A Quantitative Analysis of *Although* and *Though* Clauses: Their Commonalities and Differences*

Yuko Mizuno

1. Introduction

This paper compares *although* and *though* clauses in terms of their discourse functions. Like most adverbial clauses in English, both *although* and *though* clauses may precede or follow the associated main clause, as can be seen in examples (1) to (4):

(1) *Although* my team has won another game, I feel no joy.
(2) Being a waitress was the best of the bunch, *although* it was murder on her feet.
(3) *Though* she would love to have a home and family of her own, it would never happen.
(4) “Mary Theresa?” Maggie mouthed, *though* no sound passed her lips.

It is generally assumed that *although* and *though* are “alternants” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 736) or “synonymous” (Biber *et al.* 1999: 845) when used as subordinators. Furthermore, König (1985, 1988, 1994), which provides a most comprehensive analysis of concessive relations, suggests that *although* and *though* clauses share at least three usages: both clauses can express “standard concessive,” “rhetorical concessive,” and “rectifying concessive” relations. The only difference between *although* and *though* pointed out in the literature is that the former is slightly more formal than the latter (Biber *et al.* 1999: 845-846, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 736).

Concessive clauses, including *although* and *though* clauses, have been analyzed from

* This paper is a revised version of my presentation at the 54th annual meeting of the Hokkaido branch of the English Literary Society of Japan on October 3, 2009. I am grateful for the valuable comments and criticisms from the participants and two anonymous referees. All remaining errors are of course my own.
several perspectives. Semantic analyses were proposed by König (1985, 1988, 1994), Rudolph (1996), Crevels (2000), and Izutsu (2005), pragmatic analyses by Sweetser (1990) and Azar (1997), and discourse-functional analyses by Barth (2000) and Noordman (2001). However, while although and though are commonly assumed to be synonymous, almost no study has closely examined their commonalities and differences with respect to the following two respects:

(A) How frequently (al)though clauses precede or follow the main clause.
(B) Whether the three types of (al)though clauses proposed by König, i.e., standard, rhetorical, and rectifying concessive relations, can be identified in naturally occurring discourse and how frequently each type occurs.

As for the question in (A), Diessel (1996), Noordman (2001), and Mizuno (2009) observed that initial although clauses are more frequent than final although clauses. However, no study has examined whether though clauses have the same positioning pattern as that of although clauses. As for the question in (B), Mizuno (2009) demonstrated that both initial and final although clauses are not restricted to standard, rhetorical, and rectifying concessive alone; they express contrast and speech act relations as well. In addition, Mizuno (2009) revealed that initial and final although clauses differ greatly in the frequency of each usage. However, no study has analyzed though clauses with respect to their usage types and frequency of each usage based on naturally occurring discourse.

The goal of this paper is to examine the commonalities and differences between although and though clauses with regard to the two points in (A) and (B) above. In order to compare the usage types of although and though clauses, I will use the classification of although clauses proposed in Mizuno (2009). Based on a survey of 270 tokens of although clauses and 310 tokens of though clauses in actual data, I will argue the following points. First, initial although and though clauses in the data are similar in the kinds of usages and the frequency of each usage. Second, final although and though clauses in the data are also similar in the kinds of usages and the frequency of each usage. Third, initial (al)though clauses differ from final (al)though clauses in their most frequent usage types. Fourth, although and though clauses are different in their distributions: on the whole, although clauses tend to precede the main clause, while though clauses tend to follow the main clause.
The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces five types of although clauses identified in Mizuno (2009). Section 3 describes the data used in this study. Section 4 reports the findings about the distribution and the functions of although and though clauses in naturally occurring discourse. Section 5 discusses the findings presented in Section 4. Section 6 is the conclusion.

2. Five Types of Although Clauses

This section summarizes Mizuno (2009), which examines whether the three types of concessive relations proposed by König (1994) account for although clauses in naturally occurring discourse. According to König (1994), both initial and final (a)lthough clauses can express standard and rhetorical concessive, while only final (a)lthough clauses can express rectifying concessive. However, based on the data collected from newspaper articles, Mizuno (2009) shows that contra König’s analysis, initial and final although clauses do not differ in the kinds of usages. That is, both initial and final although clauses can express not only standard, rhetorical, and rectifying concessive, but also two other relations: contrast and speech act relations. I will briefly explain these five types of although clauses.

