

Overview

- mood: the next hurrah/final frontier
- data (i): the Yucatec status system
- theory (i): aspect and realization
- analysis (i): the idea in a nutshell
- data (ii): uses of the subjunctive
- theory (ii): possibilistic situation semantics
- analysis (ii): toward a formalization
- comparison to other approaches
- conclusions

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mood: the next hurrah/final frontier

'I know what you're thinking about,' said Tweedledum; 'but it isn't so, nohow.'

'Contrariwise,' continued Tweedledee, 'if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn't, it ain't. That's logic.'

(Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass*)

- goals: descriptive
 - sketch the semantics of the so-called **status** system of Yucatec Maya
 - status: a functional category of the Mayan verb (Kaufman 1992)
 - conflates notions of viewpoint aspect, mood, illocutionary force; also sensitive to properties of argument structure, voice

mood: the next hurrah/final frontier (cont.)

- goals: theoretical
 - account for the semantics of subjunctive and irrealis mood in at least one language
 - explain why viewpoint aspect and mood are conflated in a single functional category in Mayan languages
 - and why their expressions are more generally frequently paradigmatically related across languages
 - clarify and further develop the notion of *event realization* (Bohnemeyer & Swift 2004)

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mood: the next hurrah/final frontier (cont.)

- goals: theoretical (cont.)
 - unified theories of tense and aspect are a reality
 - Kamp & Reyle 1993; Klein 1994
 - the next hurrah/final frontier: a unified theory of tense, aspect, and mood?

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mood: the next hurrah/final frontier (cont.)

- goals: theoretical (cont.)
 - existing accounts
 - Roberts 1989: ‘modal subordination’
 - Farkas 1992: verbs w/ indicative complements describe single worlds; verbs w/ subjunctive complements sets of worlds
 - Portner 1997: mood constrains ‘conversational force’, understood in terms of modal accessibility
 - Iatridou 2000: compositional semantics of counterfactuals
 - Krifka 2011: mood in Daakie (Oceanic; Vanuatu) as presuppositional tense in branching-future models

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mood: the next hurrah/final frontier (cont.)

- goals: theoretical (cont.)
 - relating mood to modality
 - Roberts 1989; Farkas 1992; Portner 1997
 - relating mood to viewpoint aspect
 - Iatridou 2000; the present proposal
 - relating mood to tense
 - Krifka 2011

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Data (i): the Yucatec status system

- status marking: example
 - (2.1) a. **Perfective aspect - completive status**
 T-in=mèet-ah le=nah=o’
 PRV-A1SG=do:APP-CMP(B3SG) DEF=house=D2
 ‘I built the house’
 - b. **Progressive aspect - incomplete status**
 Táan in=mèet-ik le=nah=o’
 PROG A1SG=do:APP-INC(B3SG) DEF=house=D2
 ‘I am/was/will be building the house’
 - c. **Remote future - subjunctive status**
 Biiin in=mèet-∅ le=nah=o’
 REMF A1SG=do:APP-SUBJ(B3SG) DEF=house=D2
 ‘It is/was/will be a long time before I build the house’

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Data (i): the Yucatec status system

- status marking: subcategories
 - every verb form, finite or not, that projects a core must be marked for exactly one of five subcategories

Table 1. The five status subcategories of Yucatec

Status category	Distribution		
	Matrix clauses	Finite subordinate clauses	Nonfinite verbal projections
Completive	Perfective aspect		N/A
Incompletive	Imperfective aspect	Imperfective aspect; purpose clauses	Gerunds; complements of predicates expressing aspectual, causal, modal, and event perception meanings; intensional complements of intransitive predicates of fear, desire, attempt; intransitive complements in the motion-cum-purpose construction
Subjunctive	‘Insubordinate’ (Evans 2007) jussives	Irrealis clauses; counterfactual conditional antecedents	Intensional complements of transitive predicates of fear, desire, attempt; transitive complements in the motion-cum-purpose construction; complements with projective and counterfactual contents
Imperative	Imperative sentences	N/A	N/A
Extra-focal	N/A	Background clause in manner focus constructions w/ perfective aspect	N/A

