Conditional conjunctions informed by Japanese and Korean

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Outline

1. Introducing conditional conjunctions

2. CCs in Japanese and Korean

3. From topicality to hypotheticality

Introduction

- Many languages attest conditional readings for sentential conjunctions (conditional conjunctions, CCs):

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- In a CC, the conjunction is read like a hypothetical conditional: asserting it does not commit the speaker to the first conjunct and commits them to the second only conditionally on the first.

- Compositional semantics faces a challenge in deriving the conditional readings for sentential conjunctions that look just like their Boolean counterparts.

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- Starr (2018) and Kaufmann (2018) argue the first conjunct of a CC introduces a hypothetical state of affairs as the topic, respective to which the second conjunct is evaluated.
- Japanese and Korean, two languages with morphological topic marking, have not yet been shown to have CCs.
  We show that overt topic marking triggers a CC reading, and that CCs in these languages have the syntactic and semantic properties of a topicalization structure, despite their superficial resemblance to coordination.

Introduction

- We propose explicit syntactic and semantic structures for CCs that range across contrastive and noncontrastive topic subtypes and account for both the hypothetical and related nonhypothetical interpretations found in these Japanese and Korean.

Outline

1. Introducing conditional conjunctions

2. **CCs in Japanese and Korean**
   - CCs from conjunction and topic marker
   - Japanese $=$*to* conditionals are in topic position

3. From topicality to hypotheticality

Basic data

(2) Mary starts singing and John leaves the bar.
    ≈ 'If Mary starts singing, John leaves the bar.'

(3) Sing another song and John will leave the bar.

(4) Mary only has to sing another song John will leave the bar.

(5) One more song and John leaves the bar.

CCs from conjunction plus topic marker: Japanese

(6)   Mary=ga uta=o   utat-te John=ga dete iku.
        Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-Ger John=Nom leave go-NPast
        'Mary sings a song and John leaves.'   (Both things happen.)
        NOT: '(If) Mary sings a song, John leaves'   (Conditional)

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(7)   Mary=ga uta=o   utat-te=wa John=ga dete iku.
      Mary=NOM song=ACC sing-GER=TOP John=NOM leave go-NPAST
      '(If) Mary sings a song, John leaves'   (Conditional)
      NOT: 'Mary sings a song and John leaves.'   (both things happen)

CCs from conjunction plus topic marker: Korean

(8)   Mary=ka nolay=lul pulu-ko John=i ttena ka-n-ta.
        Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-Ger John=Nom leave go-Prs-Dec
        'Mary sings a song and John leaves.   (both things happen)
        NOT (If) Mary sings a song, John leaves   (Conditional)

CCs from conjunction plus topic marker: Korean

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       'Mary sings a song and John leaves.   (both things happen)
       NOT (If) Mary sings a song, John leaves   (Conditional)

(9)   Mary=ka   nolay=lul   pulu-ko=nun John=i   ttena ka-n-ta.
       Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-Ger=Top John=Nom leave   go-Prs-Dec
       '(If) Mary sings a song, John leaves'   (Conditional)
       NOT: 'Mary sings a song and John leaves.' (both things happen)

CCs from conjunction plus topic marker

Japanese *-te=wa* is among the endings generally listed as a conditional connective in Japanese (along with *-reba*, *-tara*, *=to*, *-te mo*, and *nara* (Takubo 2020).

The Korean *-ko=nun* pattern is not discussed in standard grammars, but we find e.g. the following in a web search for *pes-ko* 'take off and' plus gerund=topic:

(10)   Kuliko pelke-pes-ko=nun   khal=ul   chal   swu
       then   strip-remove-Ger=Top sword=Acc sheathe ability
       eps-upni-ta.
       not.exist-Def-Dec
       'Then, if you take off your clothes, you can't wear the sword.'

CCs from conjunction plus topic marker

From a diachronic perspective, conditionals in both languages are derived
from a coordinate marker plus topic marker.
Korean -*myen* comes from conjunctive -*mye* + -*n* topic (Martin 1992).
The Japanese conditional marker -*ba* is derived from contraction of the
Old Japanese copula infinitive *ni* + =*pa* topic (Ono 1974; Hara 2020).

