

A Study of Negative Conditionals in Korean: *-takanun* and *-esstakanun**

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This paper aims to characterize the semantic world of two negative conditional markers in Korean: *-takanun* and *-esstakanun*. I argue that *-takanun* is constrained to conditionalize a 'progressive' situation over a probable domain, whereas *-esstakanun* can be used to express a variety of conditional speaker attitudes such as GENERIC STANCE and UNCERTAINTY as well as COUNTERFACTUAL in the hypothetical domain. I also argue that *-ess* in the *-esstakanun* form should be viewed as the perfect aspect marker and it does a grammatical role of back-shifting, creating such a conditional reading as 'If it ever happens that ...'.

Keywords: conditionals, negative conditionals, counterfactuals, desirability, back-shifting

1. Introduction

In uttering a conditional sentence '*p*-conditional marker, *q*, in a discourse context, the speaker expresses his/her subjective stance and attitude over the content of *p*, *q*, or the entire conditional sentence. Since the trailblazing work by Akatsuka (1985), much attention has long been paid to the analysis of the speaker's HYPOTHETICALITY attitude over the truth (probability) of *p* with respect to the issue of what defines the domain of conditionals as in the studies by Akatsuka (1985, 1986), C-B Lee (1996), S-Y Bak (1987, 2003), etc. Relatively new is the study of the speaker's evaluative stance of desirability over the conditionals. Akatsuka (1991, 1992) initiated the research of the speaker's attitude of desirability, 'I WANT IT TO HAPPEN/NOT TO HAPPEN,' in conditionals. Both Akatsuka and Sohn (1994) and Akatsuka (1997) paid a special attention to what they called "negative conditionals" in which the speaker expresses his/her affective stance: 'UNDESIRABLE leads to UNDESIRABLE.' They presented strong

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evidence from Japanese and Korean: the Japanese *-tewa* and the Korean *-taka* conditionals are examples of 'Negative Conditionals' in that they are typically used for the speech acts of warnings and precautions, carrying the message 'Stop doing what you are doing.'

This paper aims to further explore the semantic world of 'negative conditionals' from the discourse-functional perspectives, focusing on two different forms of negative conditionals in Korean, the *-takanun* and *-esstakanun* conditional constructions. While these two conditional forms both carry the speaker's negative stance of UNDESIRABILITY, they differ in their semantic constraints and implications due to their formal differences. We will observe that they express a different range of conditional meanings over the epistemic scale of hypotheticality and carry different implications with different semantic constraints.

The main arguments in this paper are as follows. First, I argue that *-takanun* is constrained to mark the antecedent that describes a 'progressive' situation over a (very) probable domain along the epistemic scale as characterized in Akatsuka (1985). Second, against Yoon (1993)'s claim that the *-esstakanun* construction allows counterfactual conditionals only, I argue that *-esstakanun* can be used widely to express a variety of conditional speaker attitudes such as GENERIC STANCE and UNCERTAINTY as well as COUNTERFACTUAL in the hypothetical domain of the epistemic scale. I also argue that that *-ess* should be viewed more generally as a marker of 'completeness' or 'perfectness' and contributes to creating such a conditional reading as 'If it ever happens that...' I further argue that this sense of 'ever' seems to be responsible for the semantic effect of increasing the sense of hypotheticality in the *-esstakanun* form and *-ess* does a grammatical role of back-shifting in negative conditionals in Korean. Third, I argue that all these semantic differences between these two forms naturally account for the fact that they carry two different implications at the discourse site; that is, the speaker implicates 'Stop doing *p*' in uttering a '*p-takanun, q*', while he or she implicates '*p* should not occur even once or be completed' in uttering a '*p-esstakanun, q*'. Then, based on these findings, I attempt to formally characterize the acceptable domain of conditionality that each conditional marker can express in the intersection of the epistemic scale and the desirability scale. Finally, in conclusion, I discuss briefly the implications of this study for the crosslinguistic understanding of conditionals.

The paper is organized as follows. After this introduction, in section 2, the previous studies on the definition and analysis of 'negative conditionals' and the characterization of the *-takanun* and *-esstakanun* conditional forms in Korean will be briefly reviewed as the background of this study. In section 3, a thorough analysis of the semantic constraints and discourse functions of the two conditional constructions will be presented and discussed. After that, in section 4, we will attempt to characterize the acceptable domains of condition-

ality of these two forms schematically. In section 4, after summarizing the major findings of the research, I will make some closing remarks focusing on the implications of the study for the crosslinguistic understanding of conditionals.

2. Previous Studies

Akatsuka (1997) defined what she called “negative conditionals” as in (1).

(1) Negative conditionals

If S1, (then) S2, where S1 and S2 explicitly/implicitly express the speaker’s negative evaluative attitude, i.e. UNDESIRABLE towards the proposition.

Akatsuka argued that negative conditionals are unique in that they are only used to express the speaker’s prediction, ‘UNDESIRABLE-leads-to-UNDESIRABLE,’ and the utterance as a whole expresses the speaker’s attitude, ‘I DON’T WANT IT TO HAPPEN.’

