

PRAGMATIC MOOD VARIATION IN BILINGUAL AND MONOLINGUAL YUCATEC SPANISH

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ABSTRACT. Previous research has noted the unique qualities of Yucatec Spanish with regard to phonetics (Michnowicz 2009, 2011; Solomon 1996, 1999) and syntax (Hoot 2014, Michnowicz 2012). The current study focuses on pragmatically-licensed mood selection in Yucatec Spanish, adding to the limited body of work on mood in contact varieties (most notably U.S. Spanish). The current study investigates three cases of pragmatic mood alternation: Reportative Distance, Individualized Reference, and Reactional Assertions. There is evidence of all pragmatic mood alternation in Yucatec Spanish. The results highlight two important differences between bilingual and monolingual mood choice. First, the difference in monolingual and bilingual production of the subjunctive was statistically significant ($p=0.0348$). Bilingual speakers produced higher rates of subjunctive in contexts in mood alternation is anticipated. Second, there was a statistically significant difference ($p=0.0054$) between bilingual and monolingual acceptance of items for which the indicative was anticipated, with bilingual speakers accepting higher rates of subjunctive than monolingual speakers. Unlike other contact varieties that show a decrease in the use of the subjunctive, there is an extension of the subjunctive in Yucatec Spanish, especially in bilingual mood selection.

Keywords. Yucatec; mood selection; bilingualism; pragmatics

RESUMEN. La bibliografía anterior ha observado las cualidades únicas del español yucateco con respecto a su fonética (Michnowicz 2009, 2011; Solomon 1996, 1999) and syntax (Hoot 2014, Michnowicz 2012). El presente estudio se centra en la selección de modo legitimada pragmáticamente en esta variedad, contribuyendo a los escasos estudios existentes sobre modo en variedades de contacto (particularmente, en español estadounidense). Este estudio investiga tres casos de alternancia pragmática del modo: distancia reportativa, referencia individualizada y aseeraciones reactivas. Hay pruebas de todas estas alternancias pragmáticas de modo en español yucateco. Los resultados subrayan dos diferencias importantes entre la elección de modo de bilingües y monolingües. En primer lugar, la diferencia en producción del subjuntivo entre bilingües y monolingües es significativa estadísticamente ($p=0.0348$). Los hablantes bilingües produjeron más subjuntivos en contextos donde la alternancia de modo es esperable. En segundo lugar, se encontró una diferencia estadísticamente significativa ($p=0.0054$) en la aceptabilidad de bilingües y monolingües en el sentido de que los hablantes bilingües que aceptan más casos de subjuntivo que los hablantes monolingües cuando se espera el uso del indicativo. En contraste con las variedades de contacto que muestran un descenso del uso del subjuntivo, en el español yucateco hay una extensión del subjuntivo, particularmente en la selección modal bilingüe.

Palabras clave. español yucateco; selección modal; bilingüismo; pragmática

1. Introduction

The Spanish mood system is comprised of three moods: the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. Mood selection in Spanish can be motivated in several ways, including, for example, lexically triggered subjunctive (i.e. volitional verbs such

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as *querer* ‘to want’), syntactic/semantic licensing by negation (i.e. epistemic verbs such as *creer* ‘to believe’), or pragmatic motivation (i.e. emotive predicates such as *gustar* ‘to be pleasing’). The examples of subjunctive/indicative presented below in (1)- (3) below capture mood selection patterns as reported in pan-hispanic accounts of mood as reported in a plethora of investigations on mood selection in Spanish, including Bull (1960), Gili Gaya (1969), Rivero (1971), Terrell and Hooper (1974), Garcia and Terrell (1977), Bell (1980), Blake (1985), Lunn (1989, 1995), Studerus (1995), and Bosque and Demonte (1999)¹:

- (1) *Quiero que [la entregues mañana].*
want.1SG that it turn_in.SUBJ.2SG tomorrow
‘I want that [you turn it in tomorrow]’.
- (2) *No creo que [la puedas terminar mañana].*
NEG believe.1SG that it can.SUBJ.2SG finish.INF tomorrow
‘I do not doubt that [you can finish it tomorrow]’.
- (3) *Me gusta que [la entregues mañana].*
DAT be pleasing.3SG that it turn_in.SUBJ.2SG tomorrow
‘I want that [you turn it in tomorrow]’.

The volitional predicate in (1) (*quiero*), negated epistemic predicate in (2) (*no creo*), and emotive predicate in (3) (*me gusta*), embed a proposition with complementizer *que*. In such cases in Spanish, the subjunctive is triggered.

Key distinctions in Spanish include the assertion/non-assertion divide (Terrell & Hooper 1974) and pragmatic presupposition (Lunn 1989). More recently, however, linguists such as Haverkate (2002) and Mejías-Bikandi (1998, 2016) have examined what they identify as pragmatically-motivated mood selection in some varieties of Spanish. For example, Mejías-Bikandi (1998) argues that mood alternation reflects pragmatic contrast, particularly with regard to the speaker’s commitment to a proposition. There are also several cases where mood selection is determined by certain discourse features and pragmatic contexts. The current study focuses on these areas. According to the *Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE 2009) and previous literature (e.g. Achard 2000, Guitart 1995, Lunn 1989, Mejías- Bikandi 1998, Terrell and Hooper 1974, Terrell 1995), subtle contextual and pragmatic differences can alter mood selection. Much of the previous work focuses on a pan-Hispanic account of mood selection, but several more recent studies (i.e. Gonzalez Salinas 2003, Garcia 2011, Gallego & Alonso Marks 2014, Hoff *forthcoming*) discuss on varietal differences of Spanish mood selection.

