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DATA**

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Introduction

The materials in this collection are the result of a project on Korean linguistics in the Linguistics Department at U.C. Santa Barbara in 1986-87. The collection includes three research articles, by C. Douglas Johnson, Hyo Sang Lee and Sandra A. Thompson, and Arthur Schwartz, and transcripts of discourse data made by Hyo Sang Lee.

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Consonantal Variation in Korean

C. Douglas Johnson

1. Introduction. Consonant sequences in Korean are subject to a number of reductive and neutralizing processes and have become peculiarly susceptible to variation and restructuring. Dialects and grammatical constructions diverge in the structure of underlying representations, in the ordering of phonological rules, and in the choice of consonant to delete in syllable-final clusters. This paper attempts to identify the restricted parameters along which the divergent treatments are proceeding.¹

A syllable-boundary (\$) will be assumed to fall before the last member of any intervocalic sequence of true consonants, e.g. V\$CV, VC\$CV, VCC\$CV. All the coda types in these examples, viz. Ø, C, and CC, can occur in underlying representations, but only Ø and C are possible in phonetic realizations.

The underlying consonants of Korean will be denoted and classified as follows:

Lax or Lenis obstruents (Q):	p	s	t	c	k
Tense obstruents (Q!)					
Fortis (Q*):	p*	s*	t*	c*	k*
Aspirated (Qh):	ph		th	ch	kh
Sonorants					
Nasals (N):	m		n		ŋ
Liquids (L):		l			
Glides	w			y	h

Only these units will ordinarily be distinguished in the transcription of surface data. Note ŋ = [ŋ]. In reading the transcriptions one should bear in mind that [r] is the intervocalic allophone of l between vowels and that the lenis obstruents have a threefold realization: voiced between voiced sounds, voiceless unreleased in syllable coda, and voiceless slightly aspirated elsewhere. In syllable coda the only permitted obstruents are the unreleased p, t, k, ascribed here to the lenis series although there is no contrast between the three obstruent series in this position. Some deny the voicing of s between voiced sounds, but it was sporadically present, at least in breathy form, in the speech of our main consultant (HSL).

There are a few late phonological rules that neutralize underlying distinctions but whose effects are nevertheless not indicated in the transcription: palatalization of a dental before i (e.g. thi > chi, written here only as thi) in some varieties of Korean, and the assimilation of t in place and manner to a following obstruent (e.g. tk*>kk*, ts*>ss*, written here only as tk* and ts*) as an optional rule of casual speech. Kim-Renaud (1974:231-236) also reports place assimilation of a labial to a velar (e.g. pk*>pp*), although this phenomenon was not heard in the speech of HSL. The dental nasal n also assimilates in place to a following consonant in casual speech.

Glides will not receive much attention here. The semivowels y and w behave similarly to vowels with respect to the rules at issue and will be subsumed under the category V (vowels and semivowels). The consonant h has special problems of its own that lie beyond the scope of the present study. This consonant as well as sonorant + h clusters are omitted from the various tables of consonant sequence realizations to be presented below.

Note, finally, that in our transcription ɛ = [ɛ] and ə = [ə, ə̃].

2. Verbs.

Table 1 shows the realization of simple consonant sequences that arise at morphological boundaries in verbal inflection. Consonants that occur at the end of underlying verb stems are listed down the left side, 0 standing for those stems that end in a vowel. Consonants that occur at the beginning of verbal suffixes are listed across the top, 0 standing for suffixes that begin with a vowel and Q for any lenis obstruent (p, t, c, k). Only those suffixes are considered which are capable of occurring immediately adjacent to a verb stem, and none of these begins with a tense consonant (Q!) (see the table in Lewin 1970:54). Some suffixes have two forms, postvocalic and postconsonantal, and verb-stem-final l selects postvocalic allomorphs. Verbal suffixes beginning with m and l occur only as such postvocalic allomorphs. Verb stems are always followed by a suffix and never occur as independent words or as the first elements of compounds without a connecting element.

\C2 C1	0	Q	n	m	l
0	0	Q	n	m	l
l	l	lQ	n	lm	ll
m	m	mQ*	mn		
n	n	nQ*	nn		
p	p	} pQ*	mn		
ph	ph				
s	s	} tQ*	nn		
s*	s*				
t	t				
th	th				
c	c	} kQ*	qn		
ch	ch				
k	k				
k*	k*				

Table 1. Realizations of intervocalic C1+C2 where C1 ends a verb stem and C2 begins a verbal suffix. Q = lenis obstruent, Q* = fortis obstruent.

A rule system accounting for Table 1 can be given as follows:

Liquid Coda Loss: ln > n.

Occlusion: labial, coronal, and velar obstruents become p, t, k, respectively, in a syllable coda.

Fortition: a lenis obstruent (Q) becomes fortis (Q*) in syllable onset after an obstruent or nasal.

Nasalization: a stop becomes nasal before a nasal.

There is little ordering here except between Occlusion and Nasalization. All obstruents become nasal before a nasal, but this process is simpler and more direct if it applies exclusively to p, t, k, the only available inputs after Occlusion.

Verb stems can also end in consonant clusters, the possibilities being lm, lk, lp, lph, lth, nc, ps. Intervocally these clusters undergo no change apart from the fortition of ps to ps*. The second member of the nc cluster remains lenis even though it is after nasal. The reason is that lenis obstruents become fortis after nasals only under restricted morphological circumstances: the obstruent must be at the beginning of a verbal suffix and the nasal must be at the end of a verb stem. In contrast, fortition after an obstruent is a general property of the language, required in surface forms.

Table 2 summarizes the behavior of verb-stem-final clusters in combination with suffix-initial obstruents (Q) and with suffix-initial n. There is considerable variation, and at least seven systems of realization can be distinguished in the sources consulted. Table 3 indicates the sources of evidence for the different realizational systems. The sources are not all equally informative or reliable, being especially uneven in their coverage of stem-final clusters in prenasal context (the CCn combinations). Sources which provide good coverage of lC clusters in both preobstruent and prenasal context are identified by grade A in Table 3. Among the superior sources, consultants HSL and HJH provided the data in Table 4, exemplifying realizational systems 2 and 7.

UR	Occl	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
lm+Q	lmQ	lQ*	mQ*	mQ*	mQ*	mQ*	mQ*	mQ*
lm+n	lmn	ll	mn	mn	mn	mn	mn	mn
lk+Q	lkQ	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	kQ*	kQ*	kQ*	kQ*
lk+n	lkn	ll	qn	ll	qn	qn	qn	qn
lp(h)+Q	lpQ	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	pQ*	pQ*
lp(h)+n	lpn	ll	mn	ll	mn	ll	mn	mn
lth+Q	ltQ	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	lQ*	tQ*
lth+n	ltn	ll	ln	ll	ll	ll	ll	nn
nc+Q	ntn	nQ*	nQ*	nQ*	nQ*	nQ*	nQ*	nQ*
nc+n	ntn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn
ps+Q	ptQ	pQ*	pQ*	pQ*	pQ*	pQ*	pQ*	pQ*
ps+n	ptn	mn	mn	mn	mn	mn	mn	mn

Table 2. Seven systems for realizing intervocalic C1C2+C3, where C1C2 ends a verb stem and C3 begins a verbal suffix. Q = lenis obstruent, Q* = fortis obstruent. UR = underlying representation, Occl = output of Occlusion.

Martin (1954a:20-23)	1, 4/5, 6	
Martin (1954b:54-116)	4	A
Martin et al. (1967:x-xiv, 551-2)	1, 6	
Lewin (1970:54, 55)	5, 6	A
C.-W. Kim (1972)	6	
Kim-Renaud (1974:133-142, 223-5)	5, 3, 6	A
Y.-S. Kim (1984)	3, 6	
J.-m. Kim (1986:122-9, 152, 158-9)	3, 7	
Hyo Sang Lee (HSL)	2	A
Hae Jin Hwang (HJH)	7	A

Table 3. Sources of evidence for the realizational systems in Table 2.

Underlying stem	HSL		HJH	
	-ta	-nɨn	-ta	-nɨn
ilk- "read"	ilt*a	iqnɨn	ikt*a	iqnɨn
palp- "step on"	palt*a	pamɨn	papt*a	pamɨn
halth- "lick"	halt*a	halnɨn	hatt*a	hannɨn

Table 4. Examples of verbs in lC combined with -ta (declarative) and -nɨn (processive modifier) in the speech of two directly consulted speakers of Korean.

Our analysis of Table 2 begins with combinations of the form CC+Q. The stem-final cluster CC is reduced to a single consonant in this situation in accordance with a general law of the Korean language prohibiting complex syllable codas in phonetic representations. Upon reduction some coda clusters retain the first consonant, others the second consonant, and the choice varies with speaker and dialect. The different systems for realizing verbal CC+Q sequences are not randomly diverse, however. One can suppose that Occlusion is the first rule to take effect in all of the attested realizational systems. The consonant sequences of Table 2 then take on the forms indicated under "Occl". The coda clusters included in these representations are composed of consonants in the restricted inventory {l, m, n, p, t, k}. Which consonant of the coda deletes is then governed in all systems of realization by the following basic "retention hierarchy" for noncontinuants:

- (1) <m, k, p, n, t>.

The full hierarchy for each system is obtained by inserting l at any of various points:

- (2) (a) <l, m, k, p, n, t> (system 1)
 (b) <m, l, k, p, n, t> (systems 2 and 3)
 (c) <m, k, l, p, n, t> (systems 4 and 5)
 (d) <m, k, p, l, n, t> (system 6)
 (e) <m, k, p, n, t, l> (system 7)

The retention hierarchy completely determines the fate of every syllable-final cluster after Occlusion has applied to it: the consonant which is earlier in the hierarchy survives Cluster Reduction and the other one is lost.

Fortition must take place prior to Cluster Reduction in verbs. Underlying /lthk/, for example, must surface as lk* in systems 1 through 6, while /lk/ comes out as lk. The clusters /lp(h)Q/ and /lkQ/ constitute similar evidence for the ordering of Fortition before Cluster Reduction in systems 1-5 and 1-3, respectively. In system 7 the two rules can be ordered either way because Cluster Reduction retains the second element of all lC clusters and does not destroy information necessary to Fortition.

The realization of CC+n combinations comes about essentially through rules already discussed, the only additional process being a late rule of Lateralization (ln > ll) applicable in all systems but 2 and 7. Nasalization, which turns p, t, k in to m, n, ŋ before any nasal, assumes an important role in the treatment of CC+n sequences, and its ordering turns out to be a parameter in which dialects may differ. In systems 2 and 4 Nasalization must apply prior to Cluster Reduction while in systems 3 and 5 the ordering must be just the opposite. The principle evidence is in the treatment of /lp(h)n/:

(3)(a) Systems 2 and 4
 lp(h)n Underlying Representation
 lpn Occlusion
 lmn Nasalization
 mn Cluster Reduction (2b or 2c)

(b) Systems 3 and 5
 lp(h)n Underlying Representation
 lpn Occlusion
 ln Cluster Reduction (2b or 2c)
 ln Nasalization (vacuous)
 ll Lateralization

In systems 2 and 4 Nasalization feeds Cluster Reduction with additional inputs which themselves must be appropriately reduced, as follows:

(4) lkn lthn ncn psn Underlying Representation
 lkn ltn ntn ptn Occlusion
 lqn lnn nnn mnn Nasalization
 qn ln nn mn Cluster Reduction

Nasalization is seen to be an iterative or spreading rule in its treatment of ptn > mnn. Of the additional clusters produced by Nasalization, lnn and mnn are reduced to ln and mn in accordance with the hierarchies already posited for systems 2 and 4 above (2b/2c) and the sequence nnn is simplified to nn regardless of hierarchy. But the reduction of lqn remains unaccounted for because q has yet to be incorporated in the retention hierarchies. A natural place for q in these hierarchies would be just before m, because then the nasal series and the stop series would both be arranged by the same principle, viz. labial precedes velar precedes coronal. This placement yields the hierarchies <q, m, l, k, p, n, t> and <q, m, k, l, p, n, t> for systems 2 and 4, respectively, and these hierarchies indeed account for reduction of lqn to qn rather than to ln in those systems.

In all systems except 2 and 4 the inclusion of q in the retention hierarchy is descriptively unnecessary because Nasalization can or must be ordered after Cluster Reduction. It is nevertheless useful to posit such augmented hierarchies across the board so as to identify the variables in which dialects differ. All dialects can then be said to share the following sequence of retention:

(5) <q, m, k, p, n, t>

The consonant l can be inserted into this sequence at any point so long as it is at one extremity of the sequence or is adjacent to a grave stop {k, p}. The different possibilities yield all the

attested retention hierarchies, given below in full.

- (6) (a) <l, q, m, k, p, n, t> (system 1)
(b) <q, m, l, k, p, n, t> (systems 2 and 3)
(c) <q, m, k, l, p, n, t> (systems 4 and 5)
(d) <q, m, k, p, l, n, t> (system 6)
(e) <q, m, k, p, n, t, l> (system 7)

Nasalization can now apply either before or after Cluster Reduction, with no difference of effect, in realizational systems 1, 6, and 7.

It is now possible to close this section with a summary of the constant and variable aspects of verbal phonology in Korean. What the different realizational systems or dialect types have in common is a set of rules ordered about as follows, where rules in higher-numbered groups precede those in lower-numbered groups:

(7) Verbal rule system

- Group 1. Liquid Coda Loss, Occlusion, Fortition
Group 2. Nasalization / Cluster Reduction
Group 3. Lateralization

The noncontinuant consonants are furthermore ranked by an invariant hierarchy of retention for purposes of Cluster Reduction. The major points in which the realizational systems differ are the ordering of rules within group 2 and the placement of l within the retention hierarchy. All possible ways of combining these variables are apparently attested, although some combinations are empirically equivalent. For example, the two possible orderings of Nasalization and Cluster Reduction have the same effect when associated with retention hierarchies 6a, 6d, 6e, yielding only three systems of realization (1, 6, 7) instead of six.

Another, minor point is that Lateralization is missing from system 2, at least as an obligatory rule: ln was preferred over ll in elicited utterances. In system 7 Lateralization would be bled to death and its presence in the system would be purely hypothetical.

3. Nouns.

Noun stems commonly occur with suffixes marking case and other functions. Nouns also have a suffixless or "absolute" forms used either in collocation with following verbal or nominal stems or in isolation as citation forms or as answers to such questions as "what do you call this in Korean" or "what is this?". In this section we consider only noun stems occurring with suffix or in isolation ("simple" noun forms). The suffixes taken into account in the present analysis are those listed by J.-m. Kim (1986:47).

Table 5 indicates the phonetic realization of consonant sequences that arise in simple nominal forms. Down the left hand side of Table 5 are listed those true consonant sequences which occur at the ends of noun-stems, 0 representing the case in which a noun ends in a vowel. Across the top are listed the attested types of true consonant sequences that begin a suffix, 0 representing those suffixes which begin with a vowel or semivowel. Nouns stems used in isolation are considered to occur before pause (|). Some nominal suffixes have two forms according to whether they follow a stem-final consonant or vowel; in noun morphology, however, stem-final l acts like a consonant, not like a vowel, except for the selection of -lo in the alternation -ilo~lo (instrumental).

Not all the underlying sequences of Table 5 exist in all dialects, but where they occur they are always realized as indicated in those sources that give sufficient information on the matter. One cannot be sure there is no variation in these realizations, however, because some of published works are vague about the distinction between verbal and nominal phonology and give insufficient examples. Only a few sources acknowledge noun-stem-final /lp/ without reservation (Martin 1954a:21-23, Martin et al. 1967:552) and they give few examples. The entries for C1 = /lp/ in Table 4 are based mainly on inference from general statements in those sources and on parallelism with /ls/.

A rule system accounting for Table 4 can be given as follows:

- (8) Group 1. Occlusion
- Group 2. Cluster Reduction (6c)
- Group 2 or 3. Nasalization
- Group 3. Postobstruent Fortition

This system differs from the verbal one in (7) in at least two important respects. First, there appears to be little if any variation in the retention hierarchy governing Cluster Reduction; it is always (6c) = <q, m, k, l, p, n, t> in nominal phonology. Indeed, the nominal system provides one further example of a cluster that, when syllable-final, reduces according to the hierarchy. The new cluster is kt, appearing in the derivation ks\$ > kt\$. > k\$. Secondly, Fortition is restricted to postobstruent contexts and must apply after Cluster Reduction. This ordering is necessary because underlying ls+Q becomes lQ, not lQ*, in simple nominal forms. Other differences are difficult to establish. Only the behavior of /lp+m/ would decide the ordering of Nasalization and Cluster Reduction, but information on that sequence was sparse in the sources. If the outcome is lm (as in dialects that have restructured /lp/ to /l/ and as assumed in Table 5), we would have to suppose that Nasalization follows Cluster Reduction in the ordering. The opposite ordering would yield mn as the phonetic representation of /lp+m/. Lateralization and Liquid Coda Loss (before n at any

C1 \ C2	0	:	Q!	Q	m	l
0	0	:	Q!	Q	m	l
l	l					
ls	ls	}	l:	lQ!	lQ	lm
lp	lp					
m	m	}	m:	mQ!	mQ	mm
lm	lm					
n	n		n:	nQ!	nQ	nm
q	q		q:	qQ!	qQ	qm
p	p	}	p:	pQ!	pQ*	pm
ps	ps*					
s	s	}				
th	th					
c	c	}	t:	tQ!	tQ*	tc
ch	ch					
k	k	}				
k*	k*					
lk	lk		k:	kQ!	kQ*	qm
ks	ks*					

Table 5. Realizations of C1+C2 where C1 ends a noun stem and C2 is either pause (:) or begins a nominal suffix. Q! = Q* or Qh. Entries for lp+Q and lp+n are somewhat conjectural.

rate) have nothing to apply to in the derivation of simple nouns.

The underlying representations of noun-stem-final consonants are being restructured in the direction of a smaller inventory, equal in size to the set of possible syllable-finals in surface representations. Absolute noun forms, where syllable-final representations are required, are perhaps the main influence in these analogic changes. Verb stems, which are resisting this kind of restructuring, do not have absolute forms since they must always be followed by a suffix.

However, the underlying noun-stem-final obstruents are not being merely replaced by their syllable-final realizations. Instead, the labial, coronal, and velar obstruents are being restructured as /p, s, k/, respectively, for the most part. Part of the reason for these choices may emerge from the following table of underlying noun-stem finals:

original	restructured
p, ph	p
s, th, c, ch	s
k, kh, k*	k

The analogical replacements consist, then, of lenis obstruents already capable of occurring at the ends of underlying noun stems. This principle still leaves a choice between g and c to represent a final coronal, but it is g that is selected.

The analogical restriction of noun final obstruents to /p, s, k/ is not complete for all speakers and conservative forms may coexist along with innovative ones. That is true of the speech of HSL, for example, where the choice of variant is governed in part by lexical and grammatical factors that need further investigation. The top half of Table 6 presents some of the relevant data elicited from HSL. It can be seen that restructured forms are far more common with nominative and accusative suffixes than with the locative ending.

original underlying stem	-i nominative	-ɬl accusative	-e locative
iph "leaf"	iphi	iphɬl	iphe
puekh "kitchen"	pueki	puəkɬl	puøke
k*och "flower"	k*ochi~k*osi	k*osɬl~k*ochɬl	k*oche
nac "day"	naci~nasi	nasɬl	nace
kith "end"	kithi~kisi	kithɬl~kisiɬl	kithe
path "field"	pasi~pathi	pathɬl~pasɬl	pathe

salm "life, living"	salmi	salmɬl	salme
hɪlk "earth, soil"	hɪki	hɪkɬl	hɪke
talk "chickern"	taki	takɬl	take
kaps "price"	kapsi~kapi	kapɬl	kape
saks "salary, fare"	saki~saksi	sakɬl~saksɬl	
tols "anniversary"	toli	tolɬl	tole
yetolp "8"	yetoli		

Table 6. Variable restructuring of noun stems in the speech of HSL.

Noun-stem-final clusters too are undergoing restructuring, their analogical replacements being, however, identical in all cases with their syllable-final realizations {l, m, k, p, t}. Stem-final clusters are not all equally susceptible to restructuring and can be ranked from most stable to least stable as follows:

Class 1: (l)m

Class 2: (l)k, k(s), p(s)

Class 3: l(s)

Class 4: l(p)

It appears that a dialect which preserves stem-final clusters in class x also preserves stem-final clusters in class x-1. Martin (1954a:20-23) and Martin et al. (1967:1, 551-2, 701) are the only sources that list all of the above clusters as possible noun-stem finals. However, the only nominal stem ending in this cluster is yetelp "8", and both sources give an alternative basic form yetel (Martin 1954a:23; Martin et al. 1967:1162). Kim and Shibatani (1976) and J.-m. Kim (1986) do not offer definitive lists of possible noun-stem-final clusters, but their examples include /ls/ as well as some or most of the clusters in classes 1 and 2. (see for example J.-m. Kim 1986:195). Y.-S. Kim (1984), in a more precise treatment, lists all of the clusters except /lp/ and /ls/ as possible noun-stem finals for his dialect, and comments on the restructuring in progress for /lp/ and /ls/. Of the original noun-stem-final clusters HSL normally preserves only /lm/, but accepts the clusters of class 2 as possible and may even use them on occasion. However, he completely rejects noun-stem-final /ls/ and /lp/.

Some examples of HSL's treatment of noun-stem-final clusters are given in the bottom half of Table 6. Restructuring of final clusters seems to be more advanced than that of final single consonants, and the occurrence of restructured stems in the various case forms also follows a different pattern.

Dialects which are said to preserve noun-stem-final /ls/ are also said to render the underlying sequence /ls+Q/ as lQ rather than lQ*. This behavior of /ls+Q/ constitutes the only available evidence that Fortition takes place after Cluster Reduction in simple nominal forms (/lp+Q/ is not exemplified in nouns in the sources surveyed and the ordering makes no difference in the treatment of other clusters). Hence the ordering of Cluster Reduction and Fortition in simple nouns is moot for those dialects which have restructured noun-stem-final /ls/ to /l/.

The phonology of simple noun forms is evidently moving toward a condition of greater transparency. Restructuring makes it possible to recover uniquely the underlying source of phonetic syllable-final consonants, and the rules are so ordered that

their contextual conditions remain clear in the final phonetic output. The rule system itself is relatively stable, but ongoing restructuring of underlying noun stems results in variation. This situation is the reverse of what one finds in the verbal system. Verb stems are not being restructured to any great extent and remain difficult to recover in neutralizing (especially preconsonantal) contexts, and verbal rule ordering leads to opaque phonetic realizations of some conditioning contexts, especially of the Fortition Rule. Variation, furthermore, is lodged more in the rules than in the underlying representations in the verbal system.

