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# The German Discourse Particles JA and ruhig

TbiLLC 15

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Deferences

> Subject of the talk: particles JA and ruhig, mainly discussed in the context of imperatives.

(1) Geh JA zum Arzt! go JA to.the doctor 'Go see a doctor! (you have to)'

(2) Geh ruhig zum Arzt! go RUHIG to.the doctor 'Go see a doctor. (I don't care)'

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Interested in German um- and damit-clauses, usually used for Rationale Clauses  $\approx$  "in order to..." (Frühauf 2024).

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- Question on the side: which discourse particles are licensed in German Rationale Clauses? Found JA (and BLOSS).
- (3) Er stellt sich den Wecker, um JA/BLOSS nicht zu spät zu kommen. 'He sets the alarm in order to JA/BLOSS not to be too late.'

- Interested in German um- and damit-clauses, usually used for Rationale Clauses \( \approx \) "in order to..." (Frühauf 2024).
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- (3) Er stellt sich den Wecker, um JA/BLOSS nicht zu spät zu kommen. 'He sets the alarm in order to JA/BLOSS not to be too late.'
- Grosz (2014): ruhig is also found in Rationale Clauses (but degraded).
- Grosz (2010, 2011, 2014): ruhiq and JA are opposite ends of the same spectrum

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Conclusion

- > Similarities and differences of both particles.
- Anticipating: very different use conditions.

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## JA and ruhig as members of their class

- > JA and ruhig are consistently characterized as discourse/modal particles:
  - >> not truth-conditional, use-conditional
  - >> cannot bear main sentence accent
  - >> relate to sentence mood/illocution
  - >> only occur in the middle-field
  - **>>** .

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Our JA is not to be confused with Verum JA (Gutzmann 2010).
 Compare WOHL, DOCH, SCHON (Egg and Zimmermann 2012).

(4) A: Tom isn't home.

a. B: Tom IS home!

b. B: Tom is JA home!

c. # B: Tom IS JA home!

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- Our JA is not to be confused with Verum JA (Gutzmann 2010).
   Compare WOHL, DOCH, SCHON (Egg and Zimmermann 2012).
- (4) A: Tom isn't home.
  - a. B: Tom IS home!
  - b. B: Tom is JA home!
  - c. # B: Tom IS JA home!
- Apart from different interpretations, different intonation contours (Doherty 1987; Meibauer 1993).
- (5) a. Go JA $\uparrow_{boul}$  home!
  - b. Tom is  $JA \downarrow_{Verum}$  home!

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- Apart from different interpretations, different intonation contours (Doherty 1987; Meibauer 1993).
- (5) a. Go JA $\uparrow_{boul}$  home!
  - b. Tom is  $JA \downarrow_{Verum}$  home!
- > But: both JAs involve the activation of the negation of its host clause.

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## **Priority modality for both particles**

Grosz (2011): no non-priority modality.

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### **Priority modality for both particles**

- > Grosz (2011): no non-priority modality.
- (6) Der Kastenjakl kann ruhig der Mörder sein. the Kastenjakl can RUHIG the murderer be 'Kastenjakl can RUHIG be the murderer.'
  - a. \* In view of what we know, it's possible that Kastenjakl is the murderer. (epistemic)
  - b. In view of what I want to be the case, it's possible that Kastenjakl is the murderer. (bouletic)

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### **Priority modality for both particles**

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  - b. In view of what I want to be the case, it's possible that Kastenjakl is the murderer. (bouletic)
- (7) Der Privatjet soll JA um 15 Uhr angekommen sein. the private jet shall JA at 3 PM arrived be 'The private jet shall JA have arrived at 3PM.'
  - a. \* In view of what we know from hearsay evidence, it is necessary that the private jet arrived at 3PM. (reportative)
  - b. In view of what I want to be the case, it is necessary that the private jet arrived at 3PM. (bouletic)

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### Need of a modal?

- > Grosz (2011): No modal, no particle.
- (8) Der isst \*JA/\*ruhig den Spinat. he eats \*JA/\*RUHIG the spinach 'He eats \*JA/\*RUHIG the spinach.'

