# What embedded V2-clauses can tell us about the interpretation of 'if'-clauses as arguments of modal evaluative predicates

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This talk is about a class of <a href="mailto:embedded V2-clauses">embedded V2-clauses</a> that relate to an argument slot of gradable modal evaluative predicates that are used to express desires, preferences or recommendations ('good', 'glad', 'like', 'prefer', 'wish' etc.).

- (1) War's Dir letzte Nacht warm genug mit den Decken?
  Did you feel warm enough with the blankets last night?
- (2) Mir wäre lieber gewesen, du <u>hättest</u> die Heizung aufgedreht. me be.PSBJ dearer been you have.PSBJ the heating turned on 'I would have preferred if you had turned up the heat.'
- (3) Ich hätte es besser gefunden, du hättest die H. aufgedreht.
  I have.PST.SBJ it besser found you have.PST.SBJ the h. turned on 'I would have liked it if you had turned up the heat.'
- (4) Ich hätte mir gewünscht, du hättest die H. aufgedreht.
  I have.PST.SBJ REFL wished you have.PST.SBJ the h. turned on 'I wish you had turned up the heat.'

The predicates that "license" this class of argument-related V2-clauses are

- A. A subclass of "emotive factives": gradable adjectives that allow to express a bouletic or teleological modality; cf. Frank (1998); Sode (2023).

  bequem ('convenient'), einfach ('easy'), froh ('happy'), gut ('good'), hilfreich ('helpful'), lieb ('dear'), schön ('nice'), schlau ('clever'), schlimm ('bad'), sicher ('safe'), vernünftig ('reasonable'), wohl ('well'), . . .
- B. Preference and desire verbs.

  vorziehen ('prefer'), sich wünschen ('wish'), ...

  wollen ('want') / wünschen ('wish') in past subjunctive mood.

These predicates are grouped under the label <u>"Präferenzprädikate"</u> ('preference predicates'). Semantically there is no restriction to expressions of preference in a narrow sense. The verbs in B. are restricted by their lexical meaning to a <u>bouletic modality</u> (desires and/or preferences).

The adjectives in A. are mainly used to express recommendations and express a teleological modality rather than a bouletic modality.

(5) Es wäre { besser / klüger / vernünftiger }, du würdest zu Hause it be.Pst.sbj { better / wiser / more sensible } you will.Pst.sbj at home bleiben. stay

'It would be { better / wiser / more sensible } if you stayed at home..'

### Plan for the talk

- show that these embedded V2-clauses share many properties with 'if'-clauses (= "zeroIF-clauses") and discuss the differences to declarative V2-clauses (= "zeroDecl-clauses")
- Show that the mood dependency between the embedded clause and the matrix clause in these constructions corresponds to the mood dependency between a conditional antecedent and a conditional consequent. This is strong evidence for the presence of a mood licensing conditional operator.
- Show that the semantic contribution of this conditional operator must be restricted to the argument of the predicate in the matrix clause (no wide scope / adverbial interpretation).
- oppose a Heimian semantics with a new syntax-semantics interface to show that such an account is feasible

**Background on embedded V2:** V2 is commonly assumed to be a <u>main clause</u> <u>phenomenon</u> that is associated with "(<u>proto-)assertional force</u>" (Gärtner, 2002).

doxastic / representational attitude predicates:

Other predicates that "license" embedded V2-clauses besides preference predicates can be roughly grouped into three classes:

- glauben ('believe'), hoffen ('hope'), meinen ('think'), finden ('find'), ...predicates of certainty:
- predicates of certainty:
  klar sein ('be clear'), feststehen ('be decided'), voraussetzen ('presuppose'), ...
- g predicates of saying:
  sagen ('say'), behaupten ('claim'), erzählen ('tell'), angeben ('state') ...
  cf. (Reis, 1997, p. 123)

Embedded V2-clauses that relate to an argument position of a predicate in these classes are considered to be declarative clauses. I call them "zeroDecl-clauses". V2-clauses that relate to preference predicates I call "zeroIF-clauses".

