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BETWEEN FACTS AND SPEECH ACTS:
THE CONDITIONAL AND CONDITIONAL-CONJUNCTIVE IN MOKSHA MORDVIN

Abstract. This paper investigates the semantic functions and the distribution of the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive moods in Moksha Mordvin. Based on corpus data from Standard Moksha, I argue that these grammatical moods are not contiguous in semantic space: they rarely occur in hypothetical conditional clauses. The Conditional-Conjunctive is more restricted than the Conditional, both functionally and syntagmatically, as the former is not compatible with directive speech acts in the main clause, it requires that the predicate of the main clause is in the Conjunctive, it resists the occurrence of a correlative apodosis marker in the main clause, and it rarely occurs in postposed or inserted conditional clauses.

Keywords: Moksha Mordvin, grammatical mood, conditional clause, truth value, speech act, word order.[1]

1. Introduction

The Mordvin languages have the richest morphological mood system among the Finno-Ugric languages. Descriptions of Moksha and Erzya count up to seven moods — Indicative, Imperative, Optative, Conditional, Conjunctive, Conditional-Conjunctive and Desiderative (Серебренников 1967 : 163—169; ГМЯ 1980 : 293; Bartens 1999 : 132—140). It goes without saying that the ”mood”-status recognized by descriptive traditions of different languages cannot be easily translated into typological terms: similar items with similar functions can be treated as mood in one language and as something else (e.g. tense) in another.[2] But even with this caveat, Mordvin languages would be a textbook example of natural languages with a very rich mood system.

What is most intriguing in complex mood systems is not the sheer number of forms, but their functional distribution. In addition to the Indicative, the Mordvin languages employ three marked moods to encode conditionals: the Conditional, the Conjunctive and the Conditional-Conjunctive.

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[1] I am indebted to Rogier Blokland, Edyta Jurkiewicz-Rohrbacher and Jack Rueter for their practical assistance and insightful suggestions during the research process.
[2] Criteria for mood-status in Moksha have been recently discussed by Kozlov (Козлов 2018 : 458—462, 467).

The distribution of four grammatical moods among conditional clauses is a challenge for grammarians, considering that there are not too many notionally or typologically salient splits in the semantic space of conditionals.

This corpus-based study investigates the distribution of two moods in conditional clauses of Standard Moksha: the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive. The distribution of the third marked mood — the Conjunctive —, will only be used as a basis of comparison for some selected parameters. This focus is justified: while the Conjunctive is very similar to the Subjunctives/Conditionals in the well-known European languages, e.g. in featuring as a subordinate mood in various types of syntactically or semantically dependent clauses, the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive are unusual, as they incorporate two meanings: the expression of condition and the expression of correspondence to reality or truth. Secondly, these two moods are much rarer than the Conjunctive — they have even been claimed to be slowly disappearing (Палль 1955; 1964) — and thus pose a challenge for usage-based linguistic research. This study aims at answering the following specific questions:
— What are the meanings associated with the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive and how are these moods distributed among different types of conditional clauses?
— What is the combinatorial potential of these moods with other grammatical features of the conditional sentence?

After the Introduction, Section 2 introduces the types of conditional clauses discussed in the literature, Section 3 introduces the two Moksha moods investigated, Section 4 describes the corpus data on which the study is based, Section 5 discusses the semantic distribution of the moods in the data, and Section 6 deals with the grammatical environment in which this semantic structure is used.

2. Types of conditional clauses

Conditional clauses have been studied with respect to two major parameters. The first concerns the layer of meaning structure modified by the conditional clause. Accordingly, conditionals may be divided into propositional (or content-[3]) conditionals and speech-act (or illocutionary) conditionals (Wakker 1992; 1995; Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 13, 110, 112—115). Propositional conditionals express a causal contingency relationship between the contents of the conditional clause and the main clause. In this case the conditional clause relates to the proposition conveyed in the main clause. The clause in (1) provides the condition for the necessity of buying gloves; if this condition is satisfied, *we need to buy gloves* is a factual proposition. Speech-act conditionals, on the other hand, relate to the speech-act performed in the main clause. The conditional clause in (2) provides justificatory evidence instigating the speech-act committed in the main clause. Here the cold weather is not the necessary condition for the factuality of someone buying gloves; it is the condition provoking the directive speech-act expressed by the imperative illocution in the main clause.

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[3] Not all content conditionals seem to be propositional. Conditions expressed by nominalizations or other deranked clauses (e.g. *in case* clauses) have been claimed to modify the predication of the main clause and not the entire proposition; cf. *He'll take his umbrella in case of rain* (Wakker 1995 : 179). I will take it for granted that finite if-clauses are propositional; this study deals exclusively with such clauses.

(1) *If it is cold, we need to buy gloves*

(2) *If it is cold, buy gloves*!

Propositions can be factual or contrary to fact. Speech-acts can be assertive (e.g. with declarative illocutions expressing offers or warnings), directive (with imperative illocutions: orders, prohibitions), questions (interrogatives) or expressive (exclamatives). A third type of conditionals recurring in the literature are the so-called epistemic conditionals (Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 17). Such conditionals do not express the cause-and-effect relationship between two states of affairs (henceforth SoAs), but a relationship between the available knowledge (premises) about one SoAs and an ensuing conclusion about the other. The relationship here is not causal but inferential: in example (3), identifying the individual on the photo — as Ben does not cause someone taking the photo around 1972, it only leads to the conclusion that the photo is probably taken at that time. Such conditionals tend to be reversible; cf. *If the photo is from around 1972, this must be Ben.*

(3) *If this is Ben, the photo must be from around 1972*

The apodosis expressing probability in (3) has a truth-value, which is contingent upon the truth-value of the if-clause. In other words, this conditional sentence expresses a relationship between propositions, which means in turn that epistemic conditionals can be subsumed under the category of propositional ones.

The second parameter under which conditional clauses have been studied concerns the epistemic stance of the speaker toward the contents of the conditional (protasis) clause and is relevant only to propositional conditionals. The epistemic stance articulates the relative probability that the contents of the clause is or will be true, and the SoAs described in this clause is or will be real. As such the epistemic stance is not a binary but a continuous variable, with some cross-linguistically meaningful nodes. These nodes, located on the epistemic scale in Figure 1, are as follows:

— Factual & generic: this type, also called given or implicative, has generic reference, i.e. it pertains to any possible time, and in this sense is timeless. The proposition conveyed by the protasis clause is certain and the respective SoAs is of permanent validity; it takes or will take place inevitably, at some point of time. Such conditionals typically occur in definitions (*if P, Y*). (Wakker 1995 : 183; Haiman, Kuteva 2002 : 112; Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 95, 102).

— Predictive: the conditional clause conveys the possibility of a specific event. Such conditionals have future time reference and tend to be episodic and event-oriented; the epistemic stance toward the protasis contents is neutral (Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 46).

— Hypothetical: this type, sometimes called irrealis, unlikely, or future counterfactual, also has future reference, and tends to be event-oriented, but the epistemic stance toward the condition is negative rather than neutral; the speaker expresses some degree of distancing from the contents of the protasis. (Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 52, 56; Karawani 2014 : 3—4).

— Counterfactual (proper): this type is sometimes called past & present counterfactual; here the antecedent (protasis) and the consequent (apodosis) are contrary to the facts. The protasis has a past time refer-

ence and the apodosis has a past or present one (Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 57—58; Dixon 2009 : 16; Karawani 2014 : 3—4).

FACTUAL & GENERIC >	PREDICTIVE >	HYPOTHETICAL >	COUNTERFACTUAL
If you heat water to 100 degrees (°C), it boils. *You're a resident if you're registered at the town hall*.	*If he becomes a defense minister,* he will order new fighter jets.	*If I won the lottery,* I would buy a car.	*If you had called me*, I would have come.
⇧	⇧	⇧	⇧
P is certain	*P* is possible	*P* is unlikely	*P* is false, not-*P* is certain
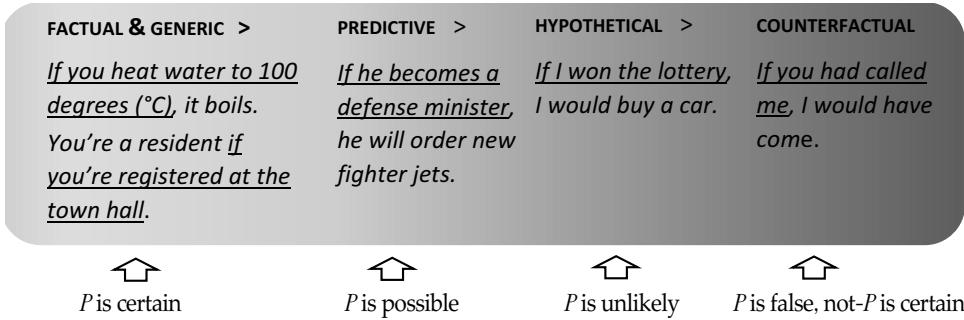
Figure 1. **Types of conditionals relative to the probability of their antecedents.**

The distribution of Moksha data among these types will be discussed in Section 5. In general, any conditional clause with the Conditional or Conditional-Conjunctive can be allotted to one of these types if there is enough information about the surrounding context. The semantic difference between the predictive and hypothetical types is slight, but typologically this seems to be the most significant boundary where splits of grammatical form occur (Haiman, Kuteva 2002 : 112). Haiman and Kuteva (2002 : 112) consider the typological evidence sufficient to claim semantic contiguity on this scale: "No language seems to conflate non-contiguous types, to the exclusion of intervening types".

