

The source of information and Japanese conditionals

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「条件」を表す語と情報の出所

赤塚 (1985) は情報を話し手の認識という観点から二つに分類している。話し手が真であるとみなしている「現実相」に属する情報と、真であるか偽であるか不明であるか、仮定されたか、あるいは偽であるとみなされる「非現実相」の情報である。彼女は、「なら」は本来「非現実相」に属する情報を表すものであるが、彼女が「新獲得情報」と呼ぶところの、話し手が真であるとみなす情報をも表す場合があると指摘している。

本論文では最初、彼女の分析を見、その分析を他の条件を表す語、「と」、「たら」、「ば」にも適用し、そして「なら」だけではなく、これらの語も「新獲得情報」を表せることを示す。

彼女は「なら」と「から」の違いにも触れ、「なら」が表す「非現実相」の「新獲得情報」は時間の経過と共に「現実相」に移行し、「から」で表されるようになると主張している。ここでは「情報の出所」—情報は誰のものか—という別の観点から「なら」と「から」の違いを考える。

この考え方は「なら」、「と」、「たら」、「ば」の用法の違いを説明するのにも役立つ。

1. Introduction

It has been thought that the conditional has general function in that it connects the two clauses (S_1 and S_2) and, as the word implies, represents a condition in S_1 for S_2 to happen — it expresses ‘uncertainty’ or ‘counterfactuality’. It means that it cannot be used to refer to a ‘reality’. But Akatsuka (1985), discussing conditionals and the speaker attitudes, claims that *nara* can express ‘newly-learned’ information in S_1 , which the speaker regards as ‘true’. She also claims that as the time passes, not *nara* but *kara*, which expresses the speaker’s ‘conviction’, comes to be used.

After reviewing her analysis in Section 2, I will claim in Section 3 that another point of view, the source of information, — where the information of S_1 originates from — distinguishes *nara* from *kara*; the former, from without the speaker and the latter, from within. In Section 4 it will be shown that *to* and *tara* also can express ‘newly-learned’ information and that whether S_2 follows S_1 distinguishes them from *nara*. In Section 5, I will show that *tara* differs from *to* in that *tara* cannot express ‘newly-learned’ information for the situation which now actually exists. In Section 6 *ba* is analyzed and it is shown that it can also express ‘newly-learned’ information, in which case an ‘action’ verb must not appear in S_1 but that it can express ‘uncertainty’ or ‘counterfactuality’ even if such a verb appears when S_2 is an objective statement. Finally in Section 7, it will become clear that ‘counterfactuality’ and ‘conviction’ derives from within the speaker, while ‘uncertainty’ both from within and from without except in the case of *nara*.

2. Akatsuka (1985) 's findings

Akatsuka (1985) claims that only *nara* can express new information which the speaker regards to be true.

(1) A: *Kono huyu wa sukii ni iku koto ni*
this winter TOP ski to go COMP on
sia yo.

decided PTCLE

"I'm going skiing this winter."

B: *Kimi ga iku nara boku mo iku yo.*
you SUB go if I too go PTCLE

"If you are going, I'm going, too."

("As long as you're going, I'll go, too!")

The speaker gets new information from his interlocutor. B understands A's going skiing to be a 'certainty'. The best evidence for this is the fact that the adverb *mosi* "by any chance", functioning as a signal of 'hypothesis', cannot appear in (1B),

In (2) S_1 expresses new information which only the speaker can utter, and which he must necessarily regard as true.

(2) (Visiting a famous sight-seeing place, the speaker says to himself:)

Konna ni ii tokoro nara motto hayaku
this way in good place if more early
kureba yokatta.

come.if good.was

"If this is so nice a place, I should have come earlier."

("Seeing what a beautiful place this is, I realize I should

have come earlier.”)

Here the speaker expresses his ‘surprise’ at the sight and his regret over not having come earlier.¹ What the speaker’s comment connotes is that ‘I didn’t know this until now.’ Akatsuka calls this type of sentence ‘surprise/regret’ conditionals.²

In both cases, *nara* expresses new information in S_1 which has just entered into the consciousness of the speaker at the discourse site.³

It follows that such ‘newly-learned’ information, though regarded to be true by the speaker, is expressed by the conditional, which is originally associated with ‘hypothesis’, indicating ‘counterfactuality’ or ‘uncertainty’.

Akatsuka claims that also in the choice of the Japanese complementizer, ‘newly-learned’ information is treated as part of a natural class along with hearsay, inferences, doubts and counterfactuals.⁴ She shows that *to*, originally associated with ‘uncertainty’, and ‘counterfactuality’, is used to express the speaker’s surprise or sudden realization, which is new information.⁵

Akatsuka also distinguishes *nara* from *kara*, *to* which, in some situations, it is very close in meaning. Compare (3) with (4) :

(3) A: *OED o kau koto ni sita yo.*

OBJ buy COMP on decided PTCLE

B: *Kimi ga kau nara boku mo kau yo.*

you SUB buy if I too buy PTCLE

“If you buy, I will, too.”

(“As long as you’re going to buy, I will too.”)

(4) (Later B speaks to his friend:)

A *san ga OED o kau* { **nara/kara* } *boku*
 Mr. SUB OBJ buy { *if/since } I
mo kau yo.
 too buy PTCL

" { *If/Since } A is going to buy the OED, I will too."

