(In) complete tensed clauses and conditionals in Japanese
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1. Introduction:
The aim of this talk is to argue an important semantic feature “settledness” proposed in Kaufmann’s (2001) by examining Japanese conditionals. Japanese has two forms of conditionals which select non-tensed clause, as well as two forms which choose tensed clause just as ‘if’ in English. By observing the distributional differences between non-tensed and tensed conditional clauses in Japanese, I will propose that the latter express a settled statement, and that no-nara-clause, one of tensed conditional clauses, functions as a marker of speaker’s epistemic state, unknownness.

2. The classification of conditionals:
Hypothetical/Open (Quirk et al. 1985) are the classifications by the attitude of the speaker to the truth of the protasis.

1) They would be here with us if they had the time. (Hypothetical)
2) If you had listened to me, you would not have made so many mistakes. (Quirk et al. ibid. : 1091) (Hypothetical)

3) If Collins is in London, he is undoubtedly staying at the Hilton. (Quirk et al. 1985:1091) (Open)
4) If he changed his opinions, he’d be a more likeable person. (Quirk et al. ibid.:1091) (Open)

Predictive/Non-predictive (Dancygier 1998) are another classifications of which criterion whether ’if p, q’ as a whole conveys a cause-effect relation or not.

5) If it rains, the match will be canceled. (Predictive)
6) If it rained, the match would be canceled. (Predictive)
7) If it had rained, the match would have been canceled. (Predictive)
8) If he had a cold last week, he could not come to your talk. (Non-predictive)

I will not adopt neither of them, but I will propose a tripartite system, predictive, epistemic and counterfactual conditionals basically same as that proposed in Kaufmann (ibid.). My proposal is grounded in the assumption that conditionals are manifestation
of inference based on "uncertain state of knowledge." The uncertainty is grouped into two: one is concerned with "settledness", the other is concerned with "knownness."

3. Settledness and conditionals

3.1. Time-dependence of truth

The system I will propose is based on the assumption that "the past is determined; the future is undetermined." (Reichenbach 1956:23) It is like the Draw 1.

Draw 1

The assumption implies that the truth of proposition is dependent on time. That is, the sentences (9), (10) are felt to be either true or false. "We may not know what those truth values are, but even lacking such knowledge, the question of their truth is settled one way or the other, and it cannot be different from what it in fact is." (Kaufmann, ibid.:63) This is not so for the sentence (11). Its truth depends on future facts which, at the speech time, are not actualized.

(9) The coin landed heads.
(10) The coin has landed heads.
(11) The coin will land heads. (Kaufmann 2001:63)

3.2. Settledness

T is to be thought of as a set of moments in time, linearly ordered by the earlier than relation <. W is the set of worlds. And I is the world-time pairs.

I. $T = \{t_1, t_2, t_3, \ldots\}$
$W = \{w_1, w_2, w_3, \ldots\}$
$I = \{(w_1, t_1), (w_2, t_2), \ldots\}$

Each world-time pair, $(w_i, t)$, is a set of propositions, $P(w_i, t)$, which are included in the world in earlier times than $t$, defined as II., "history" in other words.

II. $P(w_i, t) = \{p \mid \exists t \leq t \ (\| p \| (w_i, t) = 1)\}$
I assume the following tripartite truth values system:

**III. Truth values of propositions:**

a. A proposition \( p \) is true in \((w,t)\) iff \( p \in P(w,t) \).

b. A proposition \( p \) is false in \((w,t)\) iff \( \neg p \in P(w,t) \).

c. A proposition is undecided iff \( p \notin P(w,t) \) and \( \neg p \notin P(w,t) \).

Where \( \neg \exists w \exists t ( \| \ p \|_{(w,t)} = 1 \land \| \ p \|_{(w,t)} = 0 ) \)

Now we can define "(strong) settledness" as in **IV.**

**IV. (Strong) Settled propositions**

A proposition \( p \) is settled, \( Lp \), iff \( p \) is true or false in any worlds in the speech time referred as "\( t \)".

