Charles University

Faculty of Arts
Institute of Asian Studies

Japanese conditional constructions

Japonské podmienkové konštrukcie
Bachelor thesis

Annamária Salanciová

Prague 2023
Thesis supervisor: Mgr. Petra Kanasugi, PhD.

Acknowledgements

Declaration of Authorship

I hereby declare that following BA thesis is my own work for which I used only the secondary literature that is listed in the list of references and sources. This thesis was not used as a part of any other university studies, nor was it used to gain a different university degree.

Prague, July 26, 2023 ..…..……………….....

Annamaria Salanciova

Abstract:

The present thesis maps varied forms of Japanese conditional constructions. This includes morphologically marked conditionals such as *V-tara*, *V-(r)eba*, *V-(ru/ta)/N(no)* nara, *V-to* that have been studied meticulously in the previous research, but also conditionals expressed by auxiliary nouns such as *V-(ru/ta)baai*, *V-(ru) kagiri*, or by larger constructions such as *V-(ru/ta)to sureba*. This thesis is methodologically anchored in principles of Cognitive Grammar, following Mental Space Theory in the sense of Fauconnier (1985) and Construction Grammar in the sense of Dancygier&Sweetser (2005). The qualitative, introspective analysis points to the overlaps in the use of these forms and between other syntactic domains. Overlaps in the use stem from the shared semantic features of the forms, namely temporality, boundness to specific events and sequentiality of events in the clauses and overlaps with different syntactic domains such as temporals which are also observed with less-prototypical forms. Lastly, this thesis observes similarities between major conditional markers and the less-prototypical conditional forms. Two observations are made: Firstly, Japanese explicitly marks epistemic conditionals. Secondly, aspectual morphology may be a crucial factor in the interpretation of Japanese conditionals.

Key words: Japanese conditional constructions, cognitive grammar, construction grammar, Mental Spaces Theory, semantic analysis, polysemy of conditional constructions, semantic overlaps

Abstrakt:

Táto bakalárska práca zmapováva rozmanité formy japonských podmienkových konštrukcií. Do tejto skupiny patria morfologicky značené podmienky ako *V-tara*, *V-(r)eba*, *V-(ru/ta)/N(no) nara*, či *V-to*, ktoré boli dôkladne preskúmané aj v predchádzaúcom výskume, no aj podmienky vyjadrené pomocnými podstatnými menami *V-(ru/ta)baai* a *V-(ru) kagiri*, alebo väčšími konštrukciami ako *V-(ru/ta)to sureba*. Táto práca je metodologicky ukotvená v princípoch Kognitívnej lingvistiky nadväzujúc na téoriu Mental Spaces v zmysle Fauconniera (1985), a taktiež v princípoch Konštrukčnej gramatiky v zmysle Dancygier a Sweetser (2005). Kvalitatívna introspektívna analýza poukazuje na sémantické prekryvy v používaní podmienkových foriem, a taktiež na prekryvy medzi kondicionálmi a inými syntaktickými kategóriami. Predpokladáme, že prekryvy v používaní vyplývajú zo spoločných sémantických vlastností foriem, menovite temporality, viazanosť na konkrétnu situáciu, či sekvenčnosť udalostí v hlavnej a vedľajšej vete. Prekryvy s inými syntaktickými oblasťami, ako sú napríklad časové vety, sú badateľné aj pri menej prototypických tvaroch. Táto práca sa neposledne usiluje o poukázanie na podobnosti medzi hlavnými podmienkovými formami a menej prototypickými podmienkovými formami. Hlavné pozorovania v tejto práci sú: 1. Japončina explicitne kóduje epistemické kondicionály. 2. Vidová morfológia môže byť výrazným faktorom pri interpretácii japonských kondicionálov.

Kľúčové slová: Japonské podmienkové konštrukcie, kognitívna gramatika, konštrukčná gramatika, téoria Mental Spaces, sémantická analýza, polysémia podmienkových konštrukcií, sémantické prekryvy

Contents

1. Introduction

Conditionals have been a major issue that puzzled not only philosophers, and logicians, but also linguists (Traugott&Meulen&Reilly&Ferguson 1986: p.1-3). It is not an exaggeration to say that Japanese conditionals have caught the attention of linguists as well, which eventually led to vast research. One of the given reasons for such linguistic endeavor in this field is their complexity when it comes to varied forms and use (Masuoka 1993: p.1) (Fujii 2018: p.558-560). These various forms of Japanese conditionals include morphologically marked conditionals such as *V-tara*, *V-ba*, *V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* and *V-to* (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.93-121), as well as conditionals expressed by auxiliary nouns or even larger constructions (Fujii 2018: p.558-560). We can also observe substantial semantic overlaps between different categories of conditionals and between conditionals and different syntactic categories, e.g. temporals (Maeda 2009: p.61-113) (Fujii 2018: p.557-558, 563).

This thesis aims to produce a structured survey of conditional constructions with an emphasis on the semantic intersections and nuances that distinguish constructions containing various conditionals. The main goal is to map overlapping meanings of different types of conditionals expressed by morphologically marked forms of conditionals and conditionals expressed by larger constructions, namely *V-(ru/ta)baai*, *V-(ru)kagiri* and *V-(ru/ta) to sureba* constructions.

This thesis is divided into four main chapters. Chapter two gives a general overview of the research concerning conditionals and explains why I chose the standpoint of cognitive grammar for the analysis of the mentioned constructions. Chapter three introduces the Mental Space Theory as proposed by Fauconnier (1985) and applied to the classification of conditionals by Dancygier and Sweetser (2005). This chapter serves as a methodological background for the mapping of Japanese conditionals in Chapter four. The first part of Chapter four describes the major conditional markers and shows their distribution within every category of conditionals. The second part of this chapter focuses on the following three forms: *V-(ru/ta) baai*, *V-(ru) kagiri* and *V-(ru/ta)to sureba*, and examines under what conditions can these forms gain conditional meaning.

This thesis offers a qualitative, corpus-based analysis of conditional constructions. Examples of Japanese conditionals in Chapter 4 are excerpted from the following corpora: Japanese InterCorp v15 and English InterCorp v15 provided by Czech National Corpus, Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Japanese (BCCWJ) provided by NINJAL. I also make use

of my own corpora containing examples from Japanese TV dramas that are listed in the Bibliography. Since the thesis utilizes vast number of long compound sentences and focuses on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the mentioned grammar phenomenon, not on the morpho-syntactic features, for practical reasons I choose not to include the linguistic morpheme-by-morpheme glossing of the text. For phonemic transcription, I use the modified Hepburn romanization.

Lastly, I hope to provide material that can help students of the Japanese language to gain a better understanding of the intricacies of Japanese conditionals. For this reason, I include the original Japanese text in the footnotes in Chapter 4.1. For practical reasons, the original Japanese text from Chapter 4.2 is in the Appendix.

2. General overview – meaning and form of conditionals

In order to produce a semantic analysis of certain grammar phenomena, we need to first properly establish its definition and meaning. Although there has been a long ongoing general discussion about the meaning of conditionals, we can still consider the question to resemble a Sisyphean task (Andor 2015 p. 1). Despite the vast literature, Reuneker (2022) describes the situation concerning the definition of the meaning of conditionals followingly, '*to this day, this question elicits many different answers.*' (p.3)

For the identification of the conditionals, let us observe the following examples excerpted from Japanese television dramas.

(1) [Two close friends, both aspiring anime voice actresses, come to the diner and talk about the audition they are about to take]

'Nee, saigo no chō-serifu, mada namari dete-ta yo ne.'
'Yokuyō ki [o] **tsukete, ishiki sureba, daijōbu dakara**.'[1]

'Hey, my accent showed during the last long line, right?'
'If you are careful and aware of your intonation, you will be fine.'
('Kitsune Udon.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

(2) [A customer at the diner has an unusual order: ramen soup noodle dish without noodles. Nearby sitting customer is surprised by this choice and asks the following question.]

'Ano, sonna no ari desu ka?'
'Aa,…yonaka ni tansuikabutsu taberu to, are dakara...'[2]

---

[1] 「ねえ、最後の長セリフまだなまり出てたよね」「抑揚気つけて、意識すれば大丈夫だから」

[2] 「あのー、そんなのありですか。」「あっ…、夜中に炭水化物食べるとあれだから…」

'For real? You can have tan-men without noodles?'
'Oh, you know, if you eat carbs late at night…'

<div align="right">('Tan Men.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)</div>

(3) [Suzuki finds out from her colleague that Kurihara whom she had a crush on already has a girlfriend]

'Kurihara ima Yoshida-san to tsuki-atte-ru n desu.'
'Sō nan da. Mō Kurihara-kun, sore-nara sō itte-kuretara yokatta noni.'[3]

'Kurihara is now dating Yoshida'
'Really. Kurihara, **if that's the case, you should have told me earlier**'

<div align="right">('Ton Teki.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)</div>

(4) [An aspiring anime voice actress meets her favorite manga artist and shares her dream of becoming an actress with him. However, the manga artist replies in a rude manner.]

'Kōkō no toki, Nobuta- sensei no anime o mite, ... watashi ima seiyū mezashite-iru n desu.'
'Aa, sōiū yatsu ga ooi n da yo naa. Chotto kajitta gurai de zenbu wakatta ki ni nariyagatte na. **Sonnani wakan nara** (=wakaru nara), **omae ga kake**...' [4]

'In high school, I used to watch anime by Mr. Nobuta…, now I'm trying to be a voice actor.'
'Oh, there are so many people like you, who think they know everything just because they tried a bit. **If you know so much, you should write yourself.**'

<div align="right">('Kitsune Udon.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)</div>

(5) [A journalist investigates the illegal activities tied to Professor Tadokoro. Seeing the high official Amami leaving Professor's research place, the journalist naturally assumes that Amami is part of the illegal structure too]

'Amami san mo tōji-sha deshō? **Koko de Tadokoro hakase to atte-ita nara, anata ni mo fusei ni kanyo shite-iru giwaku ga umaremasu.**'[5]

'You too are part of it, aren't you? **If you were meeting with Dr. Tadokoro here, then it's only natural to think that you will be suspected as an accomplice.**'

<div align="right">(Japan Sinks: People of Hope)</div>

Examples (1)-(5) show that thinking about the causality of certain actions and wondering about hypothetical or impossible situations constitute a fundamental part of our daily
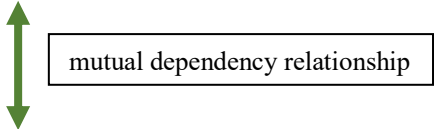
---

[3] 「栗原今吉田さんとつきあってるんです。」「そうなんだ。もう栗原君、それならそう言ってくれたらよかったのに。」

[4] 「高校のとき、信田先生のアニメを見て、...私今声優目指しているんです。」「あ〜! そういうヤツが多いんだよなあ。ちょっとかじったぐらいで全部分かった気になりやがってな。そんなにわかんなら、お前が描け…」

[5] 「天海さんも当事者でしょう? ここで田所博士と会っていたなら、あなたにも不正に関与している疑惑が生まれます。」

communication. All of the utterances written in bold can be interpreted with the English conditional marker *'if'* and can be reformulated with the prototypical *'if P then Q'* form. Although speakers can produce and interpret conditionals without any difficulty, fundamental questions concerning conditional meaning and form remained an open area for research and debate (Reuneker 2020: p. 3-4). Wierzbicka (1997) explains that the main reason for confusion around the meaning of *'if'* may stem from the fact that *'if'* is a relatively simple concept to be understood by any speaker but it is hard to decompose into smaller and simpler concepts (p.15). Wierzbicka (1997) proposes that *'if'* should be thus considered a semantic primitive. The meaning of *'if'* is easily comprehensible to any of us without an overtly detailed and specific definition. Consequently, when describing the phenomenon, it is more sufficient to illustrate the meaning of *'if'* with examples and its prototypical form rather than choosing one definition that would capture the meaning of this category only partially (p.16-25). Examples (1)-(5) serve this purpose and capture the type of conditional sentences that will be mainly examined in this thesis, namely (1) predictive conditionals, (2) generic conditionals, (3) counterfactuals, (4) speech-act conditionals and (5) epistemic conditionals. Their form will be discussed in more detail in the following subchapter. Nonetheless, let me briefly sketch how the meaning of a prototypical conditional sentence is constructed:

(**6**) 雨が　　　　降れば、　　試合は　　　中止に　　　　なる。

ᴾ Ame=ga　　**fur-eba**,　　ᵠ shiai=wa　　chūshi=ni　　　naru.

ᴾ rain=NOM　　fall-HCD,　　ᵠ match=NOM　cancellation-AVZ　become=NPS[6]

'If it rains, the match will be canceled.'

[Ame ga fureba] =　　　subordinate clause (P / if-clause / protasis/ antecedent/ reason)

⇅ | mutual dependency relationship |

[shiai wa chūshi ni naru]= main clause (Q/ then-clause/ apodosis/ precedent/ consequent)

Conditionals have been a widely studied topic within fields like logic or psychology for centuries (Traugott&Meulen&Reilly&Ferguson 1986: p.1-3) (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.5). In the past decades, various areas of linguistics, including formal semantics (Funk 1985), pragmatics　　　(Akatsuka 1985) (1997), cognitive linguistics (Fauconnier 1985)

---

[6] In this example, I follow Leipzig's glossing rules.

(Traugott&Meulen&Reilly&Ferguson 1986) (Dancygier 1993) (Athanasiadou&Dirven 1997), construction grammar (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005), compositional semantics (Kaufmann 2005), corpus oriented analysis (Reuneker 2022) have focused on conditional sentences in language too and have provided extensive literature on the topic.

There was a centuries-long tradition of conditionals being a subject of study within logic. Propositional logic had an influence on the formal semantics. Followingly the main attention within the linguistics was put on the logic-oriented analysis of conditionals. The meaning of conditional sentences in natural language was considered to be congruent with the logic of the truth table and material implication (p ⊃ q)[7] (Reuneker 2020: p. 4-17). In propositional logic, clauses in conditional sentences are considered to be carriers of propositions. Each proposition is assigned one of two possible values- truth or false. The truth value of the whole material implication (i.e. the whole conditional sentence) is defined by the relationship between two propositions expressed by *protasis (p)* and *apodosis (q)* and their truth/false values. This yields four possible relationships that can be illustrated with the truth table[8] (Hurley 2000: p.5, p.22-24, p.245-246,p.301-308).

P	Q	p ⊃ q
T	T	**T** 'If you get an A on the final exam, then you will get an A for the course.'
T	F	**F** 'If you get an A on the final exam, then you won't get an A for the course.'
F	T	**T** 'If you don't get an A on the final exam, then you will get an A for the course.'
F	F	T 'If you don't get an A on the final exam, then you won't get an A for the course.'

Table 1- truth table (Hurley 2000: p.316)

This method received several criticisms from cognitive linguists, including Comrie (1986: p. 78-83), Fauconnier (1985: xix-xx) (Lakoff&Sweetser 1985: ix-xv), Dancygier &Sweetser (2005: p. 13-14), etc. While Comrie (1986) acknowledges that '*logical characterization is a part of conditionals in natural language*' (p.78), he also stresses that the

---

[7] This approach has roots in Frege's (1879) *Begriffsschrift* and is also known as 'material analysis of conditionals' (Reuneker 2022: p.28).

[8] I will use an example introduced by Hurley. Imagine a scenario where the instructor promised to give the students an A for the course under the condition, they get an A on the final test. Next, we judge under which scenario could we say the instructor was lying. If we get an A for the exam and then A for the course she did not lie. If we receive A for the exam but not for the course, she lied. If we did not get an A for the exam, 2 scenarios are possible. She either let us pass the course or do not. In neither case can we claim the teacher lied to us (Hurley 2000: p.316)

material implication is not sufficient in analyzing all types of conditional sentences. He makes the two following statements:

a) '*From a conditional neither the truth nor the falsity of either p or q can be deduced.*' (p.80)

b) Conditionals found in natural language exhibit a link between protasis and apodosis that is stronger than the one expressed in the truth table (ibid, p.80)

Comrie stresses out that the truth value of protasis or apodosis is not crucial in building the overall meaning of conditional sentences in natural language, see the following example:

(7) *A: 'I'm leaving now.'*

B: 'If you are leaving now, I won't be able to go with you.'

(Comrie 1986: p.79)

Conditional statements leave a space for uncertainty, or in other words the possibility that A will change his mind and will decide to leave later. This kind of uncertainty about the truth value of the preposition, or in other words the non-assertive attitude of the speaker shown in protasis, is actually a crucial element of conditional sentences (Dancygier 1993: p.404, p. 428).

As for claim b), implication logic does not explicitly specify the character of connection that is necessary to be held between the P and Q, since it relies solely on their truth values. Consequently, material implication logic gives rise to anomalous sentences with prepositions that share no relation, such as '*If Paris is the capital of France, two is an even number*' (Comrie: 1986, p. 80). Conditional sentences found within natural language vary greatly and exhibit a stronger link between the clauses that are semantic or pragmatic (Dancygier 1993: p.405-406). This can be well illustrated by the so-called 'biscuit conditional' from Austin's work (1956):

(8) *'There are biscuits on the sideboard if you want them.'* (Liu 2019: p.5)

If we rely solely on the truth table logic, anomalous interpretations are produced. Negating both the protasis and apodosis results in an inadequate interpretation '*there are no biscuits on the sideboard if you don't want them*'. This interpretation is far away from the original meaning of the sentence (Liu 2019: p.5-6). Linguists such as Fauconnier (1985), and Dancygier and Sweetser (2005: p.5), focused on various relations that can be held between the clauses and pointed out that the meaning of conditional sentences in natural language is not restricted to the logical inference only. Their main point was that despite the strict logical

appearance, conditional constructions are verbal tools for expressing various meanings and serve many functions, all of which are closely tied to our cognition (Fauconnier 1985: xix-xxvii). For example, when using the conditionals, we convey our perception of the causality of events that can be purely experiential (Fujii 2018, p.562) like in the following example:

(9) [Two brothers play a board game. Whoever loses has to go to the shop and buy a ham for the ham cutlet. The younger brother loses again. After reluctantly accepting the deal, he agrees to go to the shop. Before doing so, he makes the following statement. Reasoning in this sentence is purely subjective and based on his experience, instead of some objective truth]

Katte-kureba, tsugi wa zettai katsu kara na.[9]

'If I go buy it, I will definitely win the next round.'

