Speaker Commitments by '-canh-' and '-ci' in Korean

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Abstract

Comparing the uses of '-canh-' with the ones of '-ci, 'this study suggests that different modal interpretations by '-canh-' and '-ci' is based on the interpersonal relationship between speaker and interlocutor. While noting that '-canh-' and '-ci' are the modal indicators denoting degrees of speaker commitment, for making clear the illocutionary force of utterances, it is observed and explained that what the speaker is committed respectively by using '-canh-' and '-ci' is highly sensitive to the relativity of the known/unknown status of the information introduced into discourse contexts.

1. Introduction

'-canh-' and '-ci' in Korean are the modal indicators prevalently used for representing different degrees of speaker commitment as to making clear the illocutionary force of utterances. My aim in this paper is to explain about what the speaker is committed to, respectively by the uses of '-canh-' and '-ci.' The main idea for comparing the modal meanings of '-ci' and '-canh-' is that different degrees of speaker commitments represented by '-canh' and '-ci' are ascribed to the division of pragmatic labors concerning the inter-subjectivity between speaker and interlocutor. Concentrating on the interpersonal relationship between speaker and interlocutor, we compare different modal interpretations conveyed respectively by the modal expressions '-canh-' and '-ci,' and then suggest that what the speaker communicates by using '-ci' or '-canh-' is highly sensitive to the informational modes of the conveyed message.

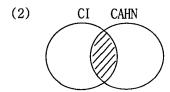
It has been generally noted that '-canh-' indicates that a speaker has a higher degree of expectation that the interlocutor would agree with what the speaker tries to communicate. For the moment, suffice it here to note that what the speaker communicates by (la) differs from

the one by (1b), in the degree of certainty or confidence.

- (1) a. proposition-CI-(yo).
 - b. proposition-CANH-a-(yo).

In previous studies, '-canh-' was characterized as 'non-challengeable modal' or 'interactional marker' (Kawanishi & Sohn 1994), and '-ci' was characterized as representing the contextually invariable meaning of 'committal' (H. Lee 1999). In terms of grammatical typology, '-canh-' and '-ci' do not belong to a homogeneous category: '-ci' is a kind of sentence-final particle. However, '-canh-,' which combines invariably with a sentence-ending, mostly occurring as '-canha' with '-e,' is not a sentence-ending particle but a historical product of the contraction from the long-form negation '-ci anh-.'

Despite this difference, the prevalent uses of the two expressions in ordinary conversation have a common property that the speaker is committed to seeking for agreement or confirmation from the interlocutor for what he/she is saying. As a speaker is increasingly committed to the truthfulness or certainty of the conveyed message, he or she would lean towards using different expressions concerning the strength of his/her commitment. At this point, there lies a necessity of comparing '-ci' and '-canh-.' It seems at least reasonable to approach the similarity and difference of these modal interpretations in terms of the partition as in (2). This diagram suggests that there exists an intersection of the attitudes encoded by the properties of '-canh-' and '-ci,' and that there are other partitions outside the intersection area, each of which is occupied exclusively by '-canh-' or exclusively by '-ci.'



In a recent influential study, H. Lee (1999) characterized the invariable meaning of '-ci' as 'committal,' in the sense that "the speaker believes in the conveyed message." H. Lee emphasized the importance of identifying all the contextual meanings of '-ci,' each of which is embodied in a given context. Despite his comprehensive exploration into that goal, still unclearly addressed issue in H. Lee's analysis seems to be that the contrast between '-ci' and '-canh-' is not specifically noted. The notion of 'committal' would have to be described more

accurately with respect to the distance or strength of the commitment between speaker and interlocutor.

Though it might be supposed that '-canh-' and '-ci' are likely used for representing the speaker's attitude of agreement or confirmation, the following (3) and (4) illustrate that '-canh-' and '-ci' have different modal interpretations:

- (3) A: Mary-nun sengkyek-i napp-a.

 Mary-TOP temper-NOM be-bad-SE

 "Mary is bad-tempered."

 B: Woy-yo! Mary-ka chakha-canh-a-yo.

 Why-not Mary-NOM be-good-CANH-SE/SL

 "Why not? (I believe) Mary is good."
- (4) A: Mary-nun cham yeppe-yo.

 Mary-TOP really be-pretty.

 "Mary is bad-tempered."
 B: Kulem-yo! Mary-ka yeppu-ci-yo.

 Sure. Mary-NOM be-pretty-CI/SL

 "Sure, I do agree that Mary is pretty."

Notice that '-canh-' in (3B) is used to object to a previous context in (3A), failing to show agreement and therefore undermining the solidarity between the two speakers in (3A) and (3B). In contrast to this, '-ci' in (4B) signifies that the speaker agrees with what (4A) communicates. Comparing these examples, we could presumably say that the pragmatic labor conveyed by the use of '-ci' in (4B) bears on the agreement between speaker and interlocutor, while the pragmatic labor by '-canh-' in (3A) may stand exclusively on denoting the information that pertains only to the speaker.