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Data (i): the Yucatec status system

- status marking: allomorphy
 - the status suffixes come in allomorphs that distinguish verb (stem) class and voice

Table 2. Status polysemy and verb stem classes

status stem class	incompletive	completive	subjunctive	extra-focal	imperative
active	-∅	-nah	-nak	-nahik	-nen
inactive	-Vl	-∅	-Vk	-ik	-en
inchoative	-tal	-chah	-chahak	-chahik	N/A
dispositional	-tal	-lah	-lahak	-lahik	-len
transitive	-ik	-ah	-∅ / -eh	-ahil	-∅ / -eh
active					
passive	V’...-Vl / -a’l	V’...-ab / -a’b	V’...-Vk / -a’k	V’...-ik / -a’ik	N/A

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Theory (i): aspect and realization

- framework: Klein's (1992, 1994, etc.) aspect theory
 - a dynamic model of what a discourse is "about"
 - it is possible to some extent to model the meanings of utterances in a discourse as contributing to a question
 - an implicit or explicit question
 - Klein & von Steutterheim 1987, 2002: *quaestio*
 - Roberts 1996, 2012; Simons et al 2010: *question under discussion* (QuD)
 - only propositions that contribute to the QUD are **at issue**
 - all other propositions are presupposed or backgrounded
 - limits: non-constative/representative speech acts; directives other than questions

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Theory (i): aspect and realization (Cont.)

- framework: Klein's aspect theory (cont.)
 - every (finite) clause is interpreted with respect to the **topic time** t_{top}
 - t_{top} is established by the QuD
 - t_{top} constrains the time for which a proposition is asserted or questioned, etc.
 - t_{top} is related to
 - the run time $\tau(s)$ of the a situation s described by a predicate by **viewpoint aspect**
 - utterance time t_u , by **tense**

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Theory (i): aspect and realization (Cont.)

- realization: Bohnemeyer & Swift 2004
 - explanandum: telicity-dependent viewpoint aspect interpretation of zero-marked verb forms
 - in German, Inuktitut, Russian
 - as opposed to dynamicity-based interpretations in English and Ewe
 - explanans: **event realization**
 - zero-marked forms are used to describe *realized* events
 - by entailment in Russian and by Gricean stereotype (Q2) implicature in German
 - realization \approx culmination in Parsons 1990
 - realization depends on the telicity of the event predicate
 - atelic predicates may be instantiated by realized events under imperfective aspect; telic predicates require perfective for realization

Theory (i): aspect and realization (Cont.)

- (3.1) a. *What did you notice when you entered the room?*
 b. *A man was lying on the floor.*
 c. *He was Chinese or Japanese.*
 d. *He did not move.*
 e. *A woman was bending over him.*
 f. *She was taking a purse from his pocket.*
 g. *She turned to me.* (Klein 1994: 39-40)

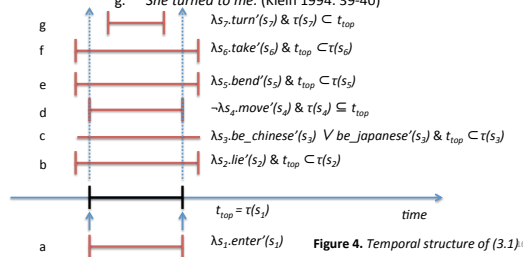


Figure 4. Temporal structure of (3.1)⁶

Theory (i): aspect and realization (Cont.)

