UNCONDITIONALS IN YUCATEC MAYA[*]

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1 Introduction

The term "unconditional" refers to constructions like those in (1) in English. Such sentences indicate that the resolution of some issue (i.e. which alternative holds from a given set) is irrelevant to the truth of some other claim. In (1), for example, each sentence indicates that the issue of which people are coming to the party (the *antecedent*) is irrelevant or orthogonal to the claim that the party will be fun (the *consequent*).

(1)	a.	Regardless of who comes to the party, it will be fun.	**Headed**
	b.	Whether Bill comes to the party or Fred does, it will be fun.	**Alternative**
	c.	Whoever comes to the party, it will be fun.	**Constituent**

In his work on English unconditionals, Rawlins (2008) distinguishes 3 subtypes based upon the form that the antecedent takes: **Headed**, **Alternative**, and **Constituent**. Despite superficial differences, Rawlins argues that all three types of antecedents in English contain embedded interrogative clauses and proposes a formal analysis which makes crucial use of this fact.

In this paper, we present a survey of unconditional constructions in Yucatec Maya (YM), which – in contrast to their English counterparts – make little use of interrogative forms. Instead, unconditionals in YM rely heavily on so-called subjunctive mood, disjunction, the topic construction, and free relatives with the free-choice morpheme *je'en* 'any, ever' (and its variants *je'* and *je'el*). For example, the antecedent clause in (2) consists of a subjunctive predicate, *t'aanak*

'talk (SUBJ)' with a free relative as subject *je'e máaxak* 'whoever'. As in other conditional-like constructions in YM, the antecedent occurs as a clausal topic, as indicated by the topic marker *-e'*.[1]

(2)   T'aan-ak je'e máax-ak-e'   je'el   u   convencertik Amanda-e'
      talk-SUBJ ever who-SUBJ-TOP ASSUR A3 convince   Amanda-TOP
      'Whoever talks, they will surely convince Amanda.'

Unconditional constructions outside of English are quite understudied (Haspelmath and König (1998)'s survey of unconditionals in European languages being the notable exception), and this paper is, to my knowledge, the first comprehensive look at unconditional constructions in a non-European language. Beyond contributing to the study of unconditionals themselves, the study of unconditionals can provide important insights into the syntax and semantics of the elements of which they are comprised.

The plan for the rest of the paper is as follows: drawing both on naturally-occurring examples from texts and elicited data, **§2-4** surveys the three major types of unconditionals in YM, highlighting points of typological and semantic interest along the way. Focusing primarily on alternative unconditionals, **§5** demonstrates that despite their quite different morphosyntax, the constructions we identify as alternative unconditionals do share the major semantic properties of English unconditionals, drawing on Rawlins (2008)'s description of these. Finally, while detailed compositional analyses are left to future work, **§6** concludes.

Before proceeding, a brief terminological note is in order. The name "unconditional" was coined by Zaefferer (1990) to refer to at least some of the constructions discussed here. We use it here for several reasons (see Rawlins (2008) for further discussion). First, this term emphasizes the clear semantic connections with conditionals noted by more or less all authors who have worked on these constructions. Second, in contrast with terms like "free adjunct free relative" (e.g. Izvorski (2000)), the term does not presuppose that any particular morphosyntactic form is involved and is therefore sufficiently general to cover the various subtypes within and across languages. Finally, unlike "concessive conditional" (e.g. Haspelmath and König (1998), Gawron (2001)), we make a clear distinction with *even if*-conditionals like (3). While such constructions may serve a similar function in many cases, they explicitly encode that the stated alternative in the antecedent is less expected or desirable (i.e. concession), which unconditionals do not.

(3)   Kex wáa k'áax-ak ja'-e'   ma'atan in ch'u'ulul
      even if   fall-SUBJ water-TOP not   A1 get.wet
      'Even if it were raining, I wouldn't get wet'

2   Headed unconditionals

The first subtype of unconditional we examine is what Rawlins (2008) dubs 'headed' unconditionals. This variety is so named because the antecedent contains a fixed, at least partially

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[1]Abbreviations used for Yucatec Maya glosses: ASSUR: 'assurative' modality, C: complementizer, CL: numeral classifier, DEF: definite article, IMP: imperfective aspect, INCEP: inceptive aspect, NEG: negation, OBLIG: obligation (near future), PFV: perfective aspect, PASS: passive, PL: plural, PREP: preposition, PROG: progressive aspect, PROX: proximal deictic clitic; REL: relational noun suffix, SUBJ: subjunctive mood, TERM: terminative aspect, TOP: topic marker. For agreement morphology, I follow the terminological tradition among Mayanists, referring to Set A ($\approx$ Ergative/Nominative) and Set B ($\approx$ Absolutive/Accusative) markers, e.g. A3 = 3rd person Ergative/Nominative. B3 is phonologically null and therefore left unglossed. All examples are from my elicitations unless otherwise noted.

grammaticized *head* which is plainly responsible for the characteristic indifference/irrelevance implication of unconditionals. For English, Rawlins identifies only two heads: *regardless (of)* and *no matter*. While they only address headed unconditionals in passing, Haspelmath and König (1998) also include less grammaticized phrases such as *I don't care* which have more obviously divergent lexical semantics than *no matter* and *regardless (of)*.

Since they wear their unconditionality on their sleeves, so to speak, they have been even less well-studied than alternative and constituent unconditionals. However, one of the main things which emerges in YM in this section is that there is semantic variation across different heads. In particular, YM has not only grammaticized PLAIN heads with semantics broadly similar to *no matter* or *regardless*, but also has grammaticized EXPRESSIVE heads with a semantics more akin to *I don't care* or *who cares*. We explore both kinds in §§2.1-2.2 with §2.3 providing some brief discussion.

2.1 Plain heads

For English, Rawlins (2008) identifies two unconditional 'heads': *no matter* and *regardless (of)*. In addition to this, there are closely related elements like *irrespective (of)* which Rawlins suggests may differ in their lexical semantics, but which nonetheless have significant similarities.

In Yucatec Maya, the most common head is *mix ba'al ti'* Lit. 'not even a thing of, has nothing', as seen in the examples in (4-6). As in their English counterparts, headed unconditionals in YM consist of the head plus an embedded alternative, (4), wh-, (5), or polar, (7), question. It is unclear whether (6) is an embedded polar interrogative or declarative, though the latter would not be surprising given that Rawlins (2008) has argued for the grammaticality of such examples for English *no matter*.

(4) Mix   ba'al ti'   wa xiib wa xch'úup-e'   laili wíinik-e'
     not.even thing PREP if   man or woman-TOP still human-TOP
     'No matter whether they're a man or a woman, they're still a person.'

