

Modals in Korean

Ella Hannon & Wataru Uegaki

(created for the UKRI FLF project “Logic in Semantic Universals” based on Vander Klok 2021 “Revised modal questionnaire for cross-linguistic use”)

Language name:	Korean
ISO 639-3:	kor
Glottolog:	kore1280
Consultant demographics:	A female speaker of the Seoul dialect. As a child, she lived in Jeonnam and Gyeongnam provinces, mother from the first, father from second. But she considers herself to be a Seoul dialect speaker.
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References:

Chung WooJin, 2019. “Decomposing deontic modality: evidence from Korean.” *Journal of Semantics* 36: 665-700.

Lee Hyo Sang, 2015. “Modality.”. In *The Handbook of Korean Linguistics*, Brown, Lucien and Yeon, Jaehoon (eds.), 249-268. John Wiley & Sons.

BODY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Using the Yale Romanization

http://roman.cs.pusan.ac.kr/input_eng.aspx?

A. EPISTEMIC

A1 Epistemic Necessity

(1) Ben goes swimming every day. Ben is not obliged or required to go swimming; it is just a habit of his. It is now time for Ben to be swimming... so Ben **MUST** be swimming (right now).

벤이 지금 수영하고 있나 보다.

peyn-i cikum swuyeng-ha-ko.iss-na.po-ta.
Ben-NOM now swim-do-PRG-MOD-DECL.

Ben-NOM now swim-do-COMP exist-**INDET.see**-DECL (gloss from Sang Lee 2015).

- Comment: Can also use *keyss(-ta)* here. The speaker prefers *na-po*. Preference seems slight.
- Perhaps the preference is because *na-po* is closer to weak necessity, and the context in (1) can naturally be interpreted as a weak necessity context.

(2) You know that John goes to school at 9am every day. You look at the clock and see it is 9am, therefore John **MUST** be at school.

존이 학교에 있겠다.

con-i hakkyo-ey iss-keyss-ta.
John-NOM school-LOC be-**MOD**-DECL.

- Can also use *na-po(-ta)* here. The speaker prefers *keyss*.

(3) The math teacher says: The ball is in A or in B or in C. It is not in A. It is not in B. So, it **MUST** be in C. Adapted from von Fintel & Gillies 2007.

공이 C에 있겠다.

kong-i C-ey iss-keyss-ta.
ball-NOM C-LOC be-**MOD**-DECL
ball-NOM C-LOC exist-DCT.RE-DECL

(4) Tim is calling for his dog. The dog is not coming. Tim looks for the dog in the kitchen, bedroom, living room, (in every room in the house) but the dog is not in any of those rooms. Therefore, Tim thinks/concludes that the dog **MUST** not be in the house.

- *ke- /kes-i-* are infelicitous in necessity contexts.

A2 Epistemic Weak Necessity

(5) You know that Ann goes hiking from 7am until 8am every day. Most of the time Ann goes to the lake, but sometimes she goes to the mountains. It is now 7:30am. You say to your friend: Ann **SHOULD** be at the lake right now.

앤이 지금 호수에 있을 거다.(것이다.)

<i>ayn-i</i>	<i>cikum</i>	<i>hoswu-ey</i>	<i>iss-ul</i>	<i>ke-ta. (kes-i-ta.)</i>
Ann-NOM	right.now	lake-LOC	be-COMP	MOD -DECL
Ann-NOM	right.now	lake-LOC	exist-IRR.ATTR	thing-DECL (thing-COP-DECL)

?앤이 지금 호수에 있나 보다.

<i>ayn-i</i>	<i>cikum</i>	<i>hoswu-ey</i>	<i>iss-na.po-ta.</i>
Ann-NOM	right.now	lake-LOC	be- MOD -DECL
Ann-NOM	right.now	lake-LOC	exist-INDET.see-DECL

(6) (Imagine that) you used to live in Goa. You are not living in Goa anymore. You notice how different the weather is in the UK, where you live right now. You know that it often rains in Goa, especially in the afternoon, but not necessarily every day. Now it's the afternoon, so you think it SHOULD be raining now in Goa.

고아에 지금 비가 내리고 있을 거다.(것이다.)

