# The limits of argument-fulfilling adverbial clauses and mood marking

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# Outline

- Review of the properties of non-logical *if*-clauses in Catalan (and Spanish) (Quer 1999, 2002)
  - Conditional nature
  - Argument vs. adjunct status
- Quantificational analysis
- Limits of argument-fulfilling adverbial clauses: *when*-clauses
- Types of licensing predicates
- Taking stock

# Argument-fulfilling if-clauses

- Argument-fulfilling if-clauses: non-logical *if* (Williams 1974, Pesetsky 1991, Quer 1999, 2002), complement if (Steriade 1981), irrealis extraposed clauses (Pullum 1987), protasis-referring conditionals (Thompson 2012), complement fulfilling (Sode 2021), argument conditionals (Schwabe), etc.

(1) M'agrada molt [que plogui].

 me-please.PRS.3G a-lot that rain.PRS.SUB.3SG

 'I like it very much that it rains.'

(2) M'agrada molt [si plou].

 me-please.PRS.3G a-lot if rain.PRS.IND.3SG

 'I like it very much if it rains.'

# Argument-fulfilling if-clauses

(3) M'agrada molt [si plou].

me-please.PRS.3G a-lot if rain.PRS.3SG


(4) M'agrada molt *[que plogui]* [si plou].

'I like it very much that it rains if it rains.'


- The *if*-clause appears to provide the subject clausal argument of the main predicate in (3).

# Conditional nature

A. Tense-mood patterns of real, present counterfactual and past counterfactual conditionals (real *si*-clauses only in IND, counterfactual ones only in SUB).

PRESENT COUNTERFACTUAL

(5) M'agradaria molt [que plogués].
    me-please.COND.3G a-lot that rain.IPFV.SUB.3SG
    'I would like it very much if it rained.'

(6) M'agradaria molt [si plogués].
    me-please.COND.3G a-lot if rain.IPFV.SUB.3SG
    'I would like it very much if it rained.'

# Conditional nature

PAST COUNTERFACTUAL

(7) M'hauria agradat molt [que hagués plogut].

   me-please.PRFCOND.3SG a-lot that rain.PLPRF.SUB.3SG

   'I would have liked it very much if it had rained.'

(8) M'hauria agradat molt [si hagués plogut].

   me-please.PRFCOND.3G a-lot if rain.PLPRF.SUB.3SG

   'I would have liked it very much if it had rained.'

# Conditional nature

B. Donkey anaphora readings

(9) A un escriptor$_x$, si el$_x$ premien, li$_x$ agrada molt.

   A a writer if him give-prize.PRS.IND.3SG him please-3SG a.lot

  'If a writer is given a prize, it pleases him very
  much.'

(10) A un escriptor$_x$, que el$_x$ premiïn, li$_x$ agrada molt.

   A a writer that him give-prize.PRS.SUB.3SG him
   please-3SG a.lot

   'If a writer is given a prize, it pleases him very much.'

# Conditional nature

C. Quantificational variability effects

(11) A un escriptor$_x$, si el$_x$ premien, *sempre* li$_x$ agrada molt.

A a writer if him give-prize.PRS.IND.3SG always him please-3SG a.lot

'If a writer is given a prize, it always pleases him very much.'

(12) A un escriptor$_x$, que el$_x$ premiïn, *sempre* li$_x$ agrada molt.

A a writer that him give-prize.PRS.IND.3SG always him please-3SG a.lot

'If a writer is given a prize, it always pleases him very much.'

# Conditional nature

- A-Quantification (Partee 1991, 1995):

(13)

a. Si un alumne estudia, *sovint* aprova.

   if a pupil study.PRS.IND.3SG often pass.PRS.3SG

  'If a pupil studies, he often passes.'

b. MOST$x$ [pupil'$(x)$ & study'$(x)$] [pass'$(x)$]

# Conditional nature

- Syntactic status: If-clause behaves syntactically as a proper adjunct → no *wh*-extraction allowed

(14) Què$_x$ t'agrada [que et regalin t$_x$] ?

what you-please.3SG that you give.PRS.3PL

'What do you like for them to give you as a present?'