4. Compounds.

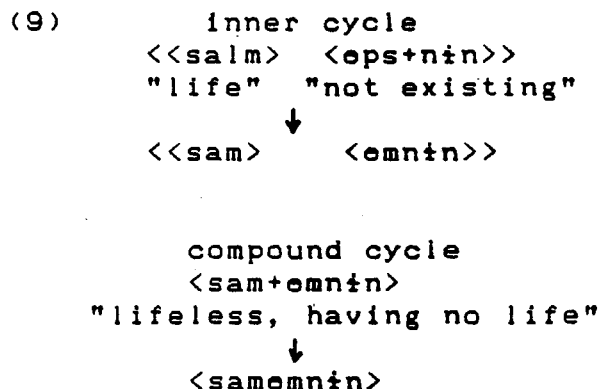
Stems can occur next to each other in several constructions, notably in nominal compounds and verbal collocations. Nominal compounds are formed by the juxtaposition of two noun stems, and verbal collocations consist of a noun stem and a governing verbal form. Verbal collocations range from true lexicalized compounds to nonce combinations, but will all be called compounds here.

Compounds have a special phonology of their own. Table 7 shows the realizations of stem-final + stem-initial consonant sequences that arise in these constructions, 0 representing the case in which the first (resp.: second) constituent ends (resp.: begins) with a vowel. Some cells contain two variants. These variants represent two distinct phonological treatments of compounds, called here type I and type II. Where two variants are given the first is type I and the second is type II. The two types of treatment are not distinct in those cells containing just one realization. True nominal compounds vary between the two types of phonological treatment, sometimes freely but sometimes also under the influence of semantic structure or other variables; (see J.-m. Kim 1986:199-212 for a thorough discussion). Verbal collocations always take type I realizations.

\C2		O	Q!	Q	n	m
C1						
O		O~t	Q!	Q~tQ*	n~nn	m~nm
l, ls		l	lQ!	lQ~lQ*	ll	lm
m, lm		m	mQ!	mQ~mQ*	mn	mm
n		n	nQ!	nQ~nQ*	nn	nm
q		q	qQ!	qQ~qQ*	qn	qm
p, ph, ps*		p	pQ!	pQ*	pn	pm
s, th, c, ch		t	tQ!	tQ*	tn	tm
k, kh, k*, ks*, lk		k	kQ!	kQ*	kn	km

Table 7. Realizations of intervocalic C1+C2, where + is a compound boundary.

The phonological analysis of Korean compounds, especially those of type II, is not completely self-evident and has been subject to various opinions. The case C+O, where the first constituent ends in consonant and the second begins with vowel, shows that the two constituents must be separately syllabified at some point in the derivation, even if the syllabification goes against the usual phonetic principles (i.e. (C)C+O is syllabified as (C)C#O instead of (C)#CO). The reason is that the final consonant sequence C of the first constituent undergoes all of the rules characteristic of codas in simple nominal forms. Some analyses (Kim and Shibatani 1976, Y.-S. Kim 1986) simply stipulate that syllables do not cross compound boundaries (or other, stronger boundaries). Another analysis, adopted here as a working hypothesis, is that the separate constituents are first dealt with separately by their own characteristic rules, the syllabification being of course internal to each constituent. This stage might be called an inner cycle or an inner stratum. It gives as output the two constituents as they would appear in isolation. The next stage, the compound cycle or stratum, then puts together the two constituents and applies appropriate rules to them.



The initial act of the compound cycle must be to decide between type I and type II constructions, presumably on grammatical and semantic grounds. Separate phonologies might then apply to the two types. However, a more explanatory account is possible if the compound cycle inserts different connecting elements in the two types of compounds and lets a single unified set of phonological rules do the rest. There is no controversy over the nature of the type I connecting element: it is null. In type II compounds the connecting element is usually supposed to be t, but there is no agreement on the rule for inserting it. At a minimum, the t must be inserted in any context where type I and type II realizations differ, viz.

- (10) (a) $O + [\text{sonorant}] \quad (O+O > \underline{t}, O+N > \underline{t}N)$
 (b) $[\text{sonorant}] + Q \quad (O+Q > \underline{t}Q, \underline{l}+Q > \underline{l}tQ, N+Q > N\underline{t}Q)$
 (where sonorant includes O and N is any nasal)

Compound phonology, whether applied to type I or type II constructions, can then be formulated about as follows.

- (11) Group 1. (Occlusion vacuous), Postobstruent Fortition.
 Group 1 or 2. Nasalization
 Group 2. Cluster Reduction (retention hierarchy 6a-d)
 Group 3. Lateralization

Examples are given in (12).

- (12)
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">(a)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">inner cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<tol(s)> <canchi>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">"anniversary" "party"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<tol> <canchi>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">compound cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><tol+canchi> (I)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">"anniversary party"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><tolcanchi></p> | <p style="text-align: center;">(b)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">inner cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<tol(s)> <cip>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">"anniversary" "house"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<tol> <cip>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">compound cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><tol+t+cip> (II)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">"anniversary house/family"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><tolc*ip></p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">(c)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">inner cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<k*ataalk> <mol+ɪl>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">"cause" "not knowing"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<k*atak> <molɪl>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">compound cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><k*atak+molɪl> (I)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">"of unknown cause"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><k*ataqmolɪl></p> | <p style="text-align: center;">(d)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">inner cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<se> <paq>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">"rent" "room"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><<se> <paq>></p> <p style="text-align: center;">compound cycle</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><se+t+paq> (II)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">"rented room"</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><setp*aq></p> |

There is a great deal of indeterminacy in the compound rule system, mainly because the inner cycle has already occluded and reduced the final consonant sequence of the first constituent. Codas in the compound cycle can arise, if at all, only through the insertion of \underline{t} in type II constructions between a sonorant consonant at the end of the first constituent and a lenis obstruent at the beginning of the second constituent. The \underline{t} in this situation will eventually be eliminated by Cluster Reduction because it ranks lower than any sonorant in the retention hierarchy for compounds. This hierarchy must be one of those in

6a-d but cannot be further specified. The insertion of connecting t creates some new codas not hitherto encountered in verbs and simple nouns, viz. mt and gt, but these are correctly predicted to reduce to their first member.

Insertion of connecting t in type II compounds is the only source of coda clusters in the compound cycle, and in our analysis the insertion fails to take place in, for example, the context Q+N (Q = obstruent, N = nasal). Nasalization in the compound cycle can apply only in this context, producing N1N2, and therefore does not interact with Cluster Reduction. Hence the two rules are unordered in compound constructions of either type.

The proposed phonological system for compounds is not exactly like that for either verbs or simple nouns. The main differences lie in the nature of Fortition. Compounds resemble simple nouns, but differ from verbs, in having Fortition only in postobstruent context. However, compounds are like verbs rather than simple nouns in the ordering of Fortition prior to Cluster Reduction. This ordering is necessary because sequences of the form R+Q, where R is a sonorant consonant, must be realized in type II compounds as RQ* rather than RQ. The required derivation is R+Q > RtQ (type II initialization) > RtQ* (postobstruent Fortition) > RQ* (Cluster Reduction).

We can only sketch some of the published alternatives to the analysis just outlined. C.-W. Kim (1970) and Kim Renaud (1974:163) also insert connecting t in Type II compounds, but their contextual conditions are somewhat broader than those in (10) and include some instances in which the inserted t leaves no trace of itself in the phonetic output. Neither of their formulations inserts t into O+O (the intervocalic case). It must be admitted that the inclusion of case O+O under (10a) is marginal, because type II realizations of this sequence are few and apparently unproductive.

J.-m. Kim (1986:169-213) proposes a connecting element between the constituents of any compound that might be regarded as type II on semantic or grammatical grounds. There is thus no phonological restriction on the insertion of the connecting element, and the places where type I and type II realizations coincide are supposedly predicted by the phonological rules. For her the connecting element is not exactly t but rather an underspecified consonant C which has t as "default" value.

We cannot further review or critique these alternative analyses, except to note that insertion of connecting t in a broader set of contexts can produce some further examples of syllable-final clusters as inputs to Cluster Reduction: kt, pt, tt. If Nasalization precedes Cluster Reduction, there could also arise, in a prenasal context, further codas qn, mn, nn, ln. All of these codas are correctly reduced to their first member according to the retention hierarchy proposed here for compounds.

5. Summary and discussion. One of the main results of this study has been the identification of parameters that differentiate the consonantal phonologies of both dialects and constructions in Korean. These parameters and their manifestations in three major constructions are summarized in (13).

(13)

	Verbs	Nouns	Compounds
retention hierarchy	variable	(6c)	not (6e)
order of Nas and CR	variable	moot	moot
order of Fort and CR	Fort-CR	CR-Fort	Fort-CR
restructuring	none (?)	ongoing	
postnasal fortition	present	absent	absent
liquid coda loss	present	moot	absent
lateralization	usual	moot	always

(CR = Cluster Reduction, Nas = Nasalization, Fort = Fortition)

Some of these variables are well known, e.g. the presence or absence of postnasal fortition, while others seem not to have been recognized previously, in particular the variable ordering of certain pairs of rules. The variable behavior of coda clusters is often mentioned in the published sources, but in a piecemeal fashion that does not recognize the full extent of the variability nor its strict patterning in terms retention hierarchies based on a fixed sequence of noncontinants.

A second major result concerns the detailed nature of the retention hierarchy. The hierarchy pertains first of all to coda clusters that form inputs to Cluster Reduction and are not necessarily identical to underlying stem-final clusters, contrary to the apparent (but usually unstated) assumptions of the publications surveyed. The full set of these input clusters, summed across all the realizational systems and variant orderings recognized in this paper, is as follows:

(14) lm, lq, lk, lp, ln, lt; qt, qn, mt, mn, kt, pt, nt, nn, tt

The series is so arranged that the treatment of complex codas in the various dialects or constructions can be defined by a cutoff point somewhere in the series. A cluster preceding the cutoff point loses its first member, a cluster following the cutoff point loses its second member. However, a cutoff point never

falls between lm and lq, or between ln and lt, or after any noncontinuant cluster.

We have represented this situation by means of a fixed noncontinuant hierarchy $\langle q, m, k, p, n, t \rangle$ into which l can be inserted at different points to yield attested variants. This hierarchy also defines the order in which two noncontinuants occur within the same coda: The consonant that is earlier in the hierarchy is the one that comes first, as can be seen by examining (14) above. Hence in noncontinuant coda clusters it is always the first member that survives and the second one that deletes. This fact is in itself not very interesting, since rules deleting the second member of final clusters are fairly common in the world. What is more remarkable is that the same hierarchy determines the fate of lC clusters, where the sole noncontinuant in the cluster occupies second position. A C which precedes a certain cutoff point in the noncontinuant hierarchy is retained at the expense of the l, while a C which comes after that cutoff point is deleted.

Two full hierarchies containing l stand out as special cases. First, the hierarchy (6a) = $\langle l, q, m, n, k, p, n, t \rangle$, besides governing cluster reduction in some realizational systems, defines linear order in all complex codas, including those which contain l (cf. (14)). Secondly, the hierarchy (6c) = $\langle q, m, n, k, l, p, n, t \rangle$ appears to be the only one valid across several constructions. It characterizes verbal realizational systems 4 and 5 and also apparently the phonology of simple nouns for all speakers distinguishable in our sources. Could it be that (6c) represents a proto-hierarchy? If so the verbs and nouns have treated it differently in historical evolution. Verbs retain underlying structures and have evolved many variants of the hierarchy by shifting l up or down within it. In nouns the stem-final clusters, to the extent they still exist in underlying forms, appear always to reduce according to the original rule. The reason may be that their reduced realizations occur not only preconsonantly but also in absolute and pausal forms. These forms seem to constitute an unmarked category. They resist change themselves and therefore remain fixed as realizations of their underlying sources, hence preventing any change in the Cluster Reduction Rule and its governing retention hierarchy. By the same token they constitute the basis for analogical restructuring of the underlying sources, a restructuring that is rampant in nouns and undermines not the content but the existence of the rule of Cluster Reduction.

Footnotes

1. Data for this study were gleaned from a variety of published sources and from two speakers of Korean, Hyo Sang Lee (HSL) and Hae Jin Hwang (HJH). Hyo Sang Lee provided the major impetus and material for this paper as well as stimulating comments and orientation into the field of Korean linguistics. Consultations with him took place during the academic year 1986-7 under the auspices of the Language of the Year Program instituted at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Hae Jin Hwang was also in attendance and provided some valuable additional data through the good offices of Hyo Sang Lee. To these consultants I express my warmest gratitude and praise. A debt of gratitude is owed to Sandra Thompson, whose comments stimulated interest in the topic of this paper, and to Edith Johnson for insights into certain interpretations of the data. The administration of the University of California at Santa Barbara is to be thanked for its generous support of this kind of activity. None of these people or institutions bears any responsibility for the errors of fact and interpretation that may appear in this paper.

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A Discourse Account of the Korean Accusative Marker

Hyo Sang Lee and Sandra A. Thompson

1. Introduction.

Standard accounts of the accusative marker (ACC) in Korean¹ in textbooks and in the literature point out that it occurs with "direct objects". However, even if it were clear what is meant by "direct objects", in ordinary discourse there are many environments where ACC might be expected but does not occur. Our purpose in this paper will be to demonstrate that the variability is systematic and that the appearance of ACC is determined by both pragmatic and grammatical factors.

2. The data base.

For this study we used essentially two styles of colloquial Korean, informal narratives and dialogues:

A. Informal narratives:

- a. a long narrative told to H. S. Lee by his father about his grandfather as a model of a spiritual person (GPA)
- b. two pear story narratives (PS)²

B. Dialogues.

- c. two telephone conversations between father and son (TC)
- d. one face-to-face conversation between two male friends (K&H)
- e. six notes written in conversational style by a female university student, Leah, to her male cousin, a fellow student at the same university (Leah)

As can be seen, all the data are spoken Korean with the exception of the written notes; thus this data base includes both written and spoken Korean, but all of these data sources can be identified as "informal" by the characteristic use of the verb suffixes

-ô(yo) and -ta+ku . The verb suffix -ô is the unmarked utterance ending marker in the sense that it is most frequent (44.7% in one text count; see Lee 1985) in informal texts, and is used for the most fundamental kinds of utterances such as simple statements, questions, imperatives, and propositives (-yo is a deferential marker used when the speaker shows deference to the addressee). This suffix occurs only in colloquial communication. The construction -ta+ku consists of the declarative ending -ta plus the quotative complementizer -ku . This construction expresses strong assertion of a proposition, which can be best translated as 'I am telling you that...'. Like -ô , it never occurs in formal texts such as academic writing, newspaper articles, broadcasting, etc, but only in informal communication situations.

We found a total of 320 contexts where the use of ACC is an issue.

3. Contexts for the non-occurrence of ACC.

According to the standard account, Korean is a nominative-accusative language, with case suffixes for "subjects" and "direct objects", as illustrated below:

(1) næ-ka ôli -ôss -ûl ttæ il -i -ciman
 I -NOM young-PFV-ATTR time happening-be-CONCESS

halapôci-nûn mæil sæpyôk kû sôngkyông-ûl ilk -ûsi -ku
 Grandpa-TOP everyday dawn 'like' Bible -ACC read-HONOR-CONN
 (GPA:13-14)

'When I was young, Grandpa would read the Bible everyday at dawn.'

In fact, however, there are four "direct object" contexts in which ACC may be missing:

(i) compounds (ii) pragmatic particles (iii) grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals (iv) pragmatically determined bare nominals. Table 1 below shows the overall distribution of nominals that are candidates for ACC.

Table 1. Overall distributions of nominals in "direct object": contexts.

	Narratives			Dialogues				
	GPA	PS	SubT.	TC	K&H	Leah	SubT.	Total
iùl	<u>118</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>200</u>
%	68.2	80.4	71.2	50.0	48.1	27.3	40.7	62.5
PragPrt	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>16</u>
%	2.9	5.4	3.5	0	5.8	15.2	8.8	5.0
comp	<u>38</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>59</u>
%	22.0	5.4	17.9	16.7	11.5	33.3	19.8	18.4
Gram.bare	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>14</u>
%	5.2		3.9	0	7.7	3.0	5.5	4.4
Prag.bare	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>36</u>
%	1.7	8.9	3.5	33.3	26.9	21.2	25.3	9.7
TOTAL	173	56	229	6	52	33	91	320

There are several striking facts that emerge from an examination of Table 1.

1. A much greater percentage of the "direct object" candidates take ACC in the narratives than in the dialogues (71.2% vs. 40.7%)
2. The percentage of compounds in the two types of data is nearly the same in the narratives as in the dialogues (17.9% vs. 19.8%)
3. A much higher percentage of pragmatically determined bare nominals occurs in the dialogues than in the narratives (25.3% vs. 3.5%).

We will discuss these skewings below.

Among the four contexts with no ACC, the case of pragmatically determined bare nominals is correlated with specific properties of our two types of data (narrative and dialogue), and will be discussed in Section 4. The cases of compounds, pragmatic particles, and grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals, however, apply more generally to both kinds of texts, and will be discussed here.

3.1. Compounds.

One of these general contexts in which ACC is consistently missing across the two genres of our data base is the context in which the "direct object" forms an "OV" compound with the verb. Our definition of "compound" depends on intuitions reflected in written Korean:

A compound is a noun-verb combination which is considered as a single lexical item in the lexicon of Korean grammar such that it is generally written as one word in Korean orthography.

The vast majority of compounds in Korean consist of a patient-like noun (often a Chinese borrowing) with the (native) verb *ha* 'do', as in:

- (2) uli -nala -ka toklip _____ -ha-p -ni -kka kûlôhke
2PL-country-NOM independence-do-POL-IND-INTER such

mul-ôss -tæ _____ -yo
ask-PFV-DECL:IND(HEARSAY)-DEF (GPA:51)

'I was told that he had asked whether our country would be liberated.'³

The total number of compounds in our data was 59 (38 occurred in the Grandpa story). Of those compounds, 49 were *ha*- compounds of the type illustrated in (2) above.

The N-V compounds of Korean can be seen as a type of noun incorporation. According to Mithun (1984) and Hopper and Thompson (1984), incorporated nouns are not expected to take case suffixes, since they rarely refer to manipulable entities in discourse. In our study, no N-V form in which the N occurred with ACC was counted as a compound. With all the compound cases, however, we can separate the nominal out of compound, and mark it with ACC, without affecting the naturalness too much, unless there is another nominal with ACC as an "object" of N-V compound verb.⁴ For example,

(3) kû coh -ûn halapôci-ûi kû ttûs-ûl acu tætaelo
 like good-ATTR grandpa -GEN like will-ACC very for:all:ages.to:come

kilikili ilûhke pocon -hæ-ya toe -kess -ta
 for:ever:and:ever such preservation-do -NECESS become-PROJ-DECL

ilûhke nûl sængkak-ha-ku iss -ta -ku
 such always thought -do-CONN exist-DECL-COMP

(GPA:83)

'I think all generations to come should preserve his principles for ever and ever.'

In the above example, the combination of *sængkak* 'thought' and *ha*- 'do' is presented as compound. However, in the following example, the same combination of *sængkak* and *ha*- is presented with the nominal marked with ACC.

(4) kû kacang cõnthongcõk-i -n sinang-ûl
 like most traditional -be-ATTR faith -ACC

cõnglip -ha-si -ci anh -ass -na
 triangular:position-do-HONOR-NOML NEG:do-PFV-INDET

na-nûn ilûhke sængkak-ûl ha-n -ta -ku
 I -TOP so thought -ACC do-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP

(GPA:12)

'His faith was a traditional one, I would say.'⁵

There are 20 cases like the above, where nominals occur with ACC along with the *ha*-verb, even though a *ha*-compound with those nominals is possible as in (4) --all these cases are listed as one lexical item in Minjungseogwan's *Essence Korean-English Dictionary*. It is not clear what controls the choice between the N-V form (compound) and the N-ACC V construction (non-compound).⁶

As far as we know, all nominals in compounds are abstract nominals, such as *silchôn* 'practice', *salang* 'love', *toklip* 'liberation' or 'being independent' or 'being liberated', *yæki* 'story' or 'telling', *tætap* 'response', etc. Basically, we can characterize N-V compounds in Korean as a way of verbalizing nominals whose meaning has to do

with some sort of activity or state. One noteworthy phenomenon is that foreign-borrowed verbs need to be compounded with the *ha*-verb in order to be used as predicates in Korean. We have one such example in our data.

(6) i -kô -n cikûm i -kô -llu ccik -ô kaci-ku
 this-thing-TOP now this-thing-OBL print-CONN take-CONN

reduce-ha-n kô -kôtûn
 reduce-do-ATTR thing-CORREL

(K&H:190)

'Now this thing is, it was printed on here [the printer] and reduced.'

In view of this fact, it is not surprising that most nominals in compound verbs are Sino-Korean words, that is borrowed from Chinese; in our corpus, 48 out of the 59 compounds (81.0%) are Sino-Korean words, and only 10 (17.2%) are native Korean words.

3.2. Pragmatic particles.

Another context for the non-occurrence of ACC is the context in which another suffix appears on the candidate for ACC, such as *-nûn*, the "topic" marker, or *-to*, the additive marker meaning 'too, also' or 'even'. These suffixes can be grouped together as "pragmatic suffixes"; in such cases it makes sense to say that the pragmatic suffix precludes ACC. An example:

(7) pap -ûn cal chac-a môk-na
 meal-TOP well find -CONN eat -INDET

kungkûm-ha-ci -to anh -a?
 curiosity -do-NOML-ADD NEG:do-IND

(Leah 4:8)

'Aren't you even curious ... whether I am eating well?'

There are 16 cases where a pragmatic particle appears on the candidate for ACC.⁷

3.3. Grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals.

Apart from compound and pragmatic particle contexts, there are other contexts in which ACC might be expected to occur but does not occur. The NP's in these contexts, which we call "bare nominals", are regular: there are a small number of highly predictable contexts where they occur. Here is an example:

- (8) kû kô kaps com pat -a tal -læ
that thing price a:little receive-CONN give-IMPER:IND (Leah 3:10)
'I've been told to collect the fee.'

One type of bare nominal context is grammatically and lexically determined, the others are pragmatically determined. Grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals are the cases where the choice between ACC and no ACC is fixed by grammatical or by lexical conventions of the language. This type includes cases that are involved in special grammatical constructions and formulaic expressions. By pragmatically determined bare nominals, we mean cases where the choice between ACC and no ACC is determined by pragmatic functions and communicative needs. We'll discuss the grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals here, and pragmatically determined bare nominals in section 4, in connection with the two genres in our data base.

Among the 45 bare nominals in the data we examined (see Table 1 for the distribution of bare nominals), we can account for 14 cases in grammatical and lexical terms. Four of these are involved in enumeration, where ACC is attached only to the last nominal if needed. In a sense, these cases are not true "bare nominals" since they can be taken as part of the case-marked phrase. Here is an example from the Grandpa story:

(9) halapôci-ûi cham kû kûlisûto-ûi cõngsin-tælu sal-a po -laku
 Grandpa-GEN really such Christ -GEN spirit -as live-CONN see-PURP

æ -ssû -si -n kû mosûp, tto nala -lûl
 efforts-spend-HONOR-ATTR such appearance also nation-ACC

salang -ha-si -tû -n kû cham sunsu-ha-n ækuksim,
 love -do -HONOR-RETROS-ATTR such really purity -do-ATTR patriotism

chôtuchôlmi -ha- n kû cham cõlyak -ha-nûn kûlôhan kû
 being:thorough-do-ATTR such really frugality-do-ATTR such like

sængwal-ûl ô na-nûn cason mantæ -e ilûhke e cham
 life -ACC uh 1 -TOP descendent all:generation-LOC such uh really

cõntal -ha-ku siph -ku (GPA:82)
 transmission-do-CONN feel:like-CONN

'I would like to hand down to all the generation to come, Grandpa's efforts to live a life following the spirit of Christ, his genuine patriotism, and his thorough thriftiness.'

