

Extending the proposal: a movement derivation of conditional clauses

This section tries to provide an account for the restricted distribution of argument fronting (and MCP in more general terms) in conditional clauses. The main claim is that no stipulations are needed as to the ‘size’ of such clauses: assuming that conditional clauses are derived by movement, the absence of argument fronting/MCP follows from intervention effects on movement.

Reference:

Haegeman, Liliane (to appear) The movement derivation of conditional clauses. *LI*.

1. The movement account of conditional clauses

1.1. The double asymmetry

- (1) a. * If these exams you don't pass next year, you won't get the degree.
 b. If next year you don't pass these exams, you won't get the degree.
 c. Se la stessa proposta la fa anche l' altro candidate,...
 if the same proposal it make3SG also the other candidate
 ‘If the other candidate also makes that proposal,...’ (Cardinaletti 2008:(22a))(Italian)
 d. Si ce livre tu le trouves à la Fnac, achète-le. (French)
 if this book you it find-2sg at the Fnac, buy it
 ‘If you find this book at the FNAC, buy it.’
- (2) a. Eng *if - argument }
 b. Eng √if - adjunct.....1 }
 c. Rom √if - CLLD..... 2 }
- (3) a. * If upstairs live his parents things will be much simpler.
 b. * If present at the party are under age children, they won't be able to show the X-rated films.
 c. * If passed these exams you had, you would have had the degree.

The movement analysis of conditional clauses has been adopted, among others, by Lycan (2001), Bhatt and Pancheva (2002, 2006), Arsenijević (2009) and Tomaszewicz (2009).

Bhatt and Pancheva (2002, 2006):

Our proposal that [conditional clauses] are interpreted as free relatives amounts to the claim that they are definite descriptions of possible worlds (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006:655).

- (4) a. If John arrives late,...
 b. [_{CP} OP_w C° [John arrives late in w]]

1.2. Yes no questions and ‘yes-no relatives’

Arsenijević (2009) *yes no* questions and *yes no* relatives

Table1: clause types (Arsenijević 2009)

	Wh-clause	‘yes no’-clause
Interrogative	<i>Who did you see?</i>	<i>If you had seen him? Had you seen him?</i>
Relative	<i>The man who I saw</i>	<i>If you had seen him.../Had you seen him...</i>

Conditionals are analyzed as *yes-no* relative clauses, restrictive clauses in which the truth value of a proposition is restricted. The proposition represented by the conditional clause restricts the set of worlds compatible with the proposition represented by the head clause. Syntactically, the locus of

modification is a functional projection called *WorldP*, the projection that specifies the truth value of clauses by containing the feature *world* with a value [actual] or [possible]. (Lipták 2009:32 summarizing Arsenijević 2009)

1.3. Cross linguistic support

1.3.1. TEMPORAL CLAUSES AND CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

Bhatt and Pancheva (2006:657)

There seems to be no evidence suggesting that the syntactic behavior of *wenn* is different in conditional and in temporal clauses, i.e., it does undergo A'-movement in both cases.

- (5) a. Wenn Steffi gewinnt, wird gefeiert. (German)
if Steffi win-3SG, AUX- PASSIVE-3SG celebrate-PART
'If Steffi wins, there is a celebration.'
- b. Wenn Steffi kommt, fangen wir an zu spielen. (German)
when Steffi arrive-3SG, begin-1PL we to play
'When Steffi arrives, we begin to play.'
- c. Kgoan kommen oa-j doa zyt. (WF)
I-go-1SG come if-you there be-2SG
'I'll come if/when you are there'.

1.3.2. ITALIAN

While Italian conditional clauses are compatible with CLLD (6a) they are not compatible with 'English style *wh* movement to the left periphery such as focus movement(6b) and Resumptive preposing (6c).¹

- (6) a. Se la stessa proposta la fa anche l' altro candidate,... (cf. (28c) for CLLD)
if the same proposal it make-3SG also the other candidate
'If the other candidate also makes that proposal,...' (Cardinaletti 2008:(19a))
- b. ?? Se LA PROVA ORALE non supera, non otterrà il diploma!
if THE EXAM ORAL [s/he] not pass-3SG, [s/he] not obtain-FUT-3SG the diploma
'If he/she doesn't pass the oral exam, he/she won't get the diploma.'
(Bocci (2007: 15, his (32))
- c. *Se la stessa proposta fa anche l' altro candidate,...
if the same proposal make-3SG also the other candidate
'If the other candidate also makes that proposal,...' (Cardinaletti 2008:(19a))