In (4), B cannot use *nara*. Akatsuka explains that 'newly-learned' information, which the speaker regards as true, has moved from the domain of 'irrealis' into that of 'realis'. See figure (1), based on Akatsuka:

| REALIS | IRREALIS | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| know x | get to know x | not know x | know not x |
| 'conviction' | 'newly-learned' information | 'uncertainty' | 'counterfactuality' |
| | | | |

Figure (1)

B 'gets to know' A's purchase of the OED in (3), while B already knows it in (4): B didn't know it until he hears from A in the former, while B is convinced of it in the latter.

It follows that *nara* reflects 'newly-learned' information, which has just entered into the speaker's consciousness at the discourse site, and that *kara* reflects his 'state of consciousness' or 'knowledge' of something.

3. *Nara* vs. *kara*

Now I will show that another point of view can also explain the

difference between the use of *nara* and *kara*. Important is the source of information, whether it is the speaker or somebody else, determines the choice.

In (3), A's buying the OED is, at that moment, B's first realization, which causes B to repeat A's statement. The clause preceding *nara* is the interpretation of what has been stated previously by someone else. It means that the speaker does not have the information until this moment. Thus it is not his own information. In other words, it does not originate from within the speaker although he regards or accepts that information as true, a 'fact', at the moment of the utterance.

In (4), on the contrary, A's buying the OED is already in B's mind: it is not the first realization. It means that it is his own information, originating from within him. It follows that the information is an 'established' fact for him when he utters (4).

The point here is the source of information at the discourse site, not the original source. In (4) surely B obtained that information from A before. But when he utters the sentence, it has already become his own. It exists in his mind as an 'established' fact. It follows that the information originates from within.

B does not repeat what A has said but he states his own 'conviction' from his knowledge. Thus the clause preceding *kara* is derived from or based on the information originating from within the speaker. See figure (2) :

conditional

nara

non-conditional

kara

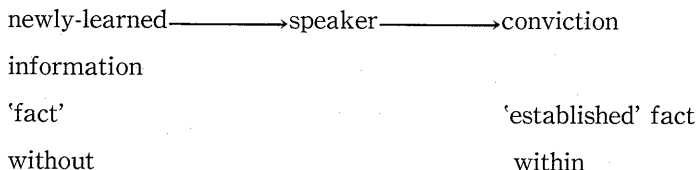


Figure (2)

Notice that here the choice of *nara* or *kara* is determined by the source of the information, not by other factors, such as the passing of time.⁶

Now consider (5) :

(5) (A housewife, at a market, utters:)

Konna ni kudamono ga yasui nara katte kaeroo.

this way in fruit SUB cheap if buy go.will

"If the fruit is so cheap, I'll buy it."

Unlike (3) the speaker does not repeat what someone else has said before. S_1 is uttered on the basis of the speaker's visual evidence. But here also S_1 is the first realization. A housewife comes to the market and finds that the fruit is unexpectedly cheap: she hasn't noticed it until she utters the sentence. She expresses her 'surprise'. It means that the information does not originate from within her, but from without, from the present existing situation.

Compare (6) with (5) :

(6) *Kudamono ga yasui nara katte kaeroo.*

fruit SUB cheap if buy go.will

"If the fruit is cheap, I will buy it."

In the same situation (6), without *konna ni*, is unnatural because there is a great possibility that a housewife knows that the fruit is cheap: a housewife, actually being at the market, probably has seen the price of fruit or there may be a case in which she has heard that it is cheap before she comes here. The information is hers. Thus (7), with *kara*, is more natural.

(7) *Kudamono ga yasui kara katte kaeroo.*

fruit SUB cheap since buy go.will

"Since the fruit is cheap, I will buy it."

In (5) the existence of *konna ni* makes the utterance natural. *Konna ni* functions as a signal of the first realization. Even if she has been there for some time, looking around, and finds that the fruit is cheap, *Konna ni yasui* "so cheap" can be a new piece of information, because she is comparing the low price she actually sees and low price which she had expected or heard of before she came. Noticing the unexpected difference leads to her 'surprise'. Thus *konna ni yasui* is a new finding for her. She may utter (8).

(8) *Yasui to wa kiite ita keredomo konna*

cheap COM TOP hearing had been although this way

ni yasui to wa siranakkata.

in cheap COMP TOP know.didn't

"I had heard that the fruit is cheap here, but I never have expected it to be this cheap!"

Of course, (6) is natural if she hasn't seen the price of the fruit and its low price, even though she is at the market.

This type of *nara* in (5), as in (2), represents the speaker's 'surprise'

in S_1 . A little consideration tells us that 'surprise' is a reaction to outworld stimuli, such as a new information. We cannot be surprised from within ourselves: we cannot be surprised at the information which we already have. It means that the information must be from without.

Of course, the vendor, the housewife's counterpart at the market, never uses *nara* but rather *kara*.

- (9) *Kyoo wa kudamono ga yasui {kara/*nara} katte*
today TOP fruit SUB cheap {since/*if} but. will you
yo.

PTCLE

" {Since/*If} the fruit is cheap today, buy it."

The following pair of sentences seem to support the observations so far.

- (10) a. A vendor: *Konna ni yasui n da kara kai*
this way in cheap NOM is since buy
nasai yo.

IMP PTCLE

"Since it is this cheap, buy it."

- b. A housewife: **Konna ni yasui n da nara*
this way in cheap NOM is if
kau wa.

buy PTCLE

"If it is, I'll buy it."