3. The Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive in Moksha

The inflectional exponent of the Conditional in Moksha Mordvin is *-ńďäŕä-* (e.g. *morańďäŕät*, conventionally translated 'if you sing'), the exponent of the Conjunctive *-ľ-* (e.g. *moraľət́*, conventionally translated 'if you would sing / were singing')[4], and the exponent of the Conditional-Conjunctive, a compound of the Conditional and the Conjunctive, is *-ńďäŕäľ-* (e.g. *morańďäŕäľət́*, conventionally translated 'if you were singing / would have sung') (cf. Bartens 1999 : 132—137).

The full "historical" paradigms of the moods, relative to person, number, polarity and tense, can be seen in Ahlqvist (1861 : 40—87), although parts of the paradigms are not in use anymore. The Conditional typically co-occurs with the present (non-past) tense, whereas the Conjunctive and Conditional-Conjunctive exclusively co-occur with the so-called first past tense. The negative forms of the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive are built according to different models; variation among dialects, but also within the standard language, is observed. In forms of the Conditional-Conjunctive, for example, the negator *af* features either as a particle preposed to the inflected form of the content verb (*af ramańďäŕäľəń* 'if I didn't buy / would not have bought'), or as an inflected verb preposed to the connegative form of the content verb (*afəľəń ramańďäŕä*), or, especially in the southern subdialects of Central Moksha (Feoktistov, Saarinen 2005 : 49—

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[4] In Moksha, the Conjunctive is identical in form with the so-called second past tense (Bartens 1999 : 132).

50), as an affix inserted between the stem and the mood morpheme (*rama-f-tä́ŕäĺ́ə́ń*).[5]

   None of these grammatical moods is particularly old: they originate in Proto-Mordvin, and do not have equivalents elsewhere in Finno-Ugric (Палль 1955; Bartens 1999 : 129—137). Since Koljadenkov (Коляденков 1946), the dominant view about the source of the Conditional marker *-ńďä́ŕä-* is that it derives from the verb **tä́ŕä-* 'try', which does not exist in the contemporary language, but whose derivatives do (e.g. *tä́ŕäf̣ńəms*, *tä́ŕäftəms* 'try; attempt'). The Conditional arose from a serial verb construction (cf. *korχ-tams-t́ijəms* 'speaking', lit. 'speak-do'). The 'try'-verb underwent semantic bleaching and morphologization, and the non-factive meaning it imparted to the composite meaning of the verb pair was reinterpreted as conditionality (Артемова 1984 : 53). This verb was not only grammaticalized, it was polygrammaticalized, giving rise to a further item — the particle *ďä́ŕäj*, which combines the 'if'-meaning with interrogative-exclamative pragmatics and negative epistemic stance (e.g. *ďä́ŕäj moĺat* 'if you go …; do you really go?!; perhaps you go (, but)'). This particle usually occurs before the verb, in clause-initial position. Already in the 1950s Pall noted that the Conditional was becoming rarer in Mordvin, and tended to be replaced by an if-conjunction (Палль 1955 : 14).

   There have been two views as to the origin of the Conjunctive. According to the first, the mood marker and the homonymous tense marker (the second past) are the result of morphologization of the auxiliary *uĺə-* 'be' into an inflection of content verbs. This view, represented by Pigin (Пигин 1954 : 69), Serebrennikov (Серебренников 1967 : 164—165), Bartens (1999 : 134—137) and many others, can be considered uncontested nowadays. According to the alternative view, defended by Donner (1879 : 534—535) and Pall (Палль 1955), the source of the Conjunctive (and of the second past) is the frequentative derivational suffix *-ĺ-*. To support this hypothesis, Pall discusses a parallel development in Olonets Karelian, where a cognate of the Mordvin morpheme, the frequentative suffix *-ele-*, has acquired the functions of a typical irrealis mood: cf. *andeĺ* 's/he would give'. The Conditional-Conjunctive developed as a compound of the Conditional and Conjunctive and its history has caused little controversy in the scholarship.

   The functions of these moods have attracted much less attention than their form. The only studies operating with examples in context and presenting figures about the frequency of different forms and semantic types are Riese (1984) and Artemova (Артемова 1984). Riese's data comes from Mordvin folklore collected at the turn of the 20th century.[6] In its Moksha section, only 4—5% of the conditional clauses of what he calls the "open condition" type (corresponding to the factual-generic and predictive types here) involve the Conditional; the rest are clauses with a verb in the Indicative, with or without a protasis conjunction (Riese 1984 : 207). Artemova worked through 1460 pages of Moksha texts, and found 288 occurrences of the Conjunctive (in all kinds of clauses, not only conditional), 36 occurrences of the Conditional, and 19 of the Conditional-Conjunctive (Артемова 1984 : 161, 165).

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[5] See Hamari 2013 for a historical overview of negation in Mordvin.
[6] Riese's study is based on the volumes of "Mordwinische Volksdichtung" (MSFOu) (volumes I, II, III, IV, V, VII, VIII; the texts in these volumes were collected by Heikki Paasonen between 1889 and 1912).

None of the existing studies discusses speech-act or epistemic conditionals. As to the distribution of the three moods in content conditionals, the following is known. Grammars and specific studies are unanimous that the Conditional covers, and is restricted to, the left half of the epistemic scale on Figure 1; it occurs in factual-generic and predictive conditional clauses. Artemova cites the largest academic grammars of Mordvin languages — ГМЯ 1962 and ГМЯ 1980. According to the first, (henceforth my translations of grammar definitions) "[the] Conditional mood indicates that from the point of view of the speaker an action is possible only under certain conditions…" (see Артемова 1984 : 22), according to the second "[it] designates an anticipated action in the future, on which the realization of another action depends" (see Артемова 1984 : 22). Riese (1984 : 204) follows suit in claiming that the use of the Conditional "is restricted to the protasis of Mordvin conditional sentences of open condition and bears the meaning of 'if I do (something)'.

As already noted, the Conjunctive is a typical European subordinate mood; it is functionally very similar to the Conditional mood of the Finnic languages (cf. Metslang 1999; Kehayov 2017 : 246—250, 265—285, 313—322). Artemova (Артемова 1984 : 140) lists the following "nuances", which the Moksha Conjunctive tags on to the semantic structure of the sentence: wish, advice, order, request, curse, assumption, and an offer to perform an action (see Артемова 1984 : 112—122 for examples). In conditional clauses, this mood seems to be reserved for the right half of the epistemic scale on Figure 1. According to Artemova (1984 : 22, 152—153), the main functions of the Conjunctive are to mark the SoAs described in the protasis as hypothetically possible, or as counterfactual. She argues that the Conjunctive may even occur in factual and predictive conditionals, but the examples she provides seem ambiguous without more context (see Артемова 1984 : 152—153).[7] This assessment is not shared by Riese (1984 : 216, 219, 221), who considers the Conjunctive to be restricted to hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals (a recent account sharing this view is Козлов 2018 : 465—467). The academic Moksha grammars tend to highlight the hypothetical meaning of the Conjunctive in conditional clauses; cf. ГМЯ 1980: "The Conjunctive does not express a real, but a conceivable action, the realization of which depends on certain conditions or on someone's will" (see Артемова 1984 : 22).

Normative accounts assign the Conditional-Conjunctive exclusively to the counterfactual conditional domain; cf. ГМЯ 1962: "[the] Conditional-Conjunctive expresses a conditionally possible, but in the absence of the required conditions, unrealized activity"; ГМЯ 1980: "The Conditional-Conjunctive expresses an unreal action, which is thought to be conditional for another unreal action in the past" (see Артемова 1984 : 23). Artemova disagrees, however, underlining that this mood also has some hypothetical (future-oriented) uses (Артемова 1984 : 23, 65, 158). In particular, she argues that the combination of the Conditional-Conjunctive in the antecedent with the Conjunctive in the consequent can be used to convey hypothetical, potentially possible situations (Артемова 1984 : 158; see also Козлов 2018 : 468). She concludes that (my translation) "[the] analysis of the semantics of forms of the Conditional-Conjunctive in conditional clauses shows that they express a desired or an anticipated condition necessary for the completion

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[7] In one of her examples the subordinate clause seems to have a temporal reading; in the other, a hypothetical conditional reading cannot be dismissed.

of another desired or anticipated action in present, past or future." (Артемова 1984 : 65). She goes as far as claiming that the Conjunctive and the Conditional-Conjunctive have identical semantics, but the latter is more expressive, conveying a m o r e i n t e n s e e m o t i o n toward the clausal contents (Артемова 1984 : 65—67).

Along with addressing some issues not dealt with by previous studies, the present study attempts to verify the above claims about the functions of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive.

4. Data

The linguistic data was excerpted from two corpora. The first is ERME (Erzya and Moksha Extended Corpora). As of January 2019, its Moksha part contained 797,850 word tokens of fiction and folklore texts published in the period 1953—1995. The second corpus is Fenno-ugrica (Kielipankki-versio). In January 2019 its Moksha part contained 617,930 word tokens, mainly from translated readers and other school books dating from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. Thus, the total set in which I searched was more than 1,4 million word tokens.

