

Russian *to*-conditionals as Impenetrable Conjunctions

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Russian *to*-conditionals

In some Russian conditional clauses, there is a *to* particle:

- (1) *Esli babushka doma, (to) deti ne golodnye.*
If grandma home, TO children not hungry

‘If grandma is home, the children are not hungry.’

Albeit this particle may resemble English *then*, *to* exhibits different properties.

Contexts with infelicitous *then* and felicitous *to*

– True antecedent (Iatridou 1993)

(2) If John is dead or alive, (#then) I will find him.

(3) *Raz Vasya lingvist, (to) on pomozhet nam s*
 Since V. linguist, TO he help us with
botom.
 bot

‘Since Vasya is a linguist, he will help us with the bot.’

Contexts with infelicitous *then* and felicitous *to*

– The antecedent is the presupposition of the consequent
(Iatridou 1993)

(4) If [there are clouds in the sky]_j, (#then) it_j puts Mary in a good mood.

(5) *Esli [na nebe est' oblaka]_j, (to) [eto]_j raduyet*
If on sky is clouds, TO this make-happy

Mashu.

Masha

'If there are clouds in the sky, (#then) it makes Masha happy.'

Contexts with infelicitous *then* and felicitous *to*

– Relevance conditionals (Iatridou 1993)

(6) If you are hungry, (#then) there are biscuits on the table.

(7) *Esli ty goloden, to na stole est' pechenye.*
 If you hungry, TO on table is biscuits

'If you are hungry, (#then) there are biscuits on the table.'

Russian *to*-clauses are base-generated

– The quantifiers cannot bind pronouns in the antecedent if the pro-form *to* is present:

- (8) *Esli on_i pridet pozdno, (*to) kazhdyj student_i rasstroit*
 if he come late, TO every student upset
mamu.
 mom.

‘Every student will upset his mom, if he comes late.’

Russian *to*-clauses are base-generated

– *to* is felicitous with a relevance construction *chto kasaetsa*, the Russian equivalent for *as for*, which corresponds to hanging topics which are assumed to be base-generated on the left periphery (Ebert et al. 2014 and references therein):

(9) *Chto kasaetsa menya, to ja na konferenziju ne edu*
 As for me, TO I on conference not come.

‘As for me, I am not going to the conference.’

Russian *to*-clauses are base-generated

– When *to* is present, event conditional cannot be in the scope of the matrix clause adverbial:

- (10) *Esli babushka doma, (*to) obychno deti ne*
 If grandma home, TO usually children not
igrayut.
 play

‘If grandma is home, the children don’t usually play.’

The structure of Russian conditionals

We suggest the following structure for Russian conditionals:

- (11) [_{CP} Esli babushka doma [_{ToP} to [_{CP} deti igrayut [_{CP} esli babushka doma]]]]
 'If grandma is home, kids are playing, if grandma is home'

We assume that if-clauses without the *to*-particle end up on the left side of the clause via movement.

Extraction from *esli*-clauses

Example (12) shows that *to*-conditionals have transparent antecedents.

- (12) *Eto muzhchina*, [*kotorogo*₁ [_{CP} *esli ty v magazin*
 it man, which.acc if you in store
*pustish t*₁], *to vse posetiteli razbegutsa*].
 let-enter , TO all customers run-away

‘This is the man such that if you let him enter the store, all of the customers will run away.’

Extraction from *esli*-clauses

Examples (13-14) shows that antecedents are opaque without the *to* particle.

- (13) **Eto muzhchina*, [*kotorogo*₁ [CP *esli ty v magazin*
 it man, which.acc if you in store
*pustish t*₁], *vse posetiteli razbegutsa*].
 let-enter , all customers run-away

'This is the man such that if you let him enter the store,
 all of the customers will run away.'

Extraction from *esli*-clauses

Examples (13-14) show that antecedents are opaque without the *to* particle.

- (14) **Eto muzhchina*, [*kotorogo₁ vse posetiteli razbegutsa*,
 it man, which.acc all customers run-away,
 [_{CP} *esli ty v magazin pustish t₁*]].
 if you in store let-enter

'This is the man such that if you let him enter the store,
 all of the customers will run away.'