(5) Mix   ba'al ti'   máax taal-ak   te'   óok'ot-o'   yan   u yuts-tal
     not.even thing PREP who   come-SUBJ there dance-DISTAL OBLIG A3 good-come
     'Regardless of who may come to the party, it will be good.'

(6) Mix   ba'al ti'   káa loolobt'ant-a'ak-en   wa teech k-a   ki't'antik-en.
     not.even thing PREP C   curse-PASS.SUBJ-B1 if   you   IMP-A2 bless-B1
     'It doesn't matter if they may curse me if YOU bless me.'   Psalms 109:28[2]

Beyond *mix ba'al ti'* itself, the less grammaticized form *mix ba'al yaan ti'* 'has nothing' is also possible:

(7) Mix   ba'al yaan ti'   wa Maribel k-u   beetik le   chay-o'   yan   u yantal
     not.even thing have PREP if   Maribel IMP-A3 make DEF chaya-DISTAL OBLIG A3 exist
     chay.
     chaya
     'No matter if it was Maribel who made the chaya, there will be chaya.'

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[2]http://bibles.org/yua-MAYABI/Ps/109

Though it's unclear to what extent either head ought to be treated compositionally synchronically, the component parts are clear. *Mix* is a negative element which can serve as sentential negation, but often acts as a focus sensitive operator with a meaning more like 'not even'. *Ba'al* is a sortal noun meaning 'thing' and the combination of the two, *mix ba'a(l)* 'nothing' is quite common as an negative quantifier or N-word in negative concord constructions. It is perhaps surprising, then, that the longer form has affirmative have/be predicate, *yaan*, rather than the negative existential, *mina'an*, as it does in cases where indifference/irrelevance are not at issue, such as (8).

(8) Mina'an mix   ba'al túumben t-u   yáanal k'iin.
      not.exist not.even thing new   PREP-A3 under sun
      'There is nothing new under the sun' [3]

While it remains possible that there could be some sort of syntactic structure and lexical semantics for *ba'al* that allows for the phrase to be broken down compositionally, we will assume that both variants are fixed phrases, as Rawlins (2008) concludes for *no matter*. There are, however, two differences between YM *mix ba'al ti'* and English *No matter*. First, *mix ba'al ti'* allows for the antecedent issue to be retrieved anaphorically without being overtly present in the syntax (modulo the possibility for pro-drop). While this property distinguishes it from *no matter*, it is shared with the other main unconditional head in English, *regardless* (as the translation demonstrates).

(9) **Scenario:** The squirrel has accused the rabbit of deceiving him. The rabbit replies saying
      he doesn't know what the squirrel is talking about. The squirrel then replies:
      Mix   ba'al ti'-e',   chéen ba'ale' bejla'-e' yaan   in jats'ik-ech
      not.even thing PREP-TOP just   but   today-TOP OBLIG A1 hit-B2
      'Regardless (of whether or not you know), I have to punish you.'[4]

The second difference is that English *no matter* seems somewhat marginal outside of unconditionals (e.g. in stand alone utterances of indifference)[5], whereas YM *mix ba'al ti'* occurs freely outside of unconditionals, as in (10) and also allows for an individual anchor – i.e. 'doesn't matter to *x*' – as in (11).[6]

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[3] http://www.mayas.uady.mx/literatura/index_05.html

[4] "El conejo y la ardilla", http://clubmayajacintokanek.blogspot.com/2011/12/el-conejo-y-la-ardilla.html

[5] The extent to which this really distinguishes the two constructions is actually somewhat unclear. A search of (Davies (2008-))'s Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) for sentence-final "No matter . " does yield 400 hits. Many of them appear to be genuine counterexamples to the claim that *no matter* is limited to unconditionals:

(i) Probably visiting a brothel instead. **No matter**. The house was empty. Why made no difference at all.

(ii) Chuck ignored me, as was his custom. **No matter**. I turned to Dennis.

(iii) Marching proved difficult, but **no matter**. The commanders quickly shifted to more important skills.

[6] Here again, one can find COCA examples, though far fewer in number (a search for "no matter to" yields only 9 hits, several of which are constituent unconditionals where the preposition 'to' is pied-piped as part of the interrogative clause) and far more marginal-souding to my ear:

(i) **No matter to them** if they rotted for lack of formaldehyde.

(ii) Blame the shape if you like – **no matter to me** – but it was you did the stealing.

(10)   a.   Ma'alob túun ba'ale' míi   táan   in bin tumeen ts'o'ok in chan xáantal
          good   then but   perhaps PROG A1 go because TERM A1 little delay
          'Ok, then, but maybe I'm going because I already waited a bit.'

       b.   **Mix ba'al ti'**   **ten**-e'   táan   xan in bin
          nothing   PREP me-TOP PROG too A1 go
          '**It doesn't matter to me**, I'm going too.'[7]

(11)   T-in   che'ejtik-ech, in woojel ma'tech a   p'atk-en …**Mix   ba'al ti'**.
       PROG-A1 laugh-B2   A1 know   NOT   A2 leave-B1 …not.even thing PREP
       'I'm laughing at you. I know you won't leave me. **It doesn't matter**.'[8]

One final point regards the integration of the antecedent and the consequent into the larger sentential context. In the unconditionals above – (4-7), (9) – the antecedent precedes the consequent and the former is marked with the topic morpheme, *-e'*. However, the antecedent can also follow the consequent, as in (12), in which case the topic morpheme does not appear overtly. This pattern is identical to what we find with ordinary conditionals in YM, drawing further attention to the deep connection between unconditionals and conditionals.

(12) $100.00 u   tia'al u   yok-baj   máak **mix   ba'al ti'   wa chicham wa**
       100   A3 for   A3 enter.SUBJ-REFL person not.even thing PREP if small   or
       nojoch.
       big
       "$100 per person, no matter whether small or big."   Jardines de Xibalbaj, p.12[9]

2.2   Expressive heads

While they may implicate the speaker's *personal indifference* (see §5.3), unconditional heads like *mix ba'al ti'* need not convey anything about the speaker's expectations/desires/etc (nor any other agent's for that matter). In contrast to these PLAIN unconditional heads, YM also has EXPRESSIVE heads which, in addition to logical independence, convey the speaker's extreme indifference towards the choice of alternatives. YM has two (related) expressive heads: *mix in k'áaj ti'* 'I don't even care' and *ba'ax in k'áaj ti'* 'what do I care' as seen in (13-14).

(13)   **Mix   in k'áaj ti'**   wa Maribel k-u   beetik le   chay-o'   yan   u yantal
       not.even A1 wish PREP if Maribel IMP-A3 make DEF chaya-DISTAL OBLIG A3 exist
       chay.
       chaya
       'I don't care whether Maribel who made the chaya, there will be chaya.'