I also assume "weak settledness" defined as in **V.**

**V. Weak settled propositions**

A proposition \( p \) is weakly settled, \( L'p \), in the case that

a proposition \( q \) as \( q \in P(W_s,t) \) and

\[
W = \{ w \mid q \in P(w,t) \},
\]

\[
W' = \{ w \mid \exists t ( p \in P(w,t) \land \forall t' ( p \in P(w,t) \land \neg p \in P(w,t)) ) \},
\]

\[
\frac{|W \cap W'|}{|W|} \leq d,
\]

where "\( d \)" indicates a parameter depending on each discourse context.

4. Knownness

"In the case of [(12)(13)] the uncertainty is largely due to the fact that the state-of-affairs described and predicated does not yet exist, i.e., is still subject to manifestation (so that it cannot be affirmed or denied - it is unverifiable) at the moment of the sentence being uttered. In [(14)], however, the state-of-affairs does exist at the time of speaking (either in the positive or negative sense it is 'manifested' and could thus be verified), but the speaker has not got enough information (or is otherwise not disposed) to be sure about it and hence to affirm or deny it. Accordingly, the meaning of the conditioning frame can be said to vary from 'if it happens that …' to 'if it is true that’” (Funk 1985: 375-376)

(12) If she is in time, he will be happy.

(13) If she changes her mind, he will be happy.

(14) If you know his character, you will understand his reaction.
VI. Undecidedness
A proposition $p$ is undecided in $(w_s, t)$ iff $p \notin P(w_s, t) \land \neg p \notin P(w_s, t)$.

VII. Knowledge
The speaker’s knowledge in a moment $t$, $K(t)$, is defined as below:
$K(t) \subseteq P(w_s, t)$

VIII. Unknownness
a. A settled proposition $Lp$ is unknown in $K(t)$ in the case that $(Lp \lor L \rightarrow p) \in K(t)$ and $Lp \notin K(t) \land L \rightarrow p \notin K(t)$.
b. A presumed settled proposition $L'p$ is unknown in $K(t)$ in the case that $(L'p \lor L' \rightarrow p) \in K(t)$ and $L'p \notin K(t) \land L' \rightarrow p \notin K(t)$.

5. Two types of uncertainty and tripartite system of conditionals
IX. Predictive conditionals
A conditional sentence "if $p$, $q$" is a predictive conditional in the case that its protasis $p$ is undecided and its apodosis $q$ is induced from $E$ and $p$, where $E \subseteq K(t)$.

(15) If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.

X. Epistemic conditionals
A conditional sentence "if $p$, $q$" is an epistemic conditional in either case of a or b:
a. its protasis $p$ is a settled proposition $Lp$ and is unknown to the speaker, and its apodosis $q$ is induced from $E$ and $Lp$, where $E \subseteq K(t)$.
b. its protasis $p$ is a weakly settled proposition $Lp$ and is unknown to the speaker, and its apodosis $q$ is induced from $E$ and $L'p$, where $E \subseteq K(t)$.

(16) If Oswald did not shoot Kennedy, somebody else did.

XI. Counterfactual conditionals
A conditional "if $p$, $q$" is a counterfactual conditional in either case of a or b:
a. its protasis $p$ is a settled proposition $Lp$ where $L \neg p \in K(t)$, and its apodosis $q$ is induced from $Lp$ and $E'$, where $E' \subseteq K(t)$ and also $E'$ is a set of settled propositions compatible with the $Lp$.
b. its protasis $p$ is a settled proposition $L'p$ as $L' \neg p \in K(t)$, and its apodosis $q$ is induced from $L'p$ and $E'$, where $E' \subseteq K(t)$ and also $E'$ is a set of settled propositions compatible with the $L'p$.

(17) They would be here with us if they had the time.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settledness in protasis</th>
<th>Speaker's epistemic state in protasis</th>
<th>Classification of conditionals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>− settled</td>
<td>He does not know whether or not the statement in protasis is true.</td>
<td>Predictive conditionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ settled</td>
<td>He knows the falsity of the statement in protasis.</td>
<td>Counterfactual conditionals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Japanese conditionals

6.1. Basic conditional forms in Japanese

Now we will examine Japanese conditionals.

(18) [...] verb stem + (r)eba (“ba”)
(19) [...] verb stem + past tense morpheme (ta) + ra (“tara”)
(20) [...] verb stem + non-past tense morpheme ((r)u) / past tense morpheme (ta) + nara (“nara”)
(21) [...] verb stem + non-past tense morpheme ((r)u) / past tense morpheme (ta) + no + nara (“no-nara”)

6.2. Tensed/non-tensed contrast in Japanese conditional clauses

6.2.1 Subject NP

In English, a nominative NP appears in tensed clauses, not in infinitival clauses.

