purpose. Thus Pol patterns with dative agents and Lill patterns with out-of-control **ka**-...-**á** display similar readings. We attribute such a similarity to parallel modal items with circumstantial modal bases in the sense of Kratzer (1981, 1991), and different morphosyntactic properties.

On the other hand, unless provided with a context, Polish constructions of type (1) must contain a Manner Adverb, as illustrated in (4a-b).

- (4) a. *Jankowi tańczyło się dobrze.*
John.Dat danced.Neut Refl well 'John enjoyed dancing.'
- b. *Jankowi czytało się tę książkę z przyjemnością.*
John.Dat read.Neut Refl this book.Acc with pleasure
'(Somehow), John read this book **with pleasure**.'

The gloss in (4a) indicates that the event was good for John, independently of his being a good or bad dancer. Thus, we treat the Adv in (4a-b) as an argument of the modal, formally parallel to the purpose clause with the goal-oriented modal in (3). For Fintel and Iatridou, goal-oriented modals have circumstantial modal bases and practical necessity ordering sources, so we establish a parallel between no-choice and teleological modality.

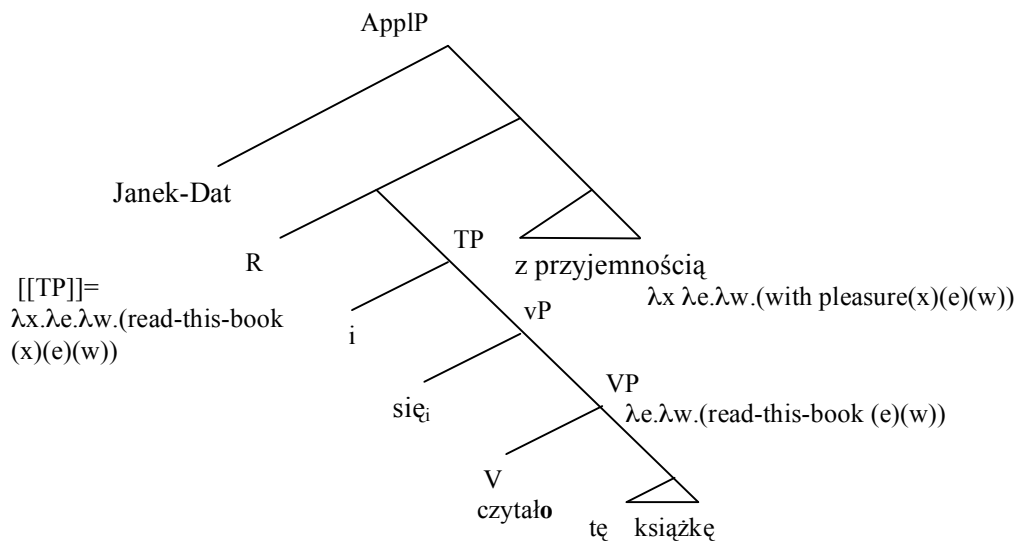
We assign to (4b) the structure in (5), inspired by Rivero (2008). A modal R with a hardwired / linguistically encoded circumstantial modal base and universal modal force heads an Applicative above a Tense Phrase (TP). Informally, R takes two properties as arguments, and results in a property of individuals that applies to the dative subject. The arguments of R are properties from individuals to events to worlds to truth-values. The restrictor of R is the main clause or TP-structure, and the nuclear scope is the Adverb. R = in all the worlds in the circumstantial modal base in which the property in the restrictor of the modal applies to the relevant individual and event, the property in the nuclear scope also applies to the relevant individual and event. In addition, TP contains a

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specialized nonreferential pronoun with a human presupposition, reflexive *się*, which abstracts over the (nominative) clausal subject notated i to provide a variable for the dative (Rivero & Sheppard 2003). Thus, such patterns have an obligatory reflexive clitic that cannot be replaced by an ordinary pronoun, and involve personal modality: are restricted to human / personified logical subjects.

Our proposal expands the typology of Applicatives in UG. Namely, other than the Individual = Low and Event = High Appls of Pylkkänen (2008), there are Modal Appls, which stand in the CP-domain, and establish a modal relation between individuals and features of events. Our proposal also identifies variation in the expression of modality. R has a hardwired modal base like the Lill modal (DMR 2007), in contrast with Kratzer's view that modal bases are usually defined by conversational backgrounds, i.e. context.

(5)



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