(11)   Verb stem + -*re* (realis) + *ni* being + =*pa* topic
        'as for it being that V'

(12)   Mary=ga uta=o   uta-eba   John=ga dete ik-u.
        Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-Cond John=Nom leave go-NPast
        'If Mary sings a song, John leaves.'

Japanese =*to* conditionals are in topic position

Of the commonly listed Japanese conditional forms, only the particle =*to* does not derive from a combination of verbal conjunctive form and topic marker.

We argue that =*to* is most similar to English CCs, as it has a clear conjunctive counterpart and no overt topic marking.

(13)   Mary=ga   uta=o   uta-u=to   John=ga   dete   ik-u.
          Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-NPast=Top John=Nom leave go-NPast
          'If Mary sings a song, John leaves.'

Japanese =to conditionals are in topic position

=*To* is used for NP conjunction (14), and as a comitative particle (15):

(14)   [Mary=to John]=ga dete ik-u.
        Mary=To   John=Nom leave go-NPast
        'Mary and John leave.'

(15)   Mary=ga   John=to dete ik-u.
        Mary=Nom John=To leave go-NPast
        'Mary leaves with John.'

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        'Mary leaves with John.'

But in the normal case, =to cannot conjoin VPs or clauses:

(16)   *Mary=ga dete ik-u=to   John=mo dete ik-u.
        Mary=Nom leave go-NPast=To John=Also leave go-NPast
        '(Intended) Mary leaves and John leaves.'

Japanese =to conditionals are in topic position

=To may also mark temporal or "factual" (Takubo 2020) adverbial
clauses, as in (17), cited from (Tsubomoto 1993: 100).
Both factual and hypothetical (18) =to are restricted to Nonpast tense.

(17)   Hikooki=wa, kasooro=ni de-ru/*de-ta=to,   ikioi
       plane=TOP   runway=LOC go.out-NPAST/go.out-PAST=TOP vigor
       yoku hasitte it-ta.
       well running go-PAST
       'When the plane got out on the runway, it accelerated
       vigorously.'

(18)   Mary=ga uta=o   uta-u/utat-ta=to   John=ga dete
       Mary=NOM song=ACC sing-NPAST/sing-PAST=TO John=NOM leave
       ik-u.
       go-NPAST
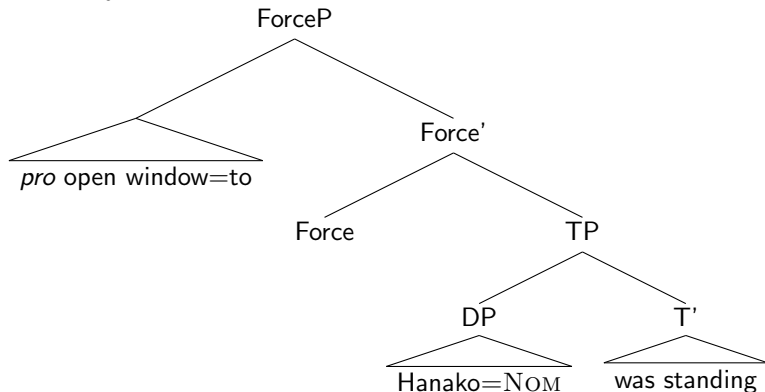   'If Mary sings a song, John leaves.'

Japanese =to conditionals are in topic position

In fact, Koizumi (2000) shows that =to can conjoin clauses, just so long as it is not immediately preceded by a tensed verb. Sentential coordination with =to is acceptable if the verb in the first conjunct is removed by ATB raising to T:

(19)   [[Mary=ga ringo=o   huta-tu]=to [Nancy=ga banana=o
        Mary=Nom apple=Acc 2-Clas=To   Nancy=Nom banana=Acc
        san-bon]] tabe-ta.
        3-Clas   eat-Past
        'Mary (ate) two apples and Nancy ate three bananas.'
        (Modified from Koizumi 2000:230, cf. his (6))

Japanese =*to* conditionals are in topic position

Hasegawa (2017) hypothesizes that factual =to clauses 2006) occupy
Spec, ForceP in the articulated left periphery. Factual =*to* in
non-narrative sentences cannot be preceded by a topic marked matrix
subject. Neither type of =*to* can follow a nonfocused nominative-marked
matrix subject.