Akatsuka and S-O Sohn (1994) and Akatsuka (1997) presented strong evidence from Japanese and Korean to argue that these two languages reserve distinctive conditional markers which are used exclusively to mark negative conditionals. In particular, they observed that the Japanese *-tewa* and the Korean *-taka* conditionals are typically used for the speech acts of warnings and precautions, carrying the message ‘Stop doing what you are doing.’ Akatsuka and S-O Sohn (1994) noted while English *if* is neutral as to the speaker’s evaluative stance in that both UNDESIRABLE and DESIRABLE S2s can follow S1, in the case of Japanese *-tewa* and Korean *-taka*, both forms cannot be used when the speaker carries the attitude of DESIRABLE over the content of S2 as in (2); that is, only the UNDESIRABLE – UNDESIRABLE sequence is allowed.¹

(2) a. Japanese *-tewa*

ikashite oi-*tewa* nani o shaberreru ka wakaranai.
 Let him live-*tewa* what ACC speak on us Q know not
 ‘If we let him live, there is no telling what he might say.’

*nanika no yoku ni tatsu daroo
 something useful may be
 *he may be useful

¹ In this paper, the following abbreviations are used in the gloss:
 ACC: accusative, DEC: declarative, FUT: future, GEN: genitive, NOM: nominative, PST: past,
 PRES: present, PROG: progressive, Q: question, TOP: topic, EXCL: exclamatory

b. **Korean -taka**

cam-man ca <i>taka</i> -(nun)	nakceyha-keyyss-ta
sleep-only sleep-taka(nun)	get flunck-will-DEC
'If you only sleep, you'll flunk the exam.'	
	*naaci-keyyss-ta
	get better-will-DEC
	*you'll feel better

Akatsuka and S-O Sohn (1994) focused on the issue of where the negative conditional meaning of *-taka* came from. They presented a convincing argument from the perspective of historical linguistics. The gist of their argument was that the development of the negative conditionality in the *-takanun* clauses exemplifies 'subjectification'; that is, there has been a semantic shift from the objective meaning of the form *-taka* meaning 'interruption' toward the speaker's subjective stance of UNDESIRABILITY toward the realization of *p* of '*p-taka, q*, implying 'stop doing *p*.'

However, apart from their theoretical contribution, what is missing in both Akatsuka and S-O Sohn (1994) and Akatsuka (1997) is an attention to another form of negative conditionals in Korean, the *-esstakanun* construction. As reported in this study, *-esstakanun* is used no less productively than *-takanun* in Korean. In this respect, a study of the *-esstakanun* conditional form and a systematic comparison between *-takanun* and *-esstakanun* are long overdue in Korean grammar.

Actually, there was a significant previous study on this topic in J-H Yoon (1993). Yoon presented an analysis of the *-esstakanun* form and discussed the role of *-ess* in this conditional construction. He argued that the *-esstakanun* conditional form allows only counterfactual conditionals with *-ess* acting as an irrealis mood marker. He observed that (3b) is not felicitous in a normal context in which the speaker doesn't have a reason to believe that the hearer will possibly fight with Tyson. Then, he argued that *-takanun* requires the past tense marker *-ess* in the clause when it takes a counterfactual antecedent.

- (3) a. Mike Tyson-eykey han tay mac-*ass-takanun*, palo cwuk-nunta
 Mike Tyson-from a punch get beaten-ass-taka-nun right away die-DEC
 'If you got beat by a punch by Mike Tyson, you would die right away.'
- b. #Mike Tyson-eykey hantay mac-*takanun*, palo cwuk-nunta
 Mike Tyson-from a punch get beaten-ass-taka-nun right away die-DEC
 'If you got beat by a punch by Mike Tyson, you will die right away.'

Although Yoon's analysis provided us with some valuable insight into an understanding of the *-esstakanun* conditional construction, his claim suffered from

some fundamental drawbacks not only due to his theoretical misunderstanding of what constitutes ‘counterfactuals’ but also because he failed to consider a wider range of the data of the *-estakanun* conditional forms in natural discourse. In the next section, I will make a counter argument against his claim by analyzing a wider range of the *-estakanun* example sentences with a theoretical discussion of how conditionals and counterfactuals should be defined.

3. Two Conditional Forms: *-takanun* and *-estakanun*

3.1. *-taka* and *-takanun*

The form *-takanun* is a combination of the verbal conjunctive ending *-taka* and the topic marker *-nun*. J-H Yoon (1993) observed that *-taka* appears in the environments as in (4a) through (4c).

- (4) a. kilswu-ka theylleybicen-ul po-*taka* cam-i tul-ess-ta
 Kilswu-NOM TV-ACC see-*taka* sleep-NOM fall-PAST-DEC
 ‘Kilswu fell asleep while watching TV.’
- b. kilswu-ka tosekwan-eyse swukcey-lul ha-*taka*
 Kilswu-NOM library-in homework-ACC do-*taka*
 cip-ey ka-ass-ta
 home-to go-PAST-DEC
 ‘Kilswu went home in the middle of doing homework at the library.’
- c. kilswu-ka yengesihem-ul po-*taka* khenning-ul
 Kilswu-ka English exam-ACC take-*taka* cheating-ACC
 hay-ss-ta
 do-PAST-DEC
 ‘Kilswu cheated while taking an English exam.’

The above examples show that the *-taka* clause is basically used to express the sense of ‘while,’ ‘before’ or ‘in the middle of’ in English. Lukoff (1982) noted that it expresses ‘the notion that an action, quality, or condition continues over a period of time and is then discontinued, interrupted, or broken off and superseded by another action, quality, or condition.’

