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Tense, aspect, and modality: A discourse-pragmatic analysis of verbal affixes in Korean from a typological perspective

Lee, Hyo Sang, Ph.D.

University of California, Los Angeles, 1990

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Tense, Aspect, and Modality:
a Discourse-Pragmatic Analysis of Verbal Affixes in Korean
from a Typological Perspective

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

Hyo Sang Lee

1991

The dissertation of Hyo Sang Lee is approved.

Noriko Akatsuka

Sandra A. Thompson, Committee Co-chair

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University of California, Los Angeles

1991

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Hyo Sang Lee

1991

To my wife, Gyeongja

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations	Name	Forms	Usage
ACC	Accusative	lûl/(û)l	
ADD	Additive	(ô)to	Indicates that there exists a parallel situation; often translated into 'too', 'also', or 'even'.
ANT	Anterior Suffix	(ô)ss/ass	Indicates that the situation took place prior to a reference point given in the discourse context.
ATTR (IRRL)	(Irrealis) Attributive	(û)l	Indicates that the clause modifies a noun and the situation described is yet to take place at a certain reference time.
ATTR (RL)	(Realis) Attributive	(û)n	Indicates that the given situation takes place in the real discourse domain assumed either to have taken place or be taking place.
CAUS	Causative	i, hi, li, ki, u, ku, chu	Makes a verb causative.
CIRCUM	Circumstantial	(nû)nte	Indicates background circumstances.
CL	Classifier		Indicates classes of nominal such as human, animal, item, sheet, etc.
COM	Comitative	wa/kwa	Means 'along with', 'accompanying'.
COM	Comitative	hako/haku	Informal version of *-wa*.
COMM	Committal	ci	Indicates that the speaker commits himself to the truth of the proposition.

COMP	Complementizer	ko/ku	Used for propositional complements of say-verbs, cognitive verbs such as 'think', 'know', 'believe', etc.
COMPAR	Comparative	pota	attaches to an item compared in comparative constructions; equivalent to 'than' in English.
CONCESS	Concessive	ciman	Combination of *-ci+-man* (K-D. Lee 1988): expresses agreement on one part and disagreement on other parts with the addressee's belief at the same time.
COND	Conditional	(û)myôn(ûn)	Includes both correlative and hypothetical conditionals; cf. the Correlative *-kôtûn*, which expresses correlative conditional only.
CONN	Connective	ô/a	Connects verbs in serial verb constructions; used in the Resultant state construction.
CONN	Connective	ko/ku	Connects clauses that express parallel actions; used in Progressive construction.
CONTRA	Contrastive	la	Means 'rather', 'but, or 'instead'; occurs only after a negative assertion, similar to *sondern* in German (Karen Wallace, p.c.).
CORREL	Correlative	kôtûn	Indicates the existence of necessary (logical or causal) correlation including non-hypothetical 'conditionals'.

DCT:RE	Deductive Reasoning	kess	Indicates that the information conveyed is a conclusion drawn by deductive reasoning by the speaker.
DECL	Declarative	ta	Indicates that the utterance is a statement.
DECL+COMP	Authoritative saying	ta/la/ca+ku	Expresses authoritative assertion; translated as 'I am telling you that ...'; similar to *-yo'* in Japanese.
DEF	Deferential Particle	yo	Express deference to the addressee.
DET	Determinative	(û)ni	Indicate that the situation is a determined fact.
DET+INTERR		(û)nikka	Expresses reasons or conditions whose correlation to the other proposition is assumed to be obvious; best translated as 'since', 'given that...' , or 'now that...'
DIM	Diminutive		
DISJ	Disjunctive	(nû)n/(û)l+ci	Indicates that the speaker is not biased in any way, analogous to 'whether' in English.
DUB	Dubitative	(nû)n/(û)l+ka	Indicates that the speaker has a negative bias toward the truth of the proposition or that the communicators' concern is leaning toward the negative truth value .
FM:DWRD	Formal downward		
FM:LTR	Formal Lateral		
FR	Factual Realizationne		Indicates factual realization on the part of the speaker.

FRC	Free Choice	(i)na	Indicates that the item is chosen arbitrarily.
GEN	Genitive Suffix	ûi	Indicates possessive relations including relational genitive.
HEARSAY	'Hearsay' Evidential	tæ	Indicates that the proposition is hearsay.
HONOR	(Referent) Honorific	(û)si	Shows a deference to a referent described.
IE	Informal Ending	ô/a	Asserts a piece of information as integral part of the speaker's knowledge.
IMPER	Imperative	(ô)la/(û)la	Indicates that the utterance is a command.
IMPFV	(Non-past) Imperfective	(nû)n	Indicates imperfective aspect, expressing non-past time reference and concurrent experience.
INCHOA	Inchoative	ci	Indicates that a state referred to becomes inchoated.
IND	Indicative	ni	Indicates that the proposition is subject to truth conditions.
INDUC	Inducive	tolok	Indicates that the realization of the situation is only induced, rather than successfully resulted; cf. the Resultative *-ke*.
INFM:LTR	Informal Lateral	u	
INT	Intentional	(û)lkke	Expresses the speaker's intention including promise.

INTERR	Interrogative	nya	Used when the speaker has a negative bias or strong doubt about the truth of the proposition; informal version of *-(nû)nya.*
INTERR	Interrogative	ni	Used in the blunt style.
INTERR	Interrogative	kka	Used in the formal upward style.
INTERR	Interrogative	(nû)nya	Indicates the speaker's strong doubt (negative bias) about the truth of the proposition.
JUSS	Jussive	si	Indicates that the proposition is in the mode of requesting actions rather than conveying information. Cf. the Indicative *-ni-*.
LOC	Locative	(e)sô	Indicates locative settings or areas in which a given situation take place; implies an origin or source of the situation.
LOC	Locative	e	Indicates a location in which a given situation takes place; implies a goal or destination of the situation.
NCOMM	Non-Commitative	na	Indicates that the speaker does not commit himself to the truth of the proposition; opposite of the Committal *-ci*.
NECESS	Necessitative	(ô)ya	Indicates necessity or obligatoriness.
NEG	Negative Particle	an	
NEG (IMPOT)	Impotentional Negative	mos	Expresses impotentiality.

NOM	Nominative	i, ka	
NOML	Nominalizer	ki	Refers to activities in general rather than events.
NOML	Nominalizer	ci	Used only in negation constructions.
PASS	Passive	i, hi, li, ki	Makes a verb passive.
PFCT	Perfect	V-ô/a iss-	
PFV	Perfective		
PL	Plural	tûl	Indicates the plurality of referents involved.
POL	Polite Suffix	(û)p	Indicates that the speaker is showing politeness or deference to the addressee.
PRECED	Precedence	(ô)sô	Indicates that the situation described precedes other situations either logically or temporally.
PRESUM	Presumptive	(û)lkôl	Expresses the speaker's presumption.
PRESUM	Presumptive	(û)li	Indicates that the information conveyed is a simple presumption or speculation by the speaker.
PROM	Promissive	(û)ma	Expresses the explicit illocutionary force of promise.
PROP	Propositive	ca	Indicates that a proposal is made by the speaker.
PURP	Purposive	(û)lyôko	Means 'in order to'

RESUL	Resultative	ke	Indicates that the success of the accompanying action results in the situation described (cf. the Inducive *-tolok*).
RETROS	Retrospective	tô	Indicates that the situation took place within the frame of the speaker's viewpoint, which is in turn prior to the reference point express recalling of past experience.
SG	Singular		
SIMUL	Simultaneous	(û)myônsô	Indicates that the situation described is simultaneous with the other situation.
TOP	Topic	(nû)n	Establishes unchallengeable common grounds whose relevance is taken for granted for the subsequent discourse (presuppositionally backgrounded information).
TRANS	Transferentive	(ô)ta(ka)	indicates a shift in actions: the situation in question is either interrupted or shifted to other situations.
UNASSIM	Unassimilated	kun(a)	Indicates that the information conveyed is consciously known but yet to be assimilated as the speaker's knowledge.
VOC	Vocative	(y)a, yô	
VOL	Volitional	(û)llæ	Expresses the speaker's will or volition.

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Lee, Hyo Sang (June, 1983) Double subject constructions and grammatical relations: evidence from Korean and Western Muskogean languages. Talk delivered at the Linguistics Department colloquium,University of California, Los Angles.

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Lee, Hyo Sang (February, 1989). Two dimensions of aspect: temporality and totality of the temporal system in Korean. Talk delivered at the Linguistics Department colloquium, University of California, Los Angeles.

Lee, Hyo Sang (August, 1989). Functional linguistics and its relevance to Korean. Talk delivered at the Summer Conference of the Linguistics Society of Korea.

Lee, Hyo Sang (December, 1989). A discourse analysis of mood and modality system in Korean. Talk delivered at the 23rd Seminar of the Language Research Institute, Seoul National University, Korea.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Tense, Aspect, and Modality:
a Discourse-Pragmatic Analysis of Verbal Affixes in Korean
from a Typological Perspective

by

Hyo Sang Lee
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles, 1991
Professor Sandra A. Thompson, Co-chair
Professor Pamela Munro, Co-chair

The goal of this dissertation is to characterize the overall pattern of tense, aspect, and modality categories in Korean by giving a discourse-pragmatic analysis of verbal affixes used in representative colloquial discourse data.

There are two different dimensions of aspect, which must be conceptually distinguished: the totality dimension and the temporal dimension. The totality dimension pertains to whether the speaker views a situation from outside of the event frame (the external view), and thus presents it as a wrapped-up whole, or views it within the event frame (the (internal view), and thus presents it as it unfolds as if he or she experiences it concurrently. I show that the external view is morphologically unmarked in Korean, and the internal view is marked with the

Imperfective *-nûn-* for non-prior situations and with the Retrospective *-tô-* for prior situations.

The temporal dimension pertains to what temporal phase of a situation described is made reference to by the communicators, beginning, middle, or end. Korean manifests the temporal dimension of aspect as well, due to the development of the Anterior *-ôss-* from the formerly Perfect *-ô iss-* construction. I propose that the temporal system of Modern Korean is in transition from manifesting a three-way aspectual distinction of the totality dimension to a system that manifests temporal oppositions of the temporal dimension.

Sentence-terminal suffixes used in Colloquial Korean differentiate various epistemic modality categories, conveying assimilated information (information that is part of the speaker's established body of knowledge), unassimilated information, factual realization, and the speaker's belief in the truth of the conveyed information, and informing the hearer of information that has provoked the speaker's consciousness. Sentence-types, e.g. declarative, interrogative, and imperative, are not morphosyntactically coded in the colloquial language.

The findings in this study suggest that experiential components of situations --that is, when, where, and how a situation is perceived, and how the perception is integrated into the speaker's cognitive system-- play an important role in the grammatical system of a language.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. General contexts of a theory of tense, aspect, and modality

A theory of tense-aspect-modality (TAM) deals with various components of events or states of affairs ('situations' hereafter, as in Comrie (1976) and (1985)), that is, the elements which further specify or characterize situations (Chung and Timberlake 1985). These elements include temporal components, experiential components, and performative components. Temporal components have to do with various temporal relations involved in the situation; grammatical categories representing temporal components are generally called 'tense' and 'aspect'. Experiential components refer to the speech participants' assessment of the situation, e.g. actuality, certainty, and information sources, as well as epistemic processes of integrating assessments into some sort of cognitive system; grammatical categories representing the experiential components of situations have been discussed in the literature under the general category of epistemic modality, which includes 'mood' (equivalent to 'status' in Foley and Van Valin (1984)), 'evidentials' (equivalent to 'epistemological mode' in Chung and Timberlake (1985)), and 'deontic' or 'root' modality. Performative components deal with specific 'speech-acts' in the Austinian sense; grammatical categories representing performative components include 'sentence types' and 'illocutionary forces'.

There are a number of issues which a theory of TAM must deal with. Two general ones I have in mind among other things are: (i) tense, aspect, and modality as grammatical categories, and (ii) their conceptual and grammatical relationships. The first issue deals with the idea that languages differ in organizing the TAM components of their grammars, so that a theory of TAM must investigate which

TAM categories are grammatically realized in individual languages and what are the cross-linguistic patterns of grammaticizing those TAM categories (Palmer 1986:2). Such an investigation necessarily requires that a theory of TAM provide a set of criteria by which TAM categories are defined in general, and general principles by which an individual language grammatically codes those categories.

The second issue deals with the idea that the various components mentioned above are not independent of each other. That is, no component is describable without referring to the others. For example, temporal components are crucial in understanding the way experiential components and performative components (especially epistemic modality) are organized in a given language. Situations with different temporal properties are perceived differently and are thereby integrated differently into our cognitive system (Givón 1984:289).[1] Different temporal properties may confine the interpretation of evidential categories to specific evidential values (Woodbury 1986; Nichols 1986). Furthermore, the same situation can be expressed in different ways with regard to its temporal properties, depending on the communicative goal of the speaker; i.e. an expression of the temporal components of a situation often does not concern the inherent temporal properties of the situation per se, but how the situation described fits into the communicative contexts at the moment of speech (see the contributions in Hopper (1982) for specific arguments along these line, and Bybee (1985b)). Therefore, a theory of TAM must refer to the interacting nature of TAM components. Another example of interaction or mutual dependency of TAM components is that different evidential sources may yield different degrees of certainty to the truthfulness of information

[1] See Jakobson (1971) and Comrie (1985:26-35) for arguments for the independence of tense or aspect from other communicative components such as discourse contexts and the speech participants' involvement)

conveyed (Givón 1982). Therefore, a study on tense, aspect, and modality must refer to the way TAM components interact each other.

1.2. Goals and scope of investigation

1.2.1. Goals

With these two general issues in mind, I will investigate the TAM system in Korean. The purpose of this investigation is twofold: (i) to characterize the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of the verbal affixes that are assumed to express tense, aspect, and modality categories in Korean and (ii) to contribute to a general theory of TAM, by evaluating current theories of TAM based on the results from (i). More specifically,

[1] I will try to find discourse-pragmatic functions of each affix to determine what kinds of TAM categories are morphosyntactically coded in Korean. This will provide a descriptive characterization of the verbal system in Korean.

[2] I will be looking at the overall pattern of tense, aspect, and modality realized in representative informal communicative situations (see section 1.3 for the description of the data used in this study). This will give us an idea about (i) what kinds of communicative situations we are most often involved in, (ii) why certain TAM categories are typically signalled in certain communicative transactions, and (iii) how a synchronic system of TAM may be understood. The overall discourse pattern of TAM categories in Korean provides an explanation on why the TAM system in Modern Korean is interpreted in a certain way. For example, I will argue that synchronic Korean may be developing a tense system from a historically three-way aspect system. I will illustrate that this development is due to the later development of what I will call the Anterior suffix (ANT) *-ôss-* and the most frequent patterns of tense, aspect, and modality in real discourse.

[3] From a larger perspective, I will evaluate general theories of TAM, based on the results of [1] and [2] and the comparison with the TAM systems of other languages described in the literature, in terms of (i) what kinds of concepts of TAM need to be considered in order to account for the grammars of TAM of languages in general, e.g. whether aspect must be dealt with as an inherent property of situations or as involving the speaker's evaluation of the situations perceived, and (ii) what criteria are relevant for the TAM categories realized in a given language, e.g. whether completion, totality, or boundedness is the criterion for the morphological marking of perfective in a given language. The relevant issues in general theories of TAM are presented in Chapter 2.

[4] As an ultimate goal, I will try to show that the grammatical system of TAM in a language cannot be understood without considering our communicative needs and strategies.

One of the most important findings of this study is that experiential components of situations play an important role in the grammatical system of a language, especially in colloquial use of the language. There are differences among different speech styles of the language in the way the TAM categories are organized and interacting each other in Korean. This is so, because different speech styles are used in different communicative contexts, which have different communicative goals and thus require the speech participants to carry out different kinds of communicative tasks. It will be shown that, in the informal styles of the language, the speaker's viewpoint is crucial to temporal distinctions and epistemic modal distinctions, that is, when, where, and how a situation is perceived, and how the perception is integrated into the speaker's cognitive system.

1.2.2. Scope of investigation

It is generally accepted that TAM categories are expressed with inflectional verbal affixes in agglutinative languages like Korean (see Bybee (1985b) for a cross-linguistic study of TAM categories expressed with inflectional morphology). However, it is also possible that some TAM categories are expressed with other devices, say, auxiliaries, or periphrastic constructions. In this thesis, I will be mainly concerned with those TAM categories which are expressed with inflectional verbal affixes in Korean.

In order to characterize the discourse-pragmatic functions of verbal affixes, I will examine actual discourse data, especially colloquial texts to see in what communicative contexts each affix is used. Following the isomorphism hypothesis (Bolinger 1968; Haiman 1980), I will be looking for one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning in principle. Even though variant meanings of a grammatical form which yields different interpretations in different discourse contexts may need to be stated in relation to certain aspects of the grammar of a language (cf. Timberlake 1982), it is the intention of this study to find one invariant meaning of each form that covers the variant meanings. This is possible only to the extent to which the variant interpretations can be predicted from discourse-contextual factors such as communicative goals and concerns of the communicators, the reverse role between the speaker and the addressee in declarative statements and interrogatives, background expectations assumed in a given discourse context, etc.

The verbal affixes I will try to characterize in this study will be classified into two groups based on their position in the verbal complex; non-terminal affixes and terminal affixes. The terminal affixes can be either clause-terminal suffixes or sentence-terminal suffixes. The clause-terminal suffixes signal grammatical or

semantic relations between a clause and other elements (other clauses, nominals, verbs, etc.). On the other hand, sentence-terminal suffixes do not signal any relationship between clauses or sentences, but further specify speaker's attitudes toward the propositional content expressed with the sentence, such as epistemic statuses of the speaker on the propositional content or speech acts, such as sentence-types and illocutionary forces. In this study, I will not be concerned with clause-terminal suffixes. Instead, I will be dealing with sentence-terminal suffixes and non-terminal suffixes, which are combined together to form a verbal complex in the independent sentences.

Among various modality categories, I am mainly concerned with experiential components such as evidentials and other epistemic modalities. The distribution of sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean in different styles of the language shows that experiential components are coded more in colloquial communication situations than in formal communication situations, where performative components are coded more. Therefore, it is necessary to look at colloquial texts rather than formal texts. The data used for this study are described next.

1.3. Data

In this study, I will use the following colloquial texts in Korean; personal letters, face-to-face conversations, telephone conversations, and informal spoken narratives:[2]

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2 All the colloquial data listed here were collected (the spoken data were tape-recorded), transcribed, and translated by the author. All the data texts, except S&H, Leah 7, and Leah 8, are from Lee and Thompson (1987), Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics 1, "Korean: papers and discourse data".

S&H was collected by the author as part of a Pacific Rim Project on a Comparative Conversational Analysis, undertaken by the department of linguistics of the University of California, Santa Barbara. Anyone who is interested in the data

A. K&H: a face-to-face conversation between two male friends.
B. S&H: a face-to-face conversation between two male friends.
C. TC 1-2: telephone conversations between father and a son.
D. Leah 1-8: informal notes and letters written by Leah, the author's cousin.
E. The pear story (PS)1-2: informal spoken narratives describing films the speaker saw.

All four manifest the informal styles of the language. The four informal texts differ from each other in several respects. The personal letters (Leah) and spoken narratives (The pear stories) are one way communication, whereas the other three are interactional conversation. The interactional nature of conversations has an impact on the use of certain verbal affixes. These informal texts will be compared with the formal styles of the language, which I will cite occasionally, excerpted from various texts that are assumed to be used in formal communicative contexts (I will discuss criteria for the distinction between formal and informal styles of the language in Chapter 3).[3] I will use some constructed examples to clarify the

should contact me or the department of linguistics of UCSB. Leah 7 and Leah 8 are attached as an appendix at the end of this dissertation.

There may be a slight revision of the formatting, glossing and translation in the data presented in this study. The revised format, glosses, and translations presented here supersede the previous version of the data texts presented elsewhere.

3 The formal texts used in this study are:

- The Mustard Seed: a weekly pastoral epistle.
- The Disciples' Church: a church newsletter
- The Disciples' Voice: a church newsletter, formerly the Disciples' Church.
- J-S. Yoo: a personal letter to the author from a friend, Jae-Soon Yoo.
- I-K. Lee: a personal letter to the author from a friend, In-Keun Lee.
- M-S. Lee: a personal letter written to the author from an acquaintance, Prof. Maeng-Seong Lee.
- AD: a newspaper advertisement in the Korea Times, May 20, 1988.

issues in discussion. Those examples whose data sources are not specified are constructed data, rather than from real discourse.

1.4. General expository practices

1.4.1. Data transcription and glossing

As a sample transcription, consider the following example.

(1.1) a. oppa,
big:brother

b. na WALKMAN tolyôcu-lyôko o -ass -nûnte
1SG walkman return -PURP come-ANT-CIRCUM

c. TOO BAD.
too bad

d. kûnyang kaci-ki -lo hæ-ss -ô
just take-NOML-OBL do-ANT-IE

--> e. pulman ôps -ɕi?
complaint not:exist-COMM

f. oppa -ka ôps -ôss -ûni +kka
big:brother-NOM not:exist-ANT-DET+INTERR

g. ha-l mal ôps -ûl kô -ya
do-ATTR saying not:exist-ATTR thing-be:IE

(Leah 2:1-6)

a. Hi, Big Brother,
b. I came to return your walkman, then
c. too bad.
d. I decided to keep it.
e. **You don't have any complaint, do you?**
f. Since it's you who missed me,
g. You wouldn't have anything to say.

As shown in (1.1) above, in transcribing Korean texts, the Yale transcription system is used for consonants and the McCune-Reischauer system is used for vowels (except that ^ is used instead of ˘ for keyboard convenience for vowel marking, as in *ô* and *û*).

Unless two clauses cannot be separated for translation purpose as in (1.1b) above, texts are divided into clausal units as much as possible, which are numbered sequentially, e.g. a, b, c, d, ... or 1, 2, 3, 4, ... Each unit consists of two lines, the first line representing Korean and the second representing the English morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. Free translation corresponding to each unit is given separately. Lower case is used in general except for foreign words as in (b) and (c) and proper names in texts, and glosses for grammatical morphemes such as PAST, NOM(INATIVE), TOP(IC), etc, which are represented with upper case.

Morpheme boundaries are indicated with a hyphen (-). In some cases, a combination of morphemes expresses a unitary meaning, and their semantic as well as morphological compositions are transparent. In these cases, morphemes in combination are divided with the plus (+) sign, as *-ûni+kka* in (f). The colon (:) is used when a single morpheme in Korean needs to be glossed with more than one morpheme in English, as in the gloss for *oppa* 'big:brother' in (a) and (f) and the Korean verb *ôps-* 'not:exist' in (e), (f), and (g), or when Korean morphemes cannot be discretely transcribed because of phonological fusion, as is the case of *-ya* 'be:IE' in (g).

For expository purposes, a morpheme (an affix or a root) that is at issue is underlined, and the line that contains the morpheme is marked with an arrow sign (-->), as in (e). A key translation of a clause with the morpheme in question is occasionally highlighted with bold-face.

Examples will be numbered sequentially for each chapter; the chapter number is indicated by a number left to the decimal point, and the example number is indicated by a number right to the decimal point, as (1.1) above.

1.4.2. Grammatical categories and semantic categories

One of the most confusing aspects of dealing with TAM is the terminology. Especially it is absolutely necessary that the distinction between terminology expressing grammatical categories in individual languages from that expressing semantic properties or features in general be made clear. That is, as Dahl (1985:33-35) points out, TAM categories can be discussed in various areas or levels of grammar, e.g. morphosyntactic categories or semantic categories, categories in an individual language, or a cross-linguistic categories. For example, 'past' or 'past tense' can refer to the semantic properties or features of the time relation which a given expression has, i.e., the interpretation of the time relation from the given expression. But 'past tense' can also refer to a morphosyntactic category realized in a given language, e.g.the *-ed* form of verbs in English, which can be referred to expressing 'past tense'. Even though it is likely that a given grammatical form assigns the semantic properties that the form is generally used to express, the reverse is not always the case. It is often the case that a semantic property interpreted from a given expression is not necessarily reflected by the grammatical form of that expression. For example,

(1.2) John kicked the ball.

(1.3) Kicking the ball, John hurt his leg.

In (1.2), the Past Tense marker *-ed* assigns the 'past' time reference to the given

expression. In (1.3), it is clear that the time reference of John's kicking the ball is past, even though there is no Past Tense marker.

Dahl (1985) recognizes three levels at which TAM can be discussed: (i) the level of dimensions of conceptual or semantic space, (ii) the level of cross-linguistic categories or category-types, and (iii) the level of language-specific grammatical (morpho-syntactic) categories. Comrie (1976) recognizes two levels, Dahl's (ii) and (iii), or possibly combining Dahl's (i) and (ii) as universal semantic categories.

I will follow Dahl, because it is useful to recognize as cross-linguistic categories a semantic feature or a cluster of semantic features in semantic space that is consistently grammaticized in an individual language, distinguished from semantic features in general.

The level of dimensions of semantic space deals with any semantic features or properties that can be interpreted from a given expression such as past/non-past, present, and future for the dimension of tense, and completed/uncompleted, completive/incompletive, ongoing, habitual, punctual/durative, telic/atelic, continuous/non-continuous, bounded/unbounded, for the dimension of aspect, for example. Following Dahl, these features are expressed with lower case along with a single quote when necessary.

The level of cross-linguistic (or universal) categories deals with categories or category types of semantic dimensions which tend to be consistently grammaticized (i.e. morpho-syntactically coded) cross-linguistically. For example, the semantic dimension of 'past' or 'past time reference' is grammaticized in so many languages that it can be recognized as a universal category of tense. Upper-case denomination will be used for universal categories, again adopting Dahl's practice. Thus, the universal category that expresses past time reference is referred to as PAST.

The level of language-specific categories deals with specific morpho-syntactic markings of semantic dimensions in individual languages, e.g. the past tense form of verbs in English. To refer to morpho-syntactic categories in individual languages, initial capitalization is used (Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985). For example, the past tense forms of verbs in English are referred to as the Past Tense, and also the *-ta* form of verbs in Japanese can also be referred to as the Past Tense. To illustrate the all three levels, one can say that the Past Tense in English is a manifestation of a cross-linguistic tense category PAST, expressing the semantic dimension of 'past' time reference.

The reason for distinguishing language-specific categories from cross-linguistic categories is that the same label for categories in different language does not mean that those categories express the same semantic dimensions, even though they may express very similar dimensions of conceptual space. For example, the semantic range which the Past Tense in English expresses is not the same as that which the Past Tense in Japanese (the *-ta* form) does (Soga 1983). However, it is not far off to say that the Past Tense forms in English and Japanese are the manifestation of the universal category PAST, based on the semantic dimensions they represent (cf. Soga 1983)[4].

4. I am aware of the fact that some scholars treat the *-ta* form as an aspectual marker rather than a tense marker, and thus refuse to call it the Past Tense. However, since it is a general consensus (Noriko Akatsuka, personal communication) that the *-ta* form is called the Past Tense maker, and also it is not the purpose of this thesis to characterize the *-ta* form in Japanese, I will simply take the liberty of using the case of Japanese to illustrate the distinction between the PAST as referring to a cross-linguistic category and the Past as referring to a grammatical category of individual languages.

1.5. Organization

Following Chapter 1, Chapter 2 will survey general theories of TAM. TAM categories in general and the criteria for those categories discussed in the literature will be summarized. Chapter 3 will give a preliminary description of the Korean verbal system, its composition and typology. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the temporal system in Korean by examining non-terminal suffixes. Chapter 5 will discuss sentence-terminal suffixes, which express various modality categories. A summary will be given in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2. Survey of general theories of tense, aspect, and modality

As mentioned earlier, TAM categories are not independent of each other. They are not only interrelated in many ways, but also the category distinction between tense, aspect, and modality is not straightforward. For example, future tense is correlated with irrealis mood, blurring the distinction between tense and mood. Past tense is correlated with perfective aspect, whereas present tense is correlated with imperfective aspect, blurring the distinction between tense and aspect. Therefore, a theory of TAM should deal with how to differentiate tense, aspect, and modality, and what the subcategories of TAM are. In this chapter, I will survey general theories of TAM; how TAM categories are defined in the literature and what are the problems in dealing with TAM categories. Tense and aspect are discussed as temporal components in Section 2.1, and various kinds of experiential and performative components are discussed under the heading 'modality' in Section 2.2. The main issues which will be dealt with in this thesis will be addressed in Section 2.3.

2.1. Temporal components

2.1.1. Problems of distinguishing tense and aspect

Temporal components deal with various temporal properties of a situation including its temporal relations to other situations. The grammatical categories that have to do with temporal properties are called tense and aspect. There seems to be a general consensus among linguists with regard to the distinction between tense and aspect. In general, tense is assumed to locate a situation described with reference to some other situation on a time line, whereas aspect concerns the internal temporal

constituency (or contour) of a situation.

Given this general definition of tense and aspect, the most distinct property that is assumed to separate tense from aspect is the deictic nature of tense (or non-deictic nature of aspect) (Comrie 1976:2; Lyons 1977:677-690), because it is generally assumed that tense relates the time of a situation to another time point whereas aspect is confined to refer to the temporal structure of one situation without relating it to another time point (Comrie 1976:5; Foley and Van Valin 1984:209). The problem of the distinction between tense and aspect in terms of the deictic nature of tense, however, is pointed out by Dahl (1985:25):

> .... the distinction between deictic and non-deictic categories can only be used to distinguish tenses and aspects if we do not, in addition to 'absolute', i.e., deictic tenses, admit the existence of 'relative' tenses, i.e., forms that may express temporal relations between any pair of time points, regardless of their deictic status.

He illustrates this with the following examples.

(2.1) While I was washing Mary was drying.

(2.2) Singing 'God save the Queen' Mary was drying the clothes.

The Present Participles in English, Dahl argues, express progressive aspect meaning if they are used in finite constructions as in (2.1). On the other hand, the Present participles used in non-finite constructions as *singing* in (2.2) have "relative simultaneous time" meaning. Thus, the semantic interpretation of the Present Participle (whether it expresses simultaneous (i.e., relative present) tense or progressive aspect) varies depending on context. Dahl (1985:25) concludes that the distinction between tense and aspect is by no means clear.[1]

1 Keenan (1987) also points out the non-deictic nature of relative tense by saying that the time reference of main clauses, for which which the reference point

As implied in Dahl's statement given above, it is simply not true that aspect does not refer to another time point and is concerned only with the temporal structure of the situation described. In fact, the literature dealing with aspect often discusses a reference point from which a situation described is viewed. Comrie's (1976) discussion on aspect suggests that the location of the speaker's viewpoint is crucial for aspectual distinctions of perfective and imperfective; that is, whether the viewpoint is internal or external to the situation described. Chung and Timberlake (1985) refer to an "event frame" (the time interval over which a predicate occurs) as a reference point by which an aspectual distinction is made. In this sense, aspect also deals with temporal relations between the situation described and some reference point, i.e., the location of a reference point with respect to the temporal frame of the situation described. Therefore, both tense and aspect have to do with temporal relations between the situation described and some reference point (cf. Timberlake 1984).[2]

The distinction between tense and aspect, then, seems to lie in the different ways in which temporal relations are depicted. Tense locates the time point of a situation with reference to the time point of another situation, typically the speech

is the speech moment, is interpreted deictically (absolute tense), whereas that of embedded clauses, for which the reference point is often the time reference of the matrix clause, is interpreted anaphorically (relative tense).

2 Aspect as relationship between the situation described and the reference time can also be seen in Timberlake (1984:153-156). Following Reichenbach's (1947) characterization of temporal relationships, Timberlake states (p155):

> ..... the primary concern of aspectology should be the relationship between individual predicates and the time periods for which they are assumed to hold.

situation, and is concerned with relative sequential order of the two situations. On the other hand, aspect locates the speaker's viewpoint with reference to the situation described; more specifically, aspect deals with where the viewpoint is located with respect to the temporal structure of the situation described, e.g. at the beginning, middle, or end of the situation described.

Along with this problem of distinguishing tense and aspect (despite their conceptual independence), the way tense and aspect categories are coded (morphosyntactically) in individual languages is by no means straightforward. In the following, I will discuss how tense and aspect categories are defined in the literature and what criteria must be available in dealing with tense and aspect systems of an individual language.

2.1.2. Tense

Tense is concerned with locating a situation sequentially relative to a reference time ("tense locus" in Chung and Timberlake 1985). When the speech moment is the reference time (absolute time reference), the situation is said to have past, present, or future tense (absolute tense). When the reference time is determined by discourse context (relative time reference), the situation is interpreted as anterior, simultaneous, or posterior to the reference time (relative tense).

Languages may differ in how they organize these time relations into their grammatical systems, that is, whether they have absolute tense, relative tense, or both (Comrie 1985; Chung and Timberlake 1985). There are a number of issues that concern linguists surrounding the choice of different tense systems in individual language. They are: (i) existence of a grammatical category of tense in a given language, (ii) relationship between tense and aspect, and (iii) relationship between tense and modality.

2.1.2.1. Tense as a grammatical category

A theory of tense must provide criteria that determine whether a given language has a grammatical category 'tense'. Whether or not a language has a grammatical category of tense is determined in general by two principles: (i) whether the language 'consistently' expresses time relations such as present, past, or future, and (ii) whether a set of expressions belong to the same paradigm. For example, English can be said to have a grammatical category of tense because every finite clause is inflected for tense (either past or non-past) by means of the presence or absence of the past tense morpheme (Comrie 1985:10). On the other hand, Korean does not seem to have a grammatical category of tense, contrary to what is assumed in most of the literature (Martin 1954; E-D. Cook 1971; H-B. Choe 1977; D-H. An 1980; C-M. Lee 1987). In Korean, there is no single morphological marking whose presence or absence determines the above time relations; i.e., time relations are not signalled consistently. Therefore, I will argue that there is no tense category in Korean, even though the synchronic temporal system may be in the process of being reanalyzed as having a tense category because of a predominant discourse pattern (see Chapter 4).

The other criterion for recognizing tense categories is that different tense categories, e.g. past, present, and future, must belong to the same paradigm. For example, we can assign the future function to the English modal auxiliary *will* and *shall* and the periphrastic construction *be going to*. However, the English auxiliaries and the periphrastic construction do not belong to the same grammatical system as the past/non-past distinction because the past/non-past distinction is expressed morphologically in English. Furthermore, *will* and *shall* not only behave syntactically in the same way as other modal auxiliaries, such as *may*, *can*, and *must*, but also have a modal function to express intention, prediction, or

volition. Therefore, we do not want to recognize 'future' as a grammatical category of tense in English. Similarly, some modal expressions in Korean, such as the suffix *-kess-* and *-(ŭ)li-*, and the periphrastic Presumptive *-(ŭ)l kô(s)i-* '-Irrealis:Attributive thing:be' construction, have been treated in some literature as expressing future tense. However, those modal expressions not only express modal meanings other than future, such as conjecture, prediction, volition, and presumption, but also have syntagmatic relations with other suffixes that express pure temporal relations (see Section 3.1.2.2.3 for discussion). Therefore, it will be argued that there is no future tense category in Korean.

In sum, whether a given language has a grammatical system of tense is closely related to how consistently a certain time relation is coded (i.e., whether the presence or absence of a form is consistently interpreted in a given construction), and whether or not a given time interpretation is derived from other components, such as aspect and modality. In the following, I will discuss more in detail the relationship between tense and modality (Section 2.1.2.2) and that between tense and aspect (Section 2.1.2.3).

2.1.2.2. Tense and modality

The correlations between tense and aspect, and between tense and mood, make it more difficult to recognize tense categories in a given language. For example, future tense is closely tied with irrealis (non-actual) mood, and non-future with realis mood. As mentioned earlier, it is often the case that an element expressing a modal meaning such as speaker's will or prediction also has a function of expressing future situations, e.g. *will* in English, and the Deductive Reasoning suffix *-kess-* in Korean. Similarly, a periphrastic construction *-(ŭ)l kô(s) i-*

(Irrealis-Attributive marker + thing + be-) as well as the Presumptive *-(ŭ)li*, which expresses presumption or speculation on the part of the speaker, has a function of referring to future situations. For this reason, traditional literature often treats the above expressions as future tense markers.

The contrast between future and non-future, however, may not be a tense distinction but a mood distinction or a distinction between other modal categories. Chung and Timberlake (1985:206) discuss *-khte/khta* in Lakhota, and Comrie (1985:39-40, 49) makes the same point for Dyirbal. Similarly, the (Deductive) Reasoning suffix *-kess-* in Korean is not a future tense marker, but a modal suffix that expresses the speaker's subjective evaluation of the truth of the described situation through a deductive reasoning process. Just like *-kess-*, the Presumptive construction *(ŭ)l kô(s) i-* simply expresses the speaker's presumption or speculation about situations inaccessible to him or her (regardless of tense), among which a future situation is one of them.

There are two points that needs to be made clear for the distinction between future tense and mood or other modality categories. First, the semantic ranges of the above modal expressions in various languages include more than future situations. They express the speaker's prediction, conjecture, presumption, intention, or volition, etc. Second, since prediction, conjecture, or presumption can certainly be made for non-future situations, it naturally follows that these modal expressions are paradigmatically not related to other tense distinctions (e.g past vs. non-past), and often co-occur with other tense markers. Conditional is a typical example. The past tense form of the above expressions or their co-occurrence with past tense markers often gives a conditional interpretation. Similarly, the Deductive Reasoning suffix *-kess* and the Presumptive *-(ŭ)li-*, combined with the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, may express a situation that is assumed to have taken place in the

past. Therefore, a careful distinction must be made between future tense as a grammatical category and referring to future situations as part of modal meanings.

On the other hand, the close correlation between future tense and various modality meanings such as prediction, presumption, and volition cannot be ignored. It is often the case that modal expressions of the kind discussed above turn into pure future tense markers in the history of a language. Bybee (1987), Bybee and Pagliuca (1985), and Bybee and Dahl (1989) discuss various sources of future tense markers, and illustrates that the most common source of future tense markers is cross-linguistically those modal expressions that formerly express the speaker's desire, intention, or prediction. In synchronic English, the modal auxiliary *will* may have lost its original meaning of desire or intention, and is increasingly being used as simply expressing future situations. Despite the paradigmatic difference between *will* and the past/non-past distinction, one could argue that *will* in synchronic English has been grammaticized as a pure future tense marker, and that English now has a three-way tense system of past, non-past (present), and future.[3]

Therefore, on the one hand, we want to make a clear distinction between future tense as a temporal component and modal meanings as experiential components. On the other hand, the interactional and/or correlational nature of the two components is to be kept in mind.

2.1.2.3. Tense and aspect

As mentioned earlier, the issue of relative tense makes it difficult to distinguish tense from aspect. For example, non-finite verb forms in English

3 Jack DuBois suggested this approach to me.

characteristically have relative time reference (Comrie 1985:56-60). In non-finite constructions, the present participle forms in English are generally interpreted as simultaneous with the reference point, as in (2.2). Since they give a progressive aspectual meaning in finite constructions, as in (2.1), it is not clear what is the basic grammatical meaning of the present participles in English; is it the progressive aspect or the relative simultaneous tense?

The difficulty of distinguishing tense and aspect is also reflected in traditional school grammars, where tense and aspect are mistakenly treated as one single category referred to as 'tense'. Furthermore, there are some expressions denoting temporal relations for which it is not clear whether they are tense markers or aspectual markers in a given language. For example, the literature does not agree on whether the Perfect construction in English expresses a tense or aspect category. Comrie (1976:52-54) includes the Perfect construction as a special aspectual category, even though he characterizes the Past Perfect (or Pluperfect) as expressing relative past tense. Mourelatos (1981:195), on the other hand, treats it as tense. Leech (1971) refers to the Perfect construction in English as "Perfect Aspect" (p30), but at the same time uses terms like "present perfect tense" and "past perfect tense" (p30, p42).

A similar problem can be exemplified with what I call the 'Anterior' suffix in Korean, *-ôss-*, which developed from a formerly perfect construction *V-ô iss-* 'Verb stem-CONNECTIVE exist-'. The suffix has been treated as a past tense marker by some scholars (Martin 1954; E-D. Cook 1971; H-B. Choe 1977; D-H. An 1980; C-M. Lee 1987), and as a perfective aspect marker by others (Sohn 1974, 1975; K-S. Nam 1978). I will clarify the nature of this suffix in detail In Chapter 4.

One of the reasons for the difficulty in distinguishing tense and aspect is that they are conceptually related to (while still independent of) each other. It is well

documented in the literature that there is a correlation between perfective aspect and past tense, and between imperfective aspect and non-past tense (Comrie 1976:82-84). Dahl (1985:23) also notes that it is not all uncommon for categories that are usually regarded as aspectual to be constrained as to time reference. Therefore, the past/non-past interpretation in a given language may be the result of a perfective/imperfective aspect distinction.

Given this conceptual closeness between tense and aspect, some scholars in fact attempt to characterize both tense and aspect in a single grammatical dimension. Reichenbach (1947) proposes a theory of tense that attempts to account for different temporal relations by using three time points, E(Event time), R (Reference time), and S (Speech time). His theory provides a nice account of the temporal relations involved in the Perfect construction in English, and semantic contrasts between the Perfect construction and the simple Past Tense construction. Following Reichenbach, Johnson (1981) and Timberlake (1984) propose a 'unified temporal theory' of tense and aspect, where tense is characterized as the relation between reference time (R) and speech time (S), and aspect is characterized as the relation between reference time (R) and event time (E). This characterization of tense and aspect explains for why there is a disagreement in the literature on whether the perfect is tense or aspect. The Perfect manifests a mixture of both tense and aspect. That is, in this analysis, the (Present) Perfect construction in English has present tense, since R is simultaneous with S (R=S), along with perfective (or completive) aspect, since E precedes R (E < R). The Pluperfect, on the other hand, has past tense, since R precedes S (R < S) with perfective aspect, since E < R (Cf. Friedrich 1974).[4] This characterization seems to be justified by the periphrastic nature of

4 Friedrich also characterizes the complex nature of the perfect with the statement that the so-called perfect concatenates features of tense (past), true aspect

the Perfect; that is, the meaning of the Perfect is interpreted compositionally as the sum of the tense meaning of the auxiliary *have* (i.e., either present or past), which specifies the time relation between R and S, and the aspect meaning of the past participles, which gives the time relation E < R (i..e., completed or perfective). This analysis gives a coherent characterization of the Perfect, including both the present perfect or the pluperfect (cf. Comrie 1976, 1981, 1985).[5]

However, the unified account of tense and aspect for the Perfect construction in English conflicts with the general assumptions made in the relative tense approach (Comrie (1985) for the Past Perfect in English). The most prominent temporal feature of the perfect is "anteriority" (Bybee 1987) (i.e., completion or termination of the situation prior to a reference point), which defines the relation between E and R; that is, E < R. In the unified account of tense and aspect approach, this relation is considered as aspect. In the relative tense approach, however, this time relation is a tense property, that is, relative past.

The disagreement between the two approaches regarding the notion of "anteriority" simply exemplifies a problem of how to distinguish tense and aspect conceptually. In this study, I will claim that the anteriority meaning of the Perfect is neutral to whether it expresses a tense or aspect meaning. With reference to the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* in Korean, I will illustrate that whether the time relation of "anterior" is interpreted as relative past tense or perfective aspect depends on

(completive), quasi-aspect (state), and the voice features of intransitive and middle (p19).

5 Comrie (1976) argues that the (present) perfect and the pluperfect should not be treated the same, despite the formal similarity, the reason being that the 'current relevance' meaning, which prevails in the present perfect, is not available in the pluperfect.

whether the speaker focuses on the location of the reference point with respect to the situation described (aspect meaning in this case) or on the location of the situation with respect to the reference point (relative tense meaning), which is determined in discourse context.

In sum, tense is defined as dealing with locating a situation with respect to some reference point (the speech moment or some other time point determined in discourse context) and looking at relative sequential ordering between the two time points. In order to determine whether a given language has tense as a grammatical category, one has to look at whether a tense meaning, e.g. past, present, or future, is consistently coded in its grammar (i.e., whether the presence or absence of an expression consistently indicates the presence or absence of the tense meaning in question), and whether the expressions in opposition, say, past vs. non-past, belong to the same grammatical paradigm.

Tense is conceptually related to other grammatical categories such as modality and aspect. Future tense is correlated with various irrealis modality meanings, such as presumption, volition, desire, etc. It is widely attested that expressions expressing these modality meanings turn into future markers. The distinction between tense and aspect is not straightforward, as past tense is correlated with perfective aspect, and present tense with imperfective aspect. The most distinct property of tense is its deictic nature; because the time of a situation is identified with respect to some other time point. However, the concepts of relative tense, e.g. anterior, simultaneous, and posterior, are not clearly distinguished from aspectual concepts such as perfective, imperfective, completive, etc., as some constructions, e.g. participles, the Perfect constructions, etc. manifest both tense and aspectual meaning depending on context.

2.1.3. Aspect

It is generally agreed among linguists that aspect is concerned with the internal temporal contour/constituency of a situation (Comrie 1976; Chung and Timberlake 1985; Dahl 1985; Bybee 1985b). In this regard, aspect is distinguished from tense, which takes a situation as a whole without being concerned with the internal temporal structure in order to relate it to another time point. For tense, relative sequential orders of situations are important, that is, whether a situation is anterior, simultaneous, or posterior, compared to other situations. On the other hand, aspect is concerned with whether the internal temporal structures of the situation are appreciated, e.g. beginning, middle, or end.

Despite the long history and the extensive study of aspect, however, aspectual concepts, the terminology expressing them, and the criteria by which various aspectual categories such as perfective/imperfective are distinguished still remain unclear and confusing. First of all, as Comrie (1976:12) points out, the same aspectual distinction is referred to with different names in the literature, which may imply conceptually different categories. This problem is well illustrated by Dahl's (1981) reference to the terminological problem for the distinction between the aspectual properties of 'build a house' and 'sing'. He gives a list of names used for the distinction: punctual vs. durative, telic vs. atelic, perfective vs. imperfective, bounded vs. unbounded, and accomplishment vs. activity among others. Another case for terminological as well as conceptual confusion is apparent in terminology in traditional grammars, where what are assumed to be functionally equivalent expressions in two languages are referred to with two different terms which in fact refer to conceptually different categories (Comrie (1976:12-13)). For example, he points out, the term "aorist", which is restricted to perfectivity in the past tense, is often used to mean "perfective". Dahl (1985:138) states that the terms "perfect" and

"perfective" are often used interchangeably. That is, a construction referred to as "perfect/imperfect" in one language is referred to as "perfective/imperfective" or 'completive/non-completive' in another language.

Secondly, in some cases the same terminology is used in the literature to refer to conceptually different phenomena in different languages (Comrie 1976:12). The term "perfective" is such case. The Aorist forms in a number of Indo-European languages have been characterized as perfective. On the other hand, the term "perfective" was originally used to refer to Slavic verbal (rather derivational) morphology. Comrie (1976) suggests that the term "Aorist" is mistakenly used in place of "perfective" (cf. Dahl 1985). Comrie (1976:12) also points out that there is an mistaken view among English-speaking linguists that what Slavists call perfective is the same as perfect in English. The problem of the same terminology referring to conceptually different phenomena is apparent even within a same language where two systems that can be characterized as perfective/imperfective oppositions coexist. For example, in Spanish, the Imperfect semantically contrasts either with the Preteritó (the Preterite) or with the Perfect. Similarly, in French, *l'Imparfait* (the Imperfect) contrasts either with *le Passé Simple* (the Simple Past) (as in literary French), or with *le Passé Composé* (the Compound Past) (as in spoken French). In Bulgarian, there is an aspectual opposition between the Aorist and the Imperfect, and another opposition between the Perfective and the Imperfective verbal morphology; i.e., there are constructions such as the Imperfective Aorist and the Perfective Imperfect as well as the Perfective Aorist and the Imperfective Imperfect (Comrie 1976; Dahl 1985). In Papago, there are perfective auxiliaries made by adding *-t* to the imperfective auxiliaries on the one hand, e.g. *('a)nt* (first person singular), *('a)pt* (second person singular), *('a)t*

(third person singular/plural), *('a)tt* (first person plural), and *('a)mt* (second person plural), and the Perfective verb morphology made by dropping a final (vowel plus) consonant of the Imperfective verbs (Zepeda 1983:59-64). All those oppositions in these languages may be characterized as a perfective/imperfective opposition. The question arises then whether there is a single concept of perfectivity involved in all of these different phenomena of perfective/imperfective oppositions. Comrie (1976) apparently takes the approach that all these phenomena are accounted for with a single notion of perfectivity, namely "totality" view of perfectivity. Bybee and Dahl (1989), on the other hand, take an approach where different sources are identified with the different phenomena of perfective/imperfective opposition. In this study, I will part with Bybee and Dahl with the assumption that these different perfective/imperfective oppositions may operate in different semantic dimensions which I will get to later.

Thirdly, the literature does not agree on what are the relevant features for a particular aspectual category, say 'perfective'. It has been generally assumed that completedness is the crucial feature for the perfective aspect (Hopper 1982, DeLancey 1982). Comrie (1976), however, explicitly argues that totality is the crucial feature for perfectivity, not completedness. On the other hand, some authors include both completedness and totality as relevant features (Forsyth 1970; Dahl 1985; Bybee 1987; Bybee and Dahl 1989).

Given the problems of the study on aspect shown above, there are at least two issues which need to be made clear: (i) levels on which various aspectual distinctions are relevant and (ii) criteria for specific aspectual categories, e.g. perfective/imperfective. I will take up each issue in the following.

2.1.3.1. Different levels of aspect: inherent aspect vs. viewpoint aspect

The temporal structure of a situation can be looked at in many different ways. One way is to consider the temporal properties a situation inherently has due to the semantic nature of lexical items it consists of. For example,

(2.3) John built a house.

(2.4) John woke up.

(2.5) John sang.

(2.6) John coughed.

In the above examples, (2.3) and (2.4) imply that the situations have reached a certain point that was inherently designated to reach; that is, a house has been completed in (2.3), and John is awake now in (2.4). In (2.5) and (2.6), on the other hand, there is no necessary implication that the situations described have been completed; the situations are simply terminated. This difference between (2.3) and (2.4) on the one hand and (2.5) and (2.6) on the other hand is due to the semantic differences in telicity. Telicity refers to whether a situation has a naturally defined end-point such that once that end point is reached, the action is completed and cannot continue. The action of 'building a house' in (2.3) is telic, because once the house is completed, the action of building the house cannot continue. Similarly, 'waking up' in (2.4) is telic, because one simply cannot keep waking up, once he or she is awake. The situations described in (2.5) and (2.6), on the other hand, are atelic. Ignoring the actor's physical and physiological limits, one can keep singing, until he or she arbitrarily decides to stop. Similarly, one can keep coughing, even though it would imply repeated actions. Atelic situations could end, when the actors

stop their actions. However, when an atelic situation is terminated as in (2.5) and (2.6), it refers to an arbitrary end-point, since there is no inherently designated end-point in atelic situations (Smith 1983).

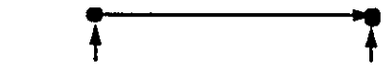
A slightly different distinction can be made between (2.3) and (2.4). In (2.3), the action of 'building a house' has been continuously made until it is completed. That is, the action takes place for a certain period of time. In (2.4), on the other hand, the action of 'waking up' takes place instantly, not continuously. Such distinction is due to the semantic difference between the two actions in punctuality. That is, the action of 'waking up' is punctual, whereas the action of 'building a house' is non-punctual or durative. The action of 'playing' in (2.5) and the action of 'coughing' in (2.7) also differ in punctuality. 'Singing' is a prolonged action, hence durative, whereas the action of 'coughing' takes place instantly, hence punctual, even though the action can continue only by repetition.

All the situations described in (2.3) through (2.6) can be said to be terminated. A situation is terminated when it gets to an end point, either naturally or arbitrarily (Smith 1983). When the situation is terminated, there is a change of state; that is, the actor is no longer involved in the action designated by the verb. All these situations can be said to have their temporal phases, that is, beginning, middle, and end. Even those punctual situations, which occur instantly, can be said to have temporal phases, because they start taking place in a specific time point and end in a specific time point, even though the starting point is the end point at the same time. Therefore, the situations described in (2.3) through (2.6) are dynamic, and are called "event" in a broad sense (Smith 1983).[6] Since an event has its initial point

6 Comrie (1976) and others (Mourelatos 1981; R. Andersen 1990) apply a more narrow sense of the term "event", referring only to telic situations as events. The non-telic actions (i.e. activities) are referred to as 'processes'.

(or juncture) and an (arbitrary or inherent) end-point (or terminal juncture), it can be represented as a vector with limits, as follows.

Figure 2-1. Event vector



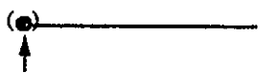
[Note] ——→ indicates the dynamism of vector; that is, an event starts taking place at a time point and proceeds toward its endpoint.

Compare the situations described in (2.3) through (2.6) with (2.7) below.

(2.7) John was tall.

The situation described in (2.7) is of a different nature from those in (2.3), through (2.6). The situation described in (2.7) cannot be said to be terminated. That is, for this kind of situation, it is hard to define its starting point and end point. The situation is rather persistent and involves no change of state, i.e., non-dynamic or static. Such situation is called state. Since a state does not have an end-point (it may or may not have a starting point), it cannot be represented as a vector, but with a line without an end limit, as follows:

Figure 2-2. Representation of states



[Note] ( ) indicates that a starting point may not be defined for some states.

The distinction made among (2.3) through (2.7) is well appreciated in the literature. Four types of situations are noted by Vendler (1967) as verb types;

activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states. This is because, as discussed above, the differences among the four types of situations are mainly due to the semantic nature of the actions designated by the verbs. First of all, states are distinguished from the other types, which are events, in terms of dynamicity (i.e., whether or not there is an end point and thus a change of state). States are non-dynamic or static, and events are dynamic. Verbal expressions that designate states are 'be surprised', 'be sad', 'know', 'believe', 'think', etc. Among dynamic situations (i.e. events), accomplishments are telic non-punctual events, which have processes before they reach their inherently designated end-point; verbal expressions that designate actions involved in accomplishment situations are 'make a chair', 'draw a circle', 'write a letter', etc. Achievements are telic punctual events, which take place momentarily; verbal expressions that designate actions involved in accomplishment situations are 'reach the summit', 'win a race', 'catch a dog', 'sit down', 'arrive', 'get surprised', 'get sad', 'die', 'realize', 'recognize', etc.[7] Activities are atelic events, which do not assume a natural (or inherent) end-point. It should be noted that activities can be either durative, as in (2.5), or punctual, as in (2.6). Verbal expressions that designate actions involved in durative activities are 'play', 'swim', 'read', 'write', etc. Verbal expressions that designate actions involved in punctual activities are 'jump', 'hit', 'kick', 'wink', etc. This distinction is not made in Vendler (1967) and other works who follow Vendler's model

7 Comrie defines telicity slightly differently, as he states:

> ..... telic involves a process that leads up to a well defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue.

According to his notion of telicity, punctual situations (i.e., achievements) cannot be telic, and only accomplishment situations can be telic.

(Mourelatos 1981:201; Smith 1983:481), where all punctual situations are treated as achievements. However, there are a number of points that support this distinction. First of all, punctual activities can keep occurring as repeated actions, whereas achievements cannot. This is because there is no inherently designated end-point in punctual activities. Secondly, achievements in the perfective or in the past tense indicates that the situations have reached their end-point, as in (2.4). With punctual activity verbs, the perfective or the past tense simply expresses the termination of actions, as in (2.6). Thirdly, with punctual activities, the Progressive construction expresses reiterative actions, as in:

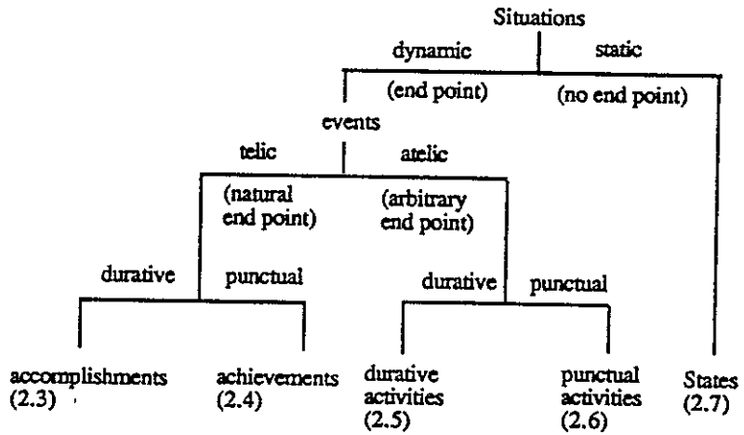
(2.8) John is coughing.

With achievements, on the other hand, the Progressive gives a sense of approaching to the end-point. For example,

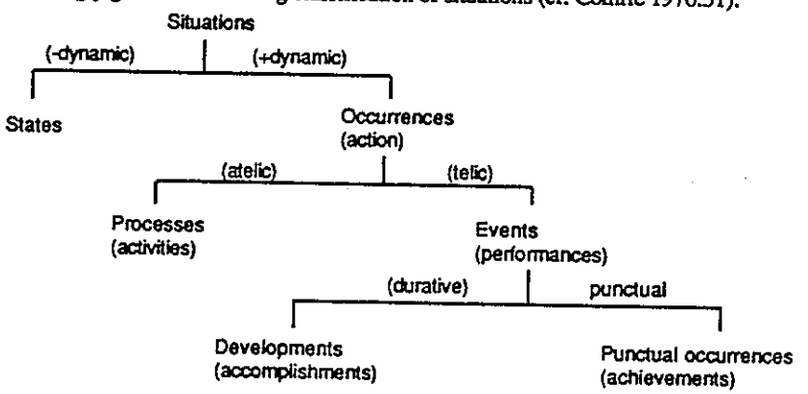
(2.9) John is reaching the summit.

The four types of situations classified here can be summarized in the following schema:

Figure 2-3. Types of situations (cf. Mourelatos 1981:201)[8]



[8] Comrie (1976) and Mourelatos (1981) refer to telic situations as events, where as dynamic atelic situations are called processes. Mourelatos (1981:201) accordingly gives the following classification of situations (cf. Comrie 1976:51):



Other than labels for situation types, the only difference between the classification given in Figure 2-3 and Mourelatos' given above is that Mourelatos does not distinguish punctual activities from achievements.

Verbal expressions that exemplify each situation type are:

1. Accomplishments: make a chair, draw a circle, write a letter, etc.
2. Achievements: reach the summit, win a race, catch a dog, sit down, arrive, get surprised, get sad, realize, recognize, etc.
3. Durative activities: play, swim, read, write, etc.
4. Punctual activities: jump, hit, kick, wink, etc.
5. States: be surprised, be sad, know, believe, think, etc.

The inherent temporal properties of situations discussed above are referred to in the literature as "inherent (or semantic) aspectual properties" (Comrie 1976:41), "T-properties" (Dahl 1981:81), "aspectual potential" or "inherent aspectual meaning" (Dahl 1985:26). The way the temporal structure of a situation is looked at in terms of its inherent properties, such as telicity, punctually, dynamicity, etc., can be called "inherent perspective". Various aspectual distinctions made in terms of inherent perspective are referred to as "situation" aspect (Smith 1981), "lexical" aspect (Friedrich 1974; Dahl 1985; R.Anderson 1990). Since they have to do with inherent aspectual properties, I will call them "inherent aspect".

There is another term used in the literature that refers to a kind of inherent aspect, namely 'aktionsart'. As Comrie (1976:7, fn.4) notes, some authors use this term to refer to inherent aspect (Dahl 1985:26-27), and some authors use it in a more restricted way so as to refer only to 'lexicalization of the distinction' by means of derivational morphology, as Comrie himself. In any case, 'aktionsart' is considered a part of inherent aspect.

The inherent aspectual properties discussed thus far have to do with the semantic nature of the actions designated by verbal expressions. Situations may differ in their inherent temporal properties in a different level, namely whether they are individual specific situations, habitual, or generic situations. Individual specific

situations occur within a specific spatial and temporal frame, which I will call the "event frame". A visual experience of an individual situation requires that the viewpoint of the experiencer be located within the spatial and temporal frame in which the situation takes place. With habitual situations, only a temporal frame is relevant, since the viewpoint of the experiencer cannot be in the spatial frame for every single occurrence of individual activities that constitute the whole habitual situation. Generic situations including permanent truths are not restricted within any temporal and spatial frame. There are interesting constraints on possible interpretations of a given temporal expression, e.g. present tense, simple past tense, present progressive,etc., that may have to do with the above distinction. For example, in English simple present tense expresses only habitual and generic situations, whereas simple past tense expresses individual specific situations as well as habitual, but not generic situations.

(2.10) John works.

(2.11) John worked.

(2.11) with the Simple Past tense is ambiguous between an individual specific reading and a habitual reading. That is, it could mean either 'John worked at a specific time in the past, say, yesterday, or 'John had a job, and worked for some extended period of time, say, six months or one year', as a habitual activity. With the Simple Present tense, as in (2.10), on the other hand, only a habitual reading is available, not an individual specific reading; that is, (2.11) cannot mean 'John is working at this particular moment.'. In order to express an individual specific situation in the Present tense, the Progressive construction must be used, as in (2.12).

(2.12) John is working.

One possible explanation for this constraint is that the Present tense in English may specify the temporal frame, but not the spatial frame of a situation.

Another constraint on a choice of temporal expressions in terms of whether to express an individual specific situation, habitual, or generic situation is that the progressive cannot express a permanent truth. For example,

(2.13) The sun is rising in the East.

(2.14) The sun rises in the East.

(2.13) cannot be interpreted as expressing a permanent truth, but only an individual specific situation. Note that (2.12) may describe a habitual situation or individual specific situation. The reason why the progressive cannot express a permanent truth seems to be the fact that the progressive in general indicates a temporary (contingent) situation, and a situation of permanent truth cannot be temporary.

I have discussed so far the inherent perspective on aspect, in which the temporal structure of a situation is looked at in terms of its inherent temporal properties. The other way of looking at the temporal structure of a situation described is to be concerned with how a situation is viewed by the speaker instead of its inherent temporal properties. A situation can be presented differently depending on the speaker's viewpoint. A situation can be presented as completed or non-completed, or occurring at the initial, middle, or final stage, etc. In this way of looking at the temporal structure of a situation, the location of the speaker's viewpoint is important, that is, in what temporal stage, phase, or juncture the speaker's viewpoint is located with respect to the situation described. In another context, a situation can be presented in a factual statement as an after report, or as if

it is an on-line description. In this context as well, the location of the speaker's viewpoint is crucial; whether it is located within or outside the event frame of the situation described. Since the location of the speaker's viewpoint is what matters in both contexts, I will call them the "viewpoint" perspective, and the aspectual distinctions in the viewpoint perspective "viewpoint aspect", using Smith's (1983) term, in contrast with the inherent aspect.[9]

In general, there are two sets of major categories of viewpoint aspect recognized in the literature; perfective vs. imperfective, and progressive vs. non-progressive (Comrie 1976; Chung and Timberlake 1985; Dahl 1985:189; Bybee 1985b:141; Bybee 1987; cf. Friedrich 1974).[10] The perfective/imperfective distinction refers to whether a situation is viewed as a bounded entity or open-ended (Bybee 1985b:21), whether it is viewed externally (totally) or internally (Comrie 1976), whether it has attained a terminal point (Dahl 1981; Hopper 1982), or whether there is closure of a situation (Chung and Timberlake 1985). On the other hand, the progressive/non-progressive distinction refers to the dynamicity of a situation (Chung and Timberlake 1985); that is, whether ongoingness (in the sense of in-progress) is appreciated.

The aspectual distinctions of viewpoint aspect, e.g. perfective/imperfective and progressive/non-progressive, are independent of those of inherent aspect. Comrie (1976:41-51) illustrates the independence of inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect, by showing that situations expressed with perfective aspect in various

9 The viewpoint aspect is also referred to in the literature as 'grammatical' aspect (Dahl 1985; Andersen 1990) and P-properties (Dahl 1981).

10 Friedrich considers durative/non-durative and completive/non-completive as basic aspectual features for analytical purposes (p35).

languages do not have to be either punctual or telic, and similarly those expressed with the imperfective do not necessary have to be durative or non-punctual. The non-inherent nature of viewpoint aspect is also well expressed in his statement with regard to the perfective/imperfective distinction (1976:4):

> ..... the difference between perfectivity and imperfectivity is not necessarily an objective difference between situations, nor is it necessarily a difference that is presented by the speaker as being objective.

That is, viewpoint aspect has to do with the way situations are presented in the course of discourse, which depends on the communicative purposes the speaker has at a particular moment. The same situation can be presented differently depending on how it fits in the overall discourse structure (Hopper 1982:5; Bybee 1985b:142).

The independence of inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect has to do with different levels in which various aspectual distinctions are made; some may apply to the lexical or propositional level, i.e., lexical items or situations they express, such as punctuality and telicity (inherent aspect), and some apply to the level of presentation as a communicative transaction, i.e., the way situations are presented in the course of discourse, such as perfectivity and progressiveness (viewpoint aspect) (cf. Friedrich 1974).[11]

The inherent aspectual properties of a situation may place restrictions, however, on the range of the ways it can be presented or the way it is interpreted. This can be best shown with the fact that stative verbs in general cannot co-occur

11 Friedrich does not distinguish inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect, and considers aspect as coding temporal values inherent in the activity or state itself (p35).

with progressive aspect. That is, states inherently do not have internal temporal structure and thus cannot be presented as ongoing or in-progress.

Comrie (1976) discusses other correlations between inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect. For example, punctual situations with imperfective aspect only give an iterative meaning, since a single occurrence of a punctual situation cannot be imperfective due to the lack of internal structure (p42). As shown in examples (2.3) and (2.4), telic situations with perfective aspect necessarily imply the completion of the action ('attainment of the terminal point' of that situation (Comrie 1976:46)), whereas the perfective aspect in atelic situations only implies simple termination (i.e., arbitrary stop or discontinuation of the action). In Chapter 4, it will be shown for Korean that inherent aspectual properties such as telicity, punctuality, etc. are important for interpretation of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*.

The close relationship between inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect can also be illustrated by the perfective/imperfective distinction in the Slavic languages. On the one hand, the nature of the Perfective and the Imperfective morphology in the Slavic languages, appears to be a kind of inherent aspect. First of all, it is more derivational than inflectional (cf. Dahl 1985). Dahl (1985:27) points out that many Russian grammarians treat perfective and imperfective verb forms in terms of pairs of lexemes rather than as sets of forms belonging to the same inflectional paradigm. Besides the Perfective morphology gives a semantic effect of 'attainment of a limit'. This semantic effect, Bybee (1987) points out, is comparable to the effect of locative particles in English such as *up*, *down*, *over*, and *through* as in *eat up*, *write up*, *write down*, etc. (Bybee refers to these particles or adpositions as 'bounders'). In this respect, the perfective/imperfective distinction in the Slavic languages is rather aktionsart in a broad sense, as Dahl (1985) non-committally suggests. On the other hand, the Perfective morphology in the Slavic languages

shows characteristics of viewpoint aspect as well, as it is characterized as expressing 'absolute completion' (Friedrich 1974) or "denoting a single event seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result or end-point, located in the past " (Dahl 1985:78), expressing a sequence of actions (Hopper 1982). etc. Comrie (1976), who makes an explicit distinction between inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect, treats the perfective/imperfective distinction in the Slavic languages as referring to the totality of a situation (i.e., viewpoint aspect), not as referring to the inherent aspectual meanings such as telicity, punctuality.

The mixed nature of the perfective/imperfective distinction in the Slavic languages seems to suggest that the distinction between inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect is a matter of degree of grammaticization. It seems that different languages have different ways of organizing their grammar, such that there may be different restrictions on the correlations between inherent aspect and viewpoint aspect. These restrictions may vary among individual languages, depending on the way the aspectual categories of viewpoint aspect are differentiated and organized. Therefore, criteria by which various aspectual distinctions are made in individual languages should be carefully examined. In the following, I will discuss how viewpoint aspect is defined and what kind of criteria are used in the literature. Since the perfective/imperfective distinction is the most representative (though not necessarily most clear) viewpoint aspect distinction (Bybee 1985b:40, 1987), I will mainly discuss what kind of criteria are used for the perfective/imperfective distinction in the literature, how they are defined, and what criteria are most relevant in characterizing a particular phenomenon in a given language as well as in cross-linguistically common patterns of aspectual distinctions.

2.1.3.2. Criteria for perfective/imperfective

As noted earlier in the previous section, different authors give similar but slightly different characterizations of the perfective/imperfective distinction. The perfective/imperfective distinction is characterized as referring to closure of a situation (Chung and Timberlake 1985), whether a situation is viewed as a bounded entity or open-ended (Bybee 1985b:21), whether viewed as externally (totally) or internally (Comrie 1976), or whether having attained a terminal point (Dahl 1981; Hopper 1982). These different concepts used for the perfective/imperfective distinction in the literature can be subsumed under the following three general criteria; (i) completedness, (ii) totality, and (iii) boundedness. Completedness has to do with the completion of an event, or attaining a terminal point (Friedrich 1974:7; Hopper 1982:5; Dahl 1981). Totality concerns whether a situation is viewed from outside (external view) as a single conceptual unit (Friedrich 1974:8), i.e., as a single unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one (Comrie 1976:3), or viewed from inside (internal view) and its internal temporal structure is appreciated (Comrie 1976:4). Boundedness refers to the inclusion of inception and end-point of a situation (Hopper 1982:6), containment of a situation by the temporal frame in which the situation takes place (Chung and Timberlake 1985:217), or the presence of a limit or end-state (Bybee and Dahl 1989).

What criteria are taken as most crucial for the perfective/imperfective distinction in the literature has to do with the three different approaches to the notion of perfectivity: (i) the temporal view, (ii) the totality view, and (iii) the view of boundedness (cf. Bybee and Dahl (1989)).[12] Therefore, I will discuss these

12 Bybee and Dahl (1989:83-89) acknowledge two different aspectual systems, the classic tripartite Indo-European systems and the Slavic type systems, which represent the totality dimension of perfectivity and the concept of boundedness in a broad sense (referring to a 'limit or end-state for the process') respectively. Apparently, they seem to include the meaning of completion, the temporal

criteria in terms of the three views of perfectivity.

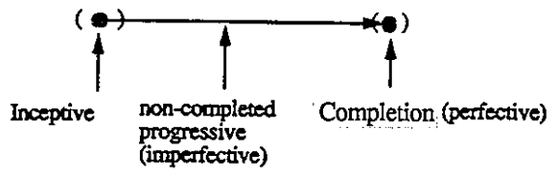
2.1.3.2.1. The temporal view of perfectivity: completedness

The most commonly assumed view of perfectivity is to consider a situation in terms of its completion; that is, whether the situation is completed or not, or whether or not the situation has reached or attained its terminal point. Perfectivity in terms of completion is concerned with temporal dimensions of a situation, which include completion, inception, ongoingness, duration, etc., because it has to do with which temporal juncture, e.g. beginning, middle, or terminal, of the situation is appreciated. Therefore, I will call this the 'temporal view'.

In this view, the perfective refers to the speaker's viewpoint being located at the terminal juncture of the situation described, whereas the imperfective refers to the viewpoint being located in the middle of the situation (i.e., non-completed or still in progress). The prototypical aspectual distinctions in the temporal view are completive vs. non-completive, and progressive vs. non-progressive, and also include inceptives, in which case the speaker's viewpoint is located at the initial juncture of a situation. Various categories of aspect in the temporal dimension can be shown as follows:

dimension discussed in this thesis, under the notion of boundedness.

Figure 2-4. Aspectual distinctions in the temporal view



[Note] ( ) indicates that some situations may not have an initial or end point.

The temporal view of perfectivity is represented by Friedrich (1974), Dahl (1981), Hopper (1982), and DeLancey (1982). Among researchers who consider completedness as at least part of the meaning of perfective are Forsyth (1970), Dahl (1985), and Bybee (1985b, 1987). Friedrich (1974:7) refers to Russian Perfective as concerned with 'the absolute completion of a narrated event'. He also characterizes the Aorist of Homeric Greek as the unmarked member of a durative vs. non-durative contrast. Dahl (1981) refers to a situation having attained its terminal point as having the 'P-property' as opposed to the 'T-property', by which he refers to the natural end-point a situation inherently has (i.e., telic). Hopper (1982) deals with the distribution of perfective aspect in narratives, and considers completion and sequentiality as the most prominent features of perfective.

The temporal view of perfectivity may include the perfect construction as perfective, because in expressing a situation with the perfect, the speaker's viewpoint is located at the terminal juncture of the situation described. In this respect, Reichenbach's characterization of perfect, as elaborated in Johnson (1981) and Timberlake (1984), fits well as a temporal view.

2.1.3.2.2. The totality view of perfectivity

Another view of perfectivity which is widely assumed in the literature has to do with a notion of totality; that is, whether the speaker is concerned with the internal development of the situation (imperfective) so that the situation is viewed internally, or the whole situation is viewed in its entirety as an unanalyzable unit without any reference to the various phases that make up the situation (perfective). I will call this the "totality view" of perfectivity.

Unlike the temporal view, which is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to temporal junctures of the situation described, the totality view of perfectivity does not refer to a specific temporal juncture; for example, the perfective in the totality view does not refer to the terminal juncture, and the imperfective does not refer to the middle juncture. Comrie (1976) specifically argues that the perfective/imperfective distinction refers to the totality of a situation rather than its completion, and that "the end of a situation (completion)" is at best only one of the possible meanings of a perfective form, not its defining feature (p19). Others who consider totality as a relevant feature of perfectivity include Forsyth (1970), Langacker (1978), Dahl (1985), and Bybee (1985b, 1987).

Strictly speaking, totality is not a temporal notion. It rather belongs to a dimension of communicative packaging for presentation, that is, the way a situation is wrapped up when it is presented in the course of discourse. A situation can be presented as a wrapped-up whole or as unfolded such that its internal structure is accessible. The question is: when a situation is said to be viewed as a wrapped-up whole, and what constitutes viewing a situation otherwise, i.e., when it is said to be viewed for its internal structure. In order to clarify this, Comrie gives one kind

of conceptualization of the totality view of perfectivity: the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such, is crucially concerned with the internal temporal constituency of the situation (1976:4). I will refer to the two different ways of looking at the situation stated here as the "external" view and the "internal view" of the situation respectively.

There are cases, however, where Comrie's conceptualization of the external view vs. internal view is not explicit enough to specify the exact semantic dimension in which the distinction between perfective and imperfective is made. When a language, e.g. Spanish, has a form that could express situations in duration or in progress other than the progressive, it is not entirely clear what makes two constructions distinct. For example, Spanish has the Imperfect form along with the Progressive to express situations in progress, as in (2.15) and (2.16) respectively.

(2.15) Juan hablaba. 'Juan spoke (for a while).' or 'Juan was speaking.'
(the Imperfect)

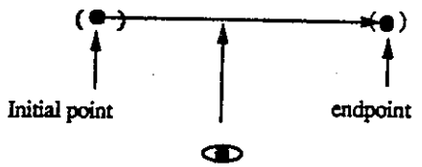
(2.16) Juan estaba hablando . 'Juan was speaking.'
(the Past Progressive)

Both constructions can refer to a situation in progress or in duration. As native speakers often say, the meaning difference between the two is hard to pin down. In an attempt to distinguish the two, Comrie (1976:25, 32-34) illustrates that the Imperfect form has a wider range of meaning than the Progressive construction, expressing habituals and non-progressive continuous meaning. For this reason, he considers progressive aspect as a subcategory of imperfective aspect, hence both express the internal view by definition. Note that the Imperfect form in Spanish contrasts with the Preterite form, which is assumed to express perfective aspect,

i.e. the external view. The question still remains, however, what makes the speaker choose one of the two in a context where a situation in progress is described. Unless the choice is totally arbitrary, which I believe is unlikely, we have to assume that the internal view involved in describing a situation with the Imperfect form and the internal view involved in describing a situation with the Progressive form are different in nature.[13] The nature of the internal view expressed with the Progressive form seems straightforward. Since the Progressive form specifically refers to the middle juncture of the situation described, the viewpoint can be said to be located inside of the event vector, which can be represented with the following diagram:

13 The same point can be made with a language that has two kinds of oppositions which can be considered as expressing the perfective/imperfective distinction. Bulgarian, for example, has the popular Indo-European aspectual distinction between the Aorist and the Imperfect, along with the newly developed Slavic-specific Perfective and Imperfective morphology. Even though certain combination is more frequent and preferable than others, all four combination is possible, i.e., the Perfective Aorist, the Imperfective Imperfect, the Perfective Imperfect, and the Imperfective Aorist (Comrie 1976:31-32). If the opposition between the Aorist and the Imperfect, and that between the Perfective and the Imperfective operate in the same semantic dimension, e.g. perfective vs. imperfective as conceptualized in Comrie (1976), the Imperfective Aorist and the Perfective Imperfect are semantically incompatible. Comrie seems to argue for the case that the same perfective/imperfective distinction is applied in both oppositions, but in different levels of predication. His argument is conceptually tenable, but I would like to contend that a more reasonable account of the aspectual oppositions in Bulgarian must assume that the two oppositions are different in nature, and need to clarify in what semantic dimension each opposition operates separately.

Figure 2-5. The internal view of progressive aspect



[Note] indicates the speaker's viewpoint.

Figure 2-5 above represents the internal view in the temporal dimension of perfectivity, because the location of the speaker's viewpoint is identified with respect to temporal juncture of the situation described. The nature of the internal view involved with the Imperfect, however, seems to call for a different kind of conceptualization of the external/internal view, because it does not refer to any temporal juncture of the situation described. Lack of intuition on Spanish precludes my pursuing this matter further. With the hope for its potential relevance to the problem in Spanish and similar problems in languages in general, however, I propose the following conceptualization of the external vs. internal view of the totality dimension of perfectivity. The conceptualization of the external/internal view distinction that will be put forward here is adopted from Talmy's (1987) discussion on the phenomenon he calls "coupling" and "decoupling".

Comrie's notions of the external view (total view, i.e., perfective) and the internal view (i.e., imperfective) can be conceptualized in a slightly different way which Comrie may not have intended. As briefly mentioned earlier, a situation occurs within a temporal and spatial frame, which I call an 'event fame'. The event frame includes the situation described, its temporal as well as spacial settings, and contexts. In a way, it is analogous to a scene in a move clip. When the speaker

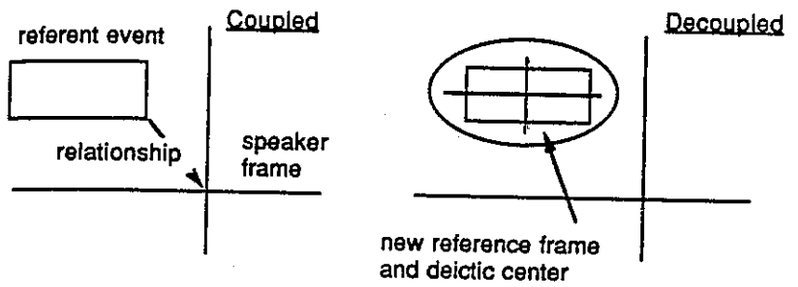
presents a situation in a factual statement, say, as an after report, it is normally viewed from the speech situation (the "speaker frame" in Talmy's term). In this case, the referent situation is presented in relation to or through the speaker's frame --the referent event is "embedded" within the speaker's frame in Talmy's term. Talmy refers to this as "coupling", because the speaker's viewpoint ("deictic center" in Talmy's term) is "coupled" with the speaker's frame. In terms of the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to the event frame, the situation can be said to be viewed externally, because the speaker's viewpoint is away from the event frame, i.e., outside of it. When a situation is viewed externally such that the speaker's viewpoint is outside of the event frame, it is simply reported that there is such and such situation at a given time in a given place, and the whole situation is wrapped up as a single objective entity. On the other hand, a situation can be presented as if the speaker experiences it concurrently (an on-line view), as is the case of the so-called "historical present". In this case, the situation is not related to the speaker frame, setting up a new reference frame and deictic center, and "the scope of attention is narrowed to the event alone" (Talmy 1987). The newly created deictic center is now "decoupled" from the speaker frame. Talmy gives the following example as a case of "decoupling".

(2.17) What was your name again?

(2.17) is uttered when the speaker forgot the addressee's name, and tries to recall the moment he or she was informed of it. The speaker's viewpoint is shifted to that moment accordingly, i.e. "decoupled" from the speech moment. The past tense form in this utterance certainly does not refer to the time reference of the situation described, but to the location of the speaker's viewpoint, which is within the event frame, hence the internal view. Talmy diagrams these relationships between the

deictic center and the speaker frame as follows:

Figure 2-6. Coupling and decoupling between the deictic center and the speaker frame (Talmy 1987)



Putting it all together, Talmy's notion of "coupling" and "decoupling" can be assimilated to the distinction between the external view and the internal view in relation to the totality view of perfectivity. Recall that, in the temporal view of perfectivity, the internal view in the case of progressive aspect refers to the location of the viewpoint with respect to temporal juncture of the situation described, i.e., in the middle of or inside the event vector, as shown in Figure 2-5. The internal view conceptualized with reference to Talmy's coupling/decoupling distinction, on the other hand, refers to the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to the event frame, i.e., whether it is inside (internal view) or outside (external view) of the event frame. This can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 2-7. The internal/external view in the totality dimension of perfectivity

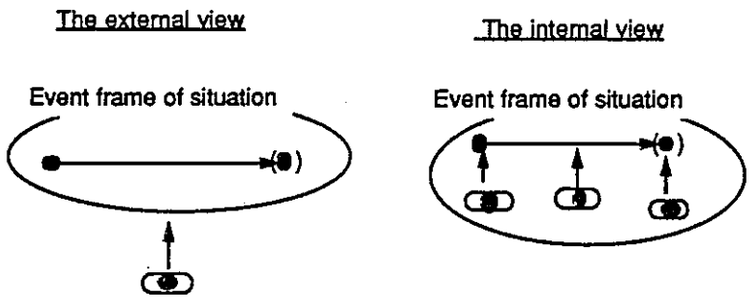


Figure 2-7 illustrates that the distinction between the internal view (i.e. imperfective) and the external view (i.e. perfective) is independent of temporal junctures that are appreciated.

With the distinction between the external view and the internal view conceptualized here, the questions raised earlier in the section can be answered now; that is, when a situation is said to be viewed as a wrapped-up whole, and when it is said to be viewed for its internal structure. When the speaker's viewpoint is outside of the event frame (i.e. the external view), the situation is viewed as a wrapped-up whole, regardless of its internal structure. As mentioned, presenting a situation in a factual statement as a later report is such case. Narrated events are another clear case where each situation is viewed in its entirety as a wrapped whole without reference to its internal temporal structure, because narrated events are presented sequentially one after another, and each event is taken as a whole in relation to other events. When the speaker's viewpoint is within the event frame, on the other hand, the situation is viewed internally, and presented as if the speaker currently experiences it. As Talmy illustrates for the phenomenon of "decoupling",

the Historical Present is a case of the internal viewing. Another possible context of the internal view is when the speaker describes his or her past experience of a situation as it occurred, following through each phase of the situation. The speaker's viewpoint is at the moment of that experience, not at the speech situation , as shown by (2.17). It should be noted that what is experienced may be any temporal juncture of the situation. Even an experience of a situation at its terminal juncture may be presented in the imperfective.

The distinction between the external view and the internal view conceptualized here also allows us to give a possible account for those cases where the progressive is combined with other constructions of perfective/imperfective oppositions. A factual statement about a situation in progress may be made in the perfective progressive. An experience of a situation at its middle juncture may be presented in the imperfective progressive.

The distinction between the external view and the internal view as conceptualized above has an interesting implication, with respect to the degree of access on the part of the speaker. In the internal view, the speaker's viewpoint refers to only one phase of the whole situation. That is, the speaker experiences the situation only partially. In the external view, the speaker's viewpoint refers to the whole situation. That is, the speaker has a full access to the situation. This difference between full access and partial access allows us to distinguish the totality view from the temporal view. The two different views have different constraints on what can be perfective, and what can be imperfective. First of all, completed situations are always perfective in the temporal view , but could be imperfective in the totality view if situations are not viewed outside of their event frame, but only at their terminal point (cf. Comrie 1976:18-21).[14] Secondly, statives, which do not

14 In favor of the totality view over the temporal view, Comrie specifically

have internal structure, may be perfective in the totality view, regardless of their time reference, whereas they can be perfective only in past time reference in the temporal view. Thirdly, future situations can be perfective freely in the totality view without referring to other situations, whereas they can be perfective in the temporal view only when the situation described is meant to have finished before some other situations in the future. Fourthly, present situations can also be perfective in the totality view, whereas in the temporal view, it cannot, as generally assumed in the literature. Comrie (1976:66) states that the present tense is essentially imperfective, either continuous or habitual, not perfective, since it is essentially used to describe, rather than narrate. Dahl (1985:79-84) also argues that the present tense is restricted to imperfective. Dahl states that what happens at the moment of speech is necessarily on-going rather than completed; a perfective present would therefore be a contradiction in terms (1985:80-1). This is conceivable from the temporal view since the situation must have an end-point to be viewed as perfective. However, the same cannot be held in the totality view. Logically, there is no reason why a present situation cannot be perfective from a totality point of view, since present situations

argues that the perfective aspect in the totality view does not concern the competition or termination of a situation, and that the meaning of completion is only a part of entirety meaning of the perfective aspect. He gives, as arguments for this, the instances of the perfective future forms and the possible inceptive meanings of perfective forms in some languages. However, I will argue that the meaning of completion is not a part of the meaning of entirety, because a completed situation can be viewed partially if it is viewed only at the terminal point; i.e. the internal view of the final phase of the situation, or just its results. Also the inceptive meaning of perfective forms in some languages are not incompatible with the temporal view of aspect; it can be considered as the process being completed, rather than the state described itself. As for the future perfective, even though the examples given by Comrie are accounted for only by the totality view, It is also possible to have future perfective in the temporal view when a future situation is viewed as completed with reference to some other future situations.

can be viewed as a whole without their internal development being appreciated. Dahl's argument is misleading because what happens at the moment of speech is not the only kind of present situation; we frequently describe situations which we know they currently hold but are not necessarily ongoing at the moment of speech, e.g. with the English simple present tense (Dahl admits that reportive present and performatives can be a candidate for the perfective present). Present habitual situations, which contrast with past habitual situations, are the typical cases, because the speaker is not concerned with any particular phase of the situation, but simply expresses what happens habitually. In such case, the whole situation is described as a unit; its internal structure is not a concern. As will be shown in Chapter 4, Korean seemingly manifests present perfective. Korean makes the distinction between present situations that became known in the past and present situations which enter the speaker's consciousness at the moment of speech. In the former case, the viewpoint is outside of the event frame, i.e., it is the external view, whereas in the latter case the viewpoint is within the event frame, i.e., it is the internal view.

In sum, I have discussed the totality view of perfectivity, which is concerned with whether a situation is viewed externally as a wrapped-up whole, or internally and thus is described as its internal development is unfolded. The totality view of perfectivity differs from the temporal view of perfectivity in that, in the temporal view of perfectivity, the speaker's viewpoint is located with respect to temporal juncture, e.g. initial, middle, or terminal, of the situation described, whereas in the totality view, it is located with respect to the event frame, e.g. internal or external.

2.1.3.2.3. The Boundedness view of perfectivity

Some of the definitions of perfective refer to a point by which a situation described is limited in some ways. Such point of limitation is implied in Forsyth's (1970:8) definition of the Russian Perfective as expressing "the action as a total event summed up with reference to a single specific juncture". Similarly, Dahl characterizes the prototypical PFV (perfective) (Dahl's abbreviation) with the following statement (1985:78):

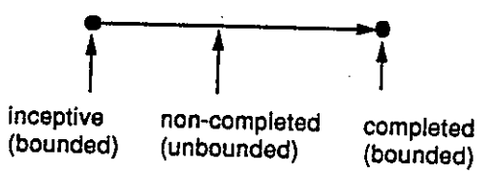
> A PFV verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded. [the emphasis is mine]

Note that Both Forsyth and Dahl's characterizations also refer to the totality nature of perfective (Dahl's definition includes completedness as well). Bybee (1987) and Bybee and Dahl (1989), referring to the Perfective/Imperfective morphology in the Slavic languages, discuss a historical source for the development of perfective aspect from adpositional locative "bounders", which create a sense of complete action or 'attainment of a limit. Chung and Timberlake (1985) use a notion of "closure". An event is defined as having a predicate, an event frame (an interval of time within which the predicate occurs), and a set of conditions under which the predicate occurs. By closure is meant that an event comes to end before some temporal point ('John painted until the sun went down') or within the confines of some temporal interval ('John painted from morning until night'; 'John painted seventeen houses within three days'). That is, an event is limited, bounded, or wholly contained within the event frame, which is an upper temporal limit for the event or contains the whole event.

The notion of boundedness, as characterized in the above analyses, does not

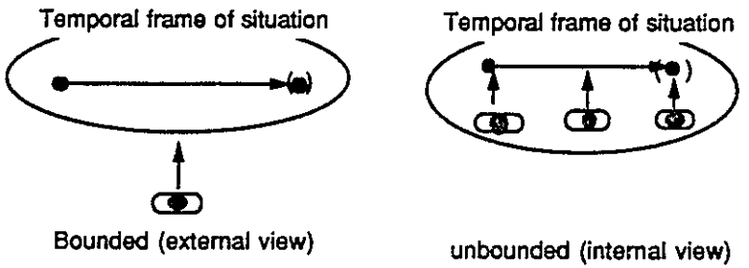
seem to be independent of the temporal view and the totality view. In fact, both the temporal view and the totality view involve the notion of boundedness, but in different ways. I refer to them as "temporal boundedness" and "totality boundedness" respectively. As mentioned earlier, boundedness refers to the inclusion of the inception and end-point of a situation. A situation is temporally bounded if it has a well-defined end-point (i.e., if it is completed at the point at which the situation is viewed) or point of inception; that is, if its inceptive or terminal juncture is referred to. This can be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 2-8. Temporal boundedness:



In the totality view, on the other hand, a situation is bounded if the situation is wrapped up as a whole, the viewpoint is outside of the temporal frame of the situation, and the internal structure is not concerned. A situation is unbounded when the viewpoint is inside of the temporal frame of the situation; that is, the situation is described as it concurrently happens at the scene.

Figure 2-9. Boundedness in totality dimension (cf. Lanngacker's figure 8 (1978:861))



The above diagram also indicates that the bounded situations are the ones to which the speaker has a full access, i.e., the situations are viewed as a whole. On the other hand, the unbounded situations are the ones which are only partially accessible, i.e., where only one juncture (beginning, middle, or end) of the situations is referred to.

The two different views on perfectivity, the temporal view and the totality view, give different characterizations of aspect systems in two respects. First, the two different views are not compatible with regard to the boundedness in the way the completion of a situation is depicted. According to the temporal view, the situation must be described as bounded, whereas the totality view may treat it as unbounded if only one phase of the situation (end-point) is appreciated. Second, the present situations are necessarily unbounded in the temporal view of perfectivity, whereas they may be bounded if they are presented in factual statements, not as on-line description.

The notion of boundedness can even be applied in the level of inherent aspect. Telic situations are considered as bounded since they have an inherently designated

end-point. Atelic situations including states are considered as unbounded.

In sum, the view of boundedness is concerned with whether the situation described is limited in a certain way. There are many ways in which a situation is considered as limited. A situation can be considered as temporally bounded or limited when it is presented with respect to its initial or terminal juncture. A situation can be considered as bounded in totality when it is wrapped up as a whole. A situation can also be considered as limited when the situation has an inherently designated end-point (i.e., telic).

2.1.3.3. Summary

In this section, I have surveyed general theories of aspect in terms of how various aspectual categories are defined and what are the criteria by which those aspectual categories are distinguished. Three general approaches to aspect are presented: (i) the temporal view, (ii) the totality view, and (iii) the view of boundedness. The temporal view is concerned with whether a situation is described with reference to its temporal juncture, e.g. initial, middle, beginning. The totality view, on the other hand, looks at a situation in terms of its entirety. It is not concerned with any particular temporal juncture, but with the way the situation is packaged for presentation in discourse; whether the situation is wrapped up as a whole or unfolded as it happens. In this view, the speaker's viewpoint is located either inside (internal view) or outside (external view) of the event frame of the situation described. The view of boundedness is concerned with whether a situation is limited in some ways; e.g. by initial or terminal juncture, by being wrapped up as a whole, or having an inherent end-point. This view has general applicability, as it could refer to boundedness in the temporal view, in the totality view, as well as in the inherent aspect.

However, more refined concepts of perfectivity are desirable, in order to account for various phenomena of aspectual distinctions manifested in grammars of individual languages. Especially, when a language has two systems that are characterizable in terms of one the the three views of perfectivity, a proper analysis should address the issue of what semantic dimension each aspectual oppositions operate in. The distinction between the temporal view and the totality view of perfectivity may provide a possible account for distinguishing different kinds of aspectual oppositions in a given language.

The different notions of perfectivity discussed in this section are conceptually independent of each other. However, they are also similar and related. For example, situations in progress are generally considered as unbounded and internally viewed, and completed situations (e.g. narrated events) are in general considered as viewed as a whole and bounded. For this reason, some authors consider perfective as having all of the three features, completed, viewed as a whole, and bounded (Forsyth 1970; Dahl 1985; Bybee 1985b, 1987). Given this similarity and correlation, it is understandable why there are terminological as well as conceptual problems and so much disagreement in describing different constructions in different languages as a perfective/imperfective opposition. As mentioned earlier, the same terminology, say, "perfective", is used in the literature to refer to conceptually different phenomena in different languages. One of the reasons for this seems to be that the semantic range of the constructions is similar and overlaps in large part. A number of questions arise then: can we come up with a single concept of perfectivity that embraces all of these different aspectual contrasts that are characterized as expressing "perfective"?; if all these constructions are indeed subject to the same notion of perfectivity, why do some languages like Bulgarian, Georgian, and Papago have different (morphological or syntactic)

constructions for the same conceptual distinctions?; are they simply historical counterparts (old system vs. young system) of the same kind?; if they are of different kinds, on the other hand, what is the difference and the relationship between them? Most of these are empirical questions which are to be answered by close investigation of the relevant constructions in individual languages as Friedrich (1974) has done for Homeric Greek. In this study, I will try to characterize how aspectual categories are distinguished in Korean by looking at uses of some verbal affixes in colloquial discourse.

