# On mapping the modality of conditional sentences 

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$\div I f s$ : so easy to use, so hard to explain
$\because$ One old problem, one new (old) solution
$\div$ One ancient language illuminating one (or more) modern
$\because$ In support of 'irrealis'

## 1 Introduction

1. If it rains tomorrow, I'll take an umbrella.
2. If I won the lottery, I'd go abroad.

### 1.1 Terminology

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { * 'Real' vs 'Unreal' } \\
& \text { * 'Open' vs 'Hypothetical' } \\
& \text { * 'Indicative' vs 'Subjunctive' } \\
& \text { * 'Indicative' vs 'Counterfactual' } \\
& \text { * Type a and Type b } \boldsymbol{v}
\end{aligned}
$$

### 1.2 A modal difference

* In Latin, the two types are marked by change of mood:

3. Si hoc faciet [INDIC], beatus ero [INDIC]
4. Si hoc faciat [SUBJ], beatus sim [SUBJ]

* Even in languages where moods are not used, the term 'modal' is found in descriptions


### 1.3 Meaning

* Widely agreed
* Depend on strength of speaker's belief in proposition

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Type a: protasis may or may not happen
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Type b: speaker indicates doubt about the likelihood of protasis
\|宴 Conditional modality is epistemic?

### 1.4 Epistemic modality: a definition

* "Speakers expres their judgments about the factual status of the proposition"
(Palmer, 2000)
* Recognised as fundamental in early studies of modality
(Lyons, 1977; Palmer, 1986).
* Category unusually stable in many systems
(van der Auwera $\xi^{3}$ Plungian, 1998; de Haan, 2006)
* Various different exponents are distinguished:

5. It may rain tomorrow
('I'm not sure')
6. I might come to the party ('It's a possibility')
7. Rebecca must have arrived by now ('I'm sure')

* Parallel with conditional sentences seems strong


### 1.5 Previous approaches

* Jespersen 1924, 320-1: "contains no element of will" = epistemic.
* Givón 1994, 289: conditionals lie on an "epistemic scale".
* Palmer 1986, 212: "tends to be sui generis - the use of forms is not directly related to the use of other types of clauses at least in IE languages".
* Jespersen later: his categorisation is "open to doubt" (Palmer, 1986).


## 2 Problems with the traditional approach

* Modal verbs not used for this modality in English
* Locus for this modality is problematic


### 2.1 No consistent form in protasis

| 1a. If it rained yesterday, | 1b. If I had known that, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| they got wet. |  |$\quad$| I would have told you. |
| :--- |, | If she were Plato, |
| :--- |
| she would be explaining better. |$|$| If it's Wednesday, |
| :--- |
| I am in Beijing. |$\quad$ 3b. | If I won the lottery, |
| :--- |
| I would go abroad. |

### 2.2 Modal forms in the apodosis

 if do.opt.3.SG that.ACC, well \{MP\} hold.opt.3.SG
'if he were to do that, it would turn out well'
9. French: Il vous appellerait s'il savait que vous l'aimez.
10. Italian: Mangerei ora se avessi tempo.
11. English: If I had seen him, I would have hit him

### 2.3 No modal form marking type in protasis

12. غ่l है $\pi \rho \alpha \xi_{\varepsilon}$ тои̃то,...
if do.AOR.INDIC.3.SG that.ACC, ...
'if he did that, then ...' OR 'if he had done that, then ...'

### 2.4 Philosophers

13. If Oswald didn't kill Kennedy, someone else did.
14. If O hadn't killed Kennedy, someone else would have.
(See e.g. Edgington 1995; Adams 1970; Lewis 1973)

## 3 New approach

| 1a. If it rained yesterday, | 1b.If I had known that, <br> Itey got wet. | 2b.If she were Plato, <br> she would be explaining better. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2a.If it's Wednesday, <br> I am in Beijing. | 3b.If I won the lottery, <br> I would go abroad. |  |
| 3a.If it rains, <br> I will take an umbrella. |  |  |


|  $\varepsilon i+$ aorist, indicative |  $\varepsilon i \quad+$ aorist, aorist $+\ddot{\alpha} \nu$ |
| :---: | :---: |
|  $\varepsilon i+$ present, indicative |  $\varepsilon i ̀+$ imperfect, imperfect $+\ddot{\alpha} \nu$ |
|  $\dot{\varepsilon} \alpha \nu+$ subjunctive, future indic. |  $\varepsilon \hat{i}+$ optative, optative $+\ddot{\alpha} \nu$ |

Type a: a statement is made about the world
Type b: no statement is made

* Matches conclusions of philosophers well
[客 Conditional modality is not epistemic


### 3.1 Irrealis modality: a definition

* Often used in the description of 'exotic' languages
* Irrealis "portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination" (Mithun, 1999, 173).


### 3.2 Irrealis: the controversy

* Less well mapped than logical moods (e.g. van der A and P 1998)
* A cover term: irrealis sentences are propositions which are "weakly asserted as either possible, likely or uncertain ..., or necessary, desired or undesired" (Givón, 1994, 268).
* Bybee et al: in their survey of 76 languages they did not find any "in which a single gram could adequately be described as marking off all this irrealis territory" (Bybee et al., 1994, 238).

I宴 'Irrealis' in conditional clauses is more specific definition.

### 3.3 The modality of the protasis

* Meaning of protasis is well explained in the new approach

Type a: modifications of statements rather likely
Type b: modifications of hypotheses less likely

* Grammatical marking of the protasis also explicable


### 3.4 Nature of conditional clauses

|  | p | q | pつq |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| i | T | T | T |
| ii | F | T | T |
| iii | F | F | T |
| iv | T | F | F |

### 3.5 Greek and English marking in the protasis

|  | type a | type b |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{1 .}$ | indicative | back-shift |
|  | indicative | indicative |
| $\mathbf{2 .}$ | indicative | back-shift |
|  | indicative | indicative |
| $\mathbf{3 .}$ | back-shift | back-shift |
|  | modal particle | optative |

### 3.6 Changes over time

* Subjunctive in 2a in Early Modern English:

15. If music be the food of love, play on (Shakespeare, I, 1, 2)

* Optative in $\mathbf{1 b}$ and $\mathbf{2 b}$ in Homer
(Horrocks, 1995)
* 36/294 3a protases in Homer have no modal particle
(Willmott, 2007)


### 3.7 Suggested tendencies for marking in the protasis

|  | a | b |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. |  |  |
| 2. |  |  |
| 3. |  |  |

## 4 Conclusions

$\because$ Modal forms better explained if apodosis is locus for modality
$\because$ An example of 'irrealis' modality in English
$\because$ Grammtical form of the protasis complicated by environment

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