There are crucial differences between zeroIF- and zeroDecl-clause( construction)s:

- [1] (proto-)assertional force
- [2] extraction and V1-parentheticals
- [3] reportative mood
- [4] substitution by dass ('that')- and wenn ('if')-clauses
- [5] modal domain of X-marking
- [6] shifted interpretation

[1] (Proto-)assertional force. While doxastic attitude predicates, predicates of certainty and predicates of saying nicely fit into the picture that associates V2-clauses with "(proto-)assertional force", preference predicates don't fit at all.

(Truckenbrodt, 2006, p. 292) (6)\*Maria will, sie ist in diesem Fall in Berlin.

'Maria wants, she is in Berlin in that case.'

[2] Extraction and V1-parentheticals. Reis (1996) argues that zeroDecl-licensors allow V1-parentheticals, (7), but don't allow extraction, (8).

- (7) a. Sie glaubt, du gehst zu Fuß dorthin. she believes you go on foot there
  - b. Dorthin, glaubt sie, gehst du zu Fuß.
     there she believes you go on foot
  - Dorthin gehst du, glaubt sie, zu Fuß.
     there you go she believes on foot
  - d. Dorthin gehst du zu Fuß, glaubt sie.
     there you go on foot she believes
     'She thinks you're going there on foot.'
- (8) a. \*Dorthin, glaubt sie, du gehst zu Fuß t. there believes she you go on foot
  - b. \*<u>Damit</u>, glaubt sie, er würde bald t aufhören. that.with believes she he would soon stop

[2] Extraction and V1-parentheticals. zeroIF-licensors, on the other hand, don't allow V1-parentheticals, (9), but do allow extraction (to a certain degree), (10).

- (9) a. <u>Es ist besser</u>, du gehst zu Fuß dorthin. it is besser you go on foot there
  - b. \*Dorthin ist (es) besser, gehst du zu Fuß.
     there it is besser you go on foot
  - c. \*Dorthin gehst du, <u>ist (es) besser</u>, zu Fuß.
     there you go it is besser on foot
  - d. \*Dorthin gehst du zu Fuß, ist (es) besser.
     there you go on foot it is besser
     'It's better if you go there on foot.'
- (10) a. ? Dorthin ist (es) besser, du gehst zu Fuß t. there is (it) better you go on foot
  - b. ?<u>Damit</u> wäre mir lieber, er würde bald t aufhören.
     that.with be.PSJB me derer he will.PSJB soon stop

[3] Reportative mood. zeroDecl-licensors typically license reportative mood in their complements; zeroIF-licensing predicates don't, Frank (1998); Sode (2023).

(11) a. Es ist ihm lieber, sie { kommt / \*komme } alleine.

'He prefers if she come alone.'

b. Er denkt, sie { kommt / komme } alleine.

'He thinks she comes alone.'

There is a parallel btween (11-a) and conditionals: Schlenker (2005); Sode (2014) observe that reportative mood cannot be used only in the antecedent of a conditional.

(12) Es ist ihm lieber, wenn sie alleine { kommt / \*komme }.

'He prefers if she comes alone.'

[4] Substitution. zeroDecl-clauses can always be replaced by dass ('that')-clauses and never by wenn ('if')-clauses.

- (13) a. Mir wäre lieber gewesen, du hättest die Heizung aufgedreht.'I would have preferred if you had turned on the heating.'
  - b. Mir wäre lieber gewesen, { ??dass / wenn } du die H. aufgedreht hättest.

'I would have preferred { ??that / if } you had turned on the heating.'

zeroIF-clauses can always be replaced by *wenn* ('if')-clauses (except for when the predicate is optative *wollen / wünschen*) and only marginally by *dass* ('that')-clauses.