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- > Grosz (2011): No modal, no particle.
- (8) Der isst \*JA/\*ruhig den Spinat. he eats \*JA/\*RUHIG the spinach 'He eats \*JA/\*RUHIG the spinach.'
- > Schwager (2010): But sometimes, there is no modal at all.
- (9) a. Wer also eines der Hefte will, schreibt ruhig schon mal eine Email. who thus one of the booklets wants writes RUHIG already MAL an email 'Who wants to have one of the booklets should simply write an email.'
  - b. Du gehst jetzt ruhig schon mal vor und ich komm dann nach. you go now RUHIG already MAL ahead and I come then after 'You go ahead and I'll follow.'
- > Still: the interpretation is modal: adding an overt modal or using the imperative would not change anything.

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> Furthermore: JA frequently occurs in want-complements, ruhig does not.

(10) Judith wollte JA/\*ruhig nicht zu spät zum Dinner kommen. "Judith wanted to JA/RUHIG not be late to dinner."

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- ➤ The MPs are modal matching expressions, JA requiring universal force, ruhig requiring existential force (Grosz 2010, 2011).
- (11)  $[\![JA]\!] = \lambda M \lambda p \lambda w$ : M expresses non-dynamic root modality  $\wedge$  M is positive.  $\exists d[d= \max(S_M) \wedge M(d)(p)(w)]$  where  $\max(S_M)$  is the maximum of the (upper or totally closed) scale of M and is positive means that NECESSITY(p)(w) exceeds the degree that M combines with
- (12)  $\llbracket \text{ruhig} \rrbracket = \lambda M \lambda p \lambda w$ : M expresses non-dynamic root modality  $\wedge$  M is negative.  $\exists d[d=\min(S_M) \wedge M(d)(p)(w)]$  where  $\min(S_M)$  is the minimum of the (lower or totally closed) scale of M and is negative means that NECESSITY(p)(w) is lower than the degree that M combines with

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## Modal matching and degrees

- In short: JA is identical to mandatorily, ruhig to perhaps in modal matching constructions (modulo differences in flavor).
- (13) Er soll JA nach Hause kommen.
  - $\approx$  He mandatorily has to come home.

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## Schwager (2010) on ruhig

> Schwager criticizes Grosz's (2011) on the grounds that *ruhig* does not only appear with possibility modals.

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Schwager criticizes Grosz's (2011) on the grounds that ruhig does not only appear with possibility modals.

- (14) a. Er soll ihn JA verklagen. Er muss es unbedingt tun. 'He should JA sue him. He absolutely has to'
  - b. Er soll ihn ruhig verklagen. Ist mir egal.'He should RUHIG sue him. I don't mind.'

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- Schwager criticizes Grosz's (2011) on the grounds that ruhig does not only appear with possibility modals.
- (14) a. Er soll ihn JA verklagen. Er muss es unbedingt tun. 'He should JA sue him. He absolutely has to'
  - b. Er soll ihn ruhig verklagen. Ist mir egal.'He should RUHIG sue him. I don't mind.'
- > Use-conditional approach, bound to the speech act instead of a modal, simplified: p is optimal after ruhig(p), but was not optimal before.

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- > Rapp claims that JA cannot just be a degree modifier.
- (15) Use condition for JA(p): There is a contextually relevant individual that wants  $\neg p$ .
- That's why JA is not good in advice.
- (16) A: Was soll ich in New York sehen?

B: Geh auf jeden Fall/unbedingt/#JA ins Kunstmuseum!

'A: What should I see in New York?

B: Be sure to visit the museum!'

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### Contextual desires play no role for JA

(17) Use condition for JA(p): There is a contextually relevant individual that wants  $\neg p$  (Rapp 2018).

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## Contextual desires play no role for JA

- (17) Use condition for JA(p): There is a contextually relevant individual that wants  $\neg p$  (Rapp 2018).
- ightharpoonup This condition is too strong. No one needs to want  $\neg p$  in (10).
- (10) Judith wollte JA nicht zu spät zum Dinner kommen. "Judith wanted to JA not be late to dinner."

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**>** But still:  $\neg p$  has to be somehow 'activated' (see also Meibauer (1993)).

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- **>** But still:  $\neg p$  has to be somehow 'activated' (see also Meibauer (1993)).
- Most natural examples contain negation, but not necessarily.
- > 87/125 *um*/*damit*-Rationale Clauses in a corpus containing *JA* also contained negation.

