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

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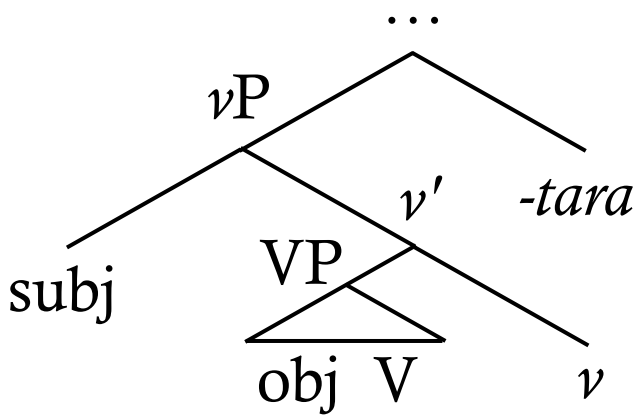
Conditional marker *–tara*

- *–tara*, *–reba* (verbal endings);
  nara, *to* (clitics)
- *–tara* takes tenseless predicates

(1) Keiki ga kaihuku {si-tara/*su-ru nara}
economy NOM recover do-tara/do-NPST nara
kojin syoohi wa nobi-ta daroo.
individual spending TOP increase-PST TENT
'If the economy had recovered, individual consumption would have increased.'

Takubo (2020), Arita (1999)



- *–tara* co-occurs with LOW, not HIGH predicates

(2) Taihu ga jooriku suru {*rashikat-tara/rashii nara}, …
typhoon NOM hit do seem COND
'If a typhoon seems to hit, …'

(3) [$_{\text{VoiceP}}$ Daiya ga [$_{\text{VP}}$ __ nusum]-are]-tara, …
diamond NOM steal-PASS-COND
'If the diamond is stolen, …'

Mihara (2012)

Conditional adverb *moshi*

- Flexible distribution

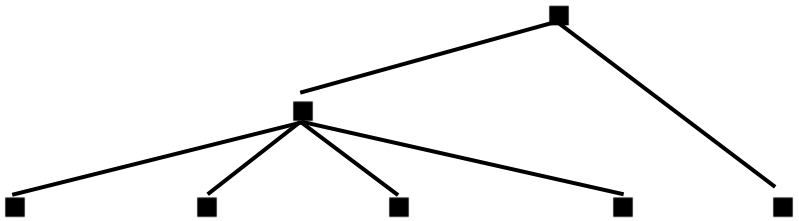
VP

(4) ☺ Hiro ga _ eki ni _ osoku ☹ tsui -tara, …

Hiro NOM station to late arrive-COND

'If Hiro gets to the station late, …'

(5)



moshi XP_{NOM} YP_{DAT} … V-*tara*$_{COND}$ …

Working Memory

[*moshi* … … … … … … … … √]

Yoshida (2006)

Moshi and 'islands'

(6) ??What do you worry [if the lawyer forgets _ at the office]?

(7) Quinn wa [moshi Stillman ga dono ringo o tabe-tara]
Quinn TOP moshi Stillman NOM which apple ACC eat-COND
okorimasu ka?
get.angry Q
'Which apple will Quinn get angry about if Stillman eats it?'

(7') *Quinn wa [moshi Stillman ga naze ringo o tabe-tara] …
why apple ACC eat-COND
Lit. 'Why will Quinn get angry if Stillman eats it _?'

Sprouse et al. (2016), Yoshida (2006)

Island sensitivity of QR

- Yoshida: *[Quantifier [*moshi* … [$_{QP}$ NP _] …

(Y/Me)

(8) */√Quinn wa [dareka moshi Virginia ga tomodachi o _
Quinn TOP someone moshi Virginia NOM friend ACC
yon-dara] naku daroo.
call-COND cry will
'Quinn will cry if Virginia invites one of her friends.'

(8') √[Nanika moshi kimi ga uta o _ utat-tara], …
something moshi you NOM song ACC sing-COND
'If you sing some song(s), …'

Yoshida (2006)

Wh-intensifier *ittai* (1)

- Kore wa *ittai* nani!? 'What the **** is this!?'

(9) Mary wa (√ittai) [John ni (*ittai) nani o ageta hito ni] atta no?

Mary TOP in.the.world John DAT what ACC gave person to met Q

'What in the world did Mary meet [the person that gave _ to John?'

(10) Quinn wa [√(??moshi) Virginia ga ittai nani o yon-dara] odoroku no?

Quinn TOP moshi Virginia NOM in.the.world what ACC read-COND get.surprised Q

'What in the world will Quinn be surprised if Virginia read?'

Richards (2008), Yoshida (2006)

Wh-intensifier *ittai* (2)

(9) Mary wa (√ittai) [John ni (*ittai) nani o ageta hito ni] atta no?