- (14) a. Ich war der Meinung, du h\u00e4ttest die Heizung aufgedreht.'I thought you had turned on the heating.'
  - b. Ich war der Meinung, { dass / \*wenn } du die H. aufgedreht h\u00e4ttest.'I thought { that / \*if } you had turned on the heating.'

[5] Modal domain of X-marking. The construction with zeroIF-clauses show the same <u>tense</u>, <u>mood</u>, <u>aspect</u> patterns as the conditionals. "X-marking" in German: past subjunctive mood.

- (15) a. Mir <u>ist</u> lieber, du <u>drehst</u> du die Heizung <u>aufdrehst</u>.
  - 'I prefer you to turn up the heat.'
  - b. Mir wäre lieber, du würdest du die Heizung aufdrehen würdest.
     'I'd rather vou turn up the heat.'
  - c. Mir wäre lieber gewesen, du hättest du die Heizung aufgedreht hättest.
     'I would have preferred you to turn up the heat.'
- (16) a. Mir <u>ist</u> wärmer, wenn du die Heizung <u>aufdrehst</u>.

  'I feel warmer if you turn up the heat.'
  - b. Mir wäre wärmer, wenn du die Heizung aufdrehen würdest.
    - 'I would be warmer if you turned up the heat.'
  - c. Mir wäre wärmer gewesen, wenn du die Heizung aufgedreht hättest.
     'I would have been warmer if you had turned up the heat.'

- [5] Modal domain of X-marking. Similar as future reference is possible in past subjunctive conditionals, future reference is possible in past subjunctive zeroIF-clauses.
- (17) Context: It has just been announced that the payment of our salaries will be delayed by one day. We expected to get our money tomorrow.
  - a. Wenn wir das Geld schon <u>morgen</u> bekommen hätten, hätte ich dich jetzt zum Essen eingeladen.
    - 'If we had gotten our money tomorrow, I would have invited you for dinner now.'
  - b. Mir wäre lieber gewesen, wir hätten das Geld schon morgen bekommen.
    - 'I would have preferred if we had gotten the money tomorrow.'
  - "Note that the feature combination [u-sub] and [u-p] would not do for have-deletion, because we have perfect auxiliaries with these features that are interpreted as a relative past:
  - (18) Maria glaubte, sie hätte Franz gesehen" Grønn & von Stechow (2011)

[5] Modal domain of X-marking. Focusing on mood: Past subjunctive mood (X-marking) in a zeroIF-clause relates to past subjunctive mood (X-marking) in its matrix clause in the same way as past subjunctive mood (X-marking) in a conditional antecedent relates to past subjunctive mood (X-marking) in a conditional consequent; cf. Frank (1998); Sode (2023).

In particular, neither past subjunctive mood in the matrix nor past subjunctive mood in the embedded clause require a context of modal subordination to be licensed.

- [5] Modal domain of X-marking. This is different with constructions with zeroDecl-clauses.
- (19) Without context of modal subordinationlch glaube, du { bist / #wärst } verrückt geworden.'I think { you've gone crazy / #you would have gone crazy }.'
- (20) Context of modal subordination for the embedded clause
  Stell dir mal vor, wir hätten beim letzten Update alle Daten verloren.

  'Imagine if we lost all data in the last update.'
  Ich glaube, du { #bist / wärst } verrückt geworden.
  - 'I think you would have gone crazy.'

- [5] Modal domain of X-marking. This is different with constructions with zeroDecl-clauses.
- (21) Without context of modal subordination
  #lch würde glauben, du { bist / wärst } verrückt geworden.
  #'I would think { you had gone crazy / you would have gone crazy }.'
- (22) Context of modal subordination for matrix clause
  Was würdest du denken, wenn ich dir überraschend einen Heiratsantrag
  machen würde

'What would you think if I suddenly proposed to you?' Ich würde glauben, du { bist / wärst } verrückt geworden.