('Ham Cutlet.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

We can even express our non-assertive attitude or put attention to certain parts of the speech by using the conditional form:

(10) Kore nara, sōri mo nattoku darō.[10]

'This shall satisfy the prime minister.'[11]

(Japan Sinks: People of Hope)

We often use conditional constructions in order to set a background for offers, requests, and other speech acts:

(11) Nanka attara itsudemo renraku shite.

'Call me if you need me.'

('Space Oddity.' First Love)

Research in constructional grammar (Fauconnier 1985) (Fujii 1995) (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005) too revealed, that conditional meaning does not have to be conveyed only by the If P, then Q form:

(12) '*You make one mistake and you get fired.*' (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005: p. 228)

(13) '*You are so lucky. My advisor wouldn't have been so patient.*' (Fujii 1995: p.74)

It has been observed that conditional sentences can be easily expressed by mono-clausal in English (Fujii 1995: p.74-76). This is contrary to Japanese which in most cases requires conditional clause-linking morphology (markers as *V-tara*, *V-(r)eba*, *V-to*, *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-*

---

[9] 買ってくれば、つぎ絶対勝つからな。

[10] これなら総理も納得だろう。

[11] A literal translation would be as follows: '*If it's this (proposal), prime minister shall be satisfied.*'

nara) to be used in order to express the conditional meaning (Fujii 1995: p. 87). Nevertheless, it was pointed out that even other forms like *V-(ru/ta) baai* can express conditional meaning in Japanese:

(14) '*Ōbosha ga tasū {no **baai wa**/ deshitara}chūsen ni yotte tōsen-sha o kimemasu.* '[12]

'If there are too many applicants, the winners will be decided by drawing lots.'

(Nihongo Kujitsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p. 113)

How is it possible that conditional sentences exhibit such variation in use and that the conditional meaning can be conveyed by non-conditional forms? Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) use Mental Space Theory as proposed by Fauconnier (1985) to explain this phenomenon. They state, that if-clause can set up different *mental spaces*. P sets up a mental space which builds an adequate background for a Q-clause to be expressed (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005: p.11). These kinds of mental spaces can be set up also by various forms as seen in (13) and (14) This approach covers not only those conditionals found in natural language which do not strictly correspond to the truth value table and express meanings that are not implicatures (see examples 10-11), but it also encompasses constructions that do not correspond to the prototypical *'if P, then Q'* form (examples 12-14). This approach will be applied in this thesis too.

There is an ongoing discussion on the old but fundamental questions that are still unanswered or answered partially, such as **a)** what is conditionality and what is a prototypical conditional (Athanasiadou 1997: p.1), **b)** what other constructions can convey conditional meaning, **c)** what grammar features contribute to the interpretation of the conditional sentence, **d)** what is the interaction between conditional and other syntactic domains such as temporals, causals models, and so on (Liu 2019: p.1-6). By introducing major conditional marks in Japanese and by mapping the conditional meaning of these forms: *V-(ru/ta) baai*, *V-(ru)kagiri*, *V-(ru/ta) to sureba*, I try to partially answer the questions b, c and d in this thesis.

Having discussed the meaning of conditionals, I now turn to identifying their typical form. Conditional meaning is commonly associated with complex, bi-clausal sentences consisting of subordinate clause (*protasis*) marked with if conjunction, and a main clause expressing the consequent (*apodosis*) (Reuneker 2020: p.18). The prototypical form is: **If P, then Q.** Different authors refer to both clauses using different terms (see example 6). Linguists have made considerable observations on the various types of relations that can be held between clauses in conditionals (Reuneker: 2020: p.19). Therefore, establishing a single definition of this relationship is not a simple task. Ahanasiadou&Dirven (1997) state that all kinds of

---

[12] 応募者が多数の場合/でしたら、抽選によって当選者を決めます。

conditional sentences share a common factor, specifically: **'*mutual dependency between the two propositions in the subclause and in the main clause of conditional sentences.*'** (p.62). More over, the nature of mutual dependency (or *contingency*) varies within the different types of conditional sentences. Such a broad formula results in extremely varied group. Dancygier (1993) adds that *if-clause* serves as a tool for signaling to the hearer that the speaker '*does not have enough grounds for asserting p as a factual statement,*' and therefore reflects by grammatic means the non-assertive attitude of the speaker (p.404).

Conditional sentences are adverbial clauses. Langacker (2008) describes their functions followingly: '*adverbial clause can qualify a main clause in many different ways, there is usually some element that specifies the nature of their relationship.*' (p. 420)

Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008: p.5-12) describes several subtypes of adverbial clauses (副詞節 *fukushi-setsu*), one of them which is called the conditional clause (条件節, *jōken-setsu*). However, this subcategory is rather broad, as it refers to other closely related types of clauses too (see the Table 2). All of these clauses share a common semantic feature, that is the event in the main clause is caused by an event in the subordinate clause (p.93-164).

Four subtypes of conditional sentences according to Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008)

	Resultative/ harmony (順接 *junsetsu*)	**Concessive/ dissonance** (逆接 *gyakusetsu*)
Hypothetical meaning (仮定的 *katei-teki*)	**resultative conditional clause** (順接条件節 *junsetsu jōken-setsu*) a)'Sake o nomu to, atama ga itaku-naru.'[13] 'If drink the alcohol, my head starts to hurt.'	**concessive conditional clause** (逆接条件節 *gyakusetsu jōken-setsu*) c)'Sake o nondemo, atama ga itaku-naranai.'[14] 'Even if I drink alcohol, I don't get a headache.'
Factual meaning (事実的 *jijitsu-teki*)	**causal clause** (原因・理由節 *gen'in/riyū-setsu*) b)'Sake o nonda node, atama ga itaku-natta.'[15] 'I got a headache because I drank alcohol.'	**concessive clause** (逆接節 *gyaku-setsu*) d)'Sake o nonda noni, atama ga itaku-naranakatta.'[16] 'I didn't get a headache even though I'd been drinking alcohol.'

Table 2 (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai: 2008, p.94)

This classification of conditionals is based on two parameters:

---

[13] 酒を飲むと、頭が痛くなる。

[14] 酒を飲んでも、頭が痛くならない。

[15] 酒を飲んだので、頭が痛くなった。

[16] 酒を飲んだのに頭が痛くならなかった。

a) level of hypotheticality[17]

b) whether the result in then-clause was anticipated (*resultative/harmonic*) or not (*concessive/dissonance*).

This classification corresponds to the traditional classification of English conditionals provided by König&Siemund (2000). The same parameters are applied by Maeda (2009) too (Arita 2006: 7-12). Due to practical reasons, this thesis focuses only on coordinate conditional clauses (順接条件節 *junsetsu jōken-setsu*). The relationship between clauses held in this type of conditionals is further defined as follows: *'An expression that predicts that one situation will cause another situation is called conditional. Conditionals are expressions which in general predict a hypothetical causal relationship.'*[18] (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.93) Japanese linguists, however, admit that this definition is insufficient and rather provisional as it does not apply to all uses of conditional clauses (Masuoka 2002, p.73).

Major conditional markers in Japanese include four clause-linking morphemes, specifically two conjugation forms ***V-tara*** and ***V-(r)eba*** and two particles ***V-to***, ***V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara*** (Masuoka 1993) (Hasegawa 2015). *V-tara*, *V-(r)eba* and *V-to* are considered to be tenseless. *V-tara* attaches to the past form of a predicate (*i-tta.ra* 'if said', *tabe-ta.ra* 'if ate', or *samuka-tta.ra* 'if (it were) cold'). *V-(r)eba* attaches to the hypothetical form (仮定形 *katei-kei*) of predicates (*i-eba* 'if say', *tabe-reba* 'if eat', *samuke-reba* 'if cold'). *V-to* attaches to the conclusive form (終止形 *shūshi-kei*) of verbs (*iu to* 'if say', *taberu to* 'if eat') (Hasegawa 2015: p.223-224).[19] *V-(ru/ta)nara* is the only main conditional marker which is tensed, meaning it can take both non-past form (*iu nara*, 'if say') and past form (*i-tta nara*, 'if said'). Only *nara* can be attached to noun phrase (*o-sushi nara* 'if (it is) sushi'). Researchers including Fujii (2018), Masuoka (1993) (2006), Arita (2017) have pointed out prominent features of *V(ru/ta)/ N(no)-nara* form, namely:

a) Unlike the other main conditional markers, *V(ru/ta)/ N(no)-nara* exhibits smaller dependency on the main clause (Masuoka 1993: p.13) (Fujii 2018: p. 559)

b) Only in conditionals using *V(ru/ta)/ N(no)-nara* can the time of the event in main clause precede the time of the event in the subordinate clause (see example (16)).

(16) a) '*Ashita yasumu {nara/no nara}kyō wa zangyō shinakerebanaranai.*'

---

[17] i.e. whether the event in if-clause has been already established or not

[18] 「ある事態が別の事態を引き起こすことを予測する表現を順接条件という。順接条件とは、原則として仮定的な因果関係を予測する表現である。」

[19] However different analysis of japanese clause-linking morphology exists too (e.g. Narrog 2010)

b) *'*Ashita **yasum-eba**, kyō wa zangyō shinakerebanaranai.*'[20]

'*If you take tomorrow off, you have to work overtime today*.'

(Arita 2007: p.96-97)

There are other constructions that can express conditional meaning that are usually not considered as major conditional markers: *V-tewa, V(ru/ta)/N no baai, V(ru/ta)-toki, V(ru)-kagiri, V-(ru/ta)to sureba, V-kurai nara, V-shiyō mono nara, V-yō dewa, V-te miro, V-shita nichi-wa, V-shitara saigo* (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.110-121) (Fujii 2018: p.559-560). This thesis offers a brief mapping of the major conditional markers. Consequently, I analyze into further detail these conditional constructions: *V-(ru/ta)/ N no baai, V(ru) kagiri, V-(ru/ta)to sureba*.

3. Classification of conditionals

The classification of various kinds of conditionals has generally been at the heart of research (Reuneker 2020: ch. 3). Karlík (2017) describes the situation shortly: '*Different authors distinguish different kinds of conditionals.*' Two tasks precede any classification. Firstly, the author needs to identify the type of conditional she considers prototypical. Secondly, she has to decide on relevant parameters for the classification. The classical approach towards the classification of conditionals was based on the distinction between *open* (or real, factual, neutral) and *hypothetical* (closed, unreal, counterfactual) conditionals, in other words on the parameter of hypotheticality (*irrealis*) and factuality (*realis*) (Arita 2006: p.7-18).

This chapter introduces the classification proposed by Dancygier&Sweetser (2005) whose approach makes use of Mental Space Theory following Fauconnier (1985). According to them, *'if'* can set up various mental spaces. Different mental spaces yield different conditional categories. Their taxonomy is different from the traditional one because instead of hypotheticality, their central parameter for categorization the predictiveness. First, I briefly explain Mental Space Theory. Next, I introduce every category of conditionals accompanied with examples. This should create a methodological background for the analysis of the Japanese conditional constructions.

3.1. Mental Spaces Theory

---

[20] 明日休むなら/休むのなら/*休めば、今日は残業しなければならない。

Fauconnier (1985) revised the Possible world theory and proposed that speakers instead create different cognitive models (*mental spaces*) when producing conditional sentences and other grammar phenomena (Lakoff&Sweetser 1985: xi-xii) (Fauconnier 1985: xxxvi). These cognitive models are created for the purpose of conversation and discourse and do not faithfully represent reality (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.30-31). Followingly, speakers create various relationships between the 'reality' and the specific mental space (Fauconnier 1985: xxiv-xxv, xxxvi-xxxvii, p. 2, ch. 1).

To sketch the cognitive process we discuss, let's examine the following example which formal logic fails to explain:

> *'In this painting, the girl with the brown eyes has green eyes.'*

(Fauconnier 1985: p.12)

Lakoff and Sweetser (1985) explain in the Foreword of Fauconnier's book the theory briefly: '*the clause [In this painting] sets up a mental space (thus it serves the role of a space-builder) of the painting, that we call P. Mental space of the painting P differs from the mental space of the real world, R. Girl with green eyes in P is a counterpart of girl with brown eyes in R. "Fauconnier's Identification Principle (ID Principle) permits the description of the girl in R to be used to name the girl's counterpart in P.'* (xiii)

Mental spaces refer not only to partial representations of reality but also to non-world-like structures of our beliefs or hypothetical worlds (Fauconnier 1985: p. 17-32). Let's observe the following examples:

(1) *'Max believes that Susan hates Harry.'* (ibid., p.28)

(2) *'John Paul hopes that a former quarterback will adopt needy children.'* (ibid., p.23)

(3) *'If I were a millionaire, my VW would be a Rolls.'* (ibid.,p.31)

(4) *'The mushroom omelet left without paying the bill.'* (ibid., p.6)

Phrases like *'Max believes'*, *'John Paul hopes'*, *'If I were...'* or *'The mushroom omelet'* serve as space builders that set up distinct mental spaces. Specifically, (1) builds up the mental space of Max's beliefs M', (2) builds up the mental space of John Paul's hopes M' and (3) sets up a hypothetical mental space in which the speaker is a millionaire M'. All of them are compared with the so-called *'parent mental space'* or *'base space'*, which in this case is the reality, but does not necessarily have to be. Since each speaker has their own perception of reality, the term *'reality'* refers more to the speaker's personal experiences or situations they believe to be true (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.30-31). Participants like Susan and Harry,

former quarterback, VW each have a counterpart in reality. This mechanism is well illustrated in Figure 1.8 we borrowed from Fauconnier (1985, p. 24):
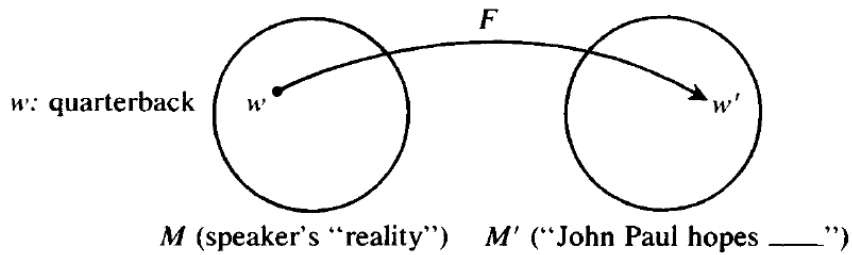

Figure 1 (Fauconnier 1985)

The space-builder (Max believes..., John Paul hopes...) signalizes to the speaker '*possibility of reference to entities in more than one space*' (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.30), in this case the space of reality or space of Max's beliefs. This approach also leaves space for more complex relationships between mental spaces. For example, sentence (4) expresses a situation in which the customer who ordered a mushroom omelet left without paying. Here, two kinds of mental spaces are conjoined- namely the mental list of the restaurant's customers and the mental list of their orders.

Fauconnier demonstrates that this principle can be applied to a wide range of grammar phenomena, including conditionals (1985: p. 17). Sweetser and Dancygier (2005) elaborate on this idea and propose that if-clause can set up these different mental spaces. Considering the character of a mental space expressed in the protasis, the speaker then makes a statement in apodosis that is coherent within the built mental space. The main types of mental spaces that can be found within conditional constructions are **content, epistemic, speech-act, and metalinguistic mental space** (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005). Each mental space yields its own distinct category of conditional sentence. We will elaborate further on each type of mental space in the following subchapters.

Before I proceed to the respective categories, I first introduce two major parameters that Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) consider to be crucial, namely the predictiveness and content meaning. First, there is a distinction between broad groups of **content and non-content** conditionals. Second, there is a distinction between **predictive and non-predictive** conditionals. These categories are not exclusive but are actually intertwined. All predictive conditionals are content. Most of the non-predictive conditionals are non-content (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.16-21 for a short overview, ch. 2 and ch. 5 for detailed explanation).

A typical feature of predictive conditionals is their ability to set up space of mental content. Space of mental content is a *'space which is about a possible state of affairs in his world'* (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005, p.16). In content, predictive conditionals we imagine two alternative scenarios or possible states of affairs, as in the following examples:

(5) *'Juyō ga fuereba, kakaku ga agaru.'* [21]

 'If demand increases, prices will increase.'   (Masuoka 2006: p.32)

(6) *'Juyō ga fuenakereba, kakaku wa agaranai.'* [22]

 'If demand does not increase, prices will not increase.'

(ibid., p.32)

We either imagine the demand increasing or not increasing and make a prediction about the result.

In non-content, non-predictive conditionals, imagining alternative possible scenarios is not crucial, as in the following example:

 (7) Sushi nara, yoso no omise ni itta hō ga ii.[23]

 'If you want sushi, you should go to a different restaurant.'

('Tan Men.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

In this case, the speaker uses the conditional form to create a background for an advice in the Q-clause. If-clause in (7) does not set up two alternatives and does not create any predictive meaning.