The organization of the paper is as follows: In section 2, the relationship between '-canh-' and '-ci anh-' is examined in the context of negative questions. In section 3, different modal meanings by '-canh-' and '-ci' are explained with useful ideas concerning the negotiating or conflicting forces between discourse participants. In section 4, I extend the analysis to wh-contexts, suggesting that the main differences between '-canh-' and '-ci' are to be captured in a conversational context of question and answer. In section 5, the pragmatic labors denoted by '-canh-' and '-ci' are differentiated in comparison with Japanese '-yo,' '-ne,' and

'-jan(ai).'

2. Speaker Expectation and Answerhood

Let us begin this section by considering the situations in which the uses of '-canh-' are entertained, and also by examining how they are related to the uses of the long-form negation '-ci anh' in terms of speaker expectation and answerhood of negative contexts. An important reason for us to consider the context of negative questions is that a conversational sequence of question and answer is particularly useful for testing the discourse participants' judgements about truth and falsehood, certainty and doubt, probability and possibility and so on.

A best well-known idea about '-canh-' is to relate its form and function with '-ci anh-', which is particularly used for asking confirmation or agreement from the interlocutor in negative questions. '-ci anh-' is uncontroversially said to be an inceptive stage for the development of the contracted form '-canh.' Actually, the contraction may be seen as a synchronic phenomenon in present-day colloquial uses, which seems to be motivated by the ease of articulation amalgamating '-ci anh-' into '-canh-.' Though it is less clear whether the contraction phenomenon is diachronic or synchronic, it is reasonable to say that the increasing frequency of distribution has brought in the distributional stability of '-canh-.'

In negative contexts, a speaker occasionally wants to raise an objection and a negotiation against a supposedly wrong assumption that the interlocutor might hold, and therefore a main issue to be involved in negative contexts concerns the relativity of the truth of the conveyed proposition, which arises with no regard to the acquisition or absence of a dicourse-new information.

As mentioned earlier, '-canh-' and '-ci anh-' are standardly taken to be used for requesting confirmation, such that speaker expectations are fulfilled by interlocutor's affirmative response to the conveyed information. The following (5) and (6) illustrate that negative questions with '-ci anh-' have two kinds of interpretations.

(5) A: Pakkey pi-ka o-ci anh-ayo?
 outside rain-NOM come-Q
 "Does it rain outside?"
B: Aniyo, pangkum kuch-esseyo.
 no right ago stop

"No, the rain stoped right ago."

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(6) A: Pakkey pi-ka o-ci anh-ayo?
outside rain-NOM come-Q
"Does it rain outside?"
B: Kulenikka, com isstaka kapsita.
"Thus, let's go after a while."
```

The first type is information-seeking, as in (5A) followed by (5B), which is derived from the literal meaning of the proposition. This kind of question is open to the possible answers that lie between 'yes' or 'no.' On this reading, the speaker requests the interlocutor to tell whether the propositional content is true or not. Given that the speaker in (5A) wants to know about weather condition, still in ignorance of whether it really rains or not, he does not have any bias between affirmative response and negative response.

The other type of interpretation is confirmation-seeking, as in (6A) followed by (6B), whereby the speaker in (6A) conveys the polarity reversal of the propositional content. Observe that the speaker in (6A) more commonly has a bias of expecting an affirmative response like (6B), while insinuating that he knows better about the weather condition if the speaker in (6B) would not have been previously aware of that kind of information. On this reading, the speaker in (6A) already has a belief or confidence in what is true, and therefore represents that he wants the interlocutor to answer in the affirmative.

For the uses of '-canh-,' some part of the speaker's communicative intention is represented by the contextual implication including intonation contours. Provided that (7a) is read in an interrogative intonation, and (7b) is read in a statement intonation, the following (7a) and (7b) are intended to illustrate different instances of intonation contours for '-canh-.'

