

# Conditionality and Temporality: A Comparative Study of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese

Jiyoung CHOI, Huy Linh DAO & Sumikazu NISHIO

(CRLAO - UMR 8563 CNRS/INALCO/EHESS)

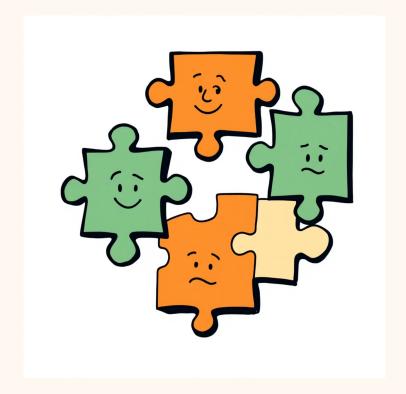
jiyoung.choi@inalco.fr huylinh.dao@inalco.fr sumikazu.nishio@inalco.fr

**Conditional Constructs Across World Languages** 

October 29-31, 2025

# The Conditional Puzzle

Why do languages encode the same logical relationship (conditionality) through such radically different morphosyntactic strategies?



# Traditional conditional types

Туре	Example	Reality Status
Generic/Habitual Factual/Real/Indicative	If water freezes, it expands. If it rains, the grass gets wet.	Timeless truth, regular pattern
<b>Hypothetical/Predictive</b>	If it rains tomorrow, the match will be canceled.	Possible
Epistemic	If the lights are on, she's home.	Reasoning (P grounds for concluding Q)
Speech-act Relevance (Biscuit)	If you need help, call me. If you're hungry, there are biscuits on the table.	Pragmatic (advice, offer, promise) Irrelevant to truth
Counterfactual/Irrealis	If it had rained, we would have stayed home.	Unreal, contrary to fact

(cf. Austin 1956, Lewis 1973, Lyons 1977, Comrie 1986, Sweetser 1990, latridou 2000, Dancygier & Sweetser 2005, a.o.)

# Motivation for the present study

- Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese offer an ideal testing ground for these questions.
  - > Japanese and Korean express conditional relations through verbal suffixes and/or connective morphology that encode temporal, modal, and discourse relations.
  - ➤ Vietnamese, in contrast, is analytic, relying on conditional particles and word order to signal dependency relations, with no inflectional morphology for mood or tense.
- By comparing how these three languages encode conditionals, the present study examines whether:
  - 1. The standard semantic typology (factual, hypothetical, counterfactual, epistemic, ...etc) is morphosyntactically supported in these languages.
  - Some conditional constructions in these languages do not fit neatly into existing categories, suggesting the need for typological refinements (e.g. topic-marked conditionals, pragmatic conditionals).

# Conditional systems in Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese

# Vietnamese conditional system: Compositional-lexical strategy

# Basic structure:

particle + Protasis + (thì/là 'then') + Apodosis

Marker	Primary use
nếu	General hypothetical
khi	Temporal generic
cứ	Multifunctional
hễ	Habitual/factual
Mỗi khi	Iterative/habitual

# Vietnamese examples

(1) **Nếu** trời mưa thì trận đấu sẽ bị huỷ COND sky rain then match FUT PASS cancel 'If it rains, the match will be canceled.'

[Hypothetical]

(2) **Nếu** nhà ga ở gần thì tôi đã không phải dậy sớm COND station be.at near then 1.SG PST NEG must get.up early 'If the station were nearby, I wouldn't have had to get up early.'

[Counterfactual]

- (3) a. **Khi/\*Nếu** mùa xuân về thì thời tiết sẽ dịu hơn COND spring return then weather FUT mild more 'If/When spring arrives, the weather gets warmer.'
  - b. *Mỗi khi/cứ khi/hễ* mùa xuân về thì thời tiết sẽ dịu hơn COND spring return then weather FUT mild more 'Whenever spring comes, the weather gets warmer.'
- (4) **Hễ** rẽ phải thì sẽ thấy nhà băng. COND turn right then FUT see bank 'If/As soon as you turn right, you will see a bank.'

[Immediate]

# Vietnamese examples: *Cú* multifunctionality

- (5) Sufficient condition (P alone sufficient for Q)

  Cứ/\*Nếu có tiền thì mua gì cũng được.

