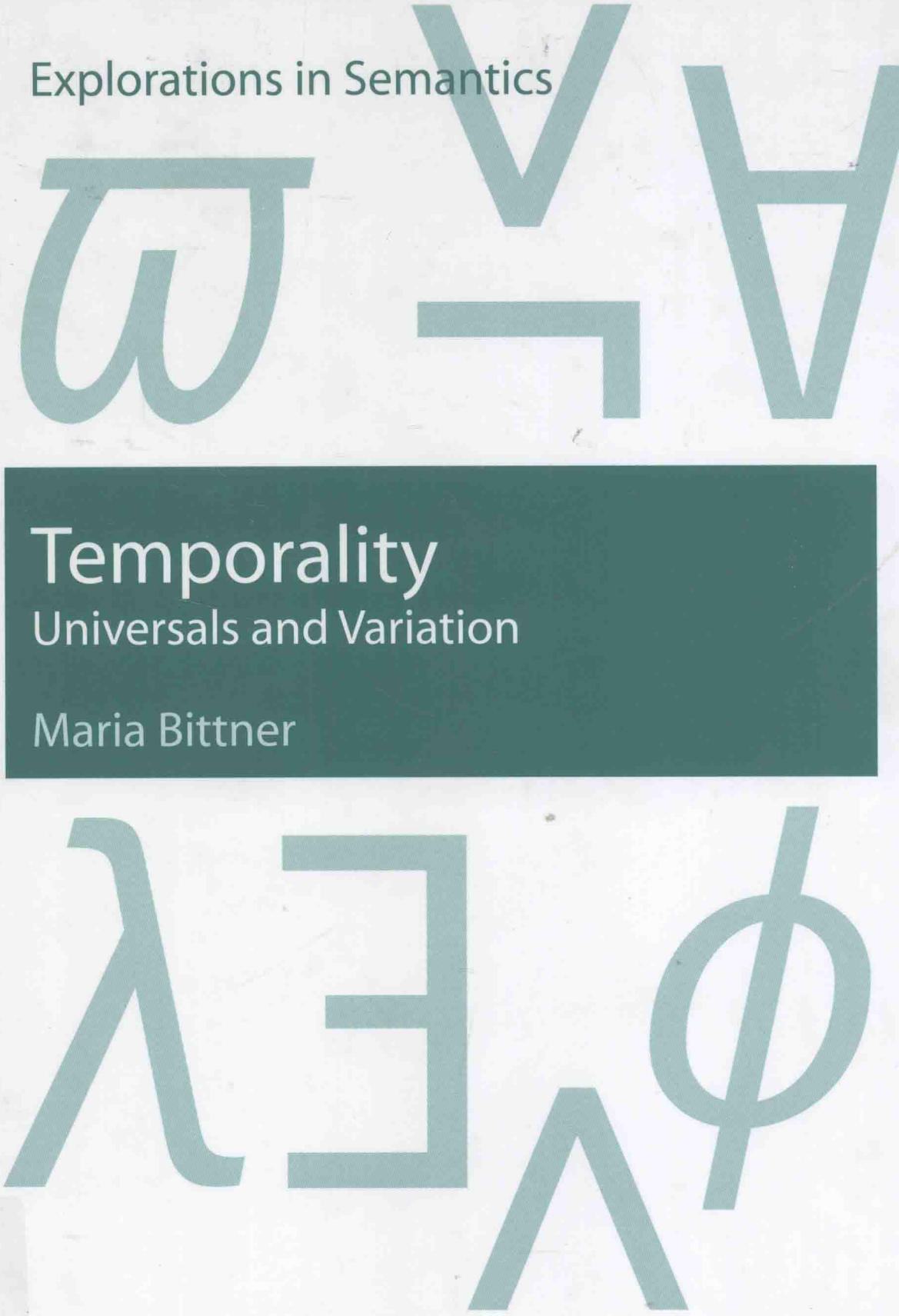
Explorations in Semantics



Temporality

Universals and Variation

Maria Bittner

WILEY Blackwell

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Temporality: Universals and Variation

Explorations in Semantics

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Acknowledgments

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Glosses

ENGLISH (Indo-European, Germanic)

Gloss and category in this book		*Huddleston and Pullum (2002)*
PST	past tense (***was***)	preterite tense
PRS	present tense (***is***)	present tense
FUT	future tense (***will*** *be*)	modal auxiliary (mood)
<PST	backshifted past tense (***had*** *been*)	backshifted preterite tense
<PRS	backshifted present tense (***was***)	backshifted present tense
<FUT	backshifted future tense (***would*** *be*)	–
INF	infinitive (***to*** *be*)	infinitive
PRE	prospective aspect ({***is*** | ***was***} ***going to*** *be*)	idiom
PRF	perfect aspect (***have*** *be****en***)	perfect tense
PRG	progressive aspect (***is*** *be****ing*** *polite*)	progressive aspect