Lastly, categorization by Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) is anchored in principles of construction grammar. As a result, they associate each type of conditional meaning with specific grammatical forms (eg. generic conditionals being expressed with present simple tense) (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p. 78-79, ch. 3-4). Following Fillmore (1990) their major form-function parameter in analyzing predictive conditionals is the **epistemic stance** (see explanation in Chapter four), which is in English coded mostly by tense morphology. Since English employs different strategies to form each conditional category and to express epistemic stances than Japanese, we will not go into further detail. Factors that play a role in interpreting Japanese conditionals are sketched in Chapter four.

The authors make two important remarks on the differences between content, predictive, and non-content, non-predictive conditionals:

---

[21] 需要が増えれば価格が上がる。
[22] 需要が増えなければ、価格は上がらない。
[23] 寿司ならよそのお店に行ったほうがいい。

a) non-predictive conditionals are less formally restricted than predictive conditionals. (i.e., they do not show backshift or distanced verb forms, and clauses show less mutual dependency) (p.115-121)

b) In the case of non-predictive conditionals, *'the connections between temporal reference and causal structure are broken'* (p.122). In other words, the temporal order of events (i.e., event in if-clause preceding event in then-clause) is not crucial within non-predictive conditionals.

3.2. Content, predictive conditionals

Predictive conditionals are often considered a prototypical type of conditionals, even within Dancygier and Sweetser's classification. They are often referred to as hypothetical conditionals too (Fujii:2018, p.561). Let's examine the following example:

[Older brother makes the following statement to his sister about bandaging a cut]

(1) *'If I tie my handkerchief around it'll stick.'* (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.16)

A key characteristic of every predictive conditional is the ability to set up two alternative possible states of affairs (or in Dancygier and Sweetser's (2005) terminology, two alternative spaces of mental content) (p.32-35). In the case of (1), two alternatives are saliently set up, i.e. one where the brother ties the handkerchief, and one where the brother does not tie the handkerchief. These two alternatives are incompatible with each other and *'cannot be combined into a single coherent space'* (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.35). The speaker then considers one of the alternatives and basis his prediction about the possible consequence which is caused by the event in the if-clause[24]. In (1) the brother predicts that tying the handkerchief will lead to the consequence of sticking, and not tying the handkerchief will lead to not sticking. This creates a strong contingency relationship between the clauses, i.e. the event in the if-clause is a direct cause for the consequent in the then-clause.

Dancygier and Sweetser's (2005: p.71-79) main claim is that the predictive meaning is not limited to future scenarios only. The predictive meaning and alternatives are not limited to any specific time and can be found within past or present situations too. The speaker in all the following sentences expresses her prediction about the possible future or past consequences:

---

[24] Or in Dancygier and Sweetser's (2005) terminology, the speaker makes a prediction about another additional aspect concerning the content of the brought-up mental space (in this case, the consequence of handkerchief sticking to the wound) (p.32)

(2) *'If it rains, the match will be canceled.'*   NEUTRAL EPISTEMIC STANCE

(3) *'If it rained, the match would be canceled.'* NEGATIVE EPISTEMIC STANCE

(4) *'If it had rained, the match would have been canceled.'* NEGATIVE EPISTEMIC
STANCE

<div align="right">(Dancygier 1993: p.405)</div>

In these examples, the if-clause serves as a background for the prediction in the main clause to be made. This kind of prediction can be made in any time reference, whether that is past or future.[25]

The truth-value analysis of conditionals is applicable to predictive conditionals as these conditionals convey a contingency relation at the propositional level (p.34)

3.3.   Non- content, non-predictive conditionals

If-clause in non-predictive conditionals does not serve to set up two alternative mental spaces. Thus, this type of conditionals does not entail any predictive meaning. This type of conditional *'connect protasis and apodosis in non-content domains'* (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.111). Therefore, the material implicature analysis is unproductive within this category.

The non-predictive category includes *speech-act*, *epistemic*, and *metalinguistic conditionals*.

Speech-act conditionals

The if-clause within this kind of conditionals serves to create a background for a speech act (e.g. wish, advice, order) to be uttered. The if-clause sets up a speech-act mental space (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.110-114).

(5) *'If I don't see you before Thursday, have a good Thanksgiving.'* (ibid., p.12)

(6) *'If you need any help, my name is Ann.'* (ibid., p.110)

Speech-act conditionals typically do not set up alternative mental spaces. Therefore, the if-clause does not serve to create a background for a prediction to be made. In (6) the speaker does not intend to draw two alternative spaces - that is one space where the addressee needs help and the speaker's name is Ann and another space where the addressee does not need help

---

[25] Some subtypes of conditionals that belong to the category of predictive conditionals are hypothetical conditionals, counterfactuals, generic conditionals, habitual conditionals, tautological conditionals, definition, etc. (ch.3)

and the speaker's name is not Ann (ibid.,p.110). Similarly, the speaker in (5) does not assume that the quality of Thanksgiving would be a result of seeing or not seeing the addressee before Thursday. In speech act conditionals the if-clause sets up a discourse context that is relevant to the addressee. Thus, this kind of if-clause modifies the speech-act space made in the main clause. The speech-act is in other words effective within the space set up in he if-clause (ibid., p.13, 110-114). These conditionals are performative and not predictive. Lastly, the non-predictiveness is also reflected in the less restricted form of verbs, since *'the temporal relations are irrelevant to the conditional structure'* (ibid.,p.122)

Epistemic conditionals

If-clause in epistemic conditionals primarily sets up an epistemic mental space instead of two alternative mental spaces. Epistemic conditionals typically express a reasoning process of the following direction: effect-to-cause (Q⇒P) (there are however examples of cause-to-effect (P⇒Q) epistemic conditionals too) (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.17-18).

In epistemic conditionals, if-clause serves to set up a certain situation that the speaker takes into consideration and makes a background for her reasoning. Followingly, the speaker uses a whole conditional construction to convey his reasoning, about Q being the reason for P (Fujii 2018: p. 563). Compare the following examples:

(7) *'If he loves her, he'll type her thesis.'*
['Predictive conditional: The loving is a precondition for the typing.']

(Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.117)

(8) *'If he typed her thesis, he loves her.'*
['Epistemic conditional: My knowledge that the typing happened is a precondition for my conclusion about loving.']

(ibid., p.117)

Temporal order is irrelevant within this type of conditionals.

Meta-linguistic (meta-textual) conditional

(9) '*The philosophy of life, if it could be defined by such a phrase, was beyond his grasp.'*

(Danycygier and Sweetser 2005: p.18)

If-clause in meta-linguistic conditionals can simultaneously set up several mental spaces (content or non-content). These complex mechanisms are described in greater detail in Chapter

5.6 of Dancygier and Sweetser's book (2005). For purposes of this thesis, I will only briefly explain that mental spaces set up in the if-clause within this kind of conditionals typically serve to create a background where the speaker can express doubt about the appropriateness of the chosen linguistic expression.

4. Japanese conditionals

There is an extensive literature concerning the Japanese conditionals within the Japanese linguistic tradition. This includes research done by Akastuka (1985), Arita (1991) (2007) (2017) Masuoka (1993) (2006), Noda, Masuoka, Sakuma, Takubo (2002) Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008) Takubo (2020) Fujii (1995) (2018), Hasegawa (2015). The main focus of the research was generally put on the description of the major conditional forms, namely *V-tara*, *V-(r)eba*, *V-(ru/ta)/N(no)nara* and *V-to*. When it comes to the categorization of Japanese conditionals, Arita (2017: p.3-6) divides the research into two broad categories based on their central parameters for the taxonomy:

a) Analysis of conditionals that focuses on the relationship held between protasis and apodosis. This includes Masuoka (1993) (2002) (2006), Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008), and partially Maeda (2009). We can include Hasegawa (2015) and Fujii (2018) too. This point of view is in alignment with Dancygier and Sweetser's analysis of conditional construction in English (2005).

b) Analysis of conditionals that focuses on the relationship between the speaker's knowledge and the actuality of the event described in the antecedent, this includes Arita (2007) (2017) or Takubo (2020). This is a follow-up to the analysis of conditionals in the sense of Material implication. Arita uses the notion of *settledness*[26] as proposed by Kaufmann (2005).

Fujii (2018) applies the taxonomy provided by Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) to Japanese. She admits that the marking of epistemic stance in Japanese is not as clear-cut as in English and that ambiguities within the conditional categories can be observed (e.g. between

---

[26] Or in other words, the verifiability of the event in the main clause. Verifiable events are those that have already taken place (e.g. 'our football team won the match yesterday') or are expected to happen (e.g. 'the sun sets down tonight at 8 o'clock), and thus are settled. Unverifiable events have not taken place and are thus unsettled (e.g. tomorrow's weather) (Arita 2007: p.49-54). Arita's classification is based on the speaker's knowledge of the truth value of events in the main clause. She describes the following possible scenarios: 1. The speaker knows the truth value because the event has been settled (counterfactuals) 2. The speaker does not know the truth value because the event is unsettled (predictive conditionals) 3. The speaker does not know the truth value, even though the situation is settled. However, he can find out the truth value (epistemic conditionals) (p. 54-69)

causal contingency conditionals and temporal contingency conditionals) (p.563, p.584). Still, the taxonomy proposed by Dancygier and Sweetser proves to be fruitful as it reveals those specifics of languages and it covers a wide range of conditional forms. Further, by focusing on the predictiveness vs. non-predictiveness of conditionals instead of their level of hypotheticality they make sure that epistemic nor the speech-act conditionals do not get mixed up with predictive conditionals and receive a proper definition, contrary to classification by Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008). Lastly, Mental Spaces Theory offers us a mechanism that we can use for analyzing different constructions that do not primarily express conditional meaning, such as *V(ru/ta)/ N no baai*, *V-(ru) kagiri* and *V- (ru/ta) to sureba*.

Finally, Hasegawa (2015) combines both approaches a) and b). She applies the taxonomy by Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) but also admits the importance of the *settlednes* of events in *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* clauses (Hasegawa 2015: p.231).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS

The polysemic nature and broad variety of forms can be seen as one of the major reasons for vibrant research of the Japanese conditionals (Masuoka 1993: p.1). However, it has been also pointed out that such polysemy and richness in form yields difficulties with L2 acquisition too. Japanese conditionals are often considered difficult to learn as well as to teach since their varied use causes confusion among students (Masuoka 1993: p.1) (Sollvan 2006: p.173). As far as my observations go, students usually request answers to these basic but crucial questions: *'How can this specific form of conditional be used?' 'Is it appropriate to use this form within this context?' 'What uses are unnatural with this form?' 'What are the differences between these forms?'*, etc. To sum up, all of these questions are concerned with the semantic properties and overlaps of the major conditional forms. **The first part of Chapter 4 aims to answer these questions and to provide a brief mapping of the semantic overlaps of major conditional markers**. For this purpose, I make use of the theoretical background offered by Masuoka (1993) (2006) and *Mental Space Theory* in sense of Fauconnier (1985). As will be explained later, Masuoka (1993) assigns each conditional form its own distinct central meaning and use. He stresses that despite the distinct meanings, these forms exhibit an extension of their basic use which leads to the mentioned semantic overlaps (p.7-11). I find this approach to be partially in correspondence with the principles of Construction grammar (Langacker 2008). In this thesis, Japanese conditional constructions are treated as space builders that can set up mental spaces in the sense of Fauconnier (1985). My premise is that each form prototypically

sets up a certain mental space. Furthermore, the semantic properties of each form allow other mental spaces to be set up too which leads to the mentioned semantic overlaps.

The question *'what builds up the conditional meaning in Japanese?'* has perplexed linguists, as well as students. In this case, analyzing the non-prototypical conditional constructions that do not primarily express conditional meaning can provide the answers. **In the second part of Chapter 4, I analyze the non-prototypical conditional forms *V(ru/ta)/N no-baai, V-(ru) kagiri, V-(ru/ta) to sureba* and provide their semantic mapping**. I try to observe circumstances under which these constructions can set up, even partially, those kinds of mental spaces that are usually found within conditional sentences. The premise is that similarities may be found between major conditional markers and these conditional constructions.

The content of the following chapter will be as follows: First, I introduce the prototypical function and meaning of *V-(r)eba, V-tara, V-to, V(ru/ta)/N (no) nara*. Then I illustrate the distributional tendencies and overlaps of these markers. Second, analysis of major conditional forms provides a background on which analysis of the *V(ru/ta)/ N no baai, V-(ru)kagiri, V-(ru/ta) to sureba* is done.

Lastly, the aim of this thesis is to serve as educational material for students of Japanese studies. Therefore, a list of additional examples of distinct conditional categories are added to the appendix.

Example sentences are primarily excerpted from the Japanese InterCorp v15 and English InterCorp v15 provided by the Czech national corpora, Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Japanese (BCCWJ) provided by NINJAL, and drama series available on Netflix listed in the bibliography.

4.1. Major conditional markers V-tara, V-(r)eba, V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara, V-to

Masuoka (1993) (2006) assigns each form a set of specific semantic features that partially overlap. *V-tara* and *V-(r)eba* share most semantic features and thus are often easily interchangeable (1993: p.2, 7-11) (2006: p.37-39). Contrary, *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* shares less of these common semantic features and is not easily interchangeable (2006: p.38-40). Now, I will introduce the prototypical use of the discussed forms.

V-(r)eba: is prototypically used to express GENERAL CAUSAL RELATION

'Usage to express a general causal relationship that is established beyond the time.'

(Masuoka 1993: 2)

(1) *'Juyō ga fuereba, kakaku ga agaru.'* [27]

'If demand increases, prices will increase.'

(Masuoka 2006: p.32)

Clauses in *V-(r)eba* conditionals show a mutual causal dependency the most saliently. Masuoka adds that since there is a strong awareness of the causal relationship (if P happens, Q happens) between the clauses, the implication *'if P does not happen, then Q does not happen'* naturally emerges too (1993: p.2-3) (2006: p.32,39).

(2) *'Juyō ga fuenakereba, kakaku wa agaranai.'* [28]

'If demand does not increase, prices will not increase.'

(ibid., p.32)

Same causal contingency can be observed in the past tense too. The sentence (3) is a example of counterfactual.

(3) *'Juyō ga fuenakereba, kakaku wa agaranakatta.'* [29]

'If demand had not increased, prices would not have risen.'

(ibid., p.32)

V-tara: is prototypically used to express **TEMPORAL DEPENDENCY**

'*Unlike the V-(r)eba form, the basic meaning of the V-tara form is that it expresses a dependency relationship between individual situations. In other words, the antecedent expresses an individual situation that is realized in space-time, and the consequent introduces another individual situation that depends on the realization of the antecedent.*'

(Masuoka 1993: p.3-4)

Later, Masuoka (2006) polishes the definition and adds that *'V-tara expresses unrealized individual event in the protasis and then another individual event in the apodosis whose establishment is dependent on the realization of the event in the apodosis.'* (2006: p.33). It is because of this dependency and sequentiality of the events in clauses that the *V-tara* gains causal meaning similar to one observed in V-(r)eba (Masuoka 2006: p.37-40) He then adds that

---

[27] 需要が増えれば価格が上がる。

[28] 需要が増えなければ、価格は上がらない。

[29] 需要が増えなければ、価格は上がらなかった。

the realization of events in the if-clause can be more or less certain as seen in the prototypical examples:

> **(4)** '*Moshi yoi kekka ga detara, sugu ni go-hōkoku shimasu'.*[30]
>
> 'If we get good results, we will report back to you soon.'
>
> **(5)** '*Mukou ni tsuitara, renraku shite-hoshii.*'[31]
>
> 'When you get there, please call me.'
>
> **(6)** '*Renraku shite-mitara, tantō-sha ga kanchigai-shite-ita koto ga wakatta.* '[32]
>
> 'When I contacted them, I found out that the person in charge had made a mistake.'
>
> (Masuoka:2006, p.33)

The realization of the event in example (4) is considered to be uncertain. The realization of the event in example (5) is anticipated by the speaker. Sentence (6) is considered to express an event that has already taken place. While Masuoka (2006: p.33) calls this specific use of V-tara a *'factual use'* (事実的用法 *jijitsu-teki yōhō*), Meaeda (2009: p. 38-40) regards this type of conditionals as *'non-hypothetical'* (非仮定的 hi-katei-teki).

V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara: the most prototypical use is to make an **ASSUMPTION THAT A SITUATION IN P IS TRUE.**

'*It can be said that the characteristic feature of sentences in the V-nara form is that, in the antecedent, it is assumed that a certain situation is true, and based on this assumption, the speaker's judgment or attitude is expressed in the consequent.*'

(Masuoka 1993: p.13)

Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008: p.103）and Maeda (2009: p.53-54) make similar observations about this specific property of **V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara**.

> **(7)** '*Watashi wa uso wa tsuite inai.*'
> 'Uso dewanai **nara**, yameru hitsuyō wa nai no dewanaika'[33]
>
> 'I didn't lie'
> 'If you're not lying, then you don't have to quit, right?'
>
> (Masuoka 1993: p.11)

---

[30] もしよい結果が出たら、すぐにご報告します。

[31] 向こうについたら、連絡してほしい。

[32] 連絡してみたら、担当者が勘違いしていたことがわかった。

[33] 「私はウソはついていない」

　「ウソではないなら辞める必要はないのではないか」

V-to : typically expresses **INTEGRITY OF TWO EVENTS** in the subsequent and in the main clause.

'V-to typically does not express hypothetical or unreal situation, but it rather depicts a situation usually observed in reality' (Masuoka 1993: p. 14).

(8) *'Taitei no kyōju wa, ittan kyōju ni **natte-shimau to**, kenkyū nado shinaku-nari, hon mo kawanaku naru.'*[34]

'Most professors, once they become professors, stop doing research and stop buying books.'