The current study focuses on Yucatec Spanish, which has been identified as “an indigenous contact variety that is rapidly undergoing standardization, as speakers reject regional linguistic forms in favor of pan-Hispanic norms” (Michnowicz 2011:1). Language contact between Yucatec Maya and Spanish has a long history on the Yucatán Peninsula in Mexico. Linguists have noted differences between monolingual and bilingual speakers in Yucatec Spanish production with regard to phonetics (Michnowicz 2009, 2011; Solomon 1996, 1999) and syntax (Hoot 2014, Michnowicz 2015). Previous research (i.e. Michnowicz 2011, 2012, 2015) suggests that bilingual speakers recognize primary differentiations in language use, but complex differences sometimes are not identified. For example, Michnowicz (2011) notes that bilingual

¹ It would be an understatement to say there are a lot of studies on mood selection in Spanish. This list is not complete but highlights some of the traditional work. It is important, too, to note that these accounts present a generalized account rather than a variety-specific account of Spanish.

speakers have acquired phonemes /b/, /d/, /g/, but they often are unsure of when their approximate counterparts /β/, /ð/, /ɣ/. Furthermore, Michnowicz (2015) found a simplification in subject pronoun use in bilingual speakers as well as a decreased sensitivity to coreference, a factor that determines pronoun use in Spanish. Overall, these findings suggest that monolingual Yucatec Spanish speakers possess subtle phonetic and syntactic distinctions in their Spanish that bilingual speakers lack.

The primary research site, Valladolid, Yucatán, was selected as the research site for several reasons. The state of Yucatán is found in the northern center of the peninsula. Its capital, Mérida, is located near the gulf of Mexico and has a population of 830,732 (according to the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía*). Of the 1,995,577 residents of Yucatán, 537,516 speak Yucatec Maya. With a population of 74,217 residents with 37,342 Yucatec Maya speakers, this town has a high rate of bilingualism, and the Yucatec language and culture are interwoven throughout the town. It is not uncommon to see a Yucatec-dominant speaker and a monolingual Spanish struggling to communicate in the town market. Valladolid is the home of several universities, and the two public universities in town, the *Universidad de Oriente* ‘University of the Orient’ and *Instituto Técnico Superior de Valladolid* both provide substantial financial support for students to pursue higher education for many first-generation university students. Due to this financial support, there is a large number of university age students from the surrounding communities to take advantage of the educational opportunities. Finally, the *Universidad de Oriente* ‘University of the Orient’ or UNO for short, offers a Maya Culture and Linguistics program of study. The program requires that students speak both Maya and Spanish prior to enrollment, and students study themes that vary from pedagogy to anthropology to linguistics.

The objective of the current study is to determine if and how pragmatic mood choice is determined in Yucatec Spanish. The study aims to answer the following research questions:

- RQ1: To what extent is pragmatic mood variation utilized in Yucatec Spanish as described in the *RAE*² with regard to reportative distance, individualized reference, and reactional assertions?
- RQ2: How does participants’ production differ from evaluation of mood selection in the previously mentioned contexts?
- RQ3: How do monolingual Spanish speakers and bilingual Spanish/YM speakers from the same region differ in their mood selection in regard to those same pragmatic categories?

Based on the previous findings in Yucatec Spanish and other contact dialects, I propose the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Pragmatically-motivated mood alternation is available in Yucatec Spanish in utterances containing reportative distance, individualized reference, and reactional assertions. That is, Yucatec Spanish speakers will be sensitive to changes in context that license mood differently in all cases.

Hypothesis 2: Based on previous account of production versus perception, there will be differences in production and evaluation in that evaluation will reflect more prescriptive mood selection than the production.

² The *RAE* is used as a reference that has documented pragmatic alternation in some varieties of Spanish. This is not intended as a suggestion that mood alternation documented in this resource is “more correct” than in other varieties of Spanish.

Hypothesis 3: Based on previous accounts of Yucatec Spanish and mood in contact varieties, there will be a difference between monolingual and bilingual mood selection. Specifically, monolingual speakers will demonstrate mood alternation more than the bilingual speakers.

This paper is organized as follows: Section two provides an overview of the four pragmatic categories, section three describes the current study's methodology, and section four presents the results of the study, followed by conclusions in section six.

2. Previous Literature

Significant work has been done discussing mood in Spanish, including but certainly not limited to Blake (1985), Bosque and Demonte (1999), Garcia and Terrell (1977), Gili and Gaya (1969), Haverkate (2002), Lunn (1989, 1995), Quer (1998, 2002), and Terrell and Hooper (1974). The current study focuses on mood alternation, a term which I adopt to describe cases in which either subjunctive or indicative moods can be licensed based on pragmatically-motivated triggers. In each of these cases of alternation, there is a feature that licenses mood. This section reviews pragmatically motivated mood selection, focusing on three cases of pragmatic alternation between subjunctive and indicative: Reportative Distance, Individualized Reference, and Reactional Assertions. Additionally, this section ends with a brief discussion of language contact and mood selection.

2.2 Reportative Distance

Reportative distance is another mechanism used by speakers to distance themselves from an utterance. According to Terrell and Hooper (1974), reportative utterances can report or assert truth of an utterance. For example (Terrell & Hooper 1974:491):

- (4) *Vi que Susana ya se iba (IND).*
'I saw that Susana was leaving.'

In this sentence, the use of a perception verb *ver* 'to see' asserts the truth value of the subordinate clause. This utterance also presupposes that Susana already left. Therefore, the only acceptable mood is the indicative. However, this presupposition does not hold when the matrix verb is negated, thus creating reprobative distance or a sense of reservation with respect to the assertion on the part of the speaker.

Under negation, this utterance allows for two possible readings determined by the scope of the negation. If the speaker chooses to assert the proposition, the acceptable mood is the indicative, which can be observed in the following example from Terrell and Hooper (1974):

- (5) *No vi que Susana ya se iba (IND) pero me lo dijeron después.* (p. 491)
'I didn't see that Susana was leaving, but they told me so after.'

In this example, the negation only takes scope over the matrix clause, allowing the presupposition that Susana already left to stand. Another possibility is that the entire utterance is under the scope of the negation; if this is the case, the presupposition cannot hold under negation. In other words, the speaker can communicate a higher degree of doubt (Terrell 1995: 349):

- (6) *No vi que hiciera (SUBJ) tanto trabajo.*

‘I didn’t see that they did so much work.’

In (6), the use of the subjunctive indicates that the speaker is unsure of whether or not the work was completed, placing distance between the speaker and proposition. The speaker’s lack of commitment to or maintenance of the truth of the proposition is made evident by the mood selection in the subordinate VP.