  COND have money then buy what also possible 'If you just have money, you can buy anything.'
- (6) <u>Instruction</u>
  Anh **cứ** rẽ phải thì sẽ thấy nhà băng.
  2.SG COND turn right then FUT see bank
  'If you just turn right and you will see a bank.'
- (7) <u>Procedural/mechanical</u>

  Anh **cứ** bấm nút này thì/là nước sẽ chảy ra

  2.SG COND press button this then water FUT flow out 'If you just press this button, water will flow.'
- (8) Warning Anh cứ ở đấy thì/là sẽ bị mắng đấy. 2.SG COND stay there then FUT suffer scold PART 'If you stay there, you will be scolded.'

# Vietnamese conditional system: Compositional-lexical strategy

### **Key Characteristics**

#### No Verbal Inflection

- All tense marking through free particles
- Aspectual layering rather than morphological inflection.
- Verbs remain morphologically invariant across contexts

### Conditional structures rely on:

- Sentence-initial particles (néu, khi, cứ, hế)
- Linking particles (thì/là)
- Temporal/aspectual markers

## Aspectual distinctions through particles

- khi: neutral temporal
- $h\tilde{e}$ : punctual/immediate consequence
- *cứ*: persistent/sufficient condition
- *mỗi khi*: iterative/habitual

## Compositional Flexibility

- Particles combine: néu...thì..., khi...thì...
- Optional temporal markers: *sẽ* (FUT), *đã* (PAST)

# Japanese conditional system: 4-way suffixation

Basic structure:

Protasis-COND + Apodosis

#### -to

#### **Co-occurrence & Factual Relations**

Indicates co-occurrence between protasis and apodosis: when P happens, Q also happens. The apodosis expresses a factual or generic consequence.

- Used in factual and generic conditionals
- No volition, command, or intention allowed in apodosis
- Signals automatic or invariant relation

#### -nara

#### **Presupposed & Discourse-Given Conditions**

Expresses a contextually given or presupposed condition that must be satisfied for the apodosis to hold. Excluded from generic use.

- Used when P is discourse-given or assumed Often combined with  $n(o) \rightarrow n(o)$ -nara
- Marks contextual relevance or speaker stance

#### -ha

#### **Hypothetical & Potential Conditions**

Marks the protasis as hypothetical (a virtual or potential condition whose realization remains uncertain).

- Expresses logical, causal, or potential relations Compatible with volitional or evaluative apodoses
- Typical of reasoning conditionals

#### -tara

#### **Irrealis & Maximum Flexibility**

Opens an irrealis or hypothetical space, disconnecting the situation from reality. Most flexible among all conditional types.

- Used for temporal, hypothetical, and counterfactual
- Protasis often nominalized with n(o)-dat(tara) in speech-act
- Signals temporal succession or unrealized result

# Japanese examples

- (9) Haru-ni naru-**to**/naru-**ba** atatakaku naru spring-NOM come-COND warm become.NON.PST 'When/If spring comes, the weather gets warm.'
- (10) Ame-ga fure-**ba**/fut-**tara** shiai-wa chûshi ni naru.
  rain-NOM fall-COND match-top cancellation DAT become.NON.PST 'If it rains, the match will be canceled.'
- (11) Samui-(n)-*nara* mado-o sime-yô-ka? cold-NOM-COND window-ACC close-VOL-Q 'If (as I observe) you are cold, shall I close the window?'
- (12) Kane-sae are-**ba**/aru-**nara**, nan demo dekiru.
  money-only exist-COND whatever can do
  'If/As long as you just have money, you can do anything.'

# Japanese examples: **-nara** Presuppositional

-nara may be used to create a presupposed (back)ground for the apodosis.

### (13) Responding to the interlocutor's statement

A: I'm going to Japan.

B: *Nihon-ni* iku-n-**nara** tomodachi-o shôkai-shi-yô.

Japan-DAT go-NOM-COND friend-ACC introduce-MOD.VOL

'If (as you say) you are going to Japan, I will introduce a friend.'

#### (14) <u>Based on direct observation</u>

Samui-(n)-**nara** mado-o shime-yô-ka? cold-NOM-COND window-ACC close-VOL-Q 'If (as I observe) you are cold, shall I close the window?'

