



Conditional Constructs Across World Languages

Auditorium, INALCO, rue des Grands Moulins, Paris 13

October 29–31, 2025

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		29/10/2025		30/10/2025		31/10/2025
	08:30 09:00	Registration Welcome				
	09:00 10:00	Invited talk Steve Nicolle Chair: Karawani		Invited talk Qian Yong Chair: S. Nicolle		Invited talk Stefan Kaufmann Chair: Simeonova
Chair: Kaufmann	10:00 10:30	Karawani & Reintges	Chair: Armenante	Kuo	Chair: Ezra la Roi	Arita
	10:30 11:00	Coffee break		Coffee break		Coffee break
	11:00 11:30	Armenante		Ezra la Roi		Hengeveld
	11:30 12:00	Simeonova		Dean McHugh		Sode et al.
	12:00 14:00	Lunch		Lunch		Lunch
	14:00 14:30	Invited talk Patrick Caudal Chair: Kaufmann	Chair: Stefan Kaufmann	Wimmer & Hole	Chair: Frank Sode	Dragović
	14:30 15:00			Shuhama		Giolfo
Chair: Simeonova	15:00 15:30	Sode		Choi, Dao, Nishio		Buskivadze
	15:30 16:00	Pellino		Nara		Metreveli
	16:00 16:30	Coffee break		Coffee break		Coffee break
	16:30 17:00	Bossuyt		Ateş İsmail Çalışır		Bébiné
	17:00 17:30	Konuk		Us & Sarısoy		Closing session
	17:30 18:30	Invited talk Jesus Olguin Chair: Simeonova		Invited talk Hadil Karawani Chair: Pellino		

Day 1 (29/10/2025)

8:30–09:00 Registration and Welcome

9:00–10:00 Invited talk: Steve Nicolle; Chair – Hadil Karawani

Clarifying the limits of conditionality using semantic map analysis – Steve Nicolle..... 6

Session 1: Chair – Stefan Kaufmann

10:00–10:30 *Refining the typology of X-marking: The case of coptic conditional mood conditionals* – Hadil Karawani & Chris H. Reintges..... 22

Coffee Break 10:30–11:00

11:00–11:30 *Two types of X-marking in Akan conditionals* – Giuliano Armenante 11

11:30–12:00 *Decomposing X-marking* – Vesela Simeonova 35

Lunch 12:00–14:00

14:00–15:00 Invited talk: Patrick Caudal; Chair – Stefan Kaufmann

On apprehensives as bi-propositionals conditionals: an Australianist perspective – Patrick Caudal 3

Session 2: Chair – Vesela Simeonova

15:00–15:30 *Melioratives and Conditional Evaluative Constructions* – Frank Sode 37

15:30–16:00 *An almost unnoticed conditional flavor* – Philip Pellino..... 32

Coffee Break 16:00–16:30

16:30–17:00 *Presence, optionality, or absence of conditional coding in ‘even (if)’ concessive conditionals: A closer look at African languages* – Tom Bossuyt..... 13

17:00–17:30 *Conditionals and concessive conditionals in Abzakh* – Mezane Konuk 25

17:30–18:30 Invited talk: Jesus Olguin Martinez; Chair – Vesela Simeonova

Counterfactual conditionals through the lens of type and antitype-based comparison – Jesús Olguín–Martínez..... 8

Day 2 (30/10/2025)

9:00–10:00 Invited talk: Quian Yong; Chair – Steve Nicolle

Unveiling Counterfactuality in Mandarin: A Comparative Study with English and its Typological Implications – Qian Yong..... 9

Session 3: Chair – Giuliano Armenante

10:00–10:30 *The diachrony of conditionals and temporals* – Yueh Hsin Kuo 27

10:30–11:00 Coffee break

11:00–11:30 *Towards a parallel corpus typology of counterfactual systems* – Ezra la Roi 28

11:30–12:00 *A Conditional Theory of Permission and Obligation: The View from Japanese, Korean, and Burmese* – Dean McHugh 29

12:00–14:00 Lunch

Session 4: Chair – Stefan Kaufmann

14:00–14:30 *Mandarin CECs under the microscope* – Wimmer & Hole42

14:30–15:00 *The weak island effects and adverbial concord in Japanese –tara conditional clauses* – Yuji Shuhama 34

15:00–15:30 *Conditionality and Temporality: A Comparative Study of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese* – Choi, Dao & Nishio 18

15:30–16:00 *Main Clause Ellipsis and Directive Expressions in Japanese Conditional Conjunctions -ba and -tara* – Yurie Nara 32

16:00–16:30 Coffee Break

16:30–17:00 *Antipresupposition: Turkish –sA Unified* – Ateş İsmail Çalışır 16

17:00–17:30 *Revisiting Turkish X-Marking: An Experimental Rating Study* – Enes Us & Duygu Özge Sarısoy.....40

17:30–18:30 Invited talk: Hadil Karawani, Chair – Philip Pellino

What Do Conditionals Commit Us To? Ontological Dimensions of Hypothetical Meaning Across Languages – Hadil Karawani 5

Day 3 (31/10/2025)

9:00–10:00 Invited talk: Stefan Kaufmann; Chair – Vesela Simeonova
When to intervene: Lifetime effects and other conditional mysteries – Stefan Kaufmann 6

Session 5: Chair – Ezra la Roi

10:00–10:30 *Grammatical Encoding of Restrictiveness and Referentiality in Conditionals in Standard Japanese and the Saga Dialect* – Setsuko Arita 10
11:00–11:30 *Conditional constructions in A'ingae* – Kees Hengeveld..... 20
11:30–12:00 *Conditional Marking and Emotive Factives: Evidence from German, Italian, and Spanish* – Sode, Del Prete & Hernández..... 39

12:00–14:00 Lunch

Session 6: Chair – Fank Sode

14:00–14:30 *Expressing Conditionality in Contemporary Serbian Language* – Ružica Farmakovski & Kristina Dragović..... 19
14:30–15:00 *Conditional Systems of Classical Arabic. A Study in Syntax and Semantics* – Manuela E.B. Giolfo 20
15:00–15:30 *Elaborative Discourse Markers in Georgian Conditional Constructions* – Khatia Buskivadze 15
15:30–16:00 *Les constructions conditionnelles en Georgien* – Nana Metreveli..... 31

16:00–16:30 Coffee Break

16:30–17:00 *La structure des phrases conditionnelles en Nuasúe (langue Bantu A62A) : typologie et exponentiation morphosyntaxique* – Adriel Josias BÉBINÉ 13

Contents

On apprehensives as bi-propositionals conditionals: an Australianist perspective – Patrick Caudal	3
What Do Conditionals Commit Us To? Ontological Dimensions of Hypothetical Meaning Across Languages – Hadil Karawani.....	5
When to intervene: Lifetime effects and other conditional mysteries – Stefan Kaufmann	6
Clarifying the limits of conditionality using semantic map analysis – Steve Nicolle.....	6
Counterfactual conditionals through the lens of type and antitype-based comparison – Jesus Olguín-Martínez	8
Unveiling Counterfactuality in Mandarin: A Comparative Study with English and its Typological Implications – Qian YONG	9
Grammatical Encoding of Restrictiveness and Referentiality in Conditionals in Standard Japanese and the Saga Dialect – Setsuko Arita	10
Two types of X-marking in Akan conditionals – Giuliano Armenante	11
La structure des phrases conditionnelles en Nuasúe (langue Bantu A62A) : typologie et exponentiation morphosyntaxique –Adriel Josias BÉBINÉ.....	13
Presence, optionality, or absence of conditional coding in ‘even (if)’ concessive conditionals: A closer look at African languages – Tom Bossuyt.....	13
Elaborative Discourse Markers in Georgian Conditional Constructions – Khatia Buskivadze.....	15
Antipresupposition: Turkish -sA Unified – Ateş İsmail Çalışır.....	16
Conditionality and Temporality: A Comparative Study of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese – Choi, Dao & Nishio.....	18
Expressing Conditionality in Contemporary Serbian Language - Ružica Farmakovski & Kristina Dragović.....	19
Conditional Systems of Classical Arabic. A Study in Syntax and Semantics – Manuela E.B. Giolfo.....	20
Conditional constructions in A’ingae – Kees Hengeveld	20
Refining the typology of x-marking: The case of coptic conditional mood conditionals – Hadil Karawani & Chris H. Reintges.....	22
Conditionals and concessive conditionals in Abzakh – Mezane KONUK	25
The diachrony of conditionals and temporals – Yueh Hsin Kuo	27
Towards a parallel corpus typology of counterfactual systems – Ezra la Roi	28
A Conditional Theory of Permission and Obligation: The View from Japanese, Korean, and Burmese – Dean McHugh.....	29
Les constructions conditionnelles en Georgien – Nana Metreveli.....	31
Main Clause Ellipsis and Directive Expressions in Japanese Conditional Conjunctions <i>-ba</i> and <i>-tara</i> – Yurie Nara.....	32

An <i>almost</i> unnoticed conditional flavor – Philip Pellino	32
The weak island effects and adverbial concord in Japanese <i>-tara</i> conditional clauses – Yuji Shuhama....	34
Decomposing X-marking – Vesela Simeonova	35
Melioratives and Conditional Evaluative Constructions – Frank Sode	37
Conditional Marking and Emotive Factives: Evidence from German, Italian, and Spanish – Sode, Del Prete & Hernández.	39
Revisiting Turkish X-Marking: An Experimental Rating Study – Enes Us & Duygu Özge Sarısoy	40
Mandarin CECs under the microscope – Wimmer & Hole	42

Invited talks

On apprehensives as bi-propositionals conditionals: an Australianist perspective – Patrick Caudal CNRS, University of Paris

So-called *apprehensive* (or *apprehensional*, or *timitive*) grams have been identified in numerous Indigenous languages of Australia cf. (Laughren 1982, Eather 1990, Evans 1995, Angelo & Schultze-Berndt 2016), and of the Americas (Vuillermet 2018, AnderBois & Dąbkowski 2020). Capitalizing on this rich scientific context, the present talk aims at furthering our understanding of apprehensives, through (i) a sample-based typological overview, (ii) recent dedicated fieldwork on Iwaidja and (iii) by proposing a formal of apprehensive structures in Australian languages as bi-propositional conditionals – mostly negative conditionals, but also run-of-the-mill positive conditionals.

A comparative study conducted on a balanced sample of 26 Australian languages revealed some unknown (or understudied) variations in the morphosyntax and semantics of Australian apprehensives, whether as synthetic inflections (FUTIRR in Murrinh-Patha, (6)) or as periphrastic inflections (*angkad* + V_{OPT/PR} in Iwaidja, *marnti/marndi* + V_{PR} in Mawng and Bininj Gun-wok, *ngaja* + V_{POT} in Bilinearra, etc.). This paper focuses on apprehensive structures marked by verbal inflections. The most common type are bi-clausal structures, especially *P*-imperative+*Q*-predictive ('you (must) *P*, or else will *Q*') (1), and *P*-prohibitive+*Q*-predictive ('don't *P*, or else will *Q*') – it corresponds to a special type of so-called 'precautioning avertives' in the literature. A novel key finding was that biclausal apprehensive structures can have symmetric marking, with *P* and *Q* bearing the same apprehensive inflection. A third major biclausal structure type, *P*-hypothetical+*Q*-Predictive, was identified ('if *P*, then will *Q*'); its connection to priority modality is pragmatic at best (Portner 2018). A fourth major biclausal type involves complement clauses of 'be frightened that *P*' constructions (3). In addition to biclausal types, mono-clausal apprehensive structures were also found to be common. Most express an open undesirable possibility (4) (which is an elliptic form of the *P*-directive, *Q*-predictive biclausal structure (1)) or a foreclosed, counterfactual undesirable possibility, sometimes with admonitive flavor, (5) (which is an elliptic form of the hypothetical type (2)). Unexpectedly, in languages with a symmetric marking of biclausal apprehensives, we uncovered monoclausal *negative directive* apprehensive clauses (positive forms are ruled out in said languages). They entail an 'or else will *Q*' implicit consequent (e.g., an implicit threat, (6), cf. (Green 1995: 315)). Last but not least, some languages in the sample (e.g., Worrorra) lack *bona fide* apprehensive verbal inflections; apprehensive meaning then stems from nominal marking (Gooniyandi) – or from pragmatic enrichment. The latter 'apprehensive strategies'(7), contextually construed from a general irrealis inflection, can coexist with dedicated apprehensive morphology.