Some properties of Italian resumptive preposing (Cardinaletti 2008):

- (7) a. no resumptive clitic
... e questo disse anche il Sottosegretario.
... and this said also the Vice Minister
- b. parasitic gaps are possible
La stessa cosa negò ___ senza commentare ___ il suo avvocato.
the same thing denied without commenting the his lawyer
- c. Fronted element is incompatible with *wh*-fronting
*... e la stessa cosa a chi disse suo figlio?

¹ The term *Resumptive Preposing* is taken from Cinque (1990: 86-89). Benincà (2001a) calls (**Fout!** **Verwijzingsbron niet gevonden.**a) *Anteposizione anaforica* (Anaphoric anteposition). In terms of Information structure: 'RP must be differentiated from both CLLD and Focalization: it is a new-information clause with a Topic-Comment articulation, where the RP constituent is an Aboutness-shift topic.' Cardinaletti (2008):

... and the same thing to whom said his son
 'To whom did his son say the same thing?'
 *... *e a chi la stessa cosa disse suo figlio?*
 ... and to whom the same thing said his son

Cinque (1990: 88) concludes that "these are all expected properties, if *Wh*-movement of a null operator is ... involved" in RP. Cardinaletti (2008) proposes that RP is like English argument fronting. Predictably, RP will give rise to intervention effects for the same reason that argument fronting does in English.

1.4. The null operator: *Yes/no* questions, conditionals and exceptionless V2

- (8) a. I asked him if he had said that he would leave.
 b. If he had said that he would leave, ...
 c. Had he said that he would leave?
 d. Had he said that he would leave, ...

'Verb second' (V2): languages which in root clauses have the finite verb in second position. e.g. Dutch/German. Hypothesis: one constituent in SpecCP, finite verb in C. Notable exception: *yes/no* questions (8a) and conditionals with inversion (8b):

- (9) a. Had hij gezegd dat hij zou vertrekken?
 have-PST-3SG he said that he will-PST-3SG leave
 'Had he said he was leaving?'
 b. [CP OP [_{Vfin} had] [TP Subject ... t_{op}]]
 c. Had hij gezegd dat hij zou vertrekken, ik zou...
 have-PST-3SG he said that he will-PST-3SG leave, I will-PST-1SG...
 'Had he told me he was leaving, I would ...'
- (10) a. I wonder if he said he would leave.
 b. [CP Op if [he said he would leave t_{op}]]

Prediction: embedded *yes/no* questions display double asymmetry and are incompatible with MCP.²

- (11) a. *Bill asked if such books John only reads at home. (Schachter 1992:108 (16a))
 b. ??/*John knows whether this book Mary read. (Maki et al. 1999:9, note 8, their (i))
 c. * I've never found out whether that famous article he wrote himself.
 d. * I've always wondered whether that famous article he wrote himself.
 e. * I never discovered whether that report he wrote himself.
 f. * I am truly wondering now whether that report he wrote himself.
 g. The intriguing question is whether after taking the early pain, Clegg may miss out on the eventual credit if the chancellor's great gamble succeeds. (*Observer* 22.08.10)
 h. Je me demande si ce livre-là, je l'ai déjà lu.
 I wonder if this book-there I it have already read.

1.5. Absence of low construal: a problem? (Geis 190, Larson 1987, Citko 2000)

- (12) a. I will leave if you say you will. high construal/*low construal
 b. Had he said he would leave, I would have left. high construal/*low construal
 (cf. Bhatt and Pancheva 2002:13, a-b based on their (50a,c), (51e), 2006:655-6: based on their (47a,c, their (48b))
 c. Ge moet kommen oan-k jen zeggen da-j moe kommen.
 you must-2SG come when-I you say-1SG that-you must-2SG come
 'You must come when/if I tell you to.'

² There is speaker variation here. One British speaker (RV) rejects all of (c-f), another (RN) accepts them all.