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- $\rightarrow$  But still:  $\neg p$  has to be somehow 'activated' (see also Meibauer (1993)).
- Most natural examples contain negation, but not necessarily.
- > 87/125 *um*/*damit*-Rationale Clauses in a corpus containing *JA* also contained negation.
- > Other ways to make  $\neg p$  salient: *dieses Mal* 'this time' makes salient a time where he didn't go to the beach (because there was some hinderance).
- (18) a. Fritz hat Wanderstiefel eingepackt, um (??JA) in den Bergen wandern zu gehen. 'Fritz has packed hiking boots to JA go hiking in the mountains.'
  - b. Fritz hat Wanderstiefel eingepackt, um dieses Mal JA in den Bergen wandern zu gehen.
    - 'Fritz has packed hiking boots to JA go hiking in the mountains this time around.'

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(19) A is very lazy in the mornings and often oversleeps. Their mother usually wakes them up, but she won't be home tomorrow. She utters: Steh JA pünktlich auf morgen! 'Get JA up on time tomorrow!'

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(19) A is very lazy in the mornings and often oversleeps. Their mother usually wakes them up, but she won't be home tomorrow. She utters: Steh JA pünktlich auf morgen! 'Get JA up on time tomorrow!'

(20) A is usually never late to school. Tomorrow is a very important exam. Steh JA pünktlich auf morgen!

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- (19) A is very lazy in the mornings and often oversleeps. Their mother usually wakes them up, but she won't be home tomorrow. She utters: Steh JA pünktlich auf morgen! 'Get JA up on time tomorrow!'
- (20) A is usually never late to school. Tomorrow is a very important exam. Steh JA pünktlich auf morgen!
- (21) A is usually never late to school. Tomorrow is a normal day of school. Steh #JA pünktlich auf morgen!
  - ightharpoonup is a very probable live option or its consequences would be really bad.

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- Not discussed before: ruhig (and JA) shows up in complements of attitudes like (auf)fordern 'to prompt so. to do sth.', empfehlen 'to recommend', raten 'to advise', verlangen 'to demand' (22) that are used to report directive utterances.
- (22) Er forderte sie auf/empfahl ihr/riet ihr/verlangte (von ihr), ruhig he prompted her up/recommended her/advised her/demanded (from her), RUHIG mal mit der Faust auf den Tisch zu hauen.

MAL with the fist on the table to hit

'He prompted her/recommended her/advised her/demanded (from her) to RUHIG MAL take a hard line.'

ihr/riet ihr/verlangte (von ihr), ruhig

(22)

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- he prompted her up/recommended her/advised her/demanded (from her), RUHIG mal mit der Faust auf den Tisch zu hauen. MAL with the fist on the table to hit 'He prompted her/recommended her/advised her/demanded (from her) to RUHIG MAI take a hard line.'
- Ruhig is furthermore considerably worse in complements of hoffen 'to hope' (23), and virtually not found in the corpus.
- (23)Er hoffte, dass sie ??ruhig mal mit der Faust auf den Tisch haut. he hoped that she RUHIG MAL with the fist on the table hits 'He hoped that she would ??RUHIG MAL take a hard line.'

Er forderte sie auf/empfahl

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## $\it ruhig:$ wanting and not wanting p

- ruhig requires some relevant individual to want p.
- $\rightarrow$  It also requires that someones is believed to not want p, but that's hard to show.

(24) a. A: Tom called, he wants to come over:

B: Er kann ruhig rüberkommen.

'He can RUHIG come over.'

- b. A: Tom called, he wants to come over.
  - B: Er kann #ruhig zuhause bleiben.

'He can RUHIG stay at home.' (only ironic)

- A: Tom called, he first said that he didn't want to come over, but now he said he
  would.
  - B: Er kann ruhig zuhause bleiben/rüberkommen.

'He can RUHIG stay at home/come over.'

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# A possible route to explore

> Grosz (2011) (a.o. after him): JA and ruhig depend on quantificational force.