Vesterinen (2012) states that the indicative mood is used to indicate that the proposition is in accordance with a speaker’s conception of reality. In (5), the indicative demonstrates that the speaker believes his proposition while Vesterinen (2012: 52) paraphrases the utterance in (6) and says “I did not see that she/he did so much work, and I still do not see it/believe it”. In summary, this alternation can only be observed when negated perception verbs co-occur with a speaker’s avoidance of committing to the truth of a proposition. The mood selection therefore reflects the speaker’s current belief or knowledge of the accuracy of the presupposition.

2.3 Individualized Reference

In Spanish, a relative clause can select either the indicative or the subjunctive, but mood selection has pragmatic implications. Guitart (1995: 385) demonstrates this alternation:

(7) *Habla con el que **está** (IND) a cargo.*
‘Talk with the one who is in charge.’

(8) *Habla con el que **esté** (SUBJ) a cargo.*
‘Talk with whomever is in charge.’

This minimal pair demonstrates the mood distinction in the relative clause that modifies the NP. One school of thought is that if the relative pronoun refers to an individualized referent, or a specific individual such as *the person in charge* in (7), the indicative is used. However, without specific referentiality (with an interpretation of *whomever* as in (8)) the subjunctive mood is triggered. Guitart (1995) proposes that the distinction is more complex than the definiteness or indefiniteness of the referent denoted by the NP. For example (Guitart 1995: 392):

(9) *Necesito ponerme en contacto con una mujer que **sabe** (IND) vietnamita. No recuerdo su nombre pero sé que trabaja aquí y necesito que me traduzca algo.*
‘I need to get in contact with a woman that knows Vietnamese. I do not remember her name, but I know that she works here and I need her to translate something for me’

Guitart (1995) suggests that all NPs modified by a relative clause have an [+/-individuated] feature. The NP in (9) has the [+individuated] feature that refers specifically to one individualized referent that is known to exist. Because of the specificity of the relative clause, the indicative mood is used. Contrastively, (10) has a [-individuated] feature (Guitart 1995: 392):

(10) *Necesito ponerme en contacto con una mujer que **sepa** (SUBJ) vietnamita. Cualquier mujer que sepa vietnamita me sirve. Necesito una traductora, mujer, de Vietnam.*

‘I need to get in contact with a woman that knows Vietnamese. Whichever woman that knows Vietnamese will work. I need a translator, a woman, from Vietnam.’

This [-individuated] feature is communicated through the discourse; it is clear that this NP is non-referential and thus triggers the subjunctive mood. Both examples contain a modified NP that contains an indefinite noun; the [individuate] feature is not concerned with definite/indefinite articles; rather it focuses on the (non)existence of the individual referent. Borgonovo, Bruhn de Garavito & Prévost (2015) adopt the terms “non-referential” or “attributive” to explain the features that license subjunctive selection in these relative clauses. When a speaker presupposes the existence of the DP, the indicative is licensed. In summary, the mood of the relative clause is not determined by a trigger in the matrix clause or the assertion of an utterance, but instead is determined by the pragmatic features of the noun modified by the relative clause.

2.4 Reactional Assertions

A reactional assertion is a complex phrase that presents a proposition embedded under an emotive verb that provides the speaker’s reaction to the complement. In Spanish, a proposition that is embedded under an emotive matrix is presupposed to be true:

- (11) *Me alegre de que Marco haya venido >> Marco vino.*
 ‘I am happy that Marco has come. >> Marco came’

In (11), the emotive matrix verb *alegrarse* ‘to be happy’ embeds the proposition which is presupposes the truth of *p*. This presupposition is also constant under negation:

- (12) *No me alegre de que Marco haya venido >> Marco vino.*
 ‘I am not happy that Marco has come. >> Marco came’

In both affirmative and negated utterances, it is understood that the proposition *Marco came* is true. According to Lunn (1989), pragmatically presupposed utterances can appear at times in the subjunctive. However, there is some alternation in clauses embedded under emotive matrices. Lunn uses Sperber and Wilson’s (1986) Relevance Theory to explain mood in subordinate clauses in reactional phrases. She argues that, regardless of whether the statement is true or false, subjunctive-marked VPs share low-information value through which the speaker is able to communicate a belief that the utterance is flawed in truth value or news value.

Achard (2000) provides a slightly different approach, stating that an additional pragmatic effect of using the indicative in reactional assertions implies a distancing of the subject from the content in the subordinate phrase. Consider the following examples from Achard (2000: 167):

- (13) *Estoy contento de que **haya visto** (SUBJ) la película.*
 ‘I am happy that you have seen the movie.’
 (14) *Estoy contento de que **has visto** (IND) la película.*
 ‘I am happy that you have seen the movie.’

When the subordinate clause is presented with the subjunctive mood in (13), the speaker distances themselves from the proposition that the interlocutor has in fact seen the movie. Haverkate (2002) suggests that this type of alternation allows the speaker to withhold commitment to the embedded proposition. In (14), the use of the indicative in the subordinate clause, on the other hand, presents *p* as new information to the common

ground but can be used by the speaker to align themselves with the presupposition of the utterance (Achard 2000). In summary, emotive predicates typically license the subjunctive, but alternation can communicate pragmatic differences in meaning. It is possible that a speaker can mark a proposition with high information value (Lunn 1989) or introduce new information (Achard 2000) with the indicative.

2.5 Monolingual/Bilingual Mood Selection

This study analyzes mood alternation in Yucatec Spanish and compares monolingual and bilingual speakers in a language contact situation. While little work has been done on mood in Yucatec Spanish, a comparison can be made between this variety and other contact varieties. Significant research on mood selection has been conducted in the case of US Spanish: Silva Corvalán (1994) in Los Angeles, Lynch (1999) in Miami, Bookhammer (2013) in New York City, Waltermire (2014, 2017) in New Mexico, among others. Mood selection by speakers of U.S. Spanish suggest that there is simplification of the mood system in this contact variety with notably less subjunctive use than in other varieties of Spanish. Research on heritage speakers' mood choice suggest a similar pattern. Montrul (2005, 2007, 2009) suggests that heritage speakers (Spanish/English bilinguals) are able to discriminate between indicative and subjunctive in areas determined by purely syntactic structures but struggled when the subjunctive was determined by particular semantic or pragmatic contexts. She attributes this to language contact in bilinguals which suggests that language contact may have a greater effect on features that fall within the interface between structure and discourse functions. More recent research such as Giancaspro (2017) and Putnum & Sánchez (2013) suggest difference in production and perception of heritage speakers due to remapping and activation of mood features.

