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Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session Dedicated to the Contributions of Charles J. Fillmore (1994), pp. 194-207

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The Annual Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society is published online via [eLanguage](#), the Linguistic Society of America's digital publishing platform.

A Family of Constructions: Japanese TEMO and Other Concessive Conditionals

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1. Introduction*

This paper explores several non-basic variants of the Japanese Concessive Conditional Construction ('C.C.C.') in TEMO (roughly, 'even-if') — variants which show clear differences, yet partake in an overall commonality, as will be demonstrated in this paper. This variable behavior, neither completely arbitrary nor completely predictable, is nonetheless highly *motivated* by the semantics and pragmatics of concessive conditionality. I propose to treat these motivated variations as *a family of constructions*. This approach not only lets us describe insightfully how the 'base' TEMO construction extends to a whole family, but is necessary to account for the differences between Japanese TEMO and its English counterpart EVEN-IF.

The basic TEMO concessive conditional construction is illustrated in (1):

- (1) subordinate clause-TEMO (DEMO), main clause
 (1a) *syoo syoo yoozi ga attemo, kite kudasai.*
 a little 'have business' TEMO, please come
 Lit. Even if you have a few errands to run, please come.

In earlier work, I have described a variety of uses of this construction (Fujii 1989, 1990a, 1990b); for a schematic summary of this, see the figure in Section 3.4. One of the major issues has been the question of how to account for these variant uses, and for their syntactic and semantic interrelationships. This paper will focus on three formally idiomatic concessive conditional constructions, clarifying the semantic motivation for the formally idiomatic variants.

At the outset I must issue a disclaimer regarding the term 'concessive conditional'. The term will be taken here simply as a label. The Japanese TEMO construction and the English EVEN IF construction can both express what we normally and conventionally categorize, and refer to, as 'concessive conditionals'. But it is in fact not at all clear what it is that we are categorizing as 'concessive conditionals'. The analysis presented here is thus an attempt to clarify the key notions involved in this putative semantic category and its internal structure. In our current discussion, we adopt the conventional label 'concessive conditionals' to refer to a category of a complex nature, avoiding a longer yet perhaps more accurate term such as 'paradoxical unconditional concessive conditionals'.¹

One of the notions crucial to an understanding of 'concessive conditional' — one not readily apparent from the term itself — is that of **unconditionality**: the speaker, either implicitly or explicitly, communicates the idea that the consequent of the sentence holds true unconditionally, and in fact often intends to *assert* the consequent unconditionally. This property is prominent throughout my analysis.

2. Scalar-based concessive conditionals and three basic semantic components which they evoke

Both the TEMO and EVEN-IF constructions imply the unconditional truth of their consequent. As discussed in Fujii (1989, 1990a), this can be done by *a*

fortiori logic, with the antecedent presenting an extreme case and evoking a scalar entailment. To see how this rhetorical reasoning works, consider sentences (3a) through (3c).

(3) **Scalar-based C.C.C**

(3a) *uti no ko wa osyooogatu ni nattemo kaette konai.*
 my children TOP New Year's Day DAT become TEMO not come home
 Even when New Year's Day comes, my children still would not come home.

(3b) *tenti ga hikkuri kaettemo, kore dake wa y uzurenai.*
 heaven-earth NOM turn over TEMO, this at least TOP give up POT NEG
 Lit. Even if heaven and earth got reversed, I still could not give this up in the least.
 By no means can I in the least give this up.

(3c) Even if the earth opened up and swallowed me, I wouldn't do what you asked me.

When we intend to present a conclusion forcefully, one way we can do so is to initially posit a condition that is normally less likely to lead to the intended conclusion, and note that — paradoxically — the conclusion holds anyway. Doing this yields, *a fortiori*, a stronger emphasis on the absoluteness of the conclusion, i.e., of the assertion or other speech act presented in the consequent.

The stated antecedent in this type of argument is the event or state least (or less) likely to lead to the stated consequent. This does not necessarily mean that the event or state expressed in the antecedent is independently least likely to be true in the real world. But in some concessive conditionals that are used to present a strong argument for the unconditionality of the consequent, the antecedent does in fact express an event or state that is very unlikely to be true, or is simply impossible, in the real world, as seen in (3b) and (3c).