First, standard concessive is exemplified in (5) below:

(5) Although John had no money, he went into this expensive restaurant. (König 1988: 146)

In this use, the speaker of although p, q (or q, although p) asserts these two propositions against the background assumption that ‘if p, then normally not-q.’ For instance, the speaker of (5) may assume that if one has no money, one normally does not go into an expensive restaurant.

Second, rhetorical concessive is illustrated in (6):

(6) [Somebody is looking for a good actor with brown eyes.] Although he certainly knows his job, he has got blue eyes. (König 1988: 148)

Unlike standard concessive, the rhetorical concessive does not involve the assumption ‘if p, then normally not-q.’ Instead, a sentence of rhetorical concessive expresses that
the first clause \( p \) is an argument for a conclusion \( r \), while the second clause \( q \) is an argument for the opposite conclusion \( \text{not}-r \), and the second conclusion carries more weight in the whole argument (König 1985: 6). For example, in (6) above, the first clause \textit{he certainly knows his job} supports the conclusion that the actor is suitable, whereas the second clause \textit{he has got blue eyes} supports the opposite conclusion that the actor is not suitable, and the overall impact of the relevant utterance is that the speaker does not consider the actor suitable after all.

Third, the rectifying concessive is exemplified in (7) below:

(7) **He is very intelligent, although** some of the things that he says are a bit silly.  
(König 1988: 148)

While in the standard and rhetorical cases the content of the main clause is emphasized, the content of the main clause is weakened whenever a rectifying clause follows (König 1994: 681). In (7) above, for instance, the \textit{although} clause serves to restrict the validity of the previous statement.

Fourth, speech-act use of \textit{although}, which was first identified by Sweetser (1990), is illustrated in (8) below:

(8) **Although** I sympathize with your problems, get the paper in tomorrow!  
(Sweetser 1990: 79)

In this use, \textit{although} clauses form an obstacle for the realization of the speech-act expressed in the main clause. In (8), the speaker performs the speech-act of command in spite of his/her sympathy.

Finally, the relation of contrast is exemplified in (9) below:

(9) John is tall but Bill is short.  
(Lakoff 1971: 133)

According to Lakoff (1971), the relation of contrast is distinguished from that of standard concessive in terms of four respects.\(^1\) First, "the subjects of the two sentences

\(^1\) Contrast and standard concessive are called "semantic opposition" and "denial of expectation" respectively by Lakoff (1971).
are directly opposed to each other in a particular property" (Lakoff 1971: 133). Second, standard concessive involves a background assumption, while contrast does not. Third, for contrast, the order of the conjuncts can be reversed, as in (10) below, while it cannot for standard concessive. Fourth, contrast can be expressed by while as in (11) below; whereas standard concessive cannot.

(10) Bill is short but John is tall.
(11) John is tall while Bill is short.

While Lakoff (1971) assumes that only but, but not although, can express contrast, Mizuno (2009) shows that although clauses can also express the relation of contrast, as shown in (12) below:

(12) Although some organizations are sticking to training seeing-eye dogs or animals that help people who use wheelchairs, others are teaching dogs to respond when companions have seizures or to act as hearing-ear animals to alert deaf people to crying babies or knocks on the door.

(Mizuno 2009's ex. 16a)

3. Data

The data for the present research were collected from written corpus because as reported in Ford (1993: 24), although and though clauses are relatively rare in spoken discourse. Out of the 194 adverbal clauses in the spoken corpus used in Ford (1993), only 3 were concessive and only one of them was introduced by although. I collected the data from fiction and newspaper articles compiled in The Corpus of Contemporary American English. The fictional data were taken from the juvenile fiction compiled in the corpus from 2004 to 2007; together they include 117 although clauses and 194 though clauses. The newspaper articles were taken from New York Times and Washington Post of 2008 compiled in the corpus; they include 153 although clauses and 116 though clauses. Table 1 below provides a summary of the data.

---

2 This study concentrates on finite (a)though clauses. Examples of nonfinite (a)though clauses, verbless (a)though clauses, even though clauses, and though used after an adjective or adverb, illustrated in (i), (ii),
Table 1: Summary of the data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fiction</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>although clauses</td>
<td>117 (37.6%)</td>
<td>153 (56.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>though clauses</td>
<td>194 (62.4%)</td>
<td>116 (43.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>311 (100.0%)</td>
<td>269 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reveals that fiction shows a greater use of *though* clauses while newspaper shows a slightly greater use of *although* clauses. This result supports the common observation that *though* is slightly more informal than *although* (Biber et al. 1999: 845-846, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 736).

