

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	v
Abbreviations	vi
Table of contents	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Aim and scope of the work	1
1.1.1. 'Factual' versus 'closed' conditions	1
1.1.2. Pseudo-Q conditionals	3
1.1.3. Categorizations	4
1.2. The structure of the book	6
1.3. Terminological preliminaries	8
1.3.1. The definition of 'conditional (sentence)'	8
1.3.2. The terms 'situation' and 'actualize'	9
1.3.3. 'P-clause' and 'Q-clause'	10
1.3.4. P vs [+p] or [-p]; Q vs [+q] and [-q]	10
1.3.5. '[Name]-P conditionals' and '[Name]-Q conditionals'	13
1.3.6. Terminological confusion	13
1.4. Symbols and conventions	15
1.4.1. Symbols and typeface	15
1.4.2. Conventions	16
1.5. The illustrative material	16
Chapter 2: Conditional connecting devices	19
2.1. <i>If</i>	19
2.2. Connectors expressing a necessary condition	21
2.3. <i>Unless</i>	21
2.4. <i>In case</i>	21
2.5. <i>Lest</i>	25
2.6. <i>Even if</i> and <i>only if</i>	26
2.7. <i>Whether...or</i>	26
2.8. <i>Supposing, assuming, etc.</i>	26
2.9. Zero-conjunction plus inversion	27
2.10. Comparative conditionals	28
2.11. Other clauses with a conditional connotation	28
2.11.1. Extraposed subject clauses	28

2.11.2. Restrictive relative clauses	29
2.11.3. Adverbial time clauses	29
2.11.3.1. Clauses introduced by <i>after</i> (when contrasted with <i>before</i>)	29
2.11.3.2. <i>Before</i> -clauses	29
2.11.3.3. <i>Until</i> -clauses	30
2.11.3.4. <i>{As/so} long as</i>	31
2.11.3.5. <i>The momen(that), as soon as, once</i>	31
2.11.3.6. <i>When</i> -clauses	31
2.11.4. Paratactic conditionals.	35
2.12. Conclusion	35
Chapter 3: Some preliminary terminology	37
3.1. 'Subordinate' clauses	37
3.2. 'Fully integrated' clauses	38
3.3. Restrictive postscript-P conditionals	39
3.4. Actualization conditionals	39
3.5. '(Non)assertoric' vs '(non)assertive' clauses	41
3.6. Inferential conditionals	42
3.6.1. Direct inferentials	42
3.6.2. Indirect inferentials	44
3.7. Implicative conditionals	45
3.8. Case-specifying-P conditionals	47
3.8.1. Purely case-specifying-P conditionals	48
3.8.2. Actualization conditionals	48
3.8.3. Direct inferentials	48
3.9. Set-identifying P-clauses	49
3.10. Conditionals and possible worlds	50
3.10.1. Factual vs theoretical P-clauses	50
3.10.2. Neutral vs nonneutral theoretical P-clauses	51
3.10.3. Types of nonneutral theoretical P-clauses	53
3.10.3.1. Closed-P conditionals	53
3.10.3.2. Open-P conditionals	54
3.10.3.3. Tentative-P conditionals	54
3.10.3.4. Counterfactual-P conditionals	54
3.11. Irrealis, nonfactual, counterfactual and imaginary P-clauses	54
3.12. Pseudo-Q conditionals	56
3.13. 'Denied conditionals' vs 'conditioned denials'	57
3.14. Specificational (focusing) conditional structures	58
3.15. The three canonical tense patterns of conditionals	59
3.16. Conclusion	60