I searched for each mood form separately. First I searched for occurrences of the Conditional, typing the form *ďäŕä* (Cyrillic *дяря*) in the search engine (the corpora were accessed on 02.01.2019). I got 461 hits, out of which in 149 cases the form *-ńďäŕä-* occurred as a marker of the Conditional suffixed to the verb stem. The rest were either occurrences of the conditional-interrogative-exclamative particle *ďäŕäj*, or (in five cases) of the negative form of the Conditional-Conjunctive *afəľ-* V-*ńďäŕä*, or (in three cases) of the Conditional-Conjunctive of the reflexive verb form *-ńďäŕävəľ*. Then I searched for the allomorph *ťäŕä* (*тяря*) and got 274 hits. Considering that *ťäŕä-* occurs also as a verb stem meaning 'try; attempt', only 45 of these contained the morpheme that could be associated with the Conditional. All these were, however, negative Conditional forms of the copula verb *uľəms* (*uľəfťäŕä-*). This form has diverged from its original function to express negative condition 'if (it is) not' and has become an emphatic particle (see Артемова 1984 : 68), usually conveying irritation directed towards a participant in the situation described by the clause. Therefore, all occurrences of *uľəfťäŕä-* were excluded from the population. Out of the 149 occurrences of *-ńďäŕä-* as a Conditional marker, in 19 the sentence was incomplete (e.g. the main clause was missing), which made impossible their coding relative to each parameter considered in the study. These were also excluded from my corpus. Thus, I was left with 130 complete conditional sentences with the Conditional mood occurring in the protasis clause. Then I searched for occurrences of the Conditional-Conjunctive, typing *ďäŕäl* (*дярял*) (the corpora were accessed on 03.01.2019). This search provided 56 hits, and the subsequent search for *ťäŕäl* (*тярял*) gave two hits. To these I added the five occurrences of the negative form of the Conditional-Conjunctive with the structure *afəľ-* V-*ńďäŕä* and the three occurrences of the reflexive *-ńďäŕävəľ* from the *ďäŕä*-search. Thus, the Conditional-Conjunctive occurred 66 times in the corpus. Out of these, in 11 cases the sentence was incomplete; these occurrences were excluded. All in all, I was left with 55 complete conditional sentences with the Conditional-Conjunctive mood occurring in the protasis clause.

Each corpus example was coded with regard to the following parameters:

1) Meaning: layer of meaning structure modified by the condition expressed in the protasis; values: speech-act conditional, propositional conditional:
    a. type of speech-act; values: assertive, directive, question, exclamative;
    b. type of propositional conditional; values: factual & generic, predictive, hypothetical, counterfactual, and as a separate value (non-complementary with others) — epistemic. Two other types, which were not specifically sought for in the search design, but surfaced in the material, were temporal and concessive conditional.

2) Grammatical environment (combinatorial potential):
    a. within the conditional clause:
      — presence of a protasis marking conjunction;
      — presence of the irrealis particle *ba*, borrowed from Russian (cf. Ru. *бы*);
    b. beyond the conditional clause:
      — combinations of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive in the conditional clause with different moods in the main clause;
      — presence of a correlative apodosis marker ('then') in the main clause;
      — order of the conditional and the main clause; values: conditional before main clause, main before conditional clause and conditional within the main clause.

Ideally, a study like this would use a reference population against which claims about the sensitivity of the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive to different values of the above variables can be made. A suitable population is all conditional clauses headed by an if-conjunction and followed by the verb either in the Indicative or Conjunctive. Given the zero-marking of the Indicative, assembling a population with Indicative conditional clauses in a corpus of this size was beyond my possibilities. Therefore, I searched the corpus only for co-occurrences of the Conjunctive with a protasis conjunction within the same clause.

In particular, I collected all occurrences of the construction [*kəda* 'if'[8] + V-*l'ə*/-*l'*] (the corpora were accessed on 06.01.2019). First, I searched for *kəda* (*кәда*) and got 2933 hits. Out of these, *kəda* occurred within the same clause with a verb in the Conjunctive (i.e. *kəda* was not separated by a comma, period or double hyphen[9] from the Conjunctive form) in 340 cases. In 55 of these, either the clause was not conditional or the sentence was incomplete. Those 55 occurrences were discarded, and the final population was composed of 285 occurrences. Coding these occurrences in relation to the meaning-variables requires careful reading of each sentence and the surrounding context — an arduous exercise, which I abstained from. The occurrences of the construction [*kəda* 'if' + V-*l'ə*/-*l'*] were coded only relative to the grammatical-environment variables, which could be done with little effort.[10]

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[8] Other protasis markers mentioned in the literature include *koli*/*kuli* and *esli*, but these did not occur in the corpus in the same clause with the Conjunctive.
[9] The double hyphen (- -) is used in the corpus to separate parentheticals from clauses.
[10] I did not code them in relation to the variable combinations of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive with different moods in the main clause, as such coding would have necessitated more work.

5. Semantic distribution

5.1. Propositional and speech-act conditionals

Table 1 presents the distribution of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive relative to the layer of meaning structure in the main clause affected by the condition. The frequency of the two moods in propositional and speech-act conditionals is presented in percentages and raw numbers.

Table 1

Distribution of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive in proposition and speech-act oriented conditional clauses

	Proposition	Speech-act
Conditional	79% (N = 103)	21% (N = 27)
Conditional-Conjunctive	93% (N = 51)	7% (N = 4)

The examples in (4) demonstrate the two moods occurring in antecedents providing the condition for the truth-value of the proposition expressed in the consequence.[11] The examples in (5) demonstrate their use in antecedents providing the condition for the speech act performed in the consequence — directive in (5a) and question in (5b). The (a)-examples contain the Conditional, the (b)-examples display the Conditional-Conjunctive.

(4) a. *Atu   mon   u š ə d ə - ń ďä ŕ ä - n   avatńəń*
       otherwise I.NOM begin-COND-1SG   woman:PL.DEF:GEN
       eŕafsnən   azəŋkšńəma, sati   kafta šit
       life:POSS.3PL.PL:GEN chatter:INF   suffice:IND.PRS.3SG two   days
       'Otherwise, if I begin chattering about the lives of the women, it will take two days' (Кирдяшкин 8)

   b. *U ľ ə - ń ďä ŕ ä ľ   kudsa,   noldaľəźä*
       be-COND.CONJ.3SG   at_home let_in:CONJ:S3SG>O3SG
       'If she were at home, she would have let him in' (Тяпаев 266)

(5) a. *Odu   s a v ə - ń ďä ŕ ä - j veńćams, tonga   ťafta   ťik*
       again have_to-COND-3SG   marry:INF you.NOM:CL like_this do:IMP.2SG
       svaďbaćəń
       wedding:POSS.2SG.SG:ACC
       'If you have to marry again, make your wedding also like this' (Девин 144)

   b. *Što   ľi,   mäŕgat,   śoľgəvəľ   ćeŕkavəńkä,*
       what Q(yes/no) say:IND.PRS.2SG close:PASS:CONJ.3SG church:POSS.1PL.SG
       ľ i ś ə - ń ďä ŕ ä ľ   śembä veľəś   ańťiχristtńńəń
       rise-COND.CONJ.3SG whole village:DEF.NOM antichrist:PL.DEF:GEN
       aršəs?   Afəľ   śoľgəv!
       against:ILL neg:CONJ.3SG close:CNG
       'What do you say — would our church be closed, if the whole village had risen against those antichrists? No, it wouldn't be closed! (Девин 165)

The directive expressed in the apodosis of (5a) contains an imperative illocution encoded by the 2SG-Imperative form of the predicate verb. In 13 out of the 27 occurrences of the Conditional in clauses relating to the speech

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[11] All corpus examples are romanized according to the traditional Finno-Ugric transcription.

act of the main clause this act was directive. The main clause predicate in such sentences was either in the Imperative or part of the jussive construction (*katk* 'let; may' + V-IND); cf. *katk moľi* 'Let her go!'.

The remaining 14 occurrences were distributed among different speech acts as follows: questions (N = 7), assertives (N = 5), exclamatives (N = 2). The assertives modified by protasis clauses with the Conditional mainly conveyed offers; see (6). Here it is not that someone needing a cradle causes Pivkin to make one; rather, the need for a cradle prompts Pivkin's offer. In other words, we have a condition for an offer to perform an action.[12]

(6) *A eŕavə-ń ďäŕä-j kačka, — mon ťijan, af*
and be_necessary-COND-3SG cradle.NOM I.NOM make:IND.PRS.S1SG NEG
staka, juvaďś gollandka ftalda Pivkin
difficult shout:IND.PST1.3SG brick_oven.NOM back:ABL Pivkin
'And if you need a cradle, — I will make one for you, it's not difficult — Pivkin shouted from behind the brick oven' (Девин 93)

The distribution in Table 1 suggests that the Conditional is more frequent in speech-act conditionals than the Conditional-Conjunctive. This has to do with the counterfactual (or highly hypothetical) semantics of the latter. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005 : 115) attempt to explain why complex or "distanced" temporal verb forms, expressing counterfactual and hypothetical conditions, are not compatible in English with speech-act conditionals. They argue that distancing in conditionals is related to their conjecturing (predictive) use, and in particular to their task to build alternative spaces, one of which is the rejected alternative. Distanced forms are not possible when prediction is not involved, as in the case of speech-act conditionals. This explanation fails to accommodate all available facts. In Moksha, but also in English, counterfactuals *are* compatible with certain speech-act conditionals. This is illustrated by (5b), where the assumption that the village had risen against the antichrists does not correspond to the facts, but nonetheless instigates a rhetorical question, which is likely to be uttered with an exclamative intonation. With this utterance the speaker expresses his discontent over the propositional fact — known by him and the addressee — that their church is closed. If they had revolted against the antichrists, it would not have been closed. All four examples with the Conditional-Conjunctive clauses pertaining to the speech act of the main clause are of this kind; another example is (7). Here the counterfactual conditional clause conveys the necessary condition for asking a rhetorical question; the speaker wants the addressee to admit that if the condition were satisfied, the proposition 'the woman does not take over worries of other people' would be true. The expressive value of the main clause is conveyed by the particle *ďäŕäj*.