(Masuoka 1993: p.15)

Although *V-to* is often analyzed together with the major conditional markers *V-(r)eba, V-tara, V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara*, Masuoka (1993: p.14-16) or Hasegawa (2015: p.226-228) do not consider the form to be a conditional marker per se as many restrictions specific to *V-to* only can be observed. For example, *V-to* cannot be used when the conditional is subjective like in (9) (when '*the speaker is actively involved in the depicted situation or speech-act*' Hasegawa 2015: p.228), or when the events are sequential and P takes place in the past like in (10):

(9) *'Kyūryō ga yasukereba/yasukattara/yasui nara/ *yasui to, watashi wa ōbo shinai.'*[35]
'If the wage is low, I won't apply.'   (Hasegawa: 2015: p.225)

(10) *'Moshi kinō no setsumei ga wakareba/wakattara/ wakatta nara/ * wakaru to, kare wa jikoku dōri ni kimasu yo.'* [36]

'If he understood the instructions (given to him) yesterday, he'll arrive on time.'

(ibid., p.227)

Masuoka (1993: p.14-16) considers conditional meaning brought up by *V-to* to be rather derivative. The main function of V-to is to express that the two events in subsequent and the main clause happen continuously, or almost synchronically, and are tied to each other. Masuoka (1993: p. 14) states that *V-to* in this sense could be in broad sense categorized as one of the *'coordinate parallel expressions'* (順接並列の表現 *junsetsu heiretsu no hyōgen*).

---

[34] たいていの教授は、いったん教授になってしまうと研究などしなくなり、本も買わなくなる。

[35] 給料が安ければ/＊安いと、私は応募しない

[36] もし昨日の説明がわかれば/わかったら/わかったなら/*わかると, 彼は時刻通りにきますよ。

On the formal side, each form allows different kinds of modality to be expressed in the consequent clause. *V-tara* and *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* exhibit almost no restrictions in the usage of deontic modality, as opposed to *V-(r)eba* form (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.100-101) (Maeda 2009: p.64). However, if the predicate in the *V-(r)eba* conditional is lexically or morphologically stative, deontic modality can be used (Sollvan 2006: 177-180) (Nara 2011: p.129-133).

(11) 'Keitai o {kattara/ kau nara/ *kaeba}, saisho ni kuni no haha ni denwa shiyō.'

'If I buy a cellphone, let's call mom.'

(Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.100)

(12) *'O-kane ga {attara/aru nara/ areba}, kuruma o kainasai.'*

'If you have the money, buy a car please.'

(ibid., p.100)

A great effort has been put into the mapping of possible uses of the main conditional markers. Still, depending on the dialect, the *V-tara*, *V-(r)eba* and *V-to* forms exhibit bigger or smaller ranges of uses and syntactic and semantic restrictions. This phenomenon is not observed within *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara*. Even this fact signalizes that *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* differs from other forms and holds a special place within the conditional markers (Mitsui 2009: p.158-161).

It is important to bear the descriptions provided by Masuoka (1993) (2006) in mind as they partially reveal the possible distribution within the types of conditional sentences I described in the previous chapter. When mapping the use of each form, it is probably more effective to focus on the tendencies, Hasegawa (2015: p.238-239) states that in principle, all forms can be employed in the content conditionals to bigger or a lesser degree. *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* is primarily used in non-content conditionals. *V-(r)eba* and *V-tara* need to be partially modified in order to be used in non-content conditionals. From the description provided by Masuoka, mappings provided by Maeda (2009: ch.2) Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008: p.96-110), Arita (2007: ch. 8-10) and Hasegawa (2015: 223-239) I produced the Table 3 that captures the distribution of major conditional markers. The distribution is then explained in points below the table. For a better illustration of the possible overlaps and the prototypical meaning of each conditional marker, I also use Scheme 1 and Scheme 2. Then, I proceed to the description of the formal markers of each conditional category in Japanese.

Ambiguous conditionals		CONTENT, PREDICTIVE					NON-CONTENT, NON-PREDICTIVE	
	Temporal	Predictive	Counterfactual	Generic	Habitual	Speech-act	Epistemic
TARA	●	●	●	×	×	●	● stative
(R)EBA	×	●	●	●	●	● stative	● stative
NARA	×	● past tense	● verifiable event	×	×	●	●
TO	●	● objective	×	●	●	×	×

Table 3- Distribution of major conditional markers

●= prototypical use   ●=easily used   ●= can be used if modified   ×= can not be used

a) V-(r)eba is most typically found within the content domain. This includes **predictive conditionals** and its subcategories of **generic conditionals** and **counterfactuals**. *V-(r)eba* can also be used in **habituals**, as it naturally refers to multiple occurrences of some event (多回性 *takai-sei*, Maeda 2009: p.94). Hasegawa (2015) states that *V-(r)eba* is the '*most authentic conditional connective, rarely used for other purposes.*' (p. 224) *V-(r)eba* can be under certain circumstances used in non-content domain too. In the case of speech-act conditionals, it is necessary for the predicate in *V-(r)eba* to be stative (semantically or morphologically). In the case of epistemic conditionals, the predicate must take *V-te ireba* form (Arita 2007: p.128) or must be lexically stative (Hasegawa 2015: p. 238-239).

b) V-tara is most typically found within content domain and within **predictive conditionals** too. It is used in **temporal contingency conditionals** (Fujii 2018: p.569-570) (Maeda 2009: p.65). Specific feature of *V-tara* and temporal contingency conditionals in Japanese is that there is an ambiguity between predictive conditionals (exhibiting neutral epistemic stance) and temporal contingency conditionals (exhibiting positive epistemic stance) (Fujii 2018: p. 563, 569-570) (Masuoka 2006: p.33). *V-tara* can be used in **counterfactuals** （Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.105）. *V-tara* is usually not used in generics and habituals as it primarily refers to specific situations (Maeda 2009: p.49). In the case of non-content conditionals, *V-tara* can be used in speech-act conditionals (Hasegawa 2015: p.236-238). *V-tara* must take *V-tei-iru* form when being used as epistemic conditional (Arita 2007: p.128).

c) V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara is most typically used in the non-content domain, within **epistemic conditionals** and **speech-act conditionals** (Fujii 2018: p.573-576). It does not need

to be modified by any means to express epistemic conditional. *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* can be used in predictive conditionals, including counterfactuals. However, as Hasegawa (2015: p.231) states, the event introduced by *V(ru/ta)/N(no)nara* is supposed to be verifiable. More importantly, Arita (2007: p.106) and Maeda (2009: p.54) make an observation that *V(ru/ta)/N(no)nara* can be used in predictive conditional expressing future prediction, however it must take past tense (*V-ta nara*). *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* is not seen within generics, nor habituals (Maeda: 2009,p.49, 94-95) (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p.103) (Hasegawa 2015: p.236). *V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* usually does not express temporal contingency since the temporal order of events is not crucial with this form (Maeda: p.53-54).

d) V-to can be used only in content domain as it *'must accompany an objective statement'*, thus it cannot be used in speech-act and epistemic conditionals (Hasegawa: 2015, p. 238). It can be found most typically in generic and habitual conditionals. *V-to* is not used in counterfactuals (Hasegawa 2015: p.233-235)

Lastly, for a better illustration of the overlaps between these markers, I propose the following schemas. Schemas (1) and (2) are supposed to represent those semantic features that are shared between the respective forms. I choose these semantic features: *temporal meaning, boundness to specific events, and sequentiality of events* (i.e. event in the P clause preceding the event in Q, P⟹Q).
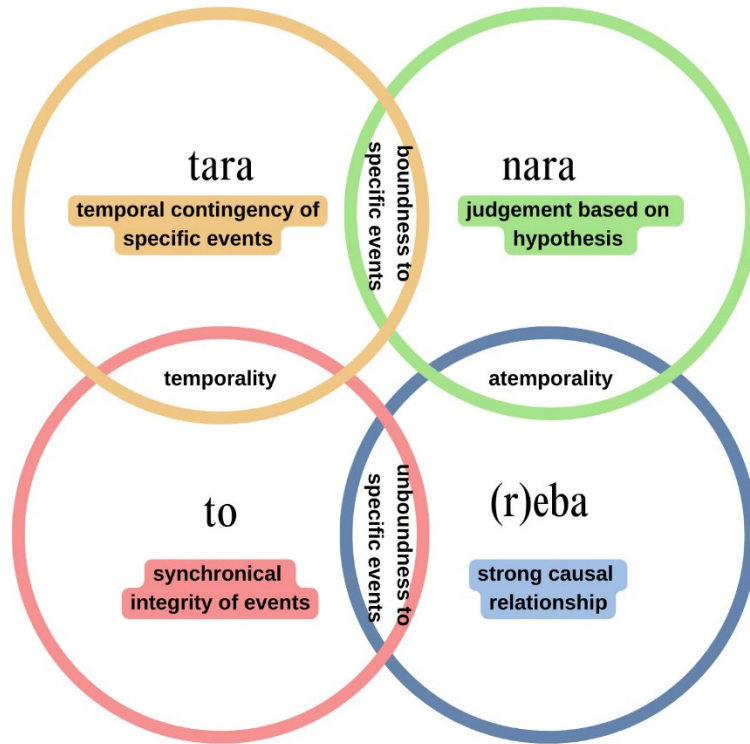
Scheme 1- overlaps of conditional markers based on the temporal meaning and boundness to specific situations
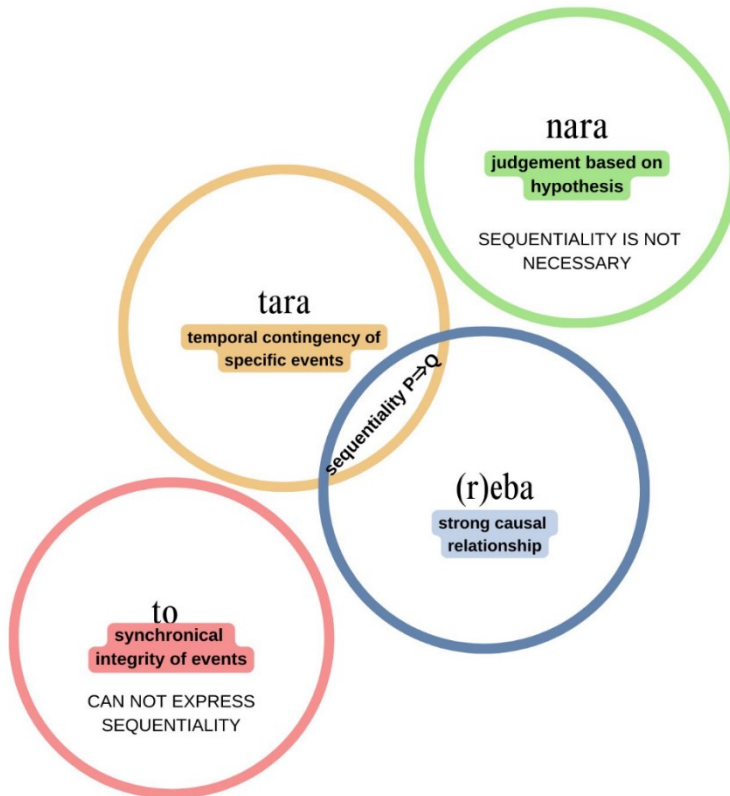
Scheme 2- overlaps of conditional markers based on the sequentiality of events in P and Q clause,

Japanese content conditionals- predictive conditionals

Predictive conditionals set up space of mental content, this means they refer to possible state of affairs in his world (Dancygier and Sweetser: 2005, p.16). In content conditionals, setting up one possible state automatically implicates another, alternative possible state of affairs. These two possible states of affairs are contrary to each other and cannot be combined into one single space together. Lastly, an important semantic feature of predictive conditionals is that *'spaces are construed in context as subsequent causal and temporal developments from the same base or reference space, for the same portion of the timeline.'* (Dancygier and Sweetser: 2005, p.35)

(13) Korekara ōdishon nan desu. Umaku ike**ba** rainen no wādo tsuā ni sanka dekimasu. [37]

'I'm going to an audition... if it works out, I can join them (the dance group) on their world tour next year.'

('Napolitan'. First Love)

(14) Torokeru chīzu ire**tara**, motto oishii kamo.[38]

'If you add melted cheese, it will taste better.'

('Curry Ramen.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

(15) *'Ashita ame ga futta **nara**, shiai wa chūshi ni naru darō.* '[39]

'If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.'

(Arita 2007: p. 102)

Markers of predictive conditionals:

1. usage of evidential and epistemic modality in the main clause which is not strictly required (Fujii 2018: p. 569) (Arita 2007: p. 106) (e.g., *rashii*, *yōda*, *darō*)

2. event in P occurs prior or simultaneously with Q (Hasegawa: 2015,p. 237). *V-(r)eba*, *V-tara* and *V-to* can express only this kind of order. This contrasts with *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* that can express reversed order.

---

[37] これからオーディションなんです。うまくいけば来年はワードツアーに参加できます。

[38] とろけるチーズ入れたら、もっとおいしいかも。

[39] 明日雨が降ったなら、試合は中止になるだろう。

34

Generic conditionals

Fujii (2018) describes generic conditionals followingly: '*One of the general functions of conditional constructions is to convey timeless, generic principles of contingency relations between P and Q,...*' (p. 561). *V-(r)eba* and *V-to* are most usually used within this type of conditionals (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p. 107).

(16) Motto ii mono ga me no mea ni are**ba**, socchi o erabu. Atari-mae no koto da to omou n desu. [40]

> 'If you see something better, you take it. I think that's normal.'

> ('Fried Chicken Wings.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

(17) 'Yappa, chotto kawatte-ru yo na, IT schachō tte no wa.'
'Sōiū hito janai to, kyōsō ni iki-nokorenai desu ka ne'[41]

> 'Those big-name IT CEOs are a little strange, don't you think?'
> 'You have to be, or you won't survive in the competition, I guess.'

> ('Fried Chicken Wings.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

Habituals

The line between generics and habituals is often consider ambiguous (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.99-100). According to Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008) these types of conditionals express the causal relationship between two events that happen repeatedly (p.107). Further, Fujii(2018: p.561) adds that the causal relationship is can stem from speaker's own experiences and observed co-occurrences of specific events.

(18) 'Itsumo kirei-ni taberu ne.'
'Uchi go-nin kyōdai datta kara, tebakara ga dete-kuru to, minna de sōdatsusen. Tabe-kirenai uchi ni tsugi ni te o dasu to, mottainai tte haha oya ni shikararete...'[42]

> 'You never leave any meat behind.'

---

[40] もっといいものが目の前にあれば、そっちを選ぶ。当たり前のことだと思うんです。

[41] 「やっぱ、ちょっと変わってるよな、IT 社長ってのは。」「そういう人じゃないと、競争に生き残れないですかね。」

[42] 「いつもきれいに食べるね。」「うち５人兄弟だったから、手羽からが出てくると、皆で争奪戦。食べきれないうちに次に手を出すともったいないって母親に叱られて…」

'I have four siblings. When the chicken wings were served, we fought over them. If we didn't eat all the meat off, Mom yelled at us for wasting food.'

<div align="right">('Fried Chicken Wings.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)</div>

Markers of habitual conditionals:

1. *V-to* and *V-(r)eba* are typically used in habituals (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p.107). I conclude that this may be because both *V-(r)eba* and *V-to* have the tendency to convey multiple occurrences of events, while *V-tara* and *V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* are bound to single specific situations (Maeda 2009: p.94).

2. habitual conditionals are often furnished with adverbs '必ず kanarazu (always, without exception), いつも itsumo (always), よく yoku (often) (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p.107)

3. the habitual meaning can be emphasized when the predicate in the main clause takes auxiliary noun もの mono or V-te-ita form (ibid., p.107)

Temporal contingency conditionals

One of the crucial and well-discussed characteristics of Japanese conditionals is their ability to convey temporal meaning (Fujii:2018, p.563). Dancygier& Sweetser (2005) following Fillmore (1990) consider the epistemic stance (or in Dancygier and Sweetser's words: '*degree of speaker commitment or certainty*' towards the event expressed in the sentence (2005, p.45)) to be the central parameter for the distinction of the conditionals and temporals, as well as different types of predictive conditionals.

(19)'If I come to Japan I will call you.' – NEUTRAL STANCE   (Fujii 2018: p.563)

(20)'When I come to Japan I will call you.' – POSITIVE STANCE   (ibid., p.563)

(21) 'Nihon e ittara, denwa shimasu.'[43]

   'If/When I go to Japan, I will call you.'   (ibid., p.563)

---

[43] 日本へ行ったら、電話します。

Classification of predictive conditionals in English can be considered relatively clear-cut thanks to the rich tense morphology. This is not the case in Japanese. Let's observe the following examples:

[Tokiwa and Amami go to restaurant together. Amami notices the waitress is being flirty with Tokiwa by giving him more food. Amami then makes a comment about it. The waitress then in a cheerful manner says the following]

(22) Amami-san mo rikon shitara, kangaete-agemasu yo.

'If/ When you get divorced, Mr.Amami, I'll think about it.'

(Japan sinks: People of Hope)

Without any previous context, we cannot conclude with certainty whether example sentence (27) expresses neutral ('*if*') or a positive ('*when*') stance, since the it is not signalized with any linguistic form. However, context helps with the interpretation. Amami is a high official relatively popular with the public and probably known to be happily married. Before making the comment, the waitress explained that she flirted with his colleague Tokiwa because he is single. To make Amami feel better, she humorously added the comment (22) . Knowing this, we can consider sentence (22) to express a rather neutral epistemic stance, as the divorce of high official is not realistically anticipated.

In the next example, Tachibana asks his friend, Kabayama, to lend him some money. Afterward, Tachibana makes this promise:

(23) Baken tottara, bai ni shite kaesu kara.[44]

'I will pay you double after I win in the horse racing.'

