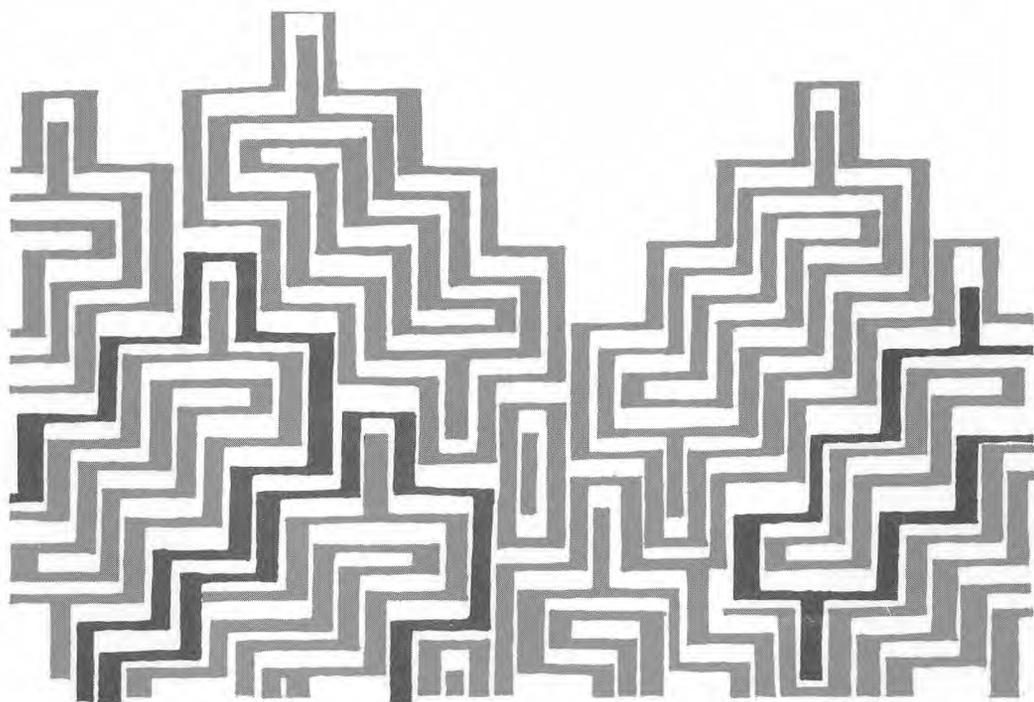




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# Explorations in Korean Syntax and Semantics

SEOK CHOONG SONG



## INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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*To my wife, Taekja,  
and  
Grace, Beatrice, Irene, and Clarence*

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## Table of Romanization Systems

Yale romanization has been adopted for transcribing Korean examples in the text. The following table compares different systems of romanization currently in use:

Korean Symbol ( <i>Hangul</i> )	Yale	McCune- Reischauer	S. Korea	N. Korea
ㅂ	<b>p</b>	p,b	b	p
ㅃ	<b>ph</b>	p'	p	ph
ㅍ	<b>pp</b>	pp	bb	pp
ㄷ	<b>t</b>	t,d	d	t
ㅌ	<b>th</b>	t'	t	th
ㄸ	<b>tt</b>	tt	dd	tt
ㅅ	<b>s</b>	s	s	s
ㅆ	<b>ss</b>	ss	ss	ss
ㅈ	<b>c</b>	ch,j	j	ts
ㅊ	<b>ch</b>	ch'	ch	tsh
ㅉ	<b>cc</b>	tch	jj	tss
ㄱ	<b>k</b>	k,g	g	k
ㅋ	<b>kh</b>	k'	k	kh
ㆁ	<b>kk</b>	kk	gg	kk
ㅁ	<b>m</b>	m	m	m
ㄴ	<b>n</b>	n	n	n
ㅇ	<b>-ng</b>	-ng	-ng	-ng
ㄹ	<b>l</b>	l,r	l,r	r
ㅎ	<b>h</b>	h	h	h
ㅣ	<b>i</b>	i	i	i
ㅍ	<b>wi</b>	wi	wi	wi

*Romanization Systems*

Korean Symbol ( <i>Hangul</i> )	Yale	McCune- Reischauer	S. Korea	N. Korea
에	ey	e	e	e
예	yey	ye	ye	ye
웨	wey	we	we	we
오	oy	oe	oe	oi
아	ay	ae	ae	ai
야	yay	yae	yae	yai
와	way	wae	wae	wai
우	u	ũ	eu	ũ
어	e	ö	eo	ö
예	ye	yö	yeo	yö
웨	we	wö	weo	wö
아	a	a	a	a
야	ya	ya	ya	ya
와	wa	wa	wa	wa
우	wu	u	u	u
유	yu	yu	yu	yu
오	o	o	o	o
요	yo	yo	yo	yo
유	uy	üi	eui	üi

# Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used to label grammatical morphemes in the glosses below Korean example sentences, as categories in the tree diagrams, or as feature specifications in phonological rules:

ACC=Accusative Marker	INF=Infinitive
ADV=Adverb	INT=Interrogative
Agt=Agent	LOC=Locative
APC=Apperceptive	MOD=Modal
Aux=Auxiliary	NEG=Negative Particle
CAUS=Causative	NOM=Nominalizer
COMB=Combining Particle	NP=Noun Phrase
COMP=Complementizer	OM=Object Marker
CONJ=Conjunctive Particle or Conjunctor	opt=optional
cons=consonantal	PAST=Past Tense
CONT PTC=Contextual Particle	PL=Plural Marker
CPL=Copula	PRED=Predicate
DAT=Dative	PRED NOM=Predicate Nominal
DCL=Declarative	PRES=Present Tense
DEEMP=Deemphasis	PROP=Propositive
DES=Destination	PRT=Particle
E=Event or Emphatic	Q=Question Marker
ENUM=Enumerative	QM=Quotative Marker
FP=Sentence Final Particle	RET=Retrospective Aspect
GOAL=Goal Particle	S=Sentence
HON=Honorific Suffix	SM=Subject Marker
HUM=Humble	syll=syllabic
IMP=Imperative	TNS=Tense
IND=Indicative Aspect	TOP=Topic Marker
	TRAN=Transferentive

## *Abbreviations*

V = Vowel

V = Verb

V<sub>int</sub> = Intransitive Verb

V<sub>link</sub> = Linking Verb

VP = Verb Phrase

V<sub>trans</sub> = Transitive Verb

## Preface

This book has been twenty years in the making. Although the actual writing—or rewriting, I should say—was done mostly during my last sabbatical leave in 1983, it is based on research that spans my entire professional career. The past two decades have been a turbulent time in the history of linguistics, and we have witnessed the rise and fall of many grammatical theories. Despite the length of time this book has taken in preparation, it exhibits an unusual degree of homogeneity.

My research has been carried out within the framework of generative-transformational theory or, more narrowly, an interpretive approach within that “camp,” but no attempt has been made to adopt an explicit formalization of minute details. Facts uncovered, noted, and described and hypotheses put forward to account for these facts will not be radically affected by vicissitudes in the theoretical framework.

It is assumed that readers of this book are acquainted with the fundamentals of modern linguistics, but Korean language specialists without linguistics background will not have a great deal of difficulty understanding the analyses proposed and arguments presented in defense of several new hypotheses on the structure of the Korean language.

Many people have read manuscript versions of this book in part or in full at various stages of its development. Without their willing assistance and warm encouragement, this book would not be what it is today. I gratefully acknowledge comments, editing, and helpful discussion from Barbara Abbott, Namgui Chang, E. Cook, Rachel Costa, Chin-Wu Kim, Samuel Martin, Gerald Mathias, Robert Ramsey, and Ho-min Sohn. Two of my colleagues, Grover Hudson and David Lockwood, deserve special thanks for the constant help they have provided in the spirit of collegial cooperation throughout the long period of research and preparation of the manuscript. Needless to say, I am solely responsible for the final content of this book as well as any errors in it.

## *Preface*

I owe a debt of gratitude to two of my mentors, Fred Lukoff and Fred Householder. It was Lukoff who first introduced me to linguistics and taught me to keep both my feet planted on the ground when I was apt to be carried away with fanciful abstract ideas. Throughout my career he has readily and ungrudgingly provided me with frequent help, constantly challenging and criticizing every detail of my work, never tolerating abstruse arguments unsupported by data. Householder guided me through my graduate work in linguistics at Indiana University and taught me above all to be independent and free-spirited. His unfailing confidence in me and my work sustained me through difficult times, and his living example showed me how to pursue my solitary path undaunted and even happily.

I would like to thank Professor Michael Rogers, former chair of the Center for Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley, for his courageous decision to include in the Korea Research Monograph series a work on Korean linguistics that is fairly specialized and somewhat technical in nature. I am also grateful to Joanne Sandstrom and Susan Stone of the Institute of East Asian Studies for their assistance and cooperation. Comments and suggestions of the anonymous reader were helpful as well.

Subsidy needed for publication comes from several sources. I am grateful to Michigan State University for bearing a substantial amount of the cost in the form of a completion grant. Financial contributions from friends covered the rest. Special thanks are due to Mr. Tae Gun Lee, a Detroit area businessman, to Rev. and Mrs. Won Il Kim of New York, and to two MSU alumni, Dr. Min Chung and Dr. Hee Kwan Lee.

I also want to thank Tim Boyd and Sharon Bennett of the computer laboratory at Michigan State University for their assistance in converting the manuscript into disk form.

Finally, my wife, Taekja, who served as typist, editor, informant, with unfailing intuition for Korean, and reluctant partner-in-research deserves my heartfelt thanks. She bravely bore the burden of raising four children and shared the role of breadwinner while I was wrapped up in this monetarily unprofitable and time-consuming task. Ironically, her sober remark that very few people will ever read this book as well as her enduring patience and encouragement have kept me plodding along for over twenty years.

# Introduction

Because the title of this book is nebulous and reveals very little of what the book is about, I owe a few lines of introduction to those who happen to pick up this volume and examine it out of curiosity. Instead of giving a routine outline of the content, I will issue at the outset a few words of warning to inform such people what this book is *not* about. It is not a comprehensive grammar intended for students of the Korean language. Neither is it a book on linguistic theory nor an application of it to Korean to verify the validity of that theory.

Beginning language students will probably find this book quite formidable and may want to look elsewhere for a handy reference, but only here will they find full descriptions and explanations of certain grammatical processes. Advanced students and Korean language specialists may find it a little too theoretical and formal to suit their taste, but they may find their efforts well rewarded by the systematic treatment of many recalcitrant problems in Korean grammar. Linguists of any theoretical persuasion, however, will be sure to find something interesting about Korean and realize that the fun of doing linguistics has not completely disappeared from the scene.

Not only foreign students of the language but also many respectable native Korean grammarians honestly believe the Korean language to be unique and therefore full of vagaries, aberrations, deviances, and irregularities. My book is a challenge to this prevalent belief, and I have made an endeavor to demonstrate that it is grammarians' misguided descriptions rather than the language itself that is at fault.

I do not believe in the prescribed discovery procedures of grammar that some linguists advocate, but I do believe that a large part of the fun of doing linguistics is the very joy of discovery. Many years back when I began the study of linguistics, I was shocked to discover how little I knew about the language that I have spoken natively all my life. I thought that I knew all about it until I made a serious attempt to describe a small portion of its grammar. When

the initial trauma was over, it was followed by a long period of struggle before there was a light at the end of the tunnel: the discovery of one fact led to another and the new insight gained through these discoveries helped me to discern the interrelation and unity among apparently disparate phenomena. At long last, when the pieces were put together, a new and unexpected pattern emerged as a unified whole, like a picture out of a jigsaw puzzle. Of course, I do not claim that we now have the entire picture of Korean grammar. Nothing could be further from the truth. But that series of discoveries finally convinced me that there is a regular and systematic network of rules beneath the chaotic appearance of Korean on the surface.

My research brought to light scattered facts that were previously unnoticed or had attracted no attention from Korean grammarians. On the basis of these facts it was possible to construct certain hypotheses about the structure of the Korean language. For instance, it is no longer necessary to maintain that Korean has a unique way of negating an affirmative sentence through two different processes. The process of negation in Korean proves to be entirely regular, with only one negative sentence corresponding to an affirmative counterpart. The claim for the uniqueness of Korean grammar based on the two different ways of negating a sentence simply evaporates. The strange claim, maintained today by most native grammarians, that a noun can have a predicative case that conjugates like a verb, turns out to be nothing more than a simple error in analysis. Stripped of the misconceptions and misanalyses of traditional grammarians that have been perpetuated for generations, the myth of the uniqueness of Korean grammar can no longer be maintained seriously.

Part 2 of this book constitutes the bone and marrow of my research on Korean negation, often challenged and even maligned by many linguists. My hypothesis was built around the identity of *ci*, the complementizer in a negative string, with *ki*, the complementizer in an affirmative string. None of the challenges and alternative theories proposed by other linguists was able to stand up to scrutiny or survive the ordeal of time. There still remain some peripheral questions to be resolved, but the essence of my thesis still stands, unaffected by theoretical frameworks or degree of formalization.

When *ci* and *ki* are discovered to be variant realizations of a single morpheme, suspicion is cast on the status of the so-called

suspective morpheme *ci*. The new research sparked by this turn of events led me to the discovery that homophonous *ci* represents four distinct morphemes (see chapter 3). Another piece of research ignited by the negation question is related to the question of the copula in Korean. Although nothing seems further apart than these two questions, the investigation of the copula was an inevitable consequence of an earlier inquiry into the disparity between affirmative and negative equational sentences. The 'regularity' hypothesis led to the postulation of a disappearing nominative marker in affirmative equational sentences (chapter 1). Once the existence of the copula was confirmed, a natural next step was the defense of the Korean copula and the repudiation of the previously mentioned predicative case (chapter 18).

The causative construction was entangled in as much controversy as was negation. Chapters 12 and 13 reflect my involvement in this topic. The notion of 'speaker perception', it was discovered, plays a crucial role in the choice between lexical and periphrastic causatives. Speaker perception is also relevant to the process of noun pluralization, which up to now has been thought entirely optional (see chapter 17). It is this same notion that governs the choice of alternant shapes of the dative marker after animate nouns (see chapter 15).

The important question of 'abbreviation' is dealt with in chapter 5. Superficially identical forms or strings can be semantically distinct, but it is often taken for granted that they are cases of homophony or constructional homonymy. My analysis shows that homonymy in many cases is a result of an abbreviation phenomenon; therefore, distinct underlying structures, before an application of the abbreviation operation, are postulated for different semantic interpretations.

In the examination of the process of pluralization of Korean nouns, another important question of 'optionality' has been raised. The optional use of the plural marker in Korean has never been questioned or challenged. My hypothesis unequivocally demonstrates that the traditional claim that the plural marker is optional is in error. Nouns with definite reference are obligatorily marked if they are plural. Even indefinite nouns that appear to be optional in plural marking, after careful scrutiny, reveal subtle but unmistakable differences between the marked and unmarked plurals.

Some recent proposals dealing with different aspects of Korean grammar by a new breed of linguists have been reexamined critical-

## *Introduction*

ly and their hypotheses have been challenged (see chapters 15, 16, and 19). In my effort to put to rest an unfounded claim that there is no copula in Korean, previous works on the copula by some well-known native grammarians have been scrutinized and flaws in the analyses have been exposed (see chapter 18). If my apology in defense of the copula is an endeavor to close an old chapter surrounding the copula controversy, part 2 of this book will mark the opening of a new chapter in the history of the study of negation in Korean.

If I have succeeded in uncovering a few facts hitherto unnoticed by other Korean grammarians, that alone would be a step toward a better understanding of the structure of Korean. If my hypotheses based on these facts attain a higher level of generalization, perhaps I have made some contribution toward a better description of the Korean language.

PART ONE

Markers, Particles,  
and Grammatical Morphemes

# 1. The Disappearing Nominative Marker

The grammar of a language is a system of tightly interrelated rules in which an investigation of one aspect of the language inevitably leads to a reconsideration of a host of other related problems. Thus, on the one hand, a systematic description of one particle, the Nominative Marker (NM), crucially depends on certain assumptions about language in general as well as on correct accounts of other aspects of Korean. On the other hand, a proper treatment of this marker will shed light on many interesting, hitherto unsolved problems and provide new insight into the structure of Korean.

This chapter is mainly concerned with the formulation of a synchronic rule for assigning the NM and with the rule ordering required to account for the apparent surface irregularity of equational sentences. However, in the course of discussion an interesting piece of evidence seems to emerge that favors the disputed hypothesis that synchronic rule ordering reflects the diachronic development of the language. Evidence also seems to support the existence in Korean of the copula, which has been disputed by some scholars.<sup>1</sup>

There are numerous particles with diverse functions that occur directly after noun phrases in Korean.<sup>2</sup> They are uninflected forms—hence the name ‘particle.’ Some of them have also been called ‘postpositions’ in that their functions are parallel to those of prepositions in other languages, but they are postposed rather than preposed. The term ‘case marker’ is also frequently used: the most common members of this category are the subject, object, genitive, and dative markers. Although there have been many attempts to define the functions of particles and classify them accordingly, none of the descriptions is adequate.

Below I will single out what has been traditionally called the Subject Marker, examine its seemingly asymmetrical distribution, and then make an attempt to account for a mysterious disappearance of the marker in an affirmative equational sentence. Finally, I will briefly discuss some implications of my approach to describing the marker in question for a theory of language in general. Let us consider the following sentences:

1. *i* moca-ka pissa-ta  
this hat-SM expensive-DCL  
'This hat is expensive.'

2. *ku* chayk-i coh-ta  
that book-SM good-DCL  
'That book is good.'

Sentences (1) and (2) above show that the subject noun phrase of a sentence is clearly marked by a marker that has the phonologically conditioned variants *i* and *ka*. The shape *i* occurs after forms that end in a non-vowel segment and the shape *ka* after those ending in a vowel segment. Most standard descriptions of the topic end there and rarely go beyond this simple observation. Any cursory examination of Korean data will quickly reveal, however, that the same marker occurs after a noun phrase that is not a sentence subject.

3. *ku* salam-i kwunin-i toy-ess-ta  
that man-SM soldier-SM become-PAST-DCL  
'That man became a soldier.'

4. Maria-ka swunye-ka toy-ess-ta  
Mary-SM nun-SM become-PAST-DCL  
'Mary became a nun.'

5. *i* kes-i nay kes-i ani ta  
this thing-SM my thing-SM not-DCL  
'This is not mine.'

6. *ku* kyoswu-ka hakca-ka ani ta  
that professor-SM scholar-SM not-DCL  
'That professor is not a scholar.'

In sentences (3) and (5), *i* occurs twice, marking both a sentence subject and a predicate nominal. Likewise, in sentences (4) and (6), we find two occurrences of *ka* in the same environments we have noted above, namely, after a sentence subject and a predicate nominal. Because the marker is added to noun phrases that are not subjects as well as to subject noun phrases, we must either drop the term Subject Marker or call every noun expression marked by it the subject of a sentence. The choice in this case seems obvious, but Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969) favor the second

alternative and claim that “negative equational sentences (in Korean) thus can accommodate two subjects, the second of which corresponds to the English complement” (p. 17). Martin’s argument exemplifies the ‘consistency’ fallacy that often haunts descriptions by structuralists. Because he has decided to call the particle *i/ka* Subject Marker, any noun that carries this marker must be a subject. It is a terminological equivocation to call a complement a subject simply in order to salvage the term. I propose to revive the term Nominative Marker, which translates more faithfully the Korean term commonly used by native grammarians to refer to this particle and which was adopted by G. J. Ramstedt (1939) in his Korean grammar almost half a century ago.<sup>3</sup> Both the subject NP and the predicate nominal (or a subjective complement) in sentences (3), (4), (5), and (6) are in the nominative, and thus there will be no conflict in using this term to refer to the marker that is assigned after them. Furthermore, the logical subject of deep structure and the grammatical subject of surface structure are not always identical. Therefore, the advantage of the new term over the misleading Subject Marker is obvious.

If we view a sentence of a language as a string of formatives enumerated by generative rules, marking a certain kind of noun expression in Korean by the particle *i/ka* undoubtedly depends on native speakers’ knowledge of these noun phrases. It is a grammarian’s task to formalize this knowledge and formulate an explicit rule for assigning the marker. Because the assignment of the Nominative Marker is determined by the surface configuration of a sentence, there is no need to assume that the NM occurs in deep structure. The notion of a surface subject of a sentence and a predicate nominal can be precisely defined by bracketing the surface structure. As a first approximation, the subject of a sentence may be defined as the NP that directly precedes a VP in a simplex sentence. This NP then will be assigned the NM by the following rule.<sup>4</sup>

I. # X, NP, VP, Y #  $\implies$  1, 2 + NM, 3, 4  
           1     2     3     4

As sentences (3) through (6) illustrate, the NP directly preceding the copula or the linking verb *toy* ‘become’ is also marked by the NM. By creating a category  $V_{\text{link}}$  that includes both the copula and *toy*, the rule assigning the NM to the predicate nominal can be simply stated as follows:

II. # X, NP, V<sub>link</sub>, Y #  $\implies$  1, 2 + NM, 3, 4  
           1    2    3    4

These two rules not only look very much alike but also have the same function, namely, assigning the NM to an NP in the string that meets the structural description. They can be readily conflated into a single rule given below as (III).

III. # X, NP,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{V}_{\text{link}} \end{array} \right\}$ , Y #  $\implies$  1, 2 + NM, 3, 4  
           1    2    3    4

By the usual conventions regarding conjunctive ordering, the second part of this rule will reapply if the string that is output after the first part of the rule has been applied still meets the structural description for the second part.

There are many complex sentences that contain more than two NMs. Theoretically, there would be as many NMs in a complex sentence as there are complement sentences embedded in the position of an NP directly preceding a VP. Consider the following sentences:

7. ku    salam-i   kwunin-i   toy-ki-ka                    swip-ta  
     that   man-NM   soldier-NM   become-COMP-NM   likely-DCL  
     ‘It is likely that he will become a soldier.’

8. ku    salam-i   kwunin-i   toy-ki-ka                    swip-ta  
     that   man-NM   soldier-NM   become-COMP-NM   likely-DCL  
     ko    ha-nun    mal-i        iss-ta  
     QM   say-IND   word-NM    be-DCL  
     ‘Word has been around that it is likely that he will become a soldier.’

In sentence (7) the nominalized string of sentence (3) is embedded in the subject NP position. Because this NP is the subject of the main verb *swip* ‘be likely’ of the matrix sentence, it is also marked by the NM *ka*. Because sentence (3) contains a subject and a predicate nominal, both of which are marked by the same particle, three occurrences of the same marker in sentence (7) can be accounted for in a most natural and straightforward manner. The same thing can be said about sentence (8), in which we find four occurrences of

the NMs. The subject of the sentence marked by the last NM is modified by a relative clause whose source is sentence (7), already containing three NMs.

The multiple occurrences of NMs can be very simply handled if we allow rule (III) to apply cyclically starting from the innermost S until it reaches the outermost S. The innermost S contained in sentence (8) is sentence (9).

9. [S [NP ku salam ]NP [VP [NP kwunin ]NP [V toy-n-ta ]V<sub>link</sub> ]VP]S  
           that man                                   soldier                                   become-IND-DCL  
       ‘He becomes a soldier.’

Both NPs in sentence (9) will be assigned the NM by rule (III), the first NP by the first part and the second NP by the second part of the rule. The next higher S in sentence (8) is identical with sentence (7), which I will repeat here as (10).

10. [S [NP [S ku salam-NM kwunin-NM toy-ki ]S ]NP [VP swip-ta ]VP]S  
           that man           soldier           become-NOM           likely-DCL  
       ‘It is likely that he will become a soldier.’

Once again this string will meet the structural description and undergo the rule that assigns the NM to the nominalized string of sentence (9) that occurs as the subject of sentence (10). Now we come to the outermost S in sentence (8), and its subject will be assigned the NM in the manner indicated above.

Now that the regular cases of NM assignment have been taken care of by rule (III), I will proceed to present a systematic account of an apparently irregular case. As I have shown in Seok Choong Song (1967), the negation of a Korean sentence is a very regular process despite many apparent exceptions. (See part 2 of this book.) We get a negative sentence by placing a negative particle directly before the verb of a corresponding affirmative sentence. Conversely, if we drop the negative particle from a negative sentence, we get the corresponding affirmative sentence. However, this is not the case with the equational sentence in Korean. If we remove the negative particle from the negative equational sentences (5) and (6), we get the ungrammatical strings (11) and (12).

11. \* i kes-i        nay kes-i        ta<sup>5</sup>  
this thing-NM    my thing-NM DCL  
'This is mine.'

12. \* ku kyoswu-ka        hakca-ka        ta  
that professor-NM    scholar-NM DCL  
'That professor is a scholar.'

Now compare these strings with the grammatical affirmative counterparts of negative sentences (5) and (6), given below as (13) and (14).

13. i        kes-i        nay kes        i-ta  
this thing-NM    my thing be-DCL  
'This is mine.'

14. ku        kyoswu-ka        hakca        ta  
that professor-NM    scholar DCL  
'That professor is a scholar.'

These affirmative sentences are different from the corresponding negative sentences in that their predicate nominals are not marked by the NM. This fact misled Martin to postulate two subjects in a negative (but not in an affirmative) equational sentence. But is there any way we can account for the mysterious disappearance of the NM in an affirmative equational sentence without resorting to an ad hoc feature like [- rule 213] or some similar diacritic feature?

Let us take a somewhat closer look at sentences (13) and (14). While sentence (13) contains a copula, this is missing in sentence (14). But this is evidently due to the fact that in sentence (14) the predicate nominal directly preceding the copula ends in a vowel segment. In other words, the copula *i* is elided when following a vowel, but remains unaffected after a non-vowel segment. The rule to take care of the vowel elision that takes place when the copula follows another vowel can be stated as follows:

IV.  $i \longrightarrow \emptyset / V\_\_\_\_ \text{ (opt)}$   
[ + cpl]

It is necessary to mention that the formative *i* is the copula, not just any high non-back vowel. This rule also accounts for the deletion of the copula after the negative particle *ani*, which ends in a vowel in sentences (5) and (6).

Suppose the deep structure for sentences (13) and (14) before the application of the rules for NM assignment and copula deletion looks something like

15. [S [NP *i* kes ]NP [VP [NP *nay* kes ]NP [V *i-ta* ]<sub>link</sub> ]VP ]S

16. [S [NP *ku* *kyoswu* ]NP [VP [NP *hakca* ]NP [V *i-ta* ]<sub>link</sub> ]VP ]S

There are two NPs in each of the sentences above, the sentence subject and the predicate nominal (or the subjective complement). By rule (III) both of these NPs will be assigned the NMs, and a readjustment rule of some sort will convert them to the appropriate phonetic forms, *i* after a non-vowel segment and *ka* after a vowel segment. At this stage of derivation, sentences (15) and (16) will look like

17. \* *i* *kes-i* *nay* *kes-i* *i-ta*

18. \* *ku* *kyoswu-ka* *hakca-ka* *i-ta*

If rule (IV) applies at this stage, the copula will be deleted after a vowel and we get ungrammatical strings (11) and (12).

Strings (11) and (12) are ungrammatical because they retain NMs after the predicate nominal. String (17), which is in an intermediate stage in the derivation, clearly points to the possibility of another vowel elision. In this string the NM *i* and the copula *i* occur in successive order after the predicate nominal, and we might speculate that the NM directly preceding the copula must be deleted. I will tentatively formulate a rule for NM Deletion.

V.  $i \longrightarrow \emptyset / \_\_\_ i-ta$

The environment cannot be stated in simple phonological terms, because the NM after the subject NP is never elided when the following predicate nominal begins with the high non-back vowel *i*. If rule (V) applies to string (17) prior to rule (IV), we get a correct result and the grammatical sentence (13) will be obtained. This very natural solution, however, leaves the ungrammatical string (18) unaccounted for. Since the NM after the predicate nominal in this string is *ka*, rule (V) will not apply.

It has been pointed out that a readjustment rule of some sort is needed to convert the NM to appropriate phonetic shapes. Roughly, it can be stated as follows:

VI.  $NM \longrightarrow \begin{cases} ka/ V \\ i \end{cases} \text{---}$

Although this rule correctly predicts which shape will occur in a proper environment, the application of this rule results in the ungrammatical string (18). There are theoretically two alternative formulations of the readjustment rule stated above: it is possible to set up *ka* as a base form and then derive *i* by suppletion or vice versa.

VII. a.  $NM \longrightarrow ka$       b.  $ka \longrightarrow i/ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syll} \\ + \text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \text{---}$

VIII. a.  $NM \longrightarrow i$       b.  $i \longrightarrow ka/ \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ - \text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \text{---}$

Applying rule (VII) in the order (a) then (b), the result is the same as with rule (VI), and the ungrammatical string (18) remains unaffected. If we apply (VIIIa), however, the following string (19) results before the application of (VIIIb):

19. \* *ku kyoswu-i hakca-i i-ta*

Now this string meets the structural description of rule (V) and must undergo it. Then, rule (VIIIb) will convert *i* after the subject NP ending in a vowel segment to *ka*. Rule (IV) also applies and deletes the copula after the predicate nominal ending in a vowel segment. In sum, if we adopt rule (VIII) and order the rules in the following manner, we get the grammatical sentence (14) from the underlying structure (16).

- III. NM Assignment
- VIIIa. Readjustment Rule
- V. NM Deletion
- VIIIb. Readjustment Rule
- IV. Cpl Deletion

The derivation for sentences (13) and (14) is shown below.

13. <i>i kes nay kes i-ta</i>	
<i>i kes-NM nay kes-NM i-ta</i>	Rule (III)
<i>i kes-i nay kes-i i-ta</i>	Rule (VIIIa)
<i>i kes-i nay kes i-ta</i>	Rule (V)

- |                            |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| 14. ku kyoswu hakca i-ta   |              |
| ku kyoswu-NM hakca-NM i-ta | Rule (III)   |
| ku kyoswu-i hakca-i i-ta   | Rule (VIIIa) |
| ku kyoswu-i hakca i-ta     | Rule (V)     |
| ku kyoswu-ka hakca i-ta    | Rule (VIIIb) |
| ku kyoswu-ka hakca ta      | Rule (IV)    |

We noted earlier that in negative equational sentences such as (5) and (6), unlike the corresponding affirmatives, the NMs are not deleted. This, however, is a natural consequence of the negative particle placed between the NM and the copula which thus blocks the application of rule (V). All that is needed to bring about this effect is to order the Neg Placement Rule prior to rule (VIIIa), but this ordering is precisely what the grammar dictates. The Neg Placement Rule is a syntactic rule and must precede readjustment rules.<sup>6</sup> Whether the NM Assignment Rule precedes or follows Neg placement is of no consequence here, and I will put the Neg Placement Rule right after rule (III) for no good reason. After adding two more rules, I will show the derivation for negative equational sentences (5) and (6) below.

IX. # X, NEG, Y, V, Z #  $\implies$  1, 3, 2 + 4, 5  
       1    2     3    4    5

X. NEG  $\longrightarrow$  ani (Readjustment Rule)

- |                                |              |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 5. NEG i kes nay kes i-ta      |              |
| NEG i kes-NM nay kes-NM i-ta   | Rule (III)   |
| i kes-NM nay kes-NM NEG i-ta   | Rule (IX)    |
| i kes-i nay kes-i NEG i-ta     | Rule (VIIIa) |
| i kes-i nay kes-i ani i-ta     | Rule (X)     |
| i kes-i nay kes-i ani ta       | Rule (IV)    |
|                                |              |
| 6. NEG ku kyoswu hakca i-ta    |              |
| NEG ku kyoswu-NM hakca-NM i-ta | Rule (III)   |
| ku kyoswu-NM hakca-NM NEG i-ta | Rule (IX)    |
| ku kyoswu-i hakca-i NEG i-ta   | Rule (VIIIa) |
| ku kyoswu-i hakca-i ani i-ta   | Rule (X)     |
| ku kyoswu-ka hakca-ka ani i-ta | Rule (VIIIb) |
| ku kyoswu-ka hakca-ka ani ta   | Rule (IV)    |

When we incorporate rules (IX) and (X) into the grammar, the ordering will be as follows:

- III. NM Assignment
- IX. Neg Placement
- VIIIa. Readjustment Rule
- X. Readjustment Rule
- V. NM Deletion
- VIIIb. (Readjustment Rule)/NM Suppletion
- IV. Cpl Deletion

The first two rules are syntactic rules and they must be in the cycle for reasons I have mentioned earlier. The next two rules are readjustment rules that replace grammatical formatives by their appropriate phonological representations.

There appears to be one undesirable effect that results from imposing an ordering on these rules in the manner indicated above. Rule (V), which is a phonological rule, has to interrupt two parts of the readjustment rule (VIII). This, however, is an entirely spurious problem. After the readjustment rule (VI) is reformulated as (VIIIa) and (VIIIb), the second part is no longer a readjustment rule but a regular morphophonemic or morphological rule. I will label the second part of rule (VIIIb) as the NM Suppletion Rule.

By assuming that the base form of the NM is *i* and by ordering rules, it has been possible to account for the phenomenon of the disappearing NM in an affirmative equational sentence. As I have shown, the correct derivation for sentences (5) and (6) crucially depends on my assumption that the readjustment rule that replaces the grammatical formative NM must be stated in the form of rule (VIIIa) and not as rule (VI). The question is whether we can find an independent motivation to justify my assumption.

First, we find support for the assumption in the alternation of pronominal forms. The first and second person pronouns have alternating shapes.

*The Disappearing Nominative Marker*

	<i>Before NM</i>	<i>Before Other Particles</i>
1st Person (Plain)	nay-ka (NM) [næ]	na- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lul (Accusative)} \\ \text{eykey (Dative)} \\ \text{nun (Topic)} \end{array} \right.$
1st Person (Humble)	cey-ka [ce]	ce- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lul} \\ \text{eykey} \\ \text{nun} \end{array} \right.$ [cə]
2nd Person	ney-ka [ne]	ne- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lul} \\ \text{eykey} \\ \text{nun} \end{array} \right.$ [nə]

If we do not have rules (VIIIa–b), the variation we find in pronominal forms is accidental, just as the alternation between *I* and *we* in English is fortuitous. But when we assume that Korean has these rules in this order, we can systematically account for the variation in a most natural way. All that is needed is a rule that umlauts non-high back vowels.<sup>7</sup>

$$\text{XI. } V \longrightarrow \begin{array}{l} [-\text{back}] / \text{---} \\ [+ \text{Pron}] \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ high} \\ - \text{ back} \\ V \end{array} \right]$$

By rule (XI) *na* will become *nay* [næ], and *ce* [cə] and *ne* [nə], *cey* [ce] and *ney* [ne] respectively before the NM *i*. Once again this rule must precede the NM Suppletion Rule (VIIIb).

It should be noted that a similar umlaut phenomenon may also be observed in dialectal variations.<sup>8</sup>

<i>Dialect A</i>	<i>Dialect B</i>	<i>gloss</i>
kay [kæ]	kai [kai]	‘dog’
key [ke]	kei [kəi]	‘crab’
yosay [yosæ]	yosai [yosai]	‘nowadays’

In Dialect A, the following forms are in free variation:

say [sæ]	sai [sai]	‘interval’
ay [æ]	ai [ai]	‘child’

Although the alternations involved here are essentially the same, the vowel *i* loses its syllabicity and becomes incorporated into the preceding vowel. The rule must be stated as a transformational

rule that can handle contraction in a natural way.<sup>9</sup>

Rules (VIIIa) and (VIIIb), in that order, also reflect the historical development of the language. It is a fairly well-established fact that *i* was the only form used as the NM in the language before the fifteenth century. According to Ki-Moon Lee (1972b), the first appearance of the shape *ka* in a written record dates back to 1572, and it would be safe to infer that this form must have been in use in speech long before that time. The ordering I have imposed on rule (VIIIa) and (VIIIb) is dictated by purely synchronic considerations. It is of interest that a rule ordering shown to be necessary on synchronic grounds should coincide with the diachronic development of the language. This fact alone cannot justify the ordering of the rules in question, but it reinforces my argument in favor of that ordering.

As an interesting aside—important enough to deserve our attention—I must mention here that the NM Deletion Rule (V) crucially depends on the existence of the copula as well as on rule ordering. Some scholars have disputed the existence of the copula on questionable grounds, but the evidence is overwhelmingly against them. (See chapter 18 for the question of the Korean copula.) If there is no copula in Korean, we have no systematic way to account for the disappearance of the NM in an affirmative equational sentence. Either we have to postulate an ad hoc feature to explain the phenomenon or completely give up the hypothesis of regularity on a deeper level and simply state that Korean affirmative equational sentences are different from their negative counterparts in such and such a way.

I have shown, however, that it is not necessary to take either of the courses suggested above if we accept a few general assumptions about linguistic structure. An apparent discrepancy between two sentences in question is not an accidental asymmetry but rather a result of the application of very general and natural phonological rules to motivated deep structures. More important, my account depends on these assumptions, for without them it would have been impossible to explain the NM deletion in a natural manner. If we believe that there are abstract but regular deep structures that can be related by grammatical and phonological rules to surface representations, then it is often possible to account for apparent irregularities and exceptions on the surface. It is also imperative for linguists to search for underlying regularity in an effort to gain deeper insight into the structure of language in general.

## 2. A Ubiquitous Plural Marker

It has often been claimed—not only by unsophisticated laymen but also by specialists in the language—that number distinction is optional in the Korean language. If it is optional, why mark plurality at all? How is the marked plural different from the unmarked one? I will pursue this intriguing question in chapter 17. In this chapter I will restrict myself to a discussion of a language-specific process related to plural marking that may be unique to Korean. I will tentatively call it Plural Marker Copying. A postulation of a rule for the process not only simplifies the description of grammar in general, but also provides plausible explanations for apparent syntactic and semantic irregularities that have puzzled students of Korean as well as many grammarians for a long time.

A cursory examination of written texts will quickly reveal that the use of the plural marker (I mean here the number of occurrences rather than the restrictions in environments) is fairly limited.<sup>1</sup> Although, in a sense, plural marking is a rare phenomenon in Korean, the plural marker seems to pop up freely in the least expected positions within a sentence. This remarkable freedom of unrestricted occurrence gives an impression of its ubiquity to foreigners.

If the function of the plural marker is to indicate more than one item referred to by a noun form, it is to be expected that plural marking is associated with nouns in general. The plural marker, in most cases, is directly added to a noun, but it can also be affixed after adverbs, complementizers, and even case markers. First consider the following sentences:

1. *ese-tul            tuleo-key*  
    *quickly-PL    come in-IMP*  
    ‘Come right in.’

2. mul-tul-ul manhi masi-tuni ocwum-ul ssa-ssa-ss-ta  
water-PL much drink-and wet the bed-PAST-DCL  
'[Kids] were drinking lots of water and now they have wet  
the beds.'
3. cha-na-tul masi-p-sita  
tea-DEMP-PL drink-HUM-PROP  
'Let's have tea or something.'
4. twulle anc-ase-tul yayki-lul ha-n-ta  
around sit-and-PL story tell-IND-DCL  
'[They] sit around and are talking.'
5. ku chayk-ul ilk-e-tul po-ass-n-i  
book read-COMB-PL try-PAST-IND-INT  
'Have you tried reading that book?'

In (1) the plural marker occurs after an adverb and in (2) after a mass noun. Its occurrence after an adverb not only is unusual but would be semantically absurd if its function were to pluralize the preceding adverb. Mass and abstract nouns normally do not pluralize, and (2) is a case of aberration. In (3) the plural marker follows the deemphasis marker, which is the reverse of the normal order. As the order of permissible sequences of suffixes and particles after a noun is fairly rigidly fixed, (3) is a puzzling violation of rules of morphology. In (4) the plural marker is attached to a conjunct between two conjuncts, and the same plural marker occurs between two verbs in a compound form in (5). None of these sentences has an overt subject NP on the surface.

The question of the ubiquitous appearance of the plural marker can be approached only through a careful investigation of the semantic relationship between the plural marker and the plural noun phrase from which it originates. Once the semantic relationship is established, it can be shown that the apparent irregularity is a result of a regular and uniform process of plural marker copying.

The versatile appearance of the plural marker seems to have escaped the notice of native grammarians except Hyon-Pai Choi, whose accurate observation I will examine later. G.J. Ramstedt (1939), for reasons which will be made clear shortly, treats the plural marker as a noun: ". . . but they [plural signs] can as well be considered independent words. The fact is that the Korean says *el-*

*lun tul onela* ‘come quickly’ when speaking to many or meaning to call all” (p. 35). Because *tul* clearly refers to addressees consisting of more than one person, Ramstedt’s insightful analysis leaves him no alternative but to treat it as a noun in the absence of an overt subject noun. Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969) also correctly observe its versatility and semantic relationship with elements other than the one to which it is attached. They leave the question of which particular element it is related to open: “The word *tul* is uniquely versatile; it may pop up just about anywhere in a Korean sentence and it need not always refer to the words near it” (p. 32). Hyon-Pai Choi (1961) provides the following examples and remarks in unequivocal terms that *tul* indicates the plurality of subject noun phrases:

- (i) etey-tul            ka-si-o  
    where-PL        go-HON-INT  
    ‘Where are you going?’
  
- (ii) ili-tul            o-si-o  
    this way-PL    come-HON-IMP  
    ‘Come this way please!’

Although *tul* is attached to words indicating place and direction, the real meaning expresses plurality of the subject. (p. 232)

The correctness of Choi’s observation can be confirmed by the incompatibility with a singular subject of his own example sentences as well as mine (1–5). In imperative and propositive sentences in which the ubiquitous plural marker frequently occurs, the subject noun phrase is usually deleted. I assume, therefore, that before the application of the subject noun phrase deletion rule, the plural marker is copied after other constituents outside the subject noun phrase. Subject noun phrases are also subject to optional deletion in statements and questions as well. Again, we can safely assume that the same operation has attached the plural marker originating from the subject noun phrase after various elements in the verb phrase.

The rule for Plural Marker Copying (PMC) can be formulated as follows:

- I. # NP, PL, (X), Y, Z #  $\implies$  1, 2, (3), 4+2, 5  
           1      2      3      4      5  
           where Y = PRT, COMP, CONJ, ADV, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Two other rules are closely related to the PMC. After the plural marker is copied, the original one is usually deleted, as is the subject NP itself. It is easy to conflate these two rules into one and order them so that when both the PMC and the deletion rule are in operation, the former precedes the latter.

- II. # W, { $\begin{matrix} \text{PL} \\ \text{NP-PL} \end{matrix}$ }, (X), Y+PL, Z #  $\implies$  1, 0, 3, 4, 5  
           1      2          3      4      5  
           where W may be null and Y as specified above.

The following examples illustrate all the sentences generated by applying these rules in order. I will provide the underlying structure for all four sentences first.

6. a. [ [ salam-tul ]<sub>NP</sub> [ manhi o-ass-kwun ]<sub>VP</sub> ]<sub>S</sub>  
           man-PL          a lot      come-PAST-APC  
           ‘A lot of people came, indeed.’  
   b. salam-tul-i manhi-tul o-ass-kwun  
   c. salam-i manhi-tul o-ass-kwun  
   d. manhi-tul o-ass-kwun  
   e. salam-tul-i manhi o-ass-kwun

Structure (6a) meets the condition for an application of the PMC. When it applies, the plural marker will be copied after the adverb. With an operation of the NM Assignment Rule (see chapter 1 for details), the appropriate shape of the NM, *i* in this case, will be affixed to the subject NP, and we get (6b). Before the application of the NM Assignment Rule, Rule (II) can apply to the output of the PMC rule to delete either the original PM or the entire NP. When the first part of the rule applies (of course, the Nominative Marker is added after Rule (II) has been applied), we get (6c). If, instead of the first part, the second part of the rule applies, the entire NP is deleted and we get (6d). When neither part of the rule applies, we get (6e) after NM assignment. It is clear that the NM Assignment Rule must come either at the end of cyclical rules or in the post-cycle, which, I think, is more likely. Given the underlying structure (6a), the PMC along with other rules of deletion and NM

assignment operating on this structure, in the order suggested above, will correctly generate the four sentences (6b–d). Most important of all, they allow us to account for the synonymy of all four sentences in a plausible and natural manner.

Once we realize that all the strange occurrences of *tul* in the examples that seem to violate grammatical constraints of various sorts are results of Plural Marker Copying, it is possible to account for the apparently confusing and irregular behavior of the plural marker in a systematic and uniform manner. I do not deny that the plural marker in Korean shows up everywhere in bewildering versatility, as many have observed. I have been trying to show that there is nothing irregular or unsystematic about this phenomenon and that it is entirely possible to capture and systematically present native speakers' knowledge as rules of grammar.

### 3. A Suspicious Analysis of the Suspect Morpheme

Homonymy is a common phenomenon in language, and many great writers have adroitly exploited it for various literary effects. It is a source of puns, and it can be great fun for those who can juggle words to have a large number of homophonous words at their finger tips—or on their tongue tips, to be more precise. Funny sentences containing homophonous words may not be as much fun for a linguist trying to present a simple and consistent description of these forms. Homonymy of lexical morphemes is less of a problem, for the context and other extrasentential features often contribute to disambiguate these elements, but the homonymy of grammatical forms such as case markers and verbal endings, lacking similar clues, can give a linguist fits. To further aggravate the situation, we do not have a clear-cut criterion to unequivocally distinguish a case of homonymy from one of polysemy. I will not, in this chapter, indulge in theoretical speculations on descriptive procedures for dealing with the problem, nor will I discuss the justification of principles involved in such methodological considerations. Instead of making an attempt to refine the descriptive methodology, I will simply employ a heuristic approach, utilizing currently available descriptive apparatus regardless of its theoretical persuasion. The aim of this chapter is to clarify a confusion in descriptions of one instance of homophonous items in Korean, thus sharpening our insight into the structure of the language.

Korean, like many other languages, abounds in homonyms. Some of them, one-syllable grammatical morphemes in particular, present truly knotty and frustrating problems to a linguist attempting to describe the underlying grammatical system of the enormously complex linguistic behavior of native speakers. I have chosen one item, *ci*, for an illustration and will show the difficulties involved in unraveling an apparent problem of homonymy. First, consider the following sentences:

1. a. manwula-ka musep *ci* anh *ci*?  
 wife-NM scary NEG  
 'You are not afraid of your wife, are you?'
- b. ku cangkwan-i manwula-lul museweha *ci* anh  
 that general-NM ACC be afraid of NEG  
 nun *ci* alapo *ci*.  
 IND find out  
 '[I] will find out if that general is not afraid of his wife.'
- c. manwula-lul museweha nun *ci*-ka elmana toy nun *ci*  
 how long become  
 malha *ci* anh kess *ci*.  
 say will  
 '[He] wouldn't say how long he has been afraid of his wife.'

The linguist is interested not in the scary substance of the above questions but in the multiple occurrences of *ci* in these sentences—two in sentence (a), three in sentence (b), and four in sentence (c). The question that is suggested is, are these occurrences of *ci* instances of one and the same morpheme, or are there more than one morpheme in Korean realized as *ci*? Before we can answer this question, we will have to determine the meaning of these forms and their grammatical functions. It is, however, not so simple in this particular case: these forms are grammatical elements and, unlike lexical morphemes, their meaning is abstract and elusive. The best a linguist can do in such a situation is to assign reasonably definite functional tags, such as tense marker, accusative case, negative particle, and so forth. A heuristic procedure for determining the function of a morpheme is to examine its distribution and cooccurrence possibilities. Now let us go back to sentence (1a) and call the first occurrence of *ci* as '*ci* 1' for discriminatory purposes. See the additional examples that contain *ci* 1 below.

2. a. Mary-ka ippu *ci* nun ani ha-ta  
 pretty TOP NEG is DCL  
 'It is not the case that Mary is pretty.'

- b. John-i Mary-lul salangha ci nun ani ha-n-ta  
love TOP do-IND-DCL  
'It is not the case that John loves Mary.'

Although many grammarians have noted that *ci* 1 typically occurs in negative sentences, as illustrated by examples (2a), (2b), and also (1a), the function of this form has remained a mystery. The view that *ci* 1 has an apparently defective distribution along with the traditional claim that Korean has two types of negative sentence corresponding to each affirmative sentence becomes untenable in light of the true identity of this form revealed in Seok Choong Song (1967). (For Korean negation, see part 2 of this book.) The unorthodox view that, as I hypothesized, the affirmative correspondents to examples (2a) and (2b) are (3a) and (3b) is still controversial in some quarters, but I will assume the correctness of this hypothesis until a better and more convincing alternative is put forward.<sup>1</sup>

3. a. Mary-ka ippu ki nun ha-ta  
pretty COMP TOP  
'It is the case that Mary is pretty.'

- b. John-i Mary-lul salangha ki nun han-n-ta  
love  
'It is the case that John loves Mary.'

When we compare (3a) with (2a), the striking structural parallelism becomes immediately clear, the sole difference being the presence of the negative particle *ani* in the negative sentence (2a), absent in the affirmative sentence (3a). There is one further small but nevertheless crucial difference between the affirmative and negative sentences, namely that *ki* occurs in the former instead of *ci* 1, whose occurrence is restricted to negative sentences. The reasonable conclusion would be to consider *ci* 1 as a variant of the complementizer *ki* in negative sentences of a specifiable type. Thus, it is evident that *ci* 1 is a complementizer used exclusively in negative contexts.

Now that I have identified *ci* 1 as a negative counterpart of the complementizer *ki*, I will proceed to discuss the second occurrence of *ci* in sentence (1a). Let us label this one *ci* 2 for purposes of identification. Examine some additional examples that contain *ci* 2:

4. a. Jack-un    enhak-ul            kongpuha  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ci \\ e \end{array} \right\}$  (yo).  
           TOP    linguistics-ACC    study  
           ‘Jack studies linguistics.’

b. Tom-i        nakceyha-ess     $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ci \\ e \end{array} \right\}$  (yo)?  
           NM        flunk-PAST  
           ‘Tom flunked [the course], didn’t he?’

*Ci*2 typically occurs in sentence-final position and functions as a verbal ending, like *e* in the same position. Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969) have labeled the sequence *ci yo* the Casual Polite Style.<sup>2</sup> One of the characteristics of *ci*2 is that it can be used to signal questions, proposals, and commands as well as statements when accompanied by appropriate intonation. This is also true of the sentence-final verb ending *e (yo)*. Another characteristic of both of these endings is that they never cooccur with Aspect Markers.<sup>3</sup>

5. \*Tom-i    tampay-lul    phi    nun     $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ci \\ e \end{array} \right\}$  (yo).  
           cigarette-ACC    smoke    IND

When the Indicative Aspect Marker *nun* occurs before the sentence final ending *e*, there is no question about its ungrammaticality. If, however, *ci*2 occurs in the same environment, some native speakers waver in their grammaticality judgment. This is because the first sentence in (5) can be perfectly grammatical as a question. It must be stressed, however, that the same sentence is unquestionably unacceptable as a statement. The fact that *ci* can occur after the Indicative Aspect Marker in a question sentence does not conflict with my earlier statement that it never occurs with the Aspect Marker. My claim is that the *ci* that occurs in a grammatical question sentence is not *ci*2 but an entirely different morpheme. I will directly proceed to substantiate this claim.

Compare the following pairs of sentences:

6. a. John-i manwula-lul twutulki ci?  
       NM wife-ACC beat  
       ‘John beats his wife, doesn’t he?’
- b. John-i manwula-lul twutulki-ess ci?  
       ‘John beat his wife, didn’t he?’
7. a. John-i manwula-lul twutulki-nun ci?  
       ‘Does John beat his wife?’
- b. John-i manwula-lul twutulki-ess-nun ci?  
       ‘Did John beat his wife?’

In sentences (6a–b) *ci*2, the sentence-final ending, is preceded by a tense marker. Although in (6a) there is no tense marker and *ci*2 directly follows the verb stem, the reader should not be misled. The present tense in Korean is unmarked on the surface. Whatever approach is taken to mark the tense, the present tense must be recognized on the semantic level. (It is immaterial to the present discussion whether you postulate a semantic representation of the PRESENT in capital letters or consider it as the feature [-Past] and segmentalize it as zero—that is, not segmentalize it at all.) In contrast, *ci* in sentences (7a–b), which I shall label *ci*3 to distinguish it from *ci*1 and *ci*2 above, is always preceded by the Aspect Marker.<sup>4</sup> But this distributional difference alone cannot be proof that *ci*3 is different from *ci*2. Could it not be that the Aspect Marker can optionally be inserted between the tense marker and the sentence-final verb ending? The answer to this question is negative for several reasons. First, sentences (6a–b) are clearly different in meaning from (7a–b), respectively.<sup>5</sup> The only formal difference between the sentences of (6) and (7) is the absence in the former of the Aspect Marker. It is difficult to imagine, however, that the semantic difference between them is due solely to the contribution of the Aspect Marker, for in no other context does the Aspect Marker make a remotely similar semantic contribution. Second, as I have already pointed out, *ci*2 can be used as an ending for questions, proposals, and commands as well as statements with appropriate intonation, but this is not the case with *ci*3. This form is exclusively used as a question marker like *ya* and *ka*. It is possible to replace *ci*3 in sentences (7a–b) with *ya* and *ka* and get grammatical sentences, as illustrated by (8), but not *ci*2 in sentences (6a–b).



if we can identify *ci* 3 in it. The first occurrence of *ci* is followed by a negative particle. The second occurrence of *ci* is preceded by the Aspect Marker *nun* and, furthermore, it is part of the embedded question. These two facts alone are a strong enough indication that this indeed must be *ci* 3. But we can provide further support for the claim by applying tests that will clearly prove its identity. Remember that *ci* 3 is always used as a question marker and never as a declarative, propositive, or imperative ending. When the embedded S ending in *nun ci* is used as an independent S, it is a question, never a statement, proposition, or command. Now as a Question Marker, *ci* can be replaced by other Q markers such as *ya* and *ka*, and the original sentence will remain grammatical.

13. ku cangkwn-i manwula-lul museweha ci anh nun  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ci} \\ \text{ya} \\ \text{ka} \end{array} \right\} ?$

It has already been pointed out that *ci* 3 occurs in an alternate question. As the normal ordering of the sequence in an alternate question is an affirmative followed by a negative question, out of sentence (13) we get the following alternate question:

14. ku cangkwn-i manwula-lul museweha nun ci (yo) an  
museweha nun ci (yo)?

There is little doubt that the second occurrence of *ci* in sentence (1b) is *ci* 3. The third and final *ci*, of course, is *ci* 2, the sentence-final verbal ending used in a declarative sentence.

There are four occurrences of *ci*s in sentence (1c). The easiest one to recognize is again the sentence-final ending *ci* 2 at the end of the sentence. The third *ci*, followed by the negative particle, is the negative counterpart of the complementizer, namely, *ci* 1. The second *ci*, at the end of an embedded S, is *ci* 3, which I have just discussed. The first occurrence of *ci* in sentence (1c) is preceded by the Indicative Aspect Marker *nun* and is at the end of an embedded S. To this extent, it resembles *ci* 3, but the resemblance ends here. Compare the following examples:



could consider a kind of question complementizer, but *ci* in (16a) and (18b) must be a sort of noun modified by the relative clause.

Semantically the complement subject in (16a) must be followed by a predicate expressing time span. No such constraint is applicable to matrix verbs of the sentences of (15). Clearly, *ci* in (16a), which I will designate as *ci*4, must be distinguished from the rest. The most crucial difference between *ci*3 and *ci*4 is that the former can occur sentence finally as an interrogative ending, whereas the latter cannot occur in that position at all. *Ci*4 undoubtedly is a nominalizer of a sort, of which there are many in Korean with very specific meanings and functions. The nominalizer *ci*4 means 'TIME since something happened or has been happening,' the modifier endings *n* and *nun* respectively indicating that the event is completed or continuous to the present. Although Samuel E. Martin considers *ci*3 and *ci*4 a single morpheme, several of the factors I have enumerated seriously undermine such a conclusion. He also considers *ci*1 and *ci*2 together as a single element and labels the sequence 'verb stem plus *ci*' as the 'suspective form' of a verb. But *ci*1, as I have shown earlier, is a negative counterpart of the complementizer *ki* and has little to do with the sentence-final ending *ci*2. If there are grounds for combining the two into one morpheme, I have not yet found them. Martin provides no justification for his analysis, but my suspicion is that he suspects that negation is somehow related to the 'suspective form of a verb,' which seems to reflect a suspicious mentality on the part of a speaker. In the final analysis, however, it must be concluded that *ci*1 is morphemically distinct from *ci*2. Any description of Korean that fails to distinguish four distinct morphemes homophonously realized as *ci* will suffer from the inadequacy of underanalysis.<sup>6</sup>

## 4. Semantics of Particles: *Kwa*, *Lul*, and *Ey*

A limited number of transitive verbs in Korean can occur with their object NPs marked by both *lul*, the accusative marker, and *kwa*, the commitative marker. The verb *manna* ‘meet’ belongs to this class, as the following pair of examples shows:

1. a. John-i Mary-lul manna-ss-ta  
          NM ACC meet-PAST-DCL  
          ‘John met Mary.’  
      b. John-i Mary-wa manna-ss-ta  
                          with  
          ‘John met [with] Mary.’

Despite the different markers that occur after the object NPs, sentences (1a) and (1b) are nearly synonymous, and most native speakers would find it difficult to come up with a reasonably coherent explanation for the subtle semantic distinction that seems to exist between them.

Another class of verbs, also fairly limited in number, takes both *ey*, the dative marker, and *kwa*, the commitative marker, to mark their object NPs. For instance,

2. a. John-i Mary-eykey putichi-ess-ta<sup>1</sup>  
                          to bump-PAST  
          ‘John bumped against Mary.’  
      b. John-i Mary-wa putichi-ess-ta  
                          with  
          ‘John collided with Mary.’

Although many native speakers sense a nuance in meaning between these two sentences, they feel they are unable to explain in explicit terms what that difference is, not to mention why it occurs.

In this chapter, I will make an attempt to elucidate the subtle semantic distinctions between the paired sentences given above. In so doing, I hope to be able to characterize general semantic properties of the particles involved as well. My strategy will be to examine first a third class of verbs, whose object NPs are marked solely by *kwa*, permitting neither *lul* nor *ey*. Once a common semantic feature of the verbs of this last mentioned class is clearly delineated and their grammatical relationship with the *kwa*-marked object NPs is explicitly defined, it will be possible to compare and contrast the *kwa*-marked object NPs with those marked by *lul* and *ey*.

The most common among the verbs whose object NP is always marked by *kwa* include *ssawu* 'fight', *kyelhonha* 'marry', *heyeci* 'part', and *tongseha* 'cohabit'. Consider the following:

3. a. John-i Mary-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wa} \\ *eykey \\ *lul \end{array} \right\}$  ssawu-ess-ta  
 'John fought with Mary.'

- b. John-i Mary-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wa} \\ *eykey \\ *lul \end{array} \right\}$  kyelhonhay-ss-ta  
 'John married Mary.'

One of the characteristic traits of this class of verbs is that the predicate involves two arguments and that, furthermore, they can be switched around without altering the truth value of the proposition when the referents of the two arguments are animate.<sup>2</sup> That is, if (3a) is true, then (4) also is true.

4. Mary-ka John-kwa ssawu-ess-ta  
 'Mary fought with John.'

Corresponding to (3a) and (4), we also have the following pair whose propositions are also true:<sup>3</sup>

5. a. John-kwa Mary-ka ssawu-ess-ta  
 'John and Mary fought.'
- b. Mary-wa John-i ssawu-ess-ta  
 'Mary and John fought.'

This seems to indicate that the *kwa*-marked NPs reciprocate with the subject NPs in the action described by the verbs. Let us tenta-

tively assume that this ‘reciprocity’ is the characteristic feature of the object NPs marked by *kwa* and proceed to examine whether this assumption can be validated in other cases.

The sentences in (1) are identical except for the markers that occur after the object NP. Note that whereas (1a) will be ungrammatical with the adverbial expression *selo* ‘mutually’, (1b) is fully grammatical with the same adverb, as (6a) and (6b) illustrate below.

6. a. \*John-i Mary-lul selo manna-ss-ta  
b. John-i Mary-wa selo manna-ss-ta  
‘John and Mary met each other.’

This test clearly confirms our earlier assumption that the *kwa*-marked object NP reciprocates with the subject NP in the action described by the verb. The lack of reciprocity in the *lul*-marked object NP results in an ungrammatical string when a reciprocal adverb occurs in the same sentence.

Many interesting semantic facts about the particle *kwa* can be accounted for by postulating this feature of ‘reciprocity’. In plain terms, the ‘reciprocity’ simply means that there is an interaction between the subject and object NPs. When the *kwa*-marked NP occurs with the verb *manna*, native speakers conjure up a scene in which both parties, that is, the referents of the subject and object NPs, come together physically or metaphorically at a place of ‘rendezvous’. Thus, sentence (1b) implies that John and Mary had a date and the meeting took place, or John and Mary had a meeting according to a prearranged plan. On the other hand, there is no such implication in sentence (1a), and it simply describes the situation in which John, on his own initiative, saw Mary or John unexpectedly came across Mary. This is why the adverb *wuyenhi* ‘accidentally’ is either unacceptable or very odd in sentence (1b), whereas it is not only compatible but also very natural in (1a), as illustrated by (7a) and (7b) below.

7. a. John-i wuyenhi Mary-lul manna-ss-ta  
          accidentally  
      ‘John met Mary accidentally.’

- b. ?John-i wuyenhi Mary-wa manna-ss-ta

A few more examples that strongly support my hypothesis are provided below.

8. a. kil-ul ka-ta phokphung-ul manna-ss-ta  
way go-TRAN storm  
'[I] encountered a storm on the way.'

b. \*kil-ul ka-ta phokphung-kwa manna-ss-ta

Sentence (8b) is acceptable only in an allegory or a fairy tale. Because it is inconceivable to have a rendezvous with a storm, the ungrammaticality of (8b) can be readily accounted for.

9. a. John-un tayhak-eyse anay-lul manna-ss-ta  
TOP campus-on wife  
'John met his wife on campus.'

b. John-un tayhak-eyse anay-wa manna-ss-ta  
'John had a rendezvous with his wife on campus.'

Sentence (9a) is as ambiguous as its English translation. In addition to the interpretation in (9b) above, it can also mean that John as a bachelor met a girl whom he married later.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation is not possible in the case of (9b), and it remains unambiguous. The difference may be explained by the fact that the referent of a *lul*-marked NP can be a stranger you happen to run into, whereas the *kwa*-marked NP implies that one party either knows the other party or has some knowledge about him/her. This accounts for the nonambiguity of (9b).