The table in (4) lists the three semantic components that are evoked by this type of concessive conditional; in this scalar-based use, these three components co-occur as a chain of reasoning.

(4)

Property A: Reference to an end point of scalar entailment in an evoked scalar model: P (the antecedent) refers to an 'end point' which sets up either an upper or a lower boundary for a subset of scalar entailment. The antecedent refers to a case that is least likely (or less likely than the alternative) to lead to the stated consequent (Q). The subset contains points that are less likely than P to lead to the *expected* consequent ~Q (or, that are more likely than P to lead to the *stated* consequent Q).

Property B: Paradoxicality: The truth of Q (the consequent) is unexpected, given the truth of P and given prior beliefs assumed by the speaker to be shared by the hearer. Cf. 'counter expectation', 'a "despite" relationship', etc.

Property C: Unconditionality: Q (the consequent) holds true unconditionally (regardless of P or ~P) within the specific frame evoked by the utterance.

[cf. Fujii (1990)]

3. Variations of the TEMO construction: other ways of conveying 'complete coverage' of the condition and unconditionality of the consequent.

With the Japanese TEMO construction, however, there are other ways of conveying 'complete coverage' of the condition and unconditionality of the consequent. In Section 3, I will discuss three idiomatic variants of the TEMO construction, involving different means of deriving unconditionality of the consequent. These subconstructions are represented by the three large circles at the bottom of the figure shown in Section 3.4.

3.1. Alternative Concessive Conditionals

One way Japanese can make use of the TEMO construction is to express two or more specified alternatives that lead to the same consequent. I will call this the 'Alternative Concessive Conditional Construction' (Alternative C. C. C.)².

**Alternative Concessive Conditional Construction:
Unconditionality by appealing to stated alternatives leading to the same consequence**

The alternative C.C.C. has two subtypes. The first, represented by (5a) through (10), is what I will call the '*Opposed Alternatives C.C.C.*', wherein the antecedent explicitly states both of the opposed possibilities as a dichotomous opposition.

**Opposed Alternatives Concessive Conditional Construction:
P -temo ~P -temo Q
Unconditionality by appealing to P and ~P, both of which lead to the same Q**

(5a) *Benkyoo sitemo sinakutemo doose dame daroo.*
study do TEMO do-NEG TEMO anyway bad MOD
Lit. Whether (I) study or do not study, it will be bad anyway.
It won't work (I won't make it), whether I study or not.

(5a') *Benkyoo sitemo doose dame daroo.*
study do TEMO anyway bad MOD
Lit. Even if (I) study, it will be bad (it won't work) anyway.

For example, in (5a), the antecedent presents the possibilities of both 'studying' and 'not studying'. An equivalent sentence containing only the first possibility 'studying' (5a') could also imply the unconditional truth of the consequent, but in a less explicit way. By adding the opposite possibility 'not studying' in (5a), the unconditionality is expressed more directly and thus more strongly, inasmuch as these two binary alternatives cover all possibilities in the relevant universe.

(5b) *Benkyoo sitemo sinakutemo onazi daroo.*
study do TEMO do-NEG TEMO same MOD
Lit. Whether (I) study or do not study, it will be the same.
It will be the same, whether or not I study.

- (6) *Okesyoo sitemo sinakutemo doose onazina n dakara,*
 make-up do TEMO do-NEG TEMO anyway same N because
suru dake muda desyo. <from T.V. drama>
 do to the degree useless

Because it makes no difference whether you wear make-up or not,
 it's useless to do so.

(5b) and (6) show that the consequent clause can be made to assert the unconditionality even more explicitly by using such predicates as *onazi daroo*, meaning '(it) would be the same'. The consequent in these sentences literally states that the conclusion (or the result) would be the same whether P or not P was true. The exact real-world *content* of the conclusion is left unstated.³

The opposed alternatives presented in the antecedent clause can consist either of a term and its grammatical negation, as in (5a) through (6) above, or of semantically opposite expressions, as in (7) through (10) below.

- (7) *Naitemo warattemo happyoo made ato itiniti da.*
 cry TEMO laugh TEMO announcement until one-day

Whether (you) cry or laugh, there is only one day before the announcement.