- (1) *kudn-uka-∅* *ngartung mana* *angkad birta* *nganba-ya-njing* (Iwaidja)
1sg>2pl.RMOD-peep-RMOD OBL.1SG. maybe APPR otherwise 3pl>1sg.OPT-see-OPT
'Keep a lookout for me, otherwise they might see me.' (Iwaidja Dictionary)
- (2) *ɲinda* *ɲaygu* *bulgugu* *wadilɲaju* *ɲada* *ɲinuna maɲa* *gunbalbila* (Dyirbal)
you-SA I-GEN wife-DAT swive-DAY-REL-NOM I-SA you-O ear-NOM cut-APPR
'If you swive my wife, I'll cut off your ears.' (Dixon 1972: 362)

- (3) *wuugarra=rnayinangulu garra, ngaja=ngandibangulu baya-wu* (Bilinarra)
 frightened=1AUG.EXC.S>3AUG.O be.PR APPR=3AUG.S>1AUG.EXC.O bite-POT
 ‘We’re frightened of them (because) they might bite us (referring to dogs).’
 (Meakins & Nordlinger 2013: 241)
- (4) *k-ini-majpungku-n, marnti kurruni-wu-n.* (Mawng)
 PR-3MA/3MA-lift.up-NP APPR 3MA/2PL-kill-NP
 ‘The sea is rough and it might kill you.’ (>Implicit order: ‘stay ashore/don’t canoe’)
 (Singer 2006: 171)
- (5) (we built a huge fire ...) *korla minja namunja ya-bburba-ma* (Nakarra)
 APPR flies 3>3.IRR+follow.food-PCT
 ‘We built a huge fire, otherwise the flies would have hung around’ (Eather 1990: 347)
- (6) *mere na-ngi-mathpath-nukun=thurru* (Murrinh-Patha)
 NEG 2SGS.HANDS(8).FUTIRR-1SGO-interrupt-FUTIRR=2SGS.GO(6).FUTIRR
 ‘Don’t you continually interrupt me.’ (>Implicit threat: ‘or I’ll punish you’)
 (Nordlinger & Caudal 2012)
- (7) *yama=lhangwa! n-ak nenangkwarba kanə-wənyamba-dhu-Ø=ma* (Anindilyakwa)
 watch.out=ABL 3M-that 3M.man IRR.3M-angry-INCH-USP=MUT
 ‘Watch out! The man might become angry!’ (No grammatical apprehensive marker)
 (Bednall 2020: 328)

The above survey, plus special fieldwork conducted on Iwaidja confirmed that some important differences exist between common types of apprehensive structures in Australia, and in e.g. the Americas – where such grams have been most extensively studied in the recent years cf. e.g. (Vuillermet 2018, AnderBois & Dąbkowski 2020). Although several formal treatments of apprehensives can be found in the literature (Phillips 2021, Tahar 2021, AnderBois & Dąbkowski 2020), we will base our first formal treatment on (Phillips 2021), as it was devised for (Australian) Kriol apprehensives (it is *de facto* closer to apprehensives structures found in Indigenous Australian languages) and is a crucially discourse structural account, – in contrast, discursive parameters are very much left aside in other formal analyses. According to Phillips (2021:66)’s DRT-style semantic analysis (8), Kriol apprehensive structures have a negative bi-propositional conditional meaning (‘*P*, otherwise *Q*’) (Starr 2020), with modal subordination (Roberts 2020) between a negated contextual sub-DRS K_i , whose content is a fraction of that of K_i . He further argues that the content of K_{isub} is pragmatically derived from the *Question-under-Discussion* (QuD) (see (Phillips 2021:69) for details).

$$(8) K_i \ominus K_j \Leftrightarrow (K_i) \wedge (\neg K_{isub} \diamond K_j) \quad (\ominus \text{ is the rhetorical function denoted by } bambai)$$

Generalizing this analysis to the above data raises some non-trivial issues. Thus, (8) cannot apply to positive biclausal hypothetical apprehensives such (2), as it would make the consequent dependent on the *negation* of the antecedent; but (2) is a positive conditional (‘if *P*, then *Q*’) with *P* non-directive, not a negative conditional (‘*P* or else *Q*’) with *P* directive. Applying (8) to the mono-clausal, prohibitive type (6) would also be problematic; $\neg K_{isub}$ boils down to the mere negation of the propositional content of K_i (i.e., the prohibitive antecedent), its content is not pragmatically inferred. What *is* inferred and contextually accommodated, is the (predictive) consequent (K_j in (8)). Phillips’s analysis really cannot hold in (6). These problems suggest that we should assign different semantics, to different syntactic types of apprehensive structures. We will propose that we in fact need a theory resorting to SDRT-style *discourse relations* (Asher & Lascarides 2003), bearing on underspecified discourse referents (not mere sub-DRSs) in some types of apprehensive structures.

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What Do Conditionals Commit Us To? Ontological Dimensions of Hypothetical Meaning Across Languages – Hadil Karawani

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This paper examines the ontological categories recruited in the construction of conditional meaning across languages. We ask: What kinds of entities – events, situations, modal alternatives, modal worlds, truthmakers – are invoked in conditional constructions, and how do these ontological commitments vary typologically? By bringing ontological analysis into direct dialogue with cross-linguistic typology, this paper seeks to advance our understanding of how languages conceptualize possibility and hypothetical thought.



When to intervene: Lifetime effects and other conditional mysteries – Stefan Kaufmann

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English “X-marked” conditionals (traditionally often labeled “subjunctive” or “counterfactual”) are divided into two subclasses, labeled Simple Past (SPX) and Past Perfect (PPX), illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. If John ran the marathon next spring, he would win. [SPX]
b. If John had run the Marathon next spring, he would have won. [PPX]

One prominent proposal about the SPX/PPX contrast is that it has to do with the remoteness or far-fetchedness of the antecedent, based in part on the observation that (1a) is preferred in a context in which John is alive, whereas (1b) is preferred when John is (known to be) dead. But other facts, in English and other languages, cast doubt on this idea. For instance, SPX is the preferred form for cases in which the antecedent is either (i) possible though unlikely (“Future-Less-Vivid”, Iatridou 2000), or (ii) completely impossible (as in counterfactuals). PPX, meanwhile, is preferred in cases somewhere in-between. This strangely disjoint range of SPX uses suggests that something else is behind the division.

More recent work on a range of languages with Past/Perfect marking in SPX or PPX conditionals (English, German, Serbian, Japanese) has established that while in SPX conditionals it does not seem to have its usual meaning of temporal anteriority (“fake Past”), PPX conditionals do involve a genuine temporal backshift. This view provides a better fit for the data mentioned, but it needs to be refined in view of further observations.

In this talk, I survey some of these challenges, focusing on “lifetime effects”: if the temporal backshift associated with PPX does not open up a plausible (i.e., causally coherent) course of events that makes the antecedent true, SPX is preferred. This is attested not only in English, but also in other languages. I propose a semantic account in terms of the temporal location of causal interventions.



Clarifying the limits of conditionality using semantic map analysis – Steve Nicolle

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In order to fruitfully discuss “the various ways in which natural languages worldwide express conditionality”¹ it is important to establish what is meant by “conditionality”. There is general agreement that conditional constructions describe “hypothetical scenarios”² in that “they do not express either the truth or the falsity of p or q ” (Comrie 1986: 80), but this covers a range of cases, including counterfactual conditionals, in which p is assumed to be false (although in English this is an implicature, as shown by the possibility of Arsenic conditionals) and “reality conditionals” (Longacre & Hwang 2007), in which p is assumed to be true, say, for the sake of argument (‘If all men are mortal, and Socrates is a man, then Socrates is mortal’), or when p describes a habitual or generic situation (‘If you step on the brake, the car slows down’). These are both situations in which conditional constructions *are used* to express situations in which p is known to be true or false, but which do not *encode* the truth or falsity of p or q . However, in the case

¹ Sharma, 2025. Call for papers, *Conditional Constructs Across World Languages*, <https://conawl-2025.sciencesconf.org/>

² Sharma, 2025.

of ‘concessive conditionals’, *q* is asserted, but the label ‘conditional’ has been used nevertheless owing to the fact that, in many languages, the subordinate clause in such constructions has the form of a conditional clause modified by a scalar additive, such as English *even if* (Haspelmath & König 1998).

I will show that ‘conditional’ is neither a cross-linguistic generic category such as aspect, tense, number, or person (Boye 2010), nor a language-specific descriptive category such as Russian Perfective aspect, or French Feminine noun; rather, I will argue that it is a cross-linguistic comparative concept in the sense of Haspelmath (2010, 2012, 2018; see also Beck 2016). That is, ‘conditional’ is not a natural kind or pre-determined category, but a theoretical concept that allows linguists to compare how different languages express a particular range of meaning. As such, no definition of conditionality is right or wrong, only “more or less well suited to the task of permitting crosslinguistic comparison” (Haspelmath 2010: 665).

Conditionality is typically conceived as an abstraction from the range of meanings expressed by ‘conditional constructions’ in European languages, but I will suggest that semantic maps (Croft 2003; de Haan 2010; Haspelmath 2003; van der Auwera & Plungian 1998) provide a more principled way to define conditional as a comparative concept. Furthermore, semantic maps can reveal related comparative concepts that might be better suited to describing and comparing certain languages, particularly a number spoken outside of Europe. Building on the semantic map of conditionality proposed by Mao (2013), I will look at what such concepts might look like if based on the descriptive categories that best describe various non-European languages.

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Counterfactual conditionals through the lens of type and antitype-based comparison – Jesus Olguín-Martínez

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Linguistic typology has traditionally been characterized by strong data reduction, stemming from the use of binary or categorical classifications (Cysouw 2005: 562). Put another way, in traditional typological paradigms, languages have usually been treated as single data points with a binary or categorical value. However, as typological findings become finer-grained, it is now well known that there are many examples where a binary or categorical classification does not work (e.g., languages are not simply nominative/accusative, ergative/absolutive, or agent/ patient; Mithun 2016: 2). This has given rise to methodological approaches to typology that are based on non-categorical measures and that have led us to uncover deeper factors behind the shapes languages take (e.g., Token-Based Typology; Levshina 2019; Typology of Templates; Good 2016; Multivariate and Distributional Typology; Bickel 2010, 2015).

In this presentation, I introduce a new methodological approach to linguistic typology and corpus-based analysis that provides a higher degree of descriptive accuracy than previous attempts: TYPE AND ANTITYPE-BASED COMPARISON (e.g., Olguín Martínez & Rogers 2024; Olguín Martínez & Gries 2024; Olguín Martínez & Gries, in press). In this approach, special attention is paid to how syntax, lexicon, discourse, and semantics fit together in a unified model, i.e., how syntactic factors interact with lexical, discourse, and semantic factors in language use and which configurations of features are preferred (i.e. occur more often than expected by chance, which in the literature are referred to as TYPES) or dispreferred (i.e. occur less often than expected by chance, which in the literature are referred to as ANTITYPES). In type and antitype-based comparison, there is no conceptual directionality, i.e., there are no dependent or independent variables, as in popular regression models. Instead, linguistic variables show different degrees of association strength giving rise to cross-clausal associations. Accordingly, type and antitypes can lead us to a better understanding of the ranges of factors involved in the entrenchment of constructions and a deeper theoretical understanding of how speakers organize their grammatical knowledge.

In this presentation, I discuss the implementation of type and antitype-based comparison from a typological and corpus-based perspective in two case studies: (1) standard counterfactual conditionals in typological perspective (e.g., *if he had not already arrived, we would have postponed the meeting*) and (2) proxy counterfactual conditional constructions in English (e.g., *I wouldn't do that if I were you*).

The analysis of types and antitypes affords a uniquely informative window into the workings of grammar and processes of linguistic diversity. It provides an integrative, non-modular approach that looks at how the dynamic emergence of complex configurations serve the communicative, cognitive, and collaborative goals of its users. Moreover, it provides us with new criteria for classification and a testing ground for universal functional constraints. Analyzing interfaces (e.g., syntax-prosody interface; syntax-discourse interface) provides an important point of departure. However, the investigation of types and antitypes may provide a more holistic framework for grammatical analysis and can lead us to uncover links between language, social organization, and cognition that have been traditionally neglected.

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Unveiling Counterfactuality in Mandarin: A Comparative Study with English and its Typological Implications – Qian YONG

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Abstract: Traditional approaches to Counterfactuals (CFs) have long been dominated by an Indo-European-centric perspective, which posits a strong association between CFs and past tense morphology. Cross-linguistic comparison has challenged the Indo-European bias by revealing that CF markers extend beyond past tense to include imperfect, as in Karawani & Zeijlstra (2010, 2013) and Karawani (2014). Subsequent typological studies leveraging large-scale databases (e.g., 50+ languages) have identified universal patterns in CF markings. Van Linden & Verstraete (2008) lays the groundwork for analyzing simple CFs across 80 languages. Olguín Martínez (2024) analyzes 51 languages to uncover two primary strategies: standard blocking and non-standard blocking. Yong (2016, 2023) expanded this scope, revealing syntactic and semantic diversity in CF constructions, while Von Prince (2024) synthesizes these findings to argue that CF marking universally correlates with mood systems and grammaticalization gradients.