The verb *kkyean* 'embrace' also belongs to the first class of verbs, which can cooccur with both *kwa*- and *lul*-marked object NPs, as the following examples show:

10. a. silhta-nun Mary-lul ekcilo kkyean-ass-ta  
unwilling by force embrace  
'[Someone] embraced unwilling Mary by force.'

b. \*silhta-nun Mary-wa ekcilo kkyean-ass-ta

You can embrace someone who is unwilling by force, but it makes little sense to claim, for instance, that an enthusiastic suitor and his unwilling partner embraced each other by force. Hence the ungrammaticality of (10b).<sup>5</sup> An even more dramatic case can be dreamed up in which the *kwa*-marked object NP is unacceptable when its referent is inanimate.

11. a. cwucengkkwun-i cencwu-lul kkyean-ko salang-ul  
 drunkard utility pole embrace-and love  
 soksaki-ess-ta  
 whisper-PAST  
 'The drunkard embraced the utility pole and whispered  
 his love.'
- b. \*cwucengkkwun-i cencwu-wa kkyean-ko salang-ul  
 soksaki-ess-ta

The ungrammaticality of (11b) is beyond dispute, except in a world of fantasy where utility poles can walk and talk and even whisper words of love.

It is easy to see why only *lul* and not *kwa* is permissible after the object NPs in the following examples:

12. a. pi-ka manhi o-ase swuhay-lul manna-ss-ta  
 rain a lot come-and flood  
 'It rained a lot and we had a flood.'
- b. \*pi-ka manhi o-ase swuhay-wa manna-ss-ta
13. a. isaha-ca maca hwacay-lul manna-ss-ta  
 move soon no fire  
 'No sooner had they moved in than they had a fire.'
- b. \*isaha-ca maca hwacay-wa manna-ss-ta

Natural disasters and calamities 'visit' English-speaking people, but Korean speakers 'encounter' them, and, as object NPs, they are invariably marked by *lul*, never by *kwa*. The reason is obvious: you do not make a prearrangement with natural disasters and calamities, for it is bad enough to run into them.

Before we turn to the sentences in (2), where *kwa* alternates with *ey* in marking the object NPs, let us consider the following examples:

14. a. John-i pyek-ey putichi-ess-ta  
 'John bumped against a wall.'
- b. \*John-i pyek-kwa putichi-ess-ta

The *kwa*-marked object NP is ungrammatical in (14b), but not in the examples in (2). But (2b) and (14b) are clearly quite distinct. In (2b) both the subject and object NPs are animate, but in the ungrammatical (14b) the object NP marked by *kwa* is inanimate. The wall is immovable, and it is certainly difficult to conceive of a situation in which John and the wall are colliding with each other.

A more interesting case can be cited to bolster the earlier hypothesis:

15. John-uy meli-ka Mary-uy meli-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ey\} \\ \{wa\} \end{array} \right\}$  putichi-ess-ta  
of head-NM collide  
‘John’s head  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bumped against} \\ \text{collided with} \end{array} \right\}$  Mary’s head.’

Although both the subject and object NPs in (15) are inanimate, as long as they are mobile, as in the case of heads and hands, these sentences are readily acceptable.<sup>6</sup> Sentence (14b) is ungrammatical not only because the object NP is inanimate but also because it is immobile. In (15), just as in (2b), the *ey*-marked object indicates that it, although movable, is standing still, whereas the *kwa*-marked object implies that it is in motion. Thus, the earlier hypothesis about reciprocity is further supported.

Returning to the sentences in (2), we now have no difficulty in stating in explicit terms where the subtle semantic distinction lies between the deceptively similar sentences (2a) and (2b). In light of the foregoing analysis, we would expect an interaction between the subject and object NPs when the latter is marked by *kwa*. In other words, in (2b) both John and Mary were in motion when they collided with each other. In (2a) only John was moving, and he collided against Mary, who was standing still.<sup>7</sup>

I have defined the notion of ‘reciprocity’ dynamically as an interaction between the subject and object NPs. Although this rather primitive definition holds in general, we run into a ticklish problem when the predicate involves description or stative verbs, which indicate a ‘state’, not an ‘action’, or the kind of verbs that signify ‘separation’ rather than an interaction. Consider the following:

16. a. ttal-i emeni-wa talm-ass-ta  
daughter mother-with  
‘The daughter resembles her mother.’

- b. ttal-i emeni-lul talm-ass-ta  
 ‘The daughter takes after her mother.’
- c. \*emeni-ka ttal-ul talm-ass-ta  
 ‘The mother takes after her daughter.’
- d. emeni-ka ttal-ul talm-a-ka-n-ta  
 COMB-go-IND  
 ‘The mother is {becoming  
 getting to be} like her daughter.’

Because *talm* ‘resemble’ is a stative verb, the dynamic definition of interaction is inappropriate, and a static notion like interrelation or mutual relationship is in order. With such modification, there is no longer any problem in imposing a proper interpretation on (16a), which contains a stative verb. The *kwa*-marked NP, whose semantic feature we have characterized as ‘reciprocity’, implies that the daughter and mother resemble each other. With the accusative marker in place of *kwa* as in (16b), the relationship is unilateral and implies that the daughter takes after her mother. Because it would be semantically incongruous to say that the mother takes after her daughter, (16c) is unacceptable or sounds odd. This sentence, however, would be perfectly grammatical if we interpreted it to mean, somewhat sarcastically, that the mother was imitating her daughter’s silly behavior. For this reason, sentence (16d), which contains an action/processive verb, *talmaka* ‘come to be like’, is not only grammatical but also very natural with the accusative marker, indicating a process of a unilateral imitation.

Once we modify the notion of ‘reciprocity’ to encompass interrelation as well as interaction, we have no serious problem in interpreting *kwa*-marked NPs in a predicate involving description or stative verbs. There are a few such verbs that occur with *kwa*-marked NPs but whose semantic property seems to indicate separation and difference rather than interaction and agreement. Let us examine some of them here.

17. a. John-i Mary- { wa } hey(e)ci-ess-ta  
 { \*lul } separate  
 ‘John parted from Mary.’



let us inquire further about the difference between *lul*- and *ey*-marked NPs. If it is possible to find cases in which the same verb can occur with both *lul*- and *ey*-marked NP objects, our task of discriminating them semantically will be considerably facilitated.

There is only a handful of verbs known to take both *lul*- and *ey*-marked NPs as objects. Some of these are *ttalu* 'follow', *pan-tayhā* 'oppose', *pokconggha* 'obey', *keyekha* 'disobey', *chansengha* 'assent, consent', and *chantongha* 'approve'. Let us turn to some examples.

18. cenlyey-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ey} \\ \text{lul} \end{array} \right\}$  ttal-a kyelcenghay-ss-ta  
 precedent follow-and decide-PAST  
 '[We] decided according to precedent.'  
 '[We] decided, following precedent.'

A fairly clear-cut semantic difference emerges when the object NP takes different markers. With the dative marker *ey*, sentence (18) implies that the decision was reached in accordance with precedent. With the accusative marker, the same sentence stresses that we followed obstinately or stuck with precedent in making the decision. The construction *ey ttala* 'according to' in (18) can be treated as a special case, constituting a compound particle with an idiomatic sense.<sup>10</sup> Consider some more examples in which the verb occurs in a non-idiomatic context.

19. a. sensayng-nim-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *ey \\ ul \end{array} \right\}$  ttalu-n-ta<sup>11</sup>  
 teacher  
 '[He] follows/is fond of his teacher.'
- b. yekpyeng-i cencayng-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ey \\ *ul \end{array} \right\}$  ttal-ass-ta<sup>12</sup>  
 plague war  
 'The plague followed the war.'
- c. sensayng-nim-uy kyohwun-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ey \\ ul \end{array} \right\}$  ttalu-n-ta  
 teaching  
 '[He] followed the teaching of his master.'

The sentences in (19) are truly interesting in that the same verb occurs with both dative- and accusative-marked NPs in some contexts

but with only one of them in other contexts. What is the difference between (19c) and the other two sentences that allows two differently marked NPs in the former but blocks a similar possibility in the latter? Note that the choice is not entirely arbitrary but is closely related to the feature 'animate' of the subject and object NPs. Although sentences (19a) and (19c) contain no overt subject, the understood subject must be an agent who is following, as dictated by the meaning of the predicate *ttalu* 'follow'. The subject NP *yekpyeng* 'plague' in (19b) is an inanimate noun. Sentences (19a) and (19c) both have animate subjects, but only (19a) also has an animate noun in the object position. The object NP in (19c) is an abstract noun meaning 'lesson, teaching, etc.', therefore, an inanimate noun. In terms of the feature 'animate' of the two NPs involved, the choice of case markers or particles for the object NPs can be expressed in the following schema:

- I. a. [+animate] [+animate]  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ *ey \\ \{ lul \} \end{array} \right\}$  }  
 b. [-animate] [-animate]  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ ey \\ \{ *lul \} \end{array} \right\}$  } *ttalu*  
 c. [+animate] [-animate]  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ ey \\ \{ lul \} \end{array} \right\}$  }

A closer observation of the above schema reveals that the accusative marker is chosen whenever the subject NP has the feature [+animate], regardless of the feature composition of the object NP. In a similar manner, the dative marker is assigned after the object NP whenever it has the feature [-animate], regardless of the feature composition of the subject NP. Now it is possible to formulate the following rule to assign appropriate markers for the object NP of the verb under discussion.

- II. K  $\longrightarrow$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ACC/} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ +\text{animate} \end{array} \right] \text{NP} \text{ — } \\ \text{DAT/} \text{NP} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ -\text{animate} \end{array} \right] \text{ — } \end{array} \right\} \text{ttalu}$

where K stands for case markers

The seemingly puzzling complexity of the three-way contrast in case marker assignments that schema (I) exhibits can be accounted for systematically and in a straightforward manner. When the subject NP has the feature [+animate] as in (Ia), the accusative marker will

be assigned after the object NP. When the object NP has the feature [-animate] as in (Ib), the dative marker will be assigned after the object NP. When both of these conditions are met, predictably, either of the two markers can be freely assigned as (Ic) indicates.<sup>13</sup>

When both the subject and object NPs are animate, the sense of the verb seems invariably to become animate also. In addition to the expected sense of 'following', the verb *ttalu* in (19a) has another interpretation, a lively sense to which the English translation hardly does justice. Native speakers hearing the utterance (19a) are likely to conjure up a vivid picture of the referent of the subject, let us say, a little child ostensibly showing her/his fondness for a teacher by holding the teacher's hand or clinging to her/his leg. When the verb *ttalu* is used in this sense, it readily translates into English expressions like 'is fond of, is attached/attracted to'. There is an important element missing in this sort of tag-translation that has often escaped our attention. The English translation describes a 'state', whereas the original Korean verb indicates not only a state of mind but also an ostensible action. It is not surprising, then, that only the accusative marker is allowed for the object NP in (19a). The inappropriateness of the dative marker in this context will become clear as we proceed to discuss this marker in the following paragraphs.

If, however, both the subject and object NPs are inanimate, the relationship is reversed and only the dative marker is permitted. The reason for this reversal seems quite obvious. In (19b), the verb indicates a chronological order in a sequence of events, the plague following the war. There is no action of 'following' involved here in the sense of a hound chasing a fox or a rabbit in hunting. Only a change of scene is implied, as summer follows spring or the night the day, one trailing in the wake of the other. When the object NP is inanimate, it is difficult to visualize a dynamic action of 'following' unless it is a moving object. Hence, a dative marker after the inanimate object NP. I believe that a static interpretation of 'following' is entirely compatible with the dative, which marks both locative and goal in Korean. The verb *ttalu* 'follow' occurs with the dative-marked object NP to describe a situation in which the referent of the subject NP approaches the object NP indicating a goal.

I have already touched on the free choice of dative and accusative markers after the object NP when it is inanimate and the subject NP is animate, as in (19c). Let us now turn to the more in-

interesting question of where the subtle semantic distinction lies when a different marker is chosen. It is to be expected that the two sentences in (19c), in which both the accusative and dative markers are allowed to occur with the same verb, are not entirely synonymous. With *ey*, the object NP with the feature [-animate] is seen as a standard or template and the action of the verb is performed in accordance with it. Thus, the ‘teaching of the master’ is a kind of model to be looked up to. With the accusative marker, on the other hand, the predicate stresses the fact that the ‘teaching of the master’ is perceived as something to practice or observe. A similar distinction is apparent when the sense of the verb is ‘opposing’ rather than ‘following’. Consider the following:

20. a. manhun simin-tul-i sicang-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *eykey \\ ul \end{array} \right\}$  pantayhay-ss-ta<sup>14</sup>  
 many citizen-PL mayor oppose-PAST  
 ‘Many citizens opposed the mayor.’
- b. notongca-tul-i siceng-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ey \\ ul \end{array} \right\}$  pantayhay-ss-ta  
 worker city-policy  
 ‘Workers  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{were opposed to} \\ \text{resisted} \end{array} \right\}$  policies of the city.’

In sentences (20a–b), we find the distribution of the markers after the object NPs to be identical to that of (19a) and (19c). More important, the choice of the markers is determined by the same factor, namely, the feature of animacy of the subject and object NPs. The object NP in (20a) is *sicang* ‘mayor’ with the [+animate] feature, while that of (20b) is *siceng* ‘city government/policy/politics’ with the [-animate] feature. As I have observed, there is a subtle difference in semantic interpretation between the two sentences in (20b). With the dative marker, the ‘city policies’ are viewed as obstacles standing in the way, and one may take a stance in opposition to them. If the accusative marker is assigned, the ‘city policies’ are perceived as evils to fight against, actively resisting them. When the object NP is animate as in (20a), the dative marker is inappropriate, and only the accusative marker is permitted. You just do not stand passively in opposition to a person, but actively engage in a fight, real or imaginary, to oppose him.

So far we have been looking only at the feature of the subject and object NPs that appears to be a determining factor in the

choice of markers after the object NP. The situation, however, is somewhat more complex. Idiosyncratic properties of the verb involved also play a role in the choice of the markers. Among the verbs listed earlier the only one that allows a subject NP with the feature [-animate] is *italu* 'follow'. All other verbs must occur with an animate subject NP. Verbs like *chansengha* 'consent, agree' and *chantongha* 'approve, concur' do not allow an animate object NP, and others that allow one assign only the dative, not the accusative marker, after them. Nonetheless, all these verbs allow an inanimate object NP with two different markers, as do the two verbs discussed above. Whenever both the dative and the accusative marker are allowed to occur after the object NP, the semantic distinction is clearly discernible along the lines I have suggested.

Before concluding this chapter, I will briefly recapitulate what has been said about the semantic distinction between the accusative- and dative-marked object NPs. When the dative marker is assigned, native speakers consider the object NP to be a standard or template toward or against which they take a stance by agreeing or disagreeing, or by obeying or resisting, depending on the inherent meaning of the verb involved. With the accusative-marked NP, they are no longer passive resisters or followers but vigorous activists either approving or opposing. If both the subject and object NPs have the feature of animacy, they envision a lively antagonist or a zealous disciple on the scene.

The semantic distinction between the two markers may be attributable to a cohesion or solidarity that exists between the verb and its object. It is interesting to note in this connection that a predicate nominal always occurs with the dative-marked NP. Some of the verbs in the previous list have cognate predicate nominals. To be more precise, the cognate verbs are derived from these predicate nominals by adding the verb-formative *ha*. Now consider the following contrasts:

21. a. na-nun sicang-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} *eykey \\ *ul \end{array} \right\}$  pantay i-ta  
 I-TOP mayor  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{DAT} \\ \text{ACC} \end{array} \right\}$  opposition is  
 'I am in opposition to the mayor.'

- b. na-nun siceng-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ey} \\ *ul \end{array} \right\}$  pantay i-ta  
 'I am in opposition to the policies of the city.'

22. a. na-nun sicang-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *eyeky \\ *ul \end{array} \right\}$  chanseng i-ta  
 consent  
 'I am in agreement with the mayor.'

- b. na-nun siceng-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ey} \\ *ul \end{array} \right\}$  chanseng i-ta  
 'I am in agreement with the policies of the city.'

These predicate nominals do not allow animate object NPs, as (21a) and (22a) illustrate. Furthermore, they never occur with an accusative-marked NP immediately preceding them. The only marker permitted after the preceding NP when the predicate nominal occurs is the dative marker. Throughout the examples from (19) to (22) a consistent pattern emerges with regard to the use of the dative marker. It is acceptable after an inanimate NP, regardless of the feature of the subject NP and types of predicates. There is also an interesting correlation between the dative-marked NP and the predicate. The predicates in (21) and (22) are predicate nominals and hence stative and lacking a sense of action. The cohesion between such predicate nominals and the preceding NP is weak. The relative strength of cohesion among various types of predicates and differently marked preceding NPs can be schematically represented as follows:

- III. CO  $\longrightarrow$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} 3/NP-ACC & \text{VERB} \\ 2/NP-DAT & \text{VERB} \\ 1/NP-DAT & \text{PRED NOM/ADJ} \end{array} \right.$   
 $3 > 2 > 1$   
 CO=Cohesion

Although it is premature to speculate without further study of a variety of other languages, it is not unlikely that most languages exhibit a similar cohesive relation between the predicate and differently marked preceding NPs. It should not be far off the mark to imagine that a universal tendency of the sort holds together elements in the verb phrase and contributes to a subtle but unmistakable semantic distinction between dative- and accusative-marked NPs.

## 5. An Abbreviation Phenomenon

In this chapter I will discuss a common syntactic phenomenon, which I propose to call an abbreviation rather than a deletion, and try to provide a straightforward description of the process involved. This phenomenon may have been noted by others, but, as far as I know, no attempt has ever been made to bring various apparently unrelated cases together under a single rubric, showing explicitly a uniform and systematic principle in operation. Once we grasp the true nature of this phenomenon, it is a relatively simple matter to characterize the mechanism involved and to make a significant generalization encompassing a wide variety of cases.

The real advantage of my proposal is that it can entirely dispense with abstract and abstruse semantic arguments to account for ambiguity resulting from an abbreviation. Because the homonymy of two different structures is due, in my analysis, to an abbreviation, before the application of an abbreviation rule there exist separate and distinct structures that relate directly to distinct semantic interpretations (or representations) and allow us to account automatically for the alleged ambiguity. No longer is it necessary to postulate, solely on semantic grounds, distinct abstract structures which are mapped later on to a homophonous string, often by transformational rules of a dubious nature. Now let us turn to some concrete examples.

Suk-Jin Chang (1973a), in his insightful and perceptive analysis of aspects in the Korean verb, notes the ambiguity of the following type of sentence:

1. Mary-ka mini-sukhethu-lul ip-ko iss-ta  
NM ACC wear-ing be-DCL  
'Mary is putting on a miniskirt.'  
'Mary is wearing a miniskirt.'

He points out that the distinction between ongoing action and state is made in English by 'put on' and 'wear', respectively, whereas in Korean, two different aspectual meanings are represented by identical lexical items and syntactic processes. Before questioning the

validity of Chang's assumption that identical lexical items and syntactic processes are involved in representing two different aspectual meanings, let me quote a similar intuition expressed by another linguist to show that the same assumption has been unquestioningly accepted by most linguists.

Byung-Soo Park (1972), for instance, gives a sentence of a practically identical structure, which I quote below.

2. (=23b) John-i ppalkan neykthai-lul may-ko iss-ta  
          NM red necktie tie-ing be  
          'John is putting on [or wears] a red necktie.'

According to Park, sentence (2) is ambiguous and has a "reading which does not seem to involve the usual progressive aspect interpretation" (p. 45). He speculates on the possible source of this different reading and proposes distinct underlying structures for the two interpretations. Since his suggestion is quite tentative and he is noncommittal about the correctness of his own suggested solution, I will simply point out some of the problems inherent in the kind of proposal he is making. If we are allowed to derive one reading of *may-ko* from a semantically similar but structurally more complex form like *may e twu ko*, there may be numerous, if not infinite, possible candidates to choose from. It is clear, then, that such a move is likely to complicate rather than resolve the question. Even if we come up with a unique candidate, we still face the formidable question of formulating a rule that optionally deletes lexical material freely. Although Park may not be suggesting an unconstrained deletion rule, it is not at all clear how the form he suggests can serve as a starting point in a search for a correct deep structure.

It is interesting to note that there is an important and fundamental difference between the two approaches proposed by Park and Chang in their works. Although Park's endeavors are misguided and problematic, his underlying assumption seems to be that there should be syntactic correlates for semantic differentials of an ambiguous string. Chang, however, seems to be satisfied with mapping two distinct semantic representations directly onto an identical surface structure without postulating distinct intervening syntactic structures that reflect semantic differences. In the latter approach detailed and fully specified semantic representations are proposed to account for the two different interpretations. I will not challenge the validity of Chang's approach nor the correctness of his semantic representation here. Rather, I will look at whether his description

accurately mirrors the grammar of Korean and characterizes the tacit and unconscious knowledge that native speakers of Korean have somehow internalized or cognized.

Whether a linguist can successfully challenge another linguist's description, when we all know that there can be a number of viable candidates as correct descriptions of the same empirical data, is a moot question. What can be considered valid linguistic evidence that crucially bears on arguments a linguist presents to prove the correctness of his own hypothesis or to prove others' assumptions false? We have witnessed for over a decade the most brilliant minds of our field, concerned with these formidable questions, struggling to come up with valid criteria for choosing among descriptions all equally compatible with given data. Despite an outpouring of linguistic speculations from scholars of diverse theoretical persuasions, we not only are far from having a consensus on evaluation procedures to choose the best description among competing candidates, but also are beginning to wonder whether grammatical descriptions thought to be adequate today by any standard can even approximate a reasonably accurate account of the system of linguistic knowledge native speakers possess. The present state of our art is still reflected in Paul Postal's (1972) pessimistic words:

It is worth remarking, for example, that after more than a dozen years of generative study of English grammar by dozens and dozens of people, we remain with hardly a single reasonably articulated analysis of any account of the grammar which even approaches relative stability or unchallengeability. Proposal after proposal...has collapsed or slid into the murk of competing claims and contradictory evidence...a result which reveals in its light the primitiveness and semi-contentlessness of any conception of grammar worked out so far. (p. 160)

Anyone who is aware of the constant changes in linguistic fashion of the recent past probably shares with Postal "the sense, which spreads today, that there is, underlying the mass of facts, an intricate but only dimly perceived structure" (p. 161). It seems foolhardy, then, to raise questions about the adequacy of descriptions when we hardly know what constitutes adequacy, whether descriptive or explanatory, and our knowledge of grammar is so primitive that linguistic structure still remains a mystery. The question of adequacy either of theory or of description cannot be discussed in the abstract, however, and we must continue our experiment in

describing natural languages in order to seek empirically justifiable grounds for choosing one over other competing descriptions. We must compare and examine the results of different descriptions, test the validity of underlying assumptions that lead to different conclusions, and consider the theoretical implications of a choice of empirically preferred description among competitors. I will, therefore, compare different descriptions covering the same aspect of the Korean grammar, explicitly state reasons for making a new proposal in place of previous descriptions, and indulge in speculation on the relation between theoretical assumptions and descriptive results.

Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969) correctly point out in a parenthetical remark that the second constituent of the compound conjunctive *e-se* can be abbreviated: "In the middle of a sentence, the particle *se* after an infinitive (or, sometimes an infinitive all by itself with no *se*) has the general meaning 'so'" (p. 129). They themselves consistently employ the full form *e-se* in their text, and the abbreviation of *se* is never mentioned again.<sup>1</sup> The deletion of *se* may not be entirely optional, in the sense that a feature like [-formal] or other little-known factors may play a role in applying the rule. I have not found a single case, however, in which the abbreviation would result in an ungrammatical string. In other words, the deletion does not seem to affect the semantic content of the proposition, and to the extent that this statement is true, the term 'optional' may still be permissible, sociolinguists' protests notwithstanding. I will provide the following tentative rule as a first approximation of the operation of an abbreviation phenomenon in Korean.

3.     *se* → ∅ / *e* + \_\_\_\_ (opt)

The synonymy of the following pairs of sentences, one with *se* and the other without it after the infinitive marker *e*, can be automatically accounted for with the postulation of rule (3).

4. a. John-un   ton-i       eps-e-se       ppang-ul  
          TOP   money       lack-INF-so   bread

hwumchi-ess-ta  
steal-PAST-DCL

'John didn't have money, so he stole [a loaf of] bread.'

b. John-un ton-i eps-e ppang ul hwumchi-ess-ta

5. a. Mary-nun kotanhay-e-se nac cam-ul ca-ass-ta  
be tired-so day sleep sleep  
'Mary was tired, so she took a nap.'

b. Mary-nun kotanhay-e nac cam-ul ca-ass-ta

If no such rule as (3) existed in the grammar, we would have to say that the two different forms *e* and *e-se* have the same meaning and grammatical function, implying that they are in free variation. This apparently is not true, and there are many instances in which only *e* is permitted but not *e-se*. The infinitive marker, for instance, is used as an imperative ending, but *e-se* certainly cannot replace it in that position. Needless to say, *e-se* is never followed by the imperative marker *la*, whereas *e-la* is considered a standard usage. Note the following contrast:

6. a. mek-e! 'Eat!'  
eat

b. \*mek-e-se

7. a. mek-e-la! 'Eat!'

b. \*mek-e-se-la

Another interesting example of particle abbreviation is exemplified by the imperative ending itself. (6a) and (7a) are entirely synonymous, but to call *e* and *e-la* free variants would be a grave mistake. If they indeed were in free variation, we would expect sentences (5a') and (5b') along with (5a) and (5b), but they are entirely ungrammatical.

5. a'. \*Mary-nun kotanhay-e-la-se nac cam-ul ca-ass-ta  
b'. \*Mary-nun kotanhay-e-la nac cam-ul ca-ass-ta

It makes much more sense to claim that *e* in (4b) and (5b) is an abbreviated form of *e-se*, whereas the identical form *e* in (6a) is an abbreviation of the imperative ending *e-la*. The surface form *e* is an accidental merger of two distinct forms through an operation of the rule of particle abbreviation.

Now that we have found two clear and uncontroversial cases of particle abbreviation, let us explore further to see if there are other examples in which *se* as the second constituent of a compound particle becomes abbreviated. Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C.

Lee seem vaguely to sense that *ko* is somehow akin to *e-se*, but, curiously enough, they fail to realize that an entirely similar process is in operation in both cases. After enumerating ways to say 'when' in Korean, they admonish readers to "compare also gerund and infinitive with *se*, which sometimes have 'when'-like meanings: *hay se (ha-ye-se)*... 'does, and then...' or 'does, so...', *ha ko*... 'does, and (also)...' " (p. 267). Martin and Lee are aware that the gerund *ko* has two different meanings, but they seem to take it for granted that these meanings are related closely enough to warrant their treatment of the form as a single morpheme. After all, the usage of English conjunctive 'and' is parallel to that of the Korean *ko* both in meaning and function. Consider the following:

8. John-un swul-ul masi ko Mary-nun tampay-lul phi-n-ta  
     wine drink and cigarette smoke  
     'John drinks and Mary smokes.'
9. John-un swul-ul masi ko tampay-lul phi-ess-ta  
     'John had a drink and then smoked.'

In (8) both *ko* and 'and' serve as coordinate conjunctors, linking together two events or states, whereas in (9) they indicate two events in sequence. The difference between the two *kos* becomes apparent when we replace them with the form *ko-se*. In the case of (8) we get the ungrammatical string (10), whereas the substitution in (9) produces the grammatical and entirely synonymous sentence (11).

10. \*John-un swul-ul masi ko-se Mary-nun tampay-lul phi-n-ta  
 11. John-un swul-lul masi ko-se tampay-lul phi-ess-ta

There are other syntactic properties that differentiate the two *kos*. I will mention just one or two pieces of syntactic evidence here to prove the point. If we label the *kos* in (8) and (9) *ko* 1 and *ko* 2, respectively, *ko* 1 can be preceded by a tensed verb, but this is not the case with *ko* 2, at least on the surface.

12. John-un swul-lul masi-ess ko Mary-nun tampay-lul phi-ess-ta  
 13. \*John-un swul-lul masi-ess ko tampay-lul phi-ess-ta

Also, as Suk-Jin Chang (1973b:232) has pointed out, gapping may optionally apply to a sentence conjoined by *ko* 1 but not to one connected by *ko* 2.



adding what he called *se*-deletion to the grammar.<sup>2</sup> Although the derivation of *kose* from *konase* still remains problematic, there is little doubt that *ko* is an abbreviated form of *ko-se* just as *e* is an abbreviated form of *e-se*.<sup>3</sup> That the same principle is in operation in both cases can hardly be questioned.

I have discussed three cases of particle abbreviation, two of which involve the particle *se*. There are other instances in which the identical surface form *se* becomes abbreviated. At the moment I am not sure whether all these *ses* are related to the one I have discussed and would therefore assume that there is more than one morpheme that is phonetically realized as *se*. For the purpose of identification, let us label the one that occurs after *e* and *ko* and has the semantic property of indicating two events in a sequential order as *se* 1. There is another *se* that occurs with *myen*, and I will call it *se* 2. Consider the following:

16. a. khos nolay-lul pulu myen-se John-un syawe-lul hay-ess-ta  
nose song sing while shower  
'John took a shower, humming a song.'

b. khos nolay-lul pulu mye John-un syawe-lul hay-ess-ta

17. a. pam-ey il-ul ha myen-se Mary-nun kongpu-lul ha-n-ta  
night-at work do study  
'Mary goes to school while working at night.'

b. pam-ey il-ul ha mye Mary-nun kongpu-lul ha-n-ta

The paired examples in (16) and (17) are entirely synonymous, and once again we witness the operation of particle abbreviation, reducing the full form *myen-se* to *mye*. In this case, a further phonetic reduction is in order, dropping the final *n* when *se* becomes abbreviated.

It is a curious coincidence that the abbreviated forms of *ko-se* and *myen-se* merge with homophonous but distinct conjunctors. As in the case of *ko-se*, the abbreviated form of *myen-se* becomes phonetically indistinguishable from the coordinate conjunctor *mye*. Consider the following examples:



sense to claim that the retrospective marker *tun* under a certain circumstance can have the illocutionary force of a question all by itself. As I have already pointed out, the abbreviated forms carry the full force of the syntactic and semantic properties of the basic form. With this proviso, all that is needed in the Korean grammar is a rule of particle abbreviation and no ad hoc explanation, either syntactic or semantic.

Let us turn our attention to a slightly different problem in order to fully appreciate the pervasive nature of the abbreviation phenomenon. Postpositions, or particles that occur after a noun, can also be compounded and, as in the case of compounded connectives, the second elements can be abbreviated optionally. Take the postposition *ey*—which seems to have many different functions, such as dative, locative, allative, ablative, and agentive—as an example. It is true that *ey* may be a homophonous realization of more than one morpheme, but I will not concern myself with the formidable question of deciding how many different morphemes are involved here. I will instead try to demonstrate that, at least in some cases, the homonymy is a result of particle abbreviation and to make an attempt to recover the buried remains and resurrect the full forms that are syntactic correlates of different semantic representations. The particle *ey* has an alternant shape, *eykey*, which occurs after an animate noun, and this shape is often replaced by another alternant, *hanthey*, in a less formal and more colloquial style. Consider the following:

21. a. kim sensayn- {hanthey} pule-lul paywu-ess-ta  
                           {eykey}           teacher   from       French learn  
                           ‘[I] learned French from Mr. Kim.’
- b. kkangphay- {hanthey} mac-ass-ta  
                           {eykey}           goon       by       be beaten  
                           ‘[I] was beaten by a goon.’
- c. Mary- {hanthey} kkoch-ul ponay-ess-ta  
                           {eykey}           to       flower   send  
                           ‘[I] sent flowers to Mary.’

It seems that *eykey/hanthey* can be used in three different functions,

which are usually filled by three distinct prepositions in English, namely, 'from', 'by', and 'to'. These shapes in (21a), however, can be replaced by *eykey-se* and *hanthey-se*, respectively, without changing the meaning of the sentence. Thus, (21a) clearly exemplifies another instance of particle abbreviation in which *se* as the second constituent of a compound form is dropped. There is a synonymous sentence parallel to (21c) with an additional element *ta* attached to the postposition. It would be reasonable to claim, then, that *eykey/hanthey* in (21c) are also abbreviated forms of *eykey-ta/hanthey-ta*, and an optional application of the particle abbreviation rule results in the merger of three distinct postpositions. Schematically, the process can be illustrated as follows:

<i>Function</i>	<i>Full Form</i>	<i>Abbreviated Form</i>
Agent	{ eykey } { hanthey }	
Ablative	{ eykey } { hanthey }	se → { eykey } { hanthey }
Dative	{ eykey } { hanthey }	ta ↗

I have shown four different cases in which *se* as the second element of compound conjunctors or postpositions becomes abbreviated. Let me list them here in the order of discussion.

1. e-se → e
2. ko-se → ko
3. myen-se → mye
4. { eykey }  
{ hanthey } -se → { eykey }  
{ hanthey }

If the abbreviation of *se* is such a frequent and common occurrence, it would not be inappropriate to extend a similar analysis to the earlier example of the homonymy of two distinct verbal aspects in Korean. As I have already pointed out, it has been claimed that both the progressive and resultative aspects are realized by the identical form *ko iss-ta*. In my discussion of the second instance of the *se* abbreviation, I have shown that one of two different *kos* is an abbreviated form of *ko-se*. This suggests that it may not be totally fanciful to conjecture that one instance of *ko iss-ta*, representing two different aspects, comes from *ko-se iss-ta*.<sup>4</sup> Not unexpected-

ly, the sentence with the resultative aspectual interpretation allows substitution by *ko-se iss-ta*, and the sequential meaning of *se* is entirely consistent with the semantic interpretation of the resultative aspect. By retranscribing the homophonous sentence (1a) and (1b), we can now fully disambiguate two different readings.

1. a. Mary-ka mini-sukhethu-lul ip ko iss-ta  
'Mary is putting on a miniskirt.'
- b. Mary-ka mini-sukhethu-lul ip ko-se iss-ta  
'Mary is wearing a miniskirt.'

If this analysis is correct, then we can no longer claim that two different aspectual meanings, which are formally distinct in English, are represented by identical lexical items and syntactic processes. The structural homonymy on the surface is no more than a mere accident resulting from an optional application of the rule of particle abbreviation. We must now add the resultative aspect to the earlier list as another example of *se* abbreviation.

The present analysis entails other interesting consequences, some of which I will discuss directly. First, there are sentences containing the construction *ko iss-ta* that are not ambiguous. Consider the following:

22. a. John-i mul-ey ppaci ko iss-ta  
          water-in sink  
'John is being drowned.'
- b. Mary-ka pelpel ttel ko iss-ta  
          visibly shake  
'Mary is visibly trembling.'

The sentences in (22) are interpretable only in the sense of the progressive aspect. The analysis I have proposed would predict that these sentences would be ungrammatical with the construction *ko-se iss-ta*, which represents the resultative aspect. They are indeed ungrammatical, as illustrated by the sentences in (23).

23. a. \*John-i mul-ey ppaci ko-se iss-ta
- b. \*Mary-ka pelpel ttel ko-se iss-ta

Second, some adverbs are semantically compatible with only one of the two aspectual meanings. For instance, *ta* 'completely' would be acceptable only with the resultative, but not with the progressive as-

pect. Predictably, the sentences in (22) with the progressive meaning will not be compatible with the adverb *ta*. The ungrammaticality of (24) below illustrates the point.

- 24. a. \*John-i ta mul-ey ppaci ko iss-ta
- b. \*Mary-ka ta pelpel ttel ko iss-ta

However, those sentences containing the construction *ko iss-ta* that can be substituted by *ko-se iss-ta* will be compatible with the adverb *ta*. The following examples confirm this observation:

- 25. a. John-i os-ul pes ko iss-ta  
          clothes take off  
          ‘John has taken off his clothes.’
  - b. John-i os-ul pes ko-se iss-ta
  - c. John-i os-ul ta pes ko iss-ta  
          ‘John has completely taken off his clothes.’
- 26. a. Mary-ka ttel ko iss-ta  
          ‘Mary is trembling.’
  - b. \*Mary-ka ttel ko-se iss-ta
  - c. \*Mary-ka ta ttel ko iss-ta

Another interesting consequence of the present analysis is that it will lead us to a reexamination of the alleged discrepancy between English and Korean with regard to the dichotomy of stative versus action verbs.<sup>5</sup> Suk-Jin Chang (1973a:59-60) correctly observes that there is no one-to-one correspondence between *ko iss-ta* in Korean and ‘be-ing’ in English. The prime examples in support of Chang’s contention are verbs like ‘love’ and ‘know’ which are stative in English but take the progressive aspect marker *ko iss-ta* freely in Korean. Consider the following:

- 27. a. \*John is loving Mary
  - b. John-i Mary-lul salangha ko iss-ta  
          ‘John loves Mary.’
- 28. a. \*John is knowing Mary well
  - b. John-i Mary-lul cal al ko iss-ta  
          ‘John knows Mary well.’

Chang concludes from his observation of these facts and other related matters in various languages that the nonoccurrence of ‘be-ing’

in English stative verbs must be a language-specific syntactic constraint rather than a universal semantic constraint. His conclusion, however, depends crucially on the two underlying assumptions that Korean verbs *salangha* 'love' and *al* 'know' are both stative and *ko iss-ta* in (27b) and (28b) is the progressive aspect form. Neither of these assumptions seems to be borne out by the facts. If the lines of demarcation that divide verbs into stative and action in two languages are not necessarily coterminous with each other, which I conjecture is the case, the verb *salangha* 'love' in Korean may turn out to be an action verb, thus freely cooccurring with the progressive aspect. There is also a possibility that the construction *ko iss-ta* in (28b), which occurs with the Korean verb *al* 'know', may be an abbreviated form of *ko-se iss-ta*, the resultative, and not the progressive aspect after all. The verb *al* 'know' is clearly different from verbs like *mek* 'eat' and *masi* 'drink,' which typically occur with the progressive aspect. The progressive aspect may be paraphrasable by the construction *cwung ita* 'is in the middle of', whereas the resultative aspect is not. Indeed, not only is sentence (28b) acceptable with the full form *ko-se iss-ta*, but its semantic interpretation in the resultative sense is entirely plausible. Note the following contrast:

29. a. John-i swul-ul masi ko iss-ta  
           wine      drink  
       'John is drinking.'
- b. John-i swul-ul masi nun cwung i-ta  
   middle be  
       'John is in the middle of drinking.'
30. a. Mary-ka pule-lul al ko iss-ta  
               French know  
       'Mary knows French.'
- b. \*Mary-ka pule-lul a nun cwung i-ta

There are other tests that will reveal that the construction *ko iss-ta* with *al* 'know' is the resultative. It has been pointed out that the adverb *ta* typically cooccurs with the resultative and the verb *al* is compatible with this adverb, as (31) below illustrates.

31. John-un ku pimil-ul ta al ko iss-ess-ta  
that secret

‘John knew all [about] the secret.’

The adverb of duration can occur with both the progressive and the resultative, but only the latter meaning logically entails that the duration of time indicated by the adverb has past since the completion of the action described by the verb. No such an entailment relationship obtains in the case of the progressive aspect.

32. a. i nyen kan taythonglyeng-un ku pimil-ul al ko iss-ess-ta  
two year for president

‘The president has known the secret for two years.’

- b. taythonglyeng-un ku pimil-ul al ko-se i nyen kan iss-ess-ta

‘After discovering the secret, the president has been carrying on for two years.’

33. a. halwu congil Mary-ka swul-ul masi ko iss-ta  
all day long wine drink

‘Mary is drinking wine all day long.’

- b. \*Mary-ka swul-ul masi ko-se halwu congil iss-ta<sup>6</sup>

There is little doubt that *ko iss-ta*, which is acceptable with the verb *al* ‘know’, is the resultative aspect, not the progressive. The lack of correspondence between *ko iss-ta* in Korean and ‘be-ing’ in English, then, should not surprise us when we realize that the surface form *ko iss-ta* can represent more than one verbal aspect and that stative and active in two languages do not necessarily match. Although I may seem skeptical of Chang’s contention and my arguments tend to cast doubt on the wisdom of making conclusions based on the discrepancy between the progressive aspect in English and Korean, I have not presented any conclusive evidence to invalidate Chang’s position. However, he has left a few crucial factors unaccounted for, and in the light of my discussion of the abbreviation phenomenon, his conclusion appears to be premature and inconclusive.

I have shown fairly typical and obvious cases in which the postulation of the rule of particle abbreviation in a grammar of Korean can provide simple and straightforward descriptions. Certain ambiguities result from the accidental merger of two distinct forms attri-

butable to the abbreviation phenomenon. So far I have managed to discuss only a few cases, involving compound connectives, verbal endings, and compound postpositions that allow the abbreviation of the second element. To mention only one more example, the abbreviation of the quotative construction *ko ha* 'say that' is, of course, well known. However, a vast unexplored territory remains that awaits perceptive and penetrating analysis in the future, and a thorough understanding of the abbreviation phenomenon can have a far-reaching effect on the analysis and description of verbal aspects and other related matters in Korean.

Before concluding this chapter, let me digress a little and return to the two different approaches taken respectively by Park and Chang in dealing with the ambiguity exemplified by sentences like (1) and (2). I was initially critical of Park's suggestion that *may ko iss-ta* be derived from *may e twu ko iss-ta*, but it must not be misconstrued that I am against his underlying assumption that syntactic correlates may be sought for distinct semantic readings. My criticism was leveled against his attempt to postulate unmotivated structure, unconstrained by any syntactic principle. In contrast to Park's syntactic approach, Chang appears to champion a generative semanticist position that dispenses with intervening, independently motivated syntactic structure altogether. No one will deny Chang's unique contribution in his efforts to explicitly represent previously unexplored semantic elements and to specify their relationships in an abstract structure. But Chang is so preoccupied with his exploration of semantic structure that he seems oblivious to the vantage point provided by a more formalistic approach to language. Unfortunately, Chang's pioneering and perceptive semantic study loses some of its luster when evidence for a rule such as particle abbreviation is presented. It may be too early or too close to call a winner among competing approaches in the arena of linguistic theory today. The abbreviation phenomenon, however, seems to demonstrate that only a happy marriage of syntax and semantics can produce a more adequate description of language.

there is some difference in 'verbness' between *ha* and *twutulki* even with respect to the positioning of the negative particle. The ungrammaticality of (3), however, has no bearing whatsoever on the verbness of *ha*. Sentence (3) is ungrammatical for two reasons: first, the accusative marker cannot be deleted after the complement sentence if the matrix verb *ha* is not negated, and second, the complementizer *ci* cannot be chosen unless the matrix verb is negated. The following two grammatical sentences meet these conditions.

4. John-i manwula-lul ani twutulki ki lul ha-n-ta  
'It is the case that John doesn't beat his wife.'
5. John-i manwula-lul ani twutulki ci (lul) ani ha-n-ta  
'It isn't the case that John doesn't beat his wife.'

Therefore, I do not need the ad hoc surface structure constraint that Yang imagines that my "grammar really needs," and his third objection can be overruled.

In Seok Choong Song (1973) I noted a disparity between the two types of negation and pointed out the dilemma it poses to the single underlying structure hypothesis. Yang points out that not only the verbs I listed, but also other related ones do not allow Type I negation.<sup>1</sup> After a brief discussion of the two types of negation, Yang concludes that the difference in productivity between the two types of negation does not necessarily support my postulation of two different deep structures for them but is attributable to the nature of the verbs being negated. Yang may be right, at least partially, but idiosyncrasy of lexical items has no bearing on my hypothesis. If the disparity in productivity attributable to lexical idiosyncrasies does not support my position, at least it is neutral with regard to other hypotheses. It may weaken but does not invalidate my argument, and Yang's conclusion is a non sequitur.

Before I proceed any further, I would like to challenge Yang's judgment on the grammaticality of some Korean sentences. He marks the following strings as either ungrammatical or odd:

6. a. \*mos a-n-ta  
not know-IND-DCL
- b. \*ani iss-ta  
not exist-DCL
- c. ?\*Mary-nun ani alumtap-ta  
TOP not beautiful-DCL  
'Mary is not beautiful.'

It is true that all these examples sound unnatural out of context, but they are fully grammatical nonetheless. A Korean grammar would have to be monstrously complex in order to generate the following sentences, while ruling out those above.

7. a. amuto mos al-key swumese sa-n-ta  
someone not know-so that hide-and live-IND-DCL  
'He lives in hiding, so that no one knows [where].'
- b. na-nun nay nyen-ey yeki ani iss-kess-ta  
I TOP next year in here not be-MOD-DCL  
'I won't be here next year.'
- c. ku hwacangphum-ul sse-se ippe ci-n-ta  
that cosmetic article-ACC use-and pretty INC-IND-DCL  
myen ani alumtawu-n salam-i eti iss-kess-n-i  
if not beautiful IND person-NM where be-MOD-IND-INT  
'If a person becomes pretty by using that cosmetic article,  
who on earth would not be beautiful?'

Yang and many other Korean linguists seem to be confused about the distinction between ungrammatical and unacceptable sentences. I must point out that many otherwise interesting discussions on negation have been vitiated by a failure to make a clear and systematic distinction between these two notions, controversial though they still may be.

In chapter 6 I also noted a disparity between the two types of negation with regard to an affirmative polarity item. The examples I gave there were less than convincing, and I will provide better examples here.

8. pusang tangha-n swunkeyeng-i kyewu  
wound receive-IND policeman-NM barely  
salana-ss-ta  
recover-PAST-DCL  
'The wounded policeman managed to recover.'
9. \*pusang tangha-n swunkeyeng-i kyewu ani salana-ss-ta
10. pusang tangha-n swunkeyeng-i kyewu salana ci ani hay-ss-ta  
'It is not the case that the wounded policeman managed to  
recover.'

Some manner adverbials cannot occur in Type I negation but are well formed in Type II negation. Consider the following examples:

11. John-i yelsimhi pule-lul payw-ess-ta  
NM hard French-ACC learn-PAST-DCL  
'John studied French hard.'
12. \*John-i yelsimhi pule-lul ani payw-ess-ta.<sup>2</sup>
13. John-i yelsimhi pule-lul paywu ci ani hay-ss-ta  
COMP PAST-DCL  
'It is not the case that John studied French hard.'

Yang objected that my earlier examples in chapter 7 (see sentences (27) and (28)) were suspicious, but when new examples have been raised to overrule his objection, I believe my argument will still stand. He brings a negative polarity item and argues that the two types of negation are equivalent with respect to the occurrence of the polarity item *acik* 'yet'. He then jumps to the conclusion that the polarity item renders no support for my hypothesis. I fail to see how his argument, based on a neg-polarity item, has any bearing on my argument based on an affirmative polarity item and some manner adverbials.

Yang then takes up a semantic question and again challenges the validity of my argument on the ground that the disparity between the two types of negation is a matter of idiom vs. non-idiom reading. Again, he may be partially correct, but the real question lies much deeper than he realizes. The heart of the matter is the scope

difference between the two types of negation, which has been treated rather inadequately in Choon-Hak Cho (1975). The question of the scope of negation will be discussed fully in the next chapter. For now, suffice it to say that Yang's argument on this question is again without substance.

It is well known that when adverbs, quantifiers, and delimiters occur in negative sentences, the two types of negation are often subject to different semantic interpretations. This fact clearly strengthens my argument for separate underlying structures. Unfortunately, Type II negation is ambiguous, and one of its readings is synonymous with that of Type I negation. If different interpretations for the two types of negation justify the postulation of two separate underlying structures, so goes Yang's argument, identical readings of the two types of negation justifies the postulation of a single underlying structure for both of them. I have shown in Seok Choong Song (1977c) how this complication can be resolved by the proper ordering of rules as follows:

1. Syntactic transformation
2. Intonation contour rule
3. Neg scope rule

Korean, not unlike Japanese, seems to allow a kind of restructuring on the surface, which is reflected in the intonation contour and pause. As a result, the interpretation of the scope of negation is altered, allowing identical readings for the two different structures. Although Yang's contention may be logically flawless, it will remain empty until he shows that his hypothesis can account for the complication as well as mine or better. Instead, he suggests that either theory will need some kind of semantic interpretive rule applying to derived structures.

In sum, after reviewing the three syntactic arguments and two semantic arguments that I have presented, Yang has declared that none of the five arguments really stands. Statistics are also in his favor, and Yang is quick to point out that all the generative grammarians except Song who have dealt with Korean negation have taken the alternative position of a single underlying structure hypothesis. As I have responded to the criticisms of Hong-Bae Lee (1970a) and Choon-Kyu Oh (1971a) by clearly showing wherein lie the errors of their new theories, I will directly proceed to show the difficulty that Yang's arguments inevitably run into and the complication of description that results from his mistaken premises.

Yang's new theory has three components: motivating predicate lowering in conjunction with *ha*-support à la 'do'-support in English, challenging the identity of the complementizer *ci*, and discussing double negation. Yang's arguments in support of *ha*-support are tortuously complex, highly elaborate, and truly ingenious—but totally ad hoc. It would be unfair to dismiss them without going into a technical discussion of his sophisticated but unwarranted analysis, but I have to defer that task until some of the technical details of his hypothesis have been introduced. It will become apparent in my discussion of the complementizer below that all Yang manages to accomplish through the maze of complicated arguments is to obliterate the crucial distinction between simplex and complex sentences.

Yang first challenges the notion that the complementizer *ci* is a variant realization of *ki* and occurs exclusively in a negative environment. He provides the following examples:

14. pi-ka      o      { ki- }  
    { \*ci- }      nun    ani pala-n-ta

rain-NM    come COMP-TOP    not want-IND-DCL  
 '[I] don't want it to rain.'

15. pap-ul      mek ci      mal-ala  
 rice-ACC    eat    COMP NEG-IMP  
 'Don't eat rice.'

Counterexamples were noted as early as 1967, and they no longer pose any serious problem. It is only when the negated matrix verb is *ha* that the complementizer *ci* is chosen. In (14) the negated matrix verb is not *ha*, and the complementizer *ki* occurs, as my theory predicts. I have accounted for the occurrence of *ci* in (15), where the matrix verb is not *ha*, by reanalyzing the verb *mal* as a lexical realization of Neg + *ha* in an imperative sentence.

Second, Yang goes on to deny the identity of *ci* and *ki* as variant realizations of the same morpheme on other grounds. His infelicitous attempt to distinguish the nominalizer *ki* and the complementizer *ci*, which is based on suspicious data and an even stranger interpretation of them, can be dismissed as irrelevant. Let us consider his examples demonstrating syntactic differences between *ki* and *ci*.

16. a. ku-nun haksayng siceI-ey wutungsayng i-ess-ki  
 he-TOP student days-in honor student be-PAST-COMP  
 nun ha-ta  
 be-DCL  
 'He was an honor student in his school days, I admit.'
- b. \*ku-nun haksaynk siceI-ey wutungsayng i-ess-ci nun  
 ani ha-ta

Yang concludes that the complementizer *ki* may be preceded by a tense particle, but the complementizer *ci* may not. In complex sentences like (16a) and (16b), the more common preterite form is obtained by affixing the past tense morpheme to the matrix verb *ha*, as can be seen below.

17. a. ku-nun haksayng siceI-ey wutungsayng i-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
 'He was an honor student in his school days, I admit.'
- b. ku-nun haksayng siceI-ey wutungsayng i-ci-nun ani ha-ess-ta.  
 'He wasn't an honor student in his school days, I admit.'

But I disagree with Yang on the grammaticality of (16b), which I believe would be readily acceptable in an appropriate context such as the following:

18. wutungsayng i-ess-ci nun ani hay-to chayk-un manhi  
 although book-TOP a lot  
 ilk-ess-ta  
 read-PAST-DCL  
 'Although [he] was not an honor student, he read a lot of books,  
 I should say.'

Because Yang's conclusion is based on questionable data, his argument is at best shaky and unconvincing.

I will present here for the first time a truly interesting piece of evidence that demonstrates unequivocally the identity of the complementizers *ci* and *ki*. Consider the following:

19. a. son-ul cap ki to ha ko ip-ul  
 hand-ACC hold COMP also do and mouth  
 machwu ki to hay-ss-ta  
 touch PAST-DCL  
 '[He] both held [her] hand and kissed [her].'
- b. son-ul cap ki nun hay to ip-ul machwu ci nun ani  
 TOP though NEG  
 hay-ss-ta  
 'Although [he] held [her] hand, [he] didn't kiss [her].'
- c. son-ul cap ki nun hay to ip-ul machwu ki kkaci nun ani  
 extent  
 hay-ss-ta  
 'Although [he] held [her] hand, [he] didn't go to the extent  
 of kissing [her].'

All three sentences above exemplify cases of complex sentences conjoined by the conjunctive *eto* 'although'. In (19a), both conjuncts are in the affirmative and only the complementizer *ki* occurs, as my theory predicts. In (19b), only the second conjunct is in the negative, and this fact accounts for the occurrence of *ci* only in the second conjunct. Sentence (19c) is an apparent counterexample to all the existing hypotheses on Korean negation that have been put forward in the past twenty years. This apparent counterexample provides a crucial piece of evidence for the identity of the complementizers. Most Korean linguists, except Yang, have assumed that *ci* is a variant shape of the complementizer *ki* occurring only in a negative environment with the matrix verb *ha*. This assumption can account for the alternation of *ki* and *ci* in sentence (19b). New data such as (19c) apparently conflict with such an assumption. Consider, however, the following examples:

20.

Mary-lul manna meet	ci	ki	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nun} \\ \text{to} \\ \text{ya} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kkaci} \\ \text{maca} \\ \text{cocha} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$	ani hay-ss-ta
‘[He] did not	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{indeed} \\ \text{even} \\ \text{surely} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$		meet Mary.’	

Sentence (20) shows that *ci* and *ki* can occur in very similar, indeed almost identical, environments. Are they in contrast and therefore two separate morphemes, as Yang claims? My answer is no. What is happening here is a case of *ki/ci* alternation rule being blocked by a phonological factor. When a particle of more than one syllable follows, the rule that rewrites COMP as *ci* in the negative environment is blocked. Thus, we have an indirect but indubitable bit of evidence that *ci* and *ki* are alternant shapes of the same morpheme COMP. My original hypothesis is not at all affected by the discovery of this new fact. All that is needed in my grammar is an additional adjustment to the readjustment rule I proposed to account for the simple fact that the rewriting of COMP is further constrained by a phonological factor.

Yang’s grammar, however, faces a serious problem. He must first revise what he calls the complement *ci* insertion rule. Furthermore, he has to modify the rule for the insertion of the complementizer *ki* as well (because they are not related in any way, the modification of conditions for *ci* insertion will have no effect on the occurrence of the complementizer *ki*). Yang’s grammar, which is already agonizingly complex with global rules and what not, must be further overburdened with new and baffling conditions.

One final serious problem with Yang’s description has to do with the notion of complementation. Because he calls *ci* and *ki* complementizers, I assume that the occurrence of either of these elements automatically implies a prior complementation process. According to Yang’s new and sophisticated theory, however, the matrix verb *ha*, which requires a complement sentence as an object, is a dummy element transformationally introduced to prop up a tense suffix, a bound morpheme. The verb *ha*, nevertheless,

behaves very much like an ordinary verb. The negative particle may precede it directly, and tense and aspect as well as mood morphemes can be suffixed to it in a fixed order. Yang's hypothesis must prove, in order to be a viable theory of negation, that there is no distinction between simplex and complex sentences in Korean and that a complex sentence can be generated by transformationally introducing the matrix verb, which leads a parasitic life on a tense morpheme—a bound form at that!

One of many difficulties with Yang's theory of negation, like those of his fellow semanticists, will be the question of double negation. Once again there is a disparity between the two types of negation. While Type II negation permits the occurrence of two negative particles, Type I allows only one. I must question where the two negative particles come from if the same one can be arbitrarily attached to the verb of a complement sentence as well as to that of the matrix sentence. Consider the following sentences:

21. a. pi-ka o-n-ta  
rain-NM come-IND-DCL  
'It is raining.'
- b. pi-ka ani<sub>1</sub> o-n-ta  
NEG  
'It is not raining.'
- c. pi-ka o ci ani<sub>1</sub> ha-n-ta  
COMP  
'It is not the case that it is raining.'
- d. pi-ka ani<sub>1</sub> o ci ani<sub>2</sub> ha-n-ta  
'It is not the case that it is not raining.'
- e. pi-ka o ci ani<sub>1</sub> ha ci ani<sub>2</sub> ha-n-ta  
'It is not the case that it is not the case that it is raining.'
- f. pi-ka ani o ki nun ha-n-ta  
'It is the case that it is not raining.'

If (21b) and (21c) are derived from the same underlying structure, there is no way we can generate sentences like (21d). Yang, nevertheless, is confident that he has found the solution to the ques-





23. a. John-i ani ka ki lo hay-ss-ta  
           go COMP DES  
       ‘John decided not to go.’
- b. John-i ka ki lo ani hay-ss-ta<sup>4</sup>  
       ‘John didn’t decide to go.’

Sentence (22) is an example of a periphrastic causative and (23) another example of a complex S containing a complement sentence. In these cases, however, the paired sentences have different meanings depending on where the Neg is assigned on the surface. Yang’s grammar must make an arbitrary distinction between these and Type II negation, despite their unmistakable structural similarity, precisely because it is merely surface similarity. It turns out, however, that the most natural as well as the simplest way to account for the scope difference between Type I and Type II is to consider the latter to have a structure similar to those given above. The alleged synonymy of the two types of negation in Korean can be explained away by postulating a semantic interpretive rule that says that the Neg scope rule will have no effect unless constituents like adverbs, quantifiers, delimiters, etc., are contained in a sentence. Yang’s new theory of negation, if pushed to its logical extreme, must provide an identical underlying structure not only for (21b) and (21c) but also for (21f). Yang and his fellow semanticists have been claiming a total and unquestioned synonymy between (21b) and (21c). Although (21f) hardly seems to me to be synonymous with (21b–c), there is no denying that it is not different in its propositional content from the others. No linguist, however, would ever attempt to derive all three sentences from a single underlying structure on the grounds that they are all synonymous. Yang and his colleagues have been unaware that their theories are no more reasonable than the apparently ludicrous view that all three synonymous sentences must be derived from the same underlying structure.

As Yang takes Choon-Kyu Oh (1971b) to task on technical grounds for the misuse of curly brackets in formulating his *ha*-addition rule, I will examine how well motivated Yang’s own *ha*-support rule is. As Ik-Hwan Lee (1980) points out, the feature [+Finite] or [-Finite] plays a crucial role in the application of the optional rule of predicate lowering. Let me quote Lee’s perspicacious observation concerning Yang’s use of this feature:

Furthermore, the verb *o* 'come' here is eventually realized as an infinitive form, which constitutes the complement construction of sentence (59a) [= (21d)]. Accordingly, the verb *o* in this case should naturally be regarded as a non-finite form. This observation, if reasonable, proves that Yang's feature assignment is not well motivated and very arbitrary. To put it another way, Yang's features [+Finite] and [-Finite], which are crucial in his analysis, are no more than the arbitrary rule features, say, [+Trigger lowering] and [-Trigger lowering], respectively. One would fail to see any rationale to motivate this sort of totally arbitrary features. (p. 62)

The arbitrariness of Yang's feature assignment coupled with the arbitrariness of his rule mechanism for predicate lowering (also pointed out by Lee), which places a higher predicate on the right or on the left of a lower predicate at will, confirms my suspicion that, despite formidable appearances, his rules and analyses are also technically faulty. I will demonstrate just one instance of such failure.

According to Yang, *ha* support takes place when predicate lowering is not realized. Consider the following:

24. pi-ka o ki to hay-ss-ta  
rain-NM come COMP also PAST-DCL  
'It was the case that it also rained.'

In a negative sentence of the type of (21c) the predicate lowering of a higher predicate of Tense fails, because the negative particle, which in Yang's analysis is also a higher verb, has the feature [-Finite]. In case of an affirmative sentence with the particle *to* 'also', exemplified by (24), it is the intervention of this very particle that blocks the predicate lowering, which in turn triggers the *ha* support. Now, suppose that the constituent verb *o* is negated as in (25) below.

25. pi-ka ani o ki to hay-ss-ta  
'It was the case that it did not rain either.'

Just as the higher predicate Tense cannot be lowered because of the particle *to*, the higher predicate Neg can no longer be lowered to generate a perfectly grammatical sentence like (25).

Many more questions could be raised regarding the validity of Yang's claims, but enough has been said to prove his new theory to be unreasonable and untenable, and no further discussion of technicalities will be necessary. It is truly unfortunate that the undefined and undefinable notion of synonymy has been the Frankenstein of

many Korean semanticists who have made gallant and indefatigable attempts to account for the alleged synonymy of the two types of negation as well as the two types of causatives. Although Yang brings in a universalist argument that negative sentences of both English and Korean can be similarly accounted for by postulating Neg as a higher predicate, his hypothesis based on a single underlying structure, like his predecessors', fails to account for the facts of negation in Korean. The continuing controversy has revealed that more complicated theories with their sophisticated but unmotivated rules and mechanisms hardly surpass my earlier and simpler hypothesis, which can account for the facts as well as any. I believe this to be a positive finding and a worthwhile outcome of the negative controversy that has been going on for almost twenty years.

## 10. The Scope of Negation

For the past two decades negation has been one of the most acrimoniously debated issues in the study of Korean. Despite continuous controversy surrounding the question, the subject has never been fully explored and many interesting aspects of negation remain untouched today. The weakness of previous studies, including my own modest contributions, lies in their failure to link up syntax with the semantics of negation. The majority of works on Korean negation can be characterized as mere semantic speculation without syntactic analysis. Unfortunately, semantic speculation narrowly focuses on the question of the synonymy of two types of negative sentences and on the ambiguity of one of the two. My own endeavors in this area have been essentially syntactic. I would like, therefore, to address myself in this chapter to the problem of the scope of negation.

There have been three papers dealing with this question: Choon-Hak Cho (1975), Wha-Chun Kim (1975), and Susumu Kuno (1980), and a brief examination of them is in order. The syntactic aspects of Korean negation have been fairly adequately described and repeatedly presented in the preceding chapters, but the myth surrounding the two types of negative sentences lingers on and is being reinforced by erroneous descriptions and misleading terminology. Take, for example, the latest description of Korean negation in Susumu Kuno (1980).<sup>1</sup>

Korean has two ways of negating a sentence. One way is to add *an(i)* 'not' before the verb, the other way is to add *an(i) hada* 'not do' after the verbal stem + *ci/ji* form. For example, observe the following sentences:

1. a. na-nun pap-ul meksupnita<sup>2</sup>  
I meal eat (polite)  
'I have a meal; I am going to eat.'