```
(7) a. Pakkey pi-ka o-canh-ayo?
  outside rain-NOM come-CANH-Q
  "(I am expecting you agree with me that) Does it rain outside?"
b. Pakkey pi-ka canh-ayo.
  outside rain-NOM come-CANH-DEC
  "(I assert that) it rains outside."
```

In this example, the reversal of polarity is not limited to the context of questions as in

(7a), but also extends to the context of statements with declarative intonation contour as in (7b). Compared to (7a), the speaker in (7b) is more definite in making an affirmative assertion, saying in a voice of statement intonation contour. The distinction of these two types is actually a marginal phenomenon in casual speech. Much as it is marginal, the employment of '-canh-' is a more straightforward way of seeking confirmation, which includes the optional choice of intonation contours between a question like (7a) and a statement like (7b). As support for this idea, consider further (8) and (9):

- (8) Sihem-i elyep-ci anh-ayo?
 exam-NOM be-difficult-CI ANH-Q?
 "Isn't the exam difficult?"
- (9)a. Sihem-i elyep-canh-ayo?
 exam-NOM be-difficult-CANH-Q?
 "(I am expecting that you agree with me) the exam is difficult."
 b. Sihem-i elyep-canh-ayo.

There are of course two readings in (8): one is 'asking information', and the other reading is 'asking confirmation or agreement.' By contrast, (9a) with '-canh-' shows that the conveyed proposition is better known to the speaker and the former reading in (8) is unavailable in (9a). A notable characteristic peculiar to '-canh-,' in distinction with '-ci anh-,' is the loss of the form and function of negation. This can be compared to 'n't' in English, about which Hudson (1975) noted that 'n't' used in exclamatives is a synchronic phenomenon, and is not an item that can take an underlying form in the process of negation. Similarly as 'used' and 'ought' were derived from 'use' and 'owe' respectively, with little semantic ties, the contracted form 'n't' no longer maintains its correlation with negative element. 1

Recall that, as exemplified in (8) and (9), the optional choice of intonation contours between interrogatives and statements is limited to the utterances with '-canh-', but not to the ones with '-ci anh-.' This owes to the fact that '-canh-' underwent a semantic transfer of losing

¹ While differentiating normal negative 'n't' from exclamative 'n't, 'Hudson (1975) argued that exclamative 'n't' can no longer represent negation. In addition, McCawley (1988:571) pointed out a kind of negation form that does not show sensitivity to negative contexts. The following example shows that 'n't' negation does not license the negative polarity item 'anything,' under the rubric of 'fake negation.'

⁽i) You wouldn't rather be in Tahiti, would you?

⁽ii) *You wouldn't rather eat anything, would you?

a close tie with the context of questions. In this respect, an utterance with '-canh-' has an intermediate status between a statement and a question, i.e. taking the nature of 'declarative question.' In view of a diachronic perspective, on the other hand, a conjecture is that the context of negative questions was really the locus of developing the contraction into '-canh-.' But once the contracted '-canh-' had attained a stability of distribution, it would have begun to be freely used in declarative sentence types, as well as interrogative sentence types.

Let us go on to explain the contrast of information-seeking and confirmation-seeking in terms of possible answers: By way of a yes-no question, the speaker can ask the interlocutor to provide a piece of information which the speaker doesn't know. Then, the interlocutor may respond either in the affirmative or in the negative. Suppose that example (8) is used as merely a yes-no question. Then, it must be the case that the speaker does not have good reasons for judging about 'the difficulty of the exam.' By contrast, the contracted form '-canh-' imports a more strengthened interpretation of the presuppositional information, which is better known to the speaker, and taken for granted by the speaker.²

Between the two types of interpretations in (5) and (6), and also in (8), the interrogative meaning of information-seeking is determined depending on the answerhood condition of the interlocutor, while confirmation-seeking represents the meaning of an assertive statement rather than the meaning of an interrogative. For this reason, the speaker's state of knowledge has been already fulfilled without recourse to the interlocutor's answers. It seems true that seeking-confirmation is a speaker-oriented notion and hence does not have much to say about an aspect of hearer-oriented notion, i.e. for the cases where the speaker knows, but the hearer does not know.

Before moving on to next section, let us mention a little about the form '-canh-a' which includes the sentence-ending suffix '-e.' Most frequently, we use the form '-canh-a', by which the speaker shows affirmative assertion. This '-canh-a' seems to be derived as a single unit in spoken text, whereby the close tie between '-canh-' and '-e' (which turns into '-a-') is due to the fact that the basic characteristic of '-canh-' is successfully compatible with some essential properties of '-e.' '-e' is used to mark information which is 'unassimilated', that is, as noted in Lee (1993:143), "information that is an integral part of the speaker's existing cognitive framework." For this reason, '-e' (> '-a') is naturally compatible with '-canh-.'

² Discourse presuppositional information is defined as being used to refer to information that is "known to, familiar to or otherwise unlikely to be challenged by the hearer" (Givon 1982). In this sense, the speaker have already established the knowledge state and is more familiar to the information and do not want to be challenged by the hearer.

3. The Pragmatic Labor of '-canh-' and '-ci'

The communicative function of '-canh-' has to be investigated with careful consideration of the interactive aspects of what the speaker intends to communicate. Defining the subjective meaning of '-canh-' in terms of interpersonal relation between speaker and interlocutor leads to the speaker's epistemological stance to the credibility of the proposition.³

On the other hand, let us pause to note a few definitions of '-ci' in the literature: For example, as carefully remarked in H. Lee (1999): Ko's (1976) "cwukwancek sangnyem (the speaker's subjective or personal thoughts [H. Lee's translation])", K. H. Chang's (1985) "imi ahm (already having information of [H. Lee's translation]", S. J. Chang's (1983) 'suppositive.' As mentioned in H. Lee (1999), Chungmin Lee (through p. c.) suggests the speaker's "supposition of mutual commitment" as the main meaning of '-ci.' The morpheme '-ci' are present in two distinctive positions; '-ci' in the long form negation '-ci anh-,' and '-ci' in sentence-final positions. It has been generally accepted that the occurrences of '-ci' in these positions are not the same morpheme, despite the identity of forms.⁴

Noticeably, Kawanishi and Sohn (1993) defined the basic function of '-canh-' as being an interactional marker. They point out that '-canh-' triggers an interactional function to reconfirm common grounds or establish social solidarity, while suggesting that '-canh-' indicates that the speaker has a higher degree of expectation that the interlocutor will agree with what the speaker communicates.

However, a number of ideas in the literature do not seem to conform to the behaviour displayed by the suffix '-ci' in wh-questions, because all those prevalent notions presuppose that the speaker is involved with the truthfulness or certainty of the proposition. At this point, it should be made clear why the meaning of '-canh-' involves the mutual negotiation between discourse participants, given that the speaker take superior responsibility or authoritativeness with respect to the topic at hand. Moreover, it should be clarified why '-canh-' is likely used as

³ Givon (1982) suggested that there are three kinds of propositions, on a scale of certainty and evidence:

⁽i) No Evidence: Low Certainty (Propositions beneath Challenge)

⁽ii) Evidence Required: Middle Certainty (Propositions open to Challenge)

⁽iii) No Evidence: High Certainty (Propositions above Challenge)

⁴ H. Lee (1999) issued an alternative, hardly unprecedented, view of positing a very close relation between these two kinds of '-ci,' while limiting his characterization to the restricted context of negative questions. H. Lee (1999:271) further points out: "the interactional function of '-canh-' is the result of the speaker's beliefs, marked off by '-ci,' being reinforced by a negative question. That is, by questioning the negative possibility, the speaker indicates that he/she is leaning towards the positive proposition, yielding the communicative effect of a rhetorically stronger positive statement."

an immediate reaction prompted by previously established context.

In view of these issues, the notion of 'solidarity' in the sense of Kawanishi and Sohn (1993) is doubtful: This notion focuses on the rapport-making relation between speaker and interlocutor. But the notion is too broad to incorporate the possibility that utterances with '-canh-' can be face-threatening to an interlocutor. Since there are certainly many occasions of goal-oriented institutional contexts where disagreements arise but agreements do not, it is mistaken to suppose that every person is willing to achieve the conversational goal of rapport-making. In view of this idea, consider again example (1), repeated here as (10):