4. Results

4.1 Frequency of Initial and Final (*Al)though* Clauses

This section compares *although* and *though* clauses with respect to how frequently they precede or follow the main clause. Tables 2 and 3 below show the frequency of initial and final (*al)though* clauses in newspaper articles and fiction, respectively.

First, as can be seen in Table 2, in the newspaper articles, the great majority of *although* clauses precede the main clause: 113 out of 153 (73.9%) tokens occur sentence-initially while 40 out of 153 (26.1%) tokens occur sentence-finally. On the other hand, unlike *although* clauses, the great majority of *though* clauses follow the main clause: 76 out of 116 (65.5%) tokens occur sentence-finally whereas 38 out of 116 (32.8%) tokens occur sentence-initially. Next, Table 3 reveals that in fiction, unlike in newspapers, there is almost no difference in frequency between initial and final *although* clauses: 60 out of 117 (51.3%) tokens occur sentence-initially while 57 out of 117 (48.7%) tokens occur sentence-finally. On the other hand, as in newspaper articles, final *though* clauses are far more frequent than initial *though* clauses: 118 out of 194 (60.8%) tokens follow the main clause whereas 75 out of 194 (38.7%) tokens precede the main clause.

(iii), and (iv) below respectively, were excluded from the present analysis.

(i) *Though* shaken, she appeared more or less unharmed.
(ii) She smiled also, *though* at a thought of her own.
(iii) *Even though* she is tired and thirsty, she smiles a little.
(iv) Troubled *though* she might be, Angie wouldn’t leave her room behind.
### Table 2. Initial and final (al)though clauses in newspaper articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>initial</th>
<th>final</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>although</td>
<td>113 (73.9%)</td>
<td>40 (26.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>153 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>though</td>
<td>38 (32.8%)</td>
<td>76 (65.5%)</td>
<td>2 (1.7%)</td>
<td>116 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3. Initial and final (al)though clauses in fiction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>initial</th>
<th>final</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>although</td>
<td>60 (51.3%)</td>
<td>57 (48.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>117 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>though</td>
<td>75 (38.7%)</td>
<td>118 (60.8%)</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
<td>194 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, although and though clauses differ with regard to their positional patterns, which cannot be predicted by simply analyzing although and though clauses as synonymous. The positioning pattern of although clauses varies depending on genres. In newspaper articles, initial although clauses are far more frequent than final although clauses, while fiction shows no particular preference. On the other hand, the positional pattern of though is consistent: final though clauses are more frequent than initial though clauses in both newspaper articles and fiction.

#### 4.2 Usage Types of (Al)though Clauses and the Frequency of Each Type

This section compares although and though clauses with respect to their usage types and the frequency of each type. The analysis is based on the fictional data mentioned in Section 3. I analyzed the 117 examples of although clauses and the 193 examples of though clauses in the data in terms of whether they represent (i) standard concessive, (ii) rhetorical concessive, (iii) rectifying concessive, (iv) speech-act, or (v) contrast. I did not deal with one example of although clause occurring in medial position in the present study.

**4.2.1 Initial Although Clauses**

A total of 60 initial although clauses in the fictional data can be classified into three main classes: standard concessive, rhetorical concessive, and contrast. There are no clear examples of rectifying concessive and speech-act.

**Standard Concessive**

First, standard concessive is the most frequent type of initial although clauses in the data. 46 out of 60 (76.7%) examples express standard concessive. This result
corresponds to the finding of Mizuno (2009), which reports that the majority of initial *although* clauses in the data of newspaper articles classify as standard concessive. An example of standard concessive is given in (13) below:

(13) *Although* my team has won another game, I feel no joy. I don’t care so much about winning anymore; I just want to play. (=1)

In (13), we may assume that if the speaker’s team won the game, s/he feels joy. However, this assumption is incompatible with the propositional content of the main clause. One more interesting example of standard concessive is given below:

(14) She would want to stay, for *although* he could promise much, who would leave such luxury unless they were forced to?