- b. na-nun pap-un an(i) meksupnita  
 I meal not eat  
 'I don't have a meal; I am not going to eat.'
- c. na-nun pap-un mek-ci an(i) hapnita  
 meal eat not do (polite)
- d. na-nun pap-un mek-ci anhsupnita  
 eat not-do (polite)  
 'I don't have a meal; I am not going to eat.'

In (1b), the negative morpheme precedes the verb, while in (1c), it follows the verb.<sup>3</sup> (p. 162)

Kuno's simple description of two ways of negating a sentence, which reflects the traditional view, is misleading. It implies that an affirmative sentence like (1a) above can be negated in two different ways.

Choon-Hak Cho (1975) and Wha-Chun Kim (1975) both employ the terms 'preverbal' and 'postverbal' negation to refer to (1b) and (1c), respectively. These terms are misleading, implying that the negative morpheme in Korean can be freely placed either before or after a verb. Consider the following sentence, in which the negative morpheme appears twice:

2. na-nun pap-ul ani mek-ci ani hapnita  
 'It isn't the case that I am not going to eat.'

How are we going to account for cases in which the two ways of negating a sentence converge in a single sentence? What are we going to call this type of negation? Perhaps, as preverbal and postverbal negation are combined, the preposterous new name 'prepostverbal negation' is the most appropriate candidate.

As I have repeatedly emphasized, there are not two ways of negation in Korean. There is only one way of negating a sentence, and the rule is, syntactically speaking, very simple: place the negative morpheme directly before the verb. I have claimed that only (1b) is a negative sentence corresponding to the affirmative sentence (1a). Where does the negative sentence (1c) come from? I have already answered this question in preceding chapters, and made a gallant attempt to defend my position as well. I will take a slightly different tack this time in an attempt to remove the suspicions of doubting Thomases.

Let us take a closer look at (2), which contains two negative particles. Because the negative particle must be placed directly before a verb, we must construe that (2) contains two verbs. We must further construe that (2) is a complex sentence containing a matrix verb that requires a sentential complement with its own verb. Indeed, we find a complementizer *ci* that signals the existence of an embedded structure COMP S. Now we have a clue for solving the enigma of two types of negation in Korean. Sentence (1c) is not another negative counterpart of (1a) but the negation of a matrix verb that requires a sentential complement. I have postulated (3) as a source sentence for (1c).

3. na-nun pap-ul mek-ki lul hapnita  
I meal eat-COMP do  
'I eat the meal.' (lit., 'I do the eating of the meal.')

When we negate the matrix verb of (3), we get (1c); but if we negate a constituent verb instead, we will get (4).

4. na nun pap ul ani mek-ki lul hapnita  
'It is the case that I do not eat.'

Of course, (2) illustrates a case in which both the matrix and constituent verbs are negated. For some strange reason linguists have only noted the existence of the negative sentences (1b–c) and jumped to the conclusion that these are two different ways of negating the affirmative sentence (1a). When we are confronted with sentences like (2) and (4), the myth of the two types of negation is exposed. This understanding of the relation of (3) with the three negative sentences (1c), (2), and (4) to be derived from it is adequate support for my view of the syntax of negation.<sup>4</sup>

My syntactic descriptions of negation have not been based on meaning, and I have been able to hedge about the synonymy of the two negative sentences (1b) and (1c). Previously I have offered only indirect and negative evidence against the synonymy hypotheses of the semanticists.<sup>5</sup> For the first time since the inception of the controversy on Korean negation in the mid-1960s (see Seok Choong Song 1966; Soon-Ham Park Kim 1967) the question of synonymy between (1b) and (1c) is squarely dealt with by Susumu Kuno (1980). According to Kuno, for some speakers they are synonymous, but other speakers feel that they are semantically distinct, although the difference is subtle. Kuno states:

In fact, there are speakers, especially among the younger generation,

who seem to be using the two forms interchangeably. However, there are speakers who draw a subtle distinction between the two forms. For these speakers, the form which has the negative morpheme before the verb is a verb negation, while the form which has the negative morpheme after the verb is a sentence negation. For example, observe the following discourses:

5. Speaker A: 1960-nyen ey thayenasyessupni-kka  
                   year      was-born      Q  
                   ‘Were you born in 1960?’

Speaker B: (a) ?aniyo, 1960-nyen ey an thayenassupnita  
                                   year      not was-born  
                                   ‘No, I was not born in 1960.’

(b) aniyo, 1960-nyen ey thayena-ci an hayssupnita

6. Speaker A: i kes ul phari eyse sassupni-kka  
                   this      Paris in      bought Q  
                   ‘Did you buy this in Paris?’

Speaker B: (a) aniyo, phari eyse(-nun) an sassupnita  
                                   no                                  not bought  
                                   ‘No, I didn’t buy this in Paris.’

(b) aniyo, phari eyse sa-ci an hyassupnita

For the speakers under discussion, (5Ba) is not as acceptable as (5Bb) as an answer to (5A). This seems to be due to the fact that what is negated in (5B) is not the verb *thayena* ‘be born’, but the time adverb ‘in 1960’. The same speakers report that there is a subtle difference in meaning between (6Ba) and (6Bb). They say that the latter is a simple negative answer to the question, while the former expresses Speaker B’s willful action of ‘not buying’. Namely, the implication of (6Ba), if exaggerated, is that of ‘I refrained from buying it in Paris’, and thus, this answer would be adequately [*sic*] only in the context that Speaker B could have bought the object under discussion both in Paris and, say, in London, and that he refrained from buying it in Paris, and bought it in London instead. This implication is consistent with the assumption that the negative version in which *an(i)* precedes the verb is verb negation, while the one in which *an(i) hada* follows the verb is a sentence negation. (pp. 162–63)

This is by far the best description of the semantic distinction in

Korean negation that has ever been printed. Kuno's insightful analysis does not carry us very far, however. The 'willful action' of 'not doing' applies only to action/processive verbs, and we encounter an insurmountable difficulty in differentiating verb negation from sentence negation when the same distinction is applied to description verbs, which involve no action at all. This fact should not diminish the real and unique contribution found in Kuno's elucidation of the subtle distinction that occurs between (6Ba) and (6Bb) or between (1b) and (1c). However, I still object to his phraseology referring to (6Ba) as 'the form which has the negative morpheme before the verb' and (6Bb) as 'the form which has the negative morpheme after the verb'.

Various designations have been proposed to differentiate (1b) from (1c): Type I and Type II (Choon-Kyu Oh 1971b; Dong-Whee Yang 1976; Hyun-Oak A. Kim 1977), Type A and Type B (Hong-Bae Lee 1970b), Short and Long (Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook Chang Lee 1969), and finally Preverbal and Postverbal (Soon-Ham Park Kim 1967; Choon-Hak Cho, 1975; Wha-Chun Kim, 1975). The underlying assumption common to all these designations is that there are two types of negative sentences or two ways of negating an affirmative sentence. I have repeatedly shown such an assumption to be a linguistic illusion. To avoid misleading terms, I would like to recommend the less confusing and more natural terms 'simplex' and 'complex' sentence negation, respectively. The latter has three variations, one with the negative particle associated with the constituent verb, another with the matrix verb, and finally a third with both the constituent and the matrix verbs, as illustrated by (4), (1c), and (2), respectively. As we are concerned with negative sentences of the type of (1c), let us for expository purposes ignore the other possibilities for the moment and use the term 'complex sentence negation' exclusively to refer to (1c). I would like to retain, however, the distinction between verb and sentence negations as semantic notions.

Kuno finds that (i) for some speakers, simplex and complex sentence negations are synonymous; but (ii) for other speakers, they are distinct and correspond to verb and sentence negation, respectively. Kuno's insightful analysis successfully links up syntactically different structures with subtle but undeniably distinct semantic interpretations. Although Kuno provides no systematic explanation of how such an association is to be mediated through a syntactic mechanism and semantic interpretive rules, his astute observation



Kim's "central claim," that "post-verbal negation results in sentence negation, negating all constituents preceding the verb, whereas pre-verbal negation simply negates the VP" (p. 16), which coincides with Kuno's claim cited earlier, is correct as far as it goes. Putting aside for the moment the possible dialectal split between older and younger generations that Kuno refers to, there seems to be a semantic distinction between simplex and complex sentence negations that can be captured appropriately in terms of such semantic notions as verb and sentence negation. What Korean linguists as well as native speakers have believed to be an alternative way of negating is really complex sentence negation with the negative particle placed before the matrix verb. Negative forms of simplex and complex sentences are semantically and syntactically distinct. This straightforward relation has been clouded by ambiguous interpretations of complex sentence negation as well as the alleged synonymy of the two types of negative sentences.

Choon-Hak Cho (1975) states that the aim of his paper is "to present and discuss another interesting but thus-far almost neglected aspect of negation in Korean, namely, the scope of negation" (p. 64). He chooses to ignore the controversy over "whether or not there are two ways of negating a sentence in Korean." He introduces the traditional view as well as my own and proceeds to discuss the question of ambiguity. In a footnote, however, he breaks his neutrality and sides with the traditional view, which finds much support among semanticists: "Unlike most other languages, Korean has two ways of verbal negation: pre-verbal and post-verbal. Post-verbal negation applies to any sentences, but pre-verbal negation is defective in that it cannot apply to all imperative and propositive sentences and some declarative and interrogative sentences with certain verbs" (p. 75).<sup>6</sup>

Cho's theory on the relative heights of quantifier and negative, an exact copy of an outdated hypothesis of George Lakoff (1970), deserves no serious comment.<sup>7</sup> The underlying structures he postulates reveal practically nothing about the structural peculiarities of Korean. Nowhere does he make an attempt to show how his underlying structures are to be mapped onto surface structures. Without going into the details of his uninteresting arguments, I will summarize his conclusions and check the validity of his claims against Korean data.

Consider the following examples from Choon-Hak Cho (1975):



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synonymous with those of pre-verbal negation since they have the same scope of negation, that is, they both yield narrower-scope readings. (pp. 77–78)

Cho's semantic description of Korean negation appears to be different from and more complex than the descriptions of Kuno and Wha-Chun Kim. But once we distinguish two different environments in which negations occur, we find that the apparently confusing picture Cho presents coincides fairly closely with the simpler descriptions offered by Kuno and Wha-Chun Kim. Let us first draw a distinction between two different environments. For expository purposes I will call the various contexts in which Wha-Chun Kim has examined the two types of negative sentences 'affected environments'. Negative sentences that contain a quantifier, an adverbial phrase, or a presupposition-bearing element, as discussed by Cho, also occur in the 'affected environments'. Sentences like (1b–c) and (7a–b), which contain none of the elements Cho enumerates and which do not occur in the various contexts that Wha-Chun Kim cites, may be said to occur in 'neutral environments'. In terms of this crucial distinction, the positions of the three authors whose articles I have been examining can be charted as in charts I, II, and III.

Kim seems to imply, without explicitly stating it, that the two types of negative sentences are semantically nondistinct unless they occur in the affected environment.<sup>8</sup> When we compare the two charts representing Kim's and Cho's positions, we find only a slight difference. In Cho's chart complex sentence negation in the affected environment is ambiguous, and one of its readings coincides with that of simplex sentence negation. The two charts are otherwise practically identical. In fact, anyone comparing the three charts will notice a strikingly consistent pattern emerging from them. There seems to be an invariable connection between simplex sentence and verb negations, on the one hand, and complex sentence and sentence negations, on the other, in the affected environments where such a distinction is valid.<sup>9</sup> The charts also show a consistent and clear match between syntactic structural differences and distinct semantic readings.

Although the ambiguity of complex sentence negation in affected environments has been noted before and informally discussed by other linguists, Cho's singular contribution has been to bring the problem into the arena of controversy and to discuss it explicitly, suggesting what he believes to be a plausible solution. Even if Cho

I. Susumu Kuno (1980)

<i>Sentence Types</i>	<i>Environment</i>		
	Neutral	Affected	
		YOUNGER	OLDER
Simplex S Negation	Nondistinct	Nondistinct	Verb Negation
Complex S Negation			Sentence Negation

II. Wha-Chun Kim (1975)

<i>Sentence Types</i>	<i>Environment</i>	
	Neutral	Affected
Simplex S Negation	(Nondistinct)	Verb Negation
Complex S Negation		Sentence Negation

III. Choon-Hak Cho (1975)

<i>Sentence Types</i>	<i>Environment</i>	
	Neutral	Affected
Simplex S Negation	Nondistinct	Verb Negation
Complex S Negation		Sentence Negation Verb Negation

were successful in his attempt to resolve the question of ambiguity in complex sentences, he would still have to face a similar question of ambiguity in simplex sentence negation, which I have noted in chapter 9. Consider the following example:

10. \*John-i yelsimhi pule-lul ani paywessta  
eagerly French NEG studied  
'\*Eagerly John didn't study French.'

Although I rejected this sentence at first, I soon discovered that some native speakers accepted it in the sentence-negation sense.<sup>10</sup> In fact, it is not at all uncommon to use the simplex sentence negation with the sentence-negation reading. Consider the following:

11. Bill-un il-lul yelsimhi ani hanta  
work eagerly do  
'Bill doesn't do the work eagerly.'  
(=Bill works but not eagerly.)

Sentence (11) is not only readily acceptable but also entirely natural. Sentence (10) becomes less awkward if we move the adverb directly before the verb that is preceded by the negative particle, as in (12). Normally, this type of scrambling does not make grammatical sentences out of ungrammatical ones. It merely makes a sentence either more or less acceptable or natural.

12. John-i pule-lul yelsimhi ani paywessta  
'John didn't study French eagerly.'  
(=John studied French but not eagerly.)

Sentence (12) is the negation of a simplex sentence in an affected environment. From the foregoing discussion, we would expect the verb negation reading, which is semantically incongruous. Our expectation in this case turns out to be wrong, and (12) is neither ungrammatical nor subject to the verb-negation reading. Contrary to our expectation, this sentence is grammatical and interpretable in the sense of sentence negation. Thus, Cho's claim that negation of simplex sentences is under all circumstances interpretable only as verb negation is no longer tenable. But this is just the beginning of a calamity that will spell even greater disaster for the semanticists. Although (12) is unambiguously sentence negation, might there also be cases where simplex negation is potentially am-

biguous between verb and sentence negation? Consider the following sentences:

13. John-i sakwa-lul twu kay ani mekessta  
 apple two piece NEG ate  
 'John didn't eat two apples.'  
 'John ate but not two apples.'

Once again, (13) is a simplex sentence negation, and we are supposed to expect verb negation semantically. But, as the gloss provided shows, the sentence is ambiguous between the verb- and sentence-negation readings. The sentence-negation reading becomes unmistakable if we expand this sentence as in (14).

14. John-un sakwa-lul twu kay an mek-ko yele kay mekessta  
 eat-and several  
 'John didn't eat two apples but several.'

As I have shown above, not only complex sentence negation but also simplex sentence negation is ambiguous. In some cases, however, the expected verb negation is semantically incongruous, and the only interpretation allowed is sentence negation. Consider the following:

15. pi-ka manhi ani oassta  
 rain a lot NEG came  
 'It didn't rain a lot.'  
 (=It rained but not a lot.)

Unlike (13), sentence (15) allows only one reading, that of sentence negation. The verb-negation reading is ruled out because of semantic incongruity.

Let us now go back to one of Cho's own examples of simplex sentence negation and see whether or not it is ambiguous.

8. John-man(-i) Mary-lul an ttayli-essta  
 'Only John did not beat Mary.'

I do not doubt that the gloss given, indicating verb negation, is a natural as well as predominant reading. But (8) also allows another reading, an interpretation that becomes clearer when we expand the sentence as follows:

16. John-man Mary-lul ani ttayli-ko na-to ttayliessta  
 beat-and I-also  
 ‘Not only John but I also beat Mary.’

Undoubtedly, the more natural interpretation in the case of (16) is that of sentence negation. It would, however, be absurd to claim that the additional elements brought in to expand sentence (8) have caused a semantic shift from verb negation to sentence negation. It would make much more sense to claim that the latent but potential ambiguity of (8) has been brought out by expanding that sentence. As far as I can ascertain, all the examples Cho provides to demonstrate unambiguous verb negation for simplex sentence (=his preverbal) negation are subject to ambiguous interpretations between verb and sentence negation. When we draw up another chart to show what actually is going on, the picture can only be described as chaotic.

IV. Actual Situation

<i>Sentence Types</i>	<i>Environment</i>		
	Neutral	Affected	
Simplex S Negation	Nondistinct	Nondistinct	Verb Negation Sentence Negation
Complex S Negation			Sentence Negation Verb Negation

It is interesting to note that both Kuno and Kim are unaware of the potential ambiguity of complex sentence negation in the affected environment brought out by Cho. The crux of the problem for Cho and other semanticists is not only that complex sentence negation is ambiguous, but that one of its readings is synonymous with that of simplex sentence negation. My own investigation reveals that simplex sentence negation is also ambiguous between verb and sentence negation readings in the affected environment. Thus, both types of negation are ambiguous and their interpretations completely overlap. Cho’s complicated description fails to cover the full range of data and falls short of reaching even the level of observational adequacy. But even if all the facts were known

to Cho, how would he go about describing the hopelessly confusing data? Is it really the case that two different readings or semantic structures are mapped indiscriminately onto two distinct syntactic structures in affected environments? No one has ever explicitly claimed so, but that would be the only logical conclusion to be drawn on the basis of the observed data, if we were to follow the semanticists' argument. The ambiguity of both complex and simple sentence negation and the fact that their two readings overlap nullify all previous descriptions of negation in Korean, and the impact of the blow on the semanticists' position will probably be the most severe. If Cho's description is complicated, the actual situation seems to be even more so.

Although it is by no means easier for a syntactician to account for the complex situation, there is a difference in the ways syntacticians and semanticists approach the question. Semanticists start out with a description of meaning, and any new evidence that invalidates their hypotheses on semantic grounds will have a serious impact on them. Syntacticians set out to describe syntactic structure independently of meaning and assign appropriate readings to separately generated underlying structures. Their descriptions of syntax may or may not be affected by new semantic discoveries. I find, therefore, no compelling reason to give up, modify, or revise my own hypothesis, which has survived the attacks of semanticists for the past twenty years, in order to untangle the semantic structures and impose a semblance of order on the system that underlies the competence of native speakers.<sup>11</sup>

Language is an enormously complex entity, biologically endowed, socially conditioned, and constantly changing through time. A linguistic system at a particular stage in time can be the end result of various factors operating concurrently, some holding it together and some pulling it apart. The complex picture I have presented can best be viewed as the result of a convergence of dialectal variations and/or an overlap in the speech of different generations. The apparent chaotic picture that Korean negation presents, in which one system is overlaid over another, can be compared to a double-exposed frame of film in which two pictures or scenes overlap. I conjecture that there is a neat one-to-one correspondence between semantics and syntax in the underlying system. For various reasons still not very clear, a subsystem has developed and overlapped with the previous system. Historically, according to Hyun-Oak A. Kim (1977), complex sentence negation

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is a later development, coming into existence around the early part of the sixteenth century. When simplex and complex sentence negations first came to coexist peacefully, it is probable that they were semantically as well as syntactically distinct. I will consider the two distinct interpretations corresponding to different syntactic structures at this stage of development as their primary readings and further postulate that these primary readings still underlie the grammar of negation in Korean. I will represent the situation in the following chart:

### V. Primary Readings

<i>Sentence Types</i>	<i>Environment</i>	
	Neutral	Affected
Simplex S Negation	Verb Negation	
Complex S Negation	Sentence Negation	

If we compare this chart with that of Kuno given earlier, we see that they are practically identical. The only difference lies in the neutral environment and the dialectal split shown by Kuno among speakers of different age groups. In the charts of Kim and Cho we find that the distinct reading has been taken over entirely by the nondistinct reading in the same environment. Although I am not totally convinced by their analysis, it is clear that the language is drifting in that direction. They reflect the strong feelings of native speakers, linguists and laymen alike, about the synonymy of the two negative sentences in the neutral environment. Without quantifiers, adverbs, and other such elements to contribute in differentiating verb negation from sentence negation, the distinction becomes so subtle and blurred—so neutralized—that native speakers are usually unaware of such a distinction until they are reminded of its existence with convincing examples. I believe that the semantic distinction between simplex and complex sentence negations in the neutral environment has not yet been completely lost, but it is steadily losing ground. The semanticists' claim of synonymy, I must admit, is not totally unwarranted, but it is a far cry from their insistent claim that the two negative sentences must be derived

from a single underlying structure because they are synonymous. For expository purposes, I will designate this neutralized or nondistinct reading of simplex and complex negative sentences in the neutral environment as the secondary reading. My “double exposure” hypothesis neatly accounts for the situation, allowing potentially distinct (between verb negation and sentence negation) and nondistinct (neutralized) readings to coexist.

Now let us turn to the affected environment, which is much more problematic and complicated. Although Cho concludes that only complex sentence negation is ambiguous, data I have examined contradict his conclusion. As I have shown, similar ambiguity also exists in simplex sentence negation. Furthermore, the alternative interpretation of simplex sentence negation is synonymous with the primary reading of complex sentence negation. In other words, simplex sentence negation allows a secondary reading of sentence negation. This is precisely the reverse of the case that Cho has claimed to exist in interpreting the ambiguity of complex sentence negation. To repeat, Cho states that postverbal (=complex sentence) negation is ambiguous and one of its readings, i.e., the Neg-verb reading, is synonymous with that of preverbal (simplex sentence) negation. To rephrase it in my own terms, the primary reading of complex sentence negation in the affected environment is that of sentence negation, and its secondary reading is that of verb negation. If we draw another chart to represent secondary readings, it looks something like the following:

VI. Secondary Readings

<i>Sentence Types</i>	<i>Environment</i>	
	Neutral	Affected
Simplex S Negation	Nondistinct	Sentence Negation
Complex S Negation		Verb Negation

When we overlay chart V of primary readings on the above chart of secondary readings, we get chart IV of the actual situation. When we succeed in separating the two layers of semantic readings in operation, we see the clear picture of an underlying system

beneath the complex surface. My double-exposure hypothesis neatly accounts for the puzzling ambiguity of the two negative sentences and the even more enigmatic relation of double synonymy between them.

In the past a great deal has been said about the ambiguity of complex sentence negation in the affected environment and the synonymy relation of one of its readings with the simplex sentence negation in the same environment, and the semanticists' claim of alleged synonymy between simplex and complex sentence negation has been the cornerstone of their single underlying structure hypothesis. But there has been no discussion of why such an ambiguity and synonymy relation occurs. Although I have no clear picture of how the Korean language has evolved, it may not be idle to speculate on its possible course of development.

As I have hypothesized earlier, there must have been a stage when simplex and complex negation were semantically as well as syntactically distinct. Then two things seem to have happened. First, the semantic distinction was lost in the neutral environment, a case of semantic neutralization. Second, in the affected environment, syntactically well formed but semantically incongruous (in the sense of verb negation) simplex negation began to be reinterpreted in the sense of sentence negation instead of being rejected as ungrammatical. As such reinterpretations began to occur more frequently, native speakers' reactions could have changed gradually until their perception of negation became affected. Consider the following examples that support my speculations:

17. a. Bill-un il-lul yelsimhi ani ha-n-ta  
          work-ACC eagerly do  
      '\*Bill eagerly doesn't work.'
- b. Joe-nun ton-ul manhi ani pel-ess-ta  
          money a lot earn  
      '\*Joe abundantly didn't earn money.'

In (17a) the adverb *yelsimhi* 'eagerly' implies some action, and it is inconceivable that Bill can eagerly 'not do the work'. Although this is a simplex sentence, the verb negation reading is blocked because of semantic incongruity. Likewise, in (17b) the verb negation reading is impossible. Both sentences in (17), however, are grammatical and readily interpretable in the sense of sentence negation. When the expected verb negation reading in simplex sentences is blocked

for semantic reasons, native speakers seem to strive to provide possible alternative readings instead of rejecting syntactically well-formed negative sentences. When adverbial elements in these sentences are associated with the negative, we get the sentence negation reading. I suspect this is how an alternative sentence negation reading came about for simplex negation, which originally had only a verb negation reading.

How the complex negation developed its secondary reading is a greater mystery. But it does not seem extraordinary when we take into account the new development in both the neutral and affected environments. As a consequence of the secondary reading of simplex negation in the affected environment, a partial overlap in the semantic interpretation of simplex and complex negations resulted. The semantic overlap has already taken place in the neutral environment because of neutralization of scope distinction. Only one step away is the total overlap in semantic readings of simplex and complex negations in the affected environment. A further corruption is inevitable in due course. If the construction Neg V is felt to be nondistinct from *V-ci Neg-ha* in one environment and, furthermore, one reading of the former coincided with that of the latter in another environment, it would be little wonder if any remaining distinction came to be affected and blurred eventually.

At this point some sort of restructuring process must have occurred that gave complex sentence negation a secondary reading of verb negation, which overlaps with that of a negative simplex sentence. The synonymy induced by semantic overlapping is a coincidence of mathematical necessity due to a limited choice of options. If there are only two possible readings allowed by the difference in the scope of negation, it is inevitable that one of the two readings of complex sentence negation will coincide with the verb negation reading of simplex sentence negation. When simplex sentence negation also developed its secondary reading of sentence negation, it coincided, of course, with the primary reading of complex sentence negation. Although we do not know the actual history of the Korean language, it is possible to speculate in such a way on the complexity of the semantic interpretations associated with negative sentences and the lack of one-to-one correspondence between syntactic structures and semantic readings.

I have said that both complex and simplex negative sentences have developed secondary readings. This, of course, is a figure of speech. New readings do not develop, but the people who speak

the language assign new readings to sentences that are already associated with at least one reading. When the reanalysis of complex sentence negation came to shift the scope of negation, a new reading of verb negation in neutral environments was assigned to it along with the old sentence negation reading. The final stage set in when speakers began assigning the sentence negation reading to the simplex sentence negation. The history appears to have run full course, and what took place in the neutral environment has repeated itself in the affected environment, giving a superficial impression that syntactically different negative sentences have lost their semantic distinction.

Due to a quirk of history, we have two syntactically distinct negative sentences, each with ambiguous readings that overlap. This asymmetric relation between syntax and semantics has caused real difficulties in descriptions of negation in Korean, and controversy continues with little sign of abating. I have proposed the 'double exposure' hypothesis to account for the confusing situation created by the discrepancy between the syntax and semantics of the two negative sentences. Further, I have speculated on how the ambiguity of each of these negative sentences and the resulting synonymy relation between them might have come about. Now I will conclude this chapter by considering the theoretical implications of the solution I have proposed to link syntax with semantics in the description of Korean negation.

My first step toward formulating a reasonably clear and linguistically plausible account of negation has been to separate syntax and semantics. The next step has been to unravel the entangled strands in the semantic component to impose a semblance of order. My final step has been to relate syntax and semantics by assigning appropriate readings to sentences generated in the syntactic component independently of meaning. Of course, a full account of negation will include other factors, such as pragmatics, dialectal split, the direction of drift, analogical operation, and so on. Over the last two decades I have striven to provide a syntactic description of negative sentences and especially of the structural relationship between the simplex and complex sentence negations. I believe that the linguistic evidence I have accumulated to support my syntactic arguments through these years is overwhelming. If it has failed to convince those of the semantic school, I doubt that further attempts will succeed. I have therefore shifted my tactics to show how vulnerable the semanticists' position is in their own stronghold. It

is not reasonable to claim just because the two negative sentences are ambiguous and doubly synonymous that two separate semantic structures have to be mapped onto two distinct syntactic structures in an ad hoc manner. Such a move would nullify the important distinction of simplex and complex sentences altogether. Although the field has been flooded with semantically oriented discussions of negation, no attempt has been made to explore the nature of the alleged ambiguity and the resulting synonymy. I have shown how these problems can be systematically explained by holding to the position of autonomous syntax and semantic interpretive principles. Other aspects of negation still demand further study, but I feel that I have presented for the first time a fairly comprehensive proposal that links syntax and semantics in order to provide a more satisfactory account of negation in Korean. My integrated description incorporating a 'separate underlying structure' hypothesis in syntax and a 'double exposure' hypothesis in semantics should finally put to rest the specter of a time-honored but decrepit Korean grammatical tradition that proclaims two ways of negating sentences and its modern incarnation as the single underlying structure hypothesis.

## 11. A Postscript to the Negation Controversy

It may appear that more than enough has been said about negation in Korean in the preceding five chapters. This postscript will be my last effort to pacify critics who refuse to accept my hypothesis on the grounds that it fails to account for certain irregularities. They are willing to accommodate idiosyncrasies of language but reject a theory that leaves a marginal example or two. I have examined many hypotheses on Korean negation that have been put forward in the past twenty years or so and have shown that none of them is problem-free, and I believe that their shortcomings and failures are greater than mine. Careful readers of part 2 of this book, which is entirely devoted to negation, will agree with my assessment. My strategy in this chapter will be to face squarely the three most insistent questions raised against my theory of negation and to examine them critically in order to test their validity. These questions are concerned with the problems of grammaticality, synonymy, and the relation between structure and usage.

Although syntax and semantics are inseparably entwined and it is difficult to tell when we cross the fine line that separates them, I still believe that it is possible to construct a hypothesis in which a description of syntactic structure can be independent of semantics.<sup>1</sup> This is the principle I have followed in describing various aspects of Korean syntax in this book. When separate underlying structures were postulated for two different types of negative sentences in Korean, the most important reason was that it made sense from a syntactic point of view. Syntactically speaking, there is one and only one rule of negation:

- I. Place the negative particle *ani* in front of a verb to effect negation.

Now let us consider how this rule operates and what ramifications it might have in a description of negation. Although

there is another negative particle, *mos*, and propositive and imperative demand other modes of negation, I will restrict myself to negation by means of the negative particle *ani* for the time being. The pair of sentences given below illustrate a match between an affirmative and a negative sentence.

1. John-i ka-n-ta  
NM go-IND-DCL  
'John is going.'
2. John-i ani ka-n-ta  
NEG  
'John is not going.'

A corollary to Rule I above will be that when we drop the negative particle from a negative sentence, we retrieve the original affirmative sentence. When we apply this corollary to example (2), we get (1) as expected. The weakness of my hypothesis becomes apparent when it fails to account for another type of negative sentence.

Traditionally grammarians as well as native speakers have firmly believed that there were two negative sentences corresponding to the affirmative sentence (1). Many linguists still tenaciously hold on to this belief, and their new hypotheses of negation, which try to map out the processes that derive both types of negative sentences from a single underlying structure, merely put the traditional belief in a new guise. The alleged second negative correspondent of (1) is (3) below.

3. John-i ka ci ani ha-n-ta  
COMP  
'John is not going.'
4. \*John-i ka ci ha-n-ta

I have been reluctant to accept the traditional claim for several reasons, which I have already presented at various points in my arguments in the preceding chapters. One of the major reasons was that I was unable to accept unconstrained theories that freely introduce new morphological elements like *ci* and *ha* to relate (3) with (1), which lacks them.<sup>2</sup> My critics are quick to point out my own failure to retrieve an affirmative counterpart from the negative sentence (3): When the corollary to Rule I is applied to (3) and we drop the

negative particle, we get the ungrammatical string (4).

Ungrammatical strings play crucial roles in linguistic description today, because linguistically plausible explanations for their ungrammaticality are required. An explicit and illuminating account of ungrammaticality can contribute as much to a theory of language as a description of grammatical sentences. It is important to note that (4) is ungrammatical, but it is even more important to clarify the reason for its being ungrammatical. I have done so in my initial study on Korean negation (Seok Choong Song 1967), and, at the risk of boring the reader, I will briefly summarize the gist of my arguments.

From a purely formal point of view (4) is a fine sentence on the syntactic level and, in some abstract sense, as grammatical as any other Korean sentence you can find. However, it is ungrammatical on the surface, i.e., it is unpronounceable owing to the failure to undo the effect of a phonological rule that applies only in a negative environment. By dropping the negative particle *ani* from the negative sentence (3), we have inadvertently created an affirmative environment. If there are rules that apply in a negative environment alone, then affirmative sentences derived by dropping the negative particle *must* be ungrammatical because they retain all the effects of rules operating in the negative environment. In my hypothesis there is a syntactically conditioned phonological rule that affects the choice of a complementizer. In plain words, the rule can be stated as follows:

- II. Choose the shape *ki* in the affirmative and replace it with the shape *ci* in the negative environment.

This is an oversimplification, which is far from being precise and requires other interesting constraints (pointed out in chapters 6 and 9), but this will serve our purpose here as a first approximation.

We now have a legitimate explanation of why (4) is ungrammatical: It retains the shape *ci* in an affirmative environment. By replacing *ci* with the appropriate shape *ki*, we should be able to find the affirmative counterpart to the negative sentence (3), which I give below as (5).

5. \*John-i ka ki ha-n-ta

Unfortunately, my prediction fails and we still get an unacceptable sentence. Example sentence (5), to most of my colleagues, is

definitely ungrammatical. Although the odds are heavily against my being able to salvage this sentence as grammatical, I am still reluctant to reject (5) as an outright ungrammatical string. For still unknown reasons (5) is unacceptable, but I would like to insist that it can become grammatical once the cause for its unacceptability is found.

Controversy is still raging about the distinction between acceptability and grammaticality, but I believe that this crucial distinction will save my hypothesis. I have hypothesized that the low acceptability or ungrammaticality of (5) is due to the deletion of an accusative marker after the complementizer. When we add the accusative marker *lul* after *ki*, the acceptability dramatically improves, as (6) illustrates.

6. John-i ka ki-lul ha-n-ta

Rather than assert that an ungrammatical string suddenly becomes grammatical when an accusative marker is added, it makes more sense to claim that when the accusative marker is dropped in (6), its acceptability also drops almost to a point that it will no longer be acceptable. Now, let us add the accusative marker after *ci* in (3) and put this new sentence (7) alongside (6).

6. John-i ka ki-lul ha-n-ta

7. John-i ka ci-lul ani ha-n-ta

We now have a perfectly matching pair of affirmative and negative sentences. This identity can be made even more convincing if we permit ourselves to indulge in a bit of abstract theorizing. Since the alternant shapes of the complementizer are phonological phenomena, we can represent the complementizer as KI on a morphological level. When we replace *ki* in (6) and *ci* in (7) with the more abstract KI and conflate them, we get the following sentences in (8):

8. John-i ka KI-lul (ani) ha-n-ta

The only problem still to be accounted for is the fact that the accusative marker is optionally deletable in (7) but not in (6). As a matter of fact, the negative sentence without the accusative marker is more natural and much more frequent, although the acceptability of (7) is very high. The inapplicability of optional accusative marker deletion to (6) has been considered an Achilles tendon in my otherwise plausible hypothesis. Before indulging in conjecture and

speculation on this intriguing question, I will present data which show overwhelmingly the identity between affirmative and negative sentences. Note that when particles other than the accusative marker occur, there is a perfect match between affirmative and negative sentences.

9. a. John-i ka ki-to ha-n-ta  
          even  
      ‘John is even going.’
- b. John-i ka ci-to ani ha-n-ta  
          ‘John is not even going.’
10. a. John-i ka ki-ya ha-n-ta  
          surely  
      ‘John is certainly going.’
- b. John-i ka ci-ya ani ha-n-ta  
          ‘John is certainly not going.’
11. a. John-i ka ki-nun ha-n-ta  
          TOP  
      ‘John does go.’
- b. John-i ka ci-nun ani ha-n-ta  
          ‘John does NOT go’
12. a. John-i ka ki-man ha-n-ta  
          only  
      ‘John is only going.’
- b. John-i ka ci-man ani ha-n-ta  
          ‘John is only not going.’

In spite of the data and all the arguments in favor of the hypothesis that claims the identity of *ki* and *ci*, I failed to convince D. Yang, who challenged my proposal on several counts in Dong-Whee Yang (1976). I have carefully evaluated his counterarguments and rebutted each of his objections in chapter 9. Furthermore, I have shown that there are even more perfect matches between affirmative and negative sentences. I will produce here only one of many similar pairs. Consider the following:

13. a. John-i ka ki-kkaci-nun hay-ss-ta  
           extent-TOP  
       'John at least DID go.'
- b. John-i ka ki-kkaci-nun ani hay-ss-ta  
           'John at least did NOT go.'

In this pair of sentences *ki* remains unaltered in the negative environment. As I have argued, this is not a refutation of my hypothesis. On the contrary, it is the strongest confirmation of the claim that *ki* and *ci* are realizations of a single morpheme. When specific conditions for their alternation are not met, the complementizer *ki* occurs unaltered even in the negative environment.

When particles like *to*, *ya*, *nun*, and *man* occur after the complement sentence, they cannot be deleted without altering the meaning of the sentence. Whereas the nominative and accusative markers indicate grammatical functions of constituents to which they are attached, these particles carry specific meanings of their own. Nominative and accusative markers are often deletable because they make no semantic contribution other than defining the grammatical functions of the elements they occur with. When we can produce an overwhelming number of cases of a perfect match between affirmative and negative sentences, should we reject a hypothesis solely on the grounds that it fails to account for a single case in which an optional accusative marker deletion rule is inoperable? Although numerical superiority may not be an overriding factor in passing a linguistic judgment, would it not be more sensible to accommodate an exception than ignore overwhelming statistical facts? I am inclined to think, however, that if my hypothesis is not in error, some reasonable explanation for what appears to be an exception can be found. Before I present some evidence to show that the retention of the accusative marker in an affirmative sentence is well motivated, I will first discuss the notions of grammaticality and acceptability.

The notion of grammaticality as we understand it today was not introduced in the field of linguistics until the emergence of the generative theory of grammar. Linguists in the past were content to deal only with grammatical sentences, which they could elicit from native speakers or collect from texts. If certain things were not said, no penetrating questions were raised. It was assumed that there were gaps, accidental or structural, and ungrammaticality was

often equated with errors in performance.

Grammaticality in the Chomskyan framework diverges considerably from the traditional notion, and the term is meaningful only as a technical term pertaining to a particular theory.<sup>3</sup> Understood in a strictly theory-internal sense, grammatical sentences are what the generative devices called grammars enumerate. Undoubtedly, many or most of these sentences are also acceptable, but grammaticality and acceptability are distinct and separate notions. Unfortunately, a great deal of confusion occurs when these two notions are not distinguished, as in discussions of Korean negation.

In an effort to refute my claim that sentences like (6) are grammatical, Hong-Bae Lee (1970b) states: "As far as I know, all Koreans think that strings (i) and (ii) are not only unnatural but also ungrammatical. Their becoming grammatical sentences by substituting *nun*, *to* or *ya* for *lul* in (i) or *ka* in (ii) has nothing to do with the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of (i) and (ii)" (p. 34). This is a very strong statement verging on a manifesto of an article of faith. As I will show directly, Lee's conviction is founded on a confusion of grammaticality and acceptability. Lee's pronouncement of ungrammaticality is based on his own intuition or that of his fellow Koreans. In other words, it is based on the judgment of whether a sentence is actually spoken or heard. What he calls grammaticality here is equivalent to acceptability in the linguistic literature. When I used the term grammaticality, I was following the standard usage in generative grammar. In the generative view a grammar of a language is a system of rules that generates an infinite number of sentences in that language. A grammar often overgenerates, and some of its outputs have to be weeded out when they fail to meet certain well-formedness conditions at various levels. Thus, the by-now-famous sentence of Chomsky, "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously," is grammatical on a syntactic level, as everyone knows. Likewise, sentence (6) is grammatical, as long as my grammar generates this string according to the rules of phrase structure in the syntactic component. It is obvious that when Lee and I use the term 'grammatical' we are speaking different languages. Choon-Kyu Oh (1971b) is also of the opinion that my sentence (6) is ungrammatical and that only similar sentences with contextual particles (= *nun*, *to*, *ya*, etc.) in place of the accusative marker are grammatical. Oh's judgment of grammaticality is no different from that of Lee. These linguists have placed themselves in an enor-

mously difficult position by rejecting (6) and accepting (9a), (10a), (11a), and (12a).

Within the subsystem of case theory in the framework of government and binding of Noam Chomsky (1986), there is a case filter that requires that "every phonologically realized NP must be assigned (abstract) Case" (p. 74). Nominative and accusative are case markers, whereas *nun*, *to*, *ya*, *man*, etc., are not. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

14. a. John-i ka-n-ta  
      'John is going.'
- b. John-to ka-n-ta  
      'John also is going.'
15. a. John-i hakkyo-ey ka-ss-ta  
          school-to  
      'John went to school.'
- b. John-i hakkyo-ey-to ka-ss-ta  
          also  
      'John went to school also.'

In all the sentences above the subject is clearly marked by *i*, the Nominative Marker (NM), except for (14b), where a contextual particle *to* replaces NM. Because the contextual particle has its own semantic content, it is assumed that it is marked in the underlying structure, whereas case markers like nominative and accusative can be assigned to NPs by virtue of the configurations in which they appear. It is misleading, then, to state as I have just done that the contextual particle replaces the NM. I believe that sentences like (14b) in which the subject NP lacks the NM on the surface have a case, nominative in (14b), assigned nonetheless. Although the case marker is phonetically invisible, the abstract case relation has not been affected and the NP to which only the contextual particle is attached remains the subject of the sentence.

Now compare the goal NPs in (15a–b). In (15a) the static locative *ey* marks the goal NP; in (15b) the contextual particle *to* is stacked onto it. In Korean, it is possible to stack up more than one particle in a row, within limits. Observe the following combinations:

16. a. NP *ey nun*, NP *ey kkaci to*, NP *ey kkaci ya*,  
 NP *ey man un*, NP *ey kkaci ya nun*, NP *ey kkaci man un*  
 b. \*NP NM *nun*, \*NP NM *to*, \*NP ACC *nun*, \*NP ACC *to*

In contrast to particles, case markers seem to be barred from this morphological combination process.<sup>4</sup> Thus, we do not find either a nominative or an accusative marker followed by contextual particles. There are two (or possibly more) ways to deal with this problem. If we allow filters in grammar, then (16b) can serve as such and the NM and ACC followed by contextual particles will be considered ungrammatical and filtered out. I will take a different route and provide the following rule to eliminate the undesired effect of case markers combining with contextual particles.

17. a.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NM} \\ \text{ACC} \end{array} \right\} \text{CONT PTC} \longrightarrow \emptyset \text{CONT PTC}$   
 b. CASE  $\longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{--- PTC}$

Rule (17a) shows that the case markers are present at a certain stage of derivation, and they become phonetically invisible when contextual particles are added. This verbal statement must not be taken too literally: Contextual particles are generated in the deep structure, and it is the case markers that are assigned on the surface. When they occur together in the required order, the case markers are deleted. Although they disappear, the functions of NPs that they define are never affected. A more conventional way to represent the process is (17b), which says that case markers are deleted before the contextual particle. Consider the following pair of sentences:

18. a. John-to Mary-lul manna-ss-ta  
 also ACC meet-PAST  
 'John also met Mary.'  
 b. Mary-ka John-to manna-ss-ta  
 NM also  
 'Mary met John also.'

*John-to* occurs in both sentences, but it is the subject of (18a) and the direct object of a transitive verb in (18b). Its grammatical function is unmistakable despite the lack or invisibility of case marking due to rule (17). Case markers are deleted, but the case marking function remains unaltered.



cality and acceptability, an inelegant but harmless sentence like (19b) poses no serious grammatical problem.

Synonymy has been another stumbling block to a clear understanding of many linguistic problems. I have touched upon this question in relation to negation in chapters 7 and 10 and will discuss it again in chapters 12 and 13 with regard to the causative. Similar to the case of grammaticality, there has been a confusion of logic and linguistics, and synonymy is often equated with the identity of the truth value of a propositional content. I am of the school of thought that believes in the principle of 'one meaning, one form'. In the preface to his perceptive and insightful book, Dwight Bolinger (1977) declares, "Linguists are not logicians, and we surrender our birthright if we turn away from the very kinds of meaning that we are best equipped to deal with" (p. ix). William Labov is also of the opinion that "speakers do not readily accept the fact that two different expressions actually 'mean the same'" (*Stadium Generale*, 23.77). If Korean linguists have found no semantic distinction between the two types of negation in Korean, it may be proof that they have failed in their task rather than that native speakers use both forms indiscriminately. In chapter 10, I have quoted Susumu Kuno's insightful observation that some speakers do differentiate the meanings of the two negative sentences. More recently, Seungja Choi (1985) reveals semantic disparity between the two types of negation and proposes to account for it in terms of the Aristotelian opposition of 'contrary vs. contradictory'. Regardless of the validity of her claim, which is still fragmentary and has to be fleshed out before her assertion can be verified, Choi's interesting study is an important contribution toward a new exploration of the semantic disparity between the two types of negation.

To support Choi's claim of semantic disparity between the two types of negation, the following pairs of my own examples are provided for further consideration:

20. a. \*yeki-nun ani tewup ko ani chwup-ta  
here warm cold

b. yeki-nun tewup ci-to ani hako chwup ci-to ani ha-ta  
'It is neither warm nor cold here.'

- c. \*toli-nun swuni-lul ani coahako ani silheha-n-ta  
Toli Soonie like dislike
- d. toli-nun swuni-lul coaha ci-to ani hako silheha ci-to  
ani ha-n-ta  
'Toli neither likes nor dislikes Sonnie.'
- e. \*na-nun ani sal ko siph ko ani cwuk ko siph-ta  
live want die
- f. na-nun sal ko siph ci-to ani hako cwuk ko siph ci-to ani ha-ta  
'I neither want to live nor want to die.'

The simplex negation illustrated by sentences (20a,c,e) is clearly associated with the sense of verb negation, which is also called 'total negation' in traditional grammar. Complex negation is associated only with the sense of sentence negation, as sentences (20b,d,f) exemplify. (The latter is also called 'partial negation' in contradistinction to 'total negation'.) It is quite clear that the above pairs of negative sentences are not synonymous at all. When we conjoin two simplex negations, we get a contradictory statement, whereas conjoined complex negation is fully acceptable as well as meaningful.

It may not be premature to proclaim that the days of blind faith in the total synonymy of these negative sentences are over and that before long more perceptive and insightful study will emerge to clarify the remaining questions. If there is a lesson to be learned from historical linguistics, let me predict in an old-fashioned way that if two forms are synonymous today, they will soon run different courses of their own and develop new shades of meaning eventually to acquire a new semantic distinction.

The last stumbling block on the way to a clear understanding of negation has been a misunderstanding of the relation between structure and usage. As I have discussed in chapter 6, description verbs (or adjectives) of three or more syllables have a strong tendency not to allow simplex (or shorter) negation. This fact has often been considered a refutation of my hypothesis, which postulates a redundant, therefore unnecessary, affirmative sentence to match the nega-

tive sentence containing the polysyllabic description verb. Observe the following paradigm:

21. a. Swunca-nun ssangsulepta  
          TOP vulgar  
      'Soonja is vulgar.'
- b. \*Swunca-nun ani ssangsulepta
- c. Swunca-nun ssangsulep ci ani hata  
      'Soonja is not vulgar.'
- d. Swunca-nun ssangsulep ki nun hata  
      'It is the case that Soonja is vulgar.'

If (21b) is not used and native speakers usually believe that (21c) is the negative correspondent of (21a), it is wrong to insist that (21d) is the matching affirmative sentence for (21c). This logical argument misses an important point, however. I am denying not that (21c) matches with (21a), but that is a matter of usage. I am claiming that (21d) is structurally related to (21c) on the syntactic level. Although the match in structure is parallel to the match in usage, discrepancy is to be expected in a system as complex as natural language. Let me provide a convincing example of such discrepancy found in a neighboring language. Consider the following paradigm from Japanese:

22. a. siri masu  
      know Formal Ending
- b. siri masen  
          Formal Neg Ending  
      '[I] do not know.'
- c. sitte imasu  
      '[I] know.'
- d. sitte imasen

There is no mistaking the structural relation between the affirmative sentence (22a) and the negative sentence (22b). An identical structural relation exists between (22c) and (22d). In usage, however, the affirmative sentence (22c) is matched with the negative sentence

(22b). Still, it would be absurd to postulate a syntactic rule to relate (22c) and (22b) in order to match this usage. Many able Korean linguists have been misled by a similar discrepancy to propose the by now well-known single underlying structure hypothesis for the two types of negative sentences.

Now that I have discussed three fallacies stemming from a confusion of grammaticality and acceptability, of synonymy and truth value, and of structural relation with usage, I will move on to assail the last bastion in the negation controversy.

Many have raised the formidable question of why the accusative marker must be retained in (6) when case markers are often optionally deletable. As Choon-Kyu Oh (1971b) has shown, the complementizer *ki* also serves as a nominalizer in a word formation process. Consider the following examples:

- |     |               |                    |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|
| 23. | wupyo mowu-ki | 'stamp collection' |
|     | kong cha-ki   | 'kickball'         |
|     | kulcis-ki     | 'composition'      |
|     | pomulchac-ki  | 'treasure hunting' |
|     | ton nay-ki    | 'money betting'    |
|     | cwulnem-ki    | 'ropeskipling'     |
|     | pilemek-ki    | 'alms begging'     |
|     | ppyamchi-ki   | 'cheek slapping'   |

This is a very productive process, in which the nominalizing *ki* is added to any verb to derive noun forms. Unlike the complementizer *ki*, this phonetically identical *ki* is not replaced by *ci* in the negative environment. Compare the following triplets of sentences, which illustrate this contrast:

24. a. John-i ton nay-ki-lul ha-n-ta  
 'John is playing a money betting game/John is betting money.'
- b. John-i ton nay-ki-lul ani ha-n-ta  
 'John is not betting money.'
- c. \*John i ton nay-ci-lul ani ha-n-ta

25. a. John-i ton-ul nay ki-lul ha-n-ta  
'It is the case that John is paying the money.'
- b. John-i ton-ul nay ci-lul ani ha-n-ta  
'It is not the case that John is paying the money.'

Sentences (24a) and (25a) are deceptively similar. The only difference between them is that (25a) contains an accusative marker after *ton* 'money' but (24a) lacks it. This case marker is subject to an optional deletion rule as in all the other cases except one, which I will discuss directly. When it is deleted, the two sentences become indistinguishable. These indistinguishable sentences become distinct once again when the optional case marker deletion applies to (24a) to drop *lul* after the nominalizer *ki*. The rule, however, does not apply to (25a), and *lul* will not be deleted after the complementizer *ki*, the unique exception to this optional rule. It would not be idle speculation to claim that inapplication of the optional case marker deletion rule in an affirmative environment is motivated: it serves to differentiate (25b) from (25a). Once the operation of negation takes effect and an appropriate alternant shape of the complement *ci* replaces *ki*, we are free to apply the optional case marker deletion again to (24b). Because nominalizing *ki* is never affected by negation, the accidental chance for (24b) and (25b) to merge is nil. The inapplicability of optional case marker deletion in the affirmative sentence is not a vagary or an idiosyncrasy related to the controversial status of sentence (6) but part of the linguistic necessity to maintain contrast or opposition.

When I first provided a description, noting the discrepancy between affirmative and negative sentences in the applicability of optional case marker deletion, my critics raised their eyebrows and asked why. After twenty years of speculation and conjecture, I am still not sure whether my hypothesis has a chance to survive and even less certain that my explanation will ever satisfy the linguists who are critical of my proposal. But I am satisfied with the thought that I may have been instrumental in opening the Pandora's box of Korean negation. I hope that this last chapter is not an end but the beginning of a new era of exploration into the semantics of negation.

# NOTES

## Notes to Chapter 6

1. See, for example, Hyon-Pai Choi (1961), p. 274; Min-Soo Kim et al. (1965), p. 60; Hi-Seung Lee (1965), p. 52; and Soong-Nyong Lee (1965), p. 86.

2. Fred Lukoff (1945), p. 256.

3. Samuel E. Martin (1954), p. 38. See my chapter 3 for a new analysis of *ci*.

4. Rule (I) is not intended to indicate palatalization of *k* before a high front vowel. It is rather a suppletion rule conditioned by a syntactic factor, i.e., negation.

5. The only native grammarian that I know of who has analyzed the function of *ci* correctly is Sung-Pin Pak. See Sung-Pin Pak (1935), p. 348. He failed, however, to identify this form with the nominalizer *ki*.

6. The term 'double negative' is a little misleading here because no simplex sentence will have more than one negative particle. Two negative particles occur only in complex sentences. There is no Korean counterpart to English 'I ain't going nowhere'. I am using the term in order to account for what traditionally has been called a 'double negative'.

## Notes to Chapter 7

1. The title of Postal's article in Peters (1972) is "The Best Theory."

2. Sentences (6a) and (6b) are somewhat low in acceptability, but they are grammatical in a technical sense. When embedded in a proper context, they become readily acceptable, as in sentence (6c). There seems to be some confusion of such notions in Oh (1971a).

Notes to Chapter 8

1. See chapters 6 and 7 for my proposal on negation.
2. Fred Lukoff first pointed out to me that *ki* and *ti* have a common ancestor *ti* in Middle Korean (personal communication). In dictionaries I have consulted the following notation occurs after the entry *ti*: *ti* Mid. K. > *ki* in Mod. K. It is not obvious how to interpret the arrowhead, but the lexicographers seem to imply that the modern form *ki* is a direct descendant of the earlier form *ti*. I argue against this hypothesis in this chapter.
3. It is conceivable that the actual history of the nominalizer would be much more complex than what I have presented here if we were to take into account dialectal variations, which I have ignored entirely.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Various labels have been proposed to differentiate the two types of negation. I am borrowing the designations used in Yang's paper. Type I and Type II refer to the kinds of negation exemplified in sentences (2) and (3) given above, respectively.
2. I was convinced at first that this sentence was ungrammatical. It is possible 'to do something enthusiastically' but not 'to NOT do something enthusiastically'. I was surprised to find out later that some native speakers protested that (12) is interpretable and is synonymous with (13). I will discuss the question of the scope of negation in the next chapter, but for the moment, I will claim that at least in one reading (12) is totally unacceptable. I will, however, allow that it can be synonymous with (13) in another reading, even if it is a somewhat strained interpretation.
3. Yang is fully aware of the ad hoc nature of his monstrously complex tree and a deep structure cooccurrence restriction he places on the tree, which he admits is not well motivated. He confesses that "if such a deep structure constraint cannot be motivated after all, it could cause a serious problem in our approach." The only justification he presents is his belief that anything goes when "still we are in a darkness [*sic*] on the auxiliary system of embedded clauses" (Yang, 1976:214).
4. Sentence (23b) appears to meet the structural description for the *ki/ci* alteration rule to apply. Rachel Costa was the first to call my attention to the structural similarity between (23b) and (5). However, (23b) contains the particle *lo*, not the accusative marker,

after the complementizer *ki*. In modern Korean we have to treat this particle as a part of a compound form *ki lo* or to postulate *lo* as an element in the deep structure. Either way the presence of *lo* will block the application of the above-mentioned rule, and *ki* remains unaltered even when the matrix verb *ha* is negated.

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Kuno is not making a serious attempt to describe the syntax of Korean negation here and is simply reiterating the traditional view. As I will show later, it is misleading to claim that Korean has two ways of negating a sentence.

2. I have adapted Kuno's romanization to the Yale system, leaving hyphenation as in the original. When quoting examples from outside sources, I have retained the original glosses, leaving the responsibility for these squarely on the shoulders of the original authors. I have also renumbered such examples to fit into my own sequence.

3. I believe the proper underlying representation for the negative morpheme to be *ani*. When citing Korean sentences from other sources, I have given the shape of the negative morpheme as it was originally spelled.

4. Strictly speaking, a negative sentence is not derived from its affirmative counterpart. Therefore, my statement to that import is a gross oversimplification. The three negative sentences are, of course, derived from three different underlying structures, with the negative morpheme placed in different positions. All that I am saying is that the affirmative sentence that corresponds to negative sentences (1c), (2), and (4) is (3).

5. I use the term here to refer to the Korean linguists who have been involved in the negation controversy and taken a position to argue for one version or another of the 'single underlying structure' hypothesis on the grounds that (1b) and (1c) are synonymous.

6. The restrictions Cho mentions here are important, and a full-scale study of Korean negation must deal with these and other related problems. But they do not concern the problem I am interested in at the moment, interpretations of the scope of negation.

7. Chomsky's detailed criticism of Lakoff's analysis of the interrelation between the Neg and quantifier in English is found in Chomsky (1972:180–85). It does not necessarily follow that Chomsky's refutation of Lakoff's hypothesis invalidates Cho's similar analysis applied to Korean data. Cho's proposal must be chal-

lenged separately and refuted on independent grounds. Unfortunately, Cho offers no argument. His only justification for espousing the theoretical framework proposed by Lakoff is the headcount of linguists who support a similar position.

8. I have therefore placed the term 'nondistinct' in parentheses in the box under the heading 'Neutral'.

9. Kuno does not directly deal with negation in the neutral environment. When he points out that (5Ba) is not as acceptable as (5Bb) and that this is because what is being negated in (5Bb) is the time adverb, he is obviously referring to the affected environment.

10. When I came across this example for the first time, my initial reaction was to reject it as ungrammatical. You can do something enthusiastically, but it makes no sense to say that you enthusiastically not-do something. I soon discovered, however, that some native speakers accepted the sentence without qualms. When reminded of a possible alternative interpretation, it began to dawn on me that we actually use simplex sentence negation with a sentence negation sense quite freely and frequently.

11. This is easier said than done. I have no magic formula for untangling the apparent complications. All I have had to count on is my own gut feeling as a native speaker, lots of speculation, a commonsense belief in fundamental notions like opposition, neutralization, analogy, drift, and dialectal split, and, above all, good luck. Without a working hypothesis you make no headway in your analysis, but how to come up with the hypothesis is anyone's guess.

#### Notes to Chapter 11

1. Chomsky's Standard Theory and Extended Standard Theory have been called, somewhat disparagingly, 'autonomous syntax' by his opponents in the 1960s and 1970s because of his insistence on separating syntax from semantics. The role of semantics was interpretive, providing a reading to the output of the syntactic component. See Chomsky (1957), especially chapter 9.

2. Soon-Ham Park Kim (1967), Hong-Bae Lee (1970a), Choon-Kyu Oh (1971a), and Dong-Whee Yang (1976) all have one thing in common, namely, their theories allow elements like *ci* and *ha* to be transformationally introduced.

3. For Chomsky's notion of grammaticalness, see Chomsky (1975), chapter 3. Also see Chomsky (1957) and Chomsky (1965).

4. Although this statement is valid, there appear to be exceptions. Consider the following examples in which case markers oc-

cur as the second member of combined particles:

NP man <i>i</i> (NM)	NP kkaci <i>ka</i> (NM)
NP man <i>ul</i> (ACC)	NP kkaci <i>lul</i> (ACC)

The exceptions are more apparent than real. I propose to analyze them not as combined particles following an NP but as case markers following the combination of NP plus a particle as a single constituent. Note the contrast between my analysis and that of grammarians who treat them as exceptions:

$[\text{NP man}]_{\text{NP}} i_{\text{NM}}$	$*[\text{NP}]_{\text{NP}} \text{man-i}$
$[\text{NP kkaci}]_{\text{NP}} lul_{\text{ACC}}$	$*[\text{NP}]_{\text{NP}} \text{kkaci-lul}$

PART THREE

Causative, Transferentive,  
Locative, and Allative

## 12. Cause for Confusion in Descriptions of Causatives

Profusion of linguistic theories seems inevitably to contribute toward confusion in linguistic descriptions. This certainly has been the case in the continuing controversies among competing descriptions of causatives in many different languages. Korean is no exception to the current trend, and we find no less than half a dozen published articles both by native and nonnative linguists of various theoretical persuasions. I must, however, leave out much of the more interesting discussion of the interrelation between linguistic descriptions and their theoretical underpinnings here for two reasons. First, B. Soon Ju Patterson (1974) provides an excellent review of the literature on Korean causatives up to that date that will serve my purpose adequately and hardly needs repetition. Second, in the following chapter, I intend to reexamine the entire gamut of descriptive statements available and to test the validity of their claims and the theoretical contributions they are supposed to have made. In this chapter, a harbinger of what is to come, I will simply present a few previously unnoticed facts that point to inadequacies in the existing descriptions, which necessitate a fresh new look at the descriptions and theories of Korean causatives.

Many linguists today, especially those of the younger generation in the forefront of new linguistic adventures exploring the uncharted world of semantics, tend to believe that the line that separates syntax and semantics is totally arbitrary and even imaginary. I do not deny that the ultimate goal of linguistic description is a systematic presentation of the way a string of sounds relates to the meaningful content of the string. But if there is more than one way to skin a cat, at this stage in the development of linguistics there certainly seem to be many more ways than one to describe the structure that mediates sound and meaning. I would like to demonstrate that it is not only possible but also sometimes necessary to describe the structure of language without bringing in highly sophisticated and abstruse semantic arguments. I will make an at-

tempt to present what has traditionally been called syntactic evidence to motivate my arguments. Needless to say, my aim is neither to ignore nor to obscure subtle semantic distinctions but rather to explore possible syntactic reflexes of such distinctions and thus lay the groundwork for better accounts of semantic structure.

It is widely known that Korean, like many other languages, has two types of causative sentences. Following M. Shibatani (1973a), I will make an initial distinction between lexical and periphrastic causatives. Consider the following sentences:

1. a. Mary-ka Martha-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta  
          NM      ACC die-CAUS-PAST-DCL  
          'Mary killed Martha.'
- b. Mary-ka Martha-lul cwuk-key hay-ss-ta  
  COMP  
          'Mary caused Martha to die.'<sup>1</sup>

Sentences (1a) and (1b) illustrate lexical and periphrastic causatives in Korean, respectively. Superficially, a lexical causative is a simplex sentence containing a causative verb like *cuk-i* 'kill'. Morphologically, this verb consists of the intransitive verb *cuk* 'die' and a causative suffix, which is phonetically realized as *-i* in this particular case. Syntactically, the causative verb is transitive and cooccurs with a direct object, which in turn is marked by the accusative marker. A periphrastic causative, on the other hand, is a complex sentence involving an embedding. On a superficial level, the crucial distinction between the two is that the former contains only one verb, whereas the latter contains two, one in the embedded S and the other in the matrix S. This apparent superficial dissimilarity has been a source of constantly unfolding woes to adherents of generative semantics, who postulate a single underlying structure for both types of causatives on the tenuous, unproven, axiomatic assumption of their synonymy.<sup>2</sup> At this point I will neither assume nor question their synonymy. Consider the following pair of examples:

2. a. ku nom-ul cwuk-i-ela!  
that guy IMP  
'Kill him!'
- b. ku nom-ul cwuk-key ha-ela!  
'Cause him to die!'

