

Fake Past and a Monster*

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1. Introduction

The past tense morpheme in simple sentences can receive non-past interpretations when expressing surprise (Teramura 1984). I argue that speaker's implicit attitudes are 'monsters' (Kaplan 1977) which shift temporal parameters of the context of the factive 'fake' past sentences. So far all the supporting arguments for a monster have been based on embedded clauses (Schlenker 1999, 2003) but the mono-clausal fake past construction discussed here shows that monsters exist in simple sentences. I further argue that speaker attitudes, namely, speculative and bouletic modality, function as a determiner which takes negative presuppositions in the restrictor and the overt predicate in the nuclear scope (cf. Berman 1991) and non-past interpretation is obtained.

The structure of this paper is as follows: section 2 presents data on fake past sentences, typically with unaccusative stative predicates. Section 3 discusses the monstrous function that shifts contexts. Section 4 analyzes speaker attitudes to be bouletic and speculative modality and section 5 proposes phrase structure of fake past sentences. Section 6 further considers context change potential, and lastly, section 7 briefly compares alternative approaches to fake past sentences.

2. Fake Past

2.1. Mono-clausal Fake Past Construction

The past tense marker can be 'fake' (Iatridou 2000) with speaker's surprise, when finding or recalling something, or seeing the fulfillment of expectations (Mikami 1953, Kunihiro 1967, Teramura 1984, Machida 1989, Mo 1992a, 1992b, Inoue and Ogoshi 1997, Inoue 2001, Nishiguchi 2004a, in press).¹ For example, (1) is uttered when the speaker has been looking for a book and found it:

- (1) a. Oh, it was here (all along).
b. A, koko-ni at-ta/#a-ru. (Japanese)
Oh here-LOC be-PAST/be-PRES

* I would like to thank Richard K. Larson, Norihiro Ogata, Kai von Stechow, Maria Bittner, the audience at LENLS 2006 and Stony Brook University for valuable suggestions at different stages.

¹ Kusumoto (1999, 2001) and Ogihara (2004) discuss the ambiguity of Japanese past tense morpheme in relative clauses.

The past tense is more natural than the present, especially in Japanese. When the past tense expresses surprise at recalling a future schedule, temporal mismatch occurs between the past tense and future adverbials like *next Monday* or *tomorrow*.

(2) I had a meeting next Monday.

(3) Mintian you-le wanyan. (Mandarin)
tomorrow have-PERF party
'I had a party tomorrow'

Not only stative but also eventive predicates license the non-past interpretations of the past tense.

(4) A, basu-ga ki-ta. (Japanese)
oh bus-NOM come-PAST
'Oh, the bus is coming'

Such past tense is used to describe the present situations. Why do we use the past tense to refer to the present situations?

Crucially, such fake past tense necessarily presupposes the contrary or ignorance. For example, before uttering (1), the speaker has been looking for a book expecting that the book would be in another location or having no idea where it would be. In (2)-(3), the speaker has believed the contrary, namely, that the meeting or a party is scheduled on another day. The addressor and the addressee have been waiting for a bus in (4), not knowing when it would come. The common ground contains more than two contexts before fake past assertions, and the fake past utterances disambiguate the actual world (Stalnaker 1978, 2004) and update the context.

The present paper argues that speaker attitudes function as a determiner which takes negative or positive presuppositions in the restrictor and the assertion in the nucleus scope (cf. Berman 1991). The past tense morpheme is interpreted to be present only with such presuppositions. Furthermore, the indexical shifts in mono-clausal construction give stronger evidence that monsters exist contra Kaplanian view. So far, the supporting arguments for context shifting operators have been only based on the indexicals in the embedded clauses in Amharic, Zazaki and other languages (Kaplan 1977, Schlenker 1999, 2003, Anand and Nevins 2004). The data on the fake past tense in simple sentences advocates context dependencies of indexicals more strongly.

Before moving onto discussions about monsters, let us examine more examples in fake past tense.