Chapter 4: The possible-world typology of conditionals	65
4.1. Factual-P conditionals	67
4.1.1. Past repetitive habits	67
4.1.2. Performative P-clauses	68
4.1.3. Factuality indirectly following from counterfactuality	69
4.1.3.1. Counterfactual <i>unless</i> and <i>if...not</i>	69
4.1.3.2. Counterfactual 'ad absurdum' conditionals	70
4.1.3.3. Other kinds of counterfactual 'indirect inferentials'	70
4.1.4. Non-case-specifying-P conditionals with factual P-clause	70
4.1.5. Seemingly factual P-clauses	70
4.2. Theoretical-world conditionals	71
4.2.1. Definition	71
4.2.2. Neutral-P conditionals	72
4.2.2.1. Conditionals with nonspecific reference in the P-clause	73
4.2.2.2. Gnomonic (universal, omnitemporal) Q-clauses	74
4.2.2.3. Conditionals whose Q-clause expresses a present habit	75
4.2.2.4. Set-identifying-P conditionals	76
4.2.2.5. <i>If you say so</i>	77
4.2.2.6. Anchoring-P conditionals	78
4.2.2.7. Imaginary-P conditionals	79
4.2.3. Nonneutral theoretical-P conditionals	80
4.2.4. Closed-P conditionals	81
4.2.4.1. Definition	81
4.2.4.2. Closed-P conditionals with P relating to another nonfactual world	82
4.2.4.3. Closed P-clauses are echoic	83
4.2.4.4. Functional types of closed-P conditionals	84
4.2.4.5. Modalizers in the Q-clause of a closed-P conditional	88
4.2.4.6. Ostensibly closed P-clauses	89
4.2.5. Open-P conditionals	91
4.2.6. Tentative-P conditionals	93
4.2.6.1. Definition	93
4.2.6.2. Other forms of tentativeness	95
4.2.6.3. Indirect tentative-P conditionals: the type <i>I wouldn't be surprised if he came</i>	97
4.2.7. Counterfactual-P conditionals	99
4.2.7.1. Definition	99
4.2.7.2. Counterfactual patterns	99
4.2.7.3. Counteridentical-P conditionals	100
4.2.8. Interrogative Q-clauses in possible-world conditionals	102

4.2.9. The possible world(s) of P and Q	103
4.2.10. Modalization	105
4.2.11. The negation effected by counterfactuality	107
4.3. Summary	108
Chapter 5: The use of tenses in possible-world conditionals	111
5.1. The tense model	111
5.1.1. Time-spheres and sectors	112
5.1.2. 'Full situation' vs 'predicated situation'	113
5.1.3. Time of the predicated situation	114
5.1.4. 'Time of orientation' and 'time of the situation'	115
5.1.5. Temporal domain	116
5.1.6. 'T-relations' vs 'W-relations'	117
5.1.6.1. T-relations	118
5.1.6.2. W-relations	118
5.1.7. Direct and indirect binding	119
5.1.8. Sloppy simultaneity	122
5.1.9. Shift of temporal perspective	123
5.1.10. 'Present Perspective System' vs 'Future Perspective System'	124
5.1.11. The future tense and modality	133
5.2. The use of tenses in factual-P conditionals	138
5.2.1. P-clauses referring to a past or pre-present repetitive habit	138
5.2.2. Performative P-clauses	139
5.2.3. Factual #P-clauses	139
5.2.3.1. Counterfactual { <i>unless / if...not</i> }-clauses	140
5.2.3.2. Ad absurdum conditionals	140
5.2.3.3. Other indirect inferentials	141
5.3. The use of tenses in neutral-P conditionals	142
5.4. The use of tenses in closed-P conditionals	145
5.4.1. Introduction	145
5.4.2. Tense combinations in closed-P conditionals	145
5.4.3. Closed P-clause functioning as Q-clauses	147
5.4.4. Closed P-clauses using the Future Perspective System	148
5.4.5. Closed-P inferentials in (free) indirect speech	151
5.4.6. Closed-P inferentials expressing a past conclusion about an anticipated past P-situation	151
5.4.7. Closed-P inferentials expressing a past conclusion about an anterior P-situation	152
5.4.8. Closed P-clauses combining with a Q-clause referring to another possible world	152
5.5. The use of tenses in open-P conditionals	154

5.5.1. General rule	154
5.5.2. Open P-clauses referring to the post-present	156
5.5.3. Open-P inferentials with a P-clause in the past tense	161
5.5.4. Open-P inferentials with a P-clause in the past perfect	162
5.5.5. Open-P inferentials with a P-clause in the past perfect and a Q-clause in the conditional perfect	162
5.5.6. Open P-clause combining with a tentative Q-clause	163
5.5.7. Open P-clause combining with a counterfactual Q-clause	164
5.5.8. Open P-clause with 'futurate' present tense	164
5.5.9. Open P-clause using the Present Perspective System and combining with a factual Q-clause?	166
5.5.10. Open P-clause with <i>shall</i>	166
5.6. The use of tenses in tentative-P conditionals	167
5.6.1. Introduction	167
5.6.2. Time reference in tentative-P conditionals	167
5.6.3. Tentative P-world treated as a past domain	168
5.6.4. Canonical pattern 2 conditionals	169
5.6.5. The conditional tense expressing T-posteriority in the Q-clause	172
5.6.6. Past counterpart of the Present Perspective System in the P-clause	172
5.6.7. Past counterpart of the Future Perspective System in the P-clause	173
5.6.8. Tentative P-clauses combining with a factual Q-clause	174
5.6.9. Pattern 1 conditionals with a tentative-P meaning	176
5.7. The use of tenses in counterfactual-P conditionals	177
5.7.1. Introduction	177
5.7.2. Time reference in counterfactual pattern 3 conditionals	177
5.7.3. Time reference in counterfactual pattern 2 conditionals	183
5.7.4. Mixing verb forms from pattern 2 and pattern 3 in order to express anteriority	183
5.7.5. Possible tense combinations in counterfactual-P conditionals	183
5.7.5.1. Past / pre-present P-situation + present Q-situation	184
5.7.5.2. Past / pre-present P-situation + post-present Q-situation	185
5.7.5.3. Past / pre-present P-situation + past / pre-present Q-situation	186
5.7.5.4. Extended present P-situation + past / pre-present Q-situation	187
5.7.5.5. Both clauses referring to the present or extended present.	188
5.7.5.6. Extended present P-situation + post-present Q-situation	189
5.7.5.7. Post-present P-situation +	