Sentences (2a) and (2b) are imperative counterparts of (1a) and (1b), respectively. Under normal circumstances only the lexical causative seems appropriate in the imperative. The periphrastic causative, if grammatical, is never coterminous with its lexical counterpart in the range of its use. This remark, I believe, also applies to English. I have heard excited football fans yell, "Kill him! Kill him!" but never "Cause him to die!"

Although (2b) in isolation is out of place as an imperative, it is not difficult to dream up a context in which it sounds perfectly appropriate. Consider the following:

3. a. cwuk ko siph ta-myen, ku nom-ul cwuk-key hay-la!  
want if  
'If [he] wants to die, let him die!'
- b. cwuk ko siph ta-myen, ku nom-ul cwuk-i-ela!  
'If [he] wants to die, kill him!'

Embedded in a larger context (I am using the term embedded here in a nontechnical sense), (2b) is not only grammatical but also readily acceptable. If (2b) were either ungrammatical or inappropriate at all times, the linguist's task, finding a plausible reason for its inappropriateness as an imperative, would be relatively simple. But the situation we are facing here is much more complex. We have to account for (i) the inappropriateness of (2b) in isolation, (ii) its occurrence in a larger context, and (iii) the clear and unmistakable semantic difference between (3a) and (3b).

When (2a) occurs in the identical context, i.e., the lexical causative replaces the periphrastic correspondent in (3a), we get (3b). Although both these sentences are grammatical and appropriate, it is imperative to note that they are not interchangeable. Sentence (3a) has predominantly a permissive sense, which (3b) totally lacks. If (3a) and (3b) are not synonymous, then the alleged synonymy of (1a) and (1b) can also be challenged. Indeed, we find that their alleged synonymy breaks down everywhere, if we are alert enough to

detect it. Now consider the following pair of expletives:

4. a. *cwuk-i-l nom!*  
'Scoundrel!' (One who deserves to be killed.)
- b. *\*cwuk-key ha-l nom!*

Sentence (4a) is a very common expletive, whereas (4b), the periphrastic causative form corresponding to it, is nonexistent. The forms in (4) suggest that the alleged synonymy will hit another snag again in a relative clause. This intuition is well borne out in the following examples:

5. a. *salinca-nun salam-ul cwuk-i-n ca i-ta*  
murderer-TOP man man be  
'A murderer is a man who killed a man.'
- b. *?salinca-nun salam-ul cwuk-key ha-n ca i-ta*  
'?A murderer is a man who caused a man to die.'

Sentence (5b) seems to be semantically incongruous. It is almost inconceivable by any stretch of the imagination that (5b) could be used in place of (5a) in its intended sense. Once again the claim that (1a) and (1b) are synonymous is at stake. Examples like (4) and (5) show that such a claim is untenable not only in the imperative but also in at least two instances of a relative clause and possibly in many other cases.

Now let us turn to some other aspects of the causative question. As a negative particle is placed directly before a verb to construct a negative sentence, there should be logically two alternative ways of negating the periphrastic causative that contains two verbs. This possibility is ruled out in the case of the lexical causative.

6. a. *Mary-ka Martha-lul ani cwuk-i-ess-ta*  
NEG  
'Mary didn't kill Martha.'
- b. i. *Mary-ka Martha-lul ani cwuk-key hay-ss-ta*  
'Mary caused Martha not to die.'
- ii. *Mary-ka Martha-lul cwuk-key an hay-ss-ta*  
'Mary didn't cause Martha to die.'

If the periphrastic causative is synonymous with the lexical causative, why is it that the former accommodates two ways of negation

but not the latter? Are the two negative sentences in (6b) truly synonymous? If not, which one of the two is supposed to be synonymous with the negation of the lexical casuative? I will leave these questions to those semanticists who claim that (1a) and (1b) are derived from a single underlying structure.

Controversy continues over negation in Korean. The majority of linguists involved postulate a single underlying structure for two types of negative sentences on the grounds of synonymy. This would mean that the periphrastic causative sentences could have four different negative sentences: two each for embedded and matrix verbs, not just the two given in (6b). Corresponding to (6a), we have another type of negative sentence, (7a), alleged to be synonymous with it. Likewise, there are two more negative sentences, (7bi) and (7bii), corresponding to (6bi) and (6bii), respectively.

7. a. Mary-ka Martha-lul cwuk-i ci ani hay-ss-ta  
'It is not the case that Mary killed Martha.'
- b. i. Mary-ka Martha-lul cwuk ci ani ha-key hay-ss-ta  
'Mary caused Martha not to die.'
- ii. Mary-ka Martha-lul cwuk-key ha ci ani hay-ss-ta  
'It is not the case that Mary caused Martha to die.'

Proponents of the single underlying structure hypothesis of negation holding the view that periphrastic and lexical causatives are derived from a single underlying structure have the onerous burden of proving four negative causative sentences synonymous. Any adequate hypothesis on negation or causativization should be able to cope with complications of this sort without conjuring up additional ad hoc machinery. Thus, negative causative sentences provide a touchstone for testing the validity of descriptions of both negation and causativization in Korean.

Questions similar to the ones I have just discussed also arise in connection with the process of verb compounding (or complementation, to some linguists). For the sake of brevity, I will not be concerned with the process itself but only with the result. Just as in negation, in case of the periphrastic causative, verb compounding is possible with either the embedded verb or the matrix verb. No such freedom exists with the lexical causative. Examine the following examples, which illustrate the point:





It is clearly not the case that the inanimate subject cannot occur with the verb *ka* at any time and in any environment. But the real problem goes deeper than this. In Korean, verbs *ka* 'go' and *o* 'come' are speaker-oriented, and this factor can be a source of potential trouble. Consider the following:

13. a. ton-ul ponay cwusey yo  
      money send  
      'Please send [someone] money.'
- b. \*ton-ul ka-key hay cwusey yo  
      c. \*ton-ul o-key hay cwusey yo

The verb *cwu* 'give' indicates, as the second part of a compound verb, a favor bestowed upon a person of lower position by a superior. If the unrealized indirect object is the first person, the periphrastic causative containing *ka* 'go' will be ruled out by the speaker-orientation principle. Sentence (13b) is what we expect when the indirect object is other than the first person, but this string, like (11b), is ungrammatical. Sentence (13c) is what is predicted by the speaker-orientation principle when the indirect object is the first person, but this string is also ungrammatical for some unknown reason. Returning to (10a), which is potentially ambiguous, the speaker-orientation principle predicts that there will be two corresponding periphrastic causatives, and this prediction is borne out by the existence of (14), which corresponds to (13c) above.

14. Mary-ka Martha-lul o-key hay-ss-ta  
      'Mary caused Martha to come.'

This complication in itself may not be a deterrent to the single underlying structure hypothesis but when compounded with all other problems I have mentioned casts serious doubt on the validity of that approach.

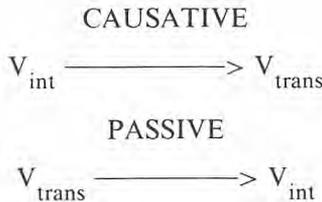
Enough probably has been said about various problems that follow from deriving both the periphrastic and lexical causatives in Korean from a single underlying structure. I will, therefore, simply enumerate without elaboration one or two more pieces of debilitating evidence against this position. First, note that the lexical causative is further subject to a periphrastic causativization process. Sentence (1a), which is a lexical causative, for instance, can be embedded to derive a periphrastic causative given below as (15).

15. Mary-ka Liz-eykey Martha-lul cwuk-i-key hay-ss-ta  
 'Mary caused Liz to kill Martha.'

If the lexicalized causative verb is to be decomposed into CAUSE (BECOME (NOT (ALIVE))), we would be forced to postulate a prelexical structure CAUSE (CAUSE (BECOME (NOT (ALIVE)))) for the periphrastic causative with a lexical causative embedded in it. What is worse, we would have to state that the lexicalization stops before it reaches the outermost constituent, because there is no single lexical item that realizes the prelexical structure of this sort. Furthermore, the lexicalization of inner constituents would no longer be optional.

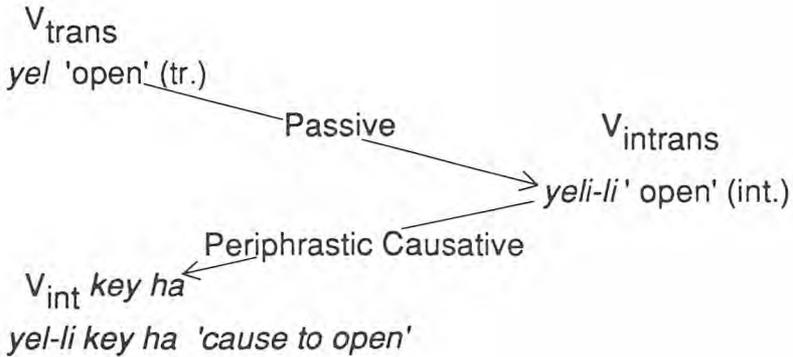
Finally, let us examine the relationship between causative and passive. As I have pointed out, lexicalized causative verbs are derived from their intransitive counterparts. Passives, however, reverse this process and derive from transitive verbs. Let me schematically represent this process as follows:

- 16.

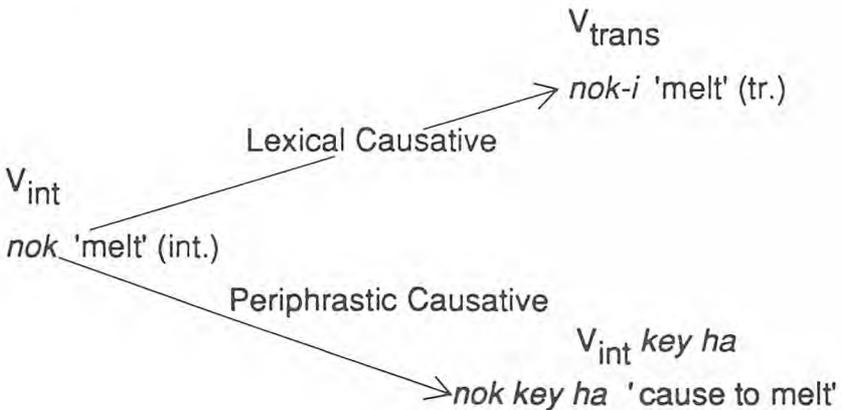


A passive verb derived from a transitive verb can be subject to a periphrastic causative transformation. For instance, the passive verb *yel-li* derived from the transitive verb *yel* 'open', can be an input to a periphrastic causative construction *yel-li-key hata*.<sup>6</sup> This newly derived passive (periphrastic) causative is semantically as close to the original transitive verb from which the passive is derived as a periphrastic causative is to a lexical causative. The tripartite relationship can be charted schematically as in (17a). Compare (17a) with (17b), which shows a similar tripartite relationship among an intransitive verb and its two causative—lexical and periphrastic—constructions.

17. a.



b.



If the semantic resemblance between lexical and periphrastic causatives has been considered strong enough grounds to warrant a single underlying semantic representation, then the periphrastic causative of a passive verb and the transitive verb from which the passive is derived have equal right to a single underlying representation on the grounds of their semantic resemblance; the impartiality of any fairminded linguistic scientist would leave no choice but to favor such a move. But then we would be caught up in a curious circularity. The semantic representation of the transitive verb *yel*

'open', which is the source of the passive verb *yel-li* 'be opened' would look something like (CAUSE (PASS (OPEN))). A further paradox arising from such a representation would be the semantic equivalence relation between (PASS-(OPEN)) and (PASS (CAUSE (PASS (OPEN)))).

The evidence shows that the view of generative semantics adherents that Korean causatives, lexical and periphrastic, share identical semantic representation entails many unanswered questions. It would not be unfair to conclude, then, that the existing descriptions of Korean causatives are confusing, to say the least, and that one source of the confusion stems from the single underlying structure hypothesis.

### 13. Perception or Reality? Korean Causatives Reexamined

In the preceding chapter I enumerated a number of arguments against deriving lexical and periphrastic causatives from a single underlying structure. This chapter will supplement those arguments, which were mostly syntactic, with the semantic data. First, however, I would like to reexamine the current controversies, point out shortcomings in the positions of both of the major camps, and then make my own proposal to overcome these problems.

For the sake of convenience I will label the two conflicting views on causatives the 'synonymy' and 'nonsynonymy' hypotheses. Representatives of the former school are In-Seok Yang (1972, 1974, 1976), Chungmin Lee (1973, 1974), and Dong-Whee Yang (1975). The exponents of the opposing view include Masayoshi Shibatani (1972, 1973b, 1975), Keedong Lee (1975, 1976), and Seok Choong Song (1977a). This grouping, of course, is a gross oversimplification, and linguists in one or the other camp do not necessarily agree on details. They simply hold a common belief that two types of causative should be derived from a single underlying structure or that they should be assigned separate underlying structures. A third, eclectic position is held by Byung-Soo Park (1972, 1974), who claims that the two causatives are not synonymous but postulates almost identical underlying structures for both. The difference between them, according to Park, lies in the choice of the matrix verb. The periphrastic causative takes *ha* as a main verb of the matrix sentence, whereas the lexical causative takes *i*, which Park considers to be a main verb "despite the traditional view that it is a (causative) suffix" (p. 40). Still another position is taken by B. Soon Ju Patterson (1974), whose interesting proposal purports to overcome shortcomings of both camps.

I should mention works of two other linguists that are of historical interest although they are not directly involved in the current controversy. Eung-Do Cook (1968) makes two interesting claims in his brief treatment of periphrastic causatives but makes no mention

of the lexical causative. First, he points out that the periphrastic causative involves embedding, which he views as a complementation process. Second, Cook claims that “the causative and non-causative functions of the verb *ha* are mutually exclusive” (p. 180). Furthermore, according to Cook, the nature (or features) of the constituent verbs determine which of the two functions the matrix verb *ha* assumes as well as the choice of particle (complementizer?), *e* or *key* to precede, in the surface structure, the noncausative *ha* and the causative *ha*, respectively.

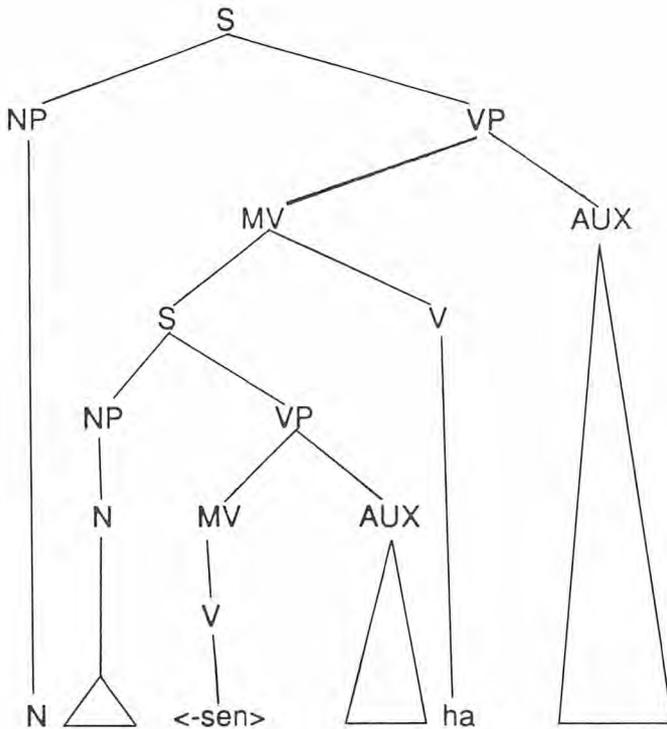
Cook’s first claim is reasonable and, I believe, basically correct, but I have some doubt that his second claim can stand in view of an overlapping case like the following pair:

1. a. Mary-ka    tew-e            ha-n-ta  
           NM    warm-COMP    IND-DCL  
           ‘Mary is (showing ostensibly that she is) warm.’
  
- b. Mary-ka    son-ul            tewup-key ha-n-ta  
                       hand-ACC    warm-COMP  
           ‘Mary is keeping her hand warm.’

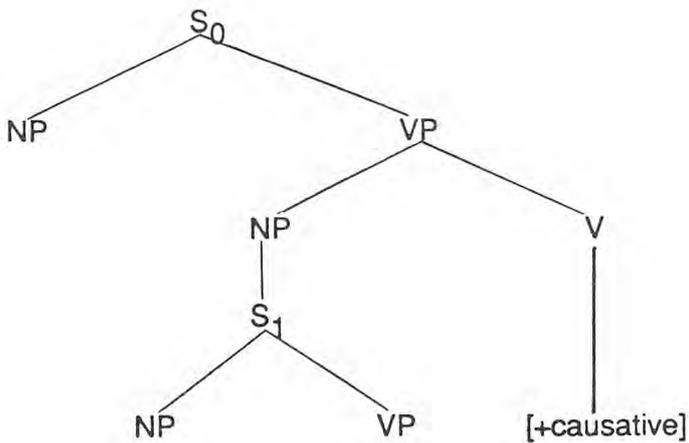
Cook remarks that if the constituent V is a sense adjective, the matrix V *ha* obtains the noncausative function. If it is “a non-sense adjective or any verb except the copula, the verb *ha* obtains the causative function” (p. 181). The adjective *tewup-ta* ‘warm’ is a sense adjective (Cook’s term), as (1a) demonstrates. But the same adjective can also occur embedded under a matrix S whose main verb is *ha* with the causative function, as shown in (1b). The existence of contrasting sentences like (1a) and (1b) casts serious doubt on Cook’s claim that the causative and noncausative *has* are in mutually exclusive environments. Other differences, both syntactic and semantic, point to a deeper rift between the two grammatical processes involving *ha* than Cook suggests, making it reasonable to conclude that (1a) and (1b) illustrate derived structures of different grammatical processes that merit separate treatment in a grammar of Korean.

Unlike Cook, Hong-Bae Lee (1970a) treats only the lexical causative without mentioning the periphrastic causative. It is interesting that the underlying structure Lee postulates for the lexical causative is practically identical, except for minor details, with the structure Cook proposes for the periphrastic causative.

2. Cook's underlying structure for the periphrastic causative (Cook 1968:176).



3. H. Lee's underlying structure for the lexical causative (Hong-Bae Lee 1970a:199).



Following G. Lakoff, Lee freely introduces an abstract verb, V [+causative], and elaborates on sophisticated formal rules like NP raising, extraposition, equi-NP deletion, and so on, to derive a surface structure with a single lexicalized causative verb from the underlying structure containing an embedded sentence. Thus, Lee's analysis paves the way for the synonymy hypothesis with a single underlying structure for both lexical and periphrastic causatives.

My brief treatment of the lexical causative in Seok Choong Song (1967) precedes the studies I have just discussed chronologically, but it remained buried in obscurity for some time until Patterson (1974) discovered some merit in my analysis, despite my erroneous conclusion and the many formal inadequacies that Lee has correctly pointed out. I will come back to the proposal I made there when I examine Patterson's hypothesis.

It was in In-Seok Yang (1972) that the synonymy hypothesis was formally put forth and a gallant attempt made to describe for the first time a wide range of phenomena related to Korean causatives. I. Yang labels lexical and periphrastic causatives 'short-form' and 'long-form' causatives, respectively, and assumes without presenting any arguments that they are synonymous: "Since the long-form causative (in the causative reading, excluding the permissive reading) and the short-form causative are synonymous, we can assume that they have the same deep structure" (p. 203). As will be shown later, I. Yang's unquestioning faith in synonymy can be challenged on syntactic and, even more so, on semantic grounds.

I. Yang not only considers lexical and periphrastic causatives synonymous but also considers two types of periphrastic causatives (corresponding to *ni*-causative and *o*-causative in Japanese) synonymous (see Shige-Yuki Kuroda [1965a, 1965b] for Japanese causatives). The latter assumption is also controversial if case marking is determined not solely by syntactic configurations but also by some semantic property like 'voluntary/non-voluntary agent' or 'theme' that is attributable to an NP. Although I. Yang seems to believe that the three different markers, nominative *i*, dative *eykey*, and accusative *lul*, that occur after the subject NP of an embedded S of the periphrastic causative are in free variation, a closer look at the semantic features of such an NP will reveal that they defy such a simplistic treatment. I. Yang's decision to exclude the permissive reading of the periphrastic causative entirely from consideration, I am afraid, is also misguided. The permissive causative

must be treated as a proper subset of the multifarious causative functions.

The bulk of I. Yang's initial study on Korean causatives is devoted to technical details of the process of derivation of the surface structure from the underlying structure and two constraints to block certain grammatical transformations. He never discusses either syntactic or semantic properties of causative sentences. His proposed constraints, necessary to account for differences between lexical and periphrastic causatives, are no longer needed if separate underlying structures are assigned to them. Even if we accept the synonymy hypothesis, the validity of these constraints, which do not seem to be well motivated, is questionable. The first constraint is proposed to block the derivation of the short-form (lexical) causative when a delimiter occurs after the causative verb stem. But this constraint has nothing to do with the causativization process. Nowhere in Korean grammar is the delimiter allowed to be affixed directly to either a simple or extended (causative, honorific, passive, etc.) verb stem. I. Yang (1972) provides the following examples as an illustration of his point:

4. (=12)

*Long-form Causative*

- a. John-ka Mary- {ka, eykey, lul} wus-key-kkaci  
 NM NM AGT ACC smile COMP even

ha-nun-ta<sup>1</sup>

CAUS-IND-DCL

'John causes Mary even to smile.'

*Short-form Causative*

- b. \*John-ka Mary- {ka, eykey, lul} wus-ki-kkaci nun-ta

In (4a) the delimiter *kkaci* 'even' occurs after the complementizer *key*. If (4b) is nominalized and embedded in an appropriate environment, the delimiter can occur without any limitation. Consider the following:

5. John-i Mary-lul wus-ki-ki kkaci ha-n-ta  
 smile-cause-NOM

'John causes Mary even to smile.'

If the delimiter is placed directly after the verb stem in (4a), however, we get an ungrammatical string.

6. \*John-ka Mary- {ka, eykey, lul} wus-kkaci-key ha-n-ta

It is evident that the grammaticality of the sentences in (4) has nothing to do with the causativization itself but rather with the violation of a rule of a general nature that limits the occurrence of delimiters.

The second constraint that I. Yang proposes also seems to be a misguided attempt to bridge the gap between lexical and periphrastic causatives. He observes that “the long-form causative allows the honorific *si*, while the short-form causative does not allow it” (p. 209), and he gives the following examples to illustrate his point:

7. (=13)

*Long-form Causative*

- a. John-ka Mary- {ka, eykey, lul} wus-si-key-lul  
       NM      NM AGT ACC      smile HON COM ACC  
  
       ha-nun-ta  
       cause-IND-DCL  
       ‘John causes Mary to smile.’

*Short-form Causative*

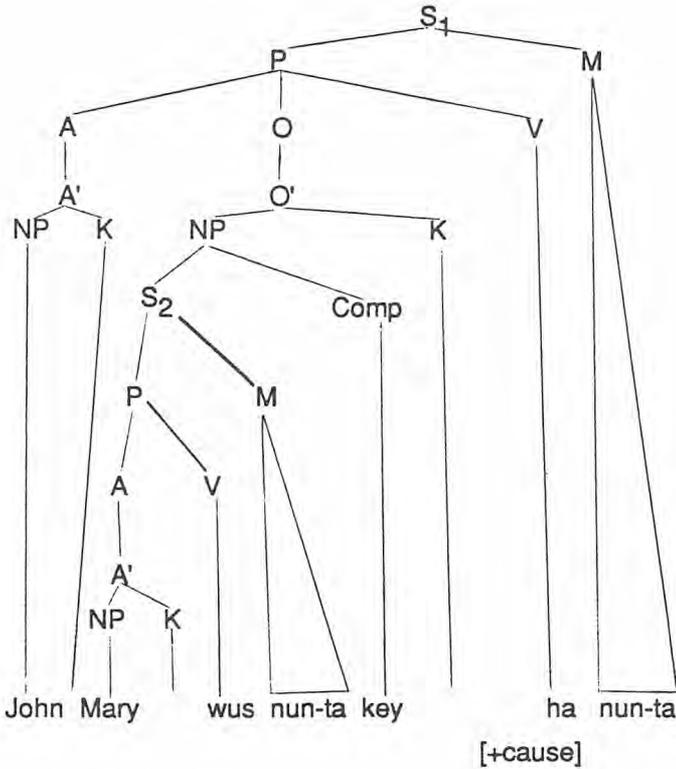
- b. \*John-ka Mary-{\*ka, eykey, lul} wus-si-ki-nun-ta  
       NM      NM AGT ACC      smile-HON-CAUS-IND-DCL

Before examining these examples and I. Yang’s proposal to deal with the behavior of the honorific *si* in these sentences, I will briefly sketch what is known about the honorific *si*. Following Samuel E. Martin (1964), the Korean honorific system can be described on two different dimensions, the axis of address (speaker-hearer) and the axis of reference (speaker–subject/indirect object of a sentence). The former is signaled by the choice of styles (or levels) of speech, the latter by a lexical choice (from a closed set of nouns and verbs) and the honorific *si*. By a well-defined rule of social convention, if a speaker feels it appropriate to pay deference to the referent of the subject NP (usually with the feature [+human]), he will add an extra feature [+honored] to this NP, triggering an attachment of the honorific *si* to the stem of the verb that is the predicate of the NP with [+honored].

Now let us examine the two sentences I. Yang provides. These sentences show different behavior of the honorific *si* in lexical and periphrastic causatives, which necessitates the kind of constraint I.



9. I. Yang's underlying structure



Byung-Soo Park (1972) was the first to suggest a subtle but clear semantic distinction between the two types of Korean causatives. He labels lexical and periphrastic causatives as *i*-causative and *ha*-causative, respectively. Although he claims that the *i*-causative “is an extremely productive process in Korean” (p. 30), this statement must be taken with caution. It is the periphrastic causative (*ha*-causative in Park’s terminology) that is truly productive, not the lexical causative, which applies only to a small closed set of vocabulary.

Park attempts to characterize the semantic distinction between the two causatives in terms of direct versus indirect commitment of a subject noun: “The difference between the two is whether the subject noun is committed to the ‘process-action’ expressed by the causative verb *directly* or *indirectly*” (p. 38). His characterization



is a certain ‘mediator’ (a causee in this case) who is actually responsible for carrying out the subject’s intention. This is an undesirable result, and Park will be forced either to abandon his apparently reasonable hypothesis or to revise it considerably to accommodate examples like (11).

Park makes another claim that “in general, an instrumental phrase (e.g., *khal lo* ‘with a knife’, *yenphil lo* ‘with a pencil’, etc.) does not seem to co-occur with the *ha*-causative construction as long as the meaning of indirect commitment is preserved” (p. 40). This statement is totally baffling in the face of the following natural and perfectly grammatical sentences:

12. a. John-i Mary-eykey *khal lo*    *yenphil-ul*    *kkak key ha-ess-ta*  
                                  knife-with pencil            sharpen    PAST

          b. John-i Mary-eykey *yenphil-lo*    *phyenci-lul ssu key ha-ess-ta*  
                                  pencil-with    letter            write

It is not at all clear why the proviso “as long as the meaning of indirect commitment is preserved” is needed in Park’s statement: wasn’t he claiming earlier in no uncertain terms that the periphrastic causative (*ha*-causative) is used when the commitment of the subject (of the matrix S in this case) to the process-action is indirect? Is he now modifying his position, implying that there are cases where the periphrastic causative is used to express the direct commitment of the subject to the process-action? Unless Park holds a trump card that will show that the sentences in (12) no longer preserve “the meaning of indirect commitment,” they will constitute counterexamples to his claim that the instrumental phrase is incompatible with the periphrastic causative. It is not difficult to guess the cause of his inadvertent slip. He simply failed to recognize the potential ambiguity of the periphrastic causative with an instrumental phrase. Although he was sensitive enough to notice the semantic distinction between the two causatives, he does not seem to be aware of syntactic distinctions that differentiate one from the other. That is, he has failed to integrate syntax and semantics in his description of the causative. The lexical causative with an instrumental phrase does not allow an ambiguous reading, whereas the periphrastic causative is subject to an ambiguous reading. In the former case, the instrumental phrase is associated with the only subject of a sentence. Because the same instrumental phrase can be associated with either the matrix or the constituent

subject in the latter case, the periphrastic causative is ambiguous not only with the instrumental phrase, but also with adverbial phrases in general. Sentences (12) are potentially ambiguous, but context will force us to opt for the more natural interpretation of 'Mary sharpening a pencil with a knife' rather than the extremely unnatural interpretation of 'John brandishing a knife to make Mary sharpen a pencil'.

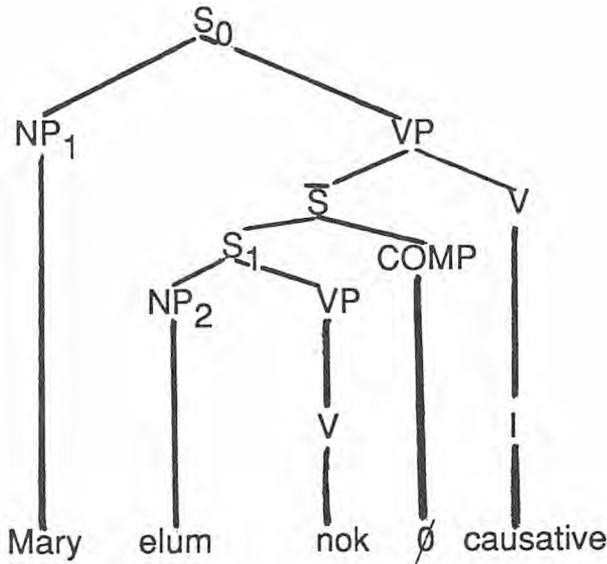
The explanation for Park's proviso and his claim with regard to instrumental phrases in causative sentences, I believe, is that, on the one hand, when an instrumental phrase is associated with the matrix subject in (12a), 'John's brandishing a knife' clearly threatens his thesis of the subject's indirect commitment and necessitates the proviso. On the other hand, a similar interpretation of (12b) results in an awkward reading in which 'John brandishes a pencil (in a threatening manner) to make Mary write a letter', and Park, therefore, must weaken his claim by adding "in general." Although I don't believe any further argument is necessary to prove that Park's statement on an instrumental phrase is inoperative, I will provide an appropriate example to clarify any doubt about the potential ambiguity of interpretation of the instrumental phrase.

13. John-i Mary-eykey khal-lo mwun-ul yel key ha-ess-ta  
knife-with door open  
'John made Mary open the door using a knife.'  
'Brandishing a knife, John made Mary open the door.'

As its English translations show, the Korean example (13) is subject to two interpretations. In this context both interpretations are entirely appropriate and natural.

After a lengthy discussion of the semantic distinction between the two causatives, Park concludes that their meaning difference "comes directly from the lexical difference between *i* and *ha*" (p. 41). Park considers the causative affix *i* to be a main verb without offering any justification for his unprecedented decision. Because *i* is a main verb, presumably a transitive one that takes only a sentential complement, he proposes for (10a) the deep structure represented in (14). If the lexical item *ha* is inserted in place of *i* in (14), we will have the deep structure for a periphrastic causative. Park, like his predecessors, has to invoke by now familiar rules like NP raising and V raising, which have never been fully justified anywhere in the linguistic literature dealing with the Korean language. Following the phrase-structure hypothesis, Park posits Comp in the

14.



deep structure, and then turns around and makes a contradictory claim that Comp in the *i*-causative (lexical) is zero. Observe the terminal node of the Comp in (14): “The causative *i* does not require a complementizer. The node COMP, dominating no lexical item, will be pruned” (p. 41). We often read about Comp deletion in the literature, but Park’s proposal is radically different from the familiar rule. The Comp is never required in this case, and he never discusses why it is needed in the deep structure in the first place. My only guess is that Park would like to capture semantic relatedness between the two causatives by providing identical deep structures. But this feat is accomplished only at the expense of complicating the grammar with unnecessary rules and accommodating adhocities such as the postulation of a zero complementizer and the treatment of the causative affix *i* as a main verb.

Masayoshi Shibatani (1973a) marks a significant breakthrough in the description of Korean causatives. Syntactic as well as semantic properties are carefully analyzed and systematically described for the first time to account for subtle and interesting differences between lexical and periphrastic causatives. I will not reiterate Shibatani’s by now well-known presentation of syntactic facts regarding Korean causatives, from which I quoted at length in chapter 12. Instead, I will concentrate on his semantic arguments

to see if they can stand up as well as his syntactic arguments do against the spate of counterexamples and new evidence that has come to light through recent controversial exchanges.

After pointing out that “the periphrastic causative construction also conveys the meaning of permission-granting in addition to causation,” Shibatani proceeds to pin down “rather clear semantic distinctions between lexical and periphrastic causatives.” He claims that “the periphrastic causative often involves action on the part of the ‘causee’ (i.e. the patient that undergoes the change in the causative situation) while this is not generally the case with the lexical causatives” (p. 283). He then correlates the notion of agency on the part of the causee with indirect or distant causation and the lack of it with direct or immediate causation. If the causee does not take on the role of agent, he argues, the causer must be directly involved in carrying out the event. Shibatani quickly realizes, however, that his explanation of the semantic distinction between the two causatives is not water-tight. The lexical causative verb *wus-ki-ta* ‘cause-smile’ involves a causee who does the smiling, and thus the notion of ‘agency’ on the part of the causee is applicable also to the lexical causative, even though the action may be involuntary. Shibatani tries to wave off the problem, saying that “this turns out to be a case where the linguist’s rationality clashes with the reality of a working grammar” (p. 289). Although I do not understand what Shibatani means by “the reality of a working grammar,” I do know as an ordinary working grammarian that the question is much more complex than Shibatani makes it out to be.

Let us first take up the notion of direct and indirect causation. In Seok Choong Song (1967) I noted that there are two semantic subtypes in lexical causative verbs and erroneously excluded one type from the class of causative verbs. I remarked then: “Semantically, sentences containing causative verbs principally convey the idea that ‘somebody makes, lets, has, causes or helps someone do something’. In some cases, however, as an extension of the last meaning, a small set of verbs with the causative affix is also used to express the idea ‘somebody does something on or for someone” (p. 187). As paradigm examples of the latter type, I gave *ip-hi* ‘dress’ and its antonym *pes-ki* ‘undress’. This class of lexical causatives can be characterized as direct or immediate causation, or involving physical manipulation, to borrow Shibatani’s terminology. But there are other classes of lexical causative verbs in which it is not the causer but clearly the causee who is the agent of an action



ceptional cases. Let me provide an example sentence that contains the lexical causative verb *mek-i-ta* 'cause-eat', which Shibatani considers to be unambiguous when associated with an adverb.

17. koa-tul-ul chengha-ese cal mek-i-ess-ta  
orphan-PL invite-and well eat-CAUS  
'[They] invited orphans and fed them well.'

In one reading (17) means that they carefully or skillfully fed the orphans. But in another reading, which is more natural, it simply means that they gave a sumptuous party and orphans ate to their hearts' content. To dispel any doubt about the scope ambiguity problem associated with a manner adverbial, I will provide just one more example.

18. emeni-ka ai-eykey os-ul cal ip-hi-ess-ta  
mother clothes  
'The mother dressed the child well.'

Once again, the adverb in (18) can be associated with either the action of a mother dressing the child in a proper manner or the child dressing well, i.e., putting on fine apparel.

With time adverbials the two causatives seem to behave in a slightly different manner for some unknown reason. It is imperative, however, to note differences among the time adverbials. Roughly, they can be 'durative', 'distributive/iterative', or 'punctual'. In the first two cases, we observe ambiguity both in lexical and periphrastic causatives, but Shibatani generalizes his conclusion based only on the evidence of 'punctiliar' types to the entire class of time adverbials. Consider the following examples:

19. a. emeni-ka ai-eykey twu sikan tong-an pap-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
two hours period  
'The mother fed the child for two hours.'
- b. emeni-ka ai-lul twu sikan tong-an caywu-ess-ta  
cause-sleep  
'The mother put the child to sleep for two hours.'

In (19a) the time adverbial *twu sikan tong-an* 'for two hours' is associated with the action of the mother who is feeding the child, but in (19b) it is associated with the child who sleeps. It is not difficult to find an example sentence in which the time adverbial can modify either the entire lexical causative verb or only its constituent.



15 for discussion of Korean locatives). If we view the causer as an agent, it is plausible to hypothesize that the agent would normally be associated with the *eyse* locative, and the following examples seem to corroborate this hypothesis:

22. a. emeni-ka pang-eyse ai-eykey pap-ul mek-i-n-ta  
           room-in                   rice    eat-CAUS-IND  
       ‘The mother feeds the (cooked) rice to the child in the room.’

b. \*emeni-ka pang-ey ai-eykey pap-ul mek-i-n-ta

The only difference between the two sentences in (22) is that the place noun in (a) is marked by *eyse*, whereas in (b) it is marked by *ey*. These examples apparently render support, at least in part, to Shibatani’s claim that the place adverbial in lexical causatives is unambiguous and is always associated with the causer, i.e., the action of the subject NP of a matrix sentence. There are cases, however, in which the place adverbial can modify the constituent of the lexical causative verb. Consider the following:

23. swunkyeng-i mun aph- { a. eyse } cha-lul seywu-ess-ta  
                           door front { b. ey } car    cause-stop-PAST  
       ‘The policeman stopped { his                   } car { a. at the } front of  
   { someone’s } { b. in        } the door.’

Interestingly enough, the two sentences in (23) are both ambiguous. In (23a) with the particle *eyse* after a place noun, the emphasis is centered on the action of stopping, whether the policeman stops his own car or someone else’s. In (23b) where the goal particle *ey* occurs, the location in which the car stops seems to be stressed. In one reading of (23b) the place adverbial is clearly associated with the constituent *su* ‘stop (int.)’ of the lexical causative verb *seywu* ‘stop (tr.)’. In this interpretation the policeman is not necessarily standing by the door, and it is in front of the door that someone was forced to stop. It is not difficult to find cases in which place adverbials marked by *eyse* are associated with the action of a causee rather than that of a causer. Let us examine a few more examples.



as a cohesive single event rather than the series of different events and states represented in generative semanticists' underlying structure" (p. 289). I have no way of proving or disproving his conclusion about speakers' conception, but there is overwhelming evidence against his premise.

I started out to examine Shibatani's semantic characterization of two types of causatives but ended up looking at his syntactic arguments. This digression was inevitable, however, because Shibatani claims that his semantic analysis is well supported by his syntactic evidence. In fact, he presents convincing examples and persuasive arguments and draws a logical and plausible conclusion. Unfortunately, his data were very restricted, and his analysis of Korean causatives was vitiated by his preconceived theory of causatives based on Japanese. Despite claims about universal grammar in our field today, mechanical translation of an analysis of an aspect of a particular language into another seldom succeeds. Much of the linguistic literature on Korean today is a wholesale application of an analysis of English to Korean and does not stand up in the face of numerous counterexamples or leaves large areas entirely unaccounted for. Despite its initial plausibility and apparent success, Shibatani's interesting work on Korean causatives, which is a mirror image of his analysis of Japanese causatives, crucially fails an empirical test and must be either rejected or revised drastically.

Although no further argument is needed to show that Shibatani is in error as far as the Korean lexical causative is concerned, I should provide an example to show that his repeated attacks on the generative semanticists' position based on Korean examples are unfounded. Shibatani remarks that "Korean lexical causatives provide no evidence for an embedded proposition that an anaphoric expression can refer to" (p. 291). Now consider the following examples:

26. a. cenhye wumcikil-swu epsnun emeni-ka ai eykey twu son  
totally movable not mother child two hand  
ulo sang-ul tullu-ess-ta ko cwucangha-ess-ta  
with eating-table cause-hold COMP claim

'A totally paralyzed mother claimed that she had the child hold an eating-table with two hands.'

- b. ku ai-uy nai lo na-nun kanungha-ta-ko  
that child's age with I-TOP possible COMP

sayngkakha-ess-ta  
think

'Considering the age of the child, I thought it was possible.'

As I have already pointed out, the adverb in (26a) 'with two hands' can modify actions of either the causer or the causee. Due to the nature of the subject NP in the matrix sentence, the first interpretation is ruled out, however. Sentence (26b), although it does not contain an overt pronoun, may be taken as expressing the possibility of the embedded proposition. Thus, Shibatani's claim that the Korean lexical causative cannot provide for such propositions fails, and his examples can hardly constitute serious counterevidence against generative semantics as he contends.<sup>3</sup>

Shibatani also discusses Korean reflexivization and honorification. I have already discussed the latter and pointed out that it has no intrinsic relation with the causativization process. In recent literature Korean reflexivization has been discussed extensively, but we are far from being able to say anything definite about the process. I personally think that what many linguists, including Shibatani, call a reflexive pronoun—*caki*, for example—is not reflexive at all.<sup>4</sup> No convincing argument can be presented either for or against Shibatani's position at the moment, however, and I must postpone the discussion of reflexivization until a future time.

Shibatani has shown that there are serious problems in I. Yang's hypothesis deriving lexical causatives from embedding structures. His own alternative, however, is equally problematic, and we must turn elsewhere for a more adequate theory of causatives. Before making a new proposal, I would like to examine two more articles by I. Yang that purport to counter Shibatani's counterarguments and then to discuss Patterson's monograph.

In-Seok Yang (1974) is an attempt "to defend my (Yang 1972) earlier view that the two types of causatives in Korean are synonymous as opposed to Shibatani's claim" (p. 84). I. Yang is successful in refuting the thesis that lexical and periphrastic causatives are used in expressing direct and indirect causation, respectively. But how this could be a demonstration of synonymy of the two types of causatives is never fully explained. The only thing that comes close to an argument for synonymy is the structural

asymmetry between the two types of causatives. Here again, however, I. Yang is in error. His arguments run as follows: (i) not all the clausal causatives have corresponding lexical causatives; (ii) if periphrastic causatives express only indirect causation, the verbs that lack lexical causatives are expected not to express direct causation; (iii) but where the situations demand the expression of direct causation, periphrastic causatives serve the purpose. He, therefore, concludes that periphrastic causatives can express indirect as well as direct causation. This argument is weak at best and provides little support for I. Yang's synonymy hypothesis. If the lack of a corresponding lexical causative forces the speaker to use the periphrastic causative to express direct causation, it does not imply that the periphrastic causative is freely and arbitrarily used, even when it has a corresponding lexical causative, to express direct causation in its place.

More crucial questions include whether there is any difference—syntactic, semantic, and otherwise—between the two types of causatives when the same verb occurs in both. Why are there lexical and periphrastic causatives if the periphrastic causative alone can fully serve the purpose? Do native speakers choose between the two in a totally random manner? I. Yang concedes that in some situations one of the two is more natural than the other, but, instead of delving into the question, he simply drops it as irrelevant: "There are cases in which one type of causative is more natural. In other cases, the other type is more natural. Hence naturalness cannot be the absolute criterion for choosing one of the two hypotheses. If one type of causative were consistently less natural or more natural to express the same event or act, we could rely on naturalness to settle the debate. Such a consistency, however, is not available in Korean causative forms" (p. 115).

I. Yang shows clearly and unequivocally that the lexical causative can express both direct and indirect causation. He also shows that it is the more natural way of expressing direct causation in some cases but not in other cases; hence his claim of inconsistency in naturalness judgment. But I. Yang seems to be confused about the choice between types of causative construction (i.e., lexical or periphrastic) and the distinction of types of causation (i.e., direct or indirect). It is true, as I. Yang points out, that the lexical causative is more natural in expressing direct causation in one situation and more natural in expressing indirect causation in another situation. This apparent inconsistency should not confuse or mislead us.

Whenever the same verb can occur in both types of causative construction, one of the two causatives turns out to be more natural and appropriate than the other. If a linguist fails to account for this entirely consistent phenomenon, his account will be of little interest or value as a linguistic description of a natural language, whatever else it may accomplish. Thus, naturalness or appropriateness will serve well to differentiate lexical from periphrastic causatives despite I. Yang's disclaimer. It will, furthermore, provide, a fairly reasonable and solid, if not absolute, criterion for choosing one of the two hypotheses.

I. Yang's demonstration of the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between the lexical and periphrastic causatives and direct and indirect causation respectively will remain a lasting contribution to the study of Korean causatives. His syntactic arguments concerning the ambiguity of adverbial modification in both types of causatives also are entirely correct. But his refutation of Shibatani's hypothesis does not prove the correctness of his synonymy hypothesis. I. Yang's two articles (1972, 1974) fall far short of his goal of convincingly demonstrating the synonymy of the two types of causative. In-Seok Yang (1976), a revised and amplified version of In-Seok Yang (1974), contains no new information that affects the foregoing discussion. I will, therefore, move on to examine the most comprehensive study of Korean causatives that has emerged in the past decade, the monograph by Patterson.

B. Soon Ju Patterson (1974) contains insightful observations and careful analysis of data accompanied by methodical arguments. She rejects both I. Yang and Shibatani's positions because they "fail to explain the systematic relationship that exists between the agentiveness of noun phrases and the semantic interpretation of [the] I-causative construction" (p. 1). Her three conclusions can be summed up as follows:

- i. Some but not all *i*-causatives (=lexical causatives) are analyzable (=decomposable); therefore, it is not possible to derive all *i*-causatives from the same source.
- ii. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that all *ha*-causatives (=periphrastic causatives) and some *i*-causatives, despite their decomposability, are everywhere (semantically) distinct.
- iii. The view that the appearance of various case markers in Korean causatives is a surface phenomena (=stylistic/free variation)

fails to capture the significant contributions they make in semantic interpretation.

Although I have some doubt about her first conclusion, I believe that her third conclusion is entirely correct and at least part of her second conclusion is beyond dispute. Her analysis and argumentation in support of her contentions are also valid in most cases. Although Patterson's work is interesting and surpasses that of all her predecessors in scope and insight, her analysis and argumentation are, unfortunately, not without blemish. Before I examine some of the prominent features of her description, beginning with the least controversial of her three conclusions, let me clear up some terminological discrepancies.

Patterson divides Korean causatives into three classes: two explicit types that have surface manifestations of some sort to mark a causative construction and one implicit type without such an ostensible marker. The first of the explicit types has an embedded sentence marked by the complementizer *key*, with the higher verb *ha*, and the second contains a causative verb derived from a noncausative predicate by means of the suffix *-i*. These she sometimes calls *ha*-causative and *i*-causative but also 'phrasal' and 'suffixal' causatives, respectively. The implicit type, which involves verbs only semantically analyzable as causatives without exhibiting any regular phonological relationship to noncausative verbs, she labels the 'lexical' causative. Patterson's 'phrasal' causative, alias *ha*-causative, corresponds to the periphrastic causative of this and preceding chapters. Her 'suffixal' (sometimes called *i*-causative) and 'lexical' both correspond to my lexical causative. She correctly points out the relative paucity of examples of her version of the lexical causative in Korean and manages to list only two examples. Despite the superficial relatedness of meanings of the verbs she pairs, they exhibit dissimilarity in their morphological and syntactic behavior as well as in semantic features. Because the existence of lexical causatives as Patterson defines them is highly suspect, I will dismiss her finer distinction altogether and claim that Korean causatives, whether periphrastic or lexical, are clearly marked either syntactically or morphologically. What appears to be an unmarked case can be taken as having a zero alternant of the causative morpheme. I will, therefore, continue to refer to the two types of causatives as periphrastic and lexical following the common usage of the terms in current literature.

The question of case marking in causative constructions was first raised by In-Seok Yang (1972), who by rejecting naturalness or appropriateness as irrelevant often betrays his insensitivity to subtle semantic distinctions. For I. Yang, the following five sentences are all synonymous:

27. a. John-i Mary-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ka} \\ \text{eykey} \\ \text{lul} \end{array} \right\}$  wus-key ha-n-ta

b. John-i Mary-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{eykey} \\ \text{lul} \end{array} \right\}$  wus-ki-n-ta

‘John causes Mary to smile.’

Patterson points out that *eykey* “is allowed only with human (personified) NPs” and notes the need for imposing a general constraint on the use of *eykey*. If this is true, this information should be added to the semantic specification of the dative marker I have proposed in Seok Choong Song (1977a). When *eykey* is used to indicate an agent, Patterson’s constraint is necessary, but, when it marks a goal, it is perfectly compatible with an inanimate NP. Consider the following:

28. a. John-i Bob-uy meli-ey moca-lul ssi-wu-ess-ta  
           NM of head-DAT hat-ACC put-CAUS

‘John put a hat on Bob’s head.’

b. John-i Bob-eykey moca-lul ssi-wu-ess-ta

‘John put a hat on Bob.’

‘John made Bob put a hat on.’

29. a. emeni-ka ayki-uy cakun pal-ey sin-ul  
           mother-NM baby-of small foot-DAT shoe-ACC

sin-khi-ess-ta

put-CAUS

‘The mother put shoes on the baby’s small feet.’

b. emeni-ka ayki-eykey sin-ul sin-khi-ess-ta

‘The mother put shoes on the baby.’

The dative marker can be used after inanimate NPs when it indicates goal, as (28a) and (29a) illustrate. It must be noted that the

dative marker assumes the phonetic shape *ey* instead of *eykey* after inanimate NPs, and Patterson's original constraint can stand if interpreted literally. But then it is trivial and not worth the trouble of stating it, for it is always the case that the dative marker is realized as *eykey* after animate NPs. A semantic filter of some sort is needed to rule out as semantically incompatible the cooccurrence of an inanimate NP with a dative marker with an 'agency' reading. Such a proposal would make it possible to explain Patterson's ungrammatical string below in a most natural manner.

30. (=83) kwahakca-ka pi-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{ka} \\ \text{lul} \\ \{ *eykey \} \end{array} \right\}$  o-key ha-ess-ta  
 scientist rain come  
 'The scientist caused the rain to come down.'

In (30) the 'rain' cannot be an agent, nor is the goal interpretation of the dative marker possible in that context, and hence its ungrammaticality. It is questionable, however, that the dative marker indicating 'agency' should be restricted to human nouns as Patterson claims. I think it would be more natural to extend it to include animate nouns in general. With a minor modification to incorporate a few suggestions I have made in the preceding paragraph, Patterson's semantic distinction among three case markers is straightforward and her generalizations are valid in general. She quickly points out that descriptions of case markers that suggest free substitutability among them are factually incorrect. Such treatments fail to account for nonoccurrence of *eykey* in (30) and other counterexamples, which she lists.

31. (=88) na-ka kui  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{lul} \\ \{ *eykey \} \end{array} \right\}$  cwuk-I-ess-ta  
 I die-CAUS  
 'I killed him.'
32. (=89) na-ka ai-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ \text{lul} \\ \{ *eykey \} \end{array} \right\}$  cipung-ey olu-I-ess-ta  
 roof-DAT go up-CAUS  
 'I put (cause-go up) the child on the roof.'

Patterson contends that the nominative marker can be differentiated from the dative and accusative markers with regard to equi-NP deletion, adverbial modification, semantic cohesion and

permission. As in many of her arguments on other aspects of Korean grammar, her logic is not infallible, her evidence is not unassailable, and even her data are not incontrovertible, but her conclusion, nonetheless, is acceptable. She distinguishes two types of permission, direct and indirect, and defines the latter as a case in which “actual permission is not given but no action is taken to prevent something from happening” (p. 37). This distinction closely parallels In-Seok Yang’s (1976) notion of ‘commission’ and ‘omission’ causations. In the case of the ‘permission’ causative, Patterson argues that the sentence whose embedded subject is marked by the nominative marker “gives [a] sense of indirectness with respect to the action referred to by the (higher) verb *ha*” (p. 37). This I take to mean that the causer has little or no control of the causative situation, although it is understood that he brings it about. If the causee is an agent, it is also a voluntary or volitional one having leeway for his action. A sentence with an embedded subject marked by the accusative marker, in contrast, “gives sense of direct permission, with the implication that the subject (of the matrix S) gave explicit permission” (p. 37). She accurately concludes that there is “a closer tie between the *eykey/lul*-phrase and the (higher) verb *ha* than between the *ka*- (nominative marked) phrase and *ha*.” In other cases also, when it is possible for the nominative marker to occur after the causee, I believe that her judgment of semantic interpretation is valid. It should be noted, however, that in most cases the dative and accusative markers occur with the causee much more frequently and naturally than the nominative marker in periphrastic causatives. As for the distinction between the dative and accusative markers, Patterson remarks that “the *lul*- (Accusative marked) phrase goes more naturally with stronger causation, i.e., forcing, and the *eykey*- (Dative marked) phrase goes more naturally with weaker causation, i.e., permitting” (p. 38). It is interesting to note that a similar distinction between *ni* and *o* causatives in Japanese was observed by Shige-Yuki Kuroda (1965a) and also by Masayoshi Shibatani (1973b). Translated into my own terms, the causee marked by the accusative marker implies more or stronger control on the part of the causer whereas the dative-marked causee indicates lesser or weaker control by the causer. Patterson correctly associates the notion of strong and weak causation with that of object (not having the will to resist causation) and agentiveness. Her analysis is able to explain in a most natural manner the fact that

the causee in lexical causatives is usually marked by the accusative marker.

After her brief examination of the semantic content of the complementizer *key*, Patterson makes new proposals concerning the underlying structures of various types of causative sentences. She classifies causative sentences on the basis of three interrelated criteria. The first of them, as I have just shown, depends on the semantic distinction among the case markers postposed after the causee. The second criterion, based on 'agency' with respect to the 'lower' verb, is used to differentiate three groups of lexical (=Patterson's suffixal or *i-*) causatives. The third and last has to do with the distinction between lexical and periphrastic causatives.

Patterson's conclusion (1) (Patterson 1974:29) is based on the distinction among lexical causatives. There is little doubt that lexical causatives can be further divided into subtypes with a finer semantic distinction. Whether their differences are significant enough to warrant separate underlying structures is subject to empirical verification. Patterson's subclassification of lexical causatives partly depends on my analysis presented in Seok Choong Song (1967), where I observed that some lexical causatives exhibited an interesting ambiguity depending on the interpretation of the dative marker. Consider the following:

33. emeni-ka      ai-eykey      os-ul  
    mother-NM    child-DAT    clothes-ACC  
  
    ip-hi-ess-ta  
    dress-CAUS-PAST-DCL

- a. 'The mother dressed the child.'  
b. 'The mother made the child dress.'

When the dative marker is interpreted as indicating 'goal', the subject of the sentence is the only agent, whereas when it is interpreted as indicating 'agent', then the dative-marked NP also is an agent with regard to the constituent *ip* 'dress' of the lexical causative *ip-hi* 'cause-dress'.

I further noted that in other cases no such ambiguity exists and the dative marker must be interpreted either as 'goal' or 'agent'. Compare the following examples:



As Patterson has correctly pointed out, it was an error on my part to exclude the 'obviative' from the causativization process. In the first place, I was unable to relate the two functions of the dative marker in marking 'agent' and 'goal' to the two distinct readings, although I was fully aware of the ambiguity of the dative marker. Second, I failed to perceive the plain fact that the obviate reading is perfectly compatible with the causative interpretation, as Patterson has shown. With the benefit of hindsight, I will try once more to capture two readings of the lexical causative below.

Ordinary causative: A causes B to do something.

Obviative causative: A causes something to be done to/on B or, by extension, A does something to/on B.

In recent years linguists have been making attempts to differentiate various types of meanings involved in causative situations. The 'obviative' reading describes what has often been called 'direct' or 'manipulative' causation. When the lexical causative has what is being called here an 'ordinary' causative reading, its interpretation approximates that of the periphrastic causative, with the important distinction that the speaker attributes control or responsibility to the causer, i.e., the subject of the matrix S. I. Yang's synonymy hypothesis fails to account for this crucial difference in speaker perception. It can never be overstressed that we must concern ourselves in our descriptions with the perception of the world speakers have, not with the reality of the world.<sup>5</sup> Shibatani's flaw is that he concentrates on the 'obviate' reading of the lexical causative alone and fails to account for the other possible reading many lexical causative sentences have. Patterson knows the inadequacies of the analyses of her predecessors, including myself, and makes an ambitious attempt to bridge the gaps in previous descriptions with her methodical analysis and new proposal.

Patterson contends that the lexical causative can be divided into three groups, and ultimately into two types, on the basis of "who the agent is with respect to the 'lower' verb" (p. 23). She implies, inadvertently or not, by the use of the term 'lower' verb, the decomposability of some, if not all, lexical causatives. On the basis of scope ambiguity of adverbial modification, reflexivization, and honorification, she argues that lexical causatives with the 'ordinary' causative reading must have an embedded structure like the periphrastic causative. I have questioned earlier the validity of the ar-

gument based on honorification. Her argument also suffers from the confusion of an optional deletion of the honorific *si*, which the grammar allows, and its nonoccurrence, which the grammar disallows. The reflexivization process in Korean, as I have pointed out, is not well enough understood to base an argument on. The only indisputable argument in favor of the embedded structure hypothesis is the scope ambiguity of adverbs. The scope ambiguity of adverbial modification has been simply and unequivocally represented semantically by McCawley (1972), but, I am still unenlightened about how adverbial modification is handled in a simplex sentence in which adverbs describe the result rather than the manner of the action the verb indicates. Consider the following:

37. a. kwunin-i haksayng-tul-ul cwuk tolok twutulki-ess-ta  
 soldier student-PL die until beat  
 'The soldier beat students to death.'
- b. manwula-ka nampyen-ul meng-i tul-key kkocip-ess-ta  
 wife husband bruise appear pinch  
 'The wife pinched her husband black and blue.'
- c. ku ai-nun ttattusha-key os-ul ip-ess-ta  
 that child-TOP warmly clothes put on  
 'The child dressed warmly.'
- d. hwaka-ka alumtap-key kulim-ul kuli-ess-ta  
 painter beautifully picture paint  
 'The painter painted a picture beautifully.'

Many Korean adverbs ending in *hi*, *key*, and *tolok*, which are usually classified as manner adverbials, describe the result of an action indicated by the verb. Does this imply that in order to obtain an appropriate reading the verbs involved must be decomposed to incorporate the result of an action the adverbials can modify? Sentences (37a) and (37b), which also exhibit scope ambiguity, further complicate the situation. It is not impossible to obtain a reading, albeit a somewhat strained one, in which the subject, not the object, is the victim. In (37a) we can imagine a pathological sadist exerting himself to death beating and torturing innocent students.<sup>6</sup> Only if we stretch our imagination a little can we get a natural reading from (37b) in which the wife is the victim of an action whose result the adverb modifies. The pinching hand of a wife whose husband

is wealthy enough to afford maids and cooks and free her entirely of domestic chores may be so delicate that her fragile fingers are easily bruised in the brutal exercise of pinching her husband's muscular arms. In some cases an alternative reading is automatically ruled out and the question of scope ambiguity does not arise. Consider the following:

38. ai-ka son-i aphu-key emeni tali lul cwumull-ess-ta  
hand painfully leg massage  
'The child massaged the mother's leg [hard] to the extent  
that his hands became sore.'

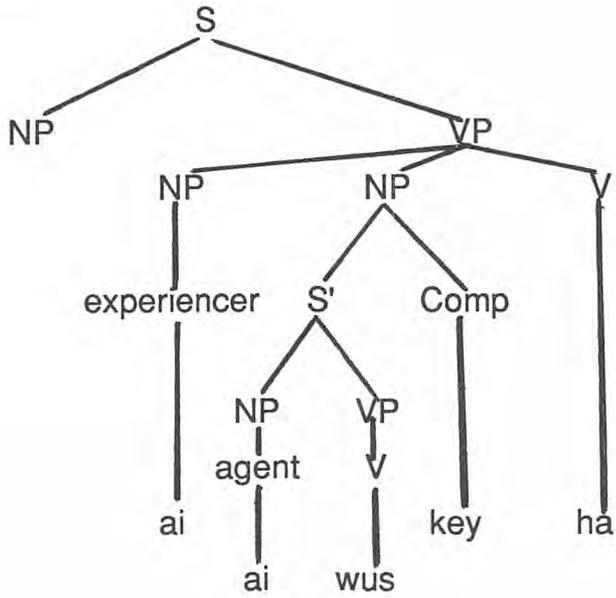
The adverbial form ending in *-key* above unambiguously modifies the resultant state of the subject noun, and any lingering doubt about the possibility of such an interpretation of (37a) and (37b) ought to have been cleared up by now. The question to be raised here is whether it is necessary to decompose seemingly simple verbs in (37a) and (37b) in order to account for the scope ambiguity of adverbial modification. There are many interesting arguments in favor of as well as against lexical decomposition, and exponents of both views claim that it is an empirical question to be decided ultimately by empirical evidence. At this stage of the development of linguistic semantics, however, it is an article of faith or a matter of taste and involves external circumstances such as where a linguist went through his linguistic training or indoctrination and which theory or dogmas (and there are many nowadays) he happens to believe in.

There are some clear advantages in decomposing certain (but not all) lexical causative verbs, as Patterson finally decides to do. Two immediate benefits that accrue to her analysis are a clear and unambiguous indication of the scope of adverbial modification in the semantic representation, and the distinction between 'agentive' and 'obviative' readings of the lexical causatives. If there were no other way of disambiguating the scope of adverbs, the decomposition of lexical causative verbs would be fully justified on that basis alone, but I feel that the question awaits further research and exploration. I would like to leave the question of decomposition open for now, however, and take up the question of Patterson's motivation for providing distinct and separate underlying structures for 'agentive' and 'obviative' readings of lexical (her suffixal) causatives.

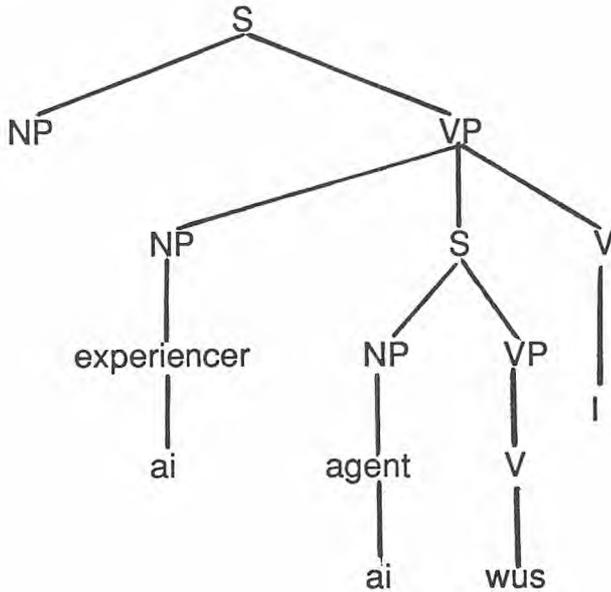
There are two sides to this question: the distinction between periphrastic and lexical causatives, on the one hand, and the commonality of the meaning of the two types of lexical causatives, on the other. Patterson claims in no ambiguous terms that there is sufficient evidence to conclude that all periphrastic causatives and those lexical causatives that are subject to decomposition are everywhere distinct. Her decomposition analysis, however, blurs the alleged distinction and jeopardizes her conclusion. I am fully aware that Patterson takes an extremely cautious approach and exercises every prudence in differentiating the semantic representation of a periphrastic causative from that of an 'agentive' reading of a lexical causative. Despite her precautions, however, she ends up with semantic structures that are very much alike (see the figures in [39] and [40], p. 212).