2.2. Verb Classes of Fake Past

The verb classes used for the fake past construction tend to be unaccusative verbs (Perlmutter 1978), which is common to the vacuous past tense in relative clauses

Adjectives

Adjectives in the past tense are used when finding situations contrary or according to the expectations:

- (10) Yo-kat-ta. (Japanese)
good-be-PAST
'Thank goodness' (when a lost wallet was returned with money)
- (11) (Ao-to omot-tei-tara) kuro-dat-ta. (Japanese)
blue-COMP think-PROG-then black-be-PAST
'(I thought it was blue but) it was black'

2.2.2. Eventive Predicates

Not only stative but also eventive predicates allow non-past interpretations. For instance, speaker may utter (12) or (13a) at a bus stop even while the bus is still on the way.

- (12) (Basu-ga) ki-ta. (Japanese)
bus-NOM come-PAST
'(The bus) is coming'
- (13) a. Avtobus prisho-l. (Russian)
bus come-PAST
'The bus is coming'
b. # Avtobus prihodit.
bus come-PRES
'The bus comes'

When leaving home, the use of the past tense as in (14) is customary in Russian, even though the speaker has not yet left home.

- (14) Ya ush-la. (Russian)
I go-PAST
'I am leaving'

Japanese inchoative verbs that bring change of states such as *smile*, *fall* and *fly* are also used for present reference.

- (15) A, warat-ta. (Japanese)
oh smile-PAST
'Oh, (the baby) is smiling'
- (16) Shimat-ta. (Japanese)
close-PAST
'Oh, no'

- (17) A, hikoki-ga ton-da. (Japanese)
 Oh airplane-NOM fly-PAST
 'Oh, the airplane is flying'

Fake past readings with eventive verbs are limited to Japanese and to idiomatical expressions in Russian, while English correspondences simply refer to the past, and present readings are not obtained. Even in Japanese, eventive predicates express less surprise or unexpectancy than stative predicate. This can be explained by pragmatic reasons, that it is more surprising to find existence of something than perceiving events.

While achievement verbs (Vendler 1967) such as *come*, *arrive at*, *get wet* and Japanese *fly* 'start to fly' give non-past interpretations, accomplishment verbs, e.g., *build a house*, and *draw a circle* are unnatural with the non-past reading:

- (18) a. #A, Taro-ga ie-o tate-ta.
 oh Taro-NOM house-ACC build-PAST
 'Oh, Taro is building a house'
 b. #A, Taro-ga jukkiro hashit-ta.
 oh Taro-NOM 10 km run-PAST
 'Oh, Taro is running 10km'

This can be explained for pragmatics reasons again. Normally, surprise is caused by perceiving the momentous events or change of states. Long-term processes would not surprise us instantly. Achievement verbs such as *come* or *become wet* surprise us while gradual accomplishment, e.g., *build a house* and *running ten miles*, are not so astonishing naturally.

2.3. Unaccusativity

Fake past interpretations are mostly limited to unaccusative verbs such as *be*, *exist* and *come* (cf. Kusumoto 2001, Ogihara 2004, for relative clauses). In this section, we will test the unaccusativity of predicates used for fake past sentences.

According to Miyagawa (2004), VP internal numerals associate with the surface subject. Numeral quantifiers such as *ni-dai* 'two-CL' should mutually c-command the noun phrase which they modify. Passive subjects originate in VP internal position, so that (19a) is grammatical. On the other hand, the subject of the transitive verb is unacceptable in (19b), because of non c-commanding relation with the numerals:

- (19) a. Kuruma-ga [_{VP} dorobo-ni *t_i* ni-dai nusum-are]-ta.
 car-NOM thief-by 2-CL steal-passive-PAST
 'Two cars were stolen by a thief'
 b. *Gakusei-ga [_{VP} hon-o san-nin kat]-ta.
 students-NOM book-ACC 3-CL buy-PAST
 'Three students bought a book' (Miyagawa 2004)

As unaccusative subjects are also believed to be generated VP internally (Perlmutter 1978), numeral quantifiers should diagnose the unaccusativity of fake past predicates as well.

- (20) a. Hon_{*i*}-ga [v_P tsukue-no ue-ni *t_i* ni-satsu at]-ta.
 book-NOM desk-GEN up-LOC 2-CL be-PAST
 'There were two books on the desk'
- b. Basu_{*i*}-ga [v_P ekimae-ni *t_i* ni-dai ki]-ta.
 bus-NOM station-front-LOC 2-CL come-PAST
 'Two buses came in front of the station'
- c. A, gakusei_{*i*}-ga [v_P butai-de *t_i* san-nin warat]-ta.
 oh student-NOM stage-LOC 3-CL smile-PAST
 'Oh, the three students laughed on the stage'

Most of the fake past predicates show unaccusativity according to this test. Why does fake past construction take unaccusative verbs? The nature of unaccusative predicates contributes to surprise. Finding existence and appearance is likely to cause more astonishment than finding transitive predicates.

