

Inadequacy:

Two different types of implications of *-(n)un* in Korean

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1. Overview

- This paper investigates the various pragmatic inferences that Korean *-(n)un* gives rise to in different contexts – uncertainty, exhaustivity, and unwillingness.
- I will argue that:
 - These inferences can be taken to arise from a single conventionally encoded component: the **inadequacy implication**.
 - Three sub-implications arise when the context is specified with respect to the degree of speaker’s knowledge, politeness, and willingness to be cooperative.

2. Literature review

- Previous discussions of *-(n)un* consider at least two different implications that *-(n)un* gives rise to.
 - Exhaustivity implication:** the speaker is aware that all the other alternatives do not exceed the current proposition (J. Kim 2018, Lee 2003).
(2) A: Do you have money?
B: *na tongceon-un iss-e.*
I coins-CT have-DECL
‘I have coins_{CT}, (but not bills).’ (Lee 2003)
 - Uncertainty implication:** the speaker is uncertain about their information (Hara 2006, I. Kim 2018).
 - A: Who came to the party?
B: *JOHN-wa ki-ta.*
John-TOP come-PST
‘As for John, he came.’
~> Uncertainty implication: It is possible that it is not the case that John and Mary came.
≈ I don’t know about others. (Hara 2006)

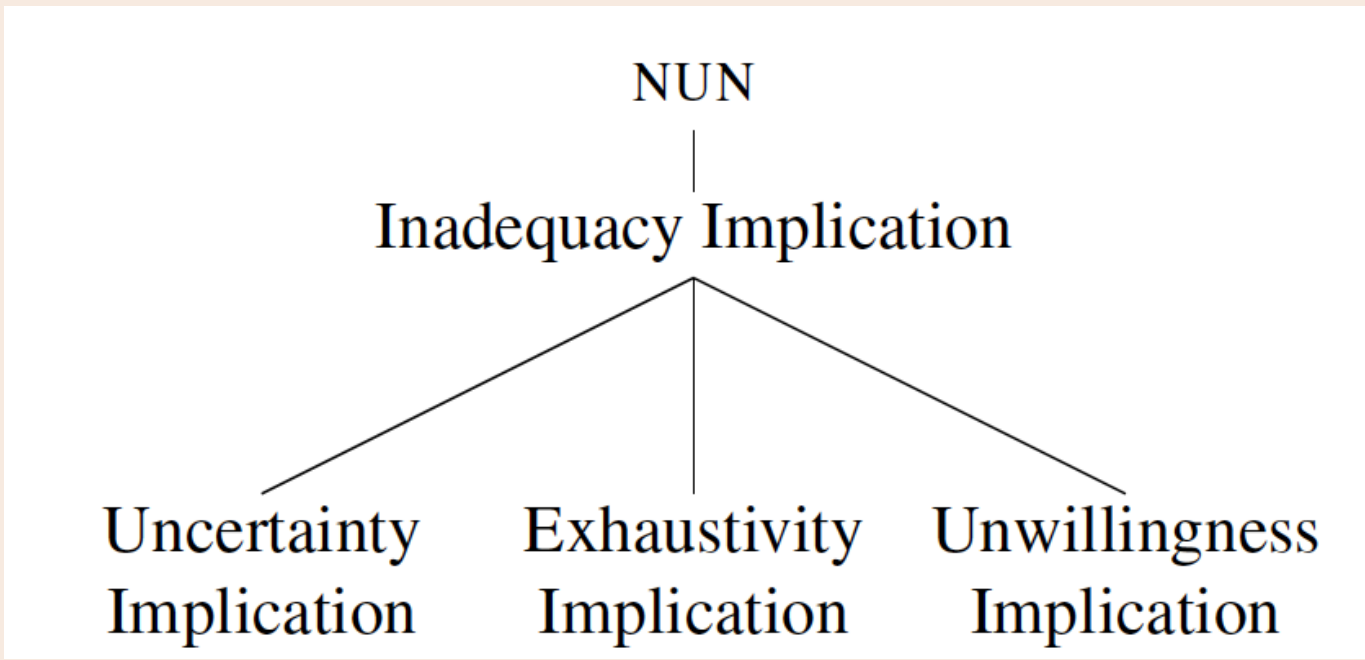
- Attempts to account for these implications of *-(n)un* have taken these inferences to be either conventional (Hara 2006, J. Kim 2018, Lee 2003) or conversational (I. Kim 2018).
 - Conventional:** inferences are non-cancellable.
(4) ?*(2) ... *kuriko cicen-un/-to iss-e.*
and bill-CT/-also have-DECL
‘...and I have bills_{CT} /also have bills.’ (Lee 2003)
 - Conversational:** inferences are cancellable.
(5) √(3) ... but I do not imply to mean that I don’t know whether Mary came. I just don’t want to let you know whether she came or not. (I. Kim 2018)