The only difference worth noting between (39) and (40) is that the embedded structure in (39) is an NP complementation, whereas in (40) it is a VP complementation. Another minor difference is in the nature of the matrix verb. In (39) it is *ha* 'do,' whereas in (40) it is the suffix *i*, which is considered a higher verb à la B.-S. Park. The demise of VP complementation in other languages will cast a serious doubt about the validity of Patterson's underlying structure (40). The VP complementation process in Korean has been postulated by Byung-Soo Park (1974) and Jong Yul Kim (1974) on questionable grounds, and Patterson has to bear an additional burden of proof that the causative suffix *i* indeed behaves like other higher verbs in Korean and that it requires VP complementation. There are other problems that she fails to account for. The periphrastic causative is a very productive process in which practically no constraints are required, whereas the lexical causative is limited to a small class of verbs. VP complementation under the high verb *i* has to be restricted strictly to those verbs that are subject to lexical causativization and further restricted to the lexical causative that allows an 'agentive' interpretation of the embedded subject. Despite her good intention to simplify and systematize the description of Korean causatives, Patterson's new proposal entails a considerable enrichment of theory and a further complication of descriptive apparatus. Most crucially, by postulating two separate underlying structures, she fails to capture the unity of semantic interpretation that should be imposed on the lexical causative in general, regardless of the two distinct readings it obtains, namely, 'obviative' and 'agentive'.

39. (=110b)



40. (=111b)



I realize that my criticism is worthless unless I can successfully show that all lexical causatives share an important semantic unity that overrides the minor distinctions among them that need to be specified. Ironically, it was Patterson herself who objected to my earlier treatment that proposed the separation of the 'obviate' from 'ordinary causative' (=her agentive) in the lexical causative, recognizing that it is the ambiguity of the dative marker with 'goal' and 'agentive' readings that constitutes the source of distinct readings for the lexical causative. After her insightful reanalysis of the lexical causative, she suddenly turns around and proposes drastically different underlying structures for the two readings. Her methodical and systematic analysis begins to flounder as soon as it reaches the realm of semantics. Let us now look at what the two lexical causatives have in common in contrast to the periphrastic causative.

Patterson (1974:16–20) provides the following distinctions between periphrastic and lexical causatives:

- i. The verb *ha* is 'non-implicative' in Karttunen's (1971) sense of the term, while *I* has many of the implicative properties.
- ii. Some clear meaning differences are observed between the two causatives in negative constructions.
- iii. The two causatives are different in the presuppositional properties.
- iv. The verb *ha* can include various meanings such as 'cause, force, make, permit, and enable', depending on either the intention of the causal agent to carry out the act, or the nature (or inherent features) of the object... By contrast, the abstract causative *I* does not have the meanings of enabling.

Lauri Karttunen (1971) discusses higher verbs that actually occur and require complement sentences on the surface. Patterson's extension of implicative analysis to an abstract verb that ends up on the surface as a causative suffix seems to be unwarranted, however, and I will, therefore, not discuss the property any further.

Patterson's observation on negation undoubtedly is true. The apparent meaning discrepancy, however, is not due to structural discrepancy between lexical and periphrastic causatives but rather to complex processes of negation. Her argument becomes vulnerable when it can be demonstrated that there are four, not two, pos-



cess of negation in Korean despite ongoing controversy for more than two decades.)

The presuppositional properties of the two types of causatives were first brought up by Chungmin Lee (1973). Although C. Lee's analysis is insightful, it is applicable only to cases of lexical causatives derived from adjectives. It is doubtful that these properties can serve to differentiate lexical from periphrastic causatives in general. Other problem areas in C. Lee's hypothesis have been pointed out by Keedong Lee (1976), and I think it is hardly necessary to repeat them here.

The only articulate statement of a semantic distinction between the two types of causatives is found in (iv) above. Patterson's statement is true, but it can be better summarized in somewhat more abstract terms. The verb *ha* in the periphrastic causative is 'non-specific' and thus subject to various interpretations appropriate to situations both contextual and extralinguistic. In other words, the more specific meaning—such as the sense of 'enabling', for instance—that she discusses is not part of the meaning of *ha* per se but what the reader fills in through pragmatics that supplements the meaning of the sentence he already knows through his grammar (or sentence grammar, if you like).

In sum, although her characterization of the periphrastic causative is valid, Patterson, like all her predecessors including myself, fails to pin down a relevant semantic feature unique to the lexical causative. Patterson's description of Korean causatives is comprehensive, systematic, and often insightful, but it contains flaws that must be resolved to attain a higher level of adequacy.

I have examined more than half a dozen treatments of Korean causatives in which many interesting facts have been uncovered, abstract and abstruse speculations have been hazarded, and new proposals and hypotheses have been constructed, but I am not convinced that we have succeeded in unraveling the intricacies and mysteries of Korean causatives. It may be foolish of me to believe that I now have an adequate theory, but this long chapter will seem too negative if I fail to offer an alternative—even a tentative one—to previous unsatisfactory proposals. I therefore have no choice but to hazard my own speculations, which, I hope, will at least contribute to clearing the way for a more adequate grammar of Korean causatives.

I will first enumerate what seem to be incontrovertible facts that have come to be known through ongoing 'causative' controversy.

They may be negative rather than positive facts but are nonetheless crucial in properly understanding the semantic features associated with causatives.

- i. The lexical causative can express both direct and indirect causation.
- ii. The lexical causative often has two readings: 'obviative' and 'agentive.'
- iii. Whenever a verb can occur both in lexical and periphrastic causatives, native speakers under normal circumstances (i.e., when not psychologically manipulated, indoctrinated, or brainwashed by a linguist) feel that one of the causative types is more appropriate to the situation being described, regardless of whether causation is direct or indirect. The choice, therefore, is never made at random but coherently and systematically.
- iv. The lexical and periphrastic causatives are never freely interchangeable except in the imagination of unimaginative linguists.
- v. The scope ambiguity of adverbial modification is sometimes observed in lexical as well as periphrastic causatives.
- vi. The periphrastic causative is productive, whereas the lexical causative is fairly limited.
- vii. The periphrastic causative is 'nonspecific', and various meanings are assignable on the basis of pragmatics as well as grammar.
- viii. In general, the lexical causative is used predominantly to describe 'direct causation' or 'physical manipulation', whereas the periphrastic causative expresses 'indirect causation' or 'directive causation' and also 'permissive causation'.

Although a longer list could be prepared, I think mine is sufficient for the purpose of the present discussion. My strategy will be to find ways to reconcile the apparent conflict between (i) and (viii), and then to move on to discover the underlying regularities that govern the choice between the two types of causatives. Because it is known that the lexical causative tends to express 'direct causation', I will examine the case where, as I. Yang alleges, it is more



be quite damaging to Patterson's proposal, which provides separate underlying structures corresponding to the two readings of the lexical causative. It should be obvious by now that any description of Korean causatives based on notions like direct and indirect causation or agency of the embedded subject misses an important generalization that is linguistically significant, and thus fails to provide an interesting and revealing account. Let me provide some more examples below to examine the nature of the lexical causative in greater detail.

46. a. kwipin-ul      aph      cali-ey      anc-hi-ess-ta  
honored guest front seat-on sit-CAUS  
'[They] seated honored guests on front seats.'
- b. sonnim-ul      salangpang-ey      cay-wu-ess-ta  
guest living room sleep-CAUS  
'[They] made the guest sleep in a living room.'
- c. emeni-nun      mayil      han pen      ssik ay-tul      os-ul  
mother every day once each child-PL clothes  
kalaip-hi-ess-ta  
change-CAUS  
'The mother made the children change their clothes every day.'

All of the above sentences, (46a) through (46c), express indirect causation, but in each case the situation demands the lexical rather than the periphrastic causative. In (46a) the honored guests have no choice but to sit on the prearranged and assigned seats in the front. They may decline as a polite gesture, but they will end up taking the seats shown to them by their host. Compare (46a) with the following pair of English sentences:

47. a. The usher seated us in the mezzanine.  
b. ?The usher caused us to sit in the mezzanine.

Note that (47a) is more appropriate and natural if the usher led the way and showed us to seats in the mezzanine, as he is expected to do. It is not surprising that the choice of the English lexical causative is also governed by a similar general principle. The lexical causative verb *cay-wu* 'put to sleep' in (46b) is commonly used to describe a scene in which a mother puts an infant to sleep. The

Korean word *sonnim* ‘guest’ contains a postnoun, *nim*, which typically cooccurs with a human noun to indicate that the speaker wishes to pay deference to the person so referred to. We can infer that *sonnim* usually means an adult guest not on familiar terms with the host. Once again, the use of the lexical causative in (46b) may be puzzling and even baffling to nonnative speakers, but it is most natural to the speaker of Korean, who knows the passive role a guest has to play at the beck and call of the hospitable hostess. The causative situation, from the point of view of the speaker, is under the control of the subject NP even though it is not overtly expressed. We can say that the same is also true of (46c). Unless the children are all of preschool age, the mother will not change the children’s clothing directly. Here we visualize a domineering, disciplinarian matron firmly in control of her domestic chores. Even though it is the children who change their clothing, the lexical causative alone authentically expresses the idea of a causative event that is under the complete control of the subject NP.

These examples clearly demonstrate that it is not direct causation that demands the choice of lexical causative but the perception of the speaker that the subject NP has full control of the causative event. What has been missing in previous descriptions of Korean causatives is this important fact that it is the speaker’s ‘perception’, not reality, that determines the choice of the lexical causative. In order to drive home this crucial point, let us go back to two examples given earlier, which I repeat here for the reader’s convenience.

21. ku i-ka halwu-ey ney pen ssik hwanca-  
 that person one day-in four time DIST patient

eykey yak-ul mek-i-ess-ta  
 DAT medicine take-CAUS

‘He (the doctor) made the patient take the medicine four times a day.’

25. emeni-ka ai-lul ocwum-ul nwu-i-ess-ta  
 mother child pass water-CAUS

‘The mother made the child urinate.’

As I have already pointed out, when *ku i* ‘that person’ is interpreted to refer to a physician, he would not, under normal circumstances, be expected to make a visit to his patient’s ward every time he takes a pill. If the lexical causative is more appropriate and natural

in expressing indirect causation such as this, then an explanation is in order. My hypothesis seems to provide a plausible and, I believe, valid explanation. The speaker views the patient's action as entirely under the control of his physician. There is little doubt that the patient who takes pills here is an agent; as a consequence (21) expresses indirect causation. Shibatani's alleged distinction between lexical and periphrastic causatives in terms of the 'agency' of the embedded subject simply cannot account for a case like (21). Under his theory, this sentence is not properly interpretable, predicting nonambiguity. If the ambiguity is accepted, his explanation that the lexical causative expresses a single event is factually incorrect.

Another interesting case is (25), which also exemplifies a lexical causative. Could a child's physiological function be a part of its mother's action, constituting a single action or event? Before launching on a long trip, a mother might suggest, advise, or order a child to use the bathroom regardless of his wishes. So long as the mother takes the initiative and the child is acting according to her instructions, (25) will be more appropriate than its periphrastic counterpart; the speaker will view the event/action to be controlled by the mother who wills, intends, directs, or supervises. Thus the direct-causation/simple-event hypothesis of the lexical causative put forward by Shibatani is unable to account for the 'speaker perception' that is so crucial in differentiating the two types of Korean causatives.

It seems inconceivable that such a persistent and obvious fact could have entirely eluded an astute observer like Shibatani. Indeed, he is not unaware of the case in which the lexical causative expresses nonmanipulative causation. Shibatani (1975) introduces the notion of 'conventionalized purpose' to account for this case: "When a particular causative situation is associated with a conventionalized purpose, a lexical causative form may be used to express non-manipulative, directive causation" (p. 273). If it were the case that the lexical causative rarely expresses nonmanipulative, directive causation, such an explanation might be acceptable. Contrary to Shibatani's conjecture, however, the lexical causative expressing nonmanipulative, directive causation is a common and widespread phenomenon. Despite the English examples he cites to support his tenuous argument, the ad-hoc nature of his explanation is so transparent and counterexamples so abundant that it can hardly be taken seriously. Let us examine his English examples.

48. a. We brought Chomsky to our campus.  
b. This year, we brought three hundred foreign students to USC.
49. a. We brought our parents to our campus.  
b. We brought foreign students to our house.

Shibatani claims that while (48a–b) *normally* (emphasis mine) express nonmanipulative, directive causative situations, (49a–b) express nondirective, manipulative situations (in this case, taking or escorting someone to places). This difference, according to Shibatani, stems from the fact that (48a–b) are being associated with conventionalized purpose, whereas (49a–b) are not. He remarks: “While causing scholars and students to come to an academic institution has conventionalized purposes associated with it, causing one’s parents to come to an academic institution or causing (foreign) students to come to one’s house has no well-defined and conventionalized purposes associated with it” (p. 273). The naturalness of the lexical causative in (48a–b), however, can be simply accounted for without recourse to Shibatani’s novel convention. When speakers consider the hosting institution responsible for a guest speaker’s visit, the use of the lexical causative is entirely appropriate even if no physical manipulation is involved. Likewise, the lexical causative is called for when we consider the recruiting institution to be responsible for the presence of foreign students on the campus. Once we recognize that the thin line that separates the lexical from the periphrastic causative is the speaker’s perception, not the reality, the distinction between manipulative/direct and directive/indirect causation becomes more apparent than real. The lexical causative expressing nonmanipulative/directive causation no longer poses any serious problem under the tentative hypothesis I am proposing. So long as the speaker considers the subject NP responsible for the causative event, there is nothing unnatural or strange about the use of the lexical causative to express nonmanipulative/directive causation. The notion of ‘responsibility’ can be regarded as the other side of the coin characterized as ‘control’, which I have already discussed. If someone is in control of an action/event, it is logical to place responsibility on him for the action/event.

The notion of ‘control’ is still very vague and no doubt requires further sharpening and redefining. At the moment I can do no more than make a few heuristic suggestions toward a tentative

operational definition. In the case of the lexical causative expressing manipulative causation, it is easy to grasp that the subject NP that is the only agent controls the causative action/event. The difficulty arises when the lexical causative expresses directive causation with two agents, namely, the causer and the causee. It must be pointed out that the term 'agent', used here in a somewhat loose sense, is misleading, to say the least, and needs a more stringent characterization. The causee, if an agent in the sense that he acts out the direction of the causer, clearly is not an 'instigator' of an action in Fillmore's sense (1968). The causee in a lexical causative is an agent, if we can call a puppet or, still better, a somnambulist an agent. The causee carries out an action as directed, regardless of his intentions, wishes, and desires. As a corollary to this, the speaker places responsibility on the causer of the causative event. Let us examine some more lexical causatives to see how the notion of 'responsibility' can clarify some of their mystifying uses.

50. a. celmun eyimi-ka ai-lul cwuk-i-ess-ta  
young mother child die-CAUS  
'The young mother killed the child.'
- b. ku nom-i cip-ul thay-wu-ess-ta  
that fellow house burn-CAUS  
'That guy burned down the house.'

These sentences are ambiguous, or vague to be more precise, between the two readings of 'control' and 'responsibility'. In one reading the young mother is being accused of a murder, but in the other reading, the speaker is simply blaming her for negligence that could have been a cause of her child's death. The speaker may be placing moral responsibility on the shoulders of an unwed teenage mother who left her baby to freeze to death in an unheated apartment while out dancing and flirting all night. The moral indignation of the speaker can be expressed only by a lexical causative, even when no physical manipulation or direct causation is involved.

Sentence (50b) is likewise vague, leaving direct or indirect causation unspecified. The speaker is calling the fellow an arsonist in one reading but only blaming him for carelessness that might well be the cause of the fire in the other reading. In contrast, the periphrastic causative is entirely neutral in this respect. Whereas the lexical causative expresses in no uncertain terms the feeling or the

point of view of the speaker about the action/event, the periphrastic causative makes a factual statement about what has happened.

It should come as no surprise to anyone who has done a serious study of the Korean language that speaker perception plays such a crucial role in differentiating the lexical from the periphrastic causative. The language abounds in built-in devices for expressing the attitudes and feelings of a speaker, as instanced by sentence-final endings of various sorts, systems of honorification, and even phonetic symbolism.<sup>7</sup> The latest entry to this category is the brilliant analysis of the 'retrospective aspect' in Ho-min Sohn (1975), which also brings in the notion of PERCEIVE as one of semantic features of this aspect.

It is also interesting to note in this connection that an insightful observation made by one of the most distinguished native Korean grammarians of all time comes close to the notion of 'responsibility' I have just been discussing. Hyon-Pai Choi (1961) differentiates two kinds of uses of the lexical causative in terms of the volition of causers. Among the nonvolitional cases he enumerates factors like misfortune, fate, and iniquity of the causers. If I understand him correctly, he is suggesting that the lexical causative can be used to describe a situation in which the misfortune, fate, or iniquity of a causer brings about a calamity. Note that examples (50a-b) involve cases of iniquity and misfortune on the part of the subject in their second readings. It would not be unreasonable to claim that if someone's iniquity or misfortune brings about a calamity, he is ultimately responsible for it. Thus, a more abstract and comprehensive term 'responsibility' can cover all those cases Choi alludes to and more. A uniform semantic interpretation of all lexical causatives can be achieved by the tentative hypothesis I am proposing. In sum, notions like 'direct' and 'indirect' causatives, 'manipulative' and 'directive' causations as well as those of 'agent' and 'goal' must play important roles in classifying various semantic types of causatives but by themselves are not adequate to capture the real nature of the semantic distinction that exists between the lexical and periphrastic causative.

Now that I have spelled out what I believe to be the crucial factor in distinguishing one type of causative from the other in Korean, I will conclude this chapter with another list of facts and a few speculative remarks on the possible theoretical implications of my findings.

- i. The synonymy hypothesis of I. Yang leaves the subtle but crucial distinction between the two types of Korean causatives unaccounted for.
- ii. Shibatani's nonsynonymy hypothesiseis is essentially correct, but his description contains factually incorrect statements, and his classification of causative types (manipulative vs. directive, etc.) and notion of 'agency' of the causee as the basis of distinction between the two types of causatives are inadequate.
- iii. By assigning two distinct and separate underlying structures to the two readings, the interesting proposal by Patterson misses the important generalization that all lexical causatives, despite the two distinct readings each can have, share a unique semantic property.
- iv. If the scope ambiguity of an adverbial modification can be evidence in favor of lexical decomposition, the Korean lexical causative provides only conflicting and inconclusive evidence.
- v. There is no question about the correctness of an embedding analysis of the periphrastic causative. The uniform semantic interpretation of the lexical causative as distinct from the periphrastic type may be motivated by a nonembedding analysis.
- vi. As a corollary to (v), if the lexical causative verbs are formed by a word formation rule in the morphological component rather than by the syntactic rule of verb raising, then it is more than likely that the underlying lexical causative is a simplex sentence.
- vii. If my characterization of the Korean causative is correct, it probably will be simpler for interpretive rules and pragmatics to account for the way the lexical causative is put to use than to incorporate notions of speaker perception, control, and responsibility into the semantic representation.

On the basis of what has been enumerated above, it may be reasonable to conclude that the lexical and periphrastic causatives be assigned separate and distinct underlying structures, the latter containing an embedding and the former not. Although Shibatani's single-event view of the lexical causative needs to be modified to accommodate the 'agentive' reading in addition to the 'obviative', it in no way conflicts with my own view and may prove to be valid

after all. If my tentative hypothesis can provide an interesting and revealing explanation for a broader range of phenomena without recourse to ad hoc constraints or conventions than other alternative hypotheses can with extra descriptive machinery that necessarily complicates the grammar, then the choice among the competing proposals must be obvious.

## 14. A Korean Connection: The Transferentive Reconsidered

In traditional grammar the term 'conjunction' has been used to refer to particles like 'and' and 'but', which are used to conjoin words, phrases, and clauses. In recent literature we note a semantic shift in terminology as well as a change in descriptive apparatus in the area of sentence conjunction.<sup>1</sup> The term 'conjunction' is now used in a more abstract sense, referring to a process of conjoining rather than to the particles that serve such a function. To supplant the old meaning of the term or to fill the void created by the semantic transference, a newly coined term 'conjunctive' has been called into service. 'Or' and 'because' are no longer conjunctions but are now called conjunctives. Two constituents conjoined by a conjunctive in the process of conjoining are called conjuncts. With this brief preliminary remark on terminology, we are now ready to launch into the exploration of a Korean connection.

In this chapter I will single out for a reexamination the conjunctive *taka*, known by the name 'transferentive', alias 'durative'. Although the salient features of this conjunctive are well known, some more cryptic aspects have escaped the attention of grammarians and remain unaccounted for. I have discovered a number of interesting syntactic and semantic constraints that are imposed upon this mode of conjunction, which help to define a substantive core meaning that can be applied to various superficially distinct manifestations of the basically unitary function of this conjunctive. When the examination is completed, I hope I will have improved upon previous descriptions and provided a useful and practical guide for students of Korean.

Let me summarize what has already been said and known about the conjunctive *taka*. Despite terminological differences among grammarians, there seems to be little disagreement in their views of the function of this form. Hyon-Pai Choi (1961) calls it an 'interruptive form' and classifies it as one of the non-sentence-final endings of a verb. Consider the following example sentences:

1. a. akka            nun    nwun-i    o-taka            icey-nun  
a while ago TOP snow-NM come TRSF now

pi-ka o-n-ta  
rain-NM

‘It was snowing a while ago and it is raining now.’

- b mangselkeli-taka    kapcaki    ttena-ss-ta  
hesitate                    suddenly leave-PAST

‘[He] suddenly left after hesitating a while.’

In order to account for the meaning of the non-sentence-final ending *taka*, Choi provides the following definition: “The interruptive form indicates an interruption of an action that has been going on up to this moment and switching to another action. Their forms are *taka* and *ta* (an abbreviation of *taka*)” (p. 310). This definition characterizes the use of *taka* in sentence (1a) fairly accurately, but it is less apparent whether the definition applies equally well to sentence (1b). If we interpret Choi’s explanation literally, we have to say that the interrupted action in (1b) is an inaction. A physical nonaction, as implied by the word *mangselkelita* ‘hesitate’, can be viewed as a mental action, and we do not have to reject his definition outright. But we cannot stretch our imagination beyond certain limits, or the notion of interruption loses its utility and we run the risk of disrupting a tenuous semantic connection or corrupting the original sense. Other linguists’ definitions are essentially similar to Choi’s, although their descriptions are much more detailed and sophisticated in some respects. In Fred Lukoff (1945), we find the following explanation, which is characteristic: “The non-sentence-final *ta* forms (based on the simple stems of action verbs or on the past stems of action verbs) have the meaning of ‘when...’ or ‘while...’. Often they indicate an activity which is followed by or interrupted by another one” (p. 412). Although Lukoff lists *ta* as a base form, I will assume *taka* to be the lexical entry and will shortly present an argument to justify my position. It is clear from his explanation that one of the relations that this particle indicates is an ‘interruption’ of the action of the first conjunct by that of the second conjunct. It is not clear what other relation Lukoff intends to describe by his phrase “an activity which is followed by another one.” Typically, causal and sequential relations are expressed by actions or states followed by other actions or

states, respectively. It is true that the first conjunct of a transferentive conjunction is readily rendered in an English translation beginning with 'when' or 'while'. Many other constructions and expressions in Korean are readily translatable by temporal clauses of this type as well. The question that intrigues linguists is the precise nature of the relation between two activities that are conjoinable by the transferentive conjunct. What is unique about this conjunction, differentiating it from all the other modes of conjunction?

Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969), one of the most comprehensive published sources of grammatical information on the Korean language, provides the following description of the transferentive, which, I believe, is perceptive and accurate in general.

Transferentive verb forms, with the ending *ta* (optionally followed by *ka*), indicate a shift in action, either of the verb-action itself or of its direction or of the recipient of its benefit.

Attached to a verb base, the ending makes the form 'WHEN so-and-so happens...'; this is followed by another action which interrupts or shifts the trend of the first, so that it is discontinued in favor of the second. (It is not clear from the construction alone whether the interruption is later resumed.)

Attached to a past base, to make a past transferentive form *-ess-ta(ka)*, the ending conveys the meaning 'when so-and-so has happened...', and the following verb tells of something contradictory or unanticipated that happened right after the action of the past transferentive form.

Another construction, involving transferentive forms, employs two such forms, of opposite or contrasting meaning—either present or, more commonly, past—rounded off by a form of *hay yo*. This construction means that the two actions keep interrupting each other. (pp. 267–268)

Lukoff, in his recently published Korean text (Lukoff 1982), expands considerably on his earlier statement and enriches the available sources of information on this matter:

Conjunctive clauses in *taka* express the notion that an action, quality, or condition continues over a period of time and is then discontinued or interrupted or broken off and superseded by another action, quality, or condition (expressed in the clause that follows the conjunctive clause in *taka*). Such conjunctive clauses may thus be said to focus attention on the durative aspect of an event, and we call the conjunctive ending *-taka* the "durative" conjunctive ending.

In its most common use, the conjunctive clause ending *-taka* is added to the aorist [=present] tense stem of verbs and to their perfect [=past] tense stems. (p. 263)

Conjunctive clauses in *-esstaka* (built upon the perfect tense of the verb) describe an event which has been completed or finished with the implication that it is not the final event but was followed by another event. (p. 320)

The views I have presented above are by no means exhaustive but are unquestionably representative and provide more than an adequate basis for a reexamination of the transferentive conjunction (TC hereafter).

It is interesting to note that Martin and Lee and Lukoff consider the form of the conjunctive to be *ta* rather than *taka*, whereas Choi opts for the latter shape, adding that *ta* is an abbreviated form. Fred Lukoff (1982) gives the *taka* form and then points out that the final syllable is often deleted, thus making it indistinguishable from the sentence-final ending *ta*. Although it sounds like nit-picking, it is no trivial matter whether this conjunctive is to be listed in the lexicon as *ta* or *taka*. When we choose the form *taka*, several advantages accrue. First, no confusion arises between the transferentive conjunctive and the sentence-final ending *ta*, at least in their underlying representations. Second, an optional rule for the deletion of *ka* need not be stated separately, for it is another example of a manifestation of a pervasive syntactic phenomenon that I have called 'abbreviation' (see chapter 5). Finally, and most important, there is an interesting bit of linguistic evidence that crucially supports the argument for the full form: When another particle is attached to the form *taka*, the final syllable is no longer subject to optional deletion. If we enter this conjunctive as *ta*, then an obligatory insertion of *ka*, clearly a counterintuitive move, will be in order. A more natural and elegant, as well as simpler, way to account for this phenomenon is to state that the optional abbreviation of the final syllable is blocked when it is no longer in the final syllable. Observe the following examples, which illustrate the case in point:

2. a. chayk-ul ilk-taka-to kohyang sayngkak i na myen  
book read even home thought arise if  
swuni-nun nwunmul-ul hulli-ess-ta  
tear shed  
'Even while she was reading a book, if a thought of home  
assailed her, Soonie would shed tears.'
- a'. \*chayk-ul ilk-ta-to kohyang sayngkak i na myen  
swuni nun nwunmul ul hulli-ess-ta
- b. kulen cis-ul hay-ss-taka-nun mangha ci.  
such conduct do-PAST perish  
'If [they] were to do things like that, [they] surely  
would go down.'
- b'. \*kulen cis-ul hay-ss-ta-nun mangha ci

The paired sentences (2a) and (2a') are entirely identical except for the shape of the transferentive conjunctive. The ungrammaticality or oddity of (2a') is attributable to the deletion of the final syllable before the added particle. Sentence (2b') is worse than (2a'), and the ungrammaticality seems to plummet in proportion to the number of particles added. Now that we have settled the question of the morphological shape of the transferentive conjunctive in favor of the longer form, let us move into the area of the syntax and semantics of conjunction mediated by this form.

There is an important syntactic constraint that must be imposed on the transferentive conjunction. Following David Perlmutter (1971), I will call it the 'identical subject constraint'. Consider the following:

3. a. nay-ka tosekwan-ey ka-taka swuni-lul po-ass-ta  
I library to go see-PAST  
'I saw Soonie while going to the library.'
- b. \*nay-ka tosekwan-ey ka-taka swuni-ka na-lul po-ass-ta  
'Soonie saw me while I was on my way to the library.'

Although the subject NP is not overtly present in the second conjunct of sentence (3a), there is little doubt that it must be identical to the subject NP in the first conjunct. Although I am assuming

that an identical NP deletion is responsible for the disappearance of the subject in the second conjunct, I have no infallible argument to support this position. The underlying structure of sentence (3a) can be generated with PRO in the subject position, and, through the mechanism of control, a rule of construal will apply for an appropriate semantic interpretation. The claim I am making is that if a different subject occurs in the second conjunct, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical. Sentence (3b), which is ungrammatical, demonstrates the validity of my claim. (Incidentally, I should point out that (3b) is not inherently anomalous semantically, as the corresponding English translation testifies.)

In (3a) the deleted or understood subject occurs in the second conjunct, but it can occur in the first conjunct just as well. Examine the following sentences:

4. a. tosekwan ey ka-taka na nun swuni lul po-ass-ta  
      'I saw Soonie on my way to the library.'
- b. tosekwan ey ka-taka swuni ka na lul po-ass-ta  
      'Soonie saw me on her way to the library.'

There is no surface subject in the first conjunct of either sentence in (4), and the semantic interpretation of these sentences dictates that we supply an identical subject from the second conjunct. Sentence (4b) is entirely parallel to (3b) except that the former lacks the subject NP in the first conjunct. Sentence (3b) is ungrammatical because it has a subject NP in the first conjunct that is different from that of the second conjunct, thus violating the identical subject constraint; (4b) is grammatical because of the absence of a subject in the first conjunct.

The identical subject constraint is a well-formedness condition on the surface, for it can be violated in the underlying structure. Consider the following pair of strings:

5. a. \*kakha-ka        etwuwun kolmok-eyse ocwum-ul    nwu-taka  
      His Excellency dark        alley-in        urine        pass  
      swunkyeng-i cap-ass-ta  
      policeman    catch  
      'The policeman arrested His Excellency while he was  
      passing water in a dark alley.'

- b. kakha-ka etwuwun kolmok-eyse ocwum-ul nwu-taka  
swunkyeng-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta  
by catch-PASS-PAST  
'His Excellency was arrested by the policeman while  
he was passing water in a dark alley.'

Sentences (5a) and (5b) are synonymous, or identical in the truth value of their propositional content. Sentence (5a) is ungrammatical for the obvious reason that it violates the identical subject constraint. The sentence contains different subjects in the two conjuncts, namely, *kakha* 'His Excellency' and *swunkyeng* 'policeman'. In sentence (5b) the clause in the second conjunct has been passivized, and the newly created subject is identical with that of the first conjunct. We now have a natural and plausible explanation for the ungrammaticality and grammaticality, respectively, of the two sentences in (5).

There are some apparent exceptions to this constraint, and (1a) is a representative of such counterexamples. Obviously, there are two different subjects in (1a), but the sentence is grammatical nonetheless. Let me provide a few more examples before we seek an explanation for the deviation.

6. a. cheum-ey-nun ai-tul-i nolayha-taka cikum un elun-tul-i  
first at child-PL sing now adult  
nolay-lul pulu-n-ta  
song sing  
'Children were singing earlier and now adults are singing.'
- b. ecey-nun yeca-ka kakey-lul po-taka onul-un namca-ka  
yesterday woman store tend today man  
po-n-ta  
'A woman was tending the store yesterday and a man is  
doing the same today.'

If we examine these apparent counterexamples carefully, we can scarcely fail to note certain characteristic features common to all these sentences. Let us go back to (1a) and see what makes this sentence so unique that it is grammatical even when it violates the identical subject constraint. Although (1a) has different subjects in two conjuncts, they denote two different phases of a single

phenomenon, the state of the weather. The Korean language has different terms for rain and snow, but are they really two different phenomena or are they mere variations contingent upon atmospheric conditions?

What about the sentences in (6)? Can we extend the notion of identical subject to identical activity, condition, state, phenomenon, and what-not to explain away all these counterexamples? In (6a) different subjects, *ai-tul* 'children' in the first conjunct and *elun-tul* 'adults' in the second conjunct, are both singing, whereas in (6b) different subjects, *yeca* 'woman' and *namca* 'man', are both tending the store. For lack of an appropriate term, I will tentatively propose to call this phenomenon an 'identical predicate constraint'. The sentences in (6) are grammatical because they do not violate the identical predicate constraint even though they appear to be counterexamples to the identical subject constraint.

For some strange reason, there still remain what appear to be genuine counterexamples violating both identical subject and predicate constraints. Consider the following:

7. a. *nay-ka yehayng-ul ha-taka ton-i tteleci-ess-ta*  
I travel do money run out  
'I ran out of money while I was traveling.'
- b. *nay-ka swuyengha-taka tali-ey cwi-ka na-ss-ta*  
swim leg cramp occur-PAST  
'I had a cramp in the leg while I was swimming.'

The sentences in (7) have neither identical subject nor identical predicate in the sense that was made clear in our earlier discussion. For instance, the subject in the first conjunct of (7a) is *na* 'I', and that of the second conjunct is *ton* 'money'. Two predicates in the same sentence describe two unrelated events, 'my traveling' and 'shortage of money'. What makes this sentence grammatical despite a double violation of constraints? The English translation of (7a) is interesting in that it, unlike the Korean, has identical subjects in both conjuncts. This provides an apocalyptic clue to what the real subject of the second conjunct might be: Although it is not overtly expressed on the surface, native speakers invariably feel that an agent or experiencer who ran out of money is missing. There is indeed a sentence that is synonymous with (7a) but contains a real subject in the second conjunct.

8. yehayng-ul ha-taka nay-ka ton-i tteleci-ess-ta  
'I ran out of money while I was traveling.'

The only difference between (7a) and (8) is that the deletion of an identical subject occurs in the second conjunct in the former, but it occurs in the first conjunct in the latter. It should be noted that there are two other sentences synonymous with (7a) and (8) but distinct syntactically from either of them. In place of a subject in the first or second conjunct, an experiencer can occur with the dative marker *eykey*, as (9a) shows. In the second alternative, the subject can be realized as a possessor taking the genitive marker *uy*, as illustrated by (9b). Compare (8) with the sentences in (9), which are synonymous with (8) but distinct from it in the syntactic representation of the logical subject.

9. a. yehayng-ul ha-taka na-eykey ton-i tteleci-ess-ta  
'My money ran out while I was traveling.'  
'Money ran out on me while I was traveling.'
- b. yehayng-ul ha-taka nay (=na uy) ton-i tteleci-ess-ta  
'My money ran out while I was traveling.'

I have previously claimed that the identical subject constraint was a surface structure well-formedness condition of a sort. In the light of the preceding discussion, it is clear that this constraint must be further constrained and somewhat modified to accommodate sentences like (8), (9a), and (9b). I do not mean to become involved in an endless dispute about whether all these sentences should be derived from a single underlying structure or what that structure might look like. Instead, I will simply propose that the *taka* conjunction is subject to the identical subject constraint on the surface but that there are viable options in the syntactic realization of that semantically identical subject.

Let us return to sentence (7a), which has triggered a move to reformulate the identical subject constraint. This sentence was considered a genuine counterexample, violating not only the identical subject but also the identical predicate constraints. It turned out, however, that the sentence has another subject that happens to be identical with that of the first conjunct. Although it may account for the grammaticality of (7a), this happy resolution results in the unhappy complication of generating a sentence with double subjects. Does the Korean language have sentences with double sub-

jects like a twoheaded monster? Superficially, there are sentences in Korean that have not only double but also triple and quadruple subjects. Consider the following sentences discussed in Seok Choong Song (1967):

10. a. tosi-ka silepca-ka swu-ka manh-ta  
city unemployed number many  
'It is a city that has a great number of unemployed.'
- b. i path-i tong ccok-i pan i yangci-ka palu-ta  
this field east side half sunny  
'Half of the east side of this field is sunny.'

The counterexamples in (7) are sentences of the same type.<sup>2</sup> When real subjects in the second conjuncts that are identical to those in the first conjuncts are deleted, the resultant surface structures of the conjoined sentence present a semblance of having different subjects. Because the two conjuncts have nonidentical predicates, they appeared to be genuine counterexamples to the constraints postulated. With the discovery, or—more precisely—recovery, of an identical subject in the second conjunct in (7a–b), we no longer find any real counterexamples violating the identical subject and identical predicate constraints. I will, therefore, proceed to the semantic properties of the TC.

The most prominent feature of all previous descriptions has been 'interruption', and I will start with a reexamination of this property. Let us go back to example sentences (1) through (10) and check whether the notion of 'interruption' can be applied uniformly to impose appropriate semantic interpretations on these sentences. I have already questioned its validity in the case of (1b), in which a literal interpretation will compel us to claim that 'hesitation has been interrupted by a sudden departure' rather than the more natural interpretation, 'after a moment of hesitation, he left suddenly'. Again, it is almost impossible to utilize the notion of an interruption in interpreting (2b), in which the second conjunct is a prediction of the speaker. Shall we say that the impending doom the speaker is pronouncing would interrupt monstrous behaviors that the expression *kulen cis* 'such conduct' implies? The speaker is uttering a kind of condemnation or warning, and if the subject happened to be in the second person, it could even be a threat. The sense of 'interruption' is remote, to say the least.

In (3a) the speaker saw Soonie while he was on his way to the library. It is conceivable that the subject stopped to chat with her, but nothing in this sentence forces us to resort to that interpretation rather than the more usual sense that he merely espied Soonie from afar without interrupting his progress. What, then, we must ask once again, has been interrupted in this case?

Sentence (5) is more interesting in that His Excellency was engaged in the act of relieving a physiological urgency over which he has no voluntary control and which he cannot turn on and off at will. The action of the policeman must have interfered with but would not have interrupted His Excellency's action. In order to avoid unnecessary confusion, let me make it clear that I am not trying to describe the usage of the English verb 'interrupt' here but rather am discussing whether the notion 'interruption' is appropriate as a semantic characterization of the TC.

Although the notion of interruption can be stretched to cover a case like sentence (6a), in which two conjuncts describe alternating scenes, we face a serious problem in applying the same notion to (6b). The man is not interrupting what the woman is doing here; they are taking turns engaging in the same activity. Both sentences in (7) imply that something has happened to the subject in the middle of an action that the first conjunct describes. Sentence (7a) clearly does not denote an interruption of a journey by an act of running out of money; it simply states when the subject ran out of money. Sentence (7b) is another example to which it is dubious that the sense of 'interruption' can be applied. Pragmatically, 'the cramp in the leg' could have caused an interruption of swimming, but the predominant reading of this sentence is that 'I had a cramp in the middle of swimming'. Thus, (7b) answers the question what happened rather than what has interrupted what.

It is quite clear that the semantic notion of 'interruption' is inadequate, if not entirely inappropriate, to characterize the TC. It will be shown later that the 'interruption' sense is only one component of the complex semantic properties of this mode of conjunction and that this sense becomes predominant only when specific syntactic and semantic conditions are met. Let us look at other meanings characteristic of the TC that can serve to differentiate it from other types of conjunctions.

One sense that immediately comes to my mind is the sense of 'overlapping' or 'concurrence' that often is rendered in English translation as 'while'. Consider the following:

11. a. cam-ul ca-taka kkwum-ul kkwu-ess-ta  
sleep sleep dream dream  
'[He] had a dream in his sleep.'
- b. yenphil-ul kkakk-taka son-ul pey-ess-ta  
pencil sharpen hand cut  
'[I] cut my finger while sharpening a pencil.'
- c. say sayksi-ka cel-ul ha-taka haphum-ul hay-ss-ta  
new bride bow make yawn  
'The bride yawned while she was making a bow.'
- d. ip-ul macchwu-taka caychayki-lul hay-ss-ta  
mouth join sneeze  
'[He] sneezed while he was kissing.'
- e. kang-eyse nol-taka ppaci-ess-ta  
river-in play drown  
'[He] drowned while he was playing in a river.'
- f. totwukcil-ul ha-taka tulkhi-ess-ta  
theft do be discovered  
'[He] was caught in the act of stealing.'
- g. oynamu tali-lul kennu-taka ppaci-ess-ta  
log bridge cross fall  
'[I] fell into the water while crossing a log bridge.'

In (11a) it may not seem unreasonable to claim that sleep is being interrupted by a dream, but it would be merely metaphorical because we do not interrupt our sleep and freely will to have a dream. If the sleep is interrupted, the dream will also be interrupted. It seems that the dream overlaps with the sleep without interrupting it. Sentence (11b) is another clearcut case, for no one cuts his finger to interrupt his act of sharpening a pencil. It is not necessary to go over all the example sentences given above, for a cursory examination will show a typical and unambiguous sense of 'concurrency' for the conjunction.

Incidentally, it is no accident that all the verbs in the second conjunct of the sentences in (11) have something in common. They are mostly intransitive verbs with a passive sense or transitive verbs

indicating involuntary actions. I believe that this is a crucial element that assigns a ‘concurrency’ interpretation to the TC.

Closely related to the ‘interruption’ sense discussed earlier is an ‘alternating’ sense. As Martin and Lee correctly point out, this interpretation is associated with a specific syntactic device in which *taka* is repeated with verbs of contrasting senses directly followed by a form of *hata*. See the following examples, which exhibit this meaning:

12. a. nalssi-ka tew-ess-taka chwu-ess-taka ha-n-ta  
weather warm-PAST cold do  
‘The weather keeps changing from warm to cold  
and vice-versa.’
- b. ku yeca-ka mannal ilay-ss-taka celay-ss taka ha-n-ta  
that woman always be this-PAST be that-PAST do  
‘She keeps changing her mind all the time saying/doing  
this and that.’
- c. son-ul cwi-ess taka phy-ess-taka ha-n-ta  
hand clench open  
‘[He] keeps closing and opening his hand.’

The ‘alternating’ sense of the transferentive is a natural outcome of repeating the interruption, for when two scenes keep interrupting each other, an alternation of these scenes will automatically result.

Another sense of the TC that is fairly common is the ‘conditional’. Syntactically, the conjunctor is usually accompanied by the topic marker *nun*, although it is not an obligatory requirement, and not all the occurrences of *taka* plus *nun* are subject to the ‘conditional’ interpretation. Like a regular conditional, the past tense of the verb preceding *taka* expresses a counterfactual condition, whereas the present tense expresses a factual or general condition. The second conjuncts often show illocutionary forces that are embodied in predictions, warnings, or threats. Consider the following examples:

13. a. kule-taka nun hon na-n-ta  
that do be scared  
‘If you behave like that, you will pay for it.’

- b. kongpu-lul ani ha-taka nun nakcay-lul ha-n-ta  
study not do flunk  
'If you don't study, you will flunk the class.'
- c. kkapul-taka nun caymi eps-ta  
be sassy interest not-be  
'If you get sassy, I will teach you a lesson.'
- d. kulen cis-ul hay-ss-taka nun mangha-ci  
that kind act do-PAST perish  
'If they were to act like that, they would be doomed.'

As the past tense marker in the verb of the first conjunct clearly indicates, (13d) is a counterfactual condition. The conditional sense, I believe, is tied with what I will call the 'contiguity' sense.

The notion of 'contiguity' is extremely important, and it lies at the core of the TC. The notion of contiguity that I postulate here is not a continuity in a physical and temporal sense but rather represents the perceptions of speakers who view two Es (a cover symbol for events encompassing actions, activities, states, conditions, and whatever other notions verbs are supposed to indicate or describe) to be contiguous in their minds, whatever the case in the real world. Consider the following:

14. a. yengca-ka cen ey nun paywu-hako sal-taka cikum un  
Young Ja before actor-with live now  
kaswu-hako sa-n-ta  
singer with live  
'Young Ja was living with an actor before, but she is with a singer now.'
- b. ku-nun kwanli-lul ha-taka cikum un cangsa-lul ha-n-ta  
he-TOP bureaucrat do now business  
'He was a government employee before, but now he runs a (small) business.'

The speaker is not asserting in (14a) that Young Ja has been married only twice. Indeed, she may be living with her fifth husband by now. He is expressing his perception of two Es as contiguous, one following the other. In a similar manner, the man in (14b) might have served as an engineer or taught school before starting a

business. These facts are irrelevant to the speaker, who is only concerned with two phases of that man's life, which he is viewing as contiguous.

Once we establish 'contiguity' as the core meaning of the TC, it is possible to derive all other meanings from this basic sense and, furthermore, to provide a plausible explanation of how divergent meanings emerge through the interaction of the basic meaning of the TC and meanings of the other elements of a sentence. In the rest of this chapter, I will attempt to show how it is possible to impose a natural interpretation on many different cases of TCs through a uniform application of the unitary meaning posited above.

Let me first elaborate on a definition of TC as a tentative and working hypothesis. It is important to note that Es described by two conjuncts are not necessarily logically related. They have neither a causal nor a sequential relation in the usual sense in which these terms are used in grammatical description. Two Es are performed by a single agent or happen to a single experiencer—an automatic consequence of the identical predicate requirement. And the two Es or two phases of a single E are perceived by the speaker to be contiguous in the sense that I have discussed earlier. In sum, the TC conjoins two logically unrelated Es performed by the same agent or happening to the same experiencer and which the speaker perceives to be contiguous.

The 'interruption' sense that is considered to be characteristic of this mode of conjunction becomes predominant only when the predicate of the second conjunct contains action/process verbs, especially those indicating voluntary actions. In order to stress this meaning, a form *malko*, derived from *malta* 'stop', may be added to the transferentive conjunct. Because two sentences, one with and the other without the form *malko*, are practically synonymous, it is tempting to speculate that the 'interruption' sense ultimately comes from the form *malko* and to posit *taka malko* as an underlying semantic representation for this meaning, with the proviso that *malko* is subject to an optional deletion. I will not take such an enlightened but radical position, but instead will follow a conservative course and make the simple descriptive statement that *malko* is compatible with the transferentive conjunct whenever it has the interruptive sense. Provided below are some examples that show that *malko* is compatible with the transferentive in the 'interruption' sense but incompatible with other meanings.

15. a. kongpu-lul ha-taka TV-lul po-ass-ta  
study do see-PAST  
'[I] switched to watching TV in the middle of studying.'
- a'. kongpu-lul ha-taka malko TV-lul po-ass-ta
- b. nolum-ul ha-taka ton-ul ilh-ess-ta  
gambling do money lost  
'(I) lost money while I was gambling.'
- b'. \*nolum-ul ha-taka malko ton-ul ilh-ess-ta
- c. khal-ul kaciko cangnan ha-taka nun tachi-n-ta  
knife with play get hurt  
'If you play with a knife, you will get hurt.'
- c'. \*khal ul kaciko cangnan ha-taka malko nun tachi-n-ta

As I have already pointed out, the TC is employed to present two Es as being contiguous. When the subject of the second conjunct is an agent and the predicate contains an action/process verb indicating voluntary or controllable action, we get the impression that the subject interrupts the first E to perform the second E. The 'interruption' sense, however, is a byproduct of semantic chemistry amalgamating the meaning of the second conjunct meeting the conditions enumerated and what I take to be a basic semantic feature of the TC, 'incompletion'. (My earlier definition is incomplete in that this notion of 'incompletion' has been left out.) The essence of the TC lies in the fact that the second E starts before the first E runs its course. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

16. a. kongpu-lul ha-ko ca-ss-ta  
study do sleep-PAST  
'[I] went to bed after [finishing] my study.'
- a'. kongpu-lul ha-taka ca-ssta  
'[I] went to bed in the middle of studying.'
- b. pap-ul mek-ko ttena-ss-ta  
meal eat leave  
'[He] left after [finishing] the meal.'
- b'. pap-ul mek-taka ttena-ss-ta  
'[He] left in the middle of eating.'

It is perfectly clear where the difference lies between the two conjunctors *ko* and *taka*. The traditional description of the function of *ko* as a sequential conjunct, implying that it conjoins two Es in sequential order, is inaccurate and somewhat misleading. Practically all the conjunctions tacitly imply that the E described by the first conjunct (E1) precedes that of the second (E2). The crucial distinction between *ko* and *taka* is that the former signals 'completion', whereas the latter signals 'incompletion' of the first E. The 'interruption' sense emerges through an interaction between the 'incompletion' sense and the meanings of the second conjunct meeting the conditions discussed above.

I have mentioned in passing that the 'concurrence' sense requires that the predicate in the second conjunct have an intransitive verb with a passive sense or a transitive verb describing an involuntary or uncontrollable E. In contrast with the agent subject of the 'interruption' sense, the subject of this type of verb is an experiencer or patient. When the meaning of second conjunct meeting these conditions interacts with the basic sense of 'incompletion', the reading of the sentence implies 'concurrence', namely, that something has happened to the subject in the course of the E described in the first conjunct.

As I have already pointed out, the 'contiguity' sense constitutes the backbone of the 'conditional' sense of the TC. Furthermore, sentences in the second conjunct have the illocutionary force of a warning, a prediction, or a threat. The function of the topic marker, which characteristically accompanies the transferentive conjunct, is to add the sense of 'only' to the original meaning of *taka* 'when'. It is only a short step to link 'only when' with the sense 'if', and we now have the connection between the TC and the conditional. The addition of the topic marker also increases the likelihood of E2 in the event of E1 and strengthens its illocutionary force to make the threat or warning more effective.

Whether the TC is used in the 'interruption' sense or the 'concurrence' sense, E1 continues over a period before E2 interrupts or concurs with it. For this reason it has been claimed that the TC focuses attention on the durative aspect of an event. Although this is true, I doubt that it is an intrinsic semantic property of the TC. The durative sense is present when the verb is in the present tense, but it is no longer there when the verb is in the past tense. Why such a discrepancy? If the durative sense were a feature of the semantic properties of the TC, we would be hard-pressed to find a

plausible explanation for this mysterious disappearance. As is well known, the present tense of a Korean verb indicates a continuous and/or repetitive aspect rather than the 'nowness' of time. It would make more sense, therefore, to claim that the durative sense is a contribution of the present tense of the verb than to consider it a property of the TC. Consider the following examples:

17. a. molu ko iss-ess-taka hwu ey nyusu-lul tut ko  
ignorant later news hear  
noll-ass-ta  
surprise-PAST-DCL  
'[I] didn't know about it and was surprised to hear the news later.'
- b. san sok ey sal ko iss-ess-taka cencayng-i kkuthnan  
mountain inside live war  
hwu ey nawa-ss-ta  
'[He] had been living on a mountain and came out after the war was over.'

These examples unmistakably show that the past transferentive is not incompatible with the progressive aspect, which has a durative sense. If the durative sense in the above examples were a contribution of the progressive aspect, which it undoubtedly is, we would have a compelling reason to believe that a parallel analysis that assigns the durative sense to the present tense is a correct one.

The issue involving tense is an important one, and we should be aware of such problems even though we cannot hope to resolve them all at once.<sup>3</sup> Most people, including linguists, feel that the TC with the past tense in the first conjunct is somehow different from the same with the present tense. I believe that this feeling has a justifiable basis and, perhaps, stems from the awareness that in an ordinary conjoined sentence in Korean tense is marked once and for all at the end of the second conjunct. Why, then, does the TC allow the past tense to be marked in the middle of a sentence, and what is the significance of all this?

The past tense at the end of the second conjunct, i.e., at the end of an entire sentence, means that the time frame for the entire sentence is in the past. The past tense in this case contrasts with the present tense in the same position. If, however, the past tense oc-

curs at the end of the first conjunct, i.e., in the middle of a sentence, it casts only that conjunct in the time frame of pastness and thus contrasts with the tense of the second conjunct, which is always in the present underlyingly. My contention is that the tense relation between the two conjuncts allows only two possibilities, which I will represent schematically as follows:

18. a. E1-Present      TRSF      E2-Present  
    b. E1-Past        TRSF      E2-Present

How, then, are we going to account for the frequent occurrence on the surface of the past tense marker with the second conjunct? The answer is simple and straightforward. When (18 a–b) are cast into the time frame of Pastness, it will be directly reflected in the tense marking of the verbal endings of the second conjunct. Once again, we can represent schematically the relation between the underlying time frame and surface tense marking as follows: We might consider (19 a'–b') as surface structures derived from the underlying structures (19 a–b), which, I believe, represent correctly the time frame the speakers envision when they utter (19 a'–b'). Note that the structures within the square brackets in (19 a–b) are identical to those of (18 a–b), respectively.

19. a. [E1-Present TRSF E2-Present]<sub>PAST</sub>  
    a'. E1-Present TRSF E2-Past  
    b. [E1-Past TRSF E2-Present]<sub>PAST</sub>  
    b'. E1-Past TRSF E2-Past

On the surface, there are four distinct tense markings possible for the TC, as illustrated by (18 a–b) and (19 a'–b') above. I will provide example sentences representing these four different situations.

20. a. hakkyo-ey ka-taka tolao-n-ta  
    school-to go return-IND  
    '[He] is coming back while on his way to school.'
- b. hakkyo-ey ka-ss-tak tolao-n-ta  
        PAST  
    '[He] is coming back after he has been to school.'

- c. hakkyo-ey ka-taka tolao-ass-ta  
PAST  
'[He] came back while on his way to school.'
- d. hakkyo-ey ka-ss-taka tolao-ass-ta  
'[He] came back after he had been to school.'

If the nature of the TC is such that it allows the past tense that is contrastive to occur in the middle, can the definition of the TC as formulated survive the test and remain a working hypothesis when applied to a TC whose first conjunct contains a past tense verb? If it needs to be modified, in what respect and why? One way to approach these questions is to ask whether there is any restriction on the use of the past tense in the first conjunct. I have given three sentences in (15) representing three different senses of the TC. It would be interesting to check whether the verbs in the first conjunct can cooccur with a past tense marker. Observe the following:

21. a. \*kongpu-lul hay-ss-taka TV-lul po-ass-ta  
b. nolum-ul hay-ss-taka ton-ul ilh-ess-ta  
'I gambled and lost money.'  
c. khal-ul kaciko cangnan hay-ss-taka nun tachi-n-ta  
'If you played with a knife, you would hurt yourself.'

As (21a) indicates, past tense is incompatible with the 'interruption' sense, but it is readily acceptable with other senses of the TC, as (21b-c) illustrate. In an overwhelming number of cases, the past tense verb can cooccur with the TC used in the 'concurrence' or 'conditional' sense. The only troublesome area is the TC with the 'interruption' sense, where the use of the past tense verb seems to be ruled out, although there are a number of exceptions. It is not difficult to speculate on the reason why the past tense verb is incompatible with the 'interruption' sense: The 'perfective' sense of the past tense is in conflict with the 'durative' sense required for an interruption to occur. What is still not clear and awaits further research is when and why the past tense is acceptable with the TC used in the 'interruption' sense.

I shall conclude this chapter by briefly touching on two other points related to the past transferentive. If the tense marking in the middle of a sentence (or at the end of the first conjunct) is rare in

the process of conjunction in Korean, what is special about the past transferentive? First, in the TC with the 'conditional' sense, the past tense in the first conjunct has a totally different function, namely, to make the condition hypothetical or counterfactual. This, however, is true with other conditional constructions in Korean. Indeed, this is a universal phenomenon and hardly requires special mention. Second, what is the significance of the strange claim by Martin and Lee (1969) that I quoted earlier about "something contradictory or unanticipated that happens right after the action of the past transferentive" (p. 268)? I believe that this impression results because the TC conjoins logically unrelated Es, sequential or consequential relations being indicated by other types of conjunction. The past tense merely serves to emphasize the non sequitur nature of the TC in which the two contiguous Es are neither sequential nor consequential.

## 15. Two Locatives in Korean

It is generally accepted that there are two locative particles in Korean, *ey* and *eyse*. They are morphologically as well as semantically related, the complex form *eyse* being derived from the simple *ey* by the suffixation of another particle, *se*.<sup>1</sup> The first question to be raised is how the two particles *ey* and *eyse* differ and what rule, if any, determines their choice. The standard descriptions of traditional grammarians offer a fairly simple and straightforward statement of how and when to use these particles. Unfortunately, the descriptions deal with typical cases and leave many questions unanswered when the use of these particles seemingly deviates from the standard usage. I will sample just a few of the existing descriptions.

*A Korean Grammar* (1939) by G. J. Ramstedt, one of the earliest descriptions of the Korean language in the Western grammatical tradition, provides brief but insightful remarks: "The locative indicates the place, time or condition as fixed, a being where or being when or being how ('in', 'on', 'at', 'by', etc.). When the verb itself seems to demand such a fixing of the place, the suffix *ey* is enough, but where the verb is more independent of place, the essive particle *-se* is usually added" (p. 42). Ramstedt's typical examples of the use of locatives are as follows:

1. a. tongkyeng-ey sal-ass-so  
Tokyo-in live-PAST-DCL  
'[I] lived in Tokyo.'
- b. tongkyeng-eyse cwuk-ess-ta  
in die  
'[He] died in Tokyo.'

Ramstedt notes the semantic range of *eyse*, which covers English 'from' as well as 'in, on, at', and then introduces the dative as a related but separate category: "Therefore *-eyse* often has to be translated 'from': *kakey eyse sa-ss-so* 'I bought it in the shop' or 'I have it from the shop'.... In most grammars *eyse* is therefore called

the ending of the ablative. The dative is the locative formed from the genitive. It is used only of nouns for persons or living things” (pp. 42–43). What Ramstedt calls the dative is a variant shape of his locative *ey*, which occurs with human and animate nouns, as he correctly points out. There is no need to set up a separate dative case, and Ramstedt’s proposed locative and dative can be combined into a single category.

Ramstedt’s choice of verbs in (1) to illustrate the distinction between *ey* and *eyse* is unfortunate, for it is difficult to figure out why the verb *sal* ‘live’ is paired with *ey* and its antonym *cwuk* ‘die’ with *eyse*. Although it is true that *cwuk* cannot occur with *ey*, the verb *sal* is permitted to occur with *eyse*. Therefore, Ramstedt’s example sentences provide us with few clues concerning the distinction of the two particles *ey* and *eyse*. His idea that a verb may demand a fixed place or be independent of place is too vague to explicate either the nature of the verbs involved or the distinct properties of the two locative particles, but his explanation does contain a marvelous insight regarding the Korean language. When amplified and elaborated upon, it will constitute the very core of the property that will serve to differentiate *ey* from *eyse*. I will come back to this point later.

Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969) label *ey* and *eyse* static and dynamic locatives, respectively: “Corresponding to English ‘in, at, on’ is the particle *ey* ‘(being) at,’ with or without some specific word of location in front of it. This is a particle of STATIC location: something IS in (at, on) a place. For DYNAMIC location, when something HAPPENS in (at, on) a place, Koreans use the particle *se* ‘(happening) at’ or the combination *ey se*. These particles have the same English translation as *ey* but are used when the verb denotes an action” (p. 51).

This succinct and lucid statement is generally valid and will serve the purpose of teaching Korean to a beginning student, which, after all, is the goal of Martin and Lee’s textbook. When we look around a little more carefully, however, we note some counterexamples that call for a more adequate and perceptive analysis. For example, if we take the description of Martin and Lee literally and try to assign appropriate locative particles, we will produce many ungrammatical sentences. Consider the following:

2. a. Mary-ka uyca-ey anc-ass-ta  
       NM chair-on sit-PAST-DCL  
       'Mary sat on a chair.'
- b. Bill-i chimtay-ey nwu-ess-ta  
       bed-on lie  
       'Bill lay down on a bed.'

Because the verbs *anc* 'sit, sit down' and *nwup* 'lie, lie down' obviously denote actions, we must assign the particle of dynamic location, *eyse*.<sup>2</sup> But in (2a–b), it is the particle of static location, *ey*, that occurs with them, contrary to what Martin and Lee's description leads us to expect. Let us consider a few more examples for which their description is not satisfactory.

3. a. paykakkwan-un Washington-ey iss-ta  
       White House-TOP in is-DCL  
       'The White House is in Washington.'
- b. onul hakkyo-eyse yenghwa-ka iss-ta  
       today school-at movie  
       'There is a movie at school today.'
- c. John-un hoysa-eyse-nun yamcenh-a-n tey cip-  
       TOP firm-in-TOP gentle-IND and house-  
       eyse-nun mangnani i-ta  
       at-TOP rascal be-DCL  
       'John is a gentleman in his office but a rascal at home.'
- d. \*John-un hoysa-ey-nun yamcenh-a-n tey cip-ey-nun  
       mangnani i-ta

Whereas the verb 'be' in English is ambiguous and expresses both existence and equation, these two senses are realized by distinct verbs in Korean: *iss* 'be (existential)' and *i* 'be (equational)'. Obviously, neither of these verbs indicates action, and we would expect the static locative *ey* to cooccur with them. Sentence (3a) shows that the verb *iss* indicating existence is typically associated with the static *ey*. It can, however, also occur with the dynamic *eyse* when the subject NP belongs to a semantically definable subset of nouns describing activities and events, as (3b) illustrates. The equational

verb *i*, for a strange and still unknown reason, demands the dynamic locative rather than a static one, as exemplified by the grammatical (3c) and the ungrammatical (3d).

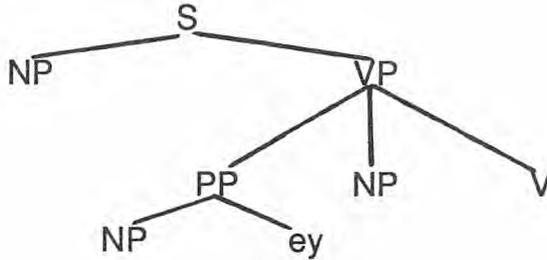
Martin and Lee's statement covers the majority of clearcut cases adequately but some crucial cases deviate from the norm they describe. To complicate the matter, *ey* and *eyse* are also used to denote English 'to' and 'from', respectively. Martin and Lee provide the following description: "Corresponding to English 'to' are the particles *ey* for place and *hanthe* (or less colloquial *eykey*) for persons. 'From' is expressed by the same particles with *se* after them (for 'from a place' you can often say simply *se*)" (p. 50). What are we to make of a statement like this? The static locative *ey* corresponds to English 'at, in, on', on the one hand, and to English 'to', on the other. Likewise, the dynamic locative *eyse* corresponds to English 'at, in, on', on the one hand, and to English 'from', on the other. Is this a case of polysemy or homonymy? The question has never been raised explicitly before, although most linguists may assume the former to be the case. Only in recent years have they begun to grapple with the problem of discrepancy between the morphological and phonological levels. Before turning to the recent literature of abstract and sophisticated analyses, I will consider the latest work in the tradition of Ramstedt and Martin.