When the topic marker *-nun* is attached after *-taka* as in (5a), it evokes a conditional reading.²

² In this paper, we discuss both the constructed data and the natural corpus data as needed for arguments. The corpus data are a random set of writings collected from the blogs that

(5) (Upon seeing her daughter watching TV all day during the summer vacation:)

a. *kulehkey kongpwuha-takanun* halyu tayhak-eyto
 so study-if low-level college-to
 mos ka-n-ta
 cannot go-PRES-DEC

'If you study like that, you cannot even go to a low-level college.'

b. #*kulehkey kongpwuha-takanun* illyu tayhak-ey
 so study-if top-level college-to
 ka-l-swu iss-ta
 can go-PRES-DEC

'If you study like that, you can go to a top-level college.'

We can also observe an important constraint on the use of the form *-takanun* in (5b). Notice that in (5a) the speaker expresses a negative warning and the use of *-takanun* is felicitous, while it is infelicitous in (5b) where he/she expresses a positive encouragement. J-H Yoon (1993) argued that the conditional construction with the verbal ending *-takanun* requires that its consequent be COUNTERBULETIC; that is, it must be something we do not want to happen.

Akatsuka (1991) proposed that natural language conditionals are an important device for encoding the speaker's affective stance where the relevant notions are DESIRABLE/UNDESIRABLE rather than truth values. Thus, she brought up a comparison of the following two tables as in (6).

(6) **TRUTH TABLE**

Antecedent → Consequent	
TRUE	TRUE
TRUE	FALSE
FALSE	TRUE
FALSE	FALSE

DESIRABILITY TABLE

Antecedent → Consequent	
DESIRABLE	DESIRABLE
...	...
...	...
UNDESIRABLE	UNDESIRABLE

The impossibility of the combination of two opposite values in the desirability table above naturally accounts for why the consequent of the *-takanun* construction should be COUNTERBULETIC. According to the prediction of the desirability logic in (6) above, when the speaker utters a '*p-takanun, q*' sentence

were searched by visiting the so-called 'portal' sites such as 'www.naver.com' or 'www.daum.net' on the Internet. I was able to collect numerous examples of conditional sentences with *-takanun* and *-esstakanun* by typing specific examples of conditional forms on the search pages, such as *kongpwuha-(yess)takanun* (study-if), *mek-(ess)-takanun* (eat-if), *ca-(ass)-takanun* (sleep-if), etc.

where *p* and *q* explicitly or implicitly express the speaker attitude of UNDESIRABLE, he or she must express a negative attitude of UNDESIRABLE → UNDESIRABLE; that is, ‘It’s undesirable, so I don’t want it to happen.’ Providing a counterfactual possibility in the consequent clause is then a corollary to expressing this kind of attitude in the whole conditional sentence. Describing a desirable situation in the consequent clause will violate the rule of desirability logic, which predicts that the resultant sentence will be infelicitous. This prediction is borne out as we already saw in (5b), where we find a violation in desirability value combinations (UNDESIRABLE/DESIRABLE) leading to an infelicitous sentence and this contradicts what the speaker wants to achieve (negative warning).

Next, we should notice here that there is another important semantic constraint on the use of the *-takanun* form, which is directly transferred from the *-taka* conjunction construction. Recall from the examples of (4) that one common semantic property in all the *-taka* examples is the durative aspect of the verbal expression in the *-taka* clauses. Notice that all the English glosses in (4) represent a progressive situation. The requirement that the *-taka* clause describe a progressive situation is directly transferred to the *-takanun* clause. Thus, we find that the *-takanun* clauses are compatible only with the durative aspect of the verb. Consider (7) below.

- (7) a. i sen-ul nem-umyen (#takanun) palphoha-keyyss-ta
 this line-ACC pass-if shoot-will-DEC
 ‘If you pass this line, we will shoot you.’
 b. kulehkey kichimha-takanun swum-i mec-keyyss-ta
 so cough-if breathing-NOM stop-may-DEC
 ‘If you cough like that, your breath may stop.’
 c. #han penilato kichimha-takanun tulkhi-l-keya.
 even once cough-if get caught-will-DEC
 ‘If you cough even once, you’ll get caught.’

Notice in (7a) that ‘passing the line’ is a punctual achievement verbal expression that cannot be an on-going event. In this context, the use of the prototypical conditional marker, *-myen*, is appropriate, but the use of *-takanun* is not acceptable. In contrast, with the progressive verb ‘kongpwuhata (to study)’, its use is felicitous as we previously saw in (5). However, we should note that what should be durative or progressive is not the verb itself but the whole situation expressed in the clause. Notice in (7b) that the verb ‘kichimhata (to cough)’ itself is a semelfactive verb but it can create a progressive meaning if its action is repeated.³ Here the adverb ‘kurehkey (so)’ adds the sense of repeti-

³ An anonymous reviewer pointed out that the verb ‘kichimhata (cough)’ should be classified as a

tion and the entire verbal situation becomes progressive. Then, in this context, the use of *-takanun* is felicitous. However, the situation is dramatically contrasted in (7c) where the use of *-takanun* is not felicitous because the adverbial expression 'hanpenirato (even once)' fails to do such a role and the whole situation remains to be a punctual achievement.