<i>koa-ey</i>	<i>cikum</i>	<i>pi-ka</i>	<i>nayli-ko.iss-ul</i>	<i>ke-ta.</i> (<i>kes-i-ta.</i>)
Goa-LOC	right.now	rain-NOM	come.down-PRG-COMP	MOD-DECL
Goa-LOC	right.now	rain-NOM	come.down-CONN	exist-IRR.ATTR thing-DECL

(7) When the light is on at Mary's house, it usually means that she is home. You want to visit Mary. You walk past Mary's house and notice that the light is on. However, there is no car in the driveway. You think to yourself: Mary SHOULD be at home, but it's not certain.

메리가 집에 있을 텐데 확실하진 않다.

<i>meyli-ka</i>	<i>cip-ey</i>	<i>iss-ul-theyn.tey</i>	<i>hwaksilha-ci-n</i>	<i>anh-ta.</i>
Mary-NOM	house-LOC	be-COMP-MOD	certain-COMP-CONJ	not-DECL.

메리가 집에 있을 건데

<i>meyli-ka</i>	<i>cip-ey</i>	<i>iss-ul-ken.tey (kes-in-tey)</i>
Mary-NOM	house-LOC	be-COMP-MOD (thing-COP-MOD)

확실하진 않다.

<i>hwaksilha-ci-n</i>	<i>anh-ta.</i>
certain-COMM-NPST.IPFV	NEG.do-DECL

메리가 집에 있나보다.

<i>meyli-ka</i>	<i>cip-ey</i>	<i>iss-na.po-ta.</i>
Mary-Nom	house-LOC	be-MOD-DECL
Mary-NOM	house-LOC	exist-INDEF-see-DECL

?? keyss-

? napo

- Comment: Both of the above are infelicitous in weak necessity

A3 Epistemic Possibility

(8) The teacher is not consistent. The students never know if he's going to come or not to teach class. Today, it's time to start class and the students are waiting again. He MIGHT be coming to school today.

선생님이 학교에 올지(도) 모른다. (ver. without keyss-ta)

sensayngnim-i hakkyo-ey ol-ci(-to) molun-ta.
teacher-NOM school-dat come-COMP.-COND¹ not.know-DECL. (don't know if/wonder if)
teacher-NOM school-LOC come-COMM-INCHOA/NOML(-ADD) not.know-DECL

선생님이 학교에 올지(도) 모르겠다. (ver. with keyss-ta)

sensayngnim-i hakkyo-ey ol-ci(-to) molu-keyss-ta.
teacher-NOM school-dat come-COMP-COND MOD-MOD-DECL.
teacher-NOM school-LOC come-COMM-INCHOA/NOML(-ADD) not.know-DCT.RE-DECL

선생님이 학교에 왔을 수(도) 있다.

sensayngnim-i hakkyo-ey wass-ul-swu(-to) iss-ta.
teacher-NOM school-dat come-COMP-MOD-COND MOD-DECL.
teacher-NOM school-LOC come-IRR.ATTR-way-(ADD) exist-DECL

선생님이 학교에 왔을 수(도) 있겠다.

sensayngnim-i hakkyo-ey wass-ul-swu(-to) iss.keyss-ta.
teacher-NOM school-dat come-COMP-MOD-COND MOD-DECL.
teacher-NOM school-LOC come-IRR.ATTR-way-(ADD) exist-DCT.RE-DECL

(9) Grace is looking for her necklace. She looks in her wardrobe and on top of the wardrobe. It's not there. She looks on top of the TV. It's not there. She looks in her backpack. It's not there. Wait! She didn't check her sister's wardrobe yet. Grace's necklace MIGHT / #must be lost.

목걸이를 잃어 버렸을지(도) 모른다.

mokkeli-lul ilhe pe.lyess-ul.ci(-to) molun-ta.
necklace-ACC lost lost-COMP-COND MOD-DECL.

목걸이를 잃어 버렸을 수도 있다.

mokkeli-lul ilhe pely-ess-ul swu(-to) iss-ta.
necklace-ACC lost lose-PAST-COMP MOD-COND MOD-DECL

- *cito/ci* sort of interchangeable

(10) Charles is looking for his pet cat, but cannot find it. He knows that his cat is very elusive/mysterious. Charles tells his sister:

The cat MAY be inside. The cat MAY also be outside.