Fred Lukoff (1982) provides a detailed description of locatives, which is clear and practical for the most part but adds little new information. Lukoff's recent textbook does contain in what appears to be an ordinary statement bordering on banality about the dynamic locative *eyse* an extremely important and insightful observation: "The form *Noun eyse* when it is associated with a verb which denotes a carrying on of some activity (other than going, coming, etc.), such as *hata* 'to do', *ilhata* 'to work', *ilkta* 'to read', *mannata* 'to meet' and so forth, *specifies location of that activity in space*" [emphasis mine] (p. 98). Lukoff's notion of 'space' assigned to the dynamic locative *eyse* contrasts with Ramstedt's idea of 'fixed place' for the static locative *ey*, but together they touch the very essential properties of these two particles.

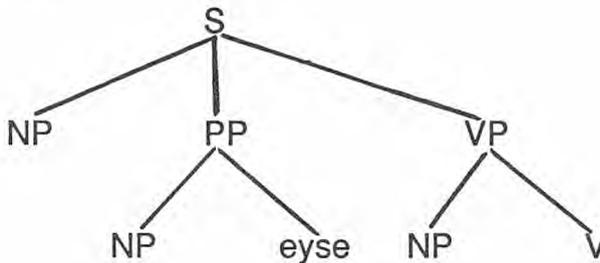
I will digress a little here before presenting my own analysis of the locatives to take a brief look at the novel proposals in two recent articles. Dong-Whee Yang (1973) begins with the ritual of christening or renaming the particles *ey* and *eyse*: "In Korean, inner and outer locatives are indicated by the postpositions *ey* and *eyse*, respectively" (p. 27). Yang claims that the inner locative is dom-

inated by the VP node, whereas the outer locative is directly dominated by the S node in the underlying structures, as the following schemata represent:

4. a. (=Y2a)



b. (=Y2b)



Because Yang neither discusses supporting evidence nor offers specific reasons for postulating the distinct underlying structures that he presents, his analysis is rightly challenged by Ho-min Sohn (1977), who questions its validity: "One moot question with regard to Yang's insight that the meaning difference between *ey* and *eyse* is attributable to the underlying constructional difference is how we can define the constructional meanings that are to be responsible for the different locative expressions. Furthermore, it is not entirely clear on semantic as well as syntactic grounds why, for instance, *hakkyo ey* 'to school' is in construction with the verb *kata* 'to go' and *hakkyo eyse* 'from school' is not in construction with the verb *ota* 'to come'" (p. 75).

After noting that the inner and outer locatives are also used to denote goal and source, respectively, Yang suggests that “the two postpositions *ey* (in both the senses of inner locative and goal) and *eyse* (in both the senses of outer locative and source) are really derived from a single ‘abstract’ postposition EY of the prelexical level in the sense of Gruber (1965).” Jeffrey S. Gruber (1965) suggests that both location and goal expressions in English are derived from a single ‘abstract’ preposition AT. However, Yang begs an important question: how is he going to reconcile the level of his underlying structure with that of Gruber’s prelexical level?

Yang’s analysis crucially depends on the dichotomy into [+directional] and [-directional] of the verb class and on whether the locative postpositional phrase is in construction with the verb or not. Yang believes that the four locational concepts, the inner and outer locations and the goal and source (which he renames as ending and starting locations), are predictable in terms of the property of the cooccurring verb and the constructional configurations just mentioned. Yang provides the following interpretive semantic rule, which is formal and therefore has the virtue of being falsifiable: “EY, when in construction with V, is interpreted as the inner location if the V is [-directional] and as the ending location if the V is [+directional]. When EY is not in construction with V, it is interpreted as the outer location if the V is [-directional] and the starting location if the V is [+directional]” (p. 45). Let us consider some example sentences to test how well Yang’s rule predicts the location which he claims it does.

5. a. aph-ey ka-nun salam-un totwuknom  
front-at go-IND man-TOP thief  
‘The man in front [is] a thief.’

b. mikwuk-eyse kyohoy-ey ka-ss-ta  
America-in church-to go-PAST-DCL  
‘[He] went to church in America.’

c. sewul-ey cenhwa-lul kel-ess-ta  
Seoul-to phone-ACC call  
‘[I] called Seoul by phone.’

- d. *latio-eyse ku sosik-ul tul-ess-ta*  
 radio-from that news-ACC hear  
 '[I] heard that news from the radio.'

In (5a–b) we have the verb *ka* 'go', which is unambiguously [+directional], and, according to Yang's interpretive rule, we would expect *ey* in construction with the verb to be interpreted as the ending location and *eyse* not in construction with the verb as the starting location. Unfortunately, in both cases, Yang's prediction simply fails. *Ey* in (5a) means 'in', the inner location, but not 'to', the ending location, which his rule predicts.<sup>3</sup> Sentence (5b) is not ambiguous to most speakers and means that someone went to church while he was 'in' America, the outer location, not 'from' America, the starting location.

Yang does not provide enough examples of verbs of either category for me to judge whether a given verb belongs to the directional class or not, according to his definition. It probably would be safe to assume, however, that verbs like *tut* 'hear' and *kel* 'make a phone call' are not directional. If my assumption is correct, then *ey* in (5c), which is in construction with the verb, must be the inner location, and *eyse* in (5d), not in construction with the verb, the outer location. But *sewul ey* in (5c) means 'to Seoul', indicating the goal to which a person placed a call, contrary to Yang's prediction that it is the inner location. Likewise in (5d) Yang makes a wrong prediction that *eyse* is the outer location. The verb *tut* 'hear' is not directional and the *eyse*, not in construction with the verb, must be interpreted as the outer location. But a radio cannot be the outer location; it is the source of information, or the starting location according to Yang's definition. Clearly, his interpretive semantic rule is inoperative in both (5c) and (5d). I don't doubt that Yang's rule makes a correct prediction in most cases, but it fails crucial tests exemplified by sentences like those in (5).

Let us suppose, just for argument's sake, that the verb *kel* 'make a phone call' is directional and that *ey* can be interpreted as the ending location in (5c). Changing the label of the verb will not save the day for Yang. Consider the following:

6. a. *pang an-eyse cenhwa-lul kel-ess-ta*  
 room inside-at phone call  
 '[He] made a phone call inside the room.'

- b. yek-eyse            cenhwa-lo    yenlakhay-ss-ta  
 station-at/from phone-by    make contact  
 {[He]    {got in touch by phone from  
           {made contact by making a call at}    the station

If the verb is directional, *eyse* not in construction with the verb will be interpreted as the starting location. In (6a) the use of the location specifier *an* 'inside' practically rules out such a possibility, and even if it allows such an interpretation, (6a) will be ambiguous, to say the least. Sentence (6b) is also an interesting case. Whether the verb *yenlakhha* 'make contact' is directional or not, *eyse* is always ambiguous between the outer and starting locations, an undesirable consequence.

Yang admits that "the outer location and the starting location are *not completely* in complementary distribution with respect to the verb" [emphasis mine], but he also makes a strong assertion elsewhere that "semantically a verb cannot be both [+directional] and [-directional]" at the same time, implying that a choice must be made between the outer and the starting locations. It is not clear how Yang is going to resolve these conflicting statements. Because his interpretive rule makes no proviso for a possible ambiguity, examples like (6b) clearly point to a flaw in his proposal. More counterexamples can be added, but those I have cited are convincing enough to show that Yang's analysis of Korean locatives and his highly abstract hypothesis are not supported by concrete data.

Ho-min Sohn (1977) is another interesting attempt to reduce the number of Korean locatives. He proposes that the traditional tripartite division of the locatives into goal, location, and source be trimmed down to a goal-source dichotomy, eliminating location altogether. By this process he is reducing the number of morphemes, not the number of semantic functions or senses, which are merely reassigned a new domicile. The sense of location is retained and incorporated into those of goal and source. Sohn presents strong arguments based on a perceptive analysis well supported by concrete data, but his treatise is not entirely immune to an endemic problem in language description. Our endeavors, as ordinary working grammarians, in streamlining morphology or reshuffling meaning into different pigeonholes inevitably entail tradeoffs, and a new gain in some area is offset by a loss elsewhere.

Both Yang and Sohn claim that *ey* of location and *ey* of goal are in complementary distribution. Yang admits that *eyse* of location

is not completely in complementary distribution with *eyse* of source, but Sohn denies that such is the case. He declares that it is Yang's misanalysis that forces him to accept such an uncomfortable and undesirable position. Sohn believes that his theory overcomes the deficiency of Yang's analysis. In any case, both linguists are striving to achieve a unity of two *ey*s and two *eyse*s in the traditional descriptions in order to eliminate redundancy and whatever other superfluity accrues from the tripartite and quadripartite divisions of location in Korean. Yang goes a step further and pursues the mirage of unity of four locational concepts in his abstract analysis. I have already shown that his attempt to create an ethereal single superpostposition EY on the prelexical level has not been successful. Let us now examine Sohn's less radical proposal to dichotomize location into goal and source.

There is little doubt that Sohn's attempt to unify the two *ey*s into a single morpheme is well motivated, although not without problems. Consider *ey* in (7a), for instance. According to Sohn's hypothesis, it must indicate 'goal', the cooccurring verb *ka* 'go' being motional, but in fact it indicates location, and a static one, to boot. The crux of the problem is that the same verb can occur with the *ey* of goal in an identical environment to contrast with the *ey* of location. Compare the following pairs of sentences below:

7. a. *nay-ka aph-ey ka-ss-ta*  
       I-NM front-at go-PAST-DCL  
       'I went/marched in the front.'
- b. *nay-ka aph-ey ka-se malhay-ss-ta*  
       to go-and talk  
       'I went to the front and talked.'
- c. *Mary-ka twi-ey ttalao-n-ta*  
       behind in follow-IND  
       'Mary is following [me] from behind.'
- d. *Mary-ka twi-ey o-ase anc-ass-ta*  
       to come-and sit  
       'Mary came to the back and sat down.'

Although (7a) is potentially ambiguous, *ey* can indicate the location at which I was marching in relation to the position of fellow marchers. In (7b) *ey* unambiguously indicates the goal to which I went to

talk. Sentences (7c) and (7d) also show a similar contrast. In (7c) it is the *ey* of static location that occurs with the verb *ttalao* 'follow', which I assume to be a motional verb. (If the original verb *ttalao* 'follow' is replaced by the verb *o* 'come', the *ey* remains that of location.) In (7d) the *ey* unambiguously indicates the goal to which Mary came. These sentences cast doubt on the proposition that the senses of goal and location are in complementary distribution and are predictable in terms of the property of a cooccurring verb. Sohn admits that the definition of 'motional verb' is anything but water-tight: "'Motional' verbs are loosely defined here as any verb whose referent indicates movement of a theme from one place to another (cf. Gruber 1965 for more precise definitions)" (p. 76).

Now consider (5c) given earlier. The verb *kel* 'make a phone call' hardly seems a likely candidate for a motional verb; its referent does not seem to indicate movement of a theme from one place to another. If the verb is not motional, we must conclude that *ey* in (5c) is location, but Seoul is, in fact, the goal to which a phone call was placed. In order to include the verb *kel* 'make a phone call' in the category of 'motional', we have to stretch our imagination considerably to loosen the notion of theme to encompass things related to the theme, such as a message that goes through the theme in (5c), and this further weakens the definition of 'motional'.

Let us consider some more examples in which Sohn's hypothesis will encounter difficulty.

8. a. Bill-i Sue-eykey insahay-ss-ta  
       NM to greet-PAST-DCL  
       'Bill greeted Sue.'
- b. John-i Mary-eykey ipmacchwu-ess-ta  
       to kiss  
       'John kissed Mary.'
- c. Tom-i pyek-ey kulim-ul ke-n-ta  
       wall-on picture-ACC hang  
       'Tom is hanging a picture on the wall.'
- d. Tom-i pyek-ey kulim-ul kuli-n-ta  
       paint  
       'Tom is painting a picture on the wall.'



Sentence (8e) is another interesting case in which the scales of indeterminacy of the sense of *ey* can be tipped in either direction by consideration of the nature of the themes involved and the manner in which the action that the verb refers to is carried out, not to mention properties of the verbs. A poster is a flat sheet of paper and as such requires a space to put it up. Thus, our pragmatic knowledge of the world would tip the scales in favor of locative interpretation of *ey* in (8e). If, however, we use thumbtacks to put up the poster on the wall, the action can be viewed as goal-oriented, and *ey* acquires the goal sense. Finally, if we suppose that the medium to be used in putting up the poster is glue instead of thumbtacks, the meaning of *ey* switches back to location to indicate the place over which the poster is pasted.

At this point, we might as well ask if it really matters whether *ey* is interpreted as goal or location in (8e). Sohn himself concludes that "we have no ground to overtly distinguish the two meanings of *ey* in locative expressions." At issue here, however, is not whether the meaning of *ey* is sometimes ambivalent but the theory that insists that "the semantic scope of *ey* is unitary, with a continuum of perceptual variables which depend purely upon the kind of verb *ey* occurs with." The examples presented in (5) through (8) directly conflict with Sohn's statement and seriously undermine its validity in the following areas: (i) the two meanings of *ey* do contrast, at least in the case of certain verbs; (ii) the dichotomy of verbs into motional and nonmotional does not seem well motivated, and Sohn's definition of 'motional' verbs is too loose to be useful; (iii) regardless of the category they belong to, some verbs allow ambiguous interpretations of *ey* between goal and location; and (iv) the predictability of the meaning of *ey* may depend on the nature of the theme and the manner in which the action that the verb refers to is carried out, as well as on the properties of the verb itself.

My own investigation reveals a situation somewhat more complex than a simple approach based on a dichotomy of motional and nonmotional verbs. Undoubtedly, *ey* indicates goal when it occurs with many motional verbs, but this is not a hard and fast rule, as counterexamples (5a), (7a), and (7c) show. Nonmotional verbs are said to impose a location interpretation on *ey*, but this statement is again misleading because a large number of nonmotional verbs simply do not cooccur with *ey*, and for some verbs, whether motional or nonmotional, *ey* is ambiguous and both interpretations are compatible with the sense of the verb that it is associated with.

The fact that a large number of nonmotional verbs do not occur with *ey* indicates that the locational sense specified by *ey* is something unique rather than universal or generic. It has to do with a semantic property of *ey* that will be dealt with shortly and will not pose any serious problem to Sohn's theory, for he is concerned with two senses of *ey* in sentences in which it occurs. The indeterminacy of the meaning of *ey* between location and goal senses, again, need not damage Sohn's position if we modify only slightly his claim of a dichotomy of motional and nonmotional verbs. If we relax the strict dichotomy thesis and allow verbs to be ambivalent, the ambiguity of *ey* with certain verbs is to be expected.

The real question is how to deal with the cases in which the two senses of *ey* are contrastive. This happens with the verbs *ka* 'go', *o* 'come', and their compounds such as *keleka* 'walk (away from the speaker)', *keleo* 'walk (toward the speaker)', *ttalaka* 'follow (away from the speaker)', *ttalao* 'follow (toward the speaker)', and so on. Because these verbs are unequivocally motional, we definitely cannot claim that they are ambivalent. Consider the following:

9. a. John-i mayn aph-ey ka-ss-ta  
       NM very front-to/at go-PAST-DCL  
       'John { went to } the very front.'  
           { marched at }
- b. Mary-nun twi-ey keleo-ass-ta  
       TOP behind-to/in walk  
       'Mary walked { to the back. }  
                   { in the rear. }'
- c. Bill-i Sue yeph-ey ttalao-ass-ta  
       side-\*to/at follow  
       'Bill followed along at the side of Sue.'

Sentences (9a–b) are ambiguous, but we can no longer say that their ambiguity is due to the ambivalent nature of the verbs involved. Shall we say that the Korean verb *ka* in (9a) is ambivalent between senses of 'go' and 'march, walk'? This easy way out is blocked by the next example, (9b), in which the verb *keleka* combining both senses occurs. If the locational sense of *ey* in (9a) is associated with the more specific sense of 'march' in the verb *ka*, how can the verb *keleka* with that specific sense also occur with *ey* in the goal sense exemplified in (9b)? In (9c) only the location sense is ac-

ceptable even when the verb is motional. As long as we treat the goal and location senses as disparate and attempt to combine them into a single semantic unit in complementary distribution, both Yang and Sohn will have a Gordian knot to untie.

Before presenting my own view of locatives, I will take a brief look at the situation of the other locative, *eyse*. Like *ey*, this complex form is ambiguous between source and location readings. Consider the following:

10. a. John-un Boston-eyse o-ass-ta  
       TOP           from come-PAST-DCL  
       ‘John came from Boston.’
- b. Mary-nun tosekwan-eyse kongpuha-n-ta  
       TOP library-in study-IND  
       ‘Mary is studying in the library.’
- c. Bill-i uyca-eyse ttwi-ess-ta  
       NM chair-from/on jump  
       ‘Bill jumped {from} the chair.’  
                           {on }
- d. kakey-eyse sikyey-lul hwumchi-ess-ta  
       store-from/in watch-ACC steal  
       ‘[He] stole a watch {from} the store.’  
                                   {in }
- e. twi-eyse chong-ul sso-ass-ta  
       back-from/at gun-ACC shoot  
       ‘[He] shot the gun { from behind.’ }  
                                   { in the rear.’ }

Sentences (10a) and (10b) illustrate two senses of *eyse*, which Sohn calls ‘source’ and ‘location’, respectively. Again, he claims that “‘location’ and ‘source’ are in complete complementary distribution with regard to the semantic features of verbs.” Sohn agrees that in (10c) we have an apparent counterexample, *eyse* being subject to ambiguous interpretation with the identical verb. He quickly dismisses the case, however, claiming that there are two verbs (or two senses of a verb) involved here. He posits the feature [2nd locus] (=change of location) and assigns [+2nd locus] to the verb *ttwi* ‘jump’ when it is associated with *eyse* of source and [-2nd

locus] to the same verb when it is paired with *eyse* of location. This ad hoc feature is not universally applicable to resolve the ambiguity of *eyse* when it occurs with verbs that are most unlikely to have anything to do with the feature [2nd locus]. Consider (10d), for instance. *Eyse* is clearly ambiguous, interpretable either as source or as location. It may be the case that (10d) exemplifies a verb that can live with either sense of *eyse* comfortably. I have already pointed out that for some verbs it matters little whether *ey* is interpreted as goal or location. We find a parallel case here with regard to *eyse*. In (10e), unlike (10d), it makes a great deal of difference which way *eyse* is interpreted. If it is interpreted as location, (10e) means that he shot and the firing took place at the location in the back. If source reading is assigned to *eyse*, the same sentence means that he shot at someone from behind (and the actual shooting could have taken place at the location in the front). In (10d) one meaning of *eyse* implies the other, whereas in (10e) the ambiguity is real. In other words, *eyse* is used contrastively with the same verb in (10e). Consider some more examples.

11. a. John i kyosil-eyse chayk-ul kkenay-ss-ta  
       NM class-in/from book-ACC take out  
       ‘John took the book out {in } the classroom.’  
   {from}
- b. John-i kyosil-eyse chaksang-ul kkenay-ss-ta  
       desk  
       ‘John took the desk out of the classroom.’
- c. ayki-ka pay sok-eyse ttwi-ess-ta  
       baby-NM tummy inside-in leap  
       ‘The baby kicked inside the tummy.’

Under normal circumstances, most native speakers would interpret (11a) to mean that ‘John took the book out (of a satchel or desk) in the classroom’, with the location reading of *eyse*.<sup>4</sup> The alternative reading is possible if you imagine, for instance, that the school is on fire. The same sentence will readily mean that ‘John took the book out of the classroom’, with the source reading of *eyse*. Although (11b) is also potentially ambiguous, pragmatics will all but rule out the alternative interpretation and strongly influence the hearer or the reader to choose the source reading: You just do not take the desk out of your pocket or satchel in a classroom. In (11c) the verb

is *ttwi* 'leap', to which, according to Sohn's proposal, we must assign the feature [-2nd locus] to make it mean what it means. In this particular case, however, our pragmatic knowledge of the world makes the feature redundant and trivializes the notion itself.

Although I am inclined to think that the feature [2nd locus] is arbitrary and question the wisdom of its introduction to the grammar of Korean locatives, it might not be unprofitable to speculate on the insight that led to the postulation of such a feature. The basic or primitive meaning of the verb *ttwi*, I believe, is to 'make a bounding motion', which is undoubtedly related to the meaning of the verb *thwi* 'spring'. When we visualize the bounding motion on the horizontal plane, we derive the sense of 'run'. If the bounding motion is oriented in the vertical direction, we derive the appropriate meaning of 'leap (up or down)'. Korean morphology provides a productive mechanism for creating compound verbs incorporating this verb, such as *ttwieka* 'go running', *ttwiewo* 'come running', *ttwienaka* 'run out (away from the speaker)', *ttwienao* 'run out (toward the speaker)', *ttwieolu* 'leap up', *ttwienayli* 'jump down'. The primitive sense of the original verb *ttwi* 'bound' can be stretched or fleshed out to cover a wide range of situations in the form of compounds when there is no recourse to specific expressions available to native speakers. Evidently, it is important to note the subtle shades of undifferentiated meaning of the verb *ttwi*, but it has not been established that that distinction should be a deciding factor in predicting the reading of *eyse* as either location or source. If the meaning of *eyse* is predictable, not only a semantic feature of verbs, as Sohn insists, but also the nature of themes and pragmatic factors contribute in the task of prediction. I will add a few more examples below to dispel any doubt that *eyse* can be contrastively used within a single sentence.

12. a. Mary-ka taysakwan aph-eyse pesu-eyse nayli-ess-ta  
          embassy front-in bus-from get off  
          'Mary got off the bus in front of the embassy.'
- b. Bill-i kyengmacang-eyse mal-eyse tteleci-ess-ta  
          racetrack-in horse-from fall  
          'Bill fell off his horse on the racetrack.'

- c. i sakwa-nun kwaswuwun-eyse nay-ka sim-um  
 this apple-TOP orchard-in I-NM planted  
 namu-eyse tta-n kes i-ta  
 tree-from plucked one is  
 'This apple is the one that I plucked in the orchard from  
 the tree that I planted.'

In the examples in (12) *eyse* of source and location occur with the same verb. Thus, features of the verbs fail to predict the meaning of *eyse*, unless we are to conclude that these verbs can occur freely with either sense of *eyse*. This conclusion, however, would be wrong: When there is only one locative phrase with *eyse*, it is never ambiguous and refers to either location or source, not both, as the following examples demonstrate:

13. a. Mary-ka taysakwan aph-eyse nayli-ess-ta  
 'Mary got off  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in front of} \\ *from \end{array} \right\}$  the embassy.'
- b. Mary-ka pesu-eyse nayli-ess-ta  
 'Mary got off  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from} \\ *in \end{array} \right\}$  the bus.'
- c. Bill-i mal-eyse tteleci-ess-ta  
 'Bill fell off  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from} \\ *on \end{array} \right\}$  the horse.'
- d. Bill-i kyengmacang-eyse tteleci-ess-ta  
 'Bill fell off  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *from \\ \text{on} \end{array} \right\}$  the racetrack.'
- e. i sakwa-nun kwaswuwun-eyse tta-ss-ta  
 '[I] plucked this apple  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in} \\ *from \end{array} \right\}$  the orchard.'
- f. i sakwa-nun nay-ka sim-un namu-eyse tta-ss-ta  
 '[I] plucked this apple  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from} \\ *on \end{array} \right\}$  the tree I planted.'

Although Sohn offers an interesting, insightful, and detailed semantic analysis, contrasting *eyse* with *ey* when they both indicate location, like other Korean semanticists, he makes no attempt to relate interesting syntactic facts to semantic distinctions. I believe that when the study of syntactic and semantic phenomena converge, we

are able to gain new insight otherwise unavailable. I will, therefore, look for a syntactic basis on which to build semantic arguments that will systematically differentiate *eyse* from *ey* and then provide semantic interpretive rules to assign proper readings to each of them. Let us begin with the following pair of examples from Sohn (1977), which have a crucial bearing on the contrast between locational *eyse* and *ey*:

14. a. (=17a) sewul-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{*ey} \\ \text{eyse} \end{array} \right\}$  cip-ul sa-ss-ta  
           Seoul-in house buy  
           ‘[He] bought a house [which is] in Seoul.’  
           ‘In Seoul, [he] bought a house.’
- b. (=17b) sewul  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{*ey} \\ \text{eyse} \end{array} \right\}$  chayk-ul sa-ss-ta  
           ‘[He] bought a book in Seoul.’

Sohn quotes Samuel E. Martin (1975), who notes a peculiar behavior of Japanese transitive verb *kau* ‘buy’ in relation to locative expressions, and remarks:

Martin’s statement that movable objects do not allow *J. ni* applies to *K. ey* also, as noticed in (17b). On the other hand, locationally fixed objects like *cip* ‘house’ may occur with both *ey* and *eyse*. With *ey*, (17a) means that someone bought a house and keeps it in Seoul. In this case, Seoul is the goal of the ‘keeping’ action. . . . The incorporation of the meaning ‘keep’ in *sata* is certainly conditioned by the immovability feature existing in the object, which explains the unacceptability of *ey* in (17b). . . . With *eyse*, (17a) simply means that someone’s buying a house took place in Seoul. In this case, Seoul serves as the source of the ‘buying’ action. (p. 87)

Although (14b) will normally reject *ey*, it can be perfectly grammatical with an appropriate presupposition. Suppose there is a small college with two campuses, one in Seoul and the other in, let us say, Taejon, and the librarian from Taejon is asking his boss from Seoul why his campus is not getting books at this time. Sentence (14b) with *ey* is an impeccable answer, indicating that he bought books for the library on Seoul campus. The following examples are of a similar nature:

15. a. taumey-nun wuli tosekwan-ey(ta) chayk-ul  
 next at-TOP our library-in book-ACC  
 sa-keyss-ta  
 buy-will  
 '[We] will buy books for our library next time.'
- b. pyelcang-ey(ta) say nayngcangko-lul sa-ss-ta  
 villa-in new refrigerator  
 '[I] bought a new refrigerator for the villa.'
- c. tayhak-ey hakcangyong cha-lul sa-ss-ta  
 college-in dean's use car  
 '[They] bought a car for the dean's use in the college.'

It is unlikely that mobility of the object is the only factor in the alleged ungrammaticality of (14b) with *ey*. It is also doubtful that the acceptability of (14a) stems from the incorporation of the cryptic meaning 'keep' into the verb *sa* 'buy', as Sohn claims. Superficially, the two locatives in (14a) contrast, but any analysis that assumes such a contrast misses an important generalization in Korean syntax and possibly in universal syntax. Consider the following:

16. a. New York-eyse Florida-ey ttang-ul sa-ss-ta  
 land  
 'In New York, [I] bought a piece of land in Florida.'
- b. sewul-eyse ceycwuto-ey pyelcang-ul sa-ss-ta  
 Seoul Cheju Island villa  
 'In Seoul, [he] bought a villa on Cheju Island.'
- c. poktekpang-eyse sikol-ey cip-ul sa-ss-ta  
 real estate broker's country house  
 'At a real estate broker's office, [I] bought a house in the country.'

Sentence (16c) shows the distinction between *eyse* and *ey* most clearly: The location indicated by *eyse* is the place where the deal went through, namely, the real estate broker's office; the place marked by *ey* indicates the place where the house I purchased is located.



associated with the first sense of the verb *sal* are durational, as might be expected. When it is used in the second sense, the verb occurs with manner adverbials and other types of modifiers.

For expository purposes, let us label the verb in the sense of 'reside' as *sal*1 and the same verb in the sense of 'make a living' as *sal*2. There seems to be a neat parallelism between the two senses of the verb *sal* and the two locative particles: *ey* always goes with *sal*1 and *eyse* with *sal*2. Because the unmodified verb *sal* is ambiguous between its two senses, it looks to a superficial observer as if it can take either locative particle freely, as (17a) illustrates. Without venturing into a semantic analysis of the peculiar properties of *ey* and *eyse*, let me simply state the appropriateness of *eyse* in (17b) and (17d) and the ungrammaticality of *ey* in the same context are due to the double meaning of the verb *sal*. However difficult it is to pin down their subtle semantic distinction or to translate this appropriately into other languages, it would be a gross error to claim that the two particles are semantically nondistinct.

I am now in a position to present my own view of Korean locatives, based on the facts I have been examining in this chapter. It is clear that the locational *eyse* and the *eyse* of source can occur together within the same sentence. In such cases, the former always precedes the latter, as (12) exemplifies. Likewise, when the locational *eyse* and the locational *ey* occur together within the same sentence, *eyse* always precedes *ey*, as (16) demonstrates. Syntactically, the locational expression with *eyse* is a place adverbial and modifies the following sentence. Within the framework of  $\bar{X}$ -syntax, we can postulate a phrase structure rule of the following sort:

18. S' —> (Place Adv) S

The simple fact that the locational *eyse* is a modifier of a sentence and not of a verb provides us with plausible and natural explanations that are not available otherwise. Sohn, for instance, correctly points out that description verbs occur with *eyse* but not with *ey* and tries to account for the fact in semantic terms: Description verbs do not denote physical movement or the resting of a theme with regard to a goal point; therefore, *ey* is not compatible with them. This argument is negative at best, and we are still at a loss as to why they should occur with *eyse*. Would it not be far simpler to say that, as a place adverbial, Place + *eyse* can occur with any verb, including the copula, as long as a designation of place is re-

quired as background information for an utterance? More precisely, the *eyse* locative does not participate in the subcategorization of verbs, whereas *eyse* of source and the two *eyse*s do. Yang's representation of outer and inner locative in (4) is partly correct, but he fails to recognize a crucial distinction that exists between the locational *eyse* and the source *eyse*. Not only does he lump the two together as a single unit, but he goes a step further and combines the two *eyse*s and the two *eyse*s into a single abstract super element.

If the *eyse* locative phrase is a place adverbial modifying S, the other *eyse* phrase is an adverbial of source modifying V", and furthermore it participates in the subcategorization of the verb phrase. Because the contrast between the two *eyse*s is a surface phenomenon and they occupy syntactically distinct positions, it is tempting to consider them to be a single morpheme as Yang and Sohn have done. Several factors militate against such a move: first, there is very little support for a claim of semantic unity of the *eyse*s of location and source; second, the predictability of meaning of the two *eyse*s is gratuitous, for it is a lexical property of verbs that tells which of them can and which cannot occur with an *eyse* phrase of source; and third, for semantic reasons it is quite plausible to consider the *eyse* of source to be an abbreviated form of *eyse-puthe*.<sup>5</sup> If the third consideration is accurate, the question of two *eyse*s is superfluous: we would have only one *eyse* for location and *eyse-puthe* for source, which, when it is abbreviated, merges with the locative *eyse* and becomes indistinguishable from it. I offer no specific argument here to support my hypothesis except to say that the *eyse* of source and *eyse-puthe* are semantically nondistinct and are always interchangeable syntactically. The abbreviation phenomenon, which is discussed in chapter 5, is quite prevalent in Korean. As I have pointed out, a syntactic distinction that is parallel to a semantic one is often obscured by a phonetic merger brought about by the abbreviation phenomenon.

Returning to the locative *eyse*, the marvelous insight contained in Ramstedt's remarks about Korean locatives quoted earlier is quite helpful in pinning down its semantic properties. He says that *ey* is adequate when a verb demands the fixing of place, but when the verb is more independent of place, *se* is usually added. Sohn also accurately reflects native speakers' intuition when he states that "with *eyse*, (14a) simply means that someone's buying a house took place in Seoul." However, it is difficult to concur with him entirely

when he goes on to say that “in this case, Seoul serves as the source of the ‘buying’ action.”

Now that I have shown that the two *eyse*s are syntactically as well as semantically distinct, I will move on to deal with the question of the two *ey*s. Sohn’s motivation for postulating goal as the basic semantic content of *ey* is as follows: (i) if the locative is basic to *ey*, we cannot account for the fact that “it always indicates movement *to* (not *from*) the referent of the *ey* locative,” and (ii) description verbs do not occur with *ey* because “they do not denote any physical movement or resting of a theme with regard to a goal point.” I have already discussed the second part of his argument. I think that the logic in Sohn’s first argument is circular if we accept his contention that the two *ey*s constitute a single unit. If the *ey* has two senses, location and goal, I don’t see why one way or the other of postulating the primary sense and deriving the secondary sense from it should significantly affect the description. I will take the opposite course from Sohn and try to argue that the goal sense can be derived sensibly from the primary sense of location once we succeed in differentiating *ey* location from *eyse* location.

I propose to set up three particles: *ey* for static location, *eyse* for dynamic location, and *eyse-puthe* for source. The following base rules will account for their syntactic distribution as well as their relative order on the surface when they occur together.

19. i.  $S' \longrightarrow (N'' \text{ eyse}) S$
- ii.  $S \longrightarrow N'' (N'' \text{ eyse-puthe}) V''$
- iii.  $V'' \longrightarrow (N'' \text{ ey}) V'$
- iv.  $V' \longrightarrow (N'') V$

The following sample sentences are derived from these rules:

20. a. haksayng-i    sewul-eyse    san-eyse(puthe)  
          student    Seoul-in    mountain-from  
          kolccaki-ey    tteleci-ess-ta  
          gorge-to    fall-PAST

‘In Seoul, a student fell into a gorge from a mountain.’

b. John-i pay-eyse(puthe) pata-ey ttwi-ess-ta  
boat-from sea-to leap-PAST  
'John leaped into the sea from a boat.'

c. John-i malwu-ey anc-ass-ta  
wooden floor sit  
'John sat on a wooden floor.'

Sentence (20a) illustrates a case in which both dynamic and static location as well as the adverbial of source is chosen.<sup>6</sup> Sentence (20b) occurs without the dynamic location, and (20c) exemplifies the case in which only static location is chosen. Verbs in (20a–b) are those which are subcategorized in terms of the adverb of source and static locative, whereas the verb in (20c) is subcategorized in terms of the static locative alone. Although the dynamic locative is lacking in (20b–c), verbs in these sentences can readily occur with it in appropriate contexts. Other combinations are also possible, of course, and each of these adverbials can also occur by itself. The lexical properties of verbs dictate which of the adverbials are permitted to occur and in what combination.

Although I have touched briefly on some of the semantic properties of locatives in the course of the foregoing discussion, it is proper that I delineate as clearly as possible native speakers' perception of the locatives *ey* and *eyse* in order to highlight the difference between them. The dynamic locative defines a SPACE, as Fred Lukoff (1982) aptly puts it. It is an area, arena, stage, or ground on which actions or events take place or things HAPPEN. Once the dynamic location is mentioned to set the stage, it fades into the background and the focus turns to the action or the event itself. Metaphorically speaking, *eyse* delineates the location as a circle.<sup>7</sup>

An *ey*-marked location, on the other hand, is perceived as a dot, indicating a point of contact. It indicates a place as fixed, as Ramstedt phrased it, a location on which something exists, stands, sits, rests, lies, or remains. It can also be viewed as a landing sight on which something falls or a place in which something is placed, put, or stored. When a motional verb occurs with the static locative, what more natural interpretation can be imposed on it than that of a goal? If speakers view the static location as a contact point, landing sight, or storage place, its unmarked interpretation in relation to a motion will undoubtedly be that of a goal. I will go a step further and dispute the notion that the goal and static location are two

disparate and contrastive entities that are combined into a single unit by virtue of their being in complementary distribution. I contend that the static location has a single undifferentiated semantic feature with a scale of gradation. As I have said repeatedly, there is every reason to believe that the two *eyse*s are distinct syntactically as well as semantically. Even the homophonous phonetic form *eyse*, I claimed, is a result of an accidental merger due to the abbreviation of a longer and complex form, *eyse-puthe*, of the source. In the case of *ey*, however, there is nothing to lead us to draw a similar conclusion.

I must clarify this statement at once, because I have argued against the proposals of Yang and Sohn to treat *ey* as a single morpheme. What was at issue was not the question whether the *ey* is a single morpheme with more than one meaning but rather the inability of Yang's and Sohn's theories of locatives to handle some crucial examples. Counterexamples (5a), (7a), and (9a-c) demonstrated the nonpredictability of the two senses of the static locative *ey*, goal and location, in terms of the semantic feature [ $\pm$ motion] in cooccurring verbs. These counterexamples pose a serious problem for anyone attempting to treat *ey* as a single unit.

If we go back to those counterexamples and examine them carefully, we find several interesting factors common to all of them. They contain without exception specifier nouns of location such as *aph* 'front', *twi* 'back', and *yeph* 'side'. Thus NP-*ey* phrases define relative positions against other positions, mentioned or implied, in terms of which the first positions are defined. Because the cooccurring verbs are motional, this fact implies that those positions also change or move, but without altering the relation between the two positions involved. Because the subject NPs in these sentences must also change or move their positions, they must be either animate nouns or movable or moving objects like a car or a flag carried by a standard bearer. Syntactically, *ey* in this context is interchangeable with the dynamic locative *eyse* and the accusative *lul* with appropriate semantic modifications. See the following example:

21. John-i Bill aph-  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ey} \\ \text{eyse} \\ \text{ul} \end{array} \right\}$  ka-ss-ta  
       'John  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{went} \\ \text{marched} \end{array} \right\}$  in front of Bill.'

When we take all the grammatical as well as pragmatic factors into account, we are able to predict whether or not the goal sense dominates. I concur with Yang and Sohn's insight on the unity of *ey* but disagree with their analyses.

Before concluding this chapter, I should mention that the choice of the variant shape *eykey* in place of *ey* after an animate noun is not entirely automatic and involves the speaker's perception of that noun. *Ey* often occurs after an animate noun, contrary to our expectation, and thus violates the rule that predicts otherwise. This is not an accident but part of a regular feature of Korean, as Park (1971) describes. It is somewhat similar to the case of the plural marker, which was considered optional or even arbitrary until the underlying regularity of the pluralization process in Korean was revealed in Seok Choong Song (1975c) (see also chapter 17). Speakers' perception is crucially involved in both cases. Consider the following:

22. a. ku apeci-ey ku atul i-ta  
       that father-to son be  
       'Like father like son.'
- b. ku apeci eykey ke atul i-ta  
       'He is a likely son for that father.'
- c. kwacang-ey pise-lul twu-n-ta  
       section-chief secretary place-IND-DCL  
       '[They] assign a secretary for a section chief.'
- d. kwacang-eykey pise-lul twu-n-ta  
       '[They] assign a secretary to the section chief.'
- e. \*i kwacahng-ey pise-lul twu-n-ta
- f. i kwacang-eykey pise-lul twu-n-ta  
       Lee  
       '[They] assign a secretary to Mr. Lee, the section chief.'

The first two sentences are identical except for the locative particle, which is realized as *ey* in (22a) and as *eykey* in (22b). The propositions in these sentences are identical, but they can hardly be said to be synonymous, for they are always used in different situations. The nouns in (22a) are generic, and the sentence is a proverbial

statement of a sort. *Apeci* refers to a category rather than a living person in (22a), whereas the referent of the same noun in (22b) is concrete and definite like Mr. Jones or John Smith. Likewise, *kwacang* 'section chief' is a title or a designation of an official position in (22c), whereas the same in (22d) refers to a specific person who holds that position. The validity of my claim is born out by the grammaticality of (22f) and the ungrammaticality of (22e), which unmistakably prove that the shape *ey* is unacceptable when the referent of the preceding noun is a concrete and specific person like section chief Lee. It thus becomes clear that the choice of alternant shapes of the locative particle *ey* is not arbitrary but exhibits an interesting feature of the underlying regularity of Korean syntax, which reflects the speaker's perception of the referent of a noun.

## 16. The Allative

The immediate goal of this chapter is to investigate the peculiar distributional characteristics of the element *taka*. The real question, however, is more fundamental than a mere descriptive statement of the distributional peculiarities of this grammatical element. This element can appear in at least four different environments, and grammarians are divided as to whether all these occurrences of *taka* are instances of the same form. In some contexts its occurrence appears to be optional, as noted by Ho-min Sohn (1977). Let us first examine the somewhat bewildering variety of environments in which *taka* is allowed to occur and then proceed to explore whether there is any shared semantic feature that will justify its treatment as a single grammatical morpheme.

The best known use of *taka* is as a conjunctive ending of a subordinate clause, in which this form occurs immediately after a verb root. Consider the following:

1. selkyo-lul    ha-taka    caychayki-lul    hay-ss-ta  
sermon-ACC    do-TRF    sneeze                    PAST-DCL  
'[He] sneezed while he was giving a sermon.'
2. haksayng-kwa    yenay-lul    ha-taka    ccochkyena-ss-ta  
student-with    love            when            get dismissed  
'[He] was kicked out while he was having a love affair with a student.'

Following Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969), I called this use of *taka* 'transferitive'. I have discussed many interesting aspects of this conjunctive in chapter 14.

Another well-known environment in which *taka* occurs is after the locative particle *ey*, as the following examples illustrate:

3. yeki-ey(taka)    noh-ala  
here-LOC            put-IMP  
'Put [it] down here.'

4. pyek-ey(taka) kulim-ul puthi-ess-ta  
 wall-LOC picture post  
 '[He] posted a picture on a wall.'

I have placed the element *taka* in parentheses to indicate that the sentences above can be uttered without it. The meaning seems not to be affected when *taka* is dropped or, shall I say, when it is added. (Although the question of whether *taka* is optionally added to the locative particle or dropped from the full form *ey-taka* appears trivial, I think there is a crucial difference between the two approaches, as I will discuss shortly.)

The least known environment, which is almost completely ignored in grammatical descriptions of Korean, is after a verb stem consisting of a verb root plus *e*. The resultant form *V-e-taka* may be followed by another verb or by a sentence.<sup>1</sup> Observe first the case in which another verb directly follows the form *V-e-taka*.

5. hakkyo-kkaci cha-lul thayw-e-taka cuw-ess-ta  
 school-up to car ride give  
 '[I] gave [someone] a ride up to the school.'
6. cim-ul kiswuksa-ey olmki-e-taka noh-ass-ta  
 luggage dormitory move put  
 '[I] moved the luggage to the dormitory and put it there.'
7. totwuk-ul cap-a-taka katwu-n-ta  
 thief capture lock up  
 '[They] arrest and lock up a thief.'
8. twi-lul tol-a-taka po-ass-ta  
 behind turn look  
 '[I] turned around and looked back.'

Although I have spelled out the form *taka* in all the sentences above, the full form rarely occurs in colloquial speech, in which it is usually abbreviated to *ta*. In some cases the full form *taka* sounds so awkward that some native speakers reject the form *e-taka* in combination with some verbs as unacceptable. However controversial my assumption may be, I believe that *ta* is everywhere a reduced form of *taka*. For instance, I hypothesize that *ta* in the following compound verbs is in each case reduced from the full form *taka*:

pala-ta-pota < pala-taka-pota    chye-ta-pota < chye-taka-pota  
tulye-ta-pota < tulye-taka-pota    tola-ta-pota < tola-taka-pota

Superficially, the difference between the *takas* in (1–2) and those in (5–8), the former occurring directly after a verb root and the latter occurring after a verb stem consisting of the verb root plus *e*, seems trivial. Fred Lukoff (1982) calls *e* a suffix that is added to a verb stem to make its ‘combining form’. It is interesting to note that verb stems with *e* in (5–8) indeed form composite verbs with the following verbs as the examples below illustrate.

- 5a. hakkyo-kkaci cha-lul thayw-e-cwuessta  
    ‘[I] gave [someone] a ride all the way to school.’
- 6a. cim-ul kiswuksa-ey olmki-e-nohassta  
    ‘[I] moved the luggage to the dormitory.’
- 7a. totwuk-ul cap-a-katwunta  
    ‘[They] imprison the thief.’
- 8a. twi-lul tol-a-poassta  
    ‘[I] looked back.’

Because verbs require the element *e* to derive their combining forms used in compound verbs, the verb root to which the ‘transferentive’ *taka* is directly added will never be allowed to combine with a verb in the second conjunct. See the following ungrammatical string (2a):

- 2a. \*haksayng-kwa yenay-lul ha-ccochkyena-ss-ta

When the combining form of a verb occurs before *taka* and the resultant construction *V-e-taka* is followed by a sentence instead of a single verb, as we have seen above, it is not possible to derive a compound verb by combining the verb stem preceding *taka* and the verb in the following sentence. Consider some examples in which the construction *V-e-taka* is followed by a sentence:

9. tol-ul cwus-e-taka    cip-ul ci-ess-ta  
   stone pick            house build  
   ‘[They] built a house by gathering stones.’
10. khal-ul kal-a-taka    talk-ul cap-ass-ta  
   knife sharpen        chicken kill  
   ‘[They] killed a chicken after sharpening a knife.’

11. uisa-lul teyli-e-taka hwanca-lul poy-ess-ta  
 doctor bring patient show  
 '[They] brought a doctor and showed him a patient.'

Sentences (9–11) resemble (1–2) more than (5–8), at least on the surface, in that two sentences are conjoined by *taka*. They are subject to the constraint that conjoined sentences must have an identical subject. Despite the similarities the two groups of sentences share, *taka* in (9–11) exhibits a marked difference from the transferentive *taka* in (1–2).

For the purpose of distinguishing them, I will label the transferentive *taka* as *taka* 1, the one that occurs after the locative particle as *taka* 2, and the last one I have just discussed above as *taka* 3. *Taka* 1 occurs freely after almost any verb. It can be added after an intransitive as well as a transitive verb. It also occurs after the copula *i*, the verb of existence *iss*, and description verbs. *Taka* 3 occurs only after action-process verbs. Consider the following pairs of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences:

12. a. cen ey nun kwunin i-taka cikum un  
 before LOC TOP soldier be now  
  
 kwanli i-ta  
 bureaucrat be  
 '[He] was a soldier before but now is a bureaucrat.'

- b. \*ku nun kwunin i-e-taka yongkamha-ta

13. a. John-i yeki iss-taka ttena-ss-ta  
 NOM here be leave-PAST  
 'John left after having been here (a while).'

- b. \*John-i yeki iss-e-taka cwu-ess-ta

14. a. nalssi-ka chwup-taka phuleci-ess-ta  
 weather-NOM cold relax  
 'The weather warmed up after having been cold.'

- b. \*nalssi-ka chwu-e-taka yengha ka toy-ess-ta

Sentences (12) and (13) contain the copula and the verb of ex-

istence respectively; sentence (14) has a description verb. Sentence (a) of each pair, with *taka* 1, is grammatical, whereas sentence (b), with *taka* 3, is ungrammatical. As I have pointed out in chapter 14, the transferentive can occur with the past tense marker, but no tense marker is permitted with *taka* 3. Compare the pair of sentences (15a–b), which illustrate the contrast in the occurrence of the past tense marker.

15. a. cekoli-lul pes-ess-taka kamki ka tul-ess-ta  
 jacket-ACC take off-PAST cold catch  
 ‘When [I] took off my coat, I caught a cold.’
- b. \*cekoli-lul pes-ess-e-taka kel-ess-ta
- c. cekoli-lul pes-e-taka kel-ess-ta  
 ‘[I] took my coat off and hung it up.’

Although (15b) is ungrammatical, (15c), which is identical to (15b) except for the past tense marker, is grammatical. Because (15b) does not seem to be semantically incongruous, it must be concluded that the ungrammaticality of (15b) is due to the violation of a syntactic constraint of some sort. There are some types of conjunctions in Korean that disallow the past tense marker in the first conjunct, and the ungrammaticality of (15b) appears to be attributable to the operation of this syntactic constraint.

Despite the several restrictions that I have already mentioned, there would be little mystery if *taka* 3 could occur freely with all action-process verbs. For a still unknown reason, however, intransitive verbs do not seem to cooccur with *taka* 3, and many transitive verbs seem incompatible with *taka* 3 as well. I am not sure whether it is the nature of those transitive verbs themselves—semantic, syntactic or otherwise—or an incompatibility in conjunction with the following sentences that rules out their cooccurrence with *taka* 3. Before I take up these problems one by one, I will mention one more environment in which the phonetic form *taka* occurs, and I will label it *taka* 4.

As I have shown, *taka* 1 and *taka* 3 are associated with verbs, and *taka* 2 is added to the locative particle *ey*. They are all suffixes of one kind or another. *Taka* 4 is a prefix that precedes half a dozen verbs and their passive and causative forms. I will list only a few of them as illustrations:

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| <i>taka-nohta</i> ‘put (place) closer’ | <i>taka-suta</i> ‘step (come) up to’ |
| <i>taka-ancta</i> ‘sit closer’         | <i>taka-ota</i> ‘come nearer’        |

Martin, Lee, and Chang's *Korean-English Dictionary* (1967) indicates that *taka*<sub>4</sub> is a variant form derived from a transitive verb *takuta* 'bring near'. Although I have no way of confirming the historical process of derivation, the semantic connection between the verb *takuta* and the prefix *taka* is too real to deny their relatedness in synchronic description.

Once we postulate the basic semantic content of *taka*<sub>4</sub> to be 'BRING NEARER', I think that we can extend this meaning to the definition of *taka*<sub>2</sub>, which is added to the locative particle. It is well known that *taka* often accompanies the locative particle, but in the past grammarians have done nothing more than to note this fact. In his treatise on Korean locatives, Ho-min Sohn (1977) claims for the first time that TA "indicates the transitivity of the cooccurring verbs."<sup>2</sup>

Sohn's treatment of TA, which corresponds to *taka*<sub>2</sub> in this chapter, is a brilliant breakthrough in precisely defining its distributional characteristics. I would like to take issue with him, however, on two counts. He claims that *taka*<sub>2</sub> is completely optional and does not have its own semantic content. Simply stated, Sohn's position is to get rid of the traditional dichotomy of goal and static location, both of which are phonetically realized as *ey*. He proposes "one and the same EY whose basic meaning is 'goal' in the sense that the referent of EY locative is the place to which the motion, action or state of a theme's referent is oriented" (p. 77).

My own proposal is that *ey-taka* is a goal particle, whereas *ey* alone indicates a static location. The grammatical function of *taka*<sub>2</sub> is to convert the locative particle *ey* to the goal particle, and it therefore has its own semantic content. Superficially, *ey* indicates both goal and location, as Sohn argues, but I believe that it is an illusion that surface irregularities present to the casual observer. In chapter 5, I have listed numerous cases of abbreviation phenomena in Korean, which produce many homophonous forms with diverse meanings and functions. In this particular case we have two separate particles *ey*, the locative, and *ey-taka*, the goal. The process of abbreviation freely reduces the phonetic shape *ey-taka* to *ey-ta* and sometimes even to *ey*, which merges with the locative *ey*. The abbreviation phenomenon operates on the phonological level and does not affect meaning at all.<sup>3</sup> Ho-min Sohn (1977) has observed that some sentences that occur with TA (= *taka*<sub>2</sub>) "are grammatical without TA and retain the same semantic contents." Unfortunately, his conclusion that "what it means is that the semantic



\*pang-EYSE malwu-EYTA nakassta  
room-from hallway-to went out  
‘[He] went out to the hallway from the room.’

The semantic constraint that the goal particle *ey-taka* demands that the cooccurring verbs have a property that indicates a goal-oriented action seems a natural one, but why should they be transitive at the same time? I suggested earlier that the basic semantic content of *taka4* is ‘BRING NEARER’ and this meaning can also be extended to *taka2*. More appropriately, when *taka2* occurs in combination with the *ey*, a more abstract meaning like ‘ORIENT (SOMETHING) TO’ can be assigned to it. It would not be unreasonable to say that this abstract meaning requires the cooccurring verbs to be transitive. I am not claiming that the abstract meaning ‘ORIENT’ requires the feature ‘transitivity’ in the verb. The very fact that the Korean verb *takuta* is transitive probably has more to do with it. It should be made absolutely clear that I am not conjecturing that *taka2* is historically derived from the verb *takuta* but merely that a synchronic description attains a higher level of generalization when we entertain a hypothesis that assigns both syntactic and semantic features of the verb *takuta* to *taka2*.

The statement that transitive verbs indicate goal-oriented action is a very vague statement, and readers are advised to take it with a grain of salt. Whatever ‘goal-oriented action’ may mean, it should not be confused with some kind of movement or any action that entails locomotion. Any attempt to identify the goal-oriented action with anything more than ‘ORIENTING’ the theme toward the goal will cause difficulty in interpreting the following example sentences:

18. a. kwuk-ul pul-ey-taka teywu-n-ta  
soup fire warm-IND  
‘[She] is warming the soup on the fire.’
- b. paci-lul nallo-ey-taka malli-n-ta  
pants stove dry  
‘[He] is drying his pants on a stove.’

- c. kim-ul hwalo-ey-taka kwup-nun-ta  
 seaweed brazier toast  
 '[She] is toasting seaweed on a brazier.'
- d. philim-ul pul-ey-taka pichyepo-n-ta  
 film light look through  
 '[He] is holding the film against the light to look at it.'

Before moving on to *taka* 3, I will mention once again that the optionality of the element *taka* is a result of the optional operation of the abbreviation process. I believe that this process is entirely phonological and should be separated from syntax and semantics.<sup>4</sup> As I have stressed in chapter 5, the forms affected by abbreviation retain their full semantic force, often creating superficially homophonous forms.

*Taka* 3 has escaped most grammarians' attention for unknown reasons. I have seen examples cited only in Hi-Seung Lee's *Kwuke taysacen* (Unabridged Dictionary of the Korean Language) (1961) and in *Cosene munpep* (A Korean Grammar) (1970), published by the Kim Il Sung University Press. In Hi-Seung Lee (1961) the following definition is given for an accompanying example: *taka* is attached to the *a* or *e* stem of a transitive verb and indicates continuity of an action or state. His example is *capa-ta mek-nun-ta* 'capture and eat'. This explanation fails because no continuing action of 'capturing' is expressed by the example. What Lee probably meant is that some action continues (more accurately, follows) after the action indicated by the verb stem in *e* or *a* plus *taka*. I conjecture that *taka* in this context indicates that whatever is captured is 'BROUGHT NEARER' for the purpose of eating.

The authors of the Korean grammar published in North Korea caution the reader not to confuse *a-taka*, which indicates manner, with the transferentive *taka*.<sup>5</sup> The following pairs of examples are given for comparison:

19. a. cim-ul nall-a-ta catongcha-ey sillessta (manner)  
 baggage carry automobile loaded  
 '[We] carried baggage and loaded it in a car.'

- b. cim-ul nalu-taka swiessta (sequential)  
rested  
'[I] rested in the middle of carrying baggage.'
20. a. kulim-ul kuli-e-ta pyek-ey puthyessta (manner)  
picture paint wall hung  
'[I] drew a picture and hung it on the wall.'
- b. kulim-ul kuli-ta latio-lul tulessta (sequential)  
radio listened  
'[I] turned on the radio while I was painting a picture.'

The term 'manner' has a well-established usage associated with certain types of adverbs, but it is not only confusing but also inappropriate to describe with this term the situation depicted in sentences (19a) and (20a). The first conjuncts in these sentences do not describe *how*, i.e., in what manner, the action described by the second conjuncts are accomplished. If we conjecture for argument's sake that *taka* 3 is related to *taka* 2, it is safe to assume that it shares the semantic feature 'BRING NEARER' that I postulated to characterize the semantic content of *taka* 4 and *taka* 2.

The verb *naluta* 'carry, move (trans.)' in (19a) is perfectly compatible with this meaning. In (20a) if we hypothesize that there is a distance between the place the painting is done and the wall on which we hang it, then the meaning 'BRING NEARER' can be readily accommodated. The example given in Lee's dictionary poses no problem when this meaning is assigned to the conjunct *taka*. Someone has captured something and brought it nearer to eat.

It has been pointed out that only transitive verbs can occur in the stem *V-e* to which *taka* 3 is attached and that, furthermore, not all transitive verbs can occur in this construction. Now I would like to look into the syntactic and semantic aspects of *taka* 3 in constructions with the verb stem *V-e*. I take it that *taka* 3 has the same grammatical function as *taka* 2 and orients the themes expressed by the direct objects of transitive verb to a goal, which, in this case, is the action indicated by the following sentence.

Earlier I speculated that the requirement that the verb following *taka* 2 attached to the locative *ey* be transitive was motivated by the need for *taka* 2 to orient the theme expressed by a direct object of

the transitive verb to the referent of the goal particle *ey-taka*. I believe that *taka 3* requires cooccurring verb stems to be transitive for the same reason. This time, however, not only the theme but also the action indicated by the verb stem in construction with *taka 3* is oriented to the action expressed by the following sentence.

It is interesting to note that many verbs to which *taka 3* can be attached also enter into compounds with auxiliary verbs of coming and going. Observe the following paradigm:

21.

kaci	‘hold’	}	e/a-	{	taka
ppayas	‘take away’				ka ‘go’
teyli	‘accompany’ (plain)				o ‘come’
mosi	‘accompany’ (deferential)				
kkoy	‘lure’				
kkul	‘pull’				
cip	‘pick up’				
sa	‘buy’				
pulletuli	‘call in’				

If there are cases where verb stems that can combine with *taka 3* are not permitted to cooccur with verbs of coming and going, they are exceptions; the overwhelming majority freely occur with either of them. I have postulated that *taka 3* has as its basic semantic content what *taka 2* shares with the verb *takuta*, namely, the sense of ‘BRING NEARER’. ‘Bring’ belongs to the category of verbs of ‘coming and going’. When *taka 3* is replaced with the verb *ka* ‘go’ or *o* ‘come’, you get an almost synonymous sentence, and most native speakers are unable to differentiate one of the following pairs of examples from the other:

22. a. so-lul sa(-a)-taka non-ul kal-ass-ta  
 ox buy rice paddy tilled  
 ‘[He] bought and brought an ox to till the rice paddy.’
- b. so-lul sa(-a)-o-ase non-ul kal-ass-ta  
 ‘[He] bought and brought an ox and tilled the rice paddy.’

23. a. chon nom-ul kkoy-e-taka ton-ul ppayas-ass-ta  
country bumpkin lure money take away  
‘[He] lured a country bumpkin to take his money away.’
- b. chon nom-ul kkoy-e-o-ase ton-ul ppayas-ass-ta  
‘[He] lured the country bumpkin and took his money away.’

Although the difference is subtle, the paired sentences are not synonymous. When sentences are conjoined by *e-se*, as in the (b) sentences, they simply indicate sequential events, the first event chronologically preceding the second. Derivatively, *e-se* can be used to indicate ‘reason’ as well as ‘cause’. Thus, in (22b) and (23b) *e-se* is best understood to indicate a sequence of actions, whereas *taka* 3 in (22a) and (23a) clearly implies that the theme (the direct object of the transitive verb to which suffix *taka* 3 is attached) is either physically or metaphorically—in the imagination of the speakers—‘BROUGHT NEARER’ or oriented for the accomplishment of the action described by the main clause, namely, the second conjunct. The English translation with an infinitive clause expressing purpose, as in (22a), may be a little too strong for the Korean counterpart, but the original sense of *taka* 3 is almost lost in the English translation if the conjunctive ‘and’ is used in its place.

Returning to the question raised earlier, is the restriction of *taka* 3 to occur with transitive verbs only due to the nature of the verbs themselves or to a semantic incongruity resulting from conjunction? Let us examine some ungrammatical as well as some grammatical strings to look for a clue to this difficult question.

24. a. ai-lul pull-e-taka il-ul sikhi-ess-ta  
child call work cause  
‘[I] called a child to make him do some work.’
- b. ai-lul pull-e-se il-ul sikhi-ess-ta  
‘[I] called a child and made him do some work.’

- c. \*ai-lul ponay(-e)-taka il-ul sikhi-ess-ta  
send  
'[I] sent a boy to make him do some work.'
- d. ai-lul ponay(-e)-se il-ul sikhi-ess-ta  
'[I] sent a boy and made him do some work.'
25. a. ton-ul pat-a-taka towacwu-ess-ta  
money receive help  
'[I] received money to help [them].'
- b. ton-ul pat-a-se towacwu-ess-ta  
'[I] received money and helped [them with it].'
- c. \*ton-ul cwu-e-taka towacwu-ess-ta  
'[I] gave [them] money to help.'
- d. ton-ul cwu-e-se towacwu-ess-ta  
'[I] gave [them] money and helped [them] out.'
26. a. tol-ul cwus-e-taka malttwuk-ul machi-ess-ta  
stone pick stake hit  
'[I] picked up stones to hit a stake.'
- b. tol-ul cwus-e-se malttwuk-ul machi-ess-ta  
'[I] picked up stones and hit a stake.'
- c. \*tol-ul tenci-e-taka malttwuk-ul machi-ess-ta  
throw  
'[I] threw a stone to hit a stake.'
- d. tol-ul tenci-e-se malttwuk-ul machi-ess-ta  
'[I] threw stones and hit a stake.'

27. a. ssuleyki-lul mo-a-taka kwutengi-lul meyw-ess-ta  
rubbish gather hole fill  
'[I] gathered rubbish to fill a hole in the ground.'
- b. ssuleyki-lul mo-a-se kwutengi-lul meyw-ess-ta  
'[I] gathered rubbish and filled a hole in the ground.'
- c. \*ssuleyki-lul peli-e-taka kwutengi-lul meyw-ess-ta  
'[I] threw away rubbish to fill a hole in the ground.'
- d. ssuleyki-lul peli-e-se kwutengi-lul meyw-ess-ta  
'[I] dumped rubbish and filled a hole in the ground.'
28. a. tongsayng sosik-ul al-a-taka emeni-lul  
younger brother news find out mother  
wilohay-ss-ta  
console  
'[I] learned the news of my younger brother and  
[brought it to] console my mother.'
- b. tongsayng sosik-ul alanay(-e)-se emeni-lul wilohay-ss-ta  
'[I] found out the news of my younger brother and  
consoled my mother.'
- c. \*tongsayng sosik-ul alli-e-taka emeni-lul wilohay-ss-ta  
'[I] reported the news of my younger brother to console  
my mother.'
- d. tongsayng sosik-ul alli-e-se emeni-lul wilohay-ss-ta  
'[I] reported the news of my younger brother and  
consoled my mother.'