Parallelism with yes/no questions:

- | | | | |
|------|---|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (13) | a | Did he say he would leave? | high construal/*Low construal |
| | b | I wonder if /whether he said he would leave. | high construal/*Low construal |

2. A detour: high modal expressions in conditional clauses

2.1. Restrictions on modal expressions in conditional clauses: handout 1, (23), & 3.2.4.

- (14) a. ??* If ??*frankly/*probably he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him.
 b. * If they luckily /fortunately arrived on time, we will be saved.
 (Ernst 2007:1027, Ernst 2009, Nilsen 2004).
 c. *Se lo sembrano trovare troppo difficile, faremo il secondo capitolo. (It)
 if it seem-3PL find too difficult, do-FUT-1PL the second chapter
 c' Se sembrano trovar-lo troppo difficile, faremo il secondo capitolo. (It)³

The challenge: (handout 1: 3.2.2)

F-Spec account [such as Cinque's account outlined above, lh] has nothing to say about why SpOAs [Speaker-oriented adverbs, lh] are usually bad in ...the antecedents of conditionals. (Ernst 2009:504). ...Such facts may be treated as a purely semantic matter (...) but for the F-Spec approach a semantic explanation must be an add-on to the basic syntactic account. (Ernst 2008:504).

2.2. Intervention and the licensing of high modals

2.2.1. CINQUE'S SPECIFIER APPROACH TO ADVERBIALS

- (15) a. Hij is helaas waarschijnlijk ziek. evaluative>epistemic
 he is unfortunately probably ill
 'He is unfortunately probably ill.'
 b. * Hij is waarschijnlijk helaas ziek. *epistemic>evaluative
 he is probably unfortunately ill
 c. Helaas is hij waarschijnlijk ziek. Evaluative>epistemic.
 unfortunately is he probably ill
 'Unfortunately, he's probably ill.'
 d. * Waarschijnlijk is hij helaas ziek. *epistemic>evaluative
 probably is he unfortunately ill (Koster 1978:205-209) (Dutch)
- (16) MoodP_{speech act}> MoodP_{evaluative}> MoodP_{evidential}> ModP_{epistemic}>
 TP (Past) > TP (Future) > MoodP_{irrealis} > ModP_{alethic}> AspP_{habitual}> AspP_{repetitive}> AspP_{frequentative}> ModP_{volitional}>
 AspP_{celerative}> TP (Anterior)> AspP_{terminative} > AspP_{continuative}> AspP_{retrospective} > AspP_{proximative} > AspP_{durative} >
 AspP_{generic/progressive} > AspP_{prospective}> ModP_{obligation}> ModP_{permission/ability}> AspP_{completive} > VoiceP>AspP_{celerative} >
 AspP_{repetitive} > AspP_{frequentative} (Cinque 2004:133, his (3))

2.2.2. THE HYPOTHESIS: IRREALIS P AND THE DERIVATION OF CONDITIONALS

³ French *sembler* allows *tout* climbing but this is not to be seen (contrary to Cinque's own proposal) as evidence for its functional status as it is available in conditional clauses:

- (i) S'ils avaient tout semblé comprendre, je n'aurais pas dû reprendre mon cours.
 If they had all seemed understand, I would not have had to start my class again

2.2.2.1. A syntactic account: Hypothesis:

Bhatt and Pancheva's (2002, 2006) World Operator (which moves to the left periphery to derive a conditional clause) originates in the Cinque's MoodP (irrealis).

Ingredients of the analysis

- (i) Irrealis: interpretation: "when the speaker doesn't know if the proposition is true" (Cinque 1999:88);
 (cf. Tomaszewicz 2009, Willmott 2007 and Lahousse 2008:23 on the relevance of the realis/irrealis mood for conditionals).
- (ii) Irrealis marker belongs to Cinque's class of high modal markers & shares features with these high modal markers (see also sections 4.2-4.4.).
- (iii) Feature-based approach to locality (see 1.9): a constituent with the feature α blocks extraction of a constituent with the same feature in its c-command domain (cf. among others (Starke 2001, Rizzi 2004, Endo 2007, Friedmann, Belletti and Rizzi 2009)

Prediction

conditional clauses : incompatible with modal expressions located higher than Mood_{irrealis}, with which they share a crucial feature ('F γ ');
 => incompatible with expression of speech act mood, evaluative mood, evidential mood and epistemic modality. (for intervention and modal markers see also Agouraki 1999:30).

