

Two types of subjunctive in Korean: Interaction between inquisitiveness and nonveridicality

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COLLOQUE DE **SYNTAXE** ET **SÉMANTIQUE** À **PARIS** 2021
Université de Paris amphi Buffon, 10 December 2021

Goals

- ▶ Examine two important aspects of **subjunctive marking in Korean**:
 - ▶ Formally marked in the “**inquisitive**” complement clause
 - ▶ Producing semantic contribution of **subjectively epistemic weakening**
- ▶ Suggest a crosslinguistically extended paradigm of subjunctive mood.

Outlines

Introduction

What is subjunctive mood?

Puzzle & Data

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Core properties of subjunctive Comp

Forming Modalized Question in an unembedded clause

Comparing subjunctive force

Analysis

Conclusions and implications

Outlines

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What is subjunctive mood?

- ▶ **Subjunctive mood selection:** the complement of certain propositional attitude verbs appears in a subjunctive form.

- (1) a. Marc **sait** que le printemps ***soit/est** arrive.
Marc knows that the spring be-SUBJ-3sg/be-IND-3sg arrived
'Mark knows that spring has arrived.'
- b. Marc **veut** que le printemps **soit/*est** long.
Marc wants that the spring be-SUBJ-3sg/be-IND-3sg long
'Mark wants spring to be long.' [French]
- (2) a. O Pavlos **kseri** ***na/oti** efije i Roxani.
The Paul knows-3SG that-SUBJ/that-IND lef-3SG the Roxani
'Paul knows that Roxanne left.'
- b. **Thelo** **na/*oti** kerdisi o Janis.
want-1sg that-SUBJ/that-IND win.NONPAST-3SG the John
'I want John to win.' [Greek]

What is subjunctive mood?

Portner (2018)

- (3) Indicative governors (mood selection in complement clause):
- predicates of knowledge and belief (e.g. *know*, *believe*)
 - predicates of assertion (e.g. *say*)
 - predicates of inquiry (e.g. *ask*)**
 - natural factive predicates (e.g. *remember*)
 - predicates of fiction and mental creation (e.g. *dream*)
 - commissive predicates (e.g. *promise*)
- (4) Subjunctive governors (mood selection in complement clause):
- predicates of inquisitiveness (e.g. *wonder*)**
 - preference predicates (e.g. *want*, *hope*)
 - directive predicates (e.g. *demand*)
 - causative and implicative predicates (e.g. *make*)
 - negative counterparts of predicates of knowledge/belief and predicates of assertion (e.g. *doubt*)
 - modal predicates (e.g. *necessary*, *possible*, *probable*)

What is subjunctive mood?

	Context where the proposition <i>P</i> occurs			Non-veridical <i>want that P</i> <i>doubt that P</i>
	Veridical		Non-veridical	
	Reality	Non-reality		
	Non-epistemic <i>be good that P</i>	Epistemic <i>know that P</i>	<i>imagine that P</i>	
Romanian, Hungarian, (Modern) Greek	INDICATIVE			SUBJ.
Portuguese	INDICATIVE		SUBJ.	
Italian, Catalan, Spanish, French	SUBJ.	INDICATIVE		SUBJ.

Table: Modal contexts and selection of indicative or subjunctive in complement clauses (adapted from Marques 2004, pp.105)

What is subjunctive mood?

- (5) **Various approaches to the subjunctive mood** (adapted from Yoon 2013)
- a. Assertion/non-assertion (Bolinger 1968, 1972, Hooper 1975, Klein 1980, 1991, Terrell and Hooper 1974)
 - b. Speech acts and illocutionary force (Searle 1969, Searle and Vanderveken 1985)
 - c. Realis/irrealis (Givón 1994; Boskovič 1997; Mithun 1999; Palmer 2001, 2003; Wehmeier 2005)
 - d. Possible world semantics (Anderson 1951, Stalnaker 1968, 1984)
 - e. Veridicality/nonveridicality (Giannakidou 1995, 1997, 1999, 2009)
 - f. Modality (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, 1998; Portner 1992, 1997, 1999, 2018; Villalta 2006, 2008)
- Crucially, what underlies among these intuitions on mood is it is basically about **truth commitment**.