The (a) sentences above are examples of complex sentences conjoined by *taka* 3. The (b) sentences are identical except for the conjunctive *se*, which replaces the conjunctive *taka* in (a). Together (a) and (b) show that it is usually possible to obtain grammatical sentences by substituting *se* for *taka* 3, although not vice versa. In (c) we find ungrammatical strings that become grammatical in (d) when *taka* 3 is replaced with *se*. The existence of the grammatical sen-

tences in (d) does not guarantee that the ungrammaticality of (c) is not due to a semantic incongruity resulting from conjunction. But I believe it justifies the position that shifts the source of ungrammaticality to the lexical idiosyncrasy of the verbs to which *taka* 3 is added.

The verb *ponayta* 'send, dispatch' in (24c) has the unmistakable sense of 'away from', and it thus clashes with the postulated semantic content of *taka* 'BRING NEARER'. The verb in (25), *cwuta* 'give', clearly supports a hypothesis that the ungrammaticality of (25c) stems from the incompatibility of the meaning of the verb with *taka* 3 rather than any semantic incongruity that arises from conjunction. The verb *cwuta* clearly conveys the sense of 'away from' the donor and conflicts with the notion 'BRING NEARER' that *taka* indicates. The verbs in (26) and (27) are similar in meaning: *tencita* implies the physical act of 'throwing', and *pelita* connotes the metaphorical act of 'throwing away'. The meanings of the second conjuncts in (26c) and (27c) seem to be quite compatible with those of the first conjuncts, and no plausible explanation for the ungrammaticality of these strings is forthcoming until we postulate an appropriate semantic content for *taka*. But once we characterize it as being 'BRING NEARER', the ungrammaticality of (26c) and (27c) is an automatic consequence of the semantic clash between the verbs and the conjunctor *taka*, the former having the sense of 'FLING AWAY' and 'THROW AWAY' and the latter, the opposite sense of 'BRING NEARER'.

An interesting and illuminating case of the semantic conflict between the verb and the conjunctor *taka* is also exemplified by sentences (28a) and (28c), in which an identical verb root is involved. The verb *alta* 'know, find out' occurs in (28a), but in (28c), the causative form of the same verb, *al-li-ta* 'make known, inform, tell', is used, with an obvious connotation of 'giving OUT' information. The 'outward' orientation of the meaning of the verb is a consequence of causativization. We now have a principled basis for explaining the ungrammatical string involving the causative form of a verb, on the one hand, and the grammatical sentence involving the simple, i.e., noncausative, form of the same verb, on the other.

The verbs I have examined above are fairly clearcut cases whose semantic content connotes either a sense of 'AWAY' or 'OUT'. However, many transitive verbs whose meaning can hardly be said to

imply these notions still cannot cooccur with *taka* 3. Observe the following examples:

29. a. pap-ul ssa(-a)-taka ay-tul-eykey mek-i-ess-ta  
rice pack child-PL feed-CAUS-PAST  
'[I] packed (cooked) rice and fed the children.'
- b. \*pap-ul mek-e-taka cheycwung-ul nul-li-ess-ta  
'[I] ate rice to increase my weight.'
30. a. ton-ul pel-e-taka cip-ul sa-ss-ta  
money earn house buy  
'[I] earned money and bought a house.'
- b. \*ton-ul ss-e-taka cip-ul sa-ss-ta  
'[I] spent money and bought a house.'

It is not immediately clear what syntactic or semantic constraints strings (29b) and (30b) violate that cause them to be ruled ungrammatical. Now compare the sentences above with those below.

31. a. pap-ul ssa(-a)-o-a-se ay-tul-eykey mek-i-ess-ta  
pack-come  
'[I] packed rice and brought it to feed the children.'
- b. \*pap-ul mek-e-o-a-se cheycwung-ul nul-li-ess-ta
32. a. ton-ul pel-e-o-a-se cip-ul sa-ss-ta  
earn-come  
'[I] earned money and brought it to buy a house.'
- b. \*ton-ul ss-e-o-a-se cip-ul sa-ss-ta

It is obvious that only those verbs that can cooccur with *taka* 3, as in (29a) and (30a), can be followed by the sequence of an auxiliary verb *o* 'come' and the conjunctive *se*, whereas those in the ungrammatical strings (29b) and (30b) cannot.

When the meanings of verbs are not intrinsically associated with notions like 'AWAY' and 'OUT', it appears that the conjunctive *taka* 3 will be allowed to cooccur as long as their meaning is compatible with the sense of 'BRING'. Indeed, those verbs I have examined in sentences (24a) through (28a) can be safely subsumed under the

category of verbs whose integral part of meaning encompasses the sense of 'BRING'. The ungrammaticality of (29b) and (30b) can now be accounted for systematically by this semantic criterion. There is nothing left to bring when you consume rice or money as the verbs in (29b) and (30b), *mekta* 'eat' and *ssuta* 'spend', clearly indicate.

I now return to the question of the relationship or connection among the four phonetically identical forms I have identified so far. In Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969), *taka* is called the transferentive form of a verb and given the following definition: "Transferentive verb forms, with the ending *-ta* (optionally followed by *ka*), indicate a shift in action: either of the verb action itself, or of its direction, or of the recipient of its benefit" (p. 269). The transferentive, labeled *taka* 1 in this chapter, lacks the meaning of 'BRING NEARER' that I have attributed to all the other forms of *taka*. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to treat it as synchronically unrelated to all the others. Not only semantics but also syntax provides evidence to support such an approach. *Taka* 1 is attached to a verb root directly, but *taka* 3 is added only to the combining form of a verb, i.e., the verb root plus *e*.

Martin and Lee (1969) consider *taka* 3 to be "a special use of the transferentive copula *ita* (always pronounced 'ta here because it follows infinitives, which end in vowels)" (p. 269). They insist that "there is a shift in the direction of the action (as looking toward something), or in the recipient of the benefit (as in favors)." But this is an unwarranted extension of the meaning of 'shift'. In any conjunction, it is usually, if not always, the case that the action or event described in the first conjunct precedes that of the second conjunct in time, and this extended sense of 'shift of action' can sometimes be applied harmlessly. But the unqualified extension of the semantic notion 'shift of action' becomes practically invalid once it crosses a point of no return. Although it would be phonetically justifiable, I do not think that conjuring up the ghost of the copula *i* that never surfaces can be validated either semantically or syntactically. It is not surprising that Martin and Lee also treat *taka* after the locative particle as the transferentive copula. The volatile notion of shift of action is no more appropriate here. We find in their textbook the following description of *taka* after the locative: "The copula transferentive is also used after the particle *ey* to show a shift of location or purpose" (p. 269).

Although I disagree with Martin and Lee on lumping *taka* 1 together with *taka* 2 and *taka* 3 as a single entity, I agree with them on treating *taka* 2 and *taka* 3 as a single morpheme. However, I reject the idea that *taka* 2 and *taka* 3 are abbreviated forms of the copula transferentive. I propose to call *taka* 2 and *taka* 3 'allative' in contradistinction to 'transferentive'.<sup>6</sup>

The semantic unity between the allative *taka* and *taka* 4, which occurs as a verbal prefix, is too real to deny their relatedness. The only snag is that the order of elements in morphological composition is normally quite rigorous and often inflexible. One and the same morpheme rarely occurs both as a prefix and as a suffix to a verb.<sup>7</sup> It is tempting to consider *taka* 4 also to be allative, but no significant generalization will be missed by treating it as a separate morpheme. I will, therefore, leave this question open for the time being. I believe that separation of the 'allative' from the 'transferentive' is a significant step toward a systematic description of Korean syntax.

# NOTES

## Notes to Chapter 12

1. The higher verb *ha* can be translated as 'make/let/have' as well as 'cause'. For the sake of simplicity I will choose 'cause' to represent all the various possible meanings of this verb.

2. Synonymy is only one of many reasons for postulating a single underlying structure. J. D. McCawley (1972), for instance, presents persuasive arguments for prelexical transformation on the basis of the scope ambiguity of adverbial modification. I take my position against the hardliners who take it for granted that the two types of Korean causative are synonymous without offering any argument.

3. The difficulty can be circumvented by imposing some sort of constraint that blocks the lexicalization of underlying structures of periphrastic causatives that have no matching lexical causative, thus accounting for the meaning discrepancy. The synonymists, however, are forced to pay the high price of unnecessarily complicating the grammar in order to account for facts that the exponents of separate underlying structures can deal with in a simpler and more natural manner.

4. As In-Seok Yang (1974, 1976) and B. Soon Ju Patterson (1974) have shown, this argument is not very convincing. Some lexical causatives also show a scope ambiguity of adverbial modification. See the next chapter for a detailed discussion.

5. Sentence (11b) is definitely odd to me, and I originally marked it ungrammatical. Joe Ree has pointed out [personal communication] that in some other contexts *ka key ha* 'cause to go' with inanimate subjects is acceptable, and a Korean grammar that rules out (11b) will fail to account for many grammatical sentences.

6. The Korean passive verb *yel-li* derived from the transitive verb *yel* 'open' (tr.) is almost equivalent semantically to the English intransitive verb 'open'.

Notes to Chapter 13

1. Although I have retranscribed and renumbered all the Korean examples quoted from the works of other authors, interlinear glosses and translations remain unchanged from the original.

2. Because it is the child who passes the water, logic dictates that the place adverbial in (24) be associated with the causee, but many native speakers, including linguists, have told me that they feel that it can also modify the mother's action of "cause-urinating" for reasons that will be clear in my analysis of lexical causatives.

3. It should not be assumed that I am supporting the generative semanticists' position here. I am simply pointing out that Korean examples by no means provide convincing evidence for Shibatani's argument against the GS approach of lexical decomposition. My position is neutral, and I believe that the facts I brought to light can be accounted for within the framework of either GS or EST.

4. I am not denying the possibility that *caki* can be so used. We must, however, acknowledge that it can also be used as a pronoun meaning 'one' without a reflexive sense. If my conjecture is not totally wrong, *caki* may be an abbreviation of the full form *caki casin*, which only has a reflexive sense. Further study of Korean reflexives is required to shed light on the knotty questions of pronominalization and reflexivization and the phenomena of anaphora in general.

5. Halle and Clements (1983) assert: "Acts of perception that heavily depend on active contributions from the perceiver's mind are often described as illusions, and the perception of intelligible speech seems to us to qualify for this description. A central problem of phonetics and phonology is then to provide a scientific characterization of this illusion which is at the heart of all human experience" (p. 1). The problem is not restricted to phonology but equally applies to syntax and semantics.

6. In the following sentence, the more natural interpretation will be that the soldier tortured students until he sweated:

ku kwunin-i haksayng-tul-ul ttam-i na tolak twutulkiess-ta  
'The soldier beat the students until he sweated.'

7. See Fred Lukoff (1978) for an interesting and insightful analysis of the honorific suffix *-si* in Korean.

Notes to Chapter 14

1. See Suk-Jin Chang (1972a) for an extensive discussion of conjunction processes in Korean.

2. The following sentences, which are parallel to (8) and (9a–b), are synonymous with (7b):

- (i) swuyengha-take nay ka tali ey cwi ka na-ss-ta
- (ii) swuyengha-taka na eykey tali ey cwi ka na-ss-ta
- (iii) swuyengha-taka nay (=na uy) tali ey cwi ka na-ss-ta

3. See Hornstein (1977) for an interesting discussion of tense.

Notes to Chapter 15

1. I am inclined to think that this particle is also found in *myense* ‘while’ and in conjunctors like *kose* and *ese* that appear in the middle of a sentence.

2. It is possible to analyze the verb *anc* ‘sit’ as ambivalent between active and stative senses and claim that it will take *ey* when it is stative. However, when native speakers hear (2a–b), they normally visualize an act of sitting or lying down rather than a state of sitting or lying.

3. Sentence (5a) is actually ambiguous and can also mean ‘The man who goes to the front is a thief.’ Another particle indicating direction is more likely than *ey* if that is the intended meaning, however. Compare (5a) with the following:

- aph-ulo ka-nun salam-un totwuknom
- toward
- ‘One who goes to the the front [is] a thief.’

4. I have found the reactions of native speakers to be fairly consistent, although the number of informants I consulted was relatively small.

5. Fred Lukoff has also suggested this possibility (personal communication).

6. Presumably additional transformational rules have been applied to derive this sentence, e.g., fronting of the subject, and so on.

7. It could just as well be a square or a triangle. The contrast is between a circle and a dot. The dot can be of any shape as long as it does not imply a spatial notion.

Notes to Chapter 16

1. I will tentatively assume, without presenting evidence or arguments, that in sentences (5–8), the form *V-e-taka* is followed by a verb phrase, whereas in sentences (9–11), it is followed by a sentence. My arguments will not be affected if my assumption proves to be wrong.

2. I presume that TA is a reduced form of *taka*. All the suffixes, *taka*<sub>1</sub>, *taka*<sub>2</sub>, and *taka*<sub>3</sub>, are often abbreviated to *ta* (and can sometimes even be null phonetically). The prefixal *taka*<sub>4</sub> is not subject to abbreviation.

3. In chapter 15, I claimed that the particle *ey* had two senses: static location and goal. Here I modify that position slightly and propose that there are two separate particles, *ey* ‘static location’ and *ey-taka* ‘goal’. This revision does not entail a wholesale change in the description of Korean locatives, and the substance of my argument remains valid.

4. This statement is not entirely accurate. Although it is correct to say that abbreviation is a phonological process, it requires some grammatical information in that the elements that are subject to the process occur in grammatically definable positions such as phrase- or clause-final and belong to certain grammatical categories.

5. Although the authorship of this grammar is not known, it is probably safe to assume the work is a collaborative effort of several grammarians.

6. Bjorn Collinder (1957) defines the term ‘allative’ as follows: “The allative (Latin *ad* ‘to’ and *latus* ‘brought’) has the ending... which usually may be rendered by ‘to’” (p. 15).

7. In English we find words like ‘darken’ and ‘moisten’, on the one hand, and ‘enable’ and ‘ennoble’, on the other. It is tempting to consider the element ‘en’ in the two different positions to be an identical entity. We also find words like ‘enliven’, ‘enlighten’, and ‘embolden’.

PART FOUR

New Approaches to Old Problems

## 17. Nouns and Pronouns, Singular and Plural

This chapter, an informal discussion on the question of marking plural nouns in Korean, is another exploration into an uncharted area in Korean linguistics. For a long time it has been widely believed that Number is not a relevant grammatical category in Korean. Many respectable Korean grammarians have claimed that although there is a plural marker in the language, it is entirely optional—whatever is implied by this term—to employ such a device to mark plurality. I will make an attempt to show that this traditional view is not only misleading, but is flatly wrong in some cases. Before we challenge the traditional descriptions, let us consider a few example sentences that will provide us with some clues on how plural nouns may or may not be marked.

1. ay-tul-i            matang-eyse nolko        iss-ta  
   child-PL-NM    yard-in            playing            be-DCL  
   ‘Children are playing in the yard.’
2. haksayng-tul-i    ecey            temo-lul                    hay-ss-ta  
   student-PL        yesterday    demonstration-ACC    do-PAST  
   ‘Some students staged a demonstration yesterday.’

In sentences (1) and (2), the particle *tul* is added to the preceding nouns to indicate that more than one child or student is involved. This particle, which is comparable to the *s* in English words like *knaves*, *scoundrels*, *crooks*, and *hookers*, can be called the Plural Marker. If the occurrence of the plural marker were regular, consistent, and predictable to a large extent as it is in English, there would be no reason to expect a description of the rules that underlie plural marking in Korean to be interesting and important. A cursory glance at Korean data will reveal at once, however, that plural marking appears to be irregular, inconsistent, and quite arbitrary, at least to superficial observers. Plural nouns are sometimes marked with the particle *tul* as we have seen in examples (1) and

(2), but nouns that clearly and unequivocally express the notion of plurality are not necessarily so marked at all times, as the following examples demonstrate:

3. ku cip ey-nun ay-ka manh-ase kekceng i-ta  
that house in TOP child many-so trouble be  
'The trouble is that they have many kids in the family.'
4. temo ha-ten haksayng-i manhi cap-hi-ess-ta  
demonstrate-RET student many arrest-PASS-PAST  
'Many students who were demonstrating were arrested.'

There is little doubt that the speaker of sentence (3) has more than one child in mind, when he says (3), but *ay* 'child' in this sentence is not followed by the plural marker as it was in sentence (1). Again, *haksayng* 'student' in the context of sentence (4) undoubtedly means more than one, although there is no grammatical indication of the fact. It is clear from these examples that a singular or unmarked form is used even when plurality of reference is intended. How can a linguist reconcile the apparent contradiction between the form that is 'singular' or unmarked and the meaning that expresses 'plural'? Is the unmarked noun a case of neutralization, and, if so, under what conditions does such a neutralization take place?

A crucial question here is how speakers know when to mark plurality if unmarked as well as marked forms are freely used to refer to plural objects. In the past, when no easy solution was to be found, grammarians quietly accepted the traditional belief that marking plurality in Korean is optional. For example, the most comprehensive grammar of Korean, by Hyon-Pai Choi (1961), contains the following categorical statement, denying that there exists a grammatical category 'number' for nouns and pronouns.

In Korean, there is no grammatical 'number' for a noun... If we want to indicate plurality in our language, either we reduplicate the form or add a suffix that expresses plurality of number. For instance,

<i>salam salam,</i>	<i>cip cip,</i>	<i>phoki phoki</i>
<i>salam-tul,</i>	<i>cip-tul,</i>	<i>phoki-tul</i>
'men'	'houses'	'heads (of cabbage, etc.)'

(p. 210)

Although the reduplicated forms indicate that the referents involved are more than one, they are typically associated with the particle *mata* 'each, every' and should be distinguished from the regular plural formation by means of the plural marker *tul*. The following examples clearly show that the two forms are not interchangeable.

5. a. \**salam salam-i manh-ta*  
b. *salam-tul-i manh-ta*  
'There are many people.'
6. a. \**yele cip cip-ul po-ass-ta*  
b. *yele cip-tul-ul po-ass-ta*  
'[We] saw several houses.'

The particle *mata* is also used with a single noun, i.e., a non-reduplicated form. The only difference between the single and reduplicated forms with *mata* seems to be that the latter is more emphatic, stressing each and every member of an entire set. Because the reduplicated forms are a plural of a different nature, I will not discuss them any further.

One of the earliest serious attempts by a Western linguist to describe Korean is that of the eminent Altaicist G. J. Ramstedt (1939). Although his remarks are sometimes obscure, his observations are quite accurate and often insightful.

The Korean noun expresses the universal or general idea of the corresponding thing; i.e. it has no articles and no numbers, e.g. *salam* 'a man, men, the man, the men,' ... *i salam* 'this (particular) man, these men.' By constructing a compound, the Korean language expresses the plural if stress is laid on the idea of plurality. Thus one can add as the last word the noun *tul* 'all, several, together,' and speaking of human beings, also *ney*. Thus *salam* 'man' or 'men' has the plural *salam-tul* 'men-all,' *salam-ney*, and more strongly stressing, *salam-neytul*. ... Used this way, *tul* and *ney* may be called "plural signs."<sup>1</sup> (p. 35)

Ramstedt also noted the reduplicated forms of nouns and made the following pertinent remarks on their use:

To express the idea of variety very often a reduplication is used, e.g. *cip cip* 'every house, from house to house,' *sayk sayk* 'all colours, every sort of colour, all kinds,' *kot kot* > *kokkot* 'all places, every place, everywhere,' *nanal* (for *nal nal*) 'day by day, everyday,' *tatal* (*tal tal*) 'every month, monthly.' Many such reduplications are used only as adverbs. (p. 35).

Ramstedt's interpretation of this phenomenon seems less promiscuous than Choi's treatment of it as another mode of expressing plurality.

The latest description of Korean, which is in many ways more adequate than its predecessors, by Samuel E. Martin and Young-Sook C. Lee (1969), essentially offers no new information on this question and reiterates the traditional claim:

Korean nouns... are not specific with respect to number.... But if it is really necessary, or if he feels like it, a Korean speaker can make his nouns specifically plural.... He does this by placing *tul*, a word meaning something like 'group,' after them:

*sensayng* 'teacher or teachers'  
*sensayng tul* 'teachers'

(p. 32)

Most native grammarians do not even mention the grammatical process involved in pluralizing nouns; more often it is Westerners who have studied or described the language who note the existence of the plural marker. Despite an almost complete disregard and neglect of the question on the part of native grammarians, plural marking is far from being a trivial or uninteresting topic. A critical reexamination of the process reveals that it is an extremely important and enormously complex question that seems to have bearing on other aspects of grammar. Linguists are beginning to realize the magnitude of the question, which will probably have far-reaching consequences on our understanding of the nature and use of human language.

Let us first examine the notion of optionality. Does it mean that the plural marking is a stylistic variation? Or is it for emphasis that speakers of Korean use the plural marker, as Ramstedt and Martin suggest? Is it always the case that marked and unmarked plurals are synonymous? Can one freely add or drop the plural marker when a noun refers to more than a single object without changing the meaning? None of these questions have ever been raised, not to mention answered. Consider the following:

7. ku-nun ecey pam-ey nuckey tolao-ass-ta  
he last night late returned  
'He came home late last night.'
8. ku-tul-un ecey pam-ey nuckey tolao-ass-ta  
'They came home late last night.'

The two sentences above are entirely identical except for the plural marker, which is present after the subject NP in (8) but absent in (7). If plural marking is totally optional as has been claimed, there should be no difference in meaning between the two sentences. To be more precise, at least one reading of sentence (7) must be synonymous with (8) for the obvious reason that the unmarked noun can be ambiguous between a singular and a plural reading. But sentences (7) and (8) are never synonymous, and the choice of the plural marker in these cases crucially contributes toward differentiating the meaning by indicating whether the subject refers to a single person or more than one. Furthermore, if we drop the plural marker from the subject NP of (8), it simply cannot retain its plurality and become synonymous with (7). Thus, the notion of optional plural marking is at best suspicious.

It must be noted, however, that the subject NPs in (7) and (8) are pronouns and, indeed, pronouns in many languages exhibit peculiarities of their own in plural marking. It is a well-known fact that pronominal forms retain in many languages, including English, grammatical distinctions that have long since disappeared in nouns. Korean is no exception to this rule, and its pronouns maintain person and number distinctions. Let us take a brief look at pronominal forms in Korean.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st Person	na/ce [+humble]	wuli (-tul)/cehi (-tul)
2nd Person	ne	nehi (-tul)
3rd Person	ku	ku-tul

In the first and second persons, there are distinct forms for singular and plural. The plural marker, therefore, becomes dispensable. In the third person, where no such distinction is made, the plural marker is obligatory for 'they', as exemplified in (8). Because singular and plural pronouns, including the third person with the obligatory marker, are formally distinct in all cases, we must conclude

that the number distinction is maintained without exception in pronouns.

If there is no a priori reason to believe that nouns should behave like pronouns in every respect (in which case, the classification into noun and pronoun would be unmotivated and totally redundant), there is no more valid reason to expect that they should be entirely different in every respect (in this case, 'pronoun' would be a misnomer, and it would not constitute a proper subset of nouns, as the nomenclature implicitly suggests). To what extent and in what respect the two categories are similar or dissimilar is an empirical question and should be decided by observing language-specific traits rather than by appealing to an a priori universal abstract characterization of noun and pronoun. The solution we seek must be based on observations of the linguistic behavior of native speakers, and it must characterize the principles underlying such behavior. Before we look at some Korean examples, however, let me make a few remarks of a more general nature. It is puzzling that the number distinction is an obligatory category in pronouns but is optional in nouns. What is so peculiar about pronouns, and what are the particular features that differentiate them from nouns so that they behave differently with respect to pluralization? In pronouns reference is specific, particularly when they are singular. They do not seem to permit nonreferential use. Nouns, however, especially common nouns used generically, do not have specific referents. This particular difference between nouns and pronouns seems to have an important bearing on their different behavior with respect to the process of pluralization. The philosophical question of reference in nouns is one of the hottest issues in linguistics today. By now it is well known that nouns, definite or indefinite, can be used either referentially or nonreferentially.<sup>2</sup> This fact is also intricately and inextricably tied to another facet of grammar, the specific and generic use of nouns, but I will limit my discussion to the question of specific reference. The specific reference of singular pronouns eliminates any possibility of their being used to refer to more than one person or thing at a time. Hence, the obligatory nature of plural marking in pronouns.

It should be noted that the third-person singular pronoun in Korean has the same phonological realization as one of the demonstratives. Indeed, it is reasonable to consider that the demonstrative *ku* 'that' is, in fact, used as the third-person singular pronoun. It is no coincidence, then, that personal pronouns have specific

reference, because one of the functions of the demonstrative is to make reference specific. This may lead us to speculate that a noun preceded by a demonstrative will also have a specific reference, and this fact, if true, would entail the interesting consequence that such NPs with specific reference would have to mark plurality obligatorily. This is a testable proposition whose validity can be confirmed or disconfirmed by empirical data. Consider the following:

9. ku cangkwan-i ttwungttwungha-ta  
that general fat  
'That general is fat.'
10. ce matam-un kho-ka khu-ta  
that madam nose big  
'That madam has a big nose.'
11. i kwukhoy uywen-un kecismalcangi i-ta  
this congressman liar be  
'This congressman is a liar.'

All the subject NPs in the examples above have specific reference. They are all singular and, as expected, they cannot be understood to have plural reference. If we want to represent more than one person, we must pluralize a noun with specific reference by adding the plural marker after it. Here is a clear and incontrovertible case in which the plural marking is *not optional*, even with nouns. We can tentatively conclude that the plural marking is always obligatory for both nouns and pronouns when they have specific reference.

This conclusion is, I believe, a valid generalization governing the process of pluralization of nouns and pronouns in Korean. Language, however, is an enormously complex entity, and often the abstract system that underlies the use of natural languages is not amenable to a neat and elegant generalization. Indeed, we do not have to look far and wide to find counterexamples. Consider the following:

12. i manhun salam-i eti se o-ass-ul-kka  
many where from come-PAST-PROS-INT  
'Where could this many people have come from?'

13. ce yele kwen uy chayk-ul ta ilk-ess-n-i  
 several volume of book all read-PAST-IND-INT  
 'Have [you] read that many volumes of books?'

The NPs in (12) and (13) are preceded by a demonstrative, and, furthermore, they are plural, as we can easily tell from the context. However, they are not accompanied by the plural marker as the rule predicts. Semantics comes to rescue here. Recall that demonstratives, although their primary function is deictic, are often used as intensifiers. Observe the following English sentences:

14. We did not expect this many fans.  
 15. I have never seen that many nudists on the beach.

In both of these sentences the singular forms of the demonstratives 'this' and 'that' are followed by plural forms of nouns. In these sentences, which violate the rule of number agreement in English, the demonstratives are used as intensifiers of the immediately following quantifiers. They can be replaced by other intensifiers, such as 'so', 'very', and 'truly'. Likewise, *i* 'this' and *ce* 'that' in sentences (12) and (13) function as intensifiers, and no specific reference is intended. Consequently, the plural marking of the subject NPs in (12) and (13) is no longer obligatory.

Another factor that militates against plural marking may be in operation here. Because the plurality of the noun has already been indicated by means of a quantifier, it may not be mere coincidence that the plural marker is absent after these NPs. There is a strong tendency in Korean as well as other Uralic and Altaic languages to dispense with the plural marker when numerals or quantifiers are associated with NPs. Examine the following samples from three different languages:

*Turkish*

ev 'house'                  ev-ler 'houses'                  cok ev 'many houses'

*Hungarian*

asztal 'table'                  asztalok 'tables'                  ket asztal 'two tables'

*Korean*

ai 'child'                  ai-tul 'children'                  sey ai 'three children'  
 salam 'man'                  salam-tul 'men'                  twu salam 'two men'

(\*sey ai-tul and \*twu salam-tul are clearly unacceptable)

Sentences (12) and (13) turn out not to be genuine counterexamples

but a regular result of two interacting factors, the use of demonstratives as intensifiers and a widespread feature of an allegedly related family of languages that leaves plural nouns unmarked when they cooccur with numerals or quantifiers.

A second set of counterexamples involve the case in which a demonstrative precedes a noun but no quantifiers occur. Consider the following:

16. *i sakwa-ka ce sakwa pota te mas-i iss-ta*  
 apple than more tasty  
 {‘This } apple(s) taste(s) better than {that one.’}  
 {‘These } {those.’}

17. *ku syassu-ka ce syassu pota pissa-ta*  
 shirt expensive  
 {‘That } shirt(s) {is } more expensive than {that one }  
 {‘Those } {are } {those } over there.’

A typical interpretation of sentences (16) and (17) out of context would involve a comparison between two single objects. But it is not unusual for someone to say (16), for instance, pointing to a pile of apples in a market, or (17), pointing to a stack of shirts in a store. I argued earlier that nouns preceded by a demonstrative are always singular and cannot refer to the plural. Sentences (16–17) seem to be genuine counterexamples to the generalization I made. Before giving up or modifying the generalization, let us examine a little more carefully the meaning of the NPs in (16) and (17) and the situation in which they are used. According to my intuition as a native speaker of Korean, *i sakwa* in (16), when understood to be plural, seems to mean ‘apples in this pile/on this side’ rather than ‘these apples’. It can be interpreted more abstractly as ‘apples of this kind/category’. In a like manner, *ce syassu* in (17), if interpretable as plural, is likely to mean ‘shirts in that stack’ rather than ‘those shirts’. The unmarked NPs in both sentences are used generically, and plural marking is incompatible with generic nouns in Korean. Sentences (16) and (17) seemed to be genuine counterexamples under the assumption that NPs must always have specific reference when preceded by a demonstrative. This assumption turns out to be wrong. Generic nouns can also occur after a demonstrative in NPs that mean something like ‘N of this/that category’.

Out of context the NPs in (16) and (17) would have only specific reference and always be understood to be singular. Pragmatics is involved in the plural interpretation when the speaker points to piles of apples in the market or to stacks of shirts in a store. Because these nouns are generic, the demonstratives that precede them modify the understood category 'pile' in (16) and 'stack' in (17), not the nouns themselves, and these nouns do not take the plural marker even when they are preceded by demonstratives.

Is plural marking really optional, then, when the reference of nouns is nonspecific? I do not have a ready answer to this question, but I suspect that the answer should be in the negative. Let me try to explicate a subtle, but nevertheless real, difference that seems to exist between the two sentences below, which are identical except for the plural marker.

18. *phathi-ey haksayng ul chotay hay-ss-ta*  
party-to student invite  
'[We] invited a student/students to the party.'

19. *phathi-ey haksayng-tul ul chotay hay-ss-ta*  
'[We] invited some students to the party.'

*Haksayng* 'student' in sentence (18) does not refer to a particular student but rather to a status or category. It contrasts with faculty or staff, for instance. Here the number distinction is irrelevant. *Haksayng-tul* 'students' in (19) refers to a group of young people we know who are going to college. I am not certain this distinction is made consistently by speakers at all times. If the choice of the plural marker is not arbitrary, it would be natural to expect it to make some semantic contribution, and all that I am suggesting is that the use of the plural marker makes the reference less abstract. Plural nouns in Korean, unlike in English, cannot be used generically, whereas unmarked nouns, as Ramstedt has observed, often "express the universal or general idea." If I may draw a tentative and premature conclusion, plural marking in Korean individuates, whereas the unmarked noun categorizes its referent. This conclusion, if true, seems also intricately related to the hierarchy of accessibility of nouns to the pluralizing process.

In an illuminating discussion of plurality split, Smith-Stark (1974) shows language after language in which plural marking is split between animate and/or human nouns or kinship terms, on the one hand, and other nouns, on the other. In Korean plurality split

is not discrete but a “squish” in the sense of Ross (1972). Human and animate nouns are, comparatively speaking, commonly marked, whereas mass and abstract nouns are practically never marked. Other nouns fall in between and are seemingly irregular. A random sampling of written materials (59 pages in total) by ten different authors reveals the significant pattern shown below.

*Occurrences of Plural Marker*

Animate Nouns	94 (83%)
Inanimate Nouns	15 (13%)
Other	5 (4%)
Total	113 (2 per page)

Unquestionably, the occurrence of the plural marker is rather rare (two per page). Its appearance is even rarer after inanimate nouns. It is not unreasonable to assume that a pattern of plurality split is responsible for unmarked plural nouns when they possess the feature [-animate].

To recapitulate, a careful reexamination of plural marking in Korean reveals that: (i) the traditional belief of grammarians as well as naive laymen that plural marking in Korean is optional is mistaken; (ii) when reference is specific, plural marking is obligatory; (iii) generic nouns reject the plural marker; (iv) nouns are unmarked for plural when they cooccur with numerals and quantifiers; (v) the type of plural split that the Korean language exhibits is tied in with the hierarchy of accessibility of nouns to the pluralization process; (vi) plural marking ‘individualizes’ the referent of a noun, whereas the unmarked noun ‘categorizes’ its referent. Although this chapter is exploratory and speculative and further studies need be done on this interesting subject, I believe I have made explicit, at least in outline, what native speakers may have been only dimly aware of until now.

## 18. To Be or Not to Be: Evidence for the Copula

Answers to some of the problems in linguistics today that elude clearcut solutions will have to await a sharpening of methodology and a further refinement of present theoretical frameworks. In other areas, however, more plausible and adequate descriptions can be provided within the theoretical frameworks now available. For instance, the dispute over the copula in Korean, whose existence has often been called into question, is an issue that can be investigated, argued about, and settled once and for all. It is an entirely empirical question that can be decided by comparing two grammars, one with and the other without the copula, and then evaluating which of the two is simpler, more consistent, and more likely to allow linguistically significant generalizations.

A vehement controversy has raged for many years among native Korean grammarians over this seemingly trivial question.<sup>1</sup> Scholars are divided into two camps and emotionally charged exchanges continue today, both sides refusing to listen to reason. Further confusion has been brought about by indiscriminately dragging comparative and historical arguments into descriptions, when the question must be settled purely on synchronic grounds. Once we have recognized the empirical nature of the question and eliminated the mistake of approaching a synchronic problem from a diachronic point of view, we can concentrate on real questions involved and expect our descriptions to be reasonably accurate as well as adequate. The arguments I present will reveal inconsistencies and contradictions as well as redundancies inherent in previous descriptions of the Korean language by well-known native grammarians that will disconfirm many of their conjectures about the copula. I hope that my arguments will provide the basis for a choice between the two grammars and eventually contribute toward the goal of settling the question unequivocally.

In this chapter I will present some evidence for the existence of the copula and argue that a Korean grammar without the copula is

inconsistent as well as inadequate. My description of the copula will be synchronic, with no reference to historical considerations or comparative evidence. I will not attempt a comprehensive review of previous studies on the question but will make reference to some works that are relevant to my discussion. Because I have not been involved in this controversy or been affiliated with either of the two schools of thought, my position will be impartial. However, the view of language I subscribe to will have a strong bearing on the conclusion that will be drawn in this chapter. In my view many previous studies by native grammarians have lacked an adequate theoretical framework.

Any number of competing descriptions can be compatible with given data. A linguist is confronted with the question of how to choose among these descriptions and on what grounds. Thus, a linguistic theory that does not provide an appropriate device for evaluation—although linguists are far from being in agreement on what the nature of such a device should be—cannot claim to be a viable candidate for a theory of language that attempts to account for the competence of a native speaker. There is little doubt that the native speaker's competence must include, among other things, his ability to choose an optimally correct grammar among many that are available to him.<sup>2</sup> I am not implying that we have a linguistic theory that does this today but that we do have in transformational grammar a theory that strives to attain this goal in principle, even though it is far from being adequate in detail.

Although the question of the copula and related problems discussed in this chapter have some interesting theoretical implications, the practical motivation for this study should not be obscured. The practical consequence will be more far-reaching than any small contribution I could make to linguistic theory. A foreigner attempting to study Korean will not take long to find out that the task is difficult enough without confusing descriptions and blatantly conflicting views about a relatively simple and innocuous question like whether Korean has a copula or not.

Korean school children studying the grammar of their own language, which is not likely to be a favorite subject in their secondary school curriculum, do not seem to fare any better than foreigners. Grammar is not only a required subject but also a subject taught in a boring and unilluminating manner by teachers in the authoritarian school system who are unsympathetic to the students as well as to the subject itself. Students are obliged to cram

into their heads uncritically dry facts—often incorrect—like religious dogmas, solely to pass tests. Thus, as a result of their excruciating experiences in grammar class, they develop in their early childhood a lifelong hatred toward grammar and a distaste for anything related to the study of language. If only to alleviate such an intolerable state of affairs and lighten the burden imposed on secondary school students, an investigation and revision of previous descriptions of the copula are urgent necessities.<sup>3</sup>

Language mediates meaning and sound, and any linguistic description must deal with both aspects of language. It is a moot question, however, where to begin our description. Although acrimonious debates on this issue have been going on for some time, the topic I propose to discuss will have no bearing on this question.

There are languages that are said to be lacking the copula entirely, and it is an interesting question how a linguist goes about semantically representing the notion of equation in these languages. Suppose we set up an abstract verb indicating an equation on the semantic level in any language that does not have the copula. As long as this verb does not surface, the question whether there is a copula or not in these languages cannot even be raised. Therefore, semantic considerations alone will not settle the question. The question that must be asked is whether there is any phonological evidence for the existence of the copula. If we believe that there is, can we justify on syntactic grounds that the item in question is the copula rather than something else? Does the phonology support such a hypothesis on independent grounds? These are some of the questions raised in this chapter for which empirical evidence is sought.

Korean, like Japanese, is an SOV language on the surface, with the verb always occurring at the end of a sentence. In an equational sentence, two nouns are juxtaposed, the first being the subject and the second the predicate nominal (or complement). A relevant question to ask at this stage is what sort of particles mark these two noun phrases and what else, if anything, occurs after the second NP. Let us take a look at some examples of the equational sentence.

1. i      kes-i            moca ta  
    this thing-NM      hat    DCL  
    ‘This is a hat.’

2. ku kes-i chayk ita  
 that thing-NM book  
 'That is a book.'

The first NPs, which are the subjects of these sentences, are marked as usual by the nominative marker *i*. Directly after the second NPs, which are the predicate nominals, occur the forms *ta* and *ita*. Because these forms show partial resemblance in phonetic shape and occur in the same position in an identical sentence type, we can tentatively assume that they are alternant forms of a single element. A closer look at the environments will reveal that the shorter form *ta* occurs immediately after an NP ending in a vowel segment, whereas the longer form *ita* comes after an NP ending in a consonant segment. The whole question of the copula hinges upon the identification of the form and function of the element *ita*.

An NP in a Korean sentence must always be overtly marked by a particle at some stage of its derivation, and the *ita* that occurs immediately after an NP could be some sort of particle or a case marker on a par with the nominative, accusative, or topic marker.<sup>4</sup>

3. pi-ka o-n-ta  
 rain-NM come-IND-DCL  
 'It is raining.'

4. haksayng-i chayk-ul ilk-nun-ta  
 student-NM book-ACC read  
 'The student is reading a book.'

5. haksayng-i cip-ey ka-ass-ta  
 student-NM house-GOAL go-PAST  
 'The student went home.'

6. haksayng-i yenphil-lo emeni-eykey phyenci-lul  
 student-NM pencil-INST mother-DAT letter-ACC  
 ssu-ess-ta  
 write-PAST  
 'The student wrote a letter to his mother with a pencil.'

Note that all the occurrences of the NPs in the sentences above are overtly marked by particles.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, these NPs always precede the VP, which is placed at the end of the sentence. If we com-

pare sentences (1) and (2) given earlier with those above, we realize that equational sentences have a structure quite different from other types of sentences. Thus, grammarians attempting to describe the structure of sentences (1) and (2), exemplifying the equational sentence type, will be confronted with the thorny question of what the element *ita* is.

If every NP must be marked by a particle, this may very well be a particle of some sort or a case marker. It is also possible to consider the form *ita* to be a verbal element, for it occurs at the end of a sentence, where only verbs usually occur. If we take the first option and call it a particle or a case marker, then we are making the implicit claim that the Korean equational sentence occurs without a verb, and the copula does not exist. Barring elliptical constructions, Korean sentences, like those in majority of the languages of the world, consist of NP and VP, and the equational sentence would be the sole exception to the rule. If we take the second alternative and consider the form *ita* to be a verbal element, we are then forced to recognize a unique exception to the rule that all the NPs are marked by a particle in Korean. The apparent dilemma will be resolved once we examine the consequences these two views inevitably entail.

Before examining these consequences, let us first look at previous solutions proposed by native grammarians. Three different views are briefly summarized in Min-Soo Kim (1960) as follows: (i) *ita* is a copula; (ii) *ita* is a nominal ending and when a noun is used predicatively, it also conjugates; and (iii) *ita* is a predicative case marker. I have mentioned only two alternative approaches with regard to this form, namely, (i) and (iii). View (ii), which is held by Hi-Seung Lee (1965), is self-contradictory. If a form is a noun, by definition it cannot conjugate; if it does conjugate, then it cannot be a noun. If the form *ita* conjugates, it should be classified as a verbal element by virtue of this fact alone.

The exponents of view (iii) claim that *ita* is a predicative case marker on a par with other case markers such as nominative, accusative, and dative. They are making two tacit claims: that *ita* is an unanalyzable entity and that the equational sentence does not contain a VP (and therefore there is no copula). I will examine directly whether these claims are borne out in the face of expanded data.

It is well known that there are several levels or styles of speech

in Korean. Equational sentences can also be expressed on different levels. See the examples below:

7. ku kes-i chayk       $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ita \\ iya \\ ici \\ iney \sim ilsey \\ ipnita \end{array} \right\}$   
     that thing-NM book
- ‘That is a book.’       $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Plain Style} \\ \text{Intimate Style} \\ \text{Casual Style} \\ \text{Familiar Style} \\ \text{Formal Style} \end{array} \right\}$

If the form *ita* is a predicative case marker, then what are all these forms that can substitute for *ita* in the different styles? Are they also predicative case markers? This is clearly an intolerable position. When the equational sentence of each style is converted into a question sentence, the number of predicative case markers is doubled. Both statement and question sentences expressing the notion of equation are capable of indicating past and future events, and the number of the predicative case markers increases to preposterous proportions.

Suppose we treat all these forms as alternant shapes of *ita*. This decision immediately runs afoul on two counts. First, because these forms clearly represent different grammatical functions, it would be difficult to justify such a treatment. Second, all other case markers have one or two shapes at most. Except for the nominative marker, it is simpler to represent them by single shapes, for it is not only possible but also more plausible to account for their alternation by a single rule that epenthetically introduces an unrounded high back vowel when they occur after a form ending in a consonant segment. It is inconceivable that the predicative case marker alone of all case markers would have so many phonologically unpredictable alternant forms.

When grammarians claim that *ita* is a case marker or a particle, they are inadvertently committing themselves to the position that it is unanalyzable. Let us consider another set of examples of the equational sentence type.

8. ku kes-i chayk  
 that thing-NM book
- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| { | i-ess-ta<br>i-keyss-ta<br>i-ess-keyss-ta<br>i-p-ni-ta<br>i-ess-up-ni-ta<br>i-keyss-up-ni-ta<br>i-ess-keyss-up-ni-ta | } |
|---|---|---|
- 
- |     |   |  |   |          |   |          |
|-----|---|--|---|----------|---|----------|
| ‘It | { | was<br>probably is/will be<br>probably was<br>is<br>was<br>probably is/will be<br>probably was | } | a book.’ | } | (Plain)  |
|     |   |  |   |          |   | (Formal) |

The sentences in (8) show that *ita* can be split up and other elements can be inserted in between the two parts. It is always possible to consider these elements to be infixes, but there is not a single infix elsewhere in Korean! Furthermore, the element *ta* with the same meaning or grammatical function also occurs after a verb stem or a sequence of verb stems plus verbal ending. All these data point to the separability of the element *ita* into *i* and *ta*. Thus, the claim that *ita* is a case marker, an unanalyzable entity, is untenable. Now I will proceed to examine the consequences of the position that the equational sentence does not contain a VP and therefore there is no copula in Korean. One who seriously maintains this position will be committing an enormous error of inconsistency. Compare the sentences in (7) with those in (9) below.

9. ku salam-i cemsim-ul  
 that man-NM lunch
- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| { | mek-nun-ta<br>mek-e<br>mek-ci<br>mek-ney<br>mek-up-ni-ta | } |
|---|--|---|
- 
- |                             |   |   |   |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|
| ‘He is eating [his] lunch.’ | { | Plain Style<br>Intimate Style<br>Casual Style<br>Familiar Style<br>Formal Style | } |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|



(iii) is spurious, and, as I have shown, both positions are unacceptable.

Grammarians who make such statements are not unaware of the enormous difficulties such a statement entails. Soong-Nyong Lee (1965), for example, asserts that “it must be acknowledged that substantives (nouns and pronouns) also conjugate when used as predicative words” (p.117). Because this statement flatly denies the distinction he has drawn between nouns and verbs, he appeals to the idiosyncrasy of the Korean language in a desperate attempt to salvage his argument from total collapse: “It can be asserted that both substantives and predicatives (verbs and adjectives) conjugate when they are used as predicative words....Although substantives have case inflection, they conjugate like predicatives when used predicatively. *This is a characteristic feature of Korean substantives* [emphasis mine]” (p. 117). This may not be a characteristic feature of Korean but rather an example of inconsistency in S. Lee’s description of Korean, which includes the following statement: “Among all the case endings, only the predicative case ending conjugates” (p. 110). By definition, the case endings of a noun do not conjugate, and S. Lee is forced to add the provision that the predicative case ending is an exception to the rule. But this is a costly exception with disastrous consequences.

In negative sentences, the negative particle is always placed directly before the main verb of a sentence. Compare the affirmative sentences below with their negative counterparts:

11. a. ku salam-i cemsim-ul mek-nun-ta  
 that man-NM lunch-ACC eat-IND-DCL  
 ‘He eats [his] lunch.’
- b. ku salam-i cemsim-ul ani mek-nun-ta  
 that man lunch NEG eat  
 ‘He does not eat [his] lunch.’
12. a. ku salam-i cemsim-ul mek-ki-nun ha-n-ta  
 that man lunch eat-COMP-TOP do  
 ‘It is the case that he eats [his] lunch.’
- b. ku salam-i cemsim-ul mek-ci-nun ani ha-n-ta  
 that man lunch eat-COMP NEG do  
 ‘It is not the case that he eats [his] lunch.’

- c. ku salam-i cemsim-ul ani mek-ki-nun ha-n-ta  
 that man lunch eat  
 'It is the case that he does not eat [his] lunch.'
- d. ku salam-i cemsim-ul ani mek-ci-nun ani ha-n-ta  
 that man lunch eat  
 'It is not the case that he does not eat [his] lunch.'

The negative particle *ani* directly precedes the main verb *mek* in sentence (11b). In sentence (12b), the verb *ha* of the matrix sentence is negated, and accordingly the negative particle is placed directly before that verb. In (12c), however, the main verb in an embedded sentence is negated, and the negative particle appears before the verb *mek*. Sentence (12d) illustrates the case in which the verbs of both matrix and embedded sentences are negated. The negative particle occurs twice, before the verb of the embedded sentence and again before that of the matrix sentence. It is obvious that the rule that appropriately positions the negative particle in the surface sentence applies essentially in the same manner in all these sentences.<sup>6</sup> Compare the following examples with those in (11) and (12).

13. a. ku yeca-ka miin ita  
 that woman-NM beauty  
 'She is a beauty.'
- b. ku yeca-ka miin-i ani (i)ta  
 that woman-NM beauty-NM NEG  
 'She is not a beauty.'
14. a. ku yeca-ka miin-i-ki-nun ha-ta  
 that woman-NM beauty-i-COMP-TOP  
 'It is the case that she is a beauty.'
- b. ku yeca-ka miin-i-ci-nun ani ha-ta  
 that woman-NM beauty-i-COMP  
 'It is not the case that she is a beauty.'

- c. ku yeca-ka miin-i ani(i-)ki-nun ha-ta  
 that woman-NM beauty-NM  
 'It is the case that she is not a beauty.'
- d. ku yeca-ka miin-i ani (i-) ci-nun ani ha-ta  
 that woman-NM beauty-NM  
 'It is not the case that she is not a beauty.'

Sentence (13b) is parallel to sentence (11b), and sentences (14b), (14c), and (14d) are parallel to sentences (12b), (12c), and (12d), respectively. Suppose we had to provide in the deep structure of a negative sentence a marker that would trigger an obligatory transformation to convert the string to a negative one. Regardless of what position one takes in introducing the element *Neg* in the deep structure by the base rules, the identical *Neg* placement rule will appropriately position the negative particle in all the negative sentences given above. The formulation of this rule, however, crucially depends on our recognizing the element *i* and the verb *mek* 'eat' as belonging to the same category, V. If *ita* were a case particle, then Korean grammar would need two *Neg* placement rules, one before a verb and another before a case particle. The second rule would have to be further constrained so that it would apply only to the predicative case particle! This kind of exception would multiply indefinitely and finally obscure the underlying regularity of a linguistic system that can be systematically represented in terms of rules. Like *Neg* placement, the rule for *Hon* placement attaches the honorific suffix *si* directly after the verb stem:

15. ku pun-i hakca i-si-ta  
 that honored person scholar HON  
 'That honored person is a scholar.'
16. ku pun-i chayk-ul ilk-usi-n-ta  
 that honored person book read-HON-IND  
 'That honored person reads a book.'

When the speaker desires to pay deference to the subject of a sentence, the honorific suffix is attached directly after the verb stem. In Seok Choong Song (1967), it was proposed that the subject noun rather than the verb be subcategorized in terms of the feature [ $\pm$ honorific] to correctly reflect the interrelationship between the speaker and the subject. For a single rule to assign the honorific suffix properly, the element *i* in sentence (15) and the verb *ilk* 'read' in sentence (16) must both be categorized as V.

Let us take a closer look at the negative equational sentences given earlier. In sentence (13a) the second noun, the predicate nominal, is marked by the nominative marker. If the shape *ta*, an abbreviated form of *ita* after a form ending in a vowel segment, is a case particle, we have here a strange instance of a sequence of two case particles after a noun that is used predicatively. Furthermore, this sequence is always interrupted by an occurrence of the negative particle. Although compound particles like *ey-nun* (locative-topic), *ulo-nun* (instrumental-topic), and *eykey-nun* (dative-topic) are not uncommon, only a limited number of particles can occur in the second position, and the sequence nominative-predicative would again be an exception to the rule.

Another interesting piece of evidence in favor of treating *ita* as a kind of verb that emerges from the examples in (14) is the occurrence of the nominalizer *ki*. This form is attached to a verb stem to nominalize it. Of course an entire sentence can be nominalized in this manner. In sentence (14) the nominalized string of (13) occurs embedded as the subject. The nominalizer *ki* is always suffixed to a verb stem. If *i* were a case marker or a noun ending as the adherents of views (ii) and (iii) claim, another provision would have to be made for this exception. But the claim that a noun is nominalized makes little sense.

There is another morpheme, *m*, which is used to nominalize a verb stem. Just as a verb can be nominalized, a noun may be verbalized by adding the verb-stem formative *ha* to it. Such denominal verbs can be nominalized again by suffixing the nominalizer *m* to the verb-stem formative *ha*. See the following paradigms:

<i>Noun</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Noun</i>
kongpu 'study' (N)	kongpu-ha-ta 'study' (V)	kongpu-ha-m 'studying'
nolay 'song'	nolay-ha-ta 'sing'	nolay-ha-m 'singing'
kwunin 'soldier'	kwunin i-ta 'is a soldier'	kwunin i-m 'being a soldier'
hakca 'scholar'	hakca i-ta 'is a scholar'	hakca i-m 'being a scholar'

Once again we see parallel paradigms between verbs and the form *i*. Only when we consider the form *i* to be a verb does it make sense to claim that it can be nominalized. The regular semantic relationship between the verb phrase *kwunin i-ta* 'is a soldier' and *kwunin i-m* 'being a soldier' can also be accounted for in a most natural and straightforward manner by deriving the latter from the former. The fact that the nominalizers *ki* and *m* can be added to the form *i* alone is proof enough to refute the totally untenable position that nouns are nominalized and also conjugated in Korean.

There is a well-known rule in Korean that topicalizes NPs and other major constituents. Let us first briefly consider the former case. Although it is not clear what triggers topicalization, the mechanism involved is not difficult to grasp. The topic marker *nun* is attached to the NP to be topicalized, and this NP plus *nun* will be preposed to the beginning of a sentence. Examine the following examples:

17. ecey            nay-ka    nayngmyen-ul    mek-ess-ta  
     yesterday    I            cold noodle      eat  
     'I ate cold noodles yesterday.'
  
18. ecey-nun    nay-ka    nayngmyen-ul    mek-ess-ta'  
     'Speaking of yesterday, I ate cold noodles.'
  
19. na-nun    ecey    nayngmyen-ul    mek-ess-ta  
     'As for myself, I ate cold noodles yesterday.'
  
20. nayngmyen-un    ecey    nay-ka    mek-ess-ta  
     'Speaking of cold noodles, I ate them yesterday.'

Sentence (17) contains three NPs functioning as time adverbial, subject, and object, respectively. Any one of these NPs can be topicalized as sentences (18), (19), and (20) illustrate. Now compare the above sentences with the following:

21. wuli cip-eyse halapeci-ka ceyil ita  
 we house-in grandfather-NM number one  
 'Grandfather is number one in our family.'
22. wuli cip-eyse-nun halapeci-ka ceyil ita  
 'Speaking of our family, grandfather is number one.'
23. halapeci-nun wuli cip-eyse ceyil ita  
 'Speaking of grandfather, he is number one in our family.'
24. \*ceyil ita-nun wuli cip-eyse halapeci-ka

If *ita* is a case particle, as some grammarians claim, the noun preceding the particle should be subject to topicalization. When we topicalize it, however, the result, as (24) indicates, is clearly ungrammatical. Although the fact that the NP *ita* cannot be topicalized constitutes at best negative proof that *ita* may not be a case particle, there is a more convincing proof that *ita* is a verbal element. Compare the following pair of sentences:

25. ecey nay-ka nayngmyen-ul mek-ki-nun ha-ess-ta  
 yesterday I cold noodle eat  
 'It is the case that I ate cold noodles yesterday.'
26. wuli cip-eyse halapeci-ka ceyil i-ki-nun ha-ta  
 we house-in grandfather number one be  
 'It is the case that grandfather is number one in our family.'

Sentence (25) shows that the VP also can be topicalized if it has been nominalized before the topicalization takes place. Sentence (26) clearly indicates that the phrase containing the element *i* can be topicalized like the phrase containing the verb *mek*. It must go through the process of nominalization like all other verbs before it becomes eligible for topicalization.

I have argued in favor of treating the form *i* as the copula, presenting nearly half a dozen pieces of evidence on morphological and syntactic grounds. To recapitulate, (i) the element *ita* is not an unanalyzable entity like the rest of the case particles and *ta* is a ver-

bal ending; (ii) the *i* occurs with verb endings of various sorts such as tense, aspect, and mood markers; (iii) it behaves like a verb with regard to Neg and Hon placement; (iv) it can be nominalized by suffixing grammatical formatives like *ki* and *m*; (v) in an equational sentence, both the subject and the predicate nominal are marked by the NM—although its second occurrence is observable only in a negative sentence—and therefore *ita* cannot be a case marker for the predicate nominal. Many more reasons can be enumerated along the same lines, but I believe enough evidence has been presented to make it overwhelmingly clear that a grammar with the copula is simpler, more consistent, and allows for greater generalization. Now that I have shown that reasons for considering *ita* to be a case marker do not hold water, I will examine the reasons some grammarians present for rejecting the idea that *ita* is the copula.

Min-Soo Kim (1960) presents a curious argument on the grounds of what he calls functionalism. Consider the following sentences taken from Min-Soo Kim (1960:191):

27. hwullyunghan salam ita  
fine man  
‘[He] is a fine man.’

28. say ilkkwun ita  
new worker  
‘[He] is a new worker.’

*Hwullyunghan* ‘fine’ in sentence (27) and *say* ‘new’ in sentence (28) are noun modifiers, so goes Kim’s argument, and therefore, *salamita* ‘is a man’ and *ilkkwunita* ‘is a worker’ must be nouns. But this simply is a case of misanalysis on his part. If we follow his argument to its logical conclusion, we will be forced to take the awkward position that any elements immediately preceded by a noun modifier are nouns. Consider the following examples:

29. hwullyunghan kongpuhanta  
fine study  
‘[He] is doing a fine study.’

30. say ilkkwun itoynta  
new worker  
‘[He] becomes a new worker.’

*Kongpuhanta* ‘does a study’ in sentence (29) and *ilkkwunitoynta* ‘becomes a worker’ in sentence (30) are also preceded by noun modifiers. Therefore, they would have to be nouns, and the forms *hanta* and *itoynta*, occurring after nouns, would be case particles of some sort. No grammarian would accept this conclusion. I am not unaware of the difference between *ita* and the other elements. The point is that *ita* is no more a case particle than is *hanta* or *itoynta*. If it is argued that *hanta* in sentence (29) is a verb and the noun modifier *hwullyunghan* modifies only the noun *kongpu* ‘study’ (N), then the same argument will apply to *ita* in sentence (27). It is possible to say that *hwullyunghan* modifies only the noun *salam* and *ita* is a verb. If it is claimed that *hanta* cannot be a case particle because a true case particle can be attached to the noun *kongpu*, it is also possible to argue that *ita* cannot be a case particle because a true case particle—the NM in this particular case—can also be attached to the noun *salam*. Compare the following pair of negative sentences in which both nouns are overtly marked:

31. *hwullyunghan kongpu-lul ani hanta*  
 fine study-ACC NEG do  
 ‘[He] is not doing a fine study.’
32. *hwullyunghan salam-i ani (i)ta*  
 fine man-NM NEG COP  
 ‘[He] is not a fine man.’

Kim’s second argument against considering *ita* to be the copula is based on misconceptions. “Even if we consider *ita* to be a sort of verb,” he challenges, “we must admit the fact that the substantive element *i* is omitted and the formal element *ta* remains. Such an argument cannot stand.”<sup>7</sup> His claim amounts to saying that only ‘formal’ elements are subject to deletion rules. Although this claim is in error, it may not be altogether fair to take him to task, for he probably was unaware of the distinction between deep and surface structures at the time he was writing. Even if we restrict the application of his statement to surface structure alone, it is still untrue. Let me give an interesting example from Japanese. First, consider the paradigm and then the pair of sentences that follow:

<i>Present</i>	<i>Present Progressive</i>	<i>Past Progressive</i>
<i>mi-ru</i> ‘see/look at’	<i>mite iru</i> ‘is/are looking at’	<i>mite ita</i> ‘was/were looking at’



In fact Soong-Nyong Lee's historical evidence is of a dubious nature. He lists three different graphic representations of *ita* in historical records and manages to show graphic environments in which they occur. Then he jumps to the unwarranted conclusion that "the function of *i* is not grammatical" (p. 118). The only thing, if anything at all, that we can learn from his documentation is that *ita* has had three graphic representations under graphically storable conditions and one of them was zero. But the fact that a linguistic form has a zero representation graphically or phonetically in a certain environment is not proof that it does not have a grammatical function! In a phonetic interpretation, *ita* has only two variants, namely, [i] and zero. Even with a meager knowledge of Middle Korean, it is not difficult to guess that the zero form occurred only after the form ending in a segment [i] or in diphthongs whose final segment is [i]. In all other environments, *ita* shows up regardless of whether the preceding form terminates in a vowel or consonant segment. Restated in terms of phonological rules, Middle Korean probably had an obligatory rule of the following sort:

$$35. i \longrightarrow \emptyset / i \text{ \_\_\_ } \\ \text{ [+cop] }$$

It is apparent that the deletion of the copula after the vowel segment [i] is due to articulatory adjustment. If Lee means to imply that the [i] is a vowel epenthetically inserted to achieve a preferred syllable structure, and consequently it has no grammatical function, then his hypothesis deserves closer scrutiny. Let us first translate his statement into the form of a phonological rule and compare it with rule (35).

$$36. \emptyset \longrightarrow i / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ C \end{array} \right\} \text{ \_\_\_ } ta \\ \text{ where } V \neq i$$

Not only is rule (35) simpler, but it is also more natural. If *i* is inserted between two consonants, in response to the structural pressure for the preferred syllable structure, the rule to achieve this effect would look very plausible as well as natural. But rule (36) states that *i* is introduced before *ta* indiscriminately after *V* and *C* except when *V* is *i*. We have every reason to choose rule (35) over (36).

A brief exploration into the question of the epenthetic vowel will help to clarify some confusion and misconceptions and eventu-

ally cast a new light on S.-N. Lee's treatment of *i* as an epenthetic vowel. It is generally claimed that both vowels /i/ and /u/ ([u]) are added to the initial segment of particles or verb endings beginning with a consonant when they occur after a form ending in a consonant. Consider the following paradigms:

<i>Noun-Particle</i>		<i>Verb-Ending (Conjunctive)</i>	
cip- <i>iya</i>	cha- <i>ya</i>	mek- <i>uni</i>	ka- <i>ni</i>
'house-EMP'	'car-EMP'	'since one eats'	'since one goes'
cip- <i>ina</i>	cha- <i>na</i>	mek- <i>una</i>	ka- <i>na</i>
'house-DEMP'	'car-DEMP'	'even one eats'	'even one goes'
cip- <i>imye</i>	cha- <i>mye</i>	mek- <i>umye</i>	ka- <i>mye</i>
'house-ENUM'	'car-ENUM'	'one eats and ...'	'one goes and ...'
cip- <i>iko</i>	cha- <i>ko</i>	mek- <i>ulye</i>	ka- <i>lye</i>
'house-CONJ'	'car-CONJ'	'in order to eat'	'in order to go'

It is clear that high unrounded vowels are inserted between two consonants whenever grammatical formatives beginning with a consonant are attached to lexical formatives ending in a consonant. If the preceding forms are nouns, then the front vowel *i* is used, but if they are verbs, then the back unrounded vowel *u* is used. Thus, it has been maintained that particles with an initial consonant have alternant shapes beginning with the vowel *i* when they are suffixed to noun forms ending in a consonant, whereas verbal endings with an initial consonant have alternant shapes beginning with the vowel *u* in the same environment.

Note that all the particles that occur after nouns in the paradigm on the left above can also be used as verbal endings. Suppose the verb to which these endings are added is the copula, and this sequence of the copula plus ending occurs in its typical position, namely, after a predicate nominal. We then find the following paradigm:

*Noun-Copula-Ending*

cip- <i>i-ya</i>	'It is a house' (Intimate)
cip- <i>i-na</i>	'Even though it is a house'
cip- <i>i-mye</i>	'It is a house and ...'
cip- <i>i-ko</i>	'It is a house and ...'