(The task is not only to translate these two sentences individually, but to keep in mind the sequencing i.e., these sentences are not to be used in isolation).

- Not elicited

¹ Conditional element, either meaning "if", "even if" or "iff" according to Chung 2019. See the summary table below.

(11) Daniel lives in London and his friend has recently moved to New York. Daniel's parents told him that he is not allowed to go and see his friend in New York because it is too far away. You heard that Daniel is leaving London next week but you don't know where he will go. Daniel usually does things that he is not permitted to do. You think Daniel MAY / MIGHT / #is allowed to go to New York.

- Not elicited.

A4 Epistemic Non-necessity

(7') When the light is on at Mary's house, it usually means that she is home. You want to visit Mary. You walk past Mary's house and notice that the light is on. However, there is no car in the driveway. You think to yourself: Mary should be at home, but it is NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE THAT she is / she MAY NOT be / it is NOT CERTAIN that she is.

메리가 집에 있을 필요는 없다.

<i>meyli-ka</i>	<i>cip-ey</i>	<i>iss-ul</i>	<i>philyo-nun</i>	<i>eps-ta.</i>
Mary-NOM	house-LOC	be-COMP	MOD-TOP	not.present-DECL.
Mary-NOM	house-LOC	exist-IRR.ATTR	necessity-TOP	not.exist-DECL.

A5 Epistemic impossibility

(1') Ben goes swimming every day. Ben is not obliged or required to go swimming; it is just a habit of his. It is now time for Ben to be swimming... so Ben CAN'T be at home.

벤이 집에 있을리(가) 없다.

<i>peyn-i</i>	<i>cip-ey</i>	<i>iss-ul-li(-ka)</i>	<i>eps-ta.</i>
Ben-NOM	house-DAT	be-COMP- MOD (-NOM)	not.present-DECL
Ben-NOM	house-LOC	exist-IRR.ATTR-?	not.exist-DECL

Additional sentences elicited:

그럴리가!

Kule-l-li-ka!

'No way!'

Kule-l-li-iss-ta.

"It is possible."

(3') The math teacher says: The ball is in A or in B or in C. We opened box A, and the ball is there. There is only one ball. So, it MUST NOT / CAN'T be in C.

- Same as above

B. DEONTIC

B1 Deontic Necessity

(12) In Indonesia, the law states that when you ride a motorbike... You **MUST** wear a helmet.

헬멧을 써야 한다.

heylmeys-ul sse-ya han-ta.
helmet-ACC wear-MOD do.AUX-DECL

헬멧을 써야 된다.

heylmeys-ul sse-ya toyn-ta.
helmet-ACC wear-MOD GOOD-DECL

Added sentence based on a comment by Woojin Chung:

heylmeys-ul an ssu-myeon an toy-n-ta.
helmet-ACC NEG wear-COND NEG good-PRES-DECL

(13) You are going to visit your friend in the hospital. When you enter into the hospital, you stop at the information desk to inquire what room your friend is in. But the woman at the information desk tells you that you can't visit your friend now because it's already 8pm. She says, "I'm sorry, the hospital regulations say that... Visitors **MUST** leave by 6pm."

방문자는 여섯시까지 떠나셔야 합니다./됩니다.

pangmwunca-nun yeses-si-kkaci ttena-sye-ya {ha-p.ni-ta./toyp-ni-ta}.
visitor-NOM 6-o'clock-until leave-subj.HON-MOD {GOOD-HON-DECL./
GOOD-HON-DECL}

B2 Deontic Weak Necessity

(16) Your friend is having a birthday party. She tells you that she would like it if everyone invited wore formal clothes, but that it is not necessary to wear formal clothes to attend. You think to yourself... I **OUGHT TO** wear formal clothes to the party.

파티에 정장을 입어[야 겠다].

phathi-ey cengcang-ul ip.e-[ya keyss-ta].
party-DAT formal.clothes-ACC wear-MOD MOD-DECL

파티에 정장을 입는게(것이) 좋겠다.

phathi-ey cengcang-ul ip-nun-key (kes-i) coh-keyss-ta.
party-DAT formal.clothes-ACC wear-NOM-COMP good-MOD-DECL.

