

X-marked desires

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A pair:

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1a. If Mary knows the answer, John knows the answer | O-marked |
| b. If Mary knew the answer, John would know the answer | X-marked |

Possible working hypothesis:

Meaning of O-conditional: a conditional core + O-marking

Meaning of X-conditional: a conditional core + X-marking

What is the meaning difference between O- and X-marking?

“semantic X-contribution” (we saw a few proposals yesterday)

What is morphological difference between O- and X-marking? (Crosslinguistically)

Some X-marked conditionals:

2 a. If he left tomorrow, he would get there next week (FLV)

b. If I had a car now, I would be happy (PresCF)

c. If he had been descended from Napoleon, he would have been
shorter (PastCF)

(NOTE: *He had been descended from Napoleon)

There are languages that have very specialized X-morphology.

There are languages that use morphology that is used elsewhere.

Possibly the first class of languages is easier to analyze because once one knows what the X-conditional meaning is, one can write that into the meaning of the specialized morphemes.

The second class of languages definitely presents a recalcitrant problem: how do the morphemes compose to the relevant meaning in some environments, and to something else in others?

- Hungarian is a language with specialized X-morphology:
add NA to an O-conditional

3. Ha János tudja a választ, Mari (is) tudja a választ
if J knows the answer-acc M (too) knows the answer-acc
'If John knows the answer, Mary knows the answer'

4. Ha János tud^{ná} a választ, Mari is tud^{ná} a választ
if J know.NA the answer-acc Mari too know.NA the
answer-acc
If John knew the answer, Mary would know the answer

(4) is Present Counterfactual (PresCF):
p, q do not hold at UT.

Past Counterfactual: p, q do not hold at a time prior to UT

You add past.

PresCF:

5. Ha János tud^{ná} a választ, Mari is tud^{ná} a választ
if J know.^{NA} the answer-acc Mari too know.^{NA} the answer-acc
'If John knew the answer, Mary would know the answer'

PastCF:

6. Ha János tud^{ta} vol^{na} a választ,
if J know.past.3sg be-^{NA} the answer-acc

Mari is tud^{ta} vol^{na} a választ

M too know.past.3g be-^{NA} the answer-acc

'If John had known the answer, Mary would have known the answer too'

- Future Less Vivid (FLVs):

7a. ha holnap el-indul, a jo:vo" h'etre oda-e' r

if tomorrow away-leave the following week.onto there-reach

‘If he leaves tomorrow, he will get there next week’

b. ha holnap el-indul^{na}, a jo:vo" he'tre oda-e'r^{ne}

if tomorrow away-leave.^{NA} the following week.onto there-reach.^{NA}

‘If he left tomorrow, he would get there next week’

Next:

Languages where X-marking plays a different role in other environments.

Greek X-marking consists of “fake past” and “fake imperfective” in the antecedent (Iatridou 2000, 2009):

8. An **eperne/*pire** to farmako, tha **ginotan/*egine** kalitera
if **take-pst-imp/*-prf** the meds, FUT **become-pst-imp/*-prf** better
‘If s/he took the medicine, s/he would get better’

9. An **pandrevotan/*pandreftike** mia prigipisa,
if **marry-pst-imp/*-prf** a princess, FUT

tha **esoze/ *esose** tin eteria tu
save-pst-imp/*-prf his firm
‘If he married a princess, he would save his company’

- What do we mean by “fake”?

Fake Past:

The verb **MUST** be in the past tense, even though the temporal interpretation is about the future (FLV).

The same holds for a PrsCF. The verb **MUST** be in the past tense, even though the temporal interpretation is about the present:

10. An icha aftokinito tora, tha imun eftichismeni
If have.PST.1sg car now, FUT was.PST. 1sg happy
‘If I had a car now, I would be happy’

“fake past”= morphological past that is not (in an obvious way) associated with a temporal past, but with CF.

For a PastCF, we need two pasts: one fake for CF, and one for temporal past. This double past appears as the pluperfect (past perfect):

11. An iche figi stis pende, tha iche ftasi stis deka
if have.PST.3sg left at 5, FUT have.PST.3sg arrived at 10
'If s/he had left at 5, s/he would have arrived at 10'

English, among many others, is also a fake past language
(would = woll+PST):

12a. If he left tomorrow, he would get there next week (FLV)

b. If I had a car now, I would be happy (PresCF)

c. If he had been descended from Napoleon, he would have been
shorter

(PastCF)

So far we have seen Fake Past and Fake Imperfective in CF conditionals and wishes.

In 2000, there were three more morphological markings in X –marked conditionals:

- Conditional Mood (in Romance consequent)
- Subjunctive Mood
- Future in the consequent

Subjunctive

Some languages use the subjunctive in CFs:

German:

13. Wenn Marie zur Fete käme, käme auch Hans.

‘If Marie came to the party, Hans would come.’