However, research on CFs has long been dominated by languages with explicit markers, leaving a gap in our understanding of how counterfactuality is constructed in “marker-less” languages. This study addresses this gap by investigating the linguistic mechanisms underpinning CF expressions in Mandarin and situating them within a broader typological framework. Mandarin Chinese, as a language without overt CF markers, relies primarily on contextual cues to convey counterfactuality. This makes the study of languages like Mandarin crucial for understanding the pragmatic mechanisms that underpin the construction and interpretation of CF meanings. Utilizing a corpus-driven approach, we conducted a comparative analysis of Mandarin (TORCH corpus) and English (BROWN corpus). Moving beyond simple frequency counts, we employed phi (ϕ)-coefficient correlation to quantify the strength of association between linguistic features and CF meanings. Our findings reveal a fundamental typological contrast: English relies on a centralized “main trigger” mechanism, where a few grammaticalized markers (e.g., “would”) systematically encode counterfactuality. In stark contrast, Mandarin employs a dispersed “gestalt feature” system, where CF meaning emerges from the holistic convergence of multiple, weakly to moderately correlated cues, such as tense references, modal adverbs, factive negation and so on.

A key discovery is the bifurcation of CF strategies in Mandarin. Conditional CFs (e.g., “If he had been there...”) operate via premise strengthening, relying on realis elements (e.g., past markers, factive negation) to establish the necessary “closeness” to reality, formalized here as an embedded necessity operator ($\square P$) in the protasis. Conversely, deontic CFs outside conditionals (e.g., “You should have come earlier”) are driven by the inherent closeness properties of modal operators like *yīnggāi* (“should”), a correlation significantly enhanced by comparative expressions. This clear separation of strategies, using realis elements

for conditional CFs and irrealis forms for deontic CFs, is a distinctive feature of Mandarin not commonly observed in other languages.

By introducing the “gestalt feature” versus “main trigger” dichotomy, this research provides a novel theoretical framework for understanding cross-linguistic variation in CF marking. It highlights the complex interplay between syntax, pragmatics, and modality in constructing alternative worlds, advancing theories of language universals and the semantics of non-actuality.

Keywords: Counterfactuality, Mandarin Chinese, Gestalt Features, Modality

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Open submissions

Grammatical Encoding of Restrictiveness and Referentiality in Conditionals in Standard Japanese and the Saga Dialect – Setsuko Arita

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Two major semantic approaches to conditional clauses have been widely discussed: the *restrictive analysis*, which treats conditionals as restricting epistemic modal operators (Kratzer 1986), and the *referential analysis*, which interprets conditionals as domain restrictors over possible worlds (Stalnaker 1968; Ebert et al. 2014). The referential analysis has proven advantageous in accounting for constructions such as biscuit conditionals (Austin 1956) and the independent rebuttal uses of the Spanish conditional marker *si* (Schwenter 2016), and has been argued to subsume the explanatory scope of the restrictive view (Ebert et al. 2014).

When applied to Japanese, however, certain phenomena appear to favor the restrictive approach. Modern Standard Japanese possesses four basic conditional forms *-reba* and *-tara* (verbal suffixes, with *-ta* in *-tara* behaving morphophonemically as the past morpheme *-ta*), *-to* (attached only to non-past forms), and *-nara* (a copula-based conditional form)—whose distribution is influenced by the modality of the main clause (see Takubo 2020 for morphological details). All four forms can co-occur with epistemic modality, but restrictions emerge with other types of modality. For example, *-to* is generally incompatible with priority modality, dynamic modality (cf. Portner 2009 for terminology), and directive speech acts such as commands and requests, while *-reba* is also constrained in directive contexts. These modality-based

restrictions in Japanese conditionals have been empirically examined in Arita (2020) and support a restrictive analysis.

Nonetheless, Japanese also exhibits phenomena better accounted for under a referential analysis. In particular, the copula-derived form *-nara* appears to mark indicative or referential uses. Similar patterns are observed across Japanese dialects, but the Saga dialect of Kyushu offers especially compelling evidence. This dialect features a conditional form *-gi*, etymologically derived from a term meaning “restriction,” which overlaps functionally with Standard Japanese *-to* and *-reba*, and exhibits similar modality-based restrictions. In addition, Saga employs a form *-naiba*, cognate with *-nara*, which appears to specialize in referential uses. These two forms, *-gi* and *-naiba*, thus exhibit a grammatical division of labor corresponding to the restrictive and referential interpretations, respectively.

This presentation argues that in both Standard Japanese and the Saga dialect, the dual semantic roles of conditional clauses—restrictiveness and referentiality—are explicitly encoded in the grammar through distinct conditional forms. These findings offer new insights into the typology of conditionals and contribute to the cross-linguistic understanding of the semantics–pragmatics interface.

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Two types of X-marking in Akan conditionals – Giuliano Armenante

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Conditionals in Akan: X-marked conditionals (von Fintel & Iatridou 2023) in Akan have been claimed to involve “fake past” (Duah & Savic 2020: 85). We argue instead that tense is always temporal, with remoteness conveyed by the particle *anka* (1-2). Only *anka*, not past tense, appears in counterfactuals (3).

- (1) Context (*realis*): Kofi attended a dinner party last week where the chicken was reportedly spoiled. You’re now wondering what happened.

a. Se Kofi di-ì akokɔ áà, **ɛnɛ/#anka** ɔ-yare-è.
 COND Kofi eat-PAST chicken REL **then/X** 3SG.S-sick-PAST
 ‘If he ate chicken, he got sick.’

- (2) Context (*irrealis*): Kofi attended a dinner last week where the chicken was spoiled, but fortunately he ate something else.

a. Sε Kofi di-ì akokɔ áà, #εneε/anka ɔ-yare-è.
 COND Kofi eat-PAST chicken REL **then/X** 3SG.S-sick-PAST
 ‘If he had eaten chicken, he would have got sick.’

(3) Sε aponkɔ di(-#i) enam áà, anka ye-be-hu agyina-moa kakraa bi.
 COND horse eat-PAST meat REL X 1PL.S-FUT-see cat very.little some
 ‘If horses ate meat, we would see fewer cats.’

Interestingly, past tense is strongly preferred in future X-marked conditionals such as (4).

(4) Context: You missed the weekly football game yesterday, but are free tomorrow, the only day you have off. You say:

a. Sε ye-bɔ-#(o) ball nó okyena áà, **anka** mε-ba.
 COND 1PL.S-play-PAST football DET tomorrow REL X 1SG.FUT-come
 ‘If we had played tomorrow, I would have come.’

Proposal: We propose that *anka* serves as a remoteness marker, expanding the antecedent p-worlds to remote alternatives accessible from the actual world at the time of evaluation. These may include impossible worlds in the case of counterfactuals.

(5) $\llbracket \text{anka} \rrbracket^{(w^t)}(p) = \{ w' : w' \approx_t w \text{ and } p(w') \}$

The resulting property is closed off by a Kratzer-style modal, typically the future morpheme *be*. In the presence of a dedicated X-marker like *anka*, past tense in Akan contributes standard temporal reference — explaining the infelicity of past-tensed counterfactuals in (3). However, the acceptability of (4) suggests that past tense can also support modal remoteness via backshifting (cf. Kaufmann 2023, Mizuno 2023), shifting the evaluation time to an earlier time when the relevant facts (e.g., the football schedule) were unsettled.

Outlook: Akan conditionals reveal a division of labor: remoteness is primarily marked by *anka*, but may be reinforced by backshifted past tense, always interpreted temporally. These findings align with cross-linguistic patterns (cf. Kaufmann & Todorović 2024), possibly suggesting that past tense may be “repurposed” only when no dedicated remoteness marker is available.

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La structure des phrases conditionnelles en Nuasúe (langue Bantu A62A) : typologie et exponentiation morphosyntaxique –Adriel Josias BÉBINÉ

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Résumé

Cette communication se propose d’analyser la structure des constructions conditionnelles en nuasúe, une langue bantoue du groupe yambasa du Mbam (A62A), parlée dans les villages Omendé et Yangben au Cameroun, sur la base de données primaires recueillies sur le terrain. L’étude détaillera la nature des formes verbales dans la protase et l’apodose, en mettant en évidence les marques morphologiques spécifiques, les configurations syntaxiques et l’emploi éventuel de particules ou morphèmes additionnels codant les différentes valeurs modales. En s’appuyant sur la typologie des conditionnels de Thompson, Longacre et Hwang (2007), cette recherche révèle l’existence de quatre types de conditionnels en nuasúe, positionnés sur un continuum réel-irréel des formes verbales temporelles et modales. Deux types se situent vers le pôle du réel : les conditionnels imminent et habituel, exprimés à travers des formes verbales assumant des fonctions grammaticales telles que le subjonctif et le narratif inaccompli. Les deux autres, plus proches du domaine de l’irréel (conditionnels hypothétique et contrefactuel), présentent des marques spécifiques d’irréel accompli (contrefactuel) et d’irréel inaccompli (hypothétique), signalant fondamentalement la non-conformité du procès à la réalité et se distinguant principalement par le ton. De plus, cette analyse démontrera comment le degré de certitude du locuteur quant au moment de réalisation de l’événement dans la protase ou l’apodose, ainsi que la nature de la relation condition-conséquence, induisent des variations dans la structure et la signification des formes verbales au sein des propositions conditionnelles.

Mots-clés : Nuasúe, langues bantoues, phrases conditionnelles, morphosyntaxe, Temps-Aspect-Mode, irréel.



Presence, optionality, or absence of conditional coding in ‘even (if)’ concessive conditionals: A closer look at African languages – Tom Bossuyt

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The present contribution is concerned with a special type of conditional constructions known as “concessive conditionals”. Like prototypical conditionals (‘if p , then q ’), concessive conditionals link a protasis to an apodosis. Unlike prototypical conditionals, however, they link not one, but an open, partially ordered set of antecedents in their protasis to the consequent in their apodosis: ‘if $\{p_1, p_2, p_3, \dots\}$, then q ’ (Haspelmath & König 1998: 565; Leuschner 2020: 236, among others). More specifically, the present contribution is concerned with “scalar concessive conditionals” (SCCs), i.e., concessive conditionals that evoke the multiplicity of antecedents in the protasis by overtly expressing a single, contextually extreme value p_n for which one would expect that ‘normally if p_n , then $\neg q$ ’. It is implied that the conditional relationship will also hold for less extreme values on the same scale (König 1986: 233–234).

In many languages, SCCs are formed by combining an additive focus operator with a conditional clause (Haspelmath & König 1998: 584–589). These focus operators may be inherently scalar-additive (cf. English *even* in *even if* or French *même* in *même si*) or they may be generic additives that are underspecified for scalarity (cf. Hungarian *is* in *ha ... is* or Turkish *dA* in *-sA dA*). In European languages that form SCCs using this coding strategy, the conditional conjunction is usually obligatory. According to König (2017:

König, Ekkehard. 2017. Syntax and semantics of additive focus markers from a cross-linguistic perspective. In Anna-Maria De Cesare & Cecilia Adorno (eds.), *Focus on additivity: adverbial modifiers in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 23–43.



Elaborative Discourse Markers in Georgian Conditional Constructions – Khatia Buskivadze

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This paper investigates the interaction between elaboration and conditionality in Georgian conditional sentences from the perspective of Construction Grammar (CxG) focusing on the elaborative discourse markers such as ანუ (anu, so/ that is), ე.ი. (e.i., so, that means), ასე რომ ვთქვათ (ase rom vtqvət, so to say), სხვა სიტყვებით რომ ვთქვათ (skhva sitkvebit rom vtqvət, in other words). Using The Georgian Web Corpus (kaWaC) as an empirical data source, this study seeks to identify the elaborative discourse markers that are commonly used in Georgian conditional constructions; to describe their discourse-pragmatic functions; and to examine how constructional forms interact with the expression of conditional meaning/interpretation. Construction Grammar is particularly useful for studying EDMs as it conceptualizes meaning as a form-function pairing, enabling an integrated analysis of how syntactic structure, pragmatic function and discourse context jointly contribute to the expression of conditionality.