- (8) *Saikin netemo sametemo kurarinetto .. kurarinetto ...*
 recently sleep TEMO wake up TEMO clarinet clarinet

Fumi wa kurarinetto no koto de atama ga ippaina n' dakara. <a letter>
 Kumi TOP clarinet with head NOM be filled N because

Lit. Whether (she) sleeps or wakes up, clarinet ... clarinet ... recently
 Kumi has nothing but clarinet in her head.

Recently Kumi thinks about nothing but the clarinet, whether she is asleep or awake.

- (9) *Semetemo mamottemo kare`wa yappai uti no nanbaa wan da.*
 offense TEMO defense TEMO he TOP still our number one

Lit. Whether (he) plays offense or defense, he is number one on our team.
 On our team, he is the best in both offense and defense.

In (7), *naku* (cry) and *warau* (laugh) are presented as opposed alternatives, both resulting in the same conclusion expressed in the consequent clause. In (8), the pair *neru* (sleep) and *sameru* (awake) is used to indicate 'all the time', or 'day and night'. Such pairs of opposite expressions (*naitemo warattemo*, *netemo sametemo*, *semetemo mamottemo*, *ositemo hiitemo*) are often collocated, making each of the bipartite antecedents a highly idiomatic fixed expression.

As shown in (10), unlike examples (7-9), the bipartite antecedent may repeat the identical verb and express the oppositeness via some other element in the clause:

- (10) *Kono oobo-kikan tyuu nara, hayaku dasitemo*
 this application-period within IF, early (Adv) mail TEMO

osoku dasitemo toosen kakuritu wa mattaku onazi desu.
 late mail TEMO lottery-winning probability TOP completely the same

Lit. If (it is) within this application period, whether (you) mail (it) early or late, the probability of winning the lottery will be absolutely the same. It won't make any difference to your chances of winning the lottery whether you mail (it) earlier or later within the application period.

The two parts of the antecedent in (10) repeat the same verb *dasu* (mail), with the contrastive adverbs *hayaku* (early) and *osoku* (late); here again, both the conditions *hayaku dasu* (mail early) and *osoku dasu* (mail late) bring about the same result, the identical probability of winning the prize.

The second type of alternative C.C.C. I will call the '*Listed Alternatives C.C.C.*', as illustrated in (11) through (13).

Listed-Alternatives Concessive Conditional Construction:
P1 -temo P2 -temo (P3 -temo P4 -temo ...), Q
Unconditionality by appealing to a set of representative
alternatives P1, P2, (P3, P4 ...), all leading to the same Q

(11) *denwa o sitemo tegami o dasitemo tittomo aiteni sitekurenai si ...*
 call up TEMO send a letter TEMO 'not respond at all'
 (He) pays no attention whether I call him or write to him. <a letter>

(12) *Take wa mada mada kodomo dakara, ittan nereba,*
 Take TOP still child because once fall asleep IF

syoosyoo urusakusitemo, tataitemo tunettemo,
 to some degree make noise TEMO hit TEMO pinch TEMO,

okinai kara daizyoobu. <conversation>
 wake-up-NEG because, all right

Lit. Since Take is still a child, once he falls asleep, whether (we) make some noise or hit or pinch (him), he won't wake up, so it's all right.

(13) *wasuremono o sitemo, neboo site tikoku sisoo ni nattemo,*
 forget to bring something TEMO oversleep and be already late for school TEMO
itumo hasitte san-pun kakaranakatta kara
 always run three minutes take-NEG-PAST because
 <a 9-year-old child's letter>

Because whenever I forgot something or overslept and thought I was going to be late for school, it did not take even three minutes for me to run there.

The stated alternatives here, which are not necessarily set off in sharp contrast against one another, are representative cases that the speaker presents in order to evoke some fuller range of possible conditions, and to assert the consistency of the same result within a relevant set of situations — not only under the several explicitly stated conditions, but under all possibilities within the evoked larger set. In (11), for example, by giving the two cases *denwa o sitemo tegami o dasitemo* (whether I call or write to him), the speaker implies the whole gamut of relevant cases, thus explaining that, no matter what means he used, the result was the same. The stated alternatives are considered to be *representative* of the relevant set of conditions; they evoke the full set without literally stating it. To emphasize this notion of implicitly *complete coverage*, the list of the alternatives can be longer than two (as in 12), and in fact the speaker can go on adding any number of alternatives, each taking the ending TEMO, with every additional alternative

mutually and cumulatively supporting the absoluteness of the idea expressed in the consequent.

