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Concessive Conditionals in Japanese: A Pragmatic Analysis of the S1-*TEMO* S2 Construction*

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0. Introduction

A major problem in a study of conditionals is to identify areas of contrast, overlap, and neutralization of conditionals with such related adverbial constructions as temporals, causals, or concessives.¹ This paper will focus on the interaction between conditionals and concessives in Japanese (see Figure 1), and will pay particular attention to an intermediate category of concessive conditionals, and their semantic and pragmatic conditions. This construction, marked by the *TEMO* ending on the verb of the subordinated clause, is illustrated in sentence (1) below.

- (1) Asu ame-ga huttemo ikimasu.
tomorrow rain-NOM fall(CcCd/EVEN IF) go (CcCd: concessive conditional)
(Even if it rains tomorrow, I will go.)

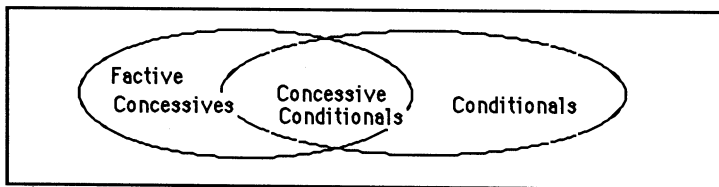


Figure 1

In Japanese, conditionals can be expressed using sentences whose first parts are headed by verbs with the endings seen in (2):

- (2) tabeeba (TABE is a verb stem of TABERU which means "to eat.")
tabetara
taberu to
taberu nara
taberu no nara
tabetemo.

For example, sentence (3) is an ordinary future-predictive conditional sentence:

- (3) Asu tenki-ni nareba (nattara), pikunikku-ni ikoo.
tomorrow good weather-DAT becomeCOND(itional) picnic-DAT goVOL(itional)
(If the weather is good tomorrow, let's go on a picnic.)

In this paper, I will first present some basic prototypes of **Factive concessives** and (**nonfactive**) **Concessive conditionals** in English, and will compare them with their Japanese counterparts. I will then discuss cases that do not neatly fit these prototypes. Under certain contextual conditions, a clause whose form is typically associated with one of these types may be given an interpretation typically associated with another type. When we examine such variation, we will notice

certain discrepancies between expressions in English using *although* (*even though*), *even if*, and *if* and the Japanese counterparts expressed by NONI, TEMO, and TARA or BA. (For a rough schematic summary, see Figure 2.) By exploring these differences, I will show that Japanese contrasts significantly with English regarding the delineation of the concessive conditional category. In order to clarify the parameters which distinguish these English and Japanese expressions, I will compare the pragmatic-semantic conditions placed on the use of the TEMO construction, with those which seem to characterize the use of the English EVEN IF construction.

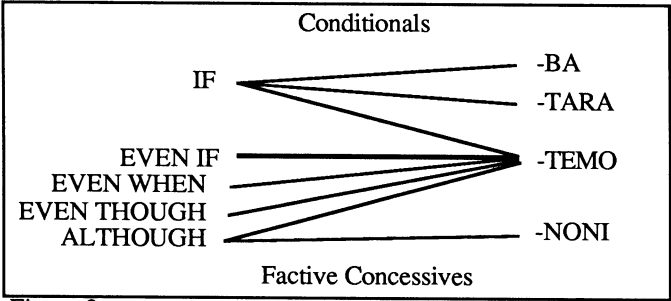


Figure 2

1.0. Ordinary conditionals

To prepare for our examination of concessives and concessive conditionals, let us first try to characterize ordinary conditional sentences.

In prototypical hypothetical conditionals, the truth of the antecedent is not taken for granted by the speaker. In other words, either the speaker does not know whether the antecedent is true, or the speaker knows that the antecedent is not true. For example, in a future-predictive sentence, such as those in (3a), the truth of the antecedent is not known, or in a counterfactual sentence, such as those in (3b), the antecedent is known not to be true.