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
                  /        \
        _____       Force'
       pro open window=to  /    \
                          /      \
                       Force      TP
                                 /  \
                                /    \
                              DP      T'
                             /  \    /  \
                        Hanako=Nom  was standing
```

Japanese =to conditionals are in topic position

(20) *Hanako$_i${=ga/=wa } {$\phi_{\text{Speaker}}/\phi_i$} mado=o
   Hanako=Nom/=Top   window=Acc
   ake-ru=to,   tat-tei-ta.
   open-NPast=To stand-Prog-Past
   'When (I) opened the widow, Hanako was standing there.'
   (Hasegawa 2017: 393)

(21) John=wa [Mary=ga uta=o   uta-u=to],   dete ik-u.
   John=Top Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-NPast=To leave go-NPast
   'John, (if) Mary sings a song, leaves.'

(22) *John=ga [Mary=ga uta=o   uta-u=to],   dete ik-u.
   John=Nom Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-NPast=To leave go-NPast

Japanese =*to* conditionals are in topic position

CCs block ATB extraction, as shown in (23) for English with relativization and (24) for German with verb raising to C:

(23)   a.   That's the tune that Mary sings *t* and John leaves.
                                      (CC or Boolean interpretation)
    b.   That's the tune that Mary sings *t* and John hates *t*.
                          (No CC reading, Boolean interpretation only)

(24)   a.   In dieser Bar beginnt Mary ein Lied zu singen *t* und John zu
            In this   bar begins Mary a   song to sing   t and John to
            fluchen *t*.
            swear   t
            'In this bar, Mary starts to sing; in this bar, John starts to swear.'
