

## Hypothetical facts and hypothetical ideals in the temporal dimension

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Sæbø (2001) argued that conditionalized priority modals with antecedents about hypothetical ideals (HICs; (2)) and those with antecedents about hypothetical facts (HFCs; (1)) differ in ways that resist a uniform analysis. Sæbø conjectured that the main semantic difference lies in the temporal dimension.

- (1) If you (ever) go to Harlem, you should visit the Apollo theater.
- (2) If you (ever) want to go Harlem, you should take the A train.

Investigating the temporal interpretation of HICs, we show that the constraints proposed by Sæbø are in fact too strong. Further, we show that the constraints on HICs are different from those on purpose constructions like (3), providing a new argument against analyses that reduce the former to the latter (von Fintel & Iatridou 2005; von Stechow, Krasikova & Penka 2006).

- (3) To go to Harlem, you have to take the A train.

The correct temporal interpretation can be derived by combining the compositional analysis of HICs of Condoravdi & Lauer (2014) with the analysis of the temporal interpretation of modals in Condoravdi (2002). The antecedent of conditionals uniformly sets the temporal perspective of the modal. HICs and HFCs do not differ in their temporal semantics or mode of composition.

**References:** Condoravdi, Cleo. 2002. Temporal interpretation of modals: Modals for the present and for the past. In David Beaver, Luis Casillas Martínez, Brady Clark & Stefan Kaufmann (eds.), *The construction of meaning*, 59–88, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. • Condoravdi, Cleo & Sven Lauer. 2014. Anankastic conditionals are just conditionals. Manuscript, Stanford and Konstanz. • Fintel, Kai von & Sabine Iatridou. 2005. What to do if you want to go to Harlem: Anankastic conditionals and related matters. Manuscript, MIT. • Sæbø, Kjell Johann. 2001. Necessary conditions in a natural language. In Caroline Féry and Wolfgang Sternefeld (eds.), *Audiatur vox sapientiae: A Festschrift for Arnim von Stechow*, 427–449, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. • von Stechow, Arnim, Sveta Krasikova & Doris Penka. 2006. Anankastic conditionals again. In Torgrim Solstad, Atle Grønn and Dag Haug (eds.), *A Festschrift for Kjell Johan Sæbø*, 151–171, Oslo: Forfatterne.