Now, let us turn our discussion to what range of hypotheticality the *-takanun* conditional form can express. Akatsuka (1985) argued that the conceptual domains REALIS and IRREALIS form an epistemic scale and explain the domain of conditionals. Conditionals are defined conceptually by the speaker attitude of varying degrees of hypotheticality over the antecedent *p* in the 'If *p*, *q*' structure in the IRREALIS domain; in particular, she characterized three specific speaker attitudes that belong to the conditional domain as in (8).

(8) REALIS		IRREALIS	
know	get to know	not know	know
(exist x)	(exist x)	(exist x)	not (exist x)
	Newly-learned context	Uncertainty	Counterfactual

Let us review the contexts where *-takanun* is felicitously used in (5) and (7) above. Notice that (5a) can be felicitously uttered by the mother to her daughter upon seeing her watching television all day long without studying. In that situation, the possibility of the continuation of the situation described in the *-takanun* clause is a very probable hypothesis in her belief world and she expresses her attitude of negative warning with such a (highly) probable attitude. Notice again in (7b) that *-takanun* is used felicitously in an essentially similar context where the speaker has just observed the hearer coughing continuously. This observation leads us to argue that *-takanun* expresses the speaker's UNDESIRABLE stance over an on-going situation which he or she has just observed at a discourse site. This means that *-takanun* seems to be constrained to mark what Akatsuka (1985) called the speaker attitude of 'SUDDEN REALIZATION: I just realize/observe this,' in the newly-learned context in the IRREALIS domain.

However, a closer review of a wider set of corpus data reveals that the range of conditional domain that *-takanun* can express is beyond the newly-learned context. We find that there are found a plenty of conditional sentences with *-takanun* in what Reilly (1986) identified as "Generic Conditionals."⁴ This

semelfactive verb and made some insightful comments as contrasted with punctual achievement verbs. I owe this line of argument to him or her.

⁴ Reilly (1986) identified the following type of conditional as GENERIC CONDITIONAL; i.e. (pouring water on cement:) *If/When you pour water on it, it sparkles*. He observed that it is typically used to describe a rule or to predict a law-like relationship between two events. He further pointed out

type of conditional sentence is typically used to describe or predict a rule-like relationship between two events. What characterizes this context is not the consideration of the speaker's attitude over the probability of the event described in the antecedent, but rather it is characterized by noting the functional relation between two subclauses. We find that *-takanun* is frequently used to make such a rule-like statement as in (9).

- (9) (In her blog, the writer presents 10 rules to observe to keep the skin fresh and young:)

chokolis-kwa kheyiku tung tan umshik-ina samkyupsal tung-uy
Chocolate-and cake and so on sweet food-or pork and so on-GEN

kilumcin umshik tung-ul
greasy food and so on-ACC

tangkinun tayro cipe mek-*takanun* mommay -man
as you like them eat-if physical shape -not only

mangkacinun kes-i anira phipwu-to kechileci-n-ta
out of shape skin-too rough-PRES-DEC

'If you eat greasy foods like pork as well as sweet foods like chocolate and cakes, as much as you like them, you will be not only out of shape but your skin will also get rough.'

Notice in (9) that the speaker is stating a rule-like statement in her blog as a piece of advice concerning what to avoid to keep the skin fresh by using a *-takanun* conditional form. Notice further that the situation described in the *-takanun* clause is not something the speaker has just observed but it is a general possibility that can happen to anybody. In this context, the speaker has a GENERIC stance over the hypotheticality of the content of the antecedent.

These observations show that the range of hypothetical domain that *-takanun* can felicitously mark over the epistemic scale is a left-half domain of the epistemic scale; that is, the newly-learned context plus the context of GENERIC conditionals, which is characterized by the speaker's generic stance over the possibility or hypotheticality of the situation described in the *-takanun* clause.

that this conditional context is also characterized by the interchangeability between *if* and *when*. The very fact that this conditional context is not sensitive to the distinctive choice between *if* and *when* signals that the speaker's attitude over the probability of the content described in the antecedent is kind of 'open' or 'general.' In this paper, I simply call such a speaker attitude in this conditional context as GENERIC STANCE and characterize its hypothetical domain as being exactly in the middle of the probable-hypothetical continuum over the epistemic scale because it leans neither toward the probable domain nor toward the hypothetical domain.

3.2. *-esstakanun* and *-ess*

3.2.1. Counterfactuals and *-esstakanun*

J-H Yoon (1993) observed that the use of *-takanun* in non-counterfactual contexts is felicitous, while *-ess* is required in counterfactual contexts. Without discussing much natural data, Yoon claimed that the *-esstakanun* construction allows only counterfactual conditionals and *-ess* should be viewed as an unreal mood marker. However, Yoon's claim had to suffer from some fundamental drawbacks due to the lack of sufficient data analysis on top of a theoretical misunderstanding. First, he misunderstood the concept of counterfactuals. According to Akatsuka (1985), when uttering counterfactual conditionals, the speaker carries the attitude of NEGATIVE CONVICTION; that is, the speaker imagines a world opposite to the current reality as characterized in (8) previously.

Akatsuka (1985) discussed the following example from Japanese as in (10).