('Curry Ramen.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

Considering the circumstances under which the utterance is made, it is natural to conclude that the conditional in this context probably implicates a positive stance, since the friend is making a promise of returning the money.

We have demonstrated that Japanese conditional markers exhibit ambiguity between conditional and temporal contingency and that the distinction between neutral and positive stance is not marked as explicitly as in English. Nevertheless, Fuji (2018: p. 572) states,

---

[44] 馬券とったら倍にして返すから。

although to a lesser degree, the Japanese offers grammatical devices for marking the epistemic stance.[45]

Lastly, a characteristic feature of *V-tara* is that it is capable of expressing non-conditional, temporal meaning (Maeda 2009: p.73-94):

(24) Kotani-san ga yatte-ru neko kafe no mae tōttara, heiten shite-ta.[46]

'When I walked past Mr. Kotani's cat café, it was closed.'

('Yakisoba dog.'Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

Maeda (2009) recognizes many more subtypes of this non-conditional use of *V-tara*, as well as *V-to* in chapter 3 of her book. Lastly, she makes a conclusion that such use is not observed with *V-(r)eba* and *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* forms (p.94-95)

Counterfactuals

Speakers use conditional sentences not only to express uncertainty about current or future events but to also talk about unrealistic, purely hypothetical scenarios which are contrary to reality. All forms except *V-to* can be used to express counterfactual meaning (Hasegawa 2015: p.234).

(25) *'Ame ga fureba, enki ni natta noni. '*[47]

'If it had rained, we would have postponed it.'

(Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai, p. 105)

(26) Atarashii kokoromi o osorete-itara, COMS datte jitsugen shinakatta wake desu mon ne.

'If we were scared of trying something new, COMS would not have happened.'

(Japan sinks: People of Hope)

---

[45] This includes:
1.Aspectual morphology: Stative verbs or stative form (te-iru/ te-ita), emphaszes the hypothetical meaning. This observation is made by Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai too (2008: p.105)
2.Tense in the main clause (i.e. past tense in the main clause of counterfactuals)
3.Epistemic modal expression in the main clause (e.g. *kamoshirenai* as in example (14))
4.Adverbs in the subordinate clause (e.g. *moshi* 'maybe', *mangaichi* 'just in case')
5.Use of consequent clause-final- connectives (e.g. *'kara'* as in example (23))
6.Final pragmatic particles (e.g. *'yo'* in example (22)
7.Intonation
8.Nominalization of subordinate clause

(Fujii 2018: p.572)

[46] 小谷さんがやってる猫カフェの前通ったら、閉店してた。
[47] 雨が降れば、延期になったのに。

Markers of counterfactuals:

1. Use of concessive connectives in the main clause (*noni*, *keredo*) and *darō (ni)*, *tokoro datta*.

2. *V-te iru* form of predicate in subordinate clause for emphasizing the hypotheticality

3. *darō* or *deshō* in the main clause

<div align="right">(Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p. 105)</div>

Non-content, non-predictive conditionals

The main formal difference between predictive and non-predictive conditionals is that predictive conditional '*require particular pairings of tense/aspect morphology and semantic relations*' (Fujii 2018: p.576). Non-content on the other hand can have disjoint clauses (formally or semantically), i.e. no temporal ordering nor the causal meaning is necessary to be maintained.

Epistemic conditionals

Hasegawa (2015) describes epistemic conditionals followingly: '*In epistemic conditionals, the condition P provides the speaker with a reliable basis upon which to conclude the possible realization of Q: i.e. If I know P, then I conclude Q.*' (p. 228). What makes epistemic conditionals different from predictive conditionals is that in epistemic conditionals, the chronological order of P and Q does not necessarily have to be sequential and it can be reversed.

(27) *'Moshi ima kanojo ga nete {ireba/itara/iru nara}, kusuri ga kiita to iu {koto da/ koto ni naru/ hazu da}.'*

> ,*If she's asleep now, it means that the medicine worked.'*

<div align="right">(Hasegawa:2015, p.230)</div>

Japanese, contrary to English, formally marks this abductive reasoning by these means:

1. Using evidential or epistemic modal expression in the consequent clause (*hazu da*, *no da*, *to yuu koto da*) is necessary when the order of events P and Q is reversed. (Fujii 2018: p.573-574)

2. Choice of conditional linker- from all the major conditional forms, only *V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* is tensed and can express the reversed order of P and Q (ibid, p.573-574)

Japanese speech-act conditionals exhibit a tendency to be expressed with *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* (Fujii 2018: p.575). *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* allows all kinds of modality to be expressed in the main clause. Similarly, *V-tara* can be found within speech-act conditionals too, since it allows wide range of modal expressions to be used in the predicate in the main clause too (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.100).

(28) Kimi mo seikai o kokorozasu no nara, Satoshiro sensei no yōna shitatakasa mo manande-oita hōga ii.[48]

'If you're interested in politics, you should learn how to be tough like Mr. Satoshiro too.'

(Japan sinks: People of Hope)

(29) 'Omae ga kat**tara**, hamukatsu o nan-mai demo tabesasete-yaru..., ore ga kat**tara**, omae wa ano danchi kara dero.'[49]

'If you win, I will buy as many ham cutlets as you want...., if I win, you must leave the apartment.'

('Ham Cutlet.' Midnight Diner)

V-(r)eba can be used in speech-act conditionals only if the predicate in the subordinate clause is stative. *V-to* can not be used within this category (Fujii:2018, p. 575) (Hasegawa 2015: p. 237-238). That is because, as it was mentioned before, *V-to* expresses only objective statements: *'V-to is incompatible with a consequent that enacts a speech act and in general with the intersubjective construction of conditionality'* (Fujii:2018, p. 575).

Markers of speech/act conditionals:

1. Deontic modality in the main clause
2. Speech-act being effective within at the time of speaking

4.2. Other conditional markers: V-(ru/ta)/N no baai, V-(ru) kagiri, V-(ru/ta) to sureba

Now, after establishing a background with the major conditional markers, I will move to the analysis of other conditional constructions. In this section I analyze these forms:

---

[48] 君も政界を志すのなら、里城先生のようなしたたかさも学んでおいた方がいいよ。

[49] お前が勝ったら、ハムカツを何枚も食べさせてやる、俺は勝ったらお前はこの団地から出ろ。

V(ru/ta)/N-no baai, *V-(ru)kagiri*, *V-(ru/ta)to sureba* following Fauconnier (1985) and Dancygier and Sweetser (2005).

Proper interpretation of conditionals often requires a bigger context. Unfortunately, because of this, the examples tend to get relatively long. Inserting the original text into footnotes would lead to visually unpleasing text. For this reason, the examples written in kanji and kana are individually listed in Appendix.

V-ru baai/ V-ta baai/ N no baai

Baai ('case') is a noun that functions similarly to a conjunctive. *Baai* can be attached to a predicate that can take both past and non-past forms, thus we can say that *baai-clause* is tensed (i.e. jishin ga okiru/okita baai,… 'in case an earthquake happens/happened') (Maeda 2009: p.109-111). *Baai* can also follow nouns which are connected by the particle no (*jishin no baai* 'in case of an earthquake') (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p. 113) A basic function of *V(ru/ta)/N no baai construction* is to draw attention to a specific limited situation, time or setting that is being presented (Maeda 2009: p.109).

Our goal in this chapter is to examine, whether *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* can set up any of the mental spaces usually found in conditionals. Maeda (2009) introduces two factors to be considered as evidence of the form's conditional meaning. Firstly, contrary to the time marker *V(ru/ta)-toki wa*, *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* does not need to be followed necessarily by the particle *wa* in order to express a conditional meaning. Secondly, *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* can take *'demo'* concessive conditional marker (p.110). Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008) introduces examples that preserve the same meaning even if they are substituted with one of the major conditional markers.

(1) *'Moshi kinkyū jitai ga {okotta **baai ni wa**/ okottara} kono botan o oshite kudasai.'* [50]
'If an emergency situation arises, press this button.'   (p. 113)

Let's observe the following examples of *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* found in the corpus and TV dramas. The list begins with sentence examples that do not exhibit conditional meaning. The following sentences gradually progress toward the conditional meaning.

(2) Oidipusu-ō no **baai**, taida toka, gudonsa ni yotte dewanaku, sono yūkansa to shōjikisa ni yotte masani kare no higeki wa motarasareru.

---

[50] もし緊急事態が起こった場合には/起こったら、このボタンを押してください。

'Oedipus is drawn into tragedy not because of laziness or stupidity, but because of his courage and honesty.'

(Murakami Haruki: Norwegian wood. Intercorp v15)

 (3) Gaihaku kyoka o toru no wa kekkō mendō-na no daga, kare no **baai** wa hotondo furīpasu datta-shi, kare ga kuchi o kiite-kureru kagiri boku no mo dōyō datta.

'These permissions were not easy to get, but for him they were like free passes - and for me, too, as long as he did the asking.'

(Murakami Haruki: Norwegian wood. Intercorp v15)

 (4) Sorekara, chinamini, jendā to iu kotoba wa, somosomo wa bunpōjō no sei o arawasu mono deatte, fijikaruna seisa o shimesu **baai** wa yahari sekkusu no hō ga tadashii to boku wa omoimasu.

'And by the way, the term gender was originally used to indicate grammatical gender. My feeling is the word 'sex' is more accurate in terms of indicating physical sexual differences.'

(Murakami Haruki: Norwegian wood. Intercorp v15)

 (5) ...tsumari no SS no ichi-in ga, konyaku aruiwa kekkon o kibō suru **baai**, kaikyū ni kankei naku, shusshōshōmeisho o teiji shinakarebanaranai, to...hōritsu wa, hitobito o tasukeru tame ni aru...

'Well, that regardless of rank, every SS member must produce a certificate of ancestry when he wants to get engaged or married … Laws are here to help people … '

(Ladislav Fuks: The Cremator. Intercorp v15)

 (6) Yotte, kami no hō wa ningen no tsukutta hō ni chōetsu suru. Ningen no tsukutta hō ga kami no hō to teishoku suru **baai**, kōsha ga yūsen suru.

'Laws given by God are binding for Jews , and God is the absolute source of all values , and for this reason a way to overcome human laws must exist . Human laws , if they are in conflict with the responsibilities given by God , are subordinate to personal responsibility , and a Jew cannot simply join the majority , even if it is legally allowed . Ethics , the concept of good , is therefore always superior to all local laws'

(Tomáš Sedláček: Economics of Good and Evil. Intercorp v15)

 (7) Daremo haite-imasen. Daremo geri o shite-imasen. Daremo kurushinde-imasen. Warui mono o tabeta **baai**, koredake jikan ga keika sureba, sono mittsu no shōjō no uchi no sukunakutomo dore ka hitotsu wa kanarazu yatte-kimasu.

'Nobody had vomited or suffered diarrhea, and none of them seemed to be in any pain . If the children had eaten something bad you could expect—with this much time having elapsed—the onset of at least one of these symptoms. '

(Murakami Haruki: Kafka on the Shore. Intercorp v15)

(8) Konpyūtā ga anata no kōza bangō o ninshiki dekinakatta **baai**, hoanjō no riyū kara, shisutemu ga jidōteki-ni shūryo shimasu.

'For your own security, if the computer does not recognize your account number, this system will automatically shut down. '

<div align="right">(Dan Brown: The Da Vinci Code. Intercorp v15)</div>

(9) Chinbotsu no konkyo o shimesenakatta **baai wa**, nido to Kantō chinbotsu wo kuchi ni shinai to yakusoku saserun desu.

'We make him renounce his theory, if we don't find any evidence to support it. '

<div align="right">(Japan sinks: People of Hope)</div>

The list starts with sentence examples (2)-(4) that do not bear conditional meaning but rather exhibit the typical function of *V(ru/ta)/N no baai*, that is drawing attention to a specific situation, time, or setting. Examples (2) and (4) partially resemble discourse markers or topics, since the replacement of *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* with the topical particle *wa* does not yield any anomalous changes in interpretation. Example (3) may be debatable, since it can be thought of as partially setting up two alternative spaces, namely: *If it was him, the permission was easy to get/ If it was not him, the permission was not easy to get*. However, we may doubt whether the implication of the second alternative is as salient as it usually is in prototypical predictive conditionals. Examples (4)-(5) draw. attention to a specific situation, that being the choice of words when referring to sexual differences, or a situation when the person wishes to get engaged or married. *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* is in this case easily interchangeable with time marker conjunctions such as *V toki* or *V sai*. Example (6) exhibits a predictive relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause. We can observe two alternatives being brought up in the main clause- we imagine that the human laws either are or are not in conflict with the responsibilities given by God. Example (6) can be considered to be a generic conditional since it expresses a general rule.

Examples (7)-(9) exhibit the conditional meaning most saliently. That is because the if-clause sets up alternative mental spaces which are incompatible with each other. A strong causal contingency can be observed within these examples too. Example sentences (7)-(9) share one common feature, which is the use of past tense in the predicate of the subordinate clause. According to Maeda (2009: p. 111), Fujii (2018: p.558) the choice of tensed form does not primarily express a specific point of time but rather serves as an aspectual or modal marker. In other words, the past tense in *V-ta baai* does not refer to a past event or past state. If we look at the example sentences (6) and (7), we see they refer to general rules that are not tied to any

specific time. Meanwhile, example (9) makes a prediction about a future state of events. It has been pointed out by Japanese linguists (Masuoka 2006: p.33), (Maeda 2009: p.61) and by Dancygier and Sweetser (2005: p.35) too that the essential semantic feature of causal or temporal contingency relationship is the order of events, that being the event in if-clause preceding the event in the main clause. The event in the if-clause in predictive conditionals is considered to be a cause for the event in the main clause and therefore must sequentially precede the event in the main clause. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) state that the alternative spaces in predictive conditional *are construed in context as subsequent causal and temporal developments from the same base or reference space, for the same portion of the timeline.'* (p.35). We can consider the past tense in the if-clause of the sentences (7)-(9) to be expressing a relative tense. In other words, the past tense that precedes *V-ta baai* specifies the position of the event with regard to the event in the main clause. Maeda (2009: p.111) further states the past tense of the predicate in the if-clause expresses the perfective aspect, meaning that the event in the if-clause has been already completed. Our conclusion is that this formal property (the use of past tense in the if-clause) emphasizes the causal or temporal contingency relationship between protasis and apodosis and therefore the whole construction exhibits the predictive meaning more saliently.

The following examples may be considered as speech-act conditionals:

(10) *'Moshi kinkyū jitai ga okotta **baai ni wa**, kono botan o oshite kudasai.'*
'In case of emergency, please press the button.'

(Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p.113)

(11) Nao, man'ichi o-kotowari sareru **baai wa**, otesū desu ga, nana-nichi inai ni kaki made go-hensō kudasai.

'Also, if by some chance you decline (*my offer for marriage*), please have them (*the rings*) sent back to the address below within seven days.'

('Space Oddity.' First love)

(12) Korera no sozai wa ippan dewa nakanaka nyūshu shi-nikui node, tsukurikata wa shirusanai ga, man'ichi te ni haitta **baai wa**, kokabu no shiodzuke o sanshō shite hoshī.

'As these materials are not readily available to the general public, I will not describe the recipe, but if you can find them by any chance, please see (the chapter on) pickled turnips.'[51]

(Akimoto Yukiko: Tsukemono no tegokoro, ajigokoro. BCCWJ)

However, one may doubt whether examples (10)-(12) should be regarded as speech-act conditionals or rather as predictive conditionals, since example (11) quite saliently sets up two alternative spaces that are incompatible with each other. Before we make the final conclusion, we have to make the following point: Alternativity is not strictly limited to predictive conditionals only and can be found within non-content conditionals as well. However, the tendency is that alternativity is necessary within predictive conditionals, but volitional within non-predictive conditionals (Fujii 2018: p. 572) (Hasegawa 2015: p. 230) (Dancygier&Sweetser 2005: p.124).

Now, we may argue that sentences (10)-(12) set up the alternatives: there either is or is not emergency, the girl either accepts the proposal for marriage or not, and the addressee either owns the mentioned vegetable or not. However, it would be more plausible to conclude that the *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* in the subordinate clause also sets up a specific situation in which the following speech act (in (10) a recommendation, in (11) a request, in (12) an advice) can be uttered. This interpretation would even correspond to the primary function of *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* too, which is the focus on a specific situation. I would suggest categorizing these examples as speech-act conditionals since the focus within this sentence is naturally drawn on the recommendation, request, or advice, rather than the alternatives. Subordinate clauses in these examples serve as an adequate context or a scenario within which the speech act becomes effective.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the examples used. Firstly, by examining *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* we may state that the semantic categories of temporal and causal are not as detached as they first may seem. Instead, examples like *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* or the *V-tara*, reveal that there is actually a close relationship between these two semantic categories. This close relationship can be observed on multiple levels, beginning with the ambiguity between temporal and causal contingency within Japanese predictive conditionals (*V-tara* often exhibits rather temporal than causal contingency), as well as between the different syntactic domains (*V-toki* can gain conditional meaning too). *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* according to Maeda's classification (2009: p.112) belongs to so-called '*circumstancial subjunctives*' (状況文接続辞 *jōkyōbun*

---

[51] This example is taken from BCCWJ corpora provided by NINJAL which does not provide English translations. Thus translation in (12) and in other examples taken from BCCWJ are self-translated.

setsuzoku-ji), but thanks to the context or the presence of epistemic stance markers, in this case, the aspect shown by the past form of the predicate (*V-ta baai*) and epistemic modality, it gains a conditional interpretation. Maeda (2009: p.113) states that the mutual overlaps between the category of *situational clause sentences* (状況文 *jōkyōbun*) and conditionals are common.