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[7]Online at: `http://www.indemaya.gob.mx/clases-de-maya/partes-cuerpo/actividades.html`

[8]*Yum Kimij* 'Death' by Miguel May May,
`http://www.indemaya.yucatan.gob.mx/descargas/archivos/Poes%C3%ADa%20Maya.pdf`

[9]`http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeyucatan.com.mx/archivos/libros/Jardines_de_Xibalbaj.pdf`

(14) **Ba'ax in k'áat ti'**   wa táan   chital   yéetel x-ba'al-e',   ti'   janal-e',   le
       what   A1 want PREP if   PROG lay.down with   FEM-thing-TOP PREP food-TOP DEF
       k-u   jantik jun túul-e'   le   k-u   jantik tuláakal
       IMP-A3 eat   one CL-TOP DEF IMP-A3 eat   all
       'No matter if you sleep with her, with food, what one person eats, everyone eats.' **K'aaylay**
       #35

One crucial aspect of these examples worth mentioning is that the desire predicate in the head, *k'áat* undergoes a phonological change, surfacing instead as *k'áaj* (the letter *j* in the standard 1984 orthography indicates a glottal fricative, IPA [h]).[10] More specifically, YM has a debuccalization process, described in detail by Orie and Bricker (2000) and references therein, which deletes coda consonants when the following segment – usually across a word boundary, as here – is (nearly) identical. This debuccalization process leaves behind the laryngeal component of the deleted segment, the result in this case being that the coda [t] leaves behind a glottal fricative (presumably because plain stops are otherwise allophonically aspirated in coda position).

The reason we discuss this phonological process in such detail is to distinguish the unconditional forms above from minimally different sentences where debuccalization has **not** applied, such as (15). Such sentences (at least in the case of *mix in k'áat*) are in principle grammatical, but receive radically different interpretations. In particular, they are interpreted compositionally with the predicate *k'áat* being most readily translatable with *ask*, rather than *wish* (this lexical ambiguity/polysemy is found in other constructions as well). As the obtuseness of the English gloss conveys, such a meaning is a quite unlikely one and in this particular case, one which is fairly nonsensical given world knowledge.

(15) #?Mix   in   k'áa**t** ti'-∅   wa Maribel k-u   beetik le   chay-o'   yan   u
       not.even A1 wish PREP-B3 if   Maribel IMP-A3 make   DEF chaya-DISTAL OBLIG A3
       yantal chay.
       exist   chaya
       #? 'It being the case that I didn't even ask him if it was Maribel made the chaya, there will
       be chaya.'

Having established that both variants are grammatical under quite different interpretations, we now address the question of why debuccalization applies in (13), but not (15). The key observation is that debuccalization in YM is restricted to certain prosodic domains, as argued in depth by AnderBois (2009). Based on data from postverbal subjects, preverbal foci, and various other syntactic environments, AnderBois (2009) proposes a phonological phrasing algorithm and argues that debuccalization only occurs within a phonological phrase, but not across a phonological phrase boundary. The conclusion in this case, then, is that the (non-)application of debuccalization indicates different prosodic structure and, by extension, different syntactic structures.

In (15), the prepositional phrase, *ti' (pro$_i$)* 'to him/her', and the embedded question, *wa Maribel ku beetik le chayo'* 'if it was Maribel who made the chaya' are two distinct arguments of the predicate *k'áat*. While certain details of the syntax of the unconditional (13) are not clear, the interpretation clearly suggests that there is only a single argument introduced by *ti'*.

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[10]This debuccalization process is not consistently indicated orthographically in texts, as we see in (14) and below in (17). In spoken YM, however, speakers are quite consistent in their application of this rule in these examples.

While the examples above have the 1st person set marker, *in* A1, we also find more reduced forms which lack the set A marker altogether, as in (16)

(16) **Ba'ax k'áaj ti'**   wa Maribel meent   le   sopa'-o'   jach ki'
      what   wish   PREP if   Maribel make.SUBJ DEF soup-DISTAL very rich
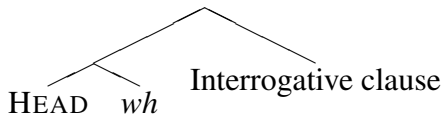   'No matter whether Maribel made the soup (what do I care?), it is tasty!'

Finally, as in the case of *mix ba'al ti'* above, we find that the expressive heads also have uses outside of unconditionals, as in (17):
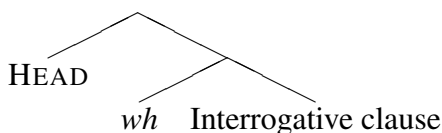
(17) **Ba'ax in k'áat ti'**   u   xuul yóok'ol kaab wa tiaan-ech t-in   wéetel-e'
      what   A1 wish   PREP A3 end world   if   be-B2   PREP-A1 with-TOP
      'What does the end of the world matter to me if you are with me!'[11]

2.3 Discussion

Setting aside the quite thorny syntactic/prosodic issues discussed above, we find that, as was the case for PLAIN headed unconditionals, EXPRESSIVE ones consist of a lexical head which takes the embedded question as its argument of some sort. This basic structure in which an at least partially grammaticized head takes an embedded question as an argument is to my knowledge shared by headed unconditionals in all languages (though there is data from very few languages). Since the head in headed unconditionals is a member of a lexical category, it is perhaps unsurprising that there would be subtle variations within and across languages in the lexical semantics which are possible for this head.

Before turning to constituent and alternative unconditionals, we would like to briefly consider the results found here with the claims made by Haspelmath and König (1998) regarding headed unconditionals. While they do not discuss headed ones at length, Haspelmath and König (1998) (see especially p. 570) suggests a quite different structure for headed unconditionals than the one we assume here. In particular, they describe the element which we have called the HEAD as a "prefix of indifference" or an "irrelevance prefix". While they do not give a detailed syntactic treatment of such sentences they do state that "the quantificational force of this sentence is clearly the result of the interaction of the 'irrelevance prefix' and the interrogative pronouns". Taken together, this quote and the label 'prefix' appear to suggest a syntax for the antecedent more like (18) than (19).

(18)

HEAD   *wh*   Interrogative clause

(19)

HEAD

wh   Interrogative clause

A constituent structure along the lines of (18) might seem initially plausible for English by analogy with constituent unconditionals with *wh+ever*. As we will see in §§3-4, however,

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[11] http://twitter.com/elChilamBalam/statuses/235235640789311488

constituent and alternative unconditionals in YM do not involve interrogative forms, so it cannot be the case in general across languages that headed unconditionals consist of a constituent or alternative unconditional plus a 'prefix'. While we leave a full investigation to future work, we can provide further support for a structure like (19) in English at least with traditional constituent tests such as coordination[12].

(20)   Regardless of when John arrived and/or how he got here, he is here now.