- (17) * MoodP_{speech act γ} > MoodP_{evaluative γ} > MoodP_{evidential γ} > ModP_{epistemic γ} >
 TP (Past) > TP (Future) > MoodP_{irrealis γ}



2.2.2.2. (Circumstantial) adjuncts (2) are different

Free order wrt. (high) modals (45a), impose no restrictions on movement of high modals (45b):

- (18) a. Hij is (vandaag) helaas (vandaag) waarschijnlijk (vandaag) ziek. (Dutch)
 he is (today) unfortunately (today) probably (today) sick
 'He's unfortunately sick today.'
- b. Waarschijnlijk/Helaas is hij vandaag ziek. (Dutch)
 probably/ unfortunately is he today sick

Clefting

- (19) a. * It is (only) probably/obviously/fortunately/frankly that he left.
- b. It was yesterday/only recently that he left.
 Almost everybody in Vancouver knows about Guu and its offerings. However, while they are known for their izakaya dishes, it was recently that they started to serve lunch in their Robson location (<http://imonlyherethereforthefood.com/2009/06/lunch-guu-with-garlic/>)
- c. It was initially that I was rather against the idea. (Davies 1967:8 (1a))
 It was initially that people had the Shadow confused with the Droid2 but bill and Winston straightened it out for us. (<http://rim.howardforums.com/showthread.php?t=1638604>)

wh-movement

- (20) a. How probable/likely is it that he will be there?
- b. * How probably/likely will he be there?
- c. How unfortunate that he will not be there!
- d. * How unfortunately he will not be there!
- e. How recently was the page updated?

High modals lack long movement/low construal

- (21) a. Frankly, I do not understand that he wants to leave.
- b. Probably/obviously/fortunately, he thinks that Mary will come.

Circumstantial adjuncts: long movement/low construal

- (22) a. By tomorrow I think the situation will be clear.

- b. Next year the President believes that there will be a definite improvement in the functioning of the financial system.
(Haegeman 2003b⁴, for earlier discussions of long moved adjuncts see Iwakura 1978: 340 n. 16, Postal and Ross 1971, Cinque 1990:93-95, Hukari and Levine 1995, Bouma, Malouf and Sag 2001).

Alexiadou (1997) : circumstantial adjuncts are complements to V; Laenzlinger (1996:107) quantifier adverbs such as the high modal adverbs ≠‘qualifier’ adverbs like circumstantial adjuncts on the basis of French data; Cinque (1999:29) discusses some options to make the distinction, see also Cinque (2004) and Hinterhölzl (2009) for discussion of the syntax of prepositional circumstantial adjuncts.

Note:

the long moved adjuncts have properties that differentiate them from those circumstantial adjuncts that are locally construed and which align them with topicalised arguments. See Haegeman (2003c).

2.2.3. CONDITIONALS LACK LOW CONSTRUAL

Hypothesis:

Clause typing Operator_{Irrealis} (= Irrealis operator) originates in the specifier of Mood_{Irrealis} and shares relevant features with the high modal expressions (F_γ: speech act, evidential, evaluative, epistemic).

⇒ Operator_{Irrealis} belongs to the same class as the high expressions of modality in the hierarchy. High modal operators are seen not to undergo long movement,

⇒ whatever property excludes long movement of high modals (38) will also exclude high movement of the Operator_{irrealis} that derives conditional clauses.

3. IrrealisP and the derivation of conditionals

3.1. The extraction site of the conditional operator is not VP-internal

Could the operator actually be extracted from ? Is there independent evidence that the extraction site is higher?

- (23) a. [_{CP} OP_w C° [John arrives late in w]] (Bhatt & Pancheva 2006)
b. [_{CP} OP_w C° [John arrives late t]]
c. [_{CP} OP_w C° [John [_{VP} arrives late t]]]

Postma 1995: *yes-no* questions: Operator is extracted from VP internal complement position. (see his work for argumentation)

Problems for a proposal in line with Postma:

-Ellipsis, British *do* and extraction:

- (24) Recall: ‘British *do*’ incompatible with extraction from VP (see also section 1.5)
a. *I know how fast Adam can run but I didn’t remember how fast Hillary could do.
b. *I know which book Adam has bought but I didn’t remember which one Hillary had done.