'I would think you had gone crazy.'

zeroDecl-clauses: The matrix clause and the embedded clause constitute independent X-marking domains.

zeroIF-clauses: Matrix and embedded clause constitute a single X-marking domain with the embedded clause corresponding to the 'if'-clause.

[6] Shifted interpretation. If past subjunctive mood in the matrix clause is licensed in a context of modal subordination, then the predicate in the matrix clause is interpreted under the hypothetical or counterfactual circumstances provided by the discourse context. This is what I want to call a <u>"shifted interpretation"</u> of the matrix clause predicate.

#### (23) Context of modal subordination for matrix clause

Was würdest du denken, wenn ich dir überraschend einen Heiratsantrag machen würde.

'What would you think if I suddenly proposed to you?' Ich würde glauben, du { bist / seist / wärst } verrückt geworden.

'Under these circumstances would I think you had gone crazy.'

Besides the fact that past subjunctive mood on the matrix predicate in construction with a zeroIF-clause doesn't require any additional licensing, we also don't get a shifted interpretation for these predicates.

#### What would we expect?

- (24) a. Mir wäre lieber, du <u>würdest</u> die Heizung aufdrehen. me be.PSBJ dearer you will.PSBJ the heating turn on
  - b. Mir wäre lieber, wenn du die Heizung aufdrehen würdest.
     me be.PSBJ dearer if you the heating turn on will.PSBJ
     'I would prefer if you turned up the heat.'

Let's assume that the *wenn* ('if')-clause in (24-b) has a non-logical reading and that the truth conditions of (24-b) could be paraphrased in the sense of Williams (1974).

(25) Mir wäre lieber, wenn du die Heizung aufdrehen würdest.

'I would prefer if you turned up the heat.'

→ 'I would prefer that you turn(ed) up the heat if you turned up the heat.'

Let's assume these are the truth conditions for constructions with zeroIF-clauses.

This doesn't seem to be right. A counterexample (the idea is from Kaufmann (2017)):

**Odd Otto:** On odd days of the month, Otto prefers it to be an even day and vice versa. Today is an odd day.

- (26) Otto wäre es lieber, heute wäre ein gerader Tag. **true**'Otto would prefer if today was an even day.'
- #Wenn heute ein gerader Tag wäre, wäre es Otto lieber, dass heute ein gerader Tag { ist / wäre }. false
  #If today was an even day, Otto would prefer that today { was / were } an even day.
- (28) Wenn heute ein gerader Tag wäre, wäre es Otto lieber, wenn heute ein ungerader Tag wäre. true

  If today was an even day. Otto would prefer if today was an odd day.

(29) Laut neuesten Prognosen können wir im nächsten Quartal mit einem konjunkturbedingten Wachstum von 10 Prozent rechnen. Ich bin mir sicher:

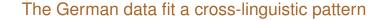
According to the most recent forecasts, we can expect economic growth of 10 percent in the next quarter. Ich bin sicher: 'I am certain:'

- a. Wir alle f\u00e4nden es gut, sollten sich die Zahlen dahingehend entwickeln.
   'We would all like it should the numbers develop this way.'
- b. #Wir alle f\u00e4nden es gut, die Zahlen sollten sich dahingehend entwickeln.#'We would all like it that the numbers should develop this way.'
- Wir alle f\u00e4nden es gut, die Zahlen w\u00fcrden sich dahingehend entwickeln.
   'We would all like if the numbers develop this way.'
- (30) a. #Ich wünschte, die Zahlen sollten sich dahingehend entwickeln.'I wish the numbers should develop this way.'
  - b. Ich wünschte, die Zahlen würden sich dahingehend entwickeln.
     'I wish the numbers developed this way.'

The conclusion with respect to constructions with zeroIF-clauses:

The X-marking only marks the subject matter of emotion as hypothetical or counterfactual but not the wish, preference, recommendation etc.

The more recent literature suggests that this is generally true for non-logical 'if'-clauses with priority-oriented modal evaluative predicates; see Grosz (2012); Kaufmann (2017); Longenbaugh (2019); Sode (2021, 2023).