(21)   *?Regardless of when and no matter how John got here, he is here now.

   In this section, we have seen that headed unconditionals in YM have forms which are broadly similar to their English counterparts in both form and meaning. Syntactically, they have antecedents consisting of a predicate conveying indifference or irrelevance with an embedded question as argument. Semantically, we have seen that YM has PLAIN headed unconditionals which have translation-equivalents in English, and also EXPRESSIVE ones which do not.[13] We turn now to constituent unconditionals, which, in contrast to headed ones, show significant differences in form from their English counterparts.

3   Constituent unconditionals

For English, Rawlins (2008) argues in detail that despite the presence of *-ever*, constituent unconditional antecedents are composed from embedded wh- interrogatives. More specifically, he proposes the following components:

(22)   a.   Whoever comes to the party, I'll have a good time.

     b.   **Components of English constituent unconditionals:**
          A. Embedded wh-question (*who* . . .)
          B. Free choice marker (*-ever*)
          C. Conditional adjunct (comma intonation?)

   That is, Rawlins claims that unconditional antecedents in English are to assimilated to questions with *-ever* like (23), rather than free relatives like (24):

(23)   Whoever could Alfonso be talking to?

(24)   I will eat whatever Fred prepares.

   Whatever the appropriate analysis is for English, analogous examples in YM such as (25) clearly consist of free relatives rather than interrogatives. For one thing, the free choice marker which occurs here, *je'en* '-ever', does not occur in questions. That is, there is no YM analog to (23), which is itself fairly marginal in English, especially in embedded questions.

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[12]See Rawlins (2008) for a detailed discussion of other aspects of the syntax of headed unconditionals in English which also assumes a structure like (19), more or less without argument.

[13]It is important to note that even in the former case, the primary evidence we have presented is translation equivalence with Spanish and/or English. Given the approximate nature of translations (e.g. as stressed by Matthewson (2004)), there may well be subtle differences which will emerge through more thorough investigation. We conduct such an investigation for alternative unconditionals in §5, but leave this to future work for headed and constituent unconditionals.

(25) Je'en tu'ux-ak   káa xi'ik   Maribel-e' yan   u yan-tal   ti' ya'abkach u
      ever where-Subj C   go.Subj Maribel-Top Oblig A3 exist-become Prep many   A3
      eetlak'-o'ob.
      friend-Pl
      'Wherever Maribel goes, she will have many friends.'

Second, in YM, one can find not only examples where the 'whoever' element occurs in a fronted position, but also examples like (26) where *je'e máax* 'whoever' occur postverbally in a canonical argument position. Since wh-words in YM questions must occur in the preverbal focus position, there is simply no way to analyze such cases as having interrogative form.

(26) T'aan-ak je'e máax-ak-e'   je'el   u   convencertik Amanda-e'
      talk-Subj ever quien-Subj-Top Assur A3 convince   Amanda-Top
      'Whoever is talking, they will surely convince Amanda.'

The remainder of this section examines the properties of both simple constituent unconditionals like (25), §3.1, and Clausal unconditionals like (26) in §3.2.

3.1 Simple constituent unconditionals

The antecedents of 'simple' constituent unconditionals in YM typically consist of the morpheme *je'en* '-ever' (or one of its variants, *je'el* and *je'*) along with a free relative clause. The relative clause always includes the 'subjunctive' complementizer *káa*, whose distribution is quite similar to that described by Villa-García (t.a.) for the so-called Jussive/Optative *que* in Spanish[14] as well as the so-called 'subjunctive' status marking on verbs within the relative clause. Depending on the transitivity and verb class of this lower verb, the subjunctive status marker may either be null, realized as the suffix *-ak* (e.g. (27)), or realized via a suppletive verb form in the case of the verb *bin* 'to go' (e.g. (28)). As in all of the various types of unconditionals, this antecedent occurs with the topic marker following it.

(27) Je'en máax(-ak) káa taal-ak   te'   óok'ot-o'   yan   u ki'imak-tal   in wóol
      ever who-Subj C   come-Subj there dance-Distal Oblig A3 happy-become A1 soul
      'Whoever comes to the party, it will be fun.'

(28) Je'en tu'ux-ak   káa xi'ik   Maribel-e' yan   u yan-tal   ti' ya'abkach u
      ever where-Subj C   go.Subj Maribel-Top Oblig A3 have-become Prep many   A3
      eetlak'-o'ob.
      friend-Pl
      'Wherever Maribel goes, she will have many friends.'

(29) Je' máax káa taak   u   beet u yóolal ten way-e'   k-u   bin k'aas-il ti'
      ever who C   come.Subj A3 do   A3 about me here-Top Imp-A3 go bad-Rel Prep
      'Whoever comes here, they may have bad things happen to them.'
      'Cualquier persona que venga aquí a hacer su voluntad le puede ir mal' [15]

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[14]Though YM *káa* lacks the various other uses of Spanish *que* besides the jussive/optative, including most notably the use of the latter in indicative complements.

[15]"T'u'ul yéetel jkoj" `http://www.indemaya.gob.mx/descargas/archivos/Cuentos_Mayas.pdf`

While many of the details are of course different, various other languages with a subjunctive/optative mood show broadly similar sorts of constituent unconditionals:

(30)   a. **Spanish**
Quien-quiera que   venga   a Berlín, estaré   contento.
who-ever   C.SUBJ come.SUBJ.3s to Berlin be.FUT.1sg happy
'Whoever comes to Berlin, I will be happy.'   Quer and Vicente (2009)

b. **Italian**
Qual-unque cosa lei dica, lui sta   zitto
which-ever thing she says he stays silent
'Whatever she says, he keeps quiet.'   Haspelmath and König (1998), p. 610

c. **Polaco**
Co-kolwiek ona powie, on milczy
what-ever   she says   he keeps.quiet
'Whatever she says, he keeps quiet.'   Haspelmath and König (1998), p. 610

Several further notes about the forms of simple constituent unconditionals are in order. First, while a subjunctive relative clause is possible and frequently does occur, the relative clause need not be realized when its content is clear from context, as in (31-32). While this may seem initially surprising, it is far less so when we consider the oft-noted parallels between *wh-* constructions in YM and English *it*-clefts (as in the English translation I have given in (31)). As in English *it*-clefts, a relative clause can act as an optional modifier, but is not obligatory.

