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

(1) Mary sings another song and John leaves the bar.
Introduction

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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)
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)

(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

(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)

(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) \([\text{Mary}=-to\ \text{John}]=\text{ga}\ \text{dete ik-u.}\)

Mary=\text{TO} \ John=\text{NOM} \ leave \ go-\text{NPAST} \\
‘Mary and John leave.’

(15) \text{Mary}=\text{ga} \ \text{John}=-to \ \text{dete ik-u.}\)

Mary=\text{NOM} \ John=\text{TO} \ leave \ go-\text{NPAST} \\
‘Mary leaves with John.’
Conditional conjunctions

CCs in Japanese and Korean

From topicality to hypotheticality

Appendix

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.’

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:

\[(19) \quad [[\text{Mary}=\text{Nom} \text{ apple}=\text{Acc} \text{ 2-Clas=To} \quad \text{Nancy}=\text{Nom} \text{ banana}=\text{Acc} \\
\text{san-bon}]\text{ 3-Clas} \text{ eat-Past}] =to \quad \text{tabe-ta}.\]

‘Mary (ate) two apples and Nancy ate three bananas.’
(Modified from Koizumi 2000:230, cf. his (6))
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 \textbf{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 \textbf{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.
‘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.
‘That’s the tune that if Mary sings it, John repeats t.’ (CC reading OK)
Intermediate summary

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• Most synchronic conditionals in both languages have a source from a conjunctive suffix plus topic marker.
• The only exception, Japanese =to clauses, have a homophonous coordinate pattern that can conjoin clauses, subject to a surface constraint.
• Word order facts indicate that =to conditional clauses are in a topic position; the impossibility of ATB extraction indicates they are syntactically distinct from simple coordination.
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- Most synchronic conditionals in both languages have a source from a conjunctive suffix plus topic marker.
- The only exception, Japanese =to clauses, have a homophonous coordinate pattern that can conjoin clauses, subject to a surface constraint.
- Word order facts indicate that =to conditional clauses are in a topic position; the impossibility of ATB extraction indicates they are syntactically distinct from simple coordination.
- 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.
Outline

1. Introducing conditional conjunctions

2. CCs in Japanese and Korean

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 (von Fintel 1994)
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  - Same constraints in readings (–to come)
  - Syntactically asymmetric coordinations (ATB-data)
  - JK: transparently Conjunction + Topicalization
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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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  \end{enumerate}

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  \item \#John left work at 6 and hes\textit{ probably} home by now.
  \item \#\textit{Probably,} John left work at 6 and hes home by now. (no CC, both Keshet’s 2013)
  \end{enumerate}

- Japanese and Korean CCs behave similarly:

  \begin{enumerate}
  \item [(29)] \begin{enumerate}
  \item \#Rokketto=o mottei-te=wa ore=no ibosi da.
    \text{locket=Acc have-GER=Top 1P=GEN half.sister is}
  \item \#Rokketto=o mottei-ru=to ore=no ibosi da
    \text{locket=Acc have-NPAST=To 1P=GEN half.sister is}
  \end{enumerate}

  \item [(30)] \#Lokhes=lul kaciko iss=ko=nun ney ipok camay-ta.
    \text{locket=Acc having be-GER=Top/be-COND my half-sister =be.Dec}
Readings of CCs: never non-predictive

- **Predictive** conditionals “refer to states of affairs that are not yet ‘manifest’ or ‘verifiable’ at speech time” vs. **non-predictive**

  (S. Kaufmann 2005:235)
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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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  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).*
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- Restriction is an issue of tense (not modal flavor).
JK CCs lack tense and modality in first conjunct

- **Japanese:**

- **Korean:**

Conjunctive -ko can embed past tense, but only on the Boolean reading; topic marker =nun cannot be added:

(35) Mary=ka
Mary=Nom
nolay=lul
song=Acc
pul-ess-ko(*=nun)
sing-Ger=Top
John=it
John=Nom
ttena
leave
ka-ss-ta.
go-Past-Dec
'Mary sang a song, and John left. (Both things happen.)
JK CCs lack tense and modality in first conjunct

- **Japanese:**
  - No morphological tense under \(-te=wa\), only default present tense under \(=to\).
JK CCs lack tense and modality in first conjunct

- **Japanese:**
  - No morphological tense under -te=wa, only default present tense under =to.
  - No modals under -te=wa and =to:

\[
(34) \quad \text{Mary}=\text{ga} \quad \text{uta} = \text{o} \quad \text{utau} \quad (\ast \text{daroo}) = \text{to} \quad \text{John}=\text{ga} \\
\text{Mary}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{song}=\text{ACC} \quad \text{sing-\text{NPAST}} \quad \text{be.probable}=\text{To} \quad \text{John}=\text{NOM} \\
\text{dete} \quad \text{iku} \\
\text{leave} \quad \text{go-\text{NPAST}}
\]

‘Mary will (#probably) sing a song, and John will leave.’
JK CCs lack tense and modality in first conjunct