- hence the **imperfective paradox** (Dowty 1979: 133)

(3.1')a. *What did you notice when you entered the room?*

- e. *A woman was bending over him.*
 \therefore *A woman bent over him*
 f. *She was taking a purse from his pocket.*
 not \therefore *She took a purse from his pocket*

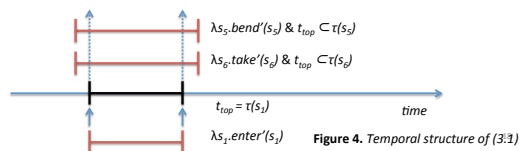


Figure 4. Temporal structure of (3.1')

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Analysis (i): the idea in a nutshell

- viewpoint aspect constrains the extent to which the **topic situation** realizes a certain situation type
 - perfective: the topic situation includes a situation of the relevant kind
 - imperfective: the topic situation is included in a situation of the relevant kind

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Analysis (i): the idea in a nutshell (cont.)

- mood constrains realization of a situation of a given kind inside vs. outside the topic situation
 - realis/indicative: constrains factual realization
 - that is, at-issue realization in a factual topic situation
 - irrealis/subjunctive: constrains non-factual realization
 - Type A: non-factual realization of a situation that extends a factual topic situation
 - Type B: realization in a non-factual topic situation
 - Type C: non-at-issue realization
 - Type D: non-realization during an extended topic time interval

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive

- the various contexts of the subjunctive can be sorted into four types
 - Type A: non-factual realization extending a factual topic situation
 - occurs with intensional complements of predicates of fear, desire, attempt; in the ‘motion-cum-purpose’ construction; – and with the counterfactual preverbal mood marker *óalok*

(5.1) **Attempt**
Le=doktdor=’o’, t-u=ts’á’-ah u=báah
 DEF=doctor=D2 PRV-A3=put-CMP(B3SG) A3=self
u=ts’ák-∅ le=páal=’o’
 [A3=cure-SUBJ(B3SG) DEF=child]=D2
 ‘The doctor tried to cure the child’

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

- Type A: non-factual realization extending a factual topic situation (cont.)

(5.2) **Fear**
Sahak-en in=tsikbat-∅ le=kwèento=’o’
afraid-B1SG [A1SG=talk:APP-SUBJ(B3SG) DEF=tale]=D2
 ‘I am/was/will be afraid to tell the story’

(5.3) **Motion-cum-purpose**
 (Aissen 1987: 16-17; Zavala Maldonado 1993)
Le=páal=’o’, h-tàal u=ch’a’-∅ le=ta’kin=’o’
 DEF=child=D2 PRV-come(B3SG) [A3=take-SUBJ(B3SG) DEF=money=D2]
 ‘The child, (s)he came to collect/withdraw/take the money’

- a wrinkle: intransitive complements of the same predicates appear in the incomplete
 - w/ the set-A (“ergative”) marker deleted – these are nominalizations²⁴

Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type A: non-factual realization extending a factual topic situation (cont.)

(5.4) **Countefactual mood óolak ‘almost’**
Óolak in=mèet-∅ le=nah=o’
CF A1SG=do:APP-SUBJ(B3SG) DET=house=D2
 ‘I (will have/had) almost built the house’

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type A: non-factual realization extending a factual topic situation (cont.)

(5.2) **Fear**
Sahak-en in=tsikbat-∅ le=kwèento=o’
afraid-B1SG [A1SG=talk:APP-SUBJ(B3SG) DEF=tale]=D2
 ‘I am/was/will be afraid to tell the story’

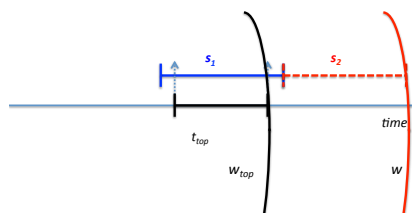


Figure 5. Temporal structure of (5.2)

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type A: non-factual realization extending a factual topic situation (cont.)

- a related use: ‘in subordinate’ (Evans 2007) jussives

(5.5) a. Káa séeb+uts-**chahak**-ech!
 SR fast+good-**INCH.SUBJ**-B2SG
 ‘Speedy recovery (lit. may you get well quickly)!’
 b. Káa in=k’al-**eh**?
 SR A1SG=lock-**SUBJ**(B3SG)
 ‘Do you want me to lock it (lit. (Do you want) that I lock it)?’