3.2. Universal Concessive Conditionals

In another variation, the Universal Concessive Conditional Construction (Universal C.C.C.)⁴, complete coverage is asserted via universal quantification — any value of the indeterminate pronoun (WH-variable). As shown in (14a) through (14d), in Japanese, indeterminate pronouns⁵ (Wh-words) such as DARE (who), DOKO (where), NANI (what), ITU (when), IKURA (how much), and DONNANI (how) often participate in the TEMO construction, presenting non-specific, 'free-choice' situations for the antecedent.

Universal Concessive Conditional Construction

Wh- P -temo, Q

Unconditionality by appealing to any number of values (any value at all) for the variable in the condition, all leading to the same consequence

Using DARE (who):

- (14a) *DARE ga yatte-mitemo dekinai daroo.*
who NOM do-try TEMO 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.

Using DOKO (where):

- (14b) *DOKO o sagasitemo mitukaranai yo.*
where ACC look TEMO find-NEG PART
No matter where you look, you won't find it.

Using NANI (what):

- (14c) *Uti no bosu wa NANI ga attemo doozinai.*
my boss TOP what NOM happen TEMO get upset (moved)-NEG
No matter what happens, my boss won't get upset.

Using DONNANI (how/what way):

- (14d) *DONNANI benkyoo sitemo siken ni wa gookaku sinai daroo.*
how much study TEMO exam-DAT-TOP pass-NEG MOD
No matter how (hard) I study, I won't pass the exam.

The antecedent of (14d), with DONNANI, means 'No matter how hard I study'; the utterance as a whole asserts that, within the relevant universe evoked by the antecedent, the degree to which the subject studies (or the manner in which s/he studies) will make no difference to the result described in the consequent clause, that is, 'won't pass the exam.' Here again, unconditionality is expressed without referring to a specific extreme case. Instead, unconditionality is here asserted by appealing to any value of the variable expressed by the indeterminate pronoun in the antecedent, all of which lead to the same consequence. Precisely this is characteristic of Universal C.C.C.s: the antecedent, instead of specifying any particular exemplar, applies to any value of the variable within the frame evoked by the antecedent, thereby effecting complete coverage of the relevant conditions. All such conditions imply the same results. This is again a very strong way of presenting an unconditional consequent.

An important characteristic of the Universal C.C.C. in Japanese is the close conceptual and grammatical link between it and the Japanese universal quantification construction. The Japanese expression for 'EVERY' is comprised of a Wh-word and the particle MO or DEMO, as shown in (15).

(15) Universal quantification construction using *NANI* (what):

Universal Affirmation	Universal Negation
* <i>Nani mo</i> sitte iru. what MO know ASP	<i>Nani mo</i> siranai. what MO know NEG (The subject) knows nothing .
<i>Nani (Nan') demo</i> sitte iru. what DEMO know ASP (The subject) knows everything .	* <i>Nani (Nan') demo</i> siranai. what DEMO know NEG

For example, *nani demo* in *nani demo sitte iru* (15, left column, second row) indicates universal affirmation (everything), while *nani mo* in the negative sentence *nani mo siranai* expresses universal negation (15, right column, first row). We cannot go into detail here, but for our purposes, it will be sufficient to note that the basic semantics of the universal quantification construction is compatible with the unconditional meaning and absolute assertion associated with the Universal Concessive Conditional Clause-linking Construction. Both constructions express complete affirmation or complete negation by appealing to free-choice variables expressed by indeterminate pronouns (Wh-words). Another commonality, which is also crucial for expressing the unconditional meaning, is the existence of the particle MO in both constructions.⁶

3.3. Reduplicative Concessive Conditionals

A third idiomatic construction using TEMO, which I will call the Reduplicative Concessive Conditional Construction (Reduplicative C.C.C.),⁷ reduplicates the verb (or verb phrase) in the antecedent, as illustrated in (16):

- (16) *denwa o kaketemo kaketemo tuuzimasen.* <from a letter>
 telephone ACC call TEMO call TEMO connect-NEG
 I never reach him no matter how often I call him.