                                  (No CC, Boolean interpretation only)
    b.   In dieser Bar beginnt Mary ein Lied zu singen *t* und John
            In this   bar begins Mary a   song to sing   t and John
            beginnt zu fluchen.
            begins to swear
            ok: 'In this bar, if Mary begins to sing, John begins to swear.'
                                 (CC or Boolean interpretation)

Japanese =to conditionals are in topic position

In Japanese, too, ATB relativization is possible in conjunctive *te* clauses, but blocked in conditional =*to* clauses.

(25)   Are=wa   [Mary=ga (*soitu=o) utat-te   John=ga   *t*
         That=TOP Mary=NOM it=ACC   sing-GER John=NOM repeat
         kurikaesu] kyoku da.
         tune   is
         'That's the tune that Mary sings and John repeats.' (No CC reading)

(26)   Are=wa   Mary=ga (soitu=o) utau=to   John=ga   *t*
         That=TOP Mary=NOM it=ACC   sing=TO   John=NOM repeat
         kurikaesu kyoku da.
         tune   is
         'Thats the tune that if Mary sings it, John repeats t.' (CC reading OK)

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- The impossibility of ATB extraction in CCs makes it impossible to satisfy the surface constraint through extraction of the verb. In this context, the fixed Nonpast form of the verb appears as a default.

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3 From topicality to hypotheticality
  - Readings available
  - Towards a compositional interpretation

Conditionals and topicality

- Well-established connection between conditional antecedents and
  topics   (Haiman 1978, Ebert, Ebert, Hinterwimmer 2014)

  – All types of hypothetical and non-hypothetical conditionals
  – Topicality of antecedent: synchronically only strong tendency