(7) *Äŕ, avańät, af ozadəń śeďi uľə-f-ťäŕäľ,*
INTERJ woman:DIM:PL NEG sitting:GEN heart.NOM be-NEG-COND.CONJ.3SG
ďäŕäj śävəľχćä iľəń pŕä urmať, …
EMPH.PTCL take:CONJ:S3SG>O3SG other:GEN head.NOM illness:DEF.ACC
'Well — (such are) women — if her heart were not upset, would she have taken over the worries of other people!?' (Бебан 60)

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[12] Pivkin actually weakens his offer by saying that it is not difficult to implement it. This is a further evidence that the offer and not the action offered is in the focus of the utterance.

Counterfactual conditional clauses are thus compatible with interrogative and exclamative main clauses. But they are not compatible with directive speech acts (and imperative illocutions) in the main clause; cf. **If you were / had been in town, come to the party*! This incompatibility has to do with the layer of semantic structure expressed in the main clause. Counterfactuals connect truth-functionally two propositions. In the sentence *If John had been in town, Peter would have invited him to the party* the truth-value of the information that John is in town determines the truth-value of the information that Peter has invited him. Even if certain counterfactual conditional clauses, as those in (5b) and (7), are oriented toward the speech act of the main clause, they are only compatible with main clauses conveying propositions. Unlike in content conditionals (as in the example with John and Peter), in this case the proposition ('the church is closed', 'the woman takes over worries of other people') is not stated directly, but is implied. Counterfactual conditional clauses always apply to propositions — explicit or implicit ones.

Interrogative clauses refer to propositions (Boye 2012 : 200—201) and therefore are compatible with counterfactual conditions. Imperatives, on the other hand, lack truth-value and are not propositional: they evoke an action to be performed in the world, not information about the world, which can be true or false (Hengeveld 1990 : 7; Boye 2012 : 201—206). The clauses *Do it*! or *You shouldn't do it*! do not refer to propositions — there is nothing in their content that can be true or false — and therefore such clauses are not compatible with counterfactual conditional clauses.

This conceptual conflict has a temporal dimension. Directive speech acts are oriented towards the future, whereas counterfactuals are anchored in the past or present; only information about the past or present can be known to be contrary to facts (Karawani 2014 : 4). Interrogatives tend to express questions about past or present situations, as in (5b) and (7), and in this sense their time reference is harmonious with that of counterfactuals.

This rationale for the incompatibility of counterfactual conditional and directive main clauses explains the lack of examples in my corpus with the Conditional-Conjunctive in the conditional clause and imperative/jussive main clauses.

5.2. The epistemic stance toward the contents of the conditional clause

Before we proceed with the distribution of the two moods in the corpus relative to the probability of the protasis contents, a note on epistemic conditionals is in order.

Epistemic conditionals did not occur at all in the data. The reason why the Conditional does not occur in this type of conditional clause probably has to do with the fact that inferences, such as the one exemplified in (3) above, are based on knowledge about the surrounding world, i.e. on experience one already has. In epistemic conditionals, the protasis clause usually refers to the past (cf. *Once his shoes were there, he must have arrived*). But the Conditional in *-ńďäŕ̇ä-* (unlike the Conjunctive and the Conditional-Conjunctive) does not contain any grammatical material encoding past reference. It is not surprising, then, that in the corpus data the Conditional is restricted to clauses expressing future, ongoing, or generally possible events. This causes the Conditional, by and large, to be incompatible with epistemic

conditionals. The Conditional-Conjunctive in *-ńd́äŕäĺ-* does not occur in epistemic conditionals either, but for a different reason. As epistemic conditionals are based on knowledge about the world, in such conditionals the truth of the conditional clause is presupposed (e.g. in the shoes-example, it is presupposed that the shoes are there), but the Conditional-Conjunctive, as we will see, is reserved for counterfactual or highly hypothetical conditional clauses. This is consistent with Danzygier's (1998 : 87—88) observation that epistemic conditionals are not compatible with forms that have hypothetical semantics.

There were 103 occurrences of the Conditional in clauses modifying the propositional content of the main clause. Five of these were, however, temporal clauses. In these clauses *-ńd́äŕä-* occurred as a gloss for 'when', not for 'if'. In example (8) it is presupposed that the character will grow up; his reaching maturity is not a matter of *if*, it is a matter of *when*. Examples like (8) provide counterevidence to Kozlov's recent claim that the Moksha Conditional cannot occur with reference to events considered factual in advance (Козлов 2018 : 469). Such uses of the Conditional as a temporal adverbializer have been noted by Artemova (Артемова 1984 : 161), and also cross-linguistically, conditional and temporal clause-linking devices tend to be isomorphic (Dixon 2009 : 14). Yet, historical facts about the Moksha Conditional are not in unison with the generally assumed direction of extension. Heine and Kuteva (2002 : 293, 326), among many others, claim that in clause linking, expressions of condition develop from expressions of time. But *-ńd́äŕä-*, which was grammaticalized from the verb 'try; attempt', seems to have followed the opposite direction of extension: from conditionality to time. As argued above, the abstract meaning of conditionality can be linked to the initial meaning of this verb. The temporal function, on the other hand, cannot be derived from this meaning, and therefore it must have evolved from the conditional one.

(8) *Konaškava mazijχt́*   *siń*   *valsna.*
how   beautiful:PRS.3SG their word:POSS.3PL.PL.NOM
K a s ə - ń d́ ä ŕ ä - n, objazat́eĺna tonafńəsa   *ciganəń*
grow_up-COND-1SG   necessarily learn:IND.PRS.S1SG>O3SG Romani:GEN
käĺt́
language:DEF.ACC
'How beautiful their words are! When (lit. if) I grow up, I will learn the Romani language' (Терёшкина 169)

In two other cases *-ńd́äŕä-* occurred in a scalar concessive conditional clause; in these clauses it functions as an adverbializer ('even if') conveying that, despite the potential obstacle presented in the dependent clause, the SoAs described in the main clause holds; see (9). The development of conditional markers into concessive-conditional and further into proper concessive ones is widely attested in the languages of the world (Haspelmath, König 1998).

(9) *T́ä*   *ńiŋgä lac ašəź*   *matədəv,*   *a*
this.NOM yet   well NEG.PST1.3SG fall_asleep.CNG and
m a t ə d ə v ə - ń d́ ä ŕ ä - j, kiŕd́əst   *śt́enat́ńä*
fall_asleep-COND-3SG   hold_up:IND.PST1.3PL wall:PL.DEF.NOM
'He was not asleep yet, and even if he was, the walls were holding up' (Мишанина 56)

Subtracting the temporal and concessive-conditional occurrences from all occurrences of proposition-oriented *ńďäŕä*-clauses, I obtained 96 occurrences of the Conditional in content conditionals. The distribution of the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive relative to epistemic type, i.e. relative to the probability levels on the scale in Figure 1 above, is presented in Table 2. As already noted, the Conditional-Conjunctive *-ńďäŕäľ* occurred 51 times in content conditionals. The table shows that these were distributed exclusively among the types 'hypothetical' and 'counterfactual'. Four of the occurrences could not be assigned, however, to either of these types, because the context did not provide enough clues as to whether the state of affairs in the protasis was still remotely possible or not. These were subtracted from the total, and the relevant population diminished to 47.

Table 2

Distribution of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive according to the epistemic stance toward the contents of the conditional clause

	Factual & Generic	Predictive	Hypothetical	Counterfactual
Conditional	21% (N = 20)	74% (N = 71)	5% (N = 5)	–
Conditional-Conjunctive	–	–	9% (N = 4)	91% (N = 43)

The examples in (10) and (11) demonstrate the use of the Conditional in factual-generic and predictive conditionals, respectively; the vast majority of the occurrences of this mood belong in these types. Example (10) comes from an official financial regulation document, where the conditional sentence spells out a rule of permanent validity, which obtains regardless of time or space. In (11) we have a predictive use, which is oriented toward the future, and in particular toward a specific SoAs (expressed in the protasis) that will facilitate the occurrence of another SoAs (expressed in the apodosis). The speaker hopes for the realization of the condition and his propositional attitude is positive rather than negative.