```
(10) A: Mary-nun sengkyek-i napp-a.

Mary-TOP temper-NOM be-bad-SE

"Mary is bad-tempered."

B: Woy-yo! Mary-ka chakha-canh-a-yo.

Why-not Mary-NOM be-good-CANH-SE/SL

"Why not? (I believe) Mary is good."
```

As (10) is meant to illustrate, the notion 'solidarity' does not readily account for the cases in which '-canh-' utterances are used to object to a previous context. Rather, it seems that the background situation would be the case that the speaker is aware of something problematic in A's utterance, and shows a sense of disagreement for the previously given context. Particularly in fast speech, '-canh-' is more likely to represent that there is something radically amiss, and also is more likely to represent that there are disagreements or emotional conflicts in the speaker's thought towards what the interlocutor previously mentioned.

Another important issue remains to be discussed. Note that '-canh-' in (10B) is actually used for encoding discourse-new information which was not previously offered in the real question (11A), whereas '-ci' cannot be used for this kind of information.

```
(11) A: Changmwun-ul woy yesey-yo?
    window-ACC why open-Q
    "Why do you open the window?"
B: {tep-canh-a-yo. *tep-ci-yo.}
    be-hot-CANH-SE/SL
    "(Because) It's hot."
```

In this interactive dialogue, if we were to use appropriately '-ci' in (11B), the information referred to would have to be present in the previous context of (11B). But that kind of information is not prepared in (11A). This observation leads to the suggestion that '-canh-' requires that the speaker in previous context is not committed to the flashed information. Though not being supported by previously accumulated context, the use of '-canh-' in (11B) brings in the effect of providing discourse-new information. As support for this idea, consider further (12). It appears here that the interactive force of '-canh-' poses a possibility of an objection for what is conveyed in previous context.

```
(12) A: Ku saram-eke hwa-lul nay-ci ma-sey-yo.

the man-DAT anger-ACC show-CI NEG-PROP/SL

"Please do not show anger to that man."

B: Ku saram-i hwa-lul na-ke {ha-canh-a-yo, *ha-ci-yo}

the man-DAT anger-ACC cause-CANH-SE/SL

"The man caused me to get angered."
```

In addition, the central meaning of '-ci' should be also examined in interrogative contexts. Consider the presence of '-ci' in wh-questions of (13). Note here that the speaker is purely asking the interlocutor to provide information unknown to the speaker himself, but is not seeking for confirmation or agreement from the interlocutor.