If conditional clauses did involve extraction of the conditional operator from within VP then they should be incompatible with British *do*, contrary to fact. If *yes-no* questions did involve extraction of an operator from within VP then they should be incompatible with British *do*, contrary to fact.

- (24) c. He never talked to her. If he had done, things would have been more complicated still.
d. I never applied for the position. I often wonder if I should have done.

⁴ I have shown elsewhere that long moved adjuncts pattern with fronted arguments.

Conclusion:

- either conditional clauses are not derived by movement (but then we don't account for the intervention effects);
- or they are derived by movement, and the relevant movement is launched from a position external to VP.

3.2. The Irrealis operator in West Flemish

Summary of the proposal:

- 'conditional operator'/'world operator' starts out in a position above Cinque's low modals;
- conditional starts in position below Cinque's high modals, and it shares a feature (F_γ) with Cinque's high modals.

- Many Flemish dialects : conditional auxiliary, *moest* ('had to'), used in conditional antecedents (cf. Boogaert 2007) (25a).

- IRR *moest* can also move to the left periphery (25b):

- (25) a. Als hij dat moest weten, dan zou hij boos zijn.
 if he that must-PAST-3SG know then will-PAST-3SG he angry be
 'If he knew that, he would be angry.'
- b. Moest hij dat weten, dan zou hij boos zijn.
 must-PAST-3SG he that know then will-PAST-3SG he angry be
 'Were he to know that, he would be angry.'

- *Moest* does not have this conditional reading when used in temporal clauses:⁵

- (26) a. Voordat ze dat moest doen, werkte ze in de
 before.that she that must-PAST-3SG do, work-PAST-3SG she in the
 toonzaal.
 showroom
 'Before she had to do that, she worked in the showroom.' deontic
- b. Oa ze dat moest doen, ...
 when.that she that must-PAST-3SG do
 'When she had to do that,' deontic

Hypothesis: Flemish conditional *moest* : overt spell-out of the Irrealis head.

3.2.1. IRR MOEST PATTERNS WITH MODALS

- (27) a. He moet dat weten. deontic/epistemic
 He must-3SG that know
 'He must know that.'
- b. Hij moest dat weten. deontic
 He must-PAST-3SG that know
 'He had to know that.'

-Verb (Projection)Raising

- (28) Conditional *moest*
 a. Als hij zijn tekst moest vergeten, ... Verb Raising:IRR

⁵ -Irrealis *moest* is also found in main clauses: (subject to further research)

(i) Hij moest een keer bellen!
 he must- PAST-3SG one time call
 'What if he calls?!'

- if he his text must-PAST-3SG forget
- b. Als hij moest [zijn tekst vergeten],... Verb projection Raising:IRR
 if he must-PAST-3SG his text forget
 'If he should forget his text,...'
- (29) Deontic *moet*
- a. Als hij zijn tekst moet meebrengen,... Verb Raising
 if he his text must-3SG with-bring
- b. Als hij moet zijn tekst meebrengen,... Verb Projection Raising
 if he must-3SG his text with- bring
 'If he has to bring his text,...'
- (30) Epistemic *moet*
- a. Ik denk dat hij die tekst moet gekend hebben. VR
 I think-1SG that he that text must-3SG know- PART have
- b. Ik denk dat hij moet die tekst gekend hebben. VPR
 I think-1SG that he must-3SG that text know-PART have
 'I think he must have known that text.'
- Expletive subject (hence raising V):
- (31) a. Het moet meer regenen (anders sterven de planten). deontic
 it must-3SG more rain (otherwise die the plants)
 'It has to rain more, otherwise the plants will die.'
- b. Het moet/kan geregend hebben (want de baan is nat). epistemic
 it must/can-3SG rain-PART have (because the road is wet)
 'It must/may have rained, 'cos the road is wet.'
- c. Als het moest regenen,... IRR
 if it must-PAST-3SG rain...
 'If it should rain,...'
- d. Moest het regenen,... IRR
 must- PAST-3SG it rain...
 'Should it rain,...'
- (32) a. ...dan der moesten meer studenten zyn deontic
 that-PL there must-PAST-3PL more students be
 '...that there had to be more students.'
- b. ...dan der doa moeten meer studenten geweest een epistemic
 that-PL there there must-3PL more students been have
 '...that there must have been more students there'
- c. Oan der moesten meer studenten zyn,... IRR
 if-PL there must-PAST-3PL more students be
 'Should there be more students...'
- 3.2.2. IRR MOEST IS LOCATED HIGHER THAN ROOT MODALS
- (33) a. Als hij dat moest kunnen doen,... IRR> ability
 if he that must-PAST-3SG can do
 'If he were able to do that,...'
- b. Moest hij dat kunnen doen, ...
 must-PAST-3SG he that can do
 'Could he do that...'
- (34) a. Als hij dat moest moeten doen,... IRR>deontic
 if he that must-PAST-3SG must do
 'If he were obliged to do that, ...'
- b. Moest hij dat moeten doen,...
 must-PAST-3SG he that must do