(15) *Què$_x$ t'agrada [si et regalen t$_x$] ?

what you-please.3SG if you give.PRS.3PL

# Argumenthood

- Object argument fulfilling *if*-clause is obligatorily doubled by an object clitic in the matrix clause (neuter *ho* 'it' referring to a proposition) (17). Object *that*-clauses cannot be clitic doubled (16).

(16) (*Ho) destestaria que féssim tard.

hate.COND.1SG that make.IPFV.SUB.1PL late

'I would hate it for us to be late.'

(17) (Ho)* detestaria, si féssim tard.

it hate.COND.1SG if make.IPFV.SUB.1PL late

'I would hate it for us to be late.'

# Argumenthood

- The argument position in the matrix can be filled up independently, but then the non-logical if reading does not survive (18). The *that*-clause counterpart is incompatible with an overt argument (19).

(18) M'encanta aquesta ciutat si neva.

   me-charm.PRS.3SG this city if snow.PRS.IND.3SG

   'I love this city if it snows.'

(19) *M'encanta aquesta ciutat que nevi.

   me-charm.PRS.3SG this city that snow.PRS.SUB.3SG

# Argumenthood

(20) a. M'agrada molt que plogui si plou.

me-please.3SG a-lot that rain.PRS.SUB.3SG if rain.PRS.3SG

'I like it very much for it to rain if it rains.'

b. M'agrada molt {que troni/el color del cel} si plou.

me-please.PRS.3SG a-lot {that thunder.PRS.SUB.3SG/the colour of the sky} if rain.PRS.3SG

'I like it very much for it to thunder/I like the colour of the sky

very much if it rains.'

(21) *M'agrada molt [que troni] [que plogui].

me-please.3SG a-lot that thunder.SUB.3SG that rain.SUB.3SG

# A quantificational account

(22) M'agrada molt *pro* [si em truca].
     me-please.3SG a-lot if me call.3SG
      'I like it very much if s/he calls me.'

(23) M'agrada molt [que em truqui].
     me-please.3SG that me call SUB.3SG
     'I like it very much for him/her to call me.'

(24) GENe',e [CALL(e') & Ag(e')=s/he & Th(e')=me]
     [PLEASE(e) & Th(e)=e' & Exp(e)=me]

# A quantificational account

- Typically with generic or habitual tenses, adverbs of quantification and modalized environments (*would, might*), habitual 'to be wont to'

- Tripartite quantificational structure headed by the relevant operator (Heim 1982, Kratzer 1986, 1995)

# A quantificational account

(25) La sorprenia [si li telefonava].

her susprise.IPFV.3SG if her call.IPFV.3SG

'It used to surprise her if I called her.'

(26) La sorprenia [que li telefonés].

her susprise.IPFV.3SG if her call.IPFV.SUB.3SG

'It used to surprise her that I called her.'

# A quantificational account

(27) Li pot/deu agradar molt [si li parles en suec].

him might/must.3SG please.INF a-lot if him talk.2SG in Swedish

'S/he might/must like it a lot if you speak Swedish to her/him.'

(28) Li sol sorprendre [si la saludo]/[que la saludi].

her be-wont.3SG surprise.INF if her greet.3SG/ that her greet.SUB.PRS.3SG

'It normally surprises her if I greet her.'

# A quantificational account

- Non-logical *if* is impossible in non-quantificational statements: incompatible with episodicity (episodic past, progressive) and i-level predicates

(29) a. *Em va agradar molt si em vas trucar.

     me AUXPST.3SG please.INF a-lot if me AUXPST.2SG call.INF

   b. Em va agradar molt que em truquessis.

    me AUXPST.3SG please.INF a-lot that me call.SUB.2SG

    'I liked it very much that you called me.'