(22) I think [he is intelligent].
(23) *I think [him is intelligent].
(24) I want [him to come here].
(25) *I want [he to come here].

(26) [Hahaoya-ga  mi-tei-nagara ] kodomo-ga obore-ta.
    mother-NOM watch-PROG CONJ child-NOM drown-PAST
    "A child was drowned although his mother watched him."

(27) [Taroo-ga  shussekiisuur-eba], minna-ga yorokob-u daroo.
    Taroo-NOM attend BA everyone-NOM be-delighted-PRES MOD
    If Taro attends the meeting, everyone will be delighted with it.
(28) [Sensee-ga kokuban-ni chuuijikoo-wo kai-ta-ra], kakiutsushinasai.
   teacher-NOM blackboard cautionary note-ACC write TARA write-IMP
   If a teacher write a cautionary note on the blackboard, write it.
(29) [Nedan-ga sagar-eba], kat-te ii?
   price-NOM lower BA buy MOD
   If its price is lowered, may I buy it?
(30) [Hana-ga kare-ta-ra], sute-tekudasai.
   blossom-NOM wilt TARA throw-away IMP
   If/when blossoms wilt, get rid of them.
(31) [*Kodomo-ga daigaku-ni shingaku-suru-tameni chokin-wo shi-te-iru.
   son-NOM college go-to TAMENI save money
   I save money so that my son goes to college.
(32) [*Hanako-ga piano-wo hiki-tsutsu Taro-ga uta-wo utat-ta.
   Hanako-NOM piano-ACC play TSUTSU Taro-NOM sing a song
   Taro sang a song while Hanako played the piano.
(33) [Densha-ga okure-ta- {kara/node} ] chikokusi-ta.
   train-NOM come late-PAST-CONJ be-late-PAST
   "I am late because a train came late."
(34) [Densha-ga kur-u {kara/node} ] isogimashoo.
   train-NOM come late- NON-PAST-CONJ hurry-MOD
   "As a train comes, let us hurry."

6.2.2 Temporal relation
Event time of subordinate clause: \( t_1 \)
Event time of main clause as \( t_2 \)

\( Ba \) and \( tara \) clauses convey the temporal relation \( t_1 < t_2 \) not \( t_1 > t_2 \) basically:

(35) Kyoo zangyo-sur-eba, ashita yasumeru. \( t_1 < t_2 \)
   today work late BA tomorrow take-off-MOD
   If I work late today, I can take off tomorrow.
(36) Kyoo zangyo-shi-ta-ra, ashita yasumeru. \( t_1 < t_2 \)
   today work late TARA tomorrow take-off-MOD
   If I work late today, I can take off tomorrow.
(37) *Ashita yasum-eba, kyoo zangyo-shi-nakerebanaranai. \( t_1 > t_2 \)
   tomorrow take-off BA today work late MOD
If you take off tomorrow, you must work late today.

(38) *Ashita yasun-da-ra, kyoo zangyo-shi-nakerebanaranai. \( t > t \)  
   tomorrow take-off TARA today work late MOD  
   If you take off tomorrow, you must work late today.

Tameni-clause, one of non-tensed clauses, conveys \( t > t \), and TSUTSU, also non-tensed clause, express the relation \( t = t \). Japanese non-tensed clauses express one way temporal relation.

   son-NOM college go-to TAMENI save money  
   My son saves money so that he goes to college.

(40) Hanako-ga [\( \phi \) piano-wo hiki-tsutsu] uta-wo utat-ta.  
   Hanako-NOM piano-ACC play TSUTSU sing a song  
   Hanako sang a song while she played the piano.

Whereas tensed clauses as node-clauses, and also tensed conditional clauses nara- and no-nara-clauses, convey two way temporal relations, which way depends on tense morpheme its protasis selects.

(41) Kinoo yasun-da-node, kyoo-wa zangyoo-shi-yoo. \( t < t \)  
   As I took off yesterday, I will work late today.

(42) Ashita yasum-u-node, kyoo-wa zangyoo-shi-yoo. \( t > t \)  
   As I take off tomorrow, I will work late today.