Drawing upon Fraser’s (2009, 2015) classification of pragmatic markers (PMs), elaborative discourse markers constitute a subcategory of discourse markers that indicate the speaker’s intention to restate, clarify, or expand a prior proposition; Within conditional constructions, they often function to establish inferential or hypothetical relationships between propositions/discourse segments and thereby contribute to the discourse-pragmatic realization of conditional meaning:

- (1) საკუთარი თავის რწმენა და მუდმივი შრომა დაგვეხმარება ნებისმიერი სირთულის გადალახვაში. ანუ, თუ გვჯერა საკუთარი შესაძლებლობების და არ ვეშვებით სირთულეების წინაშე, შეგვიძლია მი-ვაღწიო-თ დიდ წარმატ-ებ-ას.

Anu, tu gv-jera sakutari shesadzleblob-eb-is da ar sheshvebi-t sirtule-eb-is tsinashe, she-gvidzli-a mi-vaghtsiot did tsarmatebas.

That.is if 1PL-believe-PRS.3SG own ability-PL-DAT and NEG 1PL-let.go-PRS-1PL difficulty-PL-GEN before can/be.able-PRS.1PL PV-1PL-reach-SBJV great success-DAT

“Faith in oneself and constant work will help us overcome any difficulty. **That is, if we believe in our abilities and do not give up in the face of difficulties, we can achieve great success.**”

- (2) ე.ი. თუ არაბუნებრივია, ე.ი. ხელოვნური გამოდის, არა?
e.i. tu arabunebriv-ia, e.i. khelovnuri gamod-is, ara?
that.means if unnatural-COP.PRS.3SG **that.is** artificial come.out-PRS.3SG Q.TAG
 “**That is, if it’s unnatural, that is it turns out to be artificial, right?**”

In the example (1) Elaborative discourse marker ანუ (anu) functions as a constructional cue marking the transition between the propositions – a general or abstract statement (“Faith and work can overcome any difficulty”) and a more specific, conditional instantiation of that principle (“if we believe in our abilities and don’t give up...”). Elaborative function of **anu** lies in connecting these two ideas while its conditional meaning emerges through the combination with თუ (tu, if) construction which specifies the circumstances under which the general schema holds.

As a multifunctional language phenomenon, the same DMs may contribute differently to the semantic or pragmatic meanings of the utterance. In the example (2) the first EDM **ჟ.ო. (e.i., that is/means)** with the combination of conditional marker *if (თუ, tu)* introduces a conditional premise (“that is, if it’s unnatural...”), while the second **ჟ.ო. (e.i. that is/means)** marks the inferred or elaborated conclusions (“that is, it turns out to be artificial”) that together encode a reasoning or inference schema (**premise** → **conclusion**): if X (unnatural), then Y (artificial).

The study identified the following linguistic features of EDMs in Georgian conditional sentences: 1) contextual sensitivity-EDMs adjust their pragmatic functions when used in if clause; 2) syntactic position- clause-initial (if+EDM+clause), post-focal (if+fokus+EDM+verb) or clause final protasis+EDM+apodosis; 3) prosodic or connective autonomy- often isolated by comma/ pause; 4) multifunctionality- different discourse and pragmatic functions such as clarification, reformulation, concluding, summarizing, interactional (softeners/register and formality).

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Antipresupposition: Turkish -sA Unified – Ateş İsmail Çalışır

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The conditional morpheme in Turkish comes in two varieties, *-sA* and *-(y)sA*, for subjunctive and indicative forms respectively (Göksel & Kerslake 2005, Soykan 2021).

Indicative Context:

Mary is waiting to decide whether to go to school today. John texted her earlier saying he might come. If he does, she wants to go with him. If not, she'll stay home. She's still unsure, checking her phone. The speaker says:

- (1) ✓ Can gel-ir-se Meryem okul-a gid-er
 John come-aor-SA Mary school-dat go-aor
 “If John comes, Mary will go to school.”

- (2) # Can gel-se Meryem okul-a gid-er
 John come-SA Mary school-dat go-aor
 “If John came, Mary would go to school.”

Subjunctive Context: (the speaker believes that p is less likely than $\neg p$)

John is usually too lazy to come to school these days, and today is no exception—he’s probably at home sleeping. Mary dislikes going to school unless John is there, but since he’s unlikely to come, she’s will probably stay home too. The speaker says:

- (1) # Can gel-ir-se Meryem okul-a gid-er
 John come-aor-SA Mary school-dat go-aor
 “If John comes, Mary will go to school.”
- (2) ✓ Can gel-se Meryem okul-a gid-er
 John come-SA Mary school-dat go-aor
 “If John came, Mary would go to school.”

This creates a problem for the general analysis of subjunctive conditionals since the main argument proposes that the added past morpheme in subjunctive conditionals in many languages like English provides a meaning contribution to change the conditional from indicative to subjunctive. In Turkish, however, the morphologically more complex form is the indicative, assuming that -sA and -(y)sA are not two distinct morphemes. This creates a problem for a unified analysis of conditionals cross-linguistically.

Here, I will adopt Leahy (2011)’s antipresupposition analysis of indicative conditionals to unify the two morphemes under a single meaning. The analysis proposes that indicative conditionals in English come with a presupposition that the proposition is epistemically possible according to speaker. By assuming that the aorist morpheme in Turkish -Ar carrying such a presupposition, it’s possible to unify the two morphemes.

(3) Presupposition of -Ar: $\diamond_{\text{epis}} p$

The presupposition eliminates the worlds that the speaker deems epistemically impossible and by virtue of antipresupposition, the bare form lacking the aorist is delegated to the cases where the speaker is not in a position to utter the aorist form. This pragmatically derives the future-less-vivid meaning without proposing any kind of ambiguity wrt. the -sA morpheme.

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Conditionality and Temporality: A Comparative Study of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese – Choi, Dao & Nishio

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This talk presents a descriptive comparative study of conditional constructions and their temporal marking patterns in Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese, revealing three fundamentally different grammatical solutions for encoding hypothetical reasoning and its interaction with tense-aspect systems. Conditionals universally express protasis-apodosis relations (Comrie 1986), yet these languages display striking variation in how they grammaticalize the semantic space of conditionals. The study focuses on two dimensions: (i) the typological profiles of conditional systems, and (ii) the role of temporal marking (past/present/future) across three critical contexts – real/future conditionals, counterfactuals, and generic/habitual conditionals.

We first establish three distinct typological profiles. Vietnamese exemplifies a compositional-lexical strategy. As an isolating language lacking verbal inflection, it uses multiple free markers (*néu, khi, cứ, hẽ, mõi khi*) that combine with other particles (*thì, là, đã*) to encode fine-grained aspectual distinctions (cf. Thompson 1987). For instance, *cứ* appears multifunctionally across sufficiency, instruction, and warning contexts, while the contrast between *cứ* and *hẽ* encodes an aspectual contrast (persistent vs. punctual).

Japanese demonstrates a four-way paradigmatic system (*-ba, -to, -tara, -nara*) with modal-epistemic specialization (cf. Jacobsen 1992). The marker *-to* shows temporal sensitivity: past-tense apodoses yield retrospective discovery readings (e.g. *When I turned right, there was a bank*), while non-past apodoses yield generic patterns based on known regularity (e.g. *If you turn right, there is a bank*). This epistemic-evidential function explains *-to*'s incompatibility with volitional expressions, as discoveries cannot be intended actions. The marker *-nara* requires discourse-grounded information, functioning as a presupposition marker rather than introducing new hypothetical scenarios.

Korean presents a binary semantic split with the feature [\square hypothetical]: *-(u)myen* is unrestricted, while *-tamyen* is limited to strictly hypothetical contexts, blocking generic causal relations. Crucially, this distinction does not reflect the realis/irrealis status of the event itself, but rather whether the conditional relation represents a real-world regularity vs. a contingent possibility. For instance, in the context of “*When/if spring arrives, it gets warm*”, *-(u)myen* is acceptable, but *-tamyen* is not, because the spring-warmth relation is a natural regularity, not a hypothetical contingency.

We then examine temporal marking, with counterfactual focus. In all three languages, past morphology marks counterfactuality (Vietnamese *đã*, Japanese *-ta*, Korean *-ess*), where past signals exclusion from present reality rather than temporal anteriority (cf. Iatridou 2000). Implementation varies: Vietnamese marks the apodosis only (free particle), Japanese uses a bound suffix plus the counterfactual particle *noni*, and Korean requires strictly obligatory past marking in both clauses, combined with future morphology, representing maximal explicitness. Future marking proves optional across languages, while present/non-past forms encode generic truths. A clear temporal asymmetry emerges: obligatory past in counterfactuals vs. optional future in real conditionals.

This study provides detailed documentation of conditional systems and their temporal dimensions, establishing a foundation for theoretical accounts of cross-linguistic variation in conditional marking and the interaction between tense, aspect, and modality.

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Expressing Conditionality in Contemporary Serbian Language - Ružica Farmakovski & Kristina Dragović

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In contemporary Serbian, conditionality – that is, the conditional mode of expression – can be realized in various ways. The most common structure involves a conjunction (or a conjunctive construction) combined with a conditional verb form.

Three fundamental types of conditional constructions are identified, each associated with specific tense and modal distinctions:

1. **First Conditional** – expresses real or possible conditions in the present or future (if + fut.2, + fut. 1 [or present tense]):
Ako budeš učio u kontinuitetu, položićeš [položeš] ispit.
(= If you study consistently, you will pass the exam.)
2. **Second Conditional** – signifies unreal or hypothetical conditions in the present (if + cond., + cond.):
Ako bih imao vremena, otišao bih na koncert.
(= If I had time, I would go to the concert.)
3. **Third Conditional** – indicates unreal conditions in the past (if + perfect [or pluskvamperf.], + cond.):
Da si mi to rekao, ja bih znao.
(= If you had told me that, I would have known.)

However, other constructions may also be employed, such as the use of modal verbs or syntactic rearrangement (inversion) in conditional clauses.

This paper will, among other things, address the semantic dimensions of these structures (e.g., modal, temporal, real, or unreal meanings...), and will outline all fundamental forms (structures) used to express conditionality. Each of these structures is associated with a specific tense and modality.

The study will examine the types of conditionals (i.e., conditional constructions) and their respective functions, as well as the syntactic and semantic conditions under which a given conditional appears. Additionally, it will explore their syntactic equivalents (synonyms). For this investigation, a Serbian language corpus will be utilized, along with supplementary scholarly literature. The authors will employ both descriptive methodology and contrastive analysis, in order to present the similarities and differences relative to other Indo-European languages as transparently as possible.

Keywords: conditionality, modality, syntax, semantics, pragmatics



Conditional Systems of Classical Arabic. A Study in Syntax and Semantics – Manuela E.B. Giolfo

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By taking into analysis the conditional structures of Classical Arabic both in the Arab and in the European grammatical tradition, the research shows important divergences between the two traditions as regards the hierarchy of conditional particles, the concept of conditional sentence, the correlation between conditional structures and imperfect/perfect tenses. The study considers then *'in šarṭ ḡawāb al-šarṭ* (hypothetical particle - protasis - apodosis) systems as treated by earliest Arab scholars and investigates the opposition between imperfect/perfect verbal forms as a reason for including/excluding verbal structures in/from the conditional system. A modal hypothesis is thus made that the frontier between imperfect/perfect verbal forms (*yaqum/qāma*) in the conditional context may be interpreted in terms of the opposition between the two modal categories of *possibility vs necessity*. The hypothesis, tested on the Koran, seems to shed new light on the interpretation of the verbal system of Classical Arabic as a whole, showing that its coherent complexity could be explained, in a relational semantics perspective, by a purely relativistic interpretation of the opposition between the imperfect/perfect conjugation in the different pragmatical contexts.



Conditional constructions in A'ingae – Kees Hengeveld

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A'ingae (Cofán, Kofán) is a language isolate spoken in the provinces of Putumayo and Nariño in Colombia, along the San Miguel, Guamués, and Putumayo rivers, and in the province of Sucumbíos in Ecuador, along the Aguarico River. The current paper presents a detailed discussion of conditional constructions in the language.

Conditionals may be expressed in different ways. Apart from asyndetic paratactic and co-subordinating realizations, there are two major dedicated strategies to express conditions, as illustrated in (1) and (2):

- (1) Vaja vane june ja'ta tsû sumbuin jaya.

va=ja va=ne ju=ne ja=ta=tsû sumbu=in ja=ya
 prox=contr prox=so dist=so go=new=3 emerge=sim go=irr
 'If the huatusa goes in over here, it will come out over there.'
 (20040202-FASC-Panzaye-3-015)

- (2) Ū'jiñachuekaha titshe siuña.

ûn'jiña='chu=e='kan=ja titshe si'an=ya.
 rain=sub=advr=simill=contr more black=irr
 'If it were going to rain, there would be more clouds.' (elic.)