Observations

V(ru/ta)/N no baai can serve as a topic since it can bring attention to a certain element of the sentence. We could say that *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* partially serves as a discourse marker. The most basic function of *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* is to bring up a certain setting or a situation within which the utterance in the main clause is made. *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* is, therefore, a construction that balances amongst two syntactic domains, namely the temporal and circumstantial subordinate clauses. From there, *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* can obtain the conditional meaning and interfere with conditionals too. The conditional meaning is emphasized through these formal aspects: 1. context, 2. epistemic modality in the subsequent clause 3. past tense in the subordinate clause.

V(ru/ta)/N no baai can express conditional meaning even when it does not conjugate with past form, however, a broader context may be needed for a proper interpretation. When taking past tense, it expresses the predictiveness more saliently as it emphasizes the subsequential order of the events expressed. Tensed *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* by this means resembles the major conditional markers *V-tara* and *V-(ru/ta)/N(no) nara*. *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* can be used in speech-act conditionals as well, as it did not show any restrictions with the use of modality in the main clause. *V(ru/ta)/N no baai* embodies the blurred boundary between temporals, circumstantials and causal subordinate clauses.

V-(ru) kagiri

Kagiri originally comes from the verb *kagiru* which means 'to restrict' or 'to limit' something. As a noun, it expresses a range or a scope of time, space, quantity, degree, or other metaphorically measurable things. Kawashima (2020: p. 25) points out that the basic meaning of *kagiri* is simply an 'extent' (範囲 *han'i*) and that this meaning is crucial when trying to understand what functions can *kagiri* hold when used in a compound sentence. The following example illustrates the basic meaning of the noun *kagiri*:

(1) *'Yosan ni **kagiri** ga aru.'*

'The budget is limited.'

(Kawashima, 2020: p. 34)

(2) *'Watashi no shiru **kagiri**, sonoyōna jijitsu wa nai.'*

    'As far as I know/ To the best of my knowledge, there is no such fact.'

<div align="right">(ibid., p. 34)</div>

    Kagiri is a function noun, similar to *baai* or *toki*, and as a conjunctive, it can yield various uses within a compound sentence. As a conjunctive, *kagiri* attaches to the non-tensed predicate or to nouns through the particle *no* (*chikara no kagiri* - literally 'limits of strength'). According to Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2009: p.112-114) and Kawashima (2020: p. 36-38), *V-(ru) kagiri* can under certain circumstances bear a meaning similar to one of a conditional marker. Before proceeding to the conditional meaning of *V-ru kagiri*, let's first define its basic function. Kawashima (2020: p.36-38) proposes that *V-(ru) kagiri* used as conjunctive can express either some extent and modify the predicate of the main clause as we have seen in example (2), or it can build up a causal relationship between the clauses. The former is called *degree-quantity use* (程度数量用法 *teido sūryō yōhō*), the latter is called *causa-relationship use* (因果関係用法, *inga kankei yōhō*) Later we will see that both uses are entwined. To illustrate the two functions mentioned, we borrow examples from Kawashima (2020):

(3) *'Shiai ni mukete, renshū wa dekiru , ganbaritai. '*

    'I want to practice as much as I can for the game. '

(4) *'Marason taikai de Tarō wa tairyoku no tsuduku **kagiri** hashitta. '*

    'In marathon, Tarō ran as long as his strength would allow him. '

(5) *'Repōto o teishutsu shinai **kagiri**, tan'i wa mitomemasen.'*

    'Unless you submit a report, no credit will be granted. '

(6) *'Sudeni yotei ga kimatte iru **kagiri**, kanarazu soremade ni kansei sasenakereba naranai.'*

    'As long as the project is already scheduled, it must be completed by then. '

<div align="right">(p. 40)</div>

    Kawashima (2020: p.40-41) states that *V-(ru) kagiri* in (3) and (4) serve as a modification of the predicate in the main clause (it modifies the degree of the verb 'working hard' in (3) and quantity of 'running'). On the other hand, in examples (5) and (6), a causal relationship between the clauses can be observed. V-(ru) kagiri in (5) is interchangeable with the conditional markers *V-(r)eba* or *V-to*, and expresses a prediction about the event in the subordinate clause causing the event in the main clause. Meanwhile, *V-(ru) kagiri* in (6) can be

replaced with the causal *V-ijō* or *V-karaniwa* (Kawashima 2020: p.40-42). Next, Kawashima (2020: p.41) proposes a hypothesis concerning the relationship between the degree-quantity use (examples 3-4) and the conditional use (example 5) of V-ru kagiri. He concludes that in sentences like (3) or (4) the subordinate clause serves as a criterion or a base for a degree/quantity of the predicate in the main clause to be expressed. This relationship between the clauses could be simplified as *'the subsequent being in analogy with consequent clause'* (Kawashima: 2020, p.41). The main point is that the causal relationship 'if the previous event is established, the following event is followingly established too' is an extension of the aforementioned analogic relationship (ibid., p.41). Both uses express the dependency between the two clauses, namely the necessity of a subordinate clause for setting up the main clause (ibid, p.44). The author later argues that in order to distinguish conditional use (example (5)) from causal use (example (6)) we need to know whether the predicate in the subordinate clause is hypothetical or determined. Lastly, Kawashima makes two important points:

a) the choice of verb both in the main and subordinate clause is crucial when distinguishing between degree-quantity use and causal use of *V-(ru) kagir*i

b) *V-(ru)kagiri* can be used in hypothetical (predictive) conditionals

Concerning point a) Kawashima (2020: p.42) states that some verbs, like *'run'* (走る, *hashiru*) in (4) are more prone to be interpreted in the means of range set by *kagiri-clause*. Moreover, because the predicate of the main clause in (4) is in past tense and it expresses completion, it loses the conditional meaning. Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai makes similar observations. They state that *kagiri* used as a conjunctive gains conditional meaning only with stative verbs (2009: p.114).

Let's analyze the following examples excerpted from corpus to observe under which circumstances does *V-ru kagiri* gain the conditional meaning.

 (7) Sō shite-iru **kagiri**, nanimo mondai wa okinai yo.

   'As long as you do that, there won't be any problems.'
<div align="right">(Murakami Haruki：Kafka on the shore. InterCorp v15)</div>

 (8) Rūru o mamotte iru **kagiri**, osoraku kiken wa nai.

   'As long as I follow these rules, it shouldn't get too precarious. '
<div align="right">(Murakami Haruki：Kafka on the shore InterCorp v15)</div>

 (9) Yohodo no shippai o shinai **kagiri**, sono mama kōtōbu made susumu koto ga dekiru.

'It's the kind of school where, unless you really blow it, you're automatically promoted to the high school on the same campus.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Murakami Haruki：Kafka on the shore. InterCorp v15)</div>

(10) Dakara watashi ga rikuesuto shinai **kagiri**, kanojo wa kono kyoku o hikanai no.

'That's why Reiko never plays it unless I request it.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Murakami Haruki: Norwegian wood. InterCorp v15)</div>

(11) Nakata san wa ganrai hima dearimasu node, tsuyoi ame ga furanai **kagiri**, komarimasen.

'No, don't worry about that—I have plenty of free time, so unless it's raining hard I don't mind at all.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Murakami Haruki: Kafka on the shore. InterCorp v15)</div>

(12) Sun'nicchi ga tsukamaranai **kagiri** kuiddichi no shiai wa owaranai.

'A game of Quidditch only ends when the Snitch is caught, … ,

<div style="text-align: right">(JK Rowling: Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone. InterCorp v15)</div>

(13) Ware-ware ga nikutai o mochi, tamashi ga nikutai-teki-na aka to hanare-gataku musubarete-iru **kagiri**, ware-ware wa motomete-iru mono ni kesshite tōchaku dekimai.

'As long as we have a body and our soul fused with such an evil, we shall never adequately attain what we desire.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Sedláček: Ekonomie. InterCorp v15)</div>

(14) Soko ni iru **kagiri**, kare wa anshin shite hibi wo okuru koto ga dekita.

'As long as he stayed there he felt safe and content.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Murakami Haruki: Kafka on the shore.InterCorp v15)</div>

(15) Kannai kisoku o mamori, hokano etsuran-sha no jama ni naranai **kagiri**, nani o nasaru no mo go-jiyū desu.

'As long as you follow the rules and don't bother the other patrons, feel free to do whatever you'd like.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Murakami Haruki: Kafka on the shore. InterCorp v15)</div>

(16) Sorekara, yohodo kinkyū no koto ga nai **kagiri**, yama o oriru koto mo kangaenai hō ga ii.

'And except for an emergency, I wouldn't come down off the mountain.'

<div style="text-align: right">(Murakami Haruki: Kafka on the shore. InterCorp v15)</div>

(17) Shikashi, kotaenai hō ga ii to iu hakkiri shita riyū ga nai **kagiri**, kotaete ageyō.

'However , I shall answer your questions unless I have a very good reason not to,…'

<div style="text-align: right">(JK Rowling: Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone. InterCorp v15)</div>

We conclude that examples (7)-(14) all exhibit predictive meaning. One of the reasons is that clause with *kagiri* can set up two alternative spaces which are incompatible with each other. It would not be a problem to make an additional comment to the utterances like in the following example:

(7a) Sō shite-iru kagiri, nanimo mondai wa okinai yo. Shikashi, sou shinai to, mondai ga okiru yo.

‘As long as you do that, there won't be any problems. However, if you don’t do it that way, there will be a problem’

The implicit alternative mental space is especially salient in example (12). This sentence could be easily re-interpreted as ‘*Sunicchi ga tsukamaru to, kuiddichi no shiai wa owaru.’ ‘If you catch the snitch, the game end’*.

We can observe that *V-(ru) kagiri* is prone to express general rules and predictions that are not tied to a specific situation or a specific time. This resembles both markers *V-(r)eba* and *V-to*. An important note on the formal characteristics of *V-(ru) kagiri* is needed to be made. *Kagiri-clause* can be considered to be non-tensed, similarly to *V-(r)eba* and *V-to*, contrary to *V-tara* which attaches to the past form of predicates and *V-(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara* which is tensed. There were examples that made use of the *V-te-iru* form (sentences (7)-(8) and (13)). This phenomenon has been already discussed in the chapter concerning the major conditional markers. The usage of *V-te-iru* form may serve to mark hypotheticality more explicitly. Our stance is that the usage of stative verbs or stative forms with *V-(ru) kagiri* also serves to convey the hypothetical meaning more explicitly. Conditional sentences that are close to generic ((9), (12)-(13)) or habitual meaning ((10)-(11), (14)) were observed too.

Examples (15)-(17) could be considered to be setting up a space within which the speech-act can be made. The best representation of this is the example (16). Similarities between *V-(r)eba* and *V-(ru) kagiri* can be found again even within these examples. *V-(r)eba* usually does not allow the use of deontic modality unless the predicate in the subordinate close is stative. Sentences (15)-(17) too have stative predicate in their subordinate clause.

If there are such similarities observed between the *V-(ru) kagiri* and the major conditional markers, is there anything that makes *V-(ru) kagiri* different? In this case, the English translation may provide the answer. *V-(ru) kagiri* is often translated into English with the phrase *‘unless’*. We have also observed translation with *‘only when’*. In fact, English conditional constructions using the *‘unless’* have been thoroughly studied in linguistics, as bears its own distinct meaning too.

Dancygier and Sweetser (2005: p.183-184) claim that what distinguishes unless from usual if-conditional is that unless is able to set up the so-called *'exceptive mental space'*. The exceptive mental space is not an independent space that would yield its own category of conditionals. Rather it is an additional space that can be distinguished within the discussed conditional categories like the predictive and speech-act conditionals. This exceptive mental space is not observed within epistemic conditionals and is rare within the counterfactuals too. Dancygier and Sweetser describe the semantics of exceptive mental space followingly: '*Unless, like if, is useful in exploring trains of thought; in particular, it has special utility in **highlighting exceptional possibilities** amid larger contrary generalizations.*' (p.185). Dancygier and Sweetser's semantic interpretation is however based on English unless-conditionals specific formal properties, which includes the tendency of unless-clause to be follow the main clause:

(19) He gave no private interviews, **unless** the journalist was female and pretty.

(Dancygier and Sweetser: 2005, p. 184)[52]

Their hypothesis is that the main clause (Q) can stand independently and does not necessarily need the *unless-class* to be attached to it. This is because according to their claim, '*the Q-clauses are added to the current mental space of the story or the conversation; and assuming this to be some highly accessible space there is no need to identify it explicitly.*' (p.184). *Unless-clause* serves as an afterthought portraying exceptive reasoning, i.e. the situation stated in unless-clause is the only condition under which the situation stated in the main clause can occur.

Although we do not observe this syntactic behavior in Japanese, still, the provided interpretation is effective. Example sentences (9) and (10) can be considered to be representations of this exceptive mental space. To explain, we will provide further context for example (10) from the book Norwegian Wood written by Murakami Haruki. One of the main characters, Naoko, shares a room in the sanatorium with Reiko who spends her free time playing guitar, often playing Naoko's favorite songs. It is known within the group of friends that Naoko suffers from depression. Even though Naoko likes the song Norwegian Wood, Reiko refuses to play it as it causes unpleasant feelings to Naoko:

---

[52] They gloss this category of conditional followingly: 'Q; [(not Q) if P]' (p.184)

(20a) 'Kono kyoku kiku to, tokidoki sugoku kanashiku naru koto ga aru no. Doushite da ka wa wakaranai kedo, jibun ga fukai mori no nake de mayotte-iru you na ki ni naru no.' to Naoko wa itta, 'Hitori-bocchi de samukute, soshite kurakute, daremo tasuke ni kite kurenakute. Dakara, watashi ga rikuesuto shinai **kagiri**, kanojo wa kono kyoku o hikanai no.'

'That song can make me feel so sad,' said Naoko 'I don't know, I guess I imagine myself wandering in a deep woods. I 'm all alone and it's cold and dark, and nobody comes to save me. That's why Reiko never plays it unless I request it.'

The preceding context builds up base mental space that enables us to introduce the Q-clause. Theoretically, the conditional sentence could be sufficiently shorted to: *Dakara, kanojo wa kono kyoku o hikanai no* ('That's why Reiko never plays it'). The clause introduced with *kagiri* only serves to make an additional comment which introduces a special case or an exception, under which the Reiko is willing to play the song. Similarly in sentence (9), the speaker describes the character of the school she used to go to:

(21a) Boku ga kayotte-ta no wa, shu to shite jōryū katei no, aruiwa tada tan ni kanemochi no kodomo-tachi o atsumeta shiritsu chūgaku datta. Yohodo no shippai o shinai **kagiri**, sono mama kōtōbu made susumu koto ga dekiru.

'The school I 'm going to is a private junior high for kids who are upper-class, or at least rich. It's the kind of school where, unless you really blow it, you 're automatically promoted to the high school on the same campus.'

The utterance preceding the *kagiri-conditional sentence* provides enough context and background information to build up an impression of the school described. I assume that a conditional sentence using *V-(r)eba* marker can be considered to express a similar exceptive meaning when the predicate takes a negative form. This is because *V-(r)eba* as the only major conditional marker can express a minimum requirement (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2008: p.102).[53]

We could re-interpret the example (9) followingly:

(22) Yohodo no shippai wo **shinakereba**, sono mama sono mama kōtōbu made Susumu koto ga dekiru.

---

[53] Specifically, this meaning is conveyed with the construction '*N sae V-(r)eba*' (roughly translated as ‚As long as...‘).

'If you do not make any big mistake, you are automatically promoted to the high school on the same campus.'

Observations

The conclusion is that *V-(ru) kagiri* is capable of setting up mental spaces that are typically set up by the conditional markers *V-(r)eba* and *V-to*, namely the predictive mental space, which includes generics, and habituals. This may be a result of the formal similarities observed between the forms. *V-(ru) kagiri* can also set up exceptive mental space when the predicate takes a negative form. Lastly, *V-(ru) kagiri* can be also said to set up mental space for a speech act, however, only limited number of such examples was observed.

V(ru/ta) to sureba group

The major conditional markers can be attached to the *V-(ru/ta) to suru* form (consisting of particle *to* and verb *suru*) and create independent forms, namely *V-(ru/ta) to shitara*, *V-(ru/ta) to sureba*, *V-(ru/ta) to suru nara* and *V-(ru/ta) to suru to* that bear conditional meaning. Since all these forms function similarly, Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2009: p.115-118) and Arita (2007: p.94-95) categorize them under one category called *'to sureba' type*. Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2008) makes an additional statement that despite the resemblances, each form partially differs, as they impose different restrictions on modality in the main clause. From all of the forms, only *V-(ru/ta) to shitara* allows deontic modality, and *V-(ru/ta) to sureba* with *V-(ru/ta) to suru nara* allow question in the main clause to be expressed (Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai 2009: p. 115-116). All forms belonging to the *V--(ru/ta) to sureba* class can be attached to both **past form and the non-past tense form** of predicate in the same way the *V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* does, and thus are tensed. According to Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2009: p.117) all forms belonging to the *V-(ru/ta) to sureba* group function to bring up a **hypothesis on which the speaker bases his conclusion or a judgement**. Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai (2009: p.117) makes a suggestion about *V--(ru/ta)to sureba* forms being interchangeable with *V-(ru/ta)/N(no)nara*. However, they state that *V-(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* is more easily used in spoken language and involves expressing a certain situation or the addressee's intention, meanwhile *V-(ru/ta)to sureba* forms *'are often used in written language to logically construct inferences'* (ibid., p.116). The main suggestion could be that the similarity between *V(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* and *V-(ru/ta) to sureba* forms is due to the similarity in form. In the following section, we will observe what kinds of mental spaces can be set up by each form.