```
(13) a. Kuken way kuless-ci-yo?
    that why be-such-that-CI-SL
    "Why is it that so?"
b. Way kulesi-ci-yo?
    why be-such-that-CI-SL
    "Why do you say/do that way?"
```

Let us summarize the idea concerning the pragmatic labor by '-canh-': (i) '-canh-' represents that the speaker has already known the fact, and that the speaker calls attention to a piece of information which the interlocutor was not previously aware of. (ii) The status of '-canh-' as an interactional marker lies in foregrounding the knowledge exclusively possessed by a speaker into the realm of shared knowledge with an interlocutor.

On the other hand, the use of '-canh-' is likely to be face-threatening to the interlocutor,

or even also to the speaker, due to the reasons as follows: Although a speaker has sufficient evidence for the conveyed message, by activating his belief on the interlocutor's agreement or confirmation, the interlocutor's face may be threatened. The speaker's face can be also threatened, since what the speaker asks for confirmation may be rejected by the interlocutor. Thus, to mitigate the cost of face—threatening, it can be preferred to use a form of questions, more than statements, since it can provide an interlocutor with a room of choices for or against the conveyed message.

4. Further Comparison in wh-Contexts

In this section, we show another striking difference between '-ci(yo)' and '-canha(yo)' by testing their co-occurrences with wh-words. First of all, it is observed that the use of '-canh-' is not appropriate in a real wh-question. Consider the following:

```
(14) a. Nwu(kwu)-ka kulesskey malha-yss-ci-(yo)?
    who-NOM in that way say-PST-CI?
    "Who said in that way, you know?"
b. *Nwu(kwu)-ka kulesskey malha-yss-canh-a-(yo)?
```

'-ci(yo)' can occur in the presence of wh-word 'nwukwu' as in (14a), whereby we simply ascribe the interpretation of 'nwukwu' only to the interrogative sense 'who,' not to the existential sense 'someone.' By contrast, it is by no means the case that '-canha(yo)' can occur in the presence of wh-word 'nwukwu' as in (14b). This observation suggests that '-canh-' can be used only for information fully or previously known to the speaker, given the assumption that wh-words always denote unknown information. By contrast, it appears that '-ci' is likely used for information uncertain or unknown to a speaker. This contrast of '-ci' and '-canh-' also applies to various, or perhaps all, kinds of wh-words. For another example, consider (15), in which 'etten' (which means 'which' or 'what') cannot be in the presence of '-canh-,' but can be with '-ci.'

```
(15) a. *Jane-un etten umsik-ul cohaha-canh-a-(yo)?b. Jane-un etten umsik-ul cohaha-ci-(yo)?"You know, which food does Jane like?"
```

Let us take another observation about the '-ci/-canh-' contrast: '-canh-' is unlikely used for greetings, requests, or invitations, but the use of '-ci' is entertained. For example, the following (16a) with '-canh-' is unacceptable for making a greeting, while '-ci' is adequate in (16b).

```
(16) a. *Kutongan annyeha-si-ess-canh-a-yo?
b. Kutongan annyeha-si-ess-(nun)-ci-yo?
so far be-good-HON-PST-(TOP)-CI?
"How are you doing so far?"
```

Note further that '-canh-' cannot be used for making requests or invitations. This is also true of the cases where speaker expectation represented by '-canh-' does not conflict with speaker's sincerity towards making requests. A partial reason for this restriction is that speaker's presumptuousness represented by '-canh-' calls attention to the consciousness of the interlocutor and therefore may be taken to be face-threatening to the interlocutor. This idea is supported by the following example (17), where only '-ci,' but not '-canh-' can be appropriately used. Thus, we tentatively agree here that what is unknown to a speaker is not compatible with '-canh-.'

```
(17) a. Kuman {ilena-si-ci-yo, *ilena-si-canh-a-yo}
    by now go-HON-CI-SL
    "Let's go by now."
b. Kulesskey {ha-si-ci-yo, *ha-si-canh-a-yo}
    so do-HON-CI-SL
    "Please do so."
```

Next, it is worth noting that '-canh-' can work for making an opener or a flashback for introducing a new topic into a dialogue, whereas '-ci' cannot be. Instead, '-ci' likely occur in a reaction or response to previous utterance. Consider the following:

```
(18) a. Kulentey iss-canh-a-yo?

by-the-way be-CANH-SF-SL

"By the way, you know what?"
```

b. ?Kulentey iss-ci-yo?

The speaker could speak (18a) at the moment of initiating a conversation on some topic, particularly as a flashback for retrieving a new, or recurrent discourse topic. (18a) with '-canh-' is an interjective utterance to signify that the speaker is about to refer to discourse-new information as a foreground of a conversational topic. (18b) with '-ci' is less appropriate as an interjective utterance.

On the other hand, in cases where the previous questioner is seeking agreement, only '-ci' is enough to show an agreement on what discourse participants have as shared information. The following (19) is an example to support the idea that '-canh-' is hardly used in a response to agreement-seeking questions or greetings.