## (15) <u>Established or presupposed fact</u>

*ame-ga* furu-**nara**, *shiai-wa chûshi ni naru*.

rain-NOM fall-COND match-TOP cancellation DAT become.NON.PST 'If (given that) it rains, matches are canceled.' (known rule)

# Korean conditional system: Binary semantic split [±Hypothetical]

#### Basic structure:

Protasis-COND + Apodosis

Marker	Feature	Distribution
-(u)myen	[±hypothetical]	All contexts
-tamyen	[+hypothetical]	Restricted

# **Key structural feature:**

- Binary system (unlike Vietnamese 5+ markers or Japanese 4 markers)
- Distributional asymmetry between two markers

# Korean examples

## I. Both –(u)myen and –tamyen allowed.

- (16) Pi-ka o-**myen**/n-**tamyen** kyengki-ka chwisotoy-lkesi-ta.
  rain-NOM fall-COND/PRES-COND match-NOM cancel-FUT-DEC
  'If it rains, the match will be canceled.'

  [Hypothetical]
- (17) Yek-i kakawu-ess-**umyen/tamyen**phyenha-ss-lkesi-ta.
  station-NOM close-PST-COND convenient-PST-FUT-DEC
  'If the station had been close, it would have been convenient.' [Counterfactual]
- (18) Ton-man iss-**umyen/tamyen** mwuesitun ha-lswuiss-ta.
  money-only have-COND whatever do-can-DEC
  'If you just have money, you can do anything.' [Sufficient condition]

# Korean examples

## II. Only –(u)myen allowed.

- (19) Pom-i o-**myen**/n-**\*tamyen** nalssi-ka ttattushay-ci-n/ulkesi-ta.
  spring-NOM come-COND/PRES-COND weather-NOM warm-INCHO-PRES/FUT-DEC
  'When/If spring comes, the weather gets warm.' [Generic]
- (20) Olunccok-ulo tol-**myen**/-n-**\*tamyen** unhayng-i iss-ta.
  right-DIR turn-COND/PRES-COND bank-NOM be-DEC
  'If you turn right, there is a bank.' [Instruction]
- (21) I pwupwun-ul nwulu-**myen**/n-**\*tamyen** mwul-i nao-n/lkesi-ta.
  this part-ACC press-COND/PRES-COND water-NOM come.out-PRES/FUT-DEC
  'If you press this part, water comes out.' [Procedural]
- (22) Keki-ey iss-**umyen**/\***tamyen** honna-n/lkesi-ta.
  there-LOC be-COND/ scolded-PRES/FUT-DEC
  'If you stay there, you'll be scolded.' [Warning]

# Distribution pattern in Korean:

Context type	-(u)myen	-tamyen
Eventuality	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Counterfactual	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Generic causality	$\checkmark$	X
Instruction	$\checkmark$	X
Procedural/mechanical	$\checkmark$	X

## -tamyen is blocked when $P \rightarrow Q$ describes:

- Natural regularities (e.g. spring → warmth)
- Spatial facts (e.g. turn right → bank is there)
- Mechanical procedures (e.g. press button → water flows)

All three contexts share: non-hypothetical, regular, stable relations

# Conditional types across three languages

Conditional Type	Vietnamese	Japanese	Korean
Eventuality	√ nếu	✓ BA, TARA	√ both forms
Sufficient condition	√ chỉ cần, cứ	✓ BA, NARA, TARA	√ both + -man
Instruction	√ cứ, hễ	✓ BA, TO, TARA	√ only -(u)myen
Generic/Habitual	√ khi, mỗi khi	✓ BA, TO, TARA	√ only -(u)myen
Presuppositional	ø not marked	√ NARA, TARA	ø not marked

# Hybrid conditional types/subtypes at semantic-pragmatic interfaces

Conditional type	Core semantics	Cannot be reduced to	Reason
Sufficient condition	If P (alone), then Q is guaranteed	Generic/factual Hypothetical	<ul> <li>Requires scalar semantics (minimality).</li> <li>Speaker evaluates P as "enough"</li> <li>Describes actual sufficient relations, not potential scenarios</li> </ul>
Procedural/ mechanical	If you do P, mechanism Q results	Generic	- Describes system mechanics, not natural regularities
Instructional/ spatial	If you do P, You will find/reach Q	Epistemic Predictive	<ul><li>Q is not inferred but pre-existing. Directive force combined with prediction</li><li>Q already exists, not future outcome</li></ul>
Warning	If you do P, (bad) Q will happen	Predictive Speech-act	<ul> <li>Not a neutral prediction. Deonctic speech act combined with causal prediction</li> <li>Consequence is factual/causal, not merely pragmatic condition (not neutral advice)</li> </ul>
Presuppositional	Given that P (known/observed), then Q	Epistemic Speech-act	<ul> <li>Goes beyond reasoning. Condition already established as background</li> <li>Not just pragmatic. P's truth is presupposed, not asserted</li> </ul>

# Temporal marking in counterfactuals in three languages

# Vietnamese counterfactuals: Past particle $d\tilde{a}$

#### **Basic Structure:**

Nếu + Protasis + thì + đã + Apodosis

The past marker  $d\tilde{a}$  typically appears in the consequence clause (apodosis).

