Counterexpectation, concession, and free choice in Tibetan and beyond

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Triple A 7, July 2020*

1 Introducing Tibetan *yin.na'ang*

Tibetan *yin.na'ang* ཡིན་ན་འང་ appears to have three distinct uses:

(1) **Counterexpectational discourse particle 'however':**
བཀྲ་ཤིས་དགེ་རྒན་རེད། **ཡིན་ན་འང་** སྤྱང་པོ་མི་འདུག
bKra.shis dge-rgan red. **Yin.na'ang** spyang.po mi-'dug.
Tashi teacher COP YIN.NA'ANG clever NEG-AUX
'Tashi is a teacher. **However**, [he] isn't smart.'

(2) **Concessive scalar focus particle:**
དེབ་གཅིག་**ཡིན་ན་འང་** ཀློག་ན་ཡིག་ཚད་མཐར་འཁྱོལ་གི་རེད།
[Dep [gcig]$_F$ **yin.na'ang** klog-na] yig.tshad mthar.'khyol-gi-red.
book one YIN.NA'ANG read-COND exam succeed-IMPF-AUX
≈ '[If [you] read **even/at least** [one]$_F$ book], [you] will pass the exam.'

(3) ***Wh* universal free choice item (∀-FCI):**
ནོར་བུ་[ཁ་ལག་གང་ཅི་**ཡིན་ན་འང་**]ཟ་གི་རེད།
Nor.bu [(kha.lag) **ga.re yin.na'ang**] za-gi-red.
Norbu food what YIN.NA'ANG eat-IMPF-AUX
'Norbu eats **anything** / **any** food.'

*I thank Kunga Choedon, Pema Yonden, and Tenzin Kunsang for patiently sharing their language with me. For earlier comments and discussion, I thank Maayan Abenina-Adar, Rahul Balusu, Kenyon Branan, Sihwei Chen, Chris Davis, Hadas Kotek, Elin McCready, and audiences at NELS 50, LSA 2020, and the National University of Singapore.

Yin.na'ang is also variably *yin.na.yang* ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ or *yin.n'i* ཡིན་ནའི་ [1] and is morphologically clearly:

(4)

ཡིན་	ན་	ཡང་		ཡིན་ན་ཡང་		ཡིན་ནའང་		ཡིན་ནའི
yin	+**na**	+**yang**	=	yin.na.yang	>	yin.na'ang	>	yin.n'i
COPULA	COND	EVEN						/yine/

Roughly, then, *yin.na'ang* = *even-if-it's*.

Today:

- I document these uses of Tibetan *yin.na'ang* from original fieldwork and develop a **compositional semantics** which derives these uses from (4).
  - I develop **a new approach to the semantics of universal free choice,** which does not stipulate its quantificational force.
- Similar constructions — with the same/similar ingredients and the same/similar range of uses — is attested in **Dravidian languages** (Balusu 2020) and **Japanese**.

(5)

	COP-COND-EVEN	particle	focus particle	*wh*-quant.
Tibetan	*yin-na-yang*	'but'	CSP	∀-FCI
Kannada	*aad-ar-uu*	'but'	CSP	∀-FCI, ∃-FCI, NPI
Japanese	*de--mo*	'but'	CSP, 'for ex.'	∀-FCI

Such evidence further supports the (de)compositional approach. I discuss extensions of the analysis for Tibetan to these languages as well.

Roadmap §2 Counterexpectational • §3 Morphosyntactic aside • §3 Concessive scalar • §4 *Wh* universal free choice • §5 Cross-linguistic extensions

All Tibetan data is from my fieldwork in Dharamsala, India in summers 2018 and 2019. Abbreviations: AUX = auxiliary, COP = copula, IMP = imperative, IMPF = imperfective, COND = conditional, NEG = negation; DAT = dative, ERG = ergative; ORD = ordinal. The Wylie romanization is employed here, with periods indicating syllable boundaries where there is no morpheme boundary.

[1] This reflects the general reduction of ཡང་ <yang> EVEN to ཡའི་ <ya'i> /ye/, common in speech (Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2003: 409). Goldstein 2001 lists all three forms (p. 1000), but identifying ཡིན་ནའང་ *yin.na'ang* as the canonical form. I follow this convention here.