Other languages do not have a subjunctive at all (e.g. Dutch)

Yet others have a subjunctive but do not use it in CFs. Eg French:

14. A: Marie avait un parapluie rouge hier

Marie had a umbrella red yesterday

‘Marie had a red umbrella yesterday’

B: Je doute que Marie ait / *a / *avait

I doubt that Marie have.SUBJ /have.PRS.IND / have.PST.IND

un parapluie rouge hier

a umbrella red yesterday

‘I doubt that Marie had a red umbrella yesterday’

15. Si Marie avait / * ait un parapluie rouge,
if Marie have.PST.IND /SUBJ a umbrella red,

il l'aurait / *ait vu
he it have.COND / have.SUBJ

'If Marie had a red umbrella, he would have seen it'

“...in French, as well as in a number of other languages, what is necessary in the morphological make-up of counterfactuals is Past tense **and the subjunctive appears only if the language has a paradigm for the past subjunctive.** Modern French does not have a past subjunctive. Its subjunctive is unmarked for tense. Hence, it cannot appear in counterfactual conditionals. Previous stages of French, however, did have a subjunctive which varied for tense, that is, there was a past subjunctive, and in that stage of the language, the past subjunctive was required in a counterfactual conditional. Modern French, on the other hand, uses the indicative, as it has no past subjunctive...”

(summary from Iatridou 2016, p. 4)

So the subjunctive is not necessary for the semantic X-contribution.

And neither is it sufficient:

In Icelandic, the CF verb is in the Past Subjunctive. But the verb is necessarily in the (Present) subjunctive in non-CFs when T-to-C has taken place (Conditional Inversion; Iatridou and Embick 1994, Iatridou 2016):

16a. Ef hann hefur farið, kem ég
if he has.PRES.IND gone, come I
'If he has left, I will come'

b. Hafi hann farið, kem ég
has.PRES.SUBJ he gone come I
'if he has left, I will come'

c. *Ef hann hafi farið...
if he has.PRES.SUBJ gone

d. *Hefur hann farið...
has.PRES.IND he gone

The only difference that Iatridou and Embick 1994 had found between (16a) and (16b), is that like all inverted antecedents, (16b) does not support focus.

So:

Some fake past Ls must have the subjunctive in CFs, e.g Old French, Icelandic, German.

Some fake past Ls don't have a subjunctive, so they don't have it in CFs either, e.g. Dutch, Hebrew, Korean.

Some fake past Ls have a subjunctive but do not have it in CFs, e.g. Modern French.

So languages can create the semantic X-contribution with Fake Past and no subjunctive...

either because they don't have one,

or
because they have one but do not use it in CFs.

Iatridou 2000 concluded that the subjunctive makes no contribution to the semantic X inference.

If it did, we would have to conclude that Fake Past does different things in the two types of Ls:

$$[\text{Fake Past}]_{\alpha} = [\text{Fake Past}]_{\beta} + \text{Subjunctive}$$

Assuming that Fake Past always plays the same role in X-conditionals (whatever this role is), one can conclude that the subjunctive plays no *semantic* role in the composition of the semantic X-inference.

The subjunctive could be there as reflective phenomenon, like the French dubitative subjunctive, which reflects that something else (here the verb *doubt*) appears to have placed the proposition outside the speaker's belief system:

17. Marie doute que John puisse gagner.
Mary doubts that John can-SUBJ win.

The subjunctive appears in X-conditionals as a reflection that something else has placed the proposition outside the speaker's belief system (or proper formulation). But it does so only when it CAN appear. That is, only when the L has a paradigm for the Past Subjunctive.

Further evidence:

French used to have Past Subjunctive in CFs but when it lost temporal distinctions in the subjunctive, CFs went to Past indicative even though the language retained a general subjunctive, as in the dubitative examples.

Conditional Mood

Verbal form in the consequent of Romance CFs:

18a. Si Pierre partait demain, il **arriverait** là-bas la semaine prochaine. (FLV)

if Pierre left tomorrow he would arrive there the week next
'If Pierre left tomorrow, he would arrive there next week.'

b. Si je savais que c'était du chocolat, je le **mangerais**. (PresCF)

if I knew that this were of the chocolate I it would eat
'If I knew that this were chocolate, I would eat it.'

c. Si Pierre était venu, je l'**aurais** vu.
(PastCF)

if Pierre had come I him would have seen
'If Pierre had come, I would have seen him.'

But is the “Conditionel” a separate mood that appears in some languages and that contributes to the X-inference?

I.e. is the X-inference (presumably the same crosslinguistically) created by a specialized mood in some languages but not in others?

(remember Hungarian?)

Is this a mood that other languages, eg English and Greek lack?

Iatridou 2000: Probably not.

English X-conditional consequent:

“would leave”: woll+Pst V

Greek X-conditional consequent:

“tha efevga”: FUT V+Pst (+IMP)

Now imagine a language where **both** FUT and PST are bound morphemes that must appear on the verb. The result would look like one of the following:

V+PST+FUT

V+FUT+PST

| Future | + | Past Imperfective | = | Conditional |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|
| je chercherai | | je cherchais | | je chercherais |
| tu chercheras | | tu cherchais | | tu chercherais |
| il/elle cherchera | | il/elle cherchait | | il/elle chercherait |
| nous chercherons | | nous cherchions | | nous chercherions |
| vous chercherez | | vous cherchiez | | vous cherchiez |
| ils/elles chercheront | | ils/elles cherchaient | | ils/elles chercheraient |

So there probably is no reason to believe that Romance Ls have a specialized mood in their X-consequents that English and Greek lack.