#### Cross-linguistic evidence. von Fintel & latridou (2023):

"In many languages, there isn't a lexical distinction between wants and wishes as in English. Instead, there is a morphological commonality between X-marked conditionals and the expression of wishes latridou (2000): wishes use the same lexical item as wants but the distinction is effected via X-marking. In the full version of the pattern, "consequent X-marking" morphology appears on the embedding verb want, and "antecedent X-marking" morphology appears on the complement of want."

Schematically, they summarize the "Conditional/Desire" (C/D) pattern as follows:

(31) a. X-marked conditional: if  $p_{ant}$ ,  $q_{cons}$ 

b. wishes: I want<sub>cons</sub> that p<sub>ant</sub> von Fintel & latridou (2023, 1485)

Illustrated for an example from Spanish.

- (32) a. Si <u>fuera</u> <u>más alto sería</u> <u>un jugador de baloncesto.</u> if be.3.sg.PST.SBJ more tall be.3.sg.COND a player of basketball 'If s/he was taller, s/he would be a bastketball player.'
  - b. Querría que fuera más alto de lo que es.
    Want.3.sg.COND that s/he be.3.sg.PST.SBJ more tall than it s/he is
    'I wish s/he was taller than s/he is.' von Fintel & latridou (2017)

von Fintel & latridou (2022, p. 3, fn. 2) point out that remnants of X-antecedent marking can even be found in English desire reports.

- (33) a. I wish Bill were here now.
  - b. If Bill were here now, we could watch a movie.

von Fintel & latridou (2023) discuss examples from <u>French, Greek, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, Turkish</u>, Kakimova (2022) from <u>Kazakh, Polish, Russian</u>.

von Fintel & latridou (2022) observe that not only constructions with 'want'-type predicates follow the C/D pattern but also constructions with predicates meaning 'good', 'happy', 'like' etc. They discuss the following example from Hungarian:

(34) Szeretném ha Marcsi tudná a választ.

'I wish Marcsi knew the answer." (von Fintel & latridou, 2023, p. 1486)

Examples from English that they subsume under the C/D patter are given in (35).

- (35) a. I would be happy if you knew the answer.
  - b. I would prefer if you left. (von Fintel & latridou, 2023, p. 1486/7)

Quer (2002) discusses examples from Spanish. Kaufmann (2017) discusses examples from <u>Japanese</u>, Wimmer (2020) from <u>Mandarin Chinese</u>.

German doesn't distinguish between X-antecedent marking and X-consequent marking but the German data with zeroIF-clauses follow the C/D pattern.

Crucially, von Fintel & latridou (2023) assume that in all constructions that follow the C/D pattern, the X-marked predicate in the matrix clause doesn't have a shifted interpretation, i.e., we always have an actual wish, preference, recommendation. Only the subject matter is hypothetical or counterfactual.

#### The mood puzzle

Why is it that the X-consequent marked embedding predicate in a construction with a zeroIF-clause doesn't get a shifted interpretation in the same way as a X-consequent marked predicate in a regular subjunctive conditional?

#### Where we are:

We do want a conditional operator in the matrix clause (to account for the X-marking etc.). But we don't want that it receives an adverbial interpretation.

# A Neo-Heimian account

### A Neo-Heimian account

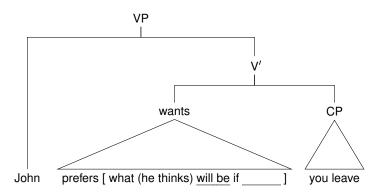
In Heim (1992) we find a proposal for a semantics of desire reports that assigns conditionals a crucial role in the truth conditions. Subjunctive conditionals only contribute to the subject matter of emotion and leave the desire predicate unshifted.