(10') √Quinn wa ***ittai*** [moshi Virginia ga nani o yon-dara] odoroku no?

(10) ??Quinn wa [moshi Virginia ga ***ittai*** nani o yon-dara] odoroku no?

Quinn TOP moshi Virginia NOM in.the.world what ACC read-COND get.surprised Q

'What in the world will Quinn be surprised if Virginia read?'

- *[… [ISLAND … ittai *wh* …] Q]

Richards (2008), Yoshida (2006)

Summary: *moshi* and *–tara*

1. [[… *moshi* …] *-tara*$_{\text{COND}}$]

2. [[[*moshi* … *wh*] *-tara*$_{\text{COND}}$] Q]
   - **wh*-adjunct: *naze* ‘why’
   - $^{\surd}$*wh*-argument: *dono ringo-o* ‘which apple$_{\text{ACC}}$’

3. [*/$^{\surd}$Quant [*moshi* … _] *-tara*$_{\text{COND}}$]
   - *futa-tsu* ‘two (things)’, *dareka* ‘someone’

4. *[… [*moshi* … ittai *wh* …] Q]
   $^{\surd}$[ittai [*moshi* … *wh* …] Q]

If-clauses denote possible worlds

- Argument-adjunct asymmetry

(11) a. If *on Monday* the share price is still at the current level _ then clearly their defence doesn't hold much water.

b. *If *the text* you have received _, you should contact me.

- Abstraction over a possible world variable

(12) if John arrives late

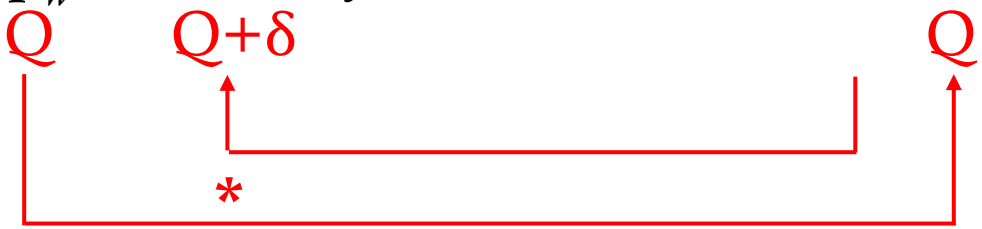
LF: Op_w C^0 John arrives late in w

Haegeman (2010a, b),
Bhatt and Pancheva (2006/2017)

Operator, variable, and intervening elements

- Relativized Minimality: *… $\underline{\mathbf{X}}_{\underline{\mathbf{[F]}}}$ … $Z_{[F]}$ … $\underline{\mathbf{Y}}_{\underline{\mathbf{[F]}}}$ …

(11) b. Op_w if *the text* you have received _ in w, … (at LF)