We suppose that due to the formal similarities with *V(ru/ta)/N(no)nara*, *V(ru/ta) to sureba* forms will most typically set up the epistemic mental space.

V-(ru/ta) to sureba

(1) Herena no shisōna koto o isshōkenmei kangaete-mita. Mazu kangaerareru no wa dokuyaku datta ga, doku o nonda **to sureba**, akabin ka kēsu ga nokotte−iru hazu da.

   'I tried feverishly to think what Helena could have done, and the likeliest thing seemed to be poison; but in that case there should have been a little bottle somewhere.'
<div align="right">(Milan Kundera: The Joke. InterCorp v15)</div>

(2) Watashi no konkai no tabi o fushubi ni owarasemai **to sureba**, mattaku ki ga susumanai keredomo, kono machi ni iru chijin no dareka ni jijō o uchiakete tanonde-miru yori shikata nai to iu koto datta.

   'All I knew was that if I didn't wish to jeopardize the success of my journey (my long, arduous journey) with this unsuitable hotel room, I would have no choice, much as I disliked it, but to ask a discreet favor of some local acquaintance.'
<div align="right">(Milan Kundera: The Joke. InterCorp v15)</div>

(3) Uchū zentai ga ippen ni kanzen nenshō shita **to sureba**, gensho no sōzō-teki-na igyō ga kurikaesare-eru darō**.**

   'If the whole cosmos at once were to undergo complete combustion, the first act of creation might be repeated. '

<div align="right">(Karel Čapek: The Absolute at Large.InterCorp v15)</div>

(4) Otazune-mono ya shibori-ageta hitojichi to isshoni, tetsuduki o mushi shite shukkoku shita no dakara. 'Dōri no kyōkaisen' naru mono ga aru **to sureba**, ima sore o tobi-koshite shimatta.

   'She was leaving the country, without documentation, accompanying a wanted man, and transporting a bound hostage. If a "line of reason" had ever existed, she had just crossed it.'
<div align="right">(Brown: The Da Vinci Code. InterCorp v15)</div>

(5) 'Demo na' Koppufurukinguru-shi wa, odoroki no warai to iu mono ga atta **to sureba**, sore ni fusawashii odoroki no warai o miseta.

   'But,' Mr . Kopfrkingl gave a surprised laugh, if it is at all possible to give a surprised laugh.

<div align="right">(Ladislav Fuks: The Cremator InterCorp v15)</div>

V-(ru/ta) to shitara

(6) 'Hanatte-oite-kure' to iu michi o eranda **to shitara**, korekara saki zutto kimi wa keisatsu ya shakai kara nige-mawaranakute wa naranaku-naru darō-shi, sore wa kekkō kakoku-na jinsei ni naru hazu da. Kimi wa mada jū-go-sai de, saki wa kanari nagai. Sore de kamawanai n

da ne?

'So let's say you don't explain anything to anybody. You'll be constantly on the run from the police and society. Your life will be pretty harsh. You're only fifteen, with your whole life ahead of you. You're okay with that?'
<div align="right">(Murakami Haruki: Kafka on the shore. InterCorp v15)</div>

(7) Ningen ga shinu sonzai deari, Sokuratesu mo hito dearu **to shitara**, Sokuratesu wa shinu sonzai dearu to iu meidai wa izen to shite yūkō deatta ga,…

'It remained the case that if man is mortal and Socrates is a man, then Socrates, too, is mortal, but …'
<div align="right">(Michal Ajvaz: The Golden Age. InterCorp v15)</div>

(8) Moshi shima ni terebi hōsō ga atta **to shitara**, shimi no henka ga enen to tsuduku renzoku dorama o maru de 'Darasu' ya 'Dainasuti' no yōni kuitte-miru ni chigai nai.

'If the island had television, the islanders ' equivalent of Dallas or Dynasty would probably be a daily episode of a never-ending series on the transformation of stains.'
<div align="right">(Michal Ajvaz: The Golden Age. InterCorp v15)</div>

(9) Moshi kanojo ni nanika iwanakute wa naranai yōna jōkyō ni **natta to shitara**, sono toki wa watashi to anata no futari de ryōsaku o kangaemashō.

'If things should develop to the point where you absolutely have to tell her, then you and I will come up with a good plan together.'
<div align="right">(Murakami Haruki: Norwegian wood.InterCorp v15)</div>

(10) Kono kyōkai o kizuku tetsudai o shite-kureru **to shitara**, chikara o tsukete-morawanai to...
'You will need your strength if you are to help me build this church.'
<div align="right">(Dan Brown: The Da Vinci Code.InterCorp v15)</div>

(11) Watashi ga matomo de, anata mo matomo de (hajime kara matomo desu ne). Kizuki-kun ga inakatta **to shitara** dō natte ita darō, to.

'If you and I had met under absolutely ordinary circumstances, and IF we had liked each other ,what would have happened? If I had been normal and you had been normal (which, of course, you are) and there had been no Kizuki, what would have happened?
<div align="right">(Murakami Haruki: Norwegian wood. InterCorp v15)</div>

(12) Moshi kyōshi to iu shokugyō ni **tsuite inakatta to shitara**, watashi wa aruiwa kono jinsei ni taeru koto ga dekinakatta kamoshiremasen。

'If it hadn't been for teaching I don't think I'd have been able to survive.
<div align="right">(Murakami Haruki: Kafka on the Shore. InterCorp v15)</div>

V-(ru/ta) to suru nara

(13) Sunawachi, karada no kaku-bun no koyū no ugoki to, sono kinō ga shinkei-kei no kenzen-na jōtai ni izon shite-iru **to suru nara**, igakujō no kenchi kara sekichū wa mottomo

juyōna rinshōtekina bubun dearu hazu.

'Thus, if the unique function of each part of the body and its function is dependent on the health of the nervous system, then the spinal column should be the most important clinical part from a medical standpoint.'

(Kamei Susumu: Zashū Fukkokuban. BCCWJ)

(14) Omote shakai de me ga denakatta wakamono-tachi ga, yukiba o ushinatte, yakuza shakai ni tobi-konda **to suru nara**, oyabun ni naru koto de jinsei ni ribenji o hatasō to suru no wa tōzen darō.

'If young people who failed to grow up in normal society had no place to go and jumped into the yakuza society, it would be natural that they would try to get revenge in their lives by becoming yakuza bosses.'

(Mukaidani Tadashi: Yakuza to iu ikikata. BCCWJ)

(15) Nihon bunka o sekai ni mukatte 'hatsugen' shite-iku tame ni **hitsuyō dearu to suru nara**, tai-bunka-kenkyūjo mo, indoneshia-bunka-kenkyūjo mo hitsuyō dearu ni chigainai.

'If it is necessary to "transmit" Japanese culture to the world, then the Institute of Thai Culture and the Institute of Indonesian Culture must also be necessary.'

(Ōnuma Yasuaki: Wakoku to kyokutō no aida. BCCWJ)

(16) Oite ga aru **to suru nara**, tōku arukanebanaranai.

'If there is a chaser, you must walk fast.'

(Yumemakura Baku: Ōgonkyū. BCCWJ)

(17) Tonikaku aite o getto suru koto o mokuteki **to suru nara**, aite no kenkyū suru gakumon ni kuwashiku-nari, sore o kikkake ni suru no mo yoi kamoshiremasen.

'If your goal is to get a partner anyway, you may want to become familiar with the subject matter they study and use that as a kick-start.'

(Yahoo!. BCCWJ)

V-(ru/ta) to suru to

(18) Kore o hokano kuni to hikaku shite-miru to, tatoeba Igigisu ga Nihon to yoku nita jinkō keitai **to suru to**, karera wa kono onaji shigoto o machigai naku wareware no hanbun no jikan de konashite-ori, hyotto suru to, sanbun no ichi no jikan,...

'If we compare this to other countries, let's say the UK has a similar population pattern to Japan, they definitely do this same job in half the time we do, maybe even a third of the time,…'

(Date Norihiko: Kaku jidai kara utsu jidai e. BCCWJ)

(19) Moshimo kodomo ga umarete-ita **to suru to**, ima ni-jūgo-sai zengo **darō**.

'If a child had been born, it would be around 25 years old now.'

(20) Yume o ou no ni nenrei wa kankei arimasen yo ne? Chinamini ima kara senmon gakkō ni **kayou to suru to** sotsugyō wa jū-has-sai ni narimasu.

'Age has nothing to do with pursuing one's dream, right? By the way, if I go to a specialized school now, I will be twenty-eight years old when I graduate.'

(Yahoo!. BCCWJ)

We have observed that each form is able to set up epistemic mental space. That means that P in this type of conditionals serves to provide information or a basis which the speaker takes into consideration and then explains her own reasoning or judgment in the main clause (Fujii 2018: p. 563). The information of P does not necessarily have to express a cause for Q. The P simply creates a space within which the speaker is able to make any kind of inference or other logical conclusion (Hasegawa 2015: p.228), whether the assumption is that Helena drank poison and therefore left a can or a case (1), the harshness of someone's life (6) as a result of certain attitude, or the importance of spinal column from a medical standpoint (13). Example (7) is a well-known example of logical inference thinking and it is represented by the *V(ru/ta) to shitara* construction. Fujii states that *'more explicit coding of abductive reasoning is necessary in Japanese epistemic conditionals than in English'* (p.573)[54]. Examples (1), (2), (3), (6), (8), (11), (12), (13), (14), (15), (17), (19) are modified with epistemic modal expressions and can be considered to be a marking of the reasoning process. Although we have not found examples with reversed temporal order, we can still assume that the temporal order in the example sentences does not play a crucial role, look at examples (7), (8), (15), and (18). We can conclude that *V(ru/ta) to sureba* forms typically set up epistemic mental spaces, or that they are more prone to it, compared to the forms we discussed previously. *V(ru/ta)-to shitara* and *V-(ru/ta) to suru nara* are able to set up space, within which the speaker can then utter a speech-act. See the examples (9), (10), (16).

Examples (4) and (5) could be considered to represent **meta-linguistic conditionals**. Dancygier and Sweetser define the metalinguistic space followingly: *'A metalinguistic space is a complex space consisting of a pairing of a content space and a language or code space.'* (p.126). Followingly, the main function of metalinguistic conditionals is to create a connection between the metalinguistic space (the language) and the choice of the

---

[54] This includes epistemic modal expression in the main clause (*no da*, *to iu koto da*, *hazu da*, *ni chigai nai*, *kamoshirenai*, *darō*.

language form made by the speaker, questioning the appropriateness of the chosen word. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) use the following example

(21) *'My ex-husband, if that's the right word for him,…'* (ibid., p.128).

Although sentences (4) and (5) do not directly refer to the appropriateness of the language used, they still present a doubt about the expression used in the sentence, namely the speakers doubt whether there is anything like a 'line of reason' or a 'surprised laugh'.

Ambiguous examples have been observed too. Conditionals in (3), (5), (11) (12) could be considered to be predictive in nature, as they can be interpreted as setting up two alternative spaces. As we have pointed out previously, this ambiguity is not uncommon. Speech-act, epistemic and meta-linguistic conditionals are most frequently non-content and thus are non-predictive in nature. Nevertheless, some epistemic conditionals can be content and have the ability to simultaneously bring up the alternatives in the if-clause.

Observations

Our conclusion is that *V(ru/ta) to sureba* type of conditional forms most typically set up epistemic mental spaces. Further, some of them are capable of setting up content-epistemic space, meta-linguistic space, and speech-act space. This resembles the distributional pattern of the form *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara*.

5. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to demonstrate polysemy in the use of various Japanese conditional constructions and to draw a general overview of their features and overlaps in meaning. First, polysemy and overlaps could be observed on multiple levels specifically:

A) Overlaps within different syntactic domains

We observe that there is a close relationship between temporal compound sentences, circumstantial compound sentences, and conditional sentences. Although the research and literature focused mainly on the blurred line between the temporal and conditional meaning observed within *V-tara* marker, this phenomenon is not exhibited by this form only. *V(ru/ta)(N no baai* is an example of this as it typically puts attention to a specific point in time. However, when it attaches to the past form of the predicate, it signalizes the causal contingency more explicitly and construes the predictive conditional by means of Dancygier and Sweetser (2005). The same mechanism can be observed with *V-(ru/ta)/N(no)nara* that can attach to the past or

non-past form of verbs. *V-(ru/ta)/N(no) nara* is typically used in non-predictive conditionals (speech-act conditionals and epistemic conditionals) where the time order of events does not play a role. By attaching *nara* to the past form of the verb we can emphasize the predictiveness and causal meaning. We can draw several conclusions from this observation. First, the time sequentiality of events is a crucial semantic element in construing (predictive) conditional meaning. In predictive conditionals, event P is a cause for the event in Q, thus Q must follow P. *V-tara* and *V-(r)eba* forms signalize this order of events more explicitly than *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara*. This is because *V-tara* attaches to the past form of verbs, and *V-(r)eba* attaches to the hypothetical form (仮定形 *kateikei*) that etymologically comes from the izenkei (已然形) form, that used to mark realis or events that have already taken place. We could observe that sequential meaning of *V-tara* and *V-(r)eba* becomes less explicit with stative verbs or stative morphology. Lastly, as Maeda (2009: p.73-94, p.113) pointed out that shifts between the temporal forms and conditional forms can be expected. *V-to* can be considered as an example of this phenomenon. Conditional meaning in *V-to* is considered to be rather derivative. The original meaning of *V-to* is the temporal, continuous occurrence of events. We see, that the temporal order of events is crucial in building up conditional meaning, and thus temporal forms have the tendency to lean towards this meaning.

B) Overlaps between forms

Each major conditional marker can be considered to bear some specific semantic elements. These elements overlap. *V-(r)eba* and *V-tara* are the most interchangeable, as they both attach to the tensed form of verbs, express sequentiality of events and as a result, they have the tendency towards predictive meaning. *V-(r)eba* and *V-to* are more prone to express general rules and do not have to be tied to specific situations. Contrary to this, *V-tara* and *V-(ru/ta)/N(no)nara* are typically tied to a specific situation. Lastly, *V-tara* and *V-to* are most easily used to convey non-conditional temporal meaning (Maeda: 2009: p.61, p.73-93) (Fujii 2018: p.569-572)

I conclude that it is more efficient to first identify the prototypical meaning and use of each form and then observe its distributional tendencies and patterns. Even though the marking of different subtypes of predictive conditionals in Japanese is not as clear-cut as in English, the marking of epistemic conditionals is, and it was shown even within the *V-(ru/ta) to sureba* form group

In this thesis, I also tried to explore what functional factors emphasize the conditional meaning within the forms that do not primarily serve as conditional markers. I conclude the following:

1. Aspectual morphology- this was observed with tensed clauses like *V-(ru/ta) baai*, or even with non-tensed clauses like *V-(ru) kagiri*.
2. Use of epistemic modality in the main clause (e.g., in *V-(ru/ta)to sureba* conditionals)
3. Context

We can also conclude, that the analyzed forms *V-(ru/ta)/ N no baai*, *V-(ru) kagiri* and *V-(ru/ta) to sureba* exhibit similarities with the major conditional markers. *V-(ru/ta) baai* is tensed (like *V(ru/ta)/N(no)-nara*), and can be employed in speech-act conditionals. In order to express predictive meaning more clearly, it takes past form.

V-(ru) kagiri is capable of expressing general rules but also exceptional mental spaces like *V-(r)eba*. Clauses using these two forms are not tensed. *V-(ru/ta) to sureba* shows the same distributional pattern as *V-(ru/ta)/N(no) nara*. *V-(ru/ta)to sureba* similarly to *V-(ru/ta)/N (no)nara*, is tensed and can express events that do not have to follow the typical timer order.

Japanese conditionals prove to be a rich area for further research. One of the reasons for this is that conditional sentences represent a phenomenon on which several grammatical phenomena can be simultaneously studied, starting from modality, aspect, or the relation between other, semantically close domains. The importance of aspectual morphology within conditionals may stem from the tense system in Japanese. Since Japanese employs two tenses (past and non-past), the aspectual morphology may play a more important role in construing the conditional meaning than the tense morphology, as seen in English. For future research, analyzing other forms and their behavior with aspectual morphology may shed new light on the intricacies of Japanese conditionals.

6. Bibliography

- Akatsuka, N. (1985). Conditionals and the Epistemic Scale. Language, vol. 61, no. 3, 1985, pp. 625–39. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/414388.

- Akatsuka, N. (1997). "Negative conditionality, subjectification and conditional reasoning." In Athanasiadou, A. and Dirven, R. (1997). On Conditionals Again (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 143). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp.323-354

- Andor, M. (2015). Natural Language Conditionals. PhD thesis. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

- Arita, S. (2006). "Jōken hyōgen kenkyū no dōnyū." In: Masuoka, T., ed. (2006). Jōkenhyōgen no taishō. Tokyo: Kurosio Publisher.

- Arita, S. (2007). Nihongo jōkenbun to jiseisetsusei. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

- Arita, S., ed. (2017). Nihongo jōkenbun no shosō. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

- Athanasiadou, A. and Dirven, R. (1997). On Conditionals Again (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 143). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Athanasiadou, A. (1997). "Introduction" In Athanasiadou, A. and Dirven, R. (1997). On Conditionals Again (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 143). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp. 1-11.

- Austin, J. L. (1956). Ifs and cans. In: Proceedings of the British Academy 42. pp. 109–132.

- Comrie, B. (1986). "Conditionals: A Typology." In Traugott, E. C., Meulen, A. T., Reilly, J.S. and Ferguson, C.A. (1986). On Conditionals. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.77-99.