What is subjunctive mood?

Extended spectrum of subjunctive

① The valid types of **mood trigger vary** across languages
(Portner and Mari 2018, (7)):

- (6) a. Gianni **crede** che Maria **sia** incinta.
G. believes that M. be.3sg.**SUBJ** pregnant
- b. Gianni **crede** che Maria **è** incinta.
G. believes that M. be.3sg.**IND** pregnant
'Gianni believes that Mary is pregnant.' [Italian]

What is subjunctive mood?

Extended spectrum of subjunctive

- ② Subjunctive mood can be marked on the **subordinator C** (Giannakidou and Mari 2017, (4),(5)):

- (7) a. O Pavlos **kseri** *na/**oti** efije i
The Paul knows-3SG that-SUBJ/**that-IND** left-3SG the
Roxani.
Roxani
'Paul knows that Roxanne left.'
- b. **Thelo** na/*oti kerdisi o Janis.
want-1sg **that-SBJV**/that-IND win.NONPAST-3SG the John
'I want John to win.' [Greek]

What is subjunctive mood?

Extended spectrum of subjunctive

③ Rogative predicates can be mood governors

(Portner 2018, pp. 70):

- (8) a. Mi avevo **chieto** se ci **sono** corsi d'ingles
him have-1sg asked if there be.3PL.**INDC** courses of.English
'I asked him whether there are English courses.'
- b. Mi **chiedo** se ci **siano** corsi d'ingles
me **wonder** if there be.3PL.**SUBJ** courses of.English
'I wonder whether there are English courses.' [Italian]

Portner (2018):

- ▶ Inquiry *ask*: interrogative counterpart of verb of assertion (i.e. 'want to be told')
- ▶ Inquisitive *wonder*: interrogative counterpart of verb of belief/knowledge (i.e. 'want to know')

Data & Puzzle

Three types of interrogative Comp in Korean

- (9) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nun-**nci** **kwungkumha**-ass-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether **wonder**-Pst-Decl
'Mina wondered whether Inho would come to the party.'
- (10) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.**nka**
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ
kwungkumha-ass-ta.
wonder-Pst-Decl
'Mina wondered if Inho might come to the party.'
- (11) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**lkka**
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ
kwungkumha-ass-ta.
wonder-Pst-Decl
'Mina wondered if Inho might come to the party.'

Data & Puzzle

Three types of interrogative Comp in Korean

- (12) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nun-**nci** **mulepo**-ass-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether **ask**-Pst-Decl
'Mina asked whether Inho would come to the party.'
- (13) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.**nka** **mulepo**-ass-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ **ask**-Pst-Decl
'Mina asked if Inho might come to the party.'
- (14) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**lkka** **mulepo**-ass-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ **ask**-Pst-Decl
'Mina asked if Inho might come to the party.'

Data & Puzzle

Introducing inquisitive subjunctive C

Context: Kim asks Mina if Inho is coming to the party. With uncertainty, Mina says:

- (15) *Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.nci siph-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-Mod.whether think/believe-Decl
'(intended) I am uncertain whether Inho will come to the party.'
- (16) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.nka siph-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-Mod.whether think/believe-Decl
'I am uncertain whether Inho might come to the party.'
- (17) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-lkka siph-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-Mod.whether think/believe-Decl
'I doubt that Inho will come to the party.'
= 'I am uncertain that Inho will come to the party (although it is unlikely to happen).'

Data & Puzzle

Introducing inquisitive subjunctive C

Context: Mina fear that Inho will come to the party. Mina says:

- (18) Inho-ka pathi-ey *o-nci/*o-nka/o-lkka twulyewo-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether/Mod.whether fear-Decl
= 'I **fear** that Inho will come to the party (although it is
undesirable to happen).'

Data & Puzzle

Introducing inquisitive subjunctive C

- ▶ *nci*: Ordinary interrogative Comp
- ▶ *nka*, *lkka*: **Subjunctive** interrogative Comp

Question

- 1 What are the semantic functions of two types of subjunctive interrogative Comp in Korean?
- 2 What does it tell us about the universality and variation of the subjunctive phenomena across Korean and other languages?