(3a) **~Kp** (future-predictive)

If the weather is good tomorrow, let's go on a picnic.

Asu tenki-ni nareba (nattara), pikunikku-ni ikoo.
tomorrow good weather-DAT becomeCOND picnic-DAT goVOL

(3b) **K~p** (counterfactual)

If the weather had been good yesterday, we would have gone on a picnic.

Kinoo tenki-ni nareba (nattara), pikunikku-ni itta no desu ga.
yesterday good weather-DATbecomeCOND picnic-DAT goPAST but

I use **~Kp** to indicate the situation in which the speaker does not know the truth value of "p," and **K~p** to represent the situation in which the speaker knows that "p" is false. The letter "p" for "antecedent" comes from the common practice of expressing material implication as an expression of the form "p implies q." Here and elsewhere I will use "P" to designate the antecedent, and "Q" to designate the consequent, in a conditional sentence.

In contrast to examples (3a) and (3b) above, there are many other conditional sentences where the truth of the antecedent may be known and accepted by the speaker, as in (3c) &(3d).²

- (3c) A: I'm going to S.F. this evening.
 B: Really? If you are going to S.F., could you give me a ride?
 (3d) If you are studying that hard sitting up late every night, you will surely pass the exam.
 (3d') Given that you are studying that hard sitting up late every night, - - - .
 (3d') Since you are studying that hard sitting up late every night, - - - .
 (3d') Now that you are studying that hard sitting up late every night, - - - .

Paraphrases of (3d) expressed as sentences which are clearly not conditionals are given as (3d'). In all of these utterances, the speaker concedes the truth of the antecedent in order to build steps in an argument.

This feature -- the speaker's commitment to the truth of the antecedent of a conditional sentence -- is one of the parameters used in the following discussion.

1.1. Factive concessives

Next let us look at prototypical **Factive concessives**, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) **Factive/Past-event/Concessive** **Kp** (known to be true)
 (4.E) Although I studied extremely hard, I did not pass the exam.
 (4.J) Issyokenmei benkyoo sita noni siken-ni gookaku sinakatta.
 extremely hard studyPAST (Cc/ALTHOUGH) exam-DAT pass-NEG-PAST

The prototypical factive concessives in Japanese use the particle cluster -NONI as shown in (4.J).³

The basic conditions of Factive concessives as described in this paper include: 1) the truth of the antecedent is taken for granted by the speaker, and 2) the consequent is contrary to some common expectations, given the truth of the antecedent. In example (4), illustrating the first of these conditions, the antecedent, "I studied extremely hard," is presented by the speaker as true. I will denote this by **Kp** (the antecedent is known to be true). In illustration of the second condition, we note that an ordinary interpretation of the sentence requires us to accept a background assumption that normally "if x studies extremely hard, then x passes the exam." The sentence tells us that, contrary to that expectation, in fact "I did not pass the exam."

1.2. Prototypical concessive conditionals: associated pragmatic-semantic conditions

Now we consider **concessive conditionals**, an intermediate category of sentences that are both concessive and conditional. I will present two prototypes: first, the Future-predictive Concessive conditionals, as shown in (5); and second, that of the Counterfactual Concessive conditionals, as shown in (6). In both cases, the TEMO construction is used in Japanese,⁴ and the EVEN IF construction in English.

- (5) **Future-predictive/Concessive conditional** **~Kp** (not known to be true)
 (5.E) Even if he studies extremely hard, he won't pass the exam.
 (5.J) Issyokenmei benkyoo sitemo siken-ni gookaku sinai daroo.
 extremely hard study(CcCd/EVEN IF) exam-DAT pass-NEG MOD(ality)
 P(x): x studies extremely hard
 Q(x): x does not pass the exam
 expressed: P → Q (~P → Q)
 background assumption: P → ~Q (If x studies extremely hard, x passes the exam.)

As is the case in the factive concessive example above, sentences (5.J) and (5.E) also presuppose some general tendency that "if x studies extremely hard, then x will pass the exam." But in these sentences, the speaker predicts that "he won't pass the exam," contrary to this general tendency.