- (35) a. 'Were he obliged to do that,...'
 Als hij dat moest willen doen,... IRR>Volition
 if he that must-PAST-3SG want do
 'If he were willing to do that,...'
 b. Moest hij dat willen doen,...
 must-PAST-3SG he that want do
 'Were he willing to do that,...'

IRR(conditional) *moest* is incompatible with epistemic *moeten*. This is expected because conditional clauses are intrinsically incompatible with high modals such as epistemic *moeten*: in (36) the epistemic reading is not available for either the first or the second occurrence of *moest*.

- (36) Als hij moest moeten komen,... IRR>*epistemic
 if he must-PAST-3SG must come IRR>deontic
 'If he should have to come,...'

3.2.3. IRR MOEST PATTERNS WITH HIGH MODALS (Ft) (AND DIFFERS FROM LOW MODALS)

M(odal)C(omplement)E(llipsis): Aelbrecht 2009, 2010: Dutch: *high modals, ^{OK}: deontic/volitional/ability

- (37) a. Hij wilde niet komen, maar hij moest Ø. (deontic)
 he want-PAST-3SG not come but he must-PAST-3SG
 'He did not want to come but he had to.'
 b. Hij moet komen maar hij kan niet Ø. (ability)
 he must-3SG come but he can-3SG not
 'He has to come but he cannot.'
- (38) A: Is Jan thuis?
 is Jan home
 'Is Jan at home?'
 B: Hij moet *(thuis zijn), zijn fiets staat voor. (epistemic)
 he must home be, his bicycle stands in front
 'He must be, his bicycle is standing in front of the house.'
- (39) a. Hij zou al vertrokken zijn. (evidential)
 he would already left be
 'Allegedly, he's already left.'
 b. A Wanneer vertrekt Jan?
 when leaves Jan
 'When is Jan leaving?'
 B Hij zou al *(vertrokken zijn).
 he would already left be
- (40) a. Hij zal niet komen, denk ik. Maar als hij moest *(komen),... (IRR)
 he will-3SG not come think I but if he must-PAST-3SG come
 'He won't come, I think. But if he should come'
 b. Hij zal niet komen, denk ik. Maar moest hij *(komen),... (IRR)
 he will-3SG not come think I but must-PAST-3SG he come
 'He won't come, I think. But should he,...'

IRR *moest*: *MCE

- (41) a. Z'en doet dat vu niemand.
 She *en* does that for no one.
 'She would not do that for anyone.'
 b. Z'(*en) doet da vu niets.
 She *en* does that for nothing

WF: *en*: cfr. French *ne*: licensed by clausemate n-constituent with sentential scope. In (42b) *vu niets* ('for nothing') has constituent scope (= for free) and does not license *en*.

Cinque (1999:123, his (55)) shows that the low modal adverbs can (42a)/high modal adverbs cannot (42b,c) be in the scope of negation (see his work for more examples):

- (42) a. Gianni non ha deliberamente lasciato cadere la sua candidatura.
 Gianni *non* has deliberately let-PART fall the his candidature *non*>*deliberamente*
 b. Non ho francamente altro da aggiungere. *Francamente* >*non*
non have-1SG frankly other to add-INF
 'I haven't frankly anything else to add.'
 c. Gianni non è probabilmente in grado di aiutarci. *Probabilmente*>*non*
 Gianni *non* be-3SG probably able to help-us
 'Gianni isn't probably able to help us.'