In (10a) *kara* can co-occur with *da*. This 'assertive' *da*, in its original form, expresses the speaker's positive assertion. The vendor asserts with *da* that the fruit is cheap, which means that the idea is already in

his mind as a part of his knowledge at the moment of the utterance: he already has the information. In attempting to sell to the other party, a housewife, he asserts what he already knows. It follows that the statement of S_1 is based on such 'inside information'.

(10b) is ungrammatical. *Nara* is originally a hypothetical form of *da*: *nara* and *da*, the same words, cannot appear together.

Because of its hypothetical character, some note of 'supposition' or 'assumption' is connected with *nara*. In using *nara*, the speaker has not fully accepted something in his consciousness when he utters the sentence. It means that it cannot be used to indicate the speaker's 'conviction', a state of having a firm and sincere belief that something is so and so: *nara* cannot be used to refer to a situation which he believes an 'established' fact. The above observations lead to the fact that when using *nara*, S_1 derives from the 'outside information', one which originates from without. For example, it comes on the basis of her observation as in (5).

Compare the following pair of sentences where the difference between *nara* and *kara* is very subtle:

(1) (Already knowing that the addressee is a student:)

(a) *Gakusei nara benkyoo si nasai.*

student if study do IMP

"If you are a student, study hard."

(b) *Gakusei nan da kara benkyoo si nasai.*

student NOM is since study do IPM

"Since you are a student, study hard." ("You are a student, so study hard.")

In (a) the speaker uses *nara* and behaves as if he did not know the person to whom he is speaking is a student, although he actually knows it. He expresses his 'surprise' at the addressee's being a student and orders him to study.

On the contrary, *kara*, as discussed, reflects the speaker's 'conviction' from within. Thus (b) is a cooler and rather objective statement.

The following sentence more clearly shows this difference. When a teacher, finding one of his students doesn't study at all, scolds him, he will probably use *nara*.

- (12) *Omae gakusei daroo. Gakusei {nara (gakusei rasiku)/*
 you student are.Q student if student like
?(nan) da kara} benkyoo siro yo.

NOM are since study do. IMP PTCLE

"You are a student, aren't you? {If/*Since} you are a student, study hard."

In the teacher's, of course in everyone's mind, there is a belief that students should study. The teacher, because of the fact that his student lacks the requisite as a student, uses *nara*, making him conscious of that fact. He speaks as if it were the first realization: the information is from without. He can also say with more feeling of irony and surprise.

- (13) *Omae gakusei datta no. Imamade siranakkata yo.*
 you student were Q now. until know. didn't PTCLE
Gakusei nara issyookenmei benkyoo siro yo
 student if hard study do. IMP PTCLE
na.

PTCLE

"Were you a student. weren't you? I didn't know it until now.

If you are a student, study very hard."

On the contrary, when a principal preaches all the students about the necessity of studying, *kara* is more suitable.

- (14) *Kimi tati wa gakusei nan da kara benkyoo si*
you PL SUB student NOM are since study do
nakerebanarimasen.

must

"Since you are students, you must study hard."

In preach or persuasion the information on which it is based is from within, from the speaker's 'conviction': it is difficult for us to preach or persuade a person on the basis of 'outside information' which we have not yet fully accepted in our mind.

There are some pieces of evidence that the information is from without in the case of *nara*, and from within in the case of *kara*.

Kuno (1973) points out that *nara* cannot express the speaker's own 'intention', 'plan' or 'will' in S₁. Because it is strange that the speaker should first know such from without, such as from someone else. The information must be from without.

- (15) * (*Kimi ga yuu yooni*) *boku ga iku tumori nara*
you SUB say as I SUB go intention if
minna mo kuru daroo ka.
all too come will Q

"If I am intending to go, will everyone come, too?"

Co-occurrence with such adverbs as *kitto* and *tasikani* also proves

the difference of the source of information. They both express 'certainty' that something will happen or that something is so and so. The meanings are almost the same: "certainly, indeed."⁷ But they are used differently. Alfonso (1966) explains that the source of the certainty is different: *kitto* expresses the speaker's personal conviction, while *tasikani* is used when the certainty is grounded on some outside fact.

In other words, we can say that *kitto* derives from within the speaker: the statement is based on the speaker's own information originating from within. On the other hand, *tasikani* is used for the information from without and the speaker judges that it is true.

(16) A: *Ano hito dare daroo.*

that man who is. Q

"Who is that man?"

B: {*Kitto*/**tasikani*} *Tanaka san da yo.*

Certainly Mr. is PTCLE

"Certainly he is Mr. Tanaka."

(17) A: *Ano hito Tanaka san desu ka.*

that man Mr. is Q

"Is that man Mr. Tanaka?"

B: *Ee* {*tasikani*/**kitto*} *Tanaka san desu.*

yes certainly Mr. is

"Yes, he is certainly Mr. Tanaka."

Therefore *nara*, which implies that S_1 is derived from the information originating from without, cannot appear with *kitto*, but with *tasikani*.⁸ On the other hand, *kara* and *kitto* can co-occur, as they both imply that S_1 is based on the information from within.

(18) A: *Ano hito kondo no senkyo ni deru yo.*
 that man next time of election in run PTCLE
 "He is going to run in the next election."

B: *Ano hito ga {*kitto/tasikani} deru nara nanika*
 that man SUB certainly run if something
site agenakute wa.

do give. must PTCLE

"If he is certainly going to run in the next election, I must do something for him."

Like *kitto*, the adverbs expressing 'uncertainty', *tabun* "probably" and *osoraku* "most probably", derive from within, which means that they can co-occur with *kara*, but not with *nara*.