3. Limitations of previous work

- The arguments used to support conventionality or conversationality of the inferences associated with *-(n)un* focus on different kinds of implications.
 - (2): (4) tries to cancel the conventional inference of *-(n)un* which I define as “inadequacy”.
 - (3): (5) cancels the conversational uncertainty inference and provides a new context for unwillingness inference.
- Further proof:
 - (2): the conversational exhaustivity inference can be cancelled (e.g., by providing a context for unwillingness inference ‘... √but I do not imply to mean that I don’t have bills. I just don’t want to let you know whether I have bills or not.’).
 - (3): the conventional inference of *-(n)un* cannot be cancelled (e.g., ‘... *and Mary also came.’).
- Thus, this seems to have led to contradictory judgements on the cancellability profile of *-(n)un* in previous literature.

4. Proposal: inadequacy

(6)



- I propose that *-(n)un* conventionally encodes “**inadequacy**”, which is non-cancellable.
 - It implies incompleteness with respect to the information that is being shared by the speaker at the current state in discourse.
 - A *-(n)un*-marked sentence of the form “*x-(n)un* P” conventionally conveys that there are alternatives y to x such that the information that “y ¬P” is possibly relevant in the context but is not being provided by the speaker.
- (6) [Context: Multiple people are expected to vote for X, Y, and Z. Speaker A does not know how many people voted for each candidate.]
 - A: Who voted for X?
B: *swuci-lang sala-nun X ppop-ass-e.*
Suji-and Sarah-NUN X vote.for-PST-DECL
‘Suji and Sarah voted for X.’
~> **Inadequacy implication:** There is information that will not be shared about other possible voters, and information that is only currently accessible on who voted for X is ‘Suji and Sarah’.
 - (6a) ... # and Ina also voted for X.
⇒ The inadequacy implication cannot be cancelled.
- In other words, *-(n)un* conveys that there is relevant information that will not be shared, and the hearer needs to reason about why this information is not being shared.
 - This gives rise to three contextually determined **sub-implications**.
 - Each sub-implication is cancellable, and contextual changes can easily give rise to different sub-implications (see section 5).

5. Sub-implications

- The inadequacy implication can be contextually enriched in three ways to the sub-implications. When the context is underspecified, it is in principle possible for any of the sub-implications to arise.
 - The particular context filters out the other two implications and gives rise to a single implication.
 - The context relies highly on the degree of speaker’s knowledge on the context, but it also relies on politeness and willingness to be cooperative to the conversation.
- e.g., There is further information that will not be shared (i.e., the inadequacy implication in (6a)) because ...
 - When exhaustivity is blocked: Speaker B only has information about ‘Suji and Sarah’ and no one else. There is a possibility that someone else other than ‘Suji and Sarah’ voted for X.
~> **Uncertainty implication:** Speaker B does not know which candidate others voted for.
 - When uncertainty is blocked: Speaker B has full information on the voters, and it is true that ‘Suji and Sarah’ are the only ones who voted for X. However, speaker B intends to indirectly convey this information due to politeness.
~> **Exhaustivity implication:** The others did not vote for X.
≈ The others voted for Y or X, or The others did not vote at all.
⇒ Politeness: differs from the marking of exclusive *-man* in that the speaker intends to indirectly convey this information.
 - When both exhaustivity and uncertainty are pragmatically blocked: Speaker B has full information on the voters, but s/he is not willing to be cooperative. There is a possibility that someone else other than ‘Sarah and Suji’ voted for X.
~> **Unwillingness implication:** Speaker B is not willing to share the information about the other voters.
- Cancellability: e.g., the uncertainty implication can be cancelled by further assuming the context where speaker B changes their mind to be non-cooperative to the conversation – ‘(6a) ... √In fact, I know which candidate others voted for. But I am not going to tell you.’

6. Theoretical implications

- This paper separates the types of implications that have been argued to support either conventionality or conversationality and shows that the inadequacy implication is conventional whereas sub-implications arise as conversational implicatures in context.
- It shows that the different sub-implications are not specified by *-(n)un* itself, but they rather arise from properties of the utterance context and assumptions about the speaker.

References

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