```
(19) A: Nemwu tep-ci-yo?
    too much be-hot-CI? : "Isn't it too hot?"
B: Ney, {tep-ci-yo, *tep-canh-a-yo}
    Yeah, be-hot : "Yeah, sure is hot."
```

Let us consider more examples. As indicated in the following, '-canh-' cannot be used appropriately in reponses to yes/no-questions, but appear to carry out the role of expanding or rectifying a foreground reason in responses to wh-questions.

```
(20) A: Way aitwul-un cangnan-ul kulesskey cohaha-lkkayo?
    why boys-TOP playing-ACC so much like-Q
    "Why do boys like playing so much?"
B: {Caymiiss-canh-a-yo., ??Caymiiss-ci-yo.}
    be-interesting-CANH-SE/SL.
    "Since it is so interesting."
(21) A: Changmwun-ul way yesey-yo?
    window-ACC why open-Q?
```

⁵ However, the following (1) shows that both of the two expressions can be invited in a monologue. Assuming that the speaker in (2) numble to himself at a particular situation, '-canh-' can show that the information is newly perceived one, while '-ci' can show that the information is previously given.

⁽¹⁾ Aikwu, ike ani-ci!

EXC this be-not-CI ("Oh, this is not.")

⁽²⁾ Aikwu, ike ani-canh-a!

```
"Why do you open the window?"
B: {*Tep-ci-yo, Tep-canh-a-yo, Teweseyo, Tewunikkayo}
"(Because) It's so hot."
```

However, there are also some contexts where the use of '-ci' is appropriate in a response. Consider the following (22B), where '-ci' is used in a response to yes-no questions. In this use, its main role is to repeat a part of what was issued in previous utterance (22A) and to show agreement with the conversational partner, who would have liked to be positively answered.