In this example, the underlined phrases are candidates for ACC as enumerated objects of *cõntal-ha-* 'hand:down'; however, only the last nominal (*sængwal* 'life') is marked with ACC.

Five instances of grammatically and lexically motivated bare nominals are involved in particular grammatical constructions that preclude case marking⁸. One such case is a type of negative construction in which the whole clause is nominalized with *-ci* as a complement of a negative verb. For example,

(10) kûnlæ uli kyohoe-ka mwô chukpok -ûl pat -ki ...
 recently 1PL church -NOM what blessing-ACC receive-NOML

chukpok-man-ûl pat -ki wihæsô [ilûhje cakku ûm
 blessing-only-ACC receive-NOML for:the:sake:of such over:and:over uhm

chukpok chukpok ilû -ci] mal-ko (GPA:80)
 blessing blessing do:so-NOML stop-CONN

'I think our church should not emphasize so much receiving blessing as a reward.'

In the above example, the clause enclosed by brackets is the nominalized object complement of the negative verb *mal-* 'stop', and therefore does not take ACC.

Four instances that are involved in particular grammatical constructions are found in idiomatic expression consisting of an attributive clause with the bound nominal *cul* 'way' as its head noun and the verb *al-ta* 'know'.⁹ For example,

(11) ôttôn vôca -lûl .. ôt -ûl cul al -ko
 which woman-ACC gain-ATTR way know-CONN

ni khi -e machu-ôšô sa -n kô -i -a (K&H:37)
 2SG height-LOC match-CONN buy-ATTR thing-be-IND

'You wouldn't know what kind of wife you will get, so how come you bought the one [a bed] for your size? (Lit. How do you know what kind of wife you will get, so why did you buy one for your size (not considering the size of your wife)?)

In this kind of construction, the bound nominal *cul* 'way' is combined with such verbs as *al-ta* 'know' and *molû-ta* 'not to know' to express epistemic (non-factive) knowledge or lack of knowledge respectively.¹⁰

The other five of the 14 grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals can be accounted for as formulaic expressions, in which the forms are fixed by convention.

Four cases of this type occur in the expression of 'Jesus-believe' in the Grandpa Story, three of these as a sort of indirect quotation from the ministering of missionaries and the other as purely formulaic. For example,

(12) acu kû cōnto -ka mo "tangsin yesu mit -ku
 very the evangelism-NOM like you Jesus believe-CONN

chōntang ka-si -o" kûlôn sik -ûi cōnto -ka an -i -ko
 heaven go-HONOR-IMPER such way-GEN evangelism-NOM NEG-be-CONN
 (GPA:33)

'He didn't minister just by telling people just to "believe in Jesus and go to heaven"

The expression yesu mit-ko chôngtang ka-si-o 'believe in Jesus and go to Heaven' is a stereotype of what the speaker imagines is said in ministering. In such a formula, there is no ACC. Note that *chôngtang* 'heaven' is also not accompanied by a possible locative case suffix in this formula.

The other formulaic expression occurs in a curse expression in Leah 5:

- (13) hûng! hûng! kil ka-taka ôph -ô ci -ôla
 hm hm road go-INTERRUP fall:down-CONN become-IMPER
 (Leah 6:15-16)
 'Hm! Hm! Fall down on the road.'

Thus 14 bare nominals in our data can be accounted for strictly in terms of grammatical and lexical convention of the language: four are enumerated constructions, five are in special constructions, such as the negative or attributive-plus-abstract-head-noun constructions, and five are formulaic expressions.

In this section, we have so far discussed three of the four contexts where ACC does not occur, compounds, pragmatic particles, and grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals. The fact that ACC is missing in these three contexts is a general phenomenon across different genres. That is, ACC does not occur in these contexts even in formal texts where ACC is almost required.

On the other hand, there are 31 bare nominals in our data which can best be accounted for in discourse-pragmatic terms. We have found that there are four types of pragmatic principles, which are best discussed in terms of the two genres in our data base. Hence they will be taken up in the next section.

4. Pragmatically determined bare nominals.

In Section 2, we mentioned that our data base consists of two rather different genres, the narratives and the dialogues. We find that the distribution of pragmatically determined bare nominals is dependent in interesting ways on the distinction between these two genres. Our major finding is that ACC tends to occur in most possible contexts in the narratives, while in the dialogues, ACC is not so frequent as in the narratives, and (pragmatically determined) bare nominals are distinctively common, as shown in Table 2 (distilled from Table 1).

Table 2. ACC vs. pragmatically determined bare nominals in the two genres.

	TOTAL CONTEXTS	ACC	BARE NOMINALS
Narrative Data:	229	163 (71.2%)	8 (3.5%)
Dialogue Data:	91	37 (40.7%)	23 (25.3%)
Total	320	200	31

We will describe our findings and propose an explanation for this skewing. The pragmatic contexts in which the bare nominals appear can be divided into 4 apparently unrelated subgroups: (a) the referent is shared experience; (b) the referent is available in the context; (c) the referent is involved in a culturally normative activity; (d) the referent forms a single concept with the activity named by the verb. We will discuss each of these in turn.

4.1. Shared experience.

Four of the bare nominals can be characterized as entities known to both the interlocuters through shared experience. In these cases, the entities are assumed to be

the ones associated with an experience which the interlocuters have shared. For example:

- (14) na walkman to -li -ô cu -lyôko o -ass -nûnte
 I walkman turn-CAUS-CONN give-PURP come-PFV-CIRCUM (Leah 2:2)
 'I came to return your walkman, but'

In this example, the addressee knows that Leah has borrowed his walkman.

A typical instance of a bare nominal whose referent is assumed to be shared experience is this one from a letter which was not part of our data base:

- (15) cane phyôngci muchôk pankap-ke pat -a po -ass -ne
 2SG letter very glad -RESUL receive-CONN see-PFV-DECL
 'I received your letter with great pleasure.' [Letter from Yoo]

'Your letter' is of course correctly assumed to be the one that the addressee most recently sent to the writer.

Bare nominals whose referents are shared experience are often accompanied by an attributive clause that helps to recover of the shared experience. Two of the cases in our data are of this type.

- (16) i mom-i ocuk pappû-myôn
 this body-NOM how busy -COND
kathûn North Campus -e iss -nûn oppa chac -a po -l
 same North Campus-LOC exist-ATTR brother look:for-CONN see-ATTR
 sikan-to ôps -ûlkka
 time -ADD not:exist-DUB (Leah 3:6)

'Am I not so busy that I don't have time to see you even though we are on the same North Campus?'

In (16), the proposition 'being on the same North Campus' is shared by the interlocuters.

In the next example, the speaker is not sure whether he told the listener about the

Korean word processing program; he is asking the listener to recover the proposition 'it has Korean word processing'.

- (17) *næ-ka hankûl iss -ta -n yæki hæ-ss -na*
 I -NOM Korean exist-DECL-ATTR story do -PFV-INDET (K&H:119)
 'Did I tell you [the story] that [it has] Korean [word processing]?'

It is interesting to note that the nominal in question does not have to refer to an entity that is itself part of the shared experience. Anything that is associated with an entity that is part of the shared experience seem to be treated in the same way. (8), repeated here as (d) of (18), is an example of this:

- (18)a. *onûl -to kûnyang o -n ke an -i -la*
 today -ADD just come-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONTRA=CONJ
- b. *ûnhye -ka oppa -ka cô pôn -e uli -tûl sônghwa -e*
 Eunhye -NOM brother -NOM that time -LOC we -PL push -LOC
- mos iky -ô cumun-ha-n mokma iss -ci?*
 NEG(IMPOT) win -CONN order -do -ATTR wooden:horse exist -JUDG
- c. *Christmas tree -e ta -nûn kô mal -i -a*
 Christmas tree -LOC hang-ATTR thing word-be-IND
- d. *kû kô kaps.com pat -a tal -læ.*
 that thing price a:little receive-CONN give-IMPER:IND (Leah 3:8-10)
- a. I didn't come here for nothing, but
 b. Eunhae, you remember the wooden horse you were pushed to order last time at our insistence?
 c. I'm talking about the kind of thing that you hang on a Christmas tree?
 d. I've been told to collect the fee.'

In this example, it is not the *kaps*, the fee, that is part of the shared experience, but the wooden horse, which the fee is associated with. Note that *mokma*, the wooden horse, in (17b), is also a bare nominal (nominative), presumably also due to shared experience (see footnote 11).

In all the above cases, what seems to be crucial is that the identity of the entities referred to with bare nominals is easily recovered through an experience which the interlocuters have been jointly involved in.

4.2. Available in the context.

Identities of entities can also be easily recovered if the entities are available in the immediate discourse context. In such cases, the speaker has simply to point to the entity. We can account for 8 cases of bare nominals in the data by this principle. For example:

(19) oppa -hanthe yo chokholes tu kæ cu -ko siph -ôsô
 brother -from this chocolate two item give -CONN feel:like-CONN

o -ass -ô
 come -PFV -IND

(Leah 3:13)

'I came 'cause I wanted to give you these two pieces of chocolate.'

(20) i -kô ip -ô kûlôm
 this-thing put:on-IMPER then
 'Try these (pants) on then.'

(K&H:60)

(21) côki po -a
 over:there see-IMPER
 'Look over there.'

(K&H:96)

Note that in each of these three examples, the bare nominals are marked with a deictic expression. Just as we found to be the cases with shared experience, referents are treated as available in the immediate context if they are associated with referents that are available in the immediate context. For example:

(22) a. F: hansangi ilôna -ss -ni?
 Hansang get:up-PFV -INTER

- b. H: naka -ss -nûnte -yo
go:out -PFV-CIRCUM -DEF
- c. F: naka -ss -ô?
go:out -PFV -IND
- d. H: ne.
yes
- e. ôti -lu?
where -to
- f. H: molû -kess -ô -yo.
not:know -PROJ -IND -DEF
- g. mwô kyohoe ka-n -ta kûlô -tô -nka
what church go-UNB=NPST-DECL do:so-RETROS-DUB
- h. F: kyohoe?
church
.....
- i. F: kyohoe cõnhwa-ponho a -ni?
church phone -number know-INTER (TC 2:6-13 ...20)
- a. F: Has Hansang got up?
- b. H: He's gone out.
- c. F: He has gone out?
- d. H: Yes.
- e. F: Where?
- f. H: I don't know
- g. Did he say he would go to the church?
- h. F: Church?
.....
- i. F: Do you know the church phone number?

In this example, *kyohoe* 'the church' is available in the preceding context (21g-h) as a possible place where *Hansang* might have gone. Therefore, 'the church phone number' is easily accessible as available in the immediate context.

Again, what seems crucial is that the identities of referents in these cases are easily recoverable, this time because they are available as inferrable from the

preceding discourse context.

4.3. Culturally normative activities.

Seven of the bare nominals in our data can be accounted for as being involved in expressions for normative cultural situations. In these cases, the identity of a specific entity is not important even when the referent in question is specific: what is important is that the nominal be part of such a "normative activity" expression.¹¹ For example,

- (23) mun tat -ass -ô -yo
door close-PFV-IND-DEF (TC 1:15)
'Have you closed [the restaurant] yet?'

Here *mun* 'door' is clearly not specific; the expression *mun tat-ta* 'door-close' is the standard way of expressing the activity of closing an establishment.

Similarly, in the following example, *paycheck pat-ta* 'paycheck receive' is the standard expression for Korean-Americans (even for those who know no English) for getting paid:

- (24) i -pôn-e paychek pat -ûmyôn
this-time-LOC paycheck receive-COND (Leah 1:9)
'When I get a paycheck this time,'

Other examples, with the normative activity expressions underlined, include:

- (25) os phyônha -ke ip -ôla
clothes comfortable-RESUL put:on-IMPER (K&H:54)
'Why don't you change your clothes into something comfortable?'

- (26)a. H: ahyu pæ aphô.
oh stomach ache-IND

- b. K: yak cu -kka?
medicine give-DUB (K&H: 226-227)

- a. H: Oh dear, my stomach is upset.
- b. K: Shall I give you some medicine?

In (25), *os phyônhake ip-ôla* 'Change your clothes into something comfortable' is a standard expression for somebody who is going to stay in one's home. Similarly, *yak cu-kka* 'Shall I give you some medicine?' in (26) is a normal reaction to a sick person.

4.4. Single concepts.

Finally, we wish to discuss instances of bare nominals which are so closely linked with their predicates that it is difficult to determine whether they are instances of bare nominals or compounds. Recall that the criterion used for "compound" in this paper is the Korean written language convention: if a nominal is written together with its predicate as one word, it is considered a compound. As we mentioned, however, there are cases where speakers are uncertain whether they would write a given combination as one word or two. We assume that this is a reflection of differences in the degree of lexicalization.

There are 8 cases in our data which represent non-specific N's forming a single abstract concept with their predicate which are intuitively non-compound. Bare nominals of this kind are invariantly non-specific and even abstract. Some of these are clear bare nominal cases since there is intervening material between the nominals and their predicates. The following cases, again with the "single concept" nominal and verb underlined, are illustrative:

- (27) colip -ha-llæ -mûn him com ssû -ô-ya ha-nûnte
 assembling-do-PURP-COND strength a:little spend-NECESS do-CIRCUM
(K&H:15)
- 'Won't we have to put out some energy to assemble it?'

(28) næ-ka acu khûn mam môk-ko côm-sim-e chotæ -ha-lyôko
 I -NOM well big mind eat -CONN lunch -LOC invitation-do-PURP

o -ass -nûnte
 come-PFV-CIRCUM

(Leah 1:2)

'I made a hard decision to come and invite you to lunch, but

In the above cases, *him ssû-ta* means 'to put some energy out'¹², and *khûn mam môk-ta* is an expression for making a hard decision.

Often bare nominals of this type occur within an attributive clause or a nominalized clause to express a single concept along with their predicates (5 instances). For example:

(29) ...ûng ilôkhe tû -nûn kwail tam -nûn kwangculi iss...
 yeah like:this carry-ATTR fruit put:in-ATTR basket exist ... (PS1:15)

'Yeah, you know? A fruit-basket (lit. a basket for putting fruit in) that you carry).

(30) kasa-lûl chansongka-lûl kokco -lûl puchi -ôsô
 word-ACC hymn -ACC melody-ACC accompany-CONN

ilûkhe pulû-si -nûn ke an -i -ku
 like:this sing-HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONN

chansongka-kasa -lûl sôngkyông ilk -nûn kô kathi
 hymn -words-ACC Bible read-ATTR thing like

ilk -ûsi -n -ta -ku
 read-HONOR-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP

(GPA:16-17)

'He didn't sing the hymns with the melodies, but he read the hymn-words just like reading the Bible.'

It is interesting to note that these nominals, *kwail* 'fruit' in (29) and *sôngkyông* 'the Bible' in (30), would ordinarily be marked with ACC in independent clauses. It is quite reasonable to assume that the lack of ACC in (29) and (30) is due to the fact that attributive clauses and nominalized clauses often express generic attribution or

generic activities which can be named with a single lexical item. Note that *kwail tam-nûn kwangculi* in (29) is translated as 'fruit basket', and that (30) describes the way 'Grandpa' appreciated hymns as being analogous to 'Bible-reading'.¹³

4.5. Sharedness as determining factor for bare nominals.

In the above sections, we have illustrated four different groups of bare nominals occurring in our data. At first sight, there may not seem to be any unifying discourse factor that controls the choice of bare nominals instead of ACC. In particular, nominals in the last two groups appear to be quite different from those in the first two groups. In the first place, nominals in the last two groups, expressions of 'normative activities' and 'single concepts', are non-referential, whereas those in the first two groups, 'shared experience' and 'available in the context', are not only referential but identifiable. In the second place, in the second two groups, the nominals and their predicates form a single conceptual unit, which does not seem to be the case for those in the first two groups. However, we propose that the principle of "sharedness between communicators" subsumes all four of the above contexts for bare nominals, and the "specification-neediness" of a particular communicative situation accounts for the distribution of ACC and bare nominals in our text.

The majority of the bare nominals (19 out of 31) are accounted for by the principle of "sharedness"; shared experience in the case of group (i), shared context in the case of group (ii), and shared cultural background in group (iii). Similarly, the "single concept" cases (8 instances) can also be seen as examples of the principle of sharedness; these expressions can be seen as extreme instances of the conventional

collocations discussed as (iii) under the heading "culturally normative activities". In fact, we can extend this continuum of sharedness to the case of compounds, which are the extreme instances of conventionalization in the grammar, i.e. lexicalization. Thus 27 out of the 31 bare nominals in our data can be accounted for by the principle of "sharedness".¹⁴

The idea of sharedness as a determining factor in the choice of bare nominals is consistent with the distribution of bare nominals across the two genres represented in our data. We believe that a key factor lies in some of the differences between narratives and everyday communication situations. That is, bare nominals occur much more frequently (see Tables 1 and 2) in the dialogue data, data that represent everyday communicative situations, where temporal and spatial settings, as well as cultural backgrounds, are shared among the interlocuters. In these contexts, the relation between an entity and the situation it is involved in is familiar to the communicators. Often the entity and the situation are considered to form one unitary concept, especially when the situation is a regularly occurring normative activity. Also it is often the case that we talk about entities that are known to both of the communicators through shared experience. Therefore, in everyday communicative situations, simple naming of an entity, i.e. without a case marker may be sufficient without further specification about its relations to the events or activities it is involved in, unless it is contrasted with other entities.

In narratives (spoken or written), on the other hand, bare nominals are rare (only extremely conventionalized (i.e. lexicalized) ones are allowed); we hypothesize that this is directly related to the fact that narratives specify their own temporal and spatial

settings, and no cultural background between interlocutors is necessarily assumed. Thus the narrator can count less on sharedness as an aid to comprehension, but must rely more on morphological marking, in this instance, case markings, to make the noun-predicate relation explicit.

It has been sporadically suggested in the literature that bare nominals tend to occur in informal texts as opposed to formal texts such as written material (see Hinds 1982 and Mori and Givón 1987, for the case of Japanese). This observation is basically correct for Korean. One can easily notice that in most written material, few nominals are bare nominals. In three newspaper articles which we independently counted, there was not a single occurrence of a bare nominal.

However, we observe that it is not formal vs. informal or spoken vs. written that determines the distribution of bare nominals. We would like to pay special attention to the rare occurrence of bare nominals in the two narratives, which are not only informally spoken but also even colloquial. There are also more bare nominals (21.2%) in the Leah notes, which are written, than in the two spoken narratives (3.5%). These suggest that formality or orality per se does not determine the occurrence of bare nominals, even though formality may be a subpart of the whole picture. We maintain that the principle of "sharedness between communicators" and "specification-neediness" of a particular communicative situation equally applies to formal communicative situations. Formal communicative situations are similar to narrative situations in that more specification is required either due to courtesy (Hinds 1982) or potential information loss caused by lack of interaction/feedback (Mori and Givón 1987).

5. Conclusions.

In this paper we have discussed the factors influencing the appearance of ACC in Korean. We have shown that of the four "direct object" contexts where ACC is missing in our data, three of them, (i) compounds, (ii) pragmatic particles, and (iii) grammatically and lexically determined bare nominals, are found in both our narrative and our dialogue data. The fourth context where an expected ACC is missing, however, that of pragmatically determined bare nominals, is determined by pragmatic factors, and here the difference between the two types of data is clear: pragmatically determined bare nominals are found much more frequently in the dialogues than in the narratives.

We have suggested that "sharedness between communicators" provides an account for this skewed distribution: it is in everyday dialogues that temporal and spatial settings and cultural backgrounds tend to be shared, and that normative activities and known entities are likely to be talked about. In narrative, particularly narratives such as the two we have looked at here, on the other hand, temporal and spatial settings are specified by the story itself, no cultural background is necessarily assumed, and known entities are both less frequently assumed, and less frequently the focus of interest.

Thus using a range of discourse data, we have shown that the use of one apparently autonomous aspect of Korean grammar, the accusative suffix, is highly dependent on its discourse context, confirming once again that grammar cannot be understood independently of a consideration of the communicative situations which shape and fashion it.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative suffix
ADD	additive suffix ('too', 'even')
ATTR	attributive clause suffix
CAUS	causative suffix
CIRCUM	circumstantial suffix (indicate background circumstances)
COND	conditional suffix
COMP	complementizer
CONCESS	concessive suffix
CONN	connective suffix
CONTRA=CONJ	contrastive conjunctive suffix (means 'rather', 'but, or 'instead'; it occurs only after a negative assertion, similar to <i>sondern</i> in German (Karen Wallace, personal communication))
CORREL	correlative suffix (indicates the existence of necessary (logical or causal) correlation.)
DECL	declarative suffix
DEF	deferential particle
DUB	dubitative suffix (indicates speaker's doubt on the proposition)
GEN	genitive suffix
HEARSAY	'hearsay' evidential suffix
HONOR	reference honorific suffix
IMPER	imperative suffix
IND	indicative suffix
INDET	indeterminative suffix (indicates speaker's indeterminacy on the truth of the proposition)
INTER	interrogative suffix
INTERRUP	interruptive (indicate interrupted actions or events)
JUDG	judgemental suffix (which indicates that the proposition is based on the speaker's judgement, not an objective fact).
LOC	locative suffix
NEG	negative particle
NECESS	necessitative suffix
NOM	nominative suffix
NOML	nominalizer
NPST	non-past suffix
PFV	perfective suffix
PL	plural
POL	polite suffix
PROJ	projective (indicates projected ideas--i.e. not as facts-- by the speaker such as conjecture, volition, and wish)
PURP	purposive suffix
RESUL	resultative suffix
RETROS	retrospective suffix (indicates recalling of past experience)
SG	singular
TOP	topic suffix

UNB	unbounded (indicates that the speaker has only a partial access to a situation described --beginning, middle, end-point, or end-result of the situation)
1	first person
2	second person

Footnotes

1. The form of the accusative marker (=ACC) is *-lûl* or *-l* after vowels and *-ûl* after consonants. It is not yet known to what factors the variation between *-lûl* and *-l* after vowels should be attributed; speech rate is a clear candidate.
2. "The Pear Story" is a short film with music but no speech shown to speakers of a number of languages as part of a project conducted by W. Chafe and his associates. See Chafe (1980) for discussion.
3. The declarative suffix *-ta* plus the indicative *-ô* is phonologically contracted to *-tæ* as in the example. It expresses 'hearsay' evidentials.
4. It is quite unnatural to have N1-ACC N2-ACC V(erb) when N2-V is a possible compound. For example (=4):

kû kacang cõnthongcõk-i -n sinang-ûl
 such most traditional -be-ATTR faith -ACC

cõnglip -hã-si -ci anh -ass -na
 triangular:position-do-HONOR-NOML NEG-PFV-INDET

na-nûn ilûhke sængkak-ûl ha-n -ta -ku
 I -TOP so thought -ACC do-NPST-DECL-COMP
 (GPA:12)

'He set a model of a traditional faith, I would say.'

cf. (?) kû kacang cõnthongcõk-i -n sinang-ûl
 such most traditional -be-ATTR faith -ACC

cõnglip -ûl hã-si -ci anh -ass -na
 triangular:position-ACC do-HONOR-NOML NEG-PFV-INDET

na-nûn ilûhke sængkak-ûl ha-n -ta -ku
 I -TOP so thought -ACC do-NPST-DECL-COMP

5. *-Na* is a modal suffix that indicates indeterminacy, doubt, or suspicion on the part of the speaker. It may be combined with the negative to express the speaker's tentative

idea or belief. Often the combination of *-na* with the negative is used to present one's ideas in a strategically humble way, avoiding the feeling of assertiveness of the proposition, as in this example.