past / pre-present Q-situation	189
5.7.5.8. Post-present P-situation + present Q-situation	190
5.7.5.9. Post-present P-situation + post-present Q-situation	190
5.7.6. Counterfactual P-clauses functioning as Q-clauses	190
5.7.7. The time of the conclusion	191
5.7.8. Counterfactual P-clause combining with Q-clause from another possible world	192
5.7.9. 'Had + perfect infinitive' in the Q-clause of pattern 3	192
5.7.10. The 'double pluperfect' in the P-clause of pattern 3	192
5.7.11. <i>Would have</i> in the P-clause of a pattern 3 conditional	194
5.8. Conclusion	195
Chapter 6: Modalized case-specifying conditionals	197
6.1. The subjunctive	197
6.1.1. The present subjunctive in the P-clause	197
6.1.2. The past subjunctive in the P-clause	198
6.2. Modal auxiliaries in the Q-clause	201
6.2.1. Q-clauses combining with a factual, neutral or closed P-clause	201
6.2.2. Q-clauses combining with an open-P clause	201
6.2.3. Q-clauses combining with a tentative or counterfactual P-clause	202
6.3. Ordinary modal auxiliaries in the P-clause	203
6.3.1. Ordinary modals in closed P-clauses	203
6.3.2. Ordinary modals in neutral and factual P-clauses	207
6.3.3. Ordinary modals in open, tentative or counterfactual P-clauses	208
6.3.3.1. The ordinary modal use of <i>be to</i> in P-clauses	208
6.3.3.2. Ordinary modal uses of <i>will</i> and <i>would</i> in P-clauses	209
6.4. The use of special-P modals in P-clauses	215
6.4.1. <i>Were to</i> in P-clauses	215
6.4.2. <i>Should</i> in P-clauses	219
6.4.3. <i>Be to</i> and <i>be going to</i> in P-clauses	225
6.4.4. Verb forms after <i>in case</i> and <i>lest</i>	227
6.5. Conclusion	229
Chapter 7: The three canonical tense patterns	231
7.1. Canonical pattern 1 conditionals	231
7.2. Canonical pattern 2 conditionals	233
7.2.1. Tentative-P conditionals that do not have the pattern 2 form	234

7.2.2. Nontentative-P pattern 2 conditionals	235
7.2.2.1. Pattern 2 as a result of backshifting pattern 1	236
7.2.2.2. Pattern 2 with counterfactual P and counterfactual Q	239
7.2.2.3. Pattern 2 with counterfactual P and imaginary Q	243
7.2.2.4. Pattern 2 with imaginary P and imaginary Q	244
7.2.2.5. Pattern 2 with a factual P-clause	246
7.2.2.6. Pattern 2 resulting from using <i>would</i> instead of <i>will have</i>	247
7.2.2.7. Pattern 2 with modal <i>would</i> in the Q-clause	247
7.3. Canonical pattern 3 conditionals	247
7.3.1. Pattern 3 resulting from backshifting.	248
7.3.2. Imaginary pattern 3 conditionals	249
7.3.2.1. Counterfactual P + imaginary Q	250
7.3.2.2. Imaginary P + imaginary Q	251
7.3.3. Pattern 3 with closed P-clause and putative <i>would</i> in the Q-clause	255
7.4. Conclusion	256
Chapter 8: The relation between the theoretical world and the actual world	257
8.1. Introduction	257
8.2. Epistemic modalizers	264
8.3. The importance of the relation between the theoretical world and the actual world	265
8.3.1. Counterfactual indirect inferentials	265
8.3.2. The implicature of counterfactuality of Q in counterfactual-P conditionals	266
8.3.3. Cancelling of the implicature of counterfactuality of Q	266
8.3.4. The communicative function of the counterfactual-P conditional	270
8.3.4.1. Counterfactual-P conditionals with Q-clause expressing a disposition	270
8.3.4.2. Counterfactual-P conditionals with Q-clause expressing advice	272
8.4. Nonassertoric interrogative Q-clauses	273
8.5. Conclusion	275
Chapter 9: A typology of case-specifying P-clauses	277
9.1. Actualization conditionals	277
9.1.1. Definition	277
9.1.2. Types of actualization-conditioning P-clauses	277