(19) *Gogo ni wa {kitto, tabun, osoraku}*
 afternoon in TOP certainly, probably, most probably
ame ni naru kara kasa o motteiki nasai.
 rain to become since umbrella OBJ take IMP
 "Take your umbrella with you since it will surely rain in the afternoon."

There is another piece of evidence that the S_1 of S_1 *nara* S_2 originates from without the speaker while that of *kata* from within. Whether the speaker can doubt the truth or falsehood of the proposition of S_1 distinguishes the source of information.

(20) A: *Boku sorosoro kaeru yo*
 I soon go home PTCLE
 "I will be leaving soon."

B: *Kimi ga kaeru nara boku mo kaeru kedo*

you SUB go home if I too go home but
kimi hontooni kaeru no.

you really go home Q

“If you are leaving, I will, too. But are you really leaving?”

(21) *Tanaka san ga kaeru kara boku mo sorosoro*

Mr. SUB go home since I too soon
*kaeru yo. *Demo Tanaka san hontooni*
go home PTCLE But Mr. really
kaeru no.

go home Q

“Since Mr. Tanaka is leaving, I will, too. *But is he really leaving?”

The information is from without in the case of *nara*, so it is not yet his own — he has not yet fully accepted it, which means that he can have a doubt about it. On the other hand, in the case of *kara*, the information is from within and it is part of his knowledge. He cannot doubt his own ‘conviction’.

When *nara* expresses ‘uncertainty’, the statement of S_1 is also based on the information originating from without the speaker.

(22) A: *Boku kondo no nitiyoobi eiga ni iku*

I next time of Sunday movie to go
tumori da.

intention COP

“I will go to the movies next Sunday.”

B: *Mosi kimi ga iku nara tureteitte yo.*

by any chance you SUB go if take with you PTCLE

"If you will, please take me there."

The point to be noticed is that when *nara* expresses 'counter-factuality', S_1 does not derive from outside information, though the literature so far has claimed that in any case it does. Rather at the moment of the utterance, S_1 must derive from the inside information, which is already a part of the knowledge of the speaker although it originally comes from without: he speaks from his own knowledge. Consider :

(23) A: *Boku asita no paatii ni wa denai*

I tomorrow of party to TOP attend. not
yo.

PTCLE

"I won't attend the tomorrow's party."

B: *Hontoo. Hontooni denai no. Kimi ga*
really really attend. not PTCLE you SUB
deru nara boku deyoo to omotte
attend if I attend. will COMP thinking
ita n da kedo.
was NOM COP though

"Really? Are you sure that you won't? If you were, I was thinking that I would attend it."

Without "*Hontoo. Hontooni denai no.*" or some statement like that, the use of *nara* of B is somewhat awkward. By uttering this, B once takes the information of A's not going to the party into his mind, making it his own, and assures himself of it, as well as making sure of it to A. And after that, he sets up a condition in S_1 which, he knows,

is a 'false' by using *nara* from within himself. It means that S_1 is based on the information from within.

This is natural if we consider that 'counterfactuality' is, in a sense, the opposite of 'conviction'. It is a 'negative' conviction. The speaker himself must know that this is not the case, a 'false', which means that the statement of S_1 is based on his own information, originating from within.

So far, we have seen that the difference between *nara* and *kara* can be explained in terms of the source of information.⁹ The S_1 of S_1 *nara* S_2 is derived from the information originating from without. It can even express 'newly-learned' information, one which is thought to be true, a 'fact' for the speaker, because the statement of it, as well as that of 'uncertainty' is based on the outside information. However, when it expresses 'counterfactuality', the information is from without.

On the other hand, the statement of the S_1 of S_1 *kara* S_2 is based on the speaker's own information, one which originates from within. It expresses the speaker's 'conviction', which is an 'established' fact for the speaker. He speaks from his own knowledge.

4. *Nara* vs. *to* and *tara*

Nara is not alone in expressing 'newly-learned' information for the speaker. *To* and *tara* also can express it. Consider:

(24) (A teacher, finding his student try to cheat during the examination, utters:)

a. *Kanningu o suru nara deteike.*

cheating OBJ do if go out. IMP

"If you are going to cheat, get out!"

- b. *Kanningu o {suru to, sitara} syooti sinai*
cheating OBJ do.if forgiveness do. not
zo.

PTCLE

"If you cheat, I'll never forgive you."

Notice here that *to* and *tara*, as well as *nara*, can be used exactly in the same situation. The speaker suddenly realizes or makes the judgment that the other party is about to do something wrong before his very eyes, and he gives a warning: he regards S_1 to be true.¹⁰ Consider also the following two examples:

(25) (In a winter morning office:)

- a. *Konna ni samui nara seetaa o kite*
this way in cold if sweater OBJ wear
kureba yokatta.
come. if good. was

"If it is so cold, I should have worn a sweater."

- b. *Konna ni samui to sigoto o suru ki*
this way in cold if work OBJ do feeling
ga sinai ne.
SUB do. not PTCLE

"If it is this cold, we don't feel like working, do we?"

In these cases, too, *to* can reflect 'newly-learned' information.

To and *tara* also express 'newly-learned' information in S_1 which derives from the previous discourse as *nara* does. (24b) can be uttered as a response of a teacher, who happens to hear his students talk.

- (26) *Kondo no siken de kanningu siyoo ka.*
 next time of examination in cheating do.let us PTCLE
 "How about cheating in the next examination?"