2.2. Modality

The term 'modality' covers a wide range of components of situations. It has to do with the speaker's evaluation of the situations rather than inherent components of the situations. The speaker's evaluation of situations can be divided grossly into two sub-components: experiential components and performative components. The experiential components have to do with the speaker's experience/perception of the situations described; whether the situation described is considered as realized or non-realized (actuality of the situation); how the speaker experiences/perceives the situation (evidential source); what is the relation of the situation to pre-existing knowledge, or how the experience/perception is integrated into a knowledge system (epistemic processes). The performative components refer to how the speaker uses the propositional content representing various situations in the act of speech (speech acts). In this section, I will survey general theories of these components in detail.

2.2.1. Mood

One of the components of a situation described with which the interlocutors of

communication are concerned is the actuality of the situation; that is, whether the situation is real (either actually happened or exists in the real world) or non-real (yet to be realized or imaginable outside of the real world). This component is referred to as 'mood' in the literature (cf. 'status' in Foley and Van Valin 1984: 215).[15] The morphological marking of the distinction between real and non-real situations is described as realis and irrealis respectively.

This component is closely tied with the temporal components of the situations. That is, past and present tense are real and future tense is inherently non-real (Chung and Timberlake 1985). It is suggested that irrealis mood markers often develop into future tense markers in languages (Bybee 1985b). In this regard, the mood distinction of realis/irrealis is apt to be mistaken as a tense distinction of future/non-future. However, not all future situations are treated as non-real. Future situations which will definitely occur such as scheduled situations may be treated as real (definite future). It is also not the case that all present and past situations are treated as real. The situations to which the speaker could not or cannot get access (i.e., inaccessible situations) are often expressed with special modal auxiliaries such as 'may', 'must', 'might', etc. Therefore, a theory of mood must be concerned with whether a mood distinction refers to the actuality of the situations or the accessibility of the situations by the speaker.

2.2.2. Deontic modality

Similar to mood is deontic modality. This component deals with the speaker's

15 The term 'mood' has also been used in the literature to refer to the distinction among declarative, imperative, and interrogative. In this thesis, I will refer to the distinction as 'sentence-type', following from Sadock and Zwicky (1985)

evaluation of certain conditions on the agent with regard to the predication (Bybee 1985b:166) such as permission, obligation, ability, desire, and intention. Therefore, Bybee notes that this component is the 'agent-oriented' modality (Bybee 1985b:166). Deontic modality is often expressed with modal auxiliaries as in English. However, Bybee (1985b:167) also illustrates that even though it is very rare, deontic modality can be expressed with inflectional morphology, as with the Compulsional prefix *u-* in Tiwi, the optative suffix *-aNam* in Malayalam, and a necessitative in Turkish. Korean also seems to have such a verbal affix, the necessitative *-(ô)ya-*, which expresses obligation on the part of the speaker, or the necessity of the occurrence of the situation described.

2.2.3. Epistemic modality

While deontic modality concerns the status of the agent of the proposition, epistemic modality deals with the speaker's epistemic processes of integrating the experience into his or her cognitive system. This component is the most complex and confusing; in general, the literature on this component confounds a number of related but conceptually independent cognitive categories (cf. Chung and Timberlake 1985; Foley and Van Valin 1984). I recognize at least three categories that are involved in the epistemic processes; certainty, evidential source, and assimilation or knowledge status. In the following, I will take these up one by one.

2.3.3.1. Certainty

Certainty has to do with the degree of the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition. The degree of certainty ranges from certainty to doubt with various intermediates, e.g. certainty --> probability --> possibility --> doubt (Bybee 1985b:165-6; Lyons 1977; 'epistemic mode' in Chung and Timberlake 1985:242;

cf. Foley and Van Valin's 'status' combines 'mood' and this component (1984:213); cf. Givón (1982, 1984) also correlates uncontested knowledge, realis-assertion, irrealis assertion with highest certainty, medium certainty, and lowest certainty respectively). It is generally assumed that certainty is closely related to the evidential sources of information, i.e., whether a situation is eye-witnessed, or known by hearsay or inference, etc. I will deal with evidentiality in the following.

2.2.3.2. Evidentiality

The grammatical system of coding evidentiary source of information is referred to as the 'evidential system' (Jakobson 1971:135; Foley and Van Valin 1984:218; Chafe and Nichols 1986; cf. 'epistemological mode' in Chung and Timberlake 1985). This component deals with how the speaker obtains the information about the situation described. Chung and Timberlake (1985) list the four sources; (i) experiential (ii) inference (iii) quotative (or hearsay) (iv) thought, belief, fantasy. Others recognize the coding distinction between direct evidence and indirect evidence in some languages (cf. Jakobson 1971:135, hearsay evidence, revelative evidence, presumptive evidence, memory evidence).

This component is closely tied with mood and certainty; the more direct the experience is, the more certain the speaker is about the truth of the situation and thus the more the situation is treated as real. Givón (1982, 1984) illustrates the correlations among mood, certainty, and evidentiary source. He proposes a tripartite division of the epistemic space; uncontested knowledge, realis-assertion, and irrealis-assertion. He proposes that uncontested knowledge is stated with the highest certainty and thus needs no evidentiary justification since it is unchallengeable. Realis-assertion is stated with medium certainty and is open to challenge from the addressee, and thus needs evidentiary justification. Irrealis-

assertion is stated as being uncertain. Since the speaker is not asserting that the proposition is true, evidentiary justification and challengeability are irrelevant with the irrealis-assertion.

The evidential system is also closely tied with the aspect system. A number of recent articles (as in Chafe and Nichols' volume (1986)) report that assumed evidential markers in a number of languages express different evidential values depending on whether they occur with perfective or imperfective aspect (Woodbury (1986), and Givón 1984, on Sherpa; Nichols (1986) on Chinese-pidgin Russian; Slobin and Aksu (1982) and Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) on Turkish; DeLancey (1986) on Lhasa Tibetan). However, some morphemes in question are reevaluated in terms of a different epistemic process called assimilation, which I discuss in the following.

2.2.3.3. Assimilation

Certainty and evidentiality are well recognized in the literature as being grammatically coded in languages. Rarely recognized in the study of epistemic modality is the speaker's mental status at the moment of utterance. Slobin and Aksu (1982) suggest that Turkish is sensitive to the distinction between 'prepared mind' and 'unprepared mind'. That is, the situations of which the speaker has premonitory consciousness (i.e., prepared) are coded differently from those of which he or she does not have premonitory consciousness (i.e., unprepared). DeLancey (to appear) illustrates that Tibetan makes the distinction between information which is in the integrated part of the speaker's knowledge system (old knowledge) and that which is not (new knowledge). Akatsuka (1985) also claims on the basis of Japanese and English conditionals that languages are sensitive to the distinction between 'state of knowledge' and 'newly obtained knowledge'. All of

these works refer to the epistemic process relevant to the distinctions as 'assimilation' of experience into the mental or cognitive system of the speaker. That is, an experience is assimilated to the preexisting mental system to be stored as knowledge (the 'premonitory consciousness' in Slobin and Aksu (1982); the 'integrated part of the knowledge system' in DeLancey (1986); the 'state of knowledge' in Akatsuka (1985)). Certain experience such as surprise or unexpected situation, or current experience as opposed to past experience, are considered as unassimilated (yet to be a part of preexisting mental system). Inspired by these works, H-S. Lee (1985) also shows that a similar distinction is grammaticized in Korean. One thing that is noteworthy is that the elements expressing this distinction in the languages cited above have been regarded in other descriptions (e.g. traditional grammars of the languages) as evidential markers, that is, those expressing evidentiary sources of information. It is true that the elements in question in a given language express situations with different sorts of evidence such as inference, experience, quotative, etc. However, the problem of treating these elements as pure evidential markers is that, as mentioned in 3.3.3.2, they do not represent a unitary evidential meaning (Woodbury (1986); Givón 1984; Nichols, to appear). The reports of Slobin and Aksu (1982), DeLancey (to appear), Akatsuka (1985), and H-S. Lee (1985) suggest that these elements are not expressing evidentiary source per se but the various mental statuses of the speaker at the time of the utterance with regard to the situations described, and that we need to postulate a new category of modality, namely assimilatedness.

2.2.3.4. Summary of epistemic modality

I have discussed three different categories of epistemic modality in this section, certainty, evidential source, and assimilation. As the literature generally

assumes, these categories are closely tied with each other. Situations directly experienced by the speaker have been assimilated to the speaker's knowledge system , and the speaker has the highest certainty about them. Information obtained through inference or hearsay is less likely to be assimilated to the speaker's knowledge system, and the speaker may not fully commit himself/herself to the truth of the information. A presumption or conjecture about a situation including an unrealized one which is not experienced by the speaker represents the least commitment made by the speaker about the truth of the proposition denoting the situation. However, the three epistemic modal categories do not always coincide. A newly experienced situation may not have been assimilated yet, but it is hard to say that the speaker is not certain about it. A situation unexperienced by the speaker may be expressed with little certainty, but may have been assimilated to the speaker's knowledge system as uncertain information. Therefore, different epistemic modal categories must be dealt with separately, and a theory of epistemic modality must provide a means by which these different epistemic modal categories are identified in a given language

2.2.4. Speech acts

One of the most discussed and recognized categories of modality is that of speech acts (Searle 1969). Speech acts refer to how the propositional content is contributing to the communicative purpose of the speaker, or the speaker's intention with respect to the proposition in the context of the speech situation (Bybee 1985b:169). Therefore, this component is distinguished from epistemic modality, which refers to the speaker's assessment of the propositional content in terms of experiential components such as perception of situations and its integration into knowledge system (Whorf 1938, 'status' vs. 'modality'; Lyons 1977:725,

illocutionary force; Foley and Van Valin 1984:220, illocutionary force; Bybee 1985b:169-171).

There are two issues in the study of speech acts; (i) linguistic forms of the proposition that signal the communicative tasks ('sentence types', Sadock and Zwicky 1985) and (ii) the communicative tasks themselves that the speaker intends to fulfill. Basic categories of the former include declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives, (Sadock and Zwicky 1985). The latter includes warning, order, request, and assertion, promise, command, etc. In this thesis, I will not be concerned with the latter. I will be concerned with the sentence types marked by sentence-final suffixes in Korean.

2.3. Problems of theories of TAM.

I have thus far surveyed general theories of TAM. Various TAM categories have been recognized. The most important question raised is how a theory of TAM can be applied to a TAM system of individual languages, i.e., the generality of the theory. I will discuss three areas where the question of generality of a theory of TAM is raised.

[1] TAM categories: even though similar patterns recur across languages, TAM contrasts made in one language are never identical with those of other languages. For example, languages may differ in the criteria for their morphological category of perfective/imperfective; completedness may be relevant for one language, and totality may be relevant for others. Even with the same language, people use different criteria; Comrie (1976) argues that totality is important for perfectivity of Russian, whereas Dahl (1985:74-75) argues that boundedness is more relevant than totality in the Russian aspect system.

[2] Markedness: Is there a universal pattern of markedness value for TAM

categories, e.g. perfective tends to be morphologically unmarked? Friedrich (1974) and Comrie (1976) concede that such patterns do not exist, at least for aspect (see also Bybee 1985b:147, perfective is unmarked in 41% of her sample of 50 languages).

[3] Lexicalization of TAM categories: certain aspectual categories occur only in certain kind of lexical verbs; e.g. progressive meaning is restricted to non-stative verbs (Vendler 1967:97-121). However, it seems that lexical classification is language-specific; no cross-linguistically consistent semantic features are identified for stative vs. non-stative or active vs. stative distinction (Bybee 1985b:142-3; C-K. Oh 1975).

The problems of a theory of TAM given above are empirical questions. One of the main concerns in this thesis is how the Korean TAM system relates to the above problems. Some of the theories of TAM surveyed in this section will be evaluated, based on the characterization of the Korean TAM system given in this study.

Chapter 3. Preliminary description of the Korean verbal system and clause types.

As the literature points out, various meanings of tense, aspect, and modality categories are expressed cross-linguistically with verbal inflections (Bybee 1985; Dahl 1985). This is particularly true in Korean. A verbal phrase in Korean forms a complex that consists of a series of verbal affixes along with a verb stem. Verbal affixes in Korean express various tense, aspect, modality meanings as well as clausal relations, sentence types, and even speech styles. Therefore, before we discuss the Korean tense, aspect, and modality system, it is necessary to describe the Korean verbal system in general and the clausal or sentential types defined by verbal affixes. In this chapter, I will take a glance at structural properties of the verbal system in Korean, that is, the composition of verbal complexes and their typology, and how they define sentence types and speech styles.

3.1. Composition of verbal complex

A verbal complex in Korean consists minimally of a verb stem and a verbal suffix which I will call a 'terminal' suffix. A verb stem cannot stand alone, and is required to take a terminal suffix to form a verbal complex. Even the citation form of a verb is required to take the terminal suffix *-ta* (the details will be discussed in Chapter 5). A verbal complex can contain other suffixes between a verb stem and a terminal suffix. I will call these suffixes 'non-terminal' suffixes.[1] In this section, I will go over the typology of verbal suffixes and their relative ordering within a verbal complex.

1 In the literature, they have been referred to as 'pre-final'

3.1.1. Terminal suffixes

Terminal suffixes are obligatory in the sense that every verbal complex is required to have a terminal suffix. Terminal suffixes define various types of verbal complex in terms of their grammatical functions such as ending a sentence (sentence-terminal suffixes), modifying nominals (attributive suffixes), and linking to other verbal complexes or clauses (connectives), or in terms of their semantic or pragmatic functions such as indicating various clausal relations, epistemic statuses of the speaker, speech acts, deference, etc.

Terminal suffixes can be divided into two groups, 'clause-terminal' suffixes, and 'sentence-terminal' suffixes. The distinction between clause-terminal suffixes and sentence-terminal suffixes is based on whether they indicate clausal relations (grammatical or semantic) with other parts of texts (other clauses, nominals, or verbal complexes), or specify the speaker's attitudes toward the content of the attached clause itself. The suffixes expressing various grammatical and/or semantic relations with other parts of texts (e.g. other nominals, verbal complexes, and clauses) will be considered as clause-terminal suffixes. The clause-terminal suffixes specifically signal clausal relations such as reasons, causes, conditions, concessions, and circumstances, temporal and logical sequences, and grammatical relations such as nominalizers, attributive markers, complementizers, and conjunctions (these suffixes will be briefly described in Section 3.1.1.1). On the other hand, sentence-terminal suffixes specify the speaker's assessment of the propositional content described and the mental status of the addressee. For example,

(3.1) a. chæksang -e anc-ûmyôn
desk -LOC sit -COND

b. kongbu -nûn an ha -ko
study -TOP NEG do -CONN

c. hangsang phyônci -man ssû -ta kkûthna-a
always letter -only write-INTURRUP end -IE

(Leah 7: 81-82)

a. When I sit down at my desk,
b. putting my studying aside,
c. I always end up just writing letters.

The terminal suffix *-ûmyôn* in (3.1a) signals a conditional relation to the following clauses (a clausal relation) and *-ko* in (3.1b) signals a conjunctive relation to (3.1c). So *-ûmyôn* and *-ko* are clause-terminal suffixes. The terminal suffix *-a*, which I call the Informal Ending (IE) in (3.1c), on the other hand, indicates that the information is conveyed to the addressee as an integrated part of the writer's knowledge (the precise semantic and/or pragmatic details of *-a* will be discussed in Chapter 5). Therefore, of these three, only *-a* in (3.1c) is considered as a sentence-final suffix.

A formal unit that contains a sentence-terminal suffix constitutes what I call "utterance unit" (cf. the correspondence between 'idea unit' and 'intonation unit' in Chafe (1980, 1987). An utterance unit is roughly the same as a sentential unit in written language, where a sentence is defined conventionally as having a period [.], a question mark [?], or an exclamation mark [!]. Even though we cannot see these graphic markers, native speakers have intuitions about what might correspond in spoken language to a sentence in written language, presumably due to the nature of the two different kinds of terminal suffixes. That is, utterances ending with clause-terminal suffixes would be considered as incomplete utterances by native speakers, because clause-terminal suffixes indicate relationships with other nominals, verbal

complexes, and clauses. Those related parts need to be explicitly present or at least implied by discourse contexts (linguistically and/or extra-linguistically) in order for the clauses to be properly interpreted. When the related parts are explicitly present, clauses with clause-terminal suffixes always precede their related parts, unless the clauses express afterthoughts. On the other hand, sentence-terminal suffixes, which specify the clause itself in terms of the speaker's attitude rather than its relationship with other parts of texts, give the feeling of a complete utterance unit, because the utterance is interpretable independently of other parts of texts.[2] Therefore, even though (3.1) consists of three clauses, it is considered to form one utterance unit.

The criterion for clause-terminal vs. sentence-terminal given above is by no means straightforward. One problem is that a terminal suffix expressing clausal relations may represent an utterance unit when the related parts of an utterance are implicitly assumed (by, say, conversational implicature) rather than being explicitly present. The Circumstantial suffix *-(nû)nte*, for example, indicates that the situation described is the background circumstance under which other situations take place. Compare (3.2) and (3.3) below.

(3.2)a. kûnte ilôhke macu -chi-nûn ilôhke ssak cin-
then like:this face:to:face-hit -ATTR like:this swishingly pas-

--> cina -ss -nûnte
pass -ANT-CIRCUM

2 This may be too naive a statement in a strict sense because every single utterance needs contextual relations in order to be properly interpreted. However, I assume here for expository purpose that some utterances are interpretable independently of other parts of texts, ignoring contextual relations such as 'conversational implicature in the sense of Grice (1975) and 'propositional relations' in the sense of Mann and Thompson (1986).

b. caki moca-ka nalû-ô ka-ôss -ta
self hat -NOM fly -CONN go-ANT-DECL

(PS1:37-38)

a. Then, after they swoosh past each other,
b. then off flies his hat,

In (3.2) above, the situation described in (3.2b) [the hat's flying off] takes place under the circumstance described in (3.2a) [a bike boy's passing by a girl who was coming from the other direction]; that is, (3.2a) expresses the circumstantial background situation for (3.2b). Therefore, (3.2a) alone cannot be a complete utterance unit, and thus *-(nû)nte* functions as clause-terminal suffix. In (3.3b) and (3.3e) below, on the other hand, it is not clear what the *-nûnte* clauses are circumstantial background for, because their related parts are not explicitly expressed.

(3.3) [H and his father have been waiting for Hansang's call. H calls the father to check whether he has heard anything from Hansang.]

a. F: (Answering the phone in Japanese)
Hai Sapporo-ya desu
Hello Sapporo-ya be

--> b. H: cô -nte -yo
I -CIRCUM-DEF

c. F: ûng.
all:right

d. H: Hansangi -hanthe yônlak ôps -ôss -ô -yo?
Hangsang -from contact not:exist -ANT -IE -DEF

--> e. F: ôp -nûnte
not:exist -CIRCUM

f. H: ûng, i nyôsôk ôttôhke tø -n kô -ci?
– what this fellow how become -ATTR thing -COMM

(TC 1: 1-6)

a. F: Hello, this is Sapporo-ya
b. H: **It's me**, and
c. F: Yeah.
d. H: Hasn't there been a call from Hansang?
e. F: **No [why do you ask?]**.
f. H: Eh-eh, what has become of him?

In these cases, it appears that the *-(nû)nte* clause forms a complete utterance unit. Therefore, we may be forced to treat *-(nû)nte* here as a sentence-terminal suffix. In this study, however, I will treat *-(nû)nte* as clause-terminal suffix, because it expresses circumstantial relation to other parts of texts. Even in (3.3b) and (3.3e), in fact, we can infer from the discourse context what the-*(nû)nte* clauses are circumstantial for. (3.3b) has a function of establishing identity of the caller --we can see that the identification of the caller is recognized by the receiver in (3.3c). From this, one may infer that what (3.3b) is circumstantial for is something like 'So, have you recognized me?'. One may also infer that what (3.3e) is circumstantial for is something like 'So what do you have in mind?' or 'why are you looking for Hansang'. Therefore, I simply note that *-(nû)nte* is a clause-terminal suffix and *(nû)nte*-clauses can be utterance units when their related parts are implicitly assumed in texts.[3]

Anther problem in making a clear distinction between sentence-terminal suffixes and clause-terminal suffixes is that the same terminal suffixes may be used

3 (3.17b) may be viewed as conventionalized in telephone conversations as a way of identifying caller. It has a function of asking the addressee of confirmation for recognition of the caller's identification, only after which the caller can proceed for the purpose of calling.

both in expressing the speaker's attitudes and in indicating grammatical relations. The Disjunctive suffix *-(nû)nci* and the Non-Committal *-na*, for example, mark complement clauses of verbs that take interrogative complements, such as *al-* 'know', *molû-* 'be unaware of', *kungkûmha-* 'worry', 'be curious about', or 'wonder', *mut-* 'ask', etc, as in (3.4b) below.

(3.4) a. yôngkuk sinsa -nûn hanûl-esô pyôl-tta-ki -lo
England gentleman-TOP sky -LOC star -pick-NOML-as:much

himtûl-ô
hard -IE

b. mwô po -l ke iss -ta -ku
what see -ATTR thing:NOM exist -DECL-COMP

--> sinsa ununha-nûnci
gentleman call -DISJ

molû -kess -ô
not:know -DCT:RE-IE (Leah 8: 85-86)

a. It is as hard as picking stars in the sky to find a British gentleman.
b. I can't figure out **why people call them "gentlemen"**, 'cause I don't see anything special in them.

In (3.4b) above, the *-(nû)nci* clause is a complement clause of the matrix verb *molû-* 'not know' in (d). Similarly, the clauses ending with *-na*'s in (3.5) below are complements of the matrix verb *kungkûmha-* 'worry' or 'be curious about'.

(3.5) a. pap -ûn cal cac -a môk -na
--> meal -TOP well find -CONN eat -NCOMM

--> b. kongpu -nûn cal ha -na
study -TOP well do -NCOMM

--> c. mwô philyoha -n kôs -ûn ôps -na
like need -ATTR thing -TOP not:exist -NCOMM

--> d. yocûm nao -n yônghwa-tûl -ûn ta po -ass -na
recently come:out -ATTR movie -PL -TOP all see-ANT -NCOMM

e. kungkûmha-ci -to ahn -a?
curious -NOML-ADD NEG:do -IE

(Leah 4:8)

a. **if I eat well,**
b. **if I study well,**
c. **if I don't need anything,**
d. **if I have seen all the recent movies,**
e. don't you worry?

Those clauses containing *-(nû)nci* in (3.4b) and *-na* in (3.5) are not complete utterance units, because they function as complement clauses of the matrix verb *molû-* 'not know' and *kungkûmha-* 'worry' or 'be curious about' respectively. In (3.6a) and (3.6b) below, on the other hand, *-(nû)nci* and *-na* do not function as complementizers, because their clauses do not have matrix clauses and are not related to any other clauses.

(3.6) a. ilôn muô-lo cca -n kô -nci
like what-INSTR weave-ATTR thing-DISJ

b. musûn pe -lo cca -ôss -na
which hemp:cloth-INSTR weave-ANT-NCOMM

c. ilôn kwangculi iss -ci anh -a
like basket exist-NOML NEG:do -IE

(PS1:12)

a. like, **what is it that it's woven out of?**
b. **Is it woven with some kind of hemp cloth?**
c. You know? Like a basket.

In the above example, *-(nû)nci* and *-na* express the epistemic status of the speaker, that is, suspicion and non-committal or indeterminacy about the truth of a proposition respectively. In this case, we should say that (3.6a) and (3.6b) form complete utterance units. Therefore, it is not a straightforward matter to determine whether *-nûnci* and *-na* are clause-terminal suffixes or sentence-terminal suffixes. In this study, I treat them as sentence-terminal suffixes, because they express epistemic modality meanings. However, when I count the frequency of sentence-terminal suffixes, I exclude the cases where they are used as complementizer.

Given the distinction made above between clause-terminal suffixes and sentence-terminal suffixes, I will only deal with sentence-terminal suffixes as main topics of the study, since modality is the main concern of the study, not clausal relations (see K-D. Lee (1988) for details of some of the clausal connectives). In order to give an overall picture of the verbal system in Korean, however, I will give a general illustration of the two types of terminal suffixes in the following sections.

3.1.1.1. Clause-terminal suffixes

Clause-terminal suffixes include attributive (noun-modifying) suffixes and verbal or clausal connectives.

3.1.1.1.1. Attributive suffixes.

A verbal complex modifying a nominal (i.e., an attributive) in Korean consists of a verb stem followed by one of the two attributive suffixes, *-(û)n* or *-(û)l*,[4] which I call the 'Realis Attributive' marker and the 'Irrealis-Attributive' marker respectively. The Realis-Attributive marker *-(û)n* is used for attributive

4 The vowel *-û-* is deleted after stem-final vowel. We will represent the two attributive markers as *-ûn* and *-ûl* respectively.

clauses which express real situations (realis-attributive clauses), and the Irrealis-Attributive marker *-(û)l* is used for attributive clauses which express situations that have not taken place at a certain reference point but may take place subsequently (irrealis-attributive clauses). Examples (3.8) - (3.11) below show this contrast.

(3.8) yôksi kûlæ-to i Leah sængkakhæ cu -nûn
as:expected be:so-ADD this Leah think give -ATTR (SIMUL)

oppa -nûn sachon oppa -tûl cung -e oppa
big:brother-TOP cousin big:brother-PL middle-LOC big:brother

pakk-e ôps -ô
outside-LOC not:exist -IE

(Leah 8: 4)

'After all, you are the only **one, among all my cousin- brothers who cares for me among my cousins.**'

(3.9) acik han pôn-to phyônci mos -ha -n
yet one time-ADD letter NEG:IMPOT-do-ATTR (PFV)

salam -tûl -i sutulukha -ni+kka
person -PL-NOM plenty -DET+INTERR

nômu kwæssimhæ ha-ci ma
too insolent:CONN do-NOML stop:IE (IMPER) (Leah 8: 9)

'Don't blame me too much, because there are plenty of people to whom I couldn't write even once.'

(3.10) i -kô côn -puthô iss -tôn kô kath -ûnte
this-thing front-from exist-ATTR (IMPFV) thing same-CIRCUM

(K&H: 1)

'It looks like this is **the one that was here before**'

(3.11) amato Europe -ccok -ûlo ka -l kôs kath-æ
maybe Europe -side -LOC go -IRRL:ATTR thing same-IE

(Leah 8: 100)

'It seems like **I will be traveling around Europe.**'

(3.8), (3.9), and (3.10) are examples of realis attributive clauses, which are marked with the Realis Attributive suffix *-(û)n*. (3.11) is an example of irrealis attributive clause, which is marked with the Irrealis Attributive *-(û)l*. Notice that there are actually three different forms for realis attributive clauses, *-nûn* in (3.8), *-(û)n* in (3.9), -and *-tôn* in (3.10), which give different temporal interpretations: a simultaneous or present time interpretation with *-nûn*, a prior or past perfective interpretation with *-(û)n*, and a prior or past imperfective interpretation with *-tôn* respectively. Most of the literature considers the three forms for realis-attributive clauses as separate attributive markers. Even though such an analysis is tenable from a synchronic point of view, I will suggest that *-(û)n* alone is the Realis Attributive marker, at least historically. The apparent different forms of the realis-attributive markers can be attributed to the addition of the temporal markers *-nû-* or *-tô-* or to the lack of any temporal markers. The following gives the formulation of the three realis-attributive markers:

(i) -nûn < -nû + ûn : simultaneous
(ii) -ûn < -Ø + ûn (no temporal marker added) (prior-perfective)
(iii) -tôn < -tô + ûn (prior imperfective)

This analysis of the realis attributive markers has the advantage of allowing a consistent and coherent account of the temporal system in Korean, which I will present in Chapter 4.

3.1.1.1.2. Connectives.

Verbal suffixes that link two verbal complexes or clauses are called 'connectives'. Connectives in Korean can be further divided into two: (i) 'grammatical' connectives (ii) 'relational' connectives. Grammatical connectives are the ones that can be best characterized as being used in particular grammatical

constructions such as the 'Resultant State' construction, the 'Progressive' construction, the serial verb construction, complements, etc. For this kind of connectives, it is hard to identify their substantive meaning but their grammatical functions are relatively clear. Relational connectives are the ones that express temporal and "logical" relationships between clauses such as temporal sequences, conditions, background circumstances, concessions, and logical correlations (reasons, causes, motivations, etc). The relational connectives can be identified with their semantic and/or pragmatic meanings.

In the following, I will exemplify these two types of connectives.

3.1.1.1.2.1. Grammatical connectives

Some grammatical constructions in Korean involve a series of verbs or clauses combined together; for example, the so-called "Resultant State" construction, the so-called "Progressive" construction, the serial verb constructions, the periphrastic causative construction, complements, etc. In these constructions, verbs or verbal phrases are connected by a verbal suffix. For example, in the "Resultant State" constructions, the main verb is linked to the Existential Auxiliary verb *iss-* ' exist' by the connective -ô/a.[5]

(3.12) cikûm i sikan-e oppa -n class-e tûl -ô
now this hour -LOC brother-TOP class-LOC enter-CONN

ka-ô iss -kess -kun
go-CONN exist-DCT:RE-UNASSIM (Leah 3: 7)

'I presume you are in class at this hour.'

5 The variation between *-ô* and *-a* has to do with vowel harmony in Korean. The *-a* form is used when the last vowel of the verb stem is *-o-* or *-a*, and *-ô* is used elsewhere.

In (3.12) above, the main verb *tûl-ô ka-* 'enter' is connected to the existential verb *iss-* 'exist' by the Connective *-ô*, to express the addressee's being in class as a result of his having gone to class. Another example of the Connective *-ô* in the Resultant State construction is given in the example (3.13) below.

(3.13) yamaha ôccô -ku ssû -ô iss -nûn kô kath -ûnte?
Yamaha blabla-COMP write-CONN exist-ATTR thing same-CIRCUM
(K&H: 19)

'It looks like 'Yamaha something' is written (is that right?)'

The same Connective *-ô* is used in serial verb constructions, where a number of verbs are connected together to express a course of action or actions. For example,

(3.14) a. kûlôn taûm-e tto ice ta thôl -ô noh-ôss -ûni -kka
such next -LOC again now all shake:off-CONN put-ANT-DET-INTER

b. tto olû -ô ka-sô
again climb-CONN go-CONN

c. tto tta -nûn kô -i -ô
again pick-ATTR thing-be-IE
(PS1: 20)

a. After that, now again, now that he has **shaken** everything **out**,
b. he **climbs up**,
c. and start picking again.'

In (3.14a), the action of shaking out pears is expressed with two verbs *thôl-ta* 'to shake off' and *noh-ta* 'to put'. In (3.14b), the action of climbing up is expressed with two verbs, *olû-ta* 'to climb' and *ka-ta* 'to go'.[6] In both cases, two verbs

6 The function of the final verb (typically the second verb) of a serial verb construction (typically a two-verb construction) is often similar to those of auxiliary verbs; that is, it specifies other properties of the situation described by the preceding verb such as deictic direction, aspectual properties, effect of the situation, etc. For

are connected with the Connective *-ô*.

In sum, the Connective *-ô* is used in grammatical constructions such as the "Resultant State" constructions and the serial verb constructions, in which the final

example, In (3.14b), the second verb *ka-* 'go' is used as obviative deictic marker indicating that the action is taken away from the speaker's viewpoint (as in *tûl-ô ka-* 'enter' in (3.12)). If the situation were viewed from the tree, then the proximate verb *o-ta* 'to come' would be used.

The final verb of a serial verb construction expressing an aspectual meaning can be illustrated from the following example:

(i) chôlsu -nûn nam -ûn sul -ûl masi-ô pôli -ôss -ta
Chôlsu-TOP remain-ATTR liquor-ACC drink-CONN throw:away-ANT-DECL
'Chôlsu **drank up** the rest of the drink.'

In (i), *pôli-*, literally meaning 'throw away', expresses that the action is complete (it does not imply that the action is temporally completed though). Some scholars treat *pôli-ta* as a perfective or completive aspect marker (S-J. Hwang 1987). However, the aspectual meaning carried by *pôli-ta* is better characterized as 'aktionsart', not as belonging to an inflectional aspectual paradigm, as in Slavic languages (Dahl 1985:26-27), because *pôli-ta* actually creates a new lexeme with different inherent aspectual properties in a serial verb construction.

The final verb in a serial verb construction can express a benefactive effect of the situation described by the preceding verb. For example,

(ii) kû yæ -lûl mak ilûkhi-ôsô
that this:child-ACC haphazardly stand-CONN

mônci-to thôl -ô cu -ko
dust -ADD shake:off-CONN give-CONN
(PS1: 47)

'So, they haphazardly help the kid up,
and shake the dust off of him, ...'

In (ii), *cu-* 'give' indicates that the action (shaking off) is done for the sake of the recipient of the action.

verb specifies with deictic and aspectual properties and effects of the action described by the preceding verbs.

The Connective *-ko*, on the other hand, is used in different grammatical constructions. First of all, the Connective *-ko* is used in the so-called "Progressive" constructions with the existential verb *iss-ta*. For example,

(3.15) kû -nte acôssi-nûn kû wi -e olû -ô ka-sô
that-CIRCUM uncle -TOP that top-LOC climb-CONN go-CONN

tta -ko iss -ô
pick-CONN exist-IE

(PS1: 26)

'But the man is **picking** [pears] in the tree, ...'

The Connective *-ko* is also used to express action accompanying a situation. For example,

(3.16) a. ônû namca-ae -ka
a:certain male -child-NOM

b. koengcanghi khôtalah-ûn cacônkô-lûl tha -ko
remarkably big -ATTR bicycle -ACC ride-CONN

c. mak kôki aph -ûl cina-ô ka-taka
disorderly there front-ACC pass-CONN go-TRANSFER

d. ilôhke kû -kô -ûl po -n -ta
like:this that-thing-ACC see-IMPFV-DECL

(PS1: 22-25)

a. a certain boy,
b. **on a very big bicycle,**
c. is just then passing by,
d. and he sees all this.

In (3.16), *tha-ko* 'ride-CONN' in (b) expresses the way a boy passes by, namely on a bike. In both (3.15) and (3.16b), the function of *-ko* is to express an action

which a referent is engaged in simultaneously with some other situations that are described, e.g. in the case of (3.15), a durative state of being, which is expressed with the existential verb *iss-* 'exist', and in the case of (3.16b), an action of coming.

The Connective *-ko* is also used in narrative situations, where a series of parallel actions or states of affairs are described. For example,

(3.17)a. kûlæ kaci -ko
be:so take-CONN

b. kû yæ -lûl mak ilûkhi-ôsô
that this:child-ACC haphazardly stand -CONN

--> môнci-to thôl -ô cu -ko
dust -ADD shake:off-CONN give-CONN

c. taûm-e
next -LOC

--> d. cacônkô-l tto sô -u -ô cu -ko
bicycle -ACC again stand-CAUS-CONN give-CONN

--> e. pæ -lûl mak tam -a kaci-ko
pear-ACC haphazardly put:in-CONN take-CONN

f. tolo cu -ô
back give-IE

-> g. kûliko yæ -nûn ka-l kil ka-ko
and this:child-TOP go-ATTR road go-CONN

h. yæ -tûl-ûn tto o -tô -n kil -l ilôhke
this:child-PL-TOP again come-RETROS-ATTR road-ACC like:this

kyesok hyangha-ôsô ka-nûnte
continuously face -CONN go-CIRCUM

(PS 1: 46-53)

a. So,
b. **they [three boys] haphazardly help the kid up, and shake the dust off of him,**
c. and then,
d. **they stand the bike up,**
e. **haphazardly put the pears in,**
f. and give them back to him.
g. And **the boy goes on his way,**
h. and the boys continue on their way

(3.17) describes a situation where three boys are helping a boy who had fallen off his bike. The actions described in (b), (d), (e), and (f) are parallel with each other, because they are a series of actions the three boys take to help the bike boy, and are connected with *-ko*. Similarly, (3.17g) and (3.17h) describe parallel actions taken by the bike boy and the three boys, and (3.17g) and (3.17h) are connected with *-ko*. It is often pointed out in the literature that *-ko* expresses temporally sequenced actions and events in narratives (S-J. Hwang 1987). The Connective *-ko* in (3.17b) and (3.17d) apparently fits such a description. However, (3.17g) and (3.17h) are connected with *-ko*, but they are not temporally sequenced. It seems that the real function of *-ko* is to express parallel actions or states of affairs in the form of conjunctive constructions. The interpretation of the temporal sequence is obtained derivatively in narratives, where a series of actions and events a main character (or characters) of the narrative is engaged in are frequently presented in temporal sequence.

In sum, the Connective *-ko* is used in those constructions, including the so-called "Progressive" constructions, that express actions or states which a referent is engaged in simultaneously with other actions, and conjunctive constructions, which express parallel actions or states of affairs.

Some terminal suffixes are used to mark clausal complements. We have

already seen that *-nûnci* and *-na* function as complementizers, as in (3.4b) and (3.5) respectively. Complementizers indicate that clauses they mark are propositional complements of a matrix verbs. Depending on the nature of matrix verbs, complements can be interrogative or declarative. For example, in (3.18) below as well as in (3.4b), the Disjunctive suffix *-nûnci* is used to mark an interrogative complement.

(3.18) kûliko tto ôlmana swip-ko ppalli côkûng -ha-nûnci mak
and also how easy-CONN fast adjustment-do-DISJ disorderly

isangha-ô
strange -IE

(Leah 7: 10)
'And It is also very strange how easily and quickly I have adjusted.'

In (3.19) below, on the other hand, a declarative complement is marked with *-ko* after a declarative proposition.[7]

7 It is not clear whether *-ko* in (3.19) is the same as the Connective *-ko* discussed earlier for (3.15), (3.16), and (3.17). The difference is the Connective *-ko* is attached to a verb stem or a non-terminal suffix, whereas *-ko* in (3.19) is attached to a terminal suffix which indicates a sentence type, namely the Declarative terminal suffix *-ta*. In fact, *-ko* as a complementizer can be attached to complements of different sentence types, such as the imperative, interrogative, and propositive. In this sense, *-ko* in (3.19) is not a verbal suffix as the way it is used. Examples of *-ko* attached to other terminal suffixes are given in the following.

(i)a. kû pun -tûl -i uli tu 'Miss Lee'-ûi 'tæpu (GodFather)'-lo
that person -PL -NOM 1PL two Miss Lee -GEN God:Father -OBL

cachôngha-ko nasô -sô
volunteer -CONN embark:on-CONN

b. kongpuha-la -ko mænnal cansoliha-si -ô
study -IMPER -COMP everyday nagging -HONOR -IE

(3.19) kûlæsô næ -ka o -ni -kka
so I -NOM come -DET-INTERR

nômu ttût pakk -e mikuk -esô o -ass -ta -ko
too thought outside-LOC America -LOC come-ANT-DECL-COMP

kû ônni -ka coh -asô ôccô -l cul moll -a
that sister-NOM good -PRECED do:something-ATTR way not:know-IE
(Leah 7: 15)

'So when I got here,
she [that Big Sister] was was surprised that I came from America, and
she was so glad that she didn't know what to do.'

---

c. uli -n kûlômyôn tôuk sinnake nolko
1PL-TOP then more having:fun play:around

d. kathi nol -ca -ko mak kkosiko.
together play -PROP -COMP just lure
(Leah 7: 29-31)

a. They have volunteered to be our [me and the Big Sister, who are both 'Miss Lee'] "Godfather",
b. and they nag us all the time **to study.**
c. But then, we play around, having more fun,
d. And we even tempt them **to have fun with us.**

(ii) kû salam -i na -poku ôti sa -nûnya -ko
that person-NOM 1SG-DAT where live-INTERR-COMP

mut-tô -nte.
ask -RETROS-CIRCUM
'He asked me **where I lived.**'

In (i)a, *-ko* is attached to an imperative complement ending with the Imperative terminal suffix *-la*, and in (i)d, *-ko* is attached to a propositive complement ending with the Propositive terminal suffix *-ca*. In (ii), *-ko* is attached to an interrogative complement ending with the Interrogative terminal suffix *-nûnya* .

Considering its difference from the Connective *-ko* in its grammatical function, I will refer to *-ko* used in these examples and (3.19) as the Complementizer *-ko*.

The clause-terminal suffixes illustrated in this section, namely *-ô* and *-ko*, are characterizable only through the grammatical constructions in which they are used, e.g. the "Resultant State" constructions, the serial verb constructions, the "Progressive" constructions, the conjunctive constructions, complement clauses, etc. That is, their semantic nature is hard to capture in any substantive way. Therefore, I will refer to them as "grammatical" Connectives.

3.1.1.1.2.2. Relational connectives

As briefly defined earlier, relational connectives are clause-terminal suffixes that express textual relations between clauses or verbal complexes such as sequentiality, simultaneity, cause, result, concession, circumstance, conditions, etc. In recent literature, it is pointed out that these textual relations are crucial to the organization of texts, anaphoric expressions, marking of "subordination", etc. (cf. 'Rhetorical Structure Theory'[8] in Mann and Thompson 1986; Matthiessen and Thompson 1988; Fox 1986; Chen 1986). In Korean, some of those textual relations are coded on a verb with an interpretation at a very narrow local level, say, within a sentence or two. Examples of the coding of textual relations are given in the following.

Simultaneity

(3.20) yôcônhi kongpu-ha -myônsô cal iss -kess -ci.
still study -do-SIMUL well exist -DCT:RE-COMM
(Leah 7: 3)

'I figure [you] are all right, still studying, right?.'

---

8 The textual relations among different parts of texts are called 'propositional relations' in Rhetorical Structure Theory.

In (3.20), *-myônsô* indicates that the action of studying is simultaneous with the addressee's being well.

Background circumstances

(3.21)a. Yôngkuk-e o -n ci kyôu han tal pan pakk-e
England -LOC come-ATTR time at:best one month half only -LOC

an twæ -ss -nûnte
NEG become-ANT-CIRCUM

b. nômu olæ toe -n kôs kath -æ
too long become -ATTR thing seem -IE

(Leah 7: 8)

a. **It has been only a month and a half since I came to England, but**
b. it seems like it has been a long time.'

In (3.21), *-nûnte* indicates that the clause it is attached to expresses the background circumstance against which Leah's feeling that she's been in England for a long time is expressed. See also example (3.2).

Conditions[9]

(3.22)a. haciman oppa
however big:brother

b. i -pôn -e PAYCHECK pat -ûmyôn
this-time -LOC paycheck receive -COND

9 Conditionals expressed with *-(û)myôn* in Korean include both hypothetical and non-hypothetical conditionals, the latter being the case where the speaker assumes the situation in the conditional clause actually takes place in real life, as is the case given here in (3.22); that is, the writer knows that her getting a paycheck will happen.

c. kanûngsông -i iss -ki -tu hæ (amsi amsi)
possibility -NOM exist -NOML -ADD do:IND (hint hint)

(Leah 1: 9)

a. But, Big brother,
b. when I get a paycheck this time,
c. maybe, just maybe, you will get a chance (hint! hint!).'

In (3.22), *-(û)myôn* expresses a condition (the writer [Leah] gets a paycheck) on which the addressee may get a chance to be invited for lunch.

Temporal or logical precedence

The Connective *-(ô)sô* indicates that the situation it marks necessarily precedes other situations described subsequently, either temporally or logically. For example,

(3.23)a. kûlæ kaci -ko
be:so take-CONN

b. kû yæ -lûl mak ilûkhi-ôsô
that this:child-ACC haphazardly stand-PRECED

c. mônci-to thôl -ô cu -ko
dust -ADD shake:off-CONN give-CONN

(PS1: 46-47)

a. So,
b. **they [three boys] haphazardly help the kid up,**
c. and shake the dust off of him,

In (3.23), *-ôsô* indicates that the action of helping the kid up necessarily precedes the action of shaking the dust off of him. This function of *-(ô)sô* may be compared with the uses of the Connective *-ko* in (3.17b) and (3.17d), which express a series of parallel actions or events. As discussed earlier, however, *-ko* does not

necessarily imply the sequentiality of the actions or events described, but simply indicate their parallelism, as illustrated between (3.17g) and (3.17h). The sequentiality occasionally expressed with *-ko* is a derived interpretation from a narrative context where actions and events are frequently presented in temporal sequence. The Connective *-(ô)sô*, on the other hand, indicates a necessary sequential relation between the clause it marks and other clauses that are connected, that is, the former precedes the latter. In fact, the precedence relation expressed with *-(ô)sô* is not limited to temporal relations, but to applies to logical relations as well. That is, *-ôsô* marks a situation whose occurrence is a logically necessary condition (e.g. reason, cause, etc.) for other situations. For example,

(3.24) kamki kôly -ôsô kholokkôli -ci -n
cold catch-PRECED keep:coughing-NOML-TOP

anh -kess -ci?
NEG:do-DCT:RE-COMM

(Leah 3: 4)

'[I hope/believe] you aren't coughing **because of a cold**, are you?
(Lit. [I believe] it is not the case that (you) caught a cold, and are coughing because of it, [are you?])

In (3.24), catching a cold is a logically possible reason for coughing, hence marked with *-(ô)sô*. As seen in (3.23) and (3.34), *-ôsô* indicates necessary precedence (either temporal or logical) of a situation to other situations.

Shift of an action to another

The Connective *-taka* expresses that there is a shift in action or event. For example,

(3.25) a. ônû namca-ae -ka
a:certain male -child-NOM

b. koengcanghi khôtalah-ûn cacônkô-lûl tha -ko
remarkably big -ATTR bicycle -ACC ride-CONN

--> c. mak kôki aph -ûl cina-ô ka-taka
disorderly there front-ACC pass-CONN go-TRANSF

d. ilôhke kû -kô -ûl po -n -ta
like:this that-thing-ACC see-IMPFV-DECL

(PS1: 22-25)

a. a certain boy,
b. on a very big bicycle,
c. **is just passing by,**
d. and [on his way] he sees all this [a man picking pears].

(3.25) describes a scene where a boy's action is shifted from passing by to witnessing a man picking pears. As glimpsed in the above example, the Connective *-taka* often gives a sense of interruption (H-B. Choe 1977); that is, the boy's passing by is interrupted by his seeing a man picking pears. As illustrated in S-C. Song (1983), the meaning of interruption expressed with *-taka* is one of many meanings obtained with the connective. For example,

(3.26) onûl -ûn hakkyo-e ka-ss -taka
today-TOP school-LOC go-ANT-TRANSF

pam -e tol -a o -ss -ta
night-LOC turn-CONN come-ANT-DECL

'I went to school, and returned home at night.'

With the Anterior *-ôss-*, *-taka* expresses a sequence of actions which often take characteristically opposite (or contrastive at least) courses in nature, as in (3.26) above. In this case, the action marked by *-taka* (i.e., going to school) is completed, and thus cannot be considered as interrupted. Therefore, I consider the "shift in action" as the core meaning of *-taka*.[10] Following Martin (1954:47), I call the

connective the "Transferentive".

Purpose

(3.27) næ -ka acu khû-n mam môk-ko cômsim-e
I -NOM well big -ATTR mind eat -CONN lunch -LOC

chotæha-lyôko o -ass -nûnte
invite -PURP come -ANT -CIRCUM

(Leah1: 2)

'I came to invite [you] to lunch, but ...'

In (3.27), *-lyôko* expresses the purpose of Leah's visiting her cousin.

Reason

(3.28) oppa -ka ôps -ôss -ûni +kka
brother -NOM not:exist -ANT-DET+INTERR

ha -l mal ôps -ûl kô -i -a
do -ATTR word not:exist -ATTR thing -be -IE

(Leah 2: 6)

'You wouldn't have anything to say since it's you who missed me.'

10 S-C. Song (1983) characterizes *-taka* as expressing "congruity" of two actions expressed, illustrating that the connective may express "overlapping" or "concurrence", as in the following examples (Song' s (11a) and (11b):

(i) cam -ûl ca -taka kkum -ûl kku -ôss -ta
sleep-ACC sleep-TRANSF dream-ACC dream-ANT-DECL
'(I/He/She) had a dream in my/his/her sleep.'

(ii) yônphil-ûl kkakk -taka son -ûl pi -ôss -ta
pencil -ACC sharpen-TRANSF hand-ACC cut-ANT-DECL
'(I/He/She) had my/his/her finger cut while sharpening a pencil.'

Even though his notion of "congruity" may account for the uses of *-taka* in (i) and (ii) above, it is not specific enough to encompass the meaning of the shift in action illustrated in (3.25) and (3.26).

In (3.28), *-(û)nikka* expresses the reason for Leah's assumption that the addressee (her cousin brother) would not say anything. Note that as discussed above, *-ôsô* can also express reason as part of its meaning, logical precedence. The difference seems that reasons expressed by *-nikka* are assumed to be obvious and thus accepted by the addressee without any challenge,[11] whereas those expressed by *-ôsô* need to be specified as non-presupposed. The suffix *-nikka* can be best translated with 'since', 'now that ...', or 'given that ...', whereas *-(ô)sô* cannot be translated with these expressions in English. The difference between the reasons expressed by *-nikka* and *-ôsô* has been a continuous topic of debate in the literature (J. Ree 1975, 1978). A comprehensive analysis of the difference is beyond the scope of this thesis though.

3.1.1.1.2.3. Some remarks on connectives

In this section, I discussed two kinds of connectives, grammatical connectives (3.1.1.1.2.1) and relational connectives (3.1.1.1.2.2). Like the distinction between clause-terminal suffixes and the sentence-terminal suffixes discussed earlier, however, the distinction between grammatical connectives and relational connectives is not straightforward. It seems to be a matter of degree of grammaticization, that is, how a suffix loses its substantive meaning and becomes abstract and generalized as a grammatical morpheme. For example,

(3.29)a. kûlô -taka ilôhke ince

11 I assume that *-ûnikka* can be further analysed as combination of the Determinative *-ûni* and the Interrogative *-kka* as I gloss in the example. A similar pattern is found in Papago where the obvious reason which the speaker assumes the addressee will not challenge is expressed with the combination of the negation marker *-p* and the interrogative 'initiator' *ni-* (Saxton 1982). Note that *-ûnikka* in Korean also expresses obvious reasons.

do:so-TRANSFER like:this now

b. macu cina -chi-ke toe -ni +kka -nûn
face:to:face pass-hit -RESULT become-DET+INTER-TOP

(PS 2: 33-34)

a. Now going like that,
b. they come to pass by face to face,

(3.30) hwamyôn-ûl cak -ke mantû-n iyu -ka
screen -ACC small-RESULT make -ATTR reason-NOM

RESOLUTION-i an coh-asô kûlæ
resolution -NOM NEG good-PRECED be:so:IND

(K&H: 185)

'The screen is made small because the resolution is no good [if it is made big]' (Lit. The reason why [they] made the screen small is because the resolution is not good [if it is big])

In (3.29) above, the Resultative suffix *-ke* expresses that the content of the clause is a result. In this case, -ke seems to function as a relational connective suffix. In (3.30), on the other hand, *-ke* is used in a periphrastic causative construction to express the caused situations. In this case, *-ke* is used in a specific grammatical construction, namely a causative construction. The resultative meaning can still be detected in causative constructions. However, it is grammaticized or at least in the process of grammaticization as marking causative construction along with the general causative verb *ha-* 'do'. A more vivid illustration of the grammaticization of *-ke* is in (3.31) below, where *-ke* is used as an adverbial marker.

(3.31) com nappû-ke sængki-n æ -tûl -i -nte
a:little bad -RESUL appear -ATTR child-PL-be-CIRCUM

(PS 1: 44)

'... [they] sort of look like bad boys, ...'

In synchronic Korean, descriptive verbs productively become adverbs by inflecting

with *-ke*. For this reason, some of the literature treats *-ke* as an Adverbial marker. In this case, the resultative meaning is no longer transparent, and only the grammatical meaning of adverbializing is apparent.

One may even view *-ke* used in periphrastic causative constructions as a complementizer, that is, marking a clausal complement of the causative verb *ha-ta* 'to do'. Such a view has the advantage of allowing a comparison among different kinds of complementation. For example, *-ke* can be viewed as introducing a resultative complement, compared to *-tokok*, which can be viewed as introducing an "inductive" complement. Therefore, *-ke* can be viewed as either a grammatical connective (i.e., Adverbial or Causative connective), a relational connective (i.e., Resultative connective), or a complementizer (Resultative complementizer as opposed to Inductive complementizer). Whether *-ke* should be treated as a grammatical or relational connective, or a complementizer cannot be solved here. I simply note the classification problem.

The classification of clause-terminal suffixes discussed here is not exhaustive and I do not intended to propose a theory of typology of clause-terminal suffixes in Korean, but to give a general structural picture of the verbal complex in Korean for expository purposed.

3.1.1.2. Sentence-terminal suffixes

As illustrated in the preceding section, the clause-terminal suffixes express relations between clauses or between a clause and some other part of a sentence. sentence-terminal suffixes, on the other hand, specify the speaker's attitudes toward or assessment of the content of the proposition itself or a referent in description or the addressee; that is, they specify various experiential and performative components of situations described by the proposition, such as epistemic modality

meanings, so-called "sentence types", illocutionary forces, and the degree of politeness.

Sentence-terminal suffixes can be classified into three groups depending on the kinds of modality meanings they express: (i) epistemic modality suffixes, (ii) sentence-type suffixes, and (iii) illocutionary force suffixes. In this section, I will give a typology of sentence-terminal suffixes in terms of what modality categories they express. The exact meaning of each suffix, however, will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

3.1.1.2.1. Epistemic modality suffixes

Epistemic modality suffixes express different mental statuses of the speaker, such as the degree of commitment (certainty, belief) about the truth of a proposition, knowledge status, assumption about the addressee's mind, etc. For example,

(3.32) onûl achim -e oppa phyônci-lang CATALOGUE
today morning -LOC big:brother letter -with catalogue

pat -ass -ô
receive-ANT-IE (Leah 8: 2)
'I received your letter and the catalogue this morning.'

(3.33) cal iss -kuna MACINTOSH.
well exist -UNASSIM Macintosh. (K&H: 119)
'[I see] It looks all right, your Macintosh.'

(3.34) cosimha-ôya toe -kess -ne ikô
careful -NECESS become-DCT:RE-FR this:thing
(K&H: 93)
'[I realized through reasoning] I must be careful, with this.'

In the above examples, *-ô*, *-kun(a)*, and *-ne* express the speaker's assessments in terms of his or her status of knowledge about the conveyed information. That is, the Informal Ending suffix *-ô* indicates that the conveyed information is from an integrated part of the speaker's knowledge due to previous access to the situation described, as in (3.32). The Unassimilated marker *-kun* in (3.33), on the other hand, indicates that the conveyed information has entered the speaker's consciousness, but is yet to be assimilated to the speaker's knowledge system (H-S. Lee 1985). In (3.34), the Factual Realization marker *-ne* expresses factual realization on the part of the speaker.

Other sentence-terminal suffixes express the speaker's beliefs, e.g. the degree of commitment or certainty about the truth of proposition described. For example,

(3.35) [S and H have been talking about the capacity of Dodger Stadium, and the possibility of sell-out on a weekday.]
a. H: NEW YORK METS-ka o -n -ta kûlô -myônûn
New York Mets -NOM come-IMPFV-DECL be:so-COND

b. SOLDOUT toe -l su -tu iss -ci
soldout become-ATTR way-ADD exist-COMM
(S&H: 104-105)

a. H: If New York Mets come [to play],
b. **there may be a sellout [of course].**

In (3.35), the speaker expresses his conviction that there may be a sell-out for the Mets game, with the Committal suffix *-ci*, as indicated by 'of course' in the translation.

In (3.36) below, with the Non-Committal *-na*, on the other hand, the speaker wonders if the same thing has taken place recently in the department as happened when he left ten years ago. In this case, the speaker is undetermined or non-committed about the truthfulness of the proposition conveyed.

(3.36) [H remembers that a soccer game was part of an annual welcoming party for freshmen [in the linguistics department], which he attended ten years ago, and asks S about recent news about the department.].

H: sinipsæng hwanyônghoe ttæ tto chukku-hæ-ss -na?
new:comer welcoming:party time again soccer -do -ANT-NCOMM
(S&H; 495-496)
'Did you play a soccer game for the welcoming party too [I'm wondering]?'

All the sentence-terminal suffixes illustrated in this section, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, express the speaker's epistemic status of various kind on the information conveyed.

3.1.1.2.2. Sentence type suffixes

The sentence-terminal suffixes discussed above, which express various epistemic modality meanings, occur most often in informal styles of the language, as the above examples are taken from conversational texts and informally written personal letters. In formal styles of the language such as most writings (academic writings, newspaper articles, and literary writings) and public speeches (broadcasting, public announcement), sentence-terminal suffixes express sentence-types rather than epistemic modalities. For example,

(3.37) a. puhwal -kwa yôngsæng-ûn imi hananim-kkesô
resurrection-COM eternal:life-TOP already God -NOM:HONOR

kyehoek-ha-si -ôss -ko
plan -do-HONOR-ANT-CONN

b. yaksok -ha-ô noh-ûn kôs -i -p -ni -ta
promise-do-CONN put -ATTR thing-be-POL-IND-DECL
(The Mustard Seed 67)
a. Resurrection and eternal life is already planned,

b. and guaranteed by God.

(3.38) côlm -ôss -ûl côk-e mikuk -e o -asô
young-ANT-ATTR time-LOC America-LOC come-PRCDNT

kongpu-ha-nûn kôs -i kkum -i -ôss -ta
study -do-ATTR thing-NOM dream-be-ANT-DECL
(The Disciples' Voice, no.83)
'It was my dream in early days that I could come to study in America.'

(3.39) mal -lo -man tût -tô -n kuntæ-sænghwal-ûl
word-OBL-only hear-RETROS-ATTR army -life -ACC

lôhke chehôm -ha-ko iss -ta -nûn sasil-i
like:this experience-do-CONN exist-DECL-ATTR fact -NOM

mit -ô ci -ci anh -ne
believe-CONN become-NOML NEG:do-FM:DWRD:DECL
(J-S. Yoo: 12-13)
'I cannot believe the fact that I am personally experiencing the army life that I am familiar with only through stories.'

In the above examples, the sentence-terminal suffixes, *-ta* in (3.37) and (3.38), and *-ne* in (3.39), indicate that the proposition is a declarative statement rather than a question or command. Therefore, they are all 'Declarative' suffixes. As will be discussed later, the different Declarative suffixes in the above are used in different communicative situations in terms of formality and the degree of politeness. For example, (3.37) is an example of a speech style which I call the "formal upward" style, which is used in formal situations (the criteria for formality will be discussed later) and when the addressee is higher in social rank and older in age or treated as such (as in the case of addressing the public). (3.39) is an example of a speech style which I call the "formal downward" style, which is used when the addressee is equal to or lower than the speaker in social rank and age, but needs to

be respected according to social etiquette. On the other hand, (3.38) is an example of a speech style which I call the "neutral style", which is used when the interpersonal relationship is irrelevant, i.e., is neutralized, as in most writings, or ignored because the addressee is obviously lower in social rank and age and there is no need to respect him/her.

In contrast with the above suffixes, the sentence-terminal suffixes in the following examples indicate that the proposition is a question; that is, they are Interrogative suffixes.

(3.40) i chônsa-ûi mul-ûm -e tangsin -ûi tætap -ûn
this angel -GEN ask -NOML-LOC 2:HONOR-GEN response-TOP

muôs-i -p -ni -kka
what -be-POL-IND-INTERR (The Mustard Seed 67)

'What is your response to this question of the angel?'

(3.41) kû -kôs -to QUESTION-i -la -ko mul-ô po -nya
that-thing-ADD question -be-INTROS-COMP ask -CONN see-INTERR
(Leah 8: 14)

'Do you ask that as a question?'

The sentence-terminal suffix *-kka* in (3.40) is an Interrogative suffix used in the formal upward style, and is compared with (3.37), which is an example of the Declarative suffix *-ta* in the same style. Note that, in the formal upward style illustrated in (3.37) and (3.40), both declarative statements and interrogative statements are marked with what I call the"Indicative" suffix *-ni-*. The suffix *-nya* in (3.41) is an interrogative suffix used in what I call the blunt style. In the blunt style, declarative statements are indicated by the Declarative *-ta* as in the case of the neutral style shown in (3.38).

In the following examples, the sentence-terminal suffixes indicate that the proposition is a command.

(3.42)a. namu-e munce -ka iss -ûsi -p -ni -kka
tree -LOC problem-NOM exist-HONOR-POL-IND-INTERR

b. cônmunka-i-n côhûi -tûl-ûl chac-a
expert -be-ATTR 1:POL-PL-ACC visit -CONN

cu -si -p -si -o
give-HONOR-POL-JUSS-IMPER
(AD)

a. Do you have problems with your trees?
b. Please visit us. We are experts on them.

(3.43) i yôpsô pat -kôtûn
his postcard receive-CORREL

kkok yônlak -hæ cu -ke
surely correspondence- do:CONN give-FM:DWRD:IMPER
(I-K. Lee)

'Please write to me for sure, when you get this postcard [aerogram].

(3.44) il -ha-ki silh -kôtûn
work-do-NOML dislike-CORREL

môk-ci -to ma -la
eat -NOML-ADD stop-IMPER
(Proverb)

'If you do not want to work, do not eat either.

The Imperative suffix *-o* in (3.42) indicates that a proposition is a command, in contrast with the declarative statement (3.37), and the interrogative (3.40), which all are examples of the formal upward style. Note that the declarative *-ta* in (3.37) and the Interrogative *-kka* in (3.40) are preceded by the Indicative suffix *-ni-*, whereas the Imperative *-o* in (3.42) is preceded by the Jussive *-si-*. As will be

discussed later, the Indicative *-ni-* indicates that the proposition is the mode of conveying information and is subject to truth conditions, whereas the Jussive *-si-* indicates that the proposition is in the mode of requesting actions. The Imperative *-ke* in (3.43) is used in the formal downward style to express a command, in contrast with the Declarative *-ne* in (3.39). In the neutral style and the blunt style, *-(ûlô)la* is used as in (3.44) to mark a command, in contrast with the Declarative *-ta* in (3.38) and the Interrogative *-nya* in (3.41).

The sentence-terminal suffixes in the following examples indicate that the proposition is a proposal.

(3.45)a. iptæ hu chôûm tæhæ po-nûn phyônci-e
enlistment after first:time face:CONN see-ATTR letter -LOC

nolla-ci-nûn mal-ko
surprised-NOML-TOP stop-CONN

b. kû -tongan "musosik-ûn hûsosik" cuûi -e
that-while no:news -TOP good:news principle-LOC

ôkûsnam-i ôps-i sænghwal-hæ o -n
discord -NOM not:exist-ADV life -do:CONN come-ATTR

--> kôs -ûlo -man yôki -se
thing-OBL-only regard-FM:DWRD:PROP
(J-S. Yoo: 2)

a. Don't be surprised with the first letter you've received [from me] since I enlisted [in the armed forces],
b. and **let's take it just as I have been living during the while, conforming to the principle "no news is good news".**

(3.46) sôlo wilo -ha-myô sal-ca
each:other cherishing-do-SIMUL live-PROP
(The Disciple's Voice, no.86)
'Let's live cherishing each other

The suffix *-se* in (3.45) is used to mark a proposal in the formal downward style, in contrast with the Declarative *-ne* in (3.39) and the Imperative *-ke* in (3.43). In the neutral style and the blunt style, a proposal is indicated by the Propositive *-ca*, as in (3.46).[12]

Four kinds of sentence types indicated by the sentence-terminal suffixes have been discussed above; (i) declaratives, (ii) interrogatives, (iii) imperatives, and (iv) propositives. As discussed above, different sets of sentence-terminal suffixes are used to indicate sentence types in different communicative situations. Therefore, it should be noted that these suffixes not only indicate sentence-types but also define speech styles by their uses in particular speech situations. The different speech styles defined by these sentence-terminal suffixes will be discussed later.

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12 In the formal upward style, proposals are indicated with the Declarative *-ta* along with the Jussive *-si-*. For example,

hûnkûm-ûn tûl -ô o -si -l ttæ
offering -TOP enter-CONN come-HONOR-ATTR time

ipku -ham-e tûli -si -p -si -ta
entrance-box-LOC give:POL-HONOR-POL-JUSS-DECL
(The Disciple's Church 3.6)
'Let's put your offering in the box at the entrance when you come in.'

As such, proposals are formally distinguished from declarative statements by the Jussive suffix *-si-* as opposed to the indicative *-ni-*, while both are marked with the Declarative *-ta*. On the other hand, proposals are also formally distinguished from commands by the Declarative *-ta*, as opposed to the Imperative *-o*, while both are marked with the Jussive *-si-*.

3.1.1.2.3. Illocutionary force terminal suffixes

Some sentence-terminal suffixes express illocutionary forces such as the speaker's intention or promise. For example,

(3.47) næ tto yônlak-ha-ma
I again contact-do-PROM
'[I promise] I will be in touch again.'

(3.48) næ -ka CLASS -esô ppalli nao -l su iss -nûntælo
I -NOM class -LOC early come:out-IRREAL way exist -as

nao -lkke
come:out-INT (Leah 5: 3)

'I will come out of class as early as I can.'

The Promissive suffix *-ma* in (3.47) and the Intentional suffix *-(û)lkke* in (3.48) indicate that the propositions in question are promises. The difference between the two seems to lie in formality and the degree of politeness. The fact that *-ma* is hardly used in speaking but could be used in writing among age-mate friends suggests that *-ma* is rather formal. *-Ma* cannot be used with an addressee senior to the speaker, whereas *-ûlkke* can if the communicators are intimate enough, e.g. among family members.

3.1.1.2.4. Sentence-terminal suffixes and utterance types

Sentence-terminal suffixes signal a complete utterance unit, which is analogous to a sentential unit in written language (see Section 3.1.1 for the discussion). Therefore, sentence-terminal suffixes define each utterance unit according to their semantic and/or communicative functions, that is, modality meanings of various kinds such as sentence-types, epistemic modalities, and

illocutionary forces. It has also been noted that sentence-terminal suffixes define different speech styles, because in order to indicate sentence types, different communicative situations utilize different sets of sentence terminal suffixes, which in turn characterize each speech style.

Sentence-terminal suffixes can define utterance units in another way, namely by their structural properties. That is, utterance units can be classified into three utterance types in terms of the way their sentence-terminal verbal complexes are composed: (i) 'simple modality' utterance units, (ii) 'complex' constructions, and (iii) 'quotatives'. The simple modality utterance unit consists of an undecomposable single morpheme. Complex constructions historically developed from attributive constructions with various bound nominals. The quotatives consists of one of the simple modality suffixes followed by another terminal suffix. For this reason, the quotatives are called 'double modality' in the literature (Yang 1972). The complex constructions and the quotatives were originally not verbal affixes; they were either periphrastic constructions or combinations of more than one morpheme historically. However, I will discuss these two groups along with the simple modality morphemes, which are the main concern of this thesis, because they express various modality meanings like the simple modality suffixes. Besides, there are several reasons, which I will briefly go over, for treating those as a single morpheme synchronically. In the following, I will discuss each type.

3.1.1.2.4.1. Simple modality

The 'simple modality' type refers to those utterance units that end with a single sentence-terminal suffix. Most of the examples given for the sentence-terminal suffixes in Section 3.1.1.2 are of the simple modality type. Some of the

examples are repeated in the following.

(3.49) onûl achim -e oppa phyônci-lang CATALOGUE pat -ass -ô
today morning -LOC brother letter -with catalogue receive-ANT-IE
(Leah 8: 2)

'I received your letter and the catalogue this morning.'

(3.50) cal iss -kuna MACINTOSH-nûn
well exist -UNASSIM Macintosh -TOP (K&H: 119)
'It looks all right, your Macintosh.'

(3.51) cosimha-ôya toe -kess -ne ikô
careful -NECESS become-DCT:RE-FR this:thing (K&H: 93)
'[I realized through reasoning that] I must be careful, with this.'

(3.52)a. H: NEW YORK METS-ka o -n -ta kûlô -myônûn
New York Mets -NOM come-IMPFV-DECL be:so-COND

--> b. SOLDOUT toe -l su -tu iss -ci
soldout become-ATTR way-ADD exist-COMM
(S&H: 104-105)

a. If New York Mets come [to play],
b. there may be a sellout [of course].

(3.53) puhwal -kwa yôngsæng-ûn imi hananim-kkesô
resurrection-COM eternal:life-TOP already God -NOM:HONOR

kyehoek-ha-si -ôss -ko yaksok -ha-ô noh-ûn
plan -do-HONOR-ANT-CONN promise-do-CONN put -ATTR

--> kôs -i -p -ni -ta
thing-be-POL-IND-DECL (The Mustard Seed 67)

'Resurrection and eternal life are already planned and guaranteed by God'

The sentence-final verbal complex of each example given above contains a single sentence-terminal suffix, e.g. the Informal Ending suffix *-ô* in (3.49), the Unassimilated suffix *-kun* in (3.50), the Factual Realization suffix *-ne* in (3.51),

the Committal *-ci* in (3.52), and the Declarative suffix *-ta* in (3.53). These suffixes cannot be further decomposed.

The majority of utterances in my data base with sentence-terminal suffixes belong to the simple modality type (84.6%) (see Appendix A for frequencies of sentence-terminal suffixes in colloquial texts).

3.1.1.4.2. Quotatives

The quotatives refer to utterance units where a (clausal or sentential) terminal suffix is preceded by a propositional complement of various "sentence-types" expressed with the sentence-type sentence-terminal suffixes (e.g. *-ta*, *-nûnya*, *-(ô)la*, or *-ca*). For example,

(3.55) kûnte SOFTWARE-lûl ilôn DISK an -e
then software -ACC such disk inside-LOC

nôh -ô kaci-ku pha-n -ta +ku
insert-CONN take-CONN sell -IMPFV-DECL+COMP
(K&H: 221)

'Then, [I'm telling you] they sell the software, having it stored in the disk'

In (3.55) above, the Complementizer *-ku* is preceded by a declarative complement, which is indicated by the Declarative suffix *-ta*. With this construction, the speaker presents a proposition as his or her authoritative saying, which can be translated as 'I am telling you that ...' or 'It is my saying that ...', and thus gives a sense of strong assertion.

(3.56) os iss -nûnya +ku
clothes exist-INTERR+COMP
'I repeatedly ask you if you have clothes.'

In (3.56), the Complementizer *-ku* is preceded by an interrogative complement,

which is indicated by the Interrogative *-nûnya*. With this construction, the speaker repeats a question which he or she asked earlier but to which the addressee did not respond. Similarly, the Complementizer *-ku* can be preceded by a propositive complement, which is indicated by the propositive *-ca*, in the expression of repeating or reemphasizing the speaker's proposal, as illustrated in (3.57) below.

(3.57) po -ca +ku.
see -PROP+COMP (K&H: 125)
'[I'm repeatedly telling you] let's see.'

The Complementizer *-ku* can be preceded by an imperative complement, which is indicated by the Imperative *-(û)la*, as in (3.58) below.

(3.58) po -la +ku
see-IMPER+COMP
'[I am telling you] take a look at it.'

As apparent in the translations, the above examples can be characterized as self-quotation, i.e., expressing the speaker's quoting his or her own saying. It should be noted that the quoted complements are followed by the Complementizer *-ku*.

There are constructions where the speaker quotes somebody else's saying. For example,

(3.59) a. cham ônni -nûn 29 cônto?
really big:sister-TOP 29 degree

b. ilûm -ûn i ci-yông
name-TOP Lee Ji-Young

c. hankuk-e æin -i temo
Korea -LOC sweetheart-NOM demonstration

cutongca-la -sô
leader -INTROS-CONN

--> d. sum-ô tani -n -tæ
hide-CONN go:about-IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

--> e. ôti iss -nûnci -tu molû -n -tæ
where exist-DISJ-ADD not:know-IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

(Leah 7: 35-38)

a. Ah, the Big Sister is about 29 years old?
b. Her name is Ji-Young Lee.
c. **[I was told] Her boy friend, who is in Korea, is a leader of the protest movement [against the government], so**
d. **he is in hiding.**
e. **[I was told] She doesn't even know where he is.**

(3.59c-d) and (3.59 e) are hearsay statements; that is, the speaker is quoting what he or she heard. Hearsay statements are indicated with *-tæ*, which I assume to consist of the Declarative *-ta* followed by the Informal Ending *-ô*; that is, *-ta+ô* > *-tæ*. As are the cases of the self-quotation constructions with the Complementizer *-ku*, the hearsay constructions with the Informal Ending *-ô* can be made with propositional complements of various sentence-types. For example,

(3.60) Suni-ka hyông ônce o -nyæ (< -nya + ô)
Suni-NOM big:brother when come-INTERR:IE
'[It was asked by Suni] when do you [big brother] come?'

In (3.60), which is a hearsay statement of a question, the Informal Ending *-ô* is preceded by an interrogative complement, which is marked by the Interrogative *-(nû)nya*.

A hearsay statement can be made with a command, as in (3.61d) below.

(3.61) [K is visiting H. Noticing that K is still wearing suit, H says to K]

a. H: os phyônha -ke ip -ôla
clothes comfortable-RESUIT put:on-IMPER

b. S: (Laughing) phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i
comfortable-RESULT put:on-ATTR clothes-NOM

ôps -ô
not:exist-IE

c. H: phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i ôps -ô ?
comfortable-RESULT put:on-ATTR clothes-NOM not:exist-IE

d. K: (Feeling ironical about being asked for something he doesn't have)
--> os phyônha -ke ip -ûlæ
clothes comfortable-RESULT put:on-IMPER:IE

(K&H: 54-57)

a. H: Why don't you change your clothes into something comfortable?
b. K: I don't have something comfortable.
c. H: You don't have comfortable clothes?
d. K: (Feeling ironical about being asked for something he doesn't have) I **was told to change my clothes into something comfortable.**

In (3.61d), the speaker is quoting a command he heard in (a). In this case, the Imperative *-ûla* is combined with the Informal Ending *-ô* to give *-ûlæ*. Hearsay statements can also be made with complements of proposal, which are indicated with *-cæ*, which derives from the Propositive *-ca* plus the Informal Ending *-ô*; i.e., *-ca+ô > -cæ*.

Examples (3.59) through (3.61) show that hearsay statements are made with propositional complements of various sentence-types followed by the Informal Ending *-ô*.

Most of the constructions illustrated in (3.55) through (3.61) have to do with saying; the speaker is quoting either himself/herself or somebody else in the

expressions of repetition or reemphasis. Therefore, I call them "quotatives". The quotatives are sometimes said to have emphatic meaning (Kwon 1983); that is, the speaker emphasizes the content of the associated proposition by requoting it. The *-ta/la+ku* construction, as shown in (3.55), particularly emphasizes the exclusiveness of the conveyed information on the part of the speaker, which gives the effect of a stronger assertion than the Informal Ending *-ô* discussed in the previous section. The exclusiveness comes from the form of self-quotation as indicated in the translation 'I [the speaker] am telling you ...'.

There are constructions where terminal suffixes other than the Complementizer *-ku* and the Informal Ending *-ô* are used. In (3.62) below, for example, the Committal *-ci* follows an Imperative complement to express the speaker's scornful command.

(3.62) hûng, kûlæ po -la +ci
huh do:such:CONN see -IMPER +COMM (Leah 4: 8)
'Huh, Do like that [you will get what you deserve]!'

In (3.63) below, a declarative complement, which is expressed with the Declarative sentence-type suffix *-ta*, is followed by the Interrogative *-ni*, in the expression of asking for an explanation about what he or she was told of but did not understand at the time.

(3.63) hankûl -i iss -ta +ni
Korean:alphabet-NOM exist -DECL+INTERR (K&H: 138)
'[What you mean by saying that] there is Korean?'

Other quotatives constructions found in the corpus are *-ta/la+na* (non-commitative quotation: 'I'm not certain whether this is what is said, but ...'), *-ta/la+u* ('I tell you against your expectation that ...'), *-ta/la+n+ta* (I am telling

you...), *-ta/la+myô* ('Is it true that it is said...?'), etc.

In most of the quotative constructions, the composition of the construction (i.e., a combination of one of the sentence-type suffixes and a terminal suffix) is transparent. Some of the quotatives, however, seem to have developed into a single morpheme synchronically. The Hearsay *-tæ* has developed from the combination of the Declarative *-ta* and the Informal Ending *-ô* due to phonological contraction (/ta+ô/ > /tæ/) and has thereby lost its compositional meaning of quotation. *-Ta+ku* is also a good candidate for becoming a single morpheme. Previous scholarship generally has not been concerned with the composition of the *-ta+ku* sequence, seemingly treating it as a single expression (Kwon 1983). Besides, the meaning of the construction is not interpreted compositionally; that is, the construction is not interpreted literally (i.e., as a quotation) but as expressing the exclusiveness of the assertion on the part of the speaker.[13] It makes very good sense to say that the construction is more likely to be perceived as single unit rather than complex one when its meaning is interpreted as a whole, not compositionally.

3.1.1.2.4.3. Complex constructions

"Complex constructions" end with sentence-terminal suffixes which developed from attributive constructions (either realis or irrealis) with bound nominals whose meanings are mostly not transparent synchronically. For example,

(3.64) i -kô -n wônlæ hwiô iss -nûn kô -n+ka
this-thing-TOP originally bent exist -ATTR thing -DUB (K&H: 38)

'Is it that this was bent from the beginning [I am afraid I rather did something to make it bent]?'

13 It is interesting to note that Japanese uses a single morpheme *-yo* in a functionally equivalent construction. This suggests that the communicative function of the construction is well justified cross-linguistically.

(3.65) panpaci -ka wæ an toe -l+kka
short:pants -NOM why NEG make -DUB

(K&H: 78)

'[I wonder] why the shorts wouldn't fit [for me] [I suspect it would].'

In (3.64) and (3.65) above, the speaker shows his doubt on the propositions conveyed, which is expressed with a construction that consists of an Attributive suffix (either the Realis Attributive *-(nû)n* or the Irrealis Attributive *-(û)l*) followed by *-ka* or *-kka* respectively. This construction functions as an indirect question in which the speaker is negatively biased, i.e., the Dubitative.

Also functioning as an indirection question is the *-(nû)n/(û)l+ci* construction. For example, see (3.66) below.

(3.66) chôs nun o -nûn kôs mac -ûmyônsô
first snow come -ATTR thing receive -SIMUL

ôlmana hwangholhæ hæ -ss -nûn +ci
how:much ecstatic:CONN do -ANT -DISJ

(Leah 8: 55)

'How ecstatic I was in the first snow!'

(3.67) næil -ûn ôti -lo ka-ya ha-l+ci
tomorrow-TOP where-OBL go-NECESS do-DISJ
'Tomorrow, where shall I go?'

Unlike *-(nû)n+ka/-(û)l+kka* construction, however, the *-(nû)n/(û)l+ci* construction does not refer to any bias on the part of the speaker. In fact, this construction is used as a general interrogative complementizer for verbs such as *al-* 'know', *molû-* 'be unaware of', *kungkûmha-* 'worry', 'be curious about', or 'wonder', *mut-* 'ask', etc, as in (3.4b). I will call this construction as "Disjunctive".

With *-(ŭ)n/(ŭ)l+ka* and *-(ŭ)n/(u)l+ci* constructions, which express the speaker's doubt, suspicion, or wonder, what is conveyed can be either real, in which case the Realis Attributive *-(ŭ)n* is used, or non-real, in which case the Irrealis Attributive *-(ŭ)l* is used. The complex constructions in the following examples, on the other hand, refer only to non-real situations, which are expressed with the Irrealis Attributive *-(ŭ)l*.

(3.68) an -i -l+kôl
NEG-be -PRESUM (K&H: 17)
'I presume it is not so.'

The *-(ŭ)l+kôl* construction in (3.68) expresses the speaker's presumption.

(3.69) oppa -ka com yatan chi-ô cu -l+læ
brother -NOM a:little scold hit -CONN give-VOL
(Leah 8: 28)
'Would you give me a good scolding?'

The *-(ŭ)læ* construction in (3.69) expresses the speaker's volition.

(3.70) næ -ka class -esô ppalli nao -l su iss -nûn
I -NOM class -LOC early come:out-IRREAL way exist -ATTR

tælo nao -l+kke
as:it:is come:out-INT (Leah 5:3)
'I will come out of class as early as possible.'

The *-(ŭ)l+kke* construction expresses the speaker's intention including promise.

One thing that is common to all of these examples, (3.64) through (3.70), is that their endings contain either *-nûn*, *-(ŭ)n*, or *-(ŭ)l*, which are attributive markers as discussed in 3.1.1.1.1. The morphological pattern of temporal elements in these constructions suggest that these suffixes historically developed from

attributive constructions along with abstract bound head nominals to express various epistemic modality meanings such as doubt, suspicion, presumption, intention, volition, etc. (see H-S. Lee (1988) for the same argument made for the Interrogative *-(nŭ)nya* construction). The meanings of the bound head nominals are not transparent synchronically, except that *-ka* or *-kka* in (3.64) and (3.65) are assumed to be the same as the Interrogative terminal suffix *-kka* in the formal-polite style.

All of the above constructions again demonstrate that formerly periphrastic constructions (attributive constructions in the above cases) become inflectional suffixes as the meanings of individual expression became opaque.

There is one more construction which illustrates this process. It is *-(ŭ)l kôya*, which consists of the Irrealis Attributive *-(ŭ)l* followed by the bound nominal *kô* (< *kôs* 'thing') plus the Copula *-i-*. For example,

(3.71) oppa -ka ôps -ôss -ûni+kka
big:brother-NOM not:exist-ANT-DET+INTERR

ha-l mal ôps -ûl kô -ya
do-ATTR words not:exist-ATTR thing-be:IE
(Leah 2: 6)
'Since it is you who missed it, you wouldn't have any complaint.'

As the translation indicates, this construction expresses presumption or speculation on the part of the speaker. This expression is used in the colloquial language, and has replaced the Presumptive non-terminal suffix *-ûli-*, which is used only in literary writing in Modern Korean. Even though the construction is still decomposable into its subparts, its meaning is not interpreted compositionally, but is simply associated with the speaker's presumption or speculation, or often analyzed as future marking. Note that the bound nominal *kôs* (literally meaning

'thing') has undergone a phonological fusion with the Copula *-i-* by dropping *-s-*, giving *-(û)l kôya* (compositionally *-ûl kô+i+a* ' Irrealis Attributive + thing +be+ Informal Ending). I predict that the expression may become a single morpheme, possibly a sentence-terminal suffix which may express future tense.

3.1.1.2.5. Summary of sentence-terminal suffixes

Sentence-terminal suffixes express the speaker's attitudes toward or assessment of the proposition described, in contrast with clause-terminal suffixes, which express semantic and/or grammatical relations among clauses and various other parts of the discourse. Naturally the grammatical categories expressed by the sentence-terminal suffixes are various modality categories such as epistemic modality, sentence-types, and illocutionary forces.

The sentence-terminal suffixes mark an utterance unit that can be parallel with a sentential unit in written language. However, one may find that an utterance unit does not always end in one of the sentence-terminal suffixes discussed above. For example,

(3.72) ôtûôn nongpu-ka kwail-namu-e
certain farmer -NOM fruit -tree -LOC

olû -ô ka-ô kaci-ko
climb-CONN go-CONN take-CONN

kwail-ûl tta -ô -yo
fruit -ACC pick-IE-DEF

(PS2: 1-2)

'A certain farmer climbs up a fruit tree, and is picking fruit.'

In the above example, the Informal Ending terminal suffix *-ô* is not in the final position of the utterance, contrary to the discussion in the previous sections. Instead

the utterance ends with the Deferential marker *-yo*, which expresses deference to the addressee.[14] Even though the deferential marker often occupies the last position of a clause or a sentence, however, the Deferential marker *-yo* is not a sentence-terminal suffix, because it is not obligatory in the sense that, unlike sentence-terminal suffixes discussed in the previous section, deference is not required to be specified for every utterance. The Deferential marker *-yo* is not even a verbal suffix, because it can occur after any phrase, verbal or nominal. For example,

(3.73) Suni-ka -yo sakwa-lûl -yo ta -yo môk-ô
Suni-NOM-DEF apple -ACC-DEF all-DEF eat -CONN

pôli -ôss -ô -yo
throw:away-ANT-IE-DEF
'Suni ate up the apples.'

Therefore, the Informal Ending suffix *-ô* in the above example is still the sentence-terminal suffix even when the Deferential marker *-yo* follows it.

As briefly mentioned, different communicative situations utilize different sets of sentence terminal suffixes to indicate sentence types. For this reason, sentence terminal suffixes also characterize speech styles. I will discuss speech styles in Korean that are characterized by sentence terminal suffixes in Section 3.2.

Sentence terminal suffixes also define utterance units into three types in terms of the composition of sentence-terminal verbal complexes: (i) simple modality type, (ii) quotatives, and (iii) complex constructions. The simple modality type utterance units are the ones that contain a single sentence-terminal suffix in their sentence-

14 However, it is not too formal. In fact, *-yo* has a function of softening the tone of the utterance rather than distancing the speaker from the addressee (I-S.Yang 1980, 'expressing intimacy or affection').

terminal verbal complex, and most utterance units in the corpus examined are of this type. The quotatives are the ones whose sentence-terminal verbal complexes consist of a sentence-terminal suffix expressing one of the four sentence-types followed by another suffix (clause-terminal or sentence-terminal). That is, in this type of utterance unit, the proposition conveyed is put in the form of a quotation. Special 'emphatic' meanings, such as authoritative assertion, hearsay, etc. are derived from a quotation by the speaker himself/herself or by someone else. Evidence that the complex constructions developed from formerly attributive constructions can be seen in the fact that they contain the attributive suffix *-(û)n* or *-(û)l* in their verbal complex. Of particular interest are the constructions that express the speaker's biases toward the proposition, such as suspicion, doubt, etc.

Some of the quotatives and the complex constructions have lost their compositionality both semantically and morphologically, and have become or are becoming a single terminal suffix.

3.1.2. Non-terminal suffixes

Non-terminal suffixes come between a verb stem and a terminal suffix. Non-terminal suffixes can be divided into two: (i) derivational non-terminal suffixes and (ii) inflectional non-terminal suffixes. There are two derivational non-terminal suffixes in Korean, causative suffixes and passive suffixes. Derivational non-terminal suffixes are directly attached to a verb stem to create new lexical items. Derivational non-terminal suffixes do not form a paradigm for a verbal complex because not every verbal complex needs to be specified with the meanings that the derivational suffixes express. Inflectional non-terminal suffixes, on the other hand, are important parts of a verbal paradigm; every verbal complex needs to be specified with categories that inflectional non-terminal suffixes express, and

inflectional non-terminal suffixes further specify the meaning of the verb stem or clause rather than add a meaning as derivational suffixes do. In Korean, inflectional non-terminal suffixes in general express temporal components of situations, which will be a main topic in Chapter 4. In the following, I will sketch the general types of non-terminal suffixes and their position in a verbal complex.

3.1.2.1. Causative and passive suffixes

Passive suffixes and causative suffixes are attached right after the verb stem. Nothing can intervene between the verb stem and the passive suffixes or causative suffixes. In Korean, the same set of suffixes, namely *-i-*, *-hi-*, *-li-*, *-ki-*,[15] are used both as a passive suffix and a causative suffix; whether they are the same morpheme in different uses or different morphemes (i.e., simple homonyms) is an intriguing question which I am not pursuing here. But there seem to be reasonable semantic and/or pragmatic grounds to believe that they are the same morpheme (See G-B. Park (1986) and H-K. Kim (1984) for the syntactic arguments for this). Examples of passive and causative suffixes are given as follows;

(3.74) Suni-nûn coh -ûn cænûng-ûl
Suni-TOP good-ATTR talent -ACC

ssôk -hi- -n -ta
get:wasted-CAUS-IMPFV-DECL
'Suni wastes her talent.'

(3.75) kangto -ka tûtiô cap -hi -ôss -ta
robber -DAT finally catch -PASS-ANT -DECL
'The robber was finally caught.'

---

15 There are suffixes that are used only for causatives and not for passives: *-u-*, *-ku-*, *-chu-*.

In (3.74), the suffix *-hi-* is used as a causative suffix. In (3.75), on the other hand, the same suffix is used as a passive suffix. Note that the temporal suffixes, the Imperfective *-(nû)n-* and the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* follow the Causative or the Passive *-hi-*.

Which of the five suffixes is taken to express passive or causative for a given verb is lexically determined; there is no phonological , syntactic, and semantic rule that predicts the form of the suffix for a given verb (Cf. H-B. Choe 1977).

I will not discuss derivational suffixes further in this study. In the following, I will concentrate on inflectional suffixes.

3.1.2.2. Inflectional non-terminal suffixes

Inflectional non-terminal suffixes come between a verb stem or derivational non-terminal suffix, if any, and a terminal suffix. Inflectional non-terminal suffixes can be classified into five general types in terms of their semantic and pragmatic functions: (i) honorific suffixes, (ii) deontic modal suffix, (iii) evaluative suffixes, (Iv) mood (?) suffix, (v) temporal suffixes. These five types not only differ in their semantics, but also occupy different positions in a verbal complex; that is, they have syntagmatic relations as well as paradigmatic relations to each other in a verbal complex. In the following, I will give a brief description of their semantics and their position within a verbal complex.

3.1.2.2.1. Honorific suffixes

There are two non-terminal verbal suffixes that indicate honorification made by the speaker, the Honorific suffix *-(û)si-* and the Polite suffix *-(û)p-*. The Honorific suffix *-si-* indicates the speaker's deference to the referent of whom a predication is made by the attached verb or verbal complex. For this reason, *-si-* is

also called the 'reference-honorific' marker. The Polite marker, on the other hand, downgrades the status of the speaker, showing politeness to the addressee. Along with the formal-polite endings, which will be discussed later, *-(û)p-* constitutes 'addressee-honorific' marking.

As for the position of the honorific suffixes, the Honorific suffix *-si-* is the first morpheme that can be attached to the verb stem. It can be preceded only by a verb stem or a passive or causative suffix if there is one. For example,

(3.76) næil -ûn halapôci -ka o -si -n -ta
tomorrow -TOP grandfather-NOM come-HONOR -IMPFV-DECL
'Tomorrow, my grandfather is coming.'

(3.77) ômma -nûn ai -lûl os -ûl
mother-TOP child-ACC clothes-ACC

pôs -ki -si -ôss -ta
take:off-CAUS-HONOR -ANT-DECL
'The mother undressed the child.'

In the above examples, the Honorific suffix *-si-* is attached right after the verb stem in (3.76) and after the Causative suffix *-ki-* in (3.77). This suffix would be used if the referent in question is senior to the speaker in terms of age and/or social status.

The Polite suffix *-(û)p-* occurs only in the formal upward (or polite) speech style, which is indicated by *-(û)p-* along with accompanying sentence-terminal suffixes. For example,

(3.78) onûl -ûn sinmun -i an o -p -ni -ta
today-TOP newspaper-NOM NEG come-POL-IND-DECL
'Today, there is no newspaper.'

(3.79) apôci-kkesô -nûn onûl hankuk-e
father-NOM:HONOR-TOP today Korea -LOC

ka-si -ôss-ûp -ni -ta
go-HONOR-ANT-POL-IND-DECL

'My father went to Korea today.'

Both (3.78) and (3.79) can be uttered only when the speaker assumes that the addressee has a higher social status (age, hierarchical social rank) --notice that the social status of the subject referent (e.g. *sinmun* 'newspaper' in (3.78)) does not affect the marking of *-(û)p-*. That is, the occurrence of the Honorific suffix *-si-* and the occurrence of the Polite suffix *-(û)p-* are independent of each other. Even though both *-si-* and *-(û)p* express some kind of honorification, they differ in their nature; *-si-* honorifies the referent, and *-(û)p-* honorifies the addressee. It should be noted that *-si-* is closer to the verb stem than *-(û)p-* when they occur together as in (3.79). The relative ordering between the Honorific *-(û)si-* and the Polite *-(û)p-* is predictable by Bybee's (1985a, b) "Relevance Theory", which dictates that the suffix whose meaning is more relevant to the semantics of the verb is positioned closer to the verb stem. The Honorific *-(û)si-* honorifies a referent within a sentence, i.e., at the proposition level. The Polite *-(û)p-* honorifies the addressee, i.e., at the utterance level. Naturally, the Honorific *-(û)si-* is positioned closer to the verb stem than the Polite *-(û)p-*.

3.1.2.2.2. Deontic modal suffix

There is only one verbal suffix in Korean that conveys deontic modality meaning. That is the Necessitative suffix *-(ô)ya*. The Necessitative suffix expresses obligation on the part of the agent referent or necessity of the realization of the situation described. For example,

(3.80)a. koman sucak puli -ko
no:more trick play -CONN

b. class nûc -ki côn -e ka
class late -NOML before -LOC go:CONN

po -aya -kess -ô
see-NECESS-DCT:RE-IE

(Leah 1: 10)

a. I **should** stop teasing you,
b. and go before I am late for class.

3.1.2.2.3. Evaluative suffixes

There are non-terminal suffixes which indicates that a proposition conveyed is based on the speaker's evaluative judgement, not on factual knowledge; either by reasoning or speculation. They are the (Deductive) Reasoning suffix *-kess-* and the Presumptive suffix *-(û)li-*.

The (Deductive) Reasoning suffix *-kess-* indicates that the the realization of the content of the proposition is a result of deductive reasoning (Palmer 1986) based on some grounds available in discourse contexts. Therefore, it expresses conjecture, prediction, or even the speaker's will or volitional choice on future situations. For example,

(3.81) [Looking at the size of a field bed]
tul -i ca -ki -n himtûl-kess -ta
two-NOM sleep-NOML-TOP hard -DCT:RE-DECL

(K&H: 49)

'I figure it [the bed] wouldn't fit two people.'

In (3.81), *-kess-* expresses the speaker's conjecture or prediction about whether the field bed would fit two people. The utterance is made based on visual evidence, i.e., looking at the size of the bed.