6. It may have to do with particular characteristics of speakers. For example, among the 20 cases of N-ACC V which are possible compounds, 16 are from the Grandpa Story (GPA). 7 of the 16 cases are for *kito* 'prayer', for which the narrator never used a compound, and 5 are for *sængkak* 'thought', for which he used a compound once in the narrative (example 3).
7. One of those 16 cases actually does not preclude ACC. The particle *man* 'only' can be followed by ACC. However, we believe that *man* without ACC is the unmarked case, because *man* with ACC is forced to be interpreted with the scope of *man* being limited to the nominal only, whereas no such constraint holds for *man* without ACC.
8. We note, however, that these constructions can occur with a case-marked NP if that NP is highly in the focus of contrast.
9. The nominal *cul* is said to be 'bound' because it must be accompanied by an attributive clause. All Korean verb forms are cited in the traditional citation form, with the declarative suffix *-ta*.
10. An analogous construction involving the nominative case is the construction which expresses ability by combining a bound nominal *su* 'way' modified by an attributive clause with an existential verb such as *iss-ta* 'to exist' and *ôps-ta* 'not to exist'. In these cases, the possible nominative suffix is omitted.
11. A similar pattern occurs with nominative bare nominals in Korean. Lee (1987:22-23, section 4.1) illustrates that a postman's regular visit, say, at the usual time on weekdays, is expressed with a (nominative) bare nominal as in (a) below, whereas an unexpected visit of the postman, say, on a holiday, is expressed with the explicit nominative marker as in (b).

(a) uchepu o-ass-ta
 postman come-PFV-DECL
 'The postman has come.'

(b) uchepu -ka o -ass -ta
 postman-NOM come-PFV-DECL
 'The postman has come.'

12. The same expression occurs later in the text with ACC as follows:

i -kô tto him -ûl ssô -ya twæ tto (K&H:24)
 this-thing again strength-ACC spend-NECESS become:IND again

'We have to put out our strength for this (as we normally do for this kind of thing'

We have no idea what determines the variation here. Like the compound cases (section 3.1), there does not seem to be much of a discourse factor involved. In fact, as we will argue later, we believe that there is a continuum of conventionalization of conceptual units into phrasal or lexical units, with the extreme case being lexicalization.

13. Note the following example, however.
(This example immediately follows (30),)

kûlæsô sôngkyông-ûl ilk -nûn te -sô ôt -ûsi -nûn kû
so Bible -ACC read-ATTR place-LOC gain-HONOR-ATTR such

kippûm -ina machankaci-lo
pleasure-or the:same -OBL

chansongka-kasa -lûl ilk -ûm -ûlossô ôttôhan yôngkam -ûl
hymn -words-ACC read-NOML-by some inspiration-ACC

ôt -ûsi -nûn ke an -i -nka
gain-HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-DUB

næ-ka ilûkhê sængkak-ûl ha-nûnte
1 -NOM so thought -ACC do-CIRCUM (GPA:18)

'So I think he gained some kind of inspiration by reading the words to the hymns just as he gained from reading the Bible.

In the above example, *sôngkyông* 'the Bible' is marked by ACC in a construction similar to (30). We assume that the difference is that 'the Bible reading' in (30) refers to 'Bible-reading' as a generic activity, whereas 'the Bible reading' in the above example refers to Grandpa's reading the Bible. In this respect, the latter may well be translated as 'when he read the Bible'.

14. There are 4 instances of bare nominals (all in the Pear Stories) for which we cannot pin down any discourse pragmatic principle. Hastiness in utterance is a possible factor. One example is given below.

kûlæ kaci-ku pæ -namu-ê satali ppikkôkppikkôk
so take-CONN pear-tree -LOC ladder creak:creak

olû -ô ka-ô kaci-ko
climb-CONN go-CONN take-CONN (PS 1:5)

'So then, he climbs up a ladder creak-creak into the pear-tree, and then , ...'

In fact, the same situation is expressed in the same way (with no ACC for *satali* 'ladder') by the other speaker (PS 2:10). This may suggest that the lack of ACC in the above may not be a random case, but may be consistently determined by a discourse factor other than the ones suggested in this paper.

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Co-reference Constraints in the Relative Clause

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This paper should be viewed as part of a larger inquiry into configurational and non-configurational languages. The basic puzzle, as I see it, is why notions of linearity (e.g., "first", "precedes") do not suffice for all systems, why in fact it is not put to use in some constructions in some languages while it obviously is elsewhere in the system. I take as my point of entry into this problem Relative Clause (RC) formation, and specifically focus on how reference is managed within the clause with respect to the head noun. (For the present, I limit discussion to RCs that are "externally headed".)

In spite of the fact that RCs cross-linguistically do not manifest a surface uniformity - some being paratactic, others hypotactic; and of the latter, some being correlative in form, others externally or internally headed, each with distinct morphosyntactic properties following - it still seems unquestionable to me that this construction occurs in every language and thus, like linearity, is universal in the strong sense. Its function seems to be the infinite specification of names of individuals. The class tag (the head noun) is individuated by its association with a certain proposition. This proposition is "about" the individual (or sub-class) we wish to designate in approximately the same sense in which the Comment is about the Topic, and perhaps to a lesser degree, the Predicate is about the Subject (Kuno 1976).

It is nevertheless interesting that the "aboutness" is in general very specifically manifested. It is not obvious why RCs could not be of the form the tree you married Joseph or the man you won the prize or the books we kissed the baby--in which the aboutness is given by an established cultural practice. In fact, some RCs have something of that sense and shape: ...any sphere [such that a triangle rotated 360 degrees will form a...]. The semantic system (here, a geometry) associates sphere, degree, etc. in such a way as to identify the individual sphere. Normally, however, the aboutness relation between the proposition and the class tag is very specific and very specifically expressed:

any sphere [it contains one & only one cube...]

any sphere [its diameter is twice that of...]

Now, it turns out that this unmarked tendency for a co-referential link--

the woman [we noticed her in the library]

the man [he followed us onto the freeway]

children [their parents don't like TV]

almost never prohibits secondary co-reference, even within the same proposition (= "simple" clause):

the woman [she brought her lawyer with her]

the man [you remind him of his brother]

children [their parents don't understand them]

Intuitively, this secondary co-reference feels "accidental" as

though the RC - once secured by the primary co-reference - can be indifferent to further instances of the same. And therefore I am going to assume that the unmarked RC requires one and only one co-reference (CO). Furthermore, if the CO is distinguished in some marked manner (deletion, particle, pronoun, position, tone), then that distinctiveness is reserved for CO. For example, in English where secondary deletions occur (so-called "parasitic gaps"), pronominal explicitness is optional: an employee [you made \emptyset truculent by refusing to promote \emptyset], but also an employee [you made \emptyset truculent by refusing to promote her.]

But, where CO is not so distinguished, it is inevitable that conflicts of interpretation will arise, since processes like deletion, pronominalization, and movement are used for more than RC purposes--although it is conceivable that interference with RC clarity could be minimized by constraints on non-RC tampering with the clause, i.e., excluding other deletions or pronouns or movements. It is intriguing that such interference is not checked. Korean, as we shall see, allows intrusions of just this sort.

Returning to the question of linearity, it seems that in certain languages it is the first of two or more possible CO sites that must be chosen as the CO. It is not clear to me why RC formation generally is not so constrained as to force "first possible." But when this occurs, to my knowledge, it also coincides with a 3rd person constraint (e.g., Portuguese, Modern

Greek; and see Tzotzil below). When "first possible" is not forced, then accidental secondary co-reference is excluded:

the woman_i [her_i friends loved \emptyset]
the woman_i [she_i says [\emptyset _i returned early]]

and as the latter construction indicates, the Accessibility Hierarchy in itself cannot account for the interpretations since both CO sites are Subject. It might be thought that these effects do not obtain in a system that uses the personal pronoun as CO. But, in general, I have not found this to be the case. Cf. Cantonese and Hebrew: and Thai below.

In those languages in which a "first possible" principle seems to be at work, the linearity tends to extend to other aspects of the system so that a reasonable correlation between RC co-reference constraints and the notion "configurational" presents itself. I think the relationship is a little less direct than that, but there nevertheless.

This "first possible" principle will, I believe, ultimately generalize to include what are now commonly called "crossover" phenomena. But, for the moment, I start with the least complex formations, such as are found in Indonesian, Norwegian, and Hebrew. I take Indonesian as representative.¹ The pronominalizer jang introduces the RC, as in

buku [jang \emptyset merah] "the book that is red"
book red

Indonesian manifestation of CO is \emptyset for SBJ and DO, -nja or dia for less accessible relations. Thus, for "the child who hit the man" or "...whom the man hit", we find:

anak_i [jang \emptyset _i memukul orang]
 child hit man

anak_i [jang orang pukul \emptyset _i]

so that a form like

anak_i [jang dia*_i memukul saja]
 3SG me

as "the child who hit me" is not grammatical, and a form like

anak_i [jang dia_j membatja buku-nja]
 read book-3SG

can only mean "the child [whose book s/he_i read]". Even if the DO relativization is analyzed as a passive, the fact remains that "first possible" is a privileged site (now reserved for SBJ only), uniquely marked by \emptyset .

Relativization in Thai is similar to Indonesian, as an examination of the following constructions will reveal:

phu ying_ikɔn [thi \emptyset _i phop chan]
 woman that met me
 "the woman who met me"

phu ying_ikɔn [thi chan phop \emptyset _i]
 "the woman I met"

phu ying_ikɔn [thi thə phop \emptyset _i]
 3SG
 "the woman s/he met"

phu ying_ikɔn [thi chan phop ngən thə_i]
 money 3SG
 "the woman whose money I found"

But the striking difference between Thai and Indonesian is the

way \emptyset as SBJ CO is protected: in the following

... [thi tha_i phop⁰ ngən tho_L]
3SG money 3SG

theoretically in the sense "the woman_i whose money s/he_i found" (analogous to Indonesian anak jang dia membatja buku-nja "the child whose book s/he read") is not good at all.

The most convincing instance of this principle occurs in Tzotzil. A sentence like

?i - \emptyset - och ta s - na
ASP 3SG enter into 3SG house
ABS POSS
"s/he_{i,j} entered his/her_{i,j} house"

is employed in just that form as RC to a head like ?antz "woman":

li ?antz [?i - \emptyset - och ta s - na]
the woman ASP 3SG enter in 3SG house
"the woman_i who entered her_{i,j} house"
* "the woman_i whose house she_j entered"

The 3SG Absolutive marked \emptyset in the verb must be interpreted as CO, while the 3SG GEN marked s- is left open. Note that when the Absolutive is not 3rd person, the GEN becomes CO:

li ?antz [l - i - ?och ta s - na]
ASP 1SG enter into 3SG house
"the woman whose house I entered"

Thus, when optional realizations are removed, "first possible" becomes obligatory. This effect is especially striking in a system like Tzotzil, which is Subject-final. CO site and basic position of nominal Subject are quite separate factors.

KOREAN

It is not easy to establish the order of elements in the

basic clause. But I will attempt to justify the order [SBJ IO DO V] with the little evidence I have uncovered. There is a good bit of inference here, but this constituent order makes more sense than any other I can come up with.

First of all, I accept the common claim that Korean is strictly verb-final for all predicate types--transitive, intransitive, locative, equational, and possessive:

kũ yŏca - nŭn alŭmtap-ta "the woman is beautiful"
 that woman TOP beautiful-DECL

kũ yŏca-nŭn pae-lŭl mŏk-ŏss-ta "the woman ate the pear"
 pear-ACC eat-PRF-DECL

kũ yŏca-nŭn ŭisa-i-ta "the woman is a doctor"
 doctor-be-DECL

kũ yŏca-nŭn samusil-e iss-ta "the woman is in the office"
 office-LOC EXIST-DECL

kũ sangea-e ton - i iss-ta "there's money in the box"
 box-LOC money-NOM EXIST

kũ yŏca-nŭn ton-i iss-ta "the woman has money"
 woman-TOP money-NOM EXIST

and that this order holds for main as well as complement clauses:

kũ yŏca-nŭn [ne-ka chaek-ŭl kacŏkatta-ko] malhaetta
 woman-TOP you-NOM book-ACC took - COMP said
 "the woman said that you took the book"

As for the DO position, I am going to argue that it is basically immediately pre-verbal, on the basis of these two considerations--first, in BE and BECOME clauses, the order is SBJ COMPLEMENT VERB for one reason or another; and second, the transitive verb ha- "do, make" compounds with nouns like PAYMENT, ACCUSATION, SPEECH, etc. to derive complex transitive verbs

(which, in turn, take DOs).

1. In equational clauses, the copula i- cliticizes to its complement: e.g., kū yōca-nūn ũisa-i-ta "the woman is a doctor" shows the complement ũisa "doctor" fused with the verb i "be";

2. The equational predicate does not fuse with its complement when negated, but the order of SBJ and COMPLEMENT is not variable:

kū yōca-nūn	ũisa-ka	an-i-ta	"the woman is
	NOM	NEG	not a doctor"
*ũisa-ka	kū yōca-nūn	an-i-ta	"a doctor the woman is
			not"

(Topicalized phrases need not be in clause-initial position.)

3. In predication with toe "become", either SBJ or COMPLEMENT may be topicalized and appear clause-initially: however,

paeu-nūn	ũisa-ka	toe-ōss-ta
actor-TOP	doctor-NOM	become-PRF-DECL

while ambiguous between "an actor became a doctor" and "a doctor became an actor" is preferentially taken in the first sense;

4. Finally, the verb ha- "do, make" compounds (typically) with nouns to produce transitive verbs: e.g., pinan "accusation" + ha "make" pinanha- "to accuse". Since the lexical semantics of ha cannot account for this compounding--in contrast to

possibilities like TELL+LIE ⇒ LIE, WRITE+NOTE ⇒ NOTIFY, etc.--it seems to be an OBJ+VERB relation in which the non-referential Direct Object undergoes incorporation. There are no instances of Indirect Objects forming such compounds.

Thus, the order [SBJ IO DO V] as the unmarked arrangement is a reasonable extrapolation of these considerations. I assume SBJ to be clause-initial, although I have not tried to motivate it.² But adopting that common view of SBJ has the effect of locating IO by default--after SBJ but before DO.

KOREAN RC FORMATION

By far, the commonest realization of CO in Korean relative clauses is \emptyset . This is certainly true for the grammatical relations--

[\emptyset sosŏl-ŭl ssŭ - nŭn] ae
 novel-ACC write - ATTR boy
 "the boy who writes novels"

[kŭ ae-ka \emptyset ssŭ-nŭn] sosŏl
 the boy-NOM write-ATTR novel
 "the novel the boy writes"

[ne-ka \emptyset ton - ŭl ponaen] yŏca
 you-NOM money - ACC send-ATTR woman
 "the woman you send money to"

but also holds for BENEFACTIVE, COMITATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL, ABLATIVE, AND GENITIVE relations--

[Lee-ka kyohoe-esŏ \emptyset yaeki-lŭl haecu-nŭn] ae -tŭl
 Lee-NOM church-LOC stqgy-ACC tell-ATTR child-PLUR
 "the children Lee tells stories for at church"

[Lee-ka ø kathi yŏnghwa-lŭl po - n] yŏca
 together movies -ACC see-ATTR woman
 "the woman Lee sees movies with"

[Lee-ka ø kŭ kae-lŭl ttaeli-n] maktaeki
 the dog-ACC hit-ATTR stick
 "the stick Lee hit the dog with"

[Lee-ka ø ton - ŭl paeas-ŭn] ae
 money - ACC take-ATTR child
 "the child Lee took money from"

[[ø tali-ka] pulŏci-n] sonyŏn
 leg-NOM break-ATTR boy
 "the boy whose leg broke"

In relativization of the Genitive, ø is preferred when inalienable possession is involved. But a pronominal CO is admitted for purposes of emphasis or clarification: e.g.--

[[kae tali-ka] pulŏci-n] sonyŏn
 his leg-NOM break-ATTR boy
 "the boy whose leg broke"

where kae = the deictic kŭ + genitive marker ui. In the relativization of alienably possessed GEN, only the pronominal CO is admitted. Thus, GEN relativization is distinct from all others in not being related directly to the predicate of the RC, and involving pronominal CO.

Now, Korean discourse--in comparison with a language like English-- is noticeably lacking in overt personal pronouns. The 1st and 2nd persons are understandably omitted or implied for a variety of speech act reasons; and there is no genuine 3rd person pronoun other than the demonstrative kŭ "that" and its derivatives kŭ salam "that man/he" and kŭ yŏca "that woman/she". Hence, zero-pronominalization is the characteristic method of

tracking thematic referents (Lee 1982; and for a parallel in Russian, see Nichols 1984).

As I mentioned earlier, in no language does the RC appear to be impervious to discourse pronominalization. What this means for Korean is that multiple gaps may occur within the RC, one zero functioning as CO, the other(s) "freely" picking up discourse referents. The two processes seem distinct (as Chung 1982 showed for similar facts in Polynesian).³ But the fact remains that multiple \emptyset occur, and the question is: are such possible CO sites governed in any way, and what are the co-referential possibilities?

Let us consider, first, reversible predicates like "cover" and "worry about", where if A can cover B, it is just as possible for B to cover A, where if X can worry about Y, then it is just as possible for Y to worry about X. For example--

kū capci-nūn [\emptyset \emptyset tóph-ko iss-nūn] cito-pota tō pissa-ta
 magazine-TOP cover - ATTR map-than more expensive
 "the magazine costs more than the map that covers it"
 "the magazine costs more than the map it covers"

Lee-nūn [\emptyset \emptyset kókčongha - l] chōcasik - i ōps - ta
 Lee-TOP worry about ATTR wife & child-NOM not:exist
 "Lee doesn't have a wife & child to worry about"
 "Lee doesn't have a wife & child to worry about him"

With all such predicates, where the reversibility is maintained, there is no preferred reading. If anything, the prediction should be a SBJ CO--either due to a "first possible" factor or a relational primacy (SBJ over DO). But, as a matter of fact, if there is any preference, it inclines to a DO reading of the head

noun, presumably because SBJ is preempted by the discourse theme (see Givon 1983; Fox 1986).

Some evidence in support of a relational effect comes from the following facts: a GEN interpretation can be obtained when all the "first order" relations (those that bear a syntactic or semantic relation to the predicate) are given arguments: for example--

[halapõci-ka kyohoe-esõ ae-tũl-hante yaeki-lũl haecu-nũn] sonyõn
 grampa -NOM church-LOC child-PL-DAT story-ACC tell-ATTR boy
 "the boy whose grampa tells stories for the children in church"

but when GEN and BEN are in competition, it is only BEN that is taken as CO:

[halapõci-ka kyohoe-esõ ∅ yaeki-lũl haecu-nũn] sonyõn
 "the boy that Grampa tells stories for in church"
 *"the boy whose grampa tells stories (for others) in church"

GEN, as a "second order" relation with respect to the predicate, is treated differently as a CO: unlike first order relations, it does admit--in addition to \emptyset --a pronominal form, for the most part some variant of kũ "that". In this respect, broadly, a relational principle seems to be operative.

Otherwise, my feeling is that CO in the Korean RC is determined by two considerations--discourse thematicity and lexical semantics. For example, the phrase

[Lee-ka	ponae-n] salam
Lee-NOM	send-ATTR man

in isolation, will be taken to mean "the man that Lee sent". But in proper discourse, with the theme assigned to certain

inanimates (e.g., photographs, stamps), the sense can be "the man Lee sent them to". In addition, the pragmatics of the speech act allow

[~~ø~~ ~~ø~~ ~~ø~~ ~~ø~~ ponae-n] salam
 SBJ yesterday IO DO send-ATTR man
 "the man you/I sent them to yesterday"

to involve the speaker or the addressee as SBJ.

As a final observation, I should comment on what seems to me to be a linear effect on the interpretation of GEN as a secondary coreference. BEN as CO takes precedence over GEN. Indeed, in that case, GEN seems to be denied a secondary co-reference. However, when GEN follows the CO, then co-referentiality is possible:

[~~ø~~ ~~ø~~ tongsaeng-eke chaek-ül sacu - n] salam
 SBJ GEN brother-DAT book-ACC buy for-ATTR man
 "the man, who bought a book for his_{i,j} brother"

Whether these facts are to be explained by the generally marked character of backwards pronominalization I cannot say at this point. The judgments are quite subtle, depending--in the context, say, of "buying something for someone"--on a family relative (tongsaeng) as opposed to non-kin (chingu "friend"), on a small gift (chaek "book") as opposed to a major purchase (cip "house"), and so on.

CONCLUSION

There is no question of the contrast between Korean

management of co-reference within the relative clause and Thai or Indonesian. The contrasts are particularly instructive since none of these systems involve movement of the CO. My own prediction for Korean had been a system strongly constrained by the relational hierarchy. But, except for the "second class" status of GEN, the evidence does not support this hypothesis. And the evidence favoring any linearity whatsoever is scanty and too slight--at the moment--to make much of. What it comes down to, then, is government by the "outside" parameters of reference: thematicity and lexical semantics. The "inner" parameters--linearity and the relational hierarchy--do not seem to be the heart of Korean clause structure. But perhaps this in itself is a partial characterization of a non-configurational language.⁴

I would like, therefore, to offer this thesis of linearity in relative clause formation as an additional property of "configurational" systems, heretofore limited to VP constituency.⁵ It is tempting to correlate the two characteristics, but the evidence--to my knowledge--does not support their co-extensiveness. I believe they are independent of each other yet concomitant expressions of a deeper "slant" determined by nucleus-final or nucleus-initial phrase-structure. The fact that Verb-final systems so consistently lack a VP constituent (in spite of O V adjacency) may be due to their non-linear nature, but could as easily be accounted for by their

tendency to reserve preverbal position for focussed material. It may be a chicken-or-egg question, but I of course favor the former view--that it is their non-linearity that invites that special position for focus just before the clause boundary maintained by the verb.

FOOTNOTES

1

I am grateful to the following for providing and/or checking the data used in this paper: Jan Jong (Indonesian); Evelyn Lee (Cantonese, Hoisan dialect); Devorah Sprecher and Aharon Gibor (contemporary Israeli Hebrew); Voula Tsouveli (Modern Greek); Eduardo Raposo (Portuguese); Roongtham Sujithammaraksa (Thai); Judith Aissen and John Haviland (Tzotzil); Omer Egecioglu, Osman Yurekli, and Abigail Kaun (Turkish); especially Hyo Sang Lee and Haejin Hwang (Korean).

