

Building Modal Bases in Morphology

The Semantics of Tachelhit AD

James Engels & Atticus W. Mulligan

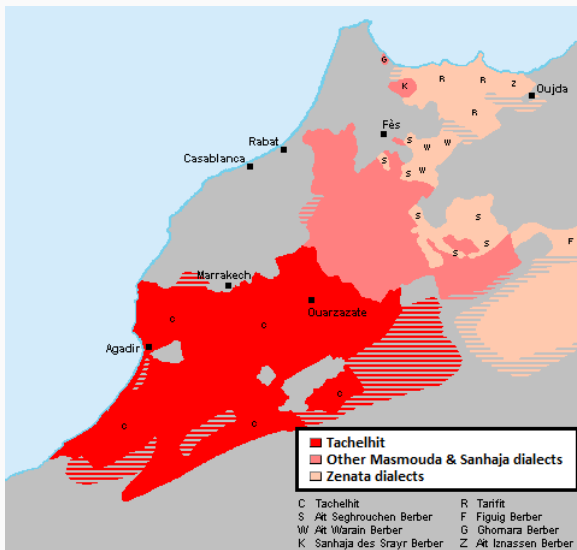
LAGB 2026, University of Edinburgh

September 2026

Introduction

- Joint work with Atticus W. "Wib" Mulligan.
- Primary consultant is Youssef Id Boulite of Aroumd. Translations and judgments were verified by 2-3 other speakers.

Language Sketch



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shilha_language/media/File:Tachelhit.png

- Shilha - Chleuh - Tachelhit - Tashelhiyt is a Berber language spoken by around 5 million people in central and southern Morocco.
- VSO in declarative sentences, mostly head-marking.
- Extremely morphologically complex.
 - At least 30 noun pluralization templates, some concatenative and some not.
 - Verbs inflect for gender of subject, number, person, and one of three/four aspectual stems, generally considered tenseless (Applegate 1955).
 - We focus today on the *aorist* stem.

- (1) frh- y s lmrf- t nnk
glad- 1SG INST acquaintance- DEF 2SG.POSS
“Nice to meet you.”

The Morphemes: RA and AD

- AD is the object of primary investigation. It appears in a wide variety of semantic contexts broadly related to *irrealis* or modality in general.
- RA is a prospective aspect, grammaticalized from *ira* “want”.
- RAD is usually called the Tachelhit future marker. It is transparently composed of RA and AD.
- Past work on similar themes: Belkadi 2013; Chaker 1997; Mettouchi 2012.

Roadmap

- Data survey: contexts for AD
- The aorist and the AD-aorist
- AD as intensionalizer
- Typological implications
- Conclusion

- (2) ixssak ad t- ke- t Mrrakch
MOD AD 2SG- visit- 2SG Marrakesh
“You should go to Marrakesh.”
- (3) mra d ki- gh Mrrakch
if.only AD go- 1SG Marrakesh
“I wish I had gone to Marrakesh.”

Permission and negative imperative

- (4) ghir ad t- ch- t
 just AD 2SG- eat.AOR- 2SG
 “You may eat.”

- (5) a- wr t- azzal- t gh- yid
 AD- NEG 2SG- run- 2SG ADP- night
 “Don’t run at night.”

- (6) ri- gh ad ich- gh tajin askka
want- 1SG AD eat- 1SG tagine tomorrow
“I want to eat tagine tomorrow.”

Simple future and near-misses

- (7) asska rad- ftou- gh s Marrakech
tomorrow RA.AD- go.AOR- 1SG ADP Marrakesh
“Tomorrow I will go to Marrakesh.”
- (8) rad ch- gh tajin gh tza niyid idgam
RA.AD eat.AOR- 1SG tagine ADP nine o”clock yesterday
“I was going to eat tagine at 9pm yesterday.”
- (9) ra ch- gh tajin gh tza niyid idgam
RA eat.AOR- 1SG tagine ADP nine o”clock yesterday
“I was about to eat/almost ate tagine at 9pm yesterday.”

- (10) igh t- fogh- t gh 4 (n"tadogat), ran t- ili-
if 2SG- go- 2SG ADP 4 (o'clock), RAN 2SG- reach.AOR-
t ghin gh 6
2SG there ADP 6

"If you leave at 4, you will reach there at 6."

- (11) igh yad i- fta, ran ashki- gh
if already 3SM- leave.PFV, RAN come.PFV- 1SG

"If he has already left, I will come."

Subjunctive conditionals

- (12) mra zda- gh gh l- merroc, rad chta- gh
if live- 1SG ADP SPEC- Morocco, RA.AD eat- 1SG.IMPV
tagine koyas
tagine everyday

“If I lived in Morocco, I would eat tagine everyday.”

- (13) mra chi- gh or- rad rmi- gh
if eat- 1SG.PFV NEG- RA.AD tired- 1SG

“If I had eaten, I wouldn’t be tired.”