Extraction from the main clause

Examples (15-17) show that consequents are transparent without the *to* particle, but opaque when *to*-particle is present.

- (15) **Eto knopka*, [*kotoruju*₁ [CP *esli v magazin*
 it button, which.acc if in store break-into
vorvetsa vor] *to my nazhmyom t*₁].
 robber, TO we press

‘This is the the button that we will press if the robber breaks into the store.’

Extraction from the main clause

Examples (15-17) show that consequents are transparent without the *to* particle, but opaque when *to*-particle is present.

- (16) *Eto knopka, [kotoruju₁ [CP esli v magazin
it button, which.acc if in store break-into
vorvetsa vor] my nazhmyom t₁].
robber, we press*

‘This is the the button that we will press if the robber breaks into the store.’

Extraction from the main clause

Examples (15-17) show that consequents are transparent without the *to* particle, but opaque when *to*-particle is present.

- (17) *Eto knopka, [CP kotoruju₁ my nazhmyom t₁ [CP esli*
 it button, which.acc we press if
v magazin vorvetsa vor]].
 in store break-into robber

‘This is the the button that we will press if the robber breaks into the store.’

ATB-movement: simultaneous extraction

Examples (18-20) show that ATB-movement (including the long-distance one) is possible from the antecedent and the consequent only when *to*-particle is present.

- (18) *Chej* *project*_{t₁} [_{CP} *Masha nam* *skazala*, [_{CP} *chto*
 whose project Masha we.dat said that
 [_{CP} *esli primut* *t₁*], [_{CP} *to* *Vasya podderzhit*
 if get-accepted TO Vasya support
t₁]]].

‘Masha told us whose project is such that if they accept it, Vasya will support it?’

ATB-movement: simultaneous extraction

Examples (18-20) show that ATB-movement (including the long-distance one) is possible from the antecedent and the consequent only when *to*-particle is present.

- (19) *?Chej project₁ [CP Masha nam skazala, [CP chto
 whose project Masha we.dat said that
 [CP esli primut t₁], [CP Vasya podderzhit t₁]]].
 if get-accepted Vasya support*

'Masha told us whose project is such that if they accept it, Vasya will support it?'

ATB-movement: simultaneous extraction

Examples (18-20) show that ATB-movement (including the long-distance one) is possible from the antecedent and the consequent only when *to*-particle is present.

- (20) **Chej project*_{t₁} [_{CP} *Masha nam skazala*, [_{CP} *chto*,
 whose project Masha we.dat said that
 [_{CP} *Vasya podderzhit t₁* [_{CP} *esli primut t₁*]]]].
 Vasya support if get-accepted

'Masha told us whose project is such that if they accept it, Vasya will support it?'

Extraction pattern

1: The possibility of extraction from Russian conditionals.

extraction	with <i>to</i> -particle	without <i>to</i> -particle
from <i>es/li</i> -clause	✓	x
from the main clause	x	✓
ATB-movement	✓	x

Long-distance extraction from *esli*-clauses

Example (21) shows that long-distance extraction from *esli*-clause is impossible even if *to*-particle is present.

- (21) **Chej project₁ [CP Masha nam skazala, [CP chto
 whose project Masha we.dat said that
 esli primut t₁], [CP to Vasya rasstroitsa]]]*.
 if get-accepted TO Vasya get-upset

‘Masha told us whose project is such that if they accept it, Vasya will get upset?’

Inner-clausal movement instead of extraction

Our proposal is hence as follows: if nothing can be extracted from the *esli*-clauses through the other clause, it may be the movement to the Spec-CP position inside the *esli*-clause. It will also explain other extraction-properties of Russian conditionals: *esli*-clauses are actually adjuncts and are opaque for the extraction.