Martin and Lee (1969) assert that the *i* of the particle *ina* comes from the copula (pp. 106, 309). This is a quite plausible hypothesis whose validity can be empirically verified by tracing the historical

development of these particles. Although I have no historical evidence to support this hypothesis, the paradigm given above clearly indicates the possibility of the shift from verbal endings to 'pseudo-particles', as Martin and Lee call them. Because I do not see any alternative to this analysis, I will tentatively conclude that base forms of these 'pseudo-particles' include the vowel [i] as its initial segment, which will be marked as [+cop]. Then the same rule that deletes the copula after forms ending in a vowel will also apply to these particles when they occur in the same environment. From the foregoing discussion, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the only Korean vowel which is epenthetically introduced to effect the preferred syllable structure is *u*.

If this assumption is correct, then S.-N. Lee's claim that *i* has no grammatical function and is used only for the purpose of articulatory adjustment becomes suspect. The only vowel that does not have a grammatical function is the one which is epenthetically introduced, but it is *u* not *i* that falls into this category. Even if we view *ita* as a particle, which it clearly is not, *i* is likely to be a historical legacy of the copula!

S. Lee then proceeds to explain the present-day writing practice with regard to the form *ita*: "Although people indiscriminately write *ita* [in all environments] today, it is a matter of expediency. They feel that it is a nuisance to make such a distinction" (Soong-Nyong Lee 1965:118). This statement, tantamount to saying that whatever distinction existed in the past has been lost in writing, attributes the loss of that distinction to native speakers' mental laziness (which also played a predominant role in accounts of sound change in the past). But it fails to explain why the same native speakers never fail to make other, linguistically significant distinctions in the same environment. Compare the form *ita* with verbal endings that have alternant shapes, one beginning with the vowel [u] and the other with consonants.

*Verb Endings after C-final Stems*

mek-una  
 \*mek-na  
 ilk-uni  
 \*ilk-ni  
 palp-umye  
 \*palp-mye

*V-final Stems*

ka-na  
 \*ka-una  
 po-ni  
 \*po-uni  
 ca-mye  
 \*ca-umye

Whenever verbal endings beginning with a vowel are suffixed to

verb stems terminating in a vowel, ungrammatical forms result, as the asterisked forms in the column on the right above show. Likewise, their alternant forms beginning with a consonant never occur after verb stems ending in a consonant, as the asterisked forms on the left above illustrate. The choice is obligatory, whether in writing or in speech. In S. Lee's explanation, the same native speakers fail to make the same distinction in the same environments in the case of *ita* that they consistently make between two alternant shapes in case of the verbal endings. Clearly S. Lee's explanation is unsatisfactory, and we must seek one elsewhere.

The real difference between the alternation *ita/ta* and *una/na* is that the former is optional and the latter is obligatory. There are two entirely different rules to take care of these alternations. As I have suggested already, the former must be represented as *ita* on the phonological level, whereas the latter will be *na*. The initial vowel segment of *ita* is subject to an optional deletion rule after a vowel segment. The vowel *u* in such an environment has no grammatical function in the narrowest sense of the term and merely serves as a buffer between two consonants to effect the preferred syllable structure or to 'make an articulatory adjustment,' in S. Lee's terminology. The same claim about the vowel *i* of *ita* can hardly be justified on either historical or synchronic grounds.

It has also been maintained that although the distinction between *ita* and *ta* is obscured in writing, it is consistently made in speech. Such an account leaves unexplained the fact that the distinction between *una* and *na* is consistently maintained in both speech and writing. I consider the difference between *ita* and *una* to be that the former is subject to an optional rule and the latter an obligatory one. If people write *ita* indiscriminately after both vowel and consonant segments, it may very well be a reflection of their unconscious but intuitive realization that the underlying representation of the form *ta* must be *ita*. It should also be noted that *i* is not always subject to the optional deletion rule, even after nouns ending in a vowel. For instance, when the nominalizer *m* or the modifier ending *n* is added to it, the optional deletion rule will not apply even when the strings meet the structural description.<sup>8</sup> See the following examples:

*Evidence for the Copula*

*After Nouns with  
V-final Segment*

hakca-im  
'being a scholar'  
\*hakca-m

kyoswu-im  
'being a professor'  
\*kyoswu-m

hakca-in (apeci)  
'(father) who is a scholar'  
\*hakca-n (apeci)

kyoswu-in (chinkwu)  
'(friend) who is a professor'  
\*kyoswu-n (chinkwu)

*After Nouns with  
C-final Segment*

kwunin-im  
'being a soldier'

haksayng-im  
'being a student'

kwunin-in (acessi)  
'(uncle) who is a soldier'

haksayng-in (nwui)  
'(sister) who is a student'

As the strings preceded by asterisks show, whenever *i* is deleted, ungrammatical strings result. Thus, the hypothesis that the sole function of the *i* of *ita* is a matter of articulatory adjustment must be in error.

Soong-Nyong Lee is of the opinion that the stem of a word cannot be deleted (1965:118). Consequently, the *i* that may be deleted in some environments could not be a verb stem. I have already shown essentially the same argument presented by Kim to be vacuous. S. Lee goes on to claim that the predicative function is carried by *ta*, not by *i*. This is truly a curious contention, although the statement is so vague that it is difficult to ascertain what precisely is meant by it. Let us examine some more examples.

- |       |                  |     |   |            |
|-------|------------------|-----|---|------------|
| 37. i | kes-i            | kay | } | ta         |
|       | this thing-NM    | dog | } | ci         |
|       |                  |     | } | ya         |
|       |                  |     |   | (Plain)    |
|       | 'This is a dog.' |     |   | (Casual)   |
|       |                  |     |   | (Intimate) |

A grammarian embracing such a hypothesis must also admit that *ci* and *ya*, which occur in the same environment as *ta*, also carry the predicative function. I have shown earlier that they are statement endings in the casual and intimate styles, just as the *ta* is in the plain style. Now consider the following sentences:

38. ku salam-i achim-ul mek-nun-ta  
 that person-NM breakfast-ACC eat-IND-DCL  
 'He is eating breakfast.'
39. ku salam-i achim-ul mek-nun-ya  
 that person breakfast eat-IND-INT  
 'Is he eating breakfast?'
40. \*ku salam-i achim-ul mek-nun
41. ku salam-i achim-ul mek-tun-ya  
 that person breakfast eat-RET-INT  
 'Was he eating breakfast?' (when you saw him)
42. ku salam-i achim-ul mek-tun  
 that person-NM breakfast eat-RET  
 'Was he eating breakfast?' (when you saw him)

According to S. Lee's analysis, the element *ta* has the function of a predicate. Compare the statement, sentence (38), with the question, sentence (39). The only difference between them is the final element in the sentence: *ta* in the statement and *ya* in the question. Does this mean that the QM has the function of a predicate in a question sentence? Now examine sentences (41) and (42), which are synonymous. The simplest way to account for the structural difference between them will be to hypothesize that, in the retrospective question, the QM *ya* is optionally deletable (see chapter 5). This, of course, does not happen in the indicative question, as the ungrammatical string (40) indicates. What element carries the predicative function in a sentence like (42) when the QM *ya* is optionally deleted? Is it the retrospective aspect marker *tun* that has the function of a predicate? Or is (42) a type of sentence without a predicate at all? Many sentences occur without the element *ta* in the first place and it is extremely difficult to believe that grammarians with any degree of linguistic sophistication can seriously maintain that *ta* has the function of a predicate.

S. Lee concludes his argument by lavishing praise on Korean orthography and the decision that *ta/ita* be written after a noun without a space. He attributes this decision to scholars' belief that it cannot be considered an independent part of speech. "Absolutely no objection should be sustained!" he declares (p. 119). Such a decision carries no weight unless the orthography was based on an ab-

solutely correct linguistic analysis. Although this is not the place to take issue with him on the merits or demerits of Korean orthography, I feel that I should make it clear where I stand on the issue. There is little doubt that the present Korean orthography is in general a well-motivated system based on sound linguistic principles. Regarding details, however, there exist inconsistencies, misanalyses, and other problems. Modifications and revisions in some areas are more than desirable.

One of the inconsistencies involves the spelling rule for the form *ita*, which was presumably decided upon by a consensus of scholarly opinion. First, because the optional deletion of *i* is inapplicable in some environments, it would have been better had they decided to retain *i* in all environments, as most people do anyway in writing. Second, *ita* should be written separately with a space after the preceding noun because all verbs are separated from the preceding form, and the copula is a verb. It is interesting to note that the negative of *ita*, spelled *anita*, is written separately from the preceding form. This negative form should be written with a space between *an* and *ita* to conform to the present rule that separates the negative particle from the following verb. Compare the paired sentence below, the first members of which are spelled according to the present system and the second spelled by the rule I recommend above.

43. i kesi malita	i kesi sota
i kesi mal ita	i kesi so ita
'This is a horse.'	'This is a cow.'

44. i kesi mali anita	i kesi soka anita
i kesi mali an ita	i kesi soka an ita
'This is not a horse.'	'This is not a cow.'

If we compare the paired sentences with the following examples, which contain transitive verbs, regular correspondences represented in the second members become clear and the inconsistencies of the present system more apparent.

45. i salami achimul meknunta
'This man is eating breakfast.'

46. i salami achimul an meknunta
'This man is not eating breakfast.'

I think I have made a strong case for the existence of the copula in Korean based mostly on morphological and syntactic evidence. It is not at all hard to find phonological evidence that will further strengthen the case. Let us consider the following sentences:

47. a. ku salam-un hakca ta  
 that person-TOP scholar (be)-DCL  
 'He is a scholar.'
- b. ku salam-un hakca yetta  
 that person-TOP scholar be-PAST-DCL  
 'He was a scholar.'
- c. \*ke salam-un hakca etta

The past tense form that occurs after the predicate nominal in (47b) is *yetta* rather than the expected form *etta*. This phenomenon cannot be explained unless we postulate the existence of the copula in the shape of *i* in the underlying representation of that sentence. Similar evidence emerges when the authoritative ending occurs after the predicate nominal. Consider the following paradigm:

- |               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 48. mek-so    | hakca yo              |
| eat-DCL (A)   | scholar (be)-DCL (A)  |
| '[One] eats.' | '[One] is a scholar.' |
| ka-o          | kwunin i-yo           |
| go            | soldier be-DCL (A)    |
| '[One] goes.' | '[One] is a soldier.' |
|               | *hakca-o              |

The ending *so* that occurs after a form ending in a consonant segment loses the initial consonant when suffixed to a vowel-final form.<sup>9</sup> If we consider *yo* to be another variant form of the ending *so*, we would have to give up the generalization that the alternation between *so* and *o* is governed by a simple phonological condition. Furthermore, we would have to accept the absurd claim that the verbal ending *so* can be suffixed to a noun form! These difficulties are automatically resolved when we postulate that the copula in the shape of *i* occurs between the noun *hakca* 'scholar' and the authoritative ending *so*. Because it occurs after a vowel segment, the initial consonant is deleted by a general rule, and the sequence *i-o* is

then reduced to *yo* by a general rule that desyllabifies a high front vowel before another vowel. No longer is it necessary to make the unnatural claim that a verb ending can be suffixed to a noun in Korean. Once again, the hypothesis that there exists a copula in Korean allows the grammarian to make a simple and natural statement about its structure.

When syntactic and morphological as well as phonological evidence converge to support the hypothesis that there exists a copula in Korean and furthermore this hypothesis dovetails neatly with the historical development of the language, a grammatical description with the copula can be said to be superior to one without it on empirical grounds. Nevertheless, the question of the copula has been a source of acrimonious controversy for many years, and even today many respected native grammarians still deny the existence of the copula. Thus, conflicting views on the copula are still found in high school textbooks, and unfortunately the majority of high school teachers with no linguistic background uncritically accept the mistaken view and unwittingly perpetuate untruth.

Even more demoralizing, Min-Soo Kim in his history of Korean grammars classifies Korean grammars into three types and on dubious grounds insinuates that the third type, which denies the existence of the copula, marks the most advanced stage of development. According to Kim, the development of Korean grammatical theories falls into the following three stages: (i) both particles and verbal endings are treated as independent parts of speech; (ii) only particles are considered to be an independent part of speech; (iii) neither particles nor verbal endings are accorded the status of independent parts of speech (1960:230). It is extremely important to note that the class indiscriminately labeled as 'particles' in Korean grammar is a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements comprising 'other-than-major-lexical-categorical' entities. Grammarians of the third type seem to associate particles with case markers of noun, for unexplicable and obscure reasons, the sole grammatical function of which is to mark and define subject, topic, direct object, and so on, of surface structure.

Although it is an open question whether or not these markers should be considered as inflectional endings of the noun, it is obvious that they do not have a categorial status like noun, verb and adjective. It is not possible, however, to treat all particles uniformly in this manner, for the simple reason that not all of them are case markers of the noun. Consequently, denying the status of 'independ-

dent part of speech' to all particles is a rather dubious approach, and Kim's evaluation of the third type as superior to the second type of grammar can hardly be substantiated.

If the third type of grammar is typically associated with the school of thought that denies the existence of the copula in Korean and as a consequence is forced to create a case of noun called the 'predicative case', I must categorically declare that the third type of grammar marks a regression as far as the description of the copula is concerned. As far back as 1935 we find a reasonably adequate description of the Korean copula in *Cosen ehak* (A Study of the Korean Language) by Sung-Pin Pak. Pak points out that the copula belongs to the same class as the verb *ha*, namely, to the category of word class including verbs, adjectives (description verbs), and the verb of existence. He also correctly observes that it always occurs with a complement (predicate nominal). Many Korean grammarians even today confuse the negative particle *ani* and the same form, *ani*, which is actually derived from the former plus the copula *i* (*ani* < *ani* + *i*). After stressing the importance of making such a distinction, Pak exposes the contradictory position of the mistaken view with a precise and logical argument (Pak 1935:191-94). Let me repeat his example here:

49. onal-un      hyuil-i      an-i-o  
today-TOP holiday-NM NEG-be-DCL (A)  
'Today is not a holiday.'

Pak argues that if *ani* is a negative particle (which has the function of negating verbal elements), we must conclude that there is no verbal element for *ani* to negate and that the negative particle is directly followed by a verbal ending (*o* being a variant form of *so*, the statement ending of authoritative style). Therefore, he concludes, it must be an incorrect view. He demonstrates that *i* falls into the same conjugational paradigm as verbs, adjectives, and the verb of existence and concludes that these four subclasses make up the category of verb in the language. He also notes that after a vowel segment, the copula *i* often gets deleted. This obviously is a far superior and far more accurate description than those of many of my contemporaries.

Hyon-Pai Choi (1961) expresses a similar view in his *Wuli mal-pon* (A Grammar of Our Language). The most comprehensive and substantial defense of this position is found in his insightful article entitled 'A Study of the Copulative Verb' (1963). After elucidating

his own position, Choi thoroughly repudiates his opponents' position. This well-documented article leaves no shadow of a doubt that *i* is a verbal element, namely, the copula. Nevertheless, the so-called type (iii) grammar, which denies the existence of the copula, has flourished, and the controversy over the issue has continued.

Before concluding this chapter, let me just mention, without going into detail, representative samples of Western linguists' descriptions of Korean that provide a fairly adequate treatment of the copula. Ramstedt (1939), Lukoff (1945, 1982), Martin (1954), and Martin and Lee (1969) all recognize the existence of the copula and cite abundant examples of its uses. Martin correctly notes the phenomenon of vowel elision when the copula occurs immediately after the final vowel segment of a preceding form. Many native grammarians, especially of the older generation, simply close their eyes to works on the Korean language done abroad, and they do so only to their own disadvantage. Had they been humble enough to study descriptive works by foreign scholars as well as the descriptive methodology that underlies them, the time and energy wasted on the rather trivial issue of the copula could have been spent on more rewarding research.

Anyone who makes an attempt to critically examine different types of Korean grammars will be disheartened by the sobering fact that little progress has been made since the appearance of Choi's *Wuli malpon*.<sup>10</sup> It is not at all surprising, however, when we realize that the main thrust of numerous works by native grammarians in the past has been a reclassification of the parts of speech. As long as the study of language remains a taxonomy of linguistic elements, no real progress can be expected. As Thomas Kuhn (1970) put it, "a new theory... is seldom or never just an increment to what is already known" (p. 7). If the grammarians of the past generation have failed to produce anything significant, it is time we rejected their paradigm for research. We have witnessed a tremendous upsurge in linguistics with the paradigm change induced by the Chomskyan revolution, but we are only beginning to notice the impact of such a change on Korean linguistics. This chapter is a modest attempt to rewrite part of the textbook in the light of this new research paradigm.<sup>11</sup>

## 19. It's Tough to Interpret the Word *Swipta* 'Easy'

Certain peculiarities of the Korean description verb *swipta* 'easy' have been noted before, but no adequate proposals have yet been made to deal with the ambiguity of this lexical item. It was Maeng-Sung Lee (1968) who first observed that *swipta* belonged to two different classes of adjectives (=description verbs) that take a nominalized complement as subject. He insightfully remarked that as members of different classes, they were syntactically as well as semantically distinct. Around the same time or shortly thereafter, Eung-Do Cook (1968) and Seok Choong Song (1969), working on the same question independently, made similar discoveries but drew somewhat different conclusions.

Lee's observations are important and Cook's speculations interesting, but my own description was the first serious attempt to deal with the question of ambiguity exclusively and to present a wide range of syntactic phenomena associated with *swipta*. Although some fundamental properties of this curious word *swipta* were delineated in my earlier paper, and I still believe the framework in which I tried to resolve the ambiguity to be essentially correct, there still remain many unanswered questions. I believe that it would be profitable to reconsider this word in the light of recent developments in the study of the processes of word formation and to seek a more adequate solution to the old question of ambiguity.

The ambiguity of a sentence may result from different sources. When it is due to structural homonymy, an obvious way to disambiguate is by postulating different underlying structures corresponding to distinct semantic interpretations. In the earlier works on transformational grammar, when a lexicalist approach was not available, the correctness of the transformational position was taken for granted in an investigation of ambiguous sentences. Except for transparent cases of accidental homonyms or polysemy, ambiguous sentences were considered to have two or more different underlying

structures, which were then mapped onto an identical surface structure by the operation of different transformations. I tried to explore this approach the first time I inquired into the nature of the ambiguity involving *swipta*, but without much success. I finally concluded that there may be two separate lexical items involved after all. Now that an alternative lexicalist position has become available, I would like to review the existing literature on this verb, add several new facts, and make a renewed attempt to present a fuller description of *swipta* in this new framework.<sup>1</sup>

According to Lee's analysis, *swipta* belongs to two separate classes of description verbs, and each has a different meaning and exhibits different syntactic behavior. For the purpose of identification, I will label them as *swipta* 1 'easy' and *swipta* 2 'likely'. Lee provides the following examples, all of which contain *swipta* 1, and claims that all these sentences are transformationally (or deformationally, to borrow his terminology) related à la Harris.<sup>2</sup>

1. a. yenge-lul            paywu ki            swip-ta  
      English-ACC learn COMP easy-DCL  
      'It is easy to learn English.'
- b. yenge-ka paywu ki swip-ta  
           NM  
      'English is easy to learn.'
- c. yenge-ka swip-ta  
      'English is easy.'

When *swipta* 1 is used in sentences like (1a), (1b), and (1c), Lee claims that it belongs to the class that includes such description verbs as *elyepta* 'difficult', *yongihata* 'easy', *swuwelhata* 'easy', and so on. He points out that the homophonous form *swipta* that occurs in sentence (2) below is not a member of the same class, hence *swipta* 2. He carefully adduces convincing syntactic evidence for their difference. *Swipta* 1 allows other types of nominalized complements in a subject position, whereas *swipta* 2 will produce ungrammatical strings with them. Compare the three grammatical sentences containing *swipta* 1 in (3) with the ungrammatical ones containing *swipta* 2 in (4).

2. ku-ka ani o ki-ka swip-ta  
he NEG come likely  
'He is not likely to come.'
3. a. yenge-lul paywuntanun kes-un swip-ta  
b. yenge-lul paywunun kes-un swip-ta  
c. yenge-lul paywum-un swip-ta  
'It is easy to learn English.'
4. a. \*ku-ka ani ontanun kes-un swip-ta  
b. \*ku-ka ani onun kes-un swip-ta  
c. \*ku-ka ani om-un swip-ta

Lee further notes that the past tense marker may occur in the embedded sentence when *swipta* 2 is a matrix verb but not when *swipta* 1 is a matrix verb. Compare the following examples, which illustrate his point:

5. ku-ka ani o-ass ki swip-ta  
PAST likely  
'It is unlikely that he has come.'
6. \*yenge-lul payw-ess ki-ka swip-ta

Sentence (6) is ungrammatical in the intended sense of *swipta* 1 'easy' but perfectly well formed in the sense of *swipta* 2 'likely'.

After commenting on the awkwardness of a sentence with *swipta* 2 when the topic marker *nun* follows after V-*ki*, M.-S. Lee speculates on the properties of *swipta* 2 as follows: "Although we are not quite certain about the analyses of the sentences like [108=2] and [110=5] we suspect that *swipta* in these sentences is used as a verb operator (which takes verb or predicate as its operand) rather than as a sentence operator" (p. 34). What M.-S. Lee is suggesting here, if I understand him correctly, is that *swipta* 2 does not occur with a sentential complement but rather takes a verb phrase as a complement. The kind of distinction Lee is hinting at about the types of complement that can occur with these description verbs will play a crucial role in defining the properties of *swipta* 1 and *swipta* 2 in the present study.

Eung-Do Cook (1968) has independently discovered the same constraints on the occurrence of tense markers in sentences containing *swipta*. He provides the following examples to prove his point:

7. a. pap-i mek ki swip-ta  
rice eat  
'It is easy to eat rice.'
- b. pap-i mek ki swi-ess-ta  
PAST  
'It was easy to eat rice.'
- c. \*pap-i mek-ess ki swip-ta
- d. \*pap-i mek-ess ki swi-ess-ta
8. a. salam-i ka ki swip-ta  
man go likely  
'It is likely that a man will go.'
- b. salam-i ka-ass ki swip-ta  
PAST  
'It is likely that a man went.'
- c. \*salam-i ka ki swi-ess-ta
- d. \*salam-i ka-ass ki swi-ess-ta

Cook presents these differences in the syntactic behavior of *swipta* as supporting evidence for the distinction between verbal and nominal sentences that he proposes in Korean grammar. He remarks: "Incidentally, notice the behavior of *swipta*. The syntactic behavior of this word in the nominal S is quite distinct from that in the verbal S although it is usually considered one and the same word" (p. 94). Cook, unlike Lee, who assigns this verb to two different classes, considers the different syntactic behavior of *swipta* in (7) and (8) to be due to different deep structures.

This subject was also touched upon briefly in In-Seok Yang (1972). Working within the framework of Fillmore's Case Grammar (1968), Yang attributes the semantic differences of *swipta* to the distinct case frames in which this description verb occurs. He first provides an ambiguous sentence and then two different underlying representations corresponding to two readings, which I reproduce below as (9) and (10a-b), respectively.

9. apeci-ka o-si ki-ka swip-ta  
 father come-HON easy/likely  
 'It is easy for father to come.'  
 'It is likely that father will come.'

10. *Easy*  
 a. apeci-ka [o-si] ki-ka swip-ta  
 'It is easy for father to come.'

*Likely*

- b. [apeci-ka o-si] ki-ka swip-ta  
 'It is likely that father will come.'

The underlying structure of (10a) is different from that of (10b) in that it includes an obligatory experiencer, according to Yang's analysis. The term 'experiencer' normally implies an animate subject, but this conventional notion must be abandoned to accommodate Yang's analysis. Obviously, nonanimate subjects can easily occur with *swipta* 1 'easy'. Consider the following examples:

11. a. onsil eyse sikmul-i cala ki-ka swip-ta  
 greenhouse in plant grow easy  
 'It is easy for plants to grow in a greenhouse.'
- b. kolmok-i nelp-ese catongcha-ka tuleka ki-ka  
 alley broad-because automobile enter  
 swip-ta  
 easy  
 'It is easy for a car to enter because the alley is broad.'
- c. mul-i nacun kos-ulo hulu ki-ka swip-ta  
 water low place to flow easy  
 'It is easy for water to flow to a lower place.'

In (11a), the subject is *sikmul* 'plant'. It is not an animate being in the normal sense of the word, although it is a living thing. *Catongcha* 'automobile' in (11b) is a moving thing, and *mul* 'water' in (11c) is something that flows under certain conditions but is hardly an animate being. We must stretch the meaning of 'experiencer' considerably before we can include them in this category. It would

be fair to say that a subject of *swipta* 1 'easy' has to be 'something movable'.

Yang has also uncovered the important fact that *swipta* 1 'easy' can sometimes, under appropriate conditions, take an honorific suffix. See the following examples:

12. hankwuk mal-lo      yaykiha ki-ka    swi-usi-kess-ci-yo  
Korean language-in speak      easy-HON-would  
'It would be easier for you to speak in Korean, wouldn't it?'

I presume that Yang's position is closer to Lee's than to that of Cook. After all, a particular case frame assigned to a word characterizes its lexical properties. The case frame Yang assigns to *swipta* 1 'easy' is distinct from that of *swipta* 2 'likely' in that the former includes an obligatory experiencer.<sup>3</sup> It is important to note further that, in In-Seok Yang (1972), both *swipta* 1 and *swipta* 2 take a sentential complement as a subject, whereas in Maeng-Sung Lee (1968) *swipta* 2 is likely to take a verb phrase as a complement and *swipta* 1 to take a sentential complement.

Now I will briefly recapitulate what has been presented in Seok Choong Song (1969). Consider first the following examples:

13. hankwuk mal-i      swip-ta  
Korea language easy  
'Korean is easy.'
14. pi-ka o      ki-ka swip-ta  
rain come COMP likely  
'It is likely to rain.'
15. ku chayk-i ilk ki-ka swip-ta  
that book read easy  
'That book is easy to read.'
16. ku salam-i chayk-ul ilk-ki ka      swip-ta  
man ACC easy/likely  
'He is likely to read a book.'  
'It is easy for him to read a book.'

When *swipta* occurs immediately after an NP in a simple sentence, it always means 'easy'. Ambiguity arises only when a complement sentence precedes *swipta*, as in (16). Furthermore, *ki* alone among complementizers induces such ambiguity. Sentences (14) and (15)

are normally considered unambiguous despite the fact that they meet all the conditions for being ambiguous. As in (16), *swipta* occurs with a complement sentence containing *ki*. Superficially, (14) and (15) look alike in surface structure, but *swipta* in each of these sentences is subject to a different semantic interpretation. In my earlier analysis, I conjectured the different readings assigned to *swipta* in (14) and (15) are the results of a deep structure difference. It is not difficult to show that these sentences are different despite their surface structure similarity. Sentence (17) below can be viewed as the source of the complement sentence in (14).

17. pi-ka o-n-ta  
rain come-IND  
'It is raining.'

However, it is not easy to find the source for the complement sentence in (15). There exists no Korean sentence like (18):

18. \*ku chayk-i ilk-nun-ta  
\*‘The book reads.’

Except in the world of fantasy, you do not expect a book to be engaged in reading. I suspected, therefore, that *chayk* ‘book’ must be the direct object of the transitive verb *ilka* ‘read’ and further speculated that this object had been moved to the subject position through some sort of transformation (Song 1969). If, in fact, a transformation is involved, it is most likely Tough Movement, which would create an environment for the assignment of the nominative marker after turning the original object into the subject. At the time I tentatively concluded that the deep structure relationship of Object-Verb had been altered on the surface by the operation of some kind of transformations. *Swipta* would be interpretable as ‘easy’ when the deep structure Object-Verb surfaced as Subject-Verb and as ‘likely’ otherwise.

This simple solution of assigning the proper interpretation to *swipta* in terms of different deep structures hit a snag immediately for two obvious reasons: (i) there were ambiguous sentences like (16) in which the verb-object relation in the complement predicate was retained unchanged on the surface; and (ii) some sentences whose complement predicates contained an intransitive verb were also ambiguous. Consider the following ambiguous sentence:

19. ay tul-i hakkyo-ey tani ki-ka swipta  
 child PL school to go easy/likely  
 'It is easy for children to go to school.'  
 'It is likely that children go to school.'

It is not entirely unreasonable to seek a solution to the ambiguity by postulating two different underlying structures for (19). Some suggestions have been made along this line. Yang's proposal to include an obligatory experiencer for *swipta* 'easy', for example, appears to be valid, although it becomes problematic when the subject NP is inanimate. I did not pursue this course any further, however, because there was overwhelming evidence that suggested that *swipta* 1 and *swipta* 2 were separate lexical items.

As Lee has pointed out, *swipta* 'easy' and *elyepta* 'difficult' evidently belong to the same class. Consider the following examples:

20. ku salam-i o ki-ka  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{elyew(p)} \\ \text{swi(p)} \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{keyss} \\ \emptyset \\ \text{ess} \end{array} \right\}$  ta  
 that man-NM come COMP-NM  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{difficult} \\ \text{easy} \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FUT} \\ \text{PRES} \\ \text{PAST} \end{array} \right\}$  DCL  
 'It  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will be} \\ \text{is} \\ \text{was} \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{difficult} \\ \text{easy} \end{array} \right\}$  for him to come.'
21. ku salam-i o ki-ka  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{elyew(p)} \\ \text{swi(p)} \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{keyss} \\ \emptyset \\ \text{ess-keyss} \end{array} \right\}$  tu la  
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FUT} \\ \text{PRES} \\ \text{PAST-FUT} \end{array} \right\}$  RET DCL  
 'It  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{would be} \\ \text{was} \\ \text{would have been} \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{difficult} \\ \text{easy} \end{array} \right\}$  for him to come (when I saw).'

These sentences are unambiguous, and the matrix verb, like other description verbs, can freely take various tense markers and the retrospective aspect marker. Furthermore, the matrix verb, the verb

in the embedded sentence, or both can be negated, as the following examples illustrate:

22. ku salam-i  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ani} \\ \emptyset \\ \text{ani} \end{bmatrix}$  o ki-ka  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{elyep} \\ \text{swip} \end{array} \right\}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \emptyset \\ \text{ci (ka) ani ha} \\ \text{ci (ka) ani ha} \end{bmatrix}$  ta
- that man  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{NEG} \\ \emptyset \\ \text{NEG} \end{bmatrix}$  come COMP  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{difficult} \\ \text{easy} \end{array} \right\}$   $\begin{bmatrix} \emptyset \\ \text{COMP NEG} \\ \text{COMP NEG} \end{bmatrix}$
- 'It is  $\begin{bmatrix} \emptyset \\ \text{not} \\ \text{not} \end{bmatrix}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{difficult} \\ \text{easy} \end{array} \right\}$  for him  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{not} \\ \emptyset \\ \text{not} \end{bmatrix}$  to come.'

As these two verbs belong to the same class, it is to be expected that they behave alike syntactically. What is peculiar about *swipta* is that it sometimes diverges from *elyepta* syntactically, with an accompanying shift of meaning. Consider the following pair of examples, which illustrates the differences between them:

23. a. \*ku salam-i o  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{keyss} \\ \text{ass} \end{array} \right\}$  ki-ka elyepta

- b. ku salam-i o  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{keyss} \\ \text{ass} \\ \text{ass-keyss} \end{array} \right\}$  ki-ka swip-ta

'It is likely that he  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will come.} \\ \text{has come.} \\ \text{would have come.} \end{array} \right\}$

As (23a) shows, the matrix verb *elyepta* 'difficult' does not allow the embedded verb to take tense markers. *Swipta* is not subject to the same constraint, as the grammatical sentence (23b) indicates. It should be noted that the meaning of *swipta* has shifted from 'easy' to 'likely'. Sentence (23b) would be ungrammatical in the sense of 'easy', just like (23a) is with *elyepta*. Thus, I considered the description verb in (23b), which diverges from *swipta* 1, both syntactically and semantically, to exemplify *swipta* 2 'likely' and treated it as a separate lexical entry. Now observe the following example sentences, which are all ungrammatical when the verb is taken to be *swipta* 2 'likely'.

24. a. \*nangtteleci-eyse tteleci myen tachi ki-ka swiw-ess-ta  
 cliff from fall if get hurt likely  
 \*‘It was likely to injure yourself when you fall from a cliff.’
- b. \*nangtteleci-eyse tteleci myen tachi ki-ka swip tu la  
 RET DCL  
 \*‘It was likely to have injured yourself when you fall from  
 a cliff (when I saw).’
- c. \*nangtteleci-eyse tteleci myen tachi ki-ka swip ci  
 ani ha ta  
 NEG  
 \*‘It is not likely to injure yourself when you fall from  
 a cliff.’

Now compare these with the earlier examples with *swipta*1 ‘easy’. Sentence (24a) is identical to (20) in structure, (24b) to (21), and (24c) to (22), but the sentences in (24) are all ungrammatical, whereas (20), (21), and (22) are all grammatical. It is evident that *swipta*2 ‘likely’ can neither take tense markers nor be negated. Because of the cooccurrence restrictions on the matrix verb *swipta*2, it is the embedded verb that is negated and allowed to occur with tense markers. Consider the following:

25. a. ku nom-i manwula-lul twutulki-ess  
 that fellow-NM wife-ACC beat PAST  
 ki swip-ta  
 likely  
 ‘It is likely that he has beaten his wife.’
- b. ku nom-i manwula-lul ani twutulki ki swip-ta  
 NEG  
 ‘It is likely that that fellow does not beat his wife.’

Sentence (25a) is unambiguous for the syntactic reason already discussed, namely, the presence of the tense marker in the embedded sentence. Sentence (25b) is potentially ambiguous but, under normal circumstances, *swipta* here also will be interpreted as ‘likely’. The other interpretation will be very strained and will often require a grammatical device such as placing the topic marker after the complementizer to disambiguate it. If the topic marker is inserted

in that position, as shown below, *swipta* will be much more readily interpretable in the sense of 'easy'.

26. ku nom-i manwula-lul ani twutulki ki-nun swipta  
'It is easy for that fellow not to beat his wife.'

Let me summarize the essentials of my findings in Seok Choong Song (1969). *Swipta* 1 'easy' is a regular description verb and occurs after an NP or a sentential complement as subject. It can take the past tense marker and can be negated. *Swipta* 2 'likely' can be described as a kind of defective verb with an invariant shape. Neither the past tense marker nor the negative particle is allowed to occur with it. Thus, I proposed then that *swipta* should have two separate entries with different subcategorizations and selectional restrictions. Let me add some new facts that further support my earlier decision and then proceed to improve on it.

Syntactically, the two verbs, *swipta* 1 'easy' and *swipta* 2 'likely' show a great deal of dissimilarity in their distribution. For instance, whenever the complement sentences contain description verbs, the only matrix verb allowed is *swipta* 2. Observe the following:

27. a. ku kil-i nelp ki (ka) swip-ta  
that road-NM broad COMP NM likely  
'It is likely that the road is broad.'
- b. John-i khi-ka khu ki (ka) swip-ta  
height big  
'It is likely that John is tall.'
- c. Mary-ka alumtap ki (ka) swip-ta  
pretty  
'It is likely that Mary is pretty.'

The syntactic constraint that does not allow *swipta* 1 'easy' in the above environment might be based on a semantic factor. It is actions, not states, that can be described as easy or difficult. In support of this claim, consider the following:

28. a. ku-ka kwunin i ki (ka) swip-ta  
 he soldier be likely  
 'It is likely that he is a soldier.'
- b. ku-nun elisekun salam i ki swip-ta  
 TOP foolish man be  
 'It is likely that he is a foolish man.'
- c. ce kes-i Washington uy tongsang i ki swip-ta  
 that thing of statue be  
 'That is likely to be a statue of Washington.'
- d. \*haksayng-i ki-ka {swip } ta  
 {elyep }  
 'It is {easy } to be a student.'  
 {difficult }

Once again, only *swipta* 2 is allowed to occur when the complement predicate consists of the copula; the ungrammatical string (28d) clearly indicates that *swipta* 1 is not acceptable. It is interesting to note that the corresponding English translations are well formed and readily acceptable. It may not be a universal semantic constraint after all that the predicate EASY does not allow adjectives and the copula in the embedded sentence. Corresponding to the ungrammatical (28d), we find the following sentence that can fill the gap:

29. a. haksayng-i toy ki (ka) swip-ta  
 become  
 'It is easy to become a student.'
- b. haksayng nolus ha ki (ka) swip-ta  
 role do  
 'It is easy to be a student.'

In addition to description verbs and the copula, the existential verb in the embedded sentence also limits the occurrence of the matrix verb to *swipta* 2. Consider the following:

30. a. ku salam-i cip ey iss ki (ka) swip-ta  
       man house in be  
       ‘He is likely to be home.’
- b. i cip-ey cenhwa-ka iss ki (ka) swip-ta  
       telephone  
       ‘It is likely that there is a telephone in this house.’
- c. ku molipay-eykey chep-i iss ki (ka) swip-ta  
       profiteer-to concubine  
       ‘It is likely that the profiteer has a concubine.’

It is well known that in many languages the verb of existence often indicates possession as well as existence. Regardless of the semantic distinctions, when the existential verb appears in the embedded sentence, only *swipta 2* is permitted to occur as a matrix verb.

This seemingly regular and neat pattern breaks down if we take a little closer look at the verb of existence. Sentence (30a) is potentially ambiguous—in the proper context the matrix verb can be interpreted as ‘easy’—with the interpretation ‘It is easy for him to be home.’ Let me provide a more convincing example to demonstrate the use of the existential verb with *swipta 1* ‘easy’ in the least ambiguous context.

31. ai-tul-i halwu congil cip ey iss ki ka swiw-un-ya  
       child-PL one day all day IND-INT  
       ‘Is it easy for children to be/stay home all day?’

Does this mean that the verb *iss* is an exception to the rule that *swipta 1* occurs only with action/processive verbs? It behooves us to examine the behavior of the existential verb more carefully before we rush to that conclusion. Consider the following:

32. a. John-i cip-ey iss-ta  
       ‘John is home.’
- b. Mary-ka cip-ey eps-ta  
       ‘Mary isn’t home.’
- c. taumhakki-ey na-nun kiswuksa-ey an iss-nun-ta  
       next semester I-TOP dormitory NEG IND  
       ‘I will not be/stay in the dorm next semester.’

There is a double violation of syntactic and lexical rules in sentence (32c), which nonetheless is grammatical and readily acceptable. First, there is a lexical redundancy rule that relates the existential verb *iss* to its negative counterpart *eps* 'not be'. The pair of sentences (32a–b) illustrates a classical case where antonyms are used to construct an affirmative sentence and its negative correspondent. Second, both these verbs occur without the indicative aspect marker *nun* in the present tense. This is a typical syntactic pattern: action/processive verbs occur with the indicative marker whereas other verbs do not when the tense is unmarked. In (32c) the existential verb violates both these rules and occurs with the indicative marker *nun* and takes a negative particle *ani* to negate it. The mystery is more apparent than real, and this exceptional behavior can be easily accounted for once we realize the ambivalent nature of the verb *iss*. Semantically, it belongs to two different classes, action/processive and existential. The meaning shifts from the static 'EXIST' to the dynamic 'STAY/RESIDE' when it is used as an action/processive verb. It then behaves like all other action/processive verbs syntactically, taking the negative particle in a negative sentence and cooccurring with the indicative marker in the present tense.

Korean verbs are conventionally divided into four classes, although the major dichotomy is between action/processive verbs and all other verbs. The rest subdivide into three classes: description verbs, the existential verb, and the copula. Only when action/processive verbs occur in a complement sentence does *swipta* display potential ambiguity.

Now I will once again turn to the cooccurrence restrictions with tense and aspect markers that have been noted by Lee, Cook, and myself and summarily presented earlier. In Seok Choong Song (1969), to quote from the conclusion, I claimed that "*swipta* 2 'likely' is defective; it does not occur with Tense and Retrospective Aspect markers." Now I have reason to believe that this conclusion is partially in error. Consider the following:

33. a. pi-ka o-ass ki swip-tu-la  
rain come-PAST likely-RET-DCL  
'It was likely that it had rained.' (I was a witness.)
- b. Bobby Sands-ka cwuk ki swip-kess-ta  
'It is likely that Bobby Sands will die.'

Admittedly, it is not easy to find appropriate examples like (33a); furthermore, speakers' judgment wavers on the grammaticality of this type of sentence, although few seem to reject it. Sentence (33b) sounds much more natural, and it is beyond dispute that the future tense is allowed with *swipta* 2 'likely'. The crux of the question, however, hinges on the status of *keyss* as a tense marker. Although it is an interesting question, space does not allow me to go into it here. Suffice it to say that we should reject the traditional treatment of *keyss* as a tense marker and consider it a modal of some sort along the lines suggested by Eung-Do Cook (1968).

By now the only restriction to be placed on *swipta* 2 'likely' is that tense markers cannot cooccur with it. *Swipta* 1 'easy', however, can occur freely with tense markers but does not allow the embedded verb to occur with them. I have already provided an example of an ungrammatical string involving *swipta* 1 'easy', in which the embedded verb cooccurs with the past tense marker (see sentence (6)).

Although there are only two tenses in Korean, present, which is phonetically unmarked, and past, which is marked by *ess*, there also is a grammatical device that marks the 'progressive'. This progressive form is associated with action/processive verbs alone, and description and existential verbs and the copula cannot take this form. When the progressive construction appears with the embedded verb, the matrix verb is always *swipta* 2, disallowing *swipta* 1 in the same position. Observe the following:

34. a. ku nom-i manwula-lul twutulki ko iss ki swip-ta.  
'Is it likely that the jerk is beating his wife.'
- b. ku-nun acikto Susan-ul salanghako iss ki swip-ta.  
still ACC love  
'It is likely that he is still in love with Susan.'
- c. John-un New York-ey salko iss ki swip-ta.  
'It is likely that John is living in N.Y.'

I have pointed out earlier that the progressive construction is allowed only with action/processive verbs. It is also action/processive verbs in complement predicates that are compatible with *swipta* 1 'easy' as the matrix verb. Curiously enough, when the progressive construction occurs in the complement predicate, *swipta* 2 alone can be permitted as the matrix verb. It appears paradoxical that the

construction typically associated with action/process should be incompatible with a matrix verb that typically accommodates action/processive verbs in the complement. There are two possible explanations for this strange phenomenon. The progressive construction involves the verb of existence *iss*, and this verb disallows *swipta* 1 'easy' as the matrix verb when it occurs in the complement predicate. The very fact that *iss* occurs in the embedded sentence regardless of its function may uniformly demand that *swipta* 1 be barred from the matrix predicate. This is a syntactic constraint. Let us now turn to the semantic aspect of the Korean progressive construction. Although it describes some actions in progress, speakers may view this construction as indicating an ongoing state rather than continuous or repetitive action. This is mere speculation, but it is not totally unwarranted if we consider the existential nature of the verb *iss*. It should also be noted that the unmarked present tense in Korean covers a range that encompasses both the present and present progressive in English. Korean speakers may use the unmarked present tense to indicate action in progress and the present progressive construction to express an ongoing state of affairs.

Let us turn to some other syntactic factors that differentiate *swipta* 1 'easy' from *swipta* 2 'likely'. *Swipta* 1 'easy' is a regular description verb, and we naturally can expect appropriate adverbs to modify it. For unknown reasons, *swipta* 2 'likely' rejects adverbial modification, another characteristic of this defective verb. In the following pairs of examples, the first sentence is ambiguous, but the second, with an adverbial modification, is no longer ambiguous:

35. a. ku nom-i manwula-lul twutulki ki swip-ta  
 'It is easy for that jerk to beat his wife.'  
 'It is likely that the jerk beats his wife.'
- b. ku nom-i manwula-lul twutulki ki-(ka)  $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{acwu} \\ \text{muchek} \end{matrix} \right\}$  swip-ta  
 'It is  $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{quite} \\ \text{very} \end{matrix} \right\}$  easy for that jerk to beat his wife.'



39. a. manwula-lul twutulki ki swiwe cinta  
become  
'It becomes easier (for someone) to beat [his] wife.'
- b. manwula-lul twutulki ki-(ka) swiwe pointa  
seem  
'It seems easy to beat [one's] wife.'
40. a. yenge-lul paywu ki swiwe cinta  
'It becomes easier to learn English.'
- b. yenge-lul paywu ki-(ka) swiwe pointa  
'It seems easy to learn English.'

Sentences (37) through (40) are unambiguous, and the verbs in these sentences are always instances of *swipta* 1 'easy'. As the following English sentences are all grammatical, the nonoccurrence of *swipta* 2 is clearly due not to semantics but rather to a language-specific constraint in the syntax of Korean.

41. a. The entry of a new quarterback made it more likely that the Lions would lose.
- b. After a poor performance, it became likely that our team would not win the pennant.
- c. It seems likely that the pilot was unaware that he was in Russian air space.

These new facts, which I have accumulated since the earliest days of generative studies on Korean syntax when several linguists noted the peculiar behavior of the verb *swipta* in their pioneering works, seem to render strong support for separate entries for *swipta* 1 'easy' and *swipta* 2 'likely' in the lexicon. To recapitulate, (i) only *swipta* 2 'likely' is permitted to occur as a matrix verb when the complement sentence contains a description verb, the existential verb *iss*, or the copula *i*; (ii) the retrospective marker *tun* and the modal *keyss* are allowed to cooccur with *swipta* 2, although the past tense is not; (iii) only *swipta* 2 'likely' occurs as the matrix verb when the progressive form of a verb occurs in the complement sentence; (iv) degree adverbs can modify only *swipta* 1 'easy', never *swipta* 2 'likely'; (v) only the input sentence with the matrix verb *swipta* 1 can be embedded in the periphrastic causative, the inchoative, and other similar constructions.

I will now return to two questions raised earlier without discussion. First, what is the source of the ambiguity in sentences containing *swipta* like (16) and (19)? Second, how are sentences such as (15) and (16) derived? Sentence (15) is semantically similar to (16) at least in one of the readings of the latter. If their relation is to be defined in transformational terms, what sorts of transformations are involved in the derivation of (15)? To put it more bluntly, is there Tough Movement in Korean or not? If the answer is affirmative, what is the justification for postulating this grammatical process?

The answer to the first question seems quite obvious by now from the foregoing discussion. I have marshaled enough evidence to show the difference between *swipta* 1 'easy' and *swipta* 2 'likely'. The former must be subcategorized to occur after an NP as well as a sentential complement. The latter takes only the sentential complement as subject. For the moment I will defer inquiry into whether there is any difference in the nature of the complement sentences that occur as subjects of the two kinds of *swipta*. As I have already shown, there are numerous restrictions on the occurrence of *swipta* 1 that are dependent on the types of complement predicates. *Swipta* 2, a defective verb, cannot be directly negated nor can it be allowed to occur in the past tense. *Swipta* 1 will be a prime candidate for the Tough Movement predicates, if they also exist in Korean, but it is not likely that *swipta* 2 will undergo the process. Compare the following pairs of examples:

42. a. pap-ul        chencheni    mek ki swip-ta  
       rice-ACC    slowly        eat        likely  
       'It is likely that [he] is eating the rice slowly.'
- b. \*pap-i chencheni mek ki swip-ta
- c. maykcwu-lul cacwu        masi ki swip-ta  
       beer                    frequently    drink  
       'It is likely that he drinks beer frequently.'
- d. \*maykcwu-ka cacwu masi ki swip-ta

The matrix verb in all the sentences in (42) is an instance of *swipta* 2 'likely'. The ungrammatical strings (42b) and (42d) indicate that sentences (42a) and (42c) with *swipta* 2 are not matched by sentences in which the original object in the complement sentence

turns up as a surface subject with the nominative marker. Now compare paradigm (42) containing *swipta 2* with (43) in which *swipta 1* occurs.

43. a. pule-lul            paywu ki-ka    swiw-ess-ta  
French-ACC learn    NM easy  
'It was easy to learn French.'
- b. pule-ka paywu ki-ka swiw-ess-ta  
'French was easy to learn.'
- c. miin-ul    manna ki-ka swip ci        ani ha-ta  
beauty meet            easy COMP NEG  
'It is not easy to meet a beauty.'
- d. miin-i manna ki-ka swip ci ani ha-ta  
'A beauty is not easy to meet.'

The evidence for treating *swipta 1* and *swipta 2* as separate lexical items, which are semantically as well as syntactically distinct, is overwhelming. When none of the constraints that prohibit *swipta 1* is in operation and no conditions to rule out *swipta 2* exist, the matrix verb *swipta* after a complement subject can be an instance of either. The ambiguity, I therefore claim, is a natural consequence of the fact that the homophonous *swipta* represents two distinct lexical entries.

The second question is more interesting but harder to answer. Sentence (15) somewhat resembles an English sentence derived through an operation of Tough Movement, if the English translation can provide any hint. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the subject of the sentence (15), namely, *chayk* 'book', is the logical object of the transitive verb *ilk* 'read' and is moved forward to the subject position on the surface by an application of Tough Movement. Attractive as it may sound, we encounter more than a few problems in justifying such a hypothesis. I will discuss some of them below.

First of all, it is not clear that there is a movement transformation in the form of 'Move  $\alpha$ ' in Korean if we leave out some scrambling rules for stylistic purposes. Even if we accommodate some sorts of transformations, it is not obvious that Tough Movement is involved in the derivation of (15). The only indication that the surface subject of (15) is moved out of the original object position is

that it is marked by the nominative marker. This fact was thought in the past to be strong enough evidence to justify the belief that Tough Movement also existed in languages like Korean and Japanese. Because the verb always comes at the end of a sentence in SOV languages like Korean, the direct object precedes a transitive verb in the base-generated structure. No convincing evidence, therefore, can be adduced to demonstrate that the nominative-marked NP has been moved. The question boils down to the case marking mechanism and the semantic relation between NPs with different case markers and the following verb.

Case marking is an important facet of the theory of Government and Binding and would require a separate chapter by itself. I will just comment on some prevalent misconceptions about Korean cases. I think that it would be reasonable to claim that there are only two cases in Korean, nominative and accusative, despite wild claims about numerous cases, ranging anywhere from five to thirty-five.<sup>4</sup>

Case markers and postpositions or particles are attached to a preceding noun in the manner of an enclitic form, and this morpho-phonological characteristic has been taken to be an overriding criterion for lumping them together indiscriminately and calling them case markers. Postpositions, which have clearly definable semantic properties, must be distinguished from the true case markers whose sole function is to define grammatical relations such as subject and direct object. Postpositions must occur in the base, whereas case markers are introduced transformationally.

The rudimentary principle of case marker assignment will be to mark the leftmost unmarked NP with the nominative marker. When there is a remaining unmarked NP, it will be assigned the accusative marker. Ignoring, for the moment, how the sentences in (43) are generated, I will try to account for the difference in case markers between (43a) and (43b), and also between (43c) and (43d).

Superficially, the only difference between the pairs is the case marker: the leftmost NP in the first of the pairs is marked by the nominative and the same NP in the second by the accusative marker. Sentences (43a) and (43c) are clearcut violations of case marker assignment rules and furthermore are a puzzling oddity in that the accusative marker is attached to the leftmost NP and the following constituent is marked by the nominative marker. This is just the opposite of the expected order. These, however, are elliptical sentences, whose subjects have been left out under conditions that per-

mit such an ellipsis in a discourse context. For (43a) and (43c), we find parallel sentences with a subject. Compare the following with those in (43):

44. a. John-i pule-lul paywu ki-ka swiw-ess-ta  
 'It was easy for John to learn French.'  
 b. \*John-i pule-ka paywu ki-ka swiw-ess-ta  
 c. John-i miin-ul manna ki-ka swip ci ani ha-ta  
 'It is not easy for John to meet a beauty.'  
 d. \*John-i miin-i manna ki-ka swip ci ani ha-ta

While (44a) and (44c) are acceptable with an extra NP with the NM, it is not the case with the other two sentences, as the ungrammatical examples (44b) and (44d) show. If sentences (43a) and (43b) and (43c) and (43d), respectively, are related, by rules of a transformational nature, we have to postulate an ad-hoc obligatory rule for the deletion of the subject in order to derive them. This certainly is an unusual and undesirable sort of maneuver. There are other grounds for doubting the correctness of a transformational approach to the problem. Consider the following contrast:

45. a. mollay pule-lul paywu ki-ka elyep-ta  
 secretly difficult  
 'It is difficult to learn French secretly.'  
 b. \*mollay pule-ka paywu ki-ka elyep-ta  
 c. tan pen ey i chayk-ul ilk ki-ka swip-ta  
 one time at read  
 'It is easy to read this book in one sitting.'  
 d. \*tan pen ey i chayk-i ilk ki-ka swip-ta

Manner adverbial phrases like *mollay* 'secretly' and *tan pen ey* 'at one try, at once' probably occur as constituents within a verb phrase. The ungrammaticality of (45b) and (45d) can be automatically accounted for under the assumption of the theory of  $\bar{X}$ -syntax. If the first leftmost NPs marked with the NM in (45b) and (45d) are subjects of these sentences and stand outside the verb phrase, adverbial phrases of manner that occur within the verb phrase should not be permitted in sentence-initial position. If my speculation is correct, the following additional facts would be predictable:

If these adverbial phrases are shifted to the right before the verb as its sister, (45b) and (45d) will be grammatical. Furthermore, sentential adverbs would be allowed to occur in sentence-initial position, if they were introduced in these sentences. Compare the following sentences with the ungrammatical (45b) and (45d):

46. a. pule-ka mollay paywu ki-ka elyep-ta  
      ‘French is difficult to learn secretly.’
- b. i chayk-i tan pen ey ilk ki-ka swip-ta  
      ‘This book is easy to read in one sitting.’
- c. chayk-i eps-ese pule-ka paywu ki-ka elyep-ta  
          is not-because  
      ‘Because there is no book, French is difficult to learn.’
- d. kulca-ka kh-ese i chayk-i ilk ki-ka swip-ta  
          letter big  
      ‘Because the letters are big, this book is easy to read.’

In (46a–b) we find adverbial phrases of manner within the verb phrases, and these sentences are grammatical, in contrast with the ungrammatical (45b) and (45d). Sentential adverbial phrases occur in (46c–d), and they occupy the sentence-initial position, as expected. What all these suggest is that (43a–c) and (43b–d) have different structures despite their superficial similarity. I conjecture that before case marker assignment, they will look like the following:

47. a. [[ $\emptyset$  pule paywu]<sub>S</sub> ki]<sub>S</sub> ]<sub>N</sub> [swipta]<sub>V</sub>  
      b. [pule]<sub>N</sub> [paywu ki swipta]<sub>V</sub>

There is some supporting evidence for the different structures postulated above. When a degree adverb occurs, it usually precedes the verb phrase, and (47a) and (47b) behave differently, as is to be expected from their different structures.



deleting the subject NP in the complement of (47a) in order to derive (47b) from it. There are more serious problems of a general nature. Once we allow a rule to relate two NPs that end up with different case markings on the surface, as in the case of (47a) and (47b), we will be opening a Pandora's box. There are numerous instances in Korean in which two sentences with related meanings are entirely alike except for a single particle. Consider the following:

50. a. i uica-ey anc ki-ka swip-ta  
this chair-on sit  
'It is easy to sit on this chair.'
- b. i uica-ka anc ki-ka swip-ta  
'This chair is easy to sit on.'
- c. i uica-ka anc ki-ey swip-ta  
'This chair is easy for sitting down in.'

No one would question that these sentences are semantically related. If (47b) is to be derived from (47a) or, more precisely, from the base structure of (47a), there would be no principled grounds to rule out a similar possibility for deriving all three sentences above from the same base structure. When we make a commitment to such a position, we are forced to formulate many ad-hoc rules to relate in transformational terms sentences whose superficial structures and meanings are similar. A transformational approach, however, is not only objectionable on the basis of theoretical considerations, but also inapplicable. With its power drastically reduced, the transformational operation is restricted to specific types of movement alone and will have nothing to do with readjustment or reassignment of case markers or particles.

Fortunately, we have an alternative approach currently available that would allow sentence (47b) to be base-generated. When we take a lexicalist position, we no longer encounter the numerous problems that the transformational approach inevitably has to face. The constituent in the verb phrase (47b) will be considered a single complex lexical item to be directly inserted in the base structure. I have already shown that the degree adverb precedes these complex verbs as in (48b). Likewise, the interrogative adverb is placed before the entire complex lexical item as in (49b). Because the complex verbs belong to the category of description verbs, the preceding

NP will be automatically assigned the nominative marker at an appropriate stage of derivation.

One minor problem apparently contradicts the present approach and militates against the suggested lexicalist solution. If the entire sequence of elements in the verb phrase is considered a single complex lexical item, no morphological material can intervene within this item. In the verb phrase of (47b) the nominative marker intervenes between *paywu ki* and *swipta*, a clear violation of an integral principle of morphology. Furthermore, the element *ki* is a complementizer, and its presence signals an embedded complement structure. These facts cast serious doubt on the correctness of my proposal and must be dealt with directly.

First, there are some constituents in Korean that have complex forms but behave in every way like a unit. Consider the following:

51. a. i    umsik-i    mas-i    iss-ta  
      this food-NM    taste-NM    has-DCL  
      'This food is tasty.'
- b. ku    kos-i    yangci-ka            palu-ta  
          that place    sunny spot-NM    unsheltered  
          'That place is sunny.'
- c. ku    ay-ka    khi-ka    khu-ta  
          child height    big  
          'That kid is tall.'

When two NPs are both marked by the nominative marker, they are sometimes called double subjects. Several different proposals have been made to deal with sentence structures of this unique type. Instead of examining these proposals, I will simply present my own, which I think is intuitively plausible if somewhat controversial. I will treat complex forms in the verb phrase as single lexical items representing an idiomatic chunk. When I say the verb phrase, I refer to the string that follows the first NP in these sentences. If these forms are generated by word-formation rules in the lexicon, the nominative marker is no longer a bit of external material that occurs inside an indivisible unit but part and parcel of the idiom. Perhaps, a similar analysis can be extended to (47b) and we can claim that no morphological principle has been violated. With regard to the complementizer *ki*, whose presence signals an embedded complement, all that we need to recall is that it doubles

as a nominalizer in Korean. What precedes *ki* is not a complement sentence but a nominalized form of a verb. Thus, two objections against my proposal to treat the entire verb phrase in (47b) as a single lexical item may be overruled.

I still consider my proposal to be very tentative, and it must be bolstered with stronger evidence to be a fully viable hypothesis. There is another possible avenue of approach to the question. Maeng-Sung Lee (1968) suggested that whereas *swipta* 1 takes a sentential complement, *swipta* 2 might take a verbal complement (not in the sense of a complement to a verb but a verb turned into a complement, analogous to the term sentential complement). In his own terminology, *swipta* 2 is a verb operator (which takes a verb or a predicate as its operand) rather than a sentence operator. My own investigation reveals that it is the other way around, and it is *swipta* 2 that takes a sentential complement. *Swipta* 1 can occur with either a sentential complement or an infinitival complement, i.e., a nominalized verb. I suggest that (47b) may be an example of the latter, but I will leave the choice between the two open for the moment. To conclude this lengthy discussion, I believe that there is no need to postulate Tough Movement in Korean. In Korean society today any movement is frowned upon as dangerous and condemned as subversive. Korean grammarians as well are best advised to look upon any movement in grammar as suspect.

## NOTES

### Notes to Chapter 17

1. I have retranscribed in the Yale romanization system all the Korean expressions in this as well as the following quotations from Ramstedt.

2. For interesting and illuminating discussions of question of reference, see Keith Donnellan (1971), Barbara H. Partee (1972), and James D. McCawley (1970).

### Notes to Chapter 18

1. See, for instance, Hyon-Pai Choi (1963) and Soong-Nyong Lee (1961c). The latest articles I have had a chance to read are Ik Seong Shin (1968) and S.R. Lee (1969). I am grateful to my colleague in Seoul, In-Seok Yang who has been kind enough to call my attention to the last two articles.

2. Chomsky (1965), "On Evaluation Procedures," chapter 1, sec. 7.

3. I have used descriptions of the copula found in high school texts as major sources of reference to build my own argument.

4. *Ita* is called the predicative case particle in Min-Soo Kim et al. (1965), p. 33. The same label is assigned to the forms *ta* and *ita* by Soong-Nyong Lee (1965), pp. 44–66.

5. NPs on the surface may not be always marked by particles overtly. It is possible, however, to predict what particles are deleted after such unmarked NPs.

6. Seok Choong Song (1967). My justification for the analysis of the negation in Korean presented there was that a single rule can uniformly apply in all cases of the negativization process. See chapters 6 through 11 in this book.

7. Although it is not clear what is meant by the terms 'substantive' and 'formal', they seem to point to the contrast between 'lexeme' and 'morpheme' in Martinet's (1964) or 'contentive' and 'functor' in Hockett's terminology (1958).

8. These facts are also correctly observed by Choi. See Hyon-Pai Choi (1963), p. 16.

9. The authoritative ending given here as *so* is considered old-fashioned, and the alternant shape *uo* is prescribed by some grammarians. This alternation parallels the formal style ending that fluctuates between *supnita* and *upnita*. The entire picture looks as follows: *so/uo* ~ *o* (Authoritative) *supnita/upnita* ~ *pnita* (Formal).

10. This remark applies to the period between 1929, when Hyon-Pai Choi's grammar was first published, and 1967, which marks the emergence of transformational studies of Korean syntax within the Chomskyan framework.

11. My reference to rewriting the text is intended philosophical in the sense of Kuhn, but I am also referring to the urgent need to rewrite high school grammar texts, which are fraught with errors and misconceptions.

#### Notes to Chapter 19

1. The Lexicalist Hypothesis was first introduced in Chomsky (1970a). See also Chomsky (1970) and Jackendoff (1977).

2. If Lee is correct in claiming that all the sentences in (1) are transformationally related, Harris's version of transformation obviously ignores semantic differences between related sentences. (1a) and (1b) may be synonymous, but they are hardly synonymous with (1c).

3. Fred W. Householder, Jr. (personal communication) has also suggested different underlying structures for an ambiguous sentence like (9).

- (i) X swipta                    'X is likely.'
- (ii) X person-for swipta    'X is easy for person.'

The person-for in (ii) must be identical with the subject of the complement S, represented by X, and is deleted in the surface structure.

4. John Y. Sohn (1973) marshals practically all the elements that can occur directly after a noun and labels them 'cases'. It is time that we review critically the study of Korean cases in the light of the recent development of Case theory in a modular grammar approach.

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