Another basic prototype for Concessive conditionals is a (past) counterfactual version of a Concessive conditional, as shown in (6):

- The same conditions discussed above for a Future-predictive Concessive conditional are relevant to this sentence. But here the antecedent is known not to be true by the speaker.

(7)

- A) **paradoxicality**: the fact that the truth of Q is unexpected, given the truth of P, in accordance with beliefs assumed by the speaker to be shared by the hearer.
expressed: $P \rightarrow Q$
expected (prior belief): $P \rightarrow \sim Q$
- B) **reference to the extreme case in an assumed scalar model**:
P refers to "extreme case" for " $P \rightarrow \sim Q$ " within the given scalar model.
("Extreme case" sets up either an upper or lower boundary on a scale.)
- C) **unconditionality**: the fact that the truth of the consequent is not dependent on the truth of the antecedent.
($P \rightarrow Q$) & ($\sim P \rightarrow Q$)

Or, more generally, Q holds true in all cases up to the boundary set up by P.

Even though P is the best case for $P \rightarrow \sim Q$ (expected), the sentence asserts the contradiction of the expected consequent. This implies that the expected consequent ($\sim Q$) would also fail to hold under worse cases of the antecedent ($\sim P$), thus, $(P \rightarrow Q)$ & $(\sim P \rightarrow Q)$ within the given scalar model. In dichotomous situations, Q holds true in both cases (P or $\sim P$), and thus is unconditionally true. However, in situations where there are many values on a continuous scale, an "extreme case" referred to in

the antecedent may not be at the end of the scale of possible values. Rather, P may be at one end of those cases being claimed as having consequent Q (in somebody's belief). In such a case, the sentence may be saying that the consequent Q would occur under all cases along the scale, up to and including P. Thus, P is the "extreme case" of that set; within the context of that set, Q holds unconditionally. Under preconditions outside that set, however, Q may not hold.

The prototypes of concessive conditionals that we have seen so far use the TEMO construction in Japanese and the EVEN IF construction in English. Both Japanese and English versions satisfy all conditions A through C shown in (7) above. Thus, it is easy to believe that the Japanese TEMO construction has the same meaning and function as the English EVEN IF construction. However, that is not quite true. In the rest of this paper, I will explore some significant discrepancies between the Japanese usage of TEMO and the English usage of EVEN IF. These will be presented using three groups of example sentences.

2.1. Concessive conditionals vs. Factive concessives:

unspecified truth value of the antecedent in the TEMO construction

The first group of example sentences, (8) through (10), demonstrates that the S1-TEMO S2 construction does not specify whether or not the truth of the antecedent is taken for granted by the speaker, whereas in the English EVEN IF construction we are required to believe that the speaker does not assume the truth of the antecedent.

Sentences (8a) and (8b) demonstrate this distinct difference. Here, TEMO is best translated as EVEN WHEN, because the probability of antecedent, "spring comes," is virtually 100%. Notice that, in English, to say "even if spring comes" would be very strange in these sentences.

(8)

- (8a) Kono tihoo-de-wa haru-ni nat~~temo~~ yuki-wa tokenai.
this area IN TOP spring-DAT become snow-TOP melt-NEG
(Around here, even when spring comes, the snow does not start melting.)
- (8b) Haru-ni nat~~temo~~ kokoro-wa harenai daroo.
spring-DAT become heart Top clear up-NEG MOD/WILL
(Even when spring comes I won't be feeling better/my mood won't improve.)