The *although* clause in (14) appears to be an example of speech-act at first sight, because the clause type of the main clause is not declarative, but interrogative. However, the main clause is not interpreted as a true question, but rather as a rhetorical question, conveying the statement that she would not leave. The propositional content of this statement is in conflict with an assumption evoked from the *although* clause, i.e., if he could promise much, she would leave.

*Rhetorical Concessive*

Second, rhetorical concessive is far less frequent than standard concessive in the data; only 6 out of 60 (10.0%) tokens express rhetorical concessive, as exemplified in (15) below:

(15) She had graduated from UCLA with a master’s in English and was just months away from getting her doctorate. Now she would have to put that goal on hold. At least she wouldn’t have to give up her job. *Although* writing technical manuals for a Los Angeles-based electronics firm wasn’t the writing career she had dreamed of, it paid the bills.

In (15), unlike standard concessive, there is no background assumption that if *p*, then normally not-*q*. Instead, the *although* clause provides an argument against the claim
that she would not give up her job, whereas the main clause supports the claim.

**Contrast**

Third, 8 out of 60 (13.3%) examples express the relation of contrast, as shown in (16a) below:

(16a) Somewhere in the gathering were Nikki’s two closest friends, Dixie McPherson and Carlisle Bartlett. Both were flight attendants at Aires Airlines, where Nikki was a pilot. They had worked together for the past ten years, starting when the company was still fairly new and small, and over the years there had been times they’d have been lost without one another. Like now. Although Dixie and Carlisle were both involved in serious relationships, Nikki had been on her own since the divorce.

In (16a), Dixie and Carlisle, on the one hand, and Nikki, on the other hand, are contrasted with respect to whether they are involved in serious relationships or not. This example fits Lakoff’s (1971) definition of contrast. First, unlike standard concessive, the although clause in (16a) does not evoke the background assumption ‘if p, then normally not-q.’ Second, the order of the conjuncts can be reversed, as shown in (16b). Third, although in (16a) is replaceable by while, as shown in (16c) below.

(16b) Although Nikki had been on her own since the divorce, Dixie and Carlisle were both involved in serious relationships.

(16c) Nikki had been on her own since the divorce, while Dixie and Carlisle were both involved in serious relationships.

4. 2. 2 Initial *though* Clauses

Initial *though* clauses in the data classify in almost the same way as *although* clauses. A total of 75 initial *though* clauses examples can be classified into four types: standard concessive, rhetorical concessive, contrast, and speech-act. There are no clear examples of rectifying concessive.

**Standard Concessive**

Like *although* clauses, the most frequent type of initial *though* clauses is standard
concessive. 61 out of 75 (81.3%) tokens express standard concessive, as exemplified in (17):

(17) **Though** their meal was surprisingly good, Mik spent more time shoving his food around the plate than actually eating.

In (17), the *though* clause may evoke an assumption that if their meal was great, Mik did not shove his food around the plate. This assumption is denied by the following main clause.

**Rhetorical Concessive**

Second, like *although* clauses, rhetorical concessive is far less frequent than standard concessive: only 3 out of 75 (4.0%) examples express rhetorical concessive, as illustrated in (18):

(18) “I have a job for you,” Tallent continued. “I’m listening.” I had no choice. **Though** my parents were incredibly wealthy, they thought I was nuts and had stopped speaking to me the instant I married Simon.

In (18), a job is offered to the speaker by Tallent. The *though* clause provides an argument against the claim that the speaker would take on the job, whereas the main clause supports the claim.

**Contrast**

Next, 10 out of 75 (13.3%) tokens express the relation of contrast, as exemplified in (19a):

(19) a. Just last week, she and Ian Hamlin opened an office together in a small converted house, only about a mile from Miles Hamasaki’s former high-rise, high-rent law firm in downtown, Honolulu. **Though** Hamlin had been fairly well established before Miles Hamasaki’s death, Storm had been a mere law clerk for her beloved Uncle Miles.

In (19a), Hamlin and Storm are contrasted with regard to their career. This example fits the definition of contrast. First, unlike standard concessive, the *though* clause in (19a)
does not evoke any background assumption. Second, the order of the conjuncts can be reversed, as shown in (19b). Third, the *though* in (19a) is replaceable by *while*, as shown in (19c).

(19) b. **Though** Storm had been a mere law clerk for her beloved Uncle Miles, Hamlin had been fairly well established before Miles Hamasaki's death.

c. Hamlin had been fairly well established before Miles Hamasaki's death, **while** Storm had been a mere law clerk for her beloved Uncle Miles.