3. Monster

3.1. Attitudinal Monsters in Indirect Discourse

While English pronouns always take the speaker's perspective as in (21a), Slave (21b) and Japanese (21c) pronouns take the matrix subject's viewpoint in indirect discourse.

- (21) a. John told me that *I* should go home.
- b. John ?aranila séhdi. (Slave)
 John 2SG.go home 3SG.told.1SG
 'John told me to go home' (Rice 1986:51)
- c. Yoko-ni omae-ga warui-to iw-are-ta. (Japanese)
 Yoko-DAT you-NOM bad-COMP say-PASS-PAST
 'Yoko told me that I was wrong (it was my fault)'

In the embedded reports, pronouns are not directly referential in Japanese and Slave, as well as in Amharic, Aghem, Navajo, Zazaki, Russian and Navajo (Lewis 1980, Hyman 1979, Rice 1986, Speas 2000, Schlenker 1999, 2003, Anand and Nevins 2004).

Such pronominal indexicals have been used to argue against Kaplanian view that indexicals are rigidly specified before the context is derived (Kaplan 1977). Schlenker (1999) and others argue that such changes of references of indexicals are the evidence that indexicals are context dependent, and the attitude predicates are monstrous functions that manipulate the context parameters in embedded clauses.

Nevertheless, all the arguments of monster supporters have been based on the data on the embedded clauses. The data on mono-clausal fake past sentences in this paper present stronger support for the anti-Kaplanian view. Being simple sentences, context parameters are not maneuvered by attitude reports but by speaker attitude itself.

3.2. Tense as an Indexical

Tense resembles pronouns such as *he*, *she*, or *it*, due to its: i) deictic (demonstrative); ii) anaphoric; and, iii) bound variable-like natures (Partee 1973). Tense is deictic in the example (22):

(22) I didn't turn off the stove.

The deictic *past* refers to a definite interval identified from the extra-linguistic content. If speaker utters (22) while driving to work, the reference time is a little before the speaker left home. The context identifies the time the speaker forgot to turn off the stove.

Tense is like bound variables bound by a quantificational adverb in (23):

(23) When you get up early, you always complain about a headache.

The time when the hearer complains about her headache quantifies over every morning when she gets up early. In the next example (24), tense is bound by a quantifier:

(24) Every girl smiled at the girl next to her.

The smiling time when each girl smiled at another girl might differ according to individuals.

Tense is anaphoric in (25):

(25) Michelle went shopping last Sunday. Daniel went to a swimming pool.

The reference time of the second sentence, the interval when Daniel went to a swimming pool, is understood to be the same day with the first sentence, namely, last Sunday. Tense is anaphoric to the first tense here.

While English *past* and *present* in matrix clauses are indexicals, that is, directly referential, *past* and *present* in complement clauses are anaphoric to the matrix tense. The embedded tenses might receive past-shifted, simultaneous or double-access readings largely depending on the aktionsarten of verbs (Enç 1987, Stowell 1995, Gennari 2001). The morphological affix *past* sometimes does not really mean the syntactic category PAST with the sequence of tenses phenomena.

(26) John said that Bill was sick.

(26) may be felicitous when Bill is not sick at John's utterance time but is sick at the speech time of this sentence. The obligatory contour between the matrix and the embedded tense gives rise to the subordinate null past tense.