(10) *A ľemfťɜma maksf kvitanćijaś uľi koda*
and namelessly give:PST.PASS.PTCP receipt:DEF.NOM be.IND.PRS.3SG how
maksɜms kińďi-povś, no juma-ńďäŕä-j, esta soń
give:INF anyone:ALL but disappear-COND-3SG then it.GEN
vastzɜnza od kvitanćija af maksijχť
place:ILL:POSS.3SG.SG new.NOM receipt.NOM NEG give:IND.PRS.S3PL
'And an anonymous receipt can be given to anyone, but if it is lost, then a new one cannot be substituted for it' (Kaganovič)

(11) *S'asi korχtan, ľezdɜ-ńďäŕä-tada jarmaksa,*
therefore say:IND.PRS:1SG help-COND-S2PL money:INE
vajmɜńkɜń targasaśk
soul:POSS.1PL.SG:ACC pull:IND.PRS.S1PL>O3SG
'Therefore I'm saying — if you help us with money, we will pull through' (Бебан 118)

The distribution in Table 2 confirms what we know from other languages. The factual-generic and the predictive type use the same mood form; i.e.

Moksha does not distinguish these types in terms of mood. On the other hand, Kozlov has claimed that the Conditional is compatible only with reference to future events and predominantly occurs in clauses describing unexpected situations; in conditional clauses that do not meet these requirements the Indicative is preferred (Козлов 2018 : 469). The rate of occurrence of the factual-generic type in the table suggests, however, that his postulates are a little bold. Generic sentences only formally refer to the future; furthermore, such sentences describe expected situations. If losing the receipt in (10) were an unexpected situation, one would not codify it in an official document. In fact, the proportional difference between the factual-generic and the predictive type in the data might be due to the share of different text types in it. It is logical that in narratives about events, which prevail in my data, the predictive type would be more frequent. In a corpus consisting of legislative texts (describing rules of permanent validity), on the other hand, the factual-generic type could be expected to be more common.

At the same time, despite the typological salience of the split between the predictive and the hypothetical type, in five cases the Conditional occurred in what seems to be a hypothetical context, with unlikely protasis contents. In all of them the hypothetical reading was due to the occurrence in the sentence of markers of uncertainty in the truth of the proposition, or of the irrealis status of the SoAs described in it. Such elements were the irrealis-evidential particle *kəľä* 'as if; allegedly' and the irrealis particle *bəta* 'as if'. In (12) the speaker is skeptical as to the chances that the character would actually cease urging people to eat.

(12) *A   zavtrakamsta   koj,   abedamsta–užnamsta   ańćək i*
but eat_breakfast:CVB habit eat_lunch:CVB–eat_dinner:CVB only   PTCL
kuľat   śaka valənc: "Jarχcada, jarχcada…"
hear:IND.PRS.2SG same word:ACC:POSS.3SG.SG eat:IMP.2PL eat:IMP.2PL
bəta a f m ä ŕ g ə - ń ď ä ŕ ä - j ťafta, lomatťńä   iľadijχť
as_if NEG say–COND-S3SG   so   people:DEF remain:IND.PRS.3PL
vačədəńä
hungry:DIM
'But at breakfast time, at lunch or dinner, you constantly hear her saying: "Eat, eat …", as though, if she doesn't / wouldn't urge people on, they will / would remain hungry' (Девин 93)

The distribution in Table 2 indicates that the Conditional-Conjunctive is sensitive to genuine counterfactual contexts. In (13) it is clear that the letter has not come early enough for the character to consider whether or not to become a school guard.

(13) *S'ergej, učiľiščasa storəšks   rabotan!*
Sergej   school:INE guard:TRANSL work:IND.PRS.1SG
Oformilsja   česť -po -česťi,   a   meľä śormaćä
[shape:PST:REFL properly]^Rus   and later letter:POSS.2SG.SG.NOM
saś.   S a - ń ď ä ŕ ä ľ   śada rana, šäť,
come:IND.PST1.3SG come–COND.CONJ.3SG more early maybe
aŕśəľəń —   arams   iľi af storəšks
think:CONJ:1SG become:INF or NEG guard:TRANSL

> 'Sergej, I am already working as school guard! I had been properly hired, and then your letter came. Had it come earlier, I would have thought — to become a guard or not' (Тяпаев 34)

But as already stated by Artemova (Артемова 1984), the Conditional-Conjunctive is not restricted to counterfactual conditionals. There were four occurrences of hypothetical use in the data. The narrator in (14) considers the possible advantages of building a barn close to her house, although it is clear from the preceding context that she does not estimate the chances of this happening particularly high: the kolkhoz would hardly give her permission to use the logs from the old barn. Such future-oriented uses of the Conditional-Conjunctive prove that it is not a counterfactual mood in the narrow sense of the term.

(14)   *A   koda ladʹalʹ*   *utəmńaś*   *ťejst,*   *ńä*
    and how build_up:CONJ.S3SG barn:DEF.NOM they:DAT those
    šočkńəń   *ezda ťijemacka*   *meźəvək aš,*   *anək*
    log:PL.DEF:GEN from making:PTCL nothing NEG.EXIST ready
    šapft.   *Kizənda*   *šabanza*
    notch:PST.PASS.PTCP:PL in_summer child:POSS.3SG.PL.NOM
    purəmijχtʹ,   *fḱä kudsa*   *matńəms*   *aš*   *koza.*
    gather:IND.PRS.3PL one house:INE put_to_bed:INF NEG.EXIST where
    P u t ə n - ń dʹä ŕ ä lʹ - χ tʹ utəmńa,   *kudsta*   *lʹišnaj*
    build-COND.CONJ-S3PL   barn.NOM house:ELA superfluous
    karχčńəń   *tov lʹiχtʹəlʹχtʹ*   *da ńiŋä ladʹalʹχtʹ*   *tov*
    housewares:ACC there bury:CONJ:S3PL and also   fix_up:CONJ:S3PL there
    kravatʹ   *ilʹi mäń kafta. Kizənda*   *šabatʹńəńdʹi*   *utʹcəms*
    bed.NOM or even two   in_summer child:PL.DEF:DAT sleep:INF
    aru   kožfkasa konaškava para
    clear air:INE   how_much good
    'What if she built up a barn for them — using these logs would be easy, they are already notched. In summer, when her children gather, there is no place in the house to accommodate them all. If they were to build a barn, they could store the superfluous housewares and fix up a bed or even two there. It is much better for the children to sleep in fresh air in summer' (Мишанина 34)

Figure 2 shows the position of the two moods on the epistemic scale. The vertical axis stands for the proportion of occurrences of the moods in the given semantic type. The figure shows what should have become clear from the previous discussion: these moods are not contiguous in semantic space. Although both of them manifest isolated hypothetical(-like) uses, the hypothetical domain constitutes a gap between them.

Considering how common hypothetical conditionals are in everyday communication, this area cannot exist in a vacuum — there must be forms employed to fill it. Of course, the suspect here is the Conjunctive. As noted by Artemova (Артемова 1984), this mood occurs both in hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals.

We need a historical corpus study to find out whether the Conditional-Conjunctive has been more common in hypothetical conditionals and then has been pushed out by the Conjunctive. The loss of the Conditional-Conjunc-
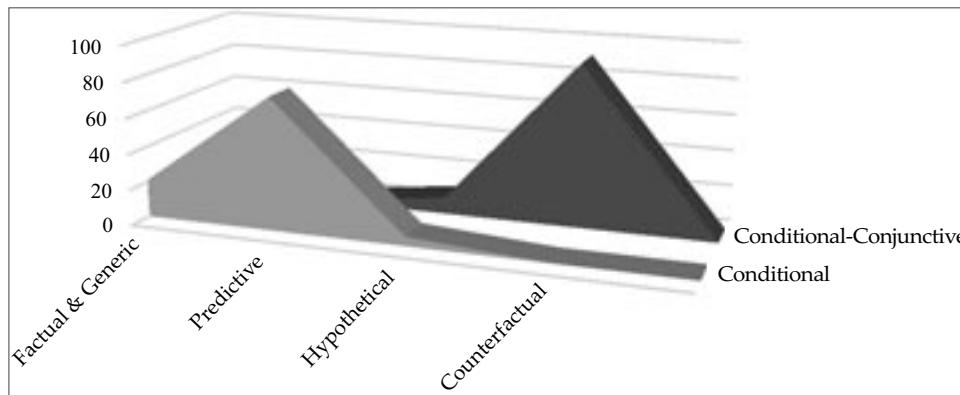
Figure 2. **Distribution of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive on the epistemic scale.**

tive noted by Pall can also be explained as a result of language contact. Russian does not distinguish in terms of mood between hypothetical and proper (past) counterfactual conditionals (Hansen 2010 : 336). Considering that the Conjunctive is functionally isomorphic with the Russian Conditional (Козлов 2018 : 467—468), while the Conditional-Conjunctive does not have an equivalent in Russian, the former must have been reinforced and the latter suppressed by the contact with Russian.

6. Grammatical environment

6.1. Within the conditional clause

It should be clear from the previous discussion that the Conditional functions as a morphological protasis marker — i.e. it encodes the 'if'-meaning, and the Conditional-Conjunctive adds counterfactuality or low probability to this meaning. It was, however, mentioned that Moksha also has a separate word expressing 'if' — the conjunction *kəda*, which occurs with the Indicative or the Conjunctive in protasis clauses. This section deals with the compatibility of the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive with forms which duplicate (or echo) their semantics. Marking the condition both with the bound Conditional morpheme *-ńďäŕä-* and the free morpheme *kəda* is redundant and therefore one would expect these to be mutually exclusive. Conversely, their co-occurrence would be a sign that *-ńďäŕä-* is losing its protasis-marking function and needs to be reinforced by the conjunction. My corpus contained only one example where these morphemes occur in the same conditional clause; see (15).