It is important to note that previous accounts of U.S. Spanish and heritage language speakers' mood selection do not offer an ideal comparison for the current study. English and Spanish bilinguals are navigating one modal system that grammatically marks mood (Spanish) and one language that lacks mood in many dialects and registers (English). Contrastively, Spanish and YM both have rich mood systems. Pragmatic variation of the subjunctive is not available to in Yucatec Maya. While it would be most beneficial to look at other cases of mood in varieties of Spanish in contact with indigenous languages, previous research is limited. One case in which mood selection in a contact variety differs from other varieties of Spanish is the use of the indicative under negated doxastic predicates in a Guaraní-Spanish language contact situation in Paraguay:

- (15) Guaraní-Spanish (Granada 1979:275):
- a. *No creo que llegó mi amigo.*
'I do not believe that my friend arrived'.
 - b. *Los profesores no piensan que salva Juan.*
'The professors do not think that Juan will pass'.

While the subjunctive mood would prescriptively be licensed under a negated predicate in (15), the indicative is used in Guaraní-Spanish. Lastly, in purpose clauses such as *para que lo sepas* 'so that you know', there are cases in which an infinitive is used instead of the subjunctive, which would be licensed in many varieties of Spanish. For example,

- (16) Guaraní and Spanish (Granada 1979:275):
- a. *El patrón nos dijo para venir (INF) hoy.*

- ‘The boss told us to come today’.
- b. *Le encargué para traer (INF) los libros.*
 ‘I put her in charge of bringing the books’.

In Spanish, a change of referent between the first and second clauses licenses the subjunctive. However, Guaraní-Spanish contact varieties simplify the finite verb to an infinitive verb. There are several cases in which language contact results in a simplification of the Spanish mood system, or an increase in the use of the indicative in cases in which the subjunctive would typically be licensed. However, the data presented are anecdotal, and there is much to learn about indicative/subjunctive selection in such contact varieties.

2.6 Yucatec Maya and the Subjunctive

As Yucatec Spanish is a contact variety, it is important to examine mood selection patterns in Yucatec Maya as well. In Yucatec Maya, preverbal particles convey aspectual and modal information (Bohnemeyer 2002). These aspectual and modal markers (henceforth AM markers) are required in finite clauses much like temporal, aspectual, or modal morphology is required in Spanish finite clauses and are in a preverbal.

The subjunctive in Yucatec Maya is a verbal suffix *-ej* that communicates temporal, aspectual, and modal information. The subjunctive can mark possible event realization in the future, realization in other worlds (as in counterfactuals), or can have past temporal reference. The subjunctive co-occurs with some AM markers with future temporal reference (such as predictive *bíin*, preventative *bik*, and prospective *mika'aj*), which trigger the subjunctive similar to the mood licensed under Spanish *cuando* ‘when’ with future temporal reference. The subjunctive in Yucatec Maya extends beyond future temporal reference, however, also marking past events including the relative perfective (*sáam* ‘just a bit ago’) and remote perfective (*úuch* ‘a while ago’ in 13f). In general, the subjunctive is used in Yucatec Maya to communicate temporal/aspectual/modal information rather than pragmatic information. With regard to the current study, there is little overlap in terms of subjunctive use between the two languages.

3. Methodology

3.1 The participants

There were a total of 95 participants for the current study, including 32 monolingual speakers and 63 bilingual participants. All individuals were recruited by the researcher through Facebook and by other instructors at the *Universidad de Oriente* (UNO). The majority of these participants are students that range from 18 to 28 years of age and are enrolled in the Mayan Linguistics and Culture program at UNO in Valladolid, Yucatán at the time of data collection. There are also participants that are not students whose age ranges from 19 to 63. All bilingual participants began speaking Maya as their first language and learned Spanish in primary school. Most come from within a 45 kilometer circle around Valladolid, Yucatán, either commuting daily to or they currently live in Valladolid.

3.2 The pilot study

This study began with an initial data collection in which interviews were collected on location in Valladolid in fall 2016. Participants included 11 bilingual and 4 monolingual speakers, all of whom lived in Valladolid at the time. There were two tasks in this interview: a production task and an acceptability judgement task. First, the interviewer asked participants to complete sentences given a specific context. In the second task, the interviewer reviewed the initial responses in the first task and asked about other items that included embedded clauses in the indicative and subjunctive. These interviews were digitally recorded by the researcher.

3.3 Secondary data collection

To expand the pilot study, an online survey using Google Forms was shared that duplicated the items in the initial study. There were again two tasks: sentence completion and acceptability judgment tasks. The task items from the pilot study were not altered between the pilot and secondary studies. Participants completed the first task before beginning the second task, and participants were not able to revisit the answers to the first task after it was completed. While the conversations were helpful in shedding light on semantic interpretations, the use of the online form allowed for the required number of participants.

3.4 The tasks

There were two tasks used in this study: a sentence completion task and an acceptability judgement task. In the first task, participants were given a context and asked to complete a sentence appropriately. The following is a screen capture of a question in this task:

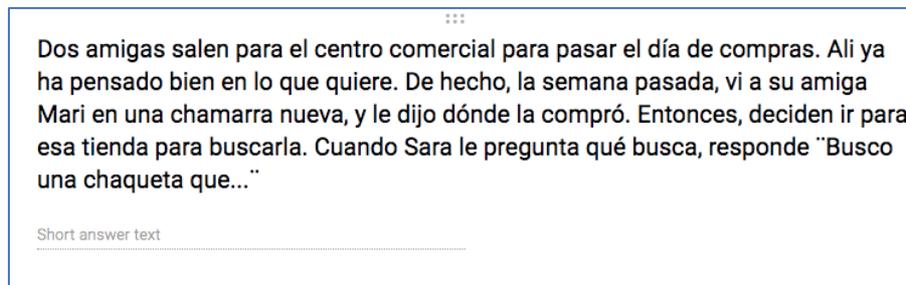


Image 1: Production task

Each item was contextualized with three to four sentences, and the target structure was introduced by a matrix clause and the complementizer *que*. Participants were instructed to complete the sentence according to the context. There were four items for each feature, bringing the total number of items to 12 for this study. There were also 12 distractors included. While all data was recorded, only answers containing the subjunctive or indicative were included in the current study. Responses that included a new phrase (rephrasing of matrix) or no verb were excluded.