Romance has just a different morphological spell-out of FUT+PST(+IMP) than English or Greek do.

Future

(not much is known about the crosslinguistic picture)

Greek: Always FUT in X-consequent

19. An icha aftokinito tora, **tha** imun eftichismeni
If have.PST.1sg car now, FUT was.PST. 1sg happy
'If I had a car now, I would be happy'

Russian: there is never a future in X-conditionals. Not even in FLVs.

German: Future is optional

Konjunktiv II ("past subjunctive") is used (a-sentences) but there is also an option of the Konjunktiv II on "werden" , followed by the infinitive (b-sentences).

This option is possible in antecedent or consequent, and in any of FLV, PresCF, PstCF:

FLV:

20a. Wenn Marie zur Fete käme, (dann) käme auch Hans.

b. Wenn Marie zur Fete kommen würde, (dann) würde auch Hans kommen.

‘If Marie came to the party, Hans would come too.’

PresCF:

21a. Wenn Marie die Antwort wüßte, (dann) wäre sie die einzige.

b. Wenn Marie die Antwort wissen würde, (dann) würde sie die einzige sein.

‘If Marie knew the answer, she would be the only one.’

PastCF

22a. Wenn er das Gift getrunken hätte, (dann) hätte er schlimmere Symptome gehabt.

b. Wenn er das Gift getrunken hätte, (dann) würde er schlimmere Symptome gehabt haben.

‘If he had drunk the poison, he would have had worse symptoms.’

So, wrt Ls in Iatridou 2000:

Fake Past

Fake Imperfective

Subjunctive

Future

Conditional

So, wrt Ls in Iatridou 2000:

Fake Past

Fake Imperfective

Subjunctive

Future

~~Conditional~~

So, wrt Ls in Iatridou 2000:

Fake Past

Fake Imperfective

Subjunctive `

(Future needs to be studied more)

~~Conditional~~

So, wrt Ls in Iatridou 2000:

Fake Past

Fake Imperfective

(Subjunctive probably no semantic contribution)

(Future needs to be studied more)

~~Conditional~~

After 2000: Slavic!

But that is for a different occasion.

■Iatridou 2000:

FT makes the substantive contribution to counterfactuality.

FA is a side-phenomenon, that is, it does not semantically contribute to the composition of the CF inference.

So FA was not taken to contribute semantically, just like the subjunctive, even though FA, unlike the subjunctive, was present in all the Ls discussed in 2000.

Goal in 2000:

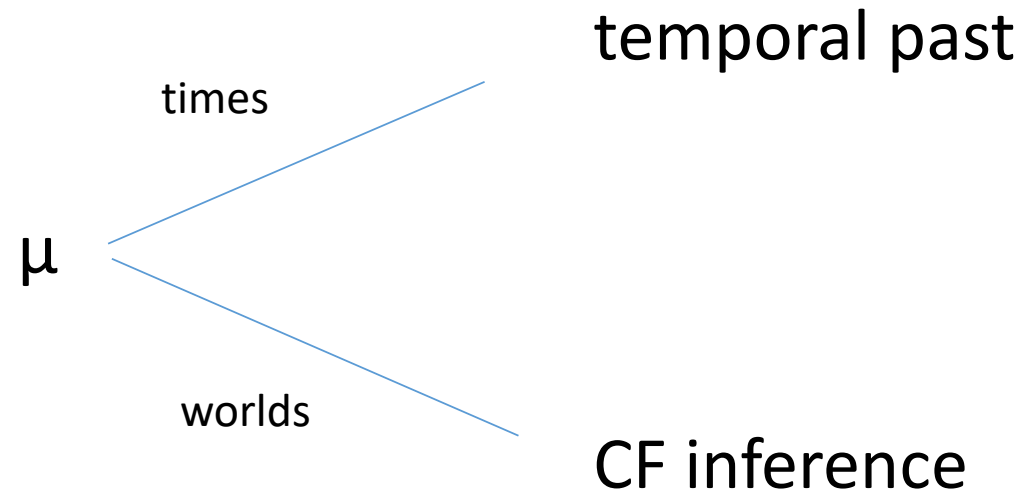
Not to add to the philosophical literature about the meaning of counterfactual/subjunctive conditionals.

But to sort out the morphological crosslinguistic picture and make some sense of it.

This is why the meaning I had given to Fake Past was meant to cover the modal and temporal uses of the morphemes involved.

Past as Modal:

The “past” morpheme has an underspecified meaning:



Iatridou 2000: The meaning of the “Past Morpheme” is not always temporal past.

$T(x)$ excludes $C(x)$.

$T(x)$ stands for “Topic(x)” (i.e., “the x that we are talking about”).

$C(x)$ stands for “the x that for all we know is the x of the speaker”.