- Dancygier, B. (1993). Interpreting Conditionals: Time, Knowlede, and causation. Journal of Pragmatics, Volume 19, Issue 5: pp. 403-434.

- Dancygier, B. and Sweetser, E. (2005) Mental Spaces in Grammar: Conditional Constructions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics).

- Fauconnier, G. (1985). Mental Spaces. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Reprinted as the 2nd edition in 1994 from Cambridge University Press.

- Fujii, S. (1995). "Mental-Space builders: Observations from Japanese and English conditionals." In:Fillmore, C.J., Shibatani, M. & Thompson, S.A., (1995). Essays in semantics and pragmatics: in honor of Charles J. Fillmore, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp.73-90.

- Fujii, S. (2018) "Conditionals," in Hasegawa Y. (ed), The Cambridge Handbook of Japanese Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics, pp.557-584.

- Funk, W. (1985). On a semantic typology of conditional sentences. In: Folia Linguistica Vol. 19(3/4). pp. 365–414.

- Hasegawa, Y. (2015). Japanese: A Linguistic Introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hurley, P. J. (2000). A concise introduction to logic. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth. Edited by Lori Watson.

- Kanasugi, P., Rosen, A., Vavřín, M., Zasina, A. J.: Corpus InterCorp – japanese, version 15 from 11. 11. 2022. Institute of the Czech national corpus FF UK, Prague 2022. Available at: http://www.korpus.cz

- Karlík,P. (2017). "Příslovečné určení podmínky." In: Karlík,P., Nekula,M., Pleskalová, J. (ed.), CzechEncy - Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny.

- Kaufmann, S. (2005). Conditional Truth and Future Reference. In: Journal of Semantics 22. pp.231-280.

- Kawashima, T. (2020). Gendai Nihongo ni okeru *kagiri* no imi,yōhō. In: Bungei gengogaku kenkyū (78). pp.22-47.

- Klégr, A., Kubánek, M. , Malá, M., Rohrauer, L., Šaldová, P., Šebestová, D., Vavřín, M., Zasina, A. J.: Corpus InterCorp – english, version 15 from 11. 11. 2022. Institute of the Czech national corpus FF UK, Prague 2022. Available at: http://www.korpus.cz

- König, E., Siemund, P. (2000). "Causal and concessive clauses: Formal and semantic relations. In: Couper-Kuhlen, E. and Kortmann, B. (ed.). Cause-Condition-Concession- Contrast: Cognitive and Discourse Perspectives. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 341-360.

- Lakoff, G., Sweetser, E. (1985) Foreword. In: Fauconnier, G. (1985). Mental Spaces. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Reprinted as the 2nd edition in 1994 from Cambridge University Press.

- Langacker, R. (2008). Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Liu, M. (2019). Current issues in conditionals. In: Linguistics Vanguard, Vol. 5 (Issue 3), pp. 20190003. https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2019-0003

- Maeda, N. (2009). Nihongo Fukubun: Jōkenbun to gen'in・riyū bun no kijutsutekina kenkyū. Tokyo: Kurosio Publisher.

- Masuoka, T.(1993). Nihongo no jōkenhyōgen. Tokyo: Kurosio Publisher.

- Masuoka, T. (2002). "Fukubun kakuron" In: Noda,H., Masuoka T., Sakuma, M., Takubo, Y. (2002). Fukubun to danwa. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. pp.65-116.

- Masuoka, T., ed. (2006). Jōkenhyōgen no taishō. Tokyo: Kurosio Publisher.

- Mitsui,H. (2009). Jōken hyōgen no chiriteki na hen'i: hōgen bunpō no taikei tayōsei o megutte. In: Nihongo kagaku, Vol. 25. pp.143-164. URL: http://doi.org/10.15084/00002219

- Nara, Y.(2012). Nihongo no jōken hyōgen ni okeru kōken no modaritī no seiyaku. In: Ferisu jogakuiin daigaku bungakubu kiyō iinkaihen (47). pp.129-138.

- Narrog,H. (2010). The order of meaningful elements in the Japanese verbal complex. In: Morphology, Vol. 20. pp.205-237.

- Nihongo Kijutsu Bunpō Kenkyūkai. (2008). Fukubun- Gendai Nihongo Bunpō 6. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers. Nihongo kagaku

- NINJAL(National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics). Gendai nihongo kakikotoba kinkō kōpasu (BCCWJ),2009. URL https://clrd.ninjal.ac.jp/bccwj/

- Reuneker, A. (2022). Connecting conditionals: A Corpus-Based Approach to Conditional Constructions in Dutch. Amsterdam: LOT.

- Sollvan, H. (2006). "Nihongo gakushūsha ni okeru jōkenbun shūtoku mondai ni tsuite." In: Masuoka, T., ed. (2006). Jōkenhyōgen no taishō. Tokyo: Kurosio Publisher.pp.173-193.

- Takubo, Y. (2020). "Conditionals in Japanese." In: Jacobsen, Wesley M., Takubo, Y. (2020), Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. pp. 451-493.

- Traugott, E. C., Meulen, A. T., Reilly, J.S. and Ferguson, C.A. (1986). On Conditionals. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Wierzbicka, A. (1997). "Conditionals Counterfactuals: conceptual primitives and linguistic universals," in Athanasiadou, A. and Dirven, R. (1997). On Conditionals Again (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 143). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp.15-59

List of Television Dramas

- Japan Sinks. People of Hope. Season 1, Episode 1, TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 10, 2021, Netflix Japan, Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81477447?trackId=255824129&tctx=0%2C1%2C0955cd4c-5275-4446-a2e2-8a34201bf7f2-904410193%2C0955cd4c-5275-4446-a2e2-8a34201bf7f2-904410193%7C2%2Cunknown%2C%2C%2C%2C%2CVideo%3A81477445%2CminiDpPlayButton

- First Love. Season 1, Episode 3, 'Napolitan.' C&I Entertainment, Netflix Japan, Nov.24, 2022. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81222257?trackId=255824129

- First Love. Season 1, Episode 4, 'Space Oddity.' C&I Entertainment, Netflix Japan, Nov.24, 2022. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81222258?trackId=200257859

- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 1, Episode 1, 'Tan Men.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 20, 2016. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/80113119?trackId=255824129

- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 1, Episode 3, 'Tonteki.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 21, 2016. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/80113121?trackId=200257859
- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 1, Episode 9, 'Ham Cutlet.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 21, 2016. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/80113127?trackId=200257859
- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 2, Episode 3, 'Plum Rice Ball.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 31, 2019. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81074396?trackId=200257859
- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 2, Episode 4, 'Fried Chicken Wings.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 31, 2019. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81074397?trackId=200257859
- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 2, Episode 5, 'Yakisoba dog.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 31, 2019. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81074398?trackId=200257859
- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 2, Episode 6, 'Mushrooms and salmon.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 31, 2019. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81074399?trackId=200257859
- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 2, Episode 7, 'Kitsune Udon.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 31, 2019. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81074400?trackId=200257859
- Midnight Diner. Tokyo Stories. Season 2, Episode 8, 'Curry Ramen.' TBS, Netflix Japan, Oct. 31, 2019. Available on: https://www.netflix.com/watch/81074401?trackId=200257859

7. Appendix
7.1. Additional examples of major conditional markers

Japanese content conditionals- predictive conditionals

(1) Senseshōnaru ni kakitate**reba**, busū mo nobiru n janai ka.
センセーショナルに書き立てれば、部数も伸びるんじゃないか。

'If you write a sensational headline, your sales will boost too.'

(Japan Sinks: People of Hope)

(2)　Demo omotta n desu. Aniki no furi shite, Tachibana-san to isshoni i**tara**, sukoshi wa aniki no kimochi mo wakaru n janai ka tte.

でも思ったんです。あにきのふりして橘さんと一緒にいたら、少しはあにきの気持ちもわかるんじゃないかって。

'But, I thought, if I pretended to be my brother and spent time with Tachibana, maybe... I could understand my brother a little more.'

('Curry Ramen.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

(3) Anta! Dokuritsu shite, jibun no seitai no mise dasu n desho? Amari gijutsu yasuuri shiteru **to** sugu tsuburechau wa yo.

あんた!独立して、自分の整体の店出すんでしょ?あまり技術安売りしている
と、すぐつぶれちゃうわよ。

'You! You are going to open your own clinic, aren't you? If you reveal your trick so easily, your business will fail right away.'

('Plum Rice Ball.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

(4) Taihen maemuki de, yoku dekita teiansho da to omoimasu yo. Kankyō taisaku ooi-ni kekkō. Daga, sore yarisugiru **to**, keizai ga teitai shimasu.

大変前向きで、よくできた提案書だとおもいますよ。環境対策大いに結構。だ
が、それやりすぎる、経済が停滞します。

'I think it's a well-put together and forward-thinking proposal. Addressing the environment is fine. But if it's overdone, the economy will stagnate.'

(Japan Sinks: People of Hope)

Generic conditionals

(5) Nori ni wa uraomote ga atte, tsuru tsuru to shite iru hōga omote desu. Omote wo sotogawa ni maku **to**, kuchiatari ga yokute, oishiī desuyo.

のりには裏表があって、つるつるとしている方が表です。表を外側に巻く**と**口
当たりがよくて、美味しいですよ。

'Nori has two sides. The shiny side is the head. Putting the head facing out feels nicer on your lips and tastes better too.'

('Plum Rice Ball.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

Habituals

(6) Kono jiki ni naru **to**, yoku oyaji ni kinokogari kari-dasaremashita.

この時期になると、よく親父にきのこ狩り駆り出さました。

'My father would send me out to pick mushrooms at this time of year.'

('Salmon and Mushrooms.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)

(7) *'Asa denki ga tsukeba, niwa no inu ga issei ni hoe-hajimeru.'*

朝電気がつけば、庭の犬がいっせいに吠え始める。

'When the lights are turned on in the morning, the dog(s) in the   backyard start to bark all at once.'

(Fujii 2018: p.562)

Counterfactuals

(8) O-kane o katagawari shita nowa, aniki dat**tara**, zettai sō shita darō natte…

お金を肩代わりしたのは、あにきだったらぜったいそうしただろうなって...

'The reason why I lent you the money is because I thought, that if it were my brother, he would have done the same thing…'

<div align="right">('Curry Ramen.' Midnight Diner: Tokyo Stories)</div>

7.2. List of examples- original text

V (ru/ta)/N no baai

(2') オイディプス王の**場合**、怠惰とか愚鈍さによってではなくその勇敢さと正直さによってまさに彼の悲劇はもたらされる。

(3') 外泊許可をとるのはけっこう面倒なのだが、彼の**場合**は殆んどフリーパスだったし、彼が口をきいてくれる限り僕のも同様だった。

(4') それからちなみにジェンダー ということば は、そもそもは文法上の性 をあらわすもので あって、フィジカルな 性差を示す**場合**はやはりセックスのほうが 正しいと僕 は 思います。

(5')「 つまりのSSの 一員 が 、 婚約 あるいは 結婚を希望する**場合**、 階級 に 関係 なく 、 出生証明書を提示しなければならない 、 と …… 法律 は 、 人びとを助け ため に ある …… 」

(6') よって 、 神の法は人間の作った法に超越する。人間の作った法が神の法と抵触する**場合** 、 後者 が 優先する。

(7') 誰も吐いていません。 誰も下痢をしていません。誰も苦しんで いません 。 悪いものを食べ た**場合**、 これだけ時間が経過すれば 、 その三つの症状のうちの少なくとも どれかひとつ は必ずやってきます。

(8')コンピューターがあなたの口座番号を認識できなかった場合、保安上の理由から、システムが自動的に終了します。

(9') 沈没の根拠を示せなかった場合は、二度と関東沈没くを口にしないと約束させるんです。

(10') もし緊急事態が起こった**場合には**、このボタンを押してください。

(11') なお、万一お断りされる**場合は**、お手数ですが、七日以内に下記までご返送ください。

(12') これらの素材はいっぱんではなかなか入手しにくいので、作り方は記さないが、万一手に入った**場合は**、小かぶ（小蕪）の塩漬けを参照してほしい。

V-ru kagiri

(1') 予算に**かぎり**がある。

(2')私の知る**かぎり**、そのような事実はない。

(3')試合に向けて、練習はできる**かぎり**頑張りたい。

(4')マラソン大会で太郎は体力の続く**かぎり**走った。

(5')レポートを提出しない**かぎり**、単位は認めません。

(6')既に予定が決まっている**かぎり**、必ずそれまでに完成させなければならない。

(7')そうしている**かぎり**、なにも問題は起きないよ。

(8')ルールをまっている**かぎり**、おそらく危険はない。

(9')よほどの失敗をしない**かぎり**、そのまま高等部まで進むことができる。

(10')だから私がリクエストしない**かぎり**、彼女はこの曲を弾かないの。

(11')ナカタさんがんらい暇でありますので、強い雨が降らない**かぎり**困りません。

(12')スンニッチがつかまらない**かぎり**、クイディッチの試合は終わらない。

(13')われわれ が 肉体 を もち 、 魂 が 肉体 的 な 悪 と 離れ がたく 結ば れ て いる**ぎり** 、 われわれ は 求め て いる もの に 決して 到達 でき まい。

(14')そこにいる**限り**彼は安心して日々を送ることができた。

(15')館内規則をまもり 、 ほかの閲覧者の邪魔にならない**限り** 、 なにをなさるのもご自由です 。

(16')それから、よほど緊急のことがない**かぎり**、山を下りることも考えないほうがいい 。

(17')しかし、答えない方がいいというはっきりした理由がない**かぎり**、 答えてあげよう。

(7a')そうしているかぎり、何も問題は起きないよ。 しかし、そうしないと、問題がおきるよ。

(18') 編集者がそのとき使った封筒が祖父の部屋から見つかったのでもない**かぎり** 、 ファーシュ警部はあなたが 送ったものと思いこむはずよ。

(20a') 「この曲聴くと私ときどきすごく哀しくなることがあるの。どうしてだかはわからない けど 、自分が深い森の中で迷っているような気になるの」と直子はいった 。「一人ぼっち で寒くて 、そして暗くって、誰も助けに来てくれなくて。だから私がリクエストしない**限り**、 彼女はこの曲を弾かないの 。

(21a') 僕がかよっていたのは 、主として上流家庭の、あるいはただ単に金持ちの子どもたちをあつめた私立中学だった 。よほどの失敗をしない**かぎり**、そのまま高等部まで進むことができる 。

(22') よほどの失敗をしなければ、そのまま高等部まで進むことができる。

V(ru/ta) to sureba group

(1') ヘレナのしそうなことを一生懸命考えてみた 。まず考えられるのは毒薬だったが、毒を飲ん**だとすれば**、 空びんかケースが残っているはずだ。

(2') 私の今回の旅を不首尾に終らせまい**とすれば**、まったく気が進まないけれども、この町にいる知のだれかに事情を打ち明けて頼んでみるより仕方ないということだった。

(3') 宇宙全体がいっぺんに完全燃焼した**とすれば**、原初の創造的偉業がくり返され得る**だろう**。

(4') お尋ね者や縛りあげた人質といっしょに、手続きを無視して出国したのだ から 。
〝道理の境界線〟なるものがある**とすれば**、いまそれを飛び越してしまった。

(5') 「 でもな 」 コップフルキングル 氏 は 、 驚きの笑いというものがあっ た**とすれば**、それにふさわしい 驚きの笑いを見せ た 。

(6') 〈放っておいてくれ 〉 という道を選んだ**としたら**、 これから 先ずっと君は警察や社会から逃げまわら なくては ならなくなるだろうし 、 それはけっこう過酷な人生になるはずだ。君はまだ１５歳で 、先はかなり長い 。それでかまわ ないんだね ？

(7') 人間が死ぬ存在であり 、ソクラテスも人間である**としたら**、 ソクラテスは死ぬ存在であるという命題は依然と して有効であったが、...

(8') もし島にテレビ放送があった**としたら**、沁みの変化が延々と続く連続ドラマをまるで『 ダラス 』 や 『 ダイナスティ 』 のように喰い入って見るに違いない 。

(9') もし彼女に何か言わなくてはならないような状況になった**としたら**、そのときは私とあなたの二人で良策を考えましょう。

(10') この教会を築く手伝いをしてくれるとし**たら**、力をつけてもらわ ないと。

(11') 私 がまともで、あなたもまともで (始めからまともですね)、キズキ君が いなかっ**たとしたら**どうなっ て い た**だろう**、と 。

(12') もし教師という職業に就いていなかったとし**たら**、私はあるいはこの人生に耐えることができなかったかもしれません。

(13') すなわち、からだの各部の固有の働きと、その機能が神経系の健全な状態に依存している**とするなら**、医学上の見地から脊柱は最も重要な臨床的部分であるはずである。

(14') 表社会で芽が出なかった若者たちが、行き場を失ってヤクザ社会に飛び込んだ**とするなら**、親分になることで人生にリベンジを果たそうとするのは当然だろう。

(15') 日本文化を世界に向かって「発信」していくために必要である**とするなら**、タイ文化研究所も、インドネシア文化研究所も必要であるにちがいない。

(16') 追手がある**とするなら**、速く歩かねばならない。

(17') とにかく相手をゲットすることを目的**とするなら**、相手の研究する学問に詳しくなり、それをキッカケにするのも良いかもしれません。

(18') これを他の国と比較してみると、例えばイギリスが日本とよく似た人口形態**とすると**、彼らはこの同じ仕事を間違いなく我々の半分の時間でこなしており、ひょっとすると、三分の一の時間、…

(19')もしも子供が生まれていた**とすると**、いま二十五歳前後だろう。

(20')夢を追うのに年齢は関係ありませんよね?　ちなみに今から専門校に通うと**すると**卒業するのは二十八歳になります。