9.1.2.1. Actualization-triggering P-clauses	278
9.1.2.2. Preclusive-P actualization conditionals	278
9.1.2.3. Actualization-licensing-P conditionals	280
9.1.2.4. Nonpreclusive-P actualization conditionals	280
9.1.2.5. Actualization conditionals introduced by <i>in case</i>	282
9.1.3. 'Prerequisite-P' vs 'restrictive postscript-P'	283
9.2. Inferential conditionals	284
9.2.1. Definition	284
9.2.2. Direct inferentials	285
9.2.2.1. Standard direct inferentials	285
9.2.2.2. Backtrackers	288
9.2.2.3. Nonpreclusive-P inferentials	290
9.2.3. Inferentials involving an inferential bridge between P and Q	290
9.2.4. The epistemological basis of direct inference	291
9.2.4.1. Extrapolating from a necessary truth	291
9.2.4.2. Extrapolating from a general pattern	292
9.2.4.3. Extrapolating via inferential bridges	292
9.2.4.4. Nonextrapolating inferentials	293
9.2.5. Case-specifying-P conditionals that cannot be standard direct inferentials	294
9.2.6. Postscript premise-expressing P-clauses	295
9.2.7. Indirect inferentials	296
9.2.7.1. 'Ad absurdum' inferentials	296
9.2.7.2. Indirect inferentials with counterfactual verb form in the Q-clause	301
9.2.7.3. Indirect inferentials with contradictory Q-clause	301
9.2.7.4. Assertoric interrogative Q-clause incompatible with factual P-clause	302
9.2.8. Pseudo-Q inferentials	304
9.3. Purely case-specifying-P conditionals	304
9.3.1. Purely case-specifying-P conditionals specifying the circum- stances under which the Q-situation actualizes	305
9.3.2. Purely case-specifying P-clauses specifying the case(s) in which Q is true	306
9.3.2.1. Purely case-specifying P-clause specifying the circumstances under which the perception of the Q-situation may take place.	306
9.3.2.2. Purely case-specifying P-clause defining the conditions under which one comes to the conclusion that Q is true	307
9.3.2.3. Purely case-specifying P-clause merely specifying the cases in which Q is true	308
9.3.2.4. Set-identifying P-clauses	309

9.4. Conclusion	316
Chapter 10: Rhetorical conditionals	319
10.1. Utterance conditionals	319
10.1.1. Relevance conditionals	320
10.1.2. Anchoring-P conditionals	325
10.1.3. Performative-Q conditionals	326
10.1.4. Metalinguistic-Q conditionals	327
10.1.5. Nonassertoric-Q utterance conditionals	327
10.1.6. Commenting-Q utterance conditionals	329
10.2. Comparing conditionals	330
10.2.1. Definition	330
10.2.2. Subtypes of comparing conditionals	331
10.2.2.1. Similarity-expressing conditionals	331
10.2.2.2. Contrastive conditionals	332
10.2.2.3. Gradation conditionals	333
10.2.2.4. Concessive-P conditionals	334
10.2.3. Reference to the post-present in comparing conditionals	338
10.3. Commenting-P conditionals	340
10.3.1. Downtoning-P conditionals	340
10.3.2. Boosting-P conditionals	342
10.3.3. Evaluating-P conditionals	343
10.3.3.1. Truth-evaluating-P conditionals	344
10.3.3.2. Content-evaluating-P conditionals	347
10.3.3.3. Presupposition-evaluating-P conditionals	349
10.3.4. Metalinguistic-P conditionals	353
10.3.5. Speech condition-defining-P conditionals	355
10.3.6. Reminding-P conditionals	356
10.3.7. Hedging-P conditionals	357
10.4. Pseudo-implicative conditionals	358
10.5. Pleonastic conditionals	359
10.6. Conclusion	360
10.6.1. Summary	360
10.6.2. Syntactic integration	364
Chapter 11: Syntactically marked conditional structures	367
11.1. Postscript-P conditionals	367
11.2. Conditional anacolutha	369
11.3. Nominal-Q conditionals	369
11.4. Displaced-P conditionals	370
11.5. Stacked-P conditionals	372
11.6. Conditionals with coordinated P-clauses or Q-clauses	375