The TEMO construction can also be used when the antecedent is clearly factive. For example, in sentence (9) the antecedent is presented as true by the speaker:

- (9) Konnani issyokenmei benkyoo site-~~Itemo~~ siken ni gookaku sinai daroo. Kp
this much ASP(ect)
(Although I am studying this hard, I probably won't pass the exam.) Kp

Consider sentence (5.J) again, presented earlier as a future-predictive Concessive conditional. Although the antecedent of (5.J) *typically* refers to a future occurrence, and is *typically* not accepted as true by the speaker, this is not completely clear -- the speaker may sometimes accept it as true. Adding the adverbial phrase KONNANI ("this much") and the aspectual verb IRU would make clear that the antecedent is factive, as shown in sentence (9) above. The point to be made here is that the TEMO construction does not specify whether or not the truth of the antecedent is accepted as true by the speaker.

To clarify this point, let us refer back to the prototypical factive concessive, in which both the antecedent and consequent are factive past events. (4.J) has been

presented as a prototypical Factive concessive earlier in this paper. (10a) with TEMO expresses almost the same meaning as (4.J), that is, the TEMO construction can also be used even when both the antecedent and consequent are known to be true in the past (10a).

- (10) (10a) Issyokenmei benkyoo sitemo siken ni gookaku sinakatta. **Kp**
 (Although I studied extremely hard, I did not pass the exam.) **Kp**
 => (4.J) Issyokenmei benkyoo sita noni siken ni gookaku sinakatta. **Kp**
 (cf) Counterfactual/Concessive conditional
 (6.J) Issyokenmei benkyoo sitemo siken ni gookaku sinakatta daroo. **K~p**
 (Even if I had studied extremely hard, I wouldn't have passed the exam.)
 (10b) Issyokenmei benkyoo sitemo siken ni gookaku sinakatta yo. **Kp/K~p**
 PART(icle)
 (=> Although I studied extremely hard, I did not pass the exam.) **Kp**
 (=> Even if I had studied extremely hard, I wouldn't have passed the exam.) **K~p**

Notice that, in Japanese, the only difference between the counterfactual sentence (6.J), shown before, and the Factive-concessive sentence using TEMO (10a), is the epistemic modal expression DAROO added at the end of the counterfactual sentence. Actually, even in a counterfactual statement, DAROO could be omitted as long as the sentence is spoken with the right intonation or furnished with some pragmatic particles such as YO, as shown in (10b). The difference in meaning between these two cases is crucial in that sentence (10b) entails that "I did study very hard," in its more usual interpretation as a Factive concessive, while it entails that "I did not study very hard," when it is interpreted as a counterfactual. Nevertheless, in the TEMO construction this difference may not be made explicit. In English, on the other hand, the contrast between Factive concessive (4.E) and (Past) Counterfactual Concessive conditional (6.E) is made clear not only by the tense and modal, but also by using different connectives: ALTHOUGH (EVEN THOUGH) vs. EVEN IF.

However, there are some contexts in which EVEN IF can be used as EVEN THOUGH, that is, EVEN IF can be used even when the antecedent is known to be true by the speaker, as seen in (11) below.⁶ Thus, there seems to be some gray area in English, too, regarding the distinction between unknown and known antecedent (~Kp vs. Kp).

- (11) Even if she IS my mother, I'm not going to help her out. (with emphatic IS) **Kp**
 (=Even though she is my mother)

2.2. Concessive conditionals vs. Ordinary conditionals

The second group of example sentences, numbered (12) through (14), demonstrates another difference between Japanese and English delineation of concessive conditionals. Here I will show that the IF construction can be used in Concessive conditionals as well as in ordinary conditionals. By contrast, in Japanese this boundary is clearer in the sense that concessive conditionals are expressed by the TEMO construction, while nonconcessives are expressed by other constructions such as those using TARA or BA.

In English, there are cases in which IF-clause conditionals are used as concessive conditionals, which can be paraphrased by an EVEN IF clause, as discussed by Fillmore (1987) and König (1986). For example, in an utterance such as (12E) "Will we have the picnic if it rains?" the IF-clause can be interpreted as "whether or not it rains."⁷

- (12) (12.E) Will we have the picnic
- if
- it rains?

(Fillmore)

P: it rains

Q: people have a picnic

background assumption: expected: $P \rightarrow \sim Q$

(If it rains, people don't have a picnic.)