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  - Syntactically asymmetric coordinations (ATB-data)
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- In the following:
  - Topicalizing first conjunct can derive hypotheticality
  - Connect restriction in readings to formal properties

Readings of CCs: never epistemic?

- English-style CCs: immediate consequence, causation, result; not (*–to be revisited*): epistemic conditionals   Bolinger 1967, Keshet 2013

  (27)   a.   If you have the other half of the locket you are my half-sister.
         b.   #You have the other half of the locket and you are my half-sister.

  (28)   a.   #John left work at 6 and hes probably home by now.
         b.   #Probably, John left work at 6 and hes home by now.   (no CC, both Keshet's 2013

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- Japanese and Korean CCs behave similarly:

    (29)   a.   #Rokketto=o mottei-te=wa   ore=no ibosi   da.
                locket=Acc have-Ger=Top 1P=Gen half.sister is
            b.   #Rokketto=o mottei-ru=to   ore=no ibosi   da.
                locket=Acc have-NPast=To 1P=Gen half.sister is

    (30)   #Lokhes=lul kaciko iss-ko=nun   ney ipok   camay-ta.
            locket=Acc having be-Ger=Top/be-Cond my   half-sister =be.Dec

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- CCs have to be predictive. Predictive epistemic is fine, too:

  (31)   a.   Mary tosses that coin, and it probably comes up heads.

  b.   Probably Mary tosses that coin and it comes up heads.

  (32)   Sono koin=o   nage-ru=to,   (kitto) omote=ga de-ru
         that   coin=ACC toss-NPAST=TO probably heads=NOM emerge-NPAST
         daroo.
         is.probable
         'If Mary tosses that coin, it will probably come up heads.'