2 Counterexpectational discourse particle

- "*Yin.na'ang q*" refers to a prior proposition *p* and (a) requires an expectation that "if *p*, unlikely *q*" and (b) commits the speaker to *q*.

(6) **Counterexpectation is required:**

ཁོ་ཁ་ལག་མང་པོ་ཟ་གི་རེད། **ཡིན་ནའང་**རྒྱགས་པ་ཆགས་གི་**མ**་རེད།
Kho kha.lag mang.po za-gi-red.
he food a.lot eat-IMPF-AUX

Yin.na'ang rgyags.pa chags-gi-ma-**#(ma)**-red.
YIN.NA'ANG fat become-IMPF-**NEG**-AUX

'He eats a lot of food. However, he doesn't gain weight.'

Analysis

Yin.na'ang takes an unpronounced propositional anaphor:

(7) [[$pro_{=p}$]$_F$ yin-na] =yang *q*
COP-COND EVEN

Literal LF: EVEN (if it's [*p*]$_F$, *q*)

(8) **Deriving counterexpectation:**

a. Let *P* be a set of relevant alternatives to *p* — propositions *p*′ where the conditional "if *p*′, *q*" is relevant to consider.

b. EVEN requires that the conditional "if *p*, *q*" be less likely than "if *p*′, *q*" for all *p*′ ∈ *P*. (Horn 1969; see also Bennett 1982, von Fintel 1994)

c. This scalar condition requires low credence in "if *p*, *q*," incompatible with an expectation that "if *p*, likely *q*." This utterance therefore signals and reinforces an expectation that "if *p*, likely not *q*."

(9) **Deriving commitment to *q*:** (via commitment to *p*)

a. The proposition *p* was asserted prior by the same speaker or by another speaker and not denied, committing the speaker to *p*.

b. The speaker asserts "if *p*, *q*."

c. By Modus Ponens, the speaker is committed to *q*.

(10) **Deriving commitment to *q*:** (without commitment to *p*)

a. Assume that *P* in (8) exhausts all relevant possibilities. This is what Bennett (1982) calls an "introduced" *even if* conditional.

b. In such cases, the assertion "EVEN if [*p*]$_F$, *q*" implicates the truth of the consequent *q*. See von Fintel 1994: §5.3.3 for discussion.

Summary

- What we've done is to use EVEN to build a *concessive* ('although/even though') relation from a *causal* one, as is cross-linguistically common (König 1991: 82–83), and use that to signal *counterexpectation*.

See also Ippolito 2004 for related discussion of English concessive *still* and Balusu 2020 for a similar analysis of Kannada *aad-ar-uu*.

3 On the syntax of X=*yin.na'ang*

Taking the morphology of *yin.na'ang* at face value — COPULA + CONDITIONAL + EVEN (4) — *yin.na'ang* is a copular conditional clause with EVEN.

Let's look at another FCI example in more detail...

(11) Context: Pema is very friendly.
པད་མ་ཕྲུག་**སུ་ཡིན་ནའང་**ལ་སྐད་ཆ་བཤད་གི་རེད།
Pad.ma [(phru.gu) su **yin.na'ang**]=la skad.cha bshad-gi-red.
Pema child who YIN.NA'ANG=DAT speech talk-IMPF-AUX
'Pema talks to **anyone** / **any** child.' (habitual)

Two questions for the form X=*yin.na'ang* (FCI and concessive scalar):

1. the arguments of the copular predicate; and
2. X=*yin.na'ang* in argument position.

3.1 The arguments of the copular predicate

At first glance, it may be tempting to describe the *wh*-FCI as a *wh*-phrase + *yin.na'ang*.

(12) **But *wh=yin.na'ang* doesn't take 'which' phrases:**

a. ཁ་ལག་**གཱ་གིས་**ཡིན་ནའང་
*[kha.lag **ga.gi**] yin.na'ang
food which YIN.NA'ANG
'any (of the) food'

b. ཕྲུ་གུ་**གཱ་གིས་**ཡིན་ནའང་
*[phru.gu **ga.gi**] yin.na'ang
child which YIN.NA'ANG
'any child / of the children'

► Instead, I propose that the nominal (if present) is the first argument to the copula, as a bare definite, and the simplex *wh* is the second.[2] With no nominal, the first argument is *pro*.