The Presumptive *-(û)li-* expresses the speaker's simple presumption or

speculation about situations that the speaker cannot get access to. This suffix rarely occurs in ordinary communication. It appears only in literary style such as poems or poetic prose.[16]

(3.82) cikûm-ccûm hankuk-e -n kkoch-i
now -around Korea-LOC-TOP flower-NOM

manpal -ha-li -la
blossoming-do-PRESUMP-DECL
'[I presume] flowers are blossoming around this time.'

In previous literature, both *-kess-* and *-li-* were considered as expressing future tense. However, it is easy to see that that should not be the case. Neither (3.81) nor (3.82) express future time. Furthermore, both *-kess-* and *-(û)li-* can occur with the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* to express the speaker's subjective evaluation on past or completed situations as in (3.83) and (3.84) below.

(3.83) kû ttæ -n pôlssô ta
that time-TOP already all

kkûth-na -ss -kess -ta
end -come:into:existence-ANT-DCT:RE-DECL

'By then, [I conjecture/figure] it had been all over already.'

16 The non-literary equivalent of *-(û)li- is -(û) kô(s)i-*, which consists of the Irrealis-Attributive *-(û)l* followed by the bound nominal *kô(s)* 'thing' plus the Copula *-i-*. It is a good guess that *-(û)li-* itself also has developed from the Irrealis-Attributive construction without the bound head nominal *kôs*. Its historical path is not transparent even in Middle Korean (15th century Korean, for which the earliest written record is available), where the form had been already fossilized as a single morpheme. An interesting phenomenon is that the non-literary periphrastic equivalent *-(û)l kô(s)+i-* seems to be undergoing the same process in informal speech, that is, becoming a single morpheme, by dropping *-s-*, which obscures the lexical meaning of *kôs* (literally 'thing'). If this process were completed, it would be comparable to the complex constructions, the Dubitative *-(û)lkka*, the Presumptive *-(û)lkôl*, the Promissive *-(û)kke*, discussed in Section 3.1.1.2.3.

In (3.83) above, the speaker's conjecture is based on the time reference made by the expression *kû ttæ* 'that time'; the speaker can figure how late that time reference would be.

(3.84) cikûm-ccûm olympic cunpi -ka ta
now -around olympic preparation-NOM all

kkûth-na -ss -ûli -la
end -come:into:existence-ANT-SPECUL-INTROS

'[I presume] the preparation for the Olympics is all done by now.'

(3.84) is a simple presumptive statement in a kind of soliloquy.

Therefore, it is best to characterize both *-kess-* and *-(û)li-* as modal suffixes rather than tense or aspect suffixes.

One of the concerns in previous literature is the semantic difference between *-kess-* and *-(û)li-* (or its non-literary equivalent *-(û)l kô+i-*) (N-K. Kim 1988). One suggestive observation is that the Presumptive *-(û)li-* or *-(û)l kô(s)+i-* sounds more factual than *-kess-*. For example, having heard it on the news, one cannot state tomorrow's weather using *-kess-*. One can use only *-(û)li-* or *-(û)l kô(s)+i-*. This is consistent with my characterization of *-kess-* and *-(û)li-* given above. With *-kess-*, the speaker's belief is based on his/hers deductive reasoning through indirect evidence, not on factual knowledge. With *-(û)li-*, the speaker gives a simple presumptive statement.[17]

17 N-K. Kim (1990) draws an opposite conclusion that *-kess-* expresses a simple presumption, whereas the *-(û)l kô(s)-i* construction indicates that the conveyed proposition is based on deductive reasoning. However, his examples are somewhat arbitrary --they are all constructed dialogues without sufficient discourse context and background expectation assumed among communicators), and I find the appropriateness of either of the suffixes in a given context is often forced.

3.1.2.2.4. Mood suffixes[18]

In the formal-polite style, there are suffixes that distinguish declaratives and interrogatives on one hand and imperatives and propositives on the other hand. These suffixes are the Indicative *-ni-* and the Jussive *-si-*:*-ni-* marks declaratives and interrogatives, and *-si-* marks imperatives and propositives. For example,

(3.85) Hyo-nûn Wilshire kamli -kyohoe-e tani -p -ni -ta
Hyo-TOP Wilshire methodist-church -LOC attend-POL-IND-DECL
'Hyo goes to Wilshire Methodist Church.'

(3.86) Hyo-ka Wilshire kamli -kyohoe-e
Hyo-TOP Wilshire methodist-church -LOC

tani -p -ni -kka
attend-POL-IND-INTERR
'Does Hyo go to Wilshire Methodist Church?

(3.87) Wilshire kamli -kyohoe-e
Wilshire methodist-church -LOC

tani -si -p -si -o
attend-HONOR-POL-JUSS-IMPER

'Go to Wilshire Methodist Church'

(3.88) na-hako Wilshire kamli -kyohoe-e
I -COM Wilshire methodist-church -LOC

18 In the literature on Korean, the term 'mood' has been used instead of 'modality' in describing sentence-terminal suffixes, following Martin (1954:36). Note that the term 'mood' is used in general as referring to a grammatical category, and 'modality' as referring to a semantic category (Palmer 1986). As discussed in Chapter 2, however, I use the term 'mood' as a semantic category as well, that is, a kind of modality category having to do with reality or actuality (i.e the distinction of realis and irrealis). Therefore, when I assume that sentence-terminal suffixes express modality categories, I mean to include what is referred to as expressing 'mood' categories in the literature.

tani -p -si -ta
attend-POL-JUSS-DECL
'I propose that you go to Wilshire Methodist Church with me.'

It is a cross-linguistically well-known phenomenon that declaratives and interrogatives are marked the same as indicatives, and distinguished from imperatives (Sadock and Zwicky 1985). We can see a similar pattern in the formal-polite style in Korean, as seen in the above example. The Indicative suffix *-ni-* distinguishes declaratives and interrogatives from imperatives and propositives, which are marked by the Jussive suffix *-si-* as in (3.87) and (3.88).[19] The distinction between the declaratives and the interrogatives on one hand and the imperatives and the propositives on the other hand is compatible with their functions, that is, the declarative and the interrogative have to do with the exchange of information and the truth condition of the content of proposition, whereas in the imperative and the propositive, the speaker expects or requests some action from the addressee.

3.1.2.2.5. Temporal suffixes

The non-terminal suffixes *-ôss-*, *-nûn-*, and *-tô-*express temporal relations of various kinds. For this reason, these suffixes have been described naively as tense markers or aspectual markers in the literature. The following examples give the flavor of these suffixes as temporal markers.

19 The sentence-terminal ending shows, however, that the propositive is also coded the same as the declarative, as it ends with the Declarative *-ta*. I do not have the slightest idea why this should be the case.

(3.89) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -n̲ -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-IMPFV-DECL
'Suni attends UCLA.'

(3.90) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ôss -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-ANT-DECL
'Suni attended UCLA.'

(3.91) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -tô -la
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-RETROS-DECL
'[As I recall the moment of the truth] Suni attends/attended UCLA.'

In (3.89), *-nûn-* indicates the present time reference of the situation described, in contrast with (3.90), where *-ôss-* indicates the past time reference of the situation. The Retrospective marker *-tô-*, as in (3.91), indicates that the situation is described in reference to a moment in the past at which the situation came into the speaker's consciousness.

However, the semantic and pragmatic functions of these temporal suffixes are more complicated than simply marking tenses or aspect. In colloquial language, despite the apparent contrast made by (3.89) and (3.90), the past/non-past distinction is not made by the presence of *-nûn-* and *-ôss-*.

For example,

(3.92) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ô
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-IE
'Suni attends UCLA.'

(3.93) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ôss -ô
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-ANT-IE
'Suni attended UCLA.'

Furthermore, *-ôss-* does not exclusively express the past time reference in many cases, but anteriority relative to some reference point determined by the discourse

context. As for *-tô-*, it is obvious from the translation give in (89) that it expresses more than a typical temporal relation, the experiential nature being the important part of its meaning. It will be the main goal of Chapter 4 to explore the semantic and pragmatic nature of these temporal suffixes.

3.1.3. Summary of the typology of verbal affixes in Korean

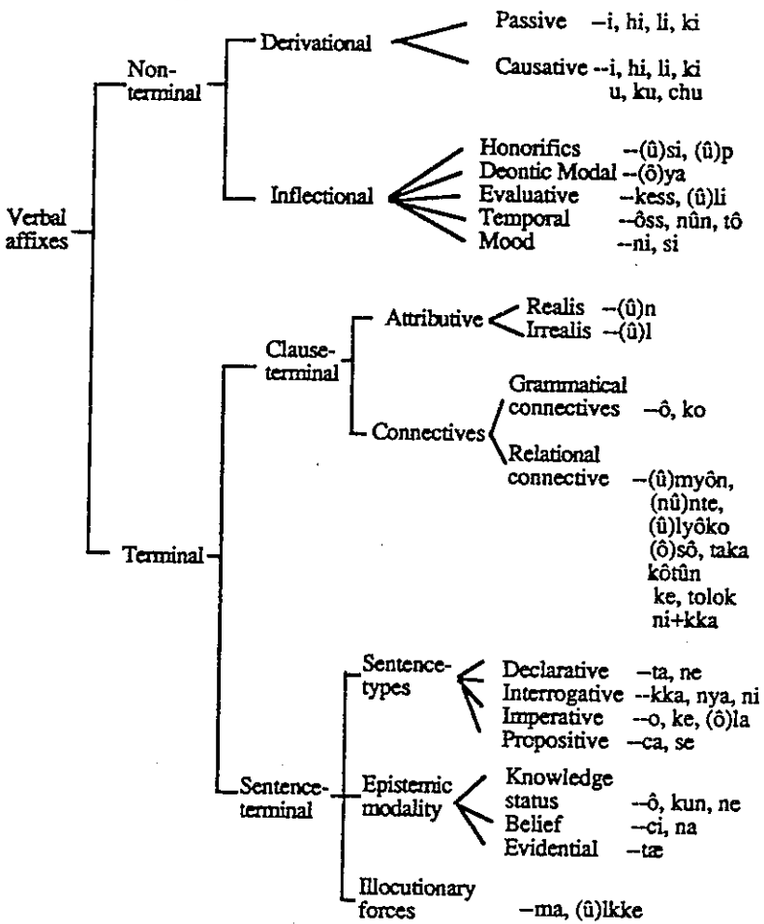
In the previous sections, I have presented a preliminary description of the composition of verbal complexes in Korean in terms of the typology of verbal affixes as well as their functional properties, including their grammatical and/or semantic functions. Verbal affixes are classified into terminal suffixes and non-terminal suffixes, depending on whether they form a complete verbal complex or not; a verbal complex will not be complete without a terminal suffix. Terminal suffixes are divided into clause-terminal suffixes and sentence-terminal suffixes, depending on whether they indicate relationships between clauses and other parts of texts or specify the attached proposition itself in terms of the speaker's assessment of the proposition; the sentence-terminal suffixes express the speaker's assessment rather than relationships between different parts of texts, and signal the end of what I call the 'utterance unit', which roughly corresponds to a sentential unit in written language. It has been shown that sentence-terminal suffixes express epistemic modality meanings of various kinds such as knowledge status and belief; sentence-types such as declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, and propositives; and illocutionary forces such as promises. Sentence-terminal suffixes also define speech styles because they are used in different speech situations.

Non-terminal suffixes are divided into derivational non-terminal suffixes and inflectional non-terminal suffixes. Passive and causative suffixes were discussed as derivational suffixes, which are attached right after the verb stem. Inflectional non-

terminal suffixes include (i) honorific suffixes, which indicate the speaker's deference to referents in question or politeness to the addressee; (ii) a deontic modal suffix, which expresses obligation on the part of the referent in question or necessity of the realization of the propositional content described; (iii) evaluative suffixes, which indicate the speaker's subjective evaluation of the situations described such as conjecture, prediction, the speaker's will, presumption, etc.; (iv) mood suffixes, which distinguish the indicative statements (i.e., the declaratives and the interrogatives) and the directive statements (i.e imperatives and the propositives); and (v) temporal suffixes, which indicate some kinds of temporal relations.

The typology I sketched in this section can be summarized with the following diagram:

Figure 3-1. Typology of verbal affixes in Korean



[Notes]

1. There are derivational clause-terminal suffixes not included here; they are the Nominalizer suffixes *-(û)m*, *-ki*, and *-ci*.

2. The Attributive *-(û)n* is not necessarily a verbal suffix because it is used in complex noun constructions where *-(û)n* is attached to the Declarative sentence-terminal suffix *-ta* or the Introspective *-la* in a clause that modifies

nominals such as *sasil* 'fact', *somun* 'rumor', *cucang* 'claim', and *cûngkô* 'evidence'.

3. The Correlative *-kôtûn* can be sentence-terminal when the *kôtûn*-clause follows its target (related) clause to express logical reasons or correlations between them. In this case, the clause roughly corresponds to postposed or independent *because*-clauses in English.

4. The Necessitative *-(ô)ya* can be clause-terminal when an auxiliary verb *ha-* 'do' or *toe-* 'become' is used in a periphrastic expression of obligation on the part of the agent: e.g V-*ôya ha-*, or V-*ôya toe-* 'must V-'.

3.2. Speech styles

Different communicative situations require different communicative tasks to be carried out, and thus are subject to different cognitive and/or social constraints. Such constraints are linguistically coded in some languages like Korean. There are several speech styles of the language in Korean, which are used in different socio-cultural settings, dependig on the formality and the degree of politeness that are required in a given speech situation. Each style manifests different tense, aspect, and modality patterns such that each style has different morphological makeups in its verbal paradigm. First of all, each style is characteristically defined by its sentence-terminal suffixes. I recognize seven speech styles in terms of their terminal endings, which are in general represented by their Declarative ending: (i) the *-(û)p+ni+ta* style, (ii) the *-o* style, (iii) the *-ne* style, (iv) the *-ô* style, (v) the *-ôyo* style, (vi) the *-ta* style 1, and (vii) the *-ta* style 2.[20] Secondly, different

20 The distinction between the *-ta* style 1 and the *-ta* style 2 needs an explanation. There are two different styles, the "neutral" style and the "blunt" style, that utilize similar sets of morphology, but whose uses are quite distinctive. Both styles use the Declarative *-ta* as a representative sentence-terminal ending. Given their similar morphology, one may argue that they are the same speech style with two different uses, as some analyses (Choe 1977; Martin 1964; J-R. Hwang 1975; Cho 1982) have not acknowledged the two styles. As will be discussed, however,

speech styles express different modal categories with their sentence-terminal suffixes. That is, sentence-terminal suffixes in formal styles of the language indicate sentence types in general, whereas those in informal styles indicate epistemic modality categories, as briefly discussed in Section 3.1.1.2. Thirdly some styles show a different tense/aspect pattern from others. In this section, I will discuss how verbal affixes define speech styles in Korean. Of particular concern is how differently tense, aspect, and modality categories are realized for the different speech styles.

3.2.1. Classification of speech styles

Before I discuss the speech styles in Korean, it is necessary to go over general criteria by which speech styles can be characterized. Speech styles can be characterized in terms of two factors, (i) formality and (ii) speech levels or degrees of politeness.[21] Formality has to do with communicative settings, e.g. whether a communicative situation is personal or public, or casual or official, etc., whereas

the two styles are too distinctive in their use in terms of formality and the degree of politeness. The neutral style (*-ta* 1) is neutral for speech level, and used mostly in writing. The "blunt" style is a downward speech (*-ta* 2), used in casual conversation with an obviously younger addressee or between very close friends. Furthermore, their morphology is not exactly identical. Since it is the purpose of this section to illustrate different uses of the styles in different communicative situations, I will assume the distinction between the two *-ta* styles. I-S. Yang (1972) makes the same distinction between the 'neutral' style and the 'plain' style respectively. Therefore, when I refer to the '*-ta* style' cited in articles by other scholars, it should be noted that the two styles are not distinguished.

21 Another factor that is often used in the literature is orality (Tannen 1982). I will not consider this factor here, because formality and the degree of politeness are more relevant to characterizing speech styles in Korean (Suh 1972; J-R. Hwang 1975; C-H. Cho 1982).

speech levels have to do with personal relationships between communicators in terms of their relative social status, age, and intimacy. The two factors may be related to each other. Intuitively, the formal speech styles are likely to be more polite than the informal speech styles. As will be clearer, however, the two factors need to be distinguished, because, as in Korean, different speech styles may be used in the same formal situation, depending on the social rank and the age of the addressee.

With regard to formality, speech styles can be classified into the 'formal' style and the 'informal' style. The formal style is used in formal communicative situations, where communicative needs are triggered by social affairs rather than personal interaction. Naturally, in formal communicative situations, the communicative settings are usually pre-planned and purposeful, and thus imply specific social tasks to be carried out. The main goal of formal communication is conveying logically coherent informational messages (C-H. Cho 1982). Lukoff (1978:271-72) refers to this aspect of formal communications as a feature of assertiveness and straightforwardness. Topics in formal communication are usually business-like matters, for which expression of personal feeling or emotion is discouraged. Therefore, in formal communication, personal involvement is minimal (or encouraged to be so) such that communicative messages are non-emotional and less concerned with the 'experiential richness' of communicators, to use Chafe's (1982) term[22]. In formal communicative settings, communicators are also

22 Chafe uses this term for characterizing the distinction between written and spoken styles. However, I strongly believe that this particular criterion is more relevant to the formal/informal distinction than the written/spoken distinction. The correlation exhibited by Chafe with regard to the distinction between written and spoken is assumed to be attributed to the fact that the proto-typical written style is more likely to be formal and the proto-typical spoken style is likely to be informal.

required to show courtesy to one another, which is specifically defined in terms of social "rules". There are at least four kinds of formal communicative settings in general: (i) situations where the conveyed message is addressed to the public, e.g. public speeches, broadcasting; (ii) business meetings of various sorts, e.g. interviews, negotiations, conferences; (iii) socially triggered interactions, where personal relationships are not well established, e.g. communication with colleagues at work or strangers; and (iv) writing.

The informal speech style is used, on the other hand, in informal communicative settings such as everyday conversation among personal acquaintances such as family members and personal friends. In everyday communication among such acquaintances, communicative settings are not pre-planned and socially arranged, but are normally created by naturally occurring spontaneous personal interactions. Acquaintances here do not include colleagues in social activities, because interaction with colleagues in social activities is triggered by those social activities. One of the main goals of the informal communication, as C-H. Cho (1982) points out, is to reinforce interpersonal relationships. Accordingly, the subject matter of informal communication includes expressing personal feeling, emotion, or opinion. Therefore, personal involvement and interaction are actively visible, and communicative contents carry emotional and experiential richness of communicators (Chafe 1982).[23] Unlike in formal communicative settings, courtesy is either not required or is not as specific as in formal communicative settings. The differences between formal settings and informal settings can be summarized in Table 3-1 below.

23 Lukoff (1978) refers to this as a feature of personal attitude or feeling.

Table 3-1. Communicative settings: formal vs. informal

	Formal settings	Informal settings
1. Communicative tasks	• pre-planned and purposeful interaction • conveying informational and logically coherent message	• spontaneous and naturally occurring interaction • expressing personal feeling or opinion to reinforce interpersonal relationship
2. Degree of Personal involvement/ detachment	• non-emotional • less concerned with experiential richness • detached (or distant) • social relations matter	• emotional • richness of expressions on personal thoughts, feelings, or interest. • involved (or attached) • personal relations matter
3. Courtesy	• specified in terms of well-defined social rules	• not definable
4. Instances	• addressed to the public • business meetings • socially triggered interactions • most writings	• everyday conversation among family members and friends • triggered by spontaneous interactions • casual personal letters

With regard to the degree of politeness, both formal and informal styles can be further classified into three speech levels:[24] (i) the 'upward' speech level, (ii)

24 In the literature there is no agreement on how many speech levels exist in Korean. Martin (1964) and I-S. Yang (1972)posit six speech levels in Korean. S-J. Chang (1973b) proposes five speech levels, and J-R. Hwang (1975) and H-B. Choe (1977) posit four levels. Recently there have been proposals for two speech levels, polite and non-polite, or deferential and non-deferential (C-S. Suh 1980; I-

the 'lateral' speech level, and (iii) the 'downward' speech level. The use of different speech levels depends on relative social status and/or age along with intimacy among communicators. The upward speech level is used where the speaker needs to show deference or politeness; for example, when the addressee is in a socially higher position, and/or older in age, when the addressee is not intimate enough (e.g. stranger), or when the speech is addressed to the public. The lateral speech level is used among social equals, e.g. between agemate friends or colleagues, or among acquaintances that are at least treated as equals due to intimacy, say, among family members, or when the speaker can neither go upward nor downward for some reason (e.g., conflict between social rank and age). The downward speech level is used when the addressee has a lower status in social rank and/or age than the speaker or is treated as having lower status due to intimacy, for example between very close friends.

Besides these three speech levels, a 'neutral' level is added. The neutral level refers to speech situations where the speech level is not relevant because there is no specific addressee or no intended addressee at all, such that personal or social relationship between communicators are unspecifiable and neutralized, as in most writings. In this sense, the neutral level cannot be compared in relation to other speech levels.

Since upward speech is used to show the speaker's politeness or deference to the addressee, the upward speech styles may be considered as "polite" (cf. "deferential" style in C-M. Lee 1973 and C-H. Cho 1982). On the other hand, the lateral speech styles and the downward speech styles are non-polite ("non-

S. Yang 1976; C-H. Cho 1982; C-M. Lee 1982). I will comment on this disagreement later.

deferential" in C-H. Cho 1982). Among the non-polite styles, the informal downward speech style is often considered as vulgar and blunt, because it sounds disgraceful and ill-mannered. Following C-M. Lee (1982), I will call the informal downward style the 'blunt' style. As for lateral speech, the informal lateral speech is often called *pan-mal* (literally 'half-words') in the literature.[25] The neutral style is considered formal, because no interpersonal relationship is assumed, and its communicative situations are normally planned rather than spontaneous. There is no counterpart of the neutral style in informal styles, because informal communication always involves specific addressees and thus is sensitive to speech levels. The different speech styles can be summarized in Table 3-2 below.

25 The term *pan-mal* 'half-word' was originally meant to indicate the incompleteness of utterances in the informal lateral style. The informal lateral was perceived as incomplete, the reason for which is to make speech levels inexplicit in situations where neither upward nor downward speech is considered inappropriate. However, there is a discrepancy between the way this term is used in the linguistic literature and the way it is used colloquially. In most linguistic literature, *panmal* refers to the informal lateral level speech style. On the other hand, in its colloquial use, the word refers to both the informal lateral style and the informal downward style. Wang (1986:367) points out that the meaning of this term, as a folk metalinguistic label, has been extended to mean downward speech.

Table 3-2. Classification of speech styles in Korean

	Formal	Informal
upward	formal upward	informal upward
lateral	formal lateral	informal lateral (*pan-mal*)
downward	formal downard	informal downward (blunt)
Neutral	neutral	----------

Different speech styles are morphologically coded on the verb in Korean, as is the case for Japanese (Clancy 1982). That is, each style has a different system of verbal affixes which indicates different speech styles. The formal upward style is marked with the Polite non-terminal suffix *-(û)p-* along with mood markers (*-ni-* or *-si-*) and sentence-terminal suffixes indicating sentence types. The formal downward style is marked with a set of sentence-terminal suffixes marking sentence types, most of which end in vowel */e/*. The neutral style has its own set of sentence-terminal endings. The informal lateral style is marked with the Informal Ending (IE) sentence-terminal suffix *-ô*, and the informal upward style is marked by the Deference marker *-yo* which is added to the Informal-Ending suffix-*ô*. The blunt style (informal downward) has a set of endings similar to the neutral style. Table 3-3 below shows the morphological markings for each style.

Table 3-3. Morphological marking of speech styles.

		Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Propositive
FORMAL	upward	-(û)p+ni+ta	-(û)p+ni+kka	-(û)p+si+o	-(û)p+si+ta
	lateral	-(û)o/-so	-(û)o/-so	-(û)o	-(û)p+si+ta
	downward	-ne	-na/-(nû)nka	-ke	-se
	neutral	-ta	-(nû)nya/-(nû)nka	-(û)la	-ca
INFORMAL	upward	-ô+yo	-ô+yo	-ô+yo	-ô+yo
	lateral (pan-mal)	-ô	-ô	-ô	-ô
	downward (blunt)	-ta	-nya/-ni	-(ô)la -kôla -nôla[26]	-ca

There has been disagreement among scholars on speech styles in Korean with regard to dimensions along which varieties of speech styles are distinguished, as well as the number of speech levels differentiated in the language. In the following, I will comment on previous analyses and compare them with the above table.

As for the dimensions of speech style distinctions, Choe's (1977) 4-level analysis, S-J. Chang's (1972) 5-level analysis, and Martin's (1964) 6-level

26 It is generally assumed that *-kôla* and *-nôla* are used only for specific verbs; *-nôla* is used for *o-* 'come', and *-kôla* is used for *ka-* 'go' and *ca-* 'sleep'. However, *-kôla* seems to be fairly freely used by elders to juniors when there is big age gap, say a grandfather talking to his grandson. The *-kôla* form cannot be used among friends or by younger speakers.

analysis represent uni-dimensional analysis, where each style is lined up in terms of the degree of politeness only.

The shortcomings of the uni-dimensional analyses have been pointed out by later literature. The most obvious one has to do with the treatments of the *-ô* form (the informal lateral) and its polite counterpart *-ô+yo* form (the informal upward). The uni-dimensional analyses show inconsistency as well as disagreement about the status of these forms. Choe (1977) excludes *pan-mal* (the *-ô* form) for speech level distinctions because it is considered to be "incomplete" (i.e. *pan-mal* 'half-saying'), but includes its polite counterpart, the *-o+yo form*. Chang (1973b) includes *pan-mal* (the *-ô* form) but excludes the *-ô+yo* form from his consideration of speech levels. Martin, on the other hand, includes both *pan-mal* and the *-ô+yo* form. The inconsistency is obvious in Choe (1977) and S-J. Chang (1973b), where one of the two forms is excluded, because the *-ô+yo* form is formed simply by adding the Deferential particle *-yo* to the *-ô* form. If the *-ô* form is not considered as a legitimate utterance-ending, the same rule should apply to the *-ô+yo* form, and vice versa. As for the disagreement, these analyses treat the degree of politeness of these forms differently. Choe considers the *-ô+yo* form as ordinarily polite (*yesa nophim* in his term), along with the *-o* form (the formal lateral style in Table 3-3). Martin (1964), on the other hand, treats the *-o* form as more polite than the *-ô+yo* form. The disagreement is due to the lack of consistent criteria. That is, the degree of politeness is measured mainly by the addressee's social status. The trouble comes when different styles may be used to the same addressee in different speech situations. For example, those who in speaking use the informal lateral style (*ô*-form) or the blunt style (*ta*-form) may address each other with the formal downward style (*ne*-form) in writing. Also one can speak to a senior addressee with either the formal upward style (*-ûp+ni+ta* form) or the

informal polite style (the *-ôyo* form) depending on the situation. When the uni-dimensional analyses were forced to line up these styles for speech level or degree of politeness, they had to measure the degree of politeness based on their intuitive perception of the different degree of casualness or formality.

In an attempt to solve these problems, recent studies propose multi-dimensional analyses of speech styles. J-R. Hwang (1975), Lukoff (1978), and C-H. Cho (1982) propose two dimensions of formality and politeness (Suh 1972 implicitly proposes the two-dimensional analysis by using the formal features of [± formal] and [± respect]), and C-M. Lee (1982) and C-S. Suh (1980) seem to prefer three-dimensional analyses. J-R. Hwang (1975) proposes four styles of formal styles and two types of informal styles. The formal styles in his analysis include the *-(û)p+ni+ta* form, the *-o* form, the *-ne* form, and the *-ta* form, from most deferential to most 'condescending, and the informal styles include the *-ô+yo* form at the most deferential level and the *-ô* form at the most condescending level.[27] Hwang's analysis sets a new guideline for later analyses such as C-H. Cho (1982), H-M. Sohn (1983), and others, and is the most influential among Korean scholars.

Among the two-dimensional analyses, however, there is still disagreement on whether some speech styles are considered as formal or informal, especially with what I characterize here as formal downward (*-ne* ending in declarative). For example, J-R. Hwang (1975) treats this style as formal, whereas Lukoff (1978)

27 Hwang's analysis is summarized in the following table (J-R. Hwang 1975).

	Formal	Informal
Level 1 (Most deferential)	-(û/i)pnita	-(ô)yo
Level 2	-o	
Level 3	-ne	
Level 4 (Most condescending)	-ta	*pan mal* 'half language'

and C-H. Cho (1982) treat it as informal.

I classify the *-ne* style as formal, following J-R. Hwang, for the following reason. It has been observed that this speech style is typically used by parents-in-law speaking to their son-in-law, a supervisor to its supervisee, or between grown-up friends. It should be noted that these speech situations are the ones in which the speaker cannot be as casual or personal as between a father and a son[28] and younger friends (in childhood). In these situations, the speaker needs to show more caution, etiquette, or courtesy, which is usually specified in terms of social rules. Such characteristics of the situations in which the *ne*-style is used fit more into formal than informal, according to the criteria given in Table 3-1. C-H. Cho argues against Hwang's classification of the *-ne* style as formal without further discussion, simply by saying that parents-in-law speaking to their son-in-law and ordinary conversation between grownup friends are hardly formal. C-H. Cho is apparently aware of special characteristics of such situations, though, in which the *-ne* style is used. He classifies the *-o* style and *-ne* style as 'marked' non-deferential styles, in contrast with the 'unmarked' non-deferential styles, which include the *-ta* style and the *-ô* style.[29] The marked/unmarked distinction in C-

28 The *ne*-style is never used between parents and children, however old the children are. It is assumed that the relationship between parents-in-law and a son-in-law requires more caution and a certain courtesy which is not necessary for the relationship between parents and children.

29 C-H. Cho's (1982:87) classification of various of speech styles is summarized in the following: his (90).

Deferential		Formal -(û)p+ni+ta	Informal -(ô)yo
Non-deferential:	Marked	-o	-ne
	Unmarked	-ta	-ô

H. Cho is based on Sohn's (1983) analysis of the differences in using speech styles between adults and non-adults, as he states (C-H. Cho 1982:87):

> The non-deferential marked level is different from the non-deferential unmarked in that it is only applicable to adult speakers when addressing to grown-ups. (sic.)

What is not explained in C-H. Cho, however, are the differences in nature between conversation among family members (say, father and son) and among in-laws, or between conversation among friends of young age and among grownup friends. That is, between in-laws or between grownup friends, more respect or courtesy is called for than between family members or between young friends.

Another suggestive piece of evidence that the *-ne* style is formal rather than informal comes from its stylistic letter-writing between personal friends. The *-ne* style is often used in letter-writing even between close friends in their late 20's or early 30's who would use the informal lateral style or the blunt style in speaking. Such shifting of speech styles cannot be explained by a difference in speakers' ages because the communicators are the same. It makes much more sense if it is understood as the shift from informal style to formal style than anything else, because, all other things being equal, writing is more formal than speaking in general.

Aware of the controversy about the formality of the *ne* style among literature, C-M. Lee (1982) sets up a sub-dimension of formal style, namely the 'authoritative' styles to include the formal lateral style (*-o* form) and the formal downward style (*-ne* form) (cf. Suh 1980, who treats these styles as a special register which is neither formal nor informal). However, his motivation for recognizing a special dimension of authoritative styles is diminished when he

comments that the speech levels of these styles are in between the formal upward style and the neutral style; he does not propose a explicit criterion for how the authoritative style is distinguished from other formal styles.

K-C. Sung (1985) and Wang (1986:356, fn.3) point out that much of the disagreement is due to the lack of explicit criteria for formality. Lukoff (1978) discusses objectivity, straightforwardness, and assertiveness as features of the formal style, and subjectivity and richness of personal feelings or attitude as features of the informal style. However, these criteria are rather impressionistic and no further justification is provided, as Wang points out. Those implicit criteria are not based on the analysis of actual speech situations in which each speech style is used, i.e. what properties of the situations make them formal or informal, as given in Table 3-1.

As for the number of speech levels, I appeal to the logical possibility of the three-way speech level distinctions of upward, downward, and lateral, rather than unnecessary differentiation of speech levels as in traditional uni-dimensional analyses or the too simplistic two-way distinctions in the recent literature. Assuming more than four levels, the previous literature were forced to refer to the multiple degree of politeness based on impressionistic judgement without providing explicit criteria. The key difference lies in the classification of the neutral style. In most of the literature, it is treated as the lowest speech level. As argued earlier, I maintain that the neutral style cannot be positioned for speech levels relative to other speech styles, because, as the name suggests, it is neutral for speech level. The previous literature, when the speech level was considered, apparently had in mind downward speech (the blunt speech), which is clearly lowest in speech level. Ironically, the style classified as lowest in speech level in some of those analyses was also classified as formal, even though real justification

for classifying the style as lowest in speech level comes from the use of the style in informal speaking. The distinction between the neutral style and the informal downward speech will be discussed later.

Recent literature such as C-S. Suh (1980), C-H. Cho (1982), C-M. Lee (1982), and I-S. Yang (1976) simplify the speech level distinctions into two, polite vs. non-polite or deferential vs. non-deferential. Such simplification is motivated by the fact that some of the styles, the *-o* style and the *-ne* style in particular are used in very limited communicative situations, particularly among the younger generation.[30] However, too much simplification forces them to introduce other dimensions for further distinctions among speech styles such as the 'authoritative style' in C-M. Lee (1982), or the 'marked/unmarked' style distinction in C-H. Cho (1982). C-H. Cho, in particular, is forced to classify the *-o* style and the *-ne* style, and the *-ta* style and the *-ô* style as same speech level, namely non-deferential. As will be discussed in detail later, however, the *-o* style is used when the speaker can neither be upward nor downward toward the addressee, for example, a husband speaking to his wife,[31] or the younger but socially superior

30 A comprehensive analysis of differences between generations in the system of speech styles is proposed by H-M. Sohn (1983), which assume that two separate systems operate in the speech of different generations. The two-system (in the speech of the older and younger generation) analysis is also proposed by K-C. Sung (1985).

31 Interestingly, a wife is not likely to address her husband with the *-o* style. I assume that for cultural reasons in traditional Confucian society , there is an asymmetry in the husband - wife relationship.The husband is regarded as more respect-worthy than the wife, such that the wife is obliged to be upward toward her husband, i.e. only a polite style is appropriate. According to Confucian etiquette, on the other hand, even though the husband does not have to be upward toward his wife, the husband cannot be condescending to his wife either.

speaker speaking to the older but inferior addressee. On the other hand, the *-ne* style is clearly condescending, because it is used to address not only younger but also socially inferior persons. Therefore, the *-o* style and the *-ne* style cannot be considered as the same speech level. Likewise, the *-ta* style cannot be in the same speech level as the *-ô* style, because the *-ô* style can be used in addressing close acquaintances of older age, say, a son addressing his mother, whereas the *-ta* style cannot be used to a senior addressee at all.

In summing up the justification of Table 3-3, the classification of speech styles given here is based on characteristics of speech situations in which each style is used. The formal/informal distinction is based on the criteria given in Table 3-1, and the speech level distinctions are based on who can speak to whom in what style in terms of social rank and/or age. However, it should be noted that it is not a purpose of this thesis to propose a comprehensive analysis of speech levels and politeness, but to give a overall descriptive picture of speech styles in Korean and their morphological makeup for further discussion of different patterns of tense, aspect, modality among different styles. In the following, I will give a sketchy description of the verbal paradigms of each style and their use.

3.2.2. Formal upward style: *-(û)p+ni+ta*

3.2.2.1. Morphological coding

The formal upward style is characterized by a series of verbal suffixes that consist of the Polite non-terminal suffix *-(û)p-*, followed by one of the two mood suffixes that distinguishes indicatives and jussives, along with various sentence-terminal endings that express sentence-types. The Indicative non-terminal mood suffixes *-ni-* and the Jussive non-terminal mood suffix *-si-*distinguish declaratives and interrogatives on the one hand from imperatives and propositives on the other

hand respectively. The terminal suffixes in the formal upward style distinguish various sentence-types, that is, declarative statements are marked by the Declarative *-ta*, questions by the Interrogative *-kka*, and commands by the Imperative *-o*. Proposals have the same ending *-ta* as the declaratives. The morphological makeup of the formal upward style can be represented as follows:

(3.94) The morphological makeup of the formal upward style

Verb Stem	+ Polite suffix +	Mood suffix	+ Sentence types
		ni (Indicative)	ta (declarative)
			kka (interrogative)
V	+ -(û)p +		
		si (Jussive)	o (imperative)
			ta (propositive)

Examples of each sentence type in the formal upward style are given in the following.

Declarative statement:

(3.95) puhwal -kwa yôngsæng-ûn imi
resurrection-COM eternal:life-TOP already

hananim-kkesô kyehoek-ha-si -ôss -ko
God -NOM:HONOR plan -do-HONOR-ANT-CONN

yaksok -ha-ô noh-ûn kôs -i -p -ni -ta
promise-do-CONN put -ATTR thing-be-POL-IND-DECL
(The Mustard Seed 67)

'Resurrection and eternal life is already planned and guaranteed by God'

In (3.95), a declarative statement is marked by the Declarative suffix *-ta* preceded by the Indicative mood suffix *-ni-*. (3.95) is compared with (3.96) below, where the Interrogative suffix -kka marks the interrogative sentence.

Question:

(3.96) i chônsa-ûi mul-ûm -e tangsin -ûi tætap -ûn
this angel -GEN ask -NOML-LOC 2:HONOR-GEN reponse-TOP

muôs-i -p -ni -kka
what -be-POL-IND-INTERR (The Mustard Seed 67)

'What is your response to this question of the angel?'

Note that, in both the declarative statement in (3.95) and the interrogative sentence in (3.96) contains the Indicative mood suffix *-ni-*. As discussed in section 3.1.2, the Indicative *-ni-* indicates that the proposition is subject to the truth condition of the content of proposition. The indicative *-ni-* is compared with the Jussive *-si-*, which indicates that the speaker requests an action rather than the truth condition of the proposition. The Jussive *-si-* marks imperative and propositive sentences, as in (3.97) and (3.98) below respectively.

Command:

(3.97)a. namu-e munce -ka iss -ûsi -p -ni -kka
tree -LOC problem-NOM exist-HONOR-POL-IND-INTERR

b. cônmunka-i-n côhûi -tûl-ûl chac-a
expert -be-ATTR 1:POL-PL-ACC visit -CONN

--> cu -si -p -si -o
give-HONOR-POL-JUSS-IMPER (AD)

a. Do you have problems with your trees?
b. Please visit us. We are experts on them.

Proposal:

(3.98) hônkûm-ûn tûl -ô o -si -l ttæ
offering -TOP enter-CONN come-HONOR-ATTR time

ipku -ham-e tûli -si -p -si -ta
entrance-box-LOC give:POL-HONOR-POL-JUSS-DECL
(The Disciple's Church 3.6)

'Let's put your offering in the box at the entrance when you come in.'

There are a number of points worth mentioning with regard to the morphology of the formal upward style. First of all, the formal upward style manifests various morphological distinctions of modal categories. That is, the mood distinction between indicatives and jussives, and the sentence-type distinctions among declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, and propositives. As will be seen later, other styles do not make such differentiation as much as the formal upward style does; the mood distinction between indicatives and jussives is made only in this formal upward style, and and informal styles do not make sentence-type distinctions. Second, the mood distinctions and the sentence-type distinctions are made with separate morphological systems. This suggests that mood distinctions and sentence-type distinctions belong to two different semantic or functional paradigms. Third, having independent propositive markings, Korean has a four-way sentence type distinction, rather than the cross-linguistically more common three-way distinction among declarative, interrogative, and imperative (Sadock and Zwicky 1985). It is interesting to note that the propositive morphologically shares the Jussive suffix *-si-* with the imperative, but the Declarative suffix *-ta* with the declarative. The sharing of the Jussive *-si-* naturally follows from the fact that both imperatives and propositives request actions from the addressee, distinguished from declaratives and interrogatives, which deal with conveying information. However, it is not clear at the moment what semantic and/or pragmatic properties of propositives are shared with declaratives.

3.2.2.2. Uses

There are three kinds of situations in general where the formal upward style is

used: (i) when the speech is addressed to the public, as in public speech, broadcasting, advertisements, etc.; (ii) in business-related communication such as business meetings of various kinds, e.g. interviews, congressional sessions, conferences, etc.; (iii) communications in social affairs or where personal relationship is not well established, such as those between colleagues at work, or between strangers. In these communicative situations, the relationship between communicators are distant and personal involvement or attachment is minimal in the sense that personal relationships, such as friendship, kinship, or personal acquaintance, are ignored or at least neutralized; only social relations, e.g. social rank, are important and courtesy is required accordingly (e.g. social titles are used for address (C-H. Cho 1982:108). The formal upward style is used when the addressee is higher in social rank or treated as a respected being.

3.2.3. Formal lateral style: *-so/-(û)o*[32]

3.2.3.1. Morphological coding

The formal lateral style is morphologically defined by the Formal Lateral Ending (FM:LTR) *-o*. For example,

Declarative:

(3.99)a. i -sônsæng
Lee-teacher

b. yôn -mal-e ponæ cu -n khatû pankap-ke
year-end-LOC send:CONN give-ATTR card glad -RESUL

pat -ôss -o
receive-ANT-FM:LTR (M-S. Lee)

---

32 Vowel-final stems take *-o* and the consonant-final stems take *-ûo* or *-so*. The variation between *-ûo* and *-so* is not clear; I assume it to be free variation.

a. Teacher Lee
b. I received the card you sent last year with pleasure.

Question:
(3.100) pap -ûn cal môk-so/-(û)o
meal-TOP well eat -FM:LTR
'Do you eat well these days?.

Command:
(3.101) na -ttæmun-e nômu æ -ssû -ci ma -o
1SG-reason-LOC too efforts-spend-NOML stop-FM:LTR
'Don't worry too much about me. [Lit. Stop spending too much effort for me.]'

Proposal:
(3.102) i -pôn -e -n kkok noi -lô naka -p -si -ta
this-time-LOC-TOP surely play-PURP go:out-POL-JUSS-DECL
'This time, let's go out for sure.'

A noteworthy morphological characteristic of the formal lateral style is that there is little morphological distinction among sentence-types, as seen in (3.99)-(3.101). The only difference between declaratives and interrogatives on one hand and the imperatives on the other hand is that *-so* does not occur with imperatives. There is no separate propositive marker; propositives are expressed with the same ending as the formal upward style, as in (3.102).

3.2.3.2. Uses

The formal lateral style can be characterized as non-polite but cautious and courteous speech. This style is non-polite because it cannot be used in speaking to someone who is higher in social ranks. It follows that using the *-o* style, the speaker cannot address that person with *-nim* 'lord', which honorifies the addressee, as in *sôngsæng-nim* 'teacher-lord', *sacang-nim* 'company president-lord', *apô-nim* 'father-lord', etc. This style is not too impolite either, however,

because normally this style is not used to an addressee who is both lower in social rank and younger in age. As mentioned earlier, this style is particularly preferred when there is a conflict among politeness factors such as social rank and age; e.g. when the speaker is socially higher but cannot be too impolite to the addressee because of other factors such as age, social etiquette, etc., for example, a husband speaking to his wife, a younger supervisor to an older supervisee, or a superior officer to an older inferior in the army.

This speech style is assumed to have been used among high class people where Confucian etiquette and courtesy are strictly reinforced. In modern spoken Korean, traces of this speech style can be found only in epic dramas or movies, in letters between husband and wife or between friends, or in words set to music or poetry. Letters written in this style are perceived as very stylish, literary, and courteous.

3.2.4. Formal downward style: the *-ne* ending

3.2.4.1. Morphological coding

The formal downward style is characterized with a series of endings indicating sentence types which end in the vowel *-e* except for in the interrogative. For example,

(3.103)a. kûliko nûc-ôss-ciman
and:then late-ANT-CONCESS

b. kacang cungyoha-n, pumo -nim-tûl
most important-ATTR parents-lord-PL

--> annyông -ha-si -nka
well-being-do-HONOR-DUB

c. motu-tûl kônkangha-ko
all -PL healthy -CONN

sænghwal-e chungsilha-si -i kô -la
life -LOC sincere -HONOR-ATTR thing-DECL

--> mit -ko iss-ne
believe-CONN exist-FM:DWRD:DECL

(J-S. Yoo)

a. Even though this is a bit late,
b. The most import thing [that I forgot], **how are your parents?**
c. **I believe that they all are healthy, and living a sincere life.**

In (3.103c), a declarative statement is marked by the Formal Downward (FM:DWRD) Declarative *-ne*. In (3.103b), on the other hand, the Dubitative *-(nû)ka* is used to mark an interrogative sentence. In the formal downward style, the Non-Committal *-na* may be used to express questions.

(3.104) i yôpsô pat -kôtûn
this postcard receive-CORREL

kkok yônlak -hæ cu -ke
surely correspondence- do:CONN give-FM:DWRD:IMPER

(I-K. Lee)

Please write to me for sure, when you get this postcard.

In the formal downward style, commands are expressed with the Formal Downward Imperative suffix *-ke*, as in (3.104) above. The propositives, on the other hand, are marked by the Formal Downward Propositive suffix *-se*, as in (3.105) below.

(3.105)a. iptæ hu chôûm tæhæ po-nûn phyônci-e
enlistment after first:time face:CONN see-ATTR letter -LOC

nolla -ci -nûn mal-ko
surprised-NOML-TOP stop-CONN

b. kû -tongan "musosik-ûn hûsosik" cuûi -e
that-while no:news -TOP good:news principle-LOC

ôkûsnam-i ôps-i sænghwal-hæ
discord -NOM not:exist-ADV life -do:CONN

--> o -n kôs -ûlo -man yôki -se
come-ATTR thing-OBL-only regard-FM:DWRD:PROP

(J-S. Yoo)

a. Don't be surprised with the first letter you've received [from me] since I enlisted [in the armed forces],
b. and let's take it just as I have been living during the while, conforming to the principle "no news is good news.'

3.2.4.2. Uses

The formal downward style is used only among grownups (H-M. Sohn 1983; Sung 1985), e.g. by a senior addressing to a grownup junior or between grownup social equals. As mentioned earlier, this style is typically used by parents-in-law addressing their sons-in-law, or by a supervisor to a male supervisee. Interestingly, this speech is characteristically (though not absolutely) a male speech style, because the speaker and the addressee are, in most cases, male. This style is never used, for example, by parents-in-law addressing a daughter-in-law or by a male supervisor to a female supervisee. This style is also never used among biological family members. This style seems appropriate when the relationship between the speaker and the addressee is not so close, so that the speaker should not be too casual and must show courtesy. Another interesting phenomenon is that close age-mate friends who normally use the informal lateral style or blunt style in speaking may use this style in letter-writing. Again, it is assumed that letter-writing is considered as requiring more courtesy or etiquette than ordinary conversation.

There are special addressee terms that are typically used with the formal

downward style. They are *cane* 'you' as in (20), *yôpoke* 'you' (contracted from *yôki po-ke* 'here see-IMPER') and *i salam* '[lit.] this person', in contrast with *nô* 'you', which is used in the blunt style.These terms can be used by a senior addressing a junior or by social equals. But in each case, they show courtesy to the addressee.

3.2.5. The neutral style: the *-ta* ending

3.2.5.1. Morphological ending

The neutral style is characterized by a set of sentence-terminal suffixes that indicate the sentence types declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive. For example, a declarative statement is marked by the Declarative *-ta*, as in (3.106c) below. A question may be expressed with the Dubitative *-(nû)nka* or *-(û)lkka*, as in (3.106b), or the Interrogative *-(nû)nya*.

(3.106)a. kûlônte isangha-ke-to onûl ponmun-ûn
then strange -RESUL-ADD today scripture-TOP

koô -lo -nûn mullon hyôntæ-ô -lo -to
archaic:word-OBL-TOP of:course modern-word-OBL-ADD

ilk -ôto coh -tolok hôyong-tô -n
read-ADD good-INDUC allow -become-ATTR

pupun-i -ta .
part -be-DECL

--> b. wæ-i -lkka?
why-be-DUB

c. i iyaki-ûi kôth -moyang -ûn
this story -GEN surface-appearance-TOP

pullyun -ûi iyaki kath -ûna
being:unethic-GEN story same-CONTRA

sok ttûs -ûn kusok -ûi iyaki-i -ki
inside meaning-TOP salvation-GEN story-be-NOML

--> ttæmun-i -ta
reason -be-DECL

d. kûlôm môncô iyaki-ûi kôth -ûl salphyô
then at:first story-GEN surface-ACC look:into:CONN

po -ko
see-CONN

e. kûliko na -sô
and:then come:into:existence-CONN

--> sok ttûs -ûl al -a po -ki -lo ha-ca
inside meaning-ACC know-CONN see-NOML-OBL do-PROP
(The Disciples' Voice 85)

a. And then, strangely,
today's scripture is readily understandable even in the modern language as well as in the archaic language.
b. Why is it so?
c. Because this story appears to be unethical on the surface,
but its underlying message is salvation.
d. Then, let's look at the story first,
e. and then look into the underlying message.

In (3.106d-e), a proposal is expressed with the Propositive *-ca*. Commands, on the other hand, are marked by the Imperative *-(û)la*, as in (3.107b) below.

(3.107)a. Damal-i-yô!
Damal-be-VOC

b. kûtæ ilûm -e yôngkwang-iss -ûla!
you name-LOC glory -exist-IMPER
(The Disciples' Voice 85)

a. Damal!
b. May your name be glorified!

3.2.5.2. Uses

The neutral style is used in most formal writing, such as academic writings, newspaper articles, novels, and other expository writings, as in (3.106) and (3.107)) above. The neutral style is also used in representing abstract knowledge such as permanent truths, mathematical theses and propositions, and propositions out of context (e.g. elicitation, translation from foreign languages). For example,

(3.108) hæ -nûn tong-ccok-esô ttû -n -ta
sun-TOP East-side -LOC rise-IMPFV-DECL
'The sun rises in the East.'

The neutral style is formal like the formal upward style in the sense that the communicative settings are mostly pre-planned and purposeful rather than spontaneous, and the main purpose of communication is to convey the content of propositions rather than experiential richness, such as the speaker's emotional and epistemic attitudes toward the proposition, so that there is little personal relation or emotion involved. Therefore, it is not surprising that morphological distinctions are made only for sentence-types, not for experiential components of situations. As will be discussed shortly, in the informal styles, sentence-terminal suffixes mainly express epistemic modality meanings such conveying information that is an integrated part of the speaker's knowledge, realization of facts, expressing the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition, etc.

One interesting use of this style is in embedded propositional complements. In propositional complements, the speaker's subjective evaluation of time, actuality, and certainty are neutralized since the statements in the complement are either those stated by another person (quotative) or those that describe situations as objective propositions about which the speaker expresses his or her action or evaluation with

the main verb. Therefore, only the neutral style is used for a propositional complement, except in direct quotation. For example,

(3.109)a. kûnte oppa, na yôlô-kaci -lo
by:the:way big:brother I various-kind-OBL

khûn-il -na -ss -ô
big:affair-come:into:existence-ANT -IE

--> b. yôlô-kaci kyônghôm ssah -kess -ta -nûn kôs
various-kind experience pile -DCT:RE-DECL-ATTR thing

kkaci -nûn kithûkhan sængkak -i -nte ...
extent -TOP admirable thought -be -CIRCUM

(Leah 8: 21-23)

a. By the way, Big Brother, I am in big trouble of many kinds.
b. It is a nice idea that I would like to experience many things, but then ...

In (3.109b), a declarative complement is marked with the Declarative *-ta*. In (3.110) below, on the other hand, an imperative complement is expressed with the Imperative *-(û)la* in (b), and a proposal with the Propositive *-ca* in (c).

(3.110)a. kû pun -tûl -i uli tu 'Miss Lee' -ûi
that person -PL -NOM our two Miss Lee -GEN

'tæpu (GodFather)' -lo cachônghako nasô -sô
God:Father -as voluntarily actively:initiate-PRECDNC

--> b. kongpu-ha-la -ko mænnal cansoliha -si -ô
study -do-IMPER -COMP everyday nag -HONOR -IE

c. uli -n kûlômyôn tôuk sinna --ke nol -ko
we -TOP then more having:fun-RESUL play-CONN

--> d. kathi nol -ca -ko mak kkosiko.
together play -PROP-COMP just lure

(Leah 7: 29-31)

a. They have volunteered to be our [me and the Big Sister, who are both 'Miss Lee'] Godfather,
b. and they nag us all the time **to study.**
c. But then, we played around, having more fun,
d. and we even tempt them **to have fun with us.**

In (3.111) below, an interrogative complement is marked by the Interrogative *-nûnya.*

(3.111) kû salam -i na -poku ôti sa -nûnya -ko
that person -NOM I -DAT where live -INTERR -COMP

mut -tô -nte.
ask -RETROS-CIRCUM

'He asked me where I lived.'

3.2.6. Informal styles: polite and non-polite

3.2.6.1. Morphological coding

The informal styles (both polite and non-polite) can be characterized by what I call the 'Informal-Ending (IE)' suffix *-ô* and other sentence-terminal suffixes that occur only in these styles, such as the Unassimilated *-kun*, the Factual Realization *-ne*, the Commital *-ci*, etc. The informal polite style is formed by just adding the Deferential marker *-yo* to those sentence terminal suffixes that are characteristic of the informal style, e.g. *-ô-yo*, *-kun-yo*, *-ne-yo*, *-ci-yo*, etc.

The most characteristic fact about the informal styles is that unlike in the formal styles, the sentence-terminal suffixes do not indicate sentence types; that is, sentence type distinctions such as declarative, interrogative, etc. are not made morphologically in informal styles. Instead, the sentence-terminal suffixes in informal styles express the speaker's assessment of the situation described and of the mental statuses of the addressee. For example,

(3.112)a. pan-paci ip -ô po -læ -mûn ip -ô po -a
half-pants wear-CONN see-PURP-COND wear-CONN see-IE

b. pan-paci -tu ôps -ô na-n sasil
half-pants-ADD not:exist-IE I -TOP in:fact

(K&H: 79-80)

a. If you want to try shorts, go ahead
b. I don't have enough shorts either, in fact.

In (3.112b), the speaker is reporting a piece of information that is an integrated part of his or her knowledge with the Informal Ending *-ô*. The information conveyed has been obtained prior to the speech moment, and is assumed to be exclusive on the part of the speaker.

(3.113)a. K: ilce kath -ûnte?
Japanese:product same-CIRCUM

b. H: ûng? an -i -lkôl
what NEG-be-PRESUM

--> c. K: an -i -a?
NEG-be-IE

d. YAMAHA ôccô -ku ssô iss-nûn kô
Yamaha something-COMP write:CONN exist-ATTR thing

kath-ûnte
same-CIRCUM

(K&H: 16-19)

a. K: It seems to be made in Japan, isn't it?
b. H: What? I don't think so.
c. S: It's not?
d. It [what is written on there] looks like 'Yamaha something'.

(3.114) cal iss -kuna MACINTOSH-nûn
well exist -UNASSIM Macintosh -TOP

(K&H: 119)

'It looks all right, your Macintosh.'

The Unassimilated marker *-kun* in (3.114) indicates that the information conveyed has entered the speaker's consciousness but is yet to be assimilated to the speaker's knowledge system (H-S. Lee 1985).

(3.115) cosimha-ôya toe -kess -ne ikô
careful -NECESS become-DCT:RE-FR this:thing
(K&H: 93)

'[I realized through reasoning] Boy, I should be careful with this.'

The Factual Realization marker *-ne* in (3.115) indicates that the information conveyed has just been recognized as fact by the speaker.

Among various sentence-terminal suffixes that occur in the informal styles, I take the Informal-Ending *-ô* as the representative of the informal style. The suffix is the most frequent suffix in the informal styles; the suffix occurs in 58% of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the data examined (see Appendix B: Distribution of sentence-terminal suffixes). The fact that sentence-types are not distinguished by sentence-terminal suffixes in the informal styles is nicely illustrated in (3.112), where the Informal Ending suffix *-ô* is used in all kinds of sentence types; imperative in (3.112a), declarative in (3.112b), and interrogative in (3.113c).

3.2.6.2. Uses.

The informal style is used in everyday use of the language, such as daily conversation with family, friends, and acquaintances, and also in informal writing such as personal letters between friends (colloquial). The statements in the informal style largely include those about our experience (past or current), what we hear from other people, or things about which we have thought or speculate through

conjecture or presumption. The details of each sentence-terminal suffix characteristic of the informal style will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.2.7. The blunt style

As mentioned earlier, the blunt style is problematic as an independent speech style. First of all, its morphology is almost the same that of the neutral style, except for slight differences in the interrogative forms and the imperative forms. That is, the neutral style uses *-(n)ûnya*, *-nûnka* or *-na* as interrogative forms, whereas the blunt style uses *-nya* or *-ni*. Second, the blunt style is often used along with the informal lateral style (*panmal* the *-ô* form), where it carries special discourse functions, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Third, it is very rare that the blunt style is used exclusively. The only case in which the blunt style is likely to be used exclusively is in street-fighting. One may suggests that the blunt style is simply a special use of the neutral style: that is, when the neutral style, which is formal, is used in informal communicative settings, it takes on special effects which can be obtained by the intentional violation of communicative cooperative principles (Grice 1975). Such an analysis is certainly tenable. However, there are reasons to consider the blunt style as a separate speech style. First of all, the morphology is not exactly identical between the neutral style and the blunt style. In imperatives, there is a slight difference between the blunt style and the neutral style. In the blunt style, as shown in Table 3-3,*-(ô)la* or *-kôla* is used. The variation between *-ôla* and *-kôla* is not clear except that *-kôla* is used only by the speakers who are at least one generation older than the addressee. In the neutral style, on the other hand, *-ûla*is used. The major difference between the blunt style and the neural style is manifested in the interrogative forms. In the neutral style, the interrogative forms utilize the Non-Committal suffix *-na* or the complex constructions, the

Interrogative *-nûnya* or the Dubitative *-nûnka*, which are assumed to be formerly attributive (noun-modifying) constructions (H. S. Lee 1988). As mentioned earlier, complex constructions exhibit a morphological contrast between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs. That is, non-descriptive verbs take *-nûnya* or *-nûnka*, whereas descriptive verbs take *-ûnya* or *-ûnka*. In the blunt style, on the other hand, the interrogatives are expressed with the Interrogative *-nya* or *-ni*, both of which are believed to be contracted forms of *-nûnya* of the neutral style. Unlike *-nûnya* (and *-nûnka* likewise), however, *-nya* and *-ni* are invariable regardless of verb type. Secondly, there is a clear difference in formality between the two styles. As mentioned, the blunt style is used as street language or between very intimate friends. Such communicative situations can hardly be formal. I will not pursue this matter further in this study, since the main purpose is to show the morphological features of each style and to show that different communicative situations are sensitive to different modality categories, which are manifested in their morphology.

3.2.7.1. Morphology

As mentioned, the morphological makeup of the blunt style is similar to that of the neutral style. Except for (3.119), which is a made-up sentence, examples of the blunt style given in the following are taken from a face-to-face conversation (K&H) between two very close male friends, which are mostly spoken in the informal lateral style, as shown in (3.116c) and (3.116h). (3.116j) is a declarative statement in the blunt style.

(3.116) [K has put on H's shorts, and feels uncomfortable]

a. K: ya nô
hey 2SG

b. H: wæ?
why

c. K: hôli myôch -i -a?
waist how:much-be-IE

d. H: TWENTY NINE
twenty nine

e. K: mac-ûl kô kath-ûnte
fit -ATTR thing same-CIRCUM

f. na -tu kû -kô pakk -e an toe -nûnte
1:SG-ADD that-thing outside-LOC NEG become-CIRCUM

(H seeing K having trouble with the shorts)

g. wæ?
why

h. an twæ?
NEG become:IE

i. K: wæ coe -ci i -ke wæ?
why tighten-COMM this-thing:NOM why

--> j. H: a, kû -kô -nûn i-sip-phal-i -l kô -ta
ah that-thing-TOP 2-10-8 -be-ATTR thing-DECL

k. K: û=ng
I:see

(K&H: 99-108)

a. K: Hey, pal!
b. H: What?
c. K: What is your waist size?
d. H: 29.
e. K: They should fit me then, I presume [then I don't understand why they do not].
f. My waist is 29 too at most [why then are they uncomfortable].
g. H: What?
h. They don't fit?

i. K: Why are they tightening, these things, why?
j. H: Ah, **I think those are size 28.**
k. K: I see.

Just as in the neutral style, the declaratives are indicated by the Declarative sentence-terminal suffix *-ta*, as in (3.116j). The interrogatives, on the other hand, are indicated by the Interrogative *-nya*, as in (3.117) below. Note that it is *-nûnya* that is used is the neutral style, which is never used in the blunt style.

(3.117) pan-paci -ka mac-nya nô -hanthe
half-trousers-NOM fit -INTERR 2:SG-DAT
(K&H: 68)
'How on earth would my shorts fit, for you?'

The Imperatives are indicated by the Imperative *-(ô)la*, as in (3.118) below. In the neutral style, on the other hand, *-(û)la* is used.

(3.118) os phyônha -ke ip -ôla
clothes comfortable-RESULT put:on-IMPER
(K&H: 54)
'Why don't you change your clothes into something comfortable?'

(3.119) ya, kû -man ca -ca
hey that-only sleep-PROP
'Hey, let's [call it a day and] go to bed now.'

As in (3.119), the propositives are indicated by the Propositive sentence-terminal suffix *-ca*.

3.2.7.2. Uses

The blunt style is most commonly used between close friends, especially in high school days or in the army. This style is also used by an older speaker to an obviously younger addressee. This style is discouraged unless the speakers have

extraordinarily intimate relationship. As the name suggests, this style sounds blunt, mannerless, or even vulgar. Therefore, the use of this style assumes the acceptance of such apparent rudeness of the speaker by the addressee. It is not surprising that the blunt style is used in street-fighting, because in street-fighting no respect, politeness, or courtesy is assumed. Adults typically don't use the blunt style among friends, which follows from the fact that mutual respect is called for among mature communicators and the blunt style not only does not imply any respect, but even downgrades the addressee.

The blunt style is often employed in the otherwise informal lateral style, as in examples (3.115)-(3.117). In such usage, the blunt style carries special communicative force other than indicating sentence types. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the declarative *-ta* in the informal lateral style is used to report note-worthy information that has provoked the speaker's consciousness, as in (3.115j). The interrogative *-nya* is employed in the informal lateral style when the speaker has a negative bias or wants to rhetorically deny what is assumed to be the addressee's belief, as in (3.116) above.

3.2.8. Summary of the speech styles

In the preceding sections, I gave the overall characterization of the morphology and the uses of various speech styles in Korean. It has been shown that different speech styles have different verbal paradigms, exhibiting different categories of modality meanings. The most notable fact is that formal styles in general (except for the lateral style) make distinctions among various sentence types such as declarative statements, interrogatives, imperatives, and propositives, whereas these sentence types are not differentiated by the terminal endings in

informal styles except the blunt style. C-H. Cho (1982:108) correctly attributes the marking of sentence types in the formal styles to their communicative function of conveying informational messages, for which clear and efficient expression of illocutionary force is necessary. The informal styles, instead, manifest distinctions of epistemic modality meanings of various kinds, some of which were briefly discussed in section 3.1.1.2 and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. This is due to the experiential nature of informal communication where communicators concern themselves with and thus monitor each other's mental as well as epistemic status. Similarly Lukoff (1978) makes similar points that in formal styles, it is possible to express only a small number of modal categories and intonational variety (e.g. only sentence-types), whereas in informal styles (the "ordinary styles" in Lukoff's term), the endings express a wide range of attitudes or feelings such as doubt, judgement, apperception, etc. It naturally follows then that formal styles are sensitive to performative components of the situation described, in expressing the modality categories of sentence-types, and informal styles are sensitive to the experiential components, i.e. expression of epistemic modality categories.

The speech styles are classified in terms of formality and the degree of politeness (i.e. speech level). One point that should be noted is that the speech level distinctions as well as the formality distinctions are not always clear-cut, because in actual communication situations, different speech levels and different formality styles are often mixed up. There are often cases where the informal upward style is used for interrogatives or imperatives in otherwise formal speech. In advertising, for example, imperatives are often expressed with the informal upward style in order to give a softening effect and give the feeling of intimacy. The mixture of speech styles is also found in the informal lateral style, where interrogatives, imperatives and propositives are sometimes expressed with the blunt style.

Chapter 4. Temporal expressions: an analysis of non-terminal suffixes

4.1. Introduction.

In Chapter 3, verbal suffixes were classified into two groups, terminal suffixes and non-terminal suffixes. It was also briefly shown that there are two types of terminal suffixes, clause-terminal suffixes, which express various grammatical and/or semantic relations between verbs, clauses, and phrases, and sentence-terminal suffixes, which express various modality meanings, i.e., the speaker's attitudes toward a proposition expressed or toward the addressee. The non-terminal suffixes express politeness to a referent (the Honorific *-(û)si-*) or to the addressee (the Polite *-(û)p-*), deontic modality (the Necessitative *-(ô)ya*), the speaker's subjective evaluation of the proposition (the Deductive Reasoning *-kess-* and the Presumptive *-(û)li-*), mood (the Indicative *-ni-* and the Jussive *-si-*), or temporal relations of various kind (the Anterior *-ôss-*, the (Non-past) Imperfective *-(nû)n-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*).

In this chapter, I will be concerned with those non-terminal suffixes, *-ôss-*, *-nûn-* and *-tô-*, that express or are associated with temporal properties of situations described. I will attempt to characterize the temporal system of Korean constituted by these temporal suffixes along with the two periphrastic durative constructions, the so-called "Resultant-state" construction *V-ô iss-* 'V-CONN exist-' and the "Progressive" construction *V-ko iss-*'V-CONN exist-'. The evaluative suffixes *-kess*, and *-(û)li-* are not pure temporal suffixes, as briefly discussed in Chapter 3. However, they are not totally disassociated with temporality of situations, and are often treated as future tense markers in the literature. I will briefly discuss how modal meanings of these suffixes such as

conjecture, volition, presumption, etc. are obtained along with futurity, and what the difference between *-kess-* and *-(û)li-* is. In this chapter, the Honorific *-(û)si-*, the Polite *-(û)p-*, the Necessitative *-(ô)ya*, and the mood markers *-si-* and *-ni-* will be excluded from discussion, because they are irrelevant to the issue of the temporal system.

4.2. Issues

There is a vast literature which attempts to characterize the temporal system (or tense system, as it is often referred to) of Korean, e.g. H-B. Choe (1977), J-S. Na (1971), H-M. Sohn (1975c), K-S. Nam (1978), D-H. An (1980), Huh (1983), and C-M. Lee (1987), among others. There are two different approaches which are represented by the two well-known traditional grammarians, H-B. Choe (1977) and Huh (1983); the meaning-form approach and the form-meaning approach, respectively. The meaning-form approach presumes that there are certain primitive tense categories such as past, non-past (or present), and future, and aspectual categories such as perfective, imperfective, etc. In this approach, the main purpose is to investigate how these traditional temporal categories are coded in the grammar of Korean; that is, it attempts to identify those verbal suffixes that carry the meaning of one of the above temporal categories, or to characterize the meanings of the verbal suffixes in terms of the traditional temporal concepts. For example, H-B. Choe (1977) attempts to give a systematic description of a temporal system in Korean in terms of the 12 tenses of English school grammar.[1] A few criticisms have been raised against this approach, noting that the meaning or meanings of

1 In the twelve-tense system of traditional school grammar, present, past, and future are the primary tenses, which can be supplemented with the Progressive and/or the Perfect constructions, thus giving 12 possible combinations.

those verbal suffixes in question cannot always be precisely identified with those concepts. For example, the meaning of *-ôss-*, which I call the 'Anterior' suffix, but which is generally known as the Past Tense marker, varies from past tense to completion to perfect or resultant state. Therefore, it would be misleading to identify *-ôss-* as a Past tense marker simply because it carries the meaning of past time reference in some contexts. The problem with the meaning-form approach is apparent when Choe is forced to assign more than one meaning to a given suffix. For example, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* is classified as both the Past tense and the (Present) Perfect, and the Non-past Imperfective suffix *-nûn-* as the Present tense and the Progressive. This flaw in the meaning-form approach is accurately pointed out by Huh (1987:202-3 [translation mine]):

> ..... it is fundamentally wrong to approach to the problem [of characterizing a temporal system in Korean] by looking at how those concepts of tense, aspect, and mood manifested in the grammars of other languages, especially Indo-European languages, are realized in Korean. We need to analyze the meanings of grammatical morphemes in Korean first and then set up grammatical categories accordingly.

Thus, Huh (1983) takes the form-meaning approach. He tries to characterize a meaning or meanings of each suffix in its own terms without presumption of the temporal categories of Western tradition. Based on the meanings of each of the temporal suffixes, Huh sets up four temporal categories (*ttæmækim-pôp*' time:assigning-law', in his terminology) in Modern Korean: (i) *hyônsil-pôp* (the Actual), (ii) *hoesang-pôp* (the Retrospective), (iii) *wankyôl-pôp* (the Completive), and (iv) *micông-pôp* (the Indeterminative). *Hyônsil-pôp* (the Actual) refers to a temporal category that describes a situation as if it takes place concurrently in the speaker's presence. *Hoesang-pôp* (the Retrospective) refers to a temporal category that recalls a situation which took place in the past. *Wankyôl-pôp* (the Completive)

refers to a temporal category that indicates that a situation has been completed or the resultant state of its completion is maintained. *Micông-pôp* (the Indeterminative) refers to a temporal category that indicates that a situation described has not taken place or the speaker does not know whether a situation has taken place in fact.[2]

Even though Huh's approach gives a better approximation of the nature of the suffixes and the temporal system in general, it is not free of problems. The main problem with the form-meaning approach is that no distinction is made between the semantic interpretation of a form in a given context and its basic grammatical meaning. Consequently, several morphemes are identified as conveying the same temporal category. For example, Huh (1983) characterizes both the Attributive *-ûn* (for descriptive verbs) and *-nûn* (for non-descriptive verbs) and the morphologically unmarked form as expressing *hyônsilpôp* (the Actual), and both the Anterior *-ôss-* and the Attributive *-ûn* as expressing *wankyôlpôp* (the Completive). Notice that the Attributive *-ûn* is categorized as expressing both *hyônsilpôp* (the Actual) and *wankyôlpôp* (the Completive).

Other scholars put themselves between these two approaches, basically attempting to provide arguments for a better characterization of the temporal suffixes. Unfortunately, scholars do not agree with each other on the nature of those suffixes. For example, one of the main issues with regard to the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* is whether it is a (Past) tense marker or a (Perfective) aspect marker. In many works, the Anterior *-ôss-* has been characterized as a Past Tense marker (Martin 1954); S-H. Kim 1967; Song 1967; Cook 1971; Na 1971; H-B. Choe 1977; D-H. An 1980; C-M. Lee 1987). Huh (1983), on the other hand, characterizes the suffix as expressing completion of a situation or the resultant state

2 All translations of Huh's terminology are mine.

of the completed situation. Similarly, Sohn (1975c) and K-S. Nam (1978) treat it as a Perfective aspect marker in the sense of expressing 'completion' of a situation described. Some scholars acknowledge that the suffix also covers the semantic area that is expressed with the Perfect in English and the perfective aspect meaning along with past tense meaning (H-B. Choe (1977); D-H. An (1980)). S-O. Shin (1988) even proposes that there are two kinds of *-ôss-*, the Past tense marker *-ôss-* and the Perfective aspect marker *-ôss-*. The disagreement among the different analyses seems to be due to the following:

(i) The previous literature has drawn too much on traditional tense categories such as past/non-past, present, and future. These tense categories have been considered as primitives that an individual language like Korean must have.

(ii) Partly responsible for this presumption is a failure to consider a typological perspective. That is, cross-linguistic patterns have not been considered with regard to the way a temporal system is organized, and the way temporal expressions developed cross-linguistically. It is not acknowledged that aspect is conceptually more fundamental than tense and "far more commonly to be found throughout the languages of the world than tense is" (Lyons 1977:705), and that there are many languages without a grammatical tense system (e.g. Chinese, Malay, Classical Hebrew cited in Lyons (1977:687), and Lakhota (Pam Munro, personal communication)), but few without an aspectual system.

(iii) Previous scholars used only a limited range of data. In most of the literature, only made-up sentences out of context are considered for investigation. Especially ignored are naturally-occurring conversations. Different authors consider a different range of examples for their analyses. They do not consider the overall distribution of the suffixes in actual discourse and thus have failed to cover all the uses of the morpheme.

(iv) A semantic characterization of a morpheme is often drawn from a semantic interpretation obtained in given examples rather than its grammatical meaning. A semantic interpretation obtained in given examples would then be identified with one of the traditional tense or aspect categories which are traditionally known, e.g. past, present, future tense, perfective, or perfect, and imperfective, progressive aspect. What is identified is one or some uses or functions of a given form in given contexts; a single grammatical meaning that encompass those contextual uses is yet to be identified.

(v) The historical development of the temporal system has not been considered in characterizing the synchronic system. It has been pointed out that there is inconsistency in the temporal system of Modern Korean. That is, different constructions and speech styles exhibit different temporal systems. Inconsistency is also found when morphemes whose forms are synchronically identical give inconsistent temporal interpretations. Such inconsistency is easily accounted for if the historical path through which the synchronic system has developed is considered. The previous analyses do not consider historical facts in relation to the apparently inconsistent and even idiosyncratic synchronic system.

In order to overcome the shortcomings of the previous approaches, this chapter will attempt to give a historical, typological, and discourse-pragmatic account of the temporal system in Korean. The main goal I would like to achieve is to provide an account for why the temporal system in Modern Korean is the way it is. There are two specific issues I would like to address to achieve this goal:

(i) The inconsistence of temporal systems: as mentioned just above, Korean apparently exhibits different temporal systems in different constructions. That is, temporal contrasts such as past vs. non-past are expressed with different

morphological markings in different constructions; for example, between attributive (i.e., noun-modifying or adnominal) and predication constructions, and also among various speech styles (characteristically between what I call the neutral style and the informal style). It will be shown that the inconsistence of the temporal system in Modern Korean is due to the later development of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* from the Perfect construction *V-ô iss-* 'V-Connective exist-'. The development of *-ôss-* yielded a new temporal contrast, and thus caused a transition from a system of the "totality" dimension of aspect to that of the "temporal" dimension of aspect (see Chapter 2 for a discussion on these two dimensions of the viewpoint aspect), and eventually to a two-way tense distinction. The reason that different constructions manifest different temporal systems is attributed to the fact that the old system still operates in some constructions, whereas a new system is implemented in other constructions.

(ii) The nature of *-ôss-*: that is, what is the basic meaning of *-ôss-* and what accounts for its meaning variation, and is it a tense marker or an aspect marker? It will be proposed that the confusing nature of the Anterior *-ôss-* between tense and aspect meaning is due to the combined effects of the inherent aspectual properties of verbs and discourse contexts. As will be argued later, all variant meanings of *-ôss-* can be subsumed under the meaning of 'anteriority'. The concept 'anterior' will be used as neutral between tense and aspect. It will simply denote that a situation described takes place prior to a reference point provided in the discourse context. Depending on the speaker's communicative goal, this temporal relation can be presented in two different ways; that is, the speaker may be concerned with either the location of a situation described or the location of the reference point.[3] The suffix *-ôss-* gives a past tense meaning

when in a given discourse context the speaker is concerned with the location of a given situation with respect to a reference point, as the suffix indicates that the situation takes place prior to the reference point. The suffix *-ôss-* expresses a "completed" sense of perfective aspect when the speaker is concerned with whether the situation described has reached its end point, that is, the reference point is located either at or after the terminal juncture of a situation described.

Given these issues, I will look at the discourse functions of the temporal suffixes, *-ôss-*, *-tô-*, and *-nûn-*, particularly in naturally-occurring colloquial texts, and the overall discourse patterns in which these temporal suffixes constitute the current temporal system. I will specifically claim that Korean exhibits two dimensions of viewpoint-aspectual contrasts: (i) the temporal dimension, which is expressed with the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* along with the two periphrastic durative constructions (static durative vs. dynamic durative), and (ii) the totality dimension, which is expressed with-*nûn-* and *-tô-* along with the morphologically unmarked form, as exhibited in attributive constructions, and sparingly in informal styles. The two independent dimensions exhibited in Modern Korean are the results of the historical development of *-ôss-*, which caused a transition from a totality dimensional aspect system to a temporal dimensional aspect system. These two dimensions of viewpoint aspect interact with the lexical/semantic/propositional level of inherent aspect and discourse contexts such as the communicators' concerns and goals to yield various aspectual/tensal interpretations for the same morphological marking. I will further claim that the emergence of the temporal dimension of aspect is

3 The notion of 'anterior' proposed here should not be confused with the notion of relative past tense. The notion of relative past tense only refers to the location of a situation described with respect to a reference point, not to the location of a reference point with respect to a situation described.

interlocked with the totality dimension of aspect and is gearing toward developing a two-way tense system from a three-way aspectual system; the Anterior *-ôss-* is now contrasted with the morphologically unmarked form, which is triggering a past/non-past distinction, due to its distribution in discourse and the overall discourse patterns. Korean is like other languages, such as French, Italian, Rumanian, and German, that have developed a past tense meaning from the Perfect construction (Comrie 1976:53), which is a cross-linguistically very common pattern (Bybee 1987; Bybee and Dahl 1989). From a typological point of view, the (historically) underlying temporal system in Korean is similar to those in the Proto-Indo-European language and creole languages. The fact that Korean is developing a two-way tense system from a originally three-way aspect system confirms a general consensus that aspect is conceptually as well as ontogenetically more fundamental than tense for human languages (Lyons 1977:705).

The analysis that will be given in this chapter will be organized as follows. In Section 4.3, I will discuss different temporal systems in different constructions, i.e., the temporal system in the attributive (noun-modifying) constructions vs. in predication constructions, and also in different speech styles, i.e., the neutral style vs. the informal style. In section 4.4, I will discuss temporal dimensions of the temporal system, that is, the two durative constructions and the Anterior *-ôss-*. In section 4.5, the totality dimension of the temporal system will be discussed, with focus on the analysis of *-nûn-* and *-tô-*. In section 4.6, the overall temporal system will be evaluated. In section 4.7, I will discuss the typological implications of the temporal system in Korean.

4.3. Idiosyncrasy of temporal systems in Modern Korean

It has been acknowledged in the literature on Korean grammar that the

temporal system in attributive (noun-modifying) constructions is different from that in predication constructions (H-B. Choe 1977; K-S. Nam 1978; D-H. An 1980; Huh 1983). That is, temporal contrasts such as past/non-past or perfective/imperfective are apparently expressed with different morphological markings in attributive constructions and in predication constructions. At the first glance, this system looks idiosyncratic. Scholars in general assume that there are simply two separate temporal systems, one in predication constructions, the other in attributive constructions. In this section, I will glance at what the two systems look like.

4.3.1. Temporal system in attributive clauses

As briefly discussed in Section 3.1.1.1.1, there are two kinds of attributive clauses in Korean, realis attributives and irrealis attributives. The realis attributives are marked by the Realis Attributive terminal suffix *-(û)n*, and the irrealis attributives are marked by the Irrealis Attributive terminal suffix *-(û)l*. I also showed that there are three different realis-attributive constructions, *-nûn*, *-(û)n*, and *-tôn*, which give different temporal interpretations. The following examples illustrate the three different realis attributive constructions with different temporal flavors (see also examples (3.8)-(3.10) in Chapter 3).

(4.1) oppa -ka cô pôn-e uli -tûl sônghwa -e
big:brother-NOM that time-LOC 1PL-PL hard:pressing-LOC

mos iki -ô cumun-ha-n mokma
NEG(IMPOT) win-CONN order -do -ATTR wooden:horse

iss -ci?
exist-COMM (Leah 3: 8)

' [You remember] the wooden horse you [lit. Big Brother] ordered the other day by giving in to [lit. not being able to win over] our hard-pressing pleas?.'

In (4.1), the attributive construction *-(û)n* simply refers to a single situation (ordering the wooden horse) which took place in the past. The temporal adverbial expression *cô pôn-e* 'last time (lit. at that time)' confirms the time reference.

(4.2)a. kûlæsô yæ -ne -tûl-ûn kû -kô -l acu hana-ssik
so this:child-side-PL-TOP that-thing-ACC quite one -each

acu ilôhke môk-ûmyônsô o -nûnte
quite like:this eat -SIMUL come-CIRCUM

b. o -nûn kil -i kû kwasuwôn iss.. kwasu namu
come-ATTR road-NOM that orchard exist fruit tree

iss -nûn te -e -yo
exist-ATTR place-be:IE-DEF

c. kûnte ince kû kwasu -e olû -ô ka-ôsô
then now that fruit:tree-LOC climb-CONN go-CONN

tta -tôn salam -i ince canttûk tta -ô kaci-ko
pick-ATTR person-NOM now to:capacity pick-CONN take -CONN

næli -ô o -ôsô
put:down-CONN come-CONN

(PS 2: 62-67)

a. So these kids come on their way, eating, like one each,
b. then,the road **they are coming** on is the one that leads to the place **where** the orchard... **that tree is.**
c. Meanwhile, the guy **who was picking** fruit in the tree, now having picked a lot, comes down, ...

In (4.2b), the time references of the situations marked by *-nûn* ('their coming' and 'that tree's existence') are simultaneous with the moment when the narrator

watched the scene, and are presumably treated as simultaneous with the speech moment for the purpose of narration. In (4.2c), on the other hand, the attributive construction *-tôn* refers to a situation that had been taking place a while ago. Similarly, *o-tôn* 'come-ATTR' in (4.3b) below refers to the road which the kids had been coming along.

(4.3) a. kûliko yæ -nûn ka-l kil ka-ko
and:then this:child-TOP go-ATTR road go-CONN

b. yæ -tûl-ûn tto o -tôn kil -ûl
this:child-PL-TOP again come-ATTR road-ACC

ilôhke kyesok hyanghæ -sô ka-nûnte
like:this continuously face:toward-CONN go-CIRCUM

(PS 1: 52-53)

a. And the boy goes on his way,
b. b. and the boys are back on the road **they were coming along**, and keep going forward,

As a rough characterization, apparent in the translations, *-nûn* indicates non-past time or simultaneous reference, whereas *-ûn* and *-tôn* indicate past time reference. The difference between *-ûn* and *-tôn* may be characterized as perfective and imperfective respectively in some senses: *-ûn* indicates complete occurrence in the past, whereas *-tôn*, at least in (4.2c) and (4.3b), refers to an ongoing situation in the past. Note that *cumun-ha-n* 'order-do-ATTR' in (4.1) is translated with the Simple Past tense, and *tta-tô-n* 'pick-RETROS-ATTR' in (4.2c) with the Past Progressive form in English. Therefore, let us assume tentatively that *-ûn* expresses past perfective, and *-tôn* expresses past imperfective, whereas *-nûn* expresses non-past time reference (and presumably imperfective as well). The initial characterization of the three-way temporal contrast in realis attributive constructions illustrated in the above examples can be summarized as follows:

(4.4) The three-way temporal contrast in realis attributive constructions (first approximation):
(i) *-nûn* : non-past/imperfective (simultaneous with the speech moment)
(ii) *-ûn* : past perfective (complete occurrence prior to the speech moment)
(iii) *-tôn* : past imperfective (ongoing at some point prior to the speech moment)

The temporal system in the attributive constructions needs further elaboration, because an interesting pattern occurs with regard to the distinction between what I call "descriptive" verbs and "non-descriptive" verbs.[4] That is, this three-way temporal contrast manifested by the three different attributive constructions is made only for non-descriptive verbs, not for descriptive verbs. For example,

(4.5)a. ... com nappû-ke sængki -n æ -tûl-i -nte
a:little bad -RESUL have:a:look-ATTR child-PL-be-CIRCUM

b. al -ko po-ni +kka com coh -ûn æ -tûl -i -a
know-CONN see-DET+INTERR a:little good-ATTR child-PL-be-IE

(PS 1: 44-45)

a. ... they sort of look like bad boys,
b. but in fact, they are sort of good boys.

4 Descriptive verbs express attributive properties rather than actions or processes, and roughly correspond to adjectives in English. Non-descriptive verbs express actions, processes, and states of affairs that are not attributes. The distinction between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs is based on their morphosyntactic pattern as well as their semantic nature. Descriptive verbs cannot occur in the so-called "progressive" construction (i.e., *V-ko iss-*). Descriptive verbs also are not allowed to take the (Non-past) Imperfective suffix *-nûn-*.

This distinction may be analogous to the general distinction between active (or non-stative) verbs and stative verbs in other languages. As pointed out in the literature (Comrie 1976; Bybee 1985), however, there is no universal lexical and/or morphosyntactic pattern that matches the semantic distinction between the two group of verbs. Some semantically stative verbs morphosyntactically behave like active verbs in one language, whereas they behave like stative verbs in another language.

In the above example, *-ûn* is attached to descriptive verbs, *sængki-* 'have a look' in (4.5a) and *coh-* 'good' in (4.5b). What is interesting is the time reference referred to by *-ûn* in (4.5a) and (4.5b). Unlike *-ûn* with a non-descriptive verb in (4.1), which gives a past or prior time reference, *-ûn* in (4.5) with the descriptive verbs gives a present or simultaneous time reference. Furthermore, *-nûn*, which gives the present time reference with non-descriptive verbs, as in (4.2), cannot occur with descriptive verbs at all. Therefore, even though the time reference in (4.5a) and (4.5b) is clearly present time, *-nûn* cannot be attached to descriptive verbs such as *sænki-ta* 'to have a look' and *coh-ta* 'good'. The following examples show the contrast between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs more clearly.

(4.6) côki o -nûn khi -ka cak -ûn/*nûn salam -i
there come-ATTR height-NOM small-ATTR person-NOM

John-i -ta
John-be-DECL
'The **short** one **who is coming along** is John.'

(4.7) ôcey chac-a o -n khi -ka cak -ûn
yesterday visit -CONN come-ATTR height-NOM small-ATTR

salam -i John-i -ôss -ta
person-NOM John-be-ANT-DECL
'The **short** man **who visited us** yesterday was John.'

In (4.7), the time reference within the attributive clause is past time, as the temporal adverbial *ôce* 'yesterday' indicates. So it is not surprising that *o-* 'come', a non-descriptive verb, is suffixed with *-ûn* just as in (4.1), and so is *cak-* 'short', a descriptive verb. In (4.6), on the other hand, the time reference within the attributive clause is present time, as it describes a currently ongoing situation.

However, the non-descriptive verb *o-*'come' is suffixed with *-nûn*, whereas the descriptive verb *cak-*'short' is suffixed with *-ûn*. Therefore, for descriptive verbs, no morphological distinction is made between *-nûn* and *-(û)n*.

The asymmetric temporal pattern between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs suggests that the initial characterization of *-(û)n*, *-nûn*, and *-tôn* given in (4.4) needs to be revised. First of all, *-(û)n* does not give the past time reference exclusively. It gives past time reference with non-descriptive verbs, but non-past time reference with descriptive verbs. Therefore, I will claim that *-(û)n* simply expresses perfective, rather than past (or prior in relative tense) perfective. Secondly, the fact that *-nûn* is not compatible with descriptive verbs suggests that the time reference referred to by *-nûn* cannot be simply non-past or simultaneous, because there is no semantic reason why non-past or simultaneity should be incompatible with descriptive verbs. Note also that, as translated in (4.2b), *-nûn* can refer to ongoing situations as in *o-nûn* 'come-ATTR', as well as simple present situation as in *iss-nûn* 'exist-ATTR'. Therefore, the exact time reference made by *-nûn* must be characterized in such a way as to accommodate the fact that descriptive verbs are not compatible with it, and so that it may refer to ongoing situations, not just a simple present. The exact semantic nature of the time reference made by *-nûn* will be discussed later in detail. Here I hypothesize from its uses in (4.2b) that it is non-past imperfective more than anything else.

The Past (or prior) Imperfective form *-tôn* can occur with descriptive verbs as in (4.8) and (4.9) below, even though its occurrence with descriptive verbs is very rare in actual communication situations --there is no instance of *-tôn* with descriptive verbs in the corpus used for this study.

(4.8) kûttæ-n khi -ka cak -tôn æ -ka
then -TOP height-NOM small-ATTR child-NOM

cikûm-ûn kôin -i -ta
now -TOP giant-be-DECL

'That child, who was short then, is a giant now.'

(4.9) ôli -l ttæ kwiyòp-tôn ne mosûp -i
young-ATTR time lovely -ATTR 2SG:GEN appearance-NOM

kûlip -ta
be:missed-DECL

'I miss you, [as I remember] your face when you were young, which was lovely .

Therefore, the temporal system of realis-attributive clauses can be summarized more precisely as follows:

(4.10) The temporal system of realis attributive constructions (second approximation)

	Non-descriptive verbs	Descriptive verbs
non-past imperfective	nûn	–
perfective	(û)n	(û)n
past imperfective	tôn	tôn

Most of the literature considers the three forms for realis-attributive clauses, *-nûn*, *-ûn*, and *-tôn*, as separate attributive markers. Even though such an analysis is tenable from a synchronic point of view, these forms are not monomorphemic historically. That is, historically, *-un* and *-ul* alone were the Attributive markers, which expressed realis attributive and irrealis attributive respectively. The apparently different forms of the realis attributive markers are attributed to the addition of different temporal markers, the Non-past Imperfective

marker *-nû-* (< */n∧/*), the Retrospective marker (Past Imperfective) *-tô-*, or lack of any temporal markers. Therefore, as I argued in Chapter 3.1.1.1.1, *-nûn* is analyzed as *-nû* plus *-ûn*, *-tôn* as *-tô-* plus *-ûn*, and *-ûn* is analyzed as having no temporal marker preceding it. That means that the Attributive marker *-ûn* itself has nothing to do with the temporal interpretations. To repeat from Chapter 3.1.1.1.1, the three different realis attributive markers can be analyzed as follows:

(4.11) The decomposition of realis attributive constructions
(i) nûn = nû (<n∧) + (û)n
(ii) ûn = Ø + (û)n
(iii) tôn = tô + (û)n

Synchronically, the division of the three different attributive forms may not be too transparent, and some scholars even treat them simply as temporal expressions (Huh 1983:236-7).[5] From an analytical point of view, however, there are a number of points that lead up to the division of those forms into a temporal expression plus the invariant Realis-Attributive suffix *-(û)n*. First of all, it would miss an important generalization that all realis-attributive constructions contain /ûn/ or /n/ ending, if we treat the three forms as separate expressions. It simply cannot be an accident that all the realis-attributive constructions end with the same sound.

Secondly, the time references referred to by *-nûn* and *-tôn* in the attributive constructions are identical to or overlap with the time reference referred to by the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-* in predication constructions. That is, both *-nûn* in attributive clauses and the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-* in predication constructions give a non-past time reference, and

5 This analysis is clearly reflected in Huh's statement (p 236):
"... the [Attributive] ending also characteristically expresses tense or time reference." [translation mine]

both *-tôn* of attributive clauses and the Retrospective *-tô-* in predication constructions in general refer to a moment in the past where the situation described was taking place. The following examples, repeated from (3.87) and (3.89) of Chapter 3, illustrate the time references made by the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-* in predication constructions.

(4.12) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -n -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-IMPFV-DECL
'Suni attends UCLA.'

(4.13) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -tô -la
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-RETROS-DECL
'Suni attended/was attending UCLA [as I became aware of it] .'

Thirdly, the incompatibility of descriptive verbs with *-nûn* in the attributive construction is in parallel with their incompatibility with the Non-past Imperfective suffix *-nûn-* in the predication construction.

(4.14) John-ûn khi -ka cak -ta/ *cak-nûn-ta
John-TOP height-NOM small-DECL
'John is short.'

(4.15) John-i côki o -n -ta/*o-ta
John-NOM over:there come-IMPFV-DECL
'There comes John.'

(4.14) and (4.15) show that in expressing non-past situations, the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-* is required for non-descriptive verbs with the Declarative *-ta* ending, as in (4.15), whereas *-nûn-* is not only not required, but is in fact incompatible with descriptive verbs, as shown in (4.14), the reason for which will be discussed later.

Given the fact that the non-past Attributive construction *-nûn* and the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-* are similar in form and meaning as well as in their

morphosyntactic pattern, there should be no question that the attributive construction *-nûn* at least contains the Non-past Imperfective suffix in it. The historical antecedents of the attributive constructions shown in Late Middle Korean (15th century) material reveal that the different realis attributive constructions (*-nûn*, *-(û)n*, and *-tôn*) can indeed be further decomposed historically as containing different temporal expressions. The historical antecedents of *-nûn*, *-(û)n*, and *-tôn* were *-nʌn*, *-(û)n*, and *-tôn* respectively. Given the fact that the historical antecedent of the Non-past Imperfective suffix *-nûn-* in predication constructions was *-nʌ-* (Huh 1975; Ko 1981), the composition of attributive constructions becomes transparent; *-nʌn* = *-nʌ-* + *-(û)n*, and *-tôn* = *-tô-*+ *-(û)n*. The synchronically identical form of *-nûn* in attributive constructions and the Imperfective *-nûn-* in predication constructions is a historical accident. That is, /-nʌ-/ in attributive constructions and /-nʌ-/ in predication constructions in the 15th century underwent different paths of phonological change. The Imperfective suffix /-nʌ-/ in attributive constructions did not have any phonological variant, and became /-nû- / when the phoneme /ʌ/ was lost in Korean around the 18th century. That is, *nʌ*> *nû*. In predication constructions, on the other hand, /-nʌ-/ had a phonological variant /-n-/ when the stem ends in a vowel. /-nʌ-/ then changed into /-nʌn-/ by analogy from /-n-/ (in order to match the coda of the syllable) in the 17th century, and later into /-nûn-/ at the loss of /ʌ/ vowel (Huh 1987:33-35). Therefore, *nʌ*~ *n* > *nʌn* ~*n* > *nûn* ~ *n*. The different paths of the phonological changes that /-nʌ-/ in attributive constructions and /-nʌ-/ in predication constructions underwent can be summarized in (4.16) below. Therefore, *-nûn-* in predication constructions and *-nûn* in attributive constructions are not identical morphemes, as some literature assumes.[6] Instead, the latter contains the former.