- (10) kono ko ga otoko dat-*tara* ii noni naa!
 this child-SUBL son be-if good though EXCL
 'If this child is a boy, I'll be so happy!'
 'If this child were a boy, I'd be so happy!'

Akatsuka observed that (10) is ambiguous. If a pregnant woman utters (10) before the delivery of her baby, then (10) expresses her hope of having a son. However, if the same sentence is uttered after the delivery, it automatically becomes a counterfactual conditional. Akatsuka (1985) pointed out further that many East Asian languages – e.g. Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Mongolian, etc – make no grammatical distinction between subjunctive and indicative moods. A quick glance at Korean conditional constructions seems to support Akatsuka's claim. Notice in (11) that the Korean equivalent of (10) is expressed by using a *-myen* clause and the identical ambiguity is observed.

- (11) i ai-ka atul-i-*myen* coh-ulyenman
 this child-NOM son-be-if good-EXCL
 'If this child is a son, I'll be so happy!'
 'If this child were a son, I'd be so happy.'

However, as J-H Yoon (1993) argued, this generalization seems to be too strong. I find that this generalization does not hold at least in Korean. In Korean, a conditional sentence cannot be interpreted as a counterfactual without backshifting of tense when the verb in the antecedent is other than the copula 'be.' Notice that unlike (11), (12) is not ambiguous and cannot be interpreted as a counterfactual; that is, it expresses only the speaker's hope of passing the

upcoming exam.

- (12) ipen sihem-ey hapkyekha-*myen* coh-ulyenman.
 this exam-in pass-if good-EXCL
 'If I pass this exam, I will be happy.'/
 # If I passed this exam, I would be happy.'

Notice that when the speaker desires to express a counterfactual attitude after taking the exam, he or she must add the past infix *-yess* inside the verbal morphology of the *-myen* clause as in (13).

- (13) ipen sihem-ey hapkyekha-*yess-umyen* coh-ulyenman.
 this exam-in pass-PAST-if good-EXCL
 'If I had passed this exam, I would have been happy.'

This data clearly shows that contra Akatsuka's claim, Korean indeed makes a grammatical distinction between subjunctive and indicative moods.

J-H Yoon (1993) presented a similar line of argument by analyzing the data of the *-takanun* and *-esstakanun* conditional constructions. As we observed in (3) previously, Yoon observed that *-takanun* cannot be used felicitously in a counterfactual context; that is, *-ess* must be there in the combined form of conditional construction. Then he argued that the *-esstakanun* conditional form essentially allows counterfactual conditionals only with *-ess* acting as an irrealis mood marker; that is, *-takanun* requires the past tense marker *-ess* in the clause when it takes a counterfactual antecedent.

However, J-H Yoon's argument lacked the empirical support from a systematic analysis of sufficient data. He did not give any description of the discourse context of (3a) and simply assumed that it was a counterfactual sentence. We should note here that (3a) is not a counterfactual conditional sentence in the context where there is even a remote possibility of the speaker getting beaten by Mike Tyson. In such a situation, it will then be read as carrying the speaker attitude of UNCERTAINTY. This means that whether a conditional sentence is a counterfactual or not is determined only by considering the speaker's subjective attitude at a discourse site. This proves that the presence of *-ess* alone in (3a) above does not necessarily make the *-esstakanun* sentence a counterfactual conditional. It is then predicted that the *-esstakanun* form will be used to express other conditional speaker attitudes such as UNCERTAINTY as well as COUNTERFACTUAL.

3.2.2. Conditional Domain of *-esstakanun*

Now, let us discuss the corpus data of the *-esstakanun* construction to find out what kinds of conditional speaker attitudes it can express along the epis-

temic scale. As predicted by J-H Yoon (1993), we observe many instances of the *-esstakanun* constructions where *-estaknun* is felicitously used to mark the speaker attitude of 'COUNTERFACTUAL: I know this is not the case.' Consider (14).

- (14) (The speaker talks about her experience in studying abroad in France. She says the Korean Embassy in France keeps its hours of operation in the Korean way; that is, they open even during the lunch hour from 12:30 to 2:30 p.m.)

caywaykongkwan-kkaci	phulangsu-sikulo	nukushakey
foreign offices-even	French way-in	relaxed
cemshimsikan-ul	motwu	
lunch hours-ACC	all	
chayngkie nol- <i>asstakanun</i>	hankwuk kyomin-ina	yuhaksayng-tul-hanthey
take off-if	overseas Koreans-or	students-from
emchengnan pulphyeng-ul	tul-ess-ul kesita.	
much complaint-ACC	hear-PAST-PRD	

'If the foreign offices of Korea also took off the lunch hour like they do in France, a lot of complaints would come from Korean residents and students residing in France.'

Notice in (14) above that the speaker surely knows the situation that the Korean Embassy in France is open during the lunch hour. He expresses a possible negative consequence by using an *-esstakanun* form based on her COUNTERFACTUAL imagination by saying 'if the Korean Embassy in France were closed during the lunch hour.'

Next, unlike J-H Yoon's claim, we find that *-esstakanun* can be used to express a variety of other conditional speaker attitudes, too. First, we find that like *-takanun*, *-esstakanun* is used frequently to express the speaker attitude of GENERIC STANCE to make a rule-like statement as in (15).