Once the first task was complete, participants began the second task, which was a forced-choice acceptability judgement task. For this task, participants were given the same sentence with each mood and asked to indicate which was preferable. There was also an option to say that both were acceptable; in this case, participants indicated if there was a difference in the meaning of the two sentences or not. The following is a screen capture of the survey used:

Una pareja estaba en el parque cerca del semáforo. Estaban hablando, la mujer con una vista del semáforo y su esposo no. El hombre no sabía nada del carro, pero vio una cara de sorpresa en su esposa. Le dijo a la policía que vio el choque, pero no vio nada antes. Dijo...

Me di cuenta que el carro pasara con mucha velocidad.

Me di cuenta que el carro pasó con mucha velocidad.

Las dos me suenan bien y no noto una diferencia entre las dos.

Las dos me suenan bien pero noto una diferencia entre las dos.

Image 2: Judgement task

Similar to the previous task, there were 12 target items and 12 distractors in this survey. All results were collected and analyzed qualitatively.

3.5 Data analysis

In order to analyze mood selection, a response in the indicative was given a 1 and response in the subjunctive was given a 0. A mean score was calculated for each item, separating bilingual and monolingual language groups. Therefore, the bilingual mean score was compared with the monolingual mean score for each target group (e.g. +individuated, - individuated, +reactional, -reactional, +distance, -distance). Given the small data set for the current study, which is due to the narrow variable context (pragmatic alternation), statistical significance for each language group and mood choice will be assessed using Fisher's exact tests of probability, which are more appropriate when using small data sets ($N = < 300$). Following Pederson (1996:4), a Fisher's exact test "computes the significance of an observed table by exhaustively computing the probability of every table that would lead to the marginal totals that were observed in the sampled table. The significance values obtained using Fisher's exact test are reliable regardless of the distributional characteristics of the data sample."

4. Results and Discussion

In order to establish if the pragmatic mood alternation outlined above was present in Yucatec Spanish, a Fisher's exact test indicated that there was a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.00001$) between the features that permitted one mood and those that allowed for alternation. This indicates that this pragmatic mood alternation is present in Yucatec Spanish. A second Fisher's exact test was run comparing the result of the perception and acceptability judgement tasks, but there were no statistically significant differences found. Lastly, a third Fisher's exact test was run comparing subjunctive/indicative preference in bilingual and monolingual participants. When comparing the overall data separated by language group, two statistically significant patterns emerged. First, the difference in monolingual and bilingual production of the subjunctive was statistically significant ($p = 0.0348$). Bilingual speakers produced higher rates of subjunctive in contexts in which both the subjunctive and the indicative were anticipated. Second, there was a statistically significant difference ($p = 0.0054$) between bilingual and monolingual acceptability of items for which the indicative was anticipated, indicating that bilingual speakers accepted the subjunctive at higher rates than monolingual participants when the indicative was the anticipated mood choice. Both of these results suggest that bilinguals produce/ accept higher rates of subjunctive than their monolingual counterparts.

In this section, I present several patterns that emerged from the three pragmatic triggers: reportative distance (4.1) individualized reference (4.2), and reactional assertions (4.3). When production and acceptability were compared, there was no statistically significant difference between mood selection, but several trends highlight possible differences in interpretation. Additionally, of the three triggers, only individualized reference resulted in a statistically significant difference between acceptance of subjunctive/indicative by bilingual and monolingual speakers ($p=0.015$). Nevertheless, there are several interesting patterns that highlight important differences between speakers and interpretation. These patterns are discussed below.

4.1 Reportative Distance

Under a negated reportative matrix clause, a speaker can distance themselves from a proposition in the subordinate clause by selecting the subjunctive. This task used both affirmative and negated reportative matrix clauses (*noté* and *me di cuenta*) to test this alternation. The affirmative reportative matrix clause presupposes the truth of the embedded proposition. However, this presupposition can be cancelled under the negated *no noté* and *no me di cuenta*. The affirmative matrix clauses have a [-distance] feature that does not allow for pragmatic distancing while the negated matrix clauses have a [+distance] feature, which allows mood alternation and therefore varied commitment to the embedded proposition. Participants were asked to read a context and complete the following sentences:

- (17) Reportative Distance items:
- i. *Noté que el carro...*
'I noticed that the car...'
 - ii. *No noté que el carro...*
'I didn't notice that the car...'
 - iii. *Me di cuenta que el carro...*
'I realized that the car...'
 - iv. *No me di cuenta que el carro...*
'I didn't realize that the car...'

As the negation separated direct witnesses from conjectural, participants were able to use the subjunctive to distance themselves from the presupposition.

It was anticipated for reportative distance that indicative would be the only acceptable mood choice for affirmative *noté /me di cuenta* [-distance] and the subjunctive would be permitted under the negated *no noté/no me di cuenta* [+distance], which reflected the pragmatic distancing from the embedded proposition. The production data suggest that both affirmative and negated reports license the indicative in both monolingual and bilingual groups, as seen in table 1 below:

Table 1
Mood choice rates: Reportative Distance

| | | Indicative | Subjunctive |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| [-] Distance | Monolingual | N=60 100% | N=0 0% |
| | Bilingual | N=117 97% | N=4 3% |
| [+] Distance | Monolingual | N=44 77% | N=13 23% |
| | Bilingual | N=97 87% | N=14 13% |

In an affirmative report ([-distance]) in which the proposition is presupposed to be true, participants produced the indicative. Only four participants produced the subjunctive, and all of these participants were bilingual speakers. When the report was negated ([+distance]), there was an overall increase in subjunctive production, but there was still a preference in this contact variety for use of the indicative (84%). While monolingual speaker exclusively produced the indicative in affirmative reportative utterance, they produced higher rates of subjunctive under negated reports than bilingual speakers, suggesting higher rates of alternation in monolingual speakers than bilingual speakers.