(4.16) Historical paths of the Imperfective *-nûn-* in attributive constructions and predication constructions

Predication constructions	Attributive constructions
'eat' môk +n∧+ ta =môkn∧ta	môk +n∧+ûn = môkn∧n
'go' ka +n + ta =kanta	ka +n∧+ûn = kan∧n
| <-- analogy	|
V	|
môk+n∧n+ta = môkn∧nta	| <-- loss of /∧/
| <-- loss of /∧/	|
V	V
môk+nûn+ta = môknûnta	môk + nû + ûn = môknûn
ka + n + ta = kanta	ka +nû + ûn = kanûn

Now it is clear that the different realis attributive forms, *-nûn*, *-ûn*, and *-tôn*, can be decomposed as *-nû + (û)n*, *Ø + (û)n*, and *-tô + (û)n* respectively. It follows then that it is those temporal expressions that are responsible for different time interpretations. That is, *-nû-* expresses non-past imperfective, and *-tô-* gives past imperfective time reference, whereas the morphologically unmarked form expresses perfective. Therefore, the temporal system in the attributive constructions can be reformulated as follows:

(4.17) The temporal system in realis attributive constructions:

	Non-descriptive verbs	Descriptive verbs
Non-past Imperfective	-nû-	--
Perfective	Ø	Ø
Past Imperfective	-tô-	-tô-

6 E-D. Cook (1971:84) assumes that the attributive construction *-nûn* and the Imperfective suffix *-nûn-* are two different phonological realization of the same category.

Now, three points deserve attention:

(i) For non-descriptive verbs, there is a morphological contrast between *-nû* and the morphologically unmarked form, which with non-descriptive verbs gives respectively a non-past interpretation, as in (4.2b) and (4.6), and a past-perfective interpretation, as in (4.1) and (4.7). For descriptive verbs, on the other hand, there is no such contrast , as shown in (4.6) and (4.7).

(ii) The morphologically unmarked form gives different time interpretations between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs. With non-descriptive verbs, *-ûn*, which does not contain any temporal morpheme, gives past perfective time reference as in (4.1) and (4.7). With descriptive verbs, on the other hand, *-ûn* does not give any explicit time reference, but simply expresses the states of affairs described at some reference point.

(iii) What is more interesting is that descriptive verbs manifest the morphology which gives a past perfective interpretation for non-descriptive verbs, even when the time reference is clearly non-past. Note that *-nûn* is incompatible with descriptive verbs. As seen from (4.14) and (4.15), this should be attributed to the incompatibility of descriptive verbs with the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-*.

Ignoring for the moment the existence of the Retrospective *-tô-* in Korean, which I assume to express the past imperfective, this pattern of temporal contrasts (i.e., the incompatibility of the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nû-* with descriptive verbs and the different time interpretations of perfective morphology between descriptive and non-descriptive verbs) is not a phenomenon unique to Korean, but is cross-linguistically common. This phenomenon is similar to the one described by Comrie (1976:82-84, 116-122) for Yoruba, Igbo, and Persian among others, by Bickerton (1981:58, 160) for creole languages including Haitian Creole English, by Singler

(1984:88) for Liberian English and Kru, and by Pamela Munro (p.c.) for Lakhota. What is common among these languages, including Korean, is; (i) the morphologically unmarked form gives a past time or perfective interpretation for active verbs (non-descriptive verbs in the case of Korean), and a present time or non-past interpretation for stative verbs (descriptive verbs in the case of Korean); (ii) the forms that give non-past time reference for active verbs, which are often described as durative, non-punctual (Bickerton 1981), or imperfective (Comrie 1976) markers occur only with active verbs, not with stative verbs.[7] Consequently, only the morphologically unmarked form is available for stative verbs.

Comrie (1976) characterizes this phenomenon as morphological neutralization of the perfective/imperfective aspect for stative verbs, where the morphology of these verbs is expected to reflect that of unmarked member of the opposition (1976:116). Comrie states that the morphologically unmarked form [i.e., perfective morphology] of a stative verb is taken to be [semantically] imperfective (1976:122). In this view, the semantics of statives seem to be considered as unmatched with their morphology. That is, a semantically imperfective situation [stative] is coded by perfective morphology [the unmarked form]. Without commenting on this unmatched form-meaning relation, Comrie (1976:116) appeals to a morphological principle that, when some verb or verb form has morphologically only one aspectual form for some reason, it is the morphologically unmarked member of the opposition that is taken.

7 Pam Munro (personal communication) points out that, in Lakhota, *-han*, which she calls the "Progressive", can have the past time reference, expressing past progressive. There may be some variation in the details of this cross-linguistic aspectual pattern discussed here.

The phenomenon in Korean discussed above is certainly consistent with Comrie's argument. That is, whereas non-descriptive verbs manifest a contrast between *-nû-* of *-nûn* and the morphologically unmarked form of *-ûn*, descriptive verbs take only one of the two, the morphologically unmarked one. There is a good reason to believe, however, that it is not a simple morphological neutralization, as assumed in Comrie (1976), but is a semantically well-motivated phenomenon. That is, the perfective morphology on stative verbs is perfectly justified by the semantic nature of stative verbs with a properly defined concept of perfectivity. A crucial pitfall in Comrie's view lies in the conception that morphologically unmarked stative verbs must be semantically imperfective. I believe this conception results from a failure to distinguish between the temporal view and the totality view of perfectivity discussed in Chapter 2. That is, in the temporal view of perfectivity, a situation described is considered as perfective when it has reached its end point. Therefore, morphologically unmarked stative verbs are considered as imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity, because the time reference is present or non-past, and thus the situation described has yet to reach its end point. In the totality view of perfectivity, on the other hand, what matters is whether the speaker is concerned with an internal development of a situation, appreciating it within the event frame of the situation. In this view, statives are meant to be perfective, since states expressed with stative verbs do not have an internal structure whose development the speaker might be concerned with. That is, situations described by stative verbs are always appreciated as an unanalyzable whole, hence are perfective regardless of their time references. Therefore, if we assume that the morphological contrast manifested in those languages mentioned above, including Korean, is a linguistic coding of perfectivity in the totality view, morphologically unmarked stative verbs are understood as [semantically] perfective, naturally pairing with their

perfective morphology.

The compatibility of perfective morphology with the semantics of stative verbs is further supported by the fact that some active verbs with perfective morphology even refer to current states of affairs rather than actions or activities in the past. For example,

(4.18) côki -sô ilôhke cacônkô-lûl tha -n
over:there-LOC like:this bicycle -ACC ride-ATTR

ônû yôca -æ -ka i -ccok-ûlu o -a
certain female-child-NOM this-side-toward come-IE

(PS 1: 34-35)

'... a girl **on a bike** is coming toward ...'

(4.19) hwa -ttakci na -n Leah
anger-clot come:out-ATTR Leah (Leah 6: 18)

'Leah, **who is angry**.'

In (4.18) above, the construction *tha-n* 'ride-ATTR' refers to a current state of affairs (of being on a bike) rather than an action (e.g. riding a bike). In (4.19), the underlined attributive expression refers to Leah's current state of being angry. The states of affairs expressed by non-descriptive verbs such as *tha-* 'get on' and *hwa-ttakci na-* 'get angry' with perfective attributive forms above parallel those expressed by descriptive verbs. The states of affairs described by *-(û)n* with non-descriptive verbs may be characterized as resultant state; having gotten on a bike in (4.18) and having gotten angry in (4.19). However, the constructions in (4.18) and (4.19) do not refer to the causing actions at all. They simply refer to current states of affairs, just as descriptive verbs do. This semantic parallelism between the non-descriptive verbs in (4.18) and (4.19) and descriptive verbs in general suggests

that, descriptive or non-descriptive, the morphologically unmarked forms express a unified meaning, namely situations described are viewed externally (outside of their event frame) as unanalyzable wholes, and thus without their internal development being appreciated, i.e., perfective.

In the above, it is argued that the perfective morphology (morphologically unmarked) for stative verbs is perfectly justified by the semantic nature of statives, even though time reference is interpreted inconsistently between active verbs and stative verbs. The incompatibility of stative verbs with non-past (imperfective) forms also follows from the totality view of perfectivity. In the totality view of perfectivity, states cannot be taken as imperfective, since situations described by stative verbs in general do not have internal structure, and thus cannot be expressed with imperfective morphology.

I have argued thus far that perfective morphology (i.e., the morphologically unmarked form in an opposition in those languages mentioned above) consistently represents perfective meaning both for active verbs and stative verbs. One remaining question is, then, why is there such a strong correlation between active verbs and past time reference and between stative verbs with non-past time reference in the use of perfective morphology? I will argue that the time reference is not a basic grammatical meaning of the forms, but is instead a derived interpretation. It would be odd to say that a given form gives different time reference depending on predicate types if it is indeed a marker of time reference. The close relationship between active verbs and past time reference, and between statative verbs and present time reference seems to be due to the semantic nature of verbs and communicative patterns. It is quite natural that a situation which has already taken place is much easier to be appreciated wholly. This is more so for events (i.e., active situations) than states (i.e., stative situations). In this regard,

Welmers' (1973) characterization of the same phenomenon for Yoruba and Igbo is illuminating. Welmers (1973: 346-347) characterizes perfective morphology (unmarked) in Yoruba and Igbo as 'factative', i.e., expressing 'the most obvious fact about the verb in question, which in the case of active verbs is that the action was observed or took place, but for stative verbs is that the situation obtains at present'.

In the preceding paragraphs, I have contended that the morphological contrast between Non-past-Imperfective *-nû-* and the Perfective zero morpheme in Korean is similar to a cross-linguistically common pattern in Haitian Creole English, Liberian English, Kru, Yoruba, Igbo, as well as in Persian and Lakhota. Adding to this contrast the Retrospective suffix *-tô*, which I assume to express past imperfective, the temporal system manifested in attributive clauses in Korean is now characterized as having a three-way contrast of perfective (without any specified time reference), which is morphologically unmarked, non-past imperfective (with the Non-past Imperfective *-nû-*), and past imperfective (with the Retrospective *-tô-*). As a unified temporal system for descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs, this can be summarized as follows (in comparison with (4.16)):

(4.20) The temporal system of realis-attributive clauses:

Perfective:	Ø
Non-past imperfective:	-nû-
Past imperfective:	-tô-

This system now looks similar to the proto-Indo-European system that comprises Aorist, Imperfect, and Present (Dahl 1985; Bybee and Dahl 1989). I will argue later that this is historically the basic temporal system in Korean, which I believe had operated until the 15th century, and still operates in attributive constructions

and sporadically in predication constructions as well, which I will discuss next.

4.3.2. Temporal systems in predication constructions

In the preceding section, I have discussed the temporal system in attributive clauses. I have shown that the temporal system in attributive clauses manifest a three-way temporal contrast of perfective, non-past imperfective, and past perfective. The non-past imperfective is coded by the Non-past Imperfective suffix *-nû-*, and the past imperfective is code by the Retrospective *-tô-*. The perfective is morphologically unmarked.

Temporal systems in predication constructions manifest different temporal contrasts with different morphological markings. In this section, I will illustrate the temporal systems in various predication constructions. I referred to the temporal systems in the plural, because different speech styles of predication constructions manifest different temporal systems. I am particularly concerned with the temporal system in the neutral style vs. that in the informal style. The temporal systems in these speech styles will be compared with the temporal system in attributive clauses characterized in the preceding section.

4.3.2.1. The temporal system in the Neutral style

As discussed in Chapter 3.2, the neutral style is morphologically represented with a set of verb-final suffixes that specify sentence-types, i.e., the Declarative *-ta*, the Interrogative *-(nû)nya* or *-(nû)nka*, the Imperative *-(ô)la* or *-(û)la*, and the Propositive *-ca*. This style is used in most formal writings such as academic writing, newspaper articles, novels, and expository writing, etc., and propositional complement clauses (see Chapter 3.2 for the uses of the style in detail). It is this style that is used as in the examples in most linguistic articles on Korean. The

temporal system in Korean has also been characterized based on examples of this style.

The temporal system of predication constructions in the neutral style is slightly different from that in attributive clauses. The following examples show the typical temporal contrast made in the neutral style.

Non-descriptive verbs

(4.21) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -n -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-IMPFV-DECL
'Suni attends/is attending UCLA.'

(4.22) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ôss -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-ANT-DECL
'Suni attended UCLA.'

Descriptive verbs

(4.23) Suni-nûn khi -ka cak -ta
Suni-TOP height-NOM small-DECL
'Suni is short.'

(4.24) Suni-nûn khi -ka cak -ass -ta
Suni-nûn height-NOM small-ANT-DECL
'Suni was short.'

Similarly to the temporal system in attributive clauses, the temporal system in the neutral style shows a difference between descriptive verbs and non-descriptive verbs. As seen in (4.21) and (4.22), past and non-past are distinguished with non-descriptive verbs apparently by non-terminal suffixes *-ôss-* and *-nûn-* respectively. With descriptive verbs, however, non-past is not morphologically marked, while past is marked by *-ôss-*, as in (4.23) and (4.24). The temporal contrasts made in (4.21)-(4.24) can be summarized as follows:[8]

8 The Retrospective *-tô-* does not seem to be part of the paradigm here. First of all, unlike in attributive clauses, where the suffix simply express the past imperfective, *-tô-* carries an additional meaning of the Speaker's recollection of his or her past experience. For example,

(4.25) Temporal contrast in the neutral style [*-ta*]:

	Non-descriptive	descriptive
Non-past	nûn	Ø
Past	ôss	ôss

Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -tô -la
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-RETROS-INTROS
'[I recall] Suni attended/was attending UCLA.'

Therefore, it occurs very rarely in the neutral style, because the speaker's personal experience is discouraged in the neutral style. Secondly, *-tô-* occurs with what I call the 'Introspective' suffix *-la*, instead of the Declarative *-ta*. Many scholars believe that *-la* is an allomorphic variant of *-ta* which occurs after *-tô-* and the Presumptive *-(û)li-*. However, the conditioning of *-la* seems to be ad hoc; that is, no phonological, morphosyntactic, or semantic environments can be specified. Furthermore, I will argue in Chapter 5 that there are good grounds for considering that *-la* is indeed a different morpheme from *-ta*. One of the arguments is that *-la* can occur in interrogatives with a question word, whereas the Declarative *-ta* cannot. For example,

chil-yuk-i myôs myông -i -tô -la
7 -6 -NOM how:many CL (person)-be-RETROS-INTROS (S&H: 344)
'[Let me see] How many was it that there were in the class of '76?'

Thirdly, *-tô-* can co-occur with the Anterior *-ôss-* as in:

Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ôss -tô -la
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-ANT-RETROS-INTROS
'[As I recall that moment, I noticed that] Suni had attended UCLA.'

This suggests that *-tô-* cannot be in the same paradigm as *-ôss-*. Therefore, I did not include *-tô-* in an overall temporal paradigm of the neutral style.

The problem in giving an exact characterization of the temporal system in the neutral style is that the non-terminal suffixes *-nûn-* and *-ôss-* do not give a consistent meaning. For example, as seen in the translation given in (4.21), *-nûn-* can refer to currently ongoing situations, which has been widely acknowledged in the literature (H-B. Choe 1977; S-H. Kim 1967; J-S. Na 1971). Likewise, it has been pointed out that *-ôss-* can express completed situations (i.e., perfective in some sense) or what could be expressed with the Perfect construction in English, as well as past tense (H-B. Choe 1977; D-A. An 1980; S-O.Shin 1988). For example,

(4.26) kicha-ka tûtiô tochakha-ôss-ta
train -NOM finally arrive -ANT-DECL
'The train has finally arrived.'

(4.27) kicha-ka pangkûm tochakha-ôss-ta
train -NOM just:now arrive -ANT-DECL
'The train has just arrived.'

(4.28) kicha-ka ôce tochakha-ôss-ta
train -NOM yesterday arrive -ANT-DECL
'The train arrived yesterday.'

The above examples differ from each other only in temporal adverbials, as underlined. S-O. Shin (1988:49) points out that the function of *-ôss-* is ambiguous between expressing past tense and perfective aspect, and nicely illustrates that only time adverbials tell whether *-ôss-* is used to express completion, as in (4.26) with the adverb *tûtiô* 'finally'; perfect, as in (4.27) with the adverb *pangkûm* 'just now'; or past tense, as in (4.28) with the adverb *ôce* 'yesterday'.

Given the problem that the meaning of *-nûn-* and *-ôss-* cannot be consistently characterized, scholars do not agree on whether the temporal system in the neutral style is that of tense or not. There are three approaches in general:

(i) *-nûn-* vs. *-ôss-* approach: The past/non-past (or present) distinction is made between *-ôss-* and *-nûn-*(H-B. Choe 1977; S-H. Kim 1967; Na 1971)

(ii) Ø vs. *-ôss-* approach: Past tense is made with *-ôss-*, and non-past is unmarked; *-nûn-* is either meaningless (An 1980) or something other than a tense marker –many consider *-nûn-* as an indicative mood marker, for example (Song 1967; Cook 1971; S-O. Shin 1988).

(iii) no tense approach: There is no tense distinction between past and non-past (or present). The suffixes express something other than tense, e.g. *-ôss-* expresses perfective aspect and *-nûn-* is either meaningless (Huh 1983; K-S. Nam 1978) or expresses indicative mood (Sohn 1975c).

Each approach has advantages as well as problems. The *-nûn-* vs. *-ôss-* approach argues that the temporal contrast made in (1)-(4) is general enough to represent the neutral style, and that *-nûn-* is required for non-past time reference with non-descriptive verbs. However, it does not offer any explanation for why descriptive verbs do not take *-nûn-*, and how *-ôss-* gets used to express completion and perfect.

The Ø vs. *-ôss-* approach argues that *-nûn-* cannot be a present tense because descriptive verbs are not marked with *-nûn-* even when the time reference is clearly present. However, this approach does not explain why non-descriptive verbs require *-nûn-* when the time reference is present. Those scholars who consider *-nûn-* as meaningless are forced to allow allomorphs of *-(nû)nta* and *-ta* for terminal ending without justification. They do not offer any explanation for why *-(nû)nta* is used instead of *-ta* when the time reference is present and the verb is non-descriptive. Those scholars who treat *-nûn-* as an indicative mood suffix are

not clear about in what sense *-nûn-* expresses indicative, and no argument is made for why *-nûn-* does not occur with *-ôss-* if it is an indicative suffix; indicative mood is independent of tense, and thus there is no reason given for why indicative mood marker is absent with *-ôss-*.

The no-tense approach emphasizes the fact that the meanings of *-nûn-* and *-ôss-* are not limited to simple present and past tense respectively, as seen in (4.21) and (4.26)-(4.28). However, this approach does not consider the fact that in many cases *-ôss-* does express past tense as in (4.22) and (4.24) without referring to completion in any sense, and that *-nûn-* is required for non-descriptive verbs when the time reference is present.

My proposal for the exact nature of *-ôss-* and *-nûn-* will be characterized in section 4.4 and 4.5. It is sufficient in this section to show that, as shown in (4.25), the temporal contrast is made between *-nûn-* and *-ôss-* for non-descriptive verbs, and between Ø and *-ôss-* for descriptive verbs, whatever the semantic nature of the contrast may be. It should also be noted that the time references made by *-nûn-* and *-ôss-* are clearly present and past, at least in (4.21) and (4.22).

The temporal system of predication constructions in the neutral style shown in (4.25) is similar to that in attributive clauses in that there is a different pattern between non-descriptive verbs and descriptive verbs; just as in attributive clauses, the suffix *-nûn-* is not compatible with descriptive verbs even when the time reference is present. However, the temporal system in (4.25) is dissimilar to that in attributive clauses in that the past time reference is made by *-ôss-* rather than being morphologically unmarked, which is the case for attributive clauses. Consequently, in the temporal system of predication constructions in the neutral style, the key morphological contrast is made between the suffix *-nûn-* and the suffix *-ôss-*, at least for non-descriptive verbs. Both The temporal system of predication

constructions in the neutral style and that in attributive constructions are compared with the temporal system of predication constructions in the informal styles, in which the suffix *-nûn-* does not play a key role at all. I will discuss this next.

4.3.2.2. The temporal system in the informal styles.

The informal styles are morphologically represented with the Informal Ending *-ô*. The polite informal style is made by adding the Deferential particle *-yo* to the terminal suffixes. The informal styles are the ones used in everyday conversation among family and acquaintances.

The temporal system in the informal styles departs from both that in attributive clauses and that in the neutral style. The following examples show the temporal contrast made in the informal styles.

Non-descriptive verbs

(4.29) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ô
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-IE
'Suni attends/is attending UCLA.'

(4.30) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ôss-ô
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-ANT-IE
'Suni attended UCLA.'

Descriptive verbs

(4.31) Suni-nûn khi -ka cak -ô
Suni-TOP height-NOM small-IE
'Suni is short.'

(4.32) Suni-nûn khi -ka cak -ass -ô
Suni-TOP height-NOM small-ANT-IE
'Suni was short.'

Unlike the temporal system in attributive clauses and in the neutral style, the temporal system in the informal styles does not manifest differences between non-

descriptive verbs and descriptive verbs. That is, the past/non-past distinction is made with *-ôss-* and the morphologically unmarked both with non-descriptive verbs, as in (4.29) and (4.30), and with descriptive verbs, as in (4.31) and (4.32). The temporal contrasts made in (4.29) through (4.32) can be summarized as follows:

(4.33) Temporal contrasts in the informal styles [*-ô (yo)*]:

	non-descriptive	descriptive
Non-past	Ø	Ø
past	ôss	ôss

The exact nature of the temporal contrast made in the informal styles is more complicated than shown in (4.33), because, as is the case in the neutral style, the semantic range of *-ôss-* is not limited to expressing past time. As will be shown later, however, the past/non-past distinction in the informal style as presented in (4.33) is such a dominant discourse pattern that (4.33) could be considered as representing the temporal system in the informal style.

The Non-past Imperfective suffix *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-* do occur in the informal style. However, their occurrence is very rare (2.4 % for *-nûn*, and 1.4 % for *-tô-* --see Appendix A: Distribution of sentence-terminal verbal complexes). Furthermore, both *-nûn-* and *-tô-* occur only with particular terminal suffixes, the Declarative *-ta*, the Unassimilated suffix *-kun*, and the Introspective *-la*, which are used in pragmatically marked situations that will be characterized in Chapter 5 –they cannot occur with the Informal Ending *-ô*.

The overall temporal system of the informal styles, which includes the roles of *-nûn-* and *-tô-*, will be re-addressed after the semantic and/or discourse-

pragmatic nature of these suffixes has been characterized in later sections. The point that has been made in this section is that the dominant temporal contrast is made in the informal styles with the Anterior *-ôss-* and the morphologically unmarked form, regardless of whether verbs are descriptive or non-descriptive. This pattern departs from the temporal system both in attributive clauses and in the neutral style for predication clauses. On the other hand, the temporal system of the informal styles and that of the neutral style are similar in two respects: one is that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, which does not figure in attributive clauses, plays a key role in the temporal systems in predication clauses, and the other is that the morphologically unmarked form, which gives past time reference to non-descriptive verbs in attributive clauses, does not give past time reference at all in the informal styles and the neutral style.

4.3.3. Summary of idiosyncrasy of temporal systems

In this section, I have shown that different constructions and different speech styles manifest different temporal systems. It has been shown that the attributive constructions manifest a three-way temporal contrast of perfective, non-past imperfective, and the past imperfective with the zero-morpheme, *-nûn-* and *-tô-* respectively. The neutral style mainly manifests past and non-past distinction; for non-descriptive verbs, the Anterior *-ôss-* contrasts with the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-*; for descriptive verbs, the Anterior *-ôss-* contrasts with the morphologically unmarked form. Similar to the neutral style, the informal styles strongly manifest a past/non-past distinction. Unlike the neutral style, however, non-past time is shown by the morphologically unmarked form, with both descriptive and non-descriptive verbs.

As one can imagine, the overall temporal system of Korean looks complicated and even idiosyncratic. I will suggest that a revealing analysis lies in the proper characterization of those temporal morphemes, the Anterior *-ôss-*, the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-*, and the Retrospective *-tô-*, and their paradigmatic relations. In the following section, I will attempt to characterize these suffixes, and give an overall picture of the temporal system in Korean. It should be noted that the Anterior *-ôss-* plays a prominent role in the temporal systems of predication constructions in contrast with attributive constructions. As seen in the preceding sections, the roles of the Non-past-Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*, which make a paradigm in attributive constructions, are marginal in predication constructions. This suggests that the Anterior *-ôss-* does not belong to the same paradigm as *-nûn-* and *-tô-*. I will illustrate in the following section that *-ôss-* is indeed in a semantically different dimension from *-nûn-* and *-tô-*. I will argue that *-ôss-* constitutes a temporal dimension of the temporal system along with two periphrastic duratives, the so-called "Resultant-state" *-ô iss-* construction and the "Progressive" *-ko iss-* construction, whereas *-nûn-* and *-tô-* constitute a totality dimension of the temporal system. It will be shown that the dominant role of the Anterior *-ôss-* in predication constructions has to do with its historical development from one of the two durative construction.

4.4. The temporal dimension of the temporal system in Korean

As mentioned above, the Anterior non-terminal suffix *-ôss-* plays a key role in the temporal systems of predication constructions. That is, the temporal system of the neutral style and that of the informal styles differ from the temporal system of realis attributive constructions, because the Anterior *-ôss-* is not part of the major temporal oppositions in realis attributive constructions. In this section, I will

characterize the nature of the Anterior *-ôss-*, and claim that the suffix-*ôss-*, unlike the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*, which I will argue later expresses a totality dimension of temporality, expresses a temporal dimension of temporality, which is concerned with temporal junctures of situations described.

The semantic nature of *-ôss-* has to do with its historical development from a periphrastic durative *-ô iss-* construction, an formerly Perfect construction, which is generally assumed to express "resultant states" (K-D. Lee 1978) or "resultatives" (E-J. Baek 1986). The *-ô iss-* construction is contrasted with another periphrastic durative *-ko iss-* construction, generally known as "Progressive" (H-B. Choe 1977; K-D. Lee 1978; E-J. Baek 1986; N-K. Kim 1986). The two periphrastic duratives refer to temporal junctures of situations described in opposing ways, one of which is clearly related to the development of the Anterior *-ôss-*. Therefore, I will discuss the two periphrastic durative constructions first, and attempt to characterize the nature of the Anterior *-ôss-* afterwards.

4.4.1. Two kinds of duratives

There are two periphrastic constructions in Korean that express durative situations, the so-called "Progressive" construction and the "Resultant state" or "Resultative" construction, which I will rather characterize as "dynamic durative" and "static durative" respectively (cf. S-D. Kim 1987). Both constructions use the existential auxiliary verb *iss-* 'to exist', with a main verb stem (V) suffixed by a connective *-ko/ku*[9] (represented below with *-ko*) and by *-ô/a*[10] (represented

9. *-ku* is used in informal speech.

10. The variation between *-ô* and *-a* is due to the vowel harmony. The so-called plus- vowels, /ə/ and /o/, in the last syllable of a verb stem trigger *-a*, and all the other vowels trigger *-ô*.

with *-ô*) respectively. We can structurally represent the constructions as follows:

(i) The "Progressive" construction : V-*ko iss-*
(ii) The "Resultant state" construction: V-*ô iss-*

Both constructions express a currently existing situation (durative in this sense). The use of the existential verb *iss-* is not surprising in this regard. As the labeling of the two constructions indicate, the semantic difference between the two constructions is in general assumed to be that the "Progressive" construction expresses the ongoingness of a situation, whereas the "Resultant-state" construction expresses a state of affairs as an end result of an activity or action completed prior to a certain time point. The following minimal pair of sentences apparently shows the contrast:[11]

(4.34) haksæng-tûl-ûn motu ûica-e anc-ko iss -ta
student -PL-TOP all chair-LOC sit -CONN exist-DECL
'The students are taking a seat.'

(4.35) haksæng-tûl-ûn motu ûica-e anc-a iss -ta
student -PL-TOP all chair-LOC sit -CONN exist-DECL
'The students are in their seat.'

(4.34) describes the students' ongoing action of taking their seats. On the other hand, (4.35) describes a current state of the students, i.e., the students' posture.

11. Worth noting is the fact that in Japanese, both cases are expressed with the same construction, *-te iru* '-Gerundive exist'.

Gakgusei-tati wa minna izu ni suwat-te iru.
student -PL TOP all chair LOC sit -GERUND exist

The above example in Japanese is ambiguous between the meanings expressed in (4.34) and (4.35) .

More examples from real discourse are given below.

(4.36) kû -nte acôssi-nûn kû wi -e olû -ô ka-sô
that-CIRCUM uncle -TOP that top-LOC climb-CONN go-CONN

tta -ko iss -ô
pick-CONN exist-IE (PS 1: 26)

'But the man is picking [pears], up in the tree.'

(4.37) cikûm i sikan-e oppa -n class-e
now this hour -LOC brother-TOP class -LOC

tûl -ô ka-ô iss -kess -kun
enter-CONN go-CONN exist-DCT:RE-UNASSIM (Leah 3: 7)

'I guess you are in class at this hour.'

(4.36) describes what the man is currently doing in the tree (ongoingness of action or activity). (4.37) expresses the speaker's assumption about the addressee being in class, which is the end result of his having gone to class.

As seen in these examples, the characterization of the two durative constructions given above, i.e., "progressive" and "resultant state" respectively, generally fits for the most of cases. There are a number of cases, however, that suggest that the proper characterization of the two constructions needs more elaboration.

First of all, the *-ô iss-* construction cannot be properly characterized as expressing resultant states. As a supporting piece of evidence for the *-ô iss-* construction as expressing resultant states, it has been widely pointed out in the literature (K-D. Lee 1978: 361-2; M-S. Cheong 1981: 11; D-W. Hahn 1986: 221; S-D. Kim 1987:165) that the *-ô iss-* constructions are made almost exclusively with telic intransitive verbs, which makes sense, because a resultant state needs an end result of an event. However, the following examples show

that it is not always the case.

(4.38) ônôhak -kwa -nûn ôti sokha -ô
linguistics-department-TOP where belong-CONN

iss -ôss -ô -yo
exist-ANT-IE-DEF

(S&H: 990)

'Where did the linguistics department belong?'

(4.39) Suni-nûn ipuk -e sal-a iss -ta
Suni-TOP North:Korea-LOC live-CONN exist-DECL
'Suni is alive in the North [Korea].'

In the above examples, the verb *sok-* 'to belong' and the verb *sal-* 'to live' are made with the *-ô iss-* construction to express durative situations. Unlike the general assumption, these verbs cannot be considered as telic and these examples cannot be characterized as describing resultant states. The two examples simply express a persistent state of affairs that holds for the referent in question. In order to clarify the semantic nature of the *-ô iss-* construction involved in (4.38) and (4.39), compare (4.39) with (4.40) below:[12]

(4.40) Suni-nûn ipuk -e sal-ko iss -ta
Suni-TOP North-LOC live-CONN exist-DECL
'Suni lives in the North [Korea].'

(4.40) also describes a state of affairs about *Suni*. However, (4.39) and (4.40) are subtly different in that, as S-J. Chang (1973a:62) points out, (4.39), *with -ô iss-*, emphasizes the fact that she is alive (as opposed to being dead) in North Korea, whereas (4.40), with *-ko iss-*, emphasizes her current residence in North Korea.

12 The verb *sokha-ta* 'to belong' cannot form the *-ko iss-* construction; the reason is not clear.

The difference between the *-ô iss-* construction and the *-ko iss-* construction then seems to be dynamicity. That is, the *-ô iss-* construction expresses static durative situations, and the *-ko iss-* construction expresses dynamic durative situations. The in-progress situations described in (4.34) and (4.36) are dynamic without question. One may argue that the situation expressed in (4.40) is not so dynamic as those expressed in (4.34) and (4.36), because one's residing is considered in general as stative. However, the situation described with the *-ko iss-* construction in (4.40) implies spontaneous activities that are necessary for making a living. In this sense, the *-ko iss-* construction can be characterized as dynamic.In (4.39) with *-ô iss-*, on the other hand, the referent in question is simply predicated of with regard to her attributive property of being alive. Hence the *-ô iss-* construction is static. The non-dynamic nature of the *-ô iss-* construction is supported by the fact that the *-ô iss-* construction often corresponds to non-eventful passives in English, as in (4.41) below, where the emphasis is put on the current state of the affected object by a completed action ("result-state passive" in L. Anderson 1982).

(4.41) i -kô -n wônlæ hwi -ô iss -nûn kô -nka?
this-thing-TOP originally get:bent-CONN exist-ATTR thing-DUB

(K&H: 38)

'Is this thing bent from the first [I suspect so]?.'

Given the fact that the *-ô iss-* construction does not always express resultant states, as seen in (4.38) and (4.39), and that the construction contrasts with the *-ko iss-* construction in terms of dynamicity, the two durative constructions are better characterized as static duratives and dynamic duratives respectively.

Another problem for characterizing the *-ô iss-* construction exclusively as expressing resultant states is that the *-ko iss-* construction can also express

resultant states with a restricted set of verbs, mostly "wearing verbs".[13] For example,

(4.42) haksæng-tûl -ûn motu kyopok -ûl ip -ko
students-PL-TOP all school:uniform-ACC wear/put:on-CONN

iss -ta
exist-DECL

(a) 'The students are all wearing the school uniform.'
(b) 'The students are all putting on the school uniform.'

(4.43) Suni -nûn cacônkô-lûl tha -ko iss -ta
Suni-TOP bicycle -ACC ride/get:on-CONN exist-DECL
(a) 'Suni is on a bike.'
(b) 'Suni is getting on a bike' or 'Suni is riding a bike.'

Example (4.42) and (4.43) can be interpreted in more than one way depending on context. One of the interpretations is an ongoing action reading, as the (b) translations indicate. This interpretation fits the characterization of the *-ko iss-* construction as a "progressive" construction. The first interpretations (translated in

13 K-D. Lee (1978:374) lists verbs that use the *-ko iss-* construction to express a resultant state:
ssû-ta 'to put on [a hat, glasses]', *sin-ta* 'to wear [shoes, socks]', *mæ-ta* 'tie [a ribbon, tie]', *ip-ta* 'to wear [clothes]', *kki-ta* 'to put on [gloves], *kôlchi-ta* 'to throw on or slip on [clothes, a sweater, a jacket]', *i-ta* 'to carry [a water jar] on the head', *an-ta* 'to embrace [a child], *ci-ta* 'to carry [a pack]on the back'.

These verbs can be classified as including 'wearing' verbs and 'contact' verbs. According to Lee, the common feature of these verbs is that an object winds up with being in touch with the agent by his or her own action.

There are more verbs of this kind:
tha-ta 'to get on, ride [a car, bike]', *cwi-ta* 'to grip', cap-ta 'to hold', *ciph-ta* 'to rest [hands, feet] on, *tæ-ta* 'to touch'.

(a)'s), however, are not well characterized as progressive since they are not expressing any in-progress action or activities, but rather states of affairs which the referent is currently engaged in. In (4.42), (a) describes an appearance of the students in clothing, which can be viewed as a resultant state of 'having put on the school uniforms'. The translation indicates well that it is a state of 'wearing' as opposed to an ongoing action. In (4.43), (a) describes a state of 'being on a bike', which again may be viewed as an end result of Suni's having got on a bike. Note that with the meaning of (4.43a), it does not have to be the case that Suni is riding a bike.

Given the fact that the *-ko iss-* construction can also express resultant states, as in (4.42a) and (4.43a), we need to clarify what is the difference between the resultant states expressed with the *-ô iss-* construction and those expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction given above. K-D. Lee (1978) suggests that the resultant states expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction are the ones that are consciously and volitionally initiated and maintained by the agent, whereas those expressed with the *-ô iss-* construction are the ones that do not involve any conscious or volitional initiation and maintenance of the states of affairs expressed.

K-D. Lee's intuition is compatible with the characterization of the two constructions given in the preceding paragraph: that the *-ô iss-* construction expresses static duratives, whereas the *-ko iss-* construction expresses dynamic duratives. Assuming a volitional agent role with the *-ko iss-* construction gives a sense that the agent may eventually end the current state of affairs at his or her will, and the situation is described at the moment in which it is yet to reach its end point. This possibility of change of the state renders the situation dynamic. With the *-ô iss-* construction, on the other hand, the state of affairs described does not assume

any agent's role and the speaker is not concerned with its eventual termination (often the state of affairs described itself in fact is a terminal state which cannot undergo any further change), and thus is perceived as static.

K-D. Lee's (1978) intuition is also compatible with the fact that the resultant states expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction are made only with transitive verbs, whereas the *-ô iss-* construction is made only with intransitive verbs, because transitive verbs in general require an agent, and refer to dynamic activities.

There seem to be apparent problems with this analysis, though. That is, there does not appear to be any difference in terms of dynamicity between the resultant states expressed in (4.35) and (4.37) with the *-ô iss-* construction and the resultant states expressed in (4.42) and (4.43) with the *-ko iss-* construction. Contrary to K-D. Lee's intuition that the *-ko iss-* construction expresses durative states that are volitionally initiated and maintained by the agent, whereas the *-ô iss-* construction expresses durative states that are non-volitionally triggered, (4.35), (4.37), (4.42) and (4.43) all express a state of affairs that was resulted from the agent's own action; e.g. sitting down in (4.35), going into a class in (4.37), putting on a uniform in (4.42), and getting on a bike in (10). Other examples where the volitionally triggered states are expressed with the *-ô iss-* construction instead of the *-ko iss-* construction are given below:

(4.44) Suni-nûn pokto -e sô -ô iss -ta
Suni-TOP corridor-LOC stand-CONN exist-DECL
'Suni is standing in the corridor.'

(4.45) Suni-nûn chimtæ-e nuw -ô iss -ta
Suni-TOP bed -LOC lie:down-CONN exist-DECL
'Suni is lying down on a bed.'

(4.46) Suni-nûn L.A.-e o -a iss-ta
Suni-TOP L.A.-LOC come-CONN exist-DECL
'Suni is (staying) in L.A.'

The question arises then why the resultant state expressed in (4.35), (4.37), and (4.44)-(4.46) cannot be expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction; in other words, why (4.34) cannot mean what is expressed in (4.35), just as the resultant states are expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction in (4.42) and (4.43). This question cannot be fully answered at the moment, but a possible answer may be found in the fact that the potentially agentive and volitional duratives expressed with the *-ô iss-* construction are made only with a special class of verbs. That is, they are either posture verbs such as *anc-ta* 'to sit down', *sô-ta* 'to stand', and *nup-ta* 'lie down', or locomotion verbs such as *ka-ta* 'to go' and *o-ta* 'to come'. It should be noted that cross linguistically these verbs behave somewhat uniquely in some morphosyntactic operations. For example, locomotion verbs in French, e.g. *aller* 'to go' and *venir* 'to come' use the auxiliary verb *être* 'to be' to make *le Passé Composé* 'the Complex Past', instead of using *avoir* 'to have'. English also allows the Perfect to be made with the Copula *be* for the verbs *go* and *come* in limited cases. In some "stative-active" languages, locomotion verbs often are patterned with stative verbs rather than with active verbs by giving non-agent or non-actor morphology to their agent (Yagua and Guaymí as referred to in Payne (1985:105); Wappo by Thompson (personal communication)[14]). Therefore, it is not so peculiar from a cross-linguistic perspective that the apparently volitional/agentive duratives expressed with these locomotion verbs

14. Thompson (1989) reports that the 'Stative' suffix *-khi ʔ*, which forms stative predicates, can be attached to some locomotion verbs such as *tehew'i-khi ʔ* 'jumped down', *tepiyola-khi ʔ* 'sneaked in', *nat'o ʔah-khi ʔ* 'came over', etc.

morphosyntactically part with non-agentive static duratives, which are expressed by the *-ô iss-* constructions with other verbs.[15]

There may be a semantic motivation for this apparently counter-intuitive morphosyntactic patterning, i.e., the pairing of verbs of locomotion and posture with the non-agentive static durative *-ô iss-* construction. Unlike resultant states expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction, for which the emphasis is put on ongoingness and temporariness, those expressed with verbs of locomotion and posture focus on their being end results (cf. S-J. Chang 1973:61). Therefore, the idea that the *-ô iss-* construction expresses non-agentive static duratives is well justified and even supported by this apparently peculiar morphosyntactic pattern of posture verbs and locomotion verbs.

I have illustrated thus far that the *-ô iss-* construction can be best characterized as expressing non-agentive static duratives, instead of expressing resultant states per se. In contrast, the *-ko iss-* construction can be best characterized as expressing 'agentive dynamic' durative, instead of expressing "progressive", as assumed in the literature. As shown earlier, the *-ko iss-* construction can express not only in-progress situations, as in (4.34) and (4.36),

15 Jack Martin (personal communication) cautions against this approach, by pointing out that in some languages with "active" agreement, such as Crow and the Muskogean languages, these classes of verbs (posture verbs and locomotion verbs) always take "active" agreement. Certainly, the "peculiar" morphosyntax of posture verbs and locomotion verbs is not universal, but cross-linguistically well-documented, as mentioned, for Italian, French, English, Guaymí, and Wappo. Different languages may be sensitive to different semantic and/or pragmatic dimensions, even though it is not clear at this moment what semantic dimension differentiates between Crow and the Muskogean languages on the one hand and Italian, French, English, Yagua, Guaymí, and Wappo on the other hand. See Payne (1985) for a possible discourse-pragmatic motivation for the morphosyntax of locomotion verbs in Yagua.

but also some kind of resultant states which are the end results of the agent's own actions, as in (4.42) and (4.43) with verbs of wearing and contact. The previous literature seems to overemphasize the fact that resultant states of this kind are expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction, suggesting that the *-ko iss-* construction has a dual function, expressing in-progress actions or resultant states (C-J. Chang 1973; N-K. Kim 1986). However, I argue that the resultant states expressed with these verbs are not part of the inherent grammatical meanings of the *-ko iss-* construction, but contextually derived ones due to their semantic nature; that the object remains in contact with the agent as a result of his or her action. As argued earlier, the kind of resultant states expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction is rather dynamic in contrast with those expressed with the *-ô iss-* construction, and is perceived as going on its way to eventual termination, and thus temporary. With regard to their being temporary and dynamic, I find Smith's (1983:493) characterization of the "progressive viewpoint" very illuminating. Smith characterizes the Progressive construction in English as presenting durative or continuous situations as events, which inherently assume a beginning, successive stages, and an eventual end point; that is, an event is limited in time by nature. She states that in the progressive viewpoint, an event is presented from a stage that is neither initial nor final. Being an event and being on the way yet to reach its end point give the temporary nature and dynamicity to what is expressed with the Progressive construction. Smith's characterization of the Progressive construction in English fits well for characterizing the *-kô iss-* construction in Korean as expressing dynamic duratives. Being presented as an event which is on its way to the end point, what is expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction is dynamic and temporary. Its dynamicity in turn makes it agentive rather than non-agentive.

Another reason for why the *-ko iss-* construction cannot be properly characterized as expressing progressive is that, as K-D. Lee (1978) points out, the *-ko -iss* construction expresses not only in-progress situations, as in (4.34) and (4.36), but also habitual situations that are currently ongoing. For example,

(4.47) ... ta cokyo -l ha-ku iss -kôtûn -yo
all teaching:assistant-ACC do-CONN exist-CORREL-DEF
(S&H 805)
'They are all doing T.A.ships [teaching assistantships].'

Unlike (4.34) and (4.36), (4.47) does not refer to any specific action in progress, but a habitual situation of their working as teaching assistants.

Habitual or specific, all the examples of the *-ko iss-* constructions given above can be subsumed under the notion of ongoingness. That is, (4.34) and (4.36), (4.47) describe situations that are currently ongoing. However, simple ongoingness is not enough to exclusively characterize the *-ko iss-* construction, because other constructions, as K-D. Lee (1978) points out, may well express ongoingness. For example,

(4.48) Suni-nûn UCLA -e tani -ko iss -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-CONN exist-DECL
'Suni is attending UCLA.'

(4.49) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani - n -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-IMPFV-DECL
'Suni attends UCLA.'

Both (4.48) and (4.49) describe currently ongoing habitual situations. Therefore, we need to clarify what it is that differentiates between the ongoingness expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction as in (4.48) and that expressed with the Non-prior-Imperfective *-nûn-* in (4.49). K-D. Lee (1978) correctly attributes the difference to the temporariness of the ongoingness expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction.[16]

That is, the ongoingness expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction is assumed to be temporary and implies that the current state was initiated not too long ago and is going to be ended soon (K-D. Lee 1978:368). Therefore, what the *-ko iss-* construction concerns is the ongoingness at a particular moment, rather than in an unlimited stretch of time.

The ongoing habitual situation described with the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-* in (4.49), on the other hand, does not concern any particular time point, but refers to rather permanent habituals. K-D. Lee (1978:369) nicely illustrates this by showing that the *-ko iss-* construction with an expression that refers to otherwise permanent truth cannot be interpreted as habitual in any sense, because the time limitation is inherently out of consideration. For example,

(4.50) thæyang-i tong-ccok-esô ttû -ô olû -ko iss -ta
sun -NOM east-side -LOC rise-CONN climb-CONN exist-DECL
(K-D. Lee's (27a)
'The sun is rising in the East.'
*'The sun rises in the East.'

(4.51) thæyang-ûn tong-ccok-esô ttû -ô olû -n -ta
sun -TOP east-side -LOC rise-CONN climb-IMPFV-DECL
'The sun rises in the East.'

Since the sun's rising in the East is a permanent truth, it cannot be described as only temporarily true. If the sun's rising in the East is described as temporary, then it must be a currently ongoing in-progress situation at a particular moment, which is exactly what (5.50) expresses.

The temporariness of ongoingness expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction is

16. Leech (1971, Ch 2) characterizes the Progressive construction in English as referring to temporary happenings (or temporary contingent state as discussed in Comrie (1976:38)).

more prominent with some non-descriptive verbs which are otherwise inherently stative. Unlike English, where the Progressive construction cannot be used in general with stative verbs such as *think*, *know*, *remember*, *believe*, *like*, *love*, *own*, *possess*, etc., the *-ko iss-* construction in Korean can be used with verbs like *saengkaha-ta* 'to think', *al-ta* 'to know', *mit-ta* 'to believe', *kiôkha-ta* 'to remember', *salangha-ta* 'to love', *cohaha-ta* 'to like', *soyuha-ta* 'to possess or own'. For example,

(4.52) kûlæ kaci-ku kyæ -ka mwô
do:so:CONN take-CONN that:kid-NOM what

ARBEIT-e kkônsu-e tæhæsô manhi al -ko
arbeit -LOC affair -LOC face:CONN much know-CONN

iss -ô -yo
exist-IE-DEF (S&H: 324-5)
'And so he, uh, (presently) knows a lot about *arbeit* [part-time jobs] in hand.'

(4.53) Chôlsu-nûn (cikûm) Suni-lûl salang-ha-ko iss -ta
Chôlsu-TOP presently Suni-ACC love -do-CONN exist-DECL
'Chôlsu loves Suni (presently).'

Compare (4.52) and (4.53) with (4.54) and (4.55) below.

(4.54) kyæ -ka ARBEIT-e kkônsu-e tæhæsô
that:kid-NOM arbeit -LOC affair -LOC face:CONN

(*cikûm) manhi a -n -ta
presently much know-IMPFV-DECL
'He knows a lot about *arbeit* [part-time jobs] [in general].'

(4.55) Chôlsu-nûn (?)cikûm)Suni-lûl salang-ha-n -ta
Chôlsu-TOP presetly Suni-ACC love -do-IMPFV-DECL
'Chôlsu loves Suni.'

Stative verbs such as *al-ta* 'to know', *salangha-ta* 'to love', etc. inherently express durative situations. The difference between the "Progressive" form in (4.52) and (4.53) and the "non-progressive" form of these verbs in (4.54) and (4.55) is that the "Progressive" form in (4.52) and (4.53) expresses temporary states of affairs which hold at a particular moment. The difference between the *-ko iss-* construction and the Non-prior Imperfective *-nûn-* in temporariness is evident in the fact that, as given in parentheses in the above examples, an adverbial *cikûm* 'presently' is perfectly natural with the *-ko iss-* construction, as in (5.53), whereas it is strange at best with the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-*, as in (5.54) and (5.55).

The analysis of the *-ko iss-* construction given here as expressing temporary states can benefit again from Smith's (1983) characterization of the Progressive construction in English again. She states that the "Progressive statives" [stative verbs in the Progressive form] "stress the immediate quality of what is talked about" (p 498). First she notes that "progressive aspect pertains to events, but not to states" (p 493). And she argues that progressive statives presents a state as an event, endowing the state with the properties of events (p 497). The temporariness expressed in the progressive statives comes from their being events, which inherently assumes the beginning, successive stages, and the eventual end point, and thus are limited in time.

In conclusion, the *-ko iss-* construction can be best characterized as dynamic duratives expressing ongoingness of a situation that is assumed to be temporary in nature. The ongoingness expressed with the *-ko iss-* construction includes currently ongoing habituals, those states of affairs in which a referent in question is engaged in by his or her own action and which he or she consciously and volitionally maintains, and those that are assumed to be temporary and immediate,

such as expressing temporary mental statuses. The *-ko iss-* construction contrasts with the *-ô iss-* construction, which as discussed earlier expresses static duratives. States of affairs described by the *-ô iss-* construction are rather in the final stage than in the middle, which is the case with the *-ko iss-* construction.

In this section, I have described two periphrastic durative constructions in Korean, the *-ko iss-* construction, which is characterized as a dynamic durative, and the *-ô iss-* construction, characterized as a static durative. One thing that needs to be noted is that both constructions have to do with temporal junctures of a situation. The *-ko iss-* construction refers to the middle juncture of a situation described. The ongoingness and the temporariness expressed with the construction are due to the dynamism of an event. With the assumption that an event has an eventual end point, viewing it at its middle juncture naturally renders the current stage subject to termination and thus temporary. The *-ô iss-* construction, on the other hand, rather has to do with the terminal juncture of a situation described. The states of affairs described are persistent ones, which can be assumed to be terminal in nature, and are often end results of completed situations; hence the construction is known as "resultant state" construction. Its reference to the terminal juncture of a situation described is responsible for the development of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, which will be discussed in the next section. The Anterior suffix *-ôss-* developed from the periphrastic *-ô iss-* construction by semantic changes and thereby phonological fusion, and thus referring to the terminal juncture of a situation is also an important part of its semantic nature. Therefore, the semantic nature of *-ôss-* is crucially contingent on the semantic nature of the *-ô iss-* construction characterized in this section. Along with the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, the two durative constructions discussed in this section are characterized as expressing a temporal dimension of

temporality, since they are concerned with temporal junctures of the situation described.

4.4.2. Analysis of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*

In this section, I will characterize the semantic and/or discourse-pragmatic nature of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*. As mentioned earlier, one of the controversies surrounding the suffix *-ôss-* is about its grammatical category; whether it is a tense marker or an aspect marker. The grammatical meaning of the suffix has been characterized as either marking past tense or perfective aspect. For example, Martin (1954), Cook (1971), Hwang (1975), H-B. Choe (1977), D-H. An (1980), and C-M. Lee (1987) consider 'past tense' as the basic meaning of *-ôss-*. Among these, H-B. Choe (1977), D-H. An (1980), and C-M. Lee (1987) notice that *-ôss-* semantically covers what is expressed by the Perfect construction in English as well. K-D. Lee (1981) also treats it as a tense marker expressing 'remote tense'. Huh (1983), a traditional grammarian, on the other hand, characterizes *-ôss-* as expressing *wankyôl-pôp* 'completive'. Similarly, H-M. Sohn (1975c) and K-S. Nam (1978) view *-ôss-* as a perfective aspect (in the sense of completion) marker with a secondary feature of [+past]. Recently, S-H. Choi (1987) convincingly argues that *-ôss-* can neither be a past tense marker nor a perfective aspect marker exclusively. He shows that *-ôss-* covers a wide range of semantic space including 'simple past', 'completion' (perfective), 'current relevance' (perfect), and 'resultant state', and that these various interpretations of *-ôss-* are not part of the basic grammatical meaning of the suffix, but derived from contexts (i.e., contextual meanings).[17]

17 Acknowledging that *-ôss-* may indeed refer to both simple past and perfective (completed) situations, S-O. Shin (1988) and S-K. Lee (1988) even propose that there are two kinds of *-ôss-*, the Past tense marker *-ôss-* and the Perfective aspect

In accordance with S-H. Choi (1987), I will claim that the nature of the suffix *-ôss-* can be characterized neither as a Past tense marker nor as a perfective aspect marker, and that its grammatical meaning must be distinguished from contextual interpretations or contextually derived meanings. Departing from Choi, however, who attributes various contextual meanings obtained with *-ôss-* mainly to lexically inherent aspectual properties of verbs, I will rather illustrate that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* may give different (contextual) interpretations depending on discourse contexts involving speakers' communicative concerns and goals. I will propose that the most encompassing (grammatical) meaning of the suffix must be characterized as 'anterior', a temporal notion that is neutral between tense and aspect. I will argue that whether a past tense meaning or a perfective aspect meaning (in the sense of completion) is obtained depends on the speaker's focus of interest in a given discourse context, namely whether he or she is concerned with the location of a situation with respect to the reference point, or with the location of the reference point with respect to various temporal stages of the situation described.

The various meanings associated with the suffix *-ôss-* also have to do with its historical development. As mentioned earlier, the suffix *-ôss-* developed from

marker *-ôss-*. I reject this analysis, the reason being that it would be more of an analytical convenience than having to do with the semantic nature of the suffix to ignore the fact that the two meanings (i.e. past and perfective (completive)) that are so closely related are expressed with the same morphological form. It sounds unintuitive to me that an identical form expressing closely related meanings whose distinction is often confusing is a case of homophony. A strong argument for assigning two grammatical categories to *-ôss-*, past tense and perfective aspect, is that there are different lexical, grammatical, and/or contextual environments for the two different readings. I dispute this argument as well, because, as will be clear later, it ignores the difference between grammatical meaning and contextual meaning, and it also ignores the fact that those environments are predictable.

the static durative *-ô iss-* construction, which was discussed in the preceding section. I will argue that the periphrastic durative *-ô iss-* construction was formerly the Perfect construction in Korean, which is assumed to have had a wide range of meanings such as past tense, completion, and resultant state, as well as current relevance, depending on lexical properties of individual verbs and the speaker's communicative purposes. The various meanings associated with the suffix seem to reflect those meanings expressed with the earlier Perfect construction, and thus to be partly a historical residue.

Even though the suffix has a wide range of meanings including simple past, completion, resultant state, and current relevance, a discourse pattern in informal texts shows that simple past is a predominant meaning obtained. Due to this dominant discourse pattern, I will argue that a two-way tense distinction of past and non-past is being developed in modern Korean, the past tense being marked by *-ôss-*.

In organizing this section, I will first show that *-ôss-* gives a wide range of meanings depending on discourse context (section 4.4.2.1). Next, I will propose that 'anterior' is the basic grammatical meaning of *-ôss-* that encompasses all the contextual meanings obtained with the suffix (section 4.4.2.2). I will show next a dominant discourse pattern, where the suffix is predominantly used to express simple past (section 4.4.2.3). Lastly I will illustrate the historical development of the suffix in order to explain its various meanings associated (section 4.4.2.4). In summary (section 4.4.2.5), I will compare the nature of the suffix with Romance languages, where the Perfect construction has developed into a past tense construction.

4.4.2.1.Between tense and aspect.

It is generally acknowledged in the literature that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* expresses more than a simple past meaning. Even those scholars who consider past tense as the basic meaning of the suffix *-ôss-* acknowledge that the suffix can express other meanings. In the following, I will illustrate a wide range of meanings obtained by *-ôss-*, such as 'simple past', 'completion', and/or current relevance, and what Dahl (1985) calls the 'perfect of result'.

Simple Past

First of all, *-ôss-* may indicate 'simple past'. For example,

(4.56)a.S: hyông -ûn ôti nao -si -ôss -ô -yo?
--> big:brother-TOP where come:out-HONOR-ANT-IE-DEF

b. H: cungang
Cungang

--> c. S: kyôngki po -a kaciku ttôlôci-ôss -kuna
Kyôngki see-CONN take:CONN fall -ANT-UNASSIM

d. H: [@N= 19]

e. S: [@= 19] @==

f. ... i côki
this there

g. .. i hyông -ûn
this brother-TOP

--> h. i hyông -ûn machankacilu kyôngki nao -ass -ô -yo
this brother-TOP like:wise Kyôngki come:out-ANT-IE-DEF

--> i. kyôngki nao -ass -nûnte
Kyôngki come:out-ANT-CIRCUM

--> j. .. cæsuha -ôss -ci
be:held:back-ANT-COMM (S&H: 205-214)

[Notes] @: laughing, @N: voiceless laughing
=: extension of laughing, [ ]: overlapping
... : long pause, .. : short pause

a. S: What high school **did** [you] big brother **go** to? [Lit. What highschool did you come out from?]
b. H: Cungang High.
c. S: Ah, you must **have failed** the entrance examination to Kyôngki High.
d. H: @N=
e. S: @==
f. ... you know, uh,
g. this guy,
h. this guy also **went** to Kyôngki High.
i. He **went** to Kyôngki High, then,
j. He **stayed back** (He entered [the university] in the second attempt.

In (4.56), S and H are discussing what high school they went to, and how they did on the entrance examinations for high school and college. In this context, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* in (a), (c), (h), (i), and (j), simply refers to past events; that is, what happened at certain time points in the past. Another example is given below.

(4.57) a.S: hyông iss -ûl ttæ
big:brother exist-ATTR time

myôch myông -i -ôss -ô -yo?
how:many CL (human)-be-ANT-IE-DEF

b. H: uli ahop myông
1:PL nine CL (human)

--> c. S: ôyu manh-ass-ne
boy much-ANT-FR

d. ... kû= chil~ chilyuk-i yôl myông
that 7 7:6 -NOM 10 CL (human)

(S&H: 338-341)

a. S: How many students were there when you big brother got in?
b. H: Us? There were nine.
c. S: Oh, boy, it was a lot.
d. Uh, the [class of] '76 had ten.

In the above example, S and H are talking about how many students entered each year in the linguistics department at Seoul National University. The past tense meaning expressed with *-ôss-* is obvious in this context. The expressions such as (*hyông iss-ûl ttæ* 'when you got in') in (a) and (*chilyuk-i* 'the [class of] '76') in (d) clearly indicates the past time reference.

Past experience

When a past event is relevant to the current moment in such a way that its occurrence has a bearing on current communicative concerns, the suffix *-ôss-* may be used to express past experience.

(4.58) (H is demonstrating his MacIntosh computer to K.)
a. H: næ-ka hankûl iss -ta -n yæki
1 -NOM Korean:alphabet exist-DECL-ATTR story

--> ha-ôss -na?
do-ANT-NCOMM

b. K: yôki?
here

c. H: ûng
right

d. K: ani
no

--> e. H: an ha-ôss -ô?
NEG do-ANT-IE (K&H: 119-123)

a. H: **Have I told** you that this [Macintosh computer] has Korean [a Korean word processing program]?
b. K: Here?
c. H: Right.
d. K: No.
e. H: I **haven't**?

In (4.58), before he displays a Korean word-processing program for his computer, H wants to know if he has informed him of the program, so he asks in (a) and (e) whether he has told K about it before. In this case, what is referred to in (a) and (e) is not just a past event which took place in a specific time point in the past, but a past event whose occurrence or non-occurrence is directly relevant to the speaker's current communicative concern, i.e., whether the addressee knows about the Korean word processing program. In this context, the time frame of the situation referred to in (a) and (e) does not refer to and is not limited to a specific time in the past, since the situation in question needs only to occur between any time point in the past and the current moment. That is to say, it is a matter of whether there has been any occurrence of the situation in the past up to the current moment. Hence, the meaning of past experience is obtained. The following example also shows that *-ôss-* is used to indicate past experience.

(4.59) a. H: .. Camsil-kucang -ûn an ka po-asô
Camsil-Stadium-TOP NEG go:CONN see-CONN

cal molû-kess-nûnte
well not:know-DCT:RE-CIRCUM

b. S: <@N na -tu Camsi~ Camsil-kucang an ka
1SG-ADD Camsil-stadium NEG go:CONN

--> po -ass -ô-yo @>
see-ANT-IE-DEF

c. H: .. yôki ttak tûl -ô ka-myônûn
here just enter-CONN go-COND

d. ... ip -i cca=k pôl -ô ci -ci
mouth-NOM wide:open get:wide-CONN become-COMM
(S&H: 23-28)

a. H: .. since I haven't been to the Camsil Stadium, I really don't know, but
b. S: I haven't been to the Camsi~ Camsil Stadium either.
c. H: if you enter here [the Dodgers Stadium],
d. your mouth will drop wide-open.

In (4.59a), H is trying to tell S about the huge scale of the Dodgers Stadium, inducing S to compare it with the Camsil Stadium in Seoul --(4.59c-d) show H's intention clearly. S responses in (4.59b) that he cannot make the comparison, by telling H that he has not been to the Camsil Stadium. In this case again, the occurrence or non-occurrence of the situation referred to in (4.59b) is crucially relevant to the communicators' current communicative goal of comparing the Camsil Stadium with the Dodgers Stadium. Since any occurrence in the past up to the current moment will serve the current communicative purpose, it is a past experience that is at issue.

It should be noted that in both (4.58) and (5.59), the experiential reading is obtained due to the relevance of past events to the communicators' current communicative goals; in (4.58), to make sure whether the addressee is aware of the Korean word processing due to his previous telling, and in (4.59), to indicate the speaker (S)'s inability to meet the addressee (H)'s purpose [comparing the Dodgers Stadium with Camsil Stadium] due to his lack of past experience.

Whether relevant to the current moment or not, examples (4.56) through (4.59) show that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* indicates that the situations described took place in the past prior to the speech moment; that is, a past tense meaning is

obtained. An experiential reading is added, when a past situation is relevant to the speaker's current communicative purpose, as in (4.58) and (4.59).

As will be shown in detail later, cases of the suffix *-ôss-* referring to a simple past situation are abundant in the corpus examined (134 out of 174 tokens --77%), so common that ordinary speakers as well as many grammarians consider the suffix as past tense marker. Therefore, it can be said that simple past is a predominant meaning obtained by the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*.

Relative past tense

In the preceding paragraphs, it was noted that the simple past is a predominant meaning obtained by the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*. However, there are cases that suggest that the notion of pastness is relative instead of being absolute. That is, the suffix *-ôss-* may indicate prior occurrence of the situation described with respect to another situation given in the context, not necessarily with respect to the speech moment. This is particularly apparent within complement clauses, where the time reference of the situation referred to is often interpreted with respect to the time reference of the situation expressed in its main clause. C-M. Lee (1987) discusses this relative nature of time reference in Korean with the following example:

(4.60) John-ûn [Mary-ka ttôna-ss -ta] -ko
John-TOP Mary-NOM leave-ANT-DECL-COMP

malha-ôss -ta
say -ANT-DECL
'John said that Mary had left.'

In (4.60) above, the suffix *-ôss-* within the bracketed complement clause may indicate that the situation referred to [Mary's leaving] takes place prior to the situation described in the main clause [John's saying] –note the English translation,

which uses the Past Perfect form.[18] Similarly,

(4.61) John-ûn Mary-ka ttôna-ss -ta -ko
John-TOP Mary-NOM leave-ANT-DECL-COMP

malha-l kôs -i -ta
say -IRREALIS:ATTR thing-be-DECL
'John will say, " Mary left".'
(i) John will say that Mary left.
(ii) John will say that Mary will have left.

in (4.61), the time reference of the situation described in the complement clause [Mary's leaving] may be any time prior to the situation described in the main clause [John's saying], the time reference of which is in the future. That is, it could be prior to the speech moment as in (i), or it could be between the speech moment and John's saying as well, as in (ii). In any case, the suffix *-ôss-* simply indicates the anteriority of Mary's leaving with respect to John's saying. Example (4.60) and (4.61) suggest that the notion of pastness expressed by the suffix *-ôss-* is relative, as argued in C-M. Lee (1987).

Completion

The suffix *-ôss-* may indicate completion of a situation referred to.

(4.62) a. H: mun tat -ass -ô -yo
door close-ANT-IE-DEF

b. F: ûng?
what

c. H: ta kkûth-na -ss -ô -yo
all end -occur-ANT-IE-DEF

18 (5) could also mean 'John said that Mary left.'. In this case too, Mary's leaving still has to precede John's saying.

d. F: ûng kôcin kkûth-na -ô ka-ô
ah almost end -occur-CONN go-IE (TC1: 15-18)

a. H: **Have** you **closed** [the restaurant] (lit. Have you closed the door)?
b. F: What?
c. H: **Are** you **finished** [for the day]?
d. F: Ah, almost.

In (4.62a) and (c), the speaker (H) is concerned with whether his father (F) has finished up the business for the day. What is at issue in this context is the temporal stage of the situation described. In this context, the speaker's viewpoint, which coincides with the speech moment, is located at the terminal juncture of the situation described. Therefore, the meaning of completion (i.e., perfective in the temporal dimension of perfectivity) is obtained. The meaning of completion indicated by *-ôss-* is more obvious in (4.62c), when the verb itself denotes completion, i.e., *kkûthna-* 'to finish' along with the adverb *ta* 'all'. In some senses, the speaker (H) is actually concerned with the current status of the restaurant of having reached its closing time. In this sense, *-ôss-*, like the Perfect construction in English, can be said to be used to express 'current relevance' of completed situation.

The meaning of current relevance of a completed situation is not too strong, however, when the suffix *-ôss-* occurs in non-terminal clauses. For example,

(4.63)a. kûlôn taûm-e tto ice ta thôl -ô
such next -LOC again now all shake:off-CONN

noh -ôss -ûni +kka
leave-ANT-DET+INTER

b. tto olû -ô ka-sô
again climb-CONN go-CONN

c. tto tta -nûn kô -i -ô
again pick-ATTR thing-be-IE (PS1:20)

a. After that, now again, now that he has shaken everything out,
b. he climbs up,
c. and he starts picking again.'

In (4.63), the speaker describes a scene where a man comes down a tree with the pears he has picked, pours them out, and goes back up to the tree to pick more. As the translation indicates, the speaker sees the man going back up into the tree after he has poured out all the pears he has picked. Again the speaker's viewpoint in (4.63a) is located at the terminal juncture of the man's having poured out pears. Unlike the case of (4.62), where the viewpoint coincides with the speech moment, however, the completed event in (4.63) [having poured out all the pears] is not related to the speech moment, but to another situation described subsequently. In this case, only the completion meaning is obtained without the meaning of current relevance.

The meaning of completion expressed by *-ôss-* can be best illustrated with the Transferentive clause-terminal suffix *-taka*. The Transferentive suffix expresses a shift in action or a transition for other situations. Compare the following examples.

(4.64) Suni-nûn hakkyo-e ka-taka Chôlsu -lûl
Suni-TOP school-LOC go -TRANS Chôlsu-ACC

po -ass -ta
see-ANT-DECL
'**On her way to school**, Suni saw Chôlsu.

(4.65) Suni-nûn hakkyo-e ka-ass -taka
Suni-TOP school-LOC go -ANT-TRANS

Chôlsu -lûl po -ass -ta
Chôlsu-ACC see-ANT-DECL

'When she went to school, Suni saw Chôlsu .

As underlined, (4.65) differs from (4.64) in that (4.65) contains the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* in the *-taka*-clause. The meaning difference is that, in (4.65), Suni actually got to school and saw Chôlsu there, whereas in (4.64), without *-ôss-*, Suni saw Chôlsu on her way to school, and it is even possible that she might have ended up not going to school at all. In the above examples, *-ôss-* clearly indicates that the intended situation is completed.[19]

19 S-H. Choi (1987:51-53) notes that the presence of the suffix *-ôss-* in *-taka* clauses does not make any semantic difference with activity verbs and stative verbs.
(i) stative verbs:
a. hanûl-i malk -ass -taka hûli -ôss-ta
sky -NOM clean-ANT-TRANS cloudy-ANT-DECL
b. hanûl-i malk -taka hûli -ôss -ta
sky -NOM clean-TRANS cloudy-ANT-DECL
'The sky was clear and then got cloudy.'
(ii) Activity verbs:
a. Chôlsu-nûn camsi kitali-ôss -taka
-TOP for:a:while wait-ANT-TRANS

suhwaki-lûl noh -ass -ta
phone -ACC put:down-ANT-DECL

b. Chôlsu-nûn camsi kitali--taka
-TOP for:a:while wait -TRANS

suhwaki-lûl noh -ass -ta
phone -ACC put:down-ANT-DECL

'Chôlsu waited for a while and hung up the phone.

Indeed, these examples do not show as sharp a contrast between completed and non-completed as (4.64) and (4.65) do. Choi correctly attributes the lack of a sense of completion with *-ôss-* in these examples to lexically inherent aspectual

The contrast made between (4.64) and (4.65) has been used in the literature as the most favorable argument that *-ôss-* expresses perfective aspect rather than past tense (K-S. Nam 1978:8; S-O. Shin 1988:47).

The meaning of completion expressed with the suffix *-ôss-* is not limited to those situations which have actually been completed. It may well be the case that a situation referred to is non-real, and simply assumed to be terminated prior to another situation in reference. S-H. Choi (1987:27) illustrates this with the following examples:

(4.66) koki -ka ik -ôss -kôtûn
meat-NOM get:cooked-ANT-CORREL

næli -ô noh -ala
put:down-CONN leave-IMPER

'Put down the meat when it is cooked.

(4.67) haksæng-cûng -ûl punsil-ha-ôss -ûl kyôngu
student -certificate-ACC loss -do -ANT-ATTR case

hængcông -sil -e munûi-ha-si -o
administration-room-LOC inquiry-do-HONOR-IMPER

'If you lose your student ID, please inquire at the administration office.'

In the above examples, *-ôss-* is used in a kind of conditional clauses for commands. Therefore, the time frames for the situations described are irrealis, and

properties of these verbs, because the meaning of completion is obtained only when a situation has an inherent end-point, but these verbs do not refer to such situations. However intuitive it may be, however, the (a)-sentences with *-ôss-* give a sense that the situations described passed their entire due course, rather than being interrupted in the middle of their courses. It seems that it is purely up to the speaker's arbitrary decision whether the situations described are considered as having gone over their entire due course.

thus cannot be in the past at all. What *-ôss-* indicates in these examples is that the situations referred to are assumed to be terminated prior to taking the actions in command. Along with examples (4.64) and (4.65), where *-ôss-* refers to completed situations rather than simple past ones, examples such as (4.66) and (4.67) are clear counter-examples, as argued in K-S. Nam (1978) and S-H. Choi (1987), to the claim that the suffix *-ôss-* is a past tense marker.

Examples (4.62) through (4.67) show that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* is used to express completed situations, for which the speaker's viewpoint is located at or after their terminal juncture. When the speaker's viewpoint coincides with the speech moment, as in (4.62) , where a current state of having reached an end point is described, completed situations may have a current relevance.

The 'perfect of results'

The suffix *-ôss-* may be used to describe a current state of affairs that has resulted from a previous situation. For example,

(4.68) (Father is calling home to talk to Hansang)

a. F: yôpo-se-yo
you -HONOR:IE-DEF

b. H: ne
Yes

c. F: Hyosangi-ni?
Hyosang-INTERR

d. H: ne
Yes

--> e. F: Hansangi ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang get:up-ANT-INTER

--> f. H: naka -ss -nûnte -yo
go:out-ANT-CIRCUM-DEF

--> g. F: naka -ss -ô?
go:out-ANT-IE (TC 2: 2-8)

a. F: Hello
b. H: Yes.
c. F: Is this Hyosang?
d. H: Yes.
e. F: Has Hansang got up? (or 'Is Hansang up?')
f. H: He's gone out.
g. F: Gone out?

In the above example, Father (F) wants to talk to Hansang. Therefore, what the speaker is concerned with in (e) is the current state of a referent of being up, which is the end result of the situation referred to by the verb [his getting up]. H(Hyosang)'s response in (f) and Father's reaction in (g) are also concerned with Hansang's currently being unavailable, which is the result of his having gone out. In these cases, what is important is the end results of the situations referred to. Another example is given below:

(4.69) a. kûnte
then

b. kil -ûl o -ko iss -nûnte
road-ACC come-CONN exist-CIRCUM

c. kû acôssi-ka kyesok tta -taka
like uncle -NOM continuously pick-TRANS

d. tta -ko -sô -nûn
pick-CONN-Sô-TOP

e. ince kwangculi-l olm -ki -l ttæ -ka
now basket -ACC move-CAUS-ATTR time-NOM

toe -ô kaci-ko
become-CONN take-CONN

f. namu-esô næli -ô o -ass -tô -ni
tree -LOC get:down-CONN come-ANT-RETROS-DET

--> g. kwangculi hana-ka ôps -ô ci -ôss -ô
basket one -NOM not:exist-CONN become-ANT-IE

(PS 1: 61-65)

a. Then,
b. they [the three boys] are coming down the road,
c. Meanwhile, the man has been picking pears,
d. having picked some,
e. now it's time to move the baskets,
f. so he came down out of the tree,
g. and discovers one basket is missing [Lit. a basket has disappeared].

(4.69g) describes the man finding out that a basket is missing, which is the result of its having been stolen in an earlier scene.

Both cases in (4.68) and (4.69) may be referred to as expressing resultant states, that is, states of affairs described as end results of earlier actions. However, the resultant states expressed with *-ôss-* must be distinguished from the resultant states expressed with the non-agentive static durative *-ô iss-* construction, which was discussed in the previous section. The *-ô iss-* construction refers to the resultant states described as pure states that are persistent, and does not directly refer to the actions that resulted in them. That is, the resulting actions themselves are not appreciated but only implied, and the resulted states are assumed to have been maintained as they are, for a while at least, up to the current moment. With the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, on the other hand, the speaker is not concerned with prolonged maintenance of the states of affairs expressed, and thus describes resultant states as immediately relevant to the current speech moment (i.e., a

possible temporal gap between the occurrence of the action and the current moment is ignored). In (4.68), for example, it does not matter how long Hansang has been up. What matters is the relevance of his having got up to the current moment, that is, if he has, the speaker wants to talk to him. One piece of evidence that an expression with the Anterior *-ôss-* is concerned with immediate relevance to the current moment rather than a prolonged state is that the suffix *-ôss-* is perfectly compatible with an adverbial *pangkûm* 'just now', whereas the non-agentive static durative *-ô iss-* construction is not, as seen below.

(4.70) hansangi pangkûm ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang just:now get:up-ANT-INTER
'Has Hansang got up just now?

(4.71) * Hansangi pangkûm ilôna iss -ni
Hansang just:now get:up:CONN exist-INTERR
'Has Hansang got up?' or 'Is Hansang up?'

Since the non-agentive static durative construction assumes a prolonged state (i.e., a gap between the occurrence of the resulting action and the current moment), the construction is not compatible with an adverbial such as *pangkûm* 'just now'.

The difference between resultant states expressed with *-ôss-* and those expressed with the *-ô iss-* construction is similar to Dahl's (1985:133-135) distinction between what he calls the 'perfect of result', which is cross-linguistically expressed with the PERFECT construction, and the 'resultatives' (also see Bybee and Dahl 1989:68-70). The perfect of result differs from the resultatives in that there is more focus on the event than on the state. He illustrates this by showing that the Perfect construction in Swedish, which express the perfect of result, is not compatible with an adverbial *fortfarande* meaning 'still'. He states (1985:134)

> ..... a statement containing a perfect of result should rather be characterized as being made against a background state of affairs in which the event referred to in the sentence has not yet taken place.

Since adverbials like *still* imply that the presupposed background state is the same as the actual state currently described, the expression of the perfect of result is not compatible with those adverbials. To put it another way, adverbials meaning 'still' assume maintenance of the background state up to the current moment. Since the Perfect construction refers to the end result of a situation described that has immediate relevance to the current moment, it cannot not co-occur with those adverbials.

The same constraint applies to expressions with the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* in Korean (K-D. Lee 1978:363-4). That is, whereas the *-ô iss-* construction is perfectly compatible with the adverbial *acik(to)* 'still' or 'yet' as in (4.72) below, the suffix *-ôss-* is not, as in (4.73), which is a variation from (4.68).

(4.72) Hansangi acik ilôna iss -ni
Hansang still get:up:CONN exist-INTER
'Is Hansang still up?'

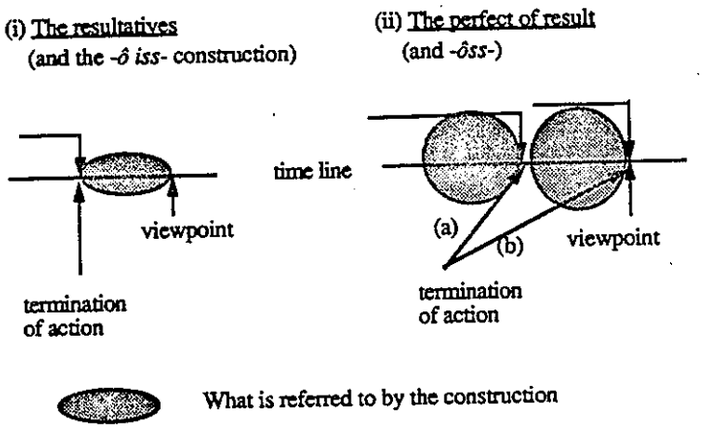
(4.73) *Hansangi acik ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang still get:up-ANT-INTER
*'Has Hansang still got up?'

Since the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* does not assume any prolonged state, it is naturally not compatible with *acik*, which implies maintenance of the background state.[20]

20 Cf. K-D. Lee (1981:363-4) also points out that *-ôss-* is not compatible with adverbials expressing time intervals, including *acik*. He assumes that this is because *-ôss-* refers to the moment in which a process has reached its end-point. His discussion is certainly based on the same intuition about the difference between *-ôss-* and the *-ô iss-* construction as the one given here.

The difference between the perfect of result and the resultatives (and between the anterior suffix *-ôss-* and the non-agentive static durative *-ô iss-* construction in Korean respectively) can be illustrated with the following diagrams.

Figure 4-1. The perfect of result vs. the resultatives



What these diagrams show is that the expressions of resultative (and the *-ô iss-* construction in Korean) refer to resultant states which have been persistent from the moment of the termination of the resulting action, whereas what is referred to with the expressions of the perfect of result (and the Anterior *-ôss-* in Korean) is an action itself and its end result immediately relevant to the current moment. Even when there is a temporal gap between the termination of the resulting action and the viewpoint, as in the case of (iia), the gap is not an issue in the expression of the perfect of result, because what matters is the current relevance of the termination and its result, not the persistent state.[21]

21 It is interesting to note that the suffix *-ôss-* in Korean parallels the Perfect construction in English in expressing current relevance. With regard to this parallelism, I will argue later that in fact, the suffix *-ôss-* developed from the Perfect construction in Korean.

With regard to *-ôss-* expressing current relevance, K-S. Nam (1978:124) points out that *-ôss-* is compatible with time adverbials referring to the present moment, such as *cikûm* and *i(n)ce*, both of which mean 'now'.[22] For example,

(4.74) Hansangi ince ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang now get:up-ANT-INTER
'Has Hansang got up now?'

(4.75) Hansangi cikûm naka -ss -nûnte -yo
Hansang now go:out-ANT-CIRCUM-DEF
'Hansang's gone out now.'

These examples support the idea that *-ôss-* cannot be purely a past tense marker, because it is used to express current states of affairs, rather than past events (cf. S-H. Choi 1987; S-O. Shin 1988).

In sum, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* has a wide range of meanings such as simple past, completion, the perfect of results. These various meanings obtained with the suffix often could further imply their relevance to the current moment of speech due to the speaker's communicative purposes. Now, the important issues regarding the nature of the suffix *-ôss-* are the following: (i) whether there is an invariant meaning of the suffix that subsumes all these meanings, and if there is, (ii) what grammatical category it falls in, and what determines which meaning prevails in a given context. I will attempt to deal with these issues in the following section.

22 The difference between *cikûm* and *ice* is not easy to characterize. In my tentative intuition, *cikûm* refers to the present moment in a static sense, whereas *ice* refers to the present moment in a dynamic sense, i.e. the present moment as having been accumulated from the past.

4.4.2.2. Anterior as the basic grammatical meaning of *-ôss-*

In the preceding section, I have illustrated that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* can be interpreted in many ways, such as expressing past tense (including relative past tense), completion, the perfect of result, and their relevance to the current speech moment. One of the main goals of this study is to find an invariant grammatical meaning that subsumes all these meanings associated with the suffix *-ôss-*, and define its grammatical category accordingly.

It should be noted that, as S-H. Choi (1987) explicitly points out, these various meanings obtained with the use of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* are contextually derived meanings, not basic meanings of the suffix. That is, those meanings are not signalled by the suffix *-ôss-* per se, but by other elements such as the speaker's goals and concerns, time adverbials, and lexically inherent aspectual properties of verbs. First of all, the speaker's communicative goals and concerns determine whether a situation described is currently relevant. In (4.58) and (5.59), for example, simple past situations are made relevant to the speech moment, because they have bearing on the speaker's current intention. In (4.62), a completed situation described is made relevant to the speech moment, when the speaker's viewpoint which is at the terminal stage of the situation, coincides with the speech moment. In (4.70) and (4.71), the end results of the situations referred to are made relevant to the speech moment, because the speaker is concerned with current states which have resulted from previous situations.[23]

The speaker's goals and concerns in a given context may be signalled explicitly by time adverbials. As briefly shown in Section 4.3.2, temporal

23 These various meanings of current relevance (experience, completion, result) are referred to as 'current relevance of anterior' in L. Anderson (1982).

adverbials play a key role in interpreting the intended meaning of *-ôss-*. To repeat the discussion, compare (4.70), which gives the meaning of the perfect of result, with its variants below.

(4.76) Hansangi myôch si -e ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang what hour-LOC get:up-ANT-INTER
'What time did Hansang get up?'

(4.77) Hansangi tûtiô ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang finally get:up-ANT-INTER
'Has Hansang finally got up?'

In (4.76), the adverbial expression *myôch si-e* 'at what time' points to a specific time point, and thus indicates that what is referred to with *-ôss-* is a simple past situation. An adverbial *tûtiô* 'finally' in (4.77) implies that what is at issue is whether a situation described has reached its terminal stage, and thus the meaning of completion is obtained with *-ôss-*. Adverbial expressions referring to the present moment, as in (4.74) and (4.75), signal that the speaker is concerned with current states of affairs rather than past situations.

A possible meaning obtained with the suffix *-ôss-* is also affected by lexically inherent aspectual properties of verbs --to be more precise, inherent aspectual properties of situations referred to by verbal expressions. In Chapter 2, I classified four types of situations according to lexically inherent aspectual properties of verbal expressions, following Vendler (1967) and Smith (1983): achievements, accomplishments, activities, and states.[24] Achievements, accomplishments, and activities are considered as dynamic situations, whereas states are non-dynamic or static. Achievements and accomplishments are telic, which implies an inherent end

24 See Vendler (1967), M-S. Cheong (1981), and Chapter 2 of this thesis for the discussion of criteria for these types of situations.

point, whereas activities are atelic. Among telic situations, achievements are punctual (e.g. 'reach the summit', 'win the race', 'wake up', 'go out', 'enter', etc.), and accomplishments are durative (e.g. 'make a chair', 'build a house', 'write a letter', etc.). Activities can also be divided into punctual activities (e.g. 'jump', 'hit', 'knock', 'kick', etc.) and durative activities (e.g. 'play', 'eat', 'work', 'fight', etc.). Such differences in inherent aspectual properties among these situation types constrain possible meanings that can be obtained with the suffix *-ôss-*. That is, the meaning of completion and the perfect of result are in general not compatible with activities and states,[25] and can be obtained only with telic

25 There are some exceptions to this generalization. Some non-descriptive stative verbs, such as perception and cognition verbs, may express the perfect of result, when they are attached to *-ôss-* . For example,

(i) ilæpo -atu caconsim sangha-ôss-ta+ku
see:such-CONCESS self-respect hurt -ANT-DECL+COMP
(Leah 6:14)
'No matter what you say, my pride got hurt.'

In the above example, the suffix *-ôss-* is attached to the non-descriptive stative verbal expression *caconsim sangha-* 'self-respect hurt', expressing a resultant-state of being hurt. Similarly, with the verb of cognition *al-* 'know', *-ôss-* expresses an inchoative meaning of getting into a mental state of knowing the addressee's intention, i.e. resultant-state, as in the example below.

(ii) ne al -ass -ô -yo
I:see know-ANT-IE-DEF (TC 1:19)
'O.K. I see [what you intend to say].' or 'I get you.'

It should be noted though, the semantics of those verbs of perception and cognition in Korean, such as *caconsim sangha-* 'self-respect hurt' in (i) and *al-* 'know' in (ii) not only refer to a mental status, but also a mental process. In this sense, these verbs are telic. Therefore, the generalization on the improbability of the meaning of completion for activity verbs and stative verbs applies only to canonical activity verbs and stative verbs, which are non-telic.

situations, i.e achievements and accomplishments, since these meanings require an inherent end point. In (4.62a), (4.63a), and (4.66), for example, accomplishment verbs, *mun tat-* 'close the door', *thôl-ô noh-* 'shake out', and *(koki-ka) ik-* '(meat) get cooked' respectively, are suffixed with *-ôss-*, giving the meaning of completion. In (4.62c), (4.65), and (4.67), it is achievement verbs, *kkûthna-* 'finish', *hakkyo-e ka-* 'go to school', and *punsilha-* 'lose' that give the meaning of completion, when combined with the suffix. In (4.68f, g) and (4.69), on the other hand, the meaning of the perfect of result is obtained with achievement verbs, *naka-* 'go out', and *ôps-ô ci-* 'disappear [Lit. not:exist-CONN become]' respectively. An accomplishment such as *il–ô na-* 'get up' may also express the perfect of result, as in (4.68a), when combined with the suffix *-ôss-*. Note that all the verbs expressing the perfect of result in these examples denote a change of state when an action is done, e.g. 'being not present', 'no longer existing', and 'being up', respectively.[26]

26 The relationship between inherent aspectual properties of verbs and possible meanings obtained with the suffix *-ôss-*in Korean is explicitly discussed by S-H. Choi (1987:47-57). He specifically claims:

When combined with the suffix *-ôss-*,
(i) resultative verbs and punctual verbs (achievement verbs) give a resultant-state meaning
(ii) accomplishment verbs give the meaning of completion
(iii) process (activity) verbs and stative verbs give simple past tense meaning.

Actual uses of the suffix *-ôss-* in informal discourse suggest, however, that the correlation is not an algorithmic one, as implied in Choi (1987), but a constraint that restricts possible meanings that can be obtained. That is, it is not the case that telic verbs (achievements and accomplishments) always express the meaning of completion or the perfect of result, when combined with the suffix *-ôss-*. For example, the achievement verbs *nao-* 'come out' in (4.56a, i) and *ka po-* 'go see [a stadium]' in (4.59b) give a past tense meaning rather than the meaning of completion or the perfect of result. In the example given below, an accomplishment

Since the various meanings associated with the suffix *-ôss-* depend on other textual and/or contextual elements, such as the speaker's goals and concerns, time adverbials, and lexically inherent properties of verbs, those meanings are clearly contextual meanings, not the basic grammatical meaning of *-ôss-*. A proper characterization of the suffix, therefore, should account for all these contextual variants based on an invariant grammatical meaning. I propose that "anteriority" is that basic grammatical meaning of the suffix *-ôss-*, which encompasses all these contextual meanings. "Anteriority" proposed here as the basic meaning of the suffix *-ôss-* is neutral between tense and aspect, and should not be confused with the notion of relative past tense. It simply indicates that a situation is terminated at or before a certain reference point. The relative sequential order between the situation and the reference point may be implied, but not inherently presumed. The key factor is that the relationship between the situation and the reference point can

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verb *mantûl-* 'make' is used to express a past situation with the suffix *-ôss-*.

a.S: nu -ka mantû-n kô -i -a
who-NOM make -ATTR thing-be-IE

--> b. H: yôki iss -nûn salam -i mantûl-ôss -ci
here exist-ATTR person-NOM make -ANT-COM
(K&H 148-149)

a. S: Who is it that designed this [Korean word processing program]?
b. H: Of course, someone who's here [in America] designed it.

In actual discourse, there are plenty of cases where accomplishment or achievement verbs give a past tense meaning with the suffix *-ôss-*, rather than completion or the perfect of result. This suggests that lexically inherent aspectual properties of verbs do not dictate the possible meanings of the suffix *-ôss-*, but simply impose a constraint that the simple past tense meaning is forced when verbs do not express situations that do not contain an inherent end-point.

be presented in two different ways, depending on the speaker's communicative goal; the speaker may be concerned with either the location of the situation described with respect to the reference time, or the location of the reference point with respect to the situation described. The notion of relative past tense presupposes only the former, as is the case of (4.60) and (4.61). Note that the time span a situation occupies may not be a point, but includes several temporal junctures the situation needs to go through, whereas a reference point is always represented as a point by definition. Therefore, when the speaker is concerned with the location of situation as a whole with respect to a reference point, the nature of the relationship between the two ought to be sequential, that is, the time of situation (i.e., the entire time span it occupies) precedes the time of reference point. In this case, the meaning of "anterior" gets interpreted as a (relative) past tense meaning. In (4.56)-(4.59), for example, the speaker is recounting what happened in the past, and thus the speaker is concerned with the location of the situation with respect to the reference point, which is the speech moment in these cases; that is, the time reference of the situation is prior to the reference point. In this context, the suffix gives a past tense meaning. When the speaker is concerned with the location of a reference point with respect to the situation described, on the other hand, it is identified in terms of which temporal juncture of the situation it is located at. In (4.62), (4.63), (4.65), and (4.67), for example, what the speaker emphasizes is whether a situation described has passed its due course and thus reached its terminal point. In these cases, the suffix *-ôss-* indicates that the reference point is at or after the terminal juncture of the situation, giving a meaning of completion, i.e., perfective in the temporal view of perfectivity. Among those cases where the suffix gives a meaning of completion, the meaning of the perfect of result is obtained when the completed situation brings forth an end result, which is typical with those verbs denoting

transition into a state ('transition event verbs' (Leech 1971).

As mentioned earlier, one of the issues surrounding the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* is what grammatical category the suffix falls in. Examples shown in the preceding sections suggest that the suffix *-ôss-* can neither be a past tense marker nor a perfective aspect marker exclusively (cf. S-H. Choi 1987). First of all, it cannot be a past tense marker, because there are a large number of cases (40 of the 174 instances of *-ôss-* in the corpus examined in this thesis) where the suffix gives a meaning of completion or the perfect of result, as in (4.62), (4.63), (4.65), (4.66), (4.67), (4.68), and (4.69), rather than a past tense meaning. Furthermore, the suffix may refer to a situation whose time reference is future, as in (4.66) and (4.67). The fact that the suffix *-ôss-* is also compatible even with adverbials denoting the present time reference, as in (4.74) and (4.75), clearly undermines the hypothesis the idea that the suffix is a past tense marker.

Those 40 instances of *-ôss-* with the meaning of completion or the perfect of result may be characterized as expressing perfective aspect (in the temporal view of perfectivity), because the situations described have reached their terminal point. The suffix *-ôss-* cannot be defined as a perfective aspect marker either, however, because there are simply too many cases where *-ôss-* does express a past tense meaning. Especially, when the suffix is attached to descriptive verbs such as *i-* 'be' and *manh-* 'many', as in (4.57), the perfective meaning (in the sense of completion) is not sensed at all.

In sum, the tense-aspect neutral notion of "anterior" accounts for both cases with the relative past tense interpretation and with the perfective aspectual interpretation (i.e., completion). Whether it gets a past tense meaning or a perfective aspect meaning in a given context depends on discourse context. That is, various

meanings that are associated with the suffix are contextually derived meanings due to the speaker's communicative concerns and goals. The previous literature, who defines *-ôss-* as either a past tense marker or a perfective aspect marker, gives only a partial picture of the real nature of the suffix, having tried to draw too much on traditional concepts of tense and aspect. This is mainly because scholars have not looked at the various uses of the suffix in real discourse. The role of the speaker's communicative concerns and goals has not been considered in characterizing the nature of the suffix.

4.4.2.3. Overall discourse pattern

In the preceding sections, I have illustrated that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* is associated with various meanings such as simple past, completion, the perfect of result, and their relevance to the current moment. I also have argued that *-ôss-* cannot be exclusively a Past Tense marker or a Perfective aspect marker, because of these various meanings associated with it. I have proposed that 'anterior', a tense/aspect-neutral concept, best characterizes various uses of the suffix in discourse. There is an interesting discourse pattern that emerges, however. A consideration of the overall distribution of the suffix in informal texts examined shows that, as many ordinary speakers as well as Korean scholars perceive, the past tense meaning is predominant. See the following table:

Table 4-1. A discourse pattern of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*

Past Tense	Completion	Perfect of result	Total
134 (77.0%)	14 (8.0%)	26 (14.9%)	174 (100%)

Among 174 instances of *-ôss-*, 134 cases (77.0%) express a past tense. The remaining 40 cases include completion (14/173 --8.0%) and the perfect of result (26/174 --14.9%). These 40 cases (22.9%) can be said to be perfective in the temporal view of perfectivity, as illustrated in (4.62), (4.68), and (4.69), because the situations described have reached their terminal juncture.

It seems to be the case that ordinary speakers readily identify *-ôss-* as expressing a past tense meaning, due to this dominant discourse pattern. I argue then that, even though the current grammatical status of the suffix cannot be strictly defined either with past tense or with perfective aspect, it may be the case that Korean is developing a past tense marker with the suffix *-ôss-*. Combined with the undermined role of other non-terminal temporal suffixes (the Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*) in discourse, which will be discussed later, this predominant discourse pattern of *-ôss-* seems to be further facilitating a two-way tense system indicating a past/non-past distinction.

I briefly mentioned that the suffix *-ôss-* developed from the periphrastic *-ô iss-* construction, which I believe was the Perfect construction in Middle Korean. If it is true that Korean is developing a past tense marker with the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, Korean is similar to French and German, where a past tense marker developed from the Perfect construction. In the following section, I will show how the suffix *-ôss-* has developed from the periphrastic *-ô iss-* construction.