In both of these strategies the condition is marked by means of one of the topic markers available in the language, an option first discussed in Haiman (1978). In (1) this is the new topic marker =ta, in (2) the contrastive topic marker =ja. In irrealis conditions, as in (2), the topic marker is preceded by a complex of clitics: the general subordinator =‘chu, the adverbializer =e, and the similitive marker =‘kan (see also Dabkowski 2021). In realis conditions a distinction is furthermore made between same subject conditions, and different subject conditions, the former illustrated in (1), the latter in (3), in which the topic marker is preceded by the locative marker =ni:

(3) Uraejenindati ti’tshe kiñaña.

u’ru-en-’je=ni=ta=ti titshe kin-ña=ya
 smoke-caus=impv=loc=new=int more strength-caus=irr
 ‘If you smoke it does it last longer?’

The examples furthermore show that the verb in the apodosis carries the irrealis marker =ya.

As I will show in my paper, these constructions are employed, in Sweetser’s (1990) terminology, for content conditionals, epistemic conditionals, and speech act conditionals, except that in speech act conditionals the *irrealis* is not used in the apodosis. The major division in A’ingae thus seems to be that between realis and *irrealis* conditions. This is furthermore corroborated by the fact that the construction in (1) and (3) is used for temporal clauses as well, while the *irrealis* marking in (2) is also found in other counterfactual contexts, such as the expression of unreal wishes.

The asyndetic paratactic construction mentioned above is found in a very specific context, that of independence conditionals (Cruz & Over 2023), such as (4):

(4) Jundekhûhatsû faesû a’indekhû ñajangi a’jû.

ju=ndekhû=ja=tsû faesû a’indekhû ña=ja=ngi a’jû
 dist=apl=contr=3 other Cofân.person=apl 1.sg=contr=1 ant
 ‘If they are Sionas, I am an ant.’ (elic.)

Finally, co-subordinating constructions can have a wide range of adverbial uses, including (realis) conditional ones, as in (5):

(5) Pûshepa tsû ethini kanjeña.

pûshe=pa=tsû ethi=ni kanjen=ya
 marry=ss=3 house=loc live=irr
 ‘If he marries, he will stay in the house.’ (20040215-02-LC-Eresiune-013)

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Refining the typology of x-marking: The case of coptic conditional mood conditionals – Hadil Karawani & Chris H. Reintges

1. the issue. Von Fintel and Iatridou (2023) present a novel approach to the typology of conditional sentences, which brings together the morphosyntax and the compositional semantics of these complex biclausal structures. This typology is based on a binary distinction between O(pen)-marked conditionals and (e)X(tra) marked conditionals, whereby X-marking distinguishes counterfactual conditionals from those which are not. However, for a successful theory of X-marking the crosslinguistic facts must be put in chart. Here we propose a refinement of the theory based on a language-particular study of the well-developed conditional system in Coptic Egyptian ([Afroasiatic]; mid-3rd–12th c. ce).

2. Conditional protasis marking. The grammar of conditional statements varies widely in terms of morphosyntactic and semantic complexity. As unexpected as it may seem at first, all possible strategies for conditional clause formation are realized across languages and linguistic varieties. Either the antecedent or the consequent clause or both may contain extra morphological material. Either the antecedent or the consequent or both clauses may contain additional morphological material which distinguishes one conditional sentence type from another one. All the same, as argued by several researchers, conditional protasis marking emerges as the crosslinguistically preferred pattern (inter alia: Comrie 1986; Zaefferer 1991; Haspelmath and König 1998; Plado 2013; von Fintel and Iatridou 2023).

3. A special type of conditional. Coptic belongs to a small group of languages which employ a special subordinate verb paradigm for the purpose of conditional protasis marking. As a result, the language relies less on if- and when-type conjunctions and iconic protasis–apodosis order to encode conditionality. But conditionals formed with the conditional modal *fan* are syntactically restricted to the protasis clause of a conditional sentence. This distributional restriction is included as a possibility in von Fintel and Iatridou’s (2023:1471) questionnaire (“Does X-marking have uses outside conditionals?”).

4. MORPHEME ORDER VARIATION. The conditional mood paradigm is a morphologically non-uniform paradigm which comprises periphrastic and non-periphrastic forms. Each conditional form can be negated by adding the negative auxiliary *təm* ‘do not’ to the conditional mood marker *fan*. Grey shading indicates homophonous forms whereby the syncretism applies to minimally two cells.

Table 1. The affirmative and negative conditional mood paradigm

	Affirmative				Negative				
1SG	e	=i	=fan	so:təm	e	=i	=fan	=təm	so:təm
2SG.M	e	=k	=fan	so:təm	e	=k	=fan	=təm	so:təm
2SG.F	er	=fan	=Ø	so:təm	er	=fan	=Ø		so:təm
3SG.M	e	=f	=fan	so:təm	e	=f	=fan	=təm	so:təm
3SG.F	e	=s	=fan	so:təm	e	=s	=fan	=təm	so:təm
before NPs	er	=fan	NP	so:təm	er	=fan	=təm	NP	so:təm
1PL	e	=n	=fan	so:təm	e	=n	=fan	=təm	so:təm
2PL	e	=tetən	=fan	so:təm	e	=tetən	=fan	=təm	so:təm
	er	=fan	=tetən	so:təm					
3PL	e	=u:	=fan	so:təm	e	=u:	=fan	=təm	so:təm

The opposition between periphrastic and non-periphrastic (univerbized) forms are reflexes of context-sensitive morpheme order alternations in the syntax. The sequence relativizer > subject > conditional base > infinitive can be identified as the basic morpheme order, which can only be observed in the context of enclitic subject pronouns. The prosodic boundary between *fan* and the nonfinite verb phrase is strong enough as to prevent the insertion of prosodically weak function words. Because of this, the Greek discourse particle *de* occurs postverbally in clause-fifth position.

- (1) Preverbal order of conditional marker *fan* with *unstressed 2nd PL pronoun =tetən*

[e =tetən =fan ʔof de ən=ne=k^hartes
REL =CL.2PL =COND read.ABS PCL PREP=DEF.PL=text
[_{RC} et – she tʃin ʃo:rəp (...)]
REL write.STAT since early

“When you (plural) read the texts, which were written earlier (...)” (Shenoute III 126:15, ed. Leipoldt)

The non-basic morpheme order relativizer > conditional base > subject > infinitive applies in noun phrase subject contexts. The univerbation of the long form *ere* of the initial relative marker and the displaced conditional modal is apparent from final vowel elision [*ere + fan* → *ere + fan* → *er=fan*]. The univerbized *er + fan* cluster undergoes liaison adjacent noun phrase subject. As a result, the Greek particle *de* in clause-fourth position to the left of the subject and the right of the verb phrase.

- (2) Presubject order of conditional marker *fan* with a full *noun phrase subject*

[er =fan u=sən de ʃoʔək^je=f (...)]
REL COND INDEF.SG=brother PCL hurt.CNST=CL.3M.SG

“If a brother hurts himself (...)” (Precepts of Pachomius nr. 105, 32:3, ed. Lefort)

The derived *presubject order of conditional marker fan* can be seen as a type of conditional inversion whereby the noun phrase subject and the conditional modal exchange their position.

5. ANALYTICAL CHALLENGES ARISING. In von Fintel and Iatridou system, the conditional mood auxiliary *fan* which serves as the base of the paradigm has a Janus-faced character. On the one hand, it marks open conditionals, where the condition is presented as possible and likely to be fulfilled. On the other hand, it constitutes an additional morphological layer of the protasis clause and would therefore qualify as an (e)X(tra)-marker. There are also types of open conditionals which lack a conditional X-marker. A case in point are circumstantial adverbial clauses with present tense reference. Bare adverbial clauses are introduced by an initial relative marker without there being a subordinating conjunction.

(3) Bare adverbial circumstantial present clause with open conditional interpretation

ʔawo:	hoβ	nim	[_{RC}	e	=tetən	na	aitei	əmmə=u:
and	thing	each		REL	=CL.2PL	EPIST.FUT	ask.ABS	PREP=CL.3PL
həm	pe=tən=ʃel]							
in	DEF.M.SG=POSS.2PL=prayer							
[e	=tetən	pisteue]	tet(ən)=	na	tʔit	=u:	
	REL	=CL.2PL	believe.ABS	CL.2PL=	EPIST.FUT	receive.CNST	=CL.3PL	

“And everything you will ask for in your prayer: If you believe, you will receive it.” (Matthew 21:22, ed. Balestri)

5. THE TENSELESSNESS OF CONDITION MOOD CONDITIONALS. We will push the analysis one level further by arguing that conditional mood are tenseless adverbial subordinate clauses. Naturally, for a dead language like Coptic, which may still be used but does not have any native speakers, the demonstration can only be made indirectly. The force of argument is based upon the non-cooccurrence of independent tense and aspect morphology in the conditional protasis clauses. This includes present tense reference which has no exponence. Previous scholars, for instance, Steindorff (1951:152 §328), Till (1966: 218 §447) and Polotsky (1990: 258 §30) treated *conditional mood conditionals* as circumstantial present tense clauses. The received wisdom is challenged by our alternative analysis according to which there can be no additional tam expression – overt or covert – besides the modal auxiliary *fan*. For the purpose of this abstract we present only one argument which comes from negation. As seen in the second column of Table 1 above, each conditional form can be negated by adding the negative auxiliary *təm* ‘do not’ by adding the negative auxiliary *təm* to the modal auxiliary base *fan*.

(4) Preverbal order of the negative conditional *fan* + *təm* with subject clitics

eʃo:pe	de	[e	=f	=fan	=təm	so:təm	ənsə:=u:]
COMP	PCL		REL	=CL.3M.SG	COND	NEG.AUX	hear.ABS	after=CL.3PL

“If he (the brother) does not listen to them (...)” (Matthew 18:17, ed. Balestri)

Conversely, circumstantial present tense clauses pattern like with main present tense sentence in employing the standard bipartite negation strategy [*nə ... ʔan*].

(5) Standard *bipartite negation* [*nə ... ʔan*] in negated circumstantial present clauses

p= [RC et – so:təm de erɔ=u]
 DEF.M.SG REL listen.ABS PCL to=CL.3PL
 [e nə =f eire mmə=u ʔan]
 REL NEG₁ CL.3M.SG do.ABS PREP=CL.3PL NEG₂
 [e =f tənton e=u=ro.me [RC e =f
 REL CL.3M.SG resemble.ABS PREP=INDEF.SG=man REL CL.3M.SG
 [RC e ʔa =f əm=pe=f=εu (...)]
 REL PERF CL.3M.SG PREP=DEF.M.SG=POSS.3M.SG=house

“The one who listens to them (My words) without doing them is like a man (...)” (Luke 6:49, ed. Quecke)

If conditional mood conditions were a conditionally interpreted circumstantial present tense clause, the difference in negation patterns would be mysterious.

6. THE APODOSIS CLAUSE AS THE INTERPRETATIVE LOCUS. Conditional mood conditionals in Coptic which are deprived of independent tense and aspect morphology are problematic for any theory of conditional semantics that relies on protasis tense and aspect marking as the factors motivating a particular interpretation. In fact, there is, in principle, no compelling reason to exclude an alternative scenario in which the consequent clause emerges as the primary locus of (non-truth) conditionality semantics. We outline a new theory where the interpretative burden is shifted from the tenseless protasis clause to the main clause apodosis, which is fully specified for the morphosyntactic requisite features and show how this fits into the grammatical typology of X-marking.



Conditionals and concessive conditionals in Abzakh – Mezane KONUK

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Conditionals are among the most semantically flexible adverbial clause type as they are open to many other interpretation such as causals, concessive conditionals and concessives (König 1986). In general terms, a conditional construction is characterized by a formal marker either in the protasis or apodosis, whose primary function is to signal conditionality (Comrie 1986). Based on these criteria, this paper offers a morphosyntactic analysis of conditionals and concessive conditionals in Abzakh (Northwest Caucasian), a diasporic West Circassian dialect spoken in Antalya, Turkey. The analysis expands on Lander (2016), contributing to the typology of conditional and concessive conditional constructions.

In Abzakh, the predicate of the protasis is marked by the conditional suffix *-m3*, optionally accompanied by an aspectual marker while that of the apodosis is typically marked by a modal marker, or a combination of aspect and modal marker, depending on the conditional type (real, hypothetical, or counterfactual), as in (1):

(1) (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0007950#S66>)

w3 nəsəp wə-m-jəʔ3-m3 s3 sə qə-p-f3-s-ʃʔ3-n
 2SG luck 2SG.OBL.A-NEG- 1SG what CIS-2SG.OBL.APPL-BEN-1SG.OBL.A-
 have[PTCP]-COND do-PROB

‘If you don’t have luck, what can I do for you?’

