

Fancy games with Tense and Aspect

Conventionally, the following is a working definition of a counterfactual (CF):
“A proposition p from which one draws an inference that there is a proposition p’ that does not hold in the actual world”
Crucially, this “CF inference” is not the result of explicit negation.

For example, (1a) is not a CF, despite the fact that it conveys that (1b) does not hold:

- 1a. I don’t have a car
- b. I have a car

The following are two constructions that exemplify “counterfactuality” in the above sense (there are more):

CF conditionals:

- 2a. If I had a car, I would give you a ride
- b. -> I do not have a car.
- c. -> I will not give you a ride

CF wishes:

- 3a. I wish I had a brother
- b. -> I do not have a brother

The CF inference has been argued to be a cancellable implicature on the basis of a number of arguments, including one based on Stalnaker (4) and one on Anderson (5).

If the CF inference was an assertion or a presupposition, (4b), when uttered immediately after (4a), would have felt repetitive, but it does not:

- 4a. The butler did not do it....
- b.... If the butler had done it, there would have been blood on the kitchen knife.

Moreover, the CF inference is cancellable:

- 5. If he had the measles, he would have exactly the symptoms he has now.
(Therefore, he has the measles)

So the question is not just how the morphosyntax creates counterfactuality but how it creates it as an implicature.

There are languages that have very specialized CF morphology, like Hungarian, where the CF inference is the result of the specialized morpheme 'NA':

6. Ha János tudja a választ, Mari (is) tudja a választ
if J knows the answer-acc M (too) knows the answer-acc
'If John knows the answer, Mary knows the answer'

7. Ha János tudná a választ, Mari is tudná a választ
if J know.NA the answer-acc Mari too know.NA the answer-acc
If John knew the answer, Mary would know the answer

Possibly, languages like Hungarian might be easier to analyze because once one knows what the CF inference is, one can write that into the meaning of the specialized morphemes.

The focus of the lectures will be languages that use morphemes that are used elsewhere with a different meaning.

One example of such a language is English, where the English past tense morpheme contributes to the creation of the CF inference and is not used to convey a temporal past:

2a. If I had a car, I would give you a ride
b. -> I do not have a car (NOW)

3a. I wish I had a brother
b. -> I do not have a brother (NOW)

In other languages, it is Aspect that loses its "normal" meaning and contributes to the creation of the CF-inference.

So here the question is: How do the morphemes compose to CF in some environments, and to something else in others?

In these lectures, we will focus on morphology, semantics, and syntax of Tense, Aspect and Modality viewed from the perspective of the CF inference.

Languages discussed include among other others, Greek, Romance, Russian, Hindi.