4.4.2.4. Historical development of *-ôss-*: from Perfect to Anterior to Past Tense

It is a well-documented fact that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* developed from the periphrastic *-ô iss-* construction due to a phonological contraction. The literature generally agrees that the development went through the following phonological

processes (Huh 1987; Y-K. Ko 1981; D-W. Hahn 1986; S-D. Kim 1987)

(4.78) The development of *-ôss-*

-ô is- /∂# is/ —contraction—> -ôys- /∂js/ (15th Century)

—glide loss—> -ôs- /∂s/ (17th Century)

—tensing of /s/—> -ôss- /∂s*/ (now)

A common view about the semantic change underlying this phonological change is that the *-ô iss-* construction in the 15th century and earlier expressed the same meaning as what it is assumed to express today, that is, duration of resultant states,[27] and that due to this phonological contraction, the meaning of duration was lost later, the obvious reason being that the auxiliary verb form *is-* (> *iss-*) 'exist' became no longer visible (Huh 1987). D-W. Hahn (1986), however, insightfully argues that the phonological contraction was triggered by semantic changes, not vice versa. His argument, which I believe is on the right track, is based on four facts about Middle Korean (the 15th century). First of all, not all the cases of the *-ô is-* construction turned into *-ôs-*, as the *-ô iss-* construction still exists in Modern Korean (cf. S-D. Kim 1987:162-163). Secondly, the distribution of the *-ô is-* construction in the 15th century had been much freer than its current distribution, in terms of preceding verb types. Recall that, as discussed in section 4.4.2, the *-ô iss-* construction in Modern Korean can be made only with non-agentive intransitive verbs and a limited class of action verbs (verbs of locomotion and posture), but not with other action verbs and transitive verbs, let alone

27 See Section 4.4.1 for the discussion of the semantic nature of the *-ô iss-* construction, where I argued that the construction expresses non-agentive static durative,including resultant-states.

descriptive verbs. Middle Korean texts reveal that the *-ô is-* construction occurred with intransitive, transitive, and even descriptive verbs (K-K. Lee 1981; D-W. Hahn 1986; S-D. Kim 1987). Thirdly, the fairly free distribution of the *-ô is-* construction in the 15th century through the 16th century began to be restricted about the same time the phonologically contracted form *-ôs-* established itself as an independent morpheme around the 17th century. Fourthly, in the 15th century material, the *-ô is-* construction and its contracted form *-ôjs-* co-existed. Some assume that they were in free variation (K-K. Lee 1981). Hahn, however, disputes the idea, by showing that they exhibited a different distribution in terms of kinds of suffixes that follow them.

The fact that the distribution of the *-ô is-* construction in Middle Korean was not limited to a restricted set of intransitive verbs, but freely occurred with action verbs, transitive verbs and descriptive verbs, suggests that the meaning of the *-ô is-* construction also was not restricted to static duratives or resultant states, as it is now, because descriptive verbs and action verbs including transitive verbs cannot denote non-agentive static durative. The fact that the beginning of restricted distribution of the *-ô is-* construction coincides with the establishment of its contracted form *-ôs-* in the 17th century suggests that a meaning differentiation took place around this time between the *-ô is-* construction and the contracted *-ôs-*. That is, static durative situations including resultant states began to be expressed exclusively with the *-ô is-* construction, and the other meanings that had been associated with the *-ô is-* construction in the 15th century and earlier now began to be taken up by its contracted form *-ôs-*. It is assumed then that the semantic range of the *-ô is-* construction in Middle Korean included those meanings expressed by *-ôss-* in Modern Korean, namely, simple past, completion, the perfect of result, and current relevance. Considering its syntactic structure, which contains the

existential auxiliary verb *is-* 'exist' and its semantic range as discussed above, it is reasonable to characterize the *-ô is-* construction in Middle Korean as PERFECT.

It should be noted that the semantic nature of resultant state is compositional, that is, its meaning is extracted from the combination of meaning of completion or termination and the durative existence of its end result. The compositional nature of resultant state meaning is well matched with its periphrastic structure that consists of a main verb inflected for the meaning of completion or termination and the existential auxiliary verb for the meaning of duration. The compositional nature is not so obvious for those cases where the construction expresses single semantic concepts such as past tense, completion, or the perfect of result, because these meanings lack a durative component. Therefore, it is highly plausible to assume that at some point those cases of the *-ô is-* construction expressing these meanings began to be reanalysed as having a single syntactic unit, rather than a combination of two verbal phrases. The fact that the *-ô is-* construction and its contracted form *-ôys-* co-existed in the 15th century suggests that, as assumed by Hahn, the process of reanalysis had already started before the 15th century, and that the 15th century was a transition period during which the *-ô is-* construction, reanalysed as forming a single syntactic unit, turned into an affixal form through the phonological contraction.

Based on D-W. Hahn's discussion, I hypothesizes a scenario of the historical path of the development of *-ôss-* from the *-ô is-* construction as follows:[28]

28 D-W. Hahn assumes that the *-ô is-* construction with a complex syntactic structure (i.e. containing two verbal units) formerly expressed resultant-states, and that its reanalyzed structure (containing a single verbal unit) in the 15th century expressed 'perfect' , and became a single morpheme later due to phonological contraction. Similarly, S-D. Kim (1987) assumes that the perfect meaning was differentiated from the formerly static durative *-ô is-* construction, resulting in phonological contraction. This assumption is compatible with a cross-linguistically

Stage (i): The original periphrastic Perfect construction has a wide range of meanings such as resultant state, and current relevances including the perfect of result (an end result of a completed situation immediately relevant to the current moment), and marginally completion and past tense, depending on discourse context and lexically inherent aspectual properties of verbs. Syntactically, it consists of two verbal units as bracketed below in the schematized scenario (Figure 4-2); its meaning is extracted compositionally, that is, the combination of a completion or termination of a situation, expressed by the main verb, and its maintenance (duration) or reference to the present moment, expressed by the existential auxiliary *is-* 'exist'.

Stage (ii): The structure of the *-ô is-* construction that expresses completion and past tense is reanalysed as containing a single verbal unit, not two, because these meanings are perceived as denoting a single semantic concept. The cases where the *-ô is-* construction expresses resultant state maintain its two-verbal-unit status. The cases of current relevance (of completed or terminated situations and their end result) can be interpreted in either way; the construction may be interpreted as indicating equivocally the situation referred to and the speaker's

common pattern where a Resultative construction develops into a Perfect to a Past or Perfective marker (Bybee and Dahl 1989:77). Without data on the *-ô is-* construction before the 15th century, I assume that the *-ô is-* construction was formerly the Perfect construction with a variety of meanings. A thorough discourse study of Middle Korean material is required to validate either of these claims. One point in common between the these assumptions, however, is that the *-ô is-* construction went through a stage where it expressed Perfect, whether or not its status was a later development or not.

communicative concern about the current state of affairs, and thus could be analyzed as containing two verbal units, or soley refers to the current relevance, and thus is analyzed as containing a single unit. This process of reanalysis is assumed to have started earlier and continued to the 15th century.

Stage (iii): the construction expressing these single semantic concepts is phonologically contracted in order to accommodate the lack of compositionality in its meaning. Current relevance, now more attached to the contracted form than the periphrastic structure, is made distinct from resultant states, presumably because of their semantic differences discussed in section 4.4.2.2.

Stage (iv): The contracted form loses the glide /j/, which is the trace of the existential verb *is-*. The *-ô iss-* construction exclusively refers to non-agentive static durative situations including resultant states, and is no longer associated with semantically single concepts such as past tense, completion, or even current relevance.

Stage (v): Tensing of /s/ into /s*/ resulted in the current form *-ôss-* /ɔs*/

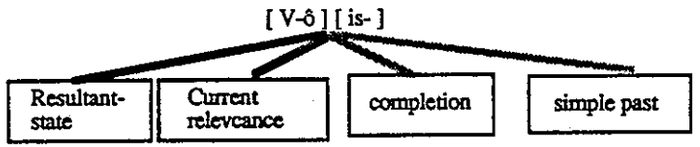
This hypothetical scenario of the development of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* can be schematically represented as follows:[29]

29 It should be noted that this scenario is not based on real discourse study of Middle Korean material, but inferred from the discussion in the literature on Middle Korean (K-K. Lee 1981; D-W. Hahn 1986; S-D. Kim 1987).

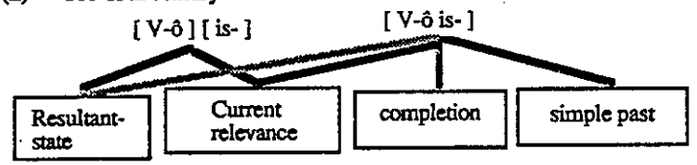
Figure 4-2. The Historical path of the development of *-ôss-*:

[Note: The fainter line indicates weak association between form and meaning.]

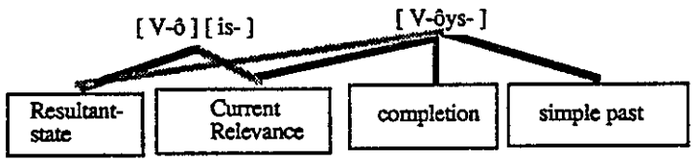
(i) The Perfect construction



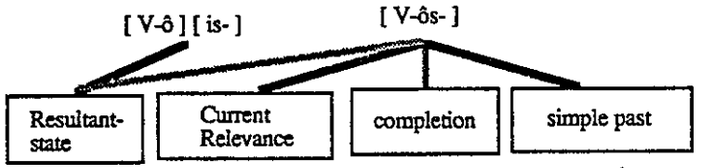
(ii) Pre-15th century



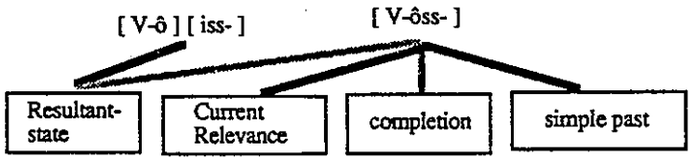
(iii) 15-16th century



(iv) 17th century



(v) Today



In this section, I have hypothesized a historical path through which the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* developed from the periphrastic Perfect *-ô is-* (> *-ô iss-*) construction. The idea that the *-ô iss-* construction was, at least once, the Perfect construction, is also suggested by D-W. Hahn (1986), and S-D. Kim (1987). It is now clear that those meanings that are associated with the suffix *-ôss-* are a historical residue from those meanings that were associated with the Perfect *-ô iss-* construction. I suggested in the preceding section that the suffix *-ôss-* is expected to develop into a past tense marker due to a discourse pattern where the suffix is used predominantly to express simple past in the informal texts examined. Now, the development of the suffix *-ôss-* can be said to be from Perfect to Anterior to Past Tense.

4.4.2.5. Cross-linguistic implications

In summarizing the discussion on the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, the suffix *-ôss-* expresses a wide variety of meanings such as simple past, completion, the perfect of result, and current relevance. It has been illustrated that which meaning prevails in a given context depends on the speaker's communicative goals and concerns, which may be signalled textually, e.g. time adverbials, or contextually, e.g. through the flow of communication. I also have shown that the grammatical category of the suffix *-ôss-* cannot be defined as either a past tense marker or a perfective aspect marker synchronically, as many scholars were obliged to commit themselves to. I have proposed 'anterior', a tense/aspect-neutral notion, as the invariant grammatical meaning of *-ôss-* that encompass all the meanings associated with it. The suffix *-ôss-* developed historically from the originally Perfect *-ô is-* (> *-ô iss-*) construction due to the reanalysis of its structure, triggered by the

undecomposable nature of some of the meanings expressed by the construction.

Even though the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* cannot be defined as either a past tense marker or a perfective aspect marker synchronically, it gives predominantly (77%) a past tense meaning in informal texts (as opposed to 23% of perfective aspect). It is suggested that it may be the case that Korean is developing a past tense marker out of the suffix *-ôss-* due to that discourse pattern. Considering the historical path through which the suffix *-ôss-* developed, Korean is to be added to those languages which developed a past tense or an perfective aspect marker from the Perfect construction, e.g. French, German. Slavonic languages, etc. (Comrie 1976:107; Bybee and Dahl 1989:57-58, 74). The historical path of the development of the suffix *-ôss-* in form and meaning from the periphrastic Perfect construction, which itself may have developed from a Resultant-state construction, to the affixal form of potential past tense marker, in fact, is exactly what Bybee and Dahl (1989) describe for a cross-linguistically widespread pattern of the semantic path of the PERFECT construction, that is, 'from resultative to perfect to perfective or past'. According to Bybee and Dahl (p 77), the RESULTANT STATE (or 'RESULTATIVE' in their terminology), which 'views a past event in terms of its prevailing results', develops into the PERFECT by 'de-emphasizing the perspective of the present moment' and 'focusing more on the past event,' except that it has some relevance to the present moment'. The PERFECT in turn develops into PAST or PERFECTIVE by losing the sense of current relevance. In Korean, some instances of the periphrastic *-ô is-* construction in earlier stage expressed completion, simple past, and current relevance, which are not concerned with prevailing results of the situations described. The lack of concern about prevailing results at the present moment triggered a reanalysis of the structure as being a single

verbal unit, and further underwent a phonological change to eventually become the suffix *-ôss-*. The suffix *-ôss-* gives a variety of meanings such as past tense, completion, the perfect of result, and relevance to the present speech moment. The suffix is used to express predominantly a simple past meaning in informal communication situations. Not concerned with the current relevance of the past situations described, the suffix is foreseen to become a past tense marker.

4.4.3. Summary of the temporal dimension

In this section, I have discussed two periphrastic durative constructions, the *-ko iss-* construction and the *-ô iss-* construction. I characterized the two constructions as expressing agentive dynamic durative situations and non-agentive static durative situations respectively. The two durative constructions are concerned with a temporal juncture of a situation described. The *-ko iss-* construction views a situation at its middle juncture, whereas the *-ô iss-* construction rather views a situation at its terminal juncture.

The non-agentive static durative *-ô iss-* construction has to do with the development of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*. It has been shown that the suffix *-ôss-* developed from the periphrastic *-ô is-* (> *-ô iss-*) construction, due to a semantic change and thereby change in form. The change has been characterized as that from Perfect to Anterior, which is in turn suggested to eventually be going to develop into Past tense in the future, due to a dominant discourse pattern. The Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, which is characterized as expressing 'anterior', is associated with various meanings such as the perfect of result, completion, as well as simple past and various kinds of current relevance. It has been suggested that discourse context as influenced by the speaker's goals and concerns determines the prevailing meaning of the suffix in a given context.

As illustrated, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* and the two durative constructions, the *-ko iss-* construction and the *-ô iss-* construction, have to do with temporal junctures of the situation described, such as middle or terminal; the static durative *-ô iss-* construction and its historical offspring *-ôss-* indicate that a reference point is located at or after the terminal juncture of the situation described, whereas the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction indicates that the reference point is at the middle juncture of the situation described. In this regard, the Anterior *-ôss-* and the two durative constructions express a temporal dimension of aspect, as defined in Chapter 2.

Given that the Anterior *-ôss-* did not develop until the 17th century, the temporal system of Middle Korean (in fact late Middle Korean) looks much different from that of Modern Korean. With the Anterior suffix not yet having developed, the temporal system in Middle Korean consisted of the Imperfective *-nʌ-* (the antecedent of *-nûn-*) and the Retrospective *-tô-* in contrast with the morphologically unmarked form (Ko 1981; D-J. Choi 1988), which remains in the attributive constructions, as discussed in section 4.3.1. In the following section, I will attempt to characterize these temporal suffixes, the Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*. I will claim that, unlike the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, these temporal suffixes are concerned with whether a situation is viewed from outside of its event frame, and thus presented as a whole, or inside of its event frame such that it is presented as if the speaker concurrently experiences it.

4.5. The totality dimension of aspect

In the preceding section, I gave a characterization of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* along with two periphrastic duratives, the agentive dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction and the non-agentive static durative *-ô iss-* construction. I argued that

the suffix *-ôss-* and the two durative constructions constitute a temporal dimension of the temporal system, because they deal with temporal junctures of a situation described. In this section, I will describe two more non-terminal temporal suffixes, the Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*. I will claim that unlike the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, these two temporal suffixes express a totality dimension of aspect, which has to do with the way a situation described is presented; that is, whether it is wrapped up as a whole, and thus the speaker's viewpoint is outside of its event-frame, or is unfolded as if the speaker concurrently experiences it, i.e., the speaker's viewpoint is within the event-frame of the situation.

4.5.1. Analysis of the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-*

The non-terminal temporal suffix *-nûn-* is one of the elements whose nature has not been clearly understood. Many scholars acknowledge that the suffix refers to present or non-past time (H-B. Choe 1977; H-M. Sohn 1975c; S-H. Kim 1967; J-S. Na 1971; C-M. Lee 1987). Some scholars add that the suffix has the dual functions of expressing present tense and present progressive (H-B. Choe 1977; S-H. Kim 1967; J-S. Na 1971). However, its semantic nature is not agreed upon at all among scholars, nor is its grammatical category. H-B. Choe (1977) and C-M. Lee (1987) assume it to be a tense marker expressing non-past or present time reference. K-D. Lee (1981) also treats it as a tense marker expressing 'actual' tense.[30] Martin (1954) characterizes it as expressing 'Processive' aspect, which

30 His notion of 'actual' tense seems more like an aspectual concept, as he defines it as 'referring to the existence of a situation in an area which includes the speaker's platform', from which the situation is viewed (K-D. Lee 1981:7). As discussed in Chapter 2, imperfective aspect in the totality dimension is defined as locating a reference point, from which the situation described is viewed, within the event frame in which the situation takes place.

'focuses attention on an action under way, in-progress' (p36).[31] H-M. Sohn (1975c) and S-O. Shin (1988), on the other hand, consider it to be an Indicative mood marker. Observing that the suffix *-nûn-* can occur only with the Declarative *-ta* (and its variants in what I call 'quotative' statements) and the Unassimilated marker *-kun*, some even assume that the formative *-nûn-* is, synchronically at least, meaningless by itself, but occurs only as a part of *-nûnta* and *-nûnkun*, which they assume to be allomorphs of *-ta* and *-kun* respectively (Huh 1983; K-S. Nam 1978; D-H. An 1980).

This disagreement among scholars is certainly due to the multi-functional nature of the suffix; that is, it may simply refer to the present or non-past time reference, or to a situation in progress in some contexts; in other contexts, it appears to express a concurrent experience at the speech moment, in contrast with the Retrospective *-tô-*, which is assumed to express a concurrent experience at a point in the past. Referring to this multi-functional nature of the suffix *-nûn-*, J-S. Na (1971) even characterizes it as a portmanteau, expressing progressive aspect, indicative mood, and present tense.

Another reason why it is difficult to pin down the exact nature of the suffix *-nûn-* is that its distribution is restricted lexically as well as morphologically. The lexical restriction on its distribution is that only non-descriptive verbs can take the suffix *-nûn-*. Therefore, the meaning of the suffix *-nûn-* must be characterized in such a way as to account for this restriction. As for morphological restrictions, the suffix *-nûn-*, as briefly mentioned earlier, can occur only with the Declarative *-ta*

31 His definition of 'processive' seems close to 'progressive'. If not, it is not clear from his definition of 'processive' how 'processive' expressed with *-nûn-* and 'progressive' are different.

and the Unassimilated *-kun* among sentence-terminal suffixes. Besides, the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun* themselves are distributionally restricted. While the Declarative *-ta* represents the sentence-terminal ending of the neutral style, it occurs very rarely in informal styles, with a specialized pragmatic meaning, namely informing an addressee of a situation that has evoked the speaker's attention due to its note-worthiness or unusualness (I return to this topic in Chapter 5). The Unassimilated *-kun*, which I will characterize later as referring to information that has entered the speaker's consciousness but is yet to be assimilated to the speaker's knowledge system, occurs only in informal styles. Consequently, the occurrence of the suffix *-nûn-* is very rare in informal texts (17 of 716 tokens (2.4%) of sentence-terminal verbal complexes). Since the suffix *-nûn-* always occurs with one of these two sentence-terminal suffixes, it is hard to separate out the meaning of the suffix from the overall meanings of the complex with these sentence-terminal suffixes. A proper characterization of the suffix needs to take into consideration the effect of co-occurring sentence-terminal suffixes, and to account for their mutual compatibility.

In the following, I will argue that, given its multi-functional nature and the lexical and morphological restrictions on its distribution, the suffix can be neither a (present) tense marker, nor a progressive aspect marker, nor an (indicative) mood marker. I will claim that the suffix *-nûn-* can be best characterized as an imperfective aspectual marker in the totality dimension, i.e., indicating that a situation is viewed from inside of its event frame.

4.5.1.1. Multi-functional nature of *-nûn-*

In this section, I will illustrate that the suffix *-nûn-* is used to express a wide variety of meanings such as simple present time reference, progressive, and

concurrent experience at the speech moment.

Expressing non-past situations seems to be quite a general function of the suffix *-nûn-*. For example,

(4.79) kûnte SOFTWARE-lûl ilôn DISK an -e
then software -ACC such disk inside-LOC

nôh -ô kaci-ku pha-n -ta +ku
insert-CONN take-CONN sell -IMPFV-DECL+COMP

(K&H: 221)

'Then, [I'm telling you] they sell the software, having it stored in the disk'

(4.79) simply refers to a habitual state of affairs. With the Declarative *-ta* and the propositional Complementizer *-ku*, the speaker presents a proposition as his or her authoritative saying, which can be translated as 'I am telling you that ...' or 'It is my saying that ...', and thus gives a sense of strong assertion. In this construction (the *-ta+ku* construction), the Imperfective *-nûn-* is obligatory for non-descriptive verbs referring to a current situation. Similarly,

(4.80) a. cham ônni -nûn 29 cônto?
really big:sister-TOP 29 degree

b. ilûm -ûn i ci-yông
name-TOP Lee Ji-Young

c. hankuk-e æin -i temo
Korea -LOC sweetheart-NOM demonstration

cutongca-la -sô
leader -INTROS-CONN

--> d. sum-ô tani -n -tæ
hide-CONN go:about-IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

--> e. ôti iss -nûnci -tu molû -n -tæ
where exist-DISJ-ADD not:know-IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

(Leah 7: 35-38)

a. Ah, the Big Sister is about 29 years old?
b. Her name is Ji-Young Lee.
c. [I was told] Her boy friend, who is in Korea, is a leader of the protest movement [against the government], so
d. he is in hiding.
e. [I was told] She doesn't even know where he is.

in (4.80), the writer [Leah] gives a description of a woman she calls *ônni* 'Big sister'. (4.80d) and (4.80e) are hearsay statements about that woman's current situation with her boyfriend. Again the suffix *-nûn-* is required for hearsay statements of current affairs, which are expressed with the combination of the Declarative *-ta* and the Informal Ending *-ô*.

Note that, in both (4.79) and (4.80), the suffix *-nûn-* is used in the "quotative" constructions; in (4.79), the speaker is quoting himself as an authority over the information conveyed, whereas (4.80d) and (4.80e) are hearsay statements. As discussed in Chapter 3.1.1.4.2, the "quotative" constructions consist of a terminal suffix preceded by a proposition expressed in the neutral style of the language; that is, a declarative proposition is marked by the Declarative *-ta*, a question by the Interrogative *-(nû)nya*, a command by the Imperative *-(û)la*, and a proposal by the Propositive *-ca*. Therefore, the uses of the suffix *-nûn-* in the quotative constructions in (4.79), (4.80d), and (4.80e)[32] can be considered as cases of its use in the neutral style of the language. As discussed in section 4.3.2.1, the suffix *-nûn-* in general gives a non-past time reference in expressing habitual and generic situations in the neutral style. For example,

32 12 of the 17 instances of the suffix *-nûn-* occurring in sentence-terminal verbal complexes are quotative statements (2 of the 12 are hearsay statements).

(4.81) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -ɲ -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-e attend-IMPFV-DECL
'Suni attends/is attending UCLA.'

(4.82) Hananim-ûn uli -lûl salang-ha-si -ɲ -ta
God -TOP we-ACC love -do-HONOR-IMPFV-DECL
'God loves us.'

The suffix *-nûn-* referring to a permanent truth is of the same kind. For example,

(4.83) hæ-nûn tong -ccok-esô ttû -ɲ -ta
sun-TOP East -side -LOC rise-IMPFV-DECL
'The sun rises in the East.'

(4.84) panûl -totuk-i so -totuk toe -ɲ -ta
pin -thief-NOM ox-thief become-IMPFV-DECL
'He who steals a pin [now] will steal an ox [later].'
[Lit. 'a pin thief becomes an ox thief.']

The suffix *-nûn-* may refer to a definite future situation, e.g. a pre-scheduled event. For example,

(4.85) kicha-nûn næil 10 -si-e ttôna -ɲ -ta
train -TOP tomorrow hour-LOC leave-IMPFV-DECL
'The train leaves at 10 o'clock tomorrow.'

(4.86) na-nûn nænyôn -e mikuk -e ka-ɲ -ta
I -TOP next:year-LOC America-LOC go-IMPFV-DECL
'I am going to America next year.'

In the above, I have shown that the suffix *-nûn-* indicates non-past time reference in sentences of the neutral style. One thing that should be noted is that, like the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, the non-past time reference made by the suffix *-nûn-* is relative in nature.

(4.87) Chôlsu-nûn [Suni-ka UCLA-e tani -n -ta] -ko
Chôlsu-TOP Suni-ka UCLA-e attend-IMPFV-DECL-COMP

malha-ôss -ta
say -ANT-DECL

(i) 'Chôlsu said that Suni attended UCLA.'
or (ii) 'Chôlsu said that Suni attends UCLA.'

In (4.87), the time reference of the bracketed complement can be simultaneous with either the speech moment, as in the interpretation given in (ii), or the time reference given in the matrix clause, as in the interpretation given in (i).

Considering the relative nature of the non-past time reference made by the suffix *-nûn-*, it can be said that the suffix *-nûn-* may indicate that the time frame of the situation described is simply simultaneous with some reference point given in a context. One of the issues surrounding the suffix *-nûn-* is, then, whether the suffix *-nûn-* is a Non-past or Simultaneous (i.e relative-present) tense marker. The exact nature of the suffix will be addressed later in the section. Now, however, I claim that the suffix *-nûn-* cannot be a Non-past or Simultaneous tense marker. My claim is based on the following arguments:

First of all, tense is a category that refers to a relative sequential relation between the situation described and a reference point, and the sequential relation of a situation to a reference point is independent of situation types (e.g. telic or atelic, punctual or non-punctual, active or stative, etc.), speech styles (e.g. formal or informal, upward, lateral, or downward, etc.), and epistemic statuses of the speaker on the information conveyed (e.g. whether the information conveyed is a part of the speaker's knowledge or not. That is, a tense category, say, non-past or simultaneous (as a relative tense concept) tense, would not be expected to have lexical restrictions in reference to situation types and/or morphological restrictions

in reference to speech styles or the speaker's epistemic status. As discussed earlier, however, the suffix *-nûn-* is lexically and morphologically restricted in its distribution. Lexically, the suffix *-nûn-* occurs only with non-descriptive verbs, and cannot occur with descriptive verbs. If the suffix is simply a non-past (or simultaneous) tense marker, there is no reason why it should not occur with descriptive verbs.

Morphologically, the suffix *-nûn-* can occur only with the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun*. The Declarative *-ta* is a representative sentence-terminal suffix of the neutral style, where the suffix *-nûn-* gives a non-past time reference in general, as shown in (4.79) through (4.87). However, in the informal styles, where the Informal Ending *-ô* is the representative sentence-terminal suffix, the Declarative *-ta* occurs rarely (2.4% of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes), and carries a special discourse function, that is, informing a note-worthy information that has provoked the speaker's cognition. The Unassimilated *-kun* conveys information that has entered the speaker's consciousness, but is yet to be assimilated to his or her integrated part of knowledge system. Combined with the suffix *-nûn-*, both the Declarative *-ta*, and the Unassimilated *-kun*, in the informal styles of the language, express the speaker's concurrence experience, which I will discuss shortly. What should be noted is that the suffix *-nûn-* cannot occur with the representative Informal Ending *-ô*, which conveys information that is the integrated part of the speaker's knowledge system, even when the time reference is clearly non-past. If the suffix *-nûn-* is a true non-past or simultaneous tense marker, there is no reason why its use is restricted to expressing situations that are expressed with the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun*, and why it cannot occur with the Informal Ending *-ô*. The lexical and morphological

restrictions on the suffix *-nûn-* suggest that the suffix is unlikely to be a pure non-past or simultaneous tense marker.

Secondly, there are cases where the suffix expresses more than simple present or a non-past time relation. For example,

(4.88) a. F: Hansangi ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang get:up-ANT-INTER

b. H: naka -ss -nûnte -yo
go:out-ANT-CIRCUM-DEF

c. F: naka -ss -ô?
go:out-ANT-IE

d. H: ne
yes

e. F: ôti -lu
where-OBL

f. H: molû -kess -ô -yo
not:know-DCT :RE-IE-DEF

--> g. mwô [kyohoe ka-n -ta] kûlô -tô -nka
what church go-IMPFV-DECL do:so-RETROS-DUB

(TC 2: 6-12)

a. F: Has Hansang got up? (or 'Is Hansang up?')
b. H: He's gone out.
c. F: Gone out?
d. H: Yes
e. F: Where?
f. H: I don't know.
g. I think he said he was going to church.

In (4.88g) above, H is trying to recall what Hansang said when he went out. What is referred to in the complement clause [his going to church] is a situation that is ongoing simultaneously with the situation described in the matrix clause [his

saying], which is marked with the suffix *-nûn-*.[33] Similarly,

(4.89) kûlôm na ka-n -ta
then I go-IMPFV-DECL (Leah 3: 14)

'O.K. I am going.'

(4.89b) is a kind of notice the writer issues to the addressee at the moment of her way out [of the place]. In this context, what is referred to is a situation that is in process at the time of writing (or more precisely the process of Leah's going is assumed to have been initiated). Note that there is no other marker or expression that indicates an action in progress in (4.88g) and (4.89). It is suggested then that, whatever temporal properties the suffix *-nûn-* may refer to, they must be broad enough to be compatible with describing actions in progress such as (4.88g) and (4.89b).

A more interesting use of the suffix *-nûn-* that shows it is not simply a Non-past tense marker is found when it occurs with the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun* in the informal styles. As briefly mentioned above and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the Declarative *-ta*, which simply indicates in the neutral style that a proposition in question is a declarative statement, carries an extra-pragmatic function in the informal style; that is, it is used to inform an addressee of a 'noteworthy' situation that has occurred to the speaker's consciousness. The Unassimilated suffix *-kun* refers to a piece of information that has entered the speaker's consciousness, but is yet to become his or her knowledge. Therefore, both the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun* have to do with the speaker's perception that instantly occurs to the speaker's

[33] The propositional Complementizer *-ko* is often not present when the main verb is the pro-verb *kûlôha-* 'do so', instead of an explicit saying verb such as *malha-* 'say'. It is not clear what determines the omission of the complementizer.

consciousness. Combined with one of these two epistemic modal suffixes, what is indicated by the suffix *-nûn-* is the speaker's concurrent experience at the speech moment. For example,

(4.90) (Two people are waiting for a bus, and one of them sees a bus coming.)
ppôssû o -n -ta
bus come-IMPFV-DECL
'Hey, a bus is coming.' or 'Here comes a bus.'

(4.90) is a typical utterance that can be made when a person spots something happening and tries to make the addressee aware of it. Therefore, (4.90) expresses a situation which the speaker concurrently experiences. The following example from an informal narrative also illustrates this use of the suffix *-nûn-* along with the Declarative *-ta*.

(4.91)a. kûlôn taûm-e tto ice ta thôl -ô
such next -LOC again now all shake:off-CONN

noh -ôss -ûni -kka
leave-ANT-DET-INTER

b. tto olû -ô ka-sô
again climb-CONN go-CONN

c. tto tta -nûn kô -i -ô
again pick-ATTR thing-be-IND

d. kûlûku iss -nûnte ônû namca-æ -ka
do:so exist-CIRCUM a:certain male -child-NOM

e. koengcanghi khôtala-n cacônkô-lûl tha -ko
remarkably big -ATTR bicycle -ACC ride-CONN

mak kôki aph -ûl cina-ô ka-taka
disorderly there front-ACC pass-CONN go-TRANS

--> f. ilôhke kû -kô -ûl po -n -ta
like:this that-thing-ACC see-IMPFV-DECL

(PS1:20-25)

a. After that, now again, now that he has shaken everything out,
b. he climbs up,
c. and he starts picking again.
d. While he is doing that,
e. a certain boy on a very big bike is just passing by,
f. **and he sees all this, you know.**

In (4.91) above, the speaker describes a movie scene in transition. Until (c), she has been describing the initial setting of the movie, which began with a man picking pears on the top of the tree. The scene described in (d) through (f) departs from that initial setting by a bike-boy's appearance. This transition is very important for the development of the movie, because it is the very beginning of an affair which the whole Pear Story movie is about; namely, the bike-boy is going to steal a basket of pears and run away, and encounter a few other boys, to whom he gives pears, only for the boys to walk down back to the place where the bike-boy stole the pears. In order to highlight this important scene, the speaker describes the situation as if she concurrently experiences (and thus becomes conscious or aware of) it as it happens. Note that in (c), a non-past situation is expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô* without any temporal marker, whereas in (f) the non-past situation is expressed with the suffix *-nûn-* along with the Declarative *-ta* ending. The difference is that in (c), the speaker simply narrates what she watched, whereas in (f), she flashes back the moment in which she saw the scene. The noteworthiness of the scene is supplemented by the rising pitch at the end of the utterance (f). What the suffix *-nûn-* does in this case is to put the speaker's viewpoint into the moment when the situation referred to takes place.[34]

[34] There are 3 instances of this kind including example (11) among the 17

Similar to its use with the Declarative *-ta* in the informal styles of the language discussed above, the suffix *-nûn-* refers to the speaker's concurrent experience at the time of reference when it occurs with the Unassimilated *-kun*. Unfortunately, there is no instance in the corpus examined where the suffix *-nûn-* occurs with *-kun*. However, the following example can show this.

(4.92) ilccik o -nûn -kuna
early come-IMPFV-UNASSIM
'You are early.'

(4.92) can be uttered when the speaker sees a person coming in. Unlike the Declarative *-ta*, the Unassimilated *-kun* does not inform the addressee of any information, but simply expresses the speaker's perception. As is the case with the Declarative *-ta*, however, the suffix *-nûn-* indicates with the Unassimilated *-kun* as well that the speaker's viewpoint is at the scene where the situation described takes place.

Examples such as (4.90), (4.91), and (4.92) suggest that the suffix *-nûn-* cannot be simply a Non-past tense marker, but rather has to do with the location of the speaker's viewpoint, that is, at the scene where the situation referred to takes place.

In summary, the suffix *-nûn-* in general refers to non-past or simultaneous time, especially in sentences of the neutral style of the language and quotative statements. However, in the informal styles, the suffix refers to concurrent experience, in which the speaker's viewpoint is at the scene where the situation described takes place. In the following section, I will attempt to define the nature of suffix to account for its uses discussed in this section.

occurrences of the suffix *-nûn-* in the sentence-terminal verbal complexes.

4.5.1.2. The suffix *-nûn-* as an Imperfective aspect marker

In order to capture the real nature of the suffix *-nûn-*, there are a number of points that should be taken into consideration. As noted in the preceding section, the suffix *-nûn-* is distributionally restricted. Lexically, it occurs only with a certain type of predicate, namely non-descriptive verbs. Morphologically, it occurs only with certain sentence-terminal suffixes, namely the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun*. In terms of styles of the language, it plays a major role only in the temporal system of the neural style. It is only occasionally used in the informal styles. As for the semantics of the suffix, two functions stand out: (i) it refers to non-past or simultaneous time reference, and (ii) at least in the informal styles, it has to do with the location of the speaker's viewpoint; i.e., at the scene where the situation referred to takes place. A proper characterization of the suffix must be able to accommodate such distributional restrictions and the two prominent meanings obtained.

As already pointed out, even though the non-past meaning stands out among other meanings, the suffix *-nûn-* cannot be a simple non-past or simultaneous tense marker, because a tense category should not be distributionally restricted in the way the distribution of the suffix *-nûn-* is restricted. Crucially enough, its incompatibility with descriptive verbs rules out the possibility that it is a non-past tense marker, because there is no semantic reason why descriptive verbs cannot be combined with a non-past marker. Whatever grammatical category *-nûn-* belongs to, it must account for its incompatibility with descriptive verbs. One possible hypothesis might be that *-nûn-* is a progressive marker, which in general would not occur with stative predicates, including descriptive verbs. However, the suffix cannot be a progressive aspect marker, because it does not specify any temporal

juncture of a situation described, let alone the middle juncture, which is what progressive aspect specifies. The use of the suffix in referring to generic or habitual situations as well as permanent truth also discredits the hypothesis that the suffix is a progressive aspect marker. A more crucial argument against the hypothesis that the suffix is a Progressive aspect marker comes from the fact that the suffix is restricted in its time reference. That is, even when the progressive reading is possibly obtained, as in (4.80), (4.82), (4.88), (4.90), and (4.92), its time reference is limited to non-past or simultaneous time. Therefore, the suffix cannot function as a general progressive marker, independent of time reference.

Considering its distributional restrictions and its functions of expressing non-past or simultaneous time reference and concurrent experience at the speech moment, I propose that the suffix *-nûn-* can be best characterized as an Imperfective aspect marker in the totality dimension of perfectivity, which is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to the event frame of the situation described (i.e., inside or outside of the event frame), instead of temporal junctures. First of all, non-past or simultaneous time reference is not incompatible with the semantics of imperfective aspect, as there is cross-linguistically a strong correlation between imperfective aspect and non-past time reference (Comrie 1976; Chung and Timberlake 1985). Secondly, in its use of expressing concurrent experience, the suffix *-nûn-* has to do with the location of the speaker's viewpoint, which is an aspectual parameter. The speaker's viewpoint is at the scene where the speaker concurrently experiences or perceives the situation described, i.e., within the event frame of the situation. In fact, the non-past meaning obtained with *-nûn-* can be conceived as the result of the speaker's viewpoint locating within the event frame of the situation described. The time

reference of a situation viewed within its event frame has to be non-past, as long as the viewpoint coincides with the speech moment. Thirdly, the lexical restriction on its distribution that the suffix can only occur with non-descriptive verbs is remarkably parallel with what is referred to in the literature as "non-punctual" (Bickerton 1981) or "imperfective" markers (Comrie 1976) in many languages such as Yoruba, Igbo, Persian, Lakhota, Kru, and creole languages such as Haitian Creole English, Liberian English. The "non-punctual" or "imperfective" markers in these languages occur only with active (or non-stative) verbs, and give non-past time reference. These markers contrast with the morphologically unmarked form, which gives past time reference in general for active verbs. As shown in section 4.3.1, *-nûn-* in the attributive constructions (with the form *-nû-*) exhibits the exactly same pattern in Korean, in its semantics, lexical constraints, and its paradigmatic relation with the morphologically unmarked form. Considering the role of the suffix *-nûn-* in the temporal system of attributive constructions, its meaning across the board of giving non-past time reference, and its parallelism with a cross-linguistically common pattern, it seems highly plausible to assume that the suffix *-nûn-* is at least in the same semantic dimension as those non-punctual or imperfective markers.

As the suffix locates the speaker's viewpoint at the scene where the situation described takes place, the location of the speaker's viewpoint is not made with respect to temporal junctures of the situation described such as beginning, middle, or end, but with respect to whether it is within the event frame of the situation or not, i.e., in the realm of the totality dimension of perfectivity.

Putting the above arguments together, it is quite reasonable to assume that the suffix *-nûn-* expresses imperfective aspect in the totality dimension of perfectivity. Admittedly, there are some difficulties in giving an exact characterization of the

suffix. First of all, its distribution is quite limited. Compared with the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* (124/716 --17.3%) and the morphologically unmarked forms (488/716 --68.2%), it occurs very occasionally in informal texts, only in 17 instances of 716 (2.4%) sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the corpus examined. Therefore, its role in the temporal system of the informal style of the language is marginal at best. Its role in the temporal system of attributive clauses is not so transparent due to its fusion with the Realis-Attributive marker *-ûn* such that many scholars do not even recognize it as a separate morpheme, at least synchronically. Furthermore, it occurs only with the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun*, among sentence-terminal suffixes. Combined with the lexical restriction that it can occur only with non-descriptive verbs, its occurrence is almost lexically determined; given a verb type (descriptive or non-descriptive) and a sentence-terminal suffix with non-past time reference, the occurrence of the suffix *-nûn-* is automatically determined. For this reason, many scholars consider the suffix (grammatically) meaningless. Secondly, its meaning of concurrent experience, which crucially favors the analysis that it is an imperfective aspectual marker more than anything else, is available only in the informal style of the language, and suppressed in quotative statements and the neutral style of the language.

To deal with the second problem first, the speaker's perspective is neutralized in quotatives and the neutral style of the language, and thus it is natural that the meaning of concurrent experience by the speaker is suppressed in those contexts. The solution for the first problem is found in the historical changes that took place between the 15th century Korean and Modern Korean. It seems that the development of the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* between the late 15th century and the 18th century took over the role of the morphologically unmarked forms expressing past tense, as discussed in section 4.4.2.4. Consequently the temporal contrasts made

by *-nʌ-* (the antecedent of *-nân-*), the Retrospective *-tô-*, which will be discussed in the next section, and the morphologically unmarked forms, had been shifted to those of the newly developed *-ôss-* and the morphologically unmarked forms, and thus a new paradigm of temporal contrast had been created. While the old paradigm of *-nân-* and *-tô-* still remains in attributive constructions, as the newly developed *-ôss-* affected only predication constructions --confirming the conservative nature of "subordinate" clauses including attributive clauses, their role in predication constructions had been naturally diminished, especially in the informal style of the language, which is susceptible to any historical change more than any other mode of the language such as the neutral style. Recall from section 4.3.2.1 that, in the neutral style of the language, *-nân-* is contrasted with *-ôss-* at least for non-descriptive verbs, giving non-past and past time reference respectively. It is assumed that, even though *-ôss-* became a part of the temporal system of predication constructions in the neutral style as well, the conservative nature of the neutral style --note that the neutral style is a formal style of the language-- has kept the suffix *-nân-* in the temporal paradigm. Therefore, the limited distribution of *-nân-* in the informal texts is understood as an output of the historical change that took place in the temporal system along the way through which the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* has developed.

In sum, the suffix *-nân-* can be best characterized as an Imperfective marker which has (relative) non-past time reference. It was illustrated that the suffix *-nân-* does not refer to a temporal juncture of a situation described, but locates the reference point (often the speaker's viewpoint from which the situation described is viewed) within the event frame of the described situation. Hence it is used in a description of the speaker's concurrent experience at the speech moment in the

informal style of the language. When it is used in contexts where the speaker's perspective is neutralized, as in the neutral style of the language, quotative statements, and non-predication constructions (e.g. attributive constructions), it generally expresses non-past time.

In its function of expressing the speaker's concurrent experience at the speech moment, the suffix *-nân-* contrasts with the so-called Retrospective suffix *-tô-*, which expresses the speaker's concurrent experience or perception in the past, and which I thus assume to be an Past Imperfective marker. I will characterize the Retrospective *-tô-* next.

4.5.2. Analysis of *-tô-*

In the preceding section, I characterized *-nân-* as an Imperfective marker that gives non-past or simultaneous time reference, which locates the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described. In this section, I will attempt to characterize another suffix which locates the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the reported situation, that is, the so-called "Retrospective" *-tô-*. Unlike *-nân-*, which locates the speaker's viewpoint at the present moment, *-tô-* locates the speaker's viewpoint at some time in the past. Therefore, I will propose that the Retrospective *-tô-* can be characterized as a (relative) Past Imperfective marker.

It is often the case that the functions of *-tô-* in predication constructions and those in attributive constructions are assumed to be different, so discussion is often given separately in the literature. Since some of the suggestions made in the literature limit themselves to the uses of *-tô-* either in predication constructions or in attributive constructions, I also need to present separate discussions, in order to review those suggestions properly. Even though I will occasionally make a cross-

reference to the other construction when necessary, I will discuss the functions of *-tô-* in predication constructions first, and those in attributive constructions later.

4.5.2.1. Semantic characteristics of *-tô-* in predication constructions

It has been widely accepted among scholars of Korean that the suffix *-tô-* expresses the speaker's recalling of his or her past experience or perception, at least in predication constructions.[35] Hence the suffix has been called "*Hoesang-pôp*" 'recalling' or 'retrospection' among traditional grammarians (H-B. Choe 1977; C-K. Gim 1980; Y-K. Ko 1981; Huh 1983), or the "Retrospective" Marker among those who are trained in Western linguistics (Martin 1954; E-D. Cook 1971; I.-S. Yang 1972; H-M. Sohn 1975c).

As is the case of *-nûn-*, however, its grammatical category is not agreed upon at all, as H-M. Sohn (1975c:88) points out. Some treat it as a tense marker (H-B. Choe 1977; E-D. Cook 1971; J-S. Na 1971), some as an aspect marker (Martin 1954; K-D. Lee 1981; D-J. Choi 1988), and others treat it as a mood marker (I-S. Yang 1972; K-S. Nam 1978; S-O. Shin 1988).

The disagreement among scholars on the nature of *-tô-* suggests that *-tô-* is multi-functional and complex, as much as the Imperfective *-nûn-* is. H-B. Im (1982:438) gives a list of five prominent meanings that are assumed to be associated with *-tô-* in the literature. Adding to the list Im's analysis of *-tô-* and others' which underscore a sense of psychological distance between the reported

35 The meaning of recalling the speaker's past experience/perception is not so obvious in attributive constructions as in predication constructions. Understandably, some scholars downplay the notion of retrospection as the basic meaning of *-tô-* (Suh 1977; H-S. Shin 1980; H-B. Im 1982)

I will readdress the nature of *-tô-* in attributive constrictions later.

event and the speech moment, I summarize the previous proposals on the nature of *-tô-* as follows with the key concepts underlined:

1. Retrospection: H-B. Choe (1977:445), C-K. Gim (1980:89), Huh (1983:244)
2. Reportive: H-M. Sohn (1975a:91), J-S. Suh (1977)
3. Imperfective aspect or similar meanings such as progressive and durative: progressive (S-B. Park 1935:34-8; J-S. Na 1971:24), durative (I-S. Yang 1972), imperfective (K-D. Lee 1981; D-J. Choi 1988)
4. The shift of a reference point: H-B. Choe (1977:433), C-K. Gim (1980:89)
5. The speaker's perception, observation, or experience: past experience (H-B. Choe 1977:445; Huh 1975; M-S. Cheong 1983), newly obtained knowledge in the past (C-K. Gim 1980:89), past perception (H-M.Sohn 1975a; K-H. Chang 1985), observation (Martin 1954:36; I-S. Yang 1972:234)
6. Distance between the speech moment and the reported event: no relevance to the present moment (Huh 1975:900), discontinuity of consciousness (H-B. Im 1982:456), temporal, spatial, and psychological distance from the reported situation in the speaker's attitude (H-S. Shin 1980), not committed to the real world and psychologically aloof about the reported proposition (S-H. Choi 1987:59-91, 104), non-responsible (Y-H. Kim 1981:71), non-volitional (D-S. Yu 1981; S-J. Chang 1973)

The previous analyses generally propose one or more of those meanings listed above as core meanings of *-tô-*. In the following, I will review these meanings.

4.5.2.1.1. Retrospection of past perceptual experience

Among those meanings listed above, the most popular meaning of *-tô-* acknowledged in the literature is a retrospection or recalling of the speaker's perceptual experience in the past; thus many scholars call it the "Retrospective" marker. The most obvious case of retrospection can be shown where there is a memory gap between the time of the reported situation and the speech moment such that the speaker tries to retrieve some information from the past. For example,

(4.93)a. S: hyông iss -ûl ttæ myôch
big:brother exist-ATTR time how:many

myông -i -ôss-ô -yo
CL(human)-be-ANT-IE-DEF

b. H: uli ahop myông
1PL nine CL(human)

c. S: ôyu manh-ass -ne
wow many -ANT-FR

d. ... kû= chi~ chil-yuk-i yôl myông
that 7 -6 -NOM 10 CL(human)

e. a=%!
ah

f. ... chil-yuk-i ?
7 -6 -NOM

--> g. ... chil-yuk-i myôch
7 -6 -NOM how:many

myông -i -tô -la
CL (HUMAN)-be-RETROS-INTROS

h. uli haknyôn-ûn tasôs myông -i -ôss -ô -yo
1:PL class -TOP 5 CL(human)-be-ANT-IE-DEF
(S&H:338-345)

a. S: How many students were there when you got in?
b. H: Us? We had nine.
c. S: Oh, boy, it was a lot.
d. Uh, the [class of] '76 had ten.
e. Oops!
f. in '76?
g. **[Let me see] How many [students] was it that there were in the class of '76?**

h. In my class, there were five.

[Note] the speaker H is a member of the class of '75, and the speaker S is a member of the class '77.

In (4.93g) above, the speaker is recalling the number of students [in the linguistics department of Seoul National University] in the year of 1976. Note that (4.93b) and (4.93h) are also statements about past situations of similar content. Statements about past situations can only be made from memory. Therefore, in order to characterize the exact nature of the suffix *-tô-*, it is necessary to clarify how the mental process involved in the statement given in (4.93g) differs from that involved in the statements given in (4.93b) and (4.93h). It should be noted that those statements in (4.93b) and (4.93h) are made from the speaker's knowledge. That is, the information in question is readily available from the speaker's current knowledge. In (4.93e) through (4.93g), on the other hand, the speaker has difficulty in finding proper information out of his current knowledge, as is apparent in (4.93e) and (4.93f), which show that the speaker is expressing doubt about his previous commitment in (4.93d). Consequently, in (4.93g), the speaker tries to look back to the time point where the issue in question is in his perception: hence retrospection.

Less obvious is the case where the information in question appears to be in the speaker's memory, but cannot be conveyed as knowledge for some reason. For example,

(4.94) uli -tu tûlôka-ni +kka koengcanghi
1:PL-ADD enter -DET+INTERR remarkably

kacokcôk-i -tû -la +ku
familial -be-RETROS-INTROS+COMP (S&H: 331)

'[I tell you how it was] We too got in [there], and it [the department] was very family-like.[36]

In (4.94), the speaker is recalling what the atmosphere of the linguistics department of Seoul National University was like at the time when he was admitted and became a student of the department. This example does not seem to be a case where there is a memory gap on the part of the speaker, as in (4.93). The information conveyed in (4.94) is also not like those conveyed in (4.93 b) and (4.93 h), which are, as mentioned above, directly out of the speaker's current knowledge. In (4.94), the speaker is simply trying to recapture a situation that existed in the past. Now, compare (4.94) with the following example.

(4.95) sængkak-hæ po -ni +kka
thought -do:CONN see-DET+INTERR

koengcanghi kacokcôk-i -ôss -ô
remarkably familial -be-ANT-IE

'Now that I think [of it], it was very family-like.'

(4.95) is also an utterance that can be made from recalling or retrospection, as it is lexically indicated by the underlined phrase *sængkak-hæ po -ni -kka* 'now that I think [of it]'. Therefore, the suffix *-tô-* cannot be characterized as simply expressing retrospection or recall of the past situations. The proper characterization

36 Giving a proper and consistent translation of a statement expressed with *-tô-* into English is one of the most difficult jobs. The present tense form in the second clause of the translation is the best attempt to express what *-tô-* is assumed to express in this case. It is intended to express that the speaker describes the past situation as if he or she concurrently perceives it. More clarification will follow as the discussion proceeds.

of *-tô-* must give more specification of the kind of retrospection uniquely involved in the use of the suffix.

What distinguishes the process of recalling involved in (4.95) without *-tô-* from that in (4.94) with *-tô-* seems to be that in (4.95) what is recalled is the fact itself, which was temporarily lost in the speaker's memory, whereas it is the speaker's perceptual experience that is recalled in (4.94).[37] It should be noted that in (4.95) the speaker's viewpoint is still at the speech moment. In (4.94), on the other hand, the speaker is recalling a moment in the past when the speaker perceived the situation described. That is, the speaker's viewpoint is shifted to the moment the adverbial clause *uli-tu tûlôka-ni+kka* 'we too got in there, and ...' specifies. It is from that point that the speaker assesses the situation that took place contingently upon the event specified by the preceding adverbial clause. H-B. Choe (1977) and C-K. Gim (1980) refer to this shift of the speaker's viewpoint as 'setting a reference point at the time when the speaker experienced a situation in the past' (Choe 1977:445).

One piece of evidence that the suffix *-tô-* refers to the moment of the speaker's perceptual experience in the past, rather than to that of the reported situation *per se*, is that the suffix does not refer to the time reference of the situation described, but to that of the speaker's perception. The time reference of the speaker's perception referred to by *-tô-* is consistently past. The time reference of the situation described itself with *-tô-*, on the other hand, can be either past or non-

37 Some scholars downplay the meaning of retrospection as a characteristic meaning of *-tô-*, because there are cases like (3), where *-tô-* is not used for retrospection, and thus the concept 'retrospection' does not exclusively characterize the use of *-tô-* (M-S. Cheong 1983:9-12; K-H. Chang 1985:59). The distinction between the recalling of facts and the recalling of perceptual experience characterized here should relieve their reservations about the meaning of retrospection as a characteristic meaning of *-tô-*.

past, even though it is past in most cases.[38] For example,

(4.96) kyæ -ka ônû hakkyo tani -tô -la?
that:kid-NOM which school attend-RETROS-INTROS
'(Let me see) What school was it that that kid attends?'

In (4.96), just like in (4.93), the speaker is trying to bring back to his or her memory a piece of information that once was in his or her perception, but not available at the present moment. The information in question is about someone's current status in school. Unlike (4.93) and (4.94), where the speaker is recalling a past situation, the time reference of the situation described in (4.96) is clearly non-past.[39] Therefore, the time reference referred to by *-tô-* does not have to do with the time reference of the situation described *per se*, as it could be either past, as in (4.93) and (4.94), or non-past as in (4.96). What is consistent regarding the time reference referred to by *-tô-* is that the time reference of the speaker's perception of the situation described is past. Therefore, it is the speaker's actual perception of the situation that the suffix *-tô-* refers to, not the situation itself.

The kind of retrospection involved in the use of *-tô-* can be likened to some uses of the Past Tense in English. Talmy (1987) discusses a phenomenon in English, where the time reference made by the Past Tense form may not refer to the time reference of the situation described *per se*, but that of the speaker's deictic center (viewpoint) from which the situation is viewed. He gives the following as

38 In all 10 instances of *-tô-* in the sentence-terminal verbal complexes examined in this study, the time reference of the situation described is past tense.

39 In order to refer to a past situation, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* is required, as in
kyæ -ka ônû hakkyo-e tani -ôss -tô -la
that:child-NOM which school-LOC attend-ANT-RETROS-INTROS
'What school was it that he attended?'

one of the examples.

(4.97) What was your name again?

In (4.97), the Past Tense form of the verb 'be' clearly does not refer to the time reference of the situation described; that is, the above sentence does not refer to a case where the speaker asks the addressee's previous name which is different from the current one. Instead, it refers back to the time when the speaker knew the addressee's name, presumably when the addressee informed the speaker of his name. In this use of the Past Tense form, the speaker simply shifts his or her viewpoint (deictic center in Talmy's term) to the moment in the past when the information at issue was in his or her perception. Talmy refers to this phenomenon as "decoupling" of the speaker's deictic center (viewpoint) from the speech frame. That is, in (4.97), according to Talmy, the speaker's deictic center is now located within the event frame of the event described, and thus separated ("decoupled") from the speech frame, which is the unmarked deictic center otherwise. The Past Tense form in this case refers to the time point of the deictic center in relation to the speech moment, not that of the situation described, as the situation described itself is clearly non-past.

Another piece of evidence that the suffix *-tô-* refers to the speaker's perceptual experience can be found in a constraint known as "non-equi subject constraint" (I-S. Yang 1972). It is a well-known phenomenon that the subject NP of a sentence containing *-tô-* cannot be identical with the speaker himself or herself (in some characterizable contexts). For example,

(4.98) *næ -ka hakkyo-e iss -tô -la
1SG-NOM school-LOC exist-RETROS-INTROS
'I was at school [I saw it].'

(4.99) *næ -ka party-e ka-ss -tô -la
I:SG-NOM party-LOC go-ANT-RETROS-INTROS
'I went to a party [I saw it].'

Example (4.98) and (4.99) show that the first person subject is not allowed in a statement expressed with *-tô-*. The rationale underlying this constraint is that one cannot perceive a situation where he himself is a volitional conscious participant. Therefore, the "non-equi subject constraint" is naturally explained by the characterization of *-tô-* as referring to the speaker's perceptual experience.

One thing that should be noted is that the "non-equi subject constraint" is not a syntactic constraint at all, as it may seem, but a pragmatic one. The first person subject is certainly possible in contexts where the subject NP is a non-volitional experiencer. For example, the first person subject is allowed for expressing the speaker's own sensory perception, as in (4.100) below.[40]

40 In fact, with perception verbs such as the one given in (4.100), only the first-person subject is allowed:
*nô/*Suni -nûn toe -ke sûlphû-tô -la
2SG/Suni-TOP become-RESULT sad -RETROS-INTROS
'You/Suni were/was sad [as I perceived it].'

Some scholars call this phenomenon the "same subject constraint" (K-H. Chang 1985:58).

However, no acceptability of the second and third person subject in this case is not a constraint on the use of *-tô-*, but by the semantics of perception verbs in general, which refer to mental statuses that only their experiencer can have access to. For example,

*nô/*Suni -nûn toe -ke sûlphû-ô
2SG/Suni-TOP become-RESULT sad -IE
'You/Suni were/was sad.'

The non-first person subject is also not permitted without *-tô-*, when the verb is a perception verb, such as *sûlphû-* '(feel) sad', *chup-* '(feel) cold', *mas-iss-* '(feel)

(4.100) kû cangmyôn-ûl po -ni +kka
that scene -ACC see-DET+INTERR

toe -ke sûlphû-tô -la
become-RESUL sad -RETROS-INTROS

'As I saw that scene, I felt very sad.'

The first person subject is also allowed in contexts where the speaker finds himself or herself having done something unconsciously. Given proper contexts, for example, (4.98) and (4.99) become acceptable, as in the following examples.

(4.101) côngsin -ûl chali -ô po -ni+kka
consciousness-ACC collect-CONN see-DET+INTERR

næ -ka hakkyo-e iss -tô -la
1SG-NOM school -LOC exist-RETROS-INTROS

'When I collected myself, I found myself at school.'

(4.102) kkum-sok-esô
dream-inside-LOC

næ -ka party-e ka-ss -tô -la
I:SG-NOM party-LOC go-ANT-RETROS-INTROS

'In a dream, I saw myself at a party.'

The above examples are possible with a first-person subject, exactly because the situations described in (4.101) and (4.102) are observable/experienceable by the speaker.

Therefore, the phenomenon of the "non-equi subject constraint" and even the

tasteful', etc. Therefore, the unacceptability of the non-first person subject should be attributed to the semantics of perception verbs, rather than that of *-tô-*.

apparent exceptions to it like (4.100) - (4.102) clearly show that the suffix *-tô-* refers to the speaker's perceptual experience.

The meaning of retrospection expressed by *-tô-* as referring to the speaker's perceptual experience in the past is partly captured in the characterization of the suffix by the previous analyses; Martin (1954:36) defines it as meaning 'it was observed that ....', and I-S. Yang (1972:234) notes that the best translation [of sentences with *-tô-*] is 'I {saw, noticed, perceived, heard, witnessed} that ...' in statements, and 'Did you {see, notice, perceive, hear, witness} that ...?' in question sentences. Explicit lexical translations of this kind, however, fail to capture the nature of the kind of retrospection involved with *-tô-*. Such translations would not seem to reflect the meaning of *-tô-*. First of all, such translations give too much flavor of the lexical meaning of 'observation', 'witness', or 'experience', and thus do not carry the meaning of retrospection. Simply stating that a situation was observed or perceived in the past would not necessarily imply that the situation is recalled or viewed in retrospect, as assumed in Sohn (1975a). Besides, since Korean also has lexical verbs expressing 'to observe', 'to witness', or 'to experience', such as *kwanchalha-ta*, *mokkyôkha-ta*, and *kyônghômha-ta* respectively, the translations given by Martin (1954), I-S. Yang (1972), and their followers, do not give a precise specification of the unique nature of the kind of retrospection involved in the use of *-tô-*, just as in the case of (4.95). That is, the meaning of observation, experience, or perception obtained in the use of *-tô-* is not the information conveyed itself, as the above translations imply, but a kind of evidential specification of the information conveyed. That is, *-tô-* simply provides a source of information conveyed, namely perceptual experience. Secondly, such translations do not say anything about the location of the speaker's viewpoint. As

shown in (4.93), (4.94), and (4.96), the suffix *-tô-* locates the speaker's viewpoint at either at the moment when the speaker experienced or perceived, or the time when the conveyed proposition was in the speaker's perception. The translations given by many scholars simply state that the situation described was observed or perceived, which does not imply that the viewpoint at the moment of speech is located where the situation was experienced or perceived. Thirdly, such lexical translations undermine the temporal nature of the suffix. That is, the suffix clearly refers to a time point in the past, that of the speaker's viewpoint, as discussed above. Its grammatical category must be the one that specifies such temporal properties.

It has become clear that the meaning of retrospection that is assumed to be associated with *-tô-* must be captured by specifying the location of the speaker's viewpoint and its time reference. I propose that *-tô-*, in predication constructions, is best characterized as locating the speaker's viewpoint at the time in the past when the situation described was perceived. The meaning of retrospection is understood as referring to the shift of the speaker's viewpoint from the speech moment to a moment of the speaker's perceptual experience.

From a theoretical point of view, the function of locating the speaker's viewpoint at a moment of perceptual experience can be characterized in more general and abstract grammatical terms. First of all, given its function of locating the speaker's viewpoint and its parallelism with the phenomenon of "decoupling" that Talmy discusses, the suffix *-tô-* can be characterized as expressing imperfective aspect. As discussed in Chapter 2, Talmy's "decoupling" can be incorporated into the notion of imperfective in the totality dimension of aspectual distinctions. Since the speaker's viewpoint is within the event frame in the case of "decoupling", it is an internal view by definition, hence imperfective in the totality

dimension of perfectivity. As is the case of *-nûn-*, a situation described with *-tô-* can be also conceived as viewed within its event frame, because the speaker's viewpoint is located at a point where the speaker could perceive the situation described as it happened, i.e., in the temporal, spatial, and conceptual domain in which the situation took place. Therefore, it is an internal view, i.e., imperfective aspect. Secondly, the uses of *-tô-* illustrated above may be characterized as experiential evidentials, since *-tô-* indicates that the information conveyed was obtained through the speaker's perceptual experience.

Therefore, the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions illustrated above can be broadly characterized as having both imperfective aspectual and experiential evidential properties.

4.5.2.1.2. Progressive or durative

The suffix *-tô-* often appears to be used to express progressive or durative situations. For example,

(4.103) akka uchepu cina -ka-tô -nte
a:while:ago postman pass:CONN-go-RETROS-CIRCUM

MAIL o -ass -ni?
mail come-ANT-INTERR
'The postman was going by a while ago [I recall seeing it]. Has the mail come yet?'

In (4.103), the speaker is reporting a seemingly ongoing situation he or she witnessed a while ago. Similarly,

(4.104) A: Suni ôti iss -ni?
Suni where exist-INTERR

B: akka tosôkwan-e iss -tô -nte
a:while:ago libarary -LOC exist-RETROS-CIRCUM

A: Where is Suni?
B: She was in the library a while ago [I recall seeing it].

in (4.104), the speaker is recalling a durative situation he or she spotted.

The progressive or durative meaning of *-tô-* is especially prominent in attributive constructions, as I discussed in section 4.3.1. Let me treat example (4.2) of section 4.3.1. as (4.105) below.

(4.105)a. kûlæsô yæ -ne -tûl-ûn kû -kô -l acu hana-ssik
so this:child-side-PL-TOP that-thing-ACC quite one -each

acu ilôhke môk-ûmyônsô o -nûnte
quite like:this eat -SIMUL come-CIRCUM

b. o -nûn kil -i kû kwasuwôn iss.. kwasu namu
come-ATTR road-NOM that orchard exist fruit tree

iss -nûn te -e -yo
exist-ATTR place-be:IE-DEF

c. kûnte ince kû kwasu -e olû -ô ka-ôsô
then now that fruit:tree-LOC climb-CONN go-CONN

--> tta -tô -n salam -i ince canttûk
pick-RETROS-ATTR person-NOM now to:capacity

tta -ô kaci-ko næli -ô o -ôsô
pick-CONN take-CONN put:down-CONN come-CONN

(PS 2: 62-67)

a. So these kids come on their way, eating, like one each,
b. then,the road they are coming on is the one that leads to the place where the orchard... that tree is.
c. Meanwhile, the guy who was picking fruit in the tree, having picked a lot, comes down, ...

In the above example, the speaker describes a movie scene she watched. In (4.105c), the *-tô-* of the attributive construction *-tôn-* refers to a situation that was going on prior to the current scene.

Similarly, example (4.3) of section 4.3.1. is repeated here as in (4.106) showing the same use of *-tô*.

(4.106)a. kûliko yæ -nûn ka-l kil ka-ko
and:then this:child-TOP go-ATTR road go-CONN

--> b. yæ -tûl-ûn tto o -tô -n kil -ûl
this:child-PL-TOP again come-RETROS-ATTR road-ACC

ilôhke kyesok hyanghæ -sô ka-nûnte
like:this continuously face:toward-CONN go-CIRCUM
(PS 1: 52-53)

a. And the boy goes on his way,
b. and the boys are back on the road **they were coming along,**
keeping going on, and then,

Again, *-tô-* in (4.106b) refers to an ongoing situation in the past moment.

Referring to uses of *-tô- as* in examples (4.103) through (4.106), some scholars characterize the suffix as expressing progressive (J-S. Na 1971), durative (I-S. Yang 1972), or imperfective aspect (K-D. Lee 1981), at least as an associated meaning. H-S. Lee's (1957) "unfinished action" can be interpreted as indicating the same thing.

The progressive or durative meaning, however, cannot be a part of the grammatical meaning of *-tô-*. First of all, the suffix does not always express durative situations. For example,

(4.107)a. næ -ka coh -ûn su -ka iss -ta
1SG-NOM good-ATTR way-NOM exist-DECK

kûlô -ni+kka
do:so-DET+INTERR

b. kyæ nun-i sunkancôkûlu
that:child eye-NOM momentarily

--> ppanccakkôli-tô -la
twinkle -RETROS-INTROS

a. I told him that there was a good trick,
b. and then [I saw that] his eyes momentarily **twinkled.**

The above example describes a momentary action the speaker witnessed. Here, the suffix *-tô-* simply indicates the speaker's momentary perception in the past, not any durative sense of durativity.

Secondly,*-tô-* does not refer to any temporal juncture of a situation described, let alone the middle juncture, which the progressive meaning implies. The following examples show that *-tô-* is in fact independent of temporal juncture.

(4.108)a. kûlæsô næ-ka halapôci-nûn cuk-ôss -ta
so 1 -NOM grandpa -TOP die -ANT-DECL

kûlæ-ôss -tô -ni
do:so-ANT-RETROS-DET

b. kôci -ûi kû nun-esô nunmul-ûl ccuk
beggar-GEN such eye-LOC tear -ACC running

--> hûlli -tô -la +ku
shed-RETROS-DECL+COMP (Grandpa: 72)[41]

a. So I told him that Grandpa had died,
b. and then [I saw that] he **shed big tears'**

41 "Grandpa" is an informally spoken narrative by the author's father about his grandfather. See "The Grandpa Story" in Lee and Thompson (1987) for the entire transcription.

In (4.108), the speaker is recalling the moment when a beggar he knew reacted to his telling him about his grandpa's death. In this case, the temporal juncture of the situation referred to in this example is conceivably the beginning of the beggar's reaction and therefore, certainly not a middle juncture.

With the Anterior suffix *-ôss-*, *-tô-* can even be used in expressing a situation at its terminal juncture. For example,

(4.109) cina -n kûmyoil-e -n kwônthu-sônsu
pass-ATTR Friday -LOC-TOP boxing -player

Hong Soo-Hwan-i imin VISA tha -lô
Hong Soo-Hwan-NOM immigrant visa receive-PURP

o -ass -tô -la +ku
come-ANT-RETROS-INTROS+COMP (Eunjoo:49)[42]

'Last Friday, the boxer Hong Soo-Hwan was here [at the American Embassy in Korea] to get an immigrant visa [I saw it] .'

In (1.109), what the speaker experienced is not the boxer's coming, but his already being at the American Embassy in Korea. That is, the speaker's viewpoint is at the terminal juncture of the situation described, which is indicated by the Anterior *-ôss-*.

Given the fact that the use of *-tô-* is independent of any temporal juncture of the situation described, *-tô-* clearly cannot be a progressive or durative marker.

Thirdly, *-tô-* can occur with the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction, as in (4.110) below.

(4.110) næ -ka pang -e tûlôka -ni +kka
1SG-NOM room-LOC enter:go-DET+INTERR

42 "Eunjoo" is a personal letter written to the author.

kyæ -nûn ca -ko iss -tô -la
that:child-NOM sleep-CONN exist-RETROS-INTROS

'[let me tell you how it was.] I entered the room, and he's **sleeping**.'

(4.111) næ -ka pang -e tûlôka -ass-ûl ttæ
1SG-NOM room-LOC enter:go-ANT-ATTR time

kyæ -nûn ca -ko iss -ôss-ô
that:child-TOP sleep-CONN exist-ANT-IE

'When I entered the room, he was sleeping.'

The *-ko iss-* construction, which refers to a middle juncture of the situation described, already expresses a durative or even progressive situation without *-tô-*, as in (4.111). It would be unlikely that *-tô-* redundantly expresses progressive or durative situations. The difference between (4.110) with *-tô-* and (4.111) without *-tô-* is again that (4.111) is giving a factual statement of what was happening out of the speaker's knowledge, whereas (4.110) describes the situation as if the speaker concurrently experiences it. The Present Progressive form in the translation is intended to indicate the speaker's concurrent experience. Note that the adverbial expressions in (4.110) and (4.111) that provide a reference point are slightly different; in (4.110), a *-ni+kka* '-DET+INTERR' clause is used, whereas in (4.111), an *-ûl ttæ* '-ATTR time' construction is used. It seems that the *-ni+kka* clause sounds more natural with *-tô-*, whereas the *-ûl ttæ* construction sounds better without *-tô*. I do not have a definitive explanation for this subtle difference. Intuitively, however, the *-ûl ttæ* construction seems to set an arbitrary temporal reference point, which is independent of the situation it is a reference point for. In this case, the speaker's viewpoint is still at the speech moment. The *-ni+kka*

clause, on the other hand, seems to set a reference point that the situation described in the target clause is contingent upon. It seems that this contingent relation that the *-ni+kka* clause has to its target clause brings in the speaker's viewpoint, rather than just serving as a temporal reference point, as is the case with the *-ûl ttæ* construction.

The fact that *-tô-* can occur with the *-ko iss-* construction, which already expresses the progressive or durative meaning, suggests that the function of *-tô-* even in attributive constructions is more than expressing the progressive or durative meaning.

Given the fact that *-tô-* does not refer to any temporal juncture (e.g. initial, middle, or terminal) of a situation, and that it occurs with the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction, the progressive or durative meaning cannot be a representative meaning of *-tô-*.

The impression that situations described with *-tô-* are progressive or durative seems to come from its function of locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described. Intuitively, a situation viewed within its own event frame is likely to be, but not necessarily, the one already in progress, because the current experience of an ongoing situation is the most obvious case where the speaker's viewpoint is within the event frame of the situation described.

4.5.2.1.3. Psychological distance between the reported event and the speech moment

Some scholars call attention to some affected meanings of *-tô-* that are hard to capture in any explicit way other than appealing to sympathetic impression. However impressionistic they may be, they reflect some intuitions that are worth discussing.

From example (4.93), we see that *-tô-* is used when there is a memory gap between the reported event and the speech moment. That is, the speaker seeks information that is not available in his or her memory at the present moment, by looking back to the time when the information at issue is in his or her perception. With regard to this function of *-tô-* expressing a memory gap, H-B. Im (1982:456) refers to it as *ûisik-ûi tancôl* 'discontinuity of consciousness' on the part of the speaker.[43] That is, the reported event has not been present in the speaker's consciousness between the time of reported event and the speech moment. Even when the situation described has been in the speaker's memory, it is not considered as knowledge for reasons which I will get to shortly, as seen in the difference between (4.93b) and (4.93h) on one hand and (4.93g) on the other hand, and also between (4.95) and (4.94). In this regard, S-H. Choi's (1987) comment is relevant. He contends that the reality of the situations described with *-tô-* are not extended to the current moment, and thus the speaker is psychologically aloof from the reported situation.

H-S. Shin (1980) makes a similar suggestion that statements with *-tô-* give the feeling of temporal, spatial, and psychological distance from the reported event in the speaker's attitude. Hence, she notes, the report made with *-tô-* sounds less reliable. Other meanings in relation to the feeling of distance or discontinuity are suggested; the speaker is not responsible for the truthfulness of the reported situation (Y-H. Kim 1981); the situation described is non-volitional on the part of the speaker (D-S. Yu 1981; S-J. Chang 1973).

43 Im, in fact, proposes 'discontinuity of consciousness' as the basic meaning of *-tô-*, not just an affected meaning. I will argue, however, that the sense of discontinuity obtained with *-tô-* is a meaning contingent from its meaning of locating the speaker's viewpoint.

These affected meanings can be explained from its function of locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described (internal view) as well. In contrast with the external view, which appreciates the whole situation, the internal view can appreciate the situation described only partially. Viewing a situation within its event frame, the speaker can appreciate a situation as it happens. Thus, what is appreciated is what takes place at the time of perception, regardless of whether it is a beginning, middle, or final stage of the situation --recall that the temporal juncture of the situation described with *-tô-* may be beginning as in (4.108), middle as in (4.98) through (4.106), or terminal as in (4.109). The speaker is only concerned with the stage of the situation that he or she perceived, and not committed to how the situation had come to the stage that was being perceived or how the situation would develop from then on and how it would end up. It makes sense now that, even though it is in the speaker's memory, the situation viewed or perceived partially cannot be stored as an integrated part of knowledge. Therefore, the feeling of psychological distance or discontinuity obtained in the speaker's attitude is the result of the location of the speaker's viewpoint being within the event frame of the situation described.

4.5.2.1.4. Summary

In this section, I have reviewed various proposals made in the literature with regard to the meaning of the suffix *-tô-* in predication constructions. It was suggested that the basic function of the suffix is locating the speaker's viewpoint at a moment of the speaker's perceptual experience in the past. Theoretically, it was characterized as expressing past imperfective aspect and experiential evidential. Since the speaker's viewpoint is conceivably within the temporal and spatial domain, i.e., the event frame, of the situation, it is an internal view, hence

imperfective aspect. The meaning of retrospection is obtained from the shift of the speaker's viewpoint from the speech moment to the time of perception. The meaning of perceptual experience comes from the location of the speaker's viewpoint in the temporal and spatial domain (i.e., the event frame) in which the situation described takes place.

The progressive or durative meaning, which is often assumed to be associated with *-tô-*, turned out to be unsubstantiated, even though the most obvious case of the speaker's viewpoint located within the event frame of the situation described is an experience of a situation in progress. Other affected meanings associated with *-tô-*, such as psychological distance or discontinuity between the reported event and the speech moment, are also the results of the location of the speaker's viewpoint; the internal view renders the speaker's perception partial, and thus the situation perceived cannot be stored as solid knowledge.

It is now clear why scholars disagree on the grammatical nature of the suffix. The semantic nature of the suffix implies a tense meaning, because it clearly refers to a time point in the past. It is also aspectual, because it expresses the imperfective. The experiential evidential meaning qualifies the suffix for being in a category of modality. An issue to be resolved with regard to the suffix is then whether the suffix can be defined as expressing either tense, aspect, or modality, or as a portmanteau.

D-J. Choi (1988, 1989) insightfully provides a resolution for this issue. He argues that *-tô-* is historically imperfective, and that the experiential evidential meaning is a later development due to a semantic change that took place between the 15th century and the present day. His argument stems from the idea that the experiential evidential meaning does not seem to be present in attributive constructions. He contends then that attributive constructions conservatively

preserve the meaning of *-tô-* as expressing imperfective aspect without experiential evidential meaning. I will discuss the function of *-tô-* in attributive constructions next, and follow up Choi's suggestion in the overall characterization of *-tô-* later.

4.5.2.2. Semantic characteristics of *-tô-* in attributive constructions

In the preceding section, I proposed that the basic function of *-tô-* in predication constructions is to locate the speaker's viewpoint at a moment of his or her perceptual experience in the past. In more general grammatical terms, the suffix was characterized as expressing past imperfective aspect along with an experiential evidential meaning. It is quite widely assumed that, in attributive constructions, the meaning of *-tô-* is different from that in predication constructions. In particular, it is assumed that the meaning of retrospection and the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience are not present in the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions (C-K. Gim 1980; S-H. Choi 1987; D-J. Choi 1989). In this section, I will discuss the semantic characteristics of *-tô-* in attributive constructions. I will claim that the basic function of *-tô-* in attributive constructions is the same as that in predication constructions. In both cases, *-tô-* is characterized as expressing past imperfective aspect in the totality view of perfectivity, i.e., locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described.

In section 4.3.1, *-tô-* in attributive constructions was characterized as a past imperfective marker in a naive sense, that is, expressing ongoing or durative situations in the past moment. This characterization of *-tô-* in attributive constructions seems to have gained popular support in the literature, as many scholars make similar proposals; past incompletive (H-S. Lee 1957:72), past progressive or durative state (S-B. Park 1935:34-8), past progressive (J-S. Na

1971), durative (I-S. Yang 1972). Examples (4.105) (= (4.2) in section 4.3.1) and (4.106) (=(4.3) in section 4.3.1) are clear examples illustrating this claim. Without the suffix *-tô-*, (4.105) would imply that the guy has finished picking fruit (either all the picking or one act of picking), as illustrated in (4.112) below.

(4.112) kwail-ûl tta -n salam -i næli -ô
fruit -ACC pick-ATTR person-NOM put:down-CONN

o -asô
come-CONN

'the guy who (has) picked (all the) fruit comes down, ...'

Similarly, (4.106) would imply without *-tô-* that the road they have come along was a due course they planned to come, and is now extending it further, as illustrated in (4.113) below.

(4.113) yæ -tûl-ûn tto o -n kil -ûl
this:child-PL-TOP again come-ATTR road-ACC

ilôhke kyesok hyanghæ -sô ka-nûnte
like:this continuously face:toward-CONN go-CIRCUM

'And the boys are back to the road they have come along, and continue their way,...'

The durative meaning expressed with *-tô-* can be extended to include habitual and/or progressive, especially when it is attached to active verbs. For example,

(4.114) i -kô -n Suni-ka sa -tô -n os -hako
this-thing-TOP Suni-NOM buy-RETROS-ATTR clothes-COM

ttok kath-ta
exactly same-DECL
'This is exactly the same as the clothes
(i) that Suni used to buy.
(ii) that Suni was buying. }'

(4.115) i -kô -n Suni-ka sa -n os -hako
this-thing-TOP Suni-NOM buy-ATTR clothes-COM

ttok kath-ta
exactly same-DECL

'This is exactly the same as the clothes that Suni bought.'

For active verbs like *sa-ta* 'to buy', *-tô-* could express a habitual activity in the past, as in the translation (i), as well as a situation in progress in the past, as in the translation (ii). In both cases, the situation described is considered as having taken place in an extended period of time. This durative meaning is clear when it is compared with (4.115), where the attributive construction without *-tô-* refers to a single specific occurrence of a situation in the past. Therefore, it appears to be reasonable to characterize *-tô-* in attributive constructions as expressing "imperfective" in the sense of durative of some sort.

There are a number of facts, however, that suggest that "imperfective" in the sense of progressive or durative cannot properly characterize the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions. First of all, as illustrated for the case in predication constructions in (4.107), *-tô-* does not always express durative situations in attributive constructions as well. For example,

(4.116)a. næ -ka Disneyland-e ka-ca -ko
1SG-NOM Disneyland-LOC go-PROS-COMP

hæ-ss -ûl ttæ
do-ANT-ATTR time

sunkancôkûlo ppanccaki-tô -n ne nun-i
instantaneously twinkle -RETROS-ATTR you:GEN eye-NOM

acik-to nun-e sônha-ta
still -ADD eye-LOC vivid -DECL

'The memory of the way your eyes **twinkled in a split second** when I proposed going to Disneyland still linger.'

(4.116) shows that *-tô-* could be used to express a situation that took place instantaneously (say, in a split second). In this case, the speaker is simply recalling a punctual situation he or she perceived, and thus there is no sense of ongoingness or durativity.

Secondly, again as in the case in predication constructions, *-tô-* could be used in expressing a situation which has already reached its terminal point, when it occurs with the Anterior *-ôss-*. For example,

(4.117) HANDY BED-la -ku ssô
Handy bed-DECL-COMP write:CONN

noh-ass -ôss -tô -n kô -kuna
put -ANT-ANT-RETROS-ATTR thing-UNASSIM

(K&H: 43)

'[I see that] It was 'handy bed' that had been written down.'

In (4.117), the speaker recalls a previous moment when he saw something that was written down on a field bed. In this case, the viewpoint is located at the terminal juncture of the situation described, as the Anterior *-ôss-* indicates.

Therefore, the meaning of ongoingness or durativity is not a necessary meaning of *-tô-* in attributive construction. In fact, the durative or progressive

meaning is not a sufficient meaning of *-tô-* either. As in predication constructions, *-tô-* can occur with the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction within attributive constructions. For example,

(4.118) næ -ka ôce pang-e tûlôka-ss -ûl ttæ
1:SG-NOM yesterday room-LOC enter -ANT-ATTR time

ssû -ko iss -tô -n ke mwô-nya
write-CONN exist-RETROS-ATTR thing:NOM what-INTERR

'What is it that you were writing when I entered the room yesterday?'

Since the progressive or durative meaning is already available with the *-ko iss-* construction, the function of *-tô-* must be more than expressing progressive or durative.

Furthermore, it is clear that the meaning of durative is not a sufficient meaning of *-tô-*, since it fails to make a distinction between (4.119) and (4.120) below.

(4.119) UCLA-nûn Hyo-ka 10 -nyôn tongan tani -tô -n
UCLA-TOP Hyo-NOM ten-year during attend-RETROS-ATTR

hakkyo-i -ta
school -be-DECL

'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'

(4.120) UCLA-nûn Hyo-ka 10 -nyôn tongan tani -n
UCLA-TOP Hyo-NOM ten-year during attend-ATTR

hakkyo-i -ta
school -be-DECL

'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'

Both examples describe a situation that took place in an extended period of time, as the temporal adverbial *sip-nyôn tongan* 'for ten years' specifies, and are translated as 'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'. Therefore, it is clear that the physical length of time duration is not an issue with respect to the use of *-tô-*, and thus the difference between (4.119) with *-tô-* and (4.120) without *-tô-* must be found somewhere else. The key difference seems to lie in the way the speaker assesses each situation. In (4.119), the speaker explicitly refers to the extended period of time during which the situation described takes place as if he or she looks into individual occurrences of Hyo's going to school and assesses each phase of Hyo's schooling. That is, the speaker's viewpoint is located within the event frame of the situation, and thus the situation is viewed internally. In (4.120), on the other hand, the speaker appreciate "the whole period of 10 years into a single complete whole" (Comrie 1976:17).[44] In this case, the situation is viewed externally without looking into its internal activities and phases.

This means that the "imperfective" meaning obtained in the use of *-tô-* in attributive constructions should not be thought of as referring to those meanings of imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity, such as durative, progressive, or uncompleted, etc, since it *-tô-* does not refer to any temporal juncture or a physical length of period. Instead, the suffix must be understood as locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described such that the speaker

[44] The difference between (4.119) and (4.120) may be analogous to the difference between what is expressed with *l'Imparfait* (the Imperfect) and with *le Passé Simple* (the Simple Past --Past Definite in Comrie's terminology') in French. Comrie illustrates that the difference between the two constructions in French (e.g. *il régnait trente ans* vs. *il régna trente ans* 'he reigned for thirty years' respectively) does not lie in the objective length of period, but whether the speaker is concerned with the internal structuring of the situation described.

appreciates its internal structure as if he or she concurrently experiences it. Therefore, the suffix *-tô-* is characterized as expressing the imperfective in the totality dimension of perfectivity.

The notion of imperfective in the totality view of perfectivity as characterized here, i.e., locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described (internal view), provides a natural account for cases such as (4.116), (4.117), (4.118), and (4.120), which are problematic for any account that appeals to the notions of imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity, such as progressive, durative, or uncompleted. The internal view analysis of *-tô-* allows a reference to a punctual event the speaker experienced, as in (4.116), by locating his or her viewpoint at the moment of experiencing that punctual event. The internal view also allows a reference to a situation in its terminal stage, as in (4.117), which is not possible with the notion of imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity. The co-occurrence of *-tô-* with the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction, as in (4.118), is also no longer unexplainable, since the ongoing durative situation is of the easiest kind for being viewed internally. As for the difference between (4.119) and (4.120), both of which clearly refer to a situation that takes place for an extended period of time, the internal view analysis of *-tô-* suggests that what matters is not whether the situation described is punctual or durative, but whether internal individual activities within the overall situation described are appreciated or not.

It is now clear that, as in the case of the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions, *-tô-* in attributive constructions can be characterized as expressing past imperfective aspect, locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described.

Now, one question that remains is whether the use of *-tô-* in attributive

constructions has the experiential evidential meaning, which is prominent in its uses in predication constructions. It seems that, as widely assumed in the literature (C-K. Gim 1980:100; S-H. Choi 1987:81; D-J. Choi 1989), the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions clearly lack the meaning of perceptual experience. For example,

(4.121)a. kû yumyônghæ-ss -ô -yo
that famous -ANT-IE-DEF

b. ... phal-sip-nyônto mal -e kûnyang
8 -10 -year final-LOC just

c. kû sanghwang -esô kûnyang
that circumstance-LOC just

DEMO -lûl hæ kaci-ku
demonstration-ACC do:CONN take-CONN

--> d. cônki komun tanghæ-ss -tô -n il -tûl
electricity torture undergo-ANT-RETROS-ATTR affair-PL
(S&H 457-461)

a. Uh, it was well known, you know,
b. ... at the end of the year 1980, they just,
c. in those [chaotic] circumstances, he just participated in demonstrations,
d. and [there was] a case where he was tortured with electric wires

In (4.121), the speaker is talking about his classmate who was involved in a political incident. In (4.121c), *-tô-* refers what happened to his classmate. In this context, it is not necessarily the case that the speaker himself perceived or experienced the situation described, but the speaker simply describes it from the viewpoint when the person in question was tortured. In this use of *-tô-*, there is no sense of the speaker's perceptual experience, or at least the meaning of the

speaker's perceptual experience is not so obvious as is the case of the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions.

The lack of the experiential evidential meaning in the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions is not surprising from a general perspective of evidentiality, since evidentiality concerns information whose truth matters. Information conveyed in attributive constructions is rather presupposed, and thus not subject to evidentiality.

The clearest evidence that the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience is not available in the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions comes from the fact that the so-called "non-equi subject constraint" does not apply to the use of *-tô-* in the attributive constructions (I-S Yang 1972:234-5; K-S. Nam 1978:40; D-J. Choi 1989).

(4.122) næ -ka sal -tô -n cip -ûn Seoul-e
1SG-NOM live-RETROS-ATTR house -TOP Seoul-LOC

iss -ta
exist-DECL
'The house I lived in is in Seoul.

(4.123) *næ -ka Seoul-esô sal-tô -la
1SG-NOM Seoul-LOC live-RETROS-INTROS
'[I saw that] I lived in Seoul.'

As discussed earlier, the first person volitional subject is not allowed in a statement expressed with *-tô-*, as in (4.123), unless the situation described is in a dream. This constraint is not at work in (4.122), where *-tô-* is within an attributive clause. A natural explanation for this discrepancy between the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions and those in predication constructions is that the speaker's perceptual

experience is not part of the meaning conveyed by *-tô-* in attributive constructions.

There is another difference between the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions and those in predication constructions, which might be related to the lack of the experiential evidential meaning of *-tô-* in attributive constructions. The time reference of the situation described is consistently past in the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions. Recall from the preceding section that one of the pieces of evidence that *-tô-* refers to the speaker's perceptual experience rather than the situation described *per se* was that the time reference referred to by *-tô-* is not that of the situation described, which could be either past or non-past, but rather is that of the speaker's perceptual experience, which is consistently past. In the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions, the time reference of *-tô-* seems to be the time reference of the situation described, as it is consistently past. These facts are naturally explained if it is assumed that the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience is not available in attributive constructions with *-tô-*.

It can be concluded then that the basic function of *-tô-* in its uses in attributive constructions is characterized as simply locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described, i.e., expressing imperfective aspect, without experiential evidential meaning, which is prominent in its uses in predication constructions.

This does not mean, however, that *-tô-* in attributive constructions cannot refer to a situation which the speaker perceived in the past. In (4.116) and (4.117), for example, *-tô-* refers to a situation that the speaker recalls from his past perceptual experience. Similarly, consider (4.124) below:

(4.124) [K is visiting H from Korea for the second time. Entering the apartment, which K is familiar with from his last visit, H jokingly tells K that he bought a bed for him. K enters the room first with H following him carrying a bag. K sees a bed in the room.]

i -kô côn -puthô iss -tô -n kô kath -ûnte
this-thing before-from exist-RETROS-ATTR thing same-CIRCUM
(K&H 1)

'It looks like the one that was here before [so what do you mean by saying that you bought a bed for me?].'

In (4.124), the attributive construction underlined is referring to a situation he is familiar with from his last visit, namely the existence of a bed in H's room. Again, the situation described is the one whose existence he perceived in the past. It seems then that the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions are more general, and include its uses in predication constructions, which are more constrained, by having to express the speaker's perceptual experience. That is, the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions are a subset of its uses in attributive constructions.

The key difference between the uses of *-tô-* in attributive and in predication constructions seems to be a matter of whether the speaker is physically present or not. In predication constructions, the speaker is physically present within the event frame of the situation described, hence the speaker's experience. In attributive constructions, on the other hand, it is the speaker's viewpoint for assessment that is located within the event frame, not necessarily the speaker himself or herself. The physical presence of the speaker required for the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions is a special case of more general uses of *-tô-* as expressing imperfective aspect, i.e., locating the viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described.

In sum, the basic function of *-tô-* should be characterized as expressing past imperfective aspect, which covers its uses both in attributive constructions and predication constructions. The experiential evidential meaning of *-tô-* obtained from its uses in predication constructions must be attributed to the kind of

communicative contexts involved in predication constructions. Recall that *-nûn-*, as an imperfective marker, also does not express the speaker's concurrent experience or perception in the contexts where the speaker's perspective is neutralized, such as in the informal style and quotative statements, as well as in attributive constructions. Situations described in predication constructions are more deictically related to the speech moment than those in attributive constructions or quotative statements. When situations are assessed deictically in relation to the speech moment, they are more likely to involve the speaker's own perspective. It is conceivable that the most obvious case of involving the speaker's own perspective is a description of a situation within the event frame of which the speaker's viewpoint is physically present, hence giving the meaning of the speaker's concurrent experience or perceptual experience. I assume then that the likelihood of involving the speaker's own perspective for situations described in predication constructions is responsible for adding the extra meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience in the uses of *-tô-*.

The assumption made here, about why there is an extra meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience in the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions, fits well with D-J. Choi's (1988, 1989) suggestion that the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience obtained in the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions is historically a later development; the assumption made here about why the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions require the physical presence of the speaker's viewpoint provides a reasonable motivation for a semantic change that might have taken place in the meaning of *-tô-*. I will discuss this next.

4.5.2.3. A historical perspective

In the preceding section, I characterized *-tô-*, regardless of whether it is in predication constructions or attributive constructions, as locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described, i.e., as expressing the imperfective in the totality view of perfectivity. I argue that the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions, where the experiential evidential meaning is prominent, are a subset of the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions. The uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions are more constrained, since the physical presence of the speaker's viewpoint is required to convey the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience. In this section, I will discuss D-J. Choi's (1988, 1989) proposal that the differences between predication constructions and attributive constructions with regard to the uses of *-tô-* can be attributed to a semantic change that *-tô-* underwent between the late 15th century and now.

D-J. Choi (1988, 1989) provides an insightful explanation of the differences in the uses of *-tô-* in predication and attributive constructions from a historical perspective. He argues that the basic function of *-tô-* historically was to express imperfective aspect, and that the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience has been added to its uses in predication constructions. His argument stems from a remarkable parallelism between the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions in Modern Korean and those in late 15th century Korean (in attributive constructions as well as predication constructions).

I showed in the preceding section that the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience, which is prominent in predication constructions, is not present in the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions. D-J. Choi shows that the meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience is also not present in the uses of *-tô-* in the late 15th century Korean material, even in predication constructions. For example,

(4.125) [Buddha caught Nantha sneaking out.]

a. puthyôi tôpûlô côngsa-e tolao -si -a
Buddha:NOM together cloister-LOC return-HONOR-CONN

mul -ûsi -at∧i
ask-HONOR-CONN

b. nôi kyôcip kûli -ô ka-tô -nta?
2SG:NOM woman miss-CONN go-RETROS-INTERR

c. taitaph∧-z∧β-ot∧i
answer -HUM-CONN

--> d. sil -ôi -n kûlih∧i-a ka-ta -ngi -ta
fact-LOC-TOP do:so -CONN go-RETROS-POL-DECL

(Wôlin Sôkpo 7:10)[45]

a. Buddha returned to the cloister with him [Nantha], and asked:
b. Were you leaving because you were lonely for a woman?
c. He [Nantha] answered:
d. In fact, I was leaving exactly for that reason.