Since Abzakh TAM system is based primarily on aspect and mood (Konuk 2022: 235; Paris 1984: 39), conditionals do not necessarily involve a backshifting in tense. In (2), the perfective aspect on the protasis yields a resultative interpretation:

(2) (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0006056#S6>)

w-jə-nəbe jəz mə-xʷə-ɤ3-m3 bʒəw-əm j3-s-tə-n
 2SG-POSS-stomac full NEG-be-PERF-COND bird-OBL 3.SG.OBL.R-1SG.OBL.A-give-PROB

‘If you are still hungry, I will give (it) to the bird.’

When the additive marker follows the conditional suffix, the construction expresses concessive conditionals, defined “as conditional constructions which express a contextually exhaustive set of antecedent values in the protasis.” (Bossuyt 2023). The combination of the conditional marker *-m3* with the additive marker *-əj* yields scalar, alternative, and universal concessive conditionals (see Haspelmath & König 1998 for the definitions). An example for Abzakh universal concessive conditional (UCC) is illustrated in (3).

(3) (elicited)

səd jə-ʃʷə-ɤ3-m-əj
 what 3SG.OBL.AGT-do[PTCP]-PERF-COND-ADD

qəl3 ʃxʷ3-m d3-sə-ʃʷə-ɤ-3p
 city big-OBL LOC-to.be.sitting-HBLT-PERF-NEG

‘Whatever s/he did, s/he could not stay in the big city?’

From typological perspective, languages can exhibit various strategies for concessive conditionals (Haspelmath & König 1998; Bossuyt 2023; Podlesskaya 2021). In Abzakh, however, all types of concessive conditionals follow the same schema. Furthermore, the UCCs, which contain an *in situ* interrogative pronoun in the subordinate clause, may lead to a correlative construction, marked by an anaphoric demonstrative in the matrix clause:

(4) Correlative clause (<https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0006058#S5>)

xət jə-b3ʃ wərbən- nax b3 ʃəʒ3-w qə-n3-m-əj
 who POSS- gap-OBL more much far- CIS-stay[PTCP]-COND-

ə-r səd χʷə-ʃt-əɤ3 ?
 DEM_{DISTAL}-ABS what be-CERT-

‘Which role plays the one whose stick falls farthest from the gap?’

In sum, this study investigates the morphosyntactic properties of conditional and concessive conditional constructions in Abzakh, emphasizing the uniform pattern found across all concessive conditional subtypes and correlative constructions.

Keywords: Conditionals, concessive conditionals, correlatives, Abzakh, Circassian.

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The diachrony of conditionals and temporals – Yueh Hsin Kuo

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Temporal connectives ('temporals'; *when*) may function as conditional connectives ('conditionals'; *if*) and develop into them. While Kuteva et al. (2019) hypothesise that the development is unidirectional, this paper argues that it is bidirectional. Primary evidence is drawn from research on reflexes of Proto-Chadic *-mV* 'when' (Frajzyngier 1996) and *-tara* and *-eba* 'when(ever), if, when' in the history of Japanese (Shinzato 2015), and from original corpus work on Mandarin *dehua* 'if', which is developing into a temporal. Secondary evidence is drawn from Korean and Manchu.

Similarities between conditionals and temporals are well-known. Both may connect clauses referring to generic, habitual and future events. Their functional distinction has been characterised as 'epistemic distance/stance' (Akatsuka 1985; Fillmore 1990). Conditionals signal the speaker's neutral stance by default: in uttering an *if*-clause the speaker is non-committal with respect to the epistemic status of the clause. This default stance may be further specified as more positive or negative through morphosyntactic means or in discourse (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005). On the other hand, temporals signal positive stance: a *when*-clause commits the speaker to its epistemic status.

Conditionals, being functionally more abstract, are more grammatical than temporals and thus syntactically higher in theories such as Cartographic Syntax and Functional Discourse Grammar. The unidirectionality hypothesis (i.e. grammatical change involves unidirectional development towards higher grammaticality) would then predict the direction of development to be from temporal to conditional (Kuteva et al. 2019). However, in the languages surveyed, bidirectional developments occurred in contexts of genericity, habituality and futurity, precisely the same contexts attributed to the development from temporal to conditional (e.g. Mauri and Sansò 2014). Crucially, such developments are characterised by functional and formal equivalence between temporals and conditionals. Furthermore, the systemic lack of categorial distinction seems to serve as an enabling factor, at least in Japanese and Mandarin.

In addition to challenging unidirectionality, this paper highlights the importance of a crosslinguistic perspective on conditionals and their mental representation. While conditionals are syntactically higher than

temporals in hierarchical theories, actual usage patterns across languages indicate that conditionals are not consistently higher than or even distinguished from temporals.

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Towards a parallel corpus typology of counterfactual systems – Ezra la Roi

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Counterfactuality has often been equated with counterfactual conditionals. As a result, only counterfactual conditionals have been heavily studied in recent years, from different theoretical angles (e.g. formal, functional, typological). Most researchers have adopted a synchronic approach, focusing on the formal (a)symmetry of protases and apodoses (e.g. Haiman & Kuteva 2002, Yong 2016, Olguin Martínez & Lester 2022) and their TAM marking (e.g. Iatridou 2000, Karawani 2014, von Prince, Krajnović, & Krifka 2022). More recently though, it has been shown in corpus-based diachronic studies that conditional and non-conditional counterfactual marking patterns are linked diachronically through analogy (e.g. la Roi 2024a) and that counterfactual constructions in Indo-European languages develop along similar developmental stages (la Roi 2024b, in press).

In this paper, I therefore propose to approach counterfactuality as a *system* of related strategies (X) and I examine how morphosyntactic typologies of counterfactual conditionals could be adapted to accommodate non-conditional counterfactuals (cf. Van Linden & Verstraete 2008, Von Fintel & Iatridou 2023). Based on a representative sample of 50 languages in the parallel corpus of New Testament translations (Mayer & Cysouw 2014), I contrast (i) counterfactual conditionals with (ii) non-conditional counterfactuals (e.g., counterfactual wishes and deontic modals) and with (iii) non-counterfactual conditionals, in order to develop a parallel corpus typology of counterfactuals.

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A Conditional Theory of Permission and Obligation: The View from Japanese, Korean, and Burmese – Dean McHugh

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Summary. We propose a novel, conditional semantics for deontic logic, and show how it improves on the standard semantics. Taking inspiration from Japanese, Korean, and Burmese, we present novel evidence that conditional reasoning plays a central role in the evaluation of deontic modals.

Background. According to the standard semantics for deontic logic, something is required (deontically necessary) just in case it holds in every deontically ideal world, and allowed (deontically possible) just in case it holds in at least one (Hanson 1965, Lewis 1973:100, McNamara and Van De Putte 2022:§2.3). We present a challenge to the standard theory, coming from coordination cases, previously discussed by Smith (1977:246), Jackson (1985:189), and Lassiter (2011, 2017:229–37).

Here is one such case. Two trains are approaching an intersection from different tracks, in a dense forest at full speed. Each train driver can either apply the brakes or continue through the intersection. If both continue, they will crash.

Consider: is train A allowed to continue going? Is train B? Intuitively, that depends on what the other train does. Certainly, it would be wrong—reckless, even—to tell both drivers that they are allowed to continue going.

Strikingly, however, the standard semantics for deontic logic recommends exactly this. It predicts that “train A is allowed to go” and “train B is permitted to go” are both true in this scenario. This is because there is a deontically ideal world where A goes (namely, one where A goes and B does not) and a deontically ideal world where B goes (one where B goes and A does not).

Proposal. To overcome the challenge, we take inspiration from Japanese, Korean, and Burmese. In these languages, permission and obligation are most commonly expressed using conditionals (Akatsuka 1992,

Wymann 1996, Nauze 2008, Knoob 2008, Narrog 2009, Chung 2019), using what Kaufmann (2017a) calls ‘conditional evaluative constructions’. This is illustrated in (1) and (2), due to Norito Akatsuka (1992: examples 3 and 5).

- (1) *Permission:*
Tabe- temo ii.
eat even if good
lit. “It is good even if you eat.” = “You may eat.”
- (2) *Obligation:*
Tabenakere- ba ikenai/ dame da.
eat Neg if can go Neg no good is
lit. “It is not good if you don’t eat” = “You must eat.”

While these data are well-known, it is previously gone unnoticed that these constructions mirror an older theory for permission and obligation in general, initially proposed by Stig Kanger (1957) and Alan Ross Anderson (1950). The idea is this:

Something is obligated just in case if it does not happen, necessarily, the relevant normative ideals have been violated;

Something is permitted just in case if it does happen, possibly, the relevant normative ideals have been met.

On this theory, conditional reasoning is central to the notions of obligation and permission, so we will call it the *conditional theory*.

Unlike the standard theory, the conditional theory does not predict “Train A is allowed to go” and “Train B is allowed to go” to both be true in this scenario. Briefly, this is because if one train goes, it is *indeterminate* whether things will be good (that is, whether we will avoid a crash); for that depends on whether the other goes too—a desirable prediction, one that makes the conditional theory worthy of our consideration, and shows the importance of cross-linguistic work on conditionals.

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Les constructions conditionnelles en Géorgien – Nana Metreveli

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Cette communication présente certaines caractéristiques typologiques particulières dans les constructions conditionnelles en langue géorgienne.

Le géorgien, comme plusieurs langues, possède des moyens pour exprimer l’irréel dans les phrases hypothétiques. Ici, notre objet sera de décrire l’irréel du présent reflétant la situation qui peut être désirée, éventuelle, ou habituelle. La potentialité qui est liée au conditionnel s’exprime par : *si*.

Le conditionnel se présente, ainsi qu’en français, comme un imparfait au futur.

Les propositions subordonnées contenant le conjoncteur « si » (dans la protase) peuvent avoir les valeurs sémantiques et syntaxiques de nature différente. Ce sont les relations conditionnelles ou hypothétiques.

En géorgien, il y a deux conjonctions qui figurent dans les propositions subordonnées, « rom » et « tu », les deux correspondent au connecteur « si ».

La conjonction de proposition subordonnée hypothétique est « rom ». Lorsque le verbe de la subordonnée est au subjonctif, le sens du conditionnel s’approche du sens hypothétique. La conjonction « rom », liée avec la subordonnée du conditionnel, permet alors de réaliser deux options : l’action irréaliste ou l’action potentielle.

La conjonction de proposition subordonnée du conditionnel « tu », indique que l’action est exprimée par la proposition principale, indépendamment de tout jugement subjectif sur la probabilité. La conjonction « tu » souligne une action réelle, montre la condition nécessaire avec le verbe au mode indicatif.

Nous présenterons également quelques cas rares lorsque « rom » et « tu » peuvent se réaliser avec des fonctions qui ne leur sont pas caractéristiques.

Les phrases concessives contenant le caractère hypothétique dans la protase seront abordées, ainsi que le rapport des données du géorgien avec le français, dans le cadre de l’apprentissage de la langue.

Les caractéristiques des constructions conditionnelles du géorgien peuvent permettre d’éclairer les divergences et les convergences dans une approche comparative.

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Mots clés : construction conditionnelle, potentialité, action réelle, action irréaliste, géorgien.



Main Clause Ellipsis and Directive Expressions in Japanese Conditional Conjunctions *-ba* and *-tara* – Yurie Nara

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Japanese frequently employs syntactically incomplete sentences, including the omission of pronouns and particles, in contrast to English. Studies such as Shirakawa’s research on incomplete utterances and Maeda’s work on sentence-final expressions offer important perspectives for understanding the use of “suggestion” in Japanese conditional expressions. Shirakawa demonstrates that sentences ending with conjunctive particles can function as independent and complete utterances, often intending to prompt the listener to take action or to shift their perspective. Maeda, on the other hand, shows that conditional clauses can possess sentence-final-like functions, conveying the speaker’s intention or attitude.

For instance, expressions like “*hayaku ittara?*” or “*hayaku ikeba?* (If you go early? (How about going early?))” can serve as suggestions directed at the listener in Japanese.

While similar pragmatic functions such as suggestion, warning, and directive have been discussed in studies of English conditionals, it is rare in English for incomplete sentences ending with conjunctions (as in Japanese “*incomplete utterances*”) to function independently.

According to Sweetser (1990), in *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*, conditional constructions are not merely logical “if-then” statements but serve different functions depending on the social and cognitive context—such as giving advice, issuing warnings, or making requests. This functional versatility aligns with the usage observed in Japanese.

This study aims to collect examples of conditional sentences in which the main clause is omitted, and to analyze under what conditions such ellipsis is possible.