  (33)   Scenario: *I know that Mary always cheats a bit and manages to often make fair coins come up heads (but I exclude that she can guarantee it).*
         ⇒ CC-typical causal conditional is known false, *probably* does not outscope that

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- Restriction is an issue of tense (not modal flavor).

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         'Mary will (#probably) sing a song, and John will leave.'

- <u>Korean:</u> Conjunctive *-ko* can embed past tense, but only on the Boolean reading; topic marker *=nun* cannot be added:

  (35)   Mary=ka   nolay=lul pul-ess-ko(*=nun) John=i   ttena
         Mary=Nom song=Acc sing-Ger=Top   John=Nom leave
         ka-ss-ta.
         go-Past-Dec
         'Mary sang a song, and John left. (Both things happen.)

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- Form-meaning correlation:
  - JK CCs are (always) predictive
  - JK CC first conjuncts lack semantic tense and modality
- (*Tentatively:*) syntactically smaller conjunctions express properties of situations, conjoining them leads to forward expansion

Bjorkman 2010, Keshet 2013

English CCs along the lines of JK CCs
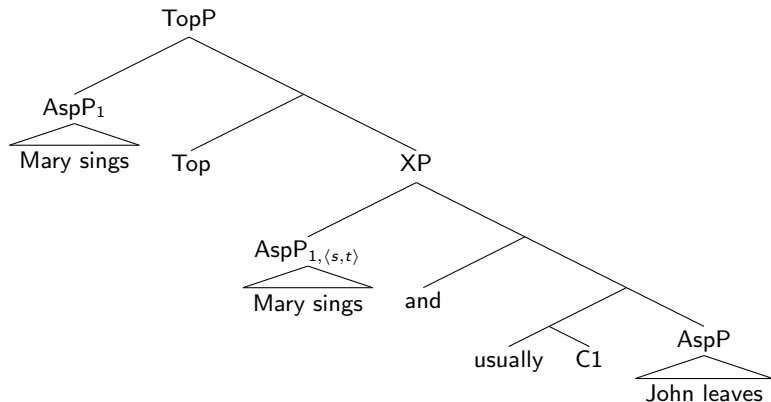
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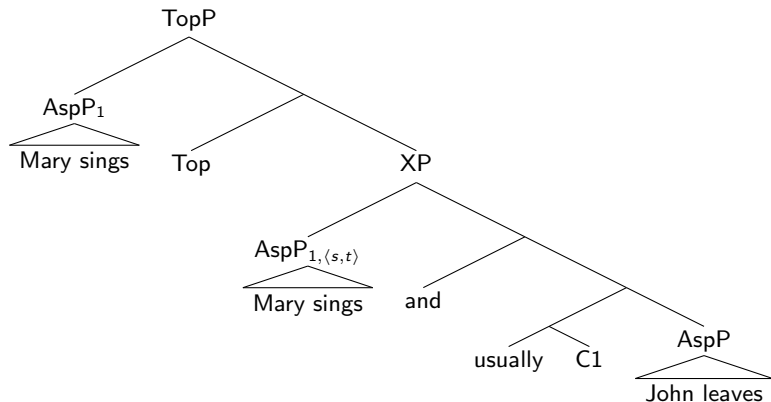
Topicalize CONJUNCT1:

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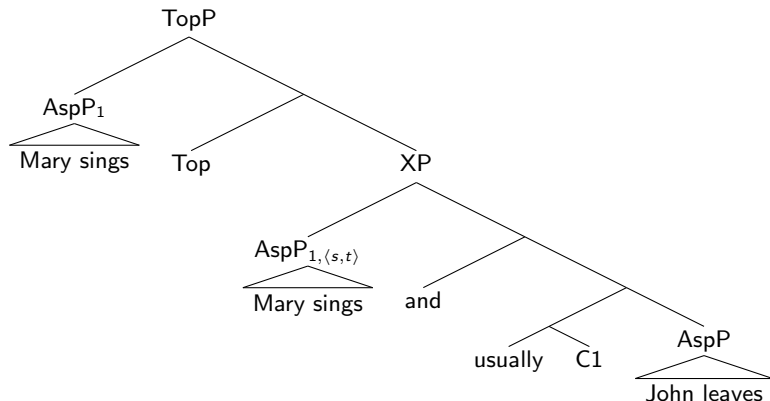
Topicalize CONJUNCT1:

- Introduce discourse referent for situation plurality

Ebert, Ebert, Hinterwimmer 2014

$\rightsquigarrow \sigma(\lambda s.R^{\mathrm{epi,Speaker}}(w_{@})(s) \,\&\, c(s)\,\&\, \mathrm{sing}_s(\mathrm{mary}))$

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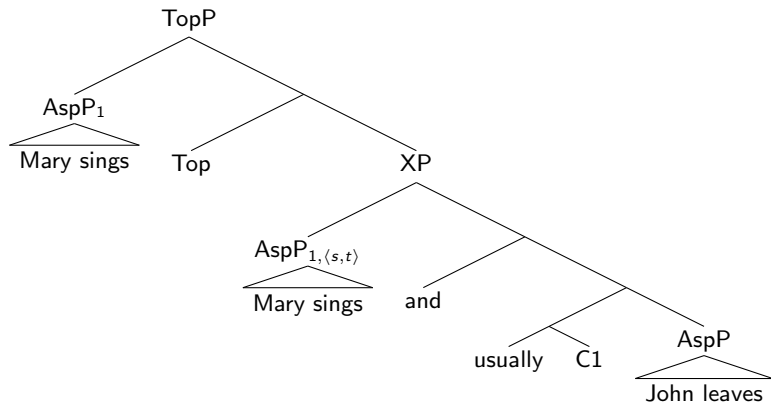