• **Japanese:**
  - No morphological tense under `-te=wa`, only default present tense under `-=to`.
  - No modals under `-te=wa` and `-=to`:

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \text{(34) } & \text{Mary=ga uta=0 utau} & \text{(*daroo)=to} & \text{John=ga} \\
  & \text{Mary=NOM song=Acc sing-NPAST be.probable=To} & \text{John=NOM dete iku} \\
  & \text{leave go-NPAST} & \\
  \end{align*}
  \]

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

• **Korean:** Conjunctive `-ko` can embed past tense, but only on the Boolean reading; topic marker `-nun` cannot be added:

  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \text{(35) } & \text{Mary=ka nolay=lul pul-ess-ko(=*nun) John=i ttena} \\
  & \text{Mary=NOM song=Acc sing-GER=TOP} & \text{John=NOM leave} \\
  & \text{ka-ss-ta.} & \text{go-PAST-DEC} \\
  \end{align*}
  \]

  ‘Mary sang a song, and John left. (Both things happen.)’
Ingredients for the analysis

- JK CCs: topicalizing a first conjunct in a clausal coordination itself gives rise to hypotheticality
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  - JK CCs are (always) predictive
  - JK CC first conjuncts lack semantic tense and modality
Ingredients for the analysis

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• Form-meaning correlation:
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  – 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

Tree: Conditional conjunctions

TopP

AspP₁

Mary sings

Top

XP

AspP₁,⟨s,t⟩

Mary sings

and

usually

C₁

John leaves
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

Topicalize **CONJUNCT1**:

```
TopP
  AspP₁
    Mary sings
  Top
XP
  AspP₁,⟨s,t⟩
    Mary sings
  and
    usually C₁
  AspP
    John leaves
```
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

Topicalize **CONJUNCT1**:
- Introduce discourse referent for situation plurality

\[ \sigma(\lambda s. R_{\text{epi,Speaker}}^{\text{Speaker}}(w_{@})(s) \& c(s) \& \text{sing}_{s}(\text{mary})) \]

Ebert, Ebert, Hinterwimmer 2014
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

```
TopP
  / \  
AspP₁ / \  
  Mary sings  Top

XP
  / \  
AspP₁,⟨s,t⟩ / \  
  Mary sings  and

and
  / \  
usually  C₁
  / \  
John leaves
```
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

Interpret remaining XP:
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

Interpret REMAINING XP:
- with copy of topicalized material (− exception!)
- contextual restriction of q-Adv *usually* indexed to topic
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

Interpret REMAINING XP:
- with copy of topicalized material (– exception!)
- contextual restriction of q-Adv *usually* indexed to topic

\[ \rightsquigarrow \lambda s.\text{sing}_s(\text{mary}) \land \text{usually}(\lambda s''.\text{leave}_s''(\text{john})) \]
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

Mary sings

AspP₁

Top P

Mary sings

AspP₁,⟨s,t⟩

Top XP

and

usually

C₁

AspP

John leaves
English CCs along the lines of JK CCs

Predicate remaining XP of Topic:
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- Pointwise prediction over plurality (Link 1983) amounts to universal quantification over topic situations:
  - \( \text{TOPIC} = \sigma(R_{\text{epi,Speaker}}^e)(w)(s) \& c(s) \& \text{sing}_s(mary)) \)
  - \( \forall s \subseteq \text{TOPIC}: \text{sing}_s(mary) \& \text{usually}(\text{TOPIC})(\lambda s''. \text{leave}_{s''}(john)) \)
Unifying hypothetical and factual \( \Rightarrow \) to

TopP

AspP\(_1\)

plane come out

Top

PAST

AspP\(_1,\langle s,t \rangle\)

and

AspP

plane come out

\( pro \) accelerates
Unifying hypothetical and factual \(=to\)

- **Topic**: specific situation in the world of evaluation (atomic)
Unifying hypothetical and factual =to

- **TOPIC**: specific situation in the world of evaluation (atomic)
- **TP** predicated of **TOPIC**:
  \[ \lambda s : s \leq c_{\text{Utt}} \text{come-out}_s(\text{the-plane}_c) \land \exists s_1 [s \leq s_1 \land \text{accelerate}_{s_1}(\text{the-plane}_c)] \]
Conclusions

- Japanese, Korean: overt topic marking on the first conjunct turns conjunctions into conditionals.
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• Conditional conjunctions have the syntactic properties of topics, both in terms of their position in the matrix clause and in terms of ATB extraction.

• We build an interpretation of CCs that builds on topicalization from a regular conjunction that is thereby rendered asymmetric.
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- We build an interpretation of CCs that builds on topicalization from a regular conjunction that is thereby rendered asymmetric.
- The result is restricted not against epistemic readings, but against non-predictivity.
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- We build an interpretation of CCs that builds on topicalization from a regular conjunction that is thereby rendered asymmetric.
- The result is restricted not against epistemic readings, but against non-predictivity.
- Tentatively: smaller form type (no tense and modality) and/or asymmetry determine the obligatorily predictive nature.
Conclusions

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Thank you!
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.