When evaluating items containing a reportative matrix *notar* or *darse cuenta*, participants judgements reflected the hypothesized mood selection patterns. Table 2 presents preferred mood selection as seen in the acceptability judgement task:

Table 2:
Acceptability Judgement Task: Reportative Distance

| | | Indicative | Subjunctive | Both, Difference | Both, difference | No |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|----|
| [-] Distance | Monolingual | N=55 86% | N=5 8% | N=2 3% | N=2 3% | |
| | Bilingual | N=86 74% | N=18 16% | N=8 7% | N=4 3% | |
| [+] Distance | Monolingual | N=35 55% | N=25 39% | N=4 6% | N=0 0% | |
| | Bilingual | N=43 38% | N=52 47% | N=10 8% | N=9 7% | |

Under matrix clauses containing affirmative reports ([-distance]), 80% of participants expressed a preference for the use of the indicative. However, 14% of monolingual and 26% of bilinguals also accepted the use of the subjunctive. When the utterance was negated ([+distance]) and pragmatic alternation was anticipated, 46.5% of participants expressed a preference for the indicative and 43% of all participants

indicated that the subjunctive was the only acceptable mood selection. When evaluating these items, there was a preference for the indicative for monolingual speakers in both [+distance] and [-distance] contexts while bilingual speakers preferred the use of the subjunctive in [+distance] contexts, showing more pragmatic distancing from the proposition.

4.2 Individualized Reference

The individualized reference distinguishes nouns with specific reference from ones that lack specificity. The [+individuated] feature establishes a noun as a particular, individualized referent and the [-individuated] feature indicates a general, nonspecific referent. This study utilized the indefinite NP, *una chamarra* ‘a jacket’, with both individualized reference and general reference made clear through the context.

There were four items that contained individualized reference:

(18) Reportative Distance items:

- i. *Busco una chamarra* [+individuated] *que...*
‘I’m looking for a jacket that...’
- ii. *Yo también, quiero una chamarra* [-individuated] *que..*
‘Me too. I want a jacket that...’
- iii. *Quiero probarme una chamarra* [+individuated] *que...*
‘I want to try on a jacket that...’
- iv. *Quiero probarme una chamarra* [-individuated] *que...*
‘I want to try on a jacket that...’

In the case of individualized referents, the subjunctive mood is licensed when the referent is nonspecific or [-individuated] and the indicative is licensed when the referent is specific or [+individuated]. This specificity can be communicated contextually, which is the case for the items discussed here. Table 3 below presents the mood selection of the [+/- individuated] DPs:

Table 3:
Mood choice rates: Individualized Referent

| | | Indicative | Subjunctive |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| [+] Individualized Referent | Monolingual | N=40 68% | N=19 32% |
| | Bilingual | N=63 55% | N=52 45% |
| [-] Individualized Referent | Monolingual | N=3 5% | N= 52 95% |
| | Bilingual | N=13 11% | N=52 89% |

When referencing *una chamarra* with [+individuated] feature communicated contextually, speakers produced higher rates of indicative (61.5%) than subjunctive (38.5%). When the referent had a [-individuated] referent, speakers produced higher rates of subjunctive (92%) with very little indicative production (8%). When comparing

the [+/-individuated] alternation, the current data suggest that monolingual speakers are more sensitive to this switch.

Monolingual speakers produced the subjunctive 32% of the time in [+individuated] contexts and 95% in [-individuated] contexts (range=63). The alternation is present in bilingual production but is not as drastic for this speaker group, with 45% producing the subjunctive in [+individuated] contexts and 89% in the [-individuated] contexts (range=44).

Participant evaluations presented similar patterns to that of their production. Subjunctive use was considerably higher in items contextualized with [- individualized] reference than those contextualized with [+individuated]. This is presented in table 4 below:

Table 4:
Acceptability Judgement Task: Individualized Referent

| | | Indicative | Subjunctive | Both, Difference | Both, difference | No |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|----|
| [+] <i>Individualize d Referent</i> | Monolingual | N=28 44% | N=21 33% | N=7 11% | N=8 12% | |
| | Bilingual | N=32 28% | N=67 58% | N=7 6% | N=10 8% | |
| [-] <i>Individualize d Referent</i> | Monolingual | N=5 8% | N=47 74% | N=10 16% | N=1 2% | |
| | Bilingual | N=20 17% | N=82 71% | N=11 9% | N=3 3% | |

In the two contexts that referred to a specific jacket ([+individuated] feature), 38% of participants preferred the indicative, 46% of participants the subjunctive, and 18% indicated that both were acceptable. When evaluating items containing NPs with non-specific reference [-individuated], 72.5% of participants indicated that the subjunctive was preferred, and only 12.5% indicated that the indicative was preferred, and 16% of participants accepted both moods. When comparing the two language groups, the current data show that bilingual speakers select the subjunctive more frequently in [+individuated] contexts (58%) than monolingual speakers (33%). In both [+ individualized] and [-individuated] contexts, bilinguals preferred the use of the subjunctive while the monolingual appear to be more sensitive to the alternation of reference triggers.

4.3 Reactional Assertions

The last category of pragmatic alternation communicates a distancing from the presupposed information or assigning low information value to the proposition when the subordinate clause's mood is subjunctive. In each context, participants were given an emotive verb and asked to finish the clause embedded under the emotive verb. There were four items that contained reactional assertions. Context communicated that two

items had a [-reactional] feature (as seen in 19i) and two items had a [+reactional feature] (as seen in 19ii):

- (19) Reactional assertion items:
- i. *Es bueno que...*
‘It is good that...’
 - ii. *Que bueno que...*
‘How good that...’