(43) Kinoo yasun-da-(no)nara, kyoo-wa zangyoo-suru-bekida. \( t < t \)  
   If you took off yesterday, you should work late today.

(44) Ashita yasum-u-(no)nara, kyoo-wa zangyoo-shi-yoo. \( t > t \)  
   If you take off tomorrow, I will work late today.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-tensed clauses</th>
<th>Incomplete tensed clauses</th>
<th>Complete tensed clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit subject</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two-way temporal relation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 7 -
Japanese conditional clauses: ba, tara clauses
Complete tensed clauses: (no)nara clauses

6.3. Classification of conditionals and incomplete/complete tensedness in Japanese conditional clauses

6.3.1 Predictive conditionals in Japanese:
Non-tensed conditional clauses, ba- and tara-clauses, can be protasis of predictive conditionals as shown in (45) and (46).

(45) Ashita ame-ga fur-eba, shiai-wa chuushininaru daroo.
    tomorrow rain BA match cancel MOD
    If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.

(46) Ashita ame-ga fut-tara, shiai-wa chuushininaru daroo.
    tomorrow rain TARA match cancel MOD
    If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.

Though nara-clause can also express predictive condition, its past/present tense morphemes do not manifest temporal relation with the speech time. So nara-clause in predictive conditionals is not treated as complete tensed clause.

(47) Ashita ame-ga ?fur-u/fut-ta nara shiai-wa chuushininaru daroo.
    tomorrow rain PRES/PAST NARA match cancel MOD
    If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.

Another tensed conditional clause, no-nara clause, cannot express predictive condition.

(48) *Ashita ame-ga fur-u/fut-ta no-nara shiai-wa chuushininaru daroo.
    tomorrow rain PRES/PAST NO-NARA match cancel MOD
    If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.

6.3.2 Epistemic conditionals in Japanese:
Complete tensed clauses can be protasis of epistemic conditionals.

(49) (Moshi) Kinoo bonus-ga de-ta-(no)-nara, kyoo-wa nomi-ni-iku hito-ga
    if yesterday bonus-NOM pay (NO)NARA today drink go people
    ooi daroo.
    many MOD
If the bonus was paid yesterday, many people will go to drink today.

50. (Moshi) Kinoo bonus-ga de-ta-(no)-nara, ashita kaimono-ni-ikoo.
   If yesterday bonus-NOM pay (NO)NARA tomorrow shopping go
   If the bonus was paid yesterday, I will go shopping tomorrow.

51. (Moshi) Soko-ni iru-(no)-nara, hayaku detekoi.
   If there be (NO)-NARA soon come
   If you are there, come out soon.

52. (Moshi) Isogashii (no)-nara, atode kuru yo.
   If busy (NO)-NARA later come PRES
   If you are busy, I will come later.

53. (Moshi) Densha-ni not-tei-ru (no)-nara, atode kakenaasu yo.
   If train get to PROG (NO)NARA later call again
   If you are in the train, I will call you again later.

Incomplete tensed clauses can be protasis of epistemic conditionals in the case that they include stative verb or stative verb form '‐tei'.

54. (Moshi) Kinoo bonus-ga \{de-teir-eba/de-tei-tara\/*der-eba/*de-tara\},
   if yesterday bonus-NOM be paid
   kyou-wa nomi-ni-iku hito ga ooi daroo..
   today-TOP go to drink people many MOD
   If the bonus was paid yesterday, many people will go to drink today.

55. (Moshi) Kinoo bonus-ga \{de-teir-eba/de-tei-tara\/*der-eba/*de-tara\},
   if yesterday bonus-NOM be paid
   ashita kaimono-ni-ikoo.
   tomorrow shopping go
   If the bonus was paid yesterday, I will go shopping tomorrow.

56. (Moshi) Soko-ni \{ir-eba/i-tara\}, hayaku detekoi.
   if there be BA/TARA soon come
   If you are there, come out soon.

57. (Moshi) Isogashii \{k-ereba/kat-tara\}, atode kuru yo.
   if busy (NO)-NARA later come PRES
   If you are busy, I will come later.

58.A: Kinoo bonus-ga de-ta yo.
   B: Sooka. Kinoo bonus-ga \{ de-ta \no \-nara/*de-teir-eba/*de-tei-tara \} ashita
kaimononi ikoo.