In the temporal dimension:

$T(t)$: the time interval (set of times) that we are talking about
(Klein's 1994 "Topic Time")

$C(t)$: the time interval (set of times) that for all we know is the time of the speaker (i.e., utterance time)

$T(x)$ excludes $C(x)$:

Topic Time excludes the Utterance Time

_____ $[_{TT}$ _____] _____ $_{UT}$

-Future is not part of tense, but only modally accessible.

-The predicate is not asserted to not hold at UT. At most this is an implicature, as can be seen when the predicate is stative.

We saw yesterday that the problem that Mackay 2015 identified for my 2000 proposal for the contribution of Fake Past (as well as for Schultz 2014).

Yesterday Kai presented a proposal for the meaning of X in X-marked conditionals that does not suffer from the Modus Ponens problem that Mackay pointed out.

But that meaning of X makes it harder to reverse-engineer to the temporal meanings of that morpheme.

A general meaning for Modal/Past environments → MP problem for the modal cases.

A better meaning for the Modal environments → problem to connect it to temporal cases.

Past-as-Modal: Iatridou, Schultz, McKay, Bittner, and others

Past-as-Past: Ippolito, Arregui, Khoo, Romero, and others

A few quick notes:

Interestingly, Mackay came out in 2018 as being in the Past-as Modal camp.

But Mackay, as Schultz and others, give a role only for Fake Past, not Fake Aspect. In principle they could go with 'Fake Aspect' makes no semantic contribution. But they don't.

(the position that Fake Aspect makes no semantic contribution has advantages but also faces problems)

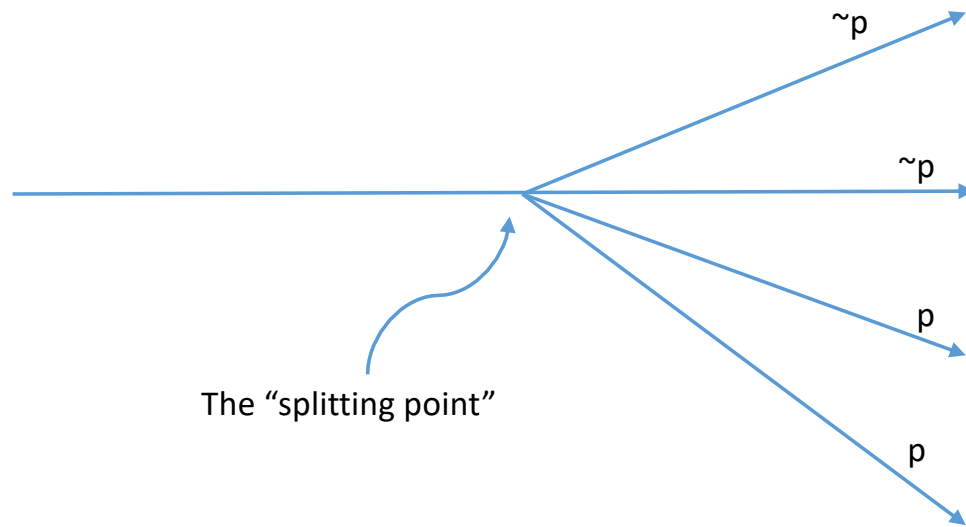
The Past-as-Past camp: The past morpheme is always past.

Khoo, Ippolito, Romero (and everybody else in the past as past camp):

- O-marking (absence of X-marking): the modal's modal base is calculated at the utterance time
- X-marking is a past operator with wide scope over the conditional, which results in the (mostly metaphysical modal's) modal base being calculated in the past time of the utterance time.

Roughly: the Past takes us back to a time where the (non-Past) conditional could still have been true.

That is, the past takes us back to a time where it was still open whether the world would develop in to a p or $\sim p$ world:



- Questions for Past-as-Past:

- Why would you need to go back in time to find $\sim p$ worlds in an FLV?

- Impossible worlds:

23. If 2 and 2 made 5,

- Cases where moving to a past evaluation point does not help.

- E.g. Transparent *ought*.

- E.g. X-marked desires

Enter “Counterfactual wishes”:

24. I wish I had a brother

→ I do not have a brother

The complement of WISH is (presupposed to be) false

Unsurprisingly, WISH cannot do Bolivia:

25a. *I live in Bolivia because I wish I lived in Bolivia

But it can do endless weekends:

b. I wish that this weekend would last forever

The term “counterfactual wish” is a misnomer: The desire is in the actual world.

We will shortly change the term

The status of the counterfactual inference in wishes has to be examined as well:

Iatridou 2000:

26. John wishes he were married to exactly the type of woman he is married to but he doesn't know it.

27. In the movie *True Lies* Jamie Lee Curtis wishes she were married to an exciting person and she is.

28. (Said by an expert on van Gogh:) Jean, who lives in Arles, wishes he lived in a place where van Gogh had spent some of his life. Poor Jean! He thinks that van Gogh was an Icelfander who never left his island.

In many languages, there is a morphological commonality between X-marked conditionals and CF wishes (Iatridou 2000).

In the full version of the generalization, the morphology on the X-conditional consequent appears on the embedding verb *want* and the morphology on the X-conditional antecedent appears on its complement:

29. X-marked conditional: if p_{m1} , q_{m2}

30. CF wish: I $want_{m2}$ that p_{m1}

We will call this the Conditional/Desire (C/D) generalization.