Extraction pattern: revised

2: The possibility of extraction from Russian conditionals.

extraction	with <i>to</i> -particle	without <i>to</i> -particle
from <i>es/i</i> -clause	x	x
from the main clause	x	✓
ATB-movement	✓	x

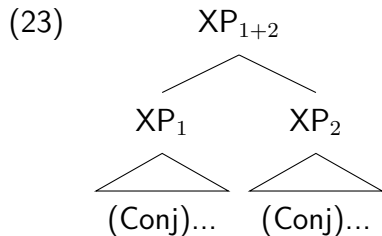
Russian *to*-conditionals as Impenetrable conjunctions

The extraction pattern of conditionals with *to*-particle from the Table 2 (no subextraction from both conjuncts, but possible ATB-configuration) corresponds with the **Coordinate Structure Constraint** (22) proposed in (Ross 1967).

- (22) In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

Russian to-conditionals as Impenetrable conjunctions

The Impenetrable conjunction structure is thus as follows (Privoznov 2023):



Russian *to*-conditionals as Impenetrable conjunctions

The idea of analysing Russian *to*-conditionals as Impenetrable conjunctions also follows from the fact that there exists coordinating conjunction *to...to...* in Russian. It is used for the enumeration.

- (24) *On prinosil to hleb, to vodu.*
he bring TO bread TO water
‘He brought bread and water’

Puzzles

– Ellipsis (including sluicing): *to* is obligatory in contexts with verb-ellipsis.

- (25) a. *Esli on i vspominal o nej, *(to) vseгда*
 if he even remember about her, TO always
s grust' yu.
 with sadness

‘Even if he remembered her, it was always with sadness.’

- b. *Esli ty ushol, *(to) s kem?*
 if you leave, TO with who

‘If you left, with who did you do that?’

Puzzles

– *to*-topics: conditional *to* can occur with Russian *to*-topics (Scott 2012).

(26) *Esli babushka doma, to deti-to syty, a*
 if grandma home, to children.top well-fed and
sobaka golodnaya.
 dog hungry

‘If grandma is home, as for the kids, they are well-fed, and the dog is hungry.’

Conditional *to* seems to occupy higher position than *wh*-phrases and even topics, but where is it exactly?

Conclusion

- Russian *to* exhibits syntactic and semantic properties different from English *then*;
- Antecedents of Russian *to*-conditionals are base-generated on the left periphery, while antecedents of the conditionals without *to* occupy lower position in the clausal spine;
- *esli*-clauses only allow the movement to Spec-CP position inside them, but not the long-distance extraction;
- Extraction from *esli*-clause and *to*-clause is only possible in ATB-configuration, since both clauses function as conjuncts.

References

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Appendix

We have presented the observation that fragment ellipsis and sluicing are illicit without *to* (27).

- (27) a. *Esli on vspominal o nej, *(to) vseгда s*
 if he remember about her, TO always with
grust' yu.
 sadness

‘If he remembered her, it was always with sadness.’

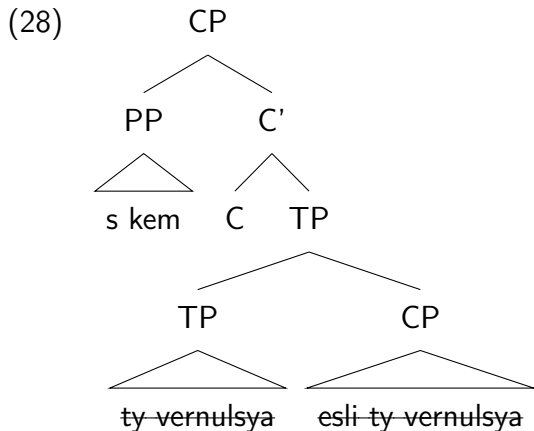
- b. *Esli ty vernulsya, *(to) s kem?*
 if you come-back, TO with who

‘If you came back, with who?’

Appendix

Assuming analysis of sluicing as ellipsis of C' Landau (2020), we suggest that in (27b) the lower *esli*-clause is elided with the C'-structure and hence cannot be spelled out. Thus, it is only possible to spell out the structure with the higher *esli*-clause, base-generated on the left periphery. In such cases particle *to* is obligatory. The same analysis also accounts for cases with the ellipsis as in (27a).

Appendix



Appendix