(15) *I   af   stak*:   *tundac*   *ćebäŕəĺ,*
  and NEG without_reason spring:POSS.3SG.SG.NOM fine:PST2.3SG
  viďəmda   meĺä estəkigä   tušəndśť   para piźəpt,
  sowing:ABL after immediately go:IND.PST1.3PL good rains.NOM
  šiťńä   ĺämbət, śorəťńä   tuśť   lac, i
  days:DEF.NOM warm:PL grains:DEF.NOM go:IND.PST1.3PL well and
  k ə d a   ťaftak k i ŕ ďə-ń ď ä ŕ ä-s i   piŋgənc,
  if   so   hold-COND-S3SG>O3SG   time:POSS.3SG.SG.ACC

śokśənda   päškəd́ijχt́   utəṕńä   śorəda
in_autumn fill:IND.PRS.S3PL granaries:DEF.NOM grain:ABL
'And not in vain: spring was fine, they sowed and then it started raining, the days were warm, the grains started growing well, and if it continues like this, in the autumn they will fill the granaries with grains' (Бебан 186)

Whether such co-occurrences are perceived by contemporary speakers as grammatical and whether co-occurrences of the Conditional-Conjunctive and *kəda* are also possible are questions for further research. Another question is what motivates switching between the Conditional suffix and the conjunction *kəda* in adjacent clauses. In (16), also unique in the corpus, we see them in coordinated conditional clauses sharing the same apodosis.

(16) … *ańəĺaf   ćoranc   piŋä eŕafəń smuźti*
      coddle:PASS.PTCP boy:POSS.3SG.SG.ACC time life:GEN meaning:ALL
      tonaftəms, a to   ĺadə-ń d́äŕä-j   t́äd́äftəma-aĺäftəma da
      teach:INF   otherwise remain-COND-3SG   without_parents   and
      ńiŋä k ə d a urmac   vijijäj,
      also   if   illness:POSS.3SG.SG.NOM grow_stronger:IND.PRS.3SG
      jumaj-araj,   af   ävəndaj   famiĺijəń poladivək
      perish:IND.PRS.3SG NEG be_born:IND.PRS.3SG family:GEN progeny:PTCL
      '… it is time to teach that coddled boy the meaning of life, otherwise if he becomes an orphan and if his illness gets worse, he will perish, the family will be left without progeny' (Мишанина 16)

A form highlighting the counterfactuality or the low probability of the protasis contents is the irrealis clitic *ba*, borrowed from Russian. The Conditional-Conjunctive did not co-occur with this clitic within the same clause in the corpus, unlike the Conjunctive, which in protasis clauses often needs the semantic support of *ba*. This has been noted already by Pigin (Пигин 1954), who argued that the Conjunctive which is homonymous with the second past tense often has to be reinforced, or rather, specified as such, by this clitic. Out of the 285 conditional clauses headed by *kəda* and with a verb in the Conjunctive in my data, *ba* occurred in 30 clauses. The distribution of occurrences in the two corpora suggests that using this irrealis marker with the Conjunctive in protasis was accepted by the literary norm in the first half of the 20th century, but later sources seem to avoid it. 29 occurrences of this construction come from Fenno-ugrica, which is the smaller of the two corpora, producing about 29% of the total of Conjunctive examples in protasis clauses with *kəda*. As noted in Section 4, this corpus has been assembled from materials published from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. ERME, on the other hand, which is the larger corpus with more occurrences of [*kəda* 'if' + V-Conjunctive], has been compiled of more recent sources, but features only one occurrence of *ba* in such protasis clauses. The clitic occurred on the clause-initial *kəda* (N = 26), see example (17), rather than on the verb form (N = 4). This reflects its usual position in Russian, immediately after the subordinating conjunction (Hansen 2010 : 330).

(17) *K ə d a b a   son l o t k a - ĺ   korχtamda,*
      if   IRR.PTCL s/he stop-CONJ.3SG speaking:ABL
      ušədə-ĺə-ń   ba   mon…
      start-CONJ-S1SG IRR.PTCL I
      'If he had stopped speaking, I would have started…' (Goŕkij)

The incompatibility of the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive with the if-word *kəda* and the incompatibility of the Conditional-Conjunctive with the irrealis marker *ba* indicate that these two moods are still strongly associated with their original semantic functions — conditionality in the case of the Conditional, and conditionality & counterfactuality in the case of the Conditional-Conjunctive. The reason for their disappearance, therefore, does not seem to be semantic bleaching.

6.2. Beyond the conditional clause

This section investigates the sensitivity of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive to: (a) the mood of the verb in the apodosis, (b) the presence of then-word in the apodosis, and (c) the relative order of the two clauses.

The Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive favour different grammatical moods in the main clause. Table 3 shows the frequency of different mood combinations in protasis and apodosis. Clearly, the Conditional in protasis a t t r a c t s the Indicative in apodosis, and the Conditional-Conjunctive in protasis r e q u i r e s the Conjunctive in apodosis. Examples of the combinations [protasis-COND & apodosis.IND] and [protasis-COND.CONJ & apodosis-CONJ] were amply presented above. The third most frequent combination — Conditional in protasis and Imperative (or Jussive) in apodosis, was exemplified by (5a). The other combinations — [protasis-COND & apodosis-CONJ] and [protasis-COND & apodosis-OPT] — are exceptional, and were not attested by Artemova (Артемова 1984 : 148—150), whose study was based on a smaller collection of data. These combinations are exemplified in (18) and (19).

Table 3

Mood combinations in the conditional sentence

Apodosis / Protasis	Indicative	Conjunctive	Imperative or the analytic jussive with *katk* 'let; may'	Optative	Desiderative
Conditional	88% (N = 114)[13]	> 2% (N = 2)	10% (N = 13)	> 1% (N = 1)	–
Conditional-Conjunctive	–	100% (N = 55)	–	–	–

(18) *Kolχozu,   korχtan,   a f ə - l′ ə - t′   ana   pŕä,*
kolkhoz:LAT say:IND.PRS:S1SG NEG-CONJ-2SG beg.CNG head.NOM
nužaś   s t a r d ə -ń d′ ä ŕ ä - t a n z a
need:DEF.NOM compel-COND-S3SG>O2SG
'I'm telling you — you won't show off in the kolkhoz, if the need compels you' (Бебан 31)

(19) *A   k a d ə -ń d′ ä ŕ ä - s a k   t′aftak,   Škajś*
and leave-COND-S2SG>O3SG   in_this_way God:DEF.NOM

---

[13] In two cases the predicate of the apodosis was the infinitive in *-ms*; these were counted as Indicative.

> *v a n ə - z a - ź ä,   kaťi-mez̒ä ľiśi*
> see-OPT-PST1.S3SG>O3SG what.NOM come_out:IND.PRS.3SG
> 'And if you leave it like this, may God see what comes of it' (Терёшкина 169)

As we lack more examples, it is difficult to say exactly which contexts license these rare combinations of mood in the conditional and main clause. I suspect that they are licensed by speech-act conditionals. All three examples — two of the type [protasis-COND & apodosis-CONJ] and one of the type [protasis-COND & apodosis-OPT] — seem to be speech-act conditionals. In Example (18), the SoAs described in the protasis prompts an assertion by the speaker; by saying *korχtan* 'I am telling you', an assertive act is performed, which has the illocutionary force of denial of permission, i.e. of prohibition. In (19), we have an expressive speech act containing an exclamative (optative) illocution. The speaker wants to say that if certain SoAs occurs, things will go out of control and this uncontrollability is conveyed by an emphatic wish addressed to God. Here the condition prompts an exclamative.

This would mean that speech-act conditionals are less restrictive as to the possible combinations of mood in the protasis and apodosis, and conversely, content conditionals are more restrictive as to such combinations. This can be explained by the fact that in content conditionals we have a relation between propositions. As demonstrated in Section 5, the truth-values of these propositions depend on the choice of mood. Mirroring the semantic bond between the two clauses, the moods in the protasis and the apodosis should be in harmony. It is obvious from Table 3 that the harmonious combinations here are [protasis-COND & apodosis-IND] and [protasis-COND.CONJ & apodosis-CONJ]. In speech-act conditionals, on the other hand, we have a relation between proposition (in the protasis) and speech act (in the apodosis). Here the mood of the apodosis clause is in the scope of the speech-act operator, and it is this speech act that determines the choice of mood, — not the condition expressed by the protasis clause. Thence, the choice of mood in the main clause is relatively independent of the form of the conditional clause. In speech-act conditionals we have a lower degree of cohesion between the contents of the two clauses. This, in turn, leads to a more flexible choice of mood in the sentence, and to more mood combinations.