An *almost* unnoticed conditional flavor – Philip Pellino

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Overview: Approximative adverbials are ubiquitous in the world’s languages ([1]; [16]; [18]; [8]; [14];[12]), but their X-marked properties have gone *almost* unnoticed ([5]). This paper discusses how conditional flavor arises in the case of approximatives, and how speakers rhetorically employ these constructions. Essentially, an *almost p* utterance signals that a speaker has a counterfactual proposition *q* in mind which functions to make *p* True in a “close” world. The information in *q* is generally what is found in the protasis (antecedent) of an “*if, then*” conditional. The conditional flavor can be explained via Discourse Coherence Theory (DCT) ([9];[10];[11]).

The Puzzle: An utterance like 1 is often paraphrased like 2, and interpreted as a conjunction of two unique pieces of information ([6];[13];[7]). Addressees perceive 1 to mean that the contextual conditions were such that *Tatev could have/would have won*, if some other additional proposition held. This is why an *almost p* utterance can be followed-up with some other proposition *q* as in 3. Addressees instantly recognize this proposition *q* as akin to the protasis of an “*If, then*” conditional. This is provided in 4.

1. Tatev *almost* won the match.
2. Tatev came close to winning the match but did not win.
3. Tatev *almost* won the match. She needed to trade her King’s bishop.
4. *If* Tatev had traded her King’s bishop, *then* she would have won the match.

Imagine a context where you and a Grand Master (GM) have just watched Tatev’s match. The GM may turn to you and utter 1. Crucially, the GM is more skilled than you, and can see potential strategies and moves that you can’t. When the GM utters 1, you know instantly that she has a critical counterfactual in mind which would make her utterance—the information in 2—True. Furthermore, you **expect** for her to share what that proposition is. You know Tatev lost but cannot ascertain on your own how she *might* have won. Via conversational pragmatics, you assume that the GM has raised the issue for a reason and you “suppose” the Truth of *p*. The GM can communicate to you what counterfactual scenario she has in mind with the follow-up in 3 which you interpret the same as 4.

Solution in short: DCT ([9];[10]) predicts that the addressee will have an expectation that the GM’s modal assertion (projection) is part of a coherent text which potentially includes a coherence relation of *explanation*. This is what is provided by *q*. The fact that *p*—the apodosis—is presented first is a rhetorical strategy that allows the speaker to shift the QUD ([17];[3]) to something like: *How could Tatev have won the match?* This is answerable only by a counterfactual protasis that the speaker perceives as critical to having determined the course of events.

Disciplinary Contribution: The work presented here is another instance of the explanatory power of DCT and also makes a typological prediction: where approximative-esque modal projection is found, one should find the potential for conditional interpretation.

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The weak island effects and adverbial concord in Japanese *-tara* conditional clauses – Yuji Shuhama

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This study explores the islandhood of conditional clauses headed by *-tara* and the optional adverb *mosi* ‘by any chance’. Following Mihara (2012), I analyze *-tara* as an agglutinated affix rather than a conditional affix (*-ra*) hosted by past verb forms (e.g. *okut.ta-ra*: sent-if) for its insubstantial tense distinction. As for *mosi*, it signals the upcoming conditional affixes such as *-ba*, *-tara*, and *-nara*. When *mosi* is overt, it occurs only once in any underlined initial or medial position before *V-tara*.

- (1) _ Taro-ga _ Jiro-ni _ tegami-o _ okut-tara, ...
 Taro-Nom Jiro-Dat letter-Acc send-Cond
 ‘if Taro sends a letter to Jiro, ...’

The overt *mosi* is known to yield the weak island effects (Yoshida 2006) and my re-examination of *wh*-extraction in (2) suggests that *wh*-phrases scrambled out of *mosi* clauses are more acceptable than the ones in-situ, regardless of the argument-adjunct distinction. Besides, (3) shows that *ittai* ‘in the world’ modifying *wh*-phrases is out (cf. Richards 2008) while *ittai* outside the clause slightly improves the acceptability. Although my judgment of other island-sensitive items (e.g., floated quantifiers and indefinite pronouns) is more flexible than Yoshida’s, the data in (2) and (3) support his core proposal that *mosi* serves as an inducer of weak island effects when it is overt.

- (2) a. {Dare-ni} mosi Taro-ga ?{dare-ni} tegami-o okut-tara, Hanako-wa odoroku no?
 who-Dat mosi Taro-Nomletter-Acc send-Cond Hanako-Top get.surprised Int
 Lit. ‘Who will Hanako be surprised if Taro sends a letter to?’
 b. {Doko-de} mosi Taro-ga Hanako-to ?{doko-de} at-tara, Jiro-wa okoru no?
 where-Dat mosi Taro-Nom Hanako-withmeet-Cond Jiro-Top get.angry Int
 Lit. ‘Where will Jiro be angry if Taro meets Hanako?’
- (3) ??{Ittai} mosi Taro-ga Hanako-to *{ittai} doko-de at-tara, Jiro-wa okoru no?
 Intended: ‘Where is such a place in the world that Taro might meet Hanako at and his meeting
 Hanako there will make Jiro angry?’

I propose the following derivation, summarized in (4): *vP* has *-tara* as a *v*-affix with a conditional feature and a modal operator adjoined to it. The operator moves to CP and licenses an overt *mosi* below. The *v*-affixed verb raises to C, qualifying the whole CP as conditional. The key observation above is that one operator (i.e., *wh*, *ittai*) intervenes between another feature-operator pair relevant to the *mosi* concord. Maeda’s (2013) unexplained data with a scrambled focus phrase in (5) can be explained along the same lines because *-sae* ‘only, at least’ must be licensed within a conditional clause and the clause contains *wh*-operator in the middle. These indicate that the weak island effects in *mosi* conditional clauses are motivated by feature-based Relativized Minimality proposed by Rizzi (2004).

- (4) [Op [CP_{Cond}] [TP *mosi* Subj [Op [vP Subj [v’ ... [VP ... V] ~~*-tara*~~]]]] V-*tara*_{Cond}]]
- (5) ??Menkyo-sae; dare-ga __i motteire-ba, Jiro-wa kuruma-o kasite-kureru no?
 license-Foc who-Nom have-Cond Jiro-Top car-Acc lend-Ben Int
 Lit. ‘To whom will Jiro lend a car if he has at least the license?’

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Decomposing X-marking – Vesela Simeonova

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I. The puzzle of X-marked modals. von Stechow and Iatridou (2008, 2023) present a cross-linguistic puzzle with the morphology found in ‘subjunctive’ or counterfactual (‘CF’) conditionals (which they label ‘X-marking’): X-marking can attach to modal verbs and affects their interpretation.

- *must* +X = *ought* (‘endo’-reading)
- *want* +X = *wish* (‘endo’-reading)

- *will* +X = polite request
- ‘exo’ readings: *must* and *want* in a counterfactual scenario

The puzzle is how to capture such a wide variety of readings marked by the same morphology, for example, *must* is weakened but *want* is strengthened, some readings involve counterfactuality, others don’t. This is summarized in Figure 1.

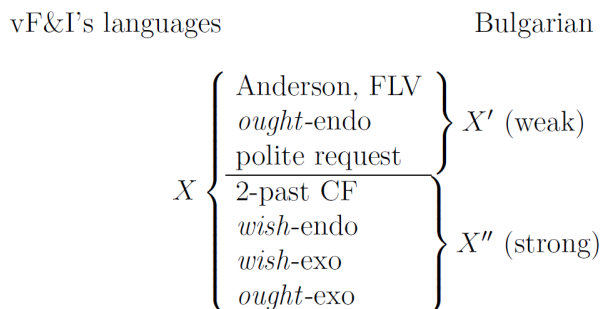


Figure 1: Summary of the morphological marking on the same phenomena (middle) in the languages discussed by von Fintel and Iatridou (2008, 2023) (left) and in Bulgarian (right).

II. Findings. In Bulgarian, *if*-conditionals come in a 3-way morphosemantic variety: O, X^I , X^{II} . **CF in X^I is weak**, i.e. cancellable and allows Anderson and Future Less Vivid (FLV) readings, while **CF in X^{II} is strong**, i.e. non-cancellable (similar to so-called ‘double past’ counterfactuals, but much more productive). Both X^I and X^{II} are productively used on modals. This morphological specialization provides the opportunity to probe into the nature of the relationship between X-marking in conditionals and in modals.

The finding is that all possible readings of X-marked modals discussed by von Fintel and Iatridou are morphologically disambiguated in Bulgarian, and **morphology correlates with CF strength**. This is depicted on the right side in Figure 1.

III. Significance. These findings have intriguing implications for the understanding of counterfactuality and its relationship to modality cross-linguistically. Recent works report richer morphology either on modals (Ferreira, 2023) or counterfactual conditionals (Karawani, 2014; Kaufmann and Todorović, 2023), but not both.

von Fintel and Iatridou (2023) put forth the hypothesis that X-marking is uniform across languages. Recently, Mizuno (2024) presents data from Japanese that challenge this idea: X-marking in Japanese (and Mandarin Chinese) cannot be used in Anderson (and FLV) conditionals and they are necessarily strongly CF. This, combined with the findings presented here, gives rise to a new, finer-grained typology of X-marking, presented in Table 1: some languages are like English and have only O-marked and X^I -marked conditionals, others are like Japanese and Mandarin and only have O and X^{II} , and still others are like Bulgarian, Serbian, Hebrew, and Palestinian Arabic in that they have all 3 options morphologically distinguished.

morphology for	vF&I23 Bulgarian Japanese		
	Serbian	Mandarin	
O	✓	✓	✓
X'	✓	✓	X
X''	X	✓	✓

Table 1: Cross-linguistic options in conditional morphology

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Melioratives and Conditional Evaluative Constructions – Frank Sode

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Melioratives are sentential “forms with an imperative-like function that are formed with a version of the adverb *better*” (Meertens & Lauer, 2018). Examples of German melioratives are given in (1). The focus of this talk is on declarative melioratives as in (1b) that are used to give advice.

- (1) a. Mach besser mehr Sport.
 make.IMP better more sports
 b. Du machst besser mehr Sport.
 du make.PRS.IND better more sports

Meertens & Lauer (2018) propose that “[t]he behavior of melioratives arises from the interaction of the contribution of the host clause and the contribution of *better*.” As for the truth conditions, they assume a Kratzerian (non-compositional) semantics for *better* that compares two propositions (= Kratzer’s (1981) ‘better possibility’). The ordering source of *better* is the set of propositions representing the addressee’s self-motivated effective preferences; cf. Condoravdi & Lauer (2017). In addition, *better* introduces a “diversity condition”, i.e., it presupposes that there are both p and not-p worlds in the modal base.

As a first empirical contribution, I present a more comprehensive picture of declarative melioratives in German: Besides *besser* (‘better’) we also find *am besten* (‘best’), (2a)-(2c); besides indicative mood, we also find past subjunctive mood, (2b) and (2c).

- (2) a. Du machst { besser / am besten } mehr Sport.
 you do.PRS.IND { better / best } more sports
 ‘You better do more sports.’ / ‘It’s best if you do more sports.’

- b. Du würdest { besser / am besten } mehr Sport machen.
you will.PST.SBJ { better / best } more sports do.INF
'You'd better do more sports.' / 'You should do more sports.'
- c. Du hättest { besser / am besten } mehr Sport gemacht.
you have.PST.SBJ { better / best } more sports do.PPT
'You should have done more sports.'

Second, I point out the close grammatical and semantic similarities between melioratives and German conditional evaluative constructions (= CECs) as illustrated in (3); Williams (1974); Pesetsky (1991); Kaufmann (2017).

- (3) a. Es ist besser, wenn du mehr Sport machst.
it be.PRS.IND better if you more sports do.PRS.IND
'It is better if you do more sports.'
- b. Es wäre besser, wenn du mehr Sport machen würdest.
it be.PST.SBJ better if you more sports do.INF will.PST.SBJ
'It would be better if you did more sports.'
- c. Es wäre besser gewesen, wenn du mehr Sport gemacht hättest.
it be.PST.SBJ better be.PPT if you more sports do.PPT have.PST.SBJ
'It would have been better if you had done more sports.'

In particular, I show that the use conditions associated with melioratives of a particular form are the same as the use conditions of CECs of the corresponding form. The use conditions of CECs in turn, are inherited from their conditional make-up and depend partially on the choice of tense and mood. Against this background, I propose a compositional semantics for melioratives that explains their use conditions in analogy to the use conditions of CECs; cf. Sode (2018,2021). The proposal is very close in spirit to Meertens & Lauer (2018)'s proposal; but it pays close attention to the individual contributions of the morphological forms of the predicates. In particular, it assigns specific contributions to different tense / mood forms and thus avoids certain wrong predictions of Meertens & Lauer (2018)'s proposal.