2

Kim (1985) offers some convincing evidence for Subject as basically clause-initial in Korean. E.g., in ditransitive clauses which in casual conversation drop their case-markers (i.e., of the form [NP NP NP V]), the first nominal is interpreted as Subject--whereas the linear order of the other nominals is not nearly as informative.

3

I will not pursue this thesis here, but the following discussion of the verb wŏnha- "want, desire" should illustrate the point. As (1a,b) indicate--

(1) (a) Kim-i Lee-ka NY-e ka - ki -lŭl wŏnhanta
 NOM NOM to go NML ACC wants
 "Kim wants Lee to go to New York"

(b) Kim-i ∅ NY-e ka-ki-lŭl wŏnhanta
 Kim wants to go to New York:

wŏnha- takes a nominalized complement clause (marked by -ki)

as its Object (marked by the accusative -lūl). The unmarked interpretation of \emptyset in (lb) is co-referential with the matrix Subject Kim. But \emptyset is unemphatic; the following are emphatic reflexives:

- (c) (i) Kim-i caki-ka NY-e ka-ki-lūl wōnhanta
 (ii) Kim-i casin-i NY-e ka-ki-lūl wōnhanta
 (iii) Kim-i kŭ-ka NY-e ka-ki-lūi wōnhanta

While (ci, cii) are completely unambiguous, (ciii) is problematic: the unmarked sense of kŭ - here is NOT co-referential with the matrix Subject Kim. However, there is some native feeling that kŭ- can marginally be reflexive in this construction.

Before we turn to relativization, one observation on \emptyset -pronominalization in discourse is in order. Lee (1985:35) cites the following conversation to show that the \emptyset in (lb) above can be a discourse deletion:

A: nŏ mwŏ-ka toe -ko siph - ni?
 you what-NOM become-COMP want Q
 "what would you like to be(come)?"

B: na-nŭn ũisa-ka toe - ko siph - ũntae,
 I-TOP doctor-NOM become want-CIRCUM

ōmma-nŭn \emptyset pyŏnhosa-ka toe-ki-l wōnhae
 mother-TOP lawyer-NOM be ACC want
 "I would like to be a doctor, but Mother/my mother wants me to be a lawyer"

Thus, in a very special discourse, the Subject of the complement clause of wōnha- can be \emptyset -pronominalized by the discourse theme (na "I" above).

Now, in relative clauses built on wōnha-, the pronoun kū cannot (even marginally) be understood as co-referential with the matrix Subject of wōnha-, as it was in (ciii):

[kū-ka NY-e ka-ki-lūl wōnhanūn] kū salam
 3SG go want-ATTR the man
 *"the man_i who wants himself to go to New York"
 "the man_i who wants him_j to go to New York"

and the \emptyset -Subject of the complement clause cannot be the CO of the relative:

[Kim-i NY-e ka-ki-l wōnhanūn] kū salam
 "the man whom Kim wanted to go to New York"

The surface form Kim-i NY-e ka-ki-l wōnhanūn kū salam can only be understood as "the man who wanted Kim to go to New York", that is--

[\emptyset [Kim-i NY-e ka-ki-l] wōnhanūn] kū salam
 *[Kim-i [\emptyset NY-e ka-ki-l] wōnhanūn] kū salam

It does not appear, then, that general discourse pronominalization (whether \emptyset or the kū form) and CO-selection in RC formation obey the same constraints. As I mentioned earlier, it is true that the RC is "about" its head in the way the Comment is about its Topic, and the Discourse its Theme. Nevertheless, grammaticization of these various domains leads to separate sets of constraints, i.e., subsystems which share some properties, but not others.

⁴ Turkish, for example, shares a number of typological features with Korean: it is verb-final (although not as

strictly so); its Subject is clause-initial; it uses pre-verbal position for focus; etc. As in Korean, the Turkish RC shows no linearity in its co-reference relationships. A clause of the form--

[ev - in - de on - a rastlayan] adam
 house-3sgGEN-LOC 3sg-DAT meet-SBJ man
 "the man_i who met him_j at his_{i,j,κ} house

forcing Subject-coreferentiality with the head, leaves GEN reference open. If, instead of the Subject-ive participle, we use the non-Subject, e.g., the 3rd person form:

[ev-in-de ∅ rastladigi] adam
 "the man_i he_j met at his_{i,j,κ} house"

then the ∅-DATIVE is taken as CO, but GEN reference is still open. Of course, we can force GEN as CO, as in

[ev-in-de on-a rastladigi] adam
 "the man_i at whose house he_j met him_κ"

but the linear order is irrelevant: if the locative (with GEN as CO) is put in focal position:

on-a ev-in-de rastladigi adam
 the interpretation is still "the man_i at whose HOUSE he_j met him_κ".

5
 I take this "linearity" to be more than what is usually referred to as "order of constituents". But see Marantz (1985:70-71) on its relevance to the expression of grammatical relations in configurational and non-

configurational languages. The "continuum" of configurationality which he envisions will include, I believe, certain verb-initial systems which will not manifest a VP constituent but be quite "linear" in other respects.

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Sandra A. Thompson

The approach taken to the syntax of Korean verbs of movement (= VMTs) in this book is descriptive and structural. VMTs and the properties of the constituents they occur with are defined in distributional terms. While several theoretical points emerge in the course of the discussion, H's purpose is not to shed light on the claims of any particular theory, but rather to exhaustively describe the VMT construction. Nor is he concerned here with the use of this construction; discourse context is not considered, and examples are all made up.

A VMT is defined as a verb which can take as its complement a non-finite verb with the conjunctive suffix -l^o (which has several allomorphs), as in:

1. Maksⁱ-nⁿ luikh^h-l^ll chac-i^{l^o} hakkyo-e ka-nta
Max - TOP Luc - ACC seek-CONJ school-DEST go-DECL
'Max goes to look for Luc at school'

The VMT in this example is ka-nta 'go'. A VMT can be transitive, with an accusative complement, or intransitive, with a locative complement, as here. The class is semantically homogeneous, expressing an action of displacement of a human subject, which is always linked to another action that is its immediate goal, as here

In his discussion of the formal properties of this class of verbs, H presents a number of interesting distributional arguments distinguishing the VMT construction from a semantically similar one which contains a purposive complement in -ly^oko instead of the conjunctive complement -l^o characterizing the VMT, as in:

2. maksⁱ-nⁿ luikh^h-l^ll manna-ly^oko tapang-e ka - nta
Max -TOP Luc - ACC meet - CONJ cafe - DEST go - DECL
'Max goes to the cafe to meet Luc'

These arguments center around the claim that the VMT involves a complement in a 'subordinate' construction while the purposive complement is a 'coordinate' one.

H's 'lexical analysis' of VMTs involves a subclassification according to their morphological history, whether they are Sino-Korean or native, and a cross-cutting subclassification into causative, simple, and compound types.

One of the most interesting points from the perspective of language universals is H's discussion of transitivity and VMTs. VMTs may take arguments marked either with -l^ll, traditionally considered the

'accusative' case particle, or with one of a set of locative/directional particles. Seeing that -l±l seems to mark adverbs and other arguments which don't appear to be canonical 'objects', H argues against the traditional view that all occurrences of -l±l should be taken as markers of the grammatical relation 'object'. He suggests instead that -l±l has two functions: -l±l1 marks 'objects', which are defined both by the appearance of -l±l and by their ability to pass certain syntactic tests, and -l±l2 serves a 'modalizing' function, similar to that of the topic marker -n±n, as in the example above. Such a move is not uncontroversial, of course; another approach would be to refrain from imposing a structural template on the language, and to try first to determine whether there is a functional motivation within the grammar of Korean for -l±l to appear in the places where it does (see, e.g., Lee and Thompson 'A discourse account of the Korean accusative marker', this volume, and Zubin, 'Discourse function of morphology: the focus system in German', in Givon, ed., Discourse and Syntax, Academic Press, 1979).

H rounds out his characterization of VMTs with a description of the types of subjects that can occur in the VMT construction, and of the inherent semantic properties of the verbs themselves. Just as with -l±l, H takes the traditional 'nominative' case marker -ka to have two functions, only one of which is to mark 'subjects'.

H's book offers a penetrating and careful analysis of a construction which allows forays into a number of areas of Korean grammar. The argumentation is sound and very clearly presented, so that the hypotheses can be easily tested. H has provided much for grammarians of Korean to work with.

The Pear Stories

*The following transcription was done collectively by the Korean Project at UCSB, during winter and spring 1987, including Wallace Chafe, Haejin Hwang, Doug Johnson, Hyo Sang Lee, Marianne Mithun, Arthur Schwartz, and Sandra Thompson. Each number represents an intonation unit (Chafe 1980, The Pear Stories; 1987. The first line of the unit is the phonetic transcription from the recording taped by Hyo Sang Lee, the second line is a phonemic representation, the third line is the English morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, and the last line is the English free translation. IPA symbols are used for the phonetic transcription. For the phonemic representation, the Yale transcription system is used for consonants and McCune-Reischauer system is used for vowels (except that ^ is used instead of ~ for typing purpose for vowel marking).

[Speaker 1: Aeri Han, 25 yrs old. 13yrs in U.S., narrated to her boyfriend.]

1. oʔkhei
o khei
O.K.

OK.

2. ... mm:ʔ ... mēnōhōmæ:ʔ,
ûm maen chōûm -e
ûm very beginning-LOC

At the very beginning,

3. ... ɔniʔ... aʃɔʃ*iga in:ʔndæʔ,
ônû acōssi-ka iss -nûnte
certain uncle -NOM exist-CIRCUM

there is a man,

4. ... ʔkheʔ... pɛrit t*aʔ..mjɔnsɔ ʃijagil hæ.
ilôhke pae -lûl tta -myônsô sicak -ûl ha-ô
like:this pear-ACC pick-SIMUL beginning-ACC do-IND

and it starts with him picking pears.

5. ... kiregačʔ pɛnamuɛ sadari p*ik*ɔkp*ik*ɔ ol:a:ʃigo:.,
kûlae kaci-ko pae -namu-e satali ppikkôkppikkôk
so take-CONN pear-tree -LOC ladder creak:creak

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

So then, he climbs up the ladder creak-creak into the pear-tree, and then,

6. ... ikhe mak pɛɾil t*aningɔja.

ilôhke mak pae -lûl tta -nûn kô -i -a
like:this disorderly pear-ACC pick-ATTR thing-be-IND

like he's sort of picking pears.

7. ... kinde?.. sothulginin sothunte tege jols*imhi pɛɾil t*a.

kûnte sôthul -ki -nûn sôthul -unte
by:the:way unskillful-NOML-TOP unskillful-CIRCUM

toeke yôlssimhi pae -lûl tta -ô
very diligently pear-ACC pick-IND

Actually, even though he's unskillful, he's working hard picking pears.

8. ... kizɛgaʒigu i?khe apçhimaga inninde,

kûlae kaci-ko ilôhke aphchima-ka iss -nûnte
do:so:CONN take-CONN like.this apron -NOM exist-CIRCUM

So then, he's like wearing an apron,

9. ... kɔgi ikhe? apçhimaga çumɔniga tett*a?

kôki ilôhke aphchima-ka cumôni-ka toe -ôss -ta
there like.this apron -NOM pocket -NOM become-PFV-DECL

that thing is like, the apron became a pocket.

10. ... kizɛchku ki çumɔnieda hana k*at*ik tamanokkhu,

kûlae kaci -ko kû cumôni-eta hana katûk
do:so:CONN take:possession-CONN that pocket -LOC chock full

tam -ô noh -ko
put:in-CONN leave-CONN

So then, he fills up that pocket chock full with them,

11. ... sadasizi? t*o mak nɛɾjɔwagaʒigu,

satali -lûl tto mak naeli -ô o -ô kaci-ko
ladder-ACC again disorderly take:down-CONN come-CONN take-CONN

and he just comes back down the ladder, and then,

12. ... /XXX/ irin mollu c*angon?..ji musin peru c*anna iron kwangjuri
itô*ano?

ilôn muô-lo cca -n kô -nci
like what-INSTR weave-ATTR thing-SUSP

musûn pe -lo cca -ôss -na
which hemp:cloth-INSTR weave-PFV-INDET

ilôn kwangculi iss -ci ahn -a
like basket exist-NOML NEG:do -IND

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

13. ... kizondeda i?khe tamɔ //peril.
kûlôn te -eta ilôhke tam -ô pae -lûl
such place-LOC like:this put:in-IND pear-ACC

He puts them in that kind of thing, //the pears.

14. (//kwangjuri?)
kwangculi?
basket

//Basket?

15. ... iq i? i?khe tinin.. kwail tamnin.. we irin.. kwangjuri //is*..
ûng ilôhke tûl -nûn kwail tam -nûn wae ilôn kwangculi iss..
yeah like:this carry-ATTR fruit put:in-ATTR why such basket exist..

Yeah, you know? A fruit basket that you carry.

16. (//tenamu kwangjuri kathingɔ?)
tae -namu kwangculi kath -ûn kô?
bamboo-tree basket same-ATTR thing

Something like a bamboo basket?

17. ... molla monjinin hhm.
molû -ô muôs-i -nci -nûn hhm
not:know-IND what -be-SUSP-TOP hhm

I don't know, what it is, hhhh.

18. ... kinde,
kû -nte
that-CIRCUM

Anyway,

19. ... /XX/ i?khe tamɔnwa.
ilôhke tam -ô noh -ô
like:this put:in-CONN leave-IND

like he puts them in and leaves them there

20. ... kizɔndame t*O iʔe? ta thɔɔnwas*inik*a t*o olla kas t*o
t*aningaja.

kûlôn taûm-e tto ice ta thôl -ô noh -ôss -ûni -kka
such next -LOC again now all shake:off-CONN leave-PFV-DET-INTER

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

tto tta -nûn kô -i -ô
again pick-ATTR thing-be-IND

After that, now again, now that he has shaken everything out,
he climbs up,
and start picking again.

21. ... kizigu in:intep,
kûlô -ko iss -nûnte
do:so-CONN exist-CIRCUM

While he is doing that,

22. ... ɔni? namjaega,
ônû namca-ae -ka
a:certain male -child-NOM

a certain boy,

23. ... kweŋjaŋi khɔdaran ɕaɔɔgɔɔɔil thagu,
koengcanghi khôtalâh-ûn cacônkô-lûl tha -ko
remarkably big -ATTR bicycle -ACC ride-CONN

on a very big bicycle,

24. ... mak kɔgi aphil ɕinagadaga,
mak kôki aph -ûl cina-ô ka-taka
disorderly there front-ACC pass-CONN go-INTERRUP

is just then passing by,

25. ... iʔkheʔ.. kigɔl ponda?
ilôhke kû -kô -ûl po -n -ta
like:this that-thing-ACC see-UNB=NPST-DECL

and he sees all this.

26. ... kinde aɔɕš* inin kiwie ollagasɔ t*aguiss*ɔ.
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-IND

But the man is in the tree, picking,

27. .. /XX/ molla.
molû -ô
not:know-IND

And he doesn't know.

28. ... ?ne? kiɔɔɔil iʔkhe kwangɔuriga pega hana k*at*ik iʔe?
mjɔk* wãɔɔuriga is*inik*a,

kû -nte kû -kô -lûl ilôhke kwangculi-ka pae -ka hana katûk ice
that-CIRCUM that-thing-ACC like:this basket -NOM pear-NOM chock full now

myôch kwangculi-ka iss -ûni -kka
a:few basket -NOM exist-DET-INTER

Meanwhile, since there are several baskets, chockful of pears,

29. ... kigɔɪl... iʔkɛʔ.. hanaril kaʔɔgal:agu,
kû -kô -lûl ilôhke hana-lûl kaci -ô ka-ûlyôko
that-thing-ACC like:this one -ACC take-CONN go -PURP

that thing, ... like.. he tries to take one at first..

30. ... kizɔdaganin,
kûlô -taka -nûn
do:so-INTERRUP-TOP

31. .. hol kanʔurichɛɪl,
hol kwangculi-chæ-lûl
whole basket -as:is-ACC

32. ... iʔkɛʔ.. tizɔgaʔigu čaʔɔngɔpheda izikɛ noʔ.. ɔthiʔkɛ nokhu mak
kaniŋɔja.

ilôhke tûl-ô kaci -ko
like:this lift -CONN take:possession-CONN

cacônkô aph-eta ilôhke noh.. ôttôhke noh-ko
bicycle front -LOC like:this put somehow put -CONN

mak ka-nûn kô -i -a
haphazardly go-ATTR thing-be-IND

But then, he takes like the whole basket,
somehow puts it like on the front of the bicycle,
and takes off.

33. ... iʔ kizigu kaninde,
û kûlô -ko ka-nûnte
uh be:so-CONN go-CIRCUM

Uh, he is going along like that, and then,

34. .. cɔgisɔ izikɛ čaʔɔngɔl than ɔni jɔʔaɛga,
côki -sô ilôhke cacônkô-lûl tha -n ɔnû yôca -æ -ka
over:there-LOC like:this bicycle -ACC ride-ATTR certain female-child-NOM

a girl riding a bike,

35. .. ič*ogiru wa:
i -ccok-ûlo o -a
this-side -toward come-IND

is coming toward,

36. .. čagi maĵin phjɔnɪru.
caki mac-ûn phyôn-ûlo
self face -ATTR side -toward

like from the opposite direction.

37. ... kindɛ izikhe maĵučhinin .. izikhe s*ak. či? činan:inde,
kûnte ilôhke macu -chi-nûn ilôhke ssak cin-
then like:this face:to:face-hit -ATTR like:this swishingly pas-

cina -ss -nûnte
pass -PFV-CIRCUM

Then, after they swoosh past each other,

38. .. čagi moĵaga nal:agat*a?
caki moca-ka nalû-ô ka-ôss -ta
self hat -NOM fly -CONN go-PFV-DECL

then off flies his hat,

39. ... kiregaĵigu,
kûlæ kaci -ko
be:so take:possession-CONN

and then,

40. ... twiɪl torabonin sungan,
twi -lûl tol -a po -nûn sunkan
behind-ACC turn-CONN see-ATTR moment

the moment he turns and looks behind him,

41. .. aphe tol? toɛ i?khe pakhwiga pudakčhɔgaĵigu čaĵɔŋgɔga nɔmɔĵigu
mo,
aph -e tol. tol -e ilôhke pakhwi-ka putakchi -ô
front-LOC roc.. rock-LOC like:this wheel -NOM hit:against-CONN

kaci -ko
take-CONN

cacônkô-ka nôm -ô -ci -ko mwô
bicycle -NPM go:over-CONN-become-CONN what

the wheel hits against a rock,
and the bike falls over and so on,

42. ... ov khors ki? pega ta izikhe s*irɔji?.. ki? t*ɔrɔɔ?č*ana t*anɛ.
of course kû pæ -ka ta ilôhke ssûlôci-- kû ttôci-ô
of course like pear-NOM all like:this fal-- that drop-CONN

ci -ôss -ci -anh -a ttang -e
become-PFV-NOML-NEG:do -IND ground-LOC

And of course, the pears all fall dow.. they have fallen, haven't they? to the ground.

43. ... kinde ɔni.. semjɔŋ.. namjæ? čagi t*orɛhagu mo kizɔn edizi,
kûnte ônú se -myông namca-æ caki ttolæ -ha-ko mwô kûlôn
then certain three-CL male -child self agemage-do-CONN what such

æ -tûl-i
child-PL-NOM

44. ... /ta aninde/ č*om.. nap*igesengin edizinde,
ta a -núnte com nappû-ke sængki-n æ -tûl-i -nte
all know-CIRCUM a:little bad -RESUL appear -ATTR child-PL-be-CIRCUM

And then, a certain three boys, agemates, they sort of look like bad boys,

45. .. algubonikka č*om čoinedizija.
al -ko po -ni -kka com coh -ûn æ -tûl-i -a
know-CONN see-DET-INTERR a:little good-ATTR child-PL-be-IND

but in fact, they are sort of good boys.

46. ... kiregajigu,
kûlæ kaci -ko
be:so take:possession-CONN

47. ... ki.jɛɾil mak izikhjɔsɔ mɔɲjɪdu thɔɔjugu,
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

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

48. ... ta:me,
taûm-e
next -LOC

and then,

49. ... ča]ɔŋgɔl t*o sɛwɔjugu,
cacônkô-l tto sô -u -ô cu -ko
bicycle -ACC again stand-CAUS-CONN give-CONN

they stand the bike up,

50. .. pɛɾil mak tamaga]igu,
pæ -lûl mak tam -a kaci-ko
pear-ACC haphazardly put:in-CONN take-CONN

haphazardly put the pears in,

51. .. toru čo.
tolo cu -ô
back give-IND

and give them back to him.

52. ... kizigu jenin kalk*ilgagu,
kûliko yæ -nûn ka-l kil ka-ko
and this:child-TOP go-ATTR road go-CONN

And the boy goes on his way,

53. jedizin t*o? odingil.ɿ ilikhe kyesok hjangheso kaninde,
 yæ -tûl-ûn tto o -tô -n kil -l ilôhke kyesok
 this:child-PL-TOP again come-RETROS-ATTR road-ACC like:this continuously

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

and the boys continue on their way

54. .. wæ mojadu t*ɔ:ɔjɔtɔ*an:a?
 wæ moca-to ttôlôci-ôss -ci -anh -a
 why hat -ADD drop -PFV-NOML-NEG:do-IND

then, you remember? didn't the hat fall off too?

55. ... ki t*o mojadu ikhe thɔ:ɔgaJugusɔnin kat*aJunda?
 kû tto moca-to ilôhke thôl -ô kaci-ko -sô -nûn
 that again hat -ADD like:this shake:off-CONN take-CONN-Sô-TOP

kac -ta cu -n -ta
 take-INTERRUP give-UNB=NPST-DECL

So, they also like shake off the hat,
 and then take it to him.

56. .. ?nik*an en komapt*anin imijeso,
 kû -ni -kka -n yæ -n komap -ta -nûn ûimi -esô
 that-DET-INTERR-TOP this:child-TOP grateful-DECL-ATTR meaning-LOC

So, as an indication of his gratitude,

57. .. i?khe. semjɔŋi ɿes*ini?kk pɛ segeɿil co:.
 ilôhke se -myông-i ɿæ -ss -ûni -kka
 like:this three-CL -NOM do:such-PFV-DET-INTERR

pæ se -kæ-lûl cu -ô
 pear three-CL-ACC give-IND

since there are three of them who did it,
 he gives them three pears.

58. ... ?nik*a jenedizi kigɔl poku?
 kû -ni -kka yæ -ne -tûl-i kû-kôl po -ko
 that-DET-INTERR this:child-side-PL-NOM that-thing see-CONN

59. ... pak*usə mak məgimjənsə,
pat -kosô
receive-CONN

mak môm-ûmyônsô
haphazardly eat -SIMUL

60. hana? hansarami hana*sik məgimjənsə kiritl ga:.
hana han salam -i hana-ssik môm-ûmyônsô
one one person-NOM one -each eat -SIMUL

kil -ûl ka-ô
road-ACC go-IND

So, these kids take them,
and go down the road sort of eating one pear each.