We will follow the previously established terminology and use the term “X-marked desires” for CF-wishes.

X-marked desires are in opposition to O-marked desires.

Languages can abide by the m1 or the m2 part of the generalization or both.

Again Hungarian is an easy fit:

Hungarian:

31. Ha János tudná a választ, Mari is tudná a választ

if J know.NA the answer-acc Mari too know.NA the
answer-acc

If John knew the answer, Mary would know the answer

32. Szeret-né-m ha magasabb len-ne

like-NE-1sg if taller be-NE

`I wish she was taller'

And so is Spanish. Spanish X-marked conditional:

33. Si **fuera** más alto **sería** un jugador de baloncesto.

If be.3.sg.**PAST.SUBJ** more tall be.3.sg.**COND** a player of basketball

‘If s/he was taller, s/he would be a basketball player’

Spanish X-desire:

34. **Quisiera** que **fuera** más alto de lo que es.

Want.3.sg.**COND** that s/he **be.3.sg.PAST.SUBJ** more tall than it s/he is

‘I wish s/he was taller than s/he is

Spanish O-marked desires have indicative on *want* and present subjunctive on the complement (when the complement is not infinitival).

X-marked desire:

34. **Quisiera** que **fuera** más alto de lo que es.
Want.3.sg.**COND** that **be.3.sg.PAST.SUBJ** more tall than it s/he is
'I wish s/he was taller than s/he is

O-marked desire:

35. Quiero que sea alto.
Want.1.sg.IND that be.3.sg.PR.SUBJ tall
'I want him to be tall'

French satisfies only one part of C/D:

36. Si Marie **avait** / * **ait** un parapluie rouge,
if Marie have.PST.IMPF. IND /SUBJ a umbrella red,

il l'**aurait** vu
he it have.COND seen

'If Marie had a red umbrella, he would have seen it'

French X-desire:

37. Je **voudrais** que Marie **ait** / * **avait** un parapluie rouge

I want.1.sg.COND that Mary have.3.sg.SUBJ / *have.PST.IMPF. IND an umbr. red

'I wish Marie had a red umbrella'

It seems that the subcategorization frame of *want* is the culprit.

French *vouloir* takes its complement in the infinitive or in the subjunctive, depending on whether the embedded subject is co-indexed or not with the matrix:

38. Je veux aller à Paris.

I want.1.sg go.inf to Paris

‘I want to go to Paris’

39. Je veux que tu ailles à Paris.

I want.1.sg that you go.2.dg.SUBJ to Paris

‘I want you to go to Paris’

These subcategorization restrictions are retained in X-desires:

40. Je voudrais aller à Paris.

I want.1.sg.COND go.inf to Paris

‘I wish to go to Paris’ (cf. “I would have wanted to go to Paris”)

41. Je voudrais que tu ailles à Paris.

I want.1.sg.COND that you go.2.dg.SUBJ to Paris

‘I wish you would go to Paris’

The picture that emerges:

In French X-desires, there is a conflict in what mood the complement appears in when the two subjects are contra-indexed:

Want requires subjunctive on its complement.

The C/D generalization (rather, whatever is behind it) requires Indicative (past imperfective) on the complement of *want*.

The selection requirements of *want* win.

In Spanish, there is no such conflict:

Again, *want* requires subjunctive on its complement.

The C/D generalization requires Past subjunctive.

The complement of *want* in a Spanish X-desire can satisfy both, because Spanish has a past subjunctive.

Greek can be described in the same terms as Spanish.

X-conditional:

42. An **icha** aftokinito tora, **tha imun** eftichismeni
If **have.PST.1sg** car now, **FUT was.PST.1sg** happy
'If I had a car now, I would be happy'

X-desire:

43. **Tha ithela** na **icha** aftokinito tora
FUT want.PST.sg NA **have.PST.1sg** car now
'I wish I had a car now'

The X-desire contains the particle NA, that is absent in the X-conditional.

This particle is part of the selection requirements of *want* (and other verbs):

44. Thelo na echo aftokinito

Want.1.sg. NA have a car

‘I want to have a car’

So it seems that like Spanish, but unlike French, Greek can satisfy both the local selection requirements of the embedding verb, as well as the C/D generalization.

“Transparent wishes”:

one part of the C/D generalization: want +X-marking

Spanish, Greek, French and others are transparent *wish* languages.

English is not. It has a lexicalized item *wish*, just as it has a lexicalized item *ought*.