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# A possible route to explore

- > Grosz (2011) (a.o. after him): JA and ruhig depend on quantificational force.
- > Problem: canonically universal modals allow ruhig.
- (25) Er soll ihn ruhig verklagen. Ist mir egal. 'He should RUHIG sue him. I don't mind.'

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### A possible route to explore

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- (25) Er soll ihn ruhig verklagen. Ist mir egal. 'He should RUHIG sue him. I don't mind.'
- > Possible solution: variable force for *soll/sollte*.
- > Has been claimed for *sollen* (and *wollen*) by Ehrich (2001), for *should* by Staniszewski (2022).
- Has often been claimed for the imperative (Oikonomou (2016) a.o.).

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- > Grosz (2011) (a.o. after him): JA and ruhig depend on quantificational force.
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- > Possible solution: variable force for *soll/sollte*.
- > Has been claimed for *sollen* (and *wollen*) by Ehrich (2001), for *should* by Staniszewski (2022).
- ➤ Has often been claimed for the imperative (Oikonomou (2016) a.o.).
- > Has not been claimed for the complements of attitude verbs, afaik. But if true for the imperative, it could be true for the complements of imperative reporting verbs.
- $\,\rightarrow\,$  to be explored on another day.

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### JA is not a modifier of the modal operator

Unlike what Grosz (2011) said and what I adopted in my abstract: JA and ruhig are unlikely to be modifiers of the modal/attitude.

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### JA is not a modifier of the modal operator

- Unlike what Grosz (2011) said and what I adopted in my abstract: JA and ruhig are unlikely to be modifiers of the modal/attitude.
- > While  $unbedingt \approx$  "absolutely" seems to behave like a modifier of the modal, JA has to occur in its scope.
- (26) Er will unbedingt/JA pünktlich sein. he wants unconditional/JA punctual be 'He absolutely wants to be on time.'

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- (26) Er will unbedingt/JA pünktlich sein. he wants unconditional/JA punctual be 'He absolutely wants to be on time.'
- (27) Er will unbedingt/\*JA, dass Sabine zur Party kommt. he wants unconditional/JA that Sabine to.the party comes 'He absolutely wants Sabine to come to the party.'

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### JA is not a modifier of the modal operator

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- (27) Er will unbedingt/\*JA, dass Sabine zur Party kommt. he wants unconditional/JA that Sabine to.the party comes 'He absolutely wants Sabine to come to the party.'
- (28) Er will, dass Sabine ?unbedingt/JA zur Party kommt. he wants that Sabine unconditional/JA to.the party comes 'He wants Sabine to absolutely come to the party.'

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# **Tentative proposals**

In usual discourse particle fashion, *JA* and *ruhig* take a propositional argument and do not add to the at issue meaning.

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- In usual discourse particle fashion, JA and ruhig take a propositional argument and do not add to the at issue meaning.
- They do, however, depend on a higher bouletic event (compare Oikonomou (2021) on mood).
- (29)  $[\![ JA ]\!] = \lambda p.p$ 
  - a. **Bouletic event:** *e* projects a bouletic domain.
  - b. **Non-optimality:** AH(e) believes that  $EU(\neg p) <$ some threshold.
  - lacktriangle where e is bound by the nearest event that satisfies the specified conditions.

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  - a. **Bouletic event:** *e* projects a bouletic domain.
  - b. **Non-optimality:** AH(e) believes that  $EU(\neg p) <$ some threshold.
- $\rightarrow$  where e is bound by the nearest event that satisfies the specified conditions.
- The expected utility of  $\neg p$  is low, either because  $\neg p$  is very likely to happen or because its utility value is very low.

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- (30)  $[ \text{ruhig} ] = \lambda p.p$ 
  - a. Speech event: e is a speech event and projects a bouletic domain
  - b. Desire: Sp(e) believes that  $\exists x [\forall w' \in O(f,g_x)[p(w')]] \approx$  someone wants p
  - c. Non-optimality: Ad(e) believes that  $\forall w' \in O(f,g_i)[\neg p(w')]$  relative to some contextually salient ordering  $g_i \approx$  the addressee believes that  $\neg p$  is wanted or mandated
  - d. Indifference:  $\exists w' \in O(f, g_{sp-boul}, Sp(e))[p(w')] \land \exists w'' \in O(f, g_{sp-boul}, Sp(e))[\neg p(w'')] \approx \text{the speaker doesn't care whether } p$
- ightharpoonup where e is bound by the nearest event that satisfies the specified conditions.