(17) Your friend tells you that the rules of the restaurant state that employees must wash their hands after going to the bathroom. You reply to your friend:... Non-employees **OUGHT TO** wash their hands too!

비직원도 손을 씻어[야 + 한다].
pi-cik-wen-to son-ul ssis-e-ya han-ta

(or same as above *kes-i coh-ta*)

(18) In England, it is recommended that face coverings be worn in stores, but it is not a legal requirement. You plan on going shopping, and you think to yourself... I OUGHT TO wear a face covering.

(same as above *ya + keyss-ta*)
OR *coh-keyss-ta*

B3 Deontic Possibility

(19) The ferris wheel ride is only for children under 12 years of age. Martin is 10 years of age. It is not obligatory for Martin to go on the ride if he doesn't want to. Martin MAY / #must ride the ferris wheel.

마틴은 전람차를 타도 된다.
mathin-un cenlamcha-lul tha-to toy-n-ta
Martin-NOM ferris.wheel-ACC ride-COND GOOD-PRS-DECL

*-to *ha-n-ta*

(20) According to the rules of the hospital, only family members are allowed to enter the patient's room during visiting hours. You came to visit your sister, but it was after visiting hours. But the really nice nurse says... You MAY / #must enter.

들어오셔도 되요.
tuleo-sye-to toy-yo
come.in-HON-COND GOOD-HON.DECL

(21) You are making plans for tomorrow night to meet up with your friend. Your friend says:
You can stay overnight and you can go home.
You can stay overnight. You can also go home.

하룻밤 묵으셔도 되고 집에 가셔도 되요.
halwuspam mwuku-sye-to toy-ko cip-ey ka-sye-to
One.night stay-HON-COND GOOD-conj house-LOC go-HON-COND

toy-yo
GOOD-HON.DECL

(22) Alice fell down the stairs and broke her arm a while ago. She hasn't been lifting her baby while her arm was hurt because the baby is heavy. Finally, she recovered, and she went to the doctor for a final check-up. The doctor gave her permission to lift her baby. But when she got home after her visit to the doctor, Alice found that she is still too weak to lift her baby... Alice CAN (is allowed to) lift her baby.

to toyn-ta

(23) Beth's teacher told her class that it was okay to go swimming, but Beth doesn't want to because she cannot swim! Beth CAN go swimming.

i.e. Beth COULD go swimming, Beth is ALLOWED/PERMITTED to go swimming, but she can't swim.

to toyn-ta

B4 Deontic non-necessity

(16') Your friend is having a birthday party. She tells you that she would like it if everyone invited wore formal clothes, but that it is not necessary to wear formal clothes to attend. You think to yourself... I ought to wear formal clothes to the party, but I DON'T HAVE TO / NEEDN'T wear formal clothes.

정장을 입을 필요는 없다.

<i>ceng.cang-ul</i>	<i>ip-ul</i>	<i>philyo-nun</i>	<i>eps-ta.</i>
formal.clothes-ACC	wear-COMP	necessity-TOP.NOM	not.have-DECL

(18') In England, it is recommended that face coverings be worn in stores, but it is not a legal requirement. You plan on going shopping, and you think to yourself... I OUGHT TO wear a face covering, but I DON'T HAVE TO / NEEDN'T.

(same as above)

(for both 16'/18', also: to toy + negation also possible; speaker did not specify preference)

B5 Deontic impossibility

(12') In Indonesia, the law states that when you ride a motor bike... You MUST NOT / MAY NOT ride a motor bike without a helmet.

헬멧 없이 오토바이를 타시면 안됩니다.

<i>heylmeys</i>	<i>epsi</i>	<i>othopai-lul</i>	<i>tha-si-myeon</i>	.
Helmet	without	motorcycle-ACC	ride-HON-COND	

an-toyp-ni-ta

not-GOOD-HON-DECL

Chung (2019): "p-myeon toy-" conveys that it suffices to bring about "p". It's neither a necessity nor a possibility modal.