(13) ***Wh=yin.na'ang* takes a nominal and a simplex *wh*-word:**

a. ཁ་ལག་**གཱ་རེ་**ཡིན་ནའང་
[(kha.lag) **ga.re**] yin.na'ang
food what YIN.NA'ANG
'any (of the) food'
lit. 'even if {the food/it} is what'

b. ཕྲུ་གུ་**སུ་**ཡིན་ནའང་
[(phru.gu) **su**] yin.na'ang
child who YIN.NA'ANG
'any child / of the children'
lit. 'even if {the child/that} is who'

Similarly, for concessive scalars, I take the first argument of the copular predicate to be *pro*.

3.2 X=*yin.na'ang* in argument position

Again, the morphology of *yin.na'ang* suggests that X=*yin.na'ang* is a conditional clause with a copular description, plus EVEN.

► But X=*yin.na'ang* is in an argument position! This is clear in examples like (11) where X=*yin.na'ang* takes dative case.

[2]This by itself may not explain why 'which'-phrases are ruled out: How come a structure akin to 'even if *pro* is which child' is unavailable? I do not have an answer to this yet.

X=*yin.na'ang* is a clausal structure in an argument position which describes that argument; in other words, a *head-internal relative* or *amalgam* (Lakoff 1974; see also Kluck 2011):

(14) John is going to I think it's Chicago on Saturday. (Lakoff 1974: 324)

...but many approaches to head-internal relatives and amalgams will not apply here, as the embedded clause is a *conditional* clause.

► I adopt the Shimoyama 1999 anaphora approach for (Japanese) head-internal relatives:[3] the clause is interpreted as adjoined to the main clause at LF, with its surface position interpreted as a pronoun.[4]

(15) a. Literal (11): Pema talks to [even if {*pro*/the child}$_7$ is who] ⇒

b. LF: [even if {*pro*/the child}$_7$'s who], she talks to *them*$_7$ ⇒
EVEN [if {*pro*/the child}$_7$'s who, she talks to *them*$_7$]

4 Concessive scalar focus particle

Concessive scalar particles are licensed in non-veridical environments and...

- Alonso-Ovalle (2016: 185): "trigger a characteristic interpretation: they convey a strengthening effect in downward entailing environments, a 'settle for less' interpretation in modal contexts..." and
- Crnič (2011: 5): associate with "lowest element on the pragmatic scale."

(16) **Spanish *aunque sea* (Lahiri 2010)**

a. ¡Déme **aunque sea** un vaso de agua, médico de mierda!
give.me AUNQUE SEA one glass of water doctor of shit
'Give me **at least** [a glass of water]$_F$, you crappy doctor!'

b. Si lees **aunque sea** UN libro, vas a aprobar.
if you read AUNQUE SEA one book, you'll pass
≈ 'If you read **even just/at least** [one]$_F$ book, you'll pass.'

Languages vary in whether negation licenses CSPs (Alonso-Ovalle 2016).

[3]Tibetan also generally has head-internal relatives (DeLancey 1999, Erlewine 2019a).

[4]Rahul Balusu (p.c.) observes that Hirsch 2016 seems to have independently proposed an analysis much like (15) for the interpretation of English *ever* free relatives.

(17) **CSP *yin.na'ang* licensed by a conditional:**

དེབ་གཅིག་**ཡིན་ནའང་**ཀློག་ན་ཡིག་ཚད་མཐར་ལྷོལ་གི་རེད། / # ... གསུམ་ ... =(2)

[Dep [gcig/#gsum]$_F$ **yin.na'ang** klog-na] yig.tshad mthar.'khyol-gi-red.
book three/#three YIN.NA'ANG read-COND exam succeed-IMPF-AUX

≈ '[If [you] read **even just** one/#three book(s)], [you] will pass the exam.'

(18) **CSP *yin.na'ang* licensed by negation:**

བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཨང་གསུམ་པ་**ཡིན་ནའི་**ལེན་**མི་**འདུག / * ... ལེན་འདུག

bKra.shis ang [gsum]$_F$-pa **yin.n'i** len-*(**mi**)-'dug.
Tashi number three-ORD YIN.NA'ANG receive-NEG-AUX

'He didn't **even** get [third]$_F$ place.'