Remember from transparent *ought*: *necessity modal+X* is ambiguous

-a strong necessity modal in a “CF” world:

45. An o Fred ithele na pai sto nisi, **tha eprepe** na pari aftin tin varka
If the Fred wanted to go to-the island, **must+X** take this the boat
‘If Fred wanted to go to the island, he would have to use the boat’

-a weak necessity modal in the actual world:

46. **tha eprepe** na pari aftin tin varka
must+X take this the boat
‘he ought to take the boat’

Transparent wish is equally ambiguous:

A desire in a CF world:

47. An itan psilotos **tha ithele** na ixē makritero krevati
if was taller **FUT want+Past** na had longer bed
'If he was taller he would want to have a longer bed'

A desire in the actual world:

48. **tha ithele** na ixē makritero krevati
FUT want+Past na had longer bed
'He wishes he had a longer bed'

And as in the case of weak necessity, this ambiguity is not found in English:

49. (If he were taller) he **would want** to have a longer bed

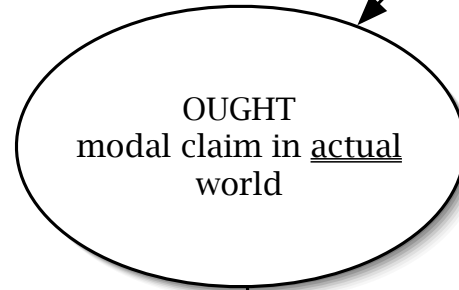
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50. He **wishes** he had a longer bed

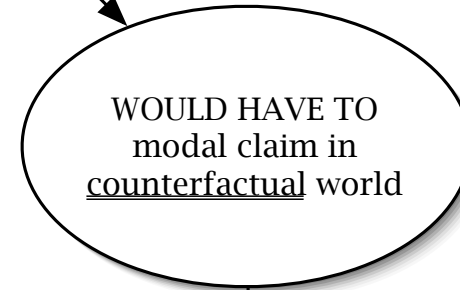
The next image is from von Fintel and Iatridou 2006:

transparent languages:

strong necessity + CF



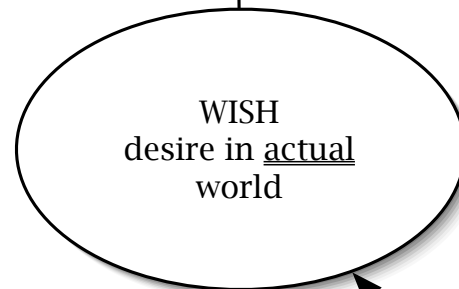
"ought"



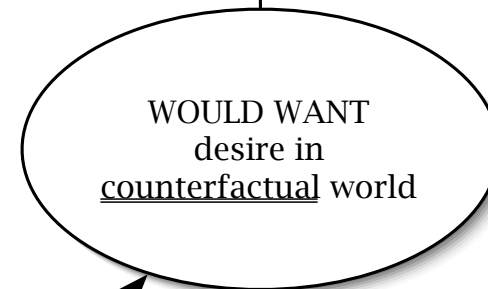
"would have to"

English:

"wish"



"would want"



transparent languages:

want + CF

But despite the parallels between transparent *ought* and *wish*, there is a difference:

Necessity+X in the actual world: is a weak modal (*ought*)

Want + X in the actual world: not a weaker desire

???

So transparent wish languages are the languages that use X-marking on *want* to express “CF wishes”.

And this is one part of the C/D generalization.

While there are plenty of languages that abide by both parts of the C/D generalization, there are some that abide by the other part of the C/D generalization, the complement part.

These are not transparent wish languages, yet they obey part of C/D.

There are also languages that satisfy the complement part of the C/D generalization but not the *want* part (i.e. they do not have transparent *wish*)

Hindi has an undeclinable particle *kaash* that by itself, i.e. without any verb, expresses wishes that cannot be realized (more on this later). It's syntactic category is unknown (Bhatt p.c.). It's reminiscent of Greek *makari*, Italian *magare*, Spanish *ojala*.

However, the morphology on the complement is exactly that of an X-antecedent.

51. kaash vo lambaa ho-taa
 wish he tall be-Hab
 ‘I wish he was tall’

51'. *vo **lambaa ho-taa** (hai)
 he tall be-Hab (is)

But *ta* does appear on IL predicates in X-conditionals (and was described as part of “fake” morphology associated with X-marked conditionals)

52. agar vo **lambaa ho-taa**, to army use bhartii kar le-tii
 if he tall be-Hab then army he.Dat admit do TAKE-Hab.f
 ‘If he was tall, the army would have admitted him.’

Also Turkish:

X-marking in Turkish: Turkish has fake Past.

X-marking on the consequent: **aorist+past**

X-marking on the antecedent: **SA+past** (past-SA in epistemic conds.)

53. John önümüzdeki salı gel-**se-ydi**, annesi çok mutlu ol-**ur-du**

John next Tue come-SA-PST his.mom very happy be(come)-AOR-PST

‘If John arrived next Tuesday, his mom would be very happy’

Turkish has undeclinable *keşke* (reminiscent but slightly different from Hindi).

54. Keşke önümüzdeki salı gel-se-ydi

I.wish next tuesday come-SA-PST

‘I wish he would come next Tuesday’

And in (54) the speaker believes that her wish will not come true.

Coming to English, we already saw that it is not a transparent wish language:

55. If I had a car, I **would** be happy

56a. *I **would want** that I had a car now

=/=

b. I wish that I had a car now

So English is not compliant with the *want*-part of the generalization (i.e. it is not a transparent wish language)

But like Hindi and Turkish, it is compliant in the complement part: Fake past in the X-antecedent and in the complement of *wish*:

57a. If I **had** a car, I would be happy

b. I wish that I **had** a car now

In short, we will take the C/D generalization to have substance to it, even though there are environments where one of its two parts seem violated for language-specific reasons.