(13') You are going to visit your friend in the hospital. When you enter into the hospital, you stop at the information desk to inquire what room your friend is in. But the woman at the information desk tells you that you can't visit your friend now because it's already 8pm. She says, "I'm sorry, the hospital regulations say that... Visitors MUST NOT / MAY NOT stay after 6pm."

Same as 12'; *myeon an-toyp-ni-ta*

C. TELEOLOGICAL

C1 Teleological Necessity

(24) There is only one main road from Location A to Location B... If you go from Location A to Location B, you HAVE TO take this road.

이 길로 가셔야 합니다.

<i>i</i>	<i>kil-lo</i>	<i>ka-sye-ya</i>	<i>hap-ni-ta</i>
This	road-via	go-HON-COND	MOD-HON-DECL

이 길로 가셔야만 합니다.

<i>i</i>	<i>kil-lo</i>	<i>ka-sye-ya-man</i>	<i>hap-ni-ta</i>
This	road-via	go-HON-COND-only	MOD-HON-DECL

See also (12)

(25) Team A are playing in a tournament/competition/championship. In order to advance... Team A HAS TO beat Team B.

팀 A가 팀 B를 이겨야만 한다.

<i>thim</i>	<i>A-ka</i>	<i>thim</i>	<i>B-lul</i>	<i>ikye-ya-man</i>	<i>ha-n-ta.</i>
Team	A-NOM	team	B-ACC	win-COND-only	MOD-pres-DECL

Comment:

Man is in principle optional, but the consultant prefers the version with *man* here.

Man is in principle possible in deontic necessity as well, but not something that comes to mind in the first instance.

(26) The best pizza in town is sold at Gino's. You have invited your sister for dinner, and you decide to order pizza. You tell your sister: We HAVE TO order from Gino's to eat the best pizza.

(same as above: *ya ha-ta*)

C2 Teleological Weak Necessity

(27) There are different ways to get to the shopping centre. You can go by foot, by tram/horse-carriage/truck/train/bus/public van, or drive/motorcycle/bicycle yourself. You are not sure how to go. Your friend advises you to get the bus because it is cheaper... To get to the shopping centre, you SHOULD take the bus.

(paraphrase)

<i>pesu-lul</i>	<i>tha-nun</i>	<i>kes-i</i>	<i>coh-ta.</i>
bus-ACC	ride-P	COMP-NOM	good-DEC

(28) There are 3 ways to get to the seaside: a direct road, taking smaller roads, or a combination. Your friend says that taking the smaller roads is very beautiful. According to him, you SHOULD go via the smaller roads.

(paraphrase)

<i>cakun</i>	<i>kil-lo</i>	<i>ka-nun</i>	<i>kes-i</i>	<i>coh-ta</i>
Small	road-via	go-P	COMP-NOM	good-DEC

(29) Your friend wants to buy a new shirt for her job at a reasonable price. There are many nice shops for professional clothes in the area, and you work at one of them and think it offers good prices. You say: You SHOULD go to my shop to buy a new shirt.

(paraphrase)

<i>wuli</i>	<i>akey-eyse</i>	<i>say</i>	<i>syechu-lul sa-nun-key(kes-i)</i>	<i>coh-keyss-ta.</i>
our(my)	shop-from	new	shirt-ACC buy-P-COMP-NOM	good-MOD-DEC

C3 Teleological Possibility

(30) There are two different ways to get to the mountains from the city centre. Way 1 is inland and way 2 goes around via the coast. Both take around 7 hours by bus and they are equally beautiful... You CAN take way 1.

ches-pen-ccay kil-lo ka-to toyn-ta.

(see B2)

(31) There are two swimming pools in the town with the exact same design and both are an equal distance from your house. You plan to go swimming later on but have no specific desire for which pool to go to. You tell your sister... We CAN go to the swimming pool to the west.

seccok swuyengcang-ey ka-to toyn-ta.

(32) Your friend wants to buy a new shirt for her job. Since there are many nice shops for professional clothes in the area, you say... You CAN go to this boutique.

-to toyn-ta.