“True” counterfactuals

- (14) mra gi- gh aydi (i)rad tta- gh
if be- 1SG.PFV dog RA.AD bark- 1SG.IMPV
“If I were a dog, I would bark.”
- (15) mra gigh agdid, ard ko- attylal- gh
if be.1SG bird, AR.AD CIRCUM- fly.AOR- 1SG
“If I were a bird, I would fly.”

- (16) hicham i- dda s France gh 2015 or- rad e-
Hicham 3SM- leave ADP France ADP 2015 NEG- RA.AD 3SG-
werri f 5 eissoggasn
return ADP 5 years

“Hicham left for France in 2015 and would not return for 5 years.” (Felicitous if uttered in 2018)

- (17) hicham i- dda s France gh 2015 or- ra e-
Hicham 3SM- leave ADP France ADP 2015 NEG- RA 3SG-
werri f 5 eissoggasn
return ADP 5 years

“Hicham left for France in 2015 and would not return for 5 years.” (Felicitous if uttered in 2021)

- (18) hicham i- nna g 2015 mas d umas yusf ira ad
 Hicham 3SM- say ADP 2015 LOC ADP brother Youssef RA AD
 i- sgh taddart g usggwas n 2020
 3SM- buy house ADP year ADP 2020
 “Hicham said in 2015 that his brother Youssef would have
 bought a house in 2020.” (Felicitous if by 2021 Youssef has not
 yet bought a house).

- (19) nta ar- e- ftugh s Marakech kraigat semana
he AR- 3SM- go.IMPV ADP Marrakesh every week
“He goes / used to go / will be going to Marrakesh every
week.” (I can tell you exactly when)
- (20) ad e- ftugh s Marakech kraigat semana
AD- 3SM- go.IMPV ADP Marrakesh every week
“He goes to Marrakesh every week.” (Generically)

(21) ad i- tta aydi
AD 3SG- bark.AOR dog
Dogs bark (dispositionally).

(22) i- tta aydi
3SG- bark.AOR dog
Dogs bark (universally).

- Semantic contexts licensing AD: plain future, obligations, subjunctive conditionals, generic-gnomic sentences, permission, expressions of desire, and negative imperatives.
- Incompatible contexts: perfective verbs, indicative conditionals

Towards a Single Semantics of AD

- Realis-irrealis is usually thought of as a plain difference in *actuality*.
- AD is about *ontology* instead.
- Aorist competes with perfective (strictly complete) and imperfective (strictly incomplete).
- Unmarked aorist is default interpreted as an aspectually *minimal* event:
 - Unique
 - Temporally contiguous
 - Actual
- In other words, precisely a Neo-Davidsonian event particular.
- Or a set of them → we lift the contiguity and uniqueness requirements.
- I.e., determinacy in w_0 is the only requirement.

The GEN Operation

- Genericity is an abstraction over event particulars, consisting of the nonselective quantifier, a restrictor, and a matrix Leslie 2008.

$$\text{Gen}_{i_1 \dots i_n, e_1 \dots e_n, w} [\text{Restrictor}(i_1 \dots i_n, e_1 \dots e_n, w)] [\text{Matrix}(i_1 \dots i_n, e_1 \dots e_n, w)]$$
$$\text{Gen}_{x,e} [\text{Dog}(x)] [\text{Barks}(x)]$$

- AD and Gen are more than superficially similar, but Gen is supposed to quantify over the sets while AD only makes them available.

A Semantics of AD

$$(23) \quad \llbracket \text{AD} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle l, st \rangle} . \lambda \pi_{\langle s \times l \rangle} . P(e(\pi))(w(\pi))$$

- AD takes what it is given by the aspect – that is, an event description – and packages it with the worlds it happens in. The output is a function from world-event pairs to truth values.

A Semantics of AD

$$(23) \quad \llbracket \text{AD} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle l, st \rangle} . \lambda \pi_{\langle s \times l \rangle} . P(e(\pi))(w(\pi))$$

- AD takes what it is given by the aspect – that is, an event description – and packages it with the worlds it happens in. The output is a function from world-event pairs to truth values.
- Modals, the future, and conditionals require a certain kind of semantically structured input, which AD renders from event particulars.

A Semantics of AD

$$(23) \quad \llbracket \text{AD} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle l, st \rangle} . \lambda \pi_{\langle s \times l \rangle} . P(e(\pi))(w(\pi))$$

- AD takes what it is given by the aspect – that is, an event description – and packages it with the worlds it happens in. The output is a function from world-event pairs to truth values.
- Modals, the future, and conditionals require a certain kind of semantically structured input, which AD renders from event particulars.
- Modals in the standard picture (Kratzer 1981) get their bases from accessibility relations supplied by contexts.