"The analysis of desire verbs I want to pursue here is sketched in Stalnaker (1984:89): 'wanting something is preferring it to certain relevant alternatives, the relevant alternatives being those possibilities that the agent believes will be realized if he does not get what he wants.' An important feature of this analysis is that it sees a **hidden conditional** in every desire report. A little more explicitly, the leading intuition is that John wants you to leave means that John thinks that if you leave he will be in a more desirable world than if you don't leave." [my emphasis]

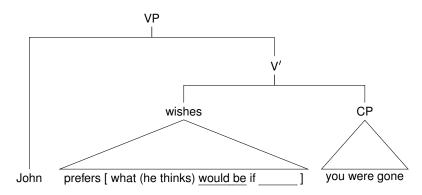
Heim (1992)

## A Neo-Heimian account

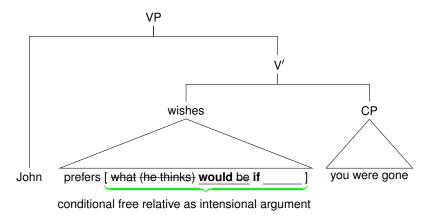
(36) John wants you to leave.  $\rightsquigarrow$ 



(37) John wishes you were gone. →



(38) John wishes you were gone. →

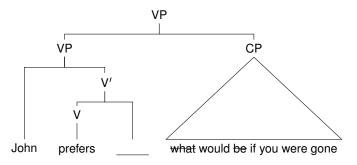


Given the discussion above (cf. also Pesetsky (1991)):

(39) John would prefer if you were gone.  $\approx$  John wishes you were gone.

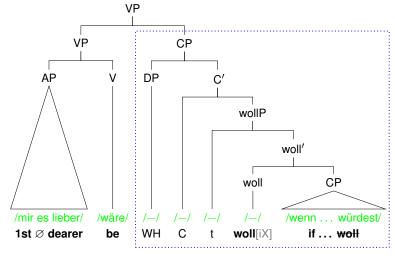
The idea: The restricted conditional operator is re-interpreted as a "free relative".

- (40) John [wishes prefers [ what would be if \_\_\_\_\_ ]] you were gone
- (41) John would prefer if you were gone. →



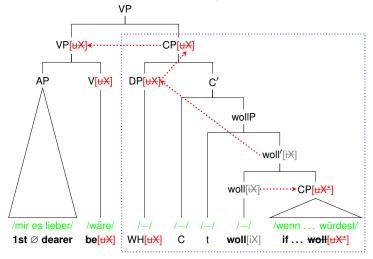
(42) Mir wäre es lieber, wenn du die Heizung aufdrehen würdest.

'I would prefer if you turned up the heat.'



<sup>&#</sup>x27;I prefer what would be if you turned up the heat.'

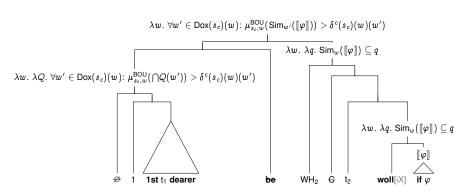
(43) Mir wäre es lieber, wenn du die Heizung aufdrehen würdest.



<sup>&#</sup>x27;I prefer what would be if you turned up the heat.'

It is possible to spell out a semantics for these constructions that gives us truth conditions in the spirit of Heim's original proposal; see Sode (2018, 2021, 2023).

$$\begin{aligned} \text{(44)} \qquad & \| \mathbf{dearer} \|^c = \lambda w_s. \ \lambda Q_{\langle s, \langle \langle s, t \rangle, t \rangle \rangle}. \ \lambda x_e. \\ & \forall w' \in \mathsf{Dox}(x)(w): \mu_{x,w}^{\mathsf{BOU}}(\bigcap Q(w')) > \delta^c(x)(w)(w') \end{aligned}$$



#### ADVERBIAL MODIFIER → INTENSIONAL QUANTIFICATIONAL DP

<u>Heim's twist:</u> Restricted conditional operators (**woll if**  $\varphi$ ) are re-interpreted as nominal arguments (a kind of free relative) that fill the argument slot of a priority-oriented modal evaluative predicate specifying its subject matter of emotion.