Consider also:

- (27) (Among a family:)

Father: *Asita minna de ojisan no ie ni iku*
 tomorrow all with Uncle of house to go yo.
 PTCLE

"We are all going to Uncle's house tomorrow."

Mother: *Ojisan no ie ni iku nara kukkii o yaite*
 Uncle of house to go if cookies OBJ bake
motteiku wa.
 bring PTCLE

"If we go, I'll bake some cookies for him."

Child: *Ojisan no ie ni ittara tikaku no*
 Uncle of house to go. if neighborhood of
kawa ni turi ni tureteitte morao.
 river to fishing to take get. will

"If we are going, I'll ask him to take me fishing at the nearby river."

Now let us see the distinction between *nara* and the other two conditionals. Observe the following example:

- (28) (A bank robber with a gun says:)

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------|
| $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Ugoku nara} \\ * \textit{Ugoku to} \\ * \textit{Ugoitara} \end{array} \right\}$ | $\textit{ugoitte miro.}$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Ugoku to} \\ \textit{Ugoitara} \\ * \textit{Ugoku nara} \end{array} \right\}$ | $\textit{utu zo.}$ |
|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------|

move.if move look. IMP move if fire PTCLE

“If you will, move! If you move, I’ll fire.”

Notice that the S_2 in S_1 *nara* S_2 must not have an action or event whose realization depends on the completion of that expressed by S_1 , while the S_2 in S_1 *to* S_2 and in S_1 *tara* S_2 must.¹¹

We have seen one similarity and one difference between *nara* and the other two conditionals, *to* and *tara*.

Here I summarize the observations concerning *nara*. Earlier we have seen that it expresses ‘newly-learned’ information, ‘uncertainty’ and ‘counterfactuality’. The information originates from without the speaker except in the case of ‘counterfactuality’. Here we have learned that it must not require that S_1 be completed before S_2 , which distinguishes it from *to* and *tara*. We have also seen that *to* and *tara*, as well as *nara*, can express ‘newly-learned’ information.

5. To vs. tara

I now turn to the distinction between *to* and *tara*, both of which can also express ‘newly-learned’ information.

First, *tara* cannot be used to express ‘newly-learned’ information for the present existing situation, although *to* can. Consider:

(29) (Seeing a movie:)

*Konna ni {omosiroi to/ *omosirokattara} moo itido*
 this way in interesting. if more once
kite mitaku naru ne.
 come want become PTCLE

"If this is so interesting, I'd like to come and see once more."

This is due to the original meaning of *tara*, namely, the temporal sequence: historically *ta* of *tara* is the past tense suffix of *ta*. It indicates an antecedent-subsequent relationship: it implies that 'After S_1 , S_2 follows.' in the flow of time.

In (29) the situation is now already exists, so we have no need to say that 'After we have S_1 ,...' Compare this with grammatical (24 b), in which the speaker gives a warning against a future action which he is sure is taking place, on the basis of his observation of the present situation.

On the other hand, *to* indicates an antecedent-consequent relationship: it implies that 'Given S_1 , S_2 follows.' It does not imply temporal succession, but rather logical sequence. Thus it says nothing about when S_1 occurs: it has nothing to do with the time at which the action or state regarded as true by the speaker takes place or exists. It simply implies that 'If S_1 occurs, S_2 follows naturally or inevitably.' It follows that *to* can be used to indicate 'newly-learned' information both for the present existing situation and for a future action.

Secondly, it has been argued by many linguists that *to* cannot express hypotheticality, while *tara* can. And they, therefore, claim that this presupposes the realization of S_1 and that this explains the impossibility of its occurrence with the so-called subjunctive mood and also with subjective statements in S_2 , such as imperative sentences, because those non-declarative sentences depend on the hypothetical situation. It follows that *to* cannot express 'uncertainty' or 'counterfactuality' in S_1 .

But interestingly enough, there are cases where such is indeed

possible for *to*. Consider (30) and (31):

(30) A: *Eigo no jugyoo saboritai naa.*

English of class skip. want PTCLE

"I want to skip the English class."

B: *Mosi {saboru to/sabottara} sensei ni*

by any chance skip. if teacher by

sikarareru yo.

scold. PASSIVE PTCLE

"If you skip the class, you will be scolded by the teacher."

(31) (A student who wants to buy a book, finding that he does not have enough money, says:)

Mosi moo hyakuen {aru to/attara} kono hon ga

by any chance more 100yen is. if this book SUB

kaeru n da ga.

buy. can NOM COP though

"If I had one hundred yen more, I could buy this book."

(30B) expresses 'uncertainty' and (31) 'counterfactuality' respectively. Notice that the S_2 of both sentences does not express the speaker's subjective feeling such as 'command' or 'will' in its original sense. These sentences are originally objective statements: they express the fact that skipping the class will bring the teacher's scolding and that having 100 yen more will enable the speaker to buy the book respectively. But here they are used to describe a particular case and, as a whole, express conversationally or illocutionally the speaker's feeling at a particular moment. The speaker expresses a 'warning' in (30B) and 'vexation' in (31). It follows that *to* can express 'uncertainty'

or 'counterfactuality' when the originally objective statement is used sub-

jectively to refer to a particular case. Recall that in the case of 'newly-learned' information, a subjective element can appear in S_2 .

Tara, as seen in the above examples, can express 'uncertainty' or 'counterfactuality' in S_1 with an objective statement used subjectively in S_2 . And it can also express them in a sentence with a pure subjective element in S_2 .