**Speech-act**

Lastly, only 1 out of 75 (1.3%) examples in the data can be regarded as a speech-act *though* clause, as exemplified in (20):

(20) He was well into his fifth one-year contract to find Danny Boy, and there was a nice bonus for snagging the prey. **Though** he hid it well, Guy had been slowly cracking under the pressure of not finding Danny Boy.

In (20), unlike standard concessive, there is no assumption that if he hid it well, Guy had not been slowly cracking. Unlike rhetorical concessive, the *though* clause and the main clause do not support any opposite conclusions, and unlike contrast, the subjects of the *though* and the main clauses are not opposed to each other. Instead, the propositional content of the *though* clause *Guy hid it well* is in conflict with the speech act of asserting that Guy had been slowly cracking. If someone hides a fact, it might be impossible for other people to tell what the hidden fact is. Nevertheless, the writer makes an assertion about the hidden fact in the main clause.³

4. 2. 3 Summary of Initial *Although* and *Though* Clauses

As we have seen above, both the initial *although* and *though* clauses in the data express standard, rhetorical, and contrast. On the other hand, the relation of speech

³ As suggested in Sweetser (1990: 79), the speech act use of *although* is not restricted to the cases in which the main clause expresses the speech act of ordering or asking. The statements, as well as other speech acts, are subject to speech-act *although*, as shown in (v) below:

(v) Mary loves you very much, Tom – although I'm sure you already know that. (Sweetser 1990: 79)
act happens to be observed in an initial *though* clause. The number of examples of each type is shown in Table 4 and 5 below. These tables show that initial *although* and *though* clauses are similar not only in the kinds of usages, but also in their most frequent usage type. The majority of initial *although* and *though* clauses express standard concessive. On the other hand, the frequency of all the other usages is less than 15 percent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
<th>Usages of initial <em>although</em> clauses</th>
<th></th>
<th>Table 5</th>
<th>Usages of initial <em>though</em> clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usages</td>
<td>No. of clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td>Usages</td>
<td>No. of clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>46 (76.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>61 (81.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>8 (13.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>10 (13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical</td>
<td>6 (10.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rhetorical</td>
<td>3 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech-act</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Speech-act</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60 (100.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.4 Final *Although* Clauses

The final *although* clauses in the data differ from the initial *although* clauses in both the kinds of usages and the most frequent usage type. A total of 57 final *although* clauses can be classified into three classes: rectifying concessive, standard concessive, and contrast. There are no clear examples of rhetorical concessive and speech-act.

**Rectifying Concessive**

First, rectifying concessive is the most frequent type of final *although* clauses in the fictional data. 44 out of 57 tokens (77.2%) express rectifying concessive. This finding conforms to the observation made in Mizuno (2009), which shows that the majority of final *although* clauses in the data of newspaper articles classify as rectifying concessive.

According to König (1994), the content of the main clause is weakened whenever a rectifying clause follows. While König (1994) does not propose any subtype of rectifying concessive, Barth (2000: 421) suggests that there are at least two subtypes of rectifying concessive. That is, rectifying *although* clauses restrict either the previous utterance, as illustrated in (21) and (22), or a conclusion which can be drawn from the preceding utterance, as shown in (23):

---

4 Rectifying concessive is called "restrictive" in Rudolph (1996), Barth (2000) and Günthner (2000).
A Quantitative Analysis of *Although* and *Though* Clauses: Their Commonalities and Differences (59) 53

(21) Silence surrounded him, *although* it was not really silence if one listened carefully. The rush of the water's current. Bees buzzing. Birds chirping. In the distance, a train whistle.

(22) Before working in the coffee shop Liberty had tried a variety of jobs. All horrible. Being a waitress was the best of the bunch, *although* it was murder on her feet. (=2)

(23) I have to say that the prolonged and earnest viewing of monkeys, however rare and exotic, is not my thing, and it certainly isn't Betty's. For the sake of politeness, however, I stared up the trees like everyone else, *although* after a while my attention wandered, as I was more interested in looking over the crowd.