61. ... kinde
kûnte
then

So,

62. ... kiritl oguin:inde,
kil -ûl o -ko iss -nûnte
road-ACC come-CONN exist-CIRCUM

they are coming down the road,

63. ... ki?.. aJəs*iga kjesok t*adaga,
kû acôssi-ka kyesok tta -taka
like uncle -NOM continuously pick-INTERRUP

meanwhile, the man has been picking pears,

64. ... t*agusənin injə o? kwangjuil ongilt*əga tegaJigu namuesə
nəjəatt*əni,

tta -ko -sô -nûn
pick-CONN-Sô-TOP

ince kwangculi-l olm -ki -l ttæ -ka toe -ô kaci-ko
 now basket -ACC move-CAUS-ATTR time-NOM become-CONN take-CONN

namu-esô næli -ô o -ass -tô -ni
 tree -LOC get:down-CONN come-PFV-RETROS-DET

Having picked some,
 now it's time to move the baskets,
 so he comes down out of the tree,

65. kwangjuri hanaga ɔps*ɔ]ɔs*ɔ.

kwangculi hana-ka ôps -ô ci -ôss -ô
 basket one -NOM not:exist-CONN become-PFV-IND

and discovers one basket is missing.

66. ... kindɛ,
 kûnte
 then

So,

67. ... machim kot*æ,
 machim ko -ttæ
 just:in:time that:DIMIN-time

just then,

68. ... ki sɛmjɔŋɛ ɛdizi mɔgimjɔnsɔ,
 kû se -myông-ûi æ -tûl-i môk-ûmyônsô
 that three-CL -GEN child-PL-NOM eat -SIMUL

69. ... ki aphil izikhe ɔinaganda?
 kû aph -ûl ilôhke cina -ô ka-n -ta
 that front-ACC like:this pass-CONN go -UNB=NPST-DECL

the three boys pass by,
 eating [pears].

70. ... keni? morijl
 kyæ -ne -tûl -ûn molû -ci
 that:child-side-PL-TOP not:know-JUDG

Of course they don't know,

71. .. mɔhanin penʃi
mwô ha-nûn pæ -i -nci
what do-ATTR pear-be-SUSP

where the pears came from.

72. ... ɸ kɔgiga k*ichija//
ûng kôki -ka kkûth-i -a
well there-NOM end -be-IND

Well, that's the end.

73. (// k*ichija // kɔgiga?)
kkûth-i -a kôki -ka
end -be-IND there-NOM

That's the end, there?

74. .. //iŋ
ûng
yes

Yeah,

75. .. iŋ
ûng
yes

yeah.

The Pear Stories

[Speaker 2. Sang-Sook Lee, 56 yrs. old, narrated to her husband]

1. ... ɔt*ɔn nɔŋbuga,
ôttôn nongpu-ka
certain farmer -NOM

A certain farmer

2. ... kwailnamue ol:agayaŋugu kwairil t*aja.
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-IND-DEF

climbs up a fruit tree,
and is picking fruit.

3. ...kwairil t*aninde inje,
kwail-ûl tta -nûnte ince
fruit -ACC pick-CIRCUM now

he's picking fruit,

4. jɔgida izɔkhe ep*izoninde,
yôki-etaka ilôhke ephûlon-i -nte
here-LOC like:this apron -be-CIRCUM

meanwhile, there is an apron here.

5. .. khɔðaran čumɔniga izɔkhe tal:in ep*izonija.
khôtalâh-n cumôni-ka ilôhke tal -li -n ephûlon-i -a
big -ATTR pocket -NOM like:this hang-PASS-ATTR apron -be-IND

It's like an apron which has a big pocket.

6. kwairil t*aso kɔgida čibɔɔɔɔ.
kwail-ûl tta -sô
fruit -ACC pick-CONN

kôki -eta cip -ô nôh -ô -yo
there-LOC pick:up-CONN insert-IND-DEF

He picks fruit,
and puts them in there.

7. ... kizɛgaʒigunin,
kûlæ kaci-ko -nûn
do:so:CONN take-CONN-TOP

After having done that,

8. .. kil:u inʒɛ mani. t*agaʒigun nɛrjɔwasɔ,
kû -ûlo ince mahni tta -ô kaci-ko -n
that-INSTR now much pick-CONN take-CONN-TOP

næli -ô o -asô
take:down-CONN come-CONN

having picked a lot in there,

9. .. kwaŋuriedaga s*oda.
kwanguli-etaka ssot -a
basket -LOC pour:down-IND

he pours them down in a basket.

10. ... s*odanokhu inʒɛ t*o sadakt*ari ol:agagaʒigu,
ssot -a noh-ko
pour:down-CONN put -CONN

ince tto sataktali olû -ô ka-a kaci-ko
now again ladder climb-CONN go-CONN take -CONN

Having poured them down,
now he goes up the ladder,

11. inʒɛ t*o kwairi t*aja.
ince tto kwail-ûl tta -a -yo
now again fruit -ACC pick-IND-DEF

and picks fruit again.

12. ... kizəsɔ han kwəŋʃurizil t*anokhusɔnɪn,
 kûlæəsô han kwangculi-lûl tta -a noh-ko -sô -nûn
 so one basket -ACC pick-CONN put-cCONN-CONN-TOP

So he picked one basket,

13. injɛ t*o tu kwəŋʃurizil t*agu t*o ol:agas*ɔ.
 ince tto tu kangculi-lûl tta -ko
 now again two basket -ACC pick-cCONN

tto olû -ô ka-ss -ô
 again climb-CONN go-PFV-IND

picked another basket,
 and he went up there again.

14. ... t*o ol:aganinde injɛ,
 tto olû -ô ka-nûnte ince
 again climb-CONN go-CIRCUM now

So now he's up there,

15. .. ɔt*ɔn sonjɔni,
 ôttôn sonyôn-i
 certain boy -NOM

and a certain boy

16. ... caʃɔŋgɔl thagu wa.
 cacônkô-l tha -ko o -a
 bicycle -ACC ride-CONN come-IND

appears on a bike.

17. ... han. jɔl s*al mimanč*aziaigathe.
 han yôl sal miman-ccali ai -kath -a
 about ten year:old less -worth child-same-IND

It looks like he's less than ten year old.

18. ... kizɔn sonjɔni wasɔ,
 kûlôn sonyôn-i o -ôsô
 such boy -NOM come-CONN

This boy comes,

19. ... kigɔl hangwanjuritil,
 kû -kô -l han kwangculi-lûl
 that-thing-ACC one basket -ACC

20. .. kajugusɔn,
 kaci-ko -sô -n
 take-CONN-CONN-TOP

21. čajɔŋgɔɛda iɾikhe sɪɾɔgajigugajɔ.
 cacônkô-eta ilôhke sit -ô kaci-ko ka-ô -yo
 bicycle -LOC like.this load-CONN take -CONN go-IND-DEF

and takes that thing, one basket,
 and goes away, like loading them on the bike.

22. (// humčhɔgajuganingɔja?//)
 humchi-ô kaci-ko ka-nûn kô -i -a
 steal -CONN take-CONN go -ATTR thing-be-IND

Is he stealing them?

23. humčhɔganingɛ aningɔgathe nanin,
 humchi-ô ka-nûn ke an -i -n kô kath -a na-nûn
 steal -CONN go -ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-ATTR thing same-IND I -TOP

It doesn't seem that he's stealing them, not to me.

24. kinongjaŋal?.. kɔkathɛ.
 kû nongcang ai -i -n kô kath -a
 that farm child-be-ATTR thing same-IND

He looks like a farm boy there.

25. humčhɔgaminin šik*řik*im pogusɔnɪn,
 humchi-ô ka-myônûn
 steal -CONN go -COND

hikkûmhilkkûm po -ko -sô -nûn
glancing:sideways see-CONN-CONN-TOP

If he is stealing them,
he would keep glancing sideways,

26. .. tomangagetččiman igɔn aJumɔ,

tomang -ka-kess -ciman
runaway-go-PROJ-CONCESS

i -kô -n acu mwô
this-thing-TOP very what

and run away,
but this one is like,

27. .. čhɔ:nčhɔ:iginjanhesɔ,
chônchônhi kûnyang ha-ôsô
slowly just do-CONN

he does it very slowly,

28. .. sitɔgaJuga.
sit -ô kaci-ko ka-a
load-CONN take-CONN go-IND

and takes them away.

29. .. kiresɔ nan kɪ kathin nonjanɛ innin ainJurarɔ.
kûlæsô na-n kû kath -ûn nongcang-e iss -nûn
so I -TOP like same-ATTR farm -LOC exist-ATTR

ai -i -n cul ai -ô
child-be-ATTR way know-IND

So I think he is a farm boy in the same farm.

30. ... kiresɔ injɛ kaninde,
kûlæsô ince ka-nûnte
so now go-CIRCUM

So now he's going,

31. ... maʃinc*agesə sonjaiga,
mac-ûn ccak-esô sonyô-ka
face-ATTR side -LOC girl -NOM

and from the opposite side, a girl,

32. .. kot*ore sonjaiga caʃəŋgəl thaguwa.
ko -ttolæ sonyô-ka cacônkô-l tha-ko o -a
that-agemate girl -NOM bicycle -ACC ride-CONN come-IND

a girl of about the same age comes along on a bike.

33. ... kizədaga izikhe injɛ,
kûlô -taka ilôhke ince
do:so-INTERRUP like:this now

Now going like that,

34. .. maʃu činachigəd ønik*anin,
macu cina -chi-ke toe -ni -kka -nûn
face:to:face pass-hit -RESUL become-DET-INTER-TOP

they come to pass by face-to-face,

35. .. sɔru kəgisə injɛ,
sôlo kôki -sô ince
each:other there-LOC now

36. .. tsikhədaga,
ûisik -ha-taka
consciousness-to -INTERRUP

and then they are paying slight attention to each other,

37. .. ɔthigesə?.. čəgi,
ôttôhke ha-ôsô côki
how do-CONN there

and somehow, uh..

38. .. mɔja ki sonjɔni,
 mwô-i -a kû sonyôn-i
 what-be-IND that boy -NOM

what is it, the boy..

39. .. močarił t*ɔɔthiɔjɔnninde,
 moca-lûł ttôłottûli-ôss -nûnte
 hat -ACC drop -PFV-CIRCUM

drops his hat,

40. ... kɔgiɛ šingjɔŋs*idabonik*a,
 kôki -e sinkyông-ssû -ta po -ni -kka
 there-LOC nerve -spend-INTERUP see-DET-INTER

and he naturally turns his attention to it,

41. aphe toɔil mol:igusɔnin,
 aph -e toł -ûł molû -ko -sô -nûn
 front-LOC rock-ACC not:know-CONN-Sô-TOP

so he doesn't see a rock in front of him,

42. .. čaɔjɔŋgɔga tiɔibadagaɔig čaɔjɔŋgɔga s*irɔɔ:
 cacônkô-ka tûli -pat -a kaci-ko
 bicycle -NOM regorously-butt-CONN take-CONN

cacônkô-ka ssûłôci -ô
 bicycle -NOM fall:down-CONN

so the bike hits against the rock,
 and the bike falls down.

43. ... kiɔɔnɔaramɛ kwairi kinjaŋ čɔda hithɔɔk*ɔdin,
 kûłôn palam -e kwail-i kûnyang coeta hûthûłôci -ôss -kôtûn
 such impetus-LOC fruit -NOM just all get:scattered-PFV-CORREL

So the fruit gets all scattered,

44. .. t*ɔɔɔɔɔɔ,
ttôlôci-ôso
fall -CONN

having fallen.

45. ... kul:ɔs*ɔ,
kulû-ôss-ô
roll -PFV-IND

They are rolling over.

46. ... kindɛ injɛ kogɛ injɛ t*o,
kûnte ince koki -e ince tto
then now there:DIMIN-LOC now also

Meanwhile, there are uh,

47. .. kî kathin t*orɛ sonjɔn sɛʃi is*ɔs*ɔ.
kû kath -ûn ttolæ sonyôn ses -i iss -ôss -ô
like same-ATTR age:mate boy three-NOM exist-PFV-IND

three boys in uh, about the same age.

48. ... kizɛgajigu kî sonjɔndiri pogusɔnin,
kûlæ kaci-ko kû sonyôn-tûl-i po -ko -sô -nûn
do:so take-CONN that boy -PL-NOM see-CONN-Sô -TOP

So those boys have seen it,

49. ... wasɔ kigɔl çusɔdamaɔwɔ.
o -ôso
come-CONN

kû -kô -l cup -ô
that-thing-ACC pick:up-CONN

tam -ô cu -ô
put:in-CONN give-IND

come over,
pick them [fruits] up,
and put them in for him [the boy].

50. ... tamaɰwɔsɔ kwaɰuri inɰe ʃiraɰosɔ,
tam -a cu -ôso
put:in-CONN give-CONN

kwangculi ince sit -ô cu -ôso
basket now load-CONN give-CONN

They put them in,
and put the basket back,

51. .. ɰe ki sonɰoni,
ince kû sonyôn-i
now that boy -NOM

And so, the boy...

52. .. taʃi ɕmaŋkɰim kaninde,
tasi cô -mankhûm ka-nûnte
again that-as:much go-CIRCUM

goes on his way again,

53. ... ki sonɰoni t*ɔɕthizɰ moɰaga is*ɔk*ɔdin,
kû sonyôn-i ttôlôttûli-n moca-ka iss -ôss -kôtûn
that boy -NOM drop -ATTR hat -NOM exist-PFV-CORREL

then, they find the hat he has dropped.

54. ... kiznik*a hæpharamil hwik pulgusɰin,
kûlôh-ni -kka hwiphalam-ûl hwik pul -ko -sô -nûn
be:so-DET-INTER whistle -ACC whiff blow-CONN-Sô-TOP

So, they whistles to him,

55. ... ki. seai in:inaɰɰesɔ hanaiga,
kû se ai iss -nûn ai -cung -esô han ai -ka
that three child exist-ATTR child-among-LOC one child-NOM

uh, one of the three boys..

56. ... iŋ hɔpharamil pulgu,
 ûng hwiphalam-ûl pul -ko
 uh whistle -ACC blow-cONN

uh, whistles to him,

57. pul:ɔgaŋigusɔn ki moŋaril ɔo.
 pul -ô kaci-ko -sô-n kû moca-lûl cu -ô
 blow-CONN take-CONN-Sô-TOP that hat -ACC give-IND

he whistles to him,
 and gives him the hat.

58. ... ki. ɔɔgi kwail hɔ?... ɔɔgɔhɔn. t*ɔɔthizin sonjɔnɪl ɔo.
 kû cōki kwail hoe.. cō -kô -ha-n ttôlôttûli-n
 that there fruit whis.. that-thing-do-ATTR drop -ATTR

 sonyôn-ûl cu -ô
 boy -ACC give-CONN

59. .. moŋaril.
 moca-lûl
 hat -ACC

He gives it to the boy, who whist..., uhm dropped the fruit, the hat.

60. ... kinik*an ki sonjɔni,
 kû -ni -kka -n kû sonyôn-i
 that-DET-INTER-TOP that boy -NOM

Then in response, the boy..

61. .. ki seaiantɛ ki kwairil hanaš*ik ɔugɔdɪn,
 kû se ai -hanthe kû kwail-ûl hana-ssik cu -kôtûn
 that three child-DAT that fruit -ACC one -each give-CORREL

gives the three boys one fruit each.

62. ... kizɛsɔ jɛnɛdizin kigɔl aŋu hanaš*ik aŋu izikɛ mɔgimjɔnsɔ,
 kûlæsô yæ -ne -tûl -ûn kû -kô -l acu hana-ssik acu
 so this:child-side-PL-TOP that-thing-ACC quite one -each quite

ilôhke môk-ûmyônsô
like:this eat -SIMUL

63. ... oninde,
o -nûnte
come-CIRCUM

So these kids come on their way,
eating, like one each,

64. oningiri ki. kwasuwônin? kwasunamu innindeejo.
o -nûn kil -i kû kwasuwôn iss.. kwasu-namu iss -nûn
come-ATTR road-NOM what orchard exist fruit -tree exist-ATTR

te -e -yo
place-be:IND-POL

then, they are coming where the orchard... there is that fruit tree.

65. ... kinde injɛ ki kwasuɛ ol:agasɔ t*adin sarami,
kûnte ince kû kwasu-e olû -ô ka-ôso tta -tô -n
then now that fruit -LOC climb-CONN go-CONN pick-RETROS-ATTR

salam -i
person-NOM

Meanwhile, the one who was picking fruit in the tree..

66. ... injɛ,
ince
now

67. .. čant*ik t*agaɟigu nɛɟwasɔ,
canttûk tta -ô kaci-ko
to:capacity pick-CONN take-CONN

næli -ô o -ôso
put:down-CONN come-CONN

has picked them in full,
and comes down,

68. ... s*odil:agu ponik*anin,
 ssot -ûlyôko po -ni -kka -n
 pour:down-PURP see-DET-INTER-TOP

and he's come to put them down,

69. ... kwanjuri hanaga ops*ɔjɔs*ɔ.
 kwangculi hana-ka ôps -ô -ci -ôss -ô
 basket one -NOM not:exist-CONN-become-PFV-IND

and he finds one basket is missing.

70. ... kiresɔ ɔdil:uganna hagusɔnin isanɣage turibɔn kɔrininde,
 kûlæsô ôti -lo ka-ass -na ha-ko -sô -nûn
 so where-toward go -PFV-INDET do-CONN-?Sô -TOP

 isanɣa-ke tulipônkôli -nûnte
 strange -RESUL look:around-CIRCUM

So he's wondering where it's gone,
 and looks around, mystified.

71. .. i sonjɔn sɛšisɔ kwairil mɔgimjɔnsɔ izikhe činaga.
 i -sonyôn ses -i -sô kwail-ûl môm-ûmyônsô
 three-boy three-NOM-Sô fruit -ACC eat -SIMUL

 cina -ka-ô
 pass-go-IND

Then, these three boys like pass by there, eating fruit.

72. ... kiznik*anin,
 kûlô -ni -kka -nûn
 do:so-DET-INTER-TOP

Then,

73. .. khi? aju isanɣhan nunčhorizudaga,
 kû acu isanɣha-n nun-choli -lotaka
 like quite strange -ATTR eye-outer:corner-INSTR

with mystified eyes...

74. ... ki ḡdizti,
kû æ -tûl -ûl
that child-PL-ACC

75. .. pondagu
po -n -ta -ko
see- UNB=NPST-DECL-CONN

he looks at the boys.

76. ... kizɔn čaŋmjɔnija.
kûlôn cangmyôn-i -a
such scene -be-IND

That's the kind of movie it is.

* The following data were collected and transcribed by Hyo Sang Lee. The Grandpa Story is taken from Lee (1987), Discourse presupposition and the discourse function of the topic marker *nûn* in Korean, IULC Publication.

[Grandpa story] spoken by Won Hyo Lee, the author's father.

1. ne cûngcohalapôci-nûn han-mati -lu sinang-ûi
 2:GEN Greatgrandpa -TOP one-word-OBL faith -GEN

 silchônin -i -la -ku
 practitioner-be-DECL-COMP
2. hakkyo kyoyuk -ûl an pat -ûn nongpu-ciman
 school education-ACC NEG receive-ATTR farmer -CONCESS

 kûlisûto-ûi cûngsin-ûlu ilsæng-ûl silchônû.. sinang-ûl silchôn -ha-nûn
 Christ -GEN spirit -OBL life -ACC practi.. faith -ACC practice-do-ATTR

 kûnlôn pun -i -nte
 such person-be-CIRCUM
3. ôlmankhûm chôlcô -ha-si -nka ha-mûnûn
 how:much strictness-do-HONOR-DUB do-COND

 kû pulssangha-n salam -tûl-ûl cûngmal oemyôn -ha-ci
 such poor -ATTR person-PL-ACC really turning:away-do-NOML

 mos ha-si -ku
 NEG(IMPOT) do-HONOR-CONN
4. kkok tow -a cu -si -ku
 surely help-CONN give-HONOR-CONN
5. acu sôlôu -n salam -tûl-ûl kkok wilo -ha-ku
 very grieved-ATTR people-PL-ACC surely consolation-do-CONN
6. musûn ôlyôu-n munce -lûl kaci -ko o -myônûn
 some hard -ATTR problem-ACC take-CONN come-COND

 kkok hækyôl -hæ cu -llaku æ -lûl ssû -si -ko
 surely solution-do:CONN give-PURP efforts-ACC spend-HONOR-CONN
7. simciô -nûn kôci -ka chuu-n kyôul -e pakk -esô ca -myôn
 more:over-TOP beggar-NOM cold -ATTR winter-LOC outside-LOC sleep-COND

ôl -ô cuk-ûlkka pw-a
freeze-CONN die-DUB see-CONN

caki ipul sok -etaka cæu -nûn kûlôhke kû salang-ûl
self bed inside-LOC sleep:CAUS-ATTR such uh love -ACC

silchôn -ha-nûn kûlôhan cangno-nim-i -la -ku
practice-do-ATTR such elder -lord-be-DECL-COMP

8. mullon hakkyo kongpu -lûl an ha -si -ôss -ta -ku
of:course school education-ACC NEG do-HONOR-PFV-DECL-COMP

ha-ciman
do-CONCESS

sôngkyông-ûl hatu manhi ilk -ûsi -ôso
Bible -ACC very much read-HONOR-CONN

acu sôngkyông-ûl kû sûsûlo kkætat -ko
very Bible -ACC uh by:himself apprehend-CONN

9. tto kito -lûl manhi ha -si -ko
also prayer-ACC much do -HONOR-CONN

10. sôngkyông-ûl po -si -ko
Bible -ACC read-HONOR-CONN

11. kûlæsô sôngkyông -e tæhan kû cisik -i mo ônû sinhakca -potatu
so Bible -LOC about such knowledge-NOM uh any theologian-than

ônû moksanim-potatu cham hwaksil -ha-ku
any PFVor -than really being:certain-do-CONN

12. kû kacang cônthongcôk-i -n sinang-ûl
like most traditional -be-ATTR faith -ACC

cônglip -ha-si -ci anh -ass -na
triangular:position-do-HONOR-NOML NEG:do-PFV-INDET

na-nûn ilûhke sængkak-ûl ha-n -ta -ku
1 -TOP so thought -ACC do-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP

13. næ-ka ôly -ôss -ûl ttæ il -i -ciman
1 -NOM young-PFV-ATTR time happening-be-CONCESS