- formally these resemble intensional complements of ellipsed matrix predicates
- but their semantics has illocutionary force aspects
 » cf. Devlin 2006; Portner 1997

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type B: realization in a non-factual topic situation
 • occurs with counterfactual conditional antecedents and irrealis subordinate clauses
 – which have future-time or habitual/generic reference

(5.6) **Counterfactual conditionals**
 [Context: I’m not allowed to vote in the upcoming local election, since I’m not a Mexican Citizen.]
 Pero **wáahkáa bëey-lak** **in=bóotare**,
 but **ALT SR** like.this-**INCH.SUBJ**(B3SG) **A1SG=vote**
hi’n=bóotar-t-ik **Pablo=e**.
 ASS:A1SG=vote-APP-INC(B3SG) Pablo=D3
 ‘But if I were able to vote, I’d vote (for) Pablo.’

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type B: realization in a non-factual topic situation (cont.)

(5.7) **Future-time reference**
Kéen ka’=sùunak-ech t-u=láak’ ha’b=e’ (...),
SR:IRR REP=turn\ATP-**SUBJ**-B2SG PREP-A3=other year=TOP
 táantik in=mèet-ik le=nah=o’.
IMM A1SG=do:APP-INC(B3SG) DEF=house=D2
 ‘(When) you return here next year, I will have just build the house.’

(5.8) **Habitual/generic reference**
 Le=**kéen** k=ts’a’-∅ túun he’=a’,
 DET=**SR.IRR** A1PL=put-**SUBJ**(B3SG) so.then PRSV]=D1
 u=k’áaba’=e’, ka’nal+pàach+nah.
 A3=name=TOP high+back+house
 ‘So then the (one) we put here, as for its name, (it is) ka’nal pàach nah’

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type B: realization in a non-factual topic situation (cont.)

(5.7) **Future-time reference**
 Chéen ka’=sùunak-ech t-u=láak’ ha’b=e’ (...),
SR:IRR REP=turn\ATP-**SUBJ**-B2SG PREP-A3=other year=TOP
 táantik in=mèet-ik le=nah=o’.
IMM A1SG=do:APP-INC(B3SG) DEF=house=D2
 ‘(When) you return here next year, I will have just build the house.’

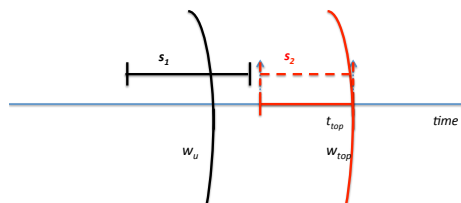


Figure 6. Temporal structure of (5.7)

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type C: non-at-issue realization

- occurs with ‘degree-of-remoteness’ predicates

(5.9) Degrees of remoteness (‘metrical tense’) markers

Ma’ **sáam** sù**unak** le=kòombi=o’;...
 NEG REC turn\ATP:SUBJ(B3SG) DET=van=D2
 ‘It’s not a while ago that the bus returned;...’

a. ...inw=a’l-ik=e’, h-ts’o’k mèedyà òora.
 A1SG=say-INC(B3SG)=TOP PRV-end(B3SG) half hour
 ‘...I think it was half an hour ago.’

b. ??...tuméén ma’ sùunak=i’.
 CAUSE NEG turn\ATP:SUBJ(B3SG)=D4
 ‘...because it hasn’t returned yet.’

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type C: non-at-issue realization (cont.)

(5.9) Degrees of remoteness (‘metrical tense’) markers

Ma’ **sáam** sù**unak** le=kòombi=o’;...
 NEG REC turn\ATP:SUBJ(B3SG) DET=van=D2
 ‘It’s not a while ago that the bus returned;...’