- (23) **Nếu** nhà ga ở gần thì tôi **đã** không phải dậy sớm COND station be.at near then 1.SG **PST** NEG must get.up early 'If the station were nearby, I wouldn't have had to get up early.'
- (24) **Nếu** chúng ta dùng dây xích chống trượt thì xe **đã** không bị trượt cond 1.sg.pl use chain anti-slip then car **PST** NEG suffer slip 'If we had used snow chains, the car wouldn't have slipped.'

#### Free Particle Status

Past marker  $d\tilde{a}$  is a free particle, not bound to the verb through inflection.

#### **Unmarked Protasis**

The protasis verb remains unmarked—no tense morphology in the condition clause.

#### Apodosis Placement

Appears primarily in the apodosis (consequence clause), signaling unrealized outcomes.

#### Counterfactual Signal

 ${\it D}{\tilde{a}}$  explicitly signals that the consequence is unrealized and contrary to fact.

## Real vs. Counterfactual Contrast in Vietnamese

#### Real Future Conditional

**Nếu** nhà ga ở gần thì **sẽ** rất tiện COND station LOC near then **FUT** very convenient 'If the station is nearby, it will be very convenient.'

- Uses future marker sẽ in apodosis
- Describes a possible, open scenario
- The condition may or may not be fulfilled
- No implication of contrary-to-fact status

#### Counterfactual Conditional

**Nếu** nhà ga ở gần thì tôi **đã** không phải dạy sớm COND station LOC near then 1.SG **PST** NEG must get.up early If the station were nearby, I wouldn't have to get up early.'

- Uses past marker  $d\tilde{a}$  in apodosis
- Describes an impossible, contrary-to-fact scenario
- The condition was definitely not fulfilled
- Strong implication: reality contradicts the condition

The choice between  $s\tilde{e}$  (future) and  $d\tilde{a}$  (past) in the apodosis determines whether the conditional expresses an open possibility or a counterfactual scenario.

# Japanese counterfactuals: with -noni

#### **Basic Structure:**

Protasis-**ASP**-COND + Apodosis-**PAST** + *noni* 

Past suffix -ta appears in both clauses, with the counterfactual particle noni marking that the contrary is true.

- (25) Chēn-o tuke.te.ire.BA, subera-nakat-**ta-noni** chain-ACC attach-RESUL-COND slip-NEG-PST-NONI 'If we had put on snow chains, (the car) wouldn't have slipped.'
- (26) Chēn-o tuke.re.BA, subera-nakat-ta-noni chain-ACC attach-COND slip-NEG-PST-NONI 'If you put on snow chains, it wouldn't have slipped.'
- (27) Chēn-o tuke.re.BA, subera-nai-noni
  chain-ACC attach-COND slip-NEG-NONI
  'If you put on snow chains, it wouldn't slip (but you're not doing it).'

#### Counterfactual marking

Particle **noni** explicitly marks counterfactual or contrary-to-expectation meaning.

#### Conditional suffixes

Works with -TO, -BA and -TARA conditional suffixes for structural flexibility. The scope of 'noni' may be different (only on the apodosis in (25), on the sentence in (26)). -NARA may be used if the clause in the protasis is marked by -ta(PST). Counterfactual sentence without -ta(PST) is not common/usual.

# Real vs. Counterfactual Contrast in Japanese

#### **Generic Conditional**

Eki-ga chikakat-TARA benri-da station-NOM near-COND convenient-COP 'If the station is nearby, it is convenient.'

Uses copula *da* without counterfactual marking. This describes a generic causal chain. The fact that the station is nearby entails that it is convenient. Therefore, *-to* and *-ba* are also acceptable. As discussed earlier, *-nara* is used only when the context allows the speaker to think that the protasis would be taken for granted.