- (15) (Commenting on extremely high high-heel shoes:)

celen	nophun	kwutwu	sinko	ilha- <i>eysstakanun</i>
that	kind of high	high-heel shoes	wear	work-if,
palmok	disukhu	kellil-kkel		
ankle	disk	get-DEC		

'If you work wearing such high high-heel shoes, you will suffer from an ankle disk.'

Notice in (15) that the speaker makes a rule-like statement where there is a regular co-occurrence relation between wearing extremely high high-heel shoes and an ankle disk. We find that *-esstakanun* is felicitously used to mark the antecedent in this context where the speaker shows a generic stance about the hypotheticality of its content.

Second, we observe that *-esstakanun* is used to mark a wide range of hypothetical situations and express a different degree of UNCERTAINTY in speaker attitude: 'I don't know if this will happen'. Let us discuss the following example.

- (16) (A student who has just entered high school writes about her resolution in the new academic year:)

cwunghakkyo-ttay-chelem kongpwuha-yesstakanun
middle school days-like study-if

kyelkho nay kkwum-ul ilwul swu epsul kes-ita
never my dream can't accomplish-DEC

'If I study like my middle school days, I won't be able to accomplish my goal.'

Notice in (16) that the speaker is commenting on a possible situation that can happen in the near future, about which she is not sure. In this context, the speaker carries the UNCERTAINTY attitude that belongs to a right half of the hypothetical domain along the epistemic scale.

We also find that *-esstakanun* is also felicitous in the contexts where the speaker expresses a highly hypothetical attitude as in (17).

- (17) (In the same context as in (16), the student says that she believes that in general it is not a good idea to set too high a goal, but if she does indeed, she predicts it will backfire on her.)

manyak nay-ka cenkyo iltung-ul
possibly I-NOM top in the whole school-ACC

wihay kongpwuha-eystakanun
for study-if,

wenlay mokphyo-to mos ilu-ko tewuk
original goal can't accomplish more

sangsimsakey toy-l kesita
disappointment feel-FUT-DEC

'If I study with a goal to be the top student in the whole school, I won't be able to accomplish my original goal and will get further disappointed.'

Notice in (17) that the speaker is well aware that she should not set too high a goal, but imagines such a possibility, displaying a very hypothetical attitude, and gives a negative warning to herself. Notice that the adverb ‘manyak’ that literally means ‘one out of ten thousand (possibility)’ is emphatically used to carry the speaker’s strong doubt of such a possibility. This clearly reveals that *-esstakanun* can indeed be used to evoke a very hypothetical conditional reading.

All these findings show that unlike J-H Yoon (1993)’s claim, *-esstakanun* is used to express a wide range of conditional speaker attitudes in the hypothetical domain along the epistemic scale such as GENERIC STANCE and UNCERTAINTY as well as COUNTERFACTUAL.

3.2.3. The Grammatical Role and Meaning of *-ess*

J-H Yoon (1993) analyzed *-ess* as an irrealis marker on the ground that the presence of *-ess* makes the *-esstakanun* forms counterfactuals. However, in the above section, we presented our clear evidence to argue that *-esstakanun* is used to express a wider range of conditional meanings other than counterfactuals. Then, it is evident that Yoon’s characterization of *-ess* just as an irrealis marker has a limitation.

How should we characterize *-ess* in the *-esstakanun* form in Korean grammar then? First, let us focus on the grammatical role of *-ess*. Comrie (1986) pointed out that one aspect of time reference common in Indo-European languages in conditionals with high hypotheticality is back-shifting of tense, i.e. use of a morphologically past tense with present time (or future) time reference and of a pluperfect with past time reference. The Korean data of the alternative forms of *-takanun* and *-esstakanun* here show that the effect of back-shifting of tense associated with the increase of hypotheticality is also observed. Recall that the pure *-takanun* form is constrained to mark the antecedent that describes a ‘progressive’ situation over a (very) probable domain, while *-esstakanun* can be used to express the speaker attitudes that belong to the more hypothetical areas along the epistemic scale. Then, the presence of *-ess* certainly contributes to making the *-esstakanun* form more hypothetical in its range of conditional meaning than the pure *-takanun* form.

However, the grammatical effect and scope of back-shifting by *-ess* in Korean grammar differ widely from the situation in English. In English conditionals, the presence of a past tense marker in conditional forms is always associated with counterfactuals, whereas, in Korean, the *-esstakanun* form can be widely used to express various speaker attitudes of conditionality in addition to the counterfactual attitude. This fact shows that in English most counterfactual examples are identifiable by form with back-shifting of tense, but those in Korean are identifiable only conceptually at the discourse site. However, even in English conditionals, it is not sufficient to identify counterfactuals by formal means only, because we observe some cases of the ‘if+Pluperfect+would’

forms lacking counterfactual readings as argued by Davies (1979) and Comrie (1986).⁵

Now, let us attempt to characterize the concrete meaning of *-ess* in the *-esstakanun* form. When we review all the examples of the *-esstakanun* form, we find that the presence of *-ess* carries the sense of ‘completeness’ or ‘perfectness’. This is not surprising because the fundamental grammatical function of *-ess* in Korean grammar is to mark the perfect aspect as well as the past tense as discussed by numerous linguists as in H-M Sohn (1999), H-S Lee (1991), and many others.⁶ For instance, notice that *-ess* functions not only as a prototypical past tense marker in Korean grammar as in (18a), but it is also used to mark the perfect aspect of a verbal expression as in (18b), responsible for creating a similar meaning to that of the present perfect tense in English.