```
(22) A: Tangkwu-ka caymiiss-e-yo?
    billiard-NOM be-interesting-Q?
    "Is the billiard game interesting?"
B: {?Caymiiss-canh-a-yo., Caymiiss-ci-yo.}
    "It is so interesting."
```

Finally, it is necessary to examine whether '-canh-' is really modal. My conjecture is that, between '-ci-(yo)' and '-canh-a-(yo)', their occurrences are in competition with each other. And more stronger the speaker's subjectivity is, more likely '-canh-a-(yo)' is to be used. By employing '-canh-a-(yo)' in lieu of '-ci-(yo),' the speaker can express an intention of assertion and show that his certainty about the proposition is firmly based on beliefs. Therefore, what is committed by '-canh-' includes, but goes beyond, the strength of epistemic meaning than can be expressed by the use of '-ci.'

However, '-canh-' cannot be used for representing what is undecided at present. In cases where the speaker's presupposition is not consistent with previous context, '-canh-' utterance does not make a monotonic growth of the body of information, but signals that something must be under the metalinguistic use of [I object to . . .].6 Here is an example to illustrate this point.

(23) [while a mother is giving a warning to her quarreling children.]

A: Nehui-twul, kwuman ssawu-layss-ci.

you-PL no more fight-IMP-CI

"I told you not to fight any more.

⁶ With respect to the growth of information, let us note van der Sandt's (1993) remark: "The common ground does not grow monotonically anymore, but may shrink or change in a different way due to the removal of inconsistent information."

B: Jay-ka mence yak-(u1) olli-canh-a.

that boy first anger stimulate-CANH-A

"That boy stimulated my anger first."

As exemplified in (23), '-canh' can be naturally used in a situation of raising an objection or calling attention to something amiss in previous context. In (23B), a sense of dissatisfaction of a child towards his brother certainly caused him to raise an objection to a mother's admonition in (23A). In this situation, the use of '-canh-' in (23B) signifies that the speaker has something more to say against what is communicated in (23A).

I end this section with the suggestion that '-canh-' seeks for the acclimation of the information between the speaker and the interlocutor, based on the 'subjective context.' By 'subjective context', I mean the correlation between the presuppositional nature and assertive nature. Requesting confirmation from the interlocutor is completed by uttering a proposition which reflects not only a state of affairs but also the speaker's assumptions about the state of mind of the interlocutor. Given that the speaker already knows some facts that are well known or mutually assumed by the participants, speaker expectations can be fulfilled by the interlocutor's accommodation of the information taken for granted by the speaker.

5. Comparison with Japanese '-yo', '-ne', and '-janai'

We observed earlier that '-ci' is mainly used when the speaker refers to previously given information, but '-canha' is actually used when the speaker refers to discourse-new information. The context of interrogatives was taken as the main diagnostic to verify this idea. In this section, we go on to review the ideas on a contrative perspective between Korean and Japanese.

Note that '-ci' in Korean corresponds to '-yo' or '-ne' in Japanese, and '-canha' (or '-canhayo' with the speech level marker '-yo') in Korean corresponds to '-jan' (or '-janai') in Japanese. As pictured in (24), there are two-way committal items in Korean and three-way committal items in Japanese. In the relative distributions of these items, there are certainly differences of correspondence between Korean and Japanese. The problem with this type of correspondence is that the choice between '-yo' and '-ne' in Japanese varies depending upon to the extent how much the speaker expects himself to share a belief with the interlocutor, which is not to be observed in the uses of '-ci' in Korean.

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(24) a. Korean: '-ci', '-canha'
b. Japanese: '-yo', '-ne', '-jan'
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In the literature of Japanese linguistics, the distinction between '-yo' and '-ne' has been clearly characterized. Let us briefly review a couple of existing accounts for the difference between '-yo' and '-ne.' Following the traditional classification by Uyeno (1971; in Japanese), Matsui (2000) points out that the sentence-ending suffixes denoting the meaning of confirmation-seeking are roughly divided into two groups, while including '-yo' in the first group and '-ne' in the second group: (i) Those which express the speaker's insistence on forcing the given information on the addressee, (ii) Those which express a request for compliance with the given information leaving the option of confirmation to the addressee.

Similarly, Cheng (1987) suggests that '-yo' is used when the speaker believes that he has more information about something than the interlocutor. When the situation is reversed, Cheng claims that the particle '-ne' should be used. Masuoka (1991) shares an opinion with Cheng (1987), and noted further that the particle '-yo' communicates the speaker's belief that the hearer does not share the same belief/judgement with him, and therefore '-yo' opposes the particle '-ne' which communicates that the speaker believes that the hearer shares the same belief/judgement. As illustrated in (25) and (26), '-ne' communicates the meaning of "as you might have noticed" and '-yo' communicates the meaning of "contrary to what you think."

- (25) Oshima tte kawatta namae desu **NE**HEAR strange name is SF

 "The name 'oshima' is rather rare (NE = as you might have noticed)."
- (26) Oshima tte kawatta namae desu YO

 HEAR strange name is SF

 "The name 'oshima' is rather rare (NE = contrary to what you think)."

On the other hand, Maynard (1993) explained how a speaker choose between 'yo' and 'ne,' by claiming that 'yo' focuses on the informational aspect of discourse, while 'ne' focuses on the interactional aspect. In view of Maynard's (1993) 'Relative Information Accessibility,' '-yo' is used in speaker-exclusive or speaker-more situations, and that '-ne' is used in addressee-exclusive, addressee-more, or at least speaker/addressee-same.

There is a situation where the use of '-ne' or 'yo-ne' is appropriately invited, but the use

of '-yo' is not hosted. According to Matsui (2000:170), '-yo' by itself can not be appended to a sentence used as a conventional greeting as in (27), and instead of it, the combination of '-yo' and '-ne' is appropriate in this situation.

```
(27) Samuku narimasita {??yo, ne, yo-ne, *ne-yo}
"It has been cold lately, (and this fact is worth mentioning,) isn't it?"
```

Let us here compare Korean '-canha' and Japanese '-jan.' Similarly with Korean '-canha(yo),' Japanese '-jan(ai)' has an interactive function in being used to indicate that the speaker is going to provide shared information in each context. Kawanishi (1994) noted that, "In Korean, one element has a much wider usage since there are fewer interactional modals or expressions available." (i.e. the more modals or expressions available, the fewer functions each modal or expression has.) Kawanishi further claims that Korean is more sensitive to the inferrability of the information, while Japanese is more sensitive to the status of the information. (whether it is personal vs. shared, or new vs. mentioned).

There are some cases when '-canha(yo)' does not correspond to '-janai', but rather to '-ne.' For example, as noted in Kawanishi (1994), 'iss-canha(yo)' in Korean is frequently used to open a conversational topic or to elicit the interlocutor's attention, while '-jan(ai)' is not likely to be used in this situation. To show this point, Kawanishi (1994:108) illustrated the following:

```
(28) Kulentey, iss-canh-a-(yo)
By the way, COP-CANH-SF/(SL)
"By the way, you know what!"
```

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(29) a. Ano-(desu)-ne.

that-COP-FP

"You know what."

b. Sore-wa-(desu)-ne.

it-TOP-COP-FP

"That is, you know."
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Here, the example (28) in Korean happen to correspond to Japanese example (29) with the particle '-ne.' While presuming that '-canha(yo)' in Korean has a much wider range of functions, compared to Japanese '-jan(ai),' Kawanishi (1994) concludes by pointing out the difference between '-canha(yo)' and '-jan(ai)' as follows.

(30) a. '-canha(yo)' can be used with newly provided information and with brand new information.

b. '-canha(yo)' can be used to open the conversation or get the interlocutor's attention, while '-jan(ai)' cannot be used in similar contexts.

In view of this characterization, consider again examples (22) and (23), repeated here as (31) and (32). In (31), the use of '-canh-' is invited, and in (32), the use of '-ci' is invited. We simply note that these examples are consistent with Kawanish's (1994) suggestion in (30).