- (32) *Mosi* *asita* *haretara* *minna* *de*
 by any chance tomorrow clear up. if all with
pikunikku ni ikoo.
 picnic to go. let us
 "If it's fine tomorrow, let's go on a picnic."

The S_1 expressing 'uncertainty' using *to* and *tara* can derive from either inside or outside information. In (30B) the information is from without, from the interlocutor's statement. With (32) the speaker can begin a conversation to someone else, in which case the information which bases S_1 originates from inside the speaker.

When 'counterfactuality' is expressed, the information must be from within, as we saw in the discussion of *nara*.

I summarize the discussion here. We saw earlier that both *to* and *tara* require S_2 following S_1 . Here we distinguished *to* from *tara* by showing that *tara* can express 'newly-learned' information only for a certain future action, while *to*, for the present existing situation as well.

Both *to* and *tara* can express 'uncertainty', where the information is from both within and without the speaker, and 'counterfactuality'

where it is from within. But when *to* expresses those, S_2 , must be an originally objective statement. *Tara* permits S_2 to be a subjective statement also.

6. Ba

Historically, *ba* is an allomorph of *wa* and one meaning of *wa* is to emphasize one choice over the others. This fact distinguishes *ba* from other conditionals. It implies an unmentioned opposite alternative of S_1 when it is used to describe a particular case.¹² This means that *ba* cannot express 'newly-learned' information which the speaker regards to be true.

- (33) **Sonna koto o sureba syooti sinai zo.*
 such thing OBJ do. if forgiveness do. not PTCLE
 "If you do such a thing, I'll never forgive you."

- (34) **Sonna ni isogeba korobu yo.*
 that way in hurry. if fall down PTCLE
 "If you hurry like that, you'll fall down."

The S_2 of both sentences expresses 'warning' to the addressee. S_2 contains a purely subjective element, the speaker's 'will' in (33) and an originally-objective statement used subjectively in (34). In the former someone is actually doing something wrong and in the latter someone is hurrying. In both cases, the situation is before his eyes, which means that the opposite of S_1 , cannot be imagined. We cannot give a 'warning' at the same time when we expect there could be no such a case.

But now consider the following grammatical sentence:

- (35) (Seeing that a friend appears to want something of the

speaker's:)

Sonna ni hosikereba ageru yo.

that way in want. if give PTCLE

"If you want it so much, I'll give it to you."

Notice the verb of S_1 , *hosii* "want". It expresses a 'state', not an 'action': it indicates a situation, the present situation, which means that the opposite of S_1 is not implied.¹³ Thus here *ba* can be used. And S_2 expresses the speaker's subjective feeling, 'will'. Notice that this *ba* can be replaced with *no nara*.

Inoue (1978) and others claim that when *ba* expresses a subjective feeling of the speaker in S_2 , the action of S_1 must not be completed before that of S_2 . It follows that the verb takes an existential *aru* or *iru* 'be', (BE) adjective or a negative form, which all express a 'state.'

Consider also the following grammatical sentence:

(36) (At a store:)

Customer: *Kore ikura desu ka.*

this how much. is Q

"How much is this?"

Clerk: *10,000 yen desu.*

is

"It's 10,000 yen."

Customer: *Sonna ni takakereba daremo kawanai yo.*

that way in expensive.if anyone buy,not PTCLE

"If it is this expensive, no one will buy it."

Like *hosii*, *takai* "expensive" expresses a 'state', not an 'action', which means that the opposite cannot be implied.

Here S_2 does not contain a subjective element, but this sentence, as a whole, illocutionally expresses the speaker's 'refusal' to buy or 'request' to discount.

It follows that *ba* can express 'newly-learned' information as long as the verb of S_1 expresses a 'state' — S_2 does not follow S_1 . S_2 can be either a subjective or an objective statement.

The 'newly-learned' information comes from without, from the visual evidence in (35) and from the previous statement in (36).

But consider now the following grammatical sentences, even though S_1 contains an 'action' verb — S_2 follows S_1 :

- (37) (Seeing someone suffering from stomachache:)

Kono kusuri o nomeba naoru yo.

this medicine OBJ take. if cure PTCLE

"If you take this medicine, you'll get well."

- (38) (To a sick person who will not take a medicine although advised to:)

Kimi doosite kono kusuri nomanai no.

you why this medicine take. not PTCLE

kore nomeba sugu naoru yo.

this take. if soon cure PTCLE

"Why don't you take this medicine? If you do, you'll get well soon."

These sentences do not express 'newly-learned' information: the speaker does not refer to the action which is actually happening or likely to happen before his eyes. S_1 expresses 'uncertainty' in (37) and 'counter-factuality' in (38). In (37) the speaker imagines a case in which the

addressee will not take the medicine. And in (38) he knows that the addressee will not take it. In both cases the addressee's not taking it is in the speaker's mind. Thus, the use of *ba*, which implies the opposite case, is suitable.

Notice also that the S_2 of these sentences is an objective statement, not a subjective statement in its original sense. But it illocutionally expresses the speaker's subjective feeling, an 'invitation' or an 'advice' in the former and a 'question' or a 'wonder' in the latter at the particular moment.

But if a subjective element appears in S_2 , the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as we saw in the case of 'newly-learned' information.

(39) (Hearing the other party may see the teacher:)

**Sensei ni aeba yorosiku otutae kudasai.*

teacher OBJ meet.if regards tell give me.will you

"If you meet the teacher, give him my best regards."