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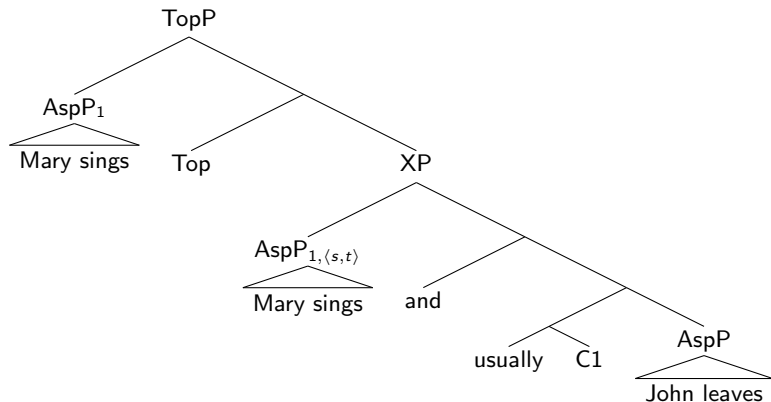
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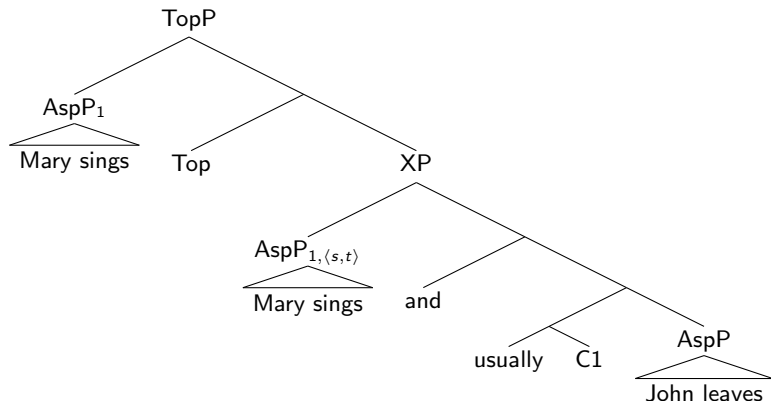
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- contextual restriction of q-Adv *usually* indexed to topic

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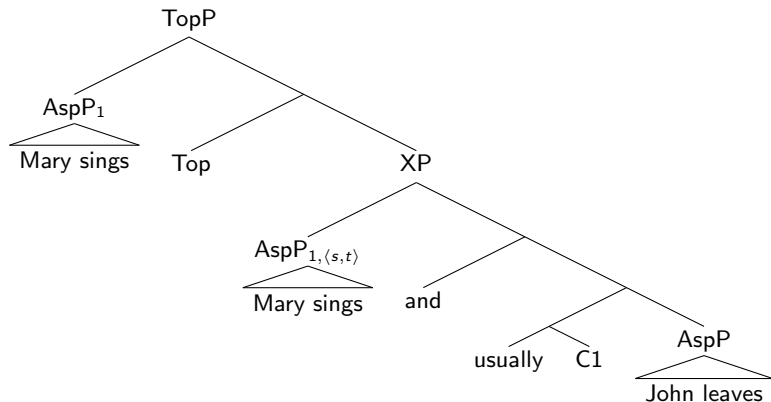
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- $\rightsquigarrow \lambda s.\text{sing}_s(\text{mary})$ & $\text{usually}(\text{TOPIC})(\lambda s''.\text{leave}_{s''}(\text{john}))$
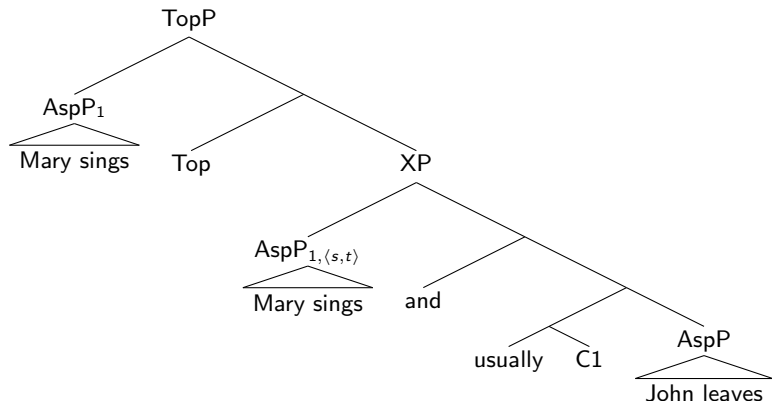
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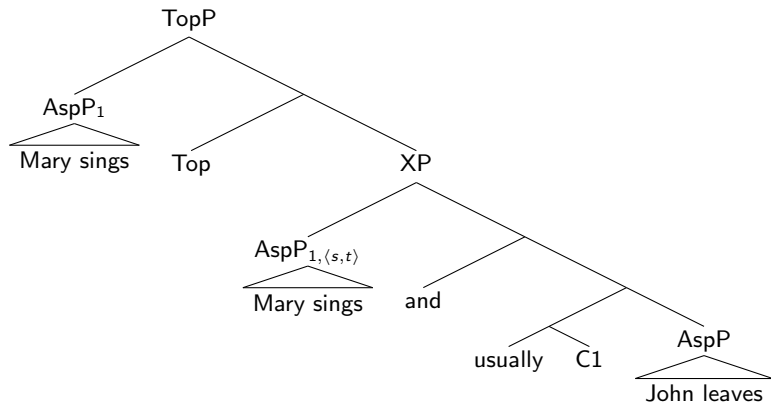
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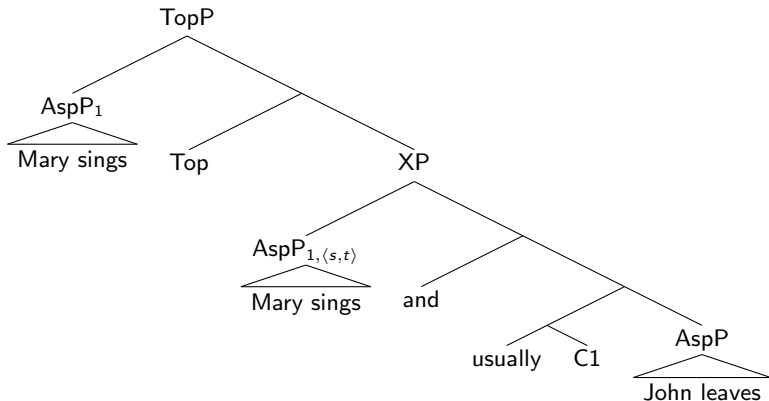
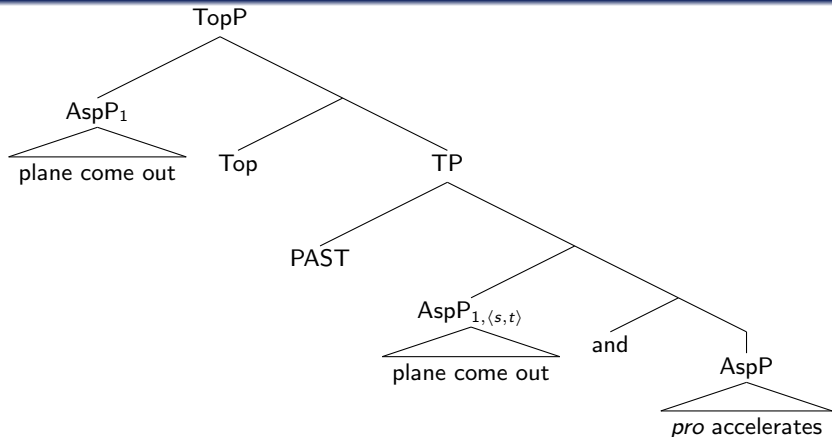Predicate REMAINING XP of TOPIC:
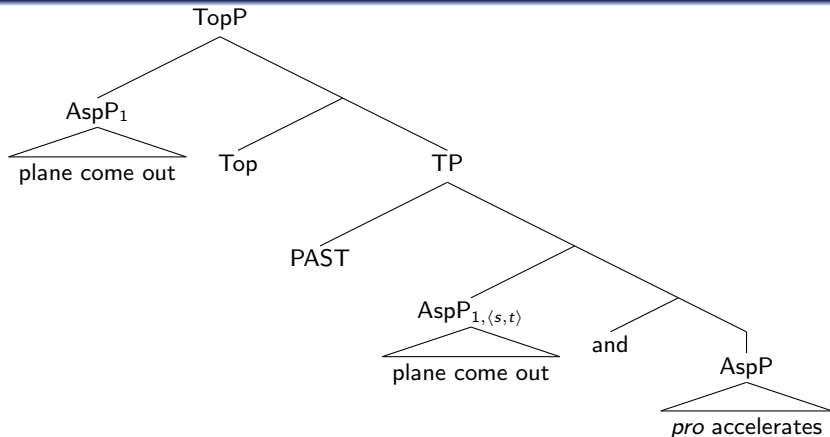
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Predicate REMAINING XP of TOPIC:

- Pointwise prediction over plurality (Link 1983) amounts to universal quantification over topic situations:
  - $\text{TOPIC} = \sigma(R^{\text{epi,Speaker}}(w_{@})(s) \,\&\, c(s) \,\&\, \text{sing}_s(\text{mary}))$
  - $\forall s \sqsubseteq \text{TOPIC}: \text{sing}_s(\text{mary}) \,\&\, \text{usually}(\text{TOPIC})(\lambda s''.\text{leave}_{s''}(\text{john}))$

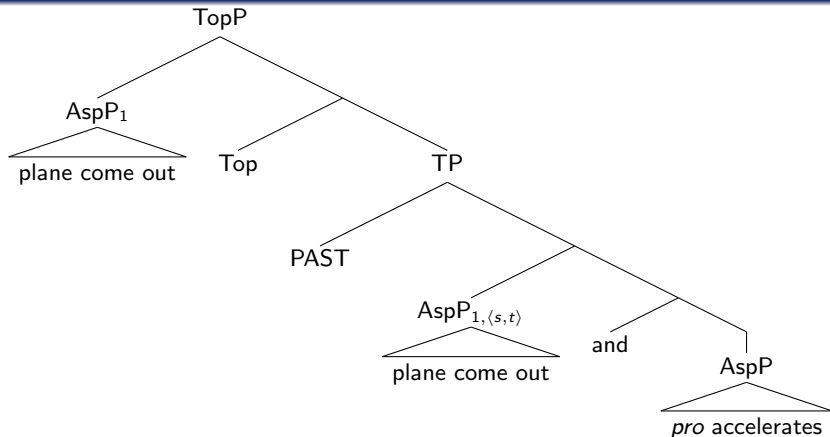## Unifying hypothetical and factual $=$*to*

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- TP predicated of TOPIC:
  $\lambda s : s \leq c_{\mathrm{Utt}}.\text{come-out}_s(\text{the-plane}_c)$ & $\exists s_1[s \leq s_1$ &
  $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \text{accelerate}_{s1}(\text{the-plane}_c)]$