    → episodic interpretation

# A quantificational account

(30) a. *M'agrada molt si em truques ara.

      me-please.PRS.3SG a-lot if me call.PRS.IND.2SG now


  b. M'agrada molt que em truquis ara.

    me-please.PRS.3SG a-lot if me call.PRS.SUB.2SG now

    'I like it very much that you are calling me now.'

    → episodic interpretation

# A quantificational account

(31) a. *M'agrada si ets intel·ligent.
    me-please. 3SG if be. 2SG intelligent

  b. M'agrada que siguis intel·ligent
    me-please.PRS.3SG that be.PRS. SUB.2SG intelligent
    'I like it that you are intelligent.'

(32) M'agrada si estàs content.
    me-please. 3SG if be. 2SG happy
    'I like it if you are happy.'

# A quantificational account

- The pronominal argument in the matrix predication is referentially linked to the descriptive material in the restrictor:

- OP [ *if*-clause ] [ V pronoun]

- OP [ *that*-clause$_x$ ] [ V t$_x$]

# A quantificational account

- D-quantification in adverbial adjunct: same type of quantificational reading.

(33) M'agrada molt *pro* [cada vegada que em truca].

    me-please.PRS.3SG a-lot every time me call.PRS.3SG

    'I like it very much every time s/he calls me.'

(34) M'agrada molt *pro* [sempre que em truca].

    me-please.PRS.3SG a-lot always that me call.PRS.3SG

    'I like it very much always when s/he calls me.'

# Limits

- Basically, only with *si* in Catalan (and Spanish) under the relevant reading

(35) M'agrada si plou.

    me-please.PRS.3G if rain.PRS.IND.3SG

    'I like if it rains.'

(36) *M'agrada en cas que plogui.

     me-please.PRS.3G in case that rain.PRS.SUB.3SG

(37)  *Suposant que plogui, m'agrada.

     assume.GER that rain.PRS.SUB.3SG me-please.PRS.3G

(38) *M'agrada només si plou.

     me-please.PRS.3G only if rain.PRS.IND.3SG

# Limits

(39) Amb que plogui una mica, ja m'agrada.

with that rain.PRS.SUB.3SGa bit  already me-please.PRS.3G

'Already if it rains a bit, I like it.'

# Limits

- Relevant reading absent with concessive conditionals

(40) No m'agradaria ni que em paguessin.

   not me-please.COND.3SG not-even that me pay. IMPF.SUB.3PL

   'I wouldn't like it even if they paid me.'

# Limits

(41) No m'agradaria fins i tot si em paguessin.

not me-please.COND.3SG even if all if me pay.IMPF.SUB.3PL

'I wouldn't like it even if they paid me.'

(42) Per molt que calli, m'agrada.

for a-lot that be-silent.PRS.SUB.3SG me-please.PRS.3SG

'Even if s/he remains silent, I like him/her.'

# Non-temporal *when*-clauses

- Some temporal clauses can deliver the same reading

(43) M'agrada molt [quan plou].

    me-please.PRS.3G a-lot when rain.PRS.IND.3SG

    'I like it very much when it rains.'

(44) [Mentre vingui], ja m'agrada.

    whereas come.PRS.SBJ.3SG already me-please.PRS.3SG

    'As long as s/he comes, I like it.'

# Non-temporal *when*-clauses

- However, no conditional paradigm parallel to *if*-clauses:

(45) *M'agradaria molt [quan plogués]

     me-please.COND.3G a-lot when
       rain.IPFV.SUB.3SG

(46) *M'hauria agradat molt [quan hagués plogut]

     me-please.PRFCOND.3G a-lot when
     rain.PLPF.SUB.3SG

→ No world variable available for binding by the sentential operator? Only temporal variable?