In (21), the *although* clause rectifies the propositional content of the main clause by saying that the silence mentioned in the main clause was not complete silence. In (22), the main clause states that being a waitress was the best of all the various horrible jobs Liberty had tried. However, her satisfaction at her job as a waitress mentioned in the main clause is weakened by the following *although* clause. In (23), the main clause may evoke an assumption that if the speaker stared up the trees like everyone for the sake of politeness, s/he would keep staring at the trees. However, this assumption is canceled by the *although* clause, which says that his/her attention wondered from the trees to the crowd.

*Standard Concessive*

11 out of 57 examples (19.3%) in the data can be identified as standard concessive, as exemplified in (24):

(24) Since the soldiers were the only clean-cut men in the bar, it was easy to identify them *although* none were in uniform.

In (24), one may assume that if no soldier in the bar was in uniform, it was difficult to identify them. However, this assumption is in conflict with the propositional content of the main clause.

Some examples in the data seem ambiguous between standard and rectifying concessive, as illustrated below:
(25) When I was ten years old my father became the taotai, or governor of a small town called Wuhu, in Anhwei province. I have fond memories of that time, although many consider Wuhu a terrible place. During the summer months the temperature stayed above one hundred degrees, day and night.

(26) My mother was raised the Chinese way, although she was a Manchu by blood. According to Mother, after the Manchus conquered China they discovered that the Chinese system of ruling was more benevolent and efficient, and they adopted it fully.

In (25), the goodness of Wuhu mentioned in the main clause is weakened by the following although clause. Thus, the although clause might be interpreted as rectifying concessive. At the same time, however, this example may also be interpreted as standard concessive. The although clause may evoke an assumption that if many people consider Wuhu a terrible place, the writer doesn't have fond memories of the days she spent in the town. In (26), the main clause may evoke an assumption that if the writer's mother was raised in the Chinese way, she was a Chinese. However, this assumption is cancelled by the following although clause. Thus, the although clause might be interpreted as rectifying concessive. On the other hand, however, this example may also be interpreted as standard concessive. The although clause may evoke an assumption that if she was a Manchu by blood, she was not raised the Chinese way.

Following König's (1994) definitions of standard and rectifying concessive, I classified such ambiguous examples on the basis of whether they emphasize or weaken the main clauses. Although clauses were considered emphasizing the main clause when the main clause provides a topic for the following context, while although clauses were considered weakening the main clause when the although clause, not the main clause, provide a subject for the subsequent sentences.

For example, in (25), the sentence following the although clause mentions the uncomfortable temperature in the summer of Wuhu, which is in continuity with the although clause, but not with the main clause. Therefore, this example was classified as rectifying concessive. On the other hand, in (26), the sentence following the although clause deals with the Manchus' adoption of the Chinese system of ruling, which has continuity with the main clause, but not with the although clause. Therefore, this example was classified as standard concessive.
Contrast

There are only two examples of contrast in the data, as illustrated in (27):

(27) She wiggled her fingers. “See? Everything works.” Her nail looked manicured, although she wasn’t wearing polish. No rings, either.

In (27), two types of the treatment of nails, i.e., manicure and nail polish, are contrasted with respect to whether she is wearing it or not.

4.2.5 Final Though Clauses

The final though clauses in the fictional data can be classified into four main classes: rectifying concessive, standard concessive, rhetorical concessive, and contrast. There are no clear examples of speech-act.

Rectifying Concessive

Like although clauses, the most frequent type of final though clauses is rectifying concessive. 71 out of 118 (60.2%) examples express rectifying concessive. As with final although clauses, this use of though restricts either the preceding statement or a conclusion which can be drawn from the previous statement, as illustrated in (28) and (29), respectively:

(28) Two people in dark clothes had left the Jag and were crossing the tarmac. A woman came out of a port building holding some object, probably a holofile, though he couldn’t be sure from so far away.

(29) “Mary Theresa?” Maggie mouthed, though no sound passed her lips. (=4)

In (28), the main clause states that a woman is probably holding a holofile. However, the validity of this statement is weakened by the propositional content of the following though clause. In (29), the main clause may evoke an assumption that if Maggie mouthed, some sound came out of her mouth. However, this assumption is canceled by the following though clause.

Standard Concessive

Standard Concessive is less frequent than rectifying concessive in the data. 37 out of
118 examples (31.4%) express standard concessive, as exemplified in (30) below:

(30) They manage to get the mustang into a pen, **though** she is scared to go through the gates.