Cf. Previous work on Korean subjunctive marking at C-level:

- ▶ Subjunctive trigger of evaluative negation (EN) (Yoon 2011, 2013)
- ▶ Subjunctive variant of indicative complementizer *ki* (Shim 1995)

Proposal

1. *nka* and *lkka* is a lexicalized form of **the “epistemic” subjunctive mood exponent** appearing in subordinator.
2. *nka* and *lkka* combine with nonveridical predicates to mark a **speaker/subject’s attitude in partitoined modal base – Inquisitive Subjunctive**.
3. The semantic role of inquisitive subjunctive is captured under the general theory of **nonveridical subjectivity** (Giannakidou & Mari 2021).

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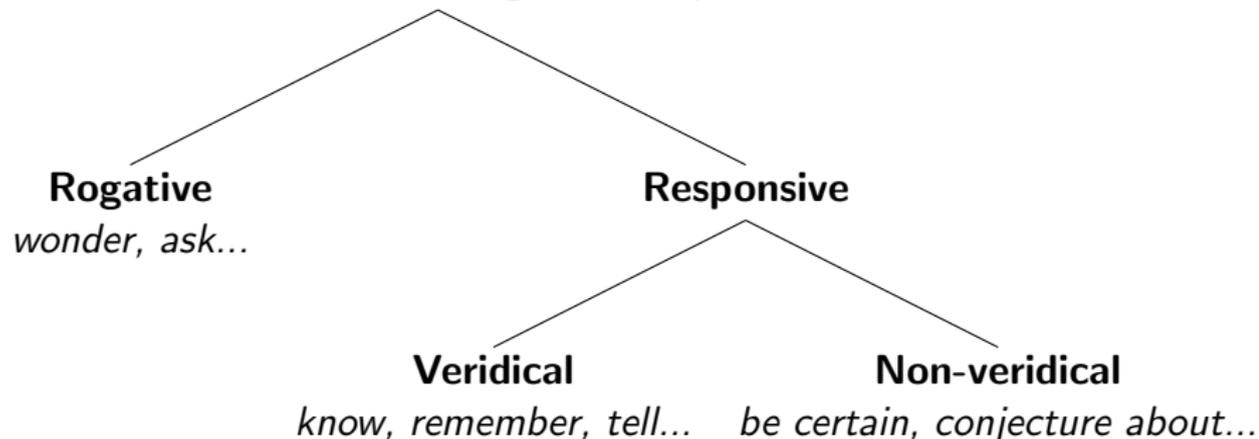
Conclusions and implications

Empirical observation

Different types of interrogative predicates

Lahiri (2002)

Predicates that take interrogative complements



Empirical observation

Different types of interrogative predicates

Anti-rogative

- (19) a. Mina **believes that** Inho will come to the party.
b. *Mina **believes whether** Inho will come to the party.

Rogative

- (20) a. *Mina **wonders that** Inho will come to the party.
b. Mina **wonders whether** Inho will come to the party.

Veridical responsive

- (21) a. Mina **knows that** Inho will come to the party.
b. Mina **knows whether** Inho will come to the party.

Nonveridical responsive

- (22) a. Mina **is certain that** Inho will come to the party.
b. Mina **is certain whether** Inho will come to the party.

Empirical observation

Different types of interrogative predicates

Veridical responsive vs. Nonveridical responsive

Responsive verbs express a relation between the holder of an attitude and a proposition which is an answer to the embedded question (Lahiri 2002; adapted from Égré and Spector 2007):

- (23) a. **Veridical-responsive:**
“Mina knows whether Inho will come to the party” is true iff Mina knows p , where p is **the true answer** to “will Inho come to the party?”
- b. **Nonveridical-responsive:**
“Mina is certain whether Inho will come to the party” is true iff Mina is certain that p , where p is **a possible answer** to “will Inho come to the party?”

- ▶ (23a) entails that Mari has a true belief as to whether Inho will come to the party.
- ▶ (23b) is true even if Mina believes that Inho will come to the party while in fact it isn't.