The [-reactional] feature of *Es bueno que...* presents new information not provided in the context, and is therefore presupposed. Often, this item had a volitional flavor that gave a recommendation or suggestion. This [-reactional] feature would be expected to license the subjunctive. On the other hand, a [+reactional feature] was predicted to license higher rates of indicative because of the low information value of the proposition. The proposition embedded under *que bueno que* is known to be true given the context, and therefore the [+reactional] allows mood alternation. The current results support these predictions, as shown in table 5:

Table 5:
Production rates: Reactional assertions

| | | Indicative | Subjunctive |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| [+] Reactional | Monolingual | N=27 54% | N=23 46% |
| | Bilingual | N=52 43% | N=70 57% |
| [-] Reactional | Monolingual | N=2 3% | N= 56 97% |
| | Bilingual | N=6 5% | N=112 95% |

When presented with a [-reactional] item, 96% of participants produced the subjunctive. Participants were sensitive to the shift to a [+reactional] feature with 46% of participants producing the indicative under the matrix *que bueno*. While [-reactional] items triggered higher rates of subjunctive, bilingual speakers produced more subjunctive than indicative in all reactional assertions. Monolingual participants produced more indicative in [+reactional] items.

When presented evaluating utterances containing [+/-reactional] triggers, two patterns of mood are evident. Participants preferred the use of the subjunctive [-reactional] items (*es bueno que*) more frequently than the second item [+reactional] items (*que bueno que*).

Table 6:
Acceptability Judgement Task: Reactional Assertions

| | | Indicative | Subjunctive | Both, Difference | Both, difference | No |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|----|
| [+] <i>Reactional</i> | Monolingual | N=25 39% | N=28 44% | N=11 17% | N=0 0% | |
| | Bilingual | N=31 27% | N=62 54% | N=15 13% | N=7 6% | |
| [-] <i>Reactional</i> | Monolingual | N=17 26% | N=46 72% | N=1 2% | N=0 0% | |
| | Bilingual | N=27 24% | N=80 69% | N=3 3% | N=4 4% | |

When the utterance has a [- reactional] in which the speaker is giving recommendations, only 25% of participants prefer the indicative and about 70% prefer the use of the subjunctive. Very few participants accepted both the subjunctive and indicative (n=8). On the other hand, when the utterance has a [+ reactional] feature and the proposition has a low information value (*Que bueno que...*), the preference for the subjunctive drops (49%) and the preference for the indicative increases (33%). With regard to speaker group, bilingual and monolingual participants evaluated the first [-reactional] item similarly. However, when evaluating the [+ reactional] item, bilingual speakers demonstrate higher preference for the subjunctive than monolingual speakers. Overall, 30 participants indicated that there both moods were acceptable with slight differences, and 11 participants did not recognize any difference between the two. Those 11 participants were bilingual speakers.

Considering results from both tasks, emotive phrases such as *es bueno que* ‘it is good that...’ or *que bueno que...* ‘how good that...’ do not always trigger the subjunctive in Yucatec Spanish. Instead, Yucatec Spanish speakers are sensitive to the [+/- reactional] feature of a proposition, which is in line with previous findings of some indicative preference under emotive predicates (Lope Blanch 1989). The [- reactional] feature appears a volitional semantic value similar to that of *recomendar* ‘to recommend’ or *sugerir* ‘to suggest’, which licenses the subjunctive for speakers. The reactional interpretation of [+reactional] in which speakers presuppose the truth of the embedded complement licenses higher rates of the indicative. This finding is in line with the alternation described by previous literature in that reactional utterances can be presented in the indicative mood. Therefore, this pragmatic tool is available in Yucatec Spanish, and speakers mark low information value with the subjunctive. When comparing the production and judgement tasks, the production task highlights an alternation of mood in line with previous accounts (with the exception of bilingual participants in [+reactional] items) while participants show a preference for the subjunctive in all items in the judgement task. For [+/- reactional] items, the data suggest that participants’ initial production follows anticipated mood choice closer than their judgements.

6. Conclusions

The goal of this study was to investigate pragmatic mood selection in monolingual and bilingual Yucatec Spanish speakers. The first research question aimed to explain the extent to which Yucatec Spanish speakers employ the pragmatic mood selection described in the *RAE* regarding reportative distance, individualized reference, and reactional assertions. The first hypothesis stated that Yucatec Spanish speakers will be sensitive to changes in context that license mood differently in all cases. Although the rates of production and acceptability vary, there is evidence to support this hypothesis from all three of the pragmatic mood alternation strategies in Yucatec Spanish. With regard to reportative distance, speakers were able to distance themselves from a proposition through the use of the subjunctive when the entire utterance was under the scope of negation, which supports the findings of Terrell and Hooper (1974), Terrell (1995), and Vesterinan (2012). The individualized reference feature was, as expected, considered by speakers when selecting mood, and the use of an indefinite determiner did not impede the *specific referent* interpretation, which supports Guitart's (1995) analysis of the [+individuated] feature. Lastly, in contexts of reactional assertions, the speakers selected the subjunctive for more low-information value utterances, in accordance with Lunn (1989). However, there were also high levels of indicative for presupposed ideas in reactional assertions, which supports Achard's (2000) theory of conceptual domain. This is not unanticipated, as Mexican Spanish often reports higher rates of indicative when embedded under emotive predicates (Lope Blanch 1989).

The second research aimed to identify differences in production and judgements of mood selection. It was hypothesized that, based on previous account of production versus perception, there would be differences in results of the two tasks in that evaluation will reflect more prescriptive mood selection than the production. There were no statistically significant difference between production and evaluation, but patterns in individual alternation groups were observed. In [+/- distance] items in which a speaker could pragmatically distance themselves (or not) from the proposition, judgments were closer to anticipated mood patterns than production, which supports the hypothesis. In cases of [+/- individualized] features which identify a specific referent in a relative clause, production and judgements were very similar. Lastly, in cases of [+/- reactional] items, judgements indicated a preference for the subjunctive in the judgement task while alternation was seen in the production task. Therefore, the current data support the second hypothesis.