```
(31) A: Way aitwul-un cangnan-ul kulesskey cohaha-lkkayo?

"Why do boys like playing so much?"

B: {Caymiiss-canh-a-yo., ??Caymiiss-ci-yo.}

"Since it is so interesting."
(32) A: Tangkwu-ka caymiiss-e-yo?

"Is the billiard game interesting?"

B: {?Caymiiss-canh-a-yo., Caymiiss-ci-yo.}

"It is so interesting."
```

Finally, let us consider an example of greetings in Korean, where '-ci' is actually used and the use of '-canha' is unacceptable. Suppose a situation, where the following (33a) or (33b) is provided as a greeting in e-mail letters: (33a) is used most commonly when Prof. M. Lee, the Secretary General Officer of Korean Society for Language and Information, is wiring e-mails of the society.

```
(33) a. Pyenganha-si- {ci, *canha} -yo?

be good CI (= I believe)

"(I believe) you are good enough."

b. Cal Cinayko Kyeysi- {ci, *canha} -yo?

great do CI (= I believe)

"(I believe) You are doing great."
```

The speaker's intention in making this greeting is to remind the interlocutor that the speaker is well aware of the presence of the interlocutor, but he does not introduce something new by way of this introductory remark. If therefore follows from this example that Kawanishi's (1994) conclusion in (30) needs to be refined, for the cases where (30a) and (30b) cannot be ambivalent.

As shown here in (33), being used in a greeting, '-ci' but not '-canh' also appears to denote newly provided information. Though I have not prepared more exact reason to account for this situation, it is presumed that '-canh-' cannot work for a flashback for what the interlocutor is well aware of than the speaker.

So far, we set up a contrastive perspective between the two languages. The interactive aspects between '-yo' and '-ne', as well as between '-yo/-ne' and '-jan' in Japanese are very suggestive in differentiating between '-ci' and '-canha' in Korean. In view of the comparison between Korean and Japanese, the main characteristic in Korean seems that '-canh' is good for communicating discourse-new information, and '-ci' is good for communicating already given information.

6. Conclusion

We have seen that '-canh-' and '-ci' have something in common. Both of them can be used for requesting confirmation, such that speaker expectations are to be fulfilled by the interlocutor's affirmative response to the conveyed message. On the other hand, the main difference of modal meanings between '-ci' and '-canh-' lies in different degrees over the continuum of a certainty scale, even though specific degrees of commitment were to be hard to note.

To summarize the main ideas which were discussed: First, in using '-canh-,' the speaker takes a superior responsibility or authoritativeness with respect to the topic at hand, and therefore what is communicated by '-canh-' involves the mutual negotiations between discourse participants.

Second, a very useful diagnostic for differentiating '-ci(yo)' and '-canha(yo)' is provided by testing their co-occurrences with wh-words. In particular, it is noticeable that '-canh-' cannot be used appropriately in a response to yes/no-questions, but carry out the role of expanding or rectifying a foreground reason in a response to wh-questions.

Third, another important distinction is that '-canh-' is appropriately used for propositions denoting what is already known to a speaker, whereas '-ci' can be widely used for denoting propositions including the information unknown to a speaker. In this regard, the uses of '-ci' and '-canh-' are sensitive to the 'known/unknown' status of information referred to. In addition, it is observed that '-canh-' is hardly used for greetings, requests, or invitations, but the use of '-ci' is entertained in these situations, while '-canh-' has no reason to be placed in imperative or propositive utterances, despite its assertive force as 'declarative statement.' This observation supports the idea that what is unknown to the speaker is not compatible with

'-canh-. '

We could further agree on these ideas: With '-ci', it is doubtful that a speaker is always committed to the described event. By contrast, with '-canh-', it is true that a speaker is always committed to the described event. In many cases, by using '-ci, the speaker does not stay as an observer, but shows his bias towards the interlocutor's affirmative response, even in cases where his stance is somewhat apart from the central progress of the situation.

'-canh-' has a priority over '-ci' for signifying that speaker has more certainty about the truthfulness of the proposition. But '-ci' denotes that speaker's belief or insistence is not quite well convincing, compared to the modal meaning by '-canh-.' In this respect, the use of '-canh-' indicates that the truth or certainty of the conveyed proposition is better known to the speaker, who is more strongly committed to the positivity of the conveyed proposition, including the cases where the interlocutor was not previously aware of. This point was particularly supported by examining the contrast of '-canh-' and '-ci' within the context of wh-questions.

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