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Anti-rogative: *believe*

- (24) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.nka mit-ess-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ believe-Pst-Decl
'#Mina believed whether Inho would come to the party.'
- (25) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-ikka mit-ess-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ believe-Pst-Decl
'#Mina believed if Inho might come to the party.'

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Rogative: *wonder*

- (26) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.**nka**
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ
kwungkumha-ess-ta.
wonder-Pst-Decl
'Mina wondered whether Inho would come to the party.'
- (27) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**Ikka**
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ
kwungkumha-ess-ta.
wonder-Pst-Decl
'Mina wondered if Inho **might** come to the party.'

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Veridical responsive: *know*

- (28) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.nka al-ko.iss-ess-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ know-Decl
'Mina knew whether Inho would come to the party.'
- (29) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-ikka al-ko.iss-ess-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ know-Pst-Decl
'(lit.) Mina knew if Inho might come to the party.'

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Non-veridical responsive I: *be certain*

- (30) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.**nka** **hwaksinha**-ss-ta.
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ be.certain-Decl
'(lit.) Mina was certain whether Inho would come to the party.'
- (31) #Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**Ikka**
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ
hwaksinha-ess-ta.
be.certain-Pst-Decl
'(lit.) Mina was certain if Inho might come to the party.'

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Non-veridical responsive II (polysemous verb): *think/believe*

(32) *siph* 'want; think/believe; fear; hope; intend'

- a. ppang-ul mek-ko siph-ta
bread-Acc eat-that want-Decl
'I want to eat bread.'
- b. Inho-ka o-**Ikka/nka** siph-ta
I.Nom come-whether.SUBJ think/believe-Decl
'I am uncertain/doubt if Inho might come.'
- c. nwu-ka na-lul po-**Ikka/*nka** siph-ta
who-Nom I-Acc see-whether.SUBJ fear-Decl
'I fear who would see me.'
- d. ilccik ca-ss-umeyn siph-ta
early sleep-Pst-if hope-Decl
'I hope to sleep early.'
- e. cip-ey ka-**Ikka/*nka** siph-ta
home-Loc go-whether.SUBJ intend-Decl
'I intend to go home.'

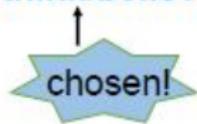
Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Non-veridical responsive II: doxastic *think/believe*

- (33) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.nka
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ
siph-ess-ta.
think/believe-Pst-Decl
'(intended) Mina thinks that Inho will come to the party.'
- (34) Mina-nun Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**lkka**
M.-Top I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ
siph-ess-ta.
think/believe-Pst-Decl
'Mina **was uncertain** if Inho **might** come to the party.'
'Mina **doubted** if Inho **might** come to the party.'

Cf. *siph*- 'want; **think/believe**; fear; hope; intend'



Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Non-veridical responsive III: Morphological negative epistemic factive *not know*

- (35) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nu.nka mol-la.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether not.know-Decl
'I **don't know** whether Inho would come to the party.'
- (36) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-ikka mol-la.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ not.know-Decl
'I **doubt** if Inho **might** come to the party.'

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Non-veridical responsive IV: perceptive see

- (37) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nun-**nka** **po**-a.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether not.see-Decl
'I **am uncertain** that Inho would come to the party.'
- (38) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**lkka** **po**-a.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ not.know-Decl
'I **fear** if Inho **might** come to the party.'

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Non-veridical responsive IV: emotive *fear*

(39) *Inho-ka pathi-ey o-nka twulyewo-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ fear-Decl
'(intended) I am **fear** that Inho will come to the party.'

(40) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-lkka twulyewo-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ fear-Decl
'I **fear** that Inho will come to the party (although it is **undesirable** to happen).'