From now on then, we will take the C/D generalization as something that needs to be explained, and attempt to do so for both parts of it.

We will focus on the *want* part of the generalization, i.e. transparent *wish*.

Why would *want* carry X-marking, and moreover, why would it carry X-consequent marking?

In von Fintel and Iatridou 2008, we briefly considered the possibility (brought up by Tim Stowell p.c.) that the X-marking on certain modals should be interpreted under them. In other words, in this proposal there is some scopal re-ordering.

We rejected this possibility for the cases we were dealing with then (transparent *ought*) but it is possible, of course, that this is the right analysis for the cases we are dealing with now (transparent wishes).

One advantage of such an account would be that *want* would be evaluated in the actual world, since it is not in the scope of the X-marking . This is an advantage because a sentence like

58. Tha ithela na icha aftokinito tora

FUT want.PST.sg NA have.PST.1sg car now

‘I wish I had a car now’

seems to convey that I have a desire in the actual world.

But there are also difficulties with such an account, namely:

- why would the X-marking morphology not appear in the place where it is interpreted?
- what sort of scope reversal is this?
- why would the X-marking on *want* be that of a X-consequent, and not that of an X-antecedent?
- under the modal, there would now be two instances of X-marking: X-marking on *want*, and X-marking on the embedded verb, as we saw in our discussion of the C/D generalization. What do we do with this stacked X-marking?

Instead, let us try an account along the lines of our 2008 treatment of transparent *ought*. We repeat the relevant parts with the *ought*-specifics redacted:

“Perhaps, then, the counterfactual marking is co-opted here in a somewhat meta-linguistic kind of way: “if we were in a context in which ~~the secondary ordering source was promoted~~, then ~~it would be a strong necessity that~~ . . . ”. This would explain why even though there is CF-morphology, the modal claim is made firmly about the actual world; all that the morphology marks is a change in evaluation parameters.”

We can try retain this part:

“Perhaps, then, the counterfactual marking is co-opted here in a somewhat meta-linguistic kind of way ...

...This would explain why even though there is CF-morphology, the modal claim is made firmly about the actual world; all that the morphology marks is a change in evaluation parameters”

After all, (transparent) wishes are desires in the actual world.

But what is the “somewhat meta-linguistic way”?

In the case of transparent *ought*:

“if we were in a context in which the secondary ordering source was promoted, then *it would be a strong necessity that . . .*”.

The blue part in the case of transparent *ought* is the strong necessity modal which carries the X-marking.

This means that in the case of transparent wishes, the bouletic verb (which is the carrier of X-marking) goes there:

“if we were in a context in which ..., then *I would want . . .*”.

But what would be the missing antecedent?

Before we continue, an important note. So far, we have come here:

59. [If]_{antecedent} [then want+X-marking]_{consequent}

and asked the question of what the missing antecedent is.

In (59), the antecedent is presented as a missing *if*-clause adjunct with a syntactic presence. This is misleading. What we are looking for is a restriction on the modal. There is no reason to believe that this restriction is necessarily syntactically represented.

It could be a contextual restriction (and represented however one likes to represent contextual restrictions, for example with the variable *C*.)

So what presupposition of *want* could be satisfied in the missing antecedent?

That its complement is attainable.

If the attainability presupposition is not satisfied, the missing antecedent takes you to the worlds where it is.

Let us see how this might work:

Take French. As we said, the difference between an infinitive or a subjunctive complement is a function of the (contra)indexing of the subjects:

60a. Je veux aller à Paris.

I want go.inf to Paris

b. Je veux que tu ailles à Paris.

I want that you go.subj to Paris

When the embedded event is not attainable anymore, plain *want* is out:

61. *Je veux être arrivé mardi passé.

I want be arrived Tuesday passed

intended: 'I want to have arrived last Tuesday'

62. *Je veux qu'il soit arrivé mardi passé.

I want that he be.subj arrived Tuesday passed

intended: 'I want you to have arrived last Tuesday'

Instead, X-marking on *want* must be used:

63. Je voudrais être arrivé mardi passé.

I want+X be arrived Tuesday passed

‘I wish I had arrived last Tuesday’

64. Je voudrais qu’il soit arrivé mardi passé.

I want+X that he be.subj arrived Tuesday passed

‘I wish he had arrived last Tuesday’

So on our current working hypothesis, (63, 64) have missing antecedents which take us to the worlds where arriving on Tuesday is attainable, so that in those worlds, *want* can be used felicitously.

Here are some other examples:

65. *Je veux être à Paris maintenant.

I want be in Paris now

66. *Je veux que tu sois à Paris maintenant.