(correct) Prediction: if IRR *moest* spells out Irrealis Mood: incompatible with *en*, the marker of negative scope:

- (43) a. Oa-se da nie (en-) moet doen,... (deontic)
 if-she that not *en*- must-PAST-3SG do
 'If she doesn't have to do that,...'
 b. Oa-se da nie (*en) moest geweten een,... (IRR)
 if-she that not *en* must-PAST-3SG know-PART have
 'If she hadn't known that,...'
 c. (*En) moest ze da nie geweten een,... (IRR)
en must-PAST-3SG she that not know-PART have
 'If she hadn't known that,...'

3.2.4. IRR MOEST: SUMMARY

- (i) patterns syntactically with all Flemish modal auxiliaries in terms of the availability of VR and VPR,
- (ii) is compatible with Cinque's low modals,
- (ii) is located higher than these low modals,
- (iv) shares properties with the high modals (no MCE, NEG), which set it apart from the low modals.
- (v) unlike the high modals, IRR *moest* is compatible with conditional clauses.

Observe that in Cinque's hierarchy MoodP irrealis is set apart from the 'high modals' from which it is separated by TP. This requires further research (see also Kidwai 2010).

- (44) MoodP_{speech act}> MoodP_{evaluative}> MoodP_{evidential}> ModP_{epistemic}> TP (Past) > TP (Future) >
 [MoodP_{irrealis} *moest*] > ModP_{alethic}>
 AspP_{habitual}> AspP_{repetitive}> AspP_{frequentative}> ModP_{volitional}> AspP_{celerative}> TP (Anterior)>
 AspP_{terminative}> AspP_{continuative}> AspP_{retrospective}> AspP_{proximative}> AspP_{durative}> AspP_{generic/progressive}
 > AspP_{prospective}> ModP_{obligation}> ModP_{permission/ability}> AspP_{completive}> VoiceP>AspP_{celerative}>
 AspP_{repetitive}> AspP_{frequentative} (based on Cinque 2004:133, his (3))

Standard Dutch conditional *mocht* is similar to *moest*.

3.3. The derivation of conditional clauses in Polish (Slavic)

Tomaszewicz (2009, 2010) discusses the patterns in (45): the irrealis particle *by* appears on the finite verb in (45a). As can be seen, the same particle is attached to the conditional conjunction (45b,c). See also Migdalski (2006).⁶

- (45) a. *Pożyczylbyś mu książkę.* (Tomaszewicz: 2009 (3))
 lend.Prt.by.2SG him book
 'You would lend him a book.'
- b. *Gdybyś (jutro/wczoraj) wyszedł wcześniej, nie spóźniłbyś się.*
 when-by.2SG (tomorrow/yesterday) leave.PRT.PERF earlier,
 not late.Prt.Perf-by.2.SG self
 'If you left earlier tomorrow, you wouldn't be late.'
 'If you had left earlier yesterday, you wouldn't have been late.'
 (Tomaszewicz 2009 (16b))
- c. *Gdybyś (zawsze) wychodził wcześniej, nie spóźniałbyś się.*
 when-by.2SG (always) leave.PRT.IMPRF earlier,
 not late.PRT.IMPRF-by.2.SG self
 'If you (always) left earlier, you wouldn't be late.'
 (Tomaszewicz 2009 (16b'))

Two instances of *by* within the same conditional clause are not ...allowed. *If*-clauses with *by* in C, don't allow high adverbs (45d). Tomaszewicz (2010: abstract)

- (45) d. *Jeśli**by**/Gdy**by** (*prawdopodobnie) Janek się bał, to uciek**łby** z gabinetu.*
 if-by.3Sg probably John self scared.3Sg then escape-by.3Sg from office
 'If he (*probably) had been afraid, he would have ran away from the doctor's office.'
 'If he (*probably) was afraid, he would run away from the doctor's office.'