- (12.J) Ame-ga huttemo pikunikku-ni ikimasu ka?
 rain -NOM fall picnic -DAT go Q(uestion)

This unconditional interpretation is the usual one for this sentence because our prior belief that "if it rains people normally don't have a picnic" is strong enough.

However, a question of greater interest here is how we interpret sentence

- (13). This sentence can be interpreted in two different ways: unconditional interpretation as shown in (a) or ordinary nonconcessive conditional interpretation, as shown in (b).⁸

- (13)
- If**
- you study all night, you won't pass the exam.

P(x): "x studies all night"

Q(x): "x does not pass the exam"

- (a) <unconditional interpretation (Concessive conditional)>

 $P \rightarrow Q$ $\sim P \rightarrow Q$ thus Q

(Even if you study all night, you still won't pass the exam.)

or

- (b) <typical conditional interpretation (nonconcessive) (bidirectional)>

 $P \rightarrow Q$ ($\sim P \rightarrow \sim Q$)

In a situation where the speaker thinks that the hearer will fail the exam no matter what, because the exam will be extremely difficult or because it is too late to prepare for it now, the speaker may utter this sentence to express unconditionality, that is to say "in any case the hearer won't pass the exam."

The second meaning is the normal conditional case, which tends to include a bidirectional meaning. This may be expressed in a situation where the speaker knows that the hearer easily burns out by sitting up all night. In this case, the speaker suggests that the hearer should not study all night in order to be better rested so as to pass the exam. In this case, this utterance implies that "if you don't study all night, you have a better chance of passing the exam."

By contrast, Japanese does not exhibit the ambiguity present in English that was discussed above. The concessive conditionals involving unconditionality need to be expressed using the concessive conditional markers such as TEMO, as shown in (14a). On the other hand, as shown in (14b), utterances using nonconcessive conditional markers such as TARA, always receive the typical conditional interpretation involving bidirectionality.

- (14)

- (14a) Tetuya-de benkyoo sitemo siken-ni gookaku sinai yo.
 sitting up all night-BY study(CcCd/EVEN IF)exam.-DAT pass-NEG PART.
 $P \rightarrow Q$ ($\sim P \rightarrow Q$) <unconditional>

- (14b) Tetuya-de benkyoo sitara siken-ni gookaku sinai yo.
 study COND
 $P \rightarrow Q$ ($\sim P \rightarrow \sim Q$) <bidirectional>

Thus, English concessive conditionals can be sometimes expressed using an IF-clause (rather than an EVEN IF clause) and understood pragmatically. By contrast, in Japanese, concessive conditionals are more grammaticized, and thus are usually linguistically signaled (e.g. by the TEMO construction).

3. Concessive conditionals and scalar interpretation:

another difference between the Japanese TEMO construction and the English EVEN IF construction

The third and last group of example sentences, numbered (15) through (18), illustrates another important difference between the two languages that has not been pointed out before. These are the cases in which Japanese prefers or even requires the TEMO construction, while in English the EVEN IF construction cannot be used to convey the same meaning. For example, as shown in (15), although it is perfectly natural to say, "Tanaka-san ni attemo, kono koto wa himitsu ni site-oite kudasai," most native speakers of English find, "even if you meet Mr. Tanaka, please keep this secret" to be strange (without a special context).

(15)

Tanaka-san-ni attemo kono koto-wa himitsu-ni site-oite kudasai.
 Tanaka-Mr.-DAT meet this matter-TOP secret-DAT make-ASP please do
 (you see Mr. Tanaka) TEMO (please keep this secret)
 ?* Even if you see Mr. Tanaka, please keep this secret.
 If you see Mr. Tanaka,

In what follows, I will argue that a **scalar interpretation** is necessary for the EVEN IF construction while it is not necessary for the Japanese TEMO construction. Thus, it is quite common for the Japanese TEMO construction to occur without conditions B and C, as defined in (7) earlier in this paper (see section 1.2.).