C4 Teleological non-necessity

(27') There are different ways to get to the shopping centre. You can go by foot, by tram/horse-carriage/truck/train/bus/public van, or drive/motorcycle/bicycle yourself. You are not sure how to go. Your friend advises you to get the bus because it is cheaper... To get to the shopping centre, you should take the bus, but you DON'T NEED TO / NEEDN'T do so.

(paraphrase)

<i>[pesu-lul</i>	<i>tha-nun-key</i>	<i>coh.ci-man]</i>	<i>pesu-lul</i>	<i>tha.l</i>	<i>philyo-nun</i>
[bus-ACC	take-P-COMP-NOM	good-but]	bus-ACC	take	necessity-TOP

eps-ta.

not.be/have-DECL

<i>[pesu-lul tha-nun-key coh.ci-man]</i>	<i>pe-su-lul tha.ci anh.a-to</i>	<i>toyn-ta</i>
[...]	bus-ACC take NEG-COND	MOD-DEC

C5 Teleological impossibility

(24') There is only one main road from Location A to Location B... If you are going from Location A to Location B, you CAN'T take another road.

<i>talun</i>	<i>kil-lo</i>	<i>ka-myeon</i>	<i>an-toyn-ta.</i>
Different	road-via	go-COND	NEG-MOD-DEC

(25') Team A are playing in a tournament/competition/championship. In order to advance... Team A CAN'T lose to Team B.

(same as above)

myeon an-toyn-ta.

D. CIRCUMSTANTIAL

D1 Circumstantial Necessity

(33) You are on a bus. You have not had a chance to go to the toilet for 4 hours, and your bladder is full. You text your friend... I HAVE to pee so badly!

hwacangsil-ey ka-ya ha-n-ta
toilet-DAT go-COND do-PRES-DEC

(34) In the middle of a conversation, you feel a sneeze coming on... Excuse me! I HAVE to sneeze.

?caychayki-lul hay-ya ha-keyss-ta
sneeze-ACC do-COND do-MOD-DEC

(35') Water is entering a pipe, which has two outputs: the left output and the right output. But, you know that the left output is blocked. And the water is coming out from the right output. You say: the water must come out from the right output.

oluncok-eyse nao-keyss-ta
Right-from come.out-MOD-DEC

D3 Circumstantial Possibility

(36) Ani came to visit a small island in the Philippines. She noticed that the climate and many of the plants are similar to some places she visited in Indonesia. The temperature is the same, the rainfall is the same, the types of rocks and the soil are the same. But when she looked around, she didn't find any *duku* trees anywhere. But because the temperature, rainfall, and soil are the same, she thinks that... *duku* trees CAN / #might grow here.

twukhwu namwu-ka cala-l swu-to iss-keyss-ta
Duku tree-NOM grow-REL way/possibility-COND be-MOD-DEC

(37) Amy knows how to make traditional Italian pasta. Now Amy is back in the country she lives in, and she wants to make traditional pasta, but the right kind of ingredients are not sold where she lives. So, she is unhappy because she wanted to show her parents how to make traditional pasta... Amy CAN / #might make traditional Italian pasta (but she does not have the ingredients).

[eyimi-nun ithallian phasutha-lul mantul] swu iss.ci-man
[Amy-NOM Italian pasta-ACC make] way/possibility be-but
caylyo-ka eps-ta
ingredient-NOM not.have-DEC

(38) Ben was in a motorbike accident 3 weeks ago, and he sprained his ankle. Ben is able to walk now. However, the doctor told Ben that he is not allowed to walk until 5 weeks after the accident... Ben CAN walk now.

peyn-un icy kel-ul swu iss.ci-man kel.u-myeon an-toyn-ta
 Ben-NOM now walk way/possibility be-but walk-COND NEG-MOD-DEC
 Ben can now walk [but he is not allowed to]

(39) Paul is quite old now, but he is still strong. His children are scared he will hurt his back if he does any intense labour, so they told him that he is forbidden to lift heavy things. But one day, his friend Rob asked to help him in the field, because Rob knows Paul is still strong. So when Rob saw a large rock that had to be moved, he asked Paul straightaway for help (but he didn't tell Paul's children!). Rob knew that... Paul CAN lift that rock.