Only complete tensed clauses convey a weakly settled statement.

(59)  (Moshi) Raishuu-no suiyobi-ni shuccho-suru-(no)-nara,
if next Wednesday
raishu no shumatsu wa ie-ni iyoo.
next weekend at home stay
If (it is decided that) I go to business trip the next Wednesday, I will stay at home
the next weekend.

(60)  * (Moshi) Raishuu-no suiyobi-ni shuccho-(sur-eba/shi-tara)
if next Wednesday business trip do BA/TARA
raishu no shumatsu wa ie-ni iyoo.
next weekend at home stay
If (it is decided that) I go to business trip the next Wednesday, I will stay at home
the next weekend.

(60) is adequate for predictive conditional reading.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settledness in protasis</th>
<th>Speaker’s or addressee’s information in protasis</th>
<th>Nara/no-nara</th>
<th>{ Stative predicate/stative form } + tara/ba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Settledness</td>
<td>Speaker’s</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adressee’s</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weakly settledness</td>
<td>Speaker’s</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adressee’s</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.3 Counterfactual conditionals in Japanese:

\( Nara \) and \{(stative predicate/stative form) + tara/ba\} convey a counterfactual condition but \( no-nara \) cannot be used in counterfactual context.

(61)  Anotoki okane-wo \{watsashi-ta-nara/?watas-eba/?watsashi-tara\},
that time money-ACC give NARA/BA/TARA
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta darooni.
son-NOM shoplift NEG MOD
If I had given some money to my son at that time, he would not have shoplifted.

(62) Anotoki okane-wo ṭwatashi-tei-ta-nara/watashi-teir-eba/watashi-tei-tara, 
that time money-ACC give NARA/BA/TARA 
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta darooni. 
son-NOM shoplift NEG MOD 
If I had given some money to my son at that time, he would not have shoplifted.

(63) Anotoki okane-ga ṭat-ta-nara/ar-eba/at-tara, 
that time money-NOM have NARA/BA/TARA 
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta darooni. 
son-NOM shoplift NEG MOD 
If he have had money, he would not have shoplifted.

(64) *Anotoki okane-wo ṭwatashi-ta-no-nara/watashi-tei-ta-no-nara, 
that time money-ACC give NO-NARA 
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta darooni. 
son-NOM shoplift NEG MOD 
If I had given some money to my son at that time, he would not have shoplifted.

(65) *Anotoki okane-ga at-ta-no-nara, 
that time money-NOM have NO-NARA 
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta darooni. 
son-NOM shoplift NEG MOD 
If he have had money, he would not have shoplifted.

7. Settledness and unknownness in Japanese conditionals
7.1. Stativity and settledness in Japanese

(66) Inu-ga ṭarui-tei-ru. (progressive) 
dog-NOM walk-ASP 
"A dog is walking."

(67) Inu-ga ṭsin-dei-ru. (result state) 
dog-NOM die-ASP 
"A dog is dead."

(68) Kinoo Taro-ga ṭ10-shu ṭhasit-tei-ru. 
yesterday Taro-NOM ten circuits run-ASP-PRES 
"Yesterday Taro had an experience of running ten circuits of the track."

(69) Kinoo dareka-ga shukkinsi-tei-ru. 
yesterday somebody-NOM work at the office-ASP-PRES 
"Yesterday (there was an event that) somebody worked at the office."
Fujii (1966) points out two kinds of result states: one is regarded as current state as (67), the other (68) and (69) as experiential state or sometimes as record-like reading in Japanese linguistics. Both 'experiential' and 'record-like' readings share the property of co-occurrence with the past adverbials as underlined. On the contrary, the result state reading cannot co-occur with past adverbs. The result state example (67) changes to have a record-like reading, modified by a past adverb.

(70) Kinoo inu-ga sin-dei-ru. (record-like reading)
    yesterday dog-NOM die-ASP-PRES
    "Yesterday (there was an event that) a dog died."

The possibility of co-occurrence with past adverbs indicates that the experiential and record-like usages of 'tei-ru' are strongly similar to the past morpheme. We call these usages as 'factual usage of 'tei-ru". We assume that the factual 'tei-ru' functions as a marker of settledness in the same way as the past morpheme, and also that the factual 'tei-ru' is used in the settled statements of the ba and tara clauses in epistemic/counterfactual conditionals.