14. halapôci -nûn mæil sæpyôk kû sôngkyông-ûl ilk -ûsi -ku
Grandpa-TOP everyday dawn like Bible -ACC read-HONOR-DECL
15. tto kûlôhke chansongka-lûl cal ilk -ûse -yo
also so hymns -ACC well read-HONOR:IND-DEF
16. kasa -lûl chansongka-lûl kokco -lûl puchi -ôsô
words-ACC hymn -ACC melody-ACC accompany-CONN
ilûhke pulû-si -nûn ke an -i -ku
such sing -HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONN
17. chansongka kasa -lûl sôngkyông ilk -nûn kô kachi
hymn words-ACC Bible read-ATTR thing like
ilk -ûsi -n -ta -ku
read -HONOR-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP
18. kûlæsô sôngkyông-ûl ilk -nûn te -sô ôt -ûsi -nûn kû
so Bible -ACC read-ATTR place-LOC gain-HONOR-ATTR such
kippûm -ina machankaci -lu
pleasure-as being:the:same-OBL
chansongka kasa -lûl ilk -ûm -ûlossô ôttôhan yôngkam -ûl
hymn words-ACC read-NOML-by some inspiration-ACC
ôt -ûsi -nûn ke an -i -nka
gain-HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-DUB
næ-ka ilûkhe sængkak-ûl ha-nûnte
1 -NOM so thought -ACC do-CIRCUM
19. sasil sôngkyông-ûn mwô olæen acu han i -chôn-nyôn côn-e
in:fact Bible -TOP well long very around 2-1000-year ago-LOC
kilok -toe -n ilôn munhôn -i -nikka
recording-become-ATTR such literature-be-since
uli -ka ihæha -ki himt-ûn kôs -to iss -ciman
2PL-NOM understand-NOML hard-ATTR thing-ADD exist-CONCESS
20. chansongka-nûn hyôntæ -in -tûl -i caki kû sinang-ûi kancûng
hymn -TOP modern-people-PL-NOM self such faith -GEN profession

tto sinang kû kopæk tto caki-ka kû ôttôn yôngkam -ûl
also faith such confession also self-NOM such some inspiration-ACC

pat -asô ssû -n si an -i -kess -ô ?
receive-CONN write-ATTR poem NEG-be-PROJ-IND

21. kûlûnikka sôngkyông-i kû hananim-ûi yôngkam-ûl pat -asô
therefore Bible -NOM like God -GEN inspiration-ACC receive-CONN
kilok -ha-n chæk-i -læ -myônûn
recording-do-ATTR book-be-DECL-COND

chansongka kasa -tu kû yôngkam -ûl pat -asô
hymn words-ADD such inspiration-ACC receive-CONN

kilok -hæ-ss -ta -ku ha -nûn ûimi -esô -nûn ttok
recording-do -PFV-DECL-comp do-ATTR sense-LOC-TOP exactly

kathû-ta -ku
same-DECL-COMP

22. hananim-ûl sôlmyông -ha-ku hananim-ûl kû cûngô -ha-ku
God -ACC explanation-do-CONN God -ACC such testimony-do-CONN

ha-nûn te -sô -nûn
do-ATTR place-LOC-TOP

kûlûnika hyôntæ-in -tûl -ûn ohilyô kû chansongka kasa -lûl
therefore modern-people-PL-TOP rather such hymn words-ACC

cakku ilk -nûn ke
repeatedly read-ATTR thing:NOM

sôngkyông-ûl ilk -nûn kô -potatu
Bible -ACC read-ATTR thing-than

hananim-ûl tô ihæ -ha-ki swiu-n ke
God -ACC more understanding-do-NOML easy-ATTR thing:NOM

an -i -nka
NEG-be-DUB

23. na-nûn kûkô-l halapôci-hanthesô pæw-ôss -ta -ku
1 -TOP that -ACC Grandpa-from learn-PFV-DECL-COMP

24. kûliku halapôci-nûn kû ka -nûn te -mata kyohoe-lûl
and Grandpa-TOP such go-ATTR place-every church-ACC

- ci -si -n -ta -ku
build-HONOR-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP
25. û kaphông -esô -tu kyohoe-lûl ci -si -ôss -ku
uh Kaphyong-LOC-ADD church -ACC build-HONOR-PFV-CONN
26. tto utu -e isa o -si -ôsô -tu kyohoe-lûl
also Udo-LOC move come-HONOR-CONN-ADD church -ACC
- ci -si -ôss -ciman,
built-HONOR-PFV-CONCESS
27. kyohoe-lûl ci -si -nûn kôs -tu mwô nam-ûi toum-ûl
church -ACC build-HONOR-ATTR thing-ADD well other-GEN help -ACC
- pat -asô ci -ûsi -nûn ke an -i -ko
receive-CONN build-HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONN
28. caki cæsan -ûl ta thól -ôsô
self property-ACC all empty-CONN
29. caki son -ûlu sonsu hûlk-ûl pic -ko
self hand-OBL for:himself soil -ACC mould-CONN
30. hûlk-ûl malû -ku
soil -ACC cut:out-CONN
31. cipung-ûl mantûl-ku
roof -ACC make -CONN
32. ilôhke kyohoe-lûl ci -n taûm-e -nûn cõnto -lûl
like:this church -ACC build-ATTR after -LOC-TOP evangelism-ACC
- ha-si -nûnte
do-HONOR-CIRCUM
33. acu kû cõnto -ka mo tangsin yesu mit -ku chõntang
very the evangelism-NOM like 2 Jesus believe-CONN heaven
- ka-si -o
go-HONOR-IMPER
- kûlôn sik -ûi cõnto -ka an -i -ko
such way-GEN evangelism-NOM NEG-be-CONN

34. kû salang-ûl pephul-ôsô
like love -ACC bestow-CONN

kû salam -tûl-i kû maûm-e kamtong -ûl pat -a kaci -ku
like people-PL-NOM like mind -LOC impression-ACC receive-CONN have-CONN

a cham cô noin -kachi sa -l su -man iss -tæ -myônûn
ah really that old:man-like live-ATTR way-only exist-DECL-COND

næ-ka jesu -lûl mit -ôya toe -kess -kuna
1 -NOM Jesus-ACC believe-NECESS become-PROJ-ULM

ilôhke maûm-i tû -l mankhûm kû -mankhûm kû cham
such mind -NOM arise-ATTR as:much:as that-much like really

sængwal-ûl thonghan cônto -lûl culo ha-si -n kûlôhan
life -ACC through evangelism-ACC mainly do-HONOR -ATTR such

halapôci -la -ku
Grandpa-DECL-COMP

35. kûluku eh kûlôhke mulkôn-ûl cham ækki -se -yo
and uh so things -ACC well save -HONOR:IND-DEF

36. côlyak-ûl ha -si -nûnte
saving-ACC do-HONOR-CIRCUM

37. acu chôlcô -ha -ke ha-si -nûnte,
very strictness-do-RESUL do-HONOR-CIRCUM

38. kû kûluhke kil -ûl ka-taka -tu musûn cô khong-ilætûnka
like such road-ACC go-INTERRUP-ADD some like bean -or

co isak-ilætûnka ilôhan kû nongsanmul koksik-i ttang -e ttôlôci-n
millet ear -or such like farm:product grain -NOM ground-LOC drop -ATTR

kô -l po -si -myônûn
thing-ACC see-HONOR-COND

kkok kûkô-l cus -ôsô cumôni-eta nwô-sô kûkô-lûl
surely that -ACC pick:up-CONN pocket -LOC put -CONN that -ACC

kac -taka mo tak -tu cu -ku ilôhke ha-si -nûnte
bring-INTERRUP well chicken-ADD give-CONN as:such do-HONOR-CIRCUM

39. kûlæsô halapôci -ûi os -ûl ppal -ûlaku ha-myôn
 so Grandpa-GEN clothes-ACC wash-PURP do-COND
- cumôni sok -e kkok yôlô -kaci koksik-i ta iss -ô -yo
 pocket inside-LOC for:sure various-kind grain -NOM all exist-IND-DEF
40. mwô co khong pyô ilûn kû phat ilôn o -kok -i ta cumôni-e
 well millet bean rice such like red:bean such five-grains-NOM all pocket -LOC
- tûl -ôss -ta -ku
 put-PFV-DECL-COMP
41. kûlûku ilôh.. kil -ûl ka-si -taka kû kil -e ilôhke tol -ilætûnka
 and lik.. road-ACC go-HONOR-INTERRUP like street-LOC like rock-or
- ilûn ke iss -ûmyônûn
 such thing:NOM exist-COND
- ai -tûl -i cina-ka -ta nômôci-ikka pw-a
 child-PL-NOM pass-go -INTERRUP fall -DUB see-CONN
- kkok talûn te -lu chiw-ô noh-ku
 surely other place-OBL move-CONN put-CONN
42. kûlônikka halapôci-nûn caki-lûl wihæsô sa -n -ta -ku
 therefore Grandpa-TOP self-ACC for:the:sake:of live-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP
- ha -nûn kô potatu
 do -ATTR thing than
- chôltuchôlmi nam -ûl wihæsô sa -si -nûn pun -i -a
 strictly others-ACC for:the:sake:of live-HONOR-ATTR person-be-IND
43. kûlônikka i -kôs -i palu kû kûlisûto-ûi côngsin-ûl
 therefore this-thing-NOM just like Christ -GEN spirit -ACC
- silchôn -ha-si -nûn pun -i an -i -kess -ô?
 practice-do-HONOR-ATTR person-NOM NEG-be-PROJ-IND
44. e halapôci -nûn kûlûku kû kito -lûl manhi ha-si -nûnte
 uh Grandpa-TOP and:then like praying-ACC much do-HONOR-CIRCUM
45. kû kito -nûn kkok ûngtap -ûl pat -nûn kûlôn
 that praying-TOP for:sure response-ACC receive-ATTR such

- yôngkam -iss -nûn kûlôn kito -lûl ha-si -n -ta -ku
 inspiration-exist-ATTR such praying-ACC do-HONOR-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP
46. kûlæsô hwanca -lûl po -si -myônûn
 so sick:man-ACC see-HONOR-COND
- kkok ka -sô ilûhke kito -lûl hæ cu -si -nûnte
 for:sure go -CONN like:this praying-ACC do:CONN give-HONOR-CIRCUM
47. halapôci-ka kito -lûl ha-si -mûnûn
 Grandpa-NOM praying-ACC do-HONOR-COND
- kkok kû hwanca -ka nah -nûn -ta -ku
 for:sure that sick:man-NOM heal-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP
48. e kûlûku halapôci-nûn ækuksim-i ôlmana kangha-si -nci
 uh and Grandpa-TOP patriotism-NOM how strong -HONOR-SUSP
49. cham uli -na.. na-nûn uli -nala -ka ceil hulyung -ha-n
 really 1PL-contr.. 1 -TOP 1PL-country-NOM most greatness-do-ATTR
- ækukca-ka nuku-nya
 patriot -NOM who -INTER
- nu -ka ilûhke mut -nûn -ta -mûn
 who-NOM so ask -UNB=NPST-DECL-COND
- palu n-ûi cûngcohalapôci-ta
 right:away 2-GEN greatgrandpa -DECL
- hanmati -lu na-nûn kot tætap -ha -l su iss -ô -yo
 one:word-with 1 -TOP right:away answer-do -ATTR way exist-IND-DEF
50. halapôci-ka kû yesu -lûl mit -ke toe -n tongki -tu mwô
 Grandpa-NOM like Jesus-ACC believe-RESUL become-ATTR motive-ADD well
- yesu mit -ku -sô chântang ka-n -tæ -tûnka
 Jesus believe-CONN-CONN heaven go-UNB=NPST-DECL-or
- yesu -lûl mit -ôsô pok -ûl pat -kess -ta -tûnka
 Jesus-ACC believe-CONN blessing-ACC receive-PROJ-DECL-or
- kûke an -i -ko
 such:NOM NEG-be-CONN

51. sônkyosa -ka tangsin yesu mit -ûsi -o ilôhke yæki -ha -l
missionary-NOM 2 Jesus believe-HONOR-IMPER so telling-do-ATTR

côk -e
time -LOC

yesu -lûl mit -ûmyôn
Jesus-ACC believe-COND

uli -nala -ka toklip -ha -p -ni -kka
1PL-country-NOM independence-do-POL-IND-INTER

kûlôhke mul-ôss -tæ -yo
such ask -PFV-HEARSAY-DEF

52. kûlæ -ss -tû -ni sônkyosa -nim -i
do:so-PFV-RETROS-DET missionary-lord-NOM

tangsin-i hananim aph -e kito -lûl ha-si -mûnûn
2 -NOM God front-LOC prayer-ACC do-HONOR-COND

hananim-kkesô tûl -ô cu -si -l kô -p -ni -ta
God -NOM(HONOR) hear-CONN give-HONOR-ATTR thing-POL-IND-DECL

53. tangsin-i hananim aph -e kancôlhi wôn.. kanku -lûl ha -myônûn
2 -NOM God front-LOC eagerly want.. request-ACC do-COND

tangsin nala toklip -ha-si -l su iss -ûl
2 country independence-do -HONOR-ATTR way exist-ATTR

kô -p -ni -ta
thing-POL-IND-DECL

54. sônkyosa -ka ilûhke tætap -ha-ni -kka
missionary-NOM so answer-do-DET-INTER

halapôci-ka uli -nala -ka
Grandpa-NOM 2PL-country-NOM

toklip -ha-n -tæ -mûn
independence-do-UNB=NPST-HEARSAY-COND

næ-ka yesu mit -kess -o
1 -NOM Jesus believe-PROJ-SL

55. kûlæsô kyôlkuk -ûn mo chântang ka-ku pok pat -ki
 as:such conclusion-TOP like heaven go -CONN blessing receive-NOML
- wihæsô yesu -lûl mit -ûsi -n ke an -i -ku
 for:the:sake:of Jesus-ACC believe-HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONN
- uli -lûl toklip -sikhi -ki wihæsô
 2PL-ACC independence-CAUSE-NOML for:the:sake:of
- yesu -lûl mit -ûsi -ôss -tæ
 Jesus-ACC believe-HONOR-PFV-HEARSAY
56. kûmankhûm halapôci -ûi ækuksim -i -la -n kô -n cham
 that:much Grandpa-GEN patriotism-be-DECL-ATTR thing-TOP really
- sunsu-ha-ku chôlcô -ha -ta -ku
 purity -do-CONN thoroughness-do-DECL-COMP
57. sasil uli -nala -ka toklip -ha-n -ta -ku hæ -sô
 in:fact 2PL-country-NOM independence-do-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP DO-CONN
- mwô halapôci-ka cangkwan-i toe -nûn kô -i -a
 what Grandpa-NOM minister -NOM become-ATTR thing-be-IND
- musûn tæthonglyông-i toe -nûn kô -i -a ?
 like president -NOM become-ATTR thing-be-IND
58. sasil toklip -haku amu sangkwan -tu ôps -nûn ilôn chon
 in:fact independence-with any interrelation-ADD NEG:exist-ATTR such peasant
- noinne -ciman
 old:man-CONCESS
- nala -lûl salang-ha-nûn kû ttûkôu-n maûm-i
 nation-ACC love -do-ATTR such hot -ATTR heart -NOM
- cûngmallu yesu -lûl mit -ôssô toklip -i
 really Jesus-ACC believe-CONN independence-NOM
- toe -n -tæ -mûn
 become-UNB=NPST-HEARSAY-COND
- næ-ka yesu -lûl mit -kess -so ha-l mankhûm ilûhke cham
 1 -NOM Jesus-ACC believe-PROJ-DECL do-ATTR as:much such really

chôlcô -ha -si -ôss -ta -ku
thoroughness-do -HONOR-PFV-DECL-COMP

59. kûlæsô kû 8.15 hæpang -i toe -ss -ûl cök -e
so that 8.15 liberation-NOM become-PFV-ATTR time-LOC

hankuk-i ilpon -i mangha-ku hankuk-i hæpang -i
Korea -NOM Japan-NOM perish -CONN Korea -NOM liberation-NOM

twæ -ss -ta -ku ha-nûn sosik-ûl tûlû -si -ku -sô
become-PFV-DECL-COMP do-ATTR news -ACC hear -HONOR-CONN-CONN

halapôci-ka kyohoe -e matang-esô mak chum -ûl
Grandpa-NOM church -LOC yard -LOC wildly dance-ACC

chu -si -tû -la -ku
dance-HONOR-RETROS-DECL-COMP

60. mwô tongne salam -tûl chængphi-ha-ku mwô-ha-ku
what neighbor people-PL shame -do-CONN what-do-CONN

ilûn kôs -tu molû -si -ku
such thing-ADD not:know-HONOR-CONN

mak chum -ûl chu -si -nûnte
widly dance-ACC dance-HONOR-CIRCUM

61. kûlôhke coh -a -ha-si -nûn kô næ-ka cikûm-to pôlssô
such good-CONN-do-HONOR-ATTR thing 1 -NOM now -ADD already

halapôci-ka tolaka-si -n ci -ka samsip nyôn-tu
Grandpa-NOM die -HONOR-ATTR time-NOM 30 year -ADD

nôm -ôss -ciman
pass:over-PFV-CONCESS

halapôci-ka kû uli -nala -ka toklip -ha-n ke
Grandpa-NOM like 1PL-country-NOM independence-do-ATTR thing:NOM

kipp -ôsô chum -chu -si -tô -n mosûp -i
happy-CONN dance(n.)-dance(v.)-HONOR-RETROS-ATTR appearance-NOM

næ-ka nun-e sônha-ta -ku
1 -NOM eye-LOC vivid -DECL-COMP

62. ilôhke cham sum-ôsô nala -lûl salang-ha-nûn kû halapôci -ûi
like.this really hide-CONN nation-ACC love -do -ATTR such Grandpa-GEN

ækuksim -iyamalo i -kôs -i cincca ækuksim -i -ko
patriotism-indeed this-thing -NOM genuine patriotism-be-CONN

mwô kasik -i hana-to ôps -nûn sunsu-ha-n
well affectation-NOM one -ADD not:exist-ATTR purity -do-ATTR

ækuksim -ûl kaci -si -n halapôci -ta
patriotism-ACC take -HONOR-ATTR Grandpa-DECL

na-n ilûhke sængkak-ûl hæ-yo
1 -TOP so thought -ACC do-DEF

63. kûlæsô hankuk-i toklip -twæ -ss -ta -ku ha -nûn kô
so Korea -NOM independence-become-PFV-DECL-COMP do-ATTR thing

mo Lee Seungman paksa-latûnka kû oe yôlôka.. kû ækukca-tûl -i
well Lee Seungman Dr. -or that besides variou.. such patriot -PL-NOM

hæoe -esô tolip -untong -ûl hæ-sô
oversea-LOC independence-activity-ACC do-CONN

toklip -i twæ -ss -kess -ciman
independence-NOM become-PFV-PROJ-CONCESS

64. na-nûn hanmati -lu halapôci -ûi kito -lûl hananim-kkesô
1 -TOP one:word-OBL Grandpa-GEN prayer-ACC God -NOM(HONOR)

tûl -ô cu -si -ôsô uli -nala -ka toklip -i
hear-CONN give-HONOR-CONN 1PL-country-NOM independence-NOM

twæ -ss -ta
become-PFV-DECL

na-n ilûhke-kkacitu ôttônttæ -nûn yæki -ha-ko siph -ûn
1 -TOP so -even sometimes-TOP telling-do-CONN fell:like-ATTR

salam -i -la -ku
person-be-DECL-COMP

65. ûng toklip -ha-ki wihæsô yesu -lûl mit -ôss -ta -nûn
uh independence-do-NOML for:the:sake:of Jesus-ACC believe-PFV-DECL-ATTR

- kû halapôci-ka nala -ûi toklip -ûl wihæsô ôlmankhûm
such Grandpa-NOM nation-GEN independence-ACC for:the:sake:of how:much
- nunmul-ûl hûlli -myônsô kito -lûl ha-si -ôss -kess -ô
tear -ACC shed-SIMUL prayer-ACC do-HONOR-PFV-PROJ-IND
66. phyôngsæng-ûl nala toklip -ûl wihæsô hananim aph-e
all:life -ACC nation independence-ACC for:the:sake:of God front-LOC
- nunmul-ûl hûlli-myônsô kito -lûl ha-si -ôss -ki -ttæmun -e
tear -ACC she -SIMUL prayer-ACC do-HONOR-PFV-NOML-cause -LOC
- kû kito -ûi kyôlkwa-ka e onûl kû hankuk-ûl
the prayer-GEN result -NOM uh today like Korea -ACC
- toklip -sikhi -nûn ilûhan kû kû ûngtap -ûl
independence-CAUSE-ATTR such like like response-ACC
- pat -ûsi -n kô an -i -nka
receive-HONOR-ATTR thing NEG-be-DUB
- na-nûn ilûhke sængkak-ûl ha-ku
1 -TOP so thought -ACC do-CONN
67. kû halapôci-ka salang-ha-nûn kûci -ka hana iss -ôss-nûnte
like Grandpa-NOM love -do-ATTR beggar-NOM one exist-PFV-CIRCUM
68. kû chuu-myônûn ipul-eta cæ -w -ô cu -ku ha -tô -n
like cold -COND bed -LOC sleep-CAUS-CONN give-CONN do -RETROS-ATTR
- i kûci -ka
this beggar-NOM
69. næ-ka kû yukio tonglan hu -e ince cangkyo-ka twæ
1 -NOM such 6.25 upheaval after-LOC then officer -NOM become:CONN
- kaci-ku cip -e ka-nûlaku Chunchôn yôk -e mak næli -nûnte
take-CONN home-LOC go-PURP Chuncheon station-LOC just get:off-CIRCUM
- yôk -esô kû kûci -lûl nanna-ss -ta -ku
station-LOC that beggar-ACC meet -PFV-DECL-COMP
70. a ôttôn kûci -ka na-hanthe tôpsôk tempi -myônsô
ah certain beggar-NOM 1 -DAT suddenly turn:upon-SIMUL

halapôci soli -tu mos ha-ku
Grandpa sound-ADD NEG(IMPOT) do-CONN

halpæ halpæ halpæ -ka ka pò -ni -kka
Grandpa Grandpa Grandpa-NOM goCONN see-DET-INTER

ôps -tû -la -nûn kô -i -a
not:exist-RETROS-DECL-ATTR thing-be-IND

71. 1 soncis -ûl ha-myônsô
such gesture-ACC do-SIMUL

72. kûlæsô næ-ka halapôci -nûn cuk -ôss-ta kûæ -ss -tû -ni
so 1 -NOM Grandpa-TOP die -PFV-DECL do:so-PFV-RETROS-DET

kôci -ûi kû nun-esô nunmul-ûl ccuk
beggar-GEN such eye-LOC tear -ACC continuously

hûlli -tû -la -ku
shed-RETROS-DECL-COMP

73. kûlû -myônsô halapôci sanso-ka ôtiss -nûnya mut -killæ
do:so-SIMUL Grandpa grave-NOM where:exist-INTER ask -CONN

74. næ-ka kû ttæ -sô -nûn cuk-ôss-ta kûlæ -l su -ka
1 -NOM that time-LOC-TOP die-PFV-DECL do:so-ATTR way-NOM

ôps -ko
not:exist-CONN

75. sanso -ka ôps -ku halapôci-nûn kû inminkun -tûl-e
graveyard-NOM not:exist-CONN Grandpa-TOP like North:Korean:army-PL-LOC