I want that you be.subj in Paris now

These sentences are bad when *maintenant* is used strictly speaking as ‘now’, and not as ‘very soon’, and when the speaker (65) or the addressee (66) is not in Paris at the moment. Instead, X-marking must be used:

67. Je voudrais être à Paris maintenant.

I want+X be in Paris now

68. Je voudrais que tu sois à Paris maintenant.

I want that you be.subj in Paris now

And as expected, in (69), only the immediate future reading of *now* is possible, whereas in (70), there is in addition, the reading of the X-desire, where *now* is taken as being simultaneous with the time of utterance

69. Je veux être le président de la République maintenant.

I want be the president of the republic now

70. Je voudrais être le président de la République maintenant.

I want+X be the president of the republic now

So working hypothesis:

71. WH: $\text{want}_{x_{\text{cons}}} \phi_{x_{\text{ant}}} = \text{if } \phi \text{ were attainable, I would want } \phi$

But!!!!

Problem:

- Imagine Mary is the sort of person who only wants things that are attainable. If something is unattainable, that suffices for her to not want it. I happen to know her general tastes in men and know with certainty that Pierce Brosnan falls within that category. As things stand, a date with him is unattainable, hence Mary has no desires about it. In such a scenario, (72) is not true, even though the analysis in (72) would predict it to be.

72. María querría que Pierce Brosnan quedara con ella.

Mary want.3.sg.COND that Pierce Brosnan go-out with her

“Mary wishes that Pierce Brosnan would go out with her.”

(WH: if PB was available, Maria would want PB to go out with her)

WH is wrong!

71. WH: $\text{want}_{X\text{cons}} \phi_{X\text{ant}} = \text{if } \phi \text{ were attainable, I would want } \phi$

What now?? What does X on *want* do?

Recall what we said yesterday:

72. X-marking shows that the domain of quantification of the modal reaches outside the context set

Let's see if we can work with this.

In the cases of transparent wishes, the X-marking on *want* reflects that the modal quantifies over worlds outside of the context set, specifically over worlds where the complement of *want* is attainable.

That is, X-marking signals this expansion not just in conditionals, but also in TWs.

Unfortunately, this raises a different problem.

But now we have set up a potential conflict with a common treatment of bouletic verbs which goes back to Heim 92, but which continues in other works that have modified other aspects of Heim's initial account.

Here is an informal version of Heim's analysis from Rubinstein 2017:

"Basic idea for want:

Compare the desirability of the q -worlds most similar to w to the desirability of the $\neg q$ -worlds most similar to w , for every world w in the subject's belief worlds.

Additional ingredients:

- (i) Only compare the desirability of worlds that agree with the subject's beliefs.
- (ii) Presuppose that the subject believes neither q nor $\neg q$."

In effect, this means that if I felicitously utter *I want q* , it is because in my doxastic alternatives, I have both q and $\neg q$. **That is, in the quantificational domain of the modal there are both q and $\neg q$ worlds.**

This fits what we have said so far:

If the actual world is believed by the speaker to be a $\neg q$ world, the speaker needs to reach out of the context set to find q worlds. This reaching out of the context set, is accompanied by X-marking, as we said.

But then we are predicting that if the actual world is a q world, and the domain of quantification needs to reach outside the context set to find $\neg q$, we should also expect X-marking.

But this is not borne out.

Consider the following sentences (from Iatridou 2000):

73. I live in Bolivia because I want to live in Bolivia

74. I have what I want to have

In (73, 74) the domain of quantification of the modal needs to reach outside the context set to find worlds in which I don't live in Bolivia, and worlds in which I don't have what I want.

But in these sentences, no X-marking on *want* is possible:

French:

75. J'habite en Bolivie parce que je veux/*voudrais habiter en Bolivie

I live in Bolivia because I want/*want+X live in Bolivia

76. J'ai ce que je veux/*voudrais

I have this that I want/want+X

And even in English, the verb *wish* cannot be used (Iatridou 2000):

77. *I live in Bolivia because I wish I lived in Bolivia

78. *I have what I wish I had

In other words, if we connect the appearance of X-marking to the modal needing to find both q and $\neg q$ worlds for the comparative semantics of *want*, we get an asymmetry:

- reaching outside the context set in search of q worlds triggers X-marking
- reaching outside the context set in search of $\neg q$ worlds does not trigger X-marking

This seems to be a problem. Why would there be such an asymmetry?

We don't really know yet.

In summary, here is our attempt (with the mentioned holes) to unify the contribution of X:

Conditionals: domain of quantification not entirely within context set

Transparent *ought*: set of priorities not entirely within the non-negotiable set
(vF&I 2008, Rubinstein)

Transparent *wishes*: domain of quantification not entirely within doxastic set

Notice that this is cast within the Past-as-Modal camp.

Does the Past-as-Past camp have any advantages in the case of X on *want*?

Nobody that we know of has attempted Past-as-Past on transparent *ought* or transparent *wish*.

As Kai said yesterday about transparent *ought*: it's not clear how back-shifting the time of evaluation of the modal, would yield a weak modal in the actual world.

The same holds for transparent *wish*: it's not clear how back-shifting the time of evaluation of the modal, would yield the constellation of properties of CF wishes. After all, CF wishes are about current desires.

So even though the Past-as-Modal is not free of challenges, it seems to fare better with X in transparent *ought* and transparent *wishes*.

And this is the end of transparent X-marked desires...

....and of the entire desire course!