We will now turn to the combinability of different moods in the conditional clause with the then-word in the main clause. This word marks the consequence and can be called an apodosis marker. Table 4 shows the proportions of occurrence of the Conditional, the Conditional-Conjunctive, and *kəda* plus Conjunctive in the conditional clause, with and without an apodosis marker in the main clause. Two apodosis markers occurred in the data: *esta*, which derives from the temporal 'then', and *to*, which is the most common apodosis marker in Russian. The former was slightly more frequent: out of 44 occurrences of an apodosis marker, *esta* occurred 26 and *to* 18 times; with all protasis moods *esta* was more frequent than *to*. The distribution in the table suggests that, just as with the other combinatorial variables (occurrence with *kəda* 'if', with the irrealis clitic *ba*, and in mood combinations), the Conditional-Conjunctive is syntagmatically the most restrictive and the Conjunctive the least so.

Table 4

**Presence of an apodosis marker in the main clause
according to the mood of the conditional clause**

	present	absent
Conditional	5% (N = 7)	95% (N = 123)
Conditional-Conjunctive	>2% (N = 1)	98% (N = 54)
kəda + Conjunctive	12% (N = 35)	88% (N = 250)

It is not clear what governs the occurrence of an apodosis marker in a sentence. It has been claimed that the presence of an apodosis marker makes the biconditional reading of the sentence more likely (see Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 142—143 for English *then* and Пекелис 2015 for Russian *то*). Biconditionals express *P if and only if Q*. An easy test for biconditionality is to check whether the implication between P and Q is retained when their truth values are reversed; i.e. whether it also holds between not-P and not-Q. But the low rate of occurrence of apodosis marker with the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive in the data does not make the verification of this hypothesis possible. The Conditional displayed seven co-occurrences with the apodosis marker; two of these were in speech-act conditionals, which cannot be biconditional *per definitionem* — biconditionality is a relationship between propositional contents, not between a propositional content and speech-act performance. Out of the remaining five examples, three did not have a biconditional interpretation and two did. Sentence (10) in Section 5.2 is an example of the first; its English translation is: 'And an anonymous receipt can be given to anyone, but if it is lost, then a new one cannot be substituted for it'. If we reverse the polarity of the conditional and the main clause, the inference is lost: the sentence does not invite the interpretation that if the receipt is not lost, a new one can be substituted for it. Example (20) comes from the same document, it has the same mood marking in both clauses, and the same apodosis marker, but it is biconditional: the entailment here is that if a person does not save in bonds in the value of 225 roubles, s/he will not earn 7 kopeks a year.

(20) *Kepəťksǝńd'i, p u t ə - ń d' ä ŕ ä - j kodaməvǝk lomańć*
    for_example   put-COND-S3SG   any_kind   person.NOM
    vanftəms 225 calkovajń piťńä   obligacijat, e s t a son
    save:INF   225 rouble:GEN value.NOM bonds.NOM then   s/he.NOM
    vanftəmǝda karmaj   pandǝma kizəťi   7 ťŕšńǝkt
    deposit:ABL begin:IND.PRS.3SG pay:INF   year:ALL 7 kopek:PL
    'For example, if a person saves 225 roubles' worth of bonds, then s/he
    will earn from them 7 kopeks every year' (Kaganovič)

The comparison of (10) and (20), which have a similar structure, but the first is unconditional and the second biconditional, points to a lack of correlation between the presence of an apodosis marker and biconditionality in sentences with the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive. The question whether the construction [*kəda* + Conjunctive] invites more often a biconditional reading when occurring with an apodosis marker than when occurring without one will have to wait for another study.

The last variable to be checked is the relative order of the conditional and the main clause. Table 5 presents the orders occurring in the data and their frequency.

Table 5

The order of clauses according to the mood of the conditional clause

	protasis before apodosis clause	apodosis before protasis clause	protasis within apodosis clause (discontinous apodosis)
Conditional	92% (N = 119)	7% (N = 9)	> 2% (N = 2)
Conditional-Conjunctive	93% (N = 51)	7% (N = 4)	–
kəda + Conjunctive	68% (N = 195)	29% (N = 83)	> 3% (N = 7)

The distribution in Table 5 shows that the neutral position of the conditional clause is before the main clause. Clauses with the Conditional-Conjunctive are almost always preposed relative to the main clause. The Conjunctive with the if-word, on the other hand, is relatively frequent in postposed conditional clauses. Just as with the other combinatorial variables, also in this case the Conditional-Conjunctive is very rigid with respect to grammatical variation elsewhere in the sentence, whereas [*kəda* + Conjunctive] is most flexible as to such variation.[14]

Here again, I will focus on clauses containing the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive. Most of the examples in which the protasis with the Conditional occurred after the apodosis clause, or was inserted in it, were speech-act conditionals: seven out of the eleven examples were such; the rest were propositional conditionals. Example (18) above illustrates a postposed protasis clause in a speech-act conditional. Out of the four postposed protasis clauses with the Conditional-Conjunctive, one was a speech-act conditional; this example was presented in (5b) above. The number of occurrences is very low, but comparing them with the figures in Table 1 (showing the frequency of the moods in propositional and speech-act conditionals) leads me to the assumption that the non-canonical position of the conditional clause (postposed or inserted) is more likely in case of speech-act conditionals. In other words, a conditional clause with the Conditional or Conditional-Conjunctive seems to be more likely to follow or occur within the main clause if it provides the condition for the speech act in it.

It is often assumed that the relative order of clauses is determined by information structure: sentence-initial conditional clauses are claimed to be topical (Dancygier, Sweetser 2005 : 173), and indeed in my data they are. The status of conditional clauses postposed or inserted in the main clause is less clear. Wakker (1995) has claimed that postposed conditional clauses with propositional contents (i.e. clauses that are not deranked) are focal. Conditional clauses commenting on the speech act of the preposed main

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[14] This is so despite of the fact that [*kəda* + Conjunctive] occurs more frequently than the other types with main clauses containing an apodosis marker, and such main clauses are blocked in sentence-initial position; cf. *If you had warned me, then I would not be here now* and **Then I would not be here now, if you had warned me*. If we subtract from the totals in Table 5 the occurrences of clauses with an overt apodosis marker (which are banned anyway in sentence-initial position), the proportional differences in the table would be even bigger.

clause also express propositions, but are these always focal? Typically, the focus in a sentence can be determined by asking the question to which the sentence may be an answer. The focus should then be the information present in the sentence but missing from the question; it is the new information addressed by the question word. Widely discussed characteristics of the focus are its prosodic prominence (e.g. pitch accent) and its function to select an option from a set of alternatives; e.g. in *I did it YESTERDAY* the focus picks up a time slot among other time slots.

The scarcity of postposed clauses with the Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive in the data does not allow me to make generalizations about their information-structure status, but my impression is that such clauses often do not constitute the primary focus of the sentence. This is true especially for speech-act conditionals, and especially when the main clause (and thereby the entire sentence) is a content question. The postposed clause in (21) provides the condition for asking the question in the main clause. The sentence can be paraphrased as *What do I say in this case* (— *if people ask* …)?; i.e. the conditional clause introduces an alternative crucial for the interpretation of the utterance. Moreover, the conditional clause is itself a complex sentence presenting a lot of new information. But if someone utters this sentence, the pitch accent (marking the focus) would probably be on the interrogative in the main clause. Considering that in speech-act conditionals the function of the conditional clause is to provide background information for the speech act of the main clause, it is logical that this speech act — around which the sentence evolves, and not the condition — would be the best candidate for focus.

(21) *Meźä   märgan,   k i ź ə f t´ə-ń d´ä ŕ ä-s a m a ź*
    what.NOM say:IND.PRS.S1SG ask-COND-S3PL>O1SG
    lomatť,   koda eŕat-aščat   ton,   moń
    people.NOM how live:IND.PRS.2SG-dwell:IND.PRS.2SG you.NOM my
    ʃkä śaka   śťiŕńəźä?
    one_and_only daughter:DIM:POSS.1SG.SG.NOM
    'What do I say, if people ask me, how you are — you, my only daughter?' (Девин 85)

Conditional clauses inserted into the main clause seem to be even less compatible with the focus. Such clauses are informationally and prosodically light, and usually do not coincide with the accented meaning unit. The question to (22) that comes first to mind is 'What do Russian women do if they see a photographer?' rather than 'In which case do Russian women run away?' Thus, the conditional clause in (22) does not constitute the focus, although it may be considered as part of a larger focal unit including *laśkəź-laśkijχť.*

(22) *Miń ruzavańkä,   odńək-śiŕəńək,*
    our Russian_woman:POSS.1PL.PL young:COM-old:COM
    ń ä j ə-ń d´ä ŕ ä-j χ t´ fotograf,   laśkəź-laśkijχť
    see-COND-S3PL   photographer.NOM run:CVB-run:IND.PRS.3PL
    'Our Russian women, young and old, if they see a photographer, they run fast' (Бебан 145)

It would be a task for future research to find out whether there is a correlation between the conditional type — propositional or speech-act

oriented — and the position of the conditional clause relative to the main clause. A next step would be to explain this correlation in terms of causation. The working hypothesis would be that the function of the conditional clause (applying either to the proposition or the speech act of the main clause) is responsible for its status in the information structure of the sentence and its sensitivity to different positions in it. Such a study should be carried out in a larger population, including conditional clauses in the Conjunctive mood.