Swu iss-ta

(40) The travel vans have a limit of 13 people by law. But the drivers don't care, and stop for more than 13 people. Also, the vans are bigger than you think... Travel vans CAN fit 20 people.

Swu iss-ta

D4. Circumstantial non-necessity

(41) Given the way this volcano has been active in the past 100 years, it is **LIKELY BUT NOT CERTAIN** that it will erupt in the next 5 years.

[no designated morphology according to consultant]

hwasan-i 5 nyen aney theci-l kes kath-ta
 volcano-NOM 5 years within erupt COMP likely-DEC

D5. Circumstantial impossibility

(34') In the middle of a conversation, you feel a sneeze coming on... Excuse me! I **CAN'T** help sneezing!

caychayki-lul memchwu-l swu eps-ta
 sneeze-ACC stop way/possibility not.be-DEC

(35') Water is entering a pipe, which has two outputs: the left output and the right output. But, you know that the left output is blocked. And the water is coming out from the right output. You say: the water **CAN'T** come out from the left output.

Swu eps-ta

E. BOULETIC

E1 Bouletic Necessity

(41) You love handbags. You see a really nice handbag in a window and you say... I WANT/NEED TO buy it.

<i>(kapang-ul)</i>	<i>sa-ko</i>	<i>siph-ta</i>
(bag-ACC)	buy-COMP	MOD-DEC

(42) Your friend asks you what you desire/want to do today since it is a holiday and you both are not required to do any tasks today. You say... I WANT to go to the cinema.

Same as above: *-ko siph-ta*

(43) A daughter tells her parent... My friend WANTS to come visit me.

o-ko siph-e han-ta

Table of Korean Modals:

MODALS	EPISTEMIC	ROOT/NON-EPISTEMIC			
		PARTICIPANT-EXTERNAL		PARTICIPANT-INTERNAL	
	Epistemic	Deontic	Teleological	Circumstantial	Bouletic
Necessity	<i>na.po-</i> <i>keyss-</i>	<i>-ya + ha-/toy-</i> <i>NEG</i> <i>V-myeon</i> <i>NEG toy</i> (NP + V)	<i>-ya + ha-</i>	<i>-ya + ha-</i>	<i>-ko + siph-</i>
Weak Necessity	<i>ke- / kes.i-</i> <i>they-</i>	<i>-ya + ha-</i> , <i>-ya + -keyss</i>	<i>kes.i-coh-;</i> “Is good...” periphrastic (VP)	<i>kath-;</i> “Likely” periphrastic (VP)	...
Possibility	<i>ci(to) molun-</i> <i>swu(-to) + iss-</i>	<i>-to + toy-</i> , <i>-myeon + toy-</i>	<i>-to + toy-</i>	<i>swu + iss-</i> (NP + V, non-modal)	...
Non necessity					
Impossibility	<i>li.ka eps-</i> (NP + V, non-modal)	<i>-myeon + NEG-toy-</i>	<i>-myeon + NEG-toy-</i>	<i>swu + eps-</i> (NP + V, non-modal)	

* *-myeon + toy-* is likely not a possibility modal. It expresses sufficiency and is neither a necessity nor possibility. See Chung (2019).

Three possible syntactic categories for modal expressions

Unmarked	Modal particle follows verb, followed by declarative verb (e.g., V -ya ha-n.ta)
NP + V	Sentence-final noun + by declarative verb following clause under

	evaluation (e.g., ...swu [NP] iss- [V]; "... is [a] possibility")
VP?	Sentence-final stative follows clause under evaluation (e.g., ...kath-ta ["is likely"]).

A) Note interactions in the suffix triplet of *-ya* (only if), *-myeon* (if), *-to* (even if)

B) Note also a triplet of *ha-* (BE), *toy-* (GOOD), and *keyss-* (SUPPOSE)

Different combinations of A-conditionals with supporting B-type words generate different modal meanings, as in:

	ha- (BE)	toy- (GOOD)	keyss- (SUPPOSE)
-ya (iff)	(DN), TN, CN	DN	DWN
-to (even if)	X	DP, TP	X
-myeon (if)	X	DP, (?TP)	X

Where DN=Deontic Necessity; TN = Teleological Necessity; CN = Circumstantial Necessity and so on