Embedded mental spaces and viewpoints in embedded insubordination constructions in Japanese and English.

Seiko Fujii

University of Tokyo, sfujii @ boz.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp

Keywords: Mental space, embedded insubordination constructions, stacks of viewpoints, conditional constructions, insubordination constructions

Mental-space building constructions are crucial viewpoint-builders. I here examine what I call 'embedded insubordination constructions' (EICs), where an antecedent-only conditional construction (without the consequent clause) is further embedded as a complement of a mental-state predicate, as in (1) and its Japanese counterpart (2).

- (1) I can just imagine if it was my daughter. (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005) Vancouver Sun (Oct. 4, 2000)
- (2) (kore ga) zibun no musume dattara to omou to. this NOM (my-)self GEN daughter COP-Cond(if) QUOTATIVE think Cond(if/when) Lit. As/when/if (I) think (that) if (it was) my daughter.
 - (Cf. I can just imagine if it was my daughter.)

The tara to omou to construction SYN: CLAUSE - LINKER to SEM: temporal/conditional antecedent				,,
PRAG: speech-site emotive space-build	er	1		
SYN: CLAUSE - LINKER tara SEM: conditional antecedent PRAG: counterfactual space-builder	SYN:complentizer to SEM: quotative	verb omou think	LINKER to	PRAG negative valuation

I examine the properties of multiple constructions involved in EICs, and clarify the contributions of these constructional properties to building and embedding mental spaces, which communicate *stacks* of viewpoints (Dancygier 2012).

Conditionals are one of the most important mental-space builders delineated by Fauconnier (1985, 1997). The most-studied cases are bi-clausal constructions, such as the *if* P (*then*) Q construction in English and the P-*tara/(e)eba/ to* Q constructions in Japanese, where Q adds content to the space built by P. However, antecedent-only (or insubordination) constructions also build a mental space, conveying meanings of a specific type of conditional relation (predictive), and communicating a certain epistemic stance (mainly) via tense-aspect-modality (TAM) on the verb phrases (in English). In (1), for example, P alone, maintaining the TAM of a predictive conditional, evokes a counterfactual space with a negative stance, which in turn invokes the corresponding counterfactual consequent (see Figure 1).

An interesting property of an EIC as in (1) is that, by embedding the antecedent-only construction within a complement of the verb 'imagine', the hypothetical mental-space is further embedded in a subjective-viewpoint mental-space (see Figure 2). Here the second-layer complementation construction conveys a subjective viewpoint, which is construed in 'construction of intersubjectivity' (Verhagen 2005). The formulaic combination of <u>can</u> (just) imagine is required (* I imagine if ...).

The Japanese counterpart EIC [P-*tara* \oslash *to omou to* \oslash] also involves P-only without Q, embedded within the complement of a cognitive verb (*omou* 'think'), which communicates the same two stacks of viewpoints via two layered mental spaces as in English (1). What is unique to the Japanese EIC, however, is that it ends with another conditional-linker *to*, making the whole construction another antecedent. Though its consequent can be either ostensive (*osorosii* 'terrified'; *zotto.suru* 'shudder') or non-ostensive, Japanese requires this third layer of the insubordination construction.

I raise two issues: (i) How is the interpretation of a negative emotive valuation obtained so clearly without the ostensive consequent; (ii) Why is the EIC embedded in yet another antecedent in Japanese? For (i), my corpus analysis shows that the *-tara to omou to* construction associated with a negative valuation has been entrenched and constructionalized. For (ii), I argue (see Figure 4) that the higher-order antecedent (with the final *to* 'as/when') builds an on-site emotive mental-space and triggers how the speaker <u>feels now in the speech site</u> as a result of imagining the counterfactual situation. It thus highlights the speaker's fear in the speech site, whereas English EIC highlights the speaker's imagination of her negative emotion in the counterfactual space.

In conclusion, this paper shows that certain patterns of antecedents constitute well-entrenched, yet language-specific, embedded insubordination constructions that are associated with specific functions of building multiple mental spaces that convey stacks of viewpoints.

References

Dancygier, Barbara. 2012. Negation, stance-verbs, and intersubjectivity. In Dancygier, B. and E. Sweetser (eds) *Viewpoint in Language: A multimodal perspective*. Cambridge: CUP. 69-93.

Dancygier, Barbara. and Eve Sweetser 2005. *Mental Spaces in Grammar: Conditional Constructions*. Cambridge University Press.

Fauconnier, Gilles 1985/1994. *Mental spaces: Aspect of meaning construction in natural language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fauconnier, Gilles 1997. *Mappings in thought and language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Fauconnier, Gilles, & Turner, Mark. 2003. *The way we think: Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities.* NY: Basic Books.

Verhagen, Arie 2005. Constructions of intersubjectivity: Discourse, syntax, and cognition. Oxford University Press.

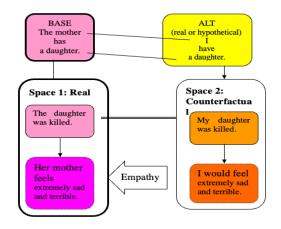


Fig. 1 The antecedent-only construction If it was my daughter.

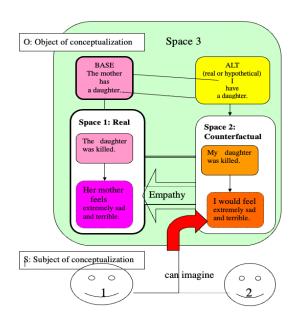
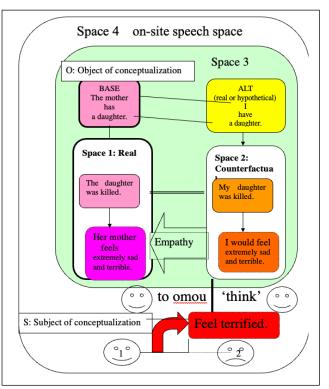


Fig. 2 The antecedent-only construction embedded in the complement of 'imagine' I can just imagine if it was my daughter.

Fig. 3 The antecedent-only construction (kore ga) zibun no musume dattara (this NOM)(my-)self GEN daughter COP-Cond(if) Lit. If (it was) my daughter.

<See Figure 1.>



FiFig. 4 The antecedent only construction embedded in the complement of omou 'think' ('imagine') zibun no musume dattara to omou to. (my-)self GEN daughter COP-Cond(if) QUO think Cond(if/when) Lit. As/when/if (I) think if (it was) my daughter.