The fake past tense looks like the embedded null past. However, being mono-clausal, there is no matrix clause which manipulates the tense. The fake past tenses are indexicals. Even so, the past tense does refer to the utterance time. This is against Kaplanian view that the context, including the temporal parameter, is fixed once and for all. In the next section, we will examine the context change in fake past sentences.³

3.3. Implicit Attitudes Shift Temporal Parameters

In the framework of the double index system from Lewis (1980), the ordinary past tense morphology shifts the temporal index into the prior time:

- (27) $[[\text{Past } \phi]]^{<c, i>} = 1$ iff there is t_i such that $t_i < t_c$ and $[[\phi]]^{<c[ti/tc], i>}$
 (c: context, i: index, w: world, t: time, a: speaker, $c = \langle w_c, t_c, a_c \rangle$, $i = \langle w_i, t_i \rangle$, $t_1 < t_2$ ' means t_1 precedes t_2 in time)

However, as for the fake past tense, the context parameter itself is shifted to the past so that the past tense morpheme is interpreted as present:

- (28) *Fake tense operator:*
 Where $c = \langle w_c, t_c, a_c \rangle$, $i = \langle w_i, t_i \rangle$, $t_i < t_c$,
 Fake: $((c \times i) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow ((c \times i) \rightarrow t)$
 Fake $([[\phi]]^{<c, i>} = 1$ iff $[[\phi]]^{<c[ti/tc], i>} = 1$

The FAKE operator manipulates the temporal parameter of the context.

What is the FAKE operator? What causes the fake past interpretations? Surprise or the fulfillment of expectations is indispensable in order to receive non-past interpretation of the past tense morpheme. Then, what is surprise and expectation at all?

The information state of the speaker and the hearer is drastically updated at fake past utterances. Prior to the fake past speech act, the common ground contains several candidate contexts (Stalnaker 2004).

³ The ambiguity of past tense between real and vacuous past has been widely discussed in the following cases:

- (i) a. The sequence of tenses
- b. The vacuous present tense in embedded clauses in no-sequence of tenses languages like Russian (Comrie 1985, von Stechow 2002) and Japanese
- c. Subjunctive conditional (Progovac 1993, Ippolito 2003)
- d. Relative clause in Japanese (Kusumoto 1999, Kusumoto 2001, Ogihara 2004)

- (29) A, koko-ni at-ta.
 oh here-LOC be-PAST
 'Oh, (the paper) was here'

Prior to the utterance in (29), the speaker and the hearer either: i) had not known whether they were in the world with the newspaper on the table or in the world without it; or, ii) had believed the contrary. In the former case, when the speaker doubted whether the proposition held, more than two incompatible contexts have existed in the common ground. The fake past assertions reduce the number of the candidate contexts, which causes surprise. In the latter case where the speaker had no doubt that the book was elsewhere, the fake past assertion drastically changes the common belief.

In view of what happens to the temporal parameter under implicit attitudes, the character of the sentence, which is the function from the context into intension, is not fixed even in English.

4. Speaker Attitudes as Speculative and Bouletic Modality

4.1. Speculative Necessity and Presuppositions

Surprise occurs when what has been expected significantly differs from what we see in the actual world. We evaluate future by speculative epistemic modality based on the available information at the moment.

Negative or positive presuppositions are indispensable in order to license fake past sentences. According to the speculative modality, the actual world had been either fairly lowly ranked so that a person becomes surprised to find the opposite, or very highly ranked, so that the speaker finds relief to find the expected.

Extreme ranking by the epistemic modality is the necessary condition for the fake past interpretation. Therefore, speculative modality licenses the fake past reading.

Negative Presupposition

The fake past sentences presuppose the negative antecedent as in (41) (Nishiguchi 2004, in press):

- (30) (Nai-to omot-te-i-ta-ra,) at-ta.
 NEG-COMP think-CON-be-PAST-then be-PAST
 '(To my surprise,) it is here.'

Without surprise caused by the negative presupposition, the fake past interpretation cannot be obtained. The above examples would only refer to the past state or events.

- (31) a. #At-t-a. (without surprise, with fake past reading)
 exist-PAST
 'It was here'
 b. At-ta. (without surprise, with real past reading)
 exist-PAST
 'It was here'
- (32) a. #Basu-ga ki-ta. (without surprise or expectation, with fake past reading)
 bus-NOM come-PAST
 'The bus is coming'
 b. Basu-ga ki-ta. (without surprise, with real past reading)
 bus-NOM come-PAST
 'The bus came'⁴

Negative presupposition is the result of the evaluation by speculative modality. According to the past knowledge, the speaker expected the contrary situations to the actual.

The negative presupposition can take the covert forms of antecedent of conditionals (33a) or the main clause *be surprised* embedding the fake past sentences (33b):

- (33) a. While expecting not- ϕ , it is ϕ
 b. I am surprised (=surprisingly) that it is ϕ

This is reminiscent to the fact that the fake past tense morphology is the characteristics of counterfactual conditional (Lewis 1973). The morphological behavior of fake past corresponds to subjunctive in "contrary-to-fact" conditionals (Binnick 1991).