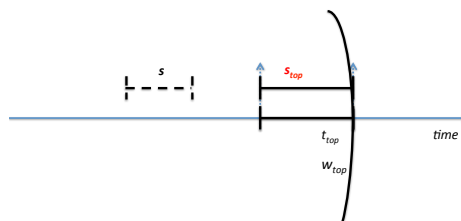


Figure 7. Temporal structure of (5.9)

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type D: non-realization

during an extended topic time interval

(5.10) a. Negation with perfect aspect

Domiingo-ak=e’ **ma’** h-hàats’-**nah**-en=i’
 Sunday-ak-TOP NEG(B3SG) PRV-beat\ATP-CMP-B1SG=D4
 ‘Last Sunday, I did not bat (lit. beat).’

b. Negation with perfect aspect ‘not yet’ interpretation

Téen=e’ tak be’òora=a’ **ma’** hàats’-**nak**-en=i’
 me=TOP even now=D1 NEG(B3SG) beat\ATP-SUBJ-B1SG=D4
 ‘Me, up to now, I have not yet batted (lit. beaten)’

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

– Type D: non-realization

during an extended topic time interval (cont.)

(5.10) Negation with perfect aspect ‘not yet’ interpretation

b. Téen=e’ tak be’òora=a’ **ma’** hàats’-**nak**-en=i’
 me=TOP even now=D1 NEG(B3SG) beat\ATP-SUBJ-B1SG=D4
 ‘Me, up to now, I have not yet batted (lit. beaten)’

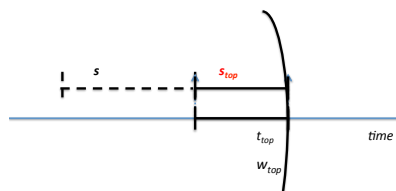


Figure 8. Temporal structure of (5.10)

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Data (ii): uses of the subjunctive (cont.)

• comparing subjunctives across languages

- grammarians assign the label ‘subjunctive’ primarily based on syntactic distribution
 - a mood that occurs predominantly in dependent clauses or verb forms
- it is not obvious that there is a single semantic prototype
 - shared by all or most of the functional categories that have been called ‘subjunctives’ in descriptions across languages
- however, I argue that there are two semantic notions associated with the Yucatec subjunctive
 - which are worth looking into for wider crosslinguistic currency
- these are the notions of **non-realization** and **non-at-issueness**

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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- Kratzer's (1989, 1990, 1998, 2002) blend of situation semantics and possible world semantics
- basic ingredients (cf. Kratzer 1989: 615-616)
 - a domain D_s of possible situations
 - a mereological relation \leq_s among situations defining a partial ordering on D_s
 - a subset D_w of D_s , the set of possible worlds, defined as mereologically maximal situations

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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- basic ingredients (cont.)
 - a set of propositions defined as the power set $\mathcal{P}(D_s)$
 - propositions may be true in situations, but the logical relations such as entailment and equivalence are defined over worlds

(6.1) **Truth:** A proposition $p \in \mathcal{P}(D_s)$ is true in a situation $s \in D_s$ iff $s \in p$.

(6.2) **Entailment:** A set of propositions $A \subseteq \mathcal{P}(D_s)$ entails a proposition $p \in \mathcal{P}(D_s)$ iff $w \in \bigcap A \rightarrow w \in p$ for any $w \in D_w$.

(6.3) **Equivalence:** Two propositions $p, q \in \mathcal{P}(D_s)$ are equivalent iff $p \cap D_w = q \cap D_w$.