It follows that *ba* can express 'uncertainty' or 'counterfactuality' in case S_2 is an objective statement, even when the verb of S_1 expresses an 'action' — S_2 follows S_1 . Recall that in the case of 'newly-learned' information, neither a subjective nor an objective statement can appear under such condition.

Of course, when S_1 expresses a 'state', *ba* can express 'uncertainty' and 'counterfactuality' as well as 'newly-learned' information in S_1 and contain a subjective element in S_2 .

(40) *Asu hima ga areba yotte yo.*

tomorrow free time SUB is.if come.will you PTCLE

"If you have time tomorrow, please come and see us."

We have seen earlier that *to* can express 'newly-learned' information, 'uncertainty' and 'counterfactuality' when the originally objective statement is used subjectively to refer to a particular case. Notice that the *ba* in (36), (37) and (38) can be replaced with *to*.

In (37), in which *ba* expresses 'uncertainty', the information is from without. In (40) also it expresses 'uncertainty' but here the information is from within: the speaker can begin a conversation by uttering the sentence.

We have already seen that the statement of 'counterfactuality' must be based on the information of the speaker himself, from within. In (38) the speaker judges that the addressee will not take the medicine (*nomanai*) but advises to take it by saying "*Nomeba...*"

To sum up, *ba* originally implies the opposite alternative, which means that S_1 cannot express 'newly-learned' information. But when the verb of S_1 expresses a 'state', meaning that it expresses the present situation — S_2 does not follow S_1 , it can. But even when the verb expressing an 'action' appears — S_2 follows S_1 , 'uncertainty' and 'counterfactuality', can be expressed, in which case S_2 must be an objective statement. When the verb of S_1 expresses a 'state' — S_2 does not follow S_1 , *ba* can express 'newly-learned' information, 'uncertainty' and 'counterfactuality' in S_1 and also contain a subjective element in its original sense in S_2 . As in the case of other conditionals, when *ba* expresses 'newly-learned' information, the information is from without, either from without or from within in the case of 'uncertainty', and from within for 'counterfactuality'.

7. Conditionals and the epistemic scale

Throughout the paper I have attempted to show that the source of information plays an important role, especially in distinguishing *nara* from *kara*.

All conditionals can express 'newly-learned' information, although Akatsuka (1985) 's claim is that only *nara* can express it. The following figure emerges from the above discussion. Conditionals express 'newly-learned' information, 'uncertainty' and 'counterfactuality' in the 'irrealis' domain of the epistemic scale.

| S ₁ | | IRREALIS | | | REALIS |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| speaker's attitude expressed | | counterfactuality | uncertainty | newly-learned information | conviction |
| content expressed for the speaker | | false | unknown | fact | established fact |
| temporal sequence | S ₁ → S ₂ | <i>tara</i> <i>ba**</i> | <i>tara</i> <i>ba**</i> | <i>tara*</i> | <i>kara</i> |
| | (logical sequence) | <i>to**</i> | <i>to**</i> | <i>to</i> | |
| | S ₁ /S ₂ | <i>ba</i> <i>nara</i> | <i>ba</i> <i>nara</i> | <i>ba</i> <i>nara</i> | |
| source of information within/without | | within | | without | within |
| | | | | | |

*only for a future action

**only originally objective statement (used subjectively in S₂)

Two endpoints of the epistemic scale, 'conviction' and 'counterfactualty' derive from within the epeaker, from his own information: to express such attitudes he himself must know in his mind that 'This is the case.' or 'This is not the case.' 'Newly-learned' information can be expressed not only by *nara*, but also by *to*, *tara* and *ba*. This information originates from without, as can best be seen from the fact that 'surprise' cannot be aroused without outside stimuli, the outside information. Statement expressing 'uncertainty' are based on the information both from within and from without in principle. But in the case of *nara* it is only from without.

Whether the action of S_1 is completed or not before S_2 takes place is relevant in determining the occurrence of the conditionals. The choice of *nara* or *to* and *tara* depends on this. *Ba* can express 'newly-learned' information only when S_2 does not follow S_1 . But it permits S_1 to be completed before S_2 and express 'uncertainty' and 'counterfactualty' when S_2 is an originally objective statement used subjectively to refer to a particular case. This means that whether S_2 is originally a subjective statement or an objective statement also plays a role. In the case of *to*, 'newly-learned' information can be expressed in either case, while 'uncertainty' and 'counterfactualty' cannot be in case S_2 contains a purely subjective element. These combine to make a choice of conditionals.

Here I have mainly discussed the relation between the speaker's attitude expressed in S_1 and the source of information of S_1 . Of course, investigations of other factors are necessary for the understanding of the conditionals. But this analysis, from the speaker point of view,

helps to shed new light on the study of the human mind and the use of conditionals.

Notes

¹ As (2) shows, S_1 does not necessarily derive from the previous statement, in using *nara*. In this case, it is triggered by what the speaker has just perceived. For details, see Hinds & Tawa (1975-76), McGloin (1976-77), Alfonso (1966) and others.

² By a 'conditional', she refers to the whole construction, such as S_1 *nara* S_2 . But here I will use this term to refer to such forms themselves as *nara*.

³ In a sense, any S_1 in S_1 *nara* S_2 can be said as expressing new or 'newly-learned' information for the speaker, as statements concerning with it are always triggered by outside stimuli, such as the previous discourse or the visual evidence, not by the speaker himself.

A: *Tenki-yohoo de wa asita ame rasii yo.*

weather forecast at TOP tomorrow rain seem PTCLE

"The weather forecast says that it's going to rain tomorrow."