# Argumenthood

- Questionability (Schwabe 2013)

(47) Què et molesta?
    what you bother.PRS.3SG
    'What bothers you?'

    a. Que cridis
       that shout.PRS.SUB.2SG

    b. Si crides
       if shout.PRS.2SG

    c. Quan crides
       when shout.PRS.2SG

# Licensing predicates

- Factive(-emotive) predicates ☑
- Preference predicates

(48) És millor [si m'ho expliquen en català].
    be.PRS.3SG better if me-it explain.PRS.3PL in Catalan
    'It's better if they explain it to me in Catalan.'

(49) (Ho) prefereixo [si m'ho expliquen en català].
    it prefer.PRS.3SG if me-it explain.PRS.3PL in Catalan
    'I prefer it if they explain it to me in Catalan.'

# Licensing predicates

- Factive(-emotive) predicates ☑
- Preference predicates ☑

(48) És millor [si m'ho expliquen en català].

be.PRS.3SG better if me-it explain.PRS.3PL in Catalan

'It's better if they explain it to me in Catalan.'

(49) (Ho) prefereixo [si m'ho expliquen en català].

it prefer.PRS.3SG if me-it explain.PRS.3PL in Catalan

'I prefer it if they explain it to me in Catalan.'

# Licensing predicates

- They can realize different types of conditionals as well:

(50) Seria millor [si m'ho expliquessin en català].

be.COND.3SG better if me-it explain.IPFV.SUB.3PL in Catalan

'It'd better if they explained it to me in Catalan.'

(51) Hauria estat millor [si m'ho haguessin explicat en català].

be.PRFCOND.3SG better if me-it explain.PLPF.SUB.3PL in Catalan

'It would have been better if they had explained it to me in Catalan.'

# Licensing predicates

- Non-temporal *when*-clauses can only realize one type of conditional reading:

(52) És millor [quan m'ho expliquen en català].

be.PRS.3SG better when me-it explain.PRS.3PL in Catalan

'It's better if they explain it to me in Catalan.'

# Licensing predicates

(53) *Seria millor [quan m'ho expliquessin en català].

 be.COND.3SG better when me-it
 explain.IPFV.SUB.3PL in Catalan

 ('It'd better if they explained it to me in Catalan.')

(54) *Hauria estat millor [quan m'ho haguessin
 explicat en català].

 be.PRFCOND.3SG better when me-it
 explain.PLPF.SUB.3PL in Catalan

 ('It would have been better if they had explained
 it to me in Catalan.')

# Licensing predicates

(55) *Va ser millor [si m'ho van explicar en català].

AUXPAST.3SG be.INF better if me-it AUXPST.3PL explain.INF in Catalan


(56) Va ser millor [que m'ho expliquessin en català].

AUXPAST.3SG be.INF better if me-it explain.IPFV.SUB.3PL in Catalan

'It was better that they explained it to me in Catalan.'

# Licensing predicates

- Other types of predicates?

(57) Quan hagis acabat, digue-m'(ho)*.

when finish.PFT.SUB.2SG tell.IMP-me-it

'When you are finished, tell me.'

(58) Si has acabat, digue-m'(ho)*.

if finish.PFT.SUB.2SG tell.IMP-me-it

'If you are finished, tell me.'

# Licensing predicates

(59) Ho senten de seguida [quan el temps canvia].

    it feel.PRS.3PL immediately when the weather change.PRS.3SG

    'They feel it immediately when the weather changes.'


(60) Ho senten de seguida [si el temps canvia].

    it feel.PRS.3PL immediately if the weather change.PRS.3SG

    'They feel it immediately if the weather changes.'

# Taking stock

- Evidence for a quantificational analysis of argument-fulfilling *if-* and *when*-clauses.

- Their adjunct status not incompatible with the apparent double life as argument-fulfilling.

- The role of selecting predicates reduces to the ability to enter into a quantificational structure (details missing).

- Tense-aspect-mood marking is essential in making the quantificational reading possible (→anti-episodic).

# Thank you!

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