(19) **CSP *yin.na'ang* licensed in an imperative:**

ཁ་ལག་**ཏིས་ཡིན་ནའི་**ཟ་དང་།

Kha.lag [tis]$_F$ **yin.n'i** za-(dang)!
food a little YIN.NA'ANG eat-IMP

≈ 'Eat **at least** a little food!'

Analysis, in the spirit of Lahiri 2010[5]

(20) **Licensing in a conditional (17):**

a. LF: EVEN [$_\alpha$ if it$_4$'s [one/three]$_F$ book,
[if you read it$_4$, you will pass the exam]]

b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt} = \left\{ \begin{array}{r} \text{\^{}if it}_4\text{'s } n \text{ books, [if you read them}_4\text{,} \\ \text{you will pass the exam]} \end{array} : n \geq 1 \right\}$

c. With a weak element, 'one':
$[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ = \^{}if it$_4$'s one book, [if you read it$_4$, you will pass the exam]
The prejacent $[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ is the least likely within $[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt}$, satisfying EVEN.

[5]Lahiri 2010 discusses the distribution and interpretation of Spanish *aunque sea*, which appears to be *even if* + (subjunctive) *copula*, and discuses possible compositional accounts. He also relates this to the Greek concessive scalar *esto ke*, which is also *even* + *if* (Giannakidou 2007).

d. With a stronger element, 'three':
$[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ = \^{}if it$_4$'s three books, [if you read it$_4$, you will pass the exam]
$[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ is *not* the least likely alternative and so EVEN is infelicitous.

(21) **Licensing by negation with 'even' reading (18):**

Consider only first, second, third places here.

a. LF: EVEN [$_\alpha$ if it$_6$'s [third]$_F$ place, Tashi didn't get it$_6$]

b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ = \^{}if it$_6$'s third place, Tashi didn't get it$_6$
$[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt}$ = {\^{}if it$_6$'s n-th place, Tashi didn't get it$_6$: $n \in \{1,2,3\}$}
Assuming getting first place is less likely — or more noteworthy (Herburger 2000) — than second, etc., *not* getting third place will be the least likely, satisfying EVEN.

This reasoning relies on the negation to reverse likelihood relations, and thus follows the general logic of weak elements associating with EVEN to form NPIs (Lahiri 1998; see also Lee and Horn 1995).

(22) **Licensing *yin.na'ang* in an imperative (19):**

a. LF for (19): EVEN [$_\alpha$ IMP(if it's [a little]$_F$ food$_3$, you eat it$_3$)]
IMP represents the imperative speech act operator.

b. If imperatives don't have truth conditions (*pace* Kaufmann 2012), we can't order them by likelihood or entailment. But we can order imperatives by *noteworthiness* (Herburger 2000).

c. In a context where a stronger request — e.g. IMP(if it's *a lot* of food$_3$, you eat it$_3$) — is also appropriate, the speaker's choice to make the weaker request with 'little' is noteworthy, satisfying EVEN.

d. This derives the "at least" or "settle for less" (Alonso-Ovalle 2016) flavor of the concessive scalar particle: Alternative imperatives with higher values would also be appropriate.

► Following Lahiri 2010 on *aunque sea* (see footnote 5), the combination of a copula, conditional, and 'even' can derive these interpretations of concessive scalar *yin.na'ang*.

5 *Wh* universal free choice item

Universal free choice items (∀-FCIs) are licensed in a range of modal/conditional and non-episodic (non-veridical; Giannakidou 2001) environments and lead to *universal free choice inferences*:

(23) $f(\text{FCI}_x) \Rightarrow$ for any choice of x, $f(x)$ is true

(Giannakidou 2001's "quasi-universal effect"; Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002's "distribution requirement")

Preliminaries

As *wh=yin.na'ang* FCIs involve a *wh*-word, I introduce some background:

(24) **Tibetan is *wh*-in-situ; no bare *wh* indefinites:**

ཐུགས་སྤྲོ་ལ་སུ་སྙེབས་སོང་ངས།

[$_{\text{TP}}$ Thugs.spro-la *su* slebs-song] (-pas?)
party-DAT who arrive-AUX -Q

'Who came to the party?' / *'Someone came to the party.' (see Erlewine and Kotek 2016)

(25) ***Wh*-EVEN NPI:**

ཐུགས་སྤྲོ་ལ་སུ་**ཡང་**སྙེབས་**མ**་སོང།

Thugs.spro-la *su*-**yang** slebs-*(**ma**)-song.
party-DAT who-EVEN arrive-NEG-AUX

'No one came to the party.'