Positive Presupposition

The fulfillment of expectation also licenses the fake past construction (Mikami 1953). As Mikami (1953) points out, the speaker's preliminary tension that the wind might blow away his hat triggers the past tense in (34a):

⁴ Naturally, only unexpected and surprising situations can be introduced with the fake past tense. For example, a flying mosquito cannot take fake past tense, while the flying event of Taro's kite can be surprising if such an event is considered to be unlikely.

- (i) #A, ka-ga ton-da.
 Oh, mosquito-NOM fly-PAST
 'Oh, a mosquito is flying'
- (ii) A, Taro-ga tsukut-ta tako-ga ton-da.
 Oh, Taro-NOM make-PAST kite-NOM fly-PAST
 'Oh, the kite that Taro made is flying'

- (34) a. A, boshi-ga ton-da.
 oh hat-NOM fly-PAST
 'Oh, my hat is blown away on wind'
 b. A, boshi-ga tob-u.
 oh hat-NOM fly-PRES
 'Oh, the wind takes my hat away'

The present (non-past) tense in (34b) does not express any prior expectation.

The data set of the speaker is incomplete before the utterance (Veltman 1981). The speaker does not know enough data but expects that "the book is not here," "the bus is coming," or "tomorrow is not Mary's birthday." The data set becomes complete by seeing the facts or remembering the facts.⁵

- (35) *Fake past with positive presupposition:*

$$\text{Exp}_a(w_i)(t_i)[[\phi]]^{w_i, t_i} \wedge \text{Exp}_a(w_c)(t_c)[[\phi]]^{w_c, t_c} \wedge \text{Know}_a(w_c)(t_c)[[\phi]]^{w_c, t_c}$$

- Fake past with negative presupposition:*

$$\text{Exp}_a(w_i)(t_i)[[\sim\phi]]^{w_i, t_i} \wedge \text{Exp}_a(w_c)(t_c)[[\phi]]^{w_c, t_c} \wedge \text{Know}_a(w_c)(t_c)[[\phi]]^{w_c, t_c}$$

(Exp: Expectation function based on the available data, $t_i < t_c$,
 t_c : utterance time, w_c : actual world)

4.2. Bouletic Modality

In addition to the speculative epistemic modality, there is another modality that evaluates possible worlds. The fake past utterances are expressions of speaker's emotions. Speaker is happy to find the fulfilled expectations or is disappointed with the absence of the missing item.

Mikami (1953) points out that it is the speaker's subjectivity that alters the tense, namely, reporting as one's own experience or expressing as direct cognition affects tense. In fake past sentences, multimodals - the combination of epistemic and bouletic modality - affect the temporal interpretation (Kratzer 1991).

The speaker is not only negatively presupposed but also happy to find an item which she has been looking for:

- (36) (Ureshii-koto-ni, nai-to omotte-i-ta-ra,) at-ta.
 happy-fact-GOAL NEG-COMP think-be-PAST-then be-PAST
 '(I'm glad that) it is here (surprisingly).'

- (37) *Bouletic modality (in view of what I want):* ϕ worlds are ranked higher than $\sim\phi$ worlds

⁵ Due to negative presuppositions, fake past sentences have polarity focus (Höhle 1992). For example, *the bus is coming* gives negative and positive counterparts *the bus is coming* and *the bus is not coming*. Fake past sentences do not have focus semantics value made of alternative VPs such as *the bus is going away*, *the buses are on strike*, and so on (Rooth 1985).