(31)   **Scenario:** A group of people is talking about a phenomenon that one of them saw which may or may not be a mythical creature, the Xtaabay. The person who saw it, Nazario, says:
Je'en ba'ax-ak-e'   yaan   k   p'iilik   k   iich tia'al kalantik-baj
ever   what-SUBJ-TOP OBLIG A1.PL open.eye A1.PL eye for   protect-REFL
'Whatever it is, we should keep our eyes peeled to protect ourselves.'[16]

(32)   Je'el ba'ax-ak-e',   pues yaan   a   chan meyajtik
ever what-SUBJ-TOP well OBLIG A2 little work
'Whatever (job) it is, you have to work it some'.[17]

An second point to note about the above examples is that in addition to the subjunctive marking within the relative clause itself, the suffix *-ak* – which is at least homophonous with the intransitive subjunctive suffix – can also occur on the *wh-* word itself as in (28). For examples which I have tested with speakers, such as (27), the presence of this morpheme seems entirely optional, with both versions sounding natural and with no apparent difference in meaning. Indeed, one also finds naturally occurring examples where the *wh-* word occurs without *-ak* (e.g. (29)).

Furthermore, there appears to be an interaction between the presence or absence of the overt relative clause and whether or not the *wh-* word appears with *-ak* attached. Specifically, in all of the corpus examples I found where no relative clause occurs, as in (31-32), all bear the *-ak* suffix. Assuming that the form without *-ak* is truly ungrammatical (rather than merely dispreferred), this raises an intriguing possibility.

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[16]Jardines de Xibalbaj, p. 69, 85
[17]Narraciones Mayas, p. 198, 238

Above, we drew a parallel between cleft constructions and subjunctive free relatives in YM. One way to interpret the presence of *-ak*, then, is as an overt morphological indication that a cleft construction is present (i.e. 'Whoever it may be that …'). That is to say that the presence or absence of *-ak* distinguishes between a bi-clausal cleft and a monoclausal A′ construction, both of which have been proposed in previous works on YM and Mayan languages more generally. When the relative clause is not present, only the cleft strategy is available and so the suffix is obligatory. When the overt clause is present, either strategy is possible. The English data which would be analogous under this story are seen in (33):

(33)   a. Whatever it is that you saw, we should be careful.

     b. Whatever you saw, we should be careful.

     c. Whatever it is, we should be careful.

     d. #Whatever, we should careful.

While this analogy remains a mere speculation at this point, the data from examples without a relative clause does suggest that the presence or absence of *-ak* may reflect a deep difference (whether or not the *wh*-word is itself a main predicate) rather than a superficial variation.

Given the ubiquity of the topic construction in general in YM, one final question which arises is whether (or to what extent) simple constituent unconditionals are truly their own construction, rather than simply being free choice items which happen to be in topic position. For example, ordinary free relatives without the free choice marker *je'en* can occur in topic position, as in (34).

(34)   **Máax k-u   yookol-e'** k-u   beet-a'al   u   sutik u   p'aax (wa ba'ax keet u
     who   IMP-A3 steal-TOP IMP-A3 make-PASS A3 return A3 debt (or what equal A3
     tojol)
     value)
     'One who steals is made to return what was stolen (or something of equal value).'
     (Lit. 'As for who steals, he is made to return what was stolen.')
     'A los rateros se les obligaba devolver lo robado (o algo del mismo valor).'   Jalal #2[18]

There is one clear difference between such cases and the sentences we have discussed in this section: the topic must correspond to an argument, usually the subject, within the main clause (i.e. the material following *-e'*). In contrast, when the free choice and subjunctive is present (i.e. in simple constituent unconditionals), the individual in the topic need not correspond to an argument in the main clause. For example, in (27), repeated here as (35), the predication in the main clause, *yan u ki'imaktal in wóol* 'it will be fun (for me)' does not have any argument corresponding to the party-goer introduced in the topic free relative.[19]

(35)   Je'en máax(-ak) káa taal-ak   te' óok'ot-o'   yan   u ki'imak-tal   in wóol
     ever who-SUBJ C   come-SUBJ there dance-DISTAL OBLIG A3 happy-become A1 soul
     'Whoever comes to the party, it will be fun.'

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[18]http://www.scribd.com/doc/27992110/Revista-Cultural-BilingUe-aNo-2-6

[19]The other examples here are a bit less clear since some of them might be taken to have implicit arguments in the main clause corresponding to the topic and there is some evidence that topics may in general correspond to implicit arguments in the main clause.

While unconditionals do not appear to introduce an individual topic, it nonetheless seems reasonable to assume that they introduce a topic of a different sort, such as a modal topic (cf. Haiman (1978), Bittner (2001) on ordinary *if*-conditionals). Therefore while there is good reason to think that the simple constituent unconditional meanings can be built compositionally from their obvious parts, they can nonetheless be distinguished empirically from other individual topics (including plain free relatives) by their potential for a main clause with no individual argument corresponding to the topic.

To sum up, simple constituent unconditionals in YM have the following components (illustrated with (35)):

(36)   **Components of YM simple constituent unconditionals:**
      A. Free choice marker (*je'en/je'el/je'*)
      B. *wh-* word (*máax*) with optional subjunctive suffix (*-ak*)
      C. Optional subjunctive free relative (*káa* …)
      D. Topic morpheme (*-e'*)

3.2   Clausal constituent unconditionals

In addition to the three subtypes of unconditionals identified for English by Rawlins (2008) – headed, constituent, and alternative – YM has a fourth kind, which we will dub *clausal constituent unconditionals*. As the name suggests, such unconditionals have much in common with the (simple) constituent unconditionals in the last section. However, rather than a free relative as antecedent, clausal constituent unconditionals have an entire clause *containing* a free relative as an argument, as seen in (37-38).

(37)   T'aan-ak   je'e máax-ak-e'   je'el   u   convencertik Amanda-e'
      speak-SUBJ ever who-SUBJ-TOP ASSUR A3 convince   Amanda-TOP
      'Whoever may talk, they will convince Amanda.'

(38)   Xook   je'en makalmak analte'-e'   ma'atan a   kaxtik le   ba'ax k-a
      read.SUBJ any   which   book-TOP not   A2 search DEF what IMP-A2
      kaxtik-o'
      search-DISTAL
      'Whatever book you read, you won't find the information you're searching for.'

The antecedent in these examples consists of a subjunctive-marked main predicate (e.g. *t'aanak* in (37)) with a free-choice/subjunctive marked free relative in postverbal argument position. We find similar examples in other languages with subjunctive/optative moods in (39). These similarities are obscured somewhat in the case of Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese by the preference for the more heavily grammaticized forms which omit both the complementizer *que* and the free choice morpheme *quiera* (e.g. *Venga quien venga* …). Beyond this, as analyzed in depth by Quer and Vicente (2009), Spanish has an inflectional identity requirement on the two verbs, as seen in (b). However, they further point out that this property does not extend to Brazilian Portuguese, at least for some speakers, (c). In YM, however, such a more grammaticized form does not exist (even though the consultants in this study are quite fluent in Spanish), so no such complications are present.