In situation (16)⁹, there is a bus stop where Speaker knows buses don't stop on Sundays. One Sunday, someone (Hearer) is waiting there. Since Speaker knows another place where a bus does stop on Sundays, Speaker is going to suggest that Hearer wait there instead. In this situation, the most natural Japanese utterance uses the TEMO construction, such as "Koko de matte-itemo basu wa kimasen yo."

(16)

<There is a bus stop where Speaker knows buses don't stop on Sundays. One Sunday, someone (Hearer) is waiting there.>

(16.J) Koko-de matte-itemo basu-wa kimasen yo. Atira-de omati ni naranai to.
 here wait-ASP bus-Top come NEG PART (You should wait over there.)
 (you wait here) TEMO (bus won't come)
 expected: P -> ~Q (bus will come)

(16.E) If you wait here, the bus won't pick you up.

But if you wait at that other bus stop over there, it will.

(in this context) *Even if you wait here, the bus won't pick you up.

But if you wait at that other bus stop over there, it will.

In English, the natural utterance uses an IF-clause rather than an EVEN IF clause. Thus, it is natural to say "If you wait here, the bus won't pick you up. But if you wait at that other bus stop over there, it will," but it is not natural to say "Even if you wait here, the bus won't pick you up. But if you wait at that other bus stop over there, it will."

There are situations in which the English statement "Even if you wait here, the bus won't pick you up" would be natural, but that would require a special context involving a scale of antecedent conditions correlated with the consequent. For example, Speaker might mean that "even if you wait *HERE* (as opposed to other places) the bus won't pick you up....," indicating that there are many places Hearer could wait, and Hearer picked the best one, but the place is not good enough. Here, Speaker would mean that buses do not stop in this area at all. By contrast, in Japanese the TEMO construction does not require this strong scalar interpretation.

Next, let us consider conversation (17.E), and the Japanese counterpart conversation shown in (17.J):

(17) (17.E)

A: Are we going to the party tonight?

B: Well, I have a headache, so I'd rather stay in bed.

If I go, I won't enjoy it (If I went, I wouldn't enjoy it.)

?*Even if I go, I won't enjoy it. (?*Even if I went, I wouldn't enjoy it.)

(17.J)

A: Konban no paatii doo suru?

B: Atama ga itai kara otonasiku nete-iru koto ni suru wa.

Ittemo tanosiku-nai daroo si.

go(CcCd) enjoyable-NEG MOD

(I go) TEMO (it won't be fun) expected: P -> ~Q(it will be fun)

Speaker B's response, "Ittemo tanosiku-nai daroo," which uses the TEMO construction, is quite natural. Speaker B feels that going to a party is normally supposed to be fun, but today for some reason it does not work that way, and she cannot expect to have fun even if she goes. With the same attitude, she would not say "Ittara tanosiku-nai daroo" or "Ikeba tanosiku-nai daroo." These utterances with nonconcessive conditional connectives would be normal if Speaker B means, "If I go to the party I won't have fun, but if I don't go I will have fun." In the English counterpart situation (17.E), Speaker B's natural response is "If I go, I won't enjoy it" rather than "Even if I go --," and in fact most native speakers find "Even if I go, I won't enjoy it" to be quite unnatural in this situation. This is because the EVEN IF construction requires a scalar context which is lacking in conversation (17).

However, in situations like (18), "Even if I went --" would be a natural response.

(18) C: I'm feeling terrible these days.

D: How come? Listen - University Theater is showing a great movie right now. Why don't we go and see it tonight? You'll feel much better.

C: No, even if I went, it wouldn't help (me feel better at all).

In this situation, Speaker D emphasizes that going to the movie tends to make it more likely for Speaker C to feel better, making explicit an assumed scalar model. Speaker C recognizes and builds on this background assumption, saying "Even if the extreme case occurs that would tend to make me feel better, I wouldn't feel better." Note also that in some situations, a scalar semantic context can exist without its needing to be made explicit in the conversation, such as in "Even if you study hard, you won't pass the exam."