(18) a. (As an answer to the hearer’s question “What did you have for lunch?”:)

cemsim-ulo bulkoki-lul mek-ess-eyo
lunch-for bulkoki-ACC eat-ess-DEC
‘I ate bulkoki for the first time.’

b. (Closing a book the speaker has been reading:)

icey ta ilk-ess-ta!
now all read-ess-DEC
‘I have now finished reading (it)!’

It seems that when the sense of ‘completeness’ or ‘perfectness’ carried by *-ess* as the perfect aspect marker is combined with a conditional meaning of *-takanun*, it creates a conditional reading similar to the English phrase such as ‘If it ever happens that...’. In other words, the presence of *-ess* creates an adverbial sense similar to that of the English adverb ‘ever’ in the conditional clauses. This sense of ‘ever’ seems to be responsible for the semantic effect of increasing the sense of hypotheticality in the *-esstakanun* form as compared to the pure *-takanun* form.

Now, let us consider (19).

⁵ Space and time do not permit us to discuss this point further. A detailed discussion on this topic can be found in Wierzbicka (1997).

⁶ The issue of whether *-ess* should be viewed as a tense marker or an aspect marker has attracted significant theoretical attention in the field of Korean linguistics. There have been some attempts to overcome this dichotomy of tense and aspect and propose a unified semantic function of *-ess* as in H-S Lee (1991). This theoretical issue is beyond the scope of the current paper. Here, we just note the fact that *-ess* indeed functions as the perfect aspect marker to express ‘completeness’ or ‘perfectness’ in Korean.

- (19) (In his blog, the speaker recalls one day when he came back home around 3 o'clock in the morning after partying with his friends. Despite being tired, he is trying to stay awake.)

cikum ca-*asstakanun* / *ca-takanun achimey
 now sleep-if in the morning

ceyttay mos ilena-l-kess-kath-ass-ta
 right time cannot wake up-seem-PAST-DEC

'(It seemed) If I sleep now, I won't be able to wake up on time in the morning.'

Notice in (19) that the speaker is concerned about a possible occurrence of his falling asleep after getting back home very late. In this context, even though he is trying to be awake, he expresses his worry over such a hypothetical possibility by using *-esstakanun* with *-ess* carrying the sense of 'perfectness' to evoke the reading of 'If it ever happens ...'. The use of *-takanun* without *-ess* in this context fails to carry such a sense and the whole sentence becomes infelicitous.⁷ This convinces us that *-ess* plays the role of carrying the sense of 'ever' in negative conditional sentences in Korean.

4. Acceptable Domain of Conditionality of *-takanun* and *-esstakanun*

Based on the findings so far about two conditional forms, *-takanun* and *-esstakanun*, we find that both forms function as markers of negative conditionals in Korean grammar, but they express a different range of negative conditional meanings with different semantic constraints and implications.

In the case of the *-takanun* conditionals, the content of the antecedent must be a 'progressive' situation and it is restricted to conditionalize a (very) probable situation and to express the speaker attitudes of SUDDEN REALIZATION and GENERIC STANCE. Here, the speaker implicates 'Stop doing *p*' in using a *-takanun* clause. Paraphrasing this constraint into the terms of speech act,

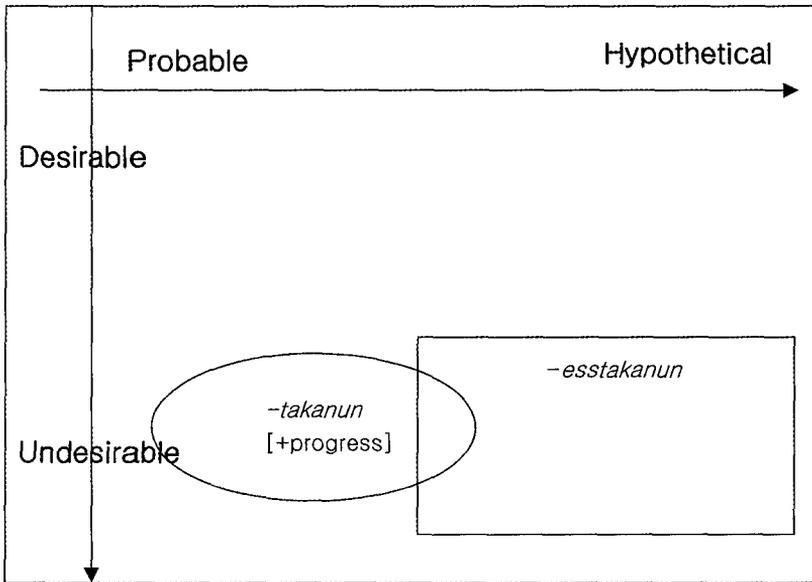
⁷ The method of finding relevant examples through a search site on the Internet turns out to be a very effective way to do a quick-and-dirty "productivity" check of a specific verbal form. For instance, when I typed '*camca-takanun* (sleep-if)' and searched for its examples, there appeared numerous examples on the screen, while the search result after typing '*camtul-taknun* (fall asleep-if)' yielded a strikingly contrastive result; that is, very few examples appeared on the screen. This contrast can be conveniently used to support the current argument that the *-takanun* form is constrained to conditionalize the progressive situation only, whereas *-esstakanun* can be used to conditionalize a wider range of hypothetical situations, carrying the sense of '*p* ever happens or is completed.' Notice that the verb '*camcata*' (to sleep) is a typical progressive verb but in the case of the verb '*camtul-ta*' (to fall asleep) its sense of possible happening meaning 'ever fall asleep' stands out as its associated meaning.