In (4.125d), *-ta-*, which was an allomorph of *-tô-* for the first person in the 15th century Korean (Huh 1975:904), is used in a predication construction for a statement which simply refers to an ongoing situation at the moment specified by Buddha's interrogation in (4.125b). In this use, Choi argues, there is no sense of the speaker's perceptual experience, which is supported by the fact that a first person volitional subject is used in (4.125d). Recall that, in Modern Korean, a

45 *Wôlinsôkpo*, edited by Su-On Kim in 1459 by order of King Sejo, is a bound version of *Sôkposangcôl*, which is a biography of Buddha, compiled by King Sejo, and *Wôlinchônkangcikok*, which is a collection of poems that were written by King Sejong, the father of King Sejo, based on the content of *Sôkposangcôl*.

first person volitional subject is not allowed in this context. Choi further argues that the semantic range of the uses of *-tô-* in predication constructions in the late 15th century material is the same as that in attributive constructions in Modern Korean, since he characterizes *-tô-* as expressing imperfective meanings of durative, habitual, and iterative.[46] He hypothesizes that the uses of *-tô-* in the late 15th century Korean are preserved in its uses in attributive constructions in Modern Korean, and that its uses in predication constructions underwent a semantic change, namely adding an experiential evidential meaning.

He presents two supportive historical facts in support of his hypothesis: (i) the "non-equi subject constraint" was also not in effect in the use of *-tô-* in the late 15th century material, even in predication constructions, and (ii) the relative position of *-tô-* within a verbal complex underwent a change with regard to the Honorific suffix *-(û)si-*; that is, *-tô-* preceded the Honorific *-(û)si-* in the late 15th century material, but follows it in Modern Korean. He attributes the historical changes in the morphosyntactic behavior of *-tô-*, correctly I believe, to the addition of the experiential evidential meaning of *-tô-* in predication constructions.

It was already shown in (4.125) that the "non-equi subject constraint" is not at work in the uses of *-tô-* in the late 15th century Korean material. This clearly indicates that, even in predication constructions, *-tô-* did not express the experiential evidential meaning, i.e., the speaker's perceptual experience, in the late 15th century Korean. As for the change in relative ordering between the Honorific

46 It should be noted that, even though the analysis given in this thesis and Choi's analysis come to the same conclusion about the overall temporal system in Korean, the detailed semantic characterizations of *-tô-* are not identical. His notion of imperfective, as implied by those meanings of durative, habitual, and iterative, does not make a distinction between the temporal view and the totality view of perfectivity.

-(û)si- and the Retrospective *-tô-*, D-J. Choi (1988:10) proposes an interesting and reasonable hypothesis about the cause. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Honorific *-(û)si-* precedes the Retrospective *-tô-* when they occur together. Another example is given below.

(4.126) moksa-nim -i uli -lûl wihayô coh -ûn
pastor-lord-NOM 1PL-ACC for:the:sake:of good-ATTR

malssûn-ûl hæ cu-si -tô -la
word -ACC do:CONN give-HONOR-RETROS-INTROS

'The pastor gave us good pieces of advice.'

The 15th century material reveals that the ordering was opposite; that is, the Retrospective *-tô-* preceded the Honorific *-(û)si-* (Huh 1975:902; S-U. Lee 1973:191).[47] For example,

(4.127)a. sôycon -i sangtu-san -ay ka-si -a
Buddha-NOM Sangtu-mountain-LOC go-HONOR-CONN

b. yong -kwa kuisin-kwa wih∧ia
dragon-COM ghost-COM for:the:sake:of

sôlpôp -h∧-tô -si -ta
sermon-do-RETROS-HONOR-DECL

(Sôkposangcôl 6:1)

a. 'Buddha went to Mt. Sangtu,
b. and he was preaching a sermon for the sake of the dragon and the ghosts.'

47 As mentioned in D-J. Choi (1988:9), there are some exceptions to this reverse ordering found in the 15th century material (Huh 1975:902). It is not clear what is responsible for such variation.

Inspired by Bybee's (1985a) principle of relevance, which predicts that aspectual categories come closer to its verb stem than modality categories due to their closer semantic relevance to the meaning of verb stem, D-J. Choi hypothesizes that the addition of the experiential evidential meaning to the uses of *-tô-* triggers the change in relative ordering of the Honorific *-(ŭ)si-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*. That is, in 15th century Korean, *-tô-*, as a general imperfective aspect marker, naturally occurred closer to the verb stem than the Honorific marker *-(ŭ)si-*, which has a property of modality, i.e., expressing the speaker's attitude of politeness. As the Retrospective *-tô-* added to its basic imperfective meaning the experiential evidential meaning, which is an epistemic modality, it has moved away from the verb stem, ending up following the Honorific *-(ŭ)si-*.

D-J. Choi's hypothesis, which I believe is highly plausible, provides a nice account of the difference in the uses of *-tô-* between predication constructions and attributive constructions. Conservative attributive constructions retain the earlier general imperfective meaning of *-tô-*, whereas innovative predication constructions have added a meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience to its basic meaning.[48] It is not clear what triggered the semantic change. I can only speculate that, as mentioned earlier, predication constructions, which are subject to deictic references to the speech moment, began to bring in the speaker's own perspective more and more, and the involvement of the speaker's own perspective got manifested as the physical presence of the speaker's viewpoint, rendering the

48 It should be noted though that the change made in the relative ordering between the Honorific *-(ŭ)si-* and the Retrospective *-tô-* was global, not specific to predication constructions. That is, the change took place in attributive constructions as well, in which *-tô-* is assumed to retain its earlier meaning. No explanation is available for this at the moment; a detailed study of the entire course of historical changes surrounding *-tô-* will be required.

meaning of the speaker's perceptual experience.

The historical perspective taken in this section makes more conceivable the conclusion drawn about the semantic characteristics of *-tô-* in the preceding section. It suggests: (i) underlying the uses of *-tô-*, both in predication constructions and attributive constructions, is the historical meaning of imperfective aspect, i.e., locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described, (ii) as indicated by the phenomenon of the "non-equi subject constraint" and the reordering between the Honorific *-(ŭ)si-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*, the experiential evidential meaning is a historically later addition, due to a specialization of its imperfective meaning in its uses in predication constructions to referring to the physical presence of the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described and thus yielding the speaker's perceptual experience, and (iii) the semantic change of *-tô-* took place only in predication constructions, and its underlying function remains in its uses in attributive constructions. In sum, the historical facts support the characterization of *-tô-* as expressing imperfective aspect.

4.5.2.4. Morphosyntactic restrictions

In the preceding sections, I have given a semantic characterization of the so-called Retrospective suffix *-tô-*, namely locating the speaker's viewpoint at some time in the past within the event frame of the situation, i.e., a past imperfective. In this section, I will deal with morphosyntactic properties of *-tô-*, which are on a par with its being an imperfective marker.

The suffix *-tô-* is morphologically restricted with regard to its co-occurring sentence-terminal suffixes. It can occur essentially only with the Introspective *-la* and the Unassimilated suffix *-kun* (see Table 3-2 in Chapter 3.4.1).[49] Note that

49 There are two other types of sentence-terminal verbal complexes where *-tô-* can occur, which I am not going to deal with here. One is in the formal polite style, where the allomorph *-ti-* may precede the Declarative *-ta* or the Interrogative *-kka*. It should be noted, however, that *-ti-* is a combination of *-tô-* plus *-i-* (Huh 1983:244), which presumably came from the archaic Polite marker *-ngi-*. If *-ti-* is indeed a historically fossilized form of *-tô-* plus the Polite *-ngi-*, the fact that the Declarative *-ta* and the Interrogative *-kka* could follow *-ti-* is not directly relevant to the issue of the co-occurrence restriction laid on *-tô-*, because it would be the intervening *-ngi-* that might have an effect on the sentence-terminal ending.

The other case where *-tô-* occurs in a sentence-terminal verbal complex other than with *-la* and *-kun* is in-*te*, which occasionally occurs in the informal style. The following example is the only one that occurs in the sample data corpus.

kû -kô po -ni -kka -nûn mwô
that-thing see-DET-INTERR-TOP what

sôksa-cangkyo pucôngcôk-i -ta mwô kûlæ -sô
M.A -officer negative -be-DECL what do:so-CONN

hankuk-ilpo -eta ttæly -ôss -te -yo
Korea -daily:news-LOC criticize-ANT-RETROS:?-DEF

(S&H 823-825)

'It has been pointed out that, as a matter of fact, the Officer Program for M.A.'s has a negative aspect, and that's why it was criticized in the Korea Daily News [I saw it, and didn't you see it?].

It is assumed in the literature that *-te-* is a combination of the Retrospective *-tô-* and the sentence-terminal ending *-i* (H-B. Choe 1977:269; Huh 1983:244; S-H. Choi 1987:8-10). However, no convincing argument for this analysis has been provided. The assumption that *-te* consists of *-tô-* and *-i* is not phonologically and semantically substantiated. First of all, it is not clear what *-i* could be. The best guess is an archaic polite marker *-i-* (< *-ngi-*), the same one that is used in the formal polite style, as in *-ti-*. Note, however, that the above utterance is a part of a very informal conversation between two graduate students. The Polite *-i-*, on the other hand was used in a formal, courteous, and polite style. The use of the Polite *-i-* would not be appropriate for the communicative context in which the above utterance is made. Secondly, there would be no explanation of why the combination of *-tô-* and *-i* has become *-ti-* in the formal polite style, but *-te* in the informal style. An alternative guess is that *-te* is an combination of *-tô-* and the Informal

all the examples given with *-tô-* thus far end with the Introspective *-la*. The example of *-tô-* with the Unassimilated *-kun*is given below.

(4.129)a. chamûlo olæs-man-e Yôngsuni cip -esô hamkke
really long-since-LOC Youngsoon home-LOC together

iss -ûlyô -ni
exist-PURP-DET

b. ttôlôci -ô iss -ûl ttæ -n kûlito
separated-CONN exist-ATTR time-TOP that:much

môl -ô po -i -tô -n chinku-ka
distant-CONN see-PASS-RETROS-ATTR friend -NOM

c. yôksi ôlkul mactæ -ko po -ni
as:expected face touch:against-CONN see-DET

d. myôch-il -man -e po -nûn kôs -chôlôm
a:few -day-since-LOC see-ATTR thing-like

--> yôcônha -tô -kun
still:the:same-RETROS-UNASSML (Eunjoo)[50]

a. We got together at Youngsoon's place after a a long time,
b. and when we were separated,
I felt so far away from her,
c. but, when we met face-to-face.

Ending *-ô-*. The problem for this alternative is that, as will be discussed in Chapter 5 in detail, *-ô* is used when the speaker has authority over the information conveyed. Such is not the case with *-te*; as the translation indicates, the speaker does not exclude the possibility that the addressee might be aware of the information conveyed as well. Lacking any further definitive evidence, I will leave this issue open for future research.

50 Eunjoo is a personal letter written to the author by a female friend in Korea.

d. she is still the same, I felt, as if we saw each other only a few days ago,

Note that the co-occurrence restriction on *-tô-* is remarkably parallel with the one on the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-*; as discussed in section 4.5.1, *-nûn-* can occur only with the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun*. The co-occurrence restrictions on *-tô-* and *-nûn-* with respect to their following sentence-terminal suffixes can be compared in the following table:

Table 4-2. Co-occurrence restrictions on *-tô-* and *-nûn-*

	ô	ci	na	ne	ta	la	kun
tô	x	x	x	x	x	o	o
nûn	x	x	x	x	o	x	o

[Note] 'o' means that the co-ocurrence is possible.
'x' means that the co-occurrence is not possible.

The parallelism between *-tô-* and *-nûn-* with regard to co-occurrence restrictions supports their common semantic characteristic, namely imperfective. In both cases, the speaker locates his or her viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described. In the case of *-nûn-*, the viewpoint is located at the present moment. In the case of *-tô*, it is located at some time in the past. With the Imperfectives, the situation described was not perceived in its entirety, but only a partial access is made to whatever juncture it has reached at the time of the speaker's perception.

The above table shows that both *-tô-* and *-nûn-* cannot occur with the Informal Ending *-ô*, the Committal *-ci*, the Factual Realization *-ne*, and the Non-

Committal *-na*, all of which have to do with factivity or truth of a proposition as a whole. Intuitively, it makes sense that the Imperfectives cannot occur with these sentence-terminal suffixes, because situations are assessed as a whole with these suffixes, whereas the Imperfectives refer only to a part of the situation. It further follows that the compatibility of the Imperfectives with the Unassimilated -kun is semantically justifiable. As briefly discussed in Chapter 3, and as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the Unassimilated *-kun* expresses a piece of information that has just entered the speaker's consciousness, but is yet to be assimilated to the speaker's knowledge system (H-S. Lee 1985). Recall that the information conveyed with *-tô-* is not considered as knowledge. It makes sense to say that the information about a situation that is not appreciated in its entirety (i.e., imperfectively viewed) cannot be integrated into the established body of knowledge: hence unassimilated. The (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-* expresses the speaker's concurrent experience, which cannot be integrated into the established body of the speaker's knowledge right away: hence its co-occurrence with the Unassimilated *-kun* is justifiable. When the Retrospective *-tô-*, which is characterized as expressing a past imperfective, is combined with the Unassimilated -kun as in (4.129), it conveys a piece of information that the speaker perceived in the past which has not yet become part of the speaker's knowledge (i.e., unassimilated). Therefore, what is expressed with *-tô-* is compatible with the meaning of the Unassimilated *-kun*.

The co-occurrence of *-tô-* with the Introspective *-la* is also semantically justifiable. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the Introspective *-la* expresses the speaker's introspection of what has been perceived in soliloquy. Recalling perceptual experience is a kind of introspective process. The most obvious

examples of introspection of perceptual experience are (4.93g) and (4.96), where the speaker tries to retrieve information that has been lost in his memory.

In sum, the morphological restrictions of the suffix -tô- on co-occurring sentence-terminal suffix turn out to be explainable with its semantic nature, namely expressing the past imperfective in the totality view of perfectivity.

4.5.2.5. Summary

In the preceding sections, I have characterized the so-called Retrospective suffix *-tô-* as locating the speaker's viewpoint at some time in the past within the event frame of the situation. i.e., a past imperfective in the totality view of perfectivity. In attributive constructions, this function of locating the viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described is manifested as expressing a general meaning of imperfective aspect in the totality view of perfectivity, i.e., appreciating the internal developments of the situation described; it is independent of any concepts of imperfective in the temporal view of perfectivity such as durativity, progressivity, or completedness, as *-tô-* could refer to instant actions through extended and/or habitual activities, and any temporal juncture, initial, middle, or terminal. In predication constructions, this function is specialized into expressing the speaker's perceptual experience in the past, as the physical presence of the speaker's viewpoint is required.

The lack of the "non-equi subject constraint" and the reverse ordering between *-tô-* and the Honorific *-(û)si-* in the 15th century Korean material suggest that the specialized meaning of imperfective aspect expressed (i.e., the speaker's perceptual experience) in its uses in predication constructions is a historically later addition, and that the difference in the uses of *-tô-* between attributive constructions and predication constructions is due to the semantic change that took place in predication

constructions. As the uses of *-tô-* in attributive constructions include those specialized experiential evidential meaning in predication constructions, and as the latter is a historically later addition, it is concluded that underlying all uses of *-tô-* is the meaning of past imperfective in the totality dimension.

The morphosyntactic facts about the co-occurrence restrictions on *-tô-* also fit well with its semantic nature, i.e., expressing the past imperfective. Since *-tô-* does not refer to a situation in its entirety, it is not used in expressing integrated parts of the speaker's knowledge, but information that is obtained in the speaker's spontaneous reaction to what he or she has just perceived. Hence it can only occur with the Introspective *-la* and the Unassimilated *-kun*. Its semantic and morphosyntactic parallelisms with and its paradigmatic relation in attributive constructions to the Non-past Imperfective *-nûn-* also confirm that the two suffixes are on the same semantic dimension, namely expressing imperfective aspect. I conclude that *-tô-* is best characterized as expressing imperfective aspect in the totality dimension of perfectivity.

In the following section, I will compare the functions of the two suffixes that express imperfective aspect, *-tô-* and *-nûn-*, with the way in which perfective aspect is manifested in the totality view.

4.5.3. Perfective as morphologically unmarked

In sections 4.5.1. and 4.5.2, I have discussed two suffixes that are characterized as locating the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation described, namely *-nûn-* at the present moment and *-tô-* in the past. These suffixes are not characterizable in terms of either the temporal view of perfectivity or inherent aspect of any kind, since they are independent of such notions as progressivity, completedness, or durativity. Instead, both suffixes refer

to an internal view which allows the speaker to appreciate a situation as it happens, i.e., its internal activities or development, hence expressing imperfective aspect in the totality dimension of perfectivity. What I would like to discuss in this section is the other way of looking at situations, namely an external view, which appreciates the situation described in its entirety from the outside of its event frame, i.e., perfective in the totality view of perfectivity.

The way the external view is manifested morphologically in Korean is complicated due to the historical development of *-ôss-*, which has created new temporal oppositions in the verbal system of Korean. As discussed in Section 4.4.2.4, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* developed from the historically Perfect *-ô iss-* construction between the 15th century and the 17th century. We note then that, without *-ôss-*, the temporal system prior to the 15th century is assumed to have consisted of *-nʌ-*, which is the historical antecedent of *-nû-* in attributive constructions and *-nûn-* in predication constructions, and *-tô-*, along with the morphologically unmarked form to give a three-way temporal contrast (Y-K. Ko 1981; D-J. Choi 1988). It is easy to notice that this three-way temporal contrast still operates in attributive constructions in Modern Korean, as I discussed in section 4.3.1. Based on its paradigmatic relations with *-nû-* and *-tô-* and its semantic characteristics in attributive constructions, the morphologically unmarked form is assumed to have expressed perfective aspect.

As the newly developed *-ôss-* has gained its status in the verbal paradigm in predication constructions, the unmarked form has now come into contrast with *-ôss-* as well as *-nûn-* and *-tô-*, as discussed in section 4.3.2. Consequently, the semantic nature of the once perfective unmarked form has changed as well from the one in the three-way contrast manifested prior to the 15th century in general and

attributive constructions in Modern Korean. In the following, I will discuss how the semantics of the morphologically unmarked form, once perfective, has manifested itself in different constructions.

4.5.3.1. Perfective in attributive constructions

In section 4.3.1, I discussed the three-way temporal contrast made by *-nû-*, *-tô-*, and the morphologically unmarked form in realis attributive constructions, which are marked with the Realis-Attributive *-(û)n*. The suffix *-nû-* and *-tô-* are characterized as expressing imperfective, non-past, and past respectively, and the morphologically unmarked form as expressing perfective with time reference being unspecified. Therefore, the semantics of the morphologically unmarked form can be best illustrated by comparison with the semantics of these two suffixes.

As elaborated in section 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, both suffixes refer to the location of the speaker's viewpoint, not with respect to temporal junctures, but to the event frame of the situation described, that is, its being within the event frame. Both suffixes indicate that the situation described is viewed for its internal activities and developments including actions in progress, iterative activities that constitute a habitual situation, initiating actions, as well as a termination. I will illustrate how the morphologically unmarked form is semantically and/or pragmatically unmarked as well, referring to a situation in its entirety viewed from the outside of its event frame, hence perfective in the totality view of perfectivity.

As discussed in section 4.3.1, the morphologically unmarked form in realis attributive construction can be best characterized as referring to a single occurrence of the situation described as a whole, in contrast with the Imperfectives, *-nû-* and *-tô-*, which refer to internal activities and developments. Repeated from (4.1) in section 4.3.1, the following example shows this.

(4.130) oppa-ka cô pôn-e uli -tûl sônghwa -e
brother-NOM that time-LOC 1PL-PL hard:pressing-LOC

mos iki -ô cumun-ha-n mokma
NEG(IMPOT) win-CONN order -do -ATTR wooden:horse

iss -ci?
exist-COMM (Leah 3: 8)

' [You remember] the wooden horse you [lit. Big Brother] ordered the other day by giving in to [lit. not being able to win over] our hard-pressing pleas?.'

In (4.130), the attributive construction *-(û)n* simply refers to a single occurrence of a situation (ordering the wooden horse) as a whole without any reference to its internal structures. Adding *-tô-* to *cumun-ha-n* 'order-do-ATTR' would mean that either the ordering was in process or that it had been an iterative habitual activity.

The semantic characteristics of the unmarked form as referring to a single occurrence as a whole can be shown more clearly when it is compared with the uses of *-nû-* and *-tô* in (4.131) and (4.132) below.

(4.131) UCLA-nûn Hyo-ka 10 -nyôn tongan tani -nû -n
UCLA-TOP Hyo-NOM ten-year during attend-IMPFV-ATTR

hakkyo-i -ta
school -be-DECL

'UCLA is the school that Hyo has been attending for 10 years.'

(4.132) UCLA-nûn Hyo-ka 10 -nyôn tongan tani -tô -n
UCLA-TOP Hyo-NOM ten-year during attend-RETROS-ATTR

hakkyo-i -ta
school -be-DECL

'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'

(4.133) UCLA-nûn Hyo-ka 10 -nyôn tongan tani -n
UCLA-TOP Hyo-NOM ten-year during attend-ATTR

hakkyo-i -ta
school -be-DECL

'UCLA is the school that Hyo attended for 10 years.'.

In (4.131) and (4.132) with the Imperfectives *-nû-* (~nûn) and *-tô-* respectively, Hyo's ten years of attending UCLA is viewed from inside of the event frame as if the speaker looks into its internal individual activities. Generally, the Imperfectives give a sense that the speaker's viewpoint is in the middle of the situation described. In (4.133) without the Imperfectives, on the other hand, even though the English translations do not show the difference between (4.132) and (4.133), the speaker is not concerned with internal individual activities. Hyo's ten years of schooling is wrapped up as a single event that happened to take place for an extended period of time. In this case, there is a sense that all the phases of the situation have passed through their entire due course. Note that the situations described in all three examples have the same internal structures, that is, an extended time duration of 10 years. The difference is whether a reference is specifically made to the internal structure. That is, in (4.133), the speaker does not refer to the internal structure of the situation described, even though there are internal structures to look into (Comrie 1976:21-4).

It should be worth noting that the best translation of the morphologically unmarked form with non-descriptive verbs in attributive constructions is the simple Past Tense in English, rather than other forms of verbs such as the Progressive or the Perfect. The simple Past Tense form simply denotes that there existed a situation

at a time point in the past, that is, locating a situation as a whole on a time line, and thus is considered to make a perfective reference.[51]

As shown earlier, the time reference of the situation referred to by the morphologically unmarked form is past in general with non-descriptive verbs, and non-past with descriptive verbs. However, a more comprehensive characterization seems to be that the time reference is not specified for the unmarked form inherently, but interpreted as the one that is most likely to be the case in terms of communicative norms. As Welmers (1973:346-7) points out for Yoruba and Igbo, it seems reasonable to say that the communicative norm of referring to a single occurrence of a situation as a whole is that, for situations expressed with non-descriptive verbs, they are the ones that have already taken place, i.e., past time reference, and for those situations expressed with descriptive verbs, they are the ones that currently hold, i.e., non-past time reference.

The underspecification of time reference in the use of the morphologically unmarked form is evident where it can give a non-past time reference even with non-descriptive verbs. As discussed in section 4.3.1, the unmarked form may give a non-past time reference with non-descriptive verbs that carry a resultative meaning. For example (see also (4.17) and (4.18) of section 4.3.1),

(4.134) ppakka-n os -ûl ip -ûn yôca -ka
red -ATTR clothes-ACC wear/put:on-ATTR woman-NOM

51 Comrie (1976:3-4, fn. 3) appears to exempt the habitual meaning of the simple Past Tense form as in 'John worked in that company for ten years' from the perfective reference made by the simple Past Tense form in English. In my understanding, however, I argue, the habitual meaning does not inherently qualify for being imperfective, as Comrie assumes, unless a reference to internal activities and developments is made, as in (4.131) and (4.132).

Suni-i -ta
Suni-be-DECL

'The woman who's wearing red clothes is Suni.'

The underlined phrase *ip-ûn* 'wear/put:on-ATTR' in (4.134) refers to a woman's current state of clothing, as is indicated by the Present Progressive form in the English translation. The stative sense expressed with the non-descriptive verb *ip-* 'wear ~ put on' is parallel to the one expressed with the descriptive verb *ppalkah-* 'red', whose time reference is clearly non-past. Therefore, it is not always the case that the time reference of a situation referred to by a non-descriptive verb without any temporal suffix is past.

Another piece of evidence that the time reference given by the unmarked form is a matter of interpretation, not a basic part of its grammatical meaning, is that the past time reference given by the unmarked form with non-descriptive verbs in attributive constructions is relative in nature. That is, the reference point is not fixed for the moment of utterance, but flexible depending on discourse contexts. For example,

(4.135)a. SOLDOUT-i -la kûlæ -tu
sold:out -be-INTROS be:so-ADD

--> b. TICKET sa -n salam -i ta o -nûn ke
ticket buy-ATTR person-NOM all come-ATTR thing:NOM

an -i -la -ku
NEG-be-INTROS-COMP

(S&H: 61-62)

a. Even when they say a "sell-out",
b. it is not the case that all of those who bought tickets come.'

In (4.135b) above, the temporally unmarked form *sa-n* 'buy-ATTR' does not refer to a past situation, but to a general non-specific situation. The The reference point is not at the speech moment, but presumably between a sell-out and the time of people's coming to the ball park. Addition of the Imperfective *-nû-* or the Retrospective *-tô-* would mean to refer to a situation of buying in process.

The evasive nature of time reference given by the unmarked form suggests that the perfective meaning expressed by the unmarked form has no inherently specified time reference. In this regard, the temporal contrast manifested in attributive constructions in Korean fits Dahl's (1985:81-4) analysis of the cross-linguistically common tripartite aspectual system of PERFECTIVE, PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE, and PAST IMPERFECTIVE, instead of Comrie's, which implies no distinction of perfective and imperfective in the present time and a restriction of time reference on PERFECTIVE to a past time (Comrie 1976).[52] That is, the morphologically unmarked form represents the cross-linguistic category

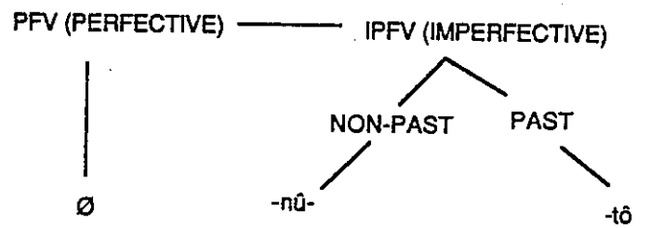
52 Comrie's (1976) analysis of the (classic) Indo-European aspectual system is summarized in Dahl (19856:82, Figure 3.2) as follows:

	Perfective aspect	Imperfective aspect
Past tense	Aorist	Imperfect
Present tense	Present	

The above figure indicates that there is no perfective/imperfective distinction made in the present tense, whereas the distinction is made between the Aorist and the Imperfect in the past tense. Dahl's analysis differs from Comrie's in that the perfective/imperfective distinction is primary, and that the past/present tense distinction is made only for imperfective aspect, with no specification of tense distinction for perfective aspect.

PERFECTIVE with no specification of time reference, which can be past or non-past depending on communicative norms for the interpretation of verbs, *-nû-* represents PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE, and *-tô* represents PAST IMPERFECTIVE. The Korean system can be schematized by adopting Dahl's schema (his Figure 3.3) as follows:

Figure 4-3. The tripartite aspectual system in attributive constructions in Korean



As discussed in section 4.3.1, the semantics of the morphologically unmarked form in attributive constructions in Modern Korean, as well as that in general in the late 15th century Korean, is parallel with the pattern in many languages, such as creole languages (Sankoff 1979; Bickerton 1981; Singler 1984), West African languages (Welmers 1973; Comrie 1976), Persian (Comrie 1976), Lakhota (Pam Munro, personal communication), and thus conforms to a fairly common cross-linguistic pattern of perfective morphology.

In sum, the temporally unmarked form in attributive constructions refers to a single occurrence of a situation as a whole without its internal activities or developments being looked into, i.e., perfective in the totality view of perfectivity.

4.5.3.2. Perfective in predication constructions

In the preceding section, I discussed how the morphologically unmarked

Perfective is manifested in attributive constructions. It was shown that the unmarked form constitutes a tripartite aspectual system along with the Imperfective *-nû-* and the Retrospective *-tô-* in the totality dimension of perfectivity. In this section, I will characterize the temporally unmarked form in predication constructions, which is manifested in a slightly different semantic dimension due to the historical addition of the Anterior *-ôss-*.

The newly developed Anterior *-ôss-*has created new paradigmatic relations in the verbal complexes of predication constructions. The once Perfective unmarked form is now in contrast with the *-ôss-* as well as with the Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-*in predication constructions. As the Anterior *-ôss-*is increasingly associated with past tense meaning, the time reference of the temporally unmarked form has now become restricted to non-past in predication construction, even with non-descriptive verbs. That is, on the one hand, the temporally unmarked form is now in opposition with the Anterior *-ôss-* for the non-past/past distinction. On the other hand, the absence of the Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-* still refers to a situation viewed in its entirety without its internal activities and developments being appreciated, i.e., perfective in the totality dimension of perfectivity.

One factor that complicates the picture is the co-occurrence restrictions between sentence-terminal suffixes and any immediately preceding non-terminal suffixes. The co-occurrence restrictions are summarized as follows (also see the discussion in Chapter 3.1.4):

Table 4-3. Co-occurrence restrictions between sentence-terminal suffixes and immediately preceding non-terminal suffixes (with non-descriptive/descriptive verbs respectively).

	ô	ci	na	ne	kun	ta	la
Ø	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o	*/o	*/o	o/o
ôss	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o
kess	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o	o/o	*/*
nûn	*/*	*/*	*/*	*/*	o/*	o/*	*/*
tô	*/*	*/*	*/*	*/*	o/o	*/*	o/o

[Note] 'o' means that the combination of the non-terminal suffix and the sentence-terminal suffix is possible, and '*' means that the combination not possible. For example, the Imperfective *-nûn-* can occur with the Unassimilated *-kun* for non-descriptive verbs, but not with descriptive verbs.

The above table shows that there is a great deal of variation on which sentence-terminal suffix can co-occur with which non-terminal suffix. Especially different from each other are the Informal Ending *-ô*, the Committal *-ci*, the Non-Committal *-na*, and the Factual realization *-ne* on one hand, and the Unassimilated *-kun*, the Declarative *-ta*, and the Introspective *-la* on the other hand. That is, the ones in the former group do not co-occur with the Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-*, whereas the ones in the latter group cannot be temporally unmarked for non-descriptive verbs, which require the Imperfective *-nûn-* when the time reference is non-past. As the Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-* have specialized their functions in predication constructions into expressing the speaker's concurrent experience or perceptual experience, the suffixes co-occur only with those sentence-terminal suffixes that

express the speaker's spontaneous reaction to what has just been perceived; *-nûn-* can only occur with the Declarative *-ta* and the Unassimilated *-kun*, and *-tô-* with the Unassimilated *-kun* and the Introspective *-la*. Therefore, the temporally unmarked form is not in direct opposition with the Imperfectives. Since the communicative contexts where the temporally unmarked form is used and those where the Imperfectives are used are mutually almost exclusive because of co-occurrence restrictions, the way the temporally unmarked form contrasts with the Imperfectives needs to be discussed in terms of the kind of communicative contexts in which it is used, which are concomitantly affected by the co-occurring sentence-terminal suffix. First, let me illustrate the communicative contexts where the temporally unmarked form is used.

First of all, the temporally unmarked form is mostly used in simple statements of non-past situations. For example,

(4.136)a. Hyo-Sang oppa .
Hyo-Sang big:brother

b. annyông !
How:are:you

c. yôcônhi kongpu-ha-myônsô cal iss -kess -ci ?
still study -do-SIMUL well exist-DCT :RE-COMM

--> d. na-tu -i -a oppa !
I -ADD-be-IE big:brother

e. kû -nte 'kongpu-ha-myônsô'-ka an -i -ku
that-CIRCUM study -do-SIMUL -NOM NEG-be-CONN

--> 'nol -myônsô'-ka tô cônghwakha-ô
play-SIMUL -NOM more precise -IE

--> f. nômu sinna-ke nol -a
too joyful-RESUL play-IE

g. kûlô -nûlako oppa -hanthe phyônci-to ilôhke
do:so-PURP brother-DAT letter -ADD like:this

--> nûc-ke ha-ci -anh -a
late-RESUL do-NOML-NEG:do-IE

h. yôngkuk-e o -n ci
England-LOC come-ATTR since

kyôu han tal pan côngto twæ -ss -nûnte
barely one month half extent become-ANT-CIRCUM

--> i. nômu olæ toe -n kôs kath -a
too late become--ATTR thing same-IE

(Leah 7: 1-8)

a. Dear Big Brother Hyo Sang,
b. How are you?
c. I figure you are doing all right, still studying, right?
d. **Me, too**, Big Brother.
e. But the thing is, I am not studying very much,
rather **it is more like** I am just playing around.
f. **I am having so much fun.**
g. **That's why I am writing to you this late.**
h. It's been only a month and a half since I came to England, but
i. **it seems like** it's been a long time.

In the above example, the writer Leah talks about how she is doing in England. In (d), (e), (f), (g), and (i), she simply makes statements about what she is or is doing. Note that each of the verbal complex in (d), (e), (f), and (g) ends with the Informal Ending *-ô*.

The temporally unmarked form in predication constructions is also used in the narration of events. For example,

(4.137)a. ôttôn nongpu-ka
certain farmer -NOM

b. kwail-namu-e olû -ô ka-ô kaci-ko
fruit -tree -LOC climb-CONN go-CONN take-CONN

--> kwail-ûl tta -ô -yo
fruit -ACC pick-IE-DEF

c. kwail-ûl tta -nûnte ince
fruit -ACC pick-CIRCUM now

d. yôki-etaka ilôhke ephûlon-i -nte
here-LOC like:this apron -be-CIRCUM

e. khôtalah-n cumôni-ka ilôhke tal -li -n
big -ATTR pocket -NOM like:this hang-PASS-ATTR

--> ephûlon-i -a
apron -be-IE

--> f. kwail-ûl tta -sô kôki -eta cip -ô nôh -ô -yo
fruit -ACC pick-CONN there-LOC pick:up-CONN insert-IE-DEF
(PS 2: 1-6)

a. A certain farmer
b. climbs up a fruit tree, and is picking fruit.
c. He's picking fruit,
d. meanwhile, there is an apron here,
e. it's like an apron which has a big pocket.
f. He picks fruit, and puts them in there.

The above example is the beginning of an informal narrative in which the speaker describes movie scenes she watched. This example contains three sentence-terminal verbal complexes in (b), (e), and (f). Those verbal complexes again end in the Informal Ending *-ô* (sometimes with the Deferential particle *-yo*), without any temporal suffix. The *-ô* ending without any temporal suffixes like the ones in the

above example constitutes 67.8% (40/59) of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the two Pear Story narratives, and thus is considered as the representative predication construction in informal narratives.

In fact, the Informal Ending *-ô* temporally unmarked is the most frequent sentence-terminal verbal complex (327/716 –45.7%) in the informal texts examined for this study; the next most frequent sentence-terminal verbal complexes are the Committal *-ci* temporally unmarked, which comprises only 10.8% (77/716), and the Informal Ending *-ô* with the Anterior *-ôss-* at 9.1% (65/716) (see the Appendix A: Distribution of sentence-terminal verbal complexes). As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the Informal Ending *-ô* is the unmarked and representative sentence-terminal ending in the informal style of the language, as it constitutes 58.5% (419 out of 716) of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the data corpus examined (see Appendix B: Distribution of sentence-terminal suffixes). It is mostly used for the most basic functions of communication, namely exchanging information (H-S. Lee 1985). That is, *-ô* is used in simply giving information the speaker knows and in asking information the speaker assumes the addressee to know. The fact that the temporally unmarked form occurs mostly with the Informal Ending *-ô* suggest that a sentence-terminal suffix that the temporally unmarked form is typically used in the most basic and common communicative contexts.

It should be noted that one of the characteristics of the information conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô* is that the speaker conveys the information as true. That is, what is meant to be conveyed with *-ô* is that there exists a certain situation whose reality is valid from the speaker's exclusive knowledge. In this case, the situation described is taken as a whole, as a single entity whose truth is judged,

regardless of its internal complexities. In this sense, the situation expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô* can be said to be viewed perfectively. One question that arises is whether the perfective meaning arises from the Informal Ending *-ô* or from being temporally unmarked, as is the case in attributive constructions. At first glance, it appears that it is the Informal Ending that gives the perfective meaning, because the same perfective meaning can be interpreted with other non-terminal suffixes such as the Anterior *-ôss-* or the Deductive Reasoning *-kess-*. For example,

(4.138)a. Hyo Sang oppa annông
Hyo Sang Big:brother how:are:you?

b. onûl achim -e oppa phyônci-lang CATALOGUE
today morning-LOC big:brother letter -COM catalogue

--> pat-ass-ô
receive-ANT-IE

c. komaw-ô
grateful-IE (Leah 8: 1-2)

a. Big Brother Hyo Sang, how are you?
b. **I received your letter and catalogue this morning.**
c. Thank you.

In (4.138b) above, the writer (Leah) is simply stating a fact, referring to a past situation. The only difference between the kind of information conveyed in (4.136) and (4.137) on one hand, and that in (4.138) on the other hand is the time reference; the situations described in (4.136) and (4.1307) without the Anterior *-ôss-* is non-past, whereas the one described in (4.138) with the Anterior *-ôss-* is past. In (4.138) as well, the situation is taken as a whole without its internal complexities being looked into, i.e., perfective. Since (4.138) is not temporally

unmarked, it appears that the perfective meaning should be attributed to the Informal Ending *-ô*. However, I will claim that the perfective meaning cannot be attributed to the Informal Ending-*ô*, but to the absence of the Imperfectives, *-nûn-* and *-tô-*.

One argument for the claim is that the perfective meaning is also apparent with other sentence-terminal suffixes that are not compatible with the Imperfectives, that is, the Committal *-ci*, the Non-commitative *-na*, and the Factual Realization *-ne*. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, all these suffixes have to do with factivity of the information conveyed. The Committal *-ci* indicates that the speaker is committed to the truth of information conveyed. For example,

(4.139)a. H: yesnal Seoul-untongcang-man ka po-kusô ince
old:days Seoul-stadium -only go:CONN see-CONN now

--> b. S: Seoul-untongcang-ûn ka po-ass -ci -yo
Seoul-stadium -TOP go:CONN see-ANT-COMM-DEF

c. H: yôki ttak tûlôka-myônûn
here just enter -CONN

--> d. ip -i chak pôlôci-ci
mouth-NOM wide:open spread-COMM

(S&H 25-28)

a. H: Those who have only been to the Seoul Stadium before,
b. S: The Seoul Stadium, **I've been there [for sure].**
c. H: if you enter here [the Dodgers Stadium]
d. **your mouth will drop open [definitely].**

As the translation indicates, what is expressed with the Committal *-ci* in (4.139b) and (4.139d) above, is the information which the speaker is sure of; that is, the information whose truth the speaker is committed to. In this case, the situation

described is again taken as a single whole to to be judged on its truthfulness. The Non-commitative *-na* conveys the opposite kind of information, that is, something to which the speaker is not committed. As for the Factual Realization *-ne*, its label indicates the nature of the information conveyed. In any case, with these epistemic suffixes, what is involved is the truthfulness of the information conveyed, regardless of the internal complexities of the situation described. Therefore, the situations described with these sentence-terminal suffixes are viewed as a whole, i.e., perfectively. Again the perfective meaning may be concomitant with the meanings of these suffixes, but what really gives the perfective meaning is the absence of the Imperfectives. The fact that all these suffixes, the Informal Ending *-ô*, the Committal *-ci*, the Non-commitative *-na*, and the Factual Realization *-ne*, are commonly incompatible with the Imperfective suffixes, *-nûn-* and *-tô-*, supports the idea that the perfective meaning shared by predication constructions expressed with these suffixes is due to the absence of the Imperfectives. Therefore, the perfective in predication constructions is still referred to by "being unmarked" by the Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-*, as is the case in attributive constructions. The case of the temporally unmarked form is by default perfective as well.

While the temporally unmarked form is contrasted with the Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-* in the sense that it is used in communicative contexts where the Imperfectives cannot be, i.e., for those situations viewed perfectively, it is in direct opposition to the Anterior -ôss-. As seen in Table 4-3, except for the Introspective *-la* with descriptive verbs, the Anterior *-ôss-* can occur virtually in all morphological contexts where the temporally unmarked form occurs. The semantic contrast between the temporally unmarked form and the Anterior *-ôss-* is of a different kind from that between the unmarked form and the Imperfectives. The latter is a matter of whether a situation is viewed perfectively or not, as discussed

above. As seen in (4.136), (4.137), and (4.138), the difference between the unmarked form and the Anterior *-ôss-* is a matter of time reference. As characterized in section 4.4.2, the Anterior *-ôss-* indicates that the situation described took place prior to a reference point. Its meanings include past time as well as completion and the perfect of result. The absence of the Anterior naturally means the lack of these meanings.

In section 4.4.2.3, I discussed the distribution of the various meanings of the Anterior *-ôss-* in informal discourse, which hints the direction of the semantic path of the suffix. That is, it was suggested that, since expressing the past tense meaning is the predominant use of the suffix (77%), the suffix is being developed into a past tense marker. The overall distribution of non-terminal suffixes immediately preceding a sentence-terminal suffix in sentence-terminal verbal complexes supplements the idea that Korea is developing a two-way tense distinction with the Anterior *-ôss-* becoming a Past Tense marker, as shown in Table 4-4 below.

Table 4-4. The overall frequency of non-terminal suffixes immediately preceding sentence-terminal suffixes.

	Ø	ôss	kess	nûn	tô	ôya	N/A	Total
#	488	124	30	17	10	6	41	716
%	68.2	17.3	4.2	2.4	1.4	0.8	5.7	100

[Note] N/A refers to cases where the use of the non-terminal suffixes in question here is not at issue due to their mutually exclusive meanings, such as imperatives, propositives, and promisives. For details, see Appendix A: Distribution of sentence-terminal verbal complexes.

As implied in earlier discussion, the temporally unmarked form is unmarked in

terms of overall frequency of non-terminal suffixes in sentence-terminal verbal complexes. Out of 716 sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the informal texts examined, 68.2% (488 instances) are temporally unmarked. It suggests that the temporally unmarked form is truly used in the kind of communicative contexts the speakers are mostly engaged in.

As seen in Table 4-4 above, the next most frequent non-terminal suffix in the sentence-terminal verbal complexes is the Anterior *-ôss-*; it occurs in 124 instances out of the total 716 sentence-terminal verbal complexes (17.3%). Even though the Anterior *-ôss-* occurs far less frequently than the temporally unmarked form, it is the Anterior *-ôss-*, as shown in Table 4-3, that the temporally unmarked form contrasts with most clearly and consistently. As the Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-* have restricted themselves to expressing the meaning of the speaker's concurrent experience and perceptual experience respectively (these Imperfectives *-nûn-* and *-tô-* occur very rarely in informal texts, 2.4% (17/716) and 1.4% (10/716) respectively), the temporal contrast in predication constructions has become a contrast between the unmarked form and the Anterior *-ôss-*. As the Anterior *-ôss-* increasingly gains the meaning of the past tense, the temporal contrast in predication constructions will become that of a two-way distinction of past/non-past.

It has become clear now why different constructions manifest different temporal contrasts in their morphology. The tripartite aspectual distinction made among the (Present) Imperfective *-nʌ-*, the (Past Imperfective) Retrospective *-tô-*, and the morphologically unmarked aspect in Middle Korean conservatively remains in attributive constructions in Modern Korean. The newly developed Anterior *-ôss-* has established itself in the verbal paradigm of predication constructions, and has come into contrast with the once Perfective unmarked form, which has been restricted to expressing non-past due to the takeover by the Anterior *-ôss-*.

4.6. Summary: the overall temporal system in Korean

In this chapter, I have characterized non-terminal verbal suffixes that are assumed to express temporal properties of the situation described, namely the Anterior *-ôss-*, the Imperfective *-nûn-*, and the Retrospective *-tô*. It was noted that the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* developed from the historically Perfect *-ô iss-* construction. Prior to the development of *-ôss-* around 17th century, the temporal system of Middle Korean is assumed to have been constituted by the Imperfective *-nʌ-* (the historical antecedent of *-nû-* in attributive constructions and *-nûn-* in predication constructions) and the so-called Retrospective *-tô-* along with the morphologically unmarked form. This historically underlying tripartite system, which is similar to that of the classic Indo-European system, still operates in attributive constructions in Modern Korean. The Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*are characterized as representing the cross-linguistic category IMPERFECTIVE, non-past and past respectively, and the morphologically unmarked form represents PERFECTIVE. It was shown that the perfective/imperfective distinction made by these three morphological categories in Korean refers to the totality dimension of perfectivity, not to the temporal dimension, as they indicate the location of the speaker's viewpoint, not with respect to temporal junctures of the situation described, but to its event frame. That is, the imperfectives *-nû-* and *-tô-* locate the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame (i.e., internal view), whereas the unmarked form views the situation from the outside of its event frame (i.e., external view). In the internal view, the internal activities and developments of the situation described are appreciated as if the speaker concurrently experiences them. In the external view, a situation is described in its entirety and thus as a single whole without its internal structures being looked

into, even when it has internal structures to look into.

The newly developed *-ôss-* is characterized as expressing anteriority, a tense-aspect neutral concept. Along with the two durative constructions, the static durative *-ô iss-* construction and the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* constitutes a temporal dimension, which refers to temporal junctures of the situation described. It was illustrated that whether it is interpreted as expressing a past tense or a perfective aspect in the sense of completion depends on the speaker's communicative concerns. When the speaker is concerned with the location of the situation described with respect to a reference point, it gives a past tense meaning, as the suffix indicates that the situation took place prior to the reference point. When the speaker is concerned with the location of the reference point with respect to the temporal phases of the situation, it gives a perfective aspectual meaning of completion, as the suffix indicates that the reference point is located at or after the terminal juncture of the situation. When the speaker is concerned with the relevance of a terminated situation extended to the current moment of speech, it gives the meaning the perfect of result, which is distinguished from the resultative meaning expressed by the static durative *-ô iss-* constructions, the historical source of *-ôss-*. Therefore, even though it is possible to say that the Anterior *-ôss-* is being developed into a past tense marker due to its predominant discourse pattern, its grammatical category is yet to be defined as either a past tense marker or a perfective aspect marker. The speaker's communicative goals determine which meaning prevails out of its tense-aspect neutral 'anterior'.

The development of *-ôss-* affected the temporal system only of predication constructions. As the suffix established its status in the verbal paradigm in predication constructions, the once Perfective unmarked form came into contrast not only with the Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-*, but also the newly

developed *-ôss-*. Meanwhile, the function of *-nûn-* and *-tô-* became more and more marginal --they constitute only 2.4% and 1.4% respectively of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the informal texts examined (see Table 4-4 and Appendix A), as their usage became restricted to the case of the physical presence of the viewpoint, i.e., the speaker's concurrent experience or perception.

Now, Modern Korean exhibits apparently idiosyncratic and inconsistent temporal systems, depending on construction types such as attributive constructions or predication constructions, or on speech styles, especially between the neutral style and the informal style. While the historically underlying tripartite system of the Present Imperfective *-nû-*, the Past Imperfective *-tô-*, and the unmarked perfective form operates in attributive constructions, the newly developed *-ôss-* created a new paradigmatic relation in predication constructions, which resulted in a two-way tense distinction of past and non-past, due to a predominant discourse pattern.

In closing, it has become clear now why the temporal system of Modern Korean is the way it is. Two issues were raised at the outset of this chapter: (i) the grammatical nature of the suffix *-ôss-*, and (ii) the explanation of why different constructions and different speech styles manifest different morphology for similar or the same temporal oppositions. As for the first issue, the tense-aspect neutral concept 'anterior' is proposed for the meaning of *-ôss-*. Discourse contexts play a big role in determining whether *-ôss-* gives a past tense meaning, a meaning of completion, or the perfect of result. As for the second issue, a historical perspective is taken. Due to the development of the Anterior *-ôss-*, the once tripartite aspectual system is being developed into a two-way tense distinction of past and non-past.

4.7. Theoretical and cross-linguistic implications

Underlyingly, Korean exhibits a tripartite aspectual system of the Present Imperfective *-nûn-*, the Past Imperfective (so-called Retrospective) *-tô-*, and the unmarked Perfective, as the system still operates in attributive constructions in Modern Korean. The development of the Anterior *-ôss-* from the historically Perfect *-ô iss-* construction created new temporal relations in the verbal paradigm. As the Anterior *-ôss-* increasingly gains the meaning of past tense due to a predominant discourse pattern, it is assumed that Korean is developing a two-way tense system. In this section, I will discuss theoretical and cross-linguistic implications of the Korean temporal system as presented here.

4.7.1. Cross-linguistic patterns

As mentioned, the tripartite aspectual system that is exhibited in Middle Korean and in attributive constructions in Modern Korean is similar to the classic Indo-European system. It is a system where the category IMPERFECTIVE consists of past and non-past, whereas no tense is specified for the category PERFECTIVE (Dahl 1985:81-84; Bybee and Dahl 1989:85). On the other hand, the morphosyntactic patterns as well as the semantic characteristics of the unmarked Perfective and the Imperfective *-nûn-* conform to the cross-linguistically pervasive pattern found in creole languages (Sankoff 1979; Bickerton 1981; Singler 1984), Western African languages such as Yoruba and Igbo (Welmers 1973; Comrie 1976), Persian (Comrie 1976), and Lakhota (Pam Munro, personal communication). The cross-linguistic temporal patterns exhibited in these languages can be compared in Table 4-5 below.

Table 4-5. Cross-linguistic patterns of aspectual distinctions:

	Perfective	Imperfective		Source
		Present	past	
Creole system[a]				
Guyanese	Ø	a		Bickerton 1981
Papiamentu	a	ta	tabata	Andersen 1990
West African lg's				
Yoruba	Ø	n		Welmers 1973
Igbo	Ø	na		Comrie 1976
Lakhota	Ø	han		Munro (p.c.)
Persian	Ø	mi		Comrie 1976
Indo-European system	Aorist	Present	Imperfect	Dahl 1985
Korean[b]	Ø	nûn	tô	

[Note]

a. Similar patterns also occur in other creole languages such as Tok Pisin (Sankoff 1979:42), Liberian English (Singler 1984), and Kru (Singler 1984:88).

b. The Korean system is that used prior to the 15th century and in attributive constructions in Modern Korean.

Table 4-5 shows a remarkable parallelism among those typologically and geographically unrelated languages. First of all, the Perfective forms in general give a past time reference to active verbs, and a non-past time reference to stative verbs. Secondly, the Imperfective forms cannot occur with stative verbs. Thirdly, the

PERFECTIVE category is expressed with a morphologically simpler form, mostly unmarked.[53]

Indo-European , Korean (prior to the 15th century and in attributive constructions in Modern Korean), and Papiamentu, a creole language (Andersen 1990), have a tripartite system that differentiates present and past tense for the category IMPERFECTIVE, instead of the two-way opposition of PERFECTIVE vs. IMPERFECTIVE, common in the other languages. However, even in the Korean and Indo-European systems, there are some points that lead to an assumption that the two-way distinction of PERFECTIVE and (PRESENT) IMPERFECTIVE may be the basic aspectual opposition. The Imperfect in Indo-European system is historically a later development, with its form based on the Present stem of the verb (Comrie 1976:115). Therefore, the Indo-European system also had the two-way distinction historically. In Korean, it is noted that the distribution of *-tô-* is limited, compared with the other members of the opposition in attributive constructions, i.e., the Imperfective *-nû-* and the temporally unmarked Perfective; see Table 4-6 below.

53 Even in Indo-European languages where PERFECTIVE is overtly marked as Aorist, it is considered as morphologically unmarked, based on the criterion of regularity (Comrie 1976:114). That is, Aorists are more irregular than their oppositions, e.g. Present and Imperfect.

Table 4-6. Distribution of temporal suffixes in realis attributive constructions

	Non-descriptive	Descriptive	Existential	Total
Ø	47	40	*	87 (48.6%)
nû	68	*	18	86 (48.0%)
tô	4	Ø	2	6 (3.3%)
Total	119	40	20	179 (100%)

[Note] * refers to a morphological gap.

As seen in Table 4-6, *-tô-* is far less frequent (3.3%) than-*nû-* (48.0%) and the unmarked form (48.6%) in attributive constructions, where *-tô-* is less constrained than in predication constructions, e.g. there is no "non-equi subject constraint". Therefore, it is plausible to say that the main temporal opposition (in attributive constructions) in Korean is made between the (Present) Imperfective *-nû-* and the unmarked Perfective. The fact that the opposition between the (Present) Imperfective *-nû-* and the unmarked form in Korean is the one that parallels the pattern in other languages makes it more conceivable to assume the basic two-way distinction cross-linguistically.

Some of the above mentioned languages have a category ANTERIOR. For example, Guyanese developed the Anterior *bin* (Bickerton 1981). Indo-European languages, of course, have periphrastic Perfect constructions. Persian also has a cliticized form expressing 'anterior' (Laurie Crain, personal communication). Korean, as discussed, developed the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* from the historically Perfect *-ô iss-* construction.

In all, the cross-linguistically common aspectual pattern of

PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE opposition is confirmed in Korean, at least historically and in attributive constructions synchronically, which has never been acknowledged in the literature.

4.7.2. Historical development of temporal system:

The way Korean has developed its temporal system also follows a cross-linguistically well-reported pattern. As discussed, the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* developed from the historically Perfect *-ô iss-* construction. The suffix is assumed to be further developing into a Past Tense marker. The development of a past tense marker from the Perfect construction is quite common, as it happened in Romance languages, German and other languages (Bybee and Dahl 1989:74-77) .

The way the overall temporal system has changed in Korean also provides a possible historical path of temporal systems in general. It exhibits a change from the totality dimension of aspect to the temporal dimension of tense distinction. The tripartite aspectual system of early Korean has given way in the temporal system in Korean to the temporally oriented Anterior *-ôss-*, which is leading toward the two-way tense distinction. A similar change has taken place in colloquial French, where the historically perfect *passé composé* has now taken over the temporal opposition to the Present and the *Imparfait* (Imperfect) from the *Passé Simple* (Simple Past). The historical path from the totality-oriented aspectual system to the more temporally oriented system of 'anteriority' in Korean also suggests that different sources of temporal oppositions need to be recognized, rather than merging into a single semantic domain, namely perfective/imperfective. There are at least three different sources of "perfectivity" (cf. Bybee and Dahl 1989:83-9):[54] (i) the totality

54 Bybee and Dahl (1989) acknowledge two different aspectual systems, the classic tripartite Indo-European systems and the Slavic type systems, which

dimension, exhibited in early Korean, attributive constructions in Modern Korean, and assumingly in those languages that exhibit the similar pattern shown in Table 4-5, (ii) the temporal dimension, which is manifested by the Anterior *-ôss-* in Korean and any linguistic coding of completion in languages in general, and (iii) lexically oriented "bounders", classically exhibited in the Slavic languages (Bybee and Dahl 1989:85-6). It is suggested then that what is labelled as expressing "perfective" in the description of individual languages needs to be specified for what sense of perfectivity it refers to, totality, completedness, bounders, or something else.

4.7.3. Markedness:

It is generally pointed out in the literature that no pattern of markedness can be found in the way the perfective/imperfective opposition is manifested in the grammar of an individual language. Comrie (1976:111-122) notes that various (semantic, morphological, and statistical) criteria for markedness conflict in defining either perfective or imperfective category as unmarked. He illustrates that semantic criteria, which define the category with more general meaning as unmarked, fail to assign any value of markedness, because the perfective/imperfective opposition made in the grammar of many languages is equipollent in nature (also pointed out in Dahl (1985:72)); that is, the meaning of each category is mutually exclusive rather than it being the case that the meaning of one category includes the meaning of the other. He also contends that the morphological criteria, which refer to simpler form and irregular morphology as

represent the totality dimension of perfectivity and the concept of boundedness in a broad sense (referring to a 'limit or end-state for the process') respectively. Apparently, they seem to include the meaning of completion, the temporal dimension discussed in this thesis, under the notion of boundedness.

unmarked, do not give a consistent picture of markedness for the grammar of the perfective/imperfective opposition. Whereas the Aorist in Indo-European languages can be defined as unmarked based on its irregular morphology, the Perfective/Imperfective opposition in Slavic languages cannot be defined either way, because there are both Perfective and Imperfective prefixes, and hence the criterion of simpler form cannot apply. Dahl (1985:69-73) also points out that the opposition of PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE does not have clear marking relations. Bybee (1985b:147) further illustrates the difficulty in defining an unmarked category of the PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE opposition by surveying the distribution of zero markers in aspect. In her sample of 50 languages, the Perfectives are zero-marked 41% of the time, but Imperfectives are zero-marked 15% of the time. Even though zero-marked Perfectives are much more common than zero-marked Imperfectives, the fact that there are cases where the Imperfectives are unmarked undermines the issue of markedness for PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE opposition.

What is worth noting though is that, in the literature, the phenomenon of perfective is considered as a unifying one, which is assumed to be amenable to one single proper notion of perfectivity, and scholars try to give a single definition of 'perfective'. As suggested in this thesis, however, if different sources for the Perfectives in individual languages, such as the temporal dimension, the totality dimension, and boundedness, are sorted out, the picture of markedness in perfective/imperfective opposition may turn out to be quite different from what is assumed in the literature. It is quite easy to see that, in the temporal view of perfectivity, the perfective category is semantically more marked than the imperfective, because in the temporal view of perfectivity, the issue is whether the situation described has reached its terminal juncture or not. In this semantic

dimension, it is more likely that the case where the situation has reached its terminal juncture gets linguistically coded. In the totality view of perfectivity, on the other hand, it is more likely that the imperfective categories get coded, since viewing a situation in its entirety from the outside of its event frame is a communicative norm. That is, referring to a single occurrence of a situation as a whole without its internal activities and developments being looked into is what we do most often in communication, as shown in informal texts of Korean examined. The pervasive cross-linguistic pattern shown in Table 4-5 clearly illustrates the unmarked nature of the category PERFECTIVE. A wide empirical investigation would be required to verify this hypothesis. What I would like to suggest at least is that we need to distinguish different semantic dimensions for what has been labeled as "perfective" or "imperfective" in the description of many languages, in order to understand the way markedness for aspectual categories is manifested in the grammar of individual languages.

Chapter 5. Sentence-terminal suffixes: an analysis of modality system in Korean

5.1. Introduction

It is generally assumed in the literature that sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean express modality categories in a broad sense, that is, the speaker's attitudes toward the proposition conveyed and/or the addressees (Martin 1954; Ooe 1958; K-J. Suk 1976; K-D. Lee 1986).[1] Sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean have been studied among scholars from many different perspectives, such as traditional grammarians' sentence-type approaches, speech level analyses, morphosyntactic analyses, performative analyses, and semantic and/or pragmatic approaches. The traditional sentence-type analyses are represented by comprehensive works by H-B. Choe (1977), Y-K. Ko (1976), and W. Huh (1983). In this approach, sentence-terminal suffixes are classified mainly in terms of sentence types such as declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive. The speech level analyses classify sentence-terminal suffixes in terms of speech levels of politeness. Those who analyze sentence-terminal suffixes in terms of speech levels include H-B. Choe (1977), Martin (1964), and Y-K. Ko (1974). The morphosyntactic analyses deal with morphosyntactic properties of sentence-terminal suffixes such as co-

1 In the literature on Korean, the term 'mood' has been used instead of 'modality' in describing sentence-terminal suffixes, following Martin (1954:36). Note that the term 'mood' is used in general to refer to a grammatical category, and 'modality' to refer to a semantic category (Palmer 1986). As discussed in Chapter 2, however, I use the term 'mood' as a semantic category as well, that is, a kind of modality category having to do with reality or actuality (i.e the distinction between realis and irrealis). Therefore, when I assume that sentence-terminal suffixes express modality categories, I mean to include what is referred to as expressing 'mood' categories in the literature.

occurring non-terminal suffixes, and attempt to characterize paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations among verbal affixes in Korean (Y-K. Ko 1974; K-J. Suk 1976). The performative analyses postulate the meanings of sentence-terminal suffixes as underlying abstract predicates, as in the generative semantics framework. This approach is represented by S-J. Chang (1973b), C-M. Lee (1975), H-M. Sohn (1974), and H-B. Lee (1970). The semantic and/or pragmatic approach is not so popular. There have been sporadic articles which deal with semantic and/or pragmatic properties of individual sentence-terminal suffixes, such as I-S. Yang (1976) on imperatives and propositives, D-K. Noh (1981) on exclamatives, and J-I. Kwon (1984) on promissives. Only Ooe (1958), K-H. Chang (1985), and K-D. Lee (1986) come to mind for comprehensive analyses of sentence-terminal suffixes.

Most of the previous analyses assume the four basic sentence-types (declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive) to be the core of the system of sentence-terminal suffixes, with a few exceptions representing the semantic and/or pragmatic approach. Especially among traditional Korean grammarians, sentence-terminal suffixes are taxonomically classified in terms of these four sentence-types. What the previous analyses miss are (i) in treating the discourse-pragmatic functions of each sentence-terminal suffix, (ii) in showing concerns for the variety of modality categories other than those relating to sentence types, especially the way modality categories are manifested in the informal styles of the language, and (iii) in presenting a cross-linguistic comparison which provides insight into the nature of sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean.

In this chapter, I will characterize the discourse-pragmatic nature of major sentence-terminal suffixes that occur in informal discourse in Korean. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are three kinds of sentence-terminal verbal complexes in Korean

according to their formal complexity: simple modality constructions, complex constructions, and quotative constructions. The simple modality constructions contain a single sentence-terminal suffix which cannot be further decomposed. The complex constructions developed from attributive constructions and thus are historically decomposable into one of the attributive suffixes, either the Realis-Attributive *-(ŭ)n* or the Irrealis-Attributive *-(ŭ)l*, and a bound nominal whose semantic nature is mostly opaque synchronically. The quotative constructions consist of a sentence-terminal suffix of the neutral style followed by another terminal suffix which further qualifies the quoted proposition with more specification of the speaker's attitude toward it. In this study, I will deal with only sentence-terminal suffixes that occur in simple modality constructions. For a brief description of the complex constructions and the quotative constructions, see Chapter 3.1.1.2.

The discourse-pragmatic analysis of sentence-terminal suffixes that will be given here will show that different styles of the language are sensitive to different modality categories; that is, in formal styles, sentence-terminal suffixes differentiate sentence-types, whereas, in informal styles of the language, it is epistemic modality categories that are differentiated. Especially emphasized will be the distinction between what the speaker already knows and what the speaker has just perceived. The distinction is linguistically significant, as many languages including Korean exhibit linguistic sensitivity to it in their morphosyntax.

Through the ways modality categories are manifested by sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean, it will be suggested that the experiential components of how the speaker perceives information and integrates it into his or her knowledge system is much more important in informal communication than the performative components

of speech acts; the former are signalled explicitly by morphosyntactic devices, e.g. sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean, whereas the latter are more likely to be signaled through discourse contexts.

5.2. Differentiation of modality categories

As mentioned, sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean have been characterized mainly in terms of four sentence-types, declarative, interrogative, imperative, and propositive, because sentence-terminal suffixes distinguish sentence-types in many speech styles. For example,

(5.1) puhwal -kwa yôngsæng-ûn imi
resurrection-COM eternal:life -TOP already

hananim-kkesô kyehoek-ha-si -ôss -ko
God -NOM:HONOR plan -do-HONOR-ANT-CONN

yaksok -hæ noh-ûn kôs -i -p -ni -ta
promise-do:CONN put -ATTR thing-be-POL-IND-DECL

(The Mustard Seed 67)

'Resurrection and eternal life are already planned and promised by God.'

(5.2) a. namu-e munce -ka iss -ûsi -p -ni -kka
tree -LOC problem-NOM exist-HONOR-POL-IND-INTERR

b. cônmunka-i -n côhûi-tûl -ûl chac-a
expert -be-ATTR 1:POL-PL-ACC visit -CONN

cu -si -p -si -o
give-HONOR-POL-JUSS-IMPER

(AD)

a. Do you have problems with your trees?
b. Please visit us, who are experts on them.

(5.3) hônkûm-ûn tûlôo-si -l ttæ ipku -ham-e
offering -TOP enter-HONOR-ATTR time entrance-box-LOC

tûli -si -p -si -ta
give:POL-HONOR-POL-JUSS-DECL

(The Disciples' Church 3.6)

'Let us put our offering in the box at the entrance when we come in'

In the formal upward style, which is marked by the Polite suffix *-(û)p-*, the sentence-terminal suffixes distinguish sentence-types, along with the mood markers, the Indicative *-ni-* and the Jussive *-si-*; *-ni-ta* for declarative as in (5.1), *-ni-kka* for interrogative as in (5.2a), *-si-o* for imperative as in (5.2b), and *-si-ta* for propositive as in (5.3) --see Chapter 3.2 for the more detailed discussion of the morphology and uses of each speech style.

The formal downward style manifests an independent set of sentence-terminal suffixes, which also distinguish the four sentence-types. For example,

(5.4)a. kûliko nûc-ôss-ciman
and:then late-ANT-CONCESS

b. kacang cungyoha-n, pumo -nim-tûl
most important-ATTR parents-lord-PL

--> annyông -ha-si -nka
well-being-do-HONOR-DUB

c. motu-tûl kônkangha-ko
all -PL healthy -CONN

sænghwal-e chungsilha-si -l kô -la
life -LOC sincere -HONOR-ATTR thing-DECL

--> mit -ko iss -ne
believe-CONN exist-FDW:DECL

(J-S. Yoo: 12-13)

a. Even though this is a bit late,
b. The most import thing [that I forgot], **how are your parents?**
c. **I believe that they all both healthy,**
and living a sincere life.

(5.5) i yôpsô pat -kôtûn
this postcard receive-CORREL

kkok yônlak -hæ cu -ke
surely correspondence- do:CONN give-FDW:IMPER

(I-K. Lee)

'Please write to me for sure, when you get this postcard [aerogram].

(5.6)a. iptæ hu chôûm tæhæ po-nûn phyônci-e
enlistment after first:time face:CONN see-ATTR letter -LOC

nolla -ci -nûn mal-ko
surprised-NOML-TOP stop-CONN

b. kû -tongan "musosik-ûn hûsosik" cuûi -e
that-while no:news -TOP good:news principle-LOC

ôkûsnam-i ôps-i sænghwal-hæ o -n
discord -NOM not:exist-ADV life -do:CONN come-ATTR

--> kôs -ûlo -man yôki -se
thing-OBL-only regard-FDW:PROP

(J-S. Yoo: 2)

a. Don't be surprised with the first letter you've received [from me] since I enlisted [in the armed forces],
b. and let's take it just as I have been living during the while, conforming to the principle "no news is good news.'

As seen in the above examples, a declarative statement is indicated by the Formal Downward Declarative *-ne* as in (5.4c), a question by the Dubitative *-(nû)nka* as in (5.4b), a command by the Formal Downward Imperative *-ke* as in (5.5), and a proposal by the Formal Downward Propositive *-se* as in (5.6b).

In the neutral style as well, sentence-types are distinguished by sentence-terminal suffixes; declarative statements are expressed with the *-ta* as in (5.7a) and (5.7.c) below, questions with the Interrogative *-(nû)nya* or the Dubitative

-(nû)nka or *-(û)lkka* as in (5.7b), commands with the Imperative *-(û)la* or *-(ô)la* as in (5.8b), and proposals with the Propositive *-ca* as in (5.7d).

(5.7)a. kûlônte isangha-ke -to onûl ponmun-ûn
then strange -RESUL-ADD today scripture-TOP

koô -lo -nûn mullon hyôntæ-ô -lo -to
archaic:word-OBL-TOP of:course modern-word-OBL-ADD

--> ilk -ôto coh -tolok hôyong-tôe -n pupun-i -ta .
read-ADD good-INDUC allow -become-ATTR part -be-DECL

--> b. wæ-i -lkka?
why-be-DUB

c. i iyaki-ûi kôth -moyang -ûn
this story -GEN surface-appearance-TOP

pulliyun -ûi iyaki kath -ûna
being:unethic-GEN story same-CONTRA=CONJ

sok ttûs -ûn kusok -ûi iyaki-i -ki
inside meaning-TOP salvation-GEN story-be-NOML

--> ttæmun-i -ta
reason -be-DECL

d. kûlôm môncô iyaki-ûi kôth -ûl salphyô po -ko
then at:first story-GEN surface-ACC look:into:CONN see-CONN

kûliko na -sô
and:then come:into:existence-CONN

--> sok ttûs -ûl al -a po -ki -lo ha-ca
inside meaning-ACC know-CONN see-NOML-OBL do-PROP
(The Disciples' Voice 85)

a. And then, strangely,
today's scripture is readily understandable even in the Modern language as well as in the archaic language.
b. Why is it so?

c. Because this story appears to be unethical on the surface,
but its underlying message is salvation.
d. Then, let's look at the story first,
and then look into the underlying message.

(5.8)a. Damal-i-yô!
Damal-be-VOC

--> b. kûtæ ilûm -e yôngkwang-iss -ûla!
you name -LOC glory -exist-IMPER
(The Disciples' Voice 85)

a. Damal!
b. **May your name be glorified!**

Note that all these speech styles are formal. In the informal styles, however, which are represented by the Informal Ending *-ô*, sentence-terminal suffixes do not distinguish sentence-types. First of all, unlike in the formal styles, where the representative sentence-terminal suffixes express only declarative statements, the informal Ending *-ô*, which is the representative and most frequent sentence-terminal suffix of the informal styles, is truly unspecified with respect to sentence-types, as it can be used in all types of sentence-types. For example,

(5.9) [K is visiting H. Noticing that K is still wearing suit, H says to K]
a. H: os phyônha -ke ip -ôla
clothes comfortable-RESUIT put:on-IMPER

b. S: (Laughing) phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i
comfortable-RESULT put:on-ATTR clothes-NOM

--> ôps -ô
not:exist-IE

--> c. H: phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i ôps -ô ?
comfortable-RESULT put:on-ATTR clothes-NOM not:exist-IE

d. K: (Feeling ironical about being asked for something he doesn't have)
os phyônha -ke ip -ûlæ
clothes comfortable-RESULT put:on-IMPER:IE

--> e. H: ôps-o?
not:exist-IE

f. K: ûng
right

--> g. H: i -kô ip -o kûlôm
this-thing put:on-IE then (K&H: 54-60)

a. H: Why don't you change your clothes into something comfortable?
b. K: I don't have something comfortable.
c. H: You don't have comfortable clothes?
d. K: (Feeling ironical about being asked for something he doesn't have) I was told to change my clothes into something comfortable.
e. H: You don't have any?
f. K: No.
g. H: Try these then.

In the above example, the Informal Ending *-ô* is used in a declarative statement in (b), a question in (c) and (e), in a command in (g).

The claim that sentence-types are not differentiated by sentence-terminal suffixes in the informal styles of the language is further supported by the fact that even the second most frequent sentence-terminal suffix Committal *-ci* as well is also not specified in terms of sentence-types (cf. S-J. Chang 1973b:127-131; Y-K. Ko 1976:414; K-H. Chang 1985:117-124). For example (repeated from 4.46),

(5.10)a. H: yesnal Seoul-untongcang-man ka po-kusô ince
old:days Seoul-stadium -only go:CONN see-CONN now

--> b. S: Seoul-untongcang-ûn ka po-ass -ci -yo
Seoul-stadium -TOP go:CONN see-ANT-COMM-DEF

c. H: yôki ttak tûlôka-myônûn
here just enter -CONN

--> d. ip -i chak pôlôci-ci
mouth-NOM wide:open spread-COMM
(S&H: 25-28)

a. H: Those who have only been to the Seoul Stadium before, and
b. S: The Seoul Stadium, I've been there **[for sure]**.
c. H: if you enter here [the Dodgers Stadium]
d. your mouth will drop open **[definitely]**.

As seen in (5.10) above, the Committal *-ci* is used in a statement in which the speaker conveys information which he believes is obviously true. The suffix can be best translated into 'for sure', 'definitely', 'obviously', or 'of course', as in (b) and (d).

As is the case of the Informal Ending *-ô*, the Committal *-ci* also can be used in interrogative contexts, in which case the speaker asks for confirmation about the information whose truth he or she is committed to. For example,

(5.11)a. oppa,
big:brother

b. na WALKMAN tolyôcu-lyôko o -ass -nûnte
1SG walkman return -PURP come-ANT-CIRCUM

c. TOO BAD.
too bad

d. kûnyang kaci-ki -lo hæ-ss -ô
just take-NOML-OBL do-ANT-IE

--> e. pulman ôps -ci
complaint not:exist-COMM

f. oppa -ka ôps -ôss -ûni +kka
big:brother-NOM not:exist-ANT-DET+INTERR

g. ha-l mal ôps -ûl kô -i -a
do-ATTR saying not:exist-ATTR thing-be-IE

(Leah 2:1-6)

a. Hi, Big Brother,
b. I came to return your walkman, then
c. too bad.
d. I decided to keep it.
e. **You don't have any complaint, do you?**
f. Since it's you who missed me,
g. You wouldn't have anything to say.

In (5.11) above, the writer (Leah) is teasing the addressee (her cousin-brother), by threatening to keep his walkman. (5.11e) shows that the Committal *-ci* can be used in asking for confirmation, which can be best translated with a tag question in English. In this case as well, however, the writer sounds very sure of what she is conveying [i.e., the addressee wouldn't have any complaint]. As will be discussed later, the interpretation of confirmation is obtained by the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information conveyed being put in an interrogative context.

The Committal *-ci* can even be used in imperative contexts as well. For example,

(5.12)a. i pappû-n mom-i chac-a o -ass -nûnte
this busy -ATTR body-NOM seek-CONN come-ANT-CIRCUM

b. ôcci-hay-ô an po -i -nûn kô -i -a?
how -do-CONN NEG see-PASS-ATTR thing-be-IE

c. tu -ko po -a
leave-CONN see-IE

--> d. hûng, kûlæ po -la -ci
huh do:so:CONN see-IMPER-COMM

e. ccokkûma-n tongsæng -ûl honca næ
small -ATTR younger:sibling-ACC alone take:out:CONN

pôli -ô tu -ko
throw:away-CONN leave-CONN (Leah 4: 5-9)

a. This busy lady came to visit you, then
b. how come you are not seen?
c. You will see!
d. **Huh, do like that [you will get what you deserve]!**
e. How can you leave your little sis alone.

In (5.12d), *-ci-* is used in an imperative context, which is the only example that occurs in the data texts examined. Note that, as the bracketed translation indicates, the speaker seems assured of what will be the consequences of the addressee's wrongdoing. In any case, examples (5.10), (5.11), and (5.12) show that the Committal *-ci* cannot be specified for any sentence-type, just like the Informative Ending *-ô*.

The following table shows the distribution of the Informal Ending *-ô* and the Committal *-ci* in terms of what sentence-type context they occur in.

Table 5-1. Uses of *-ô* and *-ci* by sentence-types[2]

	Declarative	Interrogative	Imperative	Total
-ô	265 (63.2%)	136 (32.5%)	18 (4.3%)	419 (100%)
-ci	90 (79.6%)	22 (19.5%)	1 (0.9%)	113 (100%)

2. The distribution of the Informal Ending in terms of sentence-types varies depending on the nature of texts. In conversational texts such as K&H, in which so much interaction is going on between the communicators, the Informal Ending *-ô* is more frequently used in interrogative contexts than in declarative contexts. In narratives or personal notes, where the communicators' interaction is less intense, *-ô* is predominantly used in declarative contexts.

The fact that the two most frequent sentence-terminal suffixes, which comprise 74.3% of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the informal texts examined, cannot be defined in terms of sentence-types clearly illustrates that sentence-types are not distinguished by sentence-terminal suffixes in the informal styles of the language. As will be shown in the following sections, sentence-terminal suffixes in the informal style express various epistemic statuses instead, such as how the speaker perceives the information conveyed and integrates it into his or her existing body of knowledge, and how much the speaker is committed to its truth.

It should be noted that it is not the case that there is no sentence-terminal suffix occurring in the informal texts that indicates a sentence-type. As seen in Appendix B (Distribution of Sentence-terminal Suffixes), there are a few sentence-terminal suffixes that indicate a sentence-type; that is, the Declarative *-ta*, the Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya*, and the Imperative *-(ô)la*. As will be shown later, however, even these suffixes do not just indicate a sentence-type, but carry special discourse functions that have to do with the speaker's knowledge status or background assumption. Furthermore, their distributions are very limited; the Declarative *-ta* occurs in only 2.4% (17/716) of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes, the Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya* in 1.1% (8/716), and the Imperative *-ôla* in 0.4% (3/716). Therefore, sentence-type distinctions are secondary at best in the informal styles of the language.

In the following sections, I will attempt to characterize discourse-pragmatic functions of representative sentence-terminal suffixes in informal discourse, and illustrate that the informal communicative contexts are much more sensitive to epistemic modality categories than sentence-types or other speech act categories.

5.3. Discourse-pragmatic characteristics of the Informal Ending *-ô*

As mentioned, the Informal Ending *-ô* is the unmarked and representative sentence-terminal suffix in the informal style of the language. First of all, it is the most frequent sentence-terminal suffix in the informal styles of the language. It occurs in 58.5% (419/716) of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the informal texts examined (see Appendix B: Distribution of Sentence-terminal Suffixes). Considering the fact that the second most frequent sentence-terminal suffix in the informal texts examined, namely the Committal *-ci*, occurs only in 15.8% (113/716) of the sentence-terminal suffixes, the Informal Ending *-ô* is truly representative in the informal style of the language in terms of frequency.

Secondly, the Informal Ending *-ô* is representative in terms of discourse-pragmatic functions as well. As shown in (4.43), which is repeated as (5.13) below, the suffix is used for the most basic communicative functions, that is, in simple statements with which the speaker straightforwardly informs the addressee of information he or she has.

(5.13)a. Hyo-Sang oppa .
Hyo-Sang big:brother

b. annyông !
How:are:you

c. yôcônhi kongpu-ha-myônsô cal iss -kess -ci ?
still study -do-SIMUL well exist-DCT:RE-COMM

--> d. na-tu -i -a oppa !
I -ADD-be-IE big:brother

e. kû -nte 'kongpu-ha-myônsô'-ka an -i -ku
that-CIRCUM study -do-SIMUL -NOM NEG-be-CONN

--> 'nol -myônsô'-ka tô cônghwakha-ô
play-SIMUL -NOM more precise -IE

--> f. nômu sinna-ke nol -a
too joyful-RESUL play-IE

g. kûlô -nûlako oppa -hanthe phyônci-to ilôhke
do:so-PURP brother-DAT letter -ADD like:this

--> nûc-ke ha-ci -anh -a
late-RESUL do-NOML-NEG:do-IE

h. yôngkuk-e o -n ci
England-LOC come-ATTR since

kyôu han tal pan côngto twæ -ss -nûnte
barely one month half extent become-ANT-CIRCUM

--> i. nômu olæ toe -n kôs kath -a
too late become--ATTR thing same-IE

(Leah 7: 1-8)

a. Dear Big Brother Hyo Sang
b. How are you?
c. I figure you are doing well including your studying, aren't you?
d. **Me, too.**
e. But the thing is, I am not studying very much,
rather, **it is more like I am just playing around.**
f. **I have so much fun.**
g. **That's why I am writing to you this late.**
h. Even though it's been only a month that I came to England,
i. **I feel like it's been a long time.**

In the above example, the information conveyed in (d), (e), (f), (g), and (i), which is marked by the Informal Ending *-ô*, is the very kind of information that the speaker/writer can inform other people of, because it is about his or her own being

and doings. Such information is distinguished from the kind of information conveyed in (c), which is about the addressee's well-being. The addressee's well-being is not the kind of information the speaker/writer can inform the addressee of. Note that the Committal *-ci* along with the Deductive Reasoning marker *-kess-* is used in (c), with which the writer asks the addressee for confirmation of the writer's reasoning about the addressee's well-being. Therefore, (5.13) shows that the Informal Ending *-ô* is used in conveying information the speaker has, which is conceivably one of the most basic communicative transactions.

Communicative transactions typically involve the exchange of information, that is, giving information the speaker has and seeking information he or she lacks. The fact that the suffix *-ô* can be used in interrogative contexts as well as in declarative contexts, as shown in (5.9c), suggests that the Informal Ending *-ô* is used exactly for that function of exchanging information. The following example illustrates clearly the exchange of information expressed with *-ô*.

(5.14)a. H: mun tat -ass -ô -yo?
--> door close-ANT-IE-DEF

b. F: ûng?
what

--> c. H: ta kkûth-na -ss -ô -yo?
all end -occur -ANT-IE-DEF

--> d. F: ûng, kôcin kkûth-na ka [ka-ô]
ah almost end -occur:CONN go:IE

--> e. H: ne, al -ass -ô -yo
I:see know-ANT-IE-DEF

f. F: ûng
O.K.

(TC 1: 15-20)

a. H: Have you closed [the restaurant] (lit. Have you closed the door)?
b. F: What?
c. H: Are you finished [for the day]?
d. F: Ah, almost.
e. H: I see. I got it.
f. F: O.K.

The above example shows a series of exchange of information. In (a) and (c), H seeks for a piece of information he wants to know, namely whether his father's business is done for the day. In (d), F(ather) gives information he has in response to H's asking. In (e), H informs F of his satisfaction with F's response.

Conceivably due to its unmarked, and intuitively simplest function in informal communication, the Informal Ending *-ô* has not drawn any attention from scholars for its discourse-pragmatic functions, with the exception of K-D. Lee (1986). The use of the suffix, however, has a number of discourse-pragmatic characteristics, which I will elaborate in the following.

First of all, as I have shown, what is conveyed with the suffix *-ô* is informative. That is, the specific communicative goal indicated by the suffix is a transfer of the information conveyed from the speaker to the addressee in a statement or from the addressee to the speaker in an interrogative context. For example,

(5.14)a. Hyo Sang oppa annyông
Hyo Sang big:brother how:are:you
b. onûl achim oppa pyôngci-lang CATALOGUE
today morning big:brother letter -CONJ catalogue

--> pat -ass -ô̲
receive-ANT-IE

--> c. komaw-ô̲ oppa
grateful-IE big:brother

d. yôksi kûlæ-to i Leah sængkakhæ cu -nûn
after:all do:so-ADD this Leah think:CONN give-ATTR

oppa -nûn sachon oppa -tûl cung
big:brother-TOP cousin big:brother-PL among

--> oppa -pakk -e ôps -ô̲
big:brother-outside-LOC not:exist-IE

(Leah 8: 1-4)

a. Brother Hyo Sang, how are you?
b. I received your catalogue and letter this morning.
c. Thank you, brother.
d. After all, you are the only big brother who cares for this Leah among cousin brothers.

In (5.14b), the writer informs the addressee of the things she received. In (5.14c), the writer informs the addressee of her feeling about him, namely her gratitude toward the addressee. In (5.14d), the writer informs the addressee of her evaluation about him. The function of informing also includes telling of the speaker's own decision, as shown in (5.11d).

Imparting a piece of information is communicatively proper only when the information conveyed is a part of the speaker's knowledge and the speaker assumes that the addressee is not aware of it. That is, the information conveyed is that over which the speaker exclusively has the authority (cf. Kamio's (1979): the information is in the speaker's territory; DuBois (personal communication): the 'right of say'). Consider the following examples:

(5.15) *nô -nûn hængpokhæ (hængpokha-ô)
2SG-TOP happy:IE
'You are happy.'

(5.16) *cyæ -nûn sûlphû-ô
that:child-TOP sad -IE
'That one is sad.'

(5.17) *nô -nûn ôce hakkyo-e o -ass -ô
2SG-TOP yesterday school -LOC come-ANT-IE
'You came to school yesterday.'

(5.15) and (5.16) show that the Informal Ending *-ô* cannot be used to express other people's internal feeling or sensation, because the speaker does not have the authority over the information about other people's internal feeling or sensation, unless the addressee is not conscious of it for some reason. The Informal Ending *-ô* also cannot be used to describe the addressee's volitional activities, as shown in (5.17), because it is the addressee who has the authority over the information conveyed, rather than the speaker. The reason why examples (5.15) through (5.17) sound odd communicatively is well captured in Givón's statement (1984:308):

> The speaker cannot claim evidentiary authority over the states/events in which the hearer was a conscious participant (and the speaker was not), since ..... there is no reason to inform the hearer of the things he knows better than the speaker.

It should be noted that there are some cases in which *-ô* does not seem to be characterized as conveying information which the speaker knows. In (5.11g), for example, the writer gives an assertive statement about the addressee's would-be reaction to her decision to keep his walkman, which in principle the addressee should have the authority over. Similarly, the Informal Ending *-ô* can be used for expressing other people's internal feeling if it is presented as the speaker's evaluative judgement, not as factual knowledge. For example,

(5.18) nô -nûn hængpokha-l kô -ya (< -i-a)
2SG-TOP happy -ATTR thing-be:IE
'You are happy [I presume]' or 'You will be happy.'

Notice that (5.11g) and (5.18) are in the *-(û)l kô-ya* construction, which consists of the Irrealis Attributive *-(û)l* and the bound nominal kô 'thing' with the Copula *-i-* fused into the Informal Ending *-ô*. The *-(û)l kô-ya* construction expresses the speaker's presumption, speculation, or predication about otherwise "inaccessible" information on the part of the speaker such as that about future events, other people's internal feeling or intention, etc. As in (5.11g) and (5.18), the *-(û)l kô-ya* construction conveys information as to the speaker's evaluative judgements, such as presumption or prediction, rather than factual knowledge. Presenting a piece of information as the speaker's evaluative judgement rather than his or her knowledge allows him or her to make a statement about the information over which he or she cannot claim authority otherwise.

Even in statements of evaluative judgement such as (5.11g) and (5.18), however, the kind of information conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô* is that which the speaker/writer assumes the addressee to be unaware of or believe the opposite. For example, in (5.11g), a statement of evaluative judgement is made about the addressee's would-be reaction [i.e., he would not have any complaint about the writer's decision to keep his walkman] under the obvious assumption that the addressee would not comply with it. Therefore, the kind of information conveyed in a statement of evaluative judgement expressed with *-ô* still qualifies for being informative in the sense of Lyons (1977:33):

> a signal [linguistic or non-linguistic] is informative if it makes the receiver [addressee] aware of something of which he [or she] was not previously aware.

Relating to the informative nature of information conveyed by the informal Ending *-ô* discussed above is the fact that the information conveyed with *-ô* is often assertive. For example, in (5.11d) and (5.11g), the speaker sounds as if the truth of the information conveyed is firmly fixed. Considering the contents of the information conveyed in (5.11), i.e., the writer is about to keep the addressee's walkman without his consent, it is easy to assume that there will be a challenge from the addressee about the information conveyed. Against this background assumption, the writer is asserting the unchallengeable nature of the information conveyed. K-D. Lee (1986:45-47), in this regard, characterizes *-ô* as being used when the speaker assumes that there is some resistance on the part of the addressee toward what the speaker is saying. It should be noted, however, that the assertiveness of an expression with *-ô* does not seem to be the core meaning of the suffix. Many examples such as the ones given in (5.13), (5.14), and (5.15) do not sound very assertive, but the speaker/writer simply gives information that the addressee is not assumed to know. It seems that the assertive interpretation comes about when the information conveyed is presumed to be against the addressee's belief.

A useful concept for understanding the discourse-pragmatic functions of the Informal Ending *-ô* is the distinction between what is called in the literature "assimilated" information and "unassimilated" information (Akatsuka 1985; DeLancey 1986). The distinction between assimilated information and unassimilated information refers to different modes of knowledge on the part of the speaker. That is, information which has been previously perceived or experienced has already been integrated into the speaker's knowledge system. This kind of information is said to be "assimilated" information, or be in the 'state of

knowledge' (Akatsuka 1985), or part of the 'old' knowledge (DeLancey 1986). There is a kind of information, on the other hand, that the speaker is conscious of, but that cannot be claimed as factual knowledge. That is, the information has just been perceived, and thus is yet to be integrated into the speaker's knowledge system. This kind of information is called "unassimilated" information (cf. 'newly obtained knowledge' in Akatsuka (1985) or 'new knowledge' in DeLancey 1986)).

Now, the kind of information conveyed by the Informal Ending *-ô* can be readily considered as "assimilated" information. In most of cases, as seen in the examples given thus far, the information conveyed is that which is in the integrated part of the speaker's knowledge, either because it is about the speaker/writer's conscious activities, currently existing feelings, or things that the speaker/writer have experienced.

Note that the information conveyed in (5.11g) and (5.18) is not about the writer's own activities or currently existing feelings, or things that she has experienced, but about the addressee's affairs, which the speaker/writer simply presumes based on the circumstances. It was mentioned earlier, however, that the Informal Ending *-ô* is allowed in this context, because the information conveyed is not claimed as factual knowledge, but as her evaluative judgement. Therefore, the precise characterization of the Informal Ending *-ô* needs an elaboration on what constitutes knowledge on the part of the speaker such that cases like (5.11g) and (5.18) are accounted for as conveying "assimilated" information as well. Recall that the statements of evaluative judgement are made with the Informal Ending *-ô* in the *-(ú)l kôya* construction when the speaker assumes the addressee to be unaware of the information conveyed. Furthermore, the speaker/writer himself (or herself) seems to have already decided upon the truth of the information conveyed, as mentioned for (5.11g) with regard to its assertiveness, even though the information

is inaccessible as factual knowledge. It seems then conceivable to say that the kind of information conveyed in a statement of evaluative judgement like (5.11g) and (5.18) constitutes a part of the speaker's knowledge as belief, if not as factual knowledge. The assimilated information conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô* now can be considered as the kind of information whose truth is stored or registered in the speaker's body of knowledge, either by being factual knowledge or by belief.

There is an interesting use of the Informal Ending *-ô* which does not seem to be characterized as conveying assimilated information at all, however. That is, *-ô* is used in expressing instant sensations or an extremely urgent calling. For example,

(5.19) (Touching a surface which is burning hot)
as ttûkô (<-- ttûkôw-ô)!
ouch hot:IE
'Ouch (Holy shit), [it's] hot!

(5.20) (Just having felt shivering cold)
ôw chuw-ô
oh cold-IE
'Wow, [it's] cold!'

(5.21) pul-i -a!
fire-be-IE
'Fire!'

(5.19) and (5.20) show that the informal Ending *-ô* is used in instant reactions to what the speaker has just sensed. In (5.21), *-ô* is used in an expression of emergency. In all these cases, it is hardly the case that the information conveyed has been already stored for its truth in the speaker's knowledge. Furthermore, as I will discuss in the following section, there is a kind of information that has just entered

the speaker's consciousness, and yet cannot be expressed with *-ô*. Similar to the cases in (5.19), (5.20), and (5.21), what will be illustrated in the following section can also be characterized as expressing the speaker's immediate reaction to what has just been perceived. Therefore, the kind of information conveyed in (5.19) through (5.21) must be distinguished from the cases that will be discussed later. Presently, I do not have an immediate account for how the instant reactions given in (5.19) through (5.20) can be expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô*, which I propose to be characterized as conveying assimilated information. One highly speculative explanation I can offer now, though, is that the urgent nature of the situations given in (5.19), (5.20), and (5.21) may make possible an instant assimilation of some sort. That is, unlike the cases that will be discussed in the following section, where the speaker cannot claim his or her exclusive authority over the truth of the information conveyed because it has not been integrated into the speaker's body of knowledge, the truth of the kind of information conveyed in (5.19), (5.20), and (5.21) must be decided on instantly due to the urgency of the situation. However far-fetched this hypothesis may sound, it seems to make some sense to me that the information conveyed in those situations must be factual rather than just belief or simple perception. I will leave the legitimacy of the explanation given here open.

In sum, the Informal Ending *-ô* is the unmarked and representative sentence-terminal suffix in informal discourse in terms of frequency as well as discourse-pragmatic functions. It conveys information that is integrated part of the speaker's existing body of knowledge, i.e., assimilated information. It is typically used in exchanging information among communicators. In the following sections, I will discuss the cases where the information conveyed cannot be expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô*.

5.4. Newly perceived information: 'immediate' evidentials

In the preceding section, I characterized the Informal Ending *-ô* as conveying assimilated information. With the possible exception of expressions of instant reactions to urgent situations, for which I hypothesized the possibility of instant assimilation, the information conveyed with *-ô* is that which has already been integrated into the speaker's body of knowledge either as factual knowledge or as belief about otherwise inaccessible information through prior perception or experience. What is interesting is that information which has just entered the speaker's consciousness cannot be conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô*. It is a cross-linguistically common phenomenon that the speaker's spontaneous and immediate reaction to what has just been perceived is linguistically coded differently from the kind of information that the speaker already knows. The (cross-linguistic) grammatical category expressing immediate reaction is called "IMMEDIATE", an evidential category (cf. Nichols (1986) on Chinese pidgin Russian; Woodbury (1986) on Sherpa). Similar phenomena are also described as "prepared mind" vs. unprepared mind" for Turkish (Slobin and Aksu 1982; Aksu-Koç and Slobin 1986), and "old" knowledge vs. "new" knowledge on Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985, 1986). In H-S. Lee (1985), I described a similar phenomenon in Korean as "assimilated" vs. "unassimilated", which characterizes the distinction between the uses of the Informal Ending *-ô* and the uses of what I call the "Unassimilated" marker *-kun*. In this section, I will show that in Korean, in fact, there are four sentence-terminal suffixes which can be used in expressing the speaker's spontaneous and immediate reaction to what has just been perceived, i.e., 'immediate' evidentials. Those are the Unassimilated *-kun*, what I call the "Factual Realization" suffix *-ne*, the Declarative *-ta*, and what I call the "Introspective" *-la*.