- (38) *Schema of fake past sentences of surprise (negative presupposition) ϕ .*
 While expecting $\sim\phi$, a finds ϕ and a is glad to find ϕ
Schema of fake past sentences of fulfillment of expectancy (positive presupposition) ϕ .
 While expecting ϕ in contrast with $\sim\phi$, a finds ϕ and a is glad to find ϕ (and not $\sim\phi$)

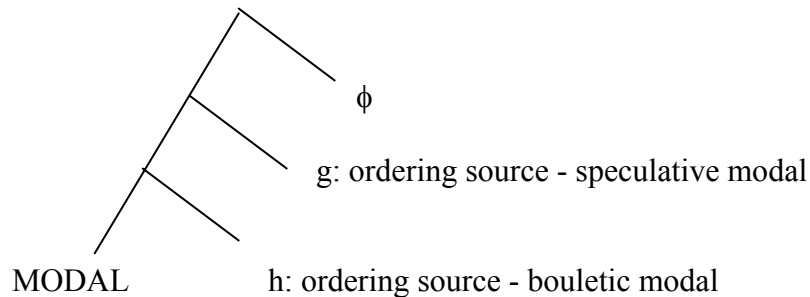
Speculative and bouletic modalities are necessary for receiving fake past interpretations. Assuming a syntacticized version of Kratzer's theory (Kratzer 1991, von Fintel and Iatridou 2005), modal takes two covert arguments, g and h as ordering sources:

- (39) *Conversational backgrounds:*
 Ordering source g (in view of available evidence, speculative epistemic necessity/possibility):
 $\text{must/probably/might } \sim\phi: (c \times s) \rightarrow ((c \times s) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$
 Ordering source h (in view of what I want, bouletic modality):
 $\sim\phi$ worlds are ranked higher than ϕ worlds: $(c \times s) \rightarrow ((c \times s) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$
- (40) For a given strict partial order $<_p$ on worlds, define the function max_p that selects the set of $<_p$ -best worlds from any set X of worlds:
 for all $X \subseteq W$:
 $max_p(X) = \{w \in X : \text{there is no } w' \in X : w' <_p w\}$
 (von Fintel and Iatridou 2005)

- (41) $[[\text{Fake (past)}]](w_c)(g)(h)([[\phi]])$
 $= 1$ if $w_c \in max_{g(w_i)}(\phi) \wedge w_c \in max_{h(w_i)}(\phi)$:
 $[[\phi]](w_c) = 1$,
 $[[\text{past}]](w_c)(g)([[\phi]])$, otherwise.

The two ordering sources order the possible worlds according to the speculation and the desire. Ordering sources modify the modal, as shown in the syntacticized tree (cf. von Fintel and Iatridou 2005).

- (42)



- (43) Where t =time, w =world, a =speaker, c =context, i =index, $D_c=(D_s, D_e)$,
 $c=(w_c, t_c, a_c)$, $s: D_s=(D_w, D_t)$, $i=(w_i, t_i)$,
 $\text{fake}([\text{past } \phi])(c,i)=[\text{past } \phi]((t_i, w_c, a_c), (t_i, w_i))$

"Fake" operator is a function from character into functions from modals into character. The semantic type would be:

- (44) $\text{Fake}::((c \times s) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow ((c \times s) \rightarrow ((c \times s) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow ((c \times s) \rightarrow ((c \times s) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t) \rightarrow ((c \times s) \rightarrow t)$

5. The Phrase Structure of Fake Past

Most of the fake past sentences take unaccusative predicates, which causes speaker's surprise. I argue that speaker attitudes function as a determiner which takes negative presupposition as the restrictor and the overt unaccusative VP in the nuclear scope (cf. Heim 1982, Berman 1991, von Stechow 1994). The negative counterpart is a copy of the overt proposition, which is a sentential cataphora. Modals also resemble psych-verbs such as *surprise* or *affect* in the argument structure. Modals take speaker as an experiencer and the event as the theme.

5.1. Restrictive Quantification by Implicit Attitudes

Lack of surprise makes fake past sentences ungrammatical. Emotive and speculative modals and negative or positive presuppositions are indispensable for licensing fake past interpretations. Modal scopes over due to its quantificational force (Lewis 1968, Lewis 1973, Kripke 1972),⁶ and fake past reading is obtained

⁶ There is seemingly supporting evidence indicating that surprise and expectant modality take higher scope over propositions. Speaker-oriented modal adverbial (Ernst 2001) *odoroi-ta-koto-ni/surprisingly* can modify propositions while it cannot modify only the verb *kita* (came):