I employ the framework for *wh*-quantification in Alternative Semantics in my work in progress; see e.g. Erlewine 2019b.

- *Wh*-words have an alternative set ranging over its domain but no ordinary value (Ramchand 1997, Beck 2006, Kotek 2014):

(26) a. $[\![su/who]\!]^{\text{o}}$ undefined

b. $[\![su/who]\!]^{\text{alt}} = \{x : x \text{ animate}\}$

(27) a. $[\![\text{TP}]\!]^{\text{o}}$ undefined

b. $[\![\text{TP}]\!]^{\text{alt}} = \{\text{^Tashi came...}, \text{ ^Sonam came...}, \ldots\}$

(28) **Interpretability:** (based on intuitions in Rooth 1992, Beck 2006)

To interpret α, $[\![\alpha]\!]^{\text{o}}$ must be defined and $\in [\![\alpha]\!]^{\text{alt}}$.

- To interpret $[\![\text{TP}]\!]$ in (27) above as a question, an operator ALTSHIFT applies to convert it into a valid question denotation. See Kotek 2019.

- Focus particles such as EVEN can't compose with (27) because they require a defined ordinary value (the prejacent).

- To fix this problem, I propose the following covert ∃:[6]

(29) a. $[\![\exists\ \alpha]\!]^{\text{o}} = \bigvee [\![\alpha]\!]^{\text{alt}}$ b. $[\![\exists\ \alpha]\!]^{\text{alt}} = [\![\alpha]\!]^{\text{alt}}$

- [∃ TP] does *not* result in an interpretable bare *wh*-indefinite, because its result violates Interpretability (28). But it allows focus particles such as EVEN to apply, which then resolve the Interpretability problem by "resetting" the alternative set.

(30) **Reset:**

Op is "resetting" if it specifies $[\![\alpha]\!]^{\text{alt}} := \{[\![\alpha]\!]^{\text{o}}\}$

This allows for a compositional derivation of *wh*-EVEN NPIs in Tibetan (25), following the Lahiri 1998 logic for enforcing polarity-sensitivity through a scalar particle. See Erlewine 2020.

Analysis

(31) **Computing the *wh* ∀-FCI in (11):**

a. Literal (11): Pema talks to [even if {*pro*/the child} is *who*] ⇒

b. LF: EVEN [$_{\alpha}$ if [∃ [it$_7$'s *who*]], [she talks to *them*$_7$]]

(32) a. $[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ = ^if it$_7$'s *someone*, she talks(HABITUAL) to them$_7$

b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt}$ = {^if it$_7$'s x, she talks(HABITUAL) to them$_7$: x human}

The conditional restricts the domain of a modal/temporal quantifier (Lewis 1975, Kratzer 1979, 1986, von Fintel 1994). Following Arregui et al. 2014, I model the habitual imperfective as a universal quantifier over "characteristic" situations (Cipria and Roberts 2000: 325).

(33) ∀ characteristic situations s and assignments g, where $g(7)$ exists and is human in s, she talks to $g(7)$ in s

(34) a. $[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ = ^$\forall s, g$[$g(7)$ defined, human in s →she talks to $g(7)$ in s]

b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt}$ = {^$\forall s, g$[$g(7) = x$ → she talks to $g(7)$ in s] : x human}

$[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ asymmetrically entails every alternative in $[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt}$.

EVEN then applies to α. The presupposition of EVEN will be satisfied: the prejacent is the least likely alternative.

► **The universal force of ∀-FCIs comes from the universal modal/temporal quantification** — here, habitual — **which is restricted by the conditional!**

(35) **But what if the conditional restricts a possibility modal?**

a. ∃ accessible w and assignment g, where $g(7)$ exists and is human in w, she talks to $g(7)$ in w

b. $[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ = ^$\exists w, g$[$g(7)$ defined, human in $w \wedge$ she talks to $g(7)$ in w]

$[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt}$ = {^$\exists w, g$[$g(7) = x \wedge$ she talks to $g(7)$ in w] : x human}

But here, the prejacent $[\![\alpha]\!]^o$ is *weaker* than each of the alternatives in $[\![\alpha]\!]^{alt}$. The prejacent cannot be less likely than its alternatives, so EVEN is infelicitous!