I will characterize the nature of these suffixes in terms of what discourse-pragmatic factors differentiate these four sentence-terminal suffixes. It should be noted that some of these suffixes may not limit themselves to expressing newly perceived information, and thus they may not be properly characterized as "immediate" evidentials. However, it is the intention of this section to characterize the discourse-pragmatic factors that distinguish these suffixes through the ways they are used in expressing newly perceived information.

5.4.1.The Unassimilated marker *-kun*

One of the sentence-terminal suffixes that are used in expressing the speaker's spontaneous and immediate reaction to what has just been perceived is *-kun*, which I call the "Unassimilated" suffix (H-S. Lee 1985). This sentence-terminal suffix has not drawn much attention until recently, as it is traditionally classified simply as one of the declarative sentence-terminal suffixes with an "exclamatory" meaning (H-B. Choe 1977; W. Huh 1983). Emphasized in these traditional characterization of *-kun* is the meaning of the speaker's exclamatory feeling. The problem with this characterization is that the terms used for characterizing the suffix, such as "exclamation" and the "speaker's feeling" are too general and impressionistic, and thus not specific enough to exclusively characterize the suffix. As illustrated in K-H. Chang (1985:88-93), there are other sentence-terminal suffixes that can be said to express the speaker's exclamatory feelings. The situations described in (5.19) through (5.21) in the preceding section, for example, are not the kind of situations that can be described with *-kun*, even though they can be conceived as expressing the speaker's exclamatory feelings. As an attempt to overcome the problem, she, along with D-K. Noh (1981, 1983) and K-D. Lee (1986), takes a cognitive approach, which reveals the nature of the suffix in more refined ways. The meaning

of "new perception" is first brought up by D-K. Noh (1981, 1983), as a core meaning of *-kun*. K-H. Chang (1985) elaborates it as "*sælo alm*" 'having knowledge of for the first time'. A similar view is Martin's characterization of the suffix as "apperceptive" mood marker "indicating a sudden realization on the part of the speaker" (1954:36). In addition to its perceptual meaning as such, K-D. Lee goes one step further to discuss the background knowledge and expectations assumed among communicators in the uses of *-kun*. He characterizes the suffix as expressing "unexpected discovery of a process or a state of affairs on the basis of some related evidence" (1986:60).

These cognitive approaches given in D-K. Noh (1981), K-H. Chang (1985), and K-D. Lee (1986) advance the understanding of the nature of the suffix beyond the impressionistic characterizations given by the previous traditional analyses. Their approximations of the meaning of the suffix, however, are limited in a crucial way. That is, the meaning of the suffix, which is highly discourse-pragmatic in nature, is characterized without its uses in real discourse being considered. Only constructed data are used, and often the naturalness or acceptability and the interpretation of the uses of *-kun* are forced and impressionistic. Consequently, their characterizations of the suffix are not comprehensive enough.

In this section, I will explore the discourse-pragmatic characteristics of *-kun*. Looking at its uses in informal discourse (spoken and written), I will characterize the suffix as conveying "consciously known but unassimilated" information, as shown in H-S. Lee (1985). That is, the information conveyed with *-kun* is not integrated part of the speaker's knowledge, even though it has entered his or her consciousness. The suffix *-kun* will be compared with other sentence-terminal suffixes that express the category "immediate", especially in terms of background assumptions made among communicators, factuality, informativeness, and time of

perception of the information conveyed.

First of all, the following example shows that *-kun* is used in conveying newly perceived information on the part of the speaker.

(5.22) [In the immediately preceding contexts, K has tried on H's shorts. Now, he finds H's MacIntosh computer on the desk, which he has seen the last time he visited H]

cal iss -kuna MACINTOSH-nûn
well exist-UNASSIM MacIntosh -TOP

(K&H: 119)

'[I see] It looks all right, your MacIntosh.'

The above example is an utterance conveying the speaker's recognition of the good appearance of H's MacIntosh computer, when he saw it on the desk. Another example is given below:

(5.23)a. H: yesnal Seoul-untongcang-man ka po-kusô ince
old:days Seoul-stadium -only go:CONN see-CONN now

b. S: Seoul-untongcang-ûn ka po -ass -ci -yo
Seoul-stadium -TOP go:CONN see-ANT-COMM-DEF

c. H: yôki ttak tûlôka-myônûn
here just enter -CONN

d. ip -i chak pôlôci-ci
mouth-NOM wide:open spread-COMM

e. S: kûlûh-ke khû-ô -yo?
be:so-RESUI big -IE-DEF

f. H: ... mwô kûlôh-ke khû-ci -n anh -ô
what be:so-RESUL big -NOML-TOP NEG:do-IE

g. wæ-nya -mûn han .. MAXIMUM-i
why-INTERR-COND around maximum -NOM

o-man -o-chôn myông -i -ni +kka
5-10,000-5-1,000 CL (Human)-be-DET+INTERR

--> h. S: ... ô= ... kûlôh-ke khû-ci -n ahn -kuna
ah be:so-RESUL big-NOML-TOP NEG:do-UNASSIM

i. H: kûlôhke khû-ci -n anh -ci
that:much big -NOML-TOP NEG:do-COMM

(S&H: 25-35)

a. H: Those who have only been to the Seoul Stadium before, and ..
b. S: The Seoul Stadium, I've been there [for sure].
c. H: if you enter here [the Dodgers Stadium]
d. your mouth will drop open [definitely].
e. S: Is it that big?
f. H: Well, it isn't that big, actually,
g. because, um, the maximum [capacity] is about 50,000 people.
h. S: Ah, **[I see] it's not that big!**
i. H: It's not that big [you can say that, I suppose].

In (5.23h), the speaker expresses his recognition of the scale of the Dodger Stadium that he has heard about in (g).

Examples (5.22) and (5.23h) illustrate two things about the nature of *-kun*: (i) the kind of information conveyed with *-kun* is that which is newly perceived on the part of the speaker in an immediate reaction to what he or she has just experienced at the immediately preceding moment, and (ii) what the speaker has just experienced constitutes the evidentiary source for the information conveyed with *-kun*. This is to say that the information conveyed with *-kun* is not based on the speaker's factual knowledge, but on some kind of evidence (cf. K-D. Lee 1986). (5.22), for example, is an utterance made in reaction to seeing H's MacIntosh. That is, the information conveyed (i.e., the good appearance of H's MacIntosh) is based

on a visual experience. In (5.23), the information about the scale of the Dodgers Stadium conveyed in (h) is that which has just occurred for the speaker (S) in his hearing of H's statement about its capacity given in (g); that is, H's statement in (g) is the evidentiary source for the information conveyed in (h). The fact that the information conveyed with *-kun* is based on evidence suggests that the information conveyed is not necessarily factual.

The non-factual nature of the information conveyed with *-kun* is more obvious in cases where the information can only be inferred based on the evidence the speaker has just experienced. For example,

(5.24) [Leah came to see her cousin-brother, and found that he was not there. She leaves a note.]

cikûm i sikan oppa -nûn CLASS-e tûlôka
now this time big:brother-TOP class -LOC enter:CONN

iss -kess -kun
exist-DCT:RE-UNASSIM (Leah 3: 7)

'Now you must have gone to class at this time.'

(5.25)a. S: hyông -ûn ôti nao -si -ôss -ô -yo
big:brother-TOP where come:out-HONOR-ANT-IE-DEF

b. H: Cûngang
Joongang

--> c. S: .... kyônggi po -a caci-ku ttôlôci-ôss -kuna!
Kyeongki see-CONN take-CONN fall -ANT-UNASSIM

d. H: (Smiling for confirming S's statement) @N=

(S&H: 205-208)

a. S: What high school did you go to, then?
b. H: Joongang High.

c. S: **You failed the entrance examination to Kyeongki High [I can figure]**
d. H: @N=

[Note: @ : laughing, N : voiceless, = : extended]

In (5.24), the information about her cousin brother's whereabout conveyed in Leah's statement is that which is deductively inferred, based on his absence at her visit and her general knowledge of his class schedule. Similarly, the information conveyed in (5.25c), i.e., H's failure of the entrance examination to Kyeongki High, is inferred from the information given by H in (b) that he went to Joongang High, which is known to be the first school to which those who failed for Kyeongki High are likely to go.

It is noted that the inference made with *-kun* can be about situations with any time reference. It can be about present situations as in (5.24), or about past situations as in (5.25c). Note that (5.25c) is marked with the Anterior *-ôss-*. Or it can be even about future situations. For example,

(5.26) (S and H are talking about baseball games between the Dodgers and the Mets.)

a. S: .. NEW YORK METS-nûn ,
New York Mets -TOP

.. kôki ka kacû-ku kûnyang ,
there go:CONN take -CONN just

b. .. tûlipta kkæci-ki -man ha-ku ,
by:force break -NOML-only do-CONN

c H: .. kyæ -ne -haku yôl-han-pôn hæ-sô yôl-pôn
that:child-side-COM 10 -1 -times do -CONN ten-times

ci -ôss -ô .
lose-ANT-IE

d. ... (1.1) olhæ .
this:year
:
:

e. H: .. kûnte ince kyæ -ne% —
meanwhile now that:child-side

f. .. manyak-e DODGERS-ka kyesok cikûm —
in:case -LOC Dodgers -NOM continuously now

g. ... (0.7) <X> cikûm il -tûng -i -ci -anh -a ?
now first-place-be-NOML-NEG:do-IE

h. ... kyesok il -tûng-ûlu toe -myôn ince ,
continuously first-place-OBL become-COND now

i. ... cô -ccok il -tûng -ilang i -ccok il -tûng -ilang
that-side first-place-COM this-side first-place-COM

puth-ci -anh -a ?
face -NOML-NEG:DO-IE

j. S: .. ô=ng !
I:see

k. H: (0) kûm NEW YORK METS-lang ince puth-nûn
then New York Mets -COM now face -ATTR

kô -kôlang ?
thing-CORREL

l. S: .. <X kûlôm ince X> ,
then now

m. .. <X kûlônte ô cikûm X> —
meanwhile uh now

--> n. .. kanûnsông-i ôps -kess -kuna !
possibility -NOM not:exist-DCT:RE-UNASSIM

o. <X olla ka-n -ta kûlæ -tu X> .
climb:CONN go-IMPFV-DECL do:so-ADD

p. H: kûnte han,
meanwhile approximately

phal-sip .. o-nyôn-e -nka
8 -10 5-year-LOC-DUB

:

q. .. kû= ... PHILADELPHIA=-KA cô -ccok-esô oll -a
like Philadelphia -NOM that-side -LOC climb-CONN

o -ass -nûnte
come-ANT-CIRCUM

:

r. ... REGULAR SEASON GAME-e
regular season game -LOC

yôl-tu-pôn hæ-sô
10-2-time do-CONN

yôl-han-pôn-ûl iki -ôss -ta -ku DODGERS-ka
10-1 -time-ACC win-ANT-DECL-COMP Dodgers -NOM

:

s. kûnte,
then

t. .. PLAYOFF oll -a ka kaci-ku
playoff climb-CONN go:CONN take -CONN

u. sa-tæ-il -lû kkæci-ôss -ô
4 -vs.-1-OBL break -ANT-IE

(S&H: 106-110, 119-131, 134, 138-139, 142-144)

a. S: Well, the New York Mets,
they [the Dodgers] go over there, and just,
b. only get wiped out.

c. H: They lost ten times out of eleven.
d. This year.
:
:
e. By the way, now they,
f. If the Dodgers continue to, now,
g. Now they are in the first place, right?
h. So if they continue to be in the first place, then
i. the first place team from the other side and the first place team from this side will play against each other.
j. S: I see.
k. H: Then they will get to play against New York Mets.
l. S: Then, well,
m. but, well, now,
n. **well, I guess they won't have any chance.**
o. Even if they advance to the playoff.
p. H: But, uh,
was it about the year 1985?
q. Uh ... Philadelphia advanced from the other division, and,
:
r. in the regular season games,
they won eleven times out of twelve, the Dodgers.
:
s. Then,
t. when they advanced to the playoff,
u. they lost, by for [games] to one.

The information given in (5.26n) is about a future situation (the Dodgers will not have any chance against the Mets in the playoff), deductively inferred based on the facts given in (c) - (d), namely that they have lost ten out of eleven games they have played against the Mets in the season.

The non-factual nature of the inferred information conveyed with *-kun* lies in the fact that the inferred information is subject to confirmation by someone who has the authority over it, and could turn out to be either true or false. For example, H's

voiceless laughing in (5.25d) indicates that H confirms S's inference made in (c) about H's schooling in high school. In (5.26), on the other hand, S's inference about the Dodgers' chance against the Mets in the playoff given in (n) may turn out to be false, as H takes a case counter to it where the Dodgers lost to Philadelphia in the playoff of 1985 despite a good record in the regular season games. The possibility of the information conveyed with *-kun* of being falsified illustrates that the information conveyed is not factual.

From the examples given thus far, it is clear that *-kun* is used to express what has just occurred to the speaker, i.e., newly perceived information, based on what he or she has perceived at the immediately preceding moment. What the speaker has perceived at the immediately preceding moment can be visual evidence as in (5.22), directly reported information, as in (5.23h), or other information from which the information conveyed with *-kun* is inferred as in (5.24), (5.25c), and (5.26n).

In general evidential terminology, the evidential source for the information conveyed in (5.22) and (5.23h), can be referred to as "experiential" or "direct", and that in (5.24), (5.25c), and (5.26n) as "inferential" or "indirect". What is interesting here is that the information based on experiential (direct) evidence and that based on inferential (indirect) evidence are coded in the same way, namely with *-kun*, and that the phenomenon is not unique to Korean. Similar phenomena have been reported for Sherpa and Chinese pidgin Russian in the literature. In Sherpa, *-nok*, characterized as "immediate" evidence marker, expresses "experiential" meaning in the present tense, and "inferential" meaning in the past tense (Woodbury 1986:194-196). The same phenomenon is described by Givón (1984:308-309) as the suffix (*-no* in his transcription) expressing "indirect" evidence in the Perfective, and "direct" evidence in the Imperfective. Nichols (1986:246-253) also describes an

essentially same phenomenon in Chinese pidgin Russian, where the evidential maker *est'* expresses what she calls "immediate" (assumingly matching with "experiential" in Woodbury (1986)), "inferential", and "predicative", depending on the lexical aspect class of the verb (punctual or non-punctual) and the tense meaning of the sentence.

As a cross-linguistic generalization referring to the phenomenon in Chinese pidgin Russian as well as similar phenomena in other languages such as Sherpa, Turkish, and Tibetan, Nichols suggests a hypothesis that "inferential and immediate [experiential] are contextual variants of a single category" (1986:255). Now, *-kun* in Korean, as characterized here, i.e., used in conveying information in immediate reaction to experiential evidence and inferential evidence, seems to belong to the same semantic domain as the "immediate" evidential markers in these languages.[3] The question is then what single category these evidential markers including *-kun* in Korean can be characterized as expressing. The fact that different evidential values, such as experiential (direct) and inferential (indirect), are obtained depending on context suggests that *-kun* in Korean (and presumably the evidential markers in those languages mentioned above) is not a pure evidential marker in the sense of coding the evidential source of information, but pertains to a different kind

3 One thing that makes the case of *-kun* in Korean more parallel with the cases in other languages such as Sherpa and Chinese pidgin Russian, and possibly Turkish as well, is the fact that the information conveyed with *-kun* always gives an inferential meaning when the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* is attached, as in (5.25c). It should be noted that, as seen in Chapter 4, one of the meanings obtained from the Anterior *-ôss-* is completion, i.e., perfective in the temporal view of perfectivity. Therefore, the inferential meaning obtained with *-kun* when it occurs with the Anterior *-ôss-* parallels those cases in Sherpa, Chinese pidgin Russian, and Turkish, where the "immediate" evidential markers give an inferential meaning when the verb forms are in the perfective.

of epistemic category. Woodbury (1986) refers to *-nok* in Sherpa as expressing "immediate" evidence. However, the term "immediate" evidence does not really specify an evidentiary source of the information conveyed, but simply indicates that the information is based on the evidence that has just been perceived, not on factual knowledge. Even though the term "immediate" evidential is useful to refer to a meta-category for the phenomena described here, the exact epistemic status of the information conveyed with these evidential markers still needs to be uncovered. As an attempt to discern the epistemic status of the information conveyed in the similar phenomena in Lhasa Tibetan and Turkish, DeLancey (1985,1986), Slobin and Aksu's (1982), and Aksu-koç and Slobin (1986) thus suggest an epistemic category that pertains to the status of the speaker's knowledge, rather than an evidential source. DeLancey characterizes the distinction between the uses of *yod* and *dug* in Lhasa Tibetan as referring to whether or not the information conveyed is an integrated part of the speaker's knowledge system (i.e "old knowledge" vs. "new knowledge"). Slobin and Aksu (1982) and Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) characterize the distinction between the uses of *-dI* and *-mIN* in Turkish as referring to whether or not the speaker has a premonitory consciousness about the information conveyed (i.e., prepared mind vs. unprepared mind). What is expressed with the "IMMEDIATE" evidential markers in these languages is information which is not an integrated part of the speaker's knowledge (i.e., "new knowledge"), or that for which the speaker does not have a premonitory consciousness (i.e., "unprepared mind").[4]

4 It should be noted that the semantic range of the evidential markers of those languages mentioned here is not identical. Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986:160), for example, note that the inferential use of *-miN* in Turkish is different from the uses of the evidential markers in other languages. However, the phenomena in those languages are so similar that I assume that they are instantiations of a single cross-linguistic category with details manifested differently in the individual languages.

Given its discourse-pragmatic characteristics as illustrated above, namely conveying newly perceived information obtained in an immediate reaction to experiential or inferential evidence, the information conveyed with *-kun* in Korean can be conceived of as pertaining to a similar, if not identical, kind of epistemic category, that is, as the "new knowledge" of DeLancey (1985, 1986), or the "unprepared mind" of Slobin and Aksu (1982) and Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986). The problem in Korean, however, is that, as mentioned earlier, there are other suffixes that can be characterized as conveying newly perceived information (i.e., "immediate" evidentials), and thus the epistemic status of the information conveyed with these suffixes can also be conceived of as expressing "new knowledge" or "unprepared mind". As will be discussed in the following sections, newly perceived information can be in different epistemic statuses, depending on its factuality, the background expectation among communicators, and its informativeness. Therefore, DeLancey's "new knowledge" and Slobin and Aksu's "unprepared mind" need a little more refinement before we can understand the nature of *-kun* and the other suffixes in Korean that are characterized as "immediate" evidentials. I propose the term "unassimilated" as exclusively referring to the epistemic status of information conveyed with *-kun*, which thus distinguishes *-kun* from the other "immediate" evidential suffixes in Korean. The concept of "assimilation" I refer to here is basically the same one that is used by DeLancey (1985, 1986) and Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) for their characterization of "new knowledge" and "unprepared mind" respectively, and also the one that is used by Akatsuka (1985) in characterizing various epistemic statuses of conditional constructions in Japanese and English. By "assimilation", Delancey (1985, 1986) refers to the degree to which the information perceived is "integrated into the speaker's overall scheme of knowledge of the world" (1986:205). In Aksu-Koç

and Slobin (1986:164), it is a network of existing assumptions and expectations that experienced or perceived events are assimilated into. Akatsuka (1985) refers to one's established body of knowledge which newly learned information may assimilate into. I define "assimilation" here as a mental process in which information perceived is integrated into the speaker's established or existing body of knowledge, which consists of pieces of information whose truth the speaker has a predisposition toward, i.e., factual knowledge and belief. In order to uniquely specify the discourse-pragmatic characteristics of *-kun*, however, I would like to qualify more what it means to say that a piece of information is assimilated or unassimilated. The suffix *-kun* is characterized as conveying "unassimilated" information with the following discourse-pragmatic characteristics: (i) the information conveyed is non-factual, (ii) the information conveyed is not informative, and (iii) the information conveyed does not affect the predisposition of the speaker's cognition, either because it is entirely new to the speaker's cognition (no predisposition at all) or it conforms to background expectations assumed among communicators.

First of all, the information conveyed with *-kun* is non-factual (cf. K-H. Chang 1985), and thus cannot be considered as integrated part of the speaker's knowledge system. Recall that the information conveyed with *-kun* is not from the speaker's factual knowledge, but obtained only through evidence which has just been perceived. The information conveyed is often not directly accessible from the evidence perceived, but only accessible by inference from it, as in (5.24), (5.25c), and (5.26n). Inferred information cannot be integrated into the speaker's knowledge system until it is confirmed by someone who has authority over it, and so is not guaranteed for its truth; recall that it may indeed be confirmed by the

addressee, as in the case of (5.25c), and may turn out to be false, as is the case in (5.26n). Even in the case of conveying information based on experiential evidence, as in (5.22) and (5.23h), the information conveyed is not entirely factual. The speaker simply expresses his or her perception from what he or she has just experienced, not asserting its truth. In this regard, the information conveyed with *-kun* is distinguished from the information conveyed by the Informal Ending *-ô*, which is considered as factual in general, as characterized in the preceding section. The non-factual nature of the information conveyed with *-kun* also distinguishes itself from the kind of information conveyed with *-ne*, another suffix of "immediate" evidential, which I will characterize in the following section as conveying factual realization on the part of the speaker.

Secondly, the information conveyed with *-kun* is not informative in the sense that the speaker's intention is not to transfer its propositional content to the addressee, but to express his or her perception of it. Notice that the information conveyed with *-kun* in the examples given here is the kind of information which the addressee is in a better position to convey; in (5.22), it is the addressee's MacIntosh that the information conveyed is about; in (5.23), the addressee already knows about the scale of the Dodgers Stadium, as indicated in (f); (5.24) conveys information about the addressee's whereabouts; in (5.25c), it is about the addressee's schooling; in (5.26n), the addressee (H) should be more knowledgeable about the Major League baseball than the speaker (S), who just arrived in America from Korea. By being not informative, the information conveyed with *-kun* is distinguished again from the information conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô*. In a later section, I will also illustrate that the non-informative nature of the information conveyed with *-kun* distinguishes the suffix from the Declarative *-ta*, another suffix which can be used in expressing newly perceived

information (i.e., an "immediate" evidential), at least in informal communicative situations.

Thirdly, the newly perceived information conveyed with *-kun* is that which does not conflict with background expectations assumed among communicators, either because there is no previous predisposition to its truth at all on the part of the speaker (cf. K-D. Lee 1986), or it conforms to background expectation assumed among communicators. As are the cases in (5.22), (5.24h), (5.25c), and (5.26n), the information conveyed with *-kun* is often something which the speaker has never thought of. In (5.23e), on the other hand, the speaker has already addressed the issue of the scale of the Dodgers Stadium in (e) before he expresses his recognition of it in (h). However, S's first assessment on the issue in (e) is denied by the addressee (H) in (f). H's denial could bring about two possible effects: (i) S's disposition on the issue must be on hold until H provides in (g) an evidentiary fact for his denial given in (f), and/or (ii) it may have created a new background expectation on the part of S which conform to H's denial in (f). In either case, S's recognition given in (h) does not conflict with any predisposition he has in his existing body of knowledge. Similarly,

(5.27) (H and K are assembling a handy bed. K sees something written on the bed)

a. K: ilce -kath -ûnte
Japanese:product-same-CIRCUM

b. H: ûng? an -i -lkkôl
what NEG-be-PRESUM

c. K: an -i -a?
NEG-be-IE

d. yamaha ôccô -ku ssô iss -nûn
Yamaha bla:bla-CONN write:CONN exist-ATTR

kô kath -ûnte
thing same-CIRCUM
:
:

(H and K having finished assembling the bed)

e. K: ah hulyunghæ
oh wonderful:IE

(k now sees what is written on the bed)

f. HANDY BED-la -ku ssô
handy bed -DECL-COMP write:CONN

--> noh-ass -ôss -tô -n kô -kuna
put -ANT-ANT-RETROS-ATTR thing-UNASSIM

(K trying to lie down on the bed)

g. K: ahyu
gee

h. H: mocala -ci anh -ô?
fail:short-NOML NEG:do-IE

--> i. K: (Stretching his body) ahyu kkok tûlôka-ne
gee exactly enter-FR

(K&H: 16-19, 42-46)

a. K: It seems like made-in-Japan, isn't it?
b. H: What? I presume it's not.
c. K: It's not?
d. It looks like 'Yamaha something' is written.
:
:
e. K: Oh, it's wonderful.
f. **[i see] It was 'handy bed' that I saw written.**
g. (Trying to lie down on the bed) Gee!
h. H: Isn't it too short?

i. K: (Stretching his body) Gee, **[contrary to our expectation] it just fits me.**

In the above example again, K's first assessment of what is written on the bed shown in (a) and (d) is questioned when the addressee raises doubts about it in (b). K's new perception conveyed in (f) again conforms to the background expectation created by H's doubt in (b), namely it is presumably not "Yamaha something" that is written on the bed.

The situation we have outlined with respect to *-kun* can be compared with cases where the speaker has a background expectation contrary to what he or she has just realized (i.e., counter-expectation). For example, H's concern shown in (h) creates a background expectation that the bed may be too small for K. K's perception in (i) is contrary to that background expectation. I will discuss the nature of *-ne* in detail in the following section.

The nature of the information conveyed with *-kun* that it does not conflict with background expectations assumed among communicators affects the way the newly perceived information is integrated into the pre-existing mind-set. Since it does not provoke the speaker's cognition in any drastic way, not as much as when the information conveyed is contrary to background expectation, the information is registered as simple perception, and the speaker does not make it a fact immediately. As seen from the cases of inference expressed with *-kun*, expressions with *-kun* are subject to confirmation from the addressee , and often in fact convey the impression that the speaker implicitly asks the addressee for confirmation.

I have thus far characterized *-kun* in Korean as conveying "unassimilated" information, which is characteristically non-factual, non-informative, and does not

conflict with any predisposition in the speaker's established body of knowledge. This characterization of *-kun* as conveying "unassimilated" information is supported by the interesting morphosyntactic fact that *-kun* is one of the only two sentence-terminal suffixes that the Imperfective suffixes *-nûn-* and *-tô-* can occur with. As discussed in Chapter 4, the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-* can co-occur only with *-kun* and the Declarative *-ta*, and the Retrospective (Past Imperfective) *-tô-* can co-occur only with *-kun* and the Introspective *-la*. The discourse-pragmatic interpretation of this co-occurrence restriction is that situations expressed with the Imperfectives are viewed only partially, as discussed in Chapter 4, and thus cannot be stored in the speaker's knowledge system as factual. What is most interesting about this co-occurrence restriction is that the past experience of situations viewed imperfectively cannot be expressed in the same way as the past experience of situations viewed perfectively. The past experience of situations viewed perfectly is integrated into the speaker's knowledge system and stored as factual knowledge, and is thus expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô*. The past experience of situations viewed imperfectively, which is marked with the Retrospective *-tô-*, on the other hand, can only be verbalized only through an internal searching process of retrospection (hence with the Introspective *-la*), or with the Unassimilated *-kun*. For example,[5]

(5.28) cina -n pôn-e kû chinku-ne ka-ôss -nûnte
pass-ATTR time-LOC that friend -household go-ANT-CIRCUM

chôs æ -ka pôlssô kotûnghakkyo-e
first child-NOM already high school -LOC

tani -tô -kun
attend-RETROS-UNASSIM

5 In the informal texts examined for this study, no instance the Retrospective *-tô-* is combined with the Unassimilated *-kun*.

'I visited that guy the other day,
and [I saw] his first kid was attending high school already.'

The idea that the situations viewed imperfectively cannot be stored as factual knowledge in the speaker's knowledge system is well captured in Givón's statement (1984:289) about coding of an event in our memory:

> An event that has already happened should be more firmly coded in our memory and more easily retrieved and reported than an event that is still ongoing or merely hypothesized. ..... Completed events should be easier to code and recall than still ongoing uncompleted ones.

Another related idea is DeLancey's (1985, 1986) concept of "causal chain of events". DeLancey projects an event as a chain of cause and effect, and configurationally represents it as a Cause-Effect vector:

(5.29) Cause ----> Effect

The speaker can experience any section of this chain, cause, process, effect or the entire chain. He states that events and situations fit into a consistent world view only to the extent that they can be assigned causes, and that an event or situation whose actual causal origin is known fits into a rational world without difficulty ("old knowledge"), while one whose causal origin is not directly accessible to cognition requires certain cognitive manipulation before it can be integrated ("new knowledge". The constraint laid on the event whose causal origin is not directly accessible to cognition can be extended to all the situations viewed imperfectively. Since the situations viewed imperfectively are accessible only for the concurrent development viewed, e.g. initial, middle, or terminal, the entire vector cannot be appreciated. Therefore, it requires a thought process of "assimilation" to become

integrated into the body of the speaker's knowledge. It now becomes clear why the reaction to current experience and the past experience of situations viewed imperfectively are grouped together, coded by *-kun* in Korean, and distinguished from the past experience of situations viewed perfectively. The past experience of situations viewed perfectively is stored (since it has already been assimilated) as factual in the speaker's knowledge system such that the speaker can directly make a statement about it, with the Informal Ending *-ô*. On the other hand, the current experience and the past experience of situations viewed imperfectively cannot be fully assimilated into the speaker's knowledge system, because the information about them can only be partial.

Example (5.28) indicates that the information conveyed with *-kun* is not restricted to that which has just been perceived, but could be that which was perceived in the past, information about situations viewed imperfectively. This suggests that *-kun* may not be characterized strictly as an "immediate" evidential. However, its discourse-pragmatic characteristics are otherwise very similar to those "immediate" evidential markers in other languages. "Immediate" evidential or not, what is conveyed with *-kun* is characterized as "consciously known as it entered or has entered the speaker's consciousness, but unassimilated".

In sum, in this section I characterized *-kun* as conveying "consciously known but unassimilated" information. Being non-factual and non-informative, and not conflicting with background expectations assumed among communicators, the unassimilated information conveyed with *-kun* is distinguished not only from the information conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô*, which is assimilated, but also from the information conveyed with other suffixes that are used in expressing newly perceived information, namely *-ne*, *-ta*, and *-la*. I will discuss the

discourse-pragmatic characteristics of these suffixes next.

5.4.2. The Factual Realization marker *-ne*

In this section, I will characterize *-ne*, another "immediate" evidential suffix, as expressing "factual realization" on the part of the speaker.

As briefly mentioned in the preceding section, *-ne* is distinguished from *-kun* in three respects, which are in fact related to each other: (i) factuality, (ii) background expectation on the part of the speaker, and (iii) perception time of the information conveyed.

First of all, unlike the information conveyed with *-kun*, information conveyed with *-ne* seems to be more factual (cf. K-H. Chang 1985), and more definitive than that conveyed with *-kun*, which is often inferential. The factuality of information conveyed with *-kun* and *-ne* can be compared in the following examples.

(5.30) kan-i nappû-si -kun -yo
liver-NOM bad -HONOR-UNASSIM-DEF
'[It looks like] you have a problem with your liver.'

(5.31) kan -i nappû-si -ne-yo
liver-NOM bad -HONOR-FR-DEF
'[It turnd out that] you have a problem with your liver.'

Both (5.30) and (5.31) can be a doctor's diagnosis. However, (5.30) is more likely to be a diagnosis after a simple recitation of symptoms by the patient, whereas (5.31) sounds more definitive on the part of the speaker, say, a diagnosis after careful examination.

One problem in characterizing the nature of *-ne* as distinct from *-kun* is that the suffix *-ne* shares some of its discourse-pragmatic characteristics with

-kun. First of all, both suffixes express the speaker's immediate reaction to what has just been perceived, i.e., newly perceived information. Secondly, as is the case with *-kun*, the information conveyed with *-ne* is not informative. Naturally, it is not too surprising that there are cases where both suffixes may be appropriate in the same context. For example,

(5.32) [S and H are talking about the Major League Baseball]
a. H: ... kû-ni+kka moll -a kû -kô -n .
hat-DET+INTERR not:know-IE that-thing-TOP

b. .. PLAYOFF ka-mûnûn
playoff go-COND

c. S: .. tto [XX 14] simkiilcôn -hæ kacû-ku ,
again turn:around-CONN take-CONN

d. H: [X 14]

e. S: ... tto kû RELAX twæ iss -taka
again like relax become:CONN exist-TRANSFER

f. .. iky -ôss -ûni+kka [<X ince XX X> 15] —
win-ANT-DET+INTERR now

g. H: [kûlûku 15] kû -kô -nûn .. kûnyang ,
and that-thing-TOP just

.. INTENSIVE-ha-ke mæil —
intensive -do-RESULT everyday

h. S: ... a= !
aha

.. <X kûlôm X> thusu ROTATION-i kacang
so pitcher rotation-NOM most

--> cungyoha-n kwankôn-i -kess -ne ?
important -ATTR key:point-be-DCT:RE-FR

(S&H: :162-172)

a. H: So, you know, you never know.
b. If you advance to the playoff,
c. S: Well,with a renewed mind and body,
d. H: <xxx>
e. S: Well, you are relaxed, and
f. 'cause you won,
g. H: And another thing is, just, [they play] intensively, everyday,
h. S: **Ah, then, the pitching rotation must be the most important factor, I figure.**

The topic of conversation in the above example is continuous from (5.26), where it was discussed that the record in the regular season does not really guarantee a victory in the playoff in Major League baseball. In (5.32g) above, H explains why the playoff games are different from the regular season games, namely they have to play more intensively every day. In (h), S is expressing his realization of what factor is really important in the playoff with *-ne*. Note that (i) S's realization of the information conveyed in (h) is made in reaction to H's explanation given in (g), and (ii) the information conveyed is something that H is also likely to know, and thus it cannot be informative; that is, no intention is made on the part of the speaker to transfer the propositional content of the information to the addressee. In this context, it would not seem inappropriate if *-kun* were used instead of *-ne*.

Intuitively, however, as suggested with (5.30) and (5.31), the use of *-ne* in this context gives the feeling that the speaker is more confident in saying what he expresses in (h). It should be noted that S's realization in (h) is not only based on H's explanation in (g), but also his basic knowledge of baseball, including the idea that pitching rotation plays a major part especially in a series of intensive games like

playoffs. The use of *-kun* in this context, on the other hand, it would give a feeling that S's realization is less confident, is implicitly asking for confirmation from the addressee, and sounds as if he has just guessed how things work in baseball.

However intuitive it may be, the above examples suggest that the information conveyed with *-ne* is more factual than that conveyed with *-kun*. This contention also matches Ooe's (1958:19) intuition on the "sememe" of *-ne*, that the speaker convinces himself of his recognition. One piece of evidence that the information conveyed with *-ne* is rather factual comes from the following example, where *-ne* can express the speaker's realization of what just happened to himself.

(5.33) (Just prior to the conversation given here, K requested H to give him shorts, and H did not comply with his request right away, since he was concerned whether his shorts might be too small for K. Now H gives K a shirt, and K is puzzled for a while.)

a. K: a ustoli?
ah upper:garment

b. H: ûng
right

--> c. K: a i -kô hancham cikûm sængkak-hæ-ss -ne
ah this-thing a:while now thought -do -ANT-FR

d. H: .....

e. K: i -kô -l ôttôhke ... ôttôhke ôti -ka t~
this-thing-ACC how how where-NOM

tali-ka tûlôka-nûn te -nka ha-ku
leg-NOM enter -ATTR place-DUB do-COMP

(K&H: 73-77)

a. K: Ah, a shirt?
b. H: Right.
c. K: **Boy, I've wondered quite a while,**

d. H: .....
e. K: how.. how to put this thin~ where the legs go in.

In (5.33c) above, K expresses his realization of what just happened, because he was expecting shorts and what was given to him was a shirt instead. In this context, the information conveyed must be factual because it is about the speaker's own action. It should be noted that the realization of what happened to the speaker himself/herself can also be expressed with *-kun*, but only when the speaker had been unconscious of it, and has just realized it. That is not the case in the above example, however. (5.33c) is the expression of the speaker's realization of the mismatch between what the situation is really about and what he thought it is about, not the realization of what he did unconsciously; that is, the speaker could not possibly be unconscious of the fact that he was thinking a while of what he should do with what he was given. In this context, the use of *-kun* is not allowed.

Conversely, information about the addressee's internal feeling or volitional activities can be conveyed with *-kun*, whereas it cannot be conveyed with *-ne*, as shown in (5.34) and (5.35).

(5.34) nô sûlphû-kuna/*ne
2:SG sad -UNASSIM/FR
'[I see] You are sad!'

(5.35) nô hakkyo ka-ss -kuna/*ne
2:SG school go-ANT-UNASSIM/FR
'[I see] You went to school!'

Example (5.34) and (5.35) support the idea that the information conveyed with *-kun* is non-factual, whereas the information conveyed with *-ne* is factual. The addressee's internal feeling or volitional activities that have just been perceived

cannot be factual until the addressee confirms it, and hence cannot be conveyed with *-ne*.

More obvious evidence that the information conveyed with *-ne* is more factual than that conveyed with *-kun* comes from the difference between the two suffixes in background expectations assumed among communicators in their uses. That is, newly perceived information which is conveyed against certain background expectations assumed among communicators is expressed with *-ne* instead of *-kun*. In the preceding section, it was briefly shown in (5.27) that the information conveyed with *-kun* in (f) [it was "handy bed" that is written on the bed] is that which does not conflict with any background expectation assumed among communicators, whereas the information conveyed with *-ne* in (i) [the fittingness of the bed] is that which is contrary to the communicators' background expectation. The following example also shows that newly perceived information which is conveyed against a background expectation assumed on the part of the speaker is expressed with *-ne* (cf. K-D. Lee 1986).

(5.36)a. S: ... kôki cokyo-ha-myônûn han ,
there TA-do-COND around

b. ... AVERAGE han o%~ o-sip-man -wôn côngto
average around 5-10-10,000-won degree

nao -kôtûn -yo ?
come:out-CORREL-DEF

c. H: .. o-sip-man -wôn-ina nao -a ?
5-10-10,000-won-as:much come:out-IE

d. S: .. ne .
right

e. H: .. han tal -e ?
one month-LOC

f. S: .. han tal -e .
one month-LOC

g. .. kû-ni+kka-nûn ,
that-DET+INTERR-TOP
:

h. BONUS nao -mûn yuk-sip-man-wôn
bonus come:out-COND 6-10-10,000-Won

<X kûlôh-ke twæ -yo X>.
be:so-RESULbecome-IE-DEF

--> i. H: ôi toe -ke manhi nao -ne≡ !
boy become-RESUL much come:out-FR

(S&H: 859-871)

a. S: If you TA, then, around,
b. the average [pay] is about five, five hundred thousand won, you know?
c. H: You mean, you get five hundred thousand won?
d. S: That's right.
e. H: In one month?
f. S: Yes, in one month.
g. So you see,
:
h. if you do get a bonus, it's about six hundred thousand won.
i. H: **Wow, you really get paid a lot!**

(5.36c) above clearly indicates that H had thought that the teaching assistant's salary in Korea is much lower than what he was informed of in (b). H expresses his surprise in (i) on the high salary, which obviously does not match his expectation.

The differences between *-ne* and *-kun* with regard to the background

expectations involved in the information conveyed can be nicely illustrated in the following minimal pair.

(5.37) (The speaker has been expecting someone. Someone knocks on the door. When he or she opens the door, the speaker finds the person he or she has been waiting for, and he or she says:)
o -ass -kuna
come-ANT-UNASSIM
'You have come.'

(5.38) (The person the speaker is expecting called, and said that he cannot come. Someone knocks on the door, the speaker finds to his or her surprise it is that person after all, and says:)
o -ass -ne
come-ANT-FR
'You have come.'

(5.37) expresses the speaker's perception of an expected visit, which conforms to the background expectation the speaker has. In (5.38), on the other hand, what the speaker has just perceived is contrary to his or her expectation.[6]

6 It should be noted that the contrast between (5.37) and (5.38) with respect to background expectations seems to be neutralized when adverbial expressions indicating background expectation are explicitly specified, such as *yôksi* 'as expected', *yesangtælo* 'as predicted', *-(û)n cul al-ass-tô-ni* (-ATTR way know-ANT-RETROS-DET) 'I thought it is the case that ..., but ...'. For example,

(i) mos o -nûn cul al -ass-tô -ni
NEG (IMPOT) come-ATTR way know-ANT-RETROS-DET

o -ass-ne/kuna
come-ANT-FR/UNASSIM

'I thought you cannot come, then
you have come to my surprise/I see.'

In the above example, the adverbial expression underlined explicitly expresses

The kind of background expectation involved in the uses of *-kun* and *-ne* can be established within certain discourse contexts such as by the communicators' earlier assessment of the issue in question. For example, the addressees' comments in (5.23f) and (5.27b) make the speakers' previous disposition to the issues on hold, and possibly create new background expectations, which conform to what the speaker is to perceive in (5.23h) and (5.27f) respectively, and hence are expressed

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that the background expectation has been violated. In this context, the current characterization of *-kun* and *-ne* predicts that *-ne* is used. However, both *-ne* and *-kun* are possible.

(ii) an o -n -ta kûlô -tô -ni
NEG come-IMPFV-DECL do:so-RETROS-DET

yôksi an o -ne/nûn-kuna
as:expected NEG come-FR/IMPFV-UNASSIM

'He said he wouldn't come, then
[I see] he is not coming as expected.'

Conversely, in (ii) above, the adverbial *yôksi* 'as expected' indicates that what is conveyed conforms to background expectations. Contrary to the current characterization, which predicts that *-kun* will be used in this context, both *-ne* and *-kun* can be used for expressing the speaker's recognition of the addressee's coming.

Examples like (i) and (ii) undermine the analysis of *-kun* and *-ne* given here with respect to background expectations. However, it is still the case that, without those adverbial expressions specified, it would be a natural interpretation that the information conveyed with *-ne* is contrary to the background expectation assumed on the part of the speaker, and the information conveyed with *-kun* conforms to it. Furthermore, the use of *-ne* again would give an expression of more factual and definitive realization than the use of *-kun*, as in the contrast between (5.30) and (5.31).

It is not clear at the present moment why those adverbials neutralize the effects of background expectation involved.

with *-kun*. Similarly, the addressee's assessment in (5.27h) creates background expectations for the information conveyed with *-ne* in (5.27i), which is contrary to the background expectation established (i.e., counter-expectation). In (5.37) and (5.38) as well, it is specific discourse contexts, say, a scheduled appointment and a telephone call, that provide background expectations for the information conveyed with *-kun* and *-ne* respectively. Background expectation can also be established by specific assumptions the speaker previously had. In (5.36), for example, what is expressed with *-ne* in (i) is information that is contrary to the speaker's previous assumption on the teaching assistant salary until he is informed of it in (b). Background expectations can also be established by general assumptions communicators have, i.e., things that are perceived as regular and ordinary in their daily life. Background expectations of this kind can be called "normative expectation". Normative expectations that are involved in the uses of *-kun* and *-ne* can be illustrated with the following examples.

(5.39) uchepu o -ass -kuna
postman come-ANT-UNASSIM
'The postman has come.'

(5.39) is an utterance one is likely to utter when he or she has noticed the postman's regular daily visit, which conforms to a normative expectation. A postman's unusual visit, say on a holiday, on the other hand, violates the normative expectation. In this case, one would say:

(5.40) uchepu -ka o -ass -ne
postman-NOM come-ANT-FR
'[Surprisingly] a postman has come.'

The fact that information which has just been perceived against background

expectations is expressed with *-ne* supports the characterization of the suffix as expressing "factual realization". From a psychological point of view, it is conceivable that the degree to which newly perceived information against background expectation is "registered" in the speaker's cognitive system is stronger than that which conforms to background expectation or that which involves no background expectation at all. That is to say, the perception of information which is against a background expectation provokes the speaker's cognitive activations, and thus is more vivid and definitive. Unlike the information conveyed with *-kun*, for which the speaker reserves judgement on its factuality, and thus is yet to make it factual knowledge (i.e., unassimilated), the information conveyed with *-ne* is perceived as factual, and the speaker seems to assume its factuality immediately at the moment of its perception; hence it is immediately assimilated into the speaker's existing body of knowledge. Therefore, the uses of *-ne* in expressing newly perceived information that is contrary to the communicators' background expectation ties in well with characterizing *-ne* as expressing factual realization.

One more characteristics of *-ne* as distinguished from *-kun* is that the perception is restricted to the current moment (cf. K-H. Chang 1985). While *-kun* can express information which was perceived in the past as in (5.28), *-ne* can express only the speaker's perception at the moment immediately preceding to utterance.

In sum, *-ne* is characterized as expressing factual realization on the part of the speaker. The information conveyed with *-ne* is distinguished from that conveyed with *-kun* in its factuality and the background expectations it is conveyed against. On the other hand, the uses of the two immediate evidential suffixes are distinguished from the uses of the Declarative *-ta* in informal communication situations in terms of informativeness. In the following section, I will discuss the

discourse-pragmatic characteristics of *-ta*, which, unlike *-kun* and *-ne*, is used in conveying newly perceived information that is informative.

5.4.3. The Declarative *-ta* in informal communication

In the two preceding sections, I have characterized two suffixes that are used in expressing newly perceived information on the part of the speaker, namely the Unassimilated *-kun* and the Factual Realization *-ne*. The two suffixes differ from each other in that *-kun*, characterized as "unassimilated", expresses a simple perception of information which is characteristically non-factual, and does not conflict with background expectations assumed among communicators, whereas *-ne*, expresses the speaker's perception that is more factual and definitive (and thus immediately assimilated), as what has just been perceived is often contrary to background expectations. On the other hand, what the two suffixes have in common is that the information conveyed with the two suffixes is not informative. That is, what is conveyed is the speaker's perception of the information, not its propositional content, as it is often the kind of information over which the addressee has authority. In this section, I will illustrate the discourse-pragmatic characteristics of the Declarative *-ta*, another suffix that is used in expressing newly perceived information on the part of the speaker in informal communication, but which is distinguished from *-kun* and *-ne* in that the information conveyed is informative.

The Declarative *-ta* is characterized in general only for its function of indicating a declarative sentence-type, that is, indicating that what is expressed is a statement, not a question, a command, or a proposal. In informal communication situations, however, the Declarative *-ta* indicates more than that the proposition is declarative. It has a specialized function of expressing information which has

invoked the speaker's attention so as to be noteworthy on the part of the addressee as well, and thus informative. For example,

(5.41) [K has put on H's shorts, and feels uncomfortable]

a. K: ya nô
hey 2SG

b. H: wæ?
why

c. K: hôli myôch-i-a?
waist how:much-be-IE

d. H: TWENTY NINE
twenty nine

e. K: mac-ûl kô kath-ûnte
fit -ATTR thing same-CIRCUM

f. na -tu kû -kô pakk -e an toe -nûnte
1:SG-ADD that-thing outside-LOC NEG become-CIRCUM

(H seeing K having trouble with the shorts)

g. wæ?
why

h. an twæ?
NEG become:IE

i. K: wæ coe -ci i -ke wæ?
why tighten-COMM this-thing:NOM why

--> j. H: a, kû -kô -nûn i-sip-phal-i -l kô -ta
ah that-thing-TOP 2-10-8 -be-ATTR thing-DECL

k. K: û=ng
I:see

a. K: Hey, pal!
b. H: What?
c. K: What is your waist size?
d. H: 29.
e. K: They should fit me then, I presume [then I don't understand why they don't].
f. My waist is 29 too at most [why then are they uncomfortable].
g. H: What?
h. They don't fit?
i. K: Why are they tightening, these things, why?
j. H: Ah, **I think those are size 28.**
k. K: I see.

In (5.41) above, H thought that the shorts K is wearing are size 29, and notices, as indicated in (g) and (h), that K has trouble with them. In (5.41j), H has just realized that they are size 28. That is, the information conveyed in (j) is that which has just occurred to the speaker, and is noteworthy on the part of the addressee as well, because it will resolve the puzzle the addressee wonders about in (e), (f), and (i). Unlike the newly perceived information conveyed with *-kun* and *-ne*, the information conveyed is that over which the speaker himself has the authority --it is H's shorts after all, and whose size the addressee could not be aware of. In this context, there is a transfer of information from the speaker to the addressee by H's utterance in (j), and thus the information conveyed is informative. Similarly,

(5.42) [S and H are talking about the rarity of female students in the linguistics department at the university they attended.]

a. S: chil-yuk-tu ôps -ô -yo
7 -6 -ADD not:exist-IE-DEF

b. chil-chil-tu ôps -ô -yo
7 -7 -ADD not:exist-IE-DEF

c. chil-phal-tu ôps -ô -yo
7 -8 -ADD not:exist-IE-DEF

d. chil-ku-tu ôps -ô -yo
7 -9 -ADD not:exist-IE-DEF

e. H: ... @N===

f. S: phal-kong-e hana iss -ûl kô -e -yo
8 -0 -LOC one exist-ATTR thing-be:CONN-DEF

g. ... <@N ôps -ôss -ô -yo @N>
not:exist-ANT-IE-DEF

--> h. ... phal-kong-e hana iss -ta
8 -0 -LOC one exist-DECL
(S&H: 1100-1106)

a. S: There were none [of female students] in the class of '76 too.
b. None in the class of '77 as well.
c. None in the class of '78.
d. None in the class of '79.
e. H: <@N=== @N>
f. S: I think there was one in the class of '80.
g. There hasn't been one [female student].
h **There was one in the class of '80 [now I remember].**

The information conveyed in (5.42h) has just occurred to S. S has just remembered there was indeed one female student in the class of '80, which he suspected in (f). Again it is the kind of information which the speaker exclusively has authority over and thus is informative. It is noteworthy as well, because the class of '80 is exceptional in that it had a female student, which all the previous classes lacked.

(5.41) and (5.42) show that the Declarative *-ta* is used in informing the addressee of noteworthy information the speaker has just retrieved from his or her memory. The following examples show, however, newly perceived information

conveyed with *-ta* is not limited to that retrieved from the past memory, but could be that which genuinely has just occurred to the speaker. For example,

(5.43) [H and K are assembling a handy bed.]
--> a. H: kûnte an toe -kess -ta nô -nûn.
by:the:way not become-DCT:RE-DECL 2SG-TOP

b. K: wæ?
why

c. H: cak -ôsô.
small -CONN (K&H: 28-30)

a. H: By the way, **it seems that you cannot make this bed.**
b. K: Why?
c. H: Because it's too small [for you].

In (5.43a) above, it has just occurred to H that the handy bed they are assembling might not fit K, and he informs K of it.

There are a number of expressions that typify the uses of the Declarative *-ta* in the way it is used in the above examples.

(5.44) al -ass -ta
know -ANT -DECL
'I've got it [understood]!'

(5.45) chac -ass -ta
find -ANT -DECL
I've got it [found]!'

(5.46) cap-ass-ta
catch-ANT-DECL
I've got it [caught]!'

(5.44) is a typical expression of the speaker's spontaneous reaction to the

fulfillment of intellectual pursuit , i.e., understanding. (5.45) is a typical expression of the speaker's spontaneous reaction to the fulfillment of visual search, i.e., discovery. (5.46) is a typical expression of the speaker's spontaneous reaction to the fulfillment of physical pursuit, i.e., catching. Notice that all three have the Anterior suffix *-ôss-* in it, and all are appropriately translated with the expression 'I've got it'. The information conveyed in all three is that which has just occurred to the speaker, is noteworthy, and is that which the addressee could not be aware of.

The above examples illustrate that the Declarative *-ta* can be used in informing the addressee of noteworthy information that has just occurred to the speaker, retrieved from memory as in (5.41) and (5.42), or having just entered the speaker's consciousness for the first time, as in (5.43). Therefore, the information conveyed with *-ta* is distinguished from the information conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô*, which informs the addressee of information that has been stored all along as factual knowledge or belief.[7] The information conveyed with *-ta* is also distinguished from that conveyed with *-kun* and *-ne*, which is newly perceived on the part of the speaker, but may not be so on the part of the addressee (i.e non-informative).

As mentioned earlier, the uses of the Declarative *-ta* is not limited to expressing the speaker's immediate reactions. The suffix *-ta* can be used in

7 K-D. Lee (1986:44) characterizes *-ta* as "imparting something new to the addressee and the addressee is not biased in any way", in comparison with *-ô*, which he assumes to involves the speaker's assumption of some resistance on the part of the addressee (p45). His characterization of *-ô* as involving some resistance on the part of the addressee is only true of some instances of *-ô*, as discussed in section 5.3. His characterization of *-ta* as involving no bias on the part of the speaker is not incompatible with its discourse-pragmatic nature illustrated in this study, which does not relate to any background expectation that might be involved. His claim, however, needs to be further substantiated, which is beyond the task of the present study.

expressing a warning, caution, or notice that the speaker feels that the addressee needs to attend to. For example,

(5.47) [Leah is finishing off her note to her cousin brother she has visited]

a. oppa -hanthe yo chokholles tu kæ
big:brother-ADT this (DIM) chocolate two CL (item)

cu -ko siph -ôsô o -ass -ô
give-CONN desirous-CONN come-ANT-IE

--> b. kûlôm na -n ka-n -ta
then 1:SG-TOP go-IMPFV-DECL

(Leah 3: 14)

a. I came because I wanted to give you these piece of chocolate.
b. **Now, I am leaving.**

In (5.47b), the writer is issuing a notice to her cousin brother. The information conveyed in this case as well can be conceived as noteworthy which the addressee needs to be informed of.[8]

8 A similar situation is expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô*, however, instead of *-ta* in another note from Leah.

a. HAVE A NICE MONDAY
b. na ka
1:SG go:IE
c. 12-si 5-pun côn
12-hour 5-minute before (Leah 1 : 12-14)

a. Have a nice day.
b. **I'm leaving.**
c. Five minutes before 12 o'clock.

The above example is also the end of a note from Leah. In this case, the Informal Ending *-ô* is used instead of *-ta* for conveying her leaving. The difference between the use of *-ta* and the use of *-ô* is very subtle. Intuitively, however, the use of *-ta* gives a stronger signal than *-ô*, which seems due to the

What is conveyed with *-ta* is not limited to the current situation. The speaker's consciousness-provoking experience in the past can also be conveyed with *-ta*. For example,

(5.48)a. iss -ci ahn -a?
exist -NOML NEG:do-IE

b. oppa chinku-la -nûn salam iss -ci ahn -a?
big:brother friend -INTROS -ATTR person exist -NOML NEG:do-IE

--> c. na manna -ss -ôss -ta
1:SG meet -ANT -ANT-DECL

(Leah 8)

a. You know what?
b. You know your friend you mentioned?
c. **[To the surprise of me and of you as well] I met him.**

In (5.48) above, Leah is reporting her surprising encounter with a friend of the addressee's at Leeds in England. The friend in question was visiting his friend in Leeds by chance, and he and Leah accidentally discovered each other's connection with the addressee. Certainly the experience was consciousness-awakening, and thus the information is noteworthy. Conveying such information cannot be fulfilled with the Informal Ending *-ô*, which simply conveys what the speaker knows.

The function of *-ta* of carrying noteworthy information about a past experience is also apparent in describing situations that the speaker finds interesting and intriguing in narrative.

(5.49)a. kûlæ kaci-ko ilôhke apchima-ka iss -nûnte
d:so:CONN take-CONN like:this apron -NOM exist-CIRCUM

--> b. kôki ilôhke aphchima-ka cumôni-ka twæ -ss -ta

noteworthy nature of the information conveyed with *-ta*.

there like:this apron -NOM pocket -NOM become-ANT-DECL

c. kûlæ kacu-ko kû cumôni-eta hana katûk
do:so take -CONN that pocke t-LOC chock full

tam -ô kac-ko
put:in-CONN take-CONN (PS1: 8-10)

a. So then, he's like wearing an apron,
b. and that thing is like, **the apron became a pocket, you know.**
c. As such, he fills up that pocket with them [pears] chock full,

In (5.49b), the speaker finds it intriguing that the apron the pear-picker is wearing is used as a pocket.

(5.50)a. kûlôn taûm-e tto ice ta thôl -ô
such next -LOC again now all shake:off-CONN

noh -ôss -ûni -kka
leave-ANT-DET-INTER

b. tto olû -ô ka-sô
again climb-CONN go-CONN

c. tto tta -nûn kô -i -ô
again pick-ATTR thing-be-IND

d. kûlûku iss -nûnte ônû namca-æ -ka
do:so exist-CIRCUM a:certain male -child-NOM

e. koengcanghi khôtala-n cacônkô-lûl tha -ko
remarkably big -ATTR bicycle -ACC ride-CONN

mak kôki aph -ûl cina-ô ka-taka
disorderly there front-ACC pass-CONN go-TRANSFER

--> f. ilôhke kû -kô -ûl po -n -ta
like:this that-thing-ACC see-IMPFV-DECL

(PS1: 20-25)

a. After that, now again, now that he has shaken everything out,
b. he climbs up,
c. and he starts picking again.
d. While he is doing that,
e. a certain boy on a very big bike is just then passing by,
f. and **he sees all this, you know.**

In (5.50) above, the speaker describes a scene in transition. Until (c), she has been describing the initial setting of the movie, which began with a man picking pears on the top of the tree. The scene described in (d) through (f) departs from that initial setting by a bike-boy's appearance. This transition is very important for the development of the movie, because it is the very beginning of a chain of events which the whole movie is about; namely, the bike-boy is going to steal a basket of pears and run away, and encounter a few boys, to whom he gives pears, only for the boys to walk down back to the place where the bike-boy stole the pears. The information conveyed in (f) is noteworthy in this regard, and the Declarative *-ta* is suitably used, which, along with the Imperfective *-nûn-*, highlights this important scene, describing the situation as if she concurrently experiences it. The noteworthiness of the scene is also supplemented by the rising pitch at the end of the utterance (f).

Examples (5.47), (5.48), (5.49), and (5.49) are not cases of expressing "immediate" evidence. What is consistent, however, is that the Declarative *-ta* in these examples conveys noteworthy information which the speaker has found intriguing, and thus needs to be informed of to the addressee.

In conclusion, the Declarative suffix *-ta*, for which only the function of indicating a declarative sentence-type has been acknowledged in the literature, has a specialized function in informal discourse of informing the addressee of noteworthy information that has provoked the speaker's cognitive attention. In its uses of

expressing newly perceived information, *-ta* is distinguished from the Informal Ending *-ô*, which simply conveys information which has been integrated part of the speaker's knowledge, either as factual knowledge or belief. The information conveyed with *-ta* is also distinguished from that conveyed with *-ô* in that the information conveyed with *-ta* is that which has invoked the speaker's cognitive recognition because he or she finds it particularly interesting or intriguing. In its function of conveying informative information, *-ta* is distinguished from *-kun* and *-ne* in that the information conveyed with *-ta* is more highly informative.

5.4.4. The Introspective *-la*

One last sentence-terminal suffix that is used in conveying newly perceived information is *-la*, which I call the "Introspective" suffix. The status of *-la* as an independent sentence-terminal suffix is not well established, as it is generally assumed in the literature that *-la* is simply a variant of the Declarative *-ta*. One argument for the claim that *-la* is a variant of *-ta* is that *-la* and *-ta* appear to be in complementary distribution in a characterizable way (Y-K. Ko 1974:122). That is, *-la* is generally assumed to occur in three morphological environments where *-ta* does not occur: (i) after the Retrospective *-tô-*, (ii) after the Presumptive *-(û)li-*, and (iii) after the Copula *-i-* in declarative propositional complements of 'say'-verbs and cognition verbs (H-B. Choe 1977:267; Huh 1983:226; Y-K. Ko 1974:122).

The way the morphological environments of the occurrence of *-la* are stated, however, is a simple stipulation without any morpho-phonemic or morphosyntactic explanation. Furthermore, there are a number of facts that suggest that *-la* must be characterized separately from *-ta* for its discourse-pragmatic functions as well as its

distribution. First of all, *-ta* is strictly a Declarative marker, whereas *-la* can occur in the interrogative with a question word, as bold-faced in examples (5.51) and (5.52c) below.

(5.51) chil-yuk-i myôs **myông** -i -tô -la
7 -6 -NOM how:many CL (person)-be-RETROS-INTROS
(S&H: 300)

'[Let me see] **How many** [students] was it that there were in the class of '76?'

(5.52)a. PH-la -nûn chinku-nûn cônkong-ûl
PH-INTROS-ATTR friend -TOP major -ACC

pakku -ôss -ô-yo
change-ANT-IE-DEF

b. ... MBA-lu
MBA-OBL

--> c. ... kûlæsô mikuk ôti iss -ta kûlô -tô -la
so America where exist-DECL do:so-RETROS-INTROS
(S&H: 471-474)

a. A guy called PH changed his major.
b. To MBA.
c. So, [let me see] **where** in America was it that he was said to be?

Secondly, examples (5.53-l) and (5.54c) below illustrate that the occurrence of *-la* is not always conditioned by the occurrence of *-tô-* and *-(û)li-*, as *-la* occurs without *-tô-* or *-(û)li-* in these examples.

(5.53) [H showing K a keyboard illustration of Korean on Macintosh computer.]

a. H: i -ke phan an -i -a, Hangûl pahn.
this-thing:nom board NEG-be-IE Korean:alphabet board.

b. ca mwô-l~ mwô -la -ku ssû -ku siph -ô?
well what-ACC what -INTRO-COMP write-CONN want -IE

c. K: sa -n kô -i -a kûlæsô?
bought -ATTR thing -be-IE so

d. H: ûng?
what

e. K: sa -n kô -i -a ?
buy-ATTR thing -be -IE

f. H: ûng
right

g. K: ôlma?
how:much

h. H: chil-sip-pul -i -nka
7 -10-dollar-be-DUB

i. K: ôlma?
how:much

j. H: chil-sip-pul
7-10-dollar

k. K: ssi ah ilô -ni cangsa -ka toe -kess -ô?
shoot ah being:so-DET business -NOM become -DCT:RE -IE

--> l. chil-sip-pul -i -la
7 -10-dollar-be-INTROS

m. Hangûl WORD PROCESSING -ûl uli -ka
Korean:alphabet word processing -ACC 1:PL -NOM

ôlma -e pha -na?
how:much -for sell -IEEC

(K&H: 156-168)

a. H: This is the keyboard, the keyboard for Korean.
b. Well, wha- what do you want to write?
c. K: So did you buy it?
d. H: what?
e. K: Did you buy it?
f. H: Yeah
g. K: How much?
h. H: Was it about $70?
i. K: How much?
j. H: $70.
k. K: Shoot! How are we gonna do business against such a deal?
l. **Hum, $70.**
m. What's the price that we sell Korean word processing programs for?

In (5.53-l) above, the speaker (K), presumably thinking over how marketable the Korean word processing software would be in Korea (K works for IBM Korea), expresses in soliloquy his introspection of the price of Korean word processing software, which he has just been informed of in (j). Notice that the Introspective *-la* is used after the Copula *-i-* without *-tô-* or *-(û)li-*. Another example is given below.

(5.54) [H and K are assembling a handy bed. K is puzzled, having found that the legs are slightly bent]

a. K: i -kô -n wônlæ hwi -ô iss -nûn
this-thing-TOP originally bend-CONN exist -ATTR

kô -nka?
thing -DUB

b. H: ûng.
right

--> c. K: nollæ -la.
get:surprised -INTROS

d. næ -ka tto ah ilôhke him -i sse -nka
1:SG-NOM again ah like:this strength -NOM strong -DUB

hæ -ss -ci
do -ANT-COMM (K&H: 38-41)

a. K: Was this bent from the beginning?
b. H: Yeah.
c. K: **Wow! I'm surprised!**
d. I was wondering if I was that strong [enough to bend the bed legs] [I was indeed].

In (5.54c) again, the speaker expresses his introspection of how surprised he is, having thought that he himself was responsible for the bending of the bed legs. Again, *-la* is not preceded by *-tô-* or *-(û)li-*, as it is attached to the inchoative non-descriptive verb of emotion *nollæ-* 'get surprised'.

In fact, *-la* is not even obligatory after *-(û)li-*, as *-(û)li-* can be followed by the Declarative *-ta*. For example, *-(û)li-* followed by the Declarative *-ta* along with the first person subject expresses the speaker's promise as in (5.55) below.

(5.55) næ -ka næil ka-li -ta
1:SG-NOM tomorrow go-PRESUM-DECL
'[I promise] I will go tomorrow.'

This sentence is contrasted with one with *-la*, which expresses in a kind of soliloquy the speaker's introspection of what he or she could possibly do, including his or her volitional act. For example,

(5.56) næ -ka næil ka-li -la
1:SG-NOM tomorrow go-PRESUM-INTROS
'I will/shall go tomorrow.'

A minimal pair like (5.55) and (5.56) with two different communicative functions clearly shows that *-la* is not a variant of *-ta*.

Thirdly and most crucially, *-la* must be identified for its own function, as distinguished from *-ta*. Note that (5.56) with *-la* is an utterance to the speaker himself without being concerned with the addressee (i.e., soliloquy), whereas (5.55) with *-ta* necessarily requires an addressee to whom the promise is made. Indeed, all the examples of *-la* given here are cases of soliloquy. Furthermore, they all can be characterized as expressions of the speaker's introspection. (5.53-l) and (5.54c) are expressions of introspection about the information which has just been perceived (i.e., "immediate"). (5.56) is an introspection of what could possibly happen, expressed with the Presumptive *-(û)li-* (i.e., presumption). Even (5.51) and (5.52) are introspections of information which has been lost in the speaker's memory, i.e., retrospection, which is expressed with the Retrospective *-tô-*.[9]

I have shown that *-la* must be characterized for its own function, namely

9 (5.51), (5.52), (5.53-l) and (5.54c) are the exhaustive examples of *-la* found in the data corpus used for this study, excluding the cases of uses of *-la* in quotative constructions, as in *-la+ku* 'INTROSPECTIVE+COMPLEMENTIZER':

uli -tu tûlôka-ni +kka koengcanghi
1:PL-ADD enter -DET+INTERR remarkably

kacokcôk-i -tû -la +ku
familial -be-RETROS-INTROS+COMP
(S&H 331)
'[I tell you how it was] We too got in [there], and it [the department] is very family-like.

Even though the presence of *-la-*, instead of *-ta*, in this quotative construction *-la+ku* needs to be explained, I will treat *-la+ku* as functionally different expression from simple *-la*, for reasons which I will get into shortly.

expressing the speaker's introspection in soliloquy, and distinguished from *-ta* functionally as well as distributionally.[10] Now, it is interesting to note that (5.53-l) and (5.54c) express the speaker's immediate reactions to what the speaker has just perceived; the information about the price of the Korean software in (5.53-l), and the speaker's internal feeling of being taken aback by his recognition of the bent legs in (5.54c). The use of *-la* in expressing immediate reactions to what has just been perceived is distinguished from those of the other suffixes of "immediate" evidentiality, *-kun*, *-ne*, and *-ta*, due to its semantic nature, which has been characterized above, namely expressing the speaker's introspection in soliloquy. What distinguishes the information conveyed with *-la* from that conveyed with the other suffixes of "immediate" evidential is that, in the case of the other suffixes, what the speaker has just perceived at the immediately preceding moment constitutes an evidentiary source for the information conveyed with the other

10 Still favored to the idea that *-la* is an allomorph of *-ta* is the fact that, in declarative propositional complements, say, of 'say' verbs or verbs of cognition, *-la* is required when the verb is the Copula, whereas *-ta* is used for other verbs.

(i) Suni-nûn UCLA-e tani -n -ta -ko makha-ôss -ta
Suni-TOP UCLA-LOC attend-IMPFV-DECL-COMP say -ANT-DECL
'Suni said she attends/attended UCLA.'

(ii) Suni-nûn chup-ta -ko malha-ôss-ta
Suni-TOP cold-DECL-COMP say -ANT-DECL
'Suni said she is/was cold.'

(iii) Suni-nûn haksæang-i -la /*ta -ko malha-ôss-ta
Suni-TOP student -be-INTROS/*DECL-COMP say -ANT-DECL
'Suni said she is/was a student.'

Therefore, the choice between *-ta* and *-la* for declarative propositional complements still needs to be stipulated in terms of verb types, which I will not be further concerned with in this study.

suffixes, whereas in the case of *-la*, the information conveyed is what the speaker has perceived itself. The suffix *-la* expresses the speaker's introspection of what he or she has just perceived, hence I will call it the "Introspective" marker.

Secondly, it naturally follows that the information conveyed is not informative.

Thirdly, an utterance made with *-la* does not even concern the addressee, since it is a kind of soliloquy (Y-K. Ko 1976:30). With *-kun* and *-ne*, which also convey non-informative information, the speaker may address the addressee in expressing his or her new perception. Therefore, expressions with *-kun* and *-ne* are still subject to speech levels for proper communication, with the speaker's politeness to the addressee being expressed with the Deferential particle *-yo*.[11] With *-la*, on the other hand, the utterance is not addressed to the addressee at all, which is evident from the fact that the Deferential particle *-yo* cannot be attached to *-la*.[12]

Characterized as expressing the speaker's introspection in soliloquy, the

11 The Unassimilated *-kun* has even more variants, which are used in different speech levels; *-kun+yo*, *-kulyo*, *-kumôn*, *-kun*, and *-kuna*, from the most polite to the least.

12 The Deferential Particle *-yo* also cannot be attached to the Declarative *-ta*. Indeed, the uses of *-ta* in expressing immediate reactions, as in (5.39j), (5.40h), (5.42), (5.43), and (5.44), may not have to involve the presence of the addressee. However, the existence of the addressee cannot be ruled out in other examples like (5.41a), (5.45c), (5.56b), and (5.47f); note that, in (5.41a) and (5.45c) respectively, there are addressee terms such as *nô* 'you' and *na* 'I' , which necessarily assume the presence of the addressee; (5.46b) and (5.47f) are part of narratives, which cannot be soliloquy in nature. Even in those examples of (5.39j), (5.40h), (5.42), (5.43), its informative nature naturally implies the existence of the addressee.

discourse-pragmatic functions of the Introspective *-la* are naturally compatible with those of the Retrospective *-tô-* and the Presumptive *-(û)li-*. Consider (5.51) and (5.52) again, where the Retrospective *-tô-* and the Introspective *-la* are combined. As discussed in Chapter 4.5.2.1, what is expressed with *-tô-* in these cases involves retrieving information to fill a memory gap on the part of the speaker, which is a kind of introspection. Note that (5.51) and (5.52) are instances of *-tô-* used in the interrogative with a question word, and the only instances of *-tô-* directly attached to *-la* in the data corpus examined. Instances of the Retrospective *-tô-* in non-interrogative contexts in the corpus are all in the quotative constructions of *-la+ku* (4 instances), as in example (2) of section 4.5.2 (also in Footnote 9 above). Interestingly enough, *-tô-* in the interrogative with a question word like (5.51) and (5.52) cannot be in the quotative construction with *-la+ku*. One of the crucial differences between *-tô-* in the interrogative like (5.51) and (5.52) and *-tô-* in the non-interrogative, which is in the quotative *-la+ku* construction, is that, whereas the cases of *-la+ku* constructions are dialogical and informative, the cases of *-tô-* in the interrogative in (5.51) and (5.52) are cases of soliloquy and expressions of introspection, and thus non-informative. Even though it is possible to construct examples of non-quotative *-tô-la-* in the non-interrogative as in (5.57) below,

(5.57) kû cangmyôn-ûl po -ni +kka
that scene -ACC see-DET+INTERR

toe -ke sûlphû-tô -la
become-RESUL sad -RETROS-INTROS

'As I saw that scene, I felt very sad.'

I suspect that the tendency shown by the split between *-la* for the interrogative

with a question word and the quotative *-la+ku* for the non-interrogative is to keep the use of *-la* for expressing the speaker's introspection in soliloquy.

As for the case with the Presumptive *-(û)li-* as well, as in (5.56), it is conceivable that presumption involves an introspective process. However speculative it may be, the compatibility of the Introspective *-la* with the expressions of retrospection or the expressions of presumption seems intuitively justifiable.

In sum, I have illustrated that the suffix *-la* expresses the speaker's introspection in soliloquy; introspection of information which has been lost in the speaker's memory (i.e., retrospection), introspection of what could possibly happen (i.e presumption), and introspection of what the speaker has just perceived (newly perceived information). The newly perceived information conveyed with *-la* is distinguished from that conveyed with the other "immediate" evidential suffixes in that what the speaker has just perceived is the information conveyed itself, not material constituting the evidentiary source for the information conveyed.

5.4.5. Summary of immediate evidentials

In this section, I have illustrated various kinds of immediate reactions to newly perceived information that are grammatically marked in Korean. Newly perceived information cannot be expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô*, which expresses information which has already been integrated into the speaker's knowledge system, i.e assimilated information. Instead, it is expressed with the Unassimilated *-kun*, the Factual Realization *-ne*, the Declarative *-ta*, and the Introspective *-la*. The nature of newly perceived information conveyed with these four suffixes differs in terms of factuality, informativeness, background expectations assumed among communicators, and/or whether what the speaker has just perceived constitutes an evidentiary source for the information conveyed with

these suffixes. The Introspective *-la* is distinguished from the other suffixes in that what the speaker has perceived does not constitute evidentiary source for the information conveyed, but the information conveyed itself. The Introspective *-la* is also distinguished from the other suffixes in that an utterance with the Introspective *-la* is not addressed to anybody but is confined to the speaker himself or herself, whereas utterances with the other suffixes may or may not assume the addressee. The Declarative *-ta* is distinguished from the other suffixes in that the information conveyed is informative. The Unassimilated *-kun* and the Factual Realization marker *-ne* are distinguished from each other in that *-kun* conveys "unassimilated" information, which is characteristically non-factual, and does not conflict with background expectations assumed among communicators, whereas *-ne* conveys more factual information that is to be immediately assimilated, often contrary to background expectations. The factuality of the information conveyed with *-ta* and *-la* is not clear at the present moment. The Factual Realization marker *-ne* is distinguished from the other suffixes in that the perception of the information conveyed is limited to the present moment, whereas the information conveyed with the other suffixes may have been perceived in the past. Therefore, in a strict sense, only the Factual Realization marker *-ne* may qualify for the "immediate" evidential category. The differences among the four suffixes that are used in expressing newly perceived information can be summarized as follows:

Table 5-2. Summary of "immediate evidentials in Korean

	kun	ne	ta	la
factuality	-	+	*	*
informative	-	-	+	-
evidential	+	+	+	-
immediacy	±	+	±	±
addressee	±	±	±	-

[Note: * indicates that the factor is not clearly applied.
± indicates that there are cases for both values]

The ways newly perceived information is expressed in Korean can be compared with similar phenomena of "immediate" evidentials described for other languages such as Sherpa (Givón 1984; Woodbury 1986), Chinese pidgin Russian (Nichols 1986), Turkish (Slobin and Aksu 1982, Aksu-koç and Slobin 1986), and Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985, 1986). In these languages like Korean, newly perceived information is coded by different morphosyntactic markings from those used for information the speaker already knows. As an account for the phenomena in each language, such concepts as "immediate" evidential (Woodbury 1986), "unprepared" mind (Slobin and Aksu 1982, Aksu-koç and Slobin 1986), and "new" knowledge (DeLancey 1985, 1986) have been suggested. The fact that newly perceived information can be expressed with four different sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean, however, suggests that more differentiation of epistemic spaces is needed in order to properly understand and account for the phenomena of "immediate" evidentials. Depending on factuality, informativeness of the

information conveyed, background expectations on its truth assumed among communicators, and availability of its evidentiary source, newly perceived information may differ in the degree to which it is integrated into the speaker's existing knowledge, and in its communicative effects. For example, information perceived contrary to background expectations among communicators is registered in the speaker's cognition more vividly and definitively, and thus the perception is more factual than information perceived conforming to background expectation. An evidentiary meaning "surprise" may be more associated with the former case than the latter, whereas "inferential" may be more associated with the latter than the former.

Even though the ways in which "immediate" evidential categories are manifested in grammars of individual languages are different, the similar phenomena described in these languages suggest that grammars are sensitive to similar epistemic processes cross-linguistically.

5.5. The Committal suffix *-ci*

In this section, I will characterize *-ci*, which I call the "Committal" suffix, the second most frequent sentence-terminal suffixes in the informal texts examined for this study.

Just like the Informal Ending *-ô*, the Committal *-ci* cannot be defined in terms of sentence-types. As illustrated earlier in section 5.2, the suffix *-ci* can be used in declarative contexts, interrogative contexts, and even imperative contexts. One problem in characterizing the nature of the suffix *-ci* is that uses of the suffix in different sentence-type contexts yield different semantic interpretations. It is well acknowledged in the literature, for example, that the suffix *-ci* expresses asking for confirmation when it is used in interrogative contexts, and a suggestion when used

in imperative or propositive contexts (S-J. Chang 1973b:127-131;Y-K. Ko 1976:44; K-H. Chang 1985:117-124; K-D. Lee 1986:49-54). Confusingly enough, the meaning of *-ci* in declarative contexts ranges from conjecture or supposition to conviction.

There are a number of proposals made for a core meaning of the suffix that will account for the semantic variation in different sentence-type contexts. Ooe (1958:15) suggests that, with *-ci*, "the speaker proposes the matter to the hearer as his judgement". Similar to Ooe's suggestion is Y-K. Ko's (1976:44) characterization of *-ci* as expressing "*cukwancôk sangnyôm*" (the speaker's subjective or personal views). Ooe's and Y-K. Ko's characterizations are insightful, but rather intuitive. More specific semantic characteristics of the suffix are suggested in S-J. Chang (1973b), K-H. Chang (1985), and K-D. Lee (1986). S-J. Chang (1973b) proposes "suppositive" as the overall meaning of the suffix, which is meant to refer to what is expressed by parenthetical expressions such as 'I suppose', 'I guess', or 'I presume' in English. K-H. Chang (1985: 112) proposes "*imi alm*" 'already having knowledge of' as the core meaning of the suffix. Departing from the previous analyses, which are concerned only with the speaker's assessment of the information conveyed, K-D. Lee (1986:49) discusses the speaker's assumption of the addressee's assessment as well; he characterizes the suffix as expressing that the speaker believes in the truth of the proposition and also believes or expects that the addressee will agree with him.

What is common in all these semantic characterizations of the suffix is that the speaker is committed to the truth of the information conveyed with varying degree of certainty. As insightfully suggested in Ooe (1958) and Y-K. Ko (1976), what is conveyed with *-ci* is not an objective piece of information that is to be transferred from the speaker to the addressee, as is the case with the Informal Ending *-ô*, but

the speaker's personal belief. As a synthesis, I will characterize the suffix *-ci* as specifically referring to the speaker's commitment to or belief in the truth of the information conveyed, hence "Committal". By the speaker's commitment here, I do not mean to refer to the absolute certainty on the part of the speaker, but to the speaker's belief with some degree of certainty. Recall from Chapter 2.2.3 that the degree of certainty about the information conveyed can range from doubt to possibility to probability to certain, from the lowest degree of certainty to the highest. The speaker's commitment expressed with *-ci* is characterized as ranging from 'probable' to 'certain', i.e. the upper portion of the certainty scale.

The previous analyses mentioned above have explored virtually all the possible aspects of the semantic characteristics of the suffix. What is lacking in these analyses, however, is a discourse perspective. Each analysis not only is based on constructed examples, but also relies just on the most obvious interpretation obtained in given examples. As a result, it is not clearly illustrated how and in what discourse context each assumed meaning is obtained. The various meanings of the suffix characterized in the literature are attributed to different degrees of commitment that is made in a given discourse context and to the sentence types which the proposition is in. What will be illustrated in the following is the ways in which the suffix *-ci* is used in informal discourse and how various interpretations are derived from its nature of expressing the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information conveyed.

First of all, *-ci* in declarative contexts often expresses conviction on the part of the speaker, which can be best translated with those adverbial expressions, such as 'for sure', 'definitely', 'obviously', 'of course', 'really', 'truly', 'indeed', etc., that indicate the speaker's certainty about or commitment to the truth of the

information conveyed. For example,

(5.58)a. K: i chimtæ-lûl ... -ka iss -ûllæ -mûnûn
this bed-ACC -NOM exist-PURP-COND

b. i chimtæ-ka tûlôka-l man -ha-n TENT-lûl
this bed -NOM enter -ATTR worth-do-ATTR tent -ACC

sa -ss -ôya toe -i kô an -i -a
buy-ANT- NECESS become-ATTR thing NEG-be-IE

c. H: TENT?
tent

--> d. TENT-tu sa -ya -ci
tent -ADD buy-NECESS-COMM (K&H: 21-23)

a. K: You bought this bed... you were going to have this bed,
b. then didn't you also have to buy a tent which this bed could go in?
c. H: A tent?
d. **I should buy a tent too, of course.**

(5.58d) expresses that the speaker agrees to the obviousness of the point the addressee has made in (b), indicating his commitment to the necessity of buying a tent.

The obviousness of the information conveyed does not have to be subscribed to by the addressee. For example,

(5.59) [H is showing K a Korean word processing program for MacIntosh]
a. K: nu -ka mantû-n kô -i -a
who-NOM make -ATTR thing-be-IE

--> b. H: yôki iss -nûn salam -i mantûl-ôss -ci
here exist-ATTR person-NOM make -ANT-COMM
(K&H: 148-149)

a. K: Who made it?
b. H: **Somebody here made it [obviously/of course].**

In (5.59b) above, the speaker also expresses the obviousness of the information conveyed. In this example, however, the speaker emphasizes the truth of the information conveyed whose obviousness the addressee does not see, which is indicated by the addressee's question in (a). In this context, there is a sense of rebuke which arises when the addressee asks something too obvious to ask (K-D. Lee 1986:51).[13] That is, the speaker feels that the addressee's question in (a) is somewhat out of the line, because he assumes that one should easily guess who wrote the software, and implicitly asks the addressee who else it can be.

Examples (5.58) and (5.59) illustrate that the suffix *-ci* is used in expressing the obviousness of the information conveyed, which is best translated as 'of course' or 'obviously'. With the suffix *-ci*, the speaker can also express his or her sheer certainty about the information conveyed. For example,

(5.60)a. H: camsil -kucang -ûn an ka po-asô cal
Camsil-stadium-TOP NEG go:CONN see-CONN well

molû -kess -nûnte
not:know-DCT:RE-CIRCUM

b. S: na-tu camsil -kucang -ûn an ka
1:SG-ADD Camsil-stadium-TOP NEG go:CONN

po-ass -ô -yo
see-ANT-IE-DEF

13 An example like this invalidates K-D. Lee's (1986) characterization of the suffix that the speaker believes or expects that the addressee would agree with him. K-D. Lee discusses a case like this example. But he does not show how his characterization as such is compatible with examples like this.

c. H: yesnal Seoul-untongcang-man ka po-kusô ince
old:days Seoul-stadium -only go:CONN see-CONN now

--> d. S: Seoul-untongcang-ûn ka po-ass -ci -yo
Seoul-stadium -TOP go:CONN see-ANT-COMM-DEF

e. H: yôki ttak tûlôka-myônûn
here just enter -CONN

--> f. ip -i chak pôlôci -ci
mouth-NOM wide:open spread-COMM

g. S: kûlûh-ke khû-ô -yo?
be:so-RESUI big -IE-DEF

h. H: ... mwô kûlôh-ke khû-ci -n anh -ô
what be:so-RESUL big -NOML-TOP NEG:do-IE

i. wæ-nya -mûn han .. MAXIMUM-i
why-INTERR-COND around maximum -NOM

o-man -o-chôn myông -i -ni +kka
5-10,000-5-1,000 CL (Human)-be-DET+INTERR

j. S: ... ô= ... kûlôh-ke khû-ci -n ahn -kuna
ah be:so-RESUL big-NOML-TOP NEG:do-UNASSIM

--> k. H: kûlôhke khû-ci -n anh -ci
that:much big -NOML-TOP NEG:do-COMM

(S&H: 23-35)

a. H: I really don't know, since I haven't been to the Camsil Stadium, but,
b. S: I haven't been to the Camsil Stadium, either.
c. H: Those who have only been to the Seoul Stadium before, and
d. S: **The Seoul Stadium, I've been there [for sure].**
e. H: if you enter here [the Dodgers Stadium]
f. **your mouth will drop open [definitely it will].**
g. S: Is it that big?

h. H: Well, it isn't that big, actually,
i. because, um, the maximum [capacity] is about 50,000 people.
j. S: Ah, [I see] it's not that big!
k. H: **It's not that big [we can say that, I suppose]**

In (5.60d) above, the speaker (S) expresses that he's surely been to the Seoul Stadium. Notice that, in (a) and (b), S could not subscribe H's orientation of the conversation, because H mentions something he has never experienced [visiting The Camsil Stadium]. So, in (d), S emphasizes the certainty of the information conveyed, in making it clear to the addressee (H) that he is complying with H's conversational orientation this time. Similarly in (f), H shows his confidence in what will happen, as indicated in the translation.

The examples cited so far illustrate that the suffix *-ci* is used in expressing the speaker's conviction or certainty about the truth of the information conveyed. The information conveyed with *-ci*, however, can be suppositionally or probabilistically true (cf. S-J. Chang 1973b), rather than definitively. In (5.60k), for example, the speaker affirms the addressee's assessment of the information conveyed in (j), but not with too much confidence. Note that the speaker is telling the addressee about the fantastic properties of the Dodgers Stadium, and apparently the size of the stadium cannot be one of them, as the addressee acknowledges it in (j). Therefore, the information conveyed in (k) is not the kind of information which the speaker wants to make stand out, because it would undermine his purpose of showing off the Dodgers Stadium. Hence the speaker strategically expresses his suppositional acknowledgement.

The idea that *-ci* can express the speaker's probabilistic assumption about the truth of the conveyed information is best illustrated with the fact that the suffix is compatible with expressions that indicate presumption on the part of the speaker,

such as adverbial *ama* 'probably', *-na po-ta* [-NCOMM see-DECL] 'to seem', or the Deductive Reasoning suffix *-kess-*, as in (5.61) and (5.62d) below.

(5.60) S: kû ttæ com him -i yakhæ-ss -na
that time a:little strength-NOM weak -ANT-NCOMM

po -ci -yo ama
see-COMM-DEF probably (S&H: 492-493)

'I presume they didn't have enough power then.'

(5.61)a. H: ince kwancung-ûn han,
now spectator -TOP approximately

b. .. sam-man -ku-chôn mwô,
3 -10,000-9 -1,000 what

c. ... (0.8) {= <XX> }

d. S: {= ûng} kûlôhke toe -kess -ci -yo mwô
right like:that become-DCT:RE-COMM-DEF what

e. .. kû -ci -yo?
that-COMM-DEF (S&H: 80-85)

a. H: the spectators are only about,
b. like forty nine thousand, and,
c. ... {= <XX> }
d. S: {= Yeah} **I figure it would be around that figure.**
e. Wouldn't it?

What should be noted, however, is that, even in the cases of expressing the speaker's supposition, as in (5.60k), (5.61), and (5.62d) above, it is still the case that the speaker believes in the truth of the information conveyed, that is, the degree of certainty is in the upper portion of the certainty scale. It is suggested then that the suffix *-ci* is characterized as expressing the speaker's commitment to the truth of

the information conveyed with varying degree of certainty, from probability to certainty.

Unlike the Informal Ending *-ô*, which is used in simply informing the addressee of what the speaker knows, the suffix *-ci* specifically emphasizes the speaker's certainty about or commitment to the truth of the information conveyed. Recall that the information conveyed with the Informal Ending *-ô* is that which the speaker assumes the addressee to be unaware of (i.e., informing). With the suffix *-ci*, the speaker is solely concerned with the truth of the information conveyed, i.e., his or her commitment to it, regardless of whether the addressee is aware of it or not. Notice that the information conveyed in (5.60k) is that which the addressee has already acknowledged in (j).[14]

Its function of emphasizing the truth of the information conveyed is evident in the fact that the suffix *-ci* is often used in affirming or disaffirming the addressee's assessment of the information (cf. K-H. Chang 1985:117-118). In (5.60k), for example, the speaker affirms what the addressee acknowledges in (j) (i.e., the not-so-huge scale of the Dodgers Stadium). Another example of the speaker's affirmation of the addressee's acknowledgement is given below.

14 K-H. Chang (1985) characterizes the suffix *-ci* as expressing "*imi alm*" 'already having knowledge of'. Her notion of "*imi alm*" refers to "subjective" knowledge including personal belief or judgement, which may or may not be correct, rather than objective facts. Even though it is the case that the information conveyed with *-ci* in the examples cited thus far is that which the speaker already knows, K-H. Chang's characterization is problematic in that it is not clearly distinguished from the function of *-ô*, which also conveys information which the speaker already knows. Furthermore, there are cases where the information conveyed cannot be conceived as that which the speaker has already had as in example (5.66) below.

(5.63)a. K: hwamyôn-i cak -kuna côngmal
screen -NOM small-UNASSIM really

--> b. H: i -kô hwamyôn-i cak -ûn ke
this-thing screen -NOM small-ATTR thing:NOM

hûm -i -ci
defect-be-COMM

c. K: hwamyôn cak -ke mantû-n iyu -ka
screen small-RESUL make -ATTR reason-NOM

RESOLUTION-i an coh -asô kûlæ
resolution -NOM NEG good-CONN be:so:IE

d. {= khû-ke ha-myônûn an coh -ci }
big-RESUL do-COND NEG good-COMM

e. H: {= khu-ke ha-myônûn an coh -ci anh -ni ?}
big-RESUL do-COND NEG good-NOML NEG:do-INTERR

--> f.K: kûh -ci
be:so-COMM

(K&H: 183-188)

a. K: The screen is really small!
b. H: This thing, **the small screen is the defect [truly it is]**.
c. K: The reason why they make the screen small is,
they do so because the resolution is no good.
d. {= It [resolution] is no good if it's big [it really is not]. }
e. H: {= It's no good if it's big, is it? }
f. K: **That's right [it is not indeed]**.

[Note: {= } indicates overlapping between communicators

In (5.63b) above, the speaker affirms the information [the smallness of the computer screen] given by the addressee in (a). Similarly, in (f), K affirms the point H addresses in (e), simultaneously with K, that the computer screen must be

designed small in order to improve its resolution. The suffix *-ci* can also be used in specifically denying or disaffirming the addressee's assessment of the information at issue. For example,

(5.64) [S and H have been talking about the teaching assistant salary in Korea –see (5.34), where H was surprised that the teaching assistant salary in Korea was much higher than he had thought.]

a. H: ... (1.6) kûlæ-tu kûlôhke manhi~~
be:so-ADD like:that much

b. .. kyosu~ kyosu wôlkûp-tu kûlôhke
professor salary -ADD like:that

an toe -ci -anh -a?
NEG become-NOML-NEG:do-IE

c. S: ... ai= !
Nay

--> d. .. kyosu -nûn mahn-ci -yo tô
professor-TOP much-COMM-DEF more

(S&H: 877-880)

a. H: ... but even so, that much~~
b. professo~ isn't it the case that even the professors' salary is not that much?
c. S: Nah [what are you talking about?]
d. **The professors' salary is much higher [of course it is so]**.

In (5.64d), the speaker disaffirms the addressee's assessment given in (b). Affirming or disaffirming deals with the truth of the information conveyed. The uses of the suffix *-ci* in those contexts clearly suggest its function of being concerned with the truth of the information conveyed, i.e., the speaker's commitment to it.

It has been illustrated that the uses of the suffix *-ci* in declarative contexts expresses the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information conveyed with

varying degree of certainty, from probability to certain. The uses of the suffix *-ci* in interrogative contexts, on the other hand, express that the speaker asks the addressee for confirmation about the information whose truth he or she is committed to, which can be best translated with a tag question in English. For example,

(5.65)a. oppa,
big:brother

b. na WALKMAN tolyôcu-lyôko o -ass -nûnte
1SG walkman return -PURP come-ANT-CIRCUM

c. TOO BAD.
too bad

d. kûnyang kaci-ki -lo hæ-ss -ô
just take-NOML-OBL do-ANT-IE

--> e. pulman ôps -ci?
complaint not:exist-COMM

f. oppa -ka ôps -ôss -ûni +kka
big:brother-NOM not:exist-ANT-DET+INTERR

g. ha-l mal ôps -ûl kô -i -a
do-ATTR saying not:exist-ATTR thing-be-IE

(Leah 2: 1-6)

a. Hi, Big Brother,
b. I came to return your walkman, then
c. too bad.
d. I decided to keep it.
e. **You don't have any complaint, do you?**
f. Since it's you who missed me,
g. You wouldn't have anything to say.

In (5.65e), the writer (Leah) believes that the addressee would not complain about her decision to keep the his walkman, and asks for confirmation of it. Note that the

writer sounds very sure of what she is conveying [i.e., the addressee wouldn't have any complaint], as she has a very good grounds on which to base her belief, as indicated in (f). That is, the writer expects the addressee to surely agree on the information conveyed. Therefore, it is still the case that, even in interrogative contexts, the meaning of the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information conveyed is intact.

As with the uses of the suffix in declarative contexts, the degree of the speaker's certainty about the truth of the information conveyed varies in interrogative contexts as well. Unlike the case in (5.65e) above, in which the speaker is certain about the information conveyed, one can ask for confirmation on information which he or she believes in only probabilistically. For example,

(5.66)a. H: ... (1.9) kûlæ-sô,
be:so-CONN

b. ... (1.3) kwa SECRETARY-ka inki -ka
department secretary -NOM fame-NOM

coh -ass -ci.
good-ANT-COMM

c. S: ... (2.5) kû -ni+kka khi com= khû-ko
that-DET+INTERR height a:little big-CONN

d. yeppûcangha-ke .. sængki-n yôca.
pretty (DIM) -RESULT look -ATTR female

--> e. H: ... (1.3) kû ttæ -kkaci iss -ôss -na po -ci?
that time-until exist-ANT-NCOMM see-COMM

(S&H: 1125-1130)

a. H: ... So,
b. ... the department secretary was very popular [surely she was].
c. S: You mean, the one that is a little tall, and

d. looks rather pretty.
e. H: **It looks like she was still there until then, wasn't she?**

In (5.66e), the speaker asks for confirmation of information which he simply presumes, based on the fact that the addressee recognizes in (c) and (d) who he is talking about. In this case as well, what remains intact is that the speaker's belief in the truth of the information conveyed leans toward the upper portion of the certainty scale, even if he does so presumptively or suppositionally. Therefore, the suffix *-ci* in interrogative contexts can also be characterized as expressing the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information in varying degrees. The sense of confirmation is not part of the meaning of *-ci*, but can be attributed to the fact that the speaker's belief is put in question by the speaker himself or herself.

The uses of *-ci* in interrogative contexts with a question word need explanation, though.