7.2. Counterfactuality and the factual 'tei-ru' in incomplete tensed conditional clauses
It is often pointed out that the 'tei-ru' form tends to appear in the counterfactual usage of the incomplete tensed conditional clauses. (Takubo 1993, Jacobsen 2002)

(71) Motto benkyoosi-teir-eba/tei-tara siken-ni ukat-tei-ta-daroo ni. (Jakobsen, ibid)
    more study-ASP-BA/TARA exam-DAT pass-ASP-PAST-MOD
    "If he had studied more, he would probably have passed the exam."

The 'non-tei-ru' version of (71) strikes us as a little odd.

(72) ?Motto benkyoosur-eba/si-tara siken ni ukat-tei-ta daroo ni.
    "If he had studied more, he would probably have passed the exam."

Jacobsen regards 'tei-ru' as a device for heightening counterfactual meaning in Japanese conditionals. He ascribes the hypotheticality or counterfactuality to the stativity which "is characterized by a property of non-uniqueness by which states implicitly bear reference to multiple points in time and by extension, multiple worlds which may include, but are not limited to, the world of the speaker". (Jacobsen, ibid.,16)

We take a different position on the function of "tei-ru" in counterfactuals from Jacobsen's. The counterfactual 'tei-ru' often occurs with a past temporal adverb.
(73) Kinoo no ban motto benkyoosi-teir-eba/tei-tara siken-ni ukat-tei-ta darooni.

Last night more study-ASP-BA/TARA exam-DAT pass-ASP-PAST-MOD
"If he had studied more last night, he would probably have passed the exam."

The temporality of the counterfactual 'tei-ru' seems not to be suitable for the non-uniqueness of stativity aspect assumed by Jacobsen (Takubo, ibid.), rather it appears to be similar to the settledness of the factual 'tei-ru'.

It is natural to consider that the counterfactual 'tei-ru' identifies with the factual one.

For the counterfactual statement, which has the alternate factual (or settled) statement, it should have properties of settledness.

The distribution of the factual 'tei-ru' suggests us that 'settledness' is shared by the epistemic and the counterfactual conditionals.

7.3. No-nara as a marker of manifesting a speaker's unknownness

No-nara cannot be used for predictive protasis as (74).

(74) *Ashitaa me-ga fur-u/fut-ta no-nara shiai-wa chuushininaru daroo.

tomorrow rain PRES/PAST NO-NARA match cancel MOD
If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.

No-nara cannot appear in counterfactual context as (75) and (76).

(75) *Anotoki okane-wo (watashi-ta-no-nara/watashi-tei-ta-no-nara),

that time money-ACC give NO-NARA
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta darooni.
son-NOM shoplift NEG MOD
If I had given some money to my son at that time, he would not have shoplifted.

(76) *Anotoki okane-ga at-ta-no-nara,

that time money-NOM have NO-NARA
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta darooni.
son-NOM shoplift NEG MOD
If he have had money, he would not have shoplifted.

Protases of (75) and (76) appear in non-counterfactual contexts.

(77) Anotoki okane-wo (watashi-ta-no-nara/watashi-tei-ta-no-nara),
that time money-ACC give NO-NARA
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta hazuda.
son-NOM shoplift MOD NEG
Dakara musuko-wa manbiki shitei-nai.
therefore son shoplift NEG
If I had given some money to my son at that time, he would not have shoplifted. Therefore he did not shoplift.

(78) Anotoki okane-ga at-ta-no-nara,
that time money-NOM have NO-NARA
musuko-ga manbiki-suru koto wa nakatta hazuda.
son-NOM shoplift MOD NEG
Dakara okane-ga nakat-ta-noda.
therefore mony have NEG MOD
If he have had money, he would not have shoplifted. Therefore, he did not have money.

8. Concluding remarks:

i Complete tensed clauses in Japanese express a settled statement.
ii Nara- and no-nara-clauses, the complete tensed conditional clauses, convey both strongly and weakly settled statement.
iii Incomplete tensed conditional clauses in Japanese, ba/tara clauses, can express a settled statement added by an aspectual marker, tei-ru.
iv No-nara functions as a marker of the speaker’s epistemic state, unknownness.

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