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Complementizers		<i>nka</i>	<i>lkka</i>
Attitude predicates			
Anti-rogative	<i>mit</i> 'believe'	*	*
Rogative	<i>kwungkumha</i> 'wonder'	√ 'wonder'	√ 'wonder'
Veridical responsive	<i>al</i> 'know'	*	*
Nonveridical responsive	<i>hwaksinha</i> 'be certain'	*	*
	<i>siph</i> 'want/believe/hope/intend'	√ 'conjecture'	√ 'doubt'
	<i>po</i> 'see/fear/seem'	√ 'conjecture'	√ 'fear'
	<i>molu</i> 'not.know/conjecture'	√ 'conjecture'	√ 'doubt'
	<i>twulyewoha</i> 'fear'	*	√ 'fear'

Table: The co-occurrence pattern of various types of attitude predicates and subjunctive C

Empirical observation

Distributional restriction on attitude predicates

Subtypes of inquisitive subjunctive in subordinator C

- (41) a. Inquisitive belief: *nka*
- b. Inquisitive doubt/fear: *Ikka*

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What is a modalized question (MQ)?

- ▶ By using MQ, the speaker expresses her **epistemic uncertainty or conjecture** on the given proposition in question.
- ▶ **Epistemic modal/subjunctive marker + Q**

(42) Yurie-wa wain-o nomu **darou-ka**.
Yurie-TOP wine-ACC drink DAROU-Q
'I wonder if Yurie drinks wine.' [Japanese MQ (Hara & Davis 2013)]

(43) lan=**as=há=k'a** kwán-ens-as
already=3.SUBJ=YNQ=INFER take.DIR-3.ERG
ní=n-s-mets-cál=a.
DET.ABS=1sg.POSS-NOM=write-ACT=EXIS
'I wonder if she's already got my letter.'
'I don't know if she got my letter or not.' [St'át'imcets MQ (Littell et al. 2009)]

(44) **na** tou milise (**arage**)?
SUBJ him talked-3sg Q
'Might she have talked to him?' [Greek MQ (Giannakidou 2016)]

What is a modalized question (MQ)?

Kang & Yoon (2020)

- ▶ MQ reports on the speaker's consideration of a set of possibilities of the given propositional content:

$$(45) \quad \llbracket \text{MQ} \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{that it is possible that } p \rrbracket \cup \llbracket \text{that it is not possible that } p \rrbracket$$

cf. Nonveridical Equilibrium = inquisitive disjunction
(Giannakidou 2013; Kang & Yoon 2020)

Dual functions as an MQ marker

Context: John is not sure whether today is Friday or not. With full uncertainty, John said (to himself):

- (46) onul-i kumyoil-i-**nka/lkka**?
today-Nom Friday-be-Q
'Might today be Friday?' [MQ]
≈ 'I am uncertain whether today is Friday.'
≈ 'I conjecture (the possibility) that today might be Friday.'
- (47) #onul-i kumyoil-i-**ni**?
today-Nom Friday-be-Q
'Is today Friday?' [Ordinary Q]

Different subjunctive force

① Irrealis mood

Although Inho is aware that Santa Clause does not exist in the real world, he wonders how old Santa would be if he exists. Inho asks Mina:

(48) #santa-nun myech-sal-i-**nka**?
Santa-Top what-age-be-Q
'(intended) How old **might** Santa Clause be?' [MQ]

(49) santa-nun myech-sal-i-**lkka**?
Santa-Top what-age-be-Q
'How old **might** Santa Clause be?' [MQ]

Different subjunctive force

② Expletive negation (EN)

Ikka is compatible with EN while *nka* is not (Yoon 2011, 2013):

- (50) a. Inho-ka pathi-ey o-ci-anh-*nu.**nka**/o-ci-anh-u.**Ikka** siph-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-Comp-EN-whether.SUBJ believe-Decl
'I conjecture that Inho might come to the party (although it is unlikely to happen).'
- b. Inho-ka pathi-ey o-ci-anh-*nu.**nka**/o-ci-anh-u.**Ikka** twulyewo-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-Comp-EN-whether.SUBJ fear-Decl
'I fear lest Inho might come to the party (although it is undesirable to happen).'