ûihæ -sô napchi -tanghæ-sô puk -ccok-ûlu
attribute-CONN kidnapping-undergo-CONN north-side-toward

ka -si -ôss -ta
go -HONOR-PFV-DECL

76. kûlæsô kû kûci -ka nunmul-ûl hûlli -nûn kô -l næ-ka
so the beggar-NOM tear -ACC shed-ATTR thing-ACC 1 -NOM

po -kusô
see-CONN

uli halapôci-yamalla cham kûlisûto-ûi cõngsin-ûl
1PL Grandpa-indeed really Christ -GEN spirit -ACC

silchôn-ha -si -ku
practice-do-HONOR-CONN

cham ôlmana witæ -ha-n salm-ûl sal -ûsi -ôss -nûnka
really how greatness-do-ATTR life -ACC live-HONOR-PFV-DUB

77. yocûm kôci -ûi nunmul-ûl mantû-nûn canglo-ka ôtiss -ô ?
these:days beggar-GEN tear -ACC make -ATTR elder -NOM where:exist-IND

78. puhûng kangsa -tûl -i manhi wa -sô yehwa -lûl tûl -ciman
restoration speaker-pl -NOM many come-CONN example-ACC take-CONCESS

kû yehwa -nûn mwô ton -ûl manhi pôl -ôsô sipilco-lûl cal
the example-TOP what money-ACC much gain-CONN tithing-ACC well

næ -ss -tû -ni puca -ka twæ -ss -ta
offer-PFV-RETROS-DET rich:man-NOM become-PFV-DECL

kû chukpok pat -nûn yæki -tûl -man ha -si -ciman
like blessing receive-ATTR story -PL-only do-HONOR-CONCESS

79. kôci -ûi nunmul-ûl mantû-n canglo-ûi yæki-lûl ha-nûn kûlûn
beggar-GEN tear -ACC make -ATTR elder -GEN story-ACC do-ATTR such

moksanim -ûn na-n acik mos pw -ass -ô -yo
pastor -lord-TOP 1 -TOP yet NEG(IMPOT) see-PFV-IND-DEF

80. kûnlæ uli kyohoe-ka mwô chukpok -ûl pat -ki..
recently 1PL church -NOM what blessing -ACC receive-NOML..

chukpok-man -ûl pat -ki wihæsô ilûhke cakku ûm
blessing-only -ACC receive-NOMLing for:the:sake:of such over:and:over uhm

chukpok chukpok ilû -ci mal-ko
blessing blessing do:so-NOML stop-CONN

81. cõngmal kûlisûto-ûi cõngsin-ûn kû kôci -ûi nunmul-ûl
really Christ -GEN spirit -TOP such beggar-GEN ear -ACC

mantû-n uli -ûi halapôci -yamalla sunsu-ha-n salang-ûl cham
make -ATTR 1PL-GEN Grandp -indeed purity -do-ATTR love -ACC really

pephu -nûn salang-ûl silchôn -ha -nûn kûlûhan kyohoe-lu
bestow-ATTR love -ACC practice-do-ATTR such church-OBL

tol -a -ka-ya toe -ci anh -kess -na
turn-CONN- go-NECESS become-NOML NEG:do-PROJ-INDET

na-nûn nûl ilûhke sængkak-ûl ha-myônsô
1 -TOP always such thought -ACC do-SIMUL

82. halapôci-ûi cham kû kûlisûto-ûi cõngsin-tælu sal -a po-laku
Grandpa-GEN really such Christ -GEN spirit -as live-CONN see-PURP

æ -ssû -si -n kû mosûp tto nala -lûl
efforts-spend-HONOR-ATTR like appearance also nation-ACC

[Translation]

1. Your Greatgrandpa lived his life according to his faith.
2. Even though he was a farmer who hadn't received any formal education, he was the kind of person who lived his life practicing the spirit of Jesus.
3. For instance, he never turned away from poor people,
4. and he helped them all the time,
5. and he comforted people in grief,
6. and when someone brought a hard problem, he always tried to solve it.
7. Furthermore, if a beggar slept outside in the cold of winter, he even offered to let him sleep under his own bed so that he wouldn't freeze to death.
8. Even though he hadn't received any formal education, he learned to understand the Bible by himself just by reading it so many times,
9. and he prayed a lot,
10. and he read the Bible over and over.
11. So he had as precise and reliable an understanding of the Bible as any theologian or pastor.

12. His faith was a very traditional one, I would say.
13. It was when I was young,
14. but Grandpa would read the Bible every morning at dawn,
15. and he frequently read hymns as well.
16. He didn't sing the hymns with the melodies,
17. but he just read the hymn-words just like reading the Bible.
18. So I think he gained some kind of inspiration by reading the words to the hymns just as he gained pleasure from reading the Bible.
19. In fact, the Bible is literature that was written a long time ago -- around 2,000 years ago,
so there are certain things that are hard for us to understand today,
20. but hymns are like poems that modern people write as their profession or confession of their faith through some kind of inspiration, aren't they?
21. Just as the Bible was written with inspiration from God,
hymnal words are also written with inspiration.
22. The words to the hymns explain and witness God better to modern people than the Bible does, making it easier for them to understand him.
23. I learned that from Grandpa.
24. And Grandpa built churches wherever he went.
25. He built a church at Kapyung,
26. and he built another when he moved to Udo.
27. But he did not build the churches with help from other people.
28. Instead, he did not spare any of his wealth,
29. and he moulded with his own hands,
30. and he cut out soil,
31. and he made the roofs by himself.

32. After building churches this way,
he started ministering.
33. He didn't minister just by telling people to "believe in Jesus and go to heaven",
34. but he ministered through his life, that is, by bestowing love to other people so
that people were touched in their hearts and came to feel that they wanted to
believe in Jesus and live like Grandpa.
35. And he avoided any waste,
36. and he lived frugally.
37. How frugal he was.
38. When he saw grains like bean seeds, millet ears, rice, etc. dropped on the street,
he would pick them up and put them in his pocket and bring them to feed the
chickens.
39. So when we washed his clothes, we would find all kinds of grain,
40. we would find uhm, millet, bean, red bean, all kind of grains in his pocket.
41. And when he found something like a rock on the street,
he always moved it aside so that children would not trip over it.
42. Therefore, Grandpa was a person that lived for other people rather than for
himself.
43. Wouldn't you agree that this is just the way to live up to the principles of Christ?
44. Uh, and Grandpa prayed a lot,
45. and his prayer, because it was so inspired, was always answered.
46. If he saw somebody who was sick,
he always went to him and prayed for him,
47. then when Grandpa prayed,
the sick man would be healed.
48. Uh, and Grandpa was very patriotic.
49. So if someone asked me who was the greatest patriot in our country,
I would not hesitate to answer that it's your greatgrandpa.

50. Grandpa didn't come to believe in Jesus because he wanted to go to heaven or be blessed, but for another reason.
51. It is said that when a missionary asked him to believe in Jesus, he asked him whether our country would be liberated if he believed in Jesus.
52. The missionary said, "If you pray to God, God will hear and grant your wishes.
53. If you pray to God eagerly, your country will become independent."
54. When the missionary answered in this way, Grandpa said, "If my country can be independent, I'll be happy to believe in Jesus."
55. So you see, he came to believe in Jesus so that our country could be independent, not just to go to heaven and be blessed.
56. That's how pure and strong Grandpa's patriotism was.
57. And yet, even though our country would become independent, would they make Grandpa a minister or president or anything?
58. Though he was just a country man who had little to gain from our country's independence, he was so eager for it that he decided to believe in Jesus.
59. So when we were liberated at 8.15, and Grandpa heard that Japan had surrendered and Korea was liberated, he danced around at the church yard.
60. Not caring about being put to shame by neighbors, he just danced around.
61. And even though it has already been 30 years since he died, I can still remember vividly his dancing for joy at the independence of our country.
62. I think Grandpa's quiet love for our country is real patriotism without any affectation.
63. As for the actual independence of our country, of course it was gained as a result of the ardent overseas activities of Dr. Lee Seungman and many others.
64. But sometimes I really feel like saying that the independence of our country was

God's answer to Grandpa's prayer.

65. How eagerly would Grandpa, who came to believe in Jesus for the sake of independence, pray for that independence with tears in his eyes?
66. I think it was because he prayed so sincerely for the independence of the country throughout his life that his prayer was answered and Korea gained its independence.
67. There was a beggar whom Grandpa loved,
68. and to whom he used to offer a bed in the cold of winter.
69. I met the beggar in Chunchon station
when I was coming home as an officer after the upheaval of 6.25.
70. I was surprised when a beggar turned to me
and said that Grandpa had disappeared.
71. With a gesture like this.
72. So I told him that Grandpa had died,
and he cried and cried.
73. And he asked me where Grandpa's grave was.
74. So then I couldn't say Grandpa had died.
75. So I told him that since he had been taken captive by the North Korean army
there was no grave for him.
76. So seeing the beggar cry,
I realized that Grandpa had really lived a great life according to the principles of
Christ.
77. We don't find such an elder these days who moves a beggar to tears.
78. In their summons, pastors tell many stories about people who offered one-tenth
of their riches to the church and are blessed in return.
79. But I've never heard a pastor tell about an elder who has moved a beggar to
tears.
80. I think today's church should not emphasize so much receiving blessings as a
reward,

81. but should return to the spirit of Christ which emphasizes bestowing pure love on people like Grandpa, who moved the beggar to tears.
82. I would like had down to all the generation to come, Grandpa's efforts to live a life following the spirit of Christ, his genuine patriotism, and his thorough thriftiness.
83. And I think all generations to come should follow his examples and preserve his principles for ever and ever.

Telephone conversation 1: Jan. 31, 1986 between Father and Hyo

1. F: hai, sapporoya -desu
Yes Sapporoya -be
2. H: cô -nte -yo
1 -CIRCUM -DEF
3. F: ûng
Yes
4. H: hansangi -hanthe yônlak ôps -ôss -ô -yo?
Hansang -from contack not:exist -PFV -IND -DEF
5. F: ôps -nûnte
not:exist -CIRCUM
6. H: ûûng i nyôsôk ôttôhke toe -n kô -ci?
eh-eh this fellow how become -ATTR thing -JUDG
7. F: ûng?
what?
8. H: ôttôhke toe -n kô -ci?
how become -ATTR thing -JUDG
9. F: kûlôke mal -i -a
so word -be -IND
10. paru ka -ss -na?
directly go -PFV -INDET
11. H: kôki o -ci mal -la -ku côn hwa o -ass -nûnte
there come -NOML stop-IMPER-COMP call come -PFV -CIRCUM
12. F: kûlôke mal -i -a
so word -be -IND
13. o -ci mal -la kûlô -nûnte
come -NOML stop -IMPER do:so -CIRCUM

mwô yôn lak -i toe -ya -ci
what contack -NOM become -NECESS -JUDG
14. H: ne --
I:see

15. mun tat -ass -ô -yo?
door close -PFV -IND -DEF
16. F: ûng?
what
17. H: ta kkûthna -ss -ô -yo?
all finish -PFV -IND -DEF
18. F: ûng kôcin kûthna ka.
ah almost finish go:IND
19. H: ne al -ass -ô -yo
I:see know -PFV -IND -DEF
20. F: ûng.
O.K

[Translation]

1. F: Yes, this is Sapporoya.
2. H: It's me
3. F: What is it?.
4. H: Hasn't Hansang called yet?
5. F: No.
6. H: (I wonder) What's happened to him?
7. F: What?
8. H: (I wonder) What's happened to him?
9. F: I know.
10. I wonder if he went right away.
11. H: But, they called to tell him not to come.
12. F: I know.
13. They called to tell him not to come, but
(what we're gonna do) we can't reach him.
14. H: I see.
15. Have you closed [the restaurant] yet?
16. F: What?
17. H: Are you through?
18. F: Uhuh, almost
19. H: I see. That's it.
20. F: O.K.

Telephone conversation 2: Feb. 1, 1986, between Father and Hyo.

1. H: yôpo-se -yo
2 -HONOR:IND -DEF
2. F: yôpo-se -yo
2 -HONOR:IND -DEF
3. H: ne
yes
4. F: hyosang -i -ni?
Hyosang -be -INTER
5. H: ne.
yes
6. F: hansangi ilôna -ss -ni?
Hansang get:up -PFV -INTER
7. H: naka -ss -nûnte -yo
go:out -PFV -CIRCUM -DEF
8. F: naka -ss -ô?
go:out -PFV -IND
9. H: ne.
yes
10. F: ôti -lu?
where-OBL
11. H: molû -kess -ô -yo.
not:know -PROJ -IND -DEF
12. mwô kyohoe ka -n -ta kûlô -tô -nka
what church go -UNB=NPST -DECL do:so -RETROS-DUB
13. F: kyohoe?
church
14. H: wæ -yo?
why -DEF

15. F: ani kuksu -ka ttôl -ô ci -ôss -nûnte
 no noodle-NOM run:out -CONN become -PFV -CIRCUM
 kuksu yæki -lûl an ha -ni ...
 noodle story -ACC NEG do -DET
16. H: al -a -yo?
 know -IND -DEF
17. F: molû -ci.
 not:know -JUDG
18. kyæ -ka ôce cônhoa -lûl an hæ -ss -ta -ku.
 that:child -NOM yesterday phonw -ACC NEG do -PFV -DECL -COMP
19. na kûlæsô achim -e kkæu -ki -ka ..
 1 be:so morning -LOC wake:up -NOML -NOM
 nômu nûcke tûl -ô o -n kô kath -esô
 too ate enter -CONN come -ATTR thing same-CONN
 an kkæu -ku
 NEG wake:up-CONN
 ci -ka cônhoa -ha -ki -l palæ -ss -ci.
 self -NOM phone -do-NOML -ACC expect -PFV -JUDG
20. kyohoe cônhoa pônho a -ni?
 church phone number know -INTER
21. H: molû -kess -ô.
 notLknow -PROJ -IND
22. mwô kyohoe .. kyohoe -nci mwô ôc'ô -nci cal
 what church church -SUSP what blabla-SUSP well
 molû -kess -nûnte
 not:know-PROJ -CIRCUM
23. F: kyohoe il -lu naka -n -ta kûlæ?
 church work -for go:ou. -UNB=PRS -DECL do:so
24. H: talûn salam -hanthe cônhoa o -myônûn
 other person-from call come -COND

kyohoe ka -n -ta -ku kûlô -la -ku
church go-UNB=PRS -DECL -COMP do:so -IMPER -COMP

kûlô -tû -nte
do:so -RETROS -CIRCUM

25. F: ûûng kûlæ?
I:see do:so

26. al -ass -ô kûlôm
know -PFV -IND then

27. H: onûl.. onûl sû -l kôs -tu ôps -ô -yo?
today today use -ATTR thing -ADD not:exist -IND -DEF

28. F: cikûm ôps -ô hûhûhû
now not:exist -IND huhhhh

29. H: côlôn.
be:so

30. F: al -ass -ô
know -PFV -IND

31. næ -ka hæ po -lkke
1 -NOM do see -VOL

32. H: ne.
all:right

[Translation]

1. H: Hello.
2. F: Hello.
3. H: Yes.
4. F: Is this Hyosang?
5. H: Yes.
6. F: Has Hansang got up?
7. H: He's gone out.
8. F: He has gone out?
9. H: Uhuh.
10. F: Where?
11. H: I don't know.
12. Did he say he would go to the church?

13. F: Church?
14. H: What's the matter?
15. F: Ah, we ran out of noodles, and then
(he is supposed to but) he didn't say anything about it ...(I don't know
what happened).
16. H: Does he know?
17. F: Of course he doesn't know.
18. (He's supposed to call, but) he didn't call yesterday.
19. So I, I didn't want to wake him up ..
Because he seemed to come home late,
I didn't wake him up, and
I hoped that he would call.
20. Do you know the church's phone number?
21. H: I don't know.
22. I don't know if he said church.. church or something else.
23. F: Did he say he went for church work?
24. H: He told me to tell he would go to the church, if anybody calls .
25. F: Did he say so?
26. O.K. then.
27. H: Today.. no noodles even for today?
28. F: no noodles now, huhhhh.
29. H: (Symphathetically) That's what it is?
30. F: It's all right.
31. I will try it by myself.
32. H: O.K.

[K&H] : a conversation between Kyuheon and Hyosang.

[Situation]

K(yuheon) is visiting H(yosang) from Korea. Entering H's apartment, H jokingly told K that he bought a bed for K. K enters the room first. H follows him, carrying a bag. K saw a bed in the room. (M is Mother.)

1. K: i -kô côn -puthô iss -tô -n kô kath -ûnte?
this-thing before-from exist -RETROS-ATTR thing same-CIRCUM

2. H: ô?
what

3. K: côn -e puthô iss -tô -n kô kath -ûnte?
before-LOC from exist-RETROS-ATTR thingh same-CIRCUM

4. H: ai kû -kô -nûn wônlae iss -nûn kô -ku
u'uh that-thing-TOP originally exist-ATTR thing-CONN

5. K: ûûng.
I:see

(Now K sees H carrying a bag)

6. i -ke mwô-i -a
this-thing:NOM what-be-IND

7. H: chimtæ.
bed

8. K: hahaha yacôn -chimtæ(hana....)
hahaha outdoor-bed (one.....)

9. H: huhhh
huhhh

10. K: ai ilôn kô an cu -ôtu toe -nûnte
ai such thing NEG give-CONCESS become-CIRCUM

11. H: hihi
hihi

12. K: na-n patak-i coh -tæ -ni -kka -n
1 -TOP floor -NOM good-DECL-DET-INTER -TOP

13. H: nol -lô ka -llaku sa -ss -ci mwô
play-PURP go -PURP buy-PFV-JUDG what

14. K: ilôn ke hana iss -ûmûn coh -kess -ta cûngmal
 such thing:NOM one exist-COND good-PROJ-DECL really
- (H begins unpacking the bag)
15. colip -ha-llæ -mûn him com ssô -ya ha-nûnte
 assembly-do-PURP-COND strength a:little spend-NECESS do-CIRCUM
16. K: ilce kath -ûnte ?
 Japanese:product same-CIRCUM
- 17.H: ûng ? an -i -lkôl.
 what NEG-be-PRESUM
18. K: an -i -a ?
 NEG -be-IND
19. yamaha ôccô -ku ssô iss -nûn kô kath -ûnte ?
 Yamaha something-COMP write:CONN exist-ATTR thing same-CIRCUM
20. colip -ha-ku ilô -nûn kô -mûn tto ...
 assembly-do-CONN do:such-ATTR thing-COND again
- (H and K assemble the bed)
21. K: i chimtæ-lûl.. ka iss -ûllæ -mûn
 this bed -ACC NOM exist-PURP-COND
- i chimtæ-ka tûl -ô ka-l man -ha-n thenthû-lûl
 this bed -NOM enter-CONN go-ATTR worth-do-ATTR tent -ACC
- sa -ss -ôya toe -l kô an -i -a?
 buy-PFV-NECESS become-ATTR thing NEG-be-IND
22. H: thenthû?
 tent
23. thenthû-tu sa -ya -ci
 tent -ADD buy -NECESS-JUDG
24. i -kô tto him -ûl ssô -ya twæ tto
 this-thing again strength-ACC spend-NECESS become:IND again
25. K: næ-ka nulû -ô cu -lkke.
 1 -NOM press-CONN give-INT

26. H: twæ -ss -ô
become-PFV-IND
27. K: ûûng
I:see
28. H: kûnte an toe -kess -ta nô -nûn
and:yet NEG become-PROJ-DECL 2 -TOP
29. K: wæ?
why
30. H: cak -ôso
small-CONN
31. K: mwô-ka cak -ô
what-NOM small-IND
32. H: næ khi -e machu-ôso sa -ss -kôllang
1:GEN height -LOC match -CONN buy-PFV-CORREL
33. K: hhng, ûûng i -kô tto tta.. pal nao -nûn kô an -i -a?
hhng I:see this-thing again tta.. foot come:out-ATTR thing NEG-be-IND
34. ûng? hhh
right hhh
35. nô, ô.. aph -nal-i ôttôhke toe -i cul al -ku
2 wha.. future-day-NOM how become-ATTR way know-CONN
ni khi -e machu-ôso sa -n kô -i -a tæche,
2:GEN height-LOC match -CONN buy-ATTR thing-be-IND on:earth,
ûng?
hung
36. ûng? i -hyo -sang?
hey Lee-Hyo-Sang
37. ôttôn yôca -lûl.. ôt -ûl cul al -ku
which woman-ACC gain -ATTR way know-CONN
ni khi -e machu-ôso sa -n kô -i -a?
you:GEN height-LOC match -CONN buy-ATTR thing-be-IND

(K trying to assemble one of the legs)

38. i -kô -n wôn-læ hwi -ô iss -nûn kô -nka?
this-thing-TOP originally bend-CONN exist-ATTR thing-DUB

39. H: ûng
yes

40. K: nollæ -la
be:surprised-INTROS

41. næ-ka tto ilôhke him -i se -nka hæ-ass-ci
1 -NOM again such strength-NOM strong-DUB do -PFV-JUDG

42. ûung i -cook-ûlu mil -ôya toe -n -ta
I:see this-side -toward push-NECESS become-UNB=NPST-DECL

i -kô -ci
this-thing-JUDG

(Having finished assembling the bed)

42. K: Ah hulyunghae
ah wonderful:IND

43. Handy Bed-la -ku ssô nwa -ss -ôss-tô -n
Handy Bed-INTROS-COMP write:CONN leave-PFV-PFV-RETROS-ATTR

kô -kuna
thing-ULM

(K trying to lie down on the bed)

44. K: ahyu.
oh:dear

45. H: mocalla -ci anh -a?
lack -NOML NEG:so -IND

(K stretching his body)

46. K: ahyu kkok tûlôka-ne.
oh:dear just enter -FR

47. nô -e machu -n kô -n an -i -nte
you -LOC match -ATTR thing -TOP NEG -be-CIRCUM

48. ûung
I:see

49. tul -i ca -ki -n himtûl-kess -ta
two-NOM sleep-NOML-TOP hard -PROJ-DECL
50. H: tul -i mos ca -ci
two-NOM NEG(IMPOT) sleep-JUDG
51. K: hhng
hhng
52. H: alæ wi-chûng ca -mûn toe -ci
down up-floor sleep-COND become-JUDG
53. K: hhng tul -i mos ca -i kô kath....
hhng two-NOM not(IMPOT) sleep-ATTR thing sam...
54. H: os phyônha -ke ip -ôla
clothes comfortable-RESUL wear-IMPER
55. K: phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i ôps -ô
comfortable-RESUL wear-ATTR clothes-NOM not:exist-IND
56. H: phyônha -ke ip -ûl os -i ôps -ô?
comfortable-RESUL wear-ATTR clothes-NOM not:exist-IND
57. K: os phyônha -ke ip -ûlæ
clothes comfortable-RESUL wear-IMPER:IND
58. H: ôps -ô?
not:exist-IND
59. K: ûng
yes
60. H: i -kô ip -ô kûlôm.
this-thing put:on-IMPER then
61. K: næ-ka iss -nûn cul al -ass -tû -ni ...
1 -NOM exist -ATTR way know-PFV-RETROS-DET
62. H: i -kô tôu-l thô -i -nte
this-thing hot-ATTR expectation-be-CIRCUM
63. K: iss -nûn cul al -ass -tû -ni
exist-ATTR way know-PFV-RETROS-DET

- i -ccok kapang-e hana-tu an nôh -ô o -ass -ô
 this-side bag -LOC one -ADD NEG put:in-CONN come-PFV-IND
64. H: i