A Semantics of AD

$$(23) \quad \llbracket \text{AD} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle l, st \rangle} . \lambda \pi_{\langle s \times l \rangle} . P(e(\pi))(w(\pi))$$

- AD takes what it is given by the aspect – that is, an event description – and packages it with the worlds it happens in. The output is a function from world-event pairs to truth values.
- Modals, the future, and conditionals require a certain kind of semantically structured input, which AD renders from event particulars.
- Modals in the standard picture (Kratzer 1981) get their bases from accessibility relations supplied by contexts.
- The *world projection* is the set of worlds in a context that contain an event of the described kind. The resulting world projection turns out to be the relevant modal base set if we interpret modal bases classically as conversational backgrounds.

Excluding PFV and Indicative Conditionals i

- Both PFV and Indicative conditionals exclude AD due to triviality avoidance under this semantics.

Excluding PFV and Indicative Conditionals ii

- Define c as the worlds compatible with what is settled at the point of evaluation, with shared history but possibly branching futures.
- Indicative consequents are evaluated relative to $c + p$ rather than just A . Future is evaluated relative to only c , subjunctive may be evaluated against only p .
- Agreeing about the past does not guarantee agreement about the future. AD in c can rank worlds nontrivially, so too for p .
- $c + p$ forces agreement across a *narrowed* local context $\rightarrow$ triviality, AD banned.

Conclusion and Typological Predictions

- The aorist describes an event or set of events determinate in w_0 .

Conclusion and Typological Predictions

- The aorist describes an event or set of events determinate in w_0 .
- AD packages events (or set of events) with their worlds into sets of world-event pairs. The world-projection of that set is a modal base.

Conclusion and Typological Predictions

- The aorist describes an event or set of events determinate in w_0 .
- AD packages events (or set of events) with their worlds into sets of world-event pairs. The world-projection of that set is a modal base.
- Modals, the future, conditionals, and gnomic sentences all require modal bases. Indicative conditionals have token-like conditions (their antecedents), which exclude AD.

Conclusion and Typological Predictions

- The aorist describes an event or set of events determinate in w_0 .
- AD packages events (or set of events) with their worlds into sets of world-event pairs. The world-projection of that set is a modal base.
- Modals, the future, conditionals, and gnomic sentences all require modal bases. Indicative conditionals have token-like conditions (their antecedents), which exclude AD.
- PFV fixes culmination in w_0 , blocking AD by triviality avoidance.

Conclusion and Typological Predictions

- The aorist describes an event or set of events determinate in w_0 .
- AD packages events (or set of events) with their worlds into sets of world-event pairs. The world-projection of that set is a modal base.
- Modals, the future, conditionals, and gnomic sentences all require modal bases. Indicative conditionals have token-like conditions (their antecedents), which exclude AD.
- PFV fixes culmination in w_0 , blocking AD by triviality avoidance.
- Indicative conditionals narrow the local context such that the projection and the context are the same. Triviality crash.

Conclusion and Typological Predictions

- The aorist describes an event or set of events determinate in w_0 .
- AD packages events (or set of events) with their worlds into sets of world-event pairs. The world-projection of that set is a modal base.
- Modals, the future, conditionals, and gnomic sentences all require modal bases. Indicative conditionals have token-like conditions (their antecedents), which exclude AD.
- PFV fixes culmination in w_0 , blocking AD by triviality avoidance.
- Indicative conditionals narrow the local context such that the projection and the context are the same. Triviality crash.
- Open questions: the semantics of indicative conditional consequent marker RAN, and AD in purpose clauses (see appendix).

Questions

Selected References

- Applegate, Joseph R. (1955). "Shilha: a descriptive grammar". PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania.
- Belkadi, Aicha (2013). "Aspect and mood in Berber and the aorist issue". In: *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 16, pp. 128–150.
- Chaker, Salem (1997). "Quelques faits de grammaticalisation dans le système verbal berbère". In: *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, pp. 103–121.
- Kratzer, Angelika (1981). "The Notional Category of Modality". In: *Words, worlds, and contexts: New approaches in word semantics*. Ed. by H.J. Eikmeyer and H. Reiser. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- (2012). *Modals and Conditionals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leslie, Sarah-Jane (2008). "Generics: cognition and acquisition". In: *Philosophical Review* 117.1, pp. 1–47.
- Mettouchi, Amina (2012). "Topic-Focus Articulation in Taqbaylit and Tashelhit Berber". In: *The Afroasiatic Languages*. Ed. by Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Erin Shay. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 175–191.

- (24) khadija ar- t- snwa l- dour t- ra kra i-
Khadija AR- 3SF- cook DEF- breakfast 3SF- RA INDEF, DEF-
youwss Aderfi ad- y- awi yan mnawt tglay r- dar
son Aderfi AD- 3SM- bring one amount eggs ADP- place
wadjar
neighbour

“In order to cook some breakfast, Khadija has her son get
eggs from the neighbour.”