(39)   a. **Early Modern English**
       Come what may, time and the hour runs through the roughest day.   Macbeth

       b. **Spanish**
       Venga   quien(-quiera que)   venga   a Berlín, estaré   contento.
       come.SUBJ who-ever   C.SUBJ come.SUBJ to Berlin will.be.1sg happy
       'Whoever comes to Berlin, I will be happy.'   Quer and Vicente (2009)

       c. **Brazilian Portuguese**
       Seja   quem for,   eu vou embora
       be.SUBJ.PRES who be.SUBJ.FUT I   go   away
       'Whoever it may be, I will leave.'   Quer and Vicente (2009)

       d. **Turkish**
       Nereye gider-se-m   gid-eyim,   bin-i   bırak-ma-yacağ-ın
       where   go-COND-1SG go-OPT-1SG I-ACC leave-NEG-FUT-2SG
       'Wherever I go, you won't leave me.'   Haspelmath and König (1998)

Summing up, clausal constituent unconditionals like (37) have the following parts:

(40)   **Components of the antecedent in YM:**
       A. Subjunctive Predicate (*T'aanak*)
       B. Free choice morpheme (*je'en*)
       C. *wh-* word (*máax*) with optional subjunctive suffix (*-ak*)
       D. Optional subjunctive relative
       E. Topic morpheme (*-e'*)

As noted above, there is no way to analyze clausal constituent unconditionals like these as being interrogatives of any sort. While unconditionals of this sort have much in common with the simple constituent unconditionals above semantically, they clearly have a quite different syntactic structure. It is important to note that all of languages which are known to have clausal constituent unconditionals are ones which have a subjunctive/optative mood. Beyond this, however, there exist significant differences in the kinds of more grammaticized constructions which are possible. For example, YM speakers regard attempts at word-for-word translations of the Spanish 'verb-doubling' unconditionals, as in (41) as being robustly ungrammatical despite their familiarity with the Spanish construction.

(41)   *T'aan-ak máax t'aan-ak-e'   je'el u   convencertik Amanda-e'
       speak-SUBJ who   speak-SUBJ-TOP surely A3 convince   Amanda-TOP
       Intended 'Whoever may speak, they will convince Amanda.'
       (cf. Spanish 'Hable quien hable, van a convencer a Amanda.'

4   Alternative unconditionals

In the preceding two sections, we have argued that while headed unconditionals pattern together with their English counterparts in their interrogative form, constituent unconditionals do not, instead making use of free relatives and subjunctive mood. In this section, we will see that alternative unconditionals pattern with the latter in this regard, and again make crucial use of

subjunctive mood in so doing. An example of an English alternative unconditional and its plainly interrogative form is seen in (42).

(42) a. Whether Maribel walks or runs, she will arrive on time.

     b. **Alternative unconditional components in English:**
        A. Embedded alternative question (*whether* + disjunction + final falling intonation)
        B. Conditional adjunct (comma intonation?)

In Yucatec Maya, on the other hand, alternative unconditional antecedents are not interrogative, but instead consist of a topic marked clause containing a disjunction, with main predicates appearing in the subjunctive mood. We see an example of this in (43):

(43) a. Taal-ak   Juan wáa Daniel-e'   yan in ki'imakóoltaj.
        come-SUBJ Juan or   Daniel-TOP FUT A1 happy.soul
        'Whether Juan comes or Daniel does, I will be happy.'

     b. **Components of alternative unconditionals in YM:**
        1 Subjunctive mood (*-ak*)
        2 Disjunction (*wáa*)
        3 Topic morpheme (*-e'*)

The absence of either subjunctive or disjunction results in a sentence which is ill-formed or at least is no longer an unconditional. Without a disjunctive antecedent, as in (44), the sentence is simply ungrammatical, with speakers suggesting that it sounds like a child's attempt to form a counterfactual *if*-conditional. With an indicative-marked disjunction, the sentence is somewhat awkward, but plainly is no longer unconditional in meaning, as in (45).

(44) **No disjunction:**
     *Taal-ak   Juan-e'   yan u ki'imak in wóol.
     come-SUBJ Juan-TOP FUT A3 happy   A1 soul
     'Whether John comes, I'll be happy.'

(45) **No subjunctive:**
     ?K-u   k'uchul Juan wáa Daniel-e'   ki'imak in wóol
     IMP-A3 arrive   Juan or   Daniel-TOP happy   A1 soul
     'With it being the case that either Juan or Daniel arrived, I will be happy.'

In the grammatical example above in (a), the disjunction was of arguments with the single main verb, *taalak*, appearing in the subjunctive mood. While such cases are possible, it is also possible to have the subjunctive predicates within (or as) the disjuncts themselves. Indeed, a wide variety of different sorts of disjunctions are possible, so long as all main predicates are in the subjunctive in each disjunct.

(46) **Verb Phrase Disjunction**
     Xíimbal-nak wa áalkab-nak Maribel-e'   k-u   k'uchul t-u   yoora'-il
     walk-SUBJ   or run-SUBJ   Maribel-TOP IMP-A3 arrive   PREP-A3 time-REL
     'Whether Maribel runs or walks, she will arrive on time.'

(47) **Clausal Disjunction (same verb)**
Taal-ak   Juan wa taal-ak   Daniel-e' yan u ki'imak-tal   in wóol.
come-SUBJ Jorge or come-SUBJ Daniel-TOP FUT A3 happy-become A1 soul
'Whether John comes or Daniel does, I will be happy.'

(48) **Clausal Disjunction**
K'aax-ak ja'   wa p'il-ik   k'iin-e' layli' ki'imak in wóol
fall-SUBJ water or shine-SUBJ sun-TOP still   happy   A1 soul
'Whether it rains or the sun shines, I will be happy.'

(49) **Clausal Disjunction (opposite polarity)**
Taal-ak   Jorge wa ma (taalak)-e'   yan u ki'imak-tal   in wóol.
come-SUBJ Jorge or NEG come-SUBJ-TOP FUT A3 happy-become A1 soul
'Whether Jorge comes or not, I will be happy.'

Two observations arise from these examples. First, we see that there is a (unsurprising) tendency to eliminate redundant material through ellipsis where possible. We see this possibility realized in the polarity ellipsis exhibited by (49). Second, we see in (48) the aspect/modal marker *layli'* 'still, even then' in the consequent. This AM morpheme is quite frequent in unconditional consequents (for all types of unconditionals), especially in cases where world knowledge or context makes salient a ranking between the alternatives in the antecedent. While we have suggested at the outset that unconditionals do not semantically encode *concession*, cases with *layli'* in the consequent (like their English counterparts with *still*) are quite possibly exceptions to this claim.[20]

Although alternative unconditionals in YM look quite distinct from those in English, we again see that they have fairly close counterparts in other languages with subjunctive and similar mood marking. As in the case of constituent unconditionals, we see that older forms of English with more robust subjunctive mood did allow for examples more closely parallel in form, again highlighting the crucial role that subjunctive mood can play in unconditional systems.