-takanun is constrained to express a specific kind of warning by the speaker; that is, something like 'If what I observe or realize continues to hold, such and such a bad consequence will follow.'

In contrast, in the case of the *-esstakanun* conditionals, there is no semantic constraint as to the progressiveness of the content of the antecedent. Instead, the presence of *-ess* adds the meaning of 'completeness' or 'perfectiveness' of the situation described in the antecedent. Thus, the whole form creates a conditional meaning of 'If the situation in *p* happens (even once) or is completed, such and such an undesirable thing will happen.' Then, in this case, the speaker implicates '*p* should not happen or be completed.' As for the acceptable conditional domain of the *-esstakanun* form, *-esstakanun* is used to express a wide range of conditional speaker attitudes in the hypothetical domain along the epistemic scale such as GENERIC STANCE and UNCERTAINTY as well as COUNTERFACTUAL.

Based on the observations and discussions so far, we can now characterize the acceptable domains of conditionality of these two forms schematically as in (20). In (20), the horizontal line reflects the epistemic scale of the speaker's hypothetical attitude over *p*, whereas the vertical line represents the AFFECT scale of the speaker's desirability/undesirability attitude over *p*.

Notice in (20) below that both markers are restricted to mark the undesirable situations as negative conditional markers along the vertical scale of 'DESIRABLE-UNDESIRABLE,' but *-takanun* should be marked additionally by the specification of the feature [+progressive] to reflect its constraint of being used only to describe on-going situations. Notice further that the domain of conditionality that each form can express felicitously reflects a systematic division of labor between these forms along the horizontal epistemic scale; that is, except the overlapped area of GENERIC STANCE, *-takanun* is restricted to mark the (very) probable situations in the left hemisphere of the epistemic scale, while *-esstakanun* ranges over the right hemisphere of the epistemic scale.

(20) Acceptable Domain of Conditionality of *-takanun* and *-esstakanun*

5. Closing Remark

The goal of this paper was to characterize the semantic world of two negative conditional markers in Korean; *-takanun* and *-esstakanun*. We have observed that while these two forms are both used to express the speaker's negative stance of UNDESIRABILITY over *p* in the '*p*-(*ess*)*takanun*, *q*' structure, they express a different range of negative conditional meanings with different semantic constraints and implications due to their formal differences. The *-takanun* conditional construction requires that the content of its antecedent be a 'progressive' situation and it is restricted to express a limited range of speaker attitudes; that is, the speaker attitudes of SUDDEN REALIZATION and GENERIC STANCE. Then, a use of *-takanun* creates an implication that can be characterized as 'Stop doing *p*'. In contrast to *-takanun*, no semantic constraint concerning the progressiveness of the content of the antecedent is observed in the use of *-esstakanun* and it can be used to express a wide range of conditional speaker attitudes in the hypothetical domain along the epistemic scale such as GENERIC STANCE and UNCERTAINTY as well as COUNTERFACTUAL. Unlike J-H Yoon (1993), I have argued that *-ess* cannot be characterized just as an irrealis marker but should be viewed as the perfect aspect marker that carries the sense of 'completeness' or 'perfectness,' and the counterfactual reading of *-esstakanun* is identifiable only conceptually in individual discourse contexts through the speaker's subjective stance over the content of the '*p*-(*ess*)*takanun*, *q*'

structure. In the case of the *-esstakanun* conditional construction, the presence of *-ess* combined with *-takanun* is responsible for creating an implication that can be characterized as ‘*p* should not happen or be completed.’

Now let us briefly discuss some crosslinguistic implications of this study. First, the very fact that Korean reserves two different forms to mark negative conditionals with systematic semantic and pragmatic differences strongly supports Akatsuka’s argument that natural language conditionals are an important device for encoding the speaker’s evaluative stance of DESIRABILITY. The research so far, including the current project, has shown that languages seem to reserve marked forms to express the speaker’s stance of undesirability. It will be surprising if it turns out that some languages reserve marked forms of conditional constructions exclusively to express the speaker’s stance of desirability. Second, the semantic constraint of *-takanun* being used to conditionalize only the progressive situation implicates that the feature of ‘progressiveness’ is an important category in understanding conditionals. In particular, conditionalizing a possible continuation of what the speaker has just observed at the discourse site seems to be discourse-functionally important enough to be marked by a separate form. In this regard, it would be interesting to see whether there are some other languages that reserve a specific conditional form to express this kind of meaning in conditionals. Third, the role of *-ess* in the *-esstakanun* form implicates that the perfect aspect marker is likely to be part of conditional forms in agglutinative languages like Korean to carry the sense of ‘completeness’ or ‘perfectness’, which is similar to the meaning of the English adverb ‘ever.’ It will be an interesting research to survey if a similar role of the Korean *-ess* is observed in the data of conditionals in other languages.

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