Different subjunctive force

② Expletive negation (EN)

- (51) a. Inho-ka pathi-ey o-ci-anh-*nu.nka/o-ci-anh-u.lkka siph-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-Comp-Ex.Neg-NKA/LKKA believe-Decl
'I conjecture that Inho might come to the party (although it is unlikely to happen).'
- b. Inho-ka pathi-ey o-ci-anh-*nu.nka/o-ci-anh-u.lkka twulyewo-e.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether/NKA/LKKA fear-Decl
'I fear lest Inho might come to the party (although it is undesirable to happen).'

- ▶ *lkka* with EN in emotive predicates = *lest* in English
- ▶ Unlike *nka*, *lkka* + EN implicates an **unlikely** and **undesirable** attitude
(cf. dual interpretation of *fear* and *doubt* reading in French EN (Mari & Tahar 2020))

Summing up

Three type of inquisitive subjunctive in Korean:

- (52) a. Inquisitive belief: *nka* + "think/believe"
- b. Inquisitive doubt: *lkka* + "think/believe"
- c. Inquisitive fear: *lkka* + "fear"

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Subjective Nonveridicality

► Semantics of inquisitive subjunctive:

1. It comprises all potential answers
2. It is sensitive to nonveridical weakening

(53) Subjective Nonveridicality (Giannakidou & Mari 2021): A function F that takes a proposition p as its argument is subjectively nonveridical w.r.t. an individual anchor i and an epistemic or bouletic anchor i in $M(i)$ iff:

$$\exists w' \in M(i) : \neg p(w') \wedge \exists w'' \in M(i) : p(w'')$$

Analysis

Subjective Nonveridicality

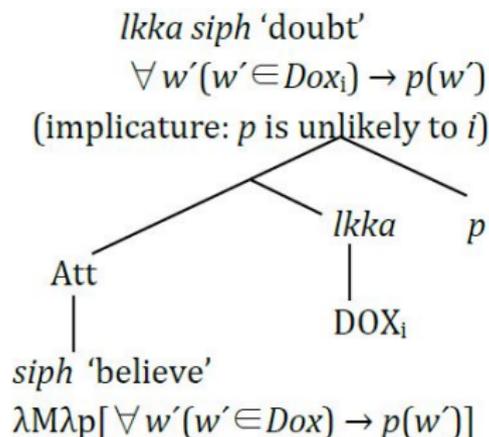
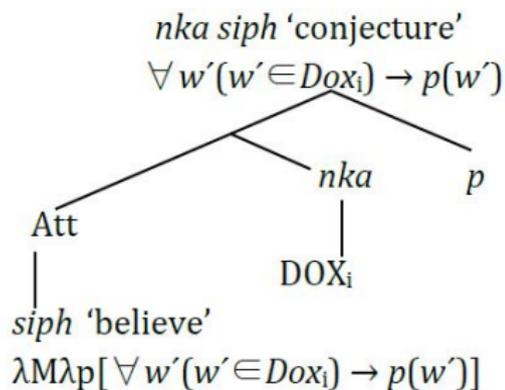
The speaker's perspective towards p in the partitioned modal base:

1. Inquisitive belief:
conjecture on proposition in a **partitioned doxastic modal base**
2. Inquisitive doubt:
low-likelihood conjecture on proposition in a **partitioned doxastic modal base**
3. Inquisitive fear:
undesirability on proposition in a **partitioned emotive modal base**

Analysis

Subjective Nonveridicality

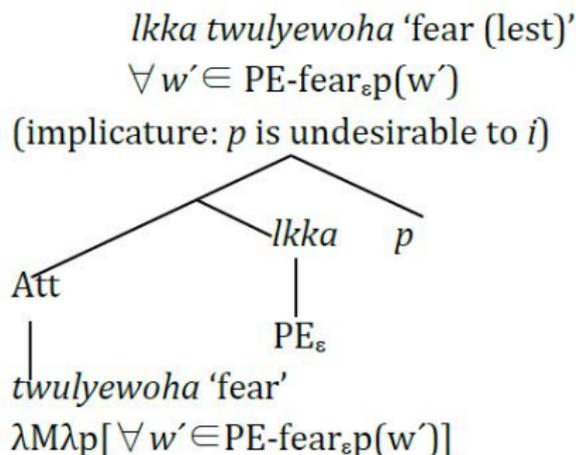
- (54) *siph*: $\llbracket i \text{ believe } p \rrbracket^{M, \text{Dox}(i)}$ is defined iff $M(i)$ is partitioned doxastic modal base. If defined, $\forall w'(w' \in \text{Dox}) \rightarrow p(w')$