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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- facts as "worldly particulars"
 - cf. Kratzer (2002: 660)
- (6.4) **Minimal situation in which a proposition is true:** A possible situation s is a minimal situation in which a proposition p is true iff $s \in p$ & $\neg \exists s'. s' <_s s$ & $s' \in p$.
- (6.5) **Fact exemplifying a proposition:** A possible situation s is a fact exemplifying a proposition p iff $\forall s' \in D_s. (s' <_s s \text{ \& } s' \notin p) \rightarrow \exists s''. s' <_s s'' \leq_s s$ and s'' is a minimal situation in which p is true.
- exemplifying facts are situations that lack "irrelevant details"
 - Kratzer shows that this notion is useful in modeling the semantics of *know* and of counterfactuals

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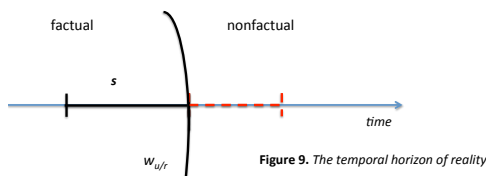
Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- additions
 - a domain D_t of time intervals
 - the temporal trace function $\tau: D_s \rightarrow D_t$ which maps situations to their run times
 - a mereological complement/difference relation among situations
 - $s_a \setminus s_b$ denotes those parts of s_a that are not parts of s_b
 - situation "grow" into the future
- (6.6) **No future in this world:**
 $\forall s \in D_s. \tau(s_{u/r}) < \tau(s) \rightarrow \neg (s \leq_s w_{u/r})$
 where $s_{u/r}$ is the utterance situation or a reference situation and $w_{u/r}$ the utterance world or a reference world.

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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- additions (cont.)
 - the future is non-factual
- (6.7) **No facts in the future:**
 $\forall s \in D_s. p \in \mathcal{P}(D_s). w_{u/r} \in p$ & s is a fact exemplifying p
 $\rightarrow s \leq_s w_{u/r}$



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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- translating Klein's approach into possibilistic situation semantics
 - exploring suggestions in Kratzer 2011
 - suppose the QUD necessarily concerns a **topic situation** in the sense of Austin 1950
- (6.8) **At issue status:** In context c of any discourse, any utterance that is at issue adds a question to the QUD $_c$ stack or resolves one in it.
- (6.9) **Topic situation:** If $p \in \mathcal{P}(D_s)$ is an at-issue proposition in context c , then $s_{\text{topc}} \in p$, where s_{topc} is the topic situation of c .
 – the topic time is the run time of the topic situation
- (6.10) **Topic time in context c :** $t_{\text{topc}} := \tau(s_{\text{topc}})$

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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- translating Klein's approach (cont.)
 - mereological definitions of the aspects
 - perfective: the described event is a part of the topic situation

(6.11) **Perfective:** $[[PRV]]^c = \lambda P. \exists s. s \leq_s s_{topic} \ \& \ P(s)$

- imperfective: the topic situation is a proper part of the described event

(6.12) **Imperfective:** $[[IMPF]]^c = \lambda P. \exists s. s_{topic} <_s s \ \& \ P(s)$

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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- realization – the basic idea
 - define realization via facts exemplifying the description
 - restrict the introduction of new facts to facts that are part of the topic situation

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Theory (ii): Possibilistic situation semantics

- realization – implementing the idea

(6.13) **Realization:** An event predicate P is realized in a given situation $s \in D_s$ iff s has a part $s' \leq_s s$ that instantiates P and thereby exemplifies $P(s)$.

- via (6.6), s must be a part of the utterance world
- via (6.9), a fact that realizes a given event description can only be introduced as a part of the topic situation
- via (6.11), perfective aspect entails realization
- via (6.12), imperfective aspect entails realization with atelic, but not with telic, predicates
- (6.6)-(6.7) & (6.13) do not preclude speakers from talking about future topic situations
 - they merely render such talk non-factual

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Analysis (ii): toward a formalization

Analysis (ii): toward a formalization

- completive status
 - the completive status is simply a perfective aspect
 - expressed redundantly in the preverbal and the suffixal slot
 - perfective aspects are inherently realis = realization moods

(7.1) **Completive status:** $[[CMP]]^c = \lambda P. \exists s. s \leq_s s_{topic} \ \& \ P(s)$

- incompletive status
 - incompletive verb forms are aspectually imperfective
 - they entail realization with atelic descriptions only and thus do not specify mood

(7.2) **Incompletive:** $[[INC]]^c = \lambda P. \exists s. s_{topic} <_s s \ \& \ P(s)$

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- subjunctive status
 - the subjunctive is an irrealis = non-realization mood
 - it confines realization of the event predicate
 - either to the *outside* of the topic situation (Type A, C, D)
 - or to a topic situation that is not part of the utterance world (Type B)
 - in the following, these four uses are treated as involving polysemous senses of the subjunctive

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Analysis (ii): toward a formalization

– Type A: non-factual realization extending a factual topic situation (cont.)