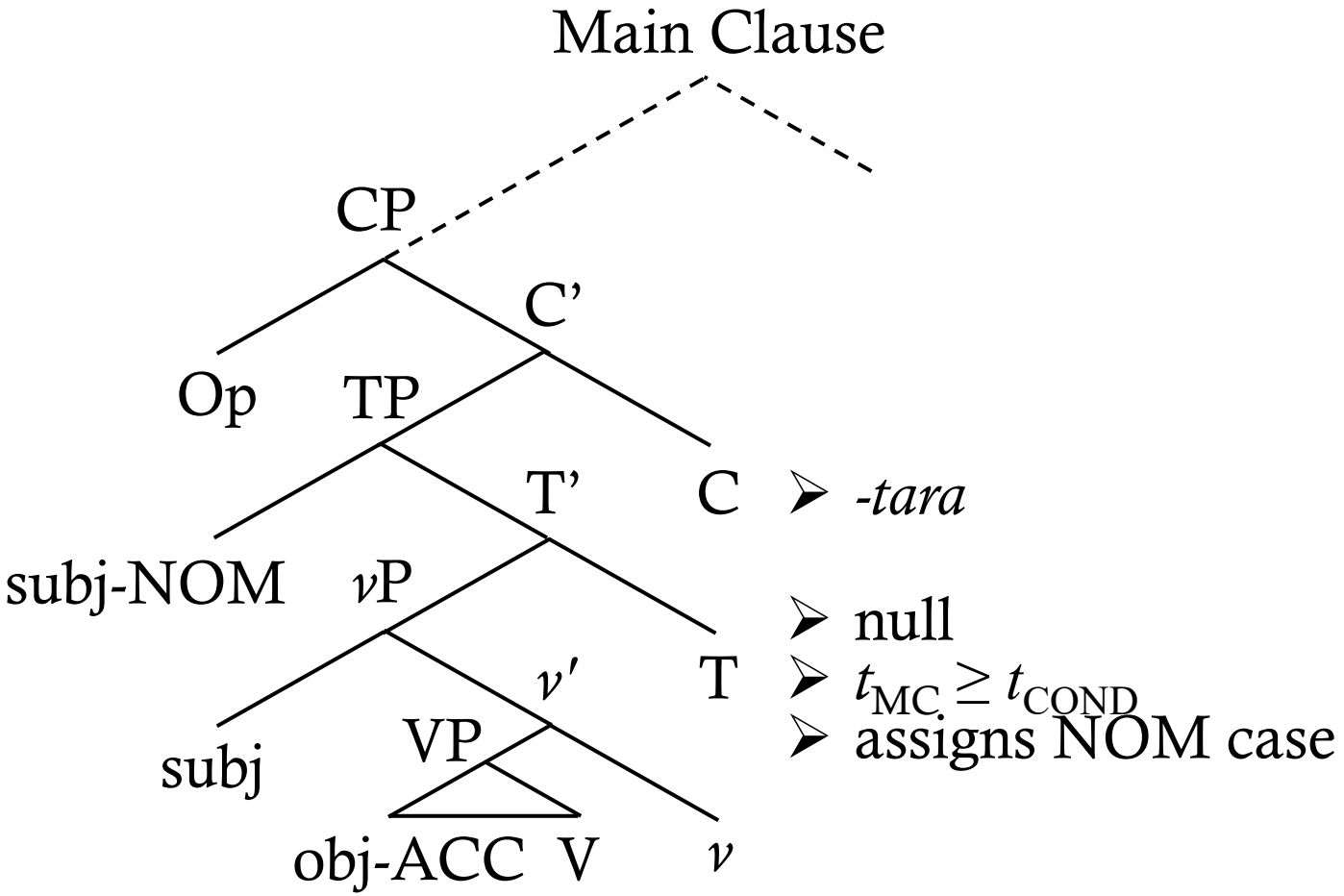


- If *–tara* clauses denote possible worlds, …

(13) a. Hana ga Taro to at-tara, … 'If Hana meets Taro, …'
Hana NOM Taro DAT meet-COND

b. LF: [$_{CP}$ Op_w [$_{vP}$ Hana meets Taro in w] C_{-tara}]

Rizzi (2004), Haegeman (2010a, b)


Main Clause
CP
C'
Op
TP
T'
C
-tara
subj-NOM
vP
null
v'
T
$t_{MC} \geq t_{COND}$
VP
assigns NOM case
subj
obj-ACC
V
v

Wh-sensitivity (1)

- *sóto.de* 'out', *dóko.de* 'where'

(14) **Moshi** Hana ga Taro to *soto.de* at-**tara**, Jiro wa okoru no?
moshi Hana NOM Taro DAT out meet-COND Jiro TOP get.angry Q
'If Hana meets Taro out, will Jiro get angry?'

(15) ?**Moshi** Hana ga Taro to *doko.de* at-**tara**, Jiro wa okoru no?
where
Lit. 'Where will Jiro get angry if Hana meets Taro?'

Wh-sensitivity (2)

- *sóto.de* 'out', *dóko.de* 'where'

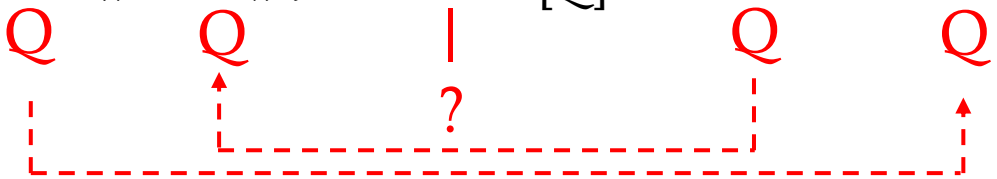
(16) *Soto.de* **moshi** Hana ga Taro to at-**tara**, Jiro wa okoru no?
out moshi Hana NOM Taro DAT meet-COND Jiro TOP get.angry Q
'If Hana meets Taro out, will Jiro get angry?'

(17) *Doko.de* **moshi** Hana ga Taro to at-**tara**, Jiro wa okoru no?
where
Lit. 'Where will Jiro get angry if Hana meets Taro?'

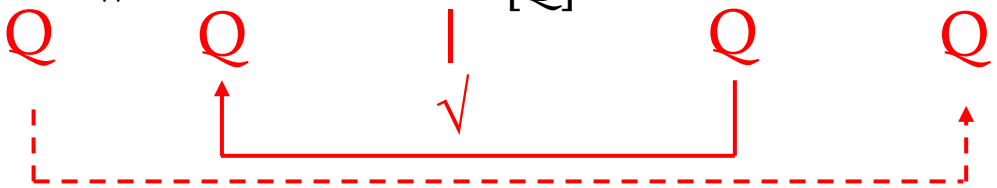
cf. (15) ?**Moshi** Hana ga Taro to *doko.de* at-**tara**, …

Overt, or covert mvt?