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Conditional Marking and Emotive Factives: Evidence from German, Italian, and Spanish – Sode, Del Prete & Hernández.

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It is a well-known fact that in English subjunctive conditionals with emotive factives in their complements allow interpretations on which the if -clause is “connected with the complement structure” (Williams, 1974, p. 159) of the emotive factive predicate. According to this assumption, a conditional like (1-a) has the interpretation in (1-b). This reading is called the ‘non-logical reading’ or ‘Williams’ paraphrase’, cf. Pesetsky (1991). Similar observations have been reported for German (Fabricius-Hansen, 1980) and Spanish (Quer, 2002).

- (1) a. I would be happy if Bill was here.
 ‘I would be happy that Bill was here, if he were.’

As recently argued, Williams’ paraphrase doesn’t give us the right truth conditions for a subclass of emotive factives, which includes predicates like *be good*, *be happy* and *like*. Sentences with these predicates are instead interpreted similar to counterfactual wishes (2-a) or optatives (2-b), Grosz (2012); Longenbaugh (2019); Sode (2021); von Fintel & Iatridou (2023).

- (2) a. I wish you Bill was here.
 b. If only Bill was here!

The goal of this paper is twofold. First, we present new data that shows that, as in English, the wish-reading is preferred over the non-logical reading with the relevant class of emotive factives (‘good’, ‘glad’, ‘like’, etc.) in German, Italian, and Spanish. This suggests a stable cross-linguistic pattern. We call this class of predicates “bouletic evaluatives”. Second, we argue that bouletic evaluatives are different from true emotive factives (‘regret’, ‘surprise’, etc.), which always presuppose acquaintance with a known fact: While the former allow wish-readings in a subjunctive conditional frame like (1-a), the latter don’t. We show that this semantic difference correlates with grammatical differences: On a wish-reading with bouletic evaluatives the ‘if’-clauses are interpreted as arguments of the predicates. This goes along with a flexibility in mood choice in the embedded clause. With ‘surprise’/‘regret’-type predicates, the ‘if’-clauses are regular conditional antecedents and mood choice follows the same pattern as in conditionals.

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Revisiting Turkish X-Marking: An Experimental Rating Study – Enes Us & Duygu Özge Sarısoy

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Aim. The morphosyntactic makeup of X-marking and its similarities to wishes has gained significant attraction after von Fintel & Iatridou (2023), henceforth vF&I. However, the morphosyntactic ingredients of X-marking in Turkish remain debated. While Soykan (2023) argues that the conditional mood marker *-sA* alone constitutes X-marking in Turkish, vF&I (2023) propose that Turkish X-marking involves both *-sA* and past-tense morphology. In this study, we experimentally investigate the ingredients of X-marking in Turkish and the relationship between wishes and X-marking.

Data. In Turkish, wishes are expressed using the particle *keşke*, which can combine with either present or past tense, and typically appears with the conditional mood *-sA*, as in (1) and (2):

- (1) *Keşke* Alicome-se. (Present-Wishes)
keşke Alicome-SA
'I wish Ali would come.'
- (2) *Keşke* Alicome-sey-di. (Past-Wishes)
keşke Alicome-SA-PST
'I wish Ali would come.'

The morpheme *-sA*, which appears in wish constructions, is also found in X-marked conditionals (4), but not in O-marked conditionals (3). In (3) *-(y)sA* to signal that the antecedent is epistemically possible, whereas in (4), the combination of “subjunctive” morpheme *-sA* and past-tense morphology in both the antecedent and consequent, conveys that the antecedent is false. According to vF&I (2023), (4) constitutes an X-marked conditional in Turkish.

- (3) *Ayşe yüz-er-se, rahatla-r.* (O-marked)
Ayşe swim-AOR-COND relax-AOR
'If Ayşe swims, she relaxes.'
- (4) *Ayşe yüz-se-ydi, rahatla-r-dı.* (X-marked; Double-Past)
Ayşe swim-SA-PST relax-AOR-PST
'If Ayşe had swum, she would have felt relaxed.'

However, the presence of past morphology in the antecedent is not obligatory. As shown in (5), only the consequent may carry past tense morphology.

- (5) *Ayşe yüz-se, rahatla-r-dı.* (X-marked; Single-Past)
Ayşe swim-SA, relax-AOR-PAST
'If Ayşe had swum, she would have felt relaxed.'

Moreover, it is also possible to construct a conditional without any past-tense morphology, and Soykan (2023) argues that *-sA* alone can be used for X-marking, as in (6).

- (6) *Ayşe yüz-se, rahatla-r.* (X-marked; No-Past)
Ayşe swim-SA relax-AOR
'If Ayşe swam, she would feel relaxed.'

Experiment. To test the ingredients of X-marking and its relation to wishes, we conducted a rating task using PCIBex (Zehr & Schwarz, 2018). Participants read a conditional sentence, then answered “What is the probability of X (the antecedent)?” by adjusting a continuous slider (Fig. 1). The design included five within-subjects conditions: Present-Wishes, Past-Wishes, No-Past, Single-Past, and Double-Past.

Results. Ten native Turkish speakers participated (data collection ongoing). A linear mixed-effects model revealed a significant effect of condition ($p < .001$). Compared to the “X-marked conditionals” that do not contain any past morpheme (4), all other conditions (i.e., Present-Wishes, Single-Past, Past-Wishes, and Double-Past), received significantly lower ratings (Fig. 2). Despite the presence of the “subjunctive” morpheme *-sA* across all conditions, participants did not rate all forms equally, pointing to a contribution of past morphology in counterfactual interpretation. Contrary to Soykan (2023) and vF&I (2023), our preliminary results suggest that X-marking in Turkish depends on the presence of a past morpheme in the consequent, without requiring it in the antecedent.

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Fig. 1. Rating Experiment

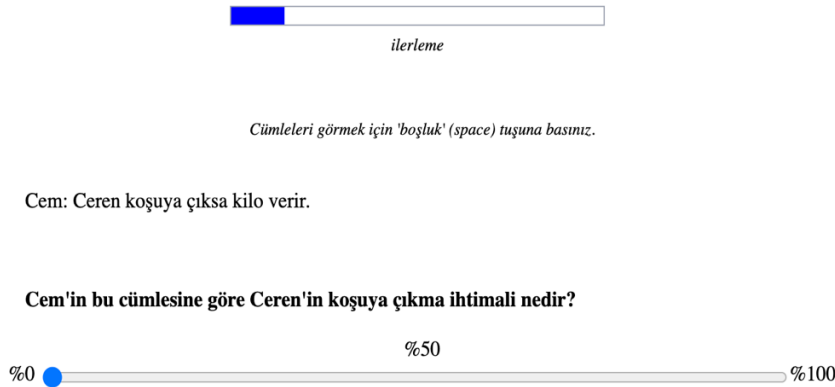
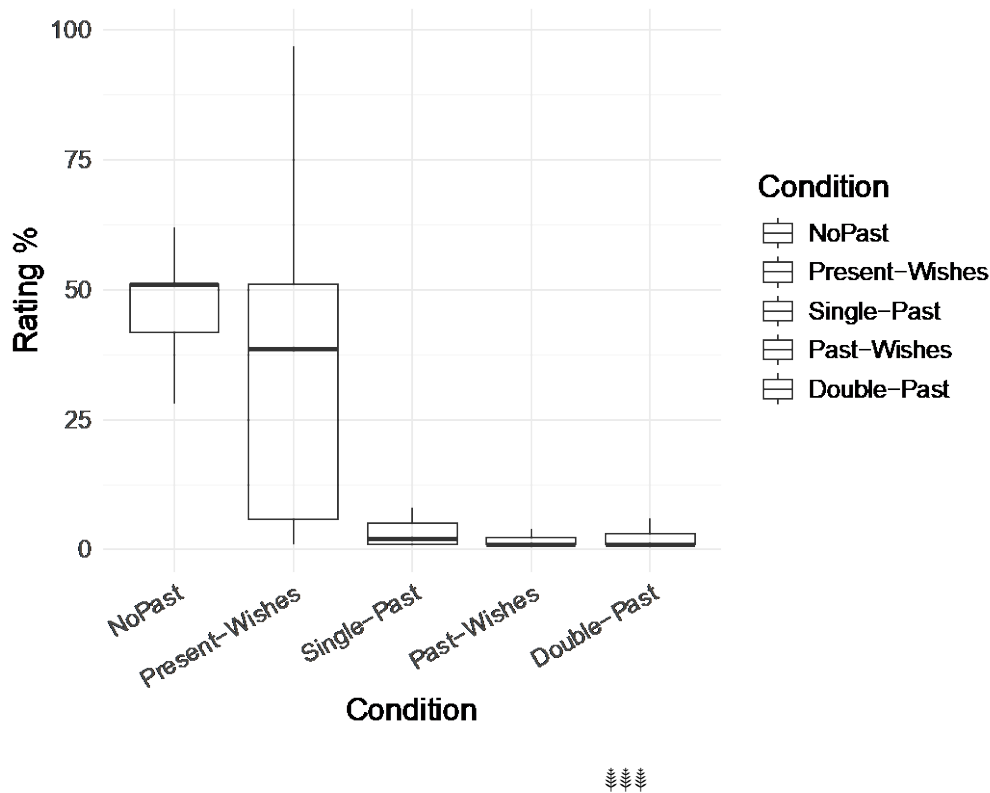


Fig. 2. Mean ratings across conditions, ordered by average rating.



Mandarin CECs under the microscope – Wimmer & Hole

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Japanese, Korean, Mandarin and Vietnamese can express modality via *conditional evaluative constructions* (CECs; Kaufmann 2017, Yang 2020). CECs have the prototypical form in (1):

- (1) if p, ... good ...
 \rightsquigarrow p is necessary/possible in view of certain {desires, rules, goals}

The syntactic transparency of CECs promises to shed light on the logical architecture of deontic modality (Chung 2019, 2020) and desire ascriptions (Sode 2023). The evaluative predicate ‘good’ in (1) determines the modal *flavor* to be a prioritizing one in the sense of Portner (2007). Modal *force* (possibility vs. necessity) is modulated via additional material. We would like to add to the discussion by revisiting certain Mandarin cases from Hole (2004), and two compositional challenges they raise.

#1. As in ordinary Mandarin conditionals, the main clauses of Mandarin CECs contain the scalar particles *cai* \approx ‘only then’ and *jiu* \approx ‘already then’, giving rise to the pattern in (2). It can be seen that *cai* induces the antecedent p’s necessity p (\square p). *Jiu* seems to lean towards p’s possibility (\diamond p), but its effect on modal force is less clear.

- (2) p, { *cai*, *jiu* } good
 \rightsquigarrow { \square , \diamond ? } p

By contrast, Korean deontic CECs exhibit a neat force-distinction based on their scalar particles (Chung 2019, 2020). They come in one of the following two forms: [{even, only} if p, good]. The EVEN-variant comes with $\diamond p$, the ONLY-variant with $\square p$. The key to \diamond is EVEN's additivity: it is implied that [if p, good] is true, but also that [if $\neg p$, good] is true, making p a mere option. We have been convinced that *jiu* comes with less categorical readings. It still strikes us as tempting to assign it an EVEN-like effect in virtue of licensing so-called *upward scalar* inferences (Beck & Rullmann 1999).

#2. Some CECs exhibit *modal concord* (MC):

(3) Xiwang mei-you shi cai hao.

hope not-exists matter only.then good
lit.: 'Only if [hopefully] nothing is the matter (will it be) good.'
'I hope there will be no trouble.' cf. Hole (2004): 263

MC-CECs raise the compositional challenge that two (semantically converging) clauses, C1 & C2, seemingly flow into one another. In (3), the part denoting the proposition [there is no trouble] alternately belongs to C1 and C2:

(4) [C1 hope (C2 no trouble) only.then good]

Structurally speaking, there are at least three options, which we would like to offer for discussion. Given (4), (5a) may seem straightforward, but it posits a silent conjunction that needs more motivation. Options (5b)+(5c) vary as to whether HOPE scopes high or low.

- (5) a. ([hope [no trouble]_i] & (p_i, only.then good) cf. Hole 2006: 364
b. hope [[no trouble], only.then good]
c. [hope [no trouble]], only.then good

Especially for (5a)+(5b), the additional question arises whether CEC-internal MC should be treated as semantic or syntactic. An additional challenge is posed by cases in which MC fails to hold, i.e. elements like [hope] and subsequent material (scalar particles or evaluative predicates) simply don't match.

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