Analysis

Subjective Nonveridicality

- (55) *twulyewoha*: $\llbracket i \text{ fear } p \rrbracket^{M, P_\varepsilon}$ is defined iff $\forall w' \in PE\text{-fear}_\varepsilon p(w')$ where $PE = \{w' \in \varepsilon : w' \text{ where the propositions are true}\}$ and ε is a set of emotive worlds containing p and $\neg p$ (emotive nonveridicality)



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Conclusions and implications

- ▶ Subjunctive mood in Korean does not make complementary distribution between subjunctive vs. indicative (just like Indo-European languages).
- ▶ Rather, it appears in a realm of inquisitiveness.

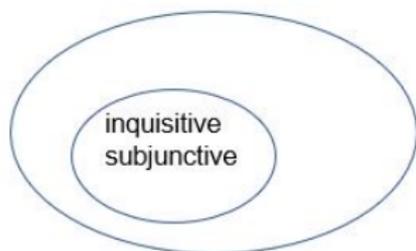


Figure 1: Subjunctive system in Korean

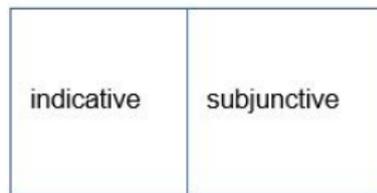


Figure 2: Subjunctive system in Indo-European languages

Conclusions and implications

- ▶ Korean subjunctive mood can occur in the “inquisitive” complement clause.
- ▶ The occurrence of *nka* and *lkka* depends on the higher verbs whose subject provides nonhomogeneous modal base.
- ▶ subjunctive marking has semantic contribution of commitment weakening

Conclusions and implications

	Context where the proposition p occurs				
	Veridical		Non-veridical		
	Reality		Non-reality		
	Non-epistemic	Epistemic		Non-epistemic	Epistemic
	<i>be good that p</i>	<i>know that p</i>	<i>imagine that p</i>	<i>want that p</i> <i>fear that p</i>	<i>conjecture that p</i> <i>doubt that p</i>
Romanian, Hungarian, (Modern) Greek	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		
Portuguese	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE		
Italian, Catalan, Spanish, French	SUBJUNCTIVE	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE	
Korean	INDICATIVE		SUBJUNCTIVE <i>lkka</i>	SUBJUNCTIVE <i>lkka, nka</i>	

Table: modal contexts and selection of indicative, interrogative or subjunctive in complement clauses

Thank You!

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EN co-occurring with Ikka (Yoon 2013)

- ▶ Subordinate EN is a subspecies of subjunctive mood marker which creates an additional attitudinal meaning on a separate layer of doxastic states.
- ▶ The occurrences of subjunctive mood and EN has in common is that they denote the epistemic subject's attitude in terms of uncertainty toward the content of the proposition.
- ▶ The function of EN seems to be expressing the unlikelihood of the actualization of the propositional content in the subordinate clause within the epistemic subject's model.
- ▶ A speaker choose to employ EN in order to indicate the medium or low likelihood of a future event.
- ▶ An epistemic subject employs a subjunctive-like marker EN as a means not to commit to the truth of what she says because she is not sure.

Appendix

Korean *siph* vs. Italian *crede*

- (56) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**Ikka** siph-ta.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether.SUBJ think/believe-Decl
'I am uncertain whether Inho might come to the party.'
'I doubt if Inho might come to the party.'
- (57) Inho-ka pathi-ey o-**ci** siph-ta.
I.-Nom party-Loc come-whether think/believe-Decl
'Inho is coming to the party, **I think.**'

- ▶ Korean *siph* (i) subjective belief (ii) discourse belief
- ▶ Italian *crede* (i) belief-only (indicative) (ii) discourse belief (subjunctive)