Another way Japanese uses the TEMO construction is to express two (or more) specified alternatives which lead to the same consequent. Examples of such "alternative concessive conditionals" are shown in (19a) through (19c):

- (19) (19a) Naitemo warattemo happyoo made ato itiniti da.
cry(CcCd) laugh(CcCd) announcement until one-day
Whether you cry or laugh, there is only one day before the announcement.
- (19b) Benkyoo sitemo sinakutemo onazi daroo.
study do(CcCd) do-NEG(CcCd) same MOD
It would be the same whether or not I study.
- (19c) Ittemo ikanakutemo ii desu.¹⁰
go(CcCd) goNEG(CcCd) good
You may either go or not go.

In these Japanese "alternative concessive conditionals," unconditionality is expressed. However, it is not based on the same type of scalar model that English EVEN IF expressions are based on. In the English EVEN IF construction, unconditionality is entailed by referring to the extreme case in an assumed scalar model (scalar entailment). Thus, condition B, reference to the extreme case in an assumed scalar model, is usually sufficient for condition C, unconditionality (see 7 in section 1.2.). By contrast, in the Japanese TEMO expressions, alternative cases (other possibilities) are recognized in addition to the case expressed in the antecedent, but there need not be a well-understood ordering of the various (expressed and unexpressed) cases.

In Japanese, interrogative (or indefinite) expressions such as DARE (who), DOKO (where), NANI (what), or DONNANI (how), can also appear in the TEMO construction, presenting nonspecific, "free-choice," situations for the antecedent. Examples of such "nonspecific concessive conditionals" (or "universal concessive conditionals") are shown in (20a) through (20c). Here again, unconditionality is expressed without referring to a specific extreme case.

- (20) (20a) Donnani benkyoo sitemo siken-ni-wa gookaku sinai daroo.
how much study(CcCd) exam-DAT-TOP pass-NEG MOD
No matter how hard I study, I won't pass the exam. /However hard I study, --
- (20b) Dare-ga yatte-mitemo dekinai daroo.
who-NOM do-try(CcCd) cannot do MOD
No matter who tries it, (s)he will not be able to do it.
Whoever tries it will not be able to do it.
- (20c) Doko-o sagasitemo mitukaranai yo.
where-ACC look(CcCd) find-NEG PAR
You won't find it no matter where you look. / Wherever you look, --

Notice that in English, instead of using an EVEN IF clause, subordinate clauses such as those headed by WHETHER OR NOT are used for "alternative concessive conditionals"(see 19); and "WH-EVER --" or "NO MATTER WH-" are used for "nonspecific concessive conditionals" (or "universal concessive conditionals")(see 20).

The above observations -- the fact that the TEMO construction can also be used to express "alternative concessive conditionals" and "nonspecific concessive conditionals" -- support the claim that the TEMO construction, unlike the English EVEN IF construction, does not require a scalar entailment involving a reference to the extreme case in an assumed scalar model.

4. Conclusion

In the TEMO construction, the speaker "concedes" the truth of the antecedent in order to build steps in an argument, yet the speaker's beliefs about the probability of antecedent can vary. In other words, the TEMO construction does not specify whether or not the antecedent is accepted as true by the speaker.

However, what is essential in this construction is the speaker's prior belief about the normal antecedent-consequent contingency relationship shared by the hearer. In the face of such a background assumption, a sentence with the TEMO construction states that this contingency does *not* hold in the particular situation. In other words, in this construction the consequent expressed is contrary to the consequent expected, given the truth of the antecedent.

The speaker's beliefs about the canonical antecedent-consequent relation are also important in English concessive conditionals using the EVEN IF construction, in which unconditionality is expressed by referring to the extreme case in an assumed scalar model. In Japanese however, concessive conditional expressions with TEMO may or may not receive scalar interpretations, and thus may or may not convey a meaning of unconditionality. They often appear where the speaker has some empathy with the hearer's expectations about the antecedent-consequent contingency, but expresses information that is contrary to those expectations. Here, the interpretation does not require the notion of scalar entailment. In other words, it is common in Japanese for concessive conditionals using TEMO to occur even when unconditionality and reference to the extreme case in a scalar model are not relevant.