In (30), one may assume that if the mustang is scared of going through the gate, they cannot get her into the pen. However, this assumption is incompatible with the propositional content of the main clause.

**Contrast**

There was 7 examples of contrast, as illustrated in (31):

(31) It was this morning that we received a windfall of supplies from the sea. Mother whispered to me that it is the hand of Fate that bought us these gifts, **though** Miss Scott says it's only a repeating current – the same that brought us here (Mother has said that though Camellia Scott is only in her twenties, she is very wise, and so I don't know which version I wish to accept.)

In (31), Mother and Miss Scott are contrasted with respect to what they said about the windfall of supplies they received from the sea.

**Rhetorical Concessive**

The data contain only two examples of rhetorical concessive, one of which is given in (32):

(32) Domestic servitude was not what I desired for myself, but she had only to speak and I would do anything she asked. It was my obligation to obey her **though** I did not want to be like my older brothers, Harvey and Sam, who seemed to breathe at our mother's command.

In (32), the main clause supports the claim that the speaker would do anything her mother asked. On the other hand, the **though** clause provides an argument against this claim.
4. 2. 6 Summary of Final Although and Though Clauses

As we have seen above, both the final although and though clauses in the data express rectifying concessive, standard concessive, and contrast relations. On the other hand, the relation of rhetorical concessive happens to be observed in two final though clauses. The number of examples of each type is shown in Table 6 and 7 below.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6</th>
<th>Usages of final although clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usages</td>
<td>No. of clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectifying</td>
<td>44 (77.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>11 (19.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>2 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7</th>
<th>Usages of final though clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usages</td>
<td>No. of clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectifying</td>
<td>71 (60.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard</td>
<td>37 (31.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>7 (5.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical</td>
<td>2 (1.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>1 (0.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These tables show that like initial although and though clauses, final although and though clauses are similar not only in the kinds of usages, but also in their most frequent usage type. The majority of final although and though clauses express rectifying concessive relation. The frequency of the other usages is less than 32 percent.

5 Due to lack of enough contexts, one example of final though clause in the data cannot be classified into any of the five types mentioned in Section 2, i.e., standard, rhetorical, rectifying, contrast, and speech-act. This example is classified as "unclear" in Table 7.
express standard concessive. Therefore, we can say that when *(al)though* clauses express standard concessive, they tend to occur sentence-initially, whereas when expressing rectifying concessive, they tend to occur sentence-finally.

Let us consider why *(al)though* clauses show such tendencies. I suggest that this can be explained in terms of the characteristics of standard and rhetorical concessive relations. Some previous studies on concessive relations have a common assumption about the order of denial (cf. Spooren 1989: 53, Noordman 2001: 163, Izutsu 2005: 214, among others). They assume that something can be denied only if it has been evoked in the discourse. In the view of these studies, it is natural that standard concessive *(al)though* clauses tend to precede the main clause, because they evoke an assumption "if \( p \), then normally \( \neg \neg q \)" that is denied by the propositional content of the main clause. Likewise, it is natural that rectifying concessive *(al)though* clauses tend to follow the main clause, because in general, something can be rectified only if it has been introduced in the discourse.

6. Conclusion

Based on the data taken from naturally occurring discourse, the present paper has clarified the commonalities and differences of *although* and *though* clauses in more detail than the previous studies. As for their commonalities, it has demonstrated the following points. First, initial *although* and *though* clauses in the data are similar in the kinds of usages and the frequency of each usage. They express standard concessive, rhetorical concessive, and contrast relations; their most frequent use is standard concessive. Second, final *although* and *though* clauses in the data are also similar in the kinds of usages and the frequency of each usage. They express rectifying concessive, standard concessive, and contrast relations; their most frequent use is rectifying concessive. Third, on the other hand, this study has shown that *although* and *though* clauses are different in their distributions. On the whole, *although* clauses tend to precede the main clause, while *though* clauses tend to follow the main clause: More than half of the *although* clauses in the data of fiction and newspaper articles occur sentence-initially, while more than half of the *though* clauses in the data occur sentence-finally.

The first and second findings conform to and support the general assumption that *although* and *though* are synonymous, but the third does not. The latter finding suggests
the possibility that although and though clauses serve somewhat different functions.

References


Spooren, Willibrordus P. M. S. 1989. *Some Aspects of the Form and Interpretation of Global Contrastive
Yuko Mizuno