(7.3) **Fear**
 Sahak-en in=tsikbat-Ø le=kwènto=0'
 afraid-B1SG [A1SG=talk:APP-SUBJ(B3SG) DEF=tale=D2
 'I am/was/will be afraid to tell the story'

(7.3) $[(7.3)]^f = \lambda s_1. s_{top}^c \leq s_1 \& \forall s_2. Ext^c(s_2)(s_{top}) \& tell(story)(s_2) \rightarrow afraid^c(s_1)(s_2)$

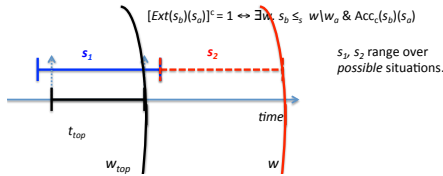


Figure 10. Temporal structure of (7.3)

Analysis (ii): toward a formalization

– Type B: realization in a non-factual topic situation (cont.)

(7.4) **Future-time reference**
 Chéen ka'=sùunak-ech t-u=láak' ha'b=e' (...),
 SR:IRR REP=turn(ATP:SUBJ-B2SG PREP-A3=other year=TOP
 táantik in=mèet-ik le=nah=o'.
 IMM A1SG=do:APP-INC(B3SG) DEF=house=D2
 '(When) you return here next year, I will have just build the house.'

(7.4) $[(7.4)]^f = \lambda s_1. s_2. \exists w. s_2 \leq s_1 \& s_{top}^c \leq s_2 \& w \leq w_{top} \& return^c(s_2) \& build^c(s_2) \& prox(\tau(s_1))(t_{top}^c) \cdot \tau(s_2) <_t t_{top}^c$

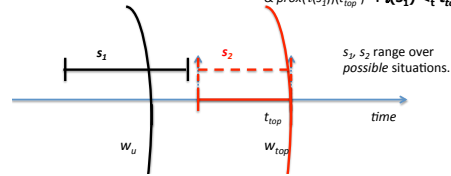
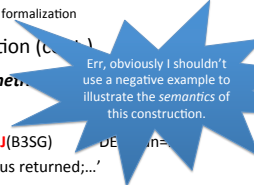


Figure 11. Temporal structure of (7.4)

Analysis (ii): toward a formalization

– Type C: non-at-issue realization (cont.)

(7.5) **Degrees of remoteness ('mèet')**
 Ma' sáam sùunak
 NEG REC turn(ATP:SUBJ(B3SG) DEF=tale=D2
 'It's not a while ago that the bus returned;...'



(7.5) $[(7.5)]^f = \lambda s. return^c(s) \& same_day(\tau(s_1))(t_{top}^c) \cdot \tau(s_1) <_t t_{top}^c$

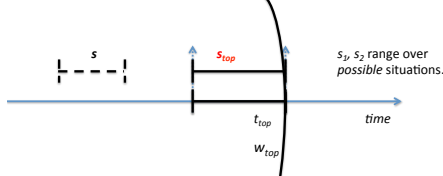


Figure 12. Temporal structure of (7.5)

Analysis (ii): toward a formalization

– Type D: non-realization during an extended topic time interval (cont.)