This construction demonstrates yet another way to emphasize the unconditionality of the truth of the consequent: the repetition of the same idea by repeating the same verb (phrase) in the antecedent. Such repetition indicates either that the same action was repeated over and over indefinitely (e.g., 16 and 17), or that the state expressed by the verb lasted indefinitely (e.g., 18 and 19).

- (17) *sikattemo sikattemo yappari hahaoya wa hahaoya.*
 scold TEMO scold still mother TOP mother
 No matter how many times (I) scold (them), the mother is the mother (I'm still the mother). <from a letter>
- (18) *Musi saretemo musu saretemo, zitto gaman site egao de kaesu sika nai.*
 ignore PASS TEMO ignore PASS TEMO quietly persevere smile back only
 No matter how long I'm ignored (by her), I will just bear it and smile back.
 <T.V. drama>

- (19) *Mattemo mattemo X-san wa tootoo arawarenakatta.*
 wait TEMO wait TEMO Ms. X TOP after all 'did not show up'
 Even though I waited for a long time, Ms. X did not show up.

Regardless of the multiply repeated action or the indefinitely prolonged state, the conclusion never changes. The construction as a whole thus asserts that such repeated actions or prolonged states invariably bring about the same result, thereby implying its absoluteness. To be sure, the regular construction consisting of a single TEMO clause (e.g., 16b) would also suffice to express a similar idea, drawing on the paradoxicality factor involved in the antecedent-consequent contingency relationship characteristic of TEMO.

- (16b) *denwa o kaketemo tuuzimasen.* cf. (16)
 telephone ACC call TEMO connect-NEG
 I never reach him even though I call him.

But repeating the verb in the antecedent emphasizes the factors of persistence and thoroughness, thus in turn amplifying the unconditional force of the whole utterance.

One characteristic specific to the Reduplicative C.C.C. is that this pattern normally occurs with a **non-hypothetical** situation (or *realis* antecedent), where the speaker believes in the truth of the antecedent. More specifically, it is commonest for this construction to be used in describing either past events or habitual events. In this respect, this construction differs from the basic TEMO construction and the other two patterns just discussed (Alternative C.C.C. and Universal C.C.C.), which do not show an automatic *realis* bias. Of course, these other TEMO constructions can be used for past specific events, but unlike the Reduplicative C.C.C., *realis* is *not* more typical than *irrealis* with these other types.