#### Counterfactual Conditional

Eki-ga chikakat-TARA benri-**na-noni** station-NOM near-COND convenient-COP-NONI If the station were nearby, it would be convenient.'

Uses *noni* to mark counterfactuality. This signals that the station is NOT close in reality, making this a contrary-to-fact conditional expressing an unrealized state.

☐ The particle *noni* is the critical marker that transforms a real conditional into a counterfactual one, signaling that the proposition runs counter to actual circumstances.

# Korean counterfactuals: obligatory –ess in both clauses

**Basic Structure:** 

Protasis-PAST-COND + Apodosis-PAST-FUT

Past marker -ess is obligatory in both clauses

- (28) Sunowu cheyin-ul cangchakha-**ess**-umyen/tamyen cha-ka an mikkuleci-**ess-lkesi**-ta snow chain-Acc put.on-**PST-**COND car-nom NEG slip-**PST-FUT**-DEC 'If we had put on snow chains, the car wouldn't have slipped.'
- (29) Yek-i kakawu-**ess**-umyen/tamyen phyenha-**ess-lkesi**-ta station-NOM near-PST-COND convenient-PST-FUT-DEC 'If the station had been close, it would have been convenient.'

#### Conditional Flexibility

Works with both -(u)myen and -tamyen conditional suffixes without semantic difference.

#### **Present Counterfactuals**

Aspectual particles like *-ltheyntey* can mark counterfactuals with regret or wish:

Sunowu cheyin-ul cangchakha-ess-umyen cha-ka an mikkuleci-ess-**ultheyntey**.

'If we had put on snow chains, the car wouldn't have slipped (but you didn't do that, I regret it).'

## Real vs. Counterfactual Contrast in Korean

#### **Real Future Conditional**

No Past Marking

Yek-i kakawu-**myen** phyenha-**lkesi**-ta station-NOM near-COND convenient-**FUT**-DEC 'If the station is nearby, it will be convenient.'

- Conditional suffix -myen without past -ess-
- Future suffix -lkesi- in apodosis
- Describes an open, possible scenario
- No implication about current reality

#### Counterfactual Conditional

Obligatory Past in Both Clauses

Yek-i kakawu-**ess-umyen** phyenha-**ess-lkesi**-ta station-NOM near-**PST-**COND convenient-**PST-FUT**-DEC If the station were nearby, it would be convenient.'

- Past -ess- obligatory in protasis
- Past -ess- + future -lkesi- in apodosis
- Describes a contrary-to-fact scenario
- Strong implication: station is NOT close

■ Morphological Explicitness: The presence or absence of -ess- in both clauses categorically distinguishes real from counterfactual conditionals. This obligatory dual-clause marking makes Korean counterfactuals the least ambiguous system cross-linguistically.

# Summary for counterfactual conditionals

Language	Past Marking	Location	Obligatoriness
Vietnamese	đã (particle)	Apodosis only	Required
Japanese	-ta (suffix) + noni	Both clauses + particle	Not mandatory
Korean	-ess (suffix)	Both clauses	Obligatory

Vietnamese and Korean use **PAST morphology** for counterfactuals, with past signaling **exclusion from present reality** (cf. latridou (2000)), while Japanese uses the modal particle *–noni*, which allows a temporal marking in the sentence: present vs. past event.

# Conclusion and Remaining puzzle

# Standard typology recognizable but incomplete

- The standard conditional categories (factual, hypothetical, counterfactual, epistemic, ...etc) are recognizable across Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese.
- However, our data also reveals intermediate or hybrid uses:
  - Sufficient condition, procedural/mechanical, warning/instruction, and presuppositional readings.
- These patterns do not call for revising the existing typology, but they invite consideration of more nuanced or refined subtypes, particularly where conditional meaning interacts with discourse context and aspect.

# The counterfactual marking puzzle

# Three languages, three strategies for marking counterfactuals:

Language	Counterfactual strategy
Vietnamese	Past marker đã in <b>apodosis only</b>
Japanese	Specific counterfactual particle -noni (past -ta not obligatory)
Korean	Past –ess in both clauses + future –lkesi in apodosis

Why is counterfactuality expressed through different combinations of temporal markers?

Why does Vietnamese restrict counterfactual marking to the apodosis only? Why does Japanese require a dedicated particle (noni) instead of tense alone? Why does Korean require both PAST+FUTURE?