B: *Mosi ame ga huttara ensoku wa tyuusi*

by any chance rain SUB fall.if excursion TOP stop

da ne.

COP PTCLE

"If it does, the excursion will be called off."

Here A hears B's statement and finds that it might be going to rain: B didn't know tomorrow's weather forecast until just this moment. We

can say this is a new 'finding' for the speaker although B is not sure whether it will rain. But Akatsuka limits the scope of 'newly-learned' information to new information which the speaker regards to be true.

⁴ For further discussion, see N. McCawley (1978), Kuno (1973) and Akatsuka (1985).

⁵ She also gives another piece of evidence from Balkan evidential systems to support her analysis but I will omit it here.

⁶ Other factors also determine the choice of *nara* or *kara*. For example, Sakahara (1990) claims that whether S_2 is a fact or not also plays a role and he gives the following example. Suppose that A wears a skicap and B sees it. In this situation A tells B about his plan to go skiing, which is a new information to B.

A: *Watasi wa sukii ni ikimasu.*

I TOP ski to go.will

"I'm going skiing."

B: *Kimi wa sukii ni iku {kara/*nara} sono sukii-boo o*
 you TOP ski to go {since/*if} the ski-cap OBJ
katta n desu ne.

bought NOM COP PTCLE

"You bought the skiicap because you are going skiing (,didn't you?) "

Here A cannot use *nara*. It means that when S_2 is a fact, not *nara* but *kara* is used.

⁷ The *kitto* we are discussing expresses the speaker's 'supposition' that something will surely happen: it is used when he believes that his supposition is true.

There are other uses for this word, *kitto*. First, it is used when the speaker asks and reminds the other party to do something [request]. It is also used to express the speaker's 'will' or 'determination.' See the following dialogue:

- A: [request] *Asita matteiru kara kitto kite ne.*
 tomorrow wait.ing since certainly come PTCL
 "I'm waiting tomorrow. So be sure to come."
- B: [determination] *Hai. kitto ukagaimasu.*
 yes certainly go
 "Yes. Certainly I will."

⁸ We have seen that *kitto* expresses the speaker's 'will' or 'determination' in footnote 7. This *kitto* appears with *nara*.

Ano hito ga kitto senkyo ni deru to yuu nara
 that man SUB certainly election in run COMP say if
nanika site agenakute wa.
 something do give.must PTCL

"If that man says that he will certainly run in the election, I must do something for him."

The *kitto* here expresses the 'will' of the subject (*ano hito* "that man") of *senkyo ni deru* "run in the election" 'not the speaker [I]'s 'supposition'. The underlying structure can be roughly shown as follows.

Ano hito ga [watasi (=ano hito) wa kitto senkyo
 that man SUB I that man TOP certainly election
ni deru] /to/ yuu nara...
 in run COMP say if

⁹ Of course, there are other differences between these two words. But here I omit these, because the major purpose of this paper is to discuss the source of information which bases the statement of S_1 . Also there is a conjunction, *node*, which is very similar to *kara* in meaning. See Morita (1980), Yamasaki (1981) and others.

¹⁰ In S_1 conditional S_2 constructions, S_2 expresses either an objective or a subjective statement.

(i) *Boku wa depaato ni {iku to, ittara, ikeba}*

I TOP department store to go. if

(*kanarazu*) *nanika kau.*

always something buy

"If I go to a department store, I always buy something."

(ii) *Depaato ni ittara nanika oisii*

department store to go. if some delicious

mono o katte kite kudasai.

thing OBJ buy come give me.will you

"If you go to a department store, please buy something delicious for me."

(i) refers to a general case: if S_1 occurs, S_2 occurs habitually or inevitably. S_2 is an objective statement. On the other hand, (ii) is concerned with a particular case and S_2 contains a subjective element, in this case, a 'request'. There are also other uses, but I will omit them here.

Among the conditionals, *to* is originally used to describe a general case only and does not contain a subjective element in S_2 . But sometimes, as in (24b), it could be used to refer to a specific case. And

furthermore here S_2 contains a subjective element, a 'will'.

¹¹ In the strict sense, *to* indicates logical sequence of S_1 and S_2 rather than temporal sequence. Thus in (25b) it is possible that a verb expressing a 'state' appears in S_1 , meaning that S_2 does not follow S_1 in the flow of time. The sentence means that the speaker does not want to work in the state of cold weather. It indicates that the cold weather naturally leads to such a feeling. I will discuss the distinction between *to* and *tara* in the next section.

¹² For this reason the following sentence, which expresses the speaker's negative feeling, is ungrammatical.

**Konna koto ga otoosan ni sirarereba sikarareru.*

such thing SUB father to know.PASSIVE scold,PASSIVE

"If my father knows about it, I will be scolded."

The speaker is afraid that his action will become known and scolded by his father. As long as he is worried, he predicts that such a thing will happen. Thus *ba*, which implies the opposite of S_1 , cannot be used in this situation. Other negative-implication words such as *komaru* "be troubled" and *taihen-da* "be terrible" also prevent the use of *ba* when used to describe a particular case. See Murayama (1985).

¹³ There are some types of grammatical sentences which can take an 'action' verb in S_1 and contains a subjective element in S_2 .

Kimi ga syusseki sureba boku mo deru yo.

you SUB attendance do.if I too go PTCLE

"If you attend, I will, too."

In this case, your attendance and mine will occur at the same time. See also Inoue (1978) and Hojo (1964).

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