(7.6) **Negation with perfect aspect 'not yet' interpretation**
 Téen=e' tak be'òora=a'ma' hàats'-nak-en='
 me=TOP even now=D1 NEG(B3SG) beat(ATP:SUBJ-B1SG=D4
 'Me, up to now, I have not yet batted (lit. beaten)'

(7.6) $[(7.6)]^f = \lambda s. \tau(INI(s)) <_t t_{top}^c \& \tau(FIN(s)) = \tau(FIN(s_{top}^c)) \& \neg bat^c(s)$

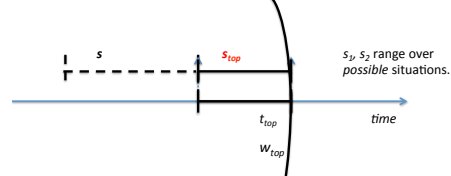


Figure 13. Temporal structure of (7.6)

Overview

- mood: the next hurrah/final frontier
- data (i): the Yucatec status system
- theory (i): aspect and realization
- analysis (i): the idea in a nutshell
- data (ii): uses of the subjunctive
- theory (ii): possibilistic situation semantics
- analysis (ii): toward a formalization
- comparison to other approaches
- conclusions

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Comparison to other approaches

- recap: theoretical approaches to mood
 - relating mood to modality
 - Roberts 1989; Farkas 1992; Portner 1997
 - relating mood to viewpoint aspect
 - Iatridou 2000; the present proposal
 - relating mood to tense
 - Krifka 2011

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Comparison to other approaches (cont.)

- Krifka's (2011) analysis of mood in Daakie
 - doesn't carry over to Yucatec because
 - realis/indicative clauses in Yucatec do negate
 - projective complements are subjunctive in Yucatec
 - not realis/indicative, as in Daakie

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Comparison to other approaches (cont.)

- Iatridou's (2000) proposal
 - counterfactual conditionals are asserted over topic worlds that exclude the utterance world
- the Yucatec evidence
 - Iatridou's analysis predicts correctly the occurrence of the Yucatec subjunctive in counterfactuals
 - given the semantics of the subjunctive proposed above

(8.1) *Pero wáah káa bèey-lak in=bóotare',*
 but ALT SR like.this-INCH.SUBJ(B3SG) A1SG=vote
 'But if I were able to vote,'
hi'n=bóotar-t-ik Pablo=e'.
 ASS:A1SG=vote-APP-INC(B3SG) Pablo=D3
 'I'd vote (for) Pablo.'

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Comparison to other approaches (cont.)

- except Iatridou suggests that the element of counterfactuality is not contributed by the subjunctive
 - but by past tense morphology
- in Iatridou's language sample
 - subjunctives only occur in counterfactual antecedents in languages that distinguish past and non-past subjunctives
- Yucatec counterfactuals contradict Iatridou's generalization
 - Yucatec is a tenseless language (Bohnenmeyer 1998, 2000, 2002, 2009)

(8.2) *wáah káa bèey-lak in=bóotare'*
 ALT SR like.this-INCH.SUBJ(B3SG) A1SG=vote
 1. 'if I were able to vote'
 2. 'if I would have been able to vote' (constructed)

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Comparison to other approaches (cont.)

- an alternative route to counterfactuality?
 - on the analysis sketched here, there may be an alternate typological route to counterfactual meanings
 - not in terms of the tense-like relation between topic world and utterance world, as per Iatridou's analysis
 - but in terms of the aspect-like relation between topic world and realization

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Overview

- mood: the next hurrah/final frontier
- status marking in Yucatec
- uses of the subjunctive
- Klein's aspect theory
- possible situation semantics
- realization
- analysis
- counterfactuals
- summary

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Summary

- main points argued
 - two semantic notions associated with the Yucatec subjunctive
 - non-realization and non-at-issueness
 - possible unified account via the notion of realization
 - formalized here in the framework of possibilistic situation semantics
 - the Yucatec subjunctive emerges as a kind of inverse perfective aspect
 - on this account, viewpoint aspect and mood capture different relations among the same variable
 - this conceptual similarity may explain why they are expressed in a single morphological paradigm in Mayan