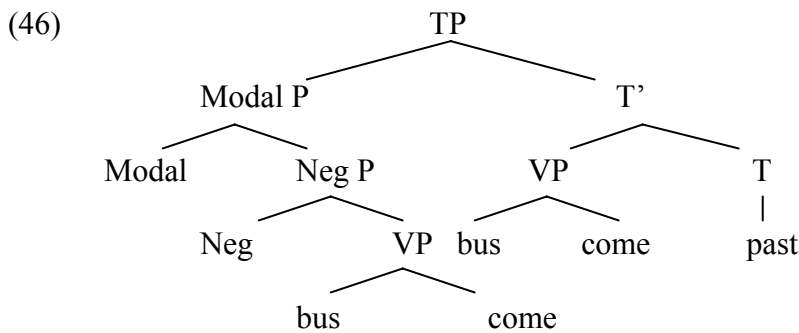
Surprisingly:

- (i) a. A, odoroi-ta-koto-ni basu-ga k-i-ta.
 oh surprise-PAST-fact-DAT bus-NOM come-be-PAST
 'Oh, as for bus, it is coming'
 b. #A, basu-ga odoroi-ta-koto-ni k-i-ta.
 oh bus-NOM surprise-PAST-fact-DAT come-be-PAST
 'Oh, the bus is coming'
 c. A, basu-ga k-i-ta, odoroi-ta-koto-ni.
 oh bus-NOM come-PAST surprise-PAST-fact-DAT
 'Oh, the bus is coming'
 d. A, basu-ga ki-te odoroi-ta.
 oh bus-NOM come-CON surprise-PAST
 'Oh, I'm surprised that the bus is coming'
- (ii) a. The bus came surprisingly.
 b. *The bus surprisingly came.
 c. Surprisingly, the bus came.
 d. It is surprising that the bus came.

only with negative or positive presuppositions. Therefore, we assume that modal functions as a determiner which takes the presupposition as its restrictor, and the assertion in its nuclear scope (Berman 1991, Kratzer 1977, von Stechow 1994, Heim 1982, Diesing 1992, Ippolito 2003).

- (45) MODAL $[\lambda i. [|\sim\phi|]]$ $[\lambda i. [|\phi|]]$
determiner restrictor nuclear scope

The fake past interpretation is available only when presuppositions are satisfied. The quantificational operator MODAL takes negative presupposition in the restrictor, and the overt proposition in the nuclear scope. The modal s-selects (Chomsky 1995) a negative presupposition and a positive predicate.



The subject NP of fake past sentences is discourse given. In subject drop languages like Japanese, fake past sentences often have null subjects. This suggests that the subject NP is the old information (cf. Halliday 1967). Fake past sentences cannot be topicalized except with abstract objects like *tomorrow* for subjects. As shown in (47), the coming bus and the found book cannot be topicalized.

Expectancy modal also needs to modify propositions:

As I expected:

- (iii) a. A, yappari koko-ni at-ta.
oh as I expected here-LOC be-PAST
'Oh, it was here as I expected'
- b. #A, koko-ni yappari at-ta.
oh here-LOC as I expected be-PAST
'Oh, it was here as I expected'

The above data show that modal adverbs scope out the fake past predicates. Modal scopes over due to its quantificational force (Lewis 1968, 1973, Kripke 1972).

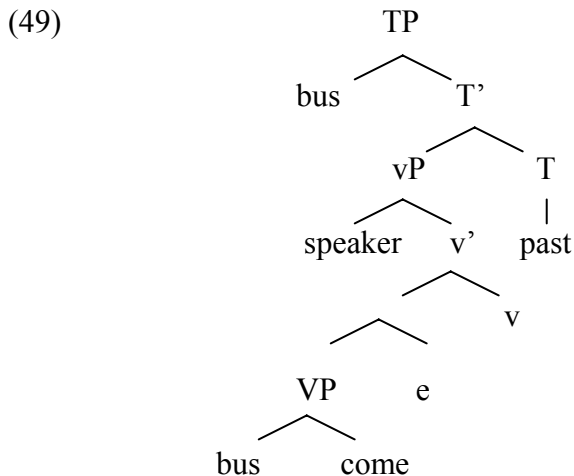
- (47) a. # A, basu-wa ki-ta.
 oh bus-TOP come-PAST
 'Oh, as for bus, it is coming'
- b. # Hon-wa at-ta.
 book-TOP be-PAST
 'As for book, it is here'
- c. Asu-wa Mari-no tanjobi-dat-ta.
 tomorrow-TOP Mari-GEN birthday-be-PAST
 'Tomorrow is Mary's birthday'

Subject NP is a theme of unaccusative stage-level predicates. These facts indicate that subject NPs are generated VP internally (Perlmutter 1978, Diesing 1992, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995).