NOTES

* What I am reporting on in this paper is part of a larger project on conditionals on which I am collaborating with Charles J. Fillmore. I thank him for assistance and inspiration in developing these ideas, and for his comments on an earlier version of my paper. For valuable discussion, my thanks also go to participants in the November '88 Japanese Linguistics Seminar at U.C. Berkeley (especially Yoko Hasegawa and Toshio Ohori) as well as Eve Sweetser and Paul Kay. Of course, I alone am responsible for any errors or omissions.

1 I am indebted to König (1986) for drawing my attention to this.

2 In Akatsuka's (1985) treatment of these cases, she claims that conditional sentences are associated with irrealis, and that "newly-learned information" such as the one involved in example (3c) belongs to the irrealis end of the realis-irrealis continuum.

3 In this sentence, similar meanings could be expressed by other expressions, such as S1 - KEREDOMO S2 or S1-GA S2 although these may be used in slightly different ways in other situations. Discussion of these variations among concessive expressions is beyond the scope of this paper.

4 There are other concessive conditional constructions, such as :

S1-TOMO S2 : Ame ga huroo tomo ikimasu. (Even if it rains I will go.);

S1-TO S2 : Ame go huroo to yari ga huroo to ikimasu. (Whether rain falls or spears fall, I will go.);

S1-GA S2 : Ame ga huroo ga yari ga huroo ga ikimasu. (See above.)

Nanto omowareyoo ga kamawanai. (Whatever they think of me, it does not matter.);

S1 TOKORO DE S2: Ima kara zyunbi-sita tokorode manawanai daroo. (Even if we start preparing for it now we will not make it in time.)

Also, one of the verb conjugation forms in classical Japanese, "izen-kei," is still used (with or without DOMO) to express concessives, as seen below:

Yobe-DOMO yobe-DOMO henji ga nakatta. (Although I called many times, there was no answer.)

Haru ni natta to wa ie mada mada samui. (Although it is already spring, it is still cold.) While these are also important in examining the overlap between concessives and concessive conditionals, this paper will only discuss the TEMO construction.

⁵ Although I am only presenting future predictive case here, hypothetical concessive conditionals (where the speaker does not know whether or not the antecedent is true) are not limited to future predictives. The following examples are also hypothetical concessive conditionals, but here the antecedent refers to a past unknown event.

<in leaving a message on an answering machine>

E: Did you get there on time yesterday? Even if you did not, don't blame yourself.

J: Kinoo maniatta? Maniawanakatta to sitemo zibun o semenaide kudasai ne.

⁶ This was pointed out to me by Charles Fillmore.

⁷ Other examples of similar cases are:

Few, if any, people can appreciate my dry humor.

It was an informative, if dull, speech.

She has a house that is charming, if not spacious.

In each case, Japanese uses concessive conditional (or concessive) expressions (such as TEMO) rather than ordinary conditional expressions.

⁸ Charles Fillmore and Eve Sweetser pointed out to me that these different interpretations can be signaled by different intonations. In Haiman's (1986) discussion of a similar issue, he states that "the linear order S1 or S2, S3 may have concessive force, but only if this non-iconic relationship is marked by a special intonation which, like the word *even*, overrides the expected causal interpretation of the sentence." He considers such marked intonation to be "the moral equivalent of a diacritic."

⁹ I am indebted to Inoue (1978) for drawing my attention to this situation. However, as she does not discuss a sentence using the TEMO construction, her analysis is not the same as what is presented in this paper.

¹⁰ "-temo ii" (may) and "-NEG-temo ii" (need not / do not have to) are common deontic modal expressions (permissions). Though an important issue, they will not be discussed within the context of this paper.

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