3.4. SI in French conditional clauses requires a specific trigger.⁷

High modal expressions do not serve to license Stylistic inversion in French:

- (46) a. Plus tard/à ce moment/soudain sont arrivés les enfants.
 Later/at that moment/ suddenly are arrived the children
- b. *Probablement arriveront les enfants. (French)
 probably arrive-FUT-3PL the children
- c. *Heureusement sont arrivés les enfants.
 luckily be-3PL come-PART-PL the children
- d. *Franchement sont arrivés les enfants
 frankly be-3PL come-PART-PL the children
- (47) a. *Je te téléphonerai si arrivent les enfants.
 I you call-FUT-1SG if arrive-PL the children
- b. Si, à une valeur A de la variable correspond la valeur infinie de Z ,

⁶ Willis (2000) shows how in Old Church Slavonic certain complementizers such as *a* 'if' always attracted the conditional auxiliary.

⁷ Conditional clauses introduced by *au cas où* ('in case') pattern differently: apparently the fronted operator *où* is able to license stylistic inversion.

(i) *Au cas où candideraient plusieurs personnes...*
 in the case where pose-their-candidature-COND-3PL several people
 'If several people pose their candidatures...'

This suggests that in spite of their interpretive similarities, conditionals introduced by *au cas où* involve the fronting of an operator of a different nature. Thanks to H el ene Chuquet for the example.

If to one value A of the variable correspond-3SG the value infinite of Z.
 ‘If the infinitive value of Z corresponds to one value A of the variable, ..’
 (Lahousse 2003 a: 556 : (61a)

Table 1 SI in conditional clauses: based on Lahousse 2003; section 5.5

Conditional clauses	Additional factors		No additional factor
	Fronted constituent	Other factor	
Source: Frantext (1995-2000)			
39 examples	29 examples	10 examples	

(47b) is an example of a conditional clause which displays stylistic inversion: the additional licensing factor is the preposed PP *à une valeur A de la variable* (‘to the value of the variable’)

4. Speculations on the syntax of peripheral conditional clauses (cf. Iatridou 1991, Komagata 2003)

‘Factual conditionals’/ ‘premise conditionals’/ ‘conditional assertions’ (Kearns 2006)

- (48) a. If I’m no longer going to be arrested for possessing cannabis for my own consumption (‘Cannabis laws eased in drugs policy shake-up’, October 24), shouldn’t I be able to grow my own? (Jason Cundy, Letter to the editor *Guardian*, 25.11.1, page 9, col. 8)
- b. We are seeing a fall in the incidence of crime, particularly serious crime, and I think we’re right to say ‘What’s going on?’ If crime is falling, why are we seeing a continuing rise in the prison population. (*Guardian*, 1.11.1, page 2, col.6)
- (49) a. If some precautions they have indeed taken, many other possible measures they have continued to neglect.
- b. If Le Pen will probably win, Jospin must be disappointed. (Nilsen 2004:811:note 5)

Polish: central conditionals: high *by* (50a) and incompatible with high modals (50a); peripheral conditionals: (i) *high *by*, OK: low *by* (like in main clauses), (ii) permit high modals (50b):

- (50) a. Skoro/Jeśli(***by**) Janek **by** się bał, to uciekł**by** z gabinetu.
 Since/ if John *by* self scared.3Sg then escaped-by.3Sg from office
 ‘If (indeed) he would be afraid, then he would ran away from the doctor's office.’
- b. Skoro/Jeśli(***by**)/*Gdy**by** prawdopodobnie Janek się bał, to uciekł z gabinetu.
 Since/ if probably John self scared.3Sg then escaped.3Sg from office
 ‘If (indeed) he probably was afraid, then he ran away from the doctor's office.’
- B’ Skoro/Jeśli(***by**) prawdopodobnie Janek **by** się bał, to uciekł**by** z gabinetu.
 Since/ if probably John *by* self scared.3Sg then escaped-by.3Sg from office
 ‘If (indeed) he probably would be afraid, then he would ran away from the doctor's office.’

Various options (see also handout 2a: 3.8 on temporal clauses):

Either there is no operator movement involved in the derivation of such conditionals (*if* is inserted as a pure connective) or there is movement from a high position on the LP (‘Force’; ‘if you say that’/ ‘if it is true that’) to the edge of the conditional. The latter movement would then not interfere with MCP.

The final analysis also hinges on the question to what extent the speech event is syntacticized as a layer above ‘ForceP’ (=CP)