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(31) Er empfahl ihr, ruhig mal mit der Faust auf den Tisch zu hauen. he recommended her RUHIG MAL with the fist on the table to hit 'He recommended her to RUHIG MAL take a hard line.'

- a. Speech event: recommending event  $\boldsymbol{e}$
- b.  $\$  **Desire:** Speaker of e believes that Addressee of e wants p
- c. Non-optimality: Speaker of  $\boldsymbol{e}$  believes that Addressee believes that  $\boldsymbol{p}$  is a non-optimal choice
- d. Indifference: Speaker of  $\boldsymbol{e}$  does not have a clear preference for  $\boldsymbol{p}$

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- Ruhig is out in hope- (and want-) complements either because: they are not used to report on imperatives, or they don't allow for non-speaker bouletic interpretations.
- The imperative takes on "existential" readings when its ordering source takes into account addressee-bouletic propositions (Kaufmann 2012) (alternative to force-variability).
- > Ruhig is fine in any bouletic attitudes that report non-speaker-bouletic imperatives (alternative to force dependency).

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### **Concluding remarks**

- > JA(p) is sensitive to the saliency of  $\neg p$ .
- > ruhig(p) is sensitive to the saliency of  $WANT_x(p)$  and  $BEL_yWANT_z(\neg p)$  (where x, y might be the same person).
- ruhig is licensed in non-speaker-bouletic speech acts and speech reports.
- > JA is used in speaker-bouletic speech acts and reports.



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# **Appendix examples: no operator**

- (32) Thomas isst Spinat. 'Thomas is eating spinach.'
- (32) cannot usually mean: I want Thomas to eat spinach. Adding ruhig or JA does not work.
- (33) Du gehst jetzt vor. 'You go ahead now.'
- > (33) already has a directive force. Adding JA is possible. (ruhig usually requires more marking jetzt ruhig schon mal...).
- You cannot add JA or ruhig to sentences that are not already interpreted as bouletic.

### Addressee orientation

- > ruhig does occur in wollen-complements, but mostly in a specific type of construction, announcing that the speaker wants to say something (lots of examples in parliamentary debates).
- (34) a. Jetzt stelle ich unsere Kandidatin vor. Etwas selbstkritisch will ich ruhig zugeben, dass wir am Anfang auch zuerst einen m\u00e4nnlichen Kandidaten hatten. '...self-critically I want to RUHIG admit...'
  - Es tut uns Leid ich will das ruhig so sagen -, dass wir mit diesem Gesetz Landwirte stärker belasten müssen als in der Vergangenheit.
     '...I want to RUHIG say it like this (≈openly)...'

- > ruhig sometimes occurs in questions (contra Schwager (2010)), and when it does, the doubt switches to the speaker.
- (35) a. Kann man Weihnachtsbäume ruhig an Straßenständen kaufen? 'Can one RUHIG buy Christmas trees on the streets?'
  - b. Soll das alles in eine Datei oder soll ich das ruhig in drei Dateien aufteilen? 'Should everything go in one file or should I RUHIG divide it in three files?'

### Alternative: modal modifier

- Alternatively, JA and ruhig are analyzed as modal modifiers that always modify a modal like soll/sollte.
- If they are embedded under *verlangen* 'demand' and other attitudes, there is a covert modal in the clause (Kratzer 2013).
- (36) Tom verlangt, dass sie JA den Raum verlässt = Tom verlangt, dass sie JA den Raum verlassen soll
- Problem: has not been claimed (and is not attested) for wollen 'want'.
- \*Ich will, dass ich nicht zu spät kommen soll \*Ich will nicht zu spät kommen sollen
- (38) ??Sie will, dass er nicht zu spät kommen soll.

➤ The exact differences between *soll* and *sollte* are still unclear. *soll* seems to be used (/usable) in a disinterested advice fashion, while *sollte* seems to involve (more) speaker endorsement:

- (39) a. Er soll mich ruhig verklagen. I don't care.
  - b. Er sollte ruhig mehr investieren. #I don't care.

# Oikonomou (2021) on advise-verbs