(50)   a. **Modern English (fixed phrases only)**
I'm gonna love you like nobody's loved you, come rain or come shine.

Johnny Mercer "Come rain or come shine" (1946)

   b. **Spanish**
Llueva o brille el sol, saldremos.   Haspelmath and König (1998)

   c. **Finnish**
Sata-koon tai paista-koon, lähde-mme ulos
rain-IMP or shine-IMP   go-1PL   outside
'Whether it rains or shines, we'll go outside.'   Haspelmath and König (1998)

   d. **Armenian**
Anjrev lini   t'e arev menk' durs   k-gna-nk'
rain   is.FUT.SUBJ.3SG or sun we   outside COND-go-FUT.1PL
'Whether it rains or shines, we'll go outside.'   Haspelmath and König (1998)

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[20]It should be noted that while unconditionals with YM *layli'* and English *still* appear concessive, it is not entirely clear how their composition ought to work. For example, while we have glossed *layli'* as 'even then', neither the pro-form *then* nor its closest YM counterpart, the clitic *túun* are possible in unconditional consequents.

5   Semantic properties of unconditionals

Thus far, we have presented both naturally-occurring and elicited examples of unconditionals of various sorts. While the apparent translation equivalence of such sentences suggests that their semantics is similar to that of their English counterparts, it is merely suggestive. This is especially so since, as Matthewson (2004) discusses in some depth, consultants doing translation tasks will often focus on the truth-conditional aspects of meaning to the exclusion of other 'pragmatic' implications. For unconditionals, such inferences are of particular importance since they are what distinguish true unconditionals from truth-conditionally equivalent conjunctions of ordinary conditionals, i.e. pairs like (51).

(51)   a.   Whether or not it rains, I'll have fun.

     b.   If it rains, I'll have fun (and) if it doesn't rain, I'll have fun.

In this section, we briefly review the semantic/pragmatic properties identified by Rawlins (2008) for English unconditionals and show that they also hold of alternative unconditionals in YM. While we leave a similarly detailed investigation of the other varieties of unconditionals to future work, we hope to show that the relationship between the sentences we have identified as unconditionals in YM is not merely one of *functional* (near-)equivalence, but one of *semantic* equivalence (again, at least in the case of alternative unconditionals).

5.1   Paraphrase with a conjunction of conditionals

Since at least König (1986), the literature has recognized a close parallelism between unconditionals and ordinary conditionals (i.e. those with *if* in English). The clearest indication of this is that unconditionals receive close paraphrases using (sequences of) ordinary conditionals:

(52)   a.   **Alternative unconditional:**
     K'uch-uk   Juanita wa ma'-e'   Antonio-e'   ma' u k'uchul
     arrive-SUBJ Juanita or NEG-TOP Antonio-TOP NEG A3 arrive
     'Whether or not Juanita comes, Antonio won't come.'

     b.   **Conditional paraphrase:**
     Wa káa k'uch-uk   Juanita-e'   Antonio-e'   ma' u k'uchul, wa ma'-e'   mix
     if   C   arrive-SUBJ Juanita-TOP Antonio-TOP NEG A3 arrive,   si NEG-TOP neither
     túun   k'uchul
     PROG.A3 arrive
     'If Juanita came, Antonio wouldn't. If not, he wouldn't come then (either).

More than just a sequence or set of conditionals, however, unconditionals are truth-conditionally equivalent to a *conjunction* of conditionals. For English, this is easy to see by adding in a conjunction between the two conditionals above. For YM, this property is less immediately apparent because conjunction is more limited. In particular, while the conjunctive coordinator, *yéetel*,[21] can coordinate simple clauses, as in (53), most speakers are hesitant to

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[21]Historically, *yéetel* arises consists of the noun *éet* 'fellow, co-' plus the relation noun suffix *-Vl* and the set A (here, genitive) marker. Given its ability to coordinate constituents of various categories, however, I assume it synchronically is a coordinator in these cases.

except coordinations where the right conjunct includes a topic of any sort (including a conditional antecedent).

(53) Yan   u k'áaxal ja'   <u>yéetel</u> yan   in taasik u nook'-il   in jechik ja'
      OBLIG A3 fall   water <u>and</u>   OBLIG A1 bring A3 clothes-REL A1 avoid water
      'It's going to rain and I will bring my rain coat.'

Despite this, we can still see that the same is true in YM in several different ways. First, the paratactic construction above in (b) is interpreted in essentially the same way as a conjunction and serves as a natural paraphrase, especially if there are just two disjuncts, as in this case. Second, the situations in which speakers judge unconditionals as true are only those in which each of the alternatives in the antecedent is considered (at least hypothetically) as a 'live option' – what we will call the DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENT, building on Rawlins (2008). For example, speakers judge (54) as odd (how could water leak in if it wasn't raining?) or else construct scenarios where other sources of water besides rain are salient (e.g. someone dumping water from the roof of an adjacent building). That is, even the possibility that it is not raining must be considered for the sentence to be true, which is hard to imagine in this case.

(54) ?K'áax-ak-∅ ja'   wa ma'-e'   yan u yokol ja'   t-in   najil
      fall-SUBJ-B3 water or NEG-TOP FUT A3 enter water PREP-A1 house
      'Whether it rains or not, there will be leaks in my roof. (lit. water will enter my roof)'

One final piece of evidence along the same lines, as noted by Rawlins (2008) for English *then* is that the anaphoric second position clitic *túun* 'then, as that is happening' is ungrammatical in the consequent, as in (55). Similar to English *then* (though perhaps less frequently), this clitic is possible in the consequents of ordinary *if*-conditionals.

(55) *Ayik'al-en wa ma'-e'   ki'imak túun   in wóol
       rich-B1   or NEG-TOP then   happy A1 soul
      Lit. *'Whether I am rich or not, then I will be happy.'

As noted above, the aspectual marker *layli'* 'still' is acceptable in the consequent and has a meaning somewhat similar to *túun* 'then' in conditionals. While we leave a full analysis to future work, it is easy to imagine a scalar semantics for *layli'* 'still' (e.g. 'even in the least likely/desirable scenario') rather than it being anaphoric. The exact importance of the ungrammaticality of *túun* 'then' depends on one's semantics for it, but the fact that it cannot straightforwardly refer back to either individual alternative as further support for the distribution requirement.

5.2 Exhaustivity

Thus far, we have seen properties which are shared by sequences or conjunctions of conditionals. We turn now to two properties which are not (always) present in sequences of conditionals: EXHAUSTIVITY and SPEAKER INDIFFERENCE.