(5.67) [K has put on H's shorts, and feels uncomfortable]
a. K: ya nô
hey 2SG

b. H: wæ?
why

c. K: hôli myôch -i -ya?
waist how:much-be-IE

d. H: TWENTY NINE
twenty nine

e. K: mac-ûl kô kath-ûnte
fit -ATTR thing same-CIRCUM

f. na -tu kû -kô pakk -e an toe -nûnte
1:SG-ADD that-thing outside-LOC NEG become-CIRCUM

(H seeing K having trouble with the shorts)
g. H: wæ?
why

h. an twæ?
NEG become:IE

--> i. K: wæ coe -ci i -ke wæ?
why tighten-COMM this-thing:NOM why

j. H: a, kû -kô -nûn i-sip-phal-i -l kô -ta
ah that-thing-TOP 2-10-8 -be-ATTR thing-DECL

k. K: û=ng
I:see

l. H: pan-paci -ka ôps -ô na -tu
half-trousers-NOM not:exist-IE 1SG-ADD

m. pan-paci sa -ya twæ
half-trousers buy-NECESS become:IE

n. K: ûûng, twæ-ss-ô
I:see become-ANT-IE

o. næ -ka i -kô -l mwô ip -ku
1:SG-NOM this-thing-ACC what wear-CONN

ca -kess -ta -n yæki-n
sleep-DCT:RE-DECL-ATTR story-TOP

an -i -ni+kka
NEG-be-DET+INTERR

p. twæ -ss -û
become-ANT-IE

(K picking up a shirt H gave him a while ago apparently not knowing what it is)

--> q. na -l mwô-l cu -ôss -ci?
1:SG-ACC what-ACC give-ANT-COMM

(H sees K wearing a sweat shirt)

r. H: mwô RUNNING SHIRT iss -ûmûn
what running shirt exist-COND

ip -ûl philyo ôps -ci mwô
wear-ACC necessity not:exist-COMM what

(K&H: 99-115)

a. K: Hey, pal!
b. H: What?
c. K: What is your waist size?
d. H: 29.
e. K: They should fit me then, I presume [then I don't understand why they are not].
f. My waist is 29 too at most [why then are they uncomfortable].
g. H: What?
h. They don't fit?
i. K: **Why are they tightening, these thing, why [I wonder]?**
j. H: Ah, I think those are size 28.
k. K: No wonder.
l. H: I don't have enough short pants either.
m. I need to buy some.
(K having managed to put on the shorts.)
n. K: I see. They are all right.
o. It's not that I intend to sleep with these on.
p. It's all right.
(K picking up a shirt H gave him a while ago)
q. **[I believe that you gave me something] what did you give me?**
r. H: Well, you don't need it,
if you have a sweat shirt.

In (5.67i) above, the speaker is wondering why H's shorts do not fit for him if they

are indeed size 29. In (q), the speaker believes that he was given something by the addressee, and wonders what it was. In these examples, it is not clear what information the speaker is committed to (there cannot be any, because they are information questions). It should be noted, however, that the questions asked here are biased ones. They are expressions of kind of puzzles or wondering, rather than directly seeking for information from the addressee. In (i), the speaker feels that there is no reason he can possibly think of why the shorts of size 29 do not fit him, and hence is puzzled. Similarly, in (q), the speaker feels that he should know what was given to him, and wonders why he cannot think of what it was. In this respect, what the suffix *-ci* expresses is that the speaker believes that he or she ought to have the information in question.[15] The sense of 'being puzzled' or 'wondering' comes from the fact that the speaker cannot think of the information in question which he or she believes he or she ought to know.

In imperative or propositive contexts, the suffix *-ci* expresses the speaker's suggestion. For example,

(5.68)a. i pappû-n mom-i chac-a o -ass -nûnte
this busy -ATTR body-NOM seek-CONN come-ANT-CIRCUM

b. ôcci-hay-ô an po -i -nûn kô -i -a?
how -do-CONN NEG see-PASS-ATTR thing-be-IE

c. tu -ko po -a
leave-CONN see-IE

15 K-H. Chang (1985:121) attempts to explain the semantics of *-ci* in interrogative contexts like these examples by saying that the speaker attempts to find an answer from the facts he or she already has knowledge of. Note that she characterizes the suffix *-ci* as expressing "*imi alm*" 'already having knowledge of', as mentioned in Footnote 14. It is not clear, however, what facts there could be from which the speaker finds answers to questions like (5.67i) and (5.67q).

--> d. hûng, kûlæ po -la -ci
huh do:so:CONN see-IMPER-COMM

e. ccokkûma-n tongsæng -ûl honca næ
small -ATTR younger:sibling-ACC alone take:out:CONN

pôli -ô tu -ko
throw:away-CONN leave-CONN (Leah 4: 5-9)

a. This busy lady came to visit you, then
b. how come you are not seen?
c. You will see!
d. Huh, **do like that [please do]** [you will get what you deserve]!
e. How can you leave your little sis alone.

In (5.68d), *-ci-* is used in an imperative context.[16] Leah is giving the addressee a warning by rhetorically suggesting an action which would lead to an unfortunate consequence. What is expressed with *-ci* in this context is that the speaker truly believes in the value or effect of the suggested action. In the case of (d) above, the writer seems assured of the nature of the information conveyed, namely what will be the consequences of the addressee's wrong doing. In imperative contexts as well, however, the speaker's commitment can be less than insistent.

(5.69) ice sul kû -man masi-ko ka-ci
now alcoholic:drink that-only drink-CONN go-COMM
'Now, how about stopping drinking at this point, and going home?'

In this example, the demanding force is much weaker than in (5.68). What remains intact is that the speaker believes in the value or effect of the suggested action. Therefore, the suffix *-ci* in imperative or propositive contexts can also be

16 This is the only example of *-ci* used in an imperative context in the corpus examined.

characterized as expressing the speaker's commitment (to the value or effect of the suggested action), with varying degree of certainty. The meaning of suggestion again is attributed to the fact that what the speaker is committed to is put in the imperative or propositive, and is not part of the meaning of *-ci*.

Summing up the discourse-pragmatic characteristics of the suffix *-ci*, the suffix *-ci* expresses the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information conveyed with varying degree of certainty. In declarative contexts, the suffix expresses supposition through conviction. In interrogative contexts, the suffix expresses asking confirmation on information the speaker is committed to. In imperative or propositive contexts, the suffix expresses suggestion of an action which the speaker believes to be proper in a given context. In all sentence-types, the degree to which the speaker is committed to the information conveyed varies. The meanings of confirmation and suggestion come by the speaker's belief or commitment being put in interrogative and imperative contexts respectively. The core meaning of the suffix can still be characterized as expressing the speaker's commitment of the truth of the information conveyed.

5.6. Sentence-type suffixes in the informal style

It was mentioned that sentence-types are not well differentiated with the sentence-terminal suffixes in the informal style of the language, as the two most frequent sentence-terminal suffixes (74.3% of the sentence-terminal verbal complexes in the data examined for this study), namely the Informal Ending *-ô* and the Committal *-ci*, cannot be defined by any sentence-type. There are a number of sentence-type sentence-terminal suffixes occurring in informal discourse, however. Those are the Declarative *-ta*, the Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya*, and the Imperative *-(ô)la*. As their labels indicate, the uses of each suffix are restricted to their

designated sentence-type. These suffixes constitute representative sentence-terminal suffixes of what I call the "blunt style, which is impolite and downward speech, used in vulgar conversations among buddy-buddy friends or by seniors speaking to young juniors (see Chapter 3.2) in a very casual way. When they are used in the non-polite informal style among friends and family members, however, they not only specify their designated sentence-type of the utterance, but carry special discourse-pragmatic functions. It was already illustrated in section 5.4.3 that the Declarative *-ta* does not simply specify a declarative sentence-type, but has a function of informing the addressee of information which is noteworthy, because it has provoked the speaker's cognitive awareness. In this section, I will characterize the discourse-pragmatic functions of the Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya* and the Imperative *-(ô)la* in informal discourse.

5.6.1. The Interrogative -ni/nya[17]

The Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya* is used when the speaker is dubious or has a negative bias about the information conveyed. For example,

(5.70) [H gave K a pair of sweat pants, which he feels might be too warm. K finds it inconvenient somehow, trying to figure out how to put it on]

a. K: ani i -kô -n mwô-i -a
NEG this-thing-TOP what-be-IE

b. H: kkûn
belt

c. K: pan-paci cu -la pan-paci
half-trousers give-IMPER half -trousers

17 Even though *-nya* seems to be pragmatically a little more loaded than *-ni* in the way I will discuss shortly, the distinction between *-ni* and *-nya* is not at all clear. I will assume, though with some reservation, that they are in free variation.

--> d. H: pan-paci -ka mac-nya nô -hanthe
half-trousers-NOM fit -INTERR 2:SG-DAT

e. K: wæ?
why

f. H: ûm,
um

g. K: cak -ta -n yæki-i -a khû-ta -n yæki-i -a
small-DECL-ATTR story-be-IE big -DECL-ATTR story-be-IE

h. H: cak -ci
small-COMM (K&H: 65-72)

a. K: Wait, what is this?
b. H: A belt (What could it be?)
c. K: Give me short pants, I mean short pants.
d. H: **How on earth would my short pants fit, for you?**
e. K: Why not?
f. H: Um,
g. K: Are you saying they are too small or too big?
h. H: They are too small [of course].

In (5.70d) above, the speaker expresses his rebuke on K's request given in (c), because, as indicated in (h), he believes without doubt that his short pants are too small for K. Notice that his commitment to the issue is expressed with the Committal *-ci* in (h). Therefore, the question asked in (d) is negatively biased; it is a kind of a rhetorical question asserting that the short pants would not fit the addressee. The use of *-nya* in the following example is similar.

(5.71)a. oppa -n i mom-i ôps -ô
big:brother-TOP this body-NOM not:exist-CONN

ci -ni+kkan
become-DET+INTERR

cæmi-ka ôps -na po -ci?
fun -NOM not:exist-NCOMM see-COMM

b. (kû kôs -to QUESTION-i -la -ko
that thing-ADD question -be-INTROS-COMP

--> mul-ô po -nya?
ask-CONN see-INTERR

c. OF COURSE, cæmi-ôps -nûn ke.
of course fun -not:exist-ATTR thing:NOM

tangyôncisa -ci)
a:matter:of:course-COMM

[Note: the parenthesis is original]

(Leah 8: 13-15)

a. You don't seem to have any fun these days after this lovely being disappeared, do you?
b. **(Do you really ask that as a question?**
c. It is a fact of course that I don't have any fun.)

In (5.71) above, the writer Leah is teasing the addressee (her cousin brother), by imitating, as parenthesized in (b) and (c), the addressee's would-be reactions to her statement given in (a). The question asked in (b) is again a rhetorical question, which implies that the information conveyed in (a) is an absolute truth such that questioning it is a non-sense. Again notice that the legitimacy of the writer's bias is asserted with the Committal *-ci* in (c).

The use of *-ni* does not sound as rhetorical as that of *-nya* illustrated in (5.70d) and (5.71b). However, the uses of *-ni* also seem to involve a negative bias on the part of the speaker. For example,

(5.72) [K trying to put on H's short pants]

a. K: tûlôka -nûnte?
enter:go-CIRCUM

b. H: an mac-ûlkôl
NEG fit -PRESUM

c. K: wæ?
why
:
(K realizing that the pants are too small)

d. K: ôhyu i -kô
gosh this-thing

--> e. H: mac-ni?
fit -INTERR (K&H: 82-88)

a. K: It goes in.
b. H: I don't think they fit for you.
c. K: Why not?
:
d. K: Oh, dear, this thing,
e. H: **Do they fit?**

In (5.72e), the background expectation the speaker has is that the pants would not fit K, as indicated in (b). Similarly,

(5.73) [K has noticed that H is recording something]

a. H: næ DATA ([=dæɾa]) com moû -nûla -ku
1SG:GEN data a:little collect-PURP-COMP

(K feels funny about H's pronunciation of the word data, because it is too Americanized)

b. K: a DATA ([dæɾa])
ah data

--> c. [daɾa]-la -ku -n kûlô -ci anh -ni?
-DECL-COMP-TOP do:so-NOML NEG:do-INTERR

d. ôti -ka [daɾa]-la -ku kûlô -ci?
where-NOM -DECL-COMP do:so-COMM
(K&H: 133-136)

a. H: Because I want to collect some data ([=dæɾa]).
b. K: Ah, [dæɾa]
c. **Don't you ever say** [daɾa]?
d. Where do they say [daɾa] (I wonder if there is any place where they say [daɾa])?

In (5.72) above, K reacts to H's flapping the /t/ in the word *data*. In order to make fun of H's Americanized pronunciation, K is asking a question in a rather cynical way in (c), by trying an even more deviant pronunciation. Again, the speaker is negatively biased against the information conveyed, as hinted in (d).

In sum, the Interrogative suffix *-ni* or *-nya* is used in informal discourse for expressing not only its designated sentence-type, i.e., interrogative, but also negative bias on the part of the speaker.[18]

18 There are three instances (out of 8 total tokens of *-ni/-nya* used in sentence-terminal verbal complexes) which are not characterized as expressing any negative bias on the part of the speaker. All instances are cases where Father asks a question to his son. For example,

a. H: yôpo-se -yo
2SG -HONOR:IE-DEF

b. F: yôpo-se -yo
2SG -HONOR:IE-DEF

c. H: ne
yes

d. F: Hyosang-i -ni
Hyosang -be-INTERR?

5.6.2. The Imperative *-(ô)la*

Similarly to the Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya*, which is used when the speaker has a negative bias against the information conveyed, the Imperative *-(ô)la* is used when the speaker assumes the addressee to believe otherwise or the circumstances are not arranged to his or her liking. In (5.70c), for example, the speaker (K) shows his preference [for short pants] over the addressee's choice [sweat pants]. Similarly,

(5.74) [K is visiting H. Noticing that K is still wearing a suit, H says to K]
a. H: os phyônha -ke ip -ôla
clothes comfortable-RESUIT put:on-IMPER

e. H: ne
yes

f. F: Hansangi ilôna -ss -ni
Hansang get:up-ANT-INTERR (TC 2: 1-6)

a. H: Hello.
b. F: Hello
c. H: Yes.
d. F: **Is this Hyosang?**
e. H: Yes.
f. F: **Has Hansang got up?**

In (d) and (f) above, there does not seem to be any negative bias involved. In (d), in fact, Father may have recognized Hyosang's voice from (a) and (c). Therefore, these cases cannot be characterized as expressing a negative bias on the part of the speaker. Notice that it is Father's saying to his son, for which downward speech may be appropriate. The above cases then are understood simply as sheer downward speech, even though it is the informal non-polite style that Father uses in other utterances. It follows then that the use of the downward style seems to take on special effects of expressing the speaker's negative bias when the style is assumed to be used improperly, which can be considered as a case of the intentional violation of communicative cooperative principles (Grice 1975).

b. S: (Laughing) phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i
comfortable-RESULT put:on-ATTR clothes-NOM

ôps -ô
not:exist-IE

c. H: phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i ôps -ô ?
comfortable-RESULT put:on-ATTR clothes-NOM not:exist-IE

d. K: (Feeling ironical about being asked for something he doesn't have)
os phyônha -ke ip -ûlæ
clothes comfortable-RESULT put:on-IMPER:IE

e. H: ôps-ô?
not:exist-IE

f. K: ûng
right

--> g. H: i -kô ip -ô kûlôm
this-thing put:on-IE then (K&H: 54-60)

a. H: **Why don't you change your clothes into something comfortable?**
b. K: I don't have something comfortable.
c. H: You don't have comfortable clothes?
d. K: (Feeling ironical about being asked for something he doesn't have) I was told to change my clothes into something comfortable.
e. H: You don't have any?
f. K: No.
g. H: Try these then.

In (5.74a) above, the speaker feels strange that K is still wearing a suit. Therefore, the command is made against opposite circumstances to the speaker's liking or norm. Note that, in (g), there is no bias assumed on the part of the speaker, which is expressed with the Informal Ending *-ô*.

From (5.70c) and (5.74a), the uses of the Imperative *-(ô)la* in informal discourse are characterized as issuing a command when the circumstances including the addressee's standpoint are assumed to differ from the speaker's liking. The use of the suffix *-(ô)la* in cursing is a specialized case of this kind. For example,

(5.75) [Leah came to see her cousin brother, and could not find him. She expresses her disappointment with a curse in a joking manner]

kil ka-taka ôph -ô ci -ôla
road go-INTURRUP turn:over-CONN become-IMPER

--Leah-ûi côcu
--Leah-GEN curse (Leah 6: 16)

'Fall down on the road --Leah's curse'

A curse is made when circumstances are against the speaker's liking. Therefore, the use of *-(ô)la* in cursing like (5.75) is parallel with its uses in (5.70c) and (5.73a).

In sum, the Imperative suffix *-(ô)la* of the blunt style expresses not only its designated sentence-type, i.e., imperative, but also expresses that a command is made under the circumstances that are against the speaker's liking, when it is used in the informal non-polite style.

Therefore, those sentence-type suffixes, such as the Declarative *-ta*, Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya*, and the Imperative *-(ô)la*, do not just indicate the sentence-types they designate when they are used in the informal non-polite style, but they also have specialized discourse -pragmatic functions that have to do with the speaker's bias or background expectation and his or her assumptions about the addressee's standpoint. Therefore, it further supports the idea that, in informal discourse in Korean at least, sentence-type distinctions are secondary to epistemic

modality categories such as the speaker's knowledge status, assumptions and background expectations about the information conveyed and/or the addressee.

5.7. Summary of sentence-terminal suffixes

In this chapter, I characterized some representative sentence-terminal suffixes occurring in informal discourse in Korean. The discourse-pragmatic characteristics of the sentence-terminal suffixes occurring in informal discourse in Korean suggest that:

(i) sentence-types are not differentiated by the sentence-terminal suffixes in informal discourse. What is differentiated by the sentence-terminal suffixes instead are various epistemic modality categories referring to the speaker's knowledge status, evidentiary sources of the information conveyed, the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information conveyed, and the speaker's assumption or background expectation about the addressee's standpoint.

The Informal Ending *-ô*, the most frequent sentence-terminal suffix in informal discourse, is characterized as expressing assimilated information which is an integrated part of the speaker's knowledge, either as factual knowledge or belief, and informative, as the addressee is assumed to be unaware of the information conveyed.

The Committal *-ci*, the second-most frequent sentence-terminal suffix, is characterized as expressing the speaker's commitment to the truth of the information conveyed with varying degree of certainty. It was illustrated that even those sentence-type suffixes occurring in informal discourse are not restricted to indicating the sentence-types they designate, but also carry special discourse-pragmatic functions; the Declarative *-ta* is used in informing the addressee of noteworthy information which has provoked the speaker's cognitive recognition;

the Interrogative *-ni* or *-nya* is used when the speaker has a negative bias against the information in question; the Imperative *-(ô)la* expresses that a command is made in circumstances opposite to the speaker's liking.

(ii) What the speaker already knows (i.e., has assimilated) and what the speaker has just perceived (i.e newly perceived information) cannot be conveyed in the same way. There are four suffixes that are used in expressing newly perceived information in Korean, namely the Unassimilated *-kun*, the Factual Realization *-ne*, the Declarative *-ta*, and the Introspective *-la*. These four suffixes differ from each other in terms of factuality, informativeness, evidentiary source, and the time of perception of the information conveyed. The Unassimilated *-kun* is characterized as expressing unassimilated information, which is characteristically non-factual, non-informative, and does not conflict with the speaker's pre-existing mind set. The Factual Realization *-ne*, on the other hand, is characterized as expressing factual realization on the part of the speaker. The information conveyed with *-ne* is characteristically non-informative, as is the case with *-kun*, but factual, and is often contrary to background expectations assumed among communicators. In a strict sense, only information conveyed with *-ne* is qualified for "immediate" evidential, because the time of perception of the information conveyed with *-ne* is restricted to the present moment, whereas the information conveyed with the other suffixes may be that which was perceived in the past. The Declarative *-ta* is characterized as informing the addressee of noteworthy information which has provoked the speaker's consciousness. Only the information conveyed with *-ta* is informative. The Introspective *-la* is characterized as expressing the speaker's introspection in soliloquy. Whereas the information conveyed with the other suffixes is based on perceptual evidence, the information conveyed with *-la* is the perception itself.

The grammatical category referring to expressing newly perceived information is called "immediate" evidentiality. The phenomenon of "immediate" evidentials is reported in a number of languages including Korean (H-S. Lee 1985), Sherpa (Woodbury 1986; Givón 1984), Chinese pidgin Russian (Nichols 1986), Turkish (Slobin and Aksu 1982; Aksu-koç and Slobin 1986), and Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985, 1986). The phenomena of "immediate" evidentials in these languages suggest that human cognition is sensitive to the degree to which information perceived is integrated into the existing body of knowledge. The way the "immediate" evidential categories are manifested in the verbal system in Korean reveals that more differentiation of epistemic space is necessary in order to understand the phenomena properly.

The discourse-pragmatic nature of the sentence-terminal suffixes in Korean, as examined in this study, requires a discourse perspective. It is only through discourse contexts that the ways the communicators perceive the information conveyed, interact with each other, and monitor each other's communicative purposes and the background expectations underlying them can be understood.

Chapter 6. Summary

In this study, I have characterized the tense, aspect, and modality system in Korean by examining the discourse-pragmatic characteristics of verbal affixes that are assumed to express or be associated with tense, aspect, or modality meanings. Verbal affixes have been examined in two subgroups: non-terminal suffixes and sentence-terminal suffixes. Among non-terminal suffixes, only those which are assumed to express temporal properties have been examined; these are the Anterior *-ôss-*, the Imperfective *-nûn-*, and the Retrospective *-tô-*. Sentence-terminal suffixes are assumed to express various modality meanings. The sentence-terminal suffixes that are examined in this study are: the Informal Ending *-ô*, the Committal *-ci*, the Unassimilated *-kun*, the Factual Realization *-ne*, the Declarative *-ta*, and the Introspective *-la*, the Interrogative *-nya*, and the Imperative *-(ô)la*. The overall pattern of tense, aspect, and modality categories in Korean has been analyzed by looking at the uses of these verbal suffixes in representative colloquial discourse data; face-to-face conversations, telephone conversations, informal narratives, and informal personal letters and notes.

There are two different views of aspect, which I propose must be conceptually distinguished: (i) the temporal view, and (ii) the totality view. The temporal view pertains to what temporal phase beginning, middle, end of a situation described is appreciated by the communicators. In this view, speakers are concerned with a purely temporal dimension of the situation, dealing with completion or termination, durativity, and ongoingness of the situation described. Korean exhibits the temporal view of aspect, with the newly developed Anterior suffix *-ôss-* along with two durative constructions utilizing the existential verb *iss-*

'exist', namely the *-ô iss-* construction and the *-ko iss-* construction, which are characterized as static durative and dynamic durative respectively.

The Anterior suffix *-ôss-* has a wide variety of meanings depending on discourse context, such as past tense, completion, perfect of result, and current relevance. I have argued that, unlike the previous literature assumes, the Anterior *-ôss-* cannot be defined either as a past tense marker or perfective aspect marker. I have proposed that the suffix is best characterized as expressing "anteriority", which is defined as a tense-aspect neutral concept that refers to the precedence of terminal point of a situation in relation to reference point. Whether it gives a past tense meaning or a perfective aspect meaning depends on the speaker's communicative goals and concerns. The speaker may be concerned with a sequential relative ordering of the situation in relation to a reference point given in a discourse context. In this case, the use of the Anterior *-ôss-* indicates that the situation precedes the reference point, and gives a past tense meaning. On the other hand, the speaker may be concerned with whether the situation has reached its terminal stage. In this case, what matters is the location of the reference point with respect to the situation, and the use of the suffix *-ôss-* indicates that the reference point is located at or after the terminal stage, and thus gives a perfective aspect meaning (in the sense of completion). The wide variety of meanings obtained from the uses of *-ôss-* have to do with its historical development. The suffix *-ôss-* developed from the formerly Perfect *-ô iss-* construction. In Modern Korean, the function of the *-ô iss-* construction is limited to expressing non-agentive static duratives. The *-ô iss-* construction contrasts with the *-ko iss-* constriction, which may be characterized as expressing dynamic duratives. What the Anterior *-ôss-* and the two durative constructions have in common is that they all have to do with the temporal stage of a situation. The Anterior *-ôss-* and the static durative *-ô iss-*

construction, the historical antecedent of *-ôss-*, refer to the terminal stage, and the dynamic durative *-ko iss-* construction refers to the middle stage of the situation described. The overall discourse pattern of the distribution of various meanings obtained from the uses of *-ôss-* in the colloquial texts I have examined shows that the past tense meaning is the predominant meaning that the suffix expresses. Therefore, I predict that the Anterior *-ôss-* will develop into a past tense marker at some point in the future history of Korean.

While the temporal view of aspect deals with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to temporal stage of the situation described, the totality view is concerned with the location of the speaker's viewpoint with respect to the event frame of the situation; that is, whether the speaker views a situation from outside of the event frame (the external view), and thus presents it as a wrapped-up whole, or views it within the event frame (the internal view), and presents it as it unfolds as if he or she experiences it concurrently such that the internal development of the situation is referred to. The perfective in the totality view is characterized as viewing a situation as a wrapped-up whole (the external view) and the imperfective as viewing it as it unfolds within its event frame (the internal view). Korean exhibits the totality view of aspect as well. The external view (i.e., perfective aspect) is morphologically unmarked in Korean, and the internal view (i.e., imperfective aspect) is marked with the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-* for non-prior situations and with the Retrospective *-tô-* for prior situations. The (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-* express temporal properties of a situation that are different in nature from those expressed by *-ôss-*and the two durative constructions. Both *-nûn-* and *-tô-* do not refer to any temporal stage, but to the location of the speaker's viewpoint within the event frame of the situation

described. The suffix *-nûn-* may express not only a non-past time reference, but the speaker's concurrent perception at the speech moment. The suffix is not compatible with descriptive verbs. Considering its semantic range, the morphosyntactic constraint on its use, as well as its similarity to cross-linguistically common "imperfective" or "non-punctual" markers in other languages, *-nûn-* may be characterized as expressing imperfective aspect with non-past (or non-prior) time reference in the totality view of perfectivity. The Retrospective *-tô-* is characterized as expressing past imperfective aspect, which subsumes the experiential evidential meaning of retrospection.

The (Non-past) Imperfective *-nûn-* and the Retrospective *-tô-* along with the morphologically unmarked form constitute the historically underlying tripartite aspectual opposition in Korean. The tripartite temporal opposition among the Imperfective *-nûn-*, the Retrospective *-tô-*, and the morphologically unmarked form is assumed to be the temporal system of earlier Korean, until the Anterior *-ôss-* developed around the 17th century, which remains in the temporal system of conservative attributive constructions in Modern Korean. The aspect system analyzed here can be seen in many ways to parallel a pervasive crosslinguistic aspectual pattern which distinguishes between perfective and imperfective, as attested in many creole languages, Western African languages such as Yoruba and Igbo, Persian, and Lakhota, as well as in Proto-Indo-European.

The development of the Anterior *-ôss-* around the 17th century triggered a transition from a temporal system that manifests this tripartite temporal opposition in the totality dimension of perfectivity to a temporal system that manifests the temporal opposition in the temporal dimension between completed and non-completed or between terminated or non-terminated. Such a transition is presumed to be further facilitated to develop to a two-way tense distinction (past and non-past)

due to a predominant discourse pattern where the Anterior *-ôss-* overwhelmingly gives a past tense meaning.

The co-existence of both the temporal view and the totality view of aspect in Korean suggests that the notion of perfectivity cannot be characterized as referring to a single concept, and thus a description of temporal oppositions in a given language must deal with what dimension of aspect is relevant to each temporal opposition in that language.

As for modality categories, representative sentence-terminal suffixes have been examined in terms of their discourse-pragmatic functions in the colloquial language. The Informal Ending *-ô*, which is the representative sentence-terminal suffix in the informal styles of the language, is characterized as conveying information that is the integrated part of the speaker's established body of knowledge (assimilated information). What cannot be conveyed with *-ô* is information which has not been the integrated part of the speaker's knowledge, including what has just been perceived at the moment of speech. The Unassimilated *-kun* expresses information which is consciously known but is yet to be assimilated into the speaker's knowledge system (i.e., unassimilated information). The Factual Realization marker *-ne* is characterized as expressing the speaker's factual realization at the moment of speech. The Declarative *-ta* is used in informing the addressee of noteworthy information that has provoked the speaker's consciousness. The Introspective *-la* is used in considering what has been perceived in soliloquy. All these suffixes can be used in expressing what has just been perceived at the moment of speech. They differ, however, in factuality, informativeness, existence of evidentiary source, and immediacy of the information conveyed, background expectation among communicators, and the role of the addressee. The Committal *-ci* expresses the speaker's belief on the truth of the conveyed information with

varying degrees of certainty. The Interrogative *-nya* and the Imperative *-(ô)la* express more than their designated sentence-types, namely interrogative and imperative respectively. The Interrogative *-nya* is used when the speaker has a negative bias toward the information conveyed. Similarly, the Imperative *-(ô)la* is used when the speaker assumes the hearer to believe differently from him or herself or when the circumstances are not arranged to his or her liking.

The discourse-pragmatic characteristics of the sentence-terminal suffixes characterized in this study reveal a number of points about the way modality categories are manifested in Korean. First of all, sentence types are not differentiated by morphosyntactic devices in colloquial Korean. Instead, what is differentiated by sentence-terminal suffixes is various epistemic modality categories, including the speaker's knowledge status, background expectation, evidentiary sources of the information conveyed, and the speaker's assumption about the addressee's point of view. Even the sentence type suffixes, e.g. the Declarative *-ta*, Interrogative *-nya*, and the Imperative *-(ô)la*, express more than their designated sentence-types, but have specialized discourse functions that have to do with the speaker's mental status, such as the way the perceived information is registered in the speaker's cognition, negative bias, and liking or disliking of the circumstances. Secondly, what is particularly interesting is that information which is an integrated part of the speaker's preexisting body of knowledge (what the speaker already knows) is morphosyntactically distinguished from that which has not been an integrated part of the speaker's preexisting body of knowledge (what the speaker has just perceived, i.e., newly perceived information). The grammatical category referring to expressing newly perceived information is called the "immediate" evidential. The phenomenon of "immediate" evidentials is reported in a

number of languages including Korean (H. S. Lee 1985), Sherpa (Woodbury 1986; Givón 1984), Chinese pidgin Russian (Nichols 1986), Turkish (Slobin and Aksu 1982; Aksu-koç and Slobin 1986), Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985, 1986), etc. The phenomenon in these languages suggests that human cognition is sensitive to the degree to which information perceived is integrated into the speaker's existing body of knowledge. The way the "immediate" evidential categories are manifested in the verbal system in Korean reveals that more differentiation of epistemic spaces needs to be considered in order to account for the relation between human cognition and grammar.

Overall, the analysis of the tense, aspect, and modality system of Korean presented in this study serves to carry out two general tasks: (i) giving a comprehensive description of the verbal system in Korean, and (ii) providing an empirical ground to evaluate general theories of tense, aspect, and modality, e.g. a theory of criteria for defining perfectivity. The findings in this study suggest that experiential components of situations play an important role in the grammatical system of a language, that is, when, where, and how a situation is perceived, and how the perception is integrated into the speaker's cognitive system. By characterizing the TAM system in Korean in discourse-pragmatic terms, this study contributes to a better understanding of how tense, aspect, and modality categories are organized in languages in general, and what discourse-functional categories human languages are sensitive to in their grammar.

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Appendix A. Distribution of sentence-terminal verbal complexes

Terminal	Ø	ôss	kess	tô	nûn	(ô)ya	N/A[a]	TOTAL (%)
ô (Informal Ending)	327	65	11	*[b]	*	*	16	419 (58.5%)
ci (Committal)	77	23	6	*	*	6	1	113 (15.8%)
na (Non-Committal)	8	11	0	*	*	*	*	19 (2.7%)
kun (Unassimilated)	7	2	5	0	0	*	*	14 (2.0%)
ne (Factual Realization)	5	4	5	*	*	*	*	14 (2.0%)
ta (Declarative)	5	4	3	*	5	*	*	17 (2.4%)
la (Introspective)	2	0	*	2	*	*	*	4 (0.6%)
ni/nya (Interrogtiave)	7	1	0	0	*	*	*	8 (1.1%)
(ô)la (Imperative)	*	*	*	*	*	*	3	3 (0.4%)
kôtûn (Correlative)	19	9	*	*	*	*	*	28 (3.9%)
tæ/læ (Hearsay)	8	0	0	0	4	*	1	13 (1.8%)
taku	3	4	*	*	8	*	*	15 (2.1%)
laku	8	*	*	4	*	*	1	13 (1.8%)
caku	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1 (0.1%)
(û)lkôl (Presumptive)	*	0	*	*	*	*	2	2 (0.3%)
(û)lkke (Intentional)	*	*	*	*	*	*	6	6 (0.8%)
(û)llæ (Volitional)	*	*	*	*	*	*	3	3 (0.4%)
(nû)nci (Disjunctive)	6	1	0	0	*	*	*	7 (1.0%)
(û)lci (Disjunctive)	*	0	*	*	*	*	1	1 (0.1%)
(nû)nka (Dubitative)	6	0	0	3	*	*	*	9 (1.3%)
(û)lkka (Dubitative)	*	0	*	*	*	*	6	6 (0.8%)
te[c]	*	*	*	1	*	*	*	1 (0.1%)
TOTAL	488	124	30	10	17	6	33	716 (100%)
%[d]	68.2	17.3	4.2	1.4	2.4	0.8	5.7	100

[Notes]

a. N/A indicates that the occurrence of non-terminal suffixes is precluded, as in imperatives and irrealis constructions with the Presumptive *-(û)lkôl*, the Intentional *-(û)lkke*, and the Volitional *-(û)llæ*.

b. * indicates a morphological gap due to the co-occurrence restrictions. For example, the Informal Ending *-ô* cannot occur with the Retrospective *-tô-* and the (Non-past) Imperfective *-nân-*.

c. The form *-te* contains the Retrospective *-tô-* in it, but is difficult to decompose.

d. The percentage given here represents the frequency of non-terminal suffixes in sentence-terminal verbal complexes.

Appendix B. Distribution of sentence-terminal suffixes by texts

Terminal	K&H	Leah	S&H	PS	TC	TOTAL (%)
ô (Informal Ending)	66	122	169	45	17	419 (58.5%)
ci (Committal)	28	25	54	1	5	113 (15.8%)
na (Non-Committal)	5	1	10	2	1	19 (2.7%)
kun (Unassimilated)	3	4	7	0	0	14 (2.0%)
ne (Factual Realization)	4	0	10	0	0	14 (2.0%)
ta (Declarative)	7	4	1	5	0	17 (2.4%)
la (Introspective)	2	0	2	0	0	4 (0.6%)
ni/nya (Interrogtiave)	4	1	0	0	3	8 (1.1%)
(ô)la (Imperative)	2	1	0	0	0	3 (0.4%)
kôtûn (Correlative)	4	4	18	2	0	28 (3.9%)
tæ/læ (Hearsay)	1	9	2	0	1	13 (1.8%)
taku/laku	5	4	17	1	1	28 (3.9%)
caku	1	0	0	0	0	1 (0.1%)
(û)lkôl (Presumptive)	2	0	0	0	0	2 (0.3%)
(û)lkke (Intentional)	1	4	0	0	1	6 (0.8%)
(û)llæ (Volitional)	0	3	0	0	0	3 (0.4%)
(nû)nci (Disjunctive)	0	5	0	3	0	8 (1.1%)
(nû)nka (Dubitative)	6	4	4	0	1	15 (2.1%)
te	0	0	1	0	0	1 (0.1%)
TOTAL	141	191	295	59	30	716 (100%)

Appendix C. Sample data texts (Leah 7 and Leah 8)

* Leah is the author's younger cousin, who, at the time she wrote the following letters, was in Leeds, England, as an exchange student from UCLA.

* MU represents a "modal unit" or an "utterance unit" as I discussed in Chapter 3.1.1, which is roughly equivalent to a sentential unit in formal writings. CU represents a clausal unit.

* The punctuations in these data texts are original.

Leah 7

MU	CU	Text
1	1	Hyo-Sang oppa. Hyo-Sang big:brother
2	2	annyông! Comfort
3.1	3	yôcônhi kongpu-ha-myônsô still study -do-SIMUL
3.2	4	cal iss -kess -ci? well exist-DCT:RE-COMM
4	5	na -tu -ya oppa! 1SG-ADD-be:IE big:brother
5.1	6	kû -nte 'kongpu-ha-myônsô'-ka an -i -ku that-CIRCUM study -do-SIMUL -NOM NEG-be-CONN

1	1	Dear Big Brother Hyo Sang.
2	2	How are you?
3	3-4	I figure you are all right, still studying, right?
4	5	Me, too, Big Brother.
5	6	But, the thing is, I am not studying very much,
	7	rather it is more like I am just playing around.

5.2	7	'nol -myônsô'-ka tô cônghwakha-ô. play-SIMUL -NOM more precise -IE
6	8	nômu sinna-ke nol -a. too joyful-RESUL play-IE
7.1	9	kûlô -nûlako do:so-PURP
7.2	10	oppa -hanthe phyônci-to ilôhke nûc-ke big:brother-DAT letter -ADD like:this late-RESUL ha-ci -anh -a. do-NOML-NEG:do-IE
8.1	11	yôngkuk-e o -n ci England-LOC come-ATTR the:time:since kyôu han tal pan côngto twæ -ss -nûnte barely one month half extent become-ANT-CIRCUM
8.2	12	nômu olæ toe -n kôs kath-a. too late become-ATTR thing same-IE
9.1	13	kû-tongan ôlmana mahı-ûn inkan -tûl -ûl that-during how:much much -ATTR human-PL-ACC manna-ko meet -CONN
9.2	14	chinku-ka tœ -ôss -nûnci friend -NOM become-ANT-SUSP

6	8	I am having so much fun.
7	9-10	That's why I am writing to you this late.
8	11	It's been only a month and a half since I came to England, but
	12	it seems like it has been a long time.
9	13-15	I am even mystified about how many people I've met and made friends with.

9.3 15 côngmal sinkiha -l côngto -ya.
really mysterious-ATTR degree-be:IE

10.1 16 kûliko tto ôlmana swip-ko ppali
and:then moreover how:much easy-CONN quickly

côkûng -ha -nûnci
adjustment-do-DISJ

10.2 17 mak isanghæ.
at:random strange:IE

11.1 18 kûnte kû -kôs -to
then that-thing-ADD

næ-ka sôngkyôk-i OUTGOING-hæ-sô
1SG-NOM character-NOM outgoing -do -PRECED

kûlônke an -i -ko
such:thing:NOM NEG-be-CONN

11.2 19 mahn-ûn coh -ûn chinku-tûl -ûl sakwi -ôsô
much-ATTR good-ATTR friend -PL-ACC socialize-PRECED

kûlon kô kath -æ.
such thing same-IE

12.1 20 nômu coh -ûn kô han-kaci-nûn
too good-ATTR thing one-item-TOP

12.2 21 yôki o -asô
here come-PRECED

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10 16-17 And it is also very strange how easily and quickly I have adjusted.
11 18 But, even so, it is not because I have an outgoing personality,
19 but it seems so because I have a lot of good friends.
12 20 One thing that is wonderful is,
21 I came here, and
22 met students from Korea.

12.3 22 hankuk yuhak -sæng -tûl manna-n kôs.
Korea study:abroad-student-PL meet -ATTR thing

13.1 23 tût -ki -lo -nûn
hear-NOML-OBL-TOP

13.2 24 8 myông côngto tœ - n -tæ.
8 CL(person) degree become-IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

14 25 kû cung yôca -nûn han pun
that middle female-TOP one CL(person:HONOR)

15.1 26 kûlæsô næ -ka o -ni +kka
so 1SG-NOM come-DET+INTERR

15.2 27 nômu ttûs-pakk -e mikuk -esô o -ass -ta -ko
too will-outside-LOC America-LOC come-ANT-DECL-CONN

15.3 28 kû ônni -ka kippû -ôsô
that sister-NOM pleased-PRECED

29 ôccô -l cul molla.
do:something-ATTR way not:know:IE

16 30 motu-tûl nai -ka kkwæ mahn-ûsi -ô.
all -PL age-NOM rather much-HONOR-IE

17 31 pothong 30, 35, 40 kû côngto.
generally 30 35 40 that extent

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13 23 As far as I have heard,
24 there are around 8 people [I was told].
14 25 Among those, there's one female student.
15 26 So, when I got here,
27 she [that Big Sister] was surprised that I came from America,
28-29 and she was so glad that she didn't know what to do.
16 30 The all are quite old.
17 31 Mostly, around 30, 35, or 40.

18.1 32 kûlæsô na -l kwiyôw-ô hæ
so 1SG-ACC lovely -CONN do:CONN

cu -si -ko
give-HONOR-CONN

18.2 33 'pohoca' -losô kamsi-ka simhæ.
guardian-as watch -NOM excessive:IE

19.1 34 yôca -pun -ûn
female-CL(person:HONOR)-TOP

(ônni -la -ko pullô)
(big:sister-INTROS-COMP call:IE)

hankuk-sô EHWA-yô -tæ 'ûisang DESIGN'
Korea -LOC Ehwa -female-univeristy fashion design

kangûi-ha-si -taka
lecture-do-HONOR-TRANS

19.3 35 paksa-hakwi ha-lô
Ph.D -degree do-PURP

19.4 36 o -si -n pun.
come-HONOR-ATTR CL(person:HONOR)

20 37 na-lang cônkong-i kath -a.
1SG -COM major -NOM same-IE

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18 32 So they treat me with fondness, and
33 keep an eye on me as my 'guardian'.
19 34 The female student (I call her Big Sister)
was a lecturer on fashion design at Ehwa Women's University in Korea,
35-36 before she came here to obtain a Ph.D.degree.
20 37 Her major is the same as mine.

21.1 38 kûnte cônkong-man kath -ûn ke
then major -only same-ATTR thing:NOM

an -i -la
NEG-be-CONTRA

21.2 39 sængkak-to côlm -ôsô
thought -ADD young-PRECED

21.3 40 na-lang cuk -i cal mac-ko
1SG -COM array-NOM well suit -CONN

21.4 41 nol -ki coh -a ha-nûn kôs -to
play-NOML good-CONN do-ATTR thing-ADD

na -lang kath -ko
1SG-COM same-CONN

22.1 42 hayôhtûn na -lang pisûsha-n côm -i cham
anyway 1SG-COM similar -ATTR point-NOM really

mahn-asô
much-PRECED

22.2 43 næ -ka nômu coh -a -hæ.
1SG-NOM too good-CONN-do:IE

23.1 44 kû ônni -lûl thonghæ-sô
that big:sister-ACC through -PRECED

23.2 45 hankuk Seoul-ûi yaki-lûl tût -ko
Korea Seoul-GEN story-ACC hear-CONN

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21 38 And, it's not just that her major that is the same, but also
39-40 we have similar tastes, because she thinks like a younger person, and
41 she enjoys having fun just like me.
22 42 Anyway, because we are so similar,
43 I like her very much.
23 44-45 I heard things about Seoul, Korea from her,
46 and I enjoy them very much [I do indeed].

23.3 46 nômu cæmi-iss -ô ha-ci .
too fun -exist-CONN do-COMM

24.1 47 manna-ki -man ha-myôn
meet -NOML-only do-COND

24.2 48 suta -i -a .
garrullity-be-IE

25.1 49 ôttôn yôngkuk namca-æ -ka
certain England male -child-NOM

kûth-næ cu -ke
end -come:into:existence:CONN give-RESUL

cal sængki -ôss -tô -la
well have:a:look-ANT-RETROS-INTROS

25.2 50 ôccôku côccôku ha-myônsô .
bla bla do-SIMUL

26.1 51 kûliko kacok-kwa ttôlôci -ô
and:then family-COM separated-CONN

26.2 52 honca o -si -n pun -tûl-i
alone come-HONOR-ATTR person:HONOR-PL-NOM

tu pun kyesi -nte
two CL(person:HONOR) exist:HONOR-CIRCUM

26.3 53 uli -lang cacu kathi nol -a .
1Pl-COM often together play-IE

---

24 47 Whenever we meet,
48 we can't stop talking.
25 49-50 Saying things like there's an incredibly handsome England guy [I saw], and so on.
26 51-52 And there are two people who came alone,
separated from their family, and
53 they often get together with us.

27.1 54 cu -mal-i -myôn
week-end-be-COND

27.2 55 park-e -to picnic ka-ko .
park-LOC-ADD picnic go-CONN

28 56 sacin -to ccik -ko.
picture-ADD take:a:picture-CONN

29.1 57 kû pun -tûl-i uli ' tu Miss Lee'-ûi
that person:HONOR-PL-NOM 1PL two miss Lee -GEN

'tæpu' (Godfather)-lo cachông -ha-ko
Godfather -OBL volunteer-do-CONN

nasô -sô
embark:on-PRECED

29.2 58 kongpu-ha-la -ko
study -do-IMPER-COMP

29.3 59 mænnal cansoli -ha-si -ô .
everyday nagging-do-HONOR-IE

30.1 60 uli -n kûlô -myôn
1PL-TOP do:so-COND

30.2 61 tôuk sin -na -ke nol -ko .
more cheer-come:into:existence-RESUL play-CONN

---

27 54 When a weekend comes,
55 we go to picnic in the park.
28 56 And we take pictures too.
29 57 They have volunteered to be our [me and the Big Sister, who are both 'Miss Lee'] "Godfather",
58-59 and they nag us all the time to study.
30 60 So, we
61 play around, having more fun.

31.1 62 kathi nol -ca -ko
together play-PROP-COMP

31.2 63 mak kkosi-ko.
disorderly lure -CONN

32.1 64 kû accôssi-tûll-cung han pun -ûn
that uncle -PL -midst one cL(person:HONOR)-TOP

ônni -lang tonglap -i -nte
big:sister-COM agemate-be-CIRCUM

32.2 65 kkok oppa -kath -æ.
exactly big:brother-same-IE

33 66 punwiki -ka
atmostphere-NOM

34 67 kûlæsô cokûm chinkûn -kam -i ka
so a:little intimacy-feeling-NOM go:IE

35 68 cham ônni -nûn 29 côngto?
ah big:sister-TOP 29 degree

36 69 ilûm -ûn Lee JIYOUNG
name-TOP Lee Jiyoung

37.1 70 hankuk-e æin -i
Korea -NOM sweetheart-NOM

---

31 62-63 And we even tempt them to have fun with us.
32 64 One of those old "uncles" is as old as the Big Sister, and
65 he is like you, Big Brother.
33 66 His facial atmosphere.
34 67 So I felt friendly toward him from the beginning.
35 68 Ah, the Big Sister is about 29 years old?
36 69 Her name is Jiyoung Lee.
37 70 [I was told] Her boy friend, who is in Korea, is a leader of the
protest movement [against the government], so
71 he is in hiding.

temo cutongca -læ -sô
demonstration mastermind-INTROS-PRECED

37.2 71 sum-ô tani -n -tæ.
hide-CONN wonder:about-IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

38 72 ôti -e iss -nûnci-tu
where-LOC exist-SUSP-ADD

molû -n -tæ.
not:know-IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

39.1 73 na -ûi tu tæpu -nim -tûl-kwa JIYOUNG-ônni -ka
1SG-GEN two godfather-lord-PL-COM Jiyoung -sister-NOM

ip -ûl moh -a ha-nûn soli -
mouth-ACC gather-CONN do-ATTR sound

39.2 74 næ -ka nômu hankuk-côk i -la -ko.
1SG-NOM too:much Korea -ish be-INTROS-COMP

40.2 75 isangha-l côngto-læ.
strange-ATTR extent -INTROS:IE (HEARSAY)

41 76 miku -e olæ sal -ûn æ -la -sô.
America-LOC long live-ATTR child-INTROS-PRECED

42 77 hayôhtûn KOREAN SOCIETY-to muchôk cæmi-iss -ko.
anyway Korean Society -ADD very:much fun -exist-CONN

43 78 tto yôki-n cungkuk-æ -tûl -i mahn-a.
addingly here-TOP China -child-PL-NOM many-IE

---

38 72 [I was told] She does not even know where he is.
39 73 My two "Godfathers" and Big Sister Jiyoung say in one voice
74 that I am too Korean.
40 75 [I was told] they even feel strange.
41 76 Because I have lived in America for a long time.
42 77 Anyway, it is fun to be part of the Korean community here.
43 78 Also, there are a lot Chinese people here.

44 79 næ ROOMMATE-to MALAYSIA-esô o -n
1SG:GEN roommate -ADD Malaysia -LOC come-ATTR

CHINESE-ya.
China -be:IE

45 80 kûlæsô cungkuk-æ -tûl sok -ûl hemæ -ko
so Chinese -child-PL inside-ACC wander:about-CONN

tani -ô.
go:around-IE

46 81 motu-tûl coh -a, æ -tûl-i.
all -PL good-IE child-PL-NOM

47.1 82 yôngkuk-æ -tûl -ûn tût -tô -n tælo
British -child-PL-TOP hear-RETROS-ATTR as:it:is

RESERVED toe -ô is -ôsô
reserved become-CONN exist-PRECED

47.2 83 sakwi -ki -ka him -tûl -ko
make:friends-NOML-NOM strength-cost-CONN

47.3 84 yôca -æ -tûl -ûn cham muttukttukha-ko
female-child-PL-TOP really brusque -CONN

47.4 85 chakaw-ô.
cold -IE

48 86 sakwi -ko siph -ûn maûm-i
make:friends-CONN desirous-ATTR mind -NOM

---

44 79 My roommate is also a Chinese from Malaysia.
45 80 So I go around surrounded by Chinese people.
46 81 They are all nice, those people.
47 82 English people are reserved, as I heard, so
83 it's hard to make friends with them, and
84 the girls are very brusque, and
85 cold.
48 86 I don't feel like making friends with them.

an na.
NEG come:into:existence:IE

49 87 namca-tûl-ûn kwænchanh-ûn phyôn.
male -PL-TOP not:so:bad -ATTR side

50 88 khi -ka mikuk -æ -tûl -pota cak -a.
height-NOM America-child-PL-COMPAR small-IE

51 89 na -n tto LEAH-tap -ke
1SG-TOP addingly Leah -worthy:of-RESUL

PROF.-cung MR. SMITH-la -nûn kyosu -lûl
Prof.-middle Mr. Smith -INTROS-ATTR professor-ACC

nômu coh -a -ha-ke twæ -ss -ô.
too good-CONN-do-RESUL become-ANT-IE

52 90 ehyu.
EHYU

53 91 kû -nte 1-cuil -e han pôn LECTURE-hæ.
that-CIRCUM 1-week-LOC one time lecture -do:IE

54 92 nômu aswiw -ô.
too feel:the:lack:of-IE

55 93 HE IS SUCH A CUTTY!
He is such a cutty

---

49 87 The guys are all right.
50 88 They are shorter than American guys.
51 89 I, being every bit Leah again, have become very fond of a professor called Mr. Smith.
52 90 Poor me.
53 91 But then, he only lectures once a week.
54 92 It's too bad.
55 93 He is such a cutie!

56 94 yŏki EDUCATION SYSTEM-ûn mikuk -pota
here education system -TOP America-COMPAR

tô ôlyôw -n kô kath -æ.
more difficult-ATTR thing same-IE

57.1 95 LECTURE-i il -nyôn COURSE-ko
lecture -NOM one-year course -CONN

57.2 96 1-cuil -e han pôn manna.
1-week-LOC one time meet:IE

58.1 97 kûlæsô pothong LECTURE-i 10~12-kæ
so generally lecture -NOM 10~12-CL (item)

cônto iss -ko
extent exist-CONN

58.2 98 STUDIO-ka 4-kæ côngto iss -ô.
studio -NOM 4-CL (item) extent exist-IE

59 99 haphæ-sô 22-HR côngto.
sum -PRECED 22-hour extent

60 100 kûliko ilk -ôya ha-l ke
and:then read-NECESS do-ATTR thing:NOM

wæ kûli manh-ûnci.
why be:so much-DISJ

---

56 94 The education system here seems more difficult than in America.
57 95 Each class is a one year course, and
96 the class meets once a week.
58 97 So, there are about 10 to 12 lectures [per week],
98 and about four studios.
59 99 All together, this adds up to about 22 hours [per week].
60 100 And also, why are there so many things to read?

61.1 101 SCHOOL sicakha-n ci 4-cu cina -ko
school begin -ATTR the:time:since 4-week pass-CONN

61.2 102 5-cu ccæ -i -nte -to
5-week order-be-CIRCUM-ADD

61.3 103 acik-to CONFUSE-twæ.
yet -ADD confuse -become:IE

62 104 nalssi -nûn kkwæ chuw-ûn pyôn-i -ya.
weather-TOP rather cold -ATTR side -be-IE

63 105 i pôn hæ -ka ttattûsha-n kô -læ.
this time year-NOM warm -ATTR thing-INTROS:IE (HEARSAY)

64 106 æ -tûl mal -lo -nûn.
child-PL saying-OBL-TOP

65 107 na -n ôl -ôsô cuk-ûl phan -i -nte ...
1SG-TOP freeze-CONN die -ATTR situation-be-CIRCUM

66.1 108 cokû -man tô kitali-myôn
a:little-only more wait-COND

66.2 109 chup-ta -nûn ke mwô-nci a -l su
cold -DECL-ATTR thing:NOM what-DISJ know-ATTR way

iss -ûl kô -læ -na?
exist-ATTR thing-INTROS-NCOMM

---

61 101-2 Even though four weeks have passed since school started, and this is the fifth week,
103 I am still confused.
62 104 The weather is quite cold.
63 105 [I was told] this year is rather warm [compared with other years].
64 106 According to these guys here.
65 107 Boy, I'm about to be frozen to death ...
66 108-9 They say, I will get to know sooner or later what it is like to be [real] cold [and I wonder what it's really like].

67 110 na po -ko cuk-ûla -nûn kô -ci mwô.
1SG see-CONN die -IMPER-ATTR thing-COMM what

68 111 pi -nûn acik o -n côk -i pyôllo ôps -ô.
rain-TOP yet come-ATTR experience-NOM specially not:exist-IE
69 112 na -n yôngkuk-e o -n kô
1SG-TOP England -LOC come-ATTR thing

cuk-ôto huhoe an ha-l kô kath -æ
die -ADD regret NEG do-ATTR thing same-IE

70.1 113 halu halu-ka nômu cæmi-iss -ko
day day-NOM too fun -exist-CONN

70.2 114 sælow-ûn salam -tûl manna-nûn kôs -to
new -ATTR person-PL meet -ATTR thing-ADD

nômu cûlkôp -ko.
too pleasant-CONN

71.1 115 yôki o -asô
here come-PRECED

71.2 116 kakcaki OUTGOING toe -ko
suddely outgoing become-CONN

71.3 117 ACTIVE toe -n kô iss -ci.
active become-ATTR thing exist-COMM

72.1 118 NEW PERSON manna-myôn
new person meet -COND

---

67 110 Well, what they say is like telling me to die.
68 111 As for rain, we've only had a little.
69 112 I feel that I will never regret that I came to England, even if I die.
70 113 Every single day is so much fun, and
114 it is also very pleasant to meet new people.
71 115-7 You know, all of a sudden, I have become outgoing and active, since I came here.
72 118 When I meet a new person,
119 I become friendly with that person right away.

72.2 119 kûmpang chinhæ -ci -ô.
right:away intimate:CONN-INCHOA-IE

73 120 maku suta -lûl ttôl -ko.
disorderly garrulity-ACC shake-CONN

74.1 121 kûlæsô kûlô -nci
be:so:PRECED be:so-DISJ

74.2 122 æ -tûl -i na po -ko koengcanghi
child-PL-NOM 1SG see-CONN remarkably

sakyocôk-i -læ
social -be-INTROS:IE (HEARSAY)

75 123 FUTURE-i BRIGHT-ha-ta -na?
future -NOM bright -do -DECL-NCOMM

76.1 124 ccûsccûs ccasik-tûl
tut-tut guy -PL

76.2 125 næ -ka ôlma -na næsôngcôk-i -nci molû -ko ...
1SG-NOM how:much-FRC reserved -be-DISJ not:know-CONN

77 126 kkamccokkathi nôm -ô ka-ss -ci mwô.
perfectly get:over-CONN go-ANT-COMM what

78 127 næ -ka oppa -hanthe POSTCARD-lûl
1SG-NOM big:brother-DAT postcard -ACC

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73 120 Chattering like crazy.
74 121 I don't know if it's because of this [easily making friends],
122 I was told by these people that I am very social.
75 123 [I don't know what they mean, but] they say, I have a bright future.
76 124 Tut-tut, poor guys,
125 they don't know how reserved I am.
77 126 Well, they got taken in.
78 127 Have I sent you a postcard Big:Brother?

ponæ-ss -tô -nka?
send -ANT-RETROS-DUB

79.1 128 ahyu phônci ssû -l salam -tûl-i
AHYU letter write-ATTR person-PL-NOM

wæ kûlôhke manh-ûnci
why like:that many-DISJ

79.2 129 amuli michi-tolok phônci ssû -ki -e mætalli -ôto
however crazy -INDUC letter write-NOMK-LOC hang:on-ADD

79.3 130 hansang ta mos ssô.
always all NEG:IMPOT write:IE

80 131 kûliko mwô-l ssû -ôss -nûnci sængka-to
and:then what-ATTR write-ANT-DISJ thought-ADD

an na -ko.
NEG come:into:existence-CONN

81.1 132 chæksang-e anc-ûmyôn
desk -LOC sit-COND

81.2 133 kongpu-nûn an ha-ko
study -TOP NEG do-CONN

81.3 134 hangsang phyônci-man ssû -ta kkûna.
always letter -only write-TRANS finish:IE

82 135 kûliko ilki -to akchakkathi ssû -ko.
and:then diary-ADD unyieldingly write-CONN

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79 128 Boy, I don't know how many people I have to write letters to, and so
129 however crazily I keep writing,
130 I always have more to do.
80 131 And also, I don't even remember what I have written.
81 132 When I sit down at my desk,
133-4 I always end up just writing letters, putting my studying aside.
82 135 I also never fail to write in my diary.

83.1 136 næ -ka ka-nûn kyohoe-nûn
1SG-NOM go-ATTR church -TOP

UNITED REFORMED CHURCH-la -ko
United Reformed Church -INTROS-COMP

83.2 137 canglokyo -lûl kûlôhke
presbyterian:church-ACC like:that

pulû-n -tæ.
call -IMPFV-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)

84.1 138 yôngkuk kyohoe-la -sô
England church -INTROS-PRECED

84.2 139 yôngkuk sinsa -tûl -ûl manhi manna.
England gentleman-PL-ACC many meet:IE

85.1 140 kû -nte motu noin -tûl -i -la
that-CIRCUM all old:people-PL-be-INTROS:PRECED

85.2 141 hûngmi ôps -ô.
interest not:exist-IE

86.1 142 côlm -ûn æ -ka ttak han myông
young-ATTR child-NOM exactly one CL (Human)

kwænchanh-ûn æ -ka hana iss -nûnte,
not:so:bad -ATTR child-NOM one exist-CIRCUM

86.2 143 TIM-i -la -ko.
Tim-be-INTROS-COMP

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83 136 The church I attend is called United Reformed Church,
137 [and I was told that] that's what they call the Presbyterian church .
84 138 Because it is an English church,
139 I meet a lot of English gentlemen.
85 140 But then, because they are all old people,
141 it is not very interesting.
86 142 There is only one young guy who is not bad, and
143 his name is Tim.

87 144 kkosi -ko iss -nûn cung -i -ya.
seduce-CONN exist-ATTR middle-be-IE

88 145 hinghing!
HINGHING

89.1 146 cungkuk-æ -tûl cung -e yocûm na -l
China -child-PL middle-LOC recently 1SG-ACC

ttalatani -ko iss -nûn æ -ka hana iss -nûnte
follow:about-CONN exist-ATTR child-NOM one exist-CIRCUM

89.2 147 na -n kyæ -ka silh -kôtûn.
1SG-TOP that:child-NOM distasteful-CORREL

90.1 148 POSTGRADUATE-i -nte
postgraduate -be-CIRCUM

90.2 149 12-wôl -i -na 1-wôl -e sûweten-ûlo
12-month-be-FRC 1-month-LOC Sweden-OBL

chicik-i twæ -sô
job -NOM become-PRECED

90.3 150 ttôna.
leave:IE

91 151 kû -ttæ -man kitali-ko iss -ô.
that-time-only wait -CONN exist-IE

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87 144 I am trying to make him notice me now.
88 145 Ho ho.
89 146 One of the Chinese guys is pursuing me these days, but
147 the thing is, I don't really like him.
90 148 He is a postgraduate, and
149 he has got a job in Sweden, and so he
150 will leave.
91 151 I am just waiting for it.

92 152 næ -ka yôki cungkuk-æ po -lô
1SG-NOM here China -child see-PURP

o -ass -na mwô?
come-ANT-NCOMM what

93 153 kûchi oppa?
be:so:COMM big:brother

94.1 154 ônû thûkcôngha-n æ -lûl
certain specific -ATTR child-ACC

sakwi -ki -pota-nûn
make:friends-NOML-COMPAR-TOP

94.2 155 tulutulu manhi sakwi -lyôko nolyôk cung -i -ya
far:and:wide many make:friends-PURP effort middle-be-IE

95 156 oppa.
big:brother

96 157 na po -ko siph -ci?
1SG see-CONN desirous-COMM

97 158 hihi kûlô -l kô -ta ama
HIHI be:so-ATTR thing-DECL probably

98 159 LEAH-ka namki-ô noh-nûn SILLY MESSAGE
Leah -NOM leave -CONN put -ATTR silly message

MISS-ha-ci?
miss -do-COMM

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92 152 Well, did I come here to get involved with a Chinese guy?
93 153 Isn't that right, Big Brother?
94 154 Rather than getting involved with one specific person,
155 I am trying to make friends with as many people as possible.
95 156 Big Brother!
96 157 You miss me, don't you?
97 158 Ha ha, I thought you probably would.
98 159 You miss Leah's silly message, don't you?

99 160 kûlô -l kô -ya am!
be:so-ATTR thing-be:IE surely

100 161 1-nyôn-man cham-a.
1-year -only bear -IE

101.1 162 næ -ka ka-sô
1SG-NOM go-PRECED

101.2 163 ilki -cang tûlchu -ô ka-myô
diary-bool rummage:out-CONN go-SIMUL

164 ta yæki -hæ cu -lkke.
all story:telling-do:CONN give-INT

102.1 165 kûlô -lyô -myôn
do:so-PURP-COND

102.2 166 yôki -sô sakôn-ûl manhi mantûl-ôya -kess -ci?
here-LOC affair -ACC many make -NECESS-DCT:RE-COMM

103 167 kongpu-nûn ônce ha-ko ...
study -TOP when do-CONN

104 168 oppa -ka næ kkô -kkaci hæ.
big:brother-NOM 1SG:GEN thing-even do:IE

105 169 tapcang kkok hæ-ya twæ.
return:letter surely do-NECESS become:IE

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99 160 I think you must do.
100 161 Just wait for a year.
101 162 When I get back,
163-4 I will tell you everything, doing research in my diary.
102 165 In order to do so,
166 I guess I will have to make up a lot of stories, right?
103 167 When will I study then?
104 168 You study mine too for me.
105 169 You should write return letters for sure.

106 170 an ha -myôn
NEG do-COND

an ka!
NEG go:IE

107 171 annyông!
Comfort

108 172 LOVE
love

109 173 LEAH
Leah

110 174 10.30.85
October:30:1985

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106 170 If you don't,
171 I won't come back.
107 171 Bye bye.
108 172 Love,
109 173 Leah.
110 174 Oct. 30, 1985.

Leah 8

MU	CU	Text
1	1	HYOSANG oppa annyông! Hyosang big:brother comfort
2	2	onûl achim -e oppa phyônci-lang CATALOG today morning-LOC big:brother letter -COM catalog pat -ass -ô. receive-ANT-IE
3	3	komaw -ô oppa. grateful-IE big:brother
4	4	yôksi kûlæ -to i LEAH sængkakhæ cu -nûn as:expected be:so-ADD this Leah think:CONN give-ATTR oppa -nûn sachon oppa -tûl cung big:brother-TOP cousin big:brother-PL middle oppa pakk -e ôps -ô. big:brother outside-LOC not:exist-IE
5	5	(nômu coh -a -ha-ci ma) too good-CONN-do-NOML stop:IE (IMPER)
6.1	6	oppa -ya tu tal tongan-i -na phyônci han big:brother-NECESS two month during-be-FRC etter one

1	1	Dear Big Brother Hyosang, how are you?
2	2	I received your letter and the catalogue this morning.
3	3	Thank you, Big Brother.
4	4	After all, you are the only one, among all my cousin-brothers, who cares for this Leah.
5	5	(Don't be too proud of yourself.)
6	6	You may feel that I am rude because I haven't written a single letter to you for two whole months, but
	7	the thing is, during that time, I had to write one letter after another until my hands finally gave out with pain,

		cang ôps -nûn yo nom -i CL (sheet) not:exist-ATTR this (Dimunitive) fellow-NOM kwæssimha-kess -ciman rude -DCT:RE-CONCESS
6.2	7	na -n kû tongan côngmal nômuna son -i 1SG-TOP that during really exceedingly hand-NOM aphû-ke phônci-lûl ssô tæ -ya ache -RESULT letter -ACC write:CONN provide-NECESS hæ-ss -kôtûn. do-ANT-CORREL
7	8	motûn na -lûl al -ko iss -nûn all 1SG-ACC know-CONN exist-ATTR inkan -tûl -hanthe. human:being-PL-DAT
8	9	(wæ ssû -l mal -ûn ôps -nûnte insa -lo why write-ATTR word-TOP not:exist-CIRCUM greeting-OBL ssû -ôya toe -nûn salam -tûl manh-ci -anh -a) write-NECESS become-ATTR person-PL many-NOML-NEG:do-IE
9.1	10	acik han pôn -to phyônci mos -ha -n still one time-ADD letter NEG:IMPOT-do-ATTR salam -tûl -i sutuluk ha-ni +kka person-PL- NOM plenty do-DET+INTERR
9.2	11	nômu kwæssimhæ ha-ci ma oppa. too insolent:CONN do-NOML stop:IE (IMPER) big:brother

7	8	To all these people who know me.
8	9	You know, those people to whom you don't have anything to say, but you have to write to as a matter of courtesy.
9	10-11	Don't blame me too much, because there are plenty of people who I haven't been able to write even once.

10 12 tæsin ilôhke cekkatak tapcang ssû -ci -anh -a.
instead like:this right:away return:letter write-NOML-NEG:do-IE

11 13 chaksilha -ke -to.
Truthworthy-RESUL-ADD

12 14 ilôhke tapcang -ûl ppali ssû -nûn kôs -to kkwæ
like:this return:letter-ACC quickly write-ATTR thing-ADD rather

tûmu-n CASE-la +ku.
rare -ATTR case -INTROS+COMP

13.1 15 oppa -n i -mom -i
big:brother-TOP this-body-NOM

ôsp -ô -ci -ni +kka -n
not:exist-CONN-INCHOA-DET+INTERR-TOP

13.2 16 cæmi-ka ôps -na po -ci?
fun -NOM not:exist-NCOMM see-COMM

14 17 (kû -kôs -to QUESTION-i -la -ko
that-thing-ADD question -be-INTROS-COMP

mul-ô po -nya?
ask-CONN see-INTERR

15 18 OF COURSE cæmi ôps -nûn ke tangyôncisa -ci)
of course fun not:exist-ATTR thing:NOM matter:of:fact-COMM

16 19 phyônci-lo -la+to CHEER-UP sikhi-ô cu -lkke.
letter -OBL-CONCESS cheer -up cause-CONN give-INT

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10 12 Instead, am I not answering your letter right away?
11 13 Faithfully.
12 14 I tell you, it is very rare that I answer any letter this quickly.
13 15-16 You don't seem to have had any fun after this lovely being disappeared, do you?
14 17 (Do you really ask that as a question?
15 18 It is a matter of course that I don't have any fun.)
16 19 Let me cheer you up even if it's just a letter.

17.1 20 ani kû -nte,
NEG that-CIRCUM

17.2 21 næ phyônci-lûl 'SILLY MESSAGE'-la -ko
1SG:GEN letter -ACC silly message -INTROS-COMP

phyohyônha-n kô -n musûn soli -ya?
express -ATTR thing-TOP what sound-be:IE

18 22 SILLY-la +ni -yo?
silly -INTROS+INTERR-DEF

19 23 ôlma -na cinciha-ko HONEST-ha-ko
how:much-FRC sincere-CONN honest -do-CONN

solcikha-ke ssû -n kô -nte.
frank -RESUL write-ATTR thing-CIRCUM

20 24 oppa -nûn phyôhyôn -pôp-i sôthulû -n kôs
big:brother-TOP expression-law-NOM unskilled-ATTR thing

kath -kun!
same-UNASSIM

21 25 kû -nte oppa.
that-CIRCUM big:brother

22 26 na yôlô -kaci -lo khû-n il
1SG various-kind-OBL big -ATTR affair

na -ss -ô.
come:into:existence-ANT-IE

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17 20 By the way,
21 what do you mean by saying my letter is a "silly message"?
18 22 You say it's silly?
19 23 Do you know how sincerely, honestly, and frankly I wrote that letter?
20 24 You seem to lack any literary skill.
21 25 By the way, Big Brother!
22 26 I am in big trouble of many kinds.

23.1 27 yôlô -kaci kyônghôm-ûl ssah-kess -ta -nûn
various-kind experience-ACC pile -DCT:RE-DECL-ATTR

kôs -kkaci -nûn kithûkha -n sængkak-i -nte
thing-extent-TOP admirable-ATTR thought -be-CIRCUM

23.2 28 kû 'yôlô -kaci-e kongpu-nûn cônhyô an
that various-kind-LOC study -TOP at:all NEG

tûl -ô ka-kôtûn?
enter-CONN go-CORREL

24 29 nômu no -nûn kô kath -æsô mal -i -ya.
too play-ATTR thing same-PRECED word-be-IE

25 30 mopômsæng I LEAH yang-kkesô cokûm
model:student Lee Leah lady -NOM:HONOR a:little

pulanhæ yocûm.
anxous:IE recently

26.1 31 cuk-ôla -ko nol-ko
die-IMPER-COMP play-CONN

26.2 32 mæn-nal mwô-nka -ka iss -ûni +kka mal -ya.
every-day what-DUB-NOM exist-DET+INTERR saying-be:IE

27.1 33 UCLA-esô-ûi chaksilhæ -ss -tô -n LEAH-nûn
UCLA-LOC-GEN truthworthy-ANT-RETROS-ATTR Leah -TOP

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23 27 It is a nice idea that I would like to experience many things,
28 but, the thing is, studying is not included on that list.
24 29 I am saying this because I feel I am playing around too much.
25 30 This model student Leah feels a little worried these days.
26 31 Because, I play around too much, and
32 there's something [to do] everyday.
27 33 Leah at UCLA, who was truthworthy, is gone, and
34 Leah at Leeds is, well you wouldn't be mistaken if you call her a
"bum".

ôte -lo ka-ko
where-OBL go-CONN

27.2 34 LEEDS-esô -ûi LEAH-nûn cokûm-to kwacang-ôps -nûn
Leeds -LOC-GEN Leah -TOP a:little-ADD excess -not:exist-ATTR

'nallali'-la -u.
bum -INTROS-IFMLTE

28 35 oppa -ka com yatan -chi-ô cu -l+læ?
big:brother-NOM a:little scolding-hit-CONN give-VOL

29 36 kongpu-to kakkûm -ssik ha-nûn ke tunoe
study -ADD sometimes-each do-ATTR thing:NOM brain

hoecôn-e coh -ta -ku.
spin -LOC good-DECL-COMP

30.1 37 cham, kûliko oppa -nûn mwô na ôps -ôss -ûmyôn
really and:then big:brother-TOP what 1SG not:exist-ANT-COND

sængcôn cæmi mos po -nûn salam -chôlôm
life:time fun NEG:IMPOT see-ATTR person-like

'LEAH honca nwa tu -ko cæmi po -ci -nûn
Leah alone put:down:CONN leave-CONN fun see-NOML-TOP

anh -ûni +kka' ôccô -ku ha-myônsô
NEG:do-DET+INTERR bla:bla-COMP do-SIMUL

kôcis-mal -ûl ssi -to an môk-hi -ke
lie -saying-ACC seed-ADD NEG eat -PASS-RESUL

maku ha-si -nûnte
without:discretion do-HONOR-CIRCUM

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28 35 Would you give me a good scolding?
29 36 Say, "Occasional studying is good for refreshing the brain.".
30 37 Wait, you lie by saying "I wouldn't have any fun by myself,
leaving Leah alone, and so on", but you know,
38 do you think I would innocently accept this?

30.2 38 LEAH-ka suncinha-ke kû -kô -l mit -ûl cul
Leah -NOM innocent-RESUL that-thing-ACC believe-ATTR way

al -ko?
know-CONN

31 39 na ôps -nûn sæ ôlma -na tô
1SG not:exist-ATTR interval how:much-FRC more

sin -na -ke cæmi-iss -ûlkka.
excietment-come:into:existence-RESUL fun -exist-DUB

32.1 40 oppa -ka cæmi-iss -ke
big:brother-NOM fun -exist-RESUL

cinæ -n -ta -ko hæ-to
spend:time-IMPFV-DECL-COMP do-ADD

32.2 41 na hana-to kwæssimhæ ha-ci anh -ûl
1SG one -ADD insolent:CONN do-NOML NEG:do-ATTR

the -ni +kka
plan:be-DET+INTERR

32.3 42 cinsil-ûl palk -hi -nûn ke ôttæ?
truth-ACC bright-CAUS-ATTR thing:be how:do:IE

33.1 43 na -n sasil yôki o -asô
1SG-TOP fact here come-PRECED

33.2 44 cungkuk-nom-tûl-hanthe inki -ka manh-asô
China -fella -PL-from reputation-NOM much-PRECED

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31 39 I wonder how much more fun you are having in my absence.

32 40-41 Since I wouldn't feel that you are rude at all, even if you say you are having fun by yourself,
42 how about telling the truth?

33 43-45 I tell you, I myself, have been having too much fun ever since I got here, so much so that I even got a headache, because I am very popular with Chinese guys.

33.3 45 kolchi-ka aphû-ta +ku.
brain -NOM ache-DECL+COMP

34 46 yôki-n wæ kûlôhke cungkuk-æ -tûl -i manh-ûnci.
here -TOP why like:that China -child-PL-NOM many-DUB

35 47 næ -ka inki -ka iss -nûn ke sinkihæ.
1SG-NOM reputation-NOM exist-ATTR thing:NOM mysterious:IE

36 48 iss -ci -anh -a!
exist-NOML-NEG:do-IE

37 49 oppa chinku-la -nûn salam iss -ci -anh -a.
big:brother friend -INTROS-ATTR person exist-NOML-NEG:do-IE

38 50 na manna-ss -ôss -ta!
1SG meet -ANT-ANT-DECL

39 51 oppa -hanthe phyônci ponæ-n taûm nal.
big:brother-DAT letter send -ATTR following day

40 52 nômu nômu us -ki -n kô iss -ci.
too too laugh-CAUS-ATTR thing exist-COMM

41.1 53 kû salam -i LEEDS-e iss -nûn ôttôn hankuk
that person-NOM Leeds -LOC exist-ATTR certain Korea

acôssi-hanthe nol -lô o -ass -taka
uncle -DAT play-PURP come-ANT-TRANSF

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34 46 I wonder why there are so many Chinese here.
35 47 I am mystified by the fact that I am popular.
36 48 You know what?
37 49 You know, your friend you mentioned?
38 50 [To the surprise of me and of you as well] Guess what? I met him.
39 51 On the very next day after I sent you the letter.
40 52 It was very very funny, you know.
41 53-54 What happened was, he was visiting one of the older Korean students, and we met each other.

41.2 54 manna-n kô iss -ci.
meet -ATTR thing exist-COMM

42.1 55 mæn chôm-e -n sôlu molû -ko
very first -LOC-TOP each:other not:know-CONN

iss -ôss -nûnte
exist-ANT-CIRCUM

42.2 56 næ -ka
1SG-NOM

JIYOUNG ônni (na -lang ceil chinha -n ônni) -hanthe
Jiyoung big:sister 1SG-COM most intimate-ATTR big:sister)-DAT

HYOSANG oppa -ka mal -ya ôccô -ku
Hyosang big:brother-NOM saying-be:IE bla:bla-COMP

ha-ni +kka
do-DET+INTERR

42.4 57 kû salam -i cikûm nuku-la -ko
that person-NOM now who -INTROS-COMP

hæ-ss -ci -yo?
do-ANT-COMM-DEF

43.1 58 kûlæsô ciph -ô ka-ta po -ni +kka
so step:on-CONN go-TRANS see-DET+INTERR

43.2 59 palo kû salam -i -ci -anh -a.
rightly that person-be-NOML-NEG:do-IE

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42 55 At first we didn't realize it, and then
56 I was talking to Big Sister Jiyoung, "You know, Big Brother Hyosang? and so on", and then,
57 he asked me, "Who did you refer to just now?"
43 58 So we traced our connection one step after another, and
59 it was him.

44 60 ûak!
Ûak

45 61 cikûm latio-esô 'TIME IN THE BOLLTLE'-ka nao -a.
now radio-LOC time in the bottle -NOM come:out-IE

46 62 MY SONG!
my song

47 63 ANYWAY, kû -nte na -n kû salam -ûl pyôllo
anyway that-CIRCUM 1SG-TOP that person-ACC so:particularly

co -a -ha-ci -anh -a.
good-CONN-do-NOML-Neg:do-IE

48 64 cæmi ôps -ô.
fun not:exist-IE

49 65 ôccômyôn oppa -ka pôlssô kû salam -hanthe i æki
maybe big:brother-NOM already that person-from this story

tûl -ôss -kess -kuna.
hear-ANT-DCT:RE-UNASSIM

50 66 oppa -lang chinha -n sai -ya?
big:brother-COM intimate-ATTR interval-be:IE

51.1 67 ha-ki -n côngpu canghakcûm tha -ko
do-NOML-TOP government scholarship receive-CONN

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44 60 Oh my God!
45 61 'Time in the bottle' is playing on the radio right now.
46 62. My song!
47 63 Anyway, you know, I am not particularly interested in that person.
48 64 He is no fun.
49 65 Maybe, you have already heard this from him.
50 66 Is he a close friend of yours?
51 67 Considering the situation, given the fact that he came to study with a government scholarship,
68 I presume he hasn't done anything but study, isn't that right?

yukhak o -l côngto-myôn
study:abroad come-ATTR extent -COND

51.2 68 kongpu-man tûlipta hæ-ss -kess -ci?
study -only ceaselessly do -ANT-DCT:RE-COMM

52 69 ayu, PUTS ME OFF.
AYU puts me off

53 70 oppa.
big:brother

54 71 yôki-n 1-cu côn -e pôlssô chôs nun o -n kô
here -TOP 1-week front-LOC already first snow come-ATTR thing

iss -ci.
exist-COMM

55.1 72 chôs nun o -nûn kô mac-ûmyônsô
first snow come-ATTR thing face -SIMUL

55.2 73 ôlma -na hwangholhæ hæ-ss -nûnci.
how:much-FRC ecstatic:CONN do -ANT-DISJ

56 74 yôki-n kkûth-næ -cu -ke ippô.
here-TOP end -bring:out:CONN-give-RESUL pretty:IE

57 75 phungkyông, kyôngchi -ka.
landscape scenic:view-NOM

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52 69 Gee, it puts me off.
53 70 Big Brother!
54 71 You know what, the first snow came a week ago here.
55 72-73 How ecstatic I was.
56 74 Here, it is so beautiful.
57 75 Landscape, scenic views, and so on.

58.1 76 namu-tûl-i thûkhi ippû -nte
tree -PL-NOM specially pretty-CIRCUM

58.2 77 kôki-taka nun -kkaci næli -ni +kka
there-adding:to snow-till descend-DET+INTERR

58.3 78 wancônhi yônghwa-sok -e han cangmyôn-i -n
perfectly movie -inside-LOC one scene -be-ATTR

kô iss -ci.
thing exist-COMM

59 79 na -n wancônhi yônghwa-sok -ûi pilyôn -ûi
1SG-TOP perfectly movie -inside-GEN tragic:love-GEN

cuinkong-i toe -si -kess -ku sipang.
heroin -NOM become-HONOR-DCT:RE-CONN now

60.1 80 kwæhi lomænthic-ha-n chôk ha-myônsô
for:no:reason romantic -do-ATTR pretending do-SIMUL

60.2 81 nun -sok -ûl kônil -ôss -ci
snow-inside-ACC take:a:walk-ANT-COMM

61.1 82 mullon na honca-ka an -i -ku
of:course 1SG alone -NOM NEG-be-CONN

61.2 83 ôttôn namca-lang hihi.
a:certain male -COM HIHI

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58 76 The trees are especially pretty, and then,
77 when they even get snowed on,
78 it is exactly like a movie scene, you know.
59 79 I have now become like a heroine of a tragic love story in a movie.
60 80-81 I walked along in the snow [I did indeed], just pretending to be in a romantic mood.
61 82 Of course I wasn't alone, but
83 with a man, ho ho.

62 84 ûisim -ûi nun-choli cis -ci ma.
doubt-GEN eye-outer:corner form-NOML stop:IE (IMPER)

63.1 85 sil -ûn JIYOUNG ônni chinku-ka kûlisû
fact-TOP Jiyoung big:sister friend -NOM Greece

namca-æ -nte
male -child-CIRCUM

63.2 86 kû æ chinku-lang nes -i (2 KOREAN GIRLS,
that child friend -COM four-NOM 2 Korean girls,

2 GREEK BOYS) ROCK CONCERT ka-ss -taka
2 Greek boys rock concernt go -ANT-TRANS

63.3 87 nao -ni +kka
come:out-DET+INTERR

63.4 88 nun -i næli -ki sicak-ha-n kô -ya.
snow-NOM descend-NOML start -do -ATTR thing-be:IE

64.1 89 chuw-ôto
cold -ADD

64.2 90 nun o -nûn ke ippû -ôsô
snow come-ATTR thing pretty-PRECED

64.3 91 cham -ko cinæ.
endure-CONN spend:time:IE

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62 84 Don't get a suspicious look.
63 85 The fact is, Big Sister Jiyoung's boy friend is a Greek, and
86 with a friend of his, we four (2 Korean girls, 2 Greek boys) went to a rock concert, and
87 when we got out of the place,
88 it started snowing.
64 89 Even though it is cold,
90-91 I put up with it, because it is so pretty in the snow.

65 92 kûliko iss -ci -anh -a.
and:then exist-NOML-NEG:do-IE

66.1 93 oppa -ka TURKEY yoli mos -hæ
big:brother-NOM turkey cuisine NEG:IMPOT-do:CONN

cu –ôss -ta -ko
give-ANT-DECL-COMP

66.2 94 kasûm apha ha-l philyo-ôps -ô
bosom ache:CONN do-ATTR need -not:exist-IE

67 95 (kasûm-i aphû-l li -ka cônhyô
bosom -NOM ache-ATTR reason-NOM at:all

ôps -kess -ciman)
not:exist-DCT:RE-CONCESS

68.1 96 wæ-nya -ha -myôn
why-INTERR-do-COND

68.2 97 LONDON-e iss -nûn EAP ponpu -esô
London -LOC exist-ATTR EAP headquarter-LOC

cônkuk -e hûthôci -ô iss -nûn EAP æ -tûl -ûl
countrywide-LOC scattered-CONN exist-ATTR EAP child-PL-ACC

coeta chochônghæ-sô
all invite -PRECED

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65 92 And, you know what?
66 93-94 You don't have to eat your heart out for not being able to cook me a turkey dinner.
67 95 (I don't think you would ever eat your heart out at all [for that] though)
68 96 Because,
97 The EAP headquarters in London invited all the EAP students throughout the country, and
98 threw a traditional American Thanksgiving party for them.

68.4 98 TRADITIONAL AMERICAN THANKSGIVING DINNER
traditional American Thanksgiving dinner

PARTY-lûl hæ cu -ôss -kôtûn.
party -ACC do:CONN give-ANT-CORREL

69 99 TURKEY-lang STUFFING, & ALSO PUMKIN PIE-kkaci
turkey -COM stuffing also pumkin pie -even

mal -i -ya
saying-be-IE

70 100 And afterwards, there was a DISCO TIME!
and afterwards there was a disco time

71 101 nômu cæmi-iss -ke nol -taka o -ss -ô.
too fun -exist-RESUL play-TRANS come-ANT-IE

72.1 102 æ-tûl-to motu manna-ôsô
child-PL-ADD all meet -PRECED

72.2 103 suta ttôl -ko.
garrulity shake-CONN

73.1 104 yôki-nûn DISCO-hako BAR ppæ -myôn
here-TOP disco -COM bar substract-COND

73.2 105 siche -ya.
dead:body-be:IE

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69 99 I mean, [There was] turkey and stuffing, and also even pumpkin pie.
70 100 And afterwards, there was a disco time!
71 101 We had so much fun before we came home.
72 102 I also met other people, and
103 chattered like crazy.
73 104 If you are taken away from discos and bars,
105 there's nothing else for fun [Lit. like It is like a dead body].

74 106 SOCIALIZE-ha-l kos -i pyôllo ôps -ô.
socialize -do-ATTR thing-NOM so:particularly not:exist-IE

75.1 107 yæ -tûl-i michi-ntûsi masii-ci anh -ûmyôn
child-PL-NOM crazy-as:if drink -NOML NEG:do-COND

75.2 108 michi-ntiusi hûntûl-ô.
crazy-as:if shake-IE

76 109 THAT'S IT!
that's it

77 110 kûlæsô ponûi an -i -ke na -tu manhi chu -nûn
so intention NEG-be-RESUL 1SG-ADD much dance-ATTR

phyôn-i -ya.
side -be-IE

78.1 111 sul -ûn wônak silh -ô
alchoholic:beverage-TOP by:nature distasteful-CONN

ha-ni +kka
do-DET+INTERR

78.2 112 mos masi-ciman.
NEG:IMPOT drink-CONCESS

79 113 yônghwa-nûn NOT VERY POPULAR.
movie -TOP not very popular

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74 106 There's few places for socializing.
75 107 Ether they are not madly drinking,
108 or they are madly dancing.

76 109 That's it.
77 110 So I myself get to go dancing quite a bit.
78 111-2 I can't drink though, because I don't like alcoholic beverages.
79 113 Movies are not so popular here.

80 114 kûliko nûli -ô.
and:also slow-IE

81 115 ice -sô -ya 'BACK TO THE FUTURE'-i
now-LOC-NECESS back to the future -NOM

nao -n kô iss -ci.
come:out-ATTR thing exist-COMM

82.1 116 æ -tûl-ûn pothing RESEVERD twæ -sô
child-PL-TOP generally reserved become-PRECED

82.2 117 cham chinhæ -ci -ki -ka him -tûl -ko
really intimate:CONN-INCHOA-NOML-NOM strength-cost-CONN

82.3 118 yôca -tûl-ûn thûkhi pap -mas ôps -ô.
female-PL-TOP specially meal-taste not:exist-IE

83.1 119 chakap-ko
cold -CONN

83.2 120 muttukttukha-ko
brusque -CONN

83.3 121 chapyôlha -ko.
discriminate-CONN

84 122 mullon kûlôh-ci anh -ûn æ -tûl -to
of:course be:so-NOML NEG:do-ATTR child-PL-ADD

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80 114 And also movies come here late.
81 115 You know, it is only now that 'Back to the Future' has begun to be shown.
82 116 People here are usually so reserved that
117 it is hard to make friends with them,
118 girls are particularly boring.
83 119 They are cold, and
120 brusque, and
121 snobbish.
84 122 Though there are of course some who are not like that.

iss -ciman.
exist-CONCESS

85 123 'yôngkuk-sinsa' -nûn hanûl-esô pyôl-tta -ki -lo
England -gentleman-TOP sky -LOC star -pick-NOML-OBL

chac -ki -ka him tûl -ô.
find -NOML-NOM strenth-cost-IE

86.1 124 mwô po -l ke iss -ta -ku
what see-ATTR thing:NOM exist-DECL-COMP

86.2 125 'sinsa' unun ha-nûnci
gentleman and:so:forth do-DISJ

126 molû -kess -ô.
not:know-DCT:RE-IE

87 127 kûlôntælo kûlæ -to sal-ki -e -n kwænchanh-a.
as:it:is be:so-ADD live-NOML-LOC-TOP not:so:bad -IE

88.1 128 yôki -sô sa -ni +kka
here-LOC live-DET+INTERR

88.2 129 mikuk -ûi phyônha -n côm-ûl
America-GEN covenient-ATTR point-ACC

APPRECIATE-ha-ke twæ.
appreciate -do-RESUL become:IE

89 130 I USED TO TAKE IT FOR GRANTED
I used to take it for granted

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85 123 It is as hard as picking stars in the sky to find a British gentleman.
86 124-6 I can't figure out why people call them "gentleman", 'cause I don't see anything special in them.
87 127 It is all right for living in general.
88 128 Now that I live here,
129 I now get to appreciate all the conveniences in American life.
89 130 I used to take it for granted.

90 131 côngmal mikuk -ûn sal -ki -e -n
really America-TOP live-NOML-LOC-TOP

phyônha -n kos -i -ya.
convenient-ATTR place-be-IE

91 132 ûmsik-ûn kûcô kûlôh-ko.
food -TOP so:and:so be:so -CONN

92 133 hankuk ûmsik, SUSHI, cungkuk ûnmsik nômu nômu
Korea food sushi China food too too

môk-ko siphô.
eat -CONN disirous:IE

93.1 134 cungkuk ûmsikcôm-i iss -ôtu
China restaurant-NOM exist-ADD

93.2 135 NOT THE SAME W/ KOREAN CHINESE RES.
not the same with Korean Chinses restaurant

94 136 I MISS ccacang -myôn & næng-myôn & pulkoki
I miss CCacang-noodle ice -noodle Korean:Bar-B-Q

& 'KILMOK' twæci pulkoki (ûmûm~) & kimchi & nôkuli
Kilmok pig Bar-B-Q yum:yum kimchi NÔKULI

& kim -pap & ttôk & kimschi-ccikæ & OH GOSH!
seed:weed-meal rice:cake kimchi -stew oh gosh

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90 131 America is really a nice place to live.
91 132 Food here is so so.
92 133 I want very much to eat Korean food, sushi, and Chinese food.
93 134 Even though there is a Chinse restaurant here,
135 it's not the same as a Korean-Chinese restaurant [in L.A.].
94 136 I miss CCacangmyôn & the Icy Noodle & Korean Bar-B-Q & the Kil-Mok Restaurant, pork Bar-B-Q (yum yum) & Kimchi & Nôkuli Noodle & Korean sushi & rice cakes & oh gosh!

95 137 EVERYTHING ELSE!
everything else

96 138 EVEN UCLA NORTH CAMPUS FOOD I MISS!
even UCLA north campus food I miss

97.1 139 ko -man mal -hæ-ya -ci
that:Dimunitive-only saying-do -NECESS-COMM

97.2 140 tô môk-ko siphô -ci -n -ta.
more eat -CONN desirous:CONN-INCHOA-IMPFV-DECL

98 141 yôki 1-hakki -nûn DEC 13-e kkûth-na.
here 1-semester-TOP Dec. 13 -LOC end -come:into:existence:IE

99 142 kûliko han tal -kan panghak.
and:then one month-interval vacation

100 143 ama -to yulôp -ccok-ûlo nol -lô ka-l kôs
probably-ADD Europe-side-OBL play-PURP go-ATTR thing

kath -æ.
same-IE

101 144 JIYOUNG ônni -lang.
Jiyoung big:sister-COM

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95 137 Everything else [that is accessible in L.A.].
96 138 I even miss UCLA North Campus food!
97 139 I should stop here,
140 because I feel more like eating them, you know.
98 141 The first semester here ends in Dec. 13.
99 142 And then one month of vacation.
100 143 It seems like I will be traveling around Europe.
101 144 With Big Sister Jiyoung.

102.1 145 ithæli-e ka-myôn
Italy -LOC go-COND

102.2 146 ippû -n æ -tû l-i manh -tæ -nûnte
pretty-ATTR child-PL-NOM many-DECL:IE (HEARSAY)-CIRCUM

102.3 147 kôki ka-sô
there go-PRECED

102.4 148 maku cûlkôp -ke nol -taka o -lkka?
without:discretion pleasant-RESUL play-TRANS come-DUB

103.1 149 manyak ka-ke toe -myôn
in:case go-RESUL become-COND

103.2 150 kûliko nômu no -nûn te côngsin-phal-ci
and:then too lay-ATTR place spirit -sell -NOML

anh -ûmyôn
NEG:do-COND

103.3 151 oppa -lûl kiôkhæ næ -ko
big:brother-ACC remember:CONN bring:out-CONN

103.4 152 POSTCARD-la -to ponæ cu-lkke.
postcard -INTROS-ADD send:CONN give-INT

104 153 hehe.
HEHE

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102 145 When you go to Italy,
146 [I was told that] there you see so many good-looking boys, so
147 shall I go there and
148 play around?
103 149 If I get to go,
150 and if I don't get too absorbed in having fun,
151 I will remember you, and
152 try to send you a postcard.
104 153 Ho ho.

105 154 I'M SO GLAD I CAME HERE.
I'm so glad I came her

106 155 oppa -to cæmi-iss -ke nol -a.
big:brother-ADD fun -exist-RESUL play-IE (IMPER)

107 156 na -n mullon -i -ko.
1SG-TOP of:course-be-CONN

108 157 annyông!
comfort

109 158 YOUR DEAREST SIS LEAH
your dearest sis. Leah

110 159 Dec. 3, 85
Dec. 3 1985

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105 154 I'm so glad I came here.
106 155 You too, have fun.
107 156 I will of course.
108 157 Bye.
109 158 Your Dearest Sis. Leah
110 159 Dec. 3, 1985.