POLISH (Indo-European, Slavic)

Gloss and category in this book		*Bielec (1998)*
\I	imperfective aspect feature (*by-* 'be\I')	imperfective verb
\P	perfective aspect feature (*poby-* 'stay\P')	perfective verb
PRF	perfect aspect inflection (* ~ *poby****wszy***)	past participle
DUR	durative aspect inflection (*bę****dąc*** ~ *)	present participle
PST	past tense (*by****łem*** ~ *poby****łem***)	past tense
PRS	present tense (***jest****em* ~ *)	present tense
FUT	future tense (***będ****ę* ~ *po****będ****ę*)	future tense
INF	infinitive (*by****ć*** ~ *poby****ć***)	infinitive

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person (*był**em**, był**eś**, był*)	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
S(G), P(L)	singular, plural number (*był, był**i***)	singular, plural number
M, F, N	masc., fem., neuter gender (*był, był**a**, był**o***)	masc., fem., neuter gender
=SBJ	subjunctive mood clitic (*że=**by**=m był*)	conditional tense

MANDARIN (Sino-Tibetan, Chinese)

Gloss and category in this book		*Henne et al. (1977)*
E/	eventive aspect feature	action verb
S/	stative aspect feature	quality verb
DUR	durative aspect particle (*zhe*)	durative aspect
PNC	punctual aspect particle (*le*)	perfective aspect
PRE	pre-state, aspectual modal (*huì ~ yào*)	modal verb
EXP	expect(ed), attitudinal modal (*huì*)	modal verb
DES	desire(d), attitudinal modal (*yào*)	modal verb
$_{\top}$v, v$_{\top}$	topical 3rd person (subject, object)	topic zero
$_{\perp}$v, v$_{\perp}$	background 3rd person (subject, object)	–
M	measure (event v or mass n)	measure (verbal, partitive, …)
CL	classifier (count n)	measure (individual)

KALAALLISUT (Eskimo-Aleut, Inuit)

Gloss and category in this book		*Bergsland (1955)*
SG, PL	singular, plural number	singular, plural number
1, 2	1st, 2nd person	1st, 2nd person
$3_{\top}$, $3_{\perp}$	topical 3rd, background 3rd person	4th, 3rd person
DEC	declarative, matrix mood	indicative
QUE	interrogative, matrix mood	interrogative
IMP	imperative, matrix mood	imperative
OPT	optative, matrix mood	optative
FCT	factual, dependent mood	causative
HYP	hypothetical, dependent mood	conditional
HAB	habitual, dependent mood	causative habitual
ELA	elaborating, dependent mood	contemporative or participial

-…⊤	-mood$_{topical.subject}$	mood suppletion
-…⊥	-mood$_{background.subject}$	mood suppletion
-…⊤⊥	-mood$_{topical.subject\ background.object}$	mood suppletion
=RPT	reportative, evidential mood clitic	class 4 enclitic

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Introduction

In any human language, speakers have grammatical means to refer to past, present, as well as future times, events, and states. They can speak directly, expressing their own attitudes; or indirectly, attributing words or attitudes to other people. Moreover, they can refer to a particular event or state, or to a habitual pattern. To express these universal types of temporal reference, different languages use different grammatical categories. They may also use the same categories in language-specific ways.

Discourses (1) through (4), in four diverse languages, illustrate both the universal types of temporal reference and the range of variation to be analyzed in this book. The four languages differ in the grammatical *TAM-categories* – tense (*T*), aspect (*A*), and/or mood (*M*) – which they require to form a finite sentence. English is classified as *tense*-based, because a tense inflection or auxiliary (e.g. past -PST, present -PRS, or future FUT) is required to form a finite sentence, whereas grammatical aspect (e.g. perfect *have* V.PRF) is optional. Polish is *tense-aspect*-based, because each Polish verb has a grammatical aspect feature (perfective \P or imperfective \I) and to form a finite sentence must be inflected for tense (-PST, -PRS, or -FUT). Tenseless Mandarin is *aspect*-based, because Mandarin verbs likewise have grammatical aspect features (eventive E/ or stative S/). Finally, tenseless Kalaallisut is *mood*-based, because to form a finite sentence a Kalaallisut verb must be inflected for matrix mood (e.g. declarative -DEC). In addition, Kalaallisut has a separate paradigm of dependent moods (e.g. factual -FCT, hypothetical -HYP, habitual -HAB) and a mood-like reportative evidential clitic (=RPT). Only semantically relevant grammatical categories, to be analyzed in this book, are glossed (using abbreviations listed in the Glosses at the front of the book; '*ref.*' abbreviates '*reference*').

(1) TENSE-based temporality: *English* (Indo-European, Germanic)

i.	Ann	has	gone	home.	*present ref.*
	Ann	have.PRS	go.PRF	home	

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