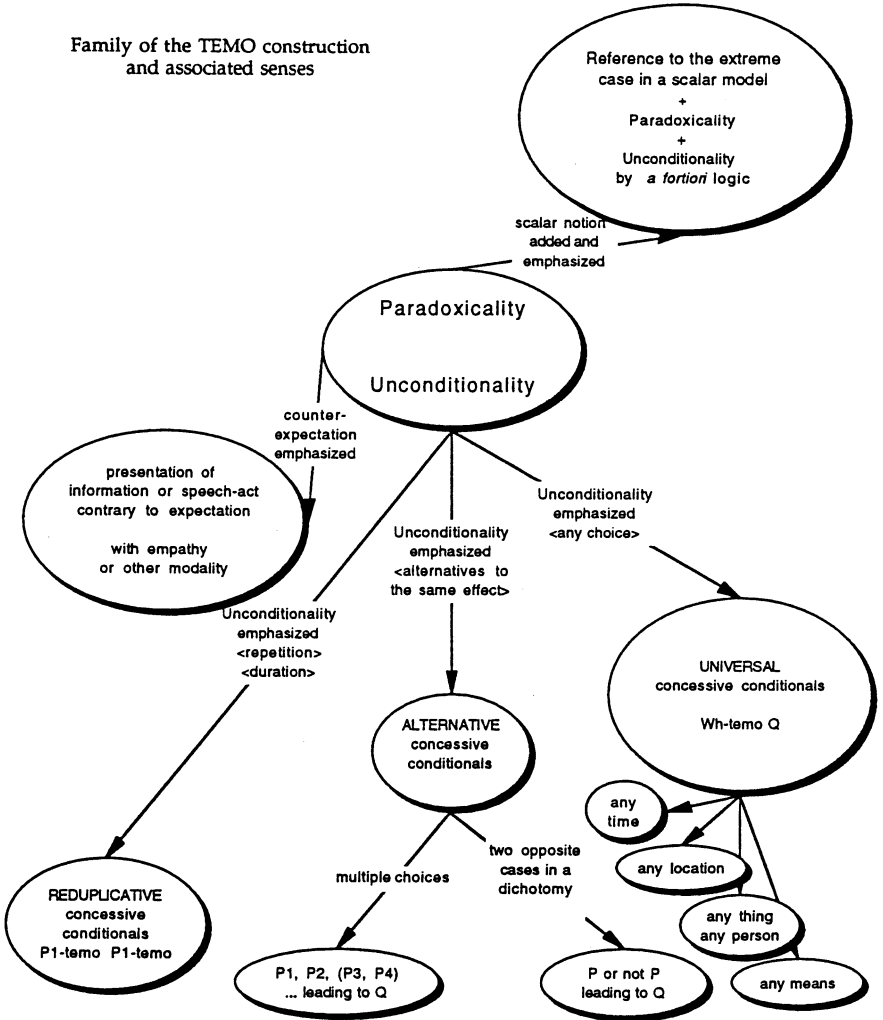
3.4. Synthesis

Formally, all the variations presented thus far (the Alternative, Universal, and Reduplicative C.C.C.s) stem from the base TEMO construction. At the same time, however, they involve special idiomatic combinations of forms (P temo ~ P temo Q; P1 temo P2 temo (P3 temo ...) Q; Wh-temo Q; P<V-temo V-temo> Q) and appeal to particular grammatical devices (such as coordination, indeterminate pronouns, and verb reduplication) which are not part of the base TEMO construction. Though not discussed fully in this paper, each variation also has its own specific different set of additional syntactic and semantic constraints.

Functionally, these variant constructions all assert that the consequent holds true unconditionally within the relevant universe, and all of them are therefore used to emphasize the speech act that is presented in the main clause. This function is consistent with the sense of unconditionality essential to the base TEMO construction itself. And in all the variant subtypes, unconditionality of the consequent emerges as the result of the *complete coverage*, in the antecedent, of all possibilities in the relevant universe. The crucial point here is the fact that the unconditionality is derived without appealing to scalar implications. This contrasts sharply with the English EVEN IF construction, and with the scalar-based use of the TEMO construction discussed earlier in Section 2.

These variant constructions differ from one another in the means by which they convey exhaustiveness in the antecedent and unconditionality in the consequent — whether by appealing to binary or multiple representative alternatives all leading to the same conclusion (Alternative C.C.C.), by appealing to universal

Family of the TEMO construction and associated senses



[excerpt from Chapter 5, Fujii (1993)]

quantification as applied to some variable within the antecedent (Universal C.C.C.), or by appealing to repeated actions (or prolonged states of affairs) that turn out to have no effect on the result (Reduplicative C.C.C).

4. The variations as found with other concessive conditional constructions

Next, Section 4 briefly presents other concessive conditional constructions featuring different clause-linking morphemes besides TEMO, and shows that the same three variations are available for other concessive conditional constructions — but *not uniformly*. The base constructions and clause-linking morphemes considered here are listed in (20):

- (20) Concessive conditional constructions featuring clause-linkers other than TEMO:
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| S1 (V-oo) TOMO, S2. | [1] |
| S1 (V-oo) TO, S2. | [2] |
| S1 (V-oo) GA, S2. | [3] |
| S1 (<i>izen</i> -form) DOMO, S2. | [4] |
| S1 (<i>izen</i> -form), S2. | [5] |
| S1 (-ta) TOKORO-DE, S2. | [6] |
| S1 -TATTE, S2. | [7] |
| S1 (V-tara V-TADE), S2. | [8] |

The first three constructions in the above list take the special verb-ending '-oo', followed by a clause-linking morpheme — either TOMO, TO, or GA. Constructions [4] and [5] take one of the Classical Japanese verb conjugation form called the *izen*-form, either with or without the clause-linking morpheme DOMO, the classical Japanese counterpart of TEMO.

A few representative examples of clause-linking constructions in combination with the three variations (where available) are shown in (21) – (23).

(21)

- (21a) S1 (V-oo) TO, S2. [2] [Alternative C.C.C.]