► The semantics of EVEN ensures that *wh=yin.na'ang* (≈ *even if it's someone*) conditionals can only restrict universal modal/temporal operators!

(36) ***Wh-yin.na'ang* FCI with deontic possibility modal:**

དའི་ཁྱི་[ཁ་ལག་**གཅི་ཡིན་ནའང་**]ཟ་**ཆོག**་གི་རེད།

Nga-'i khyi [(kha.lag) **ga.re yin.na'ang**] za-**chog**-gi-red.
1sg-GEN dog food what YIN.NA'ANG eat-ALLOWED-IMPF-AUX

'My dog is allowed to eat **anything** / **any** food.'

(37) **∀-FCI with possibility modal in (36):**

a. Literal (3): My dog IMPF [ALLOWED eat [even if the food is what]]

b. If the food$_i$ exists, my dog ALLOWED eat it$_i$ × EVEN

c. If the food$_i$ exists, IMPF [my dog ALLOWED eat it$_i$] ◯ EVEN

⇒ ∀-FC > ALLOWED

(38) ***Wh=yin.na'ang* is ungrammatical in episodic descriptions:**

*བཀྲ་ཤིས་དཔལ་[ཁ་ལག་**གཅི་ཡིན་ནའང་**]བཟས་ཚར་སོང།

bKra.shis da.lta [(kha.lag) **ga.re yin.na'ang**] bzas-tshar-song.
Tashi now food what YIN.NA'ANG eat-finish-AUX

Intended: ≈ 'Tashi finished eating **any** food right now.'

Episodic descriptions claim the existence of a particular event: here, that there was a completion of eating, in the past, in the halo of 'now.'

► There is no modal/temporal operator which supplies universal force and therefore the prejacent will not be less likely than its alternatives, so EVEN cannot be satisfied here.

6 Conclusion

Tibetan *yin.na'ang* has three functions:

1. *Yin.na'ang* counterexpectational discourse particle
2. X *yin.na'ang* concessive scalar focus particle
3. *wh yin.na'ang* universal free choice item

► **All three uses can be derived compositionally from its ingredients:**

(4) ཡིན་ ན་ ཡང་
yin + na + yang
COPULA CONDITIONAL EVEN

► **A new approach to universal free choice**, parasitic on an existing universal/necessity operator via the conditional, enforced by the logical properties of motivated by its overt morphology (4).

See also its further formalization in Erlewine 2020.

Extensions:

► If this is really derived from the independent conventional semantics for the copula, conditional, and *even*, we might expect similar expressions in other languages.

Rahul Balusu has recently shown (2019, 2020) this to be true in a range of Dravidian languages!

For example, Telugu *ai-naa* = COP-EVEN.IF has three functions:

1. *Ai-naa* counterexpectational discourse particle
2. X *ai-naa* concessive scalar focus particle
3. *wh ai-naa* universal/existential free choice item

! But there are subtle differences! For example, Telugu *wh ai-naa* also allows ∃-FCI ('somebody or other') readings. See Balusu 2019, 2020.

Japanese *demo* has three functions:

1. *Demo* counterexpectational discourse particle
2. X *demo* concessive scalar focus particle / 'for example'
3. *wh demo* universal free choice item

See the handout's Appendix for some data and one particularly striking parallel between Tibetan *yin.na'ang* and Japanese *demo*.

! But there is a subtle difference! *Demo* has a 'for example' use (Watanabe 2013). See Appendix in handout.

A closing thought on constructional transparency...

A complication is that Japanese *demo* is not a synchronically productive combination of copula, conditional, and *even*.

- Hiraiwa and Nakanishi (to appear) propose that the Japanese surface form *demo* is a conventionalized contraction of *dear-te-mo*, which is transparently COP-COND-EVEN. But the proposed contraction is not a productive process.