To make this work we have to to buy into three assumption:

- [1] Predicates like *prefer* may take quantificational noun phrases as arguments.
- [2] Non-structural theta-role assignment; see Reis (1997) for emb. V2-clauses.
- [3] Feature checking under adjunction.

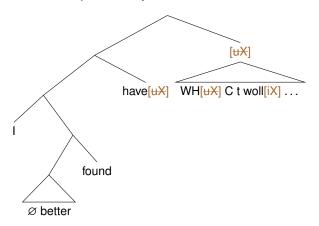
At least [1] and [2] are / may be needed independently.

Optative *wollte / wünschte* ('wish') are special cases: They have incorporated **woll**; compare Heim (1992) but also Pesetsky (1991).

Could the conditional operator sit any lower? - No!

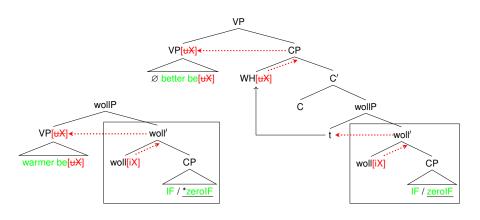
(45) a. Ich h\u00e4tte es besser gefunden, du w\u00e4rst alleine gekommen.
 I have.PSBJ it better found you be.PSBJ alone come
 'I would have preferred if you had come alone.'

b.



# Conclusion wrt. zeroIF-clauses

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zeroIF-clauses may restrict conditional modal operators; but only in conditional free relatives that relate to a thematic argument position of a PriME.

zeroIF-clauses are a means of diambiguating in favour of an argument interpretation.



# Can the deception be justified?

- Deception = form-meaning mismatch: X-consequent marking without a shift.
- Is there a reason?
- Everything can be the object of our emotion.
  - ⇒ Priority-oriented modal evaluative predicates are super-flexible.
- Sometimes we want to talk about the desirability of actual, hypothetical and counterfactual circumstances.
- X-marking is a dedicated strategy to mark a certain state of affairs as counterfactual.
- By re-interpreting restricted conditional modal operators in modifier position as free relatives, grammar finds a way to use X-marking to only mark the subject matter of emotion as counterfactual. This reoccurs across languages.
- The form-meaning mismatch is a small price to pay in view of the economy in use of means.

# Can the deception be justified?

What is more, grammar seems to at least partially make up for this deceite. We find that in German (a) a change in complementizer unambiguously marks the change to an argument use ( $IF \Rightarrow zeroIF$ ) and (b) the deceiving X-marking / TMA inflection may in some cases be dropped from the matrix clause.

- (46) a. Es wäre besser gewesen, wenn du die Heizung aufgedreht it be.PST.SBJ better been if you the heating turned up hättest.

  have PST.SBJ.
  - b. Es wäre besser gewesen, du <u>hättest</u> die Heizung it be.PST.SBJ better been you have.PST.SBJ the heating aufgedreht.
     turned up.
  - Besser, du h\u00e4ttest die Heizung aufgedreht.
     better you have.PST.SBJ the heating turned up.
     All: 'It would have been better if you had turned up the heat.'

Compare von Fintel & latridou (2023) on similar data from other languages.

# Conclusion

### Conclusion

- I have discussed a class of embedded V2-clauses that relate to an argument slot of priority-oriented modal evaluative predicates and share grammatical properties with both argument and adverbial clauses.
- I proposed a Neo-Heimian semantics to account for the fact that we don't get a shifted interpretation for the matrix clause predicate despite its X-marking.
- Heim's twist is that conditional modal operators are re-interpreted as a kind of free relative that is interpreted as the intensional argument of the PriME specifying its subject matter of emotion.
- zeroIF-clauses are grammaticalized indicators of this re-interpretation.

#### Literature I

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