S1(V1-oo TO V2-oo TO), S2

Nakoo to wamekoo to watasi no sitta koto de wa nai.

cry TO scream TO I NOM know matter TOP NEG

Whether (he) cries or screams, I don't care.

- (21b) S1 (V-oo) TO, S2. [2] [Universal C.C.C.] S1 (Wh- V-oo) TO, S2

Donnani ame ga huroo to ikimasu.

how much rain NOM fall TO go

No matter how much it rains, I will go.

- (22) S1 (*izen*-form) DOMO, S2. [4] [Reduplicative C.C.C.]

Ikedomo ikedomo mieru no wa noppara to tihei-sen dake ...

go DOMO go DOMO see NOM TOP open field and land horizon only

kuruma ga kosyoo demo sitara doo siyoo ka to huanni natta yo.

car NOM be broken IF how do Q QUO uneasy become PAST PAR

We drove and drove, but all we could see was the open field and the horizon; we began to feel uneasy, thinking, 'What if the car broke down?'

- (23) S1 (bare *izen*-form), S2. [5] [Alternative C.C.C.]
 S1(V1-*izen* V2-*izen*), S2

Gakkoo de are katei de are iwayuru kanri o
 school be-IZEN home be-IZEN so-called control ACC

ukenaide sumu ningen o sodateru no ga kyooiku na noni.
 'can do without receiving' people ACC nurture N NOM education though

'Whether it's at school or in the home, education should nurture people who don't have to be controlled.'⁸
 <Newspaper article>

Space does not allow us here to exhaust all the possible constructions using these linkages. Instead, refer to the table in (24), which summarizes the possibilities of occurrence of the Alternative, Universal, and Reduplicative C.C.C.s for each linkage. The table shows that these variations are indeed available with non-TEMO concessive conditional linking constructions, but that they are not available uniformly with all of them.

- (24) Summary of the Alternative, Universal, and Reduplicative C.C.C. as found with other (non-TEMO) linkages

Construction		Regular (base)	Alternative	Universal	Reduplicative
S1-TEMO S2	[0]	YES	YES	YES	YES
S1-oo TOMO S2	[1]	POSSIBLY	POSSIBLY	YES	NO
S1-oo TO S2	[2]	POSSIBLY	YES (frequent)	(YES)	NO
S1-oo GA S2	[3]	POSSIBLY	YES (frequent)	YES	NO
"izen-form" DOMO	[4]	YES (special)	POSSIBLY	POSSIBLY	YES (frequent)
"izen-form" (bare)	[5]	YES (limited)	YES	NO	NO
S1 -TA TOKORO DE S2	[6]	YES	NO	(YES)	NO
S1-TATTE S2	[7]	YES	(YES)	YES	NO
S1(V-TARA V-TADE) S2	[8]	YES (limited)	(yes, in a very special sense)	NO	NO

The fact that the Alternative, Universal, and Reduplicative C.C.C.s are all possible with non-TEMO linking constructions (i.e., with at least one construction, and often with more than one) is evidence that these variations are not completely arbitrary and unmotivated. Without some sort of reasonable motivation, these three variations would not recur as a group in several constructions involving different linking morphemes. Recall that all of these variant constructions function, in various ways, to assert the unconditional truth of the consequent (what is expressed in the consequent clause). This function is integral to, and based on, the semantics of concessive conditionals, as discussed under the rubric of 'Unconditionality'. But this function of unconditionality is not restricted just to TEMO concessive conditionals; hence it can motivate the occurrence of these same constructional variations for a *variety* of different concessive conditional constructions featuring different linking morphemes. More importantly, all of this argues that these variants are subtypes (subconstructions) of concessive conditional constructions *in general*, rather than quirks of TEMO.

However, the various C.C.C.s are not equally available to all nine clause-linkage types; this forces each subconstruction to be listed and described separately

for each linkage type. Moreover, the detailed distribution of these variations can only be attributed to the formal idiomatic nature of each linking construction, something which is not totally predictable.