5.2. Experiencer of Surprise

The fake past morpheme is the expression of speaker's surprise or unexpectancy. We might assume that modal, like a psych verb *surprise*, c-selects speaker as an experiencer, and the event as theme (cf. Belletti and Rizzi 1988):

- (48) SURPRISE (Exp: speaker, Theme: event)



6. Context Change Potential

This section briefly discusses context change potential of fake past sentences in the framework of Heim (1988, 1992) which assume that the meaning of a sentences is its context change potential (CCP).

Prior to fake past assertions, speaker has not been sure if p was true, or has believed the contrary, $not-p$, to be necessarily true.

- (50) past $\Box \neg \phi \wedge$ present $\Box \phi$

Fake past utterances change the context by eliminating *not-p* and adds *p*. The fake past speech acts thus disambiguate the actual world.

- (51) *CCP of fake past sentences:*
 for any context *c*, LF ϕ ,
 $c + \text{fake past } \phi$
 $=c - \neg\text{Believe}(a, \phi) + \text{Believe}(a, \phi)$

Fake past assertions extract disbelief on *p* and add belief on *p*. If speaker has strongly believed the contrary, negation takes narrower scope than *Believe*.

- (52) $c - \text{Believe}(a, \neg\phi) + \text{Believe}(a, \phi)$

7. Theory Comparison

In this section, we will briefly consider two alternative approaches to modality driven monstrous account to fake past interpretations, namely: i) pragmatics; and, ii) temporal anaphora.

7.1. Pragmatics as Alternative to Monstrous Account

A possible alternative approach to the monstrous account would be a pragmatic approach (cf. Dechaine 1991, Gennari 2001). One might say that fake past interpretation is obtained simply because it is odd to become surprised at a past event.

- (53) # (Looking at a bus that came thirty minutes ago) A, ki-ta.
 oh come-PAST
 'Oh, the bus is coming'

However, the pragmatic constraint does not explain the reason why the speaker does not use the present form which is more straightforward. Pragmatic oddness would eliminate the past reading, but the motivation behind the use of fake past tense remains unaccounted.

7.2. Fake Past as Temporal Anaphora

Let us consider another approach that fake past is a temporal anaphora. Tense can be anaphoric to the previous discourse (Partee 1973). We might assume that the fake past tense is anaphoric to the presupposition.

- (54) (While I did not think t_1 it was here,) oh, the book was t_x here.

Alternatively, one might consider invisible matrix tense which manipulates the embedded past tense and nullifies its past reference.

(55) I say t_0 that the book was T_0 here. ($t_0 \subseteq T_0$, t_0 : utterance time)

We might regard fake past sentences to be the indirect speech embedded under the SPEAKER SAY function. The embedded past tense has *de dicto* reading whose tense is manipulated by the present tense of the covert attitude predicate (cf. Abusch 1997).

If the fake past readings are the only cases that the indexicals are shifted under attitude predicates, fake past tense might be considered to be temporal anaphora. However, there exist other cases that indexicals besides tense are shifted under implicit attitudes. The world parameter is shifted under certain attitude in discourse initial *mo* 'also/too' constructions (Nishiguchi 2006). The monstrous account uniformly explains indexical shifts in mono-clausal constructions, not only fake past sentences.⁷

8. Conclusion

In this paper, I investigated how implicit speaker attitudes shift context parameters. Implicit attitudes manipulates temporal parameters in fake past construction. Therefore, there is a monster. Negative or positive presuppositions give rise to fake past readings. Presuppositions restrict the domain of quantification by speculative and bouletic modalities and provide non-past interpretations of unaccusative predicates.

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⁷ As a side note, the fake tense phenomena is not limited to non sequence of tenses languages like Russian (Comrie 1985) and Japanese. Contra Ogihara (1996), Japanese is not a sequence of tenses language.

(i) Ken-wa Tokyo-ni sun-deiru-to it-ta.
 Ken-TOP Tokyo-LOC live-PROG-COMP say-PAST
 'Ken said that he was living in Tokyo'

Both double access and simultaneous readings are possible.

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