The final research question aimed to describe differences between mood selection of monolingual Spanish and bilingual Spanish/YM speakers. The hypothesis proposed at the beginning of this paper predicted that there would be a difference between bilingual and monolingual Yucatec Spanish speakers (as seen in Michnowicz 2009, 2011, 2012, 2015) in that there would be less subjunctive use in bilingual speakers (as seen in U.S. Spanish by Silva Corvalan (1994), Lynch (1999), and Bookhammer (2013), and others). First, the difference in monolingual and bilingual production of the subjunctive was statistically significant ($p= 0.0348$). Bilingual speakers produced higher rates of subjunctive in contexts in which both the subjunctive and the indicative were anticipated. Second, there was a statistically significant difference ($p=0.0054$) between bilingual and monolingual acceptability of items for which the indicative was anticipated, indicating that bilingual speakers accepted the subjunctive at higher rates than monolingual participants when the indicative was the anticipated mood choice. Therefore, the second hypothesis is not entirely supported by the current findings. While there are differences between speaker groups, there is no evidence of simplification of the subjunctive in Yucatec Spanish.

The subjunctive use by bilingual participants is an unanticipated finding from the current study. The results indicate that bilingual speakers are producing and accepting more subjunctive than monolingual speakers of Yucatec Spanish, which contradicts previous accounts of bilingual mood selection have noted reduced subjunctive selection. One possible explanation for an increased use of the subjunctive is in line with Michnowicz's (2011) conclusions that bilingual Yucatec Spanish speakers are less sensitive more nuanced differences in language. This finding is also in line with Montrul's (2005) conclusions suggests that heritage speakers (Spanish/English bilinguals) are able to discriminate between indicative and subjunctive in areas determined by purely syntactic structures but struggled when the subjunctive was determined by particular semantic or pragmatic contexts. I argue that this subjunctive use cannot be accounted for by the idea of transfer of the subjunctive, as subjunctive marks more temporal information in Yucatec Maya than pragmatic information. However, I do not dismiss the idea that other modal notions (such as other preverbal modal markers that communicate commitment) transferred from Yucatec Maya may influence the bilingual mood system in Yucatec Spanish speakers. This merits further investigation.

This work is intended to be a starting point for many more investigations on mood selection. While the current data suggest some differences between bilingual and monolingual speakers, more data would help reach that conclusion with more confidence. The majority of participants in this study were university students, and a sample that more accurately represents the local population may identify slightly different patterns. Overall, the findings presented in the paper identify several trends in contact variety mood selection that warrant further research.

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Appendix A: The questionnaire

(1) Context: Two friends are talking about local politics. Raul thinks that the current governor has made a lot of bad decisions when it comes to education. He says to his friend Sebas:

Es casi seguro que el alcalde...

‘It is almost sure that the governor...’

(2) Context: Sebas does not agree with this. He knows a lot of people who are very happy with the changes that have happened recently. In fact, his mom is a teacher and she always speaks highly of the government. He responds:

Pocas personas creen que el gobierno....

‘Few people believe that the government...’

(3) Context: Raul knows that Sebas’s mom is a teacher, so he suspects that he only has a part of the story. Although schools in town have received financial support, he knows a few people that work in the Maya communities outside of town, and they tell him that recently the number of resources have dropped for these schools. He says:

Estoy más o menos seguro...

‘I’m more or less sure that...’

(4) Context: Sebas wants to add more to the discussion. Someone told him at one point that with the current government the high school graduation rate had increased significantly. He says:

No sé con certeza, pero creo que...

‘I don’t know for sure, but I think that...’

(5) Context: There was a car accident, but it couldn’t be decided who was at fault. The police interviewed a few of the people that were in the area during the crash. The first person saw a car passing quickly towards the stop light. He said:

Noté que el carro...

‘I noticed that the car...’

(6) Context: Another person was close by, but she was not paying attention to the street until she heard the cars crash. The police asked her if she also noted the speed of the car. She answered:

No noté que el carro...

‘I didn’t notice that the car...’

(7) Context: A couple was in the park near the stoplight. They were speaking to each other, the woman facing the stop light and the man with his back to it. The man didn’t know about the car at all, but he saw a look of surprise on his wife’s face. He told the police:

Me di cuenta que el carro...

‘I realized that the car...’

(8) Context: A young man was in the park during the crash, listening to music on his headphones. He didn’t see or hear the crash. He told the police:

No me di cuenta que el carro...

‘I didn’t realize that the car...’

(9) Context: Two Friends go out to the mall to spend the day shopping. Alicia has already thought about what she wants. Actually, last week she saw her friend Mari with a new jacket, and Mari told her where she bought it, so she decided to go to that store to look for it. When Sara asked her what she looked for, she responded:

Busco una chamarra que...
'I'm looking for a jacket that...'

(10) Context: Sara realizes that it would be a good idea to buy a jacket as well because hers doesn't fit well, but she doesn't have any idea of what she wants, but she knows that she does want to buy a jacket. She says to her friend Alicia:

Yo también, quiero una chamarra que..
'Me too. I want a jacket that....''

(11) Context: The girls started to look around the store. A sales woman asked if there was anything she could help them with, and Alicia, because she already knew what she wanted, responded *yes*. She said:

Quiero probarme una chamarra que...
'I want to try on a jacket that....''

(12) Context: Sara finds a jacket that she likes a lot, but it is a little tight on her. She thinks that she needs a bigger size. When the saleswoman asks her what she thinks, she says:

Quiero probarme una chamarra que...
'I want to try on a jacket that....''

(13) Context: Lule's mom decides that her daughter should find a job, so she encourages her to look for work, and she suggests that she bring a copy of her resume just in case. She says:

Es bueno que...
'It is good that...'

(14) Context: Lule prepares her CV and she brings it to her first interview. The fact that Lule is so prepared impresses the supervisor, and she says to Lule:

Es bueno que...
'It is good that...'

(15) Context: Lule is going to her first meeting at her new job, and almost all of the employees are at the meeting. This is surprising because it used to be the case that not many people came to the meetings. The supervisor, very happy, said:

Que bueno que...
'How nice that...'

(16) Context: After the meeting, the supervisor wanted to talk to Lule to see how the first few days of her job were going. Lule told her supervisor that the first few days had been really good. The supervisor responded:

Que bueno que...
'How nice that...'