5. Semantic mismatch⁹

The final point to be made is that the TEMO construction and the English EVEN-IF construction are not semantically congruent. For the Opposed Alternative C.C.C., English uses, not EVEN-IF, but a subordinate clause headed by WHETHER (OR NOT); for the Universal C.C.C., English uses WH-EVER or NO MATTER WH-. This is only part of the broad divergence between the radial categories of TEMO and EVEN-IF, differences involving (first) the selection of central cases, and (second) the way each extends to a family of constructions. Scalar notions are intrinsic to the EVEN-IF construction; with TEMO, they are possible but nonessential. The central case of the EVEN-IF construction involves not only scalarity but also unconditionality and paradoxicality; the latter two, however, are parasitic on scalarity, via a chain of reasoning. By contrast, it is precisely the notions of unconditionality and paradoxicality (and not scalarity) that are central to the base TEMO construction, although again all three commonly cooccur. This difference in choice of central cases has far-reaching consequences for the ways each construction expands to a family of constructions, and shows why TEMO allows variant constructions that are impossible with EVEN-IF.

6. Conclusions

This paper has explored several formal and semantic variations of the TEMO construction. These formal idiomatic variants show clear differences, but the overall phenomenon and its variations are highly motivated by the 'unconditional' semantics and pragmatics of concessive conditionality. Significantly, these variations — Alternative, Universal, and Reduplicative C.C.C.s — are not specific to TEMO but have near-exact analogues with seven other (non-TEMO) concessive conditional clause-linkers, arguing that these variants are subtypes (subconstructions) of C.C.C.s in general rather than special quirks of TEMO. In fact, the full range of uses of the various TEMO constructions, each bearing a different set of formal constraints and each highlighting subtly distinct yet related senses, cannot be described by a single abstract meaning or set of necessary and sufficient conditions. Only a constructional approach can do justice to the full richness of the TEMO constructions, or explain the interesting non-synonymy between TEMO and EVEN IF.

Footnotes

* This paper is a synopsis of two sections of Chapter 5 ("Polysemy and Radial Categories") of my dissertation (Fujii 1993). I have benefited from comments on the chapter from Charles J. Fillmore and Orin Gensler, and on my earlier paper in BLS 1989 (Fujii 1989) from Susan Ervin-Tripp, Yutaka Hayashi, Yoshiko Matsumoto, Laura Michaelis, Janet Shibamoto, Eve Sweetser, and participants in the 1988-89 Japanese Linguistics seminar at U.C. Berkeley.

¹ For more discussion of semantics of concessive conditionals, see (*inter alia*) Fillmore (1987), König (1986), Harris (1988), König & Van der Auwera (1988), Nikiforidou (1990), Sweetser (1990), and Fujii (1993).

² As in Fujii (1989), I adopt the term 'alternative' used by Quirk et al. (1972) and Quirk et al. (1985). Their original term — which they apply to the English 'whether X or Y' construction — is 'ALTERNATIVE CONDITIONAL-CONCESSIVE'. In Fujii (1989), I used the term 'alternative concessive conditional' to refer to the same subtype of the TEMO construction as that at issue here, but did not further subclassify the type into the two variants discussed below.

³ See Fujii (1990b) for discussion of this type of consequent clause. These are cases of what I refer to as 'integrated concessive conditionals'.

⁴ The original term in Quirk et al. (1985) and Quirk et al. (1972) is UNIVERSAL CONDITIONAL-CONCESSIVE. I refer to these in Fujii (1989) as 'non-specific concessive conditionals' as well as 'universal concessive conditionals'.

⁵ These 'Wh-words' are interrogative words used to construct questions. But they can also be used to express 'EVERY' (e.g. *dare mo*, 'everybody') and 'SOME' (e.g. *dare ka*, 'somebody') when bound by the particle *mo* or *ka*. (For details see, for example, Fukushima 1991 and Kawashima 1993.) Following Kuroda (1965) I use the term 'indeterminate pronouns', or more simply 'Wh-words' (or 'Wh'), to refer to these words (e.g., DARE, DOKO, etc.).

⁶ The semantics of MO in this connection is discussed in Section 5.2.7, Chapter 5, of Fujii (1993).

⁷ Along with other constructions utilizing verb reduplication, Okamoto (1991) discusses this particular use of the TEMO construction and analyzes the regularity and irregularity involved in this verb reduplicative construction.

⁸ The English version of (24) is taken, without change, from a published translation of the Japanese.

⁹ Space does not permit the full discussion of this topic in this paper.

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