11.7. Syntactically incomplete conditionals	376
11.7.1. Covert-P conditionals	376
11.7.1.1. The type <i>would</i> { <i>like / love / hate / prefer</i> } <i>to</i>	377
11.7.1.2. <i>Would/should</i> for tentativeness	378
11.7.1.3. Q-clauses implying <i>if I were you</i>	382
11.7.1.4. Conditionals without real link between the overt P-clause and the Q-clause	382
11.7.2. Covert-Q conditionals	383
11.7.2.1. Conditionals whose Q-clause is deleted to avoid repetition	383
11.7.2.2. Covert-Q conditionals of the purely case-specifying-P type	384
11.7.2.3. <i>If only</i>	384
11.7.2.4. Presupposition-evaluating Q-less P-clauses	385
11.7.2.5. Q-less conditionals as indignant exclamations	386
11.7.2.6. Q-less <i>if</i> -clauses used for weak manipulation	386
11.7.2.7. <i>If you say so</i>	386
11.7.2.8. Q-less <i>if</i> -clauses as independent questions	387
11.7.2.9. Exclamations of surprise	387
11.7.2.10. Pseudo-Q conditionals	387
11.8. Conditionals with a reduced P-clause or Q-clause	389
11.8.1. Reduced-P conditionals	389
11.8.2. Reduced-Q conditionals	390
11.9. Implicit P-conditionals	391
11.10. Implicit-Q conditionals	395
11.11. Semi-nominal-P conditionals	396
11.11.1. Extraposed-P conditionals	396
11.11.2. Nonextraposed-semi-nominal-P conditionals	400
11.11.3. Specificational anacolutha	400
11.12. Split conditionals	401
11.13. Paratactic conditionals	401
11.13.1. Paratactic conditionals with an imperative P-clause + <i>or</i>	401
11.13.2. Paratactic conditionals with a (pseudo-)imperative P-clause + <i>and</i>	403
11.13.3. Paratactic conditionals with finite P-clause + finite <i>and/or</i> -clause	405
11.13.4. Paratactic conditionals with a quantified NP as P-constituent	407
11.13.5. Paratactic conditionals of the form 'NP <i>or</i> NP'	407
11.13.6. Asyndetic paratactic conditionals	407
11.14. Specificational (focusing) conditional structures	408
11.14.1. Definition	408
11.14.2. Type 1: specificational P-clause	409
11.14.3. Type 2: specificational Q-clause	410

11.14.4. Type 3: 'premodified reduced <i>it</i> -clefts' and variants	411
11.14.5. Type 4: Q-variable + nonspecificational P-value	415
11.14.6. Type 5: Q-variable + specificational P-value	417
11.15. Conclusion	419
Chapter 12: Sufficient and/or necessary conditions	421
12.1. Preliminaries	421
12.2. (In)dispensable P-clauses	423
12.3. Utterance-conditionals	425
12.4. A/T-conditions	425
12.4.1. The definition of 'necessary' and 'sufficient' A/T-condition	425
12.4.2. The origins of necessity and/or sufficiency understandings	426
12.4.3. Sufficiency and/or necessity interpretations of A/T-conditions	434
12.4.3.1. P is interpreted as a sufficient and necessary condition for Q	434
12.4.3.2. P is interpreted as a sufficient, but not necessary, condition for Q	440
12.4.3.3. P is interpreted as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for Q	441
12.4.3.4. P is interpreted as neither necessary nor sufficient for Q	443
12.5. Summary	444
Chapter 13: Uses and interpretations of <i>unless</i>	447
13.1. Syntactically integrated nonirrealis <i>unless</i> -clauses	447
13.2. Syntactically nonintegrated nonirrealis <i>unless</i> -clauses	452
13.3. <i>Unless</i> in irrealis conditionals	453
13.3.1. <i>Unless</i> in imaginary-P irrealis conditionals	456
13.3.2. Counterfactual <i>unless</i>	458
13.4. Summary	459
Chapter 14: The meanings and uses of <i>even if</i>	461
14.1. The meaning of <i>even if</i> in implicative conditionals	461
14.1.1. The expectation understanding plus the nonpreclusive understanding	462
14.1.2. Scalarity	464
14.1.3. <i>Even if</i> precludes the implicature that P is necessary for Q	467
14.2. Nonimplicative <i>even if</i> -conditionals	468

xviii *Table of contents*

14.2.1. Purely concessive <i>even if</i> -clauses	469
14.2.2. Commenting <i>even if</i> -clauses	469
14.3. Conclusion	471
Glossary	473
References	513
Author's index	527
Subject index	529