- *Moshi* can interfere with covert *wh*-movement, not with overt *wh*-movement
- (15): [$_{CP}$ Op_w Op_{wh} [$moshi_{[Q]}$ … *wh* … in w] C_{COND}]



- (17): [$_{CP}$ Op_w *wh* [$moshi_{[Q]}$ … ~~*wh*~~ … in w] C_{-tara}]



Wh-intensifier *ittai* (again)

- *ittai* : subjective (e.g., speaker's surprise)

(18) ?If Paul will *possibly* get drunk, I am not coming to the party.

(19) ??Taro ga *kitto* ki-tara, Jiro wa okoru daroo.
Taro NOM surely come-COND Jiro TOP get.angry
Intended: 'If Taro surely comes, Jiro will get angry.'

- [$_{CP}$ Op$_{w}$ *ittai* Op$_{wh}$ [*moshi* ~~*ittai*~~ *wh* … in w] C$_{\text{-}tara}$]

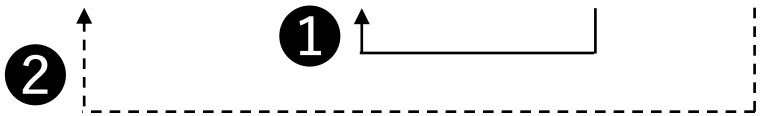
Portner (2009),
Richards (2008)

Maeda's extension of RM

- Derivational feature-based RM (DFRM)
  - *… **X**$_{[F]}$ … Z$_{[F]}$ … **Y**$_{[F]}$ …
  - Z: criterion-satisfying element

(20) a. ?*Jon-sika nani-o tabe nakatta no?
b. Nani-o Jon-sika tabe nakatta no?
what-Acc John-only eat not Q
'What did only John eat?'

- [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ *wh* [$_{\text{FocP}}$ Jon-only [$_{v\text{P}}$ _ what-Acc] Neg] Q]



*DFRM

Maeda (2013)

DFRM in conditional clauses

- *-sae* ('at lease') licensed in conditional clauses

  Jon-*sae* ki-tara$_{COND}$, … 'if *at least* John comes, …'
  Menkyo-*sae* tore-ba$_{COND}$, .. 'if you get *at least* a license, …'

(21) [Dare-ga menkyo-sae motteire-ba], kuruma-o kashite kureru no?
who-NOM license-only have-COND car-ACC lend BEN Q
Lit. 'If who has at least the license, can you lend us your car?'

(22)*[Dare-ga menkyo-sae motteiru ka wakare-ba],
who-NOM license-only have Q see-COND
Jiro-wa kuruma-o kashite kureru daroo.
Jiro-TOP car-ACC lend BEN will
Lit. 'If he sees who has at least the license, Jiro will lend us a car.'

Maeda (2013)

(23): Counterexample?

(21) [Dare-ga menkyo-sae motteire-ba], …?
who-NOM license-only have-COND
Lit. 'If who has at least the license, …?'

(23) ??[Menkyo-sae dare-ga motteire-ba], ...
license-only who-NOM have-COND

- Maeda: The same LF-structure for both (21) and (23)!
- [$_{\text{FocP}}$ license-*sae* [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ who [$_{v\text{P}}$ __ __]] COND] …Q]

Maeda (2013)

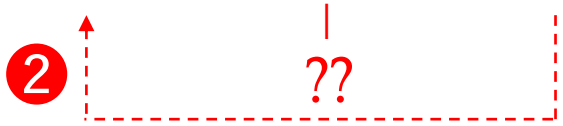
Linear order effect: *-sae*, *moshi*

(23) ??[menkyo-sae dare-ga motteire-ba], …
license-at.least who-NOM have-COND

- Derivational steps

1. $[_{vP}$ *who* XP-sae …$]$
2. $[_{vP}$ XP-sae $[_{vP}$ *who* ~~XP-sae~~ …$]]$

3. $[_{CP}$ Op_{w} Op_{wh} $[_{vP}$ XP-sae $[_{vP}$ *who* ~~XP-sae~~ …$]]$ $C_{-ba[COND]}]$



- Conditional-licensed items interfere with covert *wh*-mvt

Weak islandhood of Jpn. conditional clauses

- Overt conditional adverb *moshi* 'by any chance'
  - Licensed in the domain of conditional CPs
  - (Conforming RM) Interferes with covert *wh*-movement, one of mvts. with the same feature for operator-variable binding
  - ?*[$_{CP}$ Op_{w} Op_{wh} [$_{vP}$ *moshi* *wh* …] C_{COND}]

- *ittai* '(wh) … in the world'
- Judgment varies among speakers (Yoshida, me, other speakers…): the Principle of Minimal Compliance? (Richards 1998)

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