Exhaustivity here refers to the observation that the alternatives in the antecedent of an unconditional always comprise the entire space of possibilities. In cases like (56), this exhaustivity is due to the logical nature of negation itself. However, we also find this same inference in examples like (57) in which there is no such logical necessity. Speakers reject the continuation in (57), just as they do for (56), since the condition that all alternatives are stated is not met.

(56)   K'uch-uk   Juanita wa ma'-e'   Antonio-e'   ma' u k'uchul. #Yan u k'uchul.
      arrive-SUBJ Juanita or NEG-TOP Antonio-TOP NEG A3 arrive   FUT A3 arrive
      '#Whether or not Juanita came, Antonio won't. Antonio will come.'

(57)   Taak   Juan wa taak   Daniel-e'   layli' ki'imak in wóol-e'. #Ten-e' ma
      come.SUBJ Juan or come.SUBJ Daniel-TOP still   happy   A1 soul-TOP I-TOP   NEG
      ki'imak in   wóol-i'
      happy   A1 soul-NEG
      '#Whether Juan comes or Daniel does, I will be happy. I will not be happy.

Therefore, we conclude, following extensive discussion in Rawlins (2008) for English, that unconditionals have a presupposition of exhaustivity along the following lines:

(58)   Whether Juan comes or Daniel does, I will be happy.
      Presupposition: $\exists x.[\text{come}(x) \wedge x =\text{Juan or } x =\text{Daniel}]$

One important goal for a compositional analysis of unconditionals, then, is to identify where this presupposition comes from. For English, Rawlins argues that exhaustiveness is one place where conjoined conditional paraphrases like (59) fall short, and therefore that the conditional structure itself cannot be responsible.[22] Instead, Rawlins (2008) claims that exhaustivity in alternative unconditionals arises from the semantics of alternative questions themselves and, in particular, that their characteristic final falling intonation is responsible for this.

(59)   a. Whether Maribel comes or Fred does, the party will be fun.
      b. If Maribel comes, the party will be fun and if Fred does, it will be fun, . . . it will also be fun if Jacob comes.

For Yucatec Maya, however, we have argued above that alternative unconditionals are not based on alternative questions (nor any other sort of interrogative), with subjunctive mood instead playing the key role. Therefore, the exhaustivity presupposition must have a different source here than in English. While space does not permit an extended discussion here, in AnderBois (in prep), I develop an account deriving this presupposition from the discourse properties of disjunction combined with a semantics where subjunctive mood in YM contributes background/focal alternatives, following Villalta (2008)'s approach to subjunctive in Spanish, which has alternative unconditionals which are quite similar in form, as seen in (b).

5.3   Personal indifference

The final inference which typifies unconditionals both in English and YM is what we will dub PERSONAL INDIFFERENCE. Rawlins (2008) does not discuss this implication directly, though he

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[22]However, it should be noted that certain intonational patterns appear to produce much closer paraphrases (and correspondingly reduce the acceptability of continuations akin to (57)). For example, the following pair of examples intuitively both contribute exhaustivity.

 (i)   Whether Alfonso dances with Joanna or Fruela, he will make a fool of himself.

 (ii) $\approx$ If Alfonso dances with JOANNA$_F$, he will make a fool of himself and if he dances with FRUELA$_F$, he will too.

does use the term 'indifference implication' to refer to the logical independence of the antecedent and consequent. This latter property (essentially that the consequent is entailed by the sentence) emerges from the above observations, notably, the distribution requirement. Here, we use the term 'personal indifference' to refer to a fairly different property, the inference that the speaker[23] of an unconditional *personally* finds the antecedent alternatives to be equally likely and/or desirable. For example, we such an implication clearly in (60), as well as in the English gloss.

(60) Ayik'al-en wa ma'-e'   ki'imak in wóol.
     rich-B1   or NEG-TOP happy   A1 soul
     'Whether I'm rich or not, I'll be happy.'
     Implicature: I don't care whether I am rich or not.

While this inference arises frequently, it can also be cancelled or otherwise excluded in particular discourse contexts, as in (61). Therefore, we conclude that speaker indifference in alternative unconditionals in YM and English is an implicature only. It should be noted further that the extent to which this inference distinguishes between unconditionals and conjunctions of conditionals is not entirely clear. While the implication may arise in conjoined conditionals, there is, I think, a clear intuition that this inference is stronger and/or more regular in unconditionals.

(61) Tak   in ayik'al-tal, chen ba'ale' ayik'al-en wa ma'-e'   ki'imak in wóol.
     DESID A1 rich-become just but   rich-B1   or NEG-TOP happy   A1 soul
     'I want to be rich, but whether or not I'm rich, I'll be happy.'   **No implicature**

Looking beyond alternative unconditionals, it seems that at least in expressive headed unconditionals, personal indifference appears to be an entailment, rather than an implicature:

(62) Mix   in k'áaj ti' wa Maribel k-u   beetik le chay-o'   yan u yantal
     not.even A1 wish PREP if Maribel IMP-A3 make DEF chaya-DISTAL OBLIG A3 exist
     chay.
     chaya
     'I don't care whether Maribel made the chaya, there will be chaya.'

Despite their quite different forms, then, alternative unconditionals in YM and English share major semantic properties: I. CONDITIONAL PARAPHRASABILITY, II. DISTRIBUTION REQUIREMENT, III. EXHAUSTIVITY presupposition, and IV. PERSONAL INDIFFERENCE implicature.

6 Conclusions

In their typological survey of unconditionals and related constructions in the languages of Europe, Haspelmath and König (1998) suggest that nearly all languages have specific grammatical means of conveying unconditional meanings. Despite this, these constructions have not been well studied cross-linguistically outside of the languages of Europe. By presenting a detailed case study of these constructions in Yucatec Maya, we hope that the present paper makes a small contribution towards this goal and makes clear some reasons why such a task may be of more general interest.

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[23]In unconditionals embedded under propositional attitude reports, the inference is somewhat less clear and/or attributed to the attitude holder rather than the speaker. We set aside such complications here and focus on the matrix case.

First, we have seen that – in contrast to their counterparts in English – Yucatec Maya headed unconditionals have grammaticized heads with more variable lexical semantics. Second, while alternative conditionals in the two languages have the same core semantic/pragmatic properties, they are quite different in form. Such observations are of interest both because they can contribute to our understanding of the semantics of unconditionals themselves and because they offer insights into the semantics of the component parts themselves. For example, while the distribution of the so-called 'subjunctive' in YM differs significantly from more well-studied European languages like Spanish, its use in unconditionals provides important evidence that its semantic contribution is indeed similar. Finally, just as Haiman (1978)'s study of conditionals and topic constructions has inspired formal analyses for ordinary *if*-conditionals (e.g. Bittner (2001)), the crucial role played by topics in all unconditionals in YM suggests that the same is true here.

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