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THANK YOU!

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Questionable topicality?

if-antecedents can appear in focus: (von Fintel 1994:81, his (6))

(36)   A: Under what conditions will you buy this house?
        B: I will buy this house if you give me the money.

-te=wa and *-ko=nun* clauses seem to be bad as expected, but *=to* can appear
– different types of topics(?)
Other topics as answers ('new topics', definitely contrastive topics) -?

(37)   If you give me the money, then I will give you the house.

CCs do not seem to allow focus on the first conjunct; *pace* Keshet 2013, who
derives (38a) instead of (38b): CCs seem to be answers only as corrections:

(38)   [You press the SPACE button]$_F$ and your character jumps.
      a.   All cases in which you do something relevant and your character jumps
           are cases in which you press the space bar and your character jumps.
      b.   Pressing the space button is the action such that, if you do it, your
           character jumps.

(39)   a.   Under what circumstances does your character jump?
      b.   Your character jumps if you press the shift key.   Nonsense! Tell me,
           really: how do you make your character jump?

Recovering non-predictive conditionals

Liste contexts render acceptable English (and also German) CCs for some speakers (Kaufmann 2019, Ms.):

(40)   A: Oh no, look, John forgot his phone. We can probably find out when he left the office, but I have no clue where he is now. - Do you think we can reach him somehow?

        B: Come on, it's not that hard, you know him! ...
He left around 5 and {he's, he must be} home by now; he left around 6 and he {still will be, must still be} exercising at the gym.