7. Conclusions

Moksha Mordvin has a rich mood system, which, however, is not organized according to our traditional conception of mood systems — as semantically or pragmatically complementary sets of forms. Instead of one mood system, this language builds conditional sentences with two different, parallel mood systems:

a) (*if*-conjunction plus) Indicative vs. Conjunctive
b) Conditional vs. Conditional-Conjunctive

The members of either system are complementary, but the systems themselves are not complementary — they are competing systems. The Conditional occurs in the same conditional contexts as the Indicative with *kəda* 'if'; likewise, the Conditional-Conjunctive is usually exchangeable with the Conjunctive plus *kəda*. The only semantic domain where these systems seem to be complementary are hypothetical conditionals: this domain is covered by system (a), but is barely within the reach of system (b); i.e. (a) compensates for a gap left by (b).

Different types of conditionals were examined according to two parameters: 1) the layer of meaning structure — proposition or speech act — to which the conditional clause applies, and 2) the epistemic stance of the speaker toward the contents of the conditional clause. The Conditional and the Conditional-Conjunctive occur both in propositional and speech-act conditionals, the Conditional-Conjunctive, however, only occurs in certain types of speech-act conditionals. It is not compatible with directive speech acts, and this study provided a semantic rationale for this incompatibility. The epistemic-stance parameter is a variable with the values factual & generic, predictive, hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses. The Conditional occurs in the first two types of clauses and the Conditional-Conjunctive in the last type. An overlap in the functions of these moods was observed in the hypothetical type, but both of them are very rare there. The Conditional-Conjunctive has narrower semantics than the Conditional and is more restrictive with respect to the meaning of the conditional sentence. In addition to its function to encode the condition, the Conditional manifested extensions to temporal and concessive conditional clauses.

In the second part of the study, the compatibility of the two moods with certain properties of the sentence was examined, within and outside the conditional clause. For most of the parameters discussed, also included was quantitative information about conditional clauses with the Conjunctive. These clauses were used as a background group, highlighting tendencies in the distribution of the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive. Unlike the Conjunctive, the Conditional-Conjunctive is not compatible, and the Condi-

tional is only marginally compatible with the protasis word *kəda*. Also unlike the Conjunctive, these moods are incompatible with the irrealis clitic *ba*. This can be explained as redundancy-inhibition, which in turn suggests that the Conditional and Conditional-Conjunctive are still strongly anchored in their dual semantics — to express conditionality, and to express the (ir)reality or (non-)factuality of the clausal contents. The extra-clausal parameters included their compatibility with other grammatical moods in the main clause, with an apodosis marker in the main clause, and with different orders of the conditional and the main clause. Regarding the first parameter, it was concluded that propositional conditionals tend to be more and speech-act conditionals less restrictive as to the range of mood combinations in the two clauses. This probably has to do with the degree of cohesion between the contents of the two clauses. In the case of propositional conditionals, their contents are in a causal contingency relationship, while in speech-act conditionals the semantic bond between the clauses is not so close. The Conditional-Conjunctive in the conditional clause disfavours overt apodosis markers in the main clause, the Conjunctive (plus *kəda*) is generally compatible with such markers, and the Conditional is somewhere in-between — compatible but shunning them. Regarding clause order, the conditional clauses with a verb in the Conditional-Conjunctive avoid sentence-final or inserted position, whereas [*kəda* + Conjunctive] clauses are frequent in all possible positions. The relative compatibility of different moods with other grammatical properties of the sentence suggests thus that the Conditional-Conjunctive is syntagmatically the most restricted mood in Moksha Mordvin conditional sentences.

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Abbreviations

ABL — Ablative; **ACC** — Accusative; **ALL** — Allative; **CL** — clitic; **CNG** — connegative; **COM** — Comitative; **COND** — Conditional mood; **COND.CONJ** — Conditional-Conjunctive mood; **CONJ** — Conjunctive mood; **CVB** — converb; **DAT** — Dative; **DEF** — definite declination; **DIM** — diminutive; **EMPH** — emphatic; **EXIST** — existential; **GEN** — Genitive; **ILL** — Illative; **IMP** — Imperative mood; **IND** — indicative; **INE** — Inessive; **INF** — infinitive; **INTERJ** — interjection; **IRR** — irrealis; **LAT** — Lative; **NEG** — negator (particle or verb); **NOM** — nominative; **O** — object, objective conjugation; **OPT** — Optative mood; **PASS** — passive; **PL** — plural; **POSS** — possessive declination; **PRS** — present tense; **PST1** — first past (tense); **PST2** — second past (tense); **PTCL** — particle; **PTCP** — participle; **Q(yes/no)** — polar question; **REFL** — reflexive; **Ru.** — Russian; **S** — subject, subjective conjugation; **SG** — singular; **SoAs** — state of affairs; **TRNSL** — Translative; **V** — verb.

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ПЕТЪР КЕХАЙОВ (Регенсбург)

ПОСРЕДИ ФАКТОВ И РЕЧЕВЫХ АКТОВ: УСЛОВНОЕ И УСЛОВНО-СОСЛАГАТЕЛЬНОЕ НАКЛОНЕНИЯ В МОКШАНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

В данной статье исследуются семантические функции и дистрибуция условного и условно-сослагательного наклонений в мокшанском языке.

Употребление этих грамматических наклонений в различных типах условного придаточного предложения рассматривается относительно двух параметров: 1) уровня структуры значения — пропозиции или речевого акта главного предложения — и 2) эпистемической оценки содержания условного придаточного предложения говорящим. Условное и условно-сослагательное наклонения встречаются в условных придаточных предложениях, которые относятся и к пропозиции и к речевому акту главного предложения. При этом условно-сослагательное наклонение совместимо только с некоторыми речевыми актами: оно не сочетается с директивными речевыми актами. Параметр эпистемической оценки включает следующие типы условного придаточного предложения: фактивно-общее, предикативное, гипотетическое и контрафактивное. Условное наклонение встречается в первых двух типах, а условно-сослагательное наклонение в последнем. В гипотетическом типе эти наклонения наблюдаются очень редко.

Во второй части статьи исследуется сочетаемость двух наклонений с определенными признаками предложения, внутри и вне условного придаточного. В отличии от третьего маркированного наклонения, встречающегося в условных клаузах — сослагательного наклонения — условно-сослагательное наклонение не сочетается, а условное наклонение незначительно сочетается со словом-протазисом *kəda* 'если'. Также в отличии от сослагательного наклонения, эти наклонения не сочетаются с частицей *ba* (ср. *бы* в русском языке). Это наводит на мысль, что условное и условно-сослагательное наклонения по-прежнему сильно привязаны к своей дуальной семантике, выражая кондициональность и ирреальность или неистинность содержания предложения. В целом можно заметить, что условно-сослагательное наклонение синтагматически более ограничено, чем сослагательное наклонение: оно требует предиката главного предложения в конъюнктиве (другие наклонения в этом случае, по-видимому, не

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возможны), оно противостоит появлению коррелятивного показателя в главной клаузе, очень редко встречается в условных предложениях в постпозиции к главной клаузе, и не засвидетельствовано в условных предложениях, которые вставлены в главную клаузу.

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FAKTID JA KÕNEAKTID:
MOKŠA KONDITSIONAAL JA KONDITSIONAAL-KONJUNKTIIV

Artiklis on uuritud mokša konditsionaali ja konditsionaal-konjunktiivi funktsioone ja esinemistingimusi. Võttes aluseks kaks parameetrit — 1) kas tingimus käib pealausega edastatud propositsiooni või kõneakti kohta ja 2) milline on kõneleja tõesushinnang tingimuskõrvallause sisu kohta —, on vaadeldud, kuidas neid kõneviise kasutatakse eri tüüpi tingimuskõrvallausetes. Konditsionaali ja konditsionaal-konjunktiivi tarvitatakse tingimuskõrvallauseis, mis võivad sõltuda nii pealauses esitatud väitest kui ka kõneakti sisust. Seejuures esineb konditsionaal-konjunktiiv ainult teatavate kõneaktide korral pealauses: see kõneviis ei ole võimalik koos direktiivse kõneaktiga. Käsitletud on nelja episteemilist tõesushinnangut: tegelikku-üldist, eelduslikku, hüpoteetilist ja kontrafaktiivset. Konditsionaal on tarvitusel kahe esimese ja konditsionaal-konjunktiiv viimase puhul. Hüpoteetilise tingimuskõrvallause korral esinevad need kõneviisid väga harva. Erinevalt tingimuskõrvallauses kasutatavast kolmandast kõneviisist — konjunktiivist — konditsionaal-konjunktiivi ei tarvitata ja konditsionaali tarvitatakse ainult vähesel määral koos sidendiga *kəda* 'if'. Samuti ei esine erinevalt konjunktiivist nende kõneviiside puhul partiklit *ba* (vrd vene *бы*). See näib osutavat, et konditsionaal ja konditsionaal-konjunktiiv on endiselt tugevalt seotud oma kahesuguse tähendusega, väljendades tinglikkust ja lause sisu ebareaalsust või ebatõesust. Süntaktiliselt on konditsionaal-konjunktiiv piiratuma distributsiooniga kui konditsionaal. Konditsionaal-konjunktiivi puhul peab pealause öeldis olema konjunktiivis (muud kõneviisid ilmselt võimalikud ei ole), pealauses puudub kõrvallause korrelaat, väga harva esineb seda kõneviisi pealausejärgses tingimuslauses ega ole üldse näiteid, et seda kasutataks pealause keskel.

44