► The success of the decomposition for Tibetan *yin.na'ang* — from its ingredients, COPULA + CONDITIONAL + EVEN — is valuable for understanding this class of expressions, **both synchronically productive and not:**

  – We might find other cases where the morphology and semantics are quite transparent (Dravidian?)
  – and for others, it offers an explanation for *why* a language bundles such meanings together, even if its morphology is now calcified (Japanese).

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ། *Thank you!*

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Appendix: Japanese *demo*

Three uses:

(39) **Counterexpectational discourse particle 'however':** ≅ (1)

Tashi-wa se-ga takai. **Demo** atama-wa yoku-nai.
Tashi-TOP height-NOM high DEMO head-TOP good-NEG

'Tashi's tall. **However,** [he] isn't smart.'

(40) **Concessive scalar focus particle:** ≅ (2)

Context: Don't worry, the test is easy.
[Hon-o [is-satsu / ??san-satsu]$_F$ **demo** yom-eba]
book-ACC one-CL three-CL DEMO read-COND
shiken-ni gookaku su-ru (yo).
exam-DAT pass do-NONPAST YO

≈ '[If [you] read **even just** one book], [you] will pass the exam.'

(41) ***Wh* universal free choice item:** ≅ (11)

Context: Pema is very friendly.

Kanojo-wa [**dare**-to **demo**] hana-su.
she-TOP who-DAT DEMO talk-NONPAST

'She talks to **anyone**.'

A fascinating parallel between Japanese and Tibetan *wh*-FCI:

(42) ***Dou* is manner 'how':**
Chibetto-ni **dou**
Tibet-DAT how
ik-u-no?
go-NONPAST-Q
'How will you go to Tibet?'

(43) བོད་ལ་**གང་འདྲ་**འགྲོ་ཡི་ཨིན།
Bod-la **gang.'dra**
Tibet-DAT how
'gro-ya-yin?
go-FUT-AUX
'How will you go to Tibet?'

(44) ***Dou-demo* can't be used for 'any way':**
***Dou-demo** ik-u (yo).
how-DEMO go-NONPAST YO
Intended: ≈ 'I will go however/in any way.'

(45) *གང་འདྲ་ཡིན་ནའང་འགྲོ་ཡི་ཨིན།
Gang.'dra yin.na'ang
how go-FUT-AUX
'gro-ya-yin.
go-FUT-AUX
Intended: ≈ 'I will go however/in any way.'

(46) **But *dou-demo* can express strong indifference:**
Dou-demo ii (yo).
how-DEMO good YO
'Anything is fine.' (I don't care / That doesn't matter)

(47) **གང་འདྲ་ཡིན་ནའང་**འཕྲིག་གི་རེད།
Gang.'dra yin.na'ang
how go-FUT-AUX
'grig-gi-red.
alright-IMPF-AUX
'Anything is fine.'
(Speaker comment: 'I don't care.')

However, Japanese *demo* as a focus particle has a 'for example' use that Tibetan *yin.na'ang* lacks:

(48) Teramura 1991 in Watanabe 2013: 207:

John-ni-**demo** kik-ou.
John-DAT-DEMO ask-HORT

'Let's ask John, for example.'

(50) Watanabe 2013: 208:

Kaze-**demo** hii-ta-no?
cold-DEMO catch-PAST-Q

'Did you catch a cold, for example?'

(52) Ocha-**demo** nomi-masu-ka?
tea-DEMO drink-POLITE-Q

'Would you like to get tea, for example?'

(49) *བཀྲ་ཤིས་**ཡིན་ནའང་**ལ་འདྲི་གོ

bKra.shis-**yin.na'ang**-la
Tashi-YIN.NA'ANG-DAT

'dri-go.
ask-HORT

literally 'Let's ask *yin.na'ang* Tashi.'

(51) *ཁྱེད་རང་ཆམ་པ་**ཡིན་ནའང་**བརྒྱབ་འདུག་གས།

Khyed.rang cham.pa
you cold

yin.na'ang brgyab-'dug-gas?
YIN.NA'ANG build-AUX-Q

literally 'Did you catch *yin.na'ang* a cold?'

(53) *ཁྱེད་རང་ཡིན་ནའང་འཐུང་ཡ་ཡིན་པས།

Khyed.rang cha **yin.na'ang**
you tea YIN.NA'ANG

'thung-ya-yin-pas?
dring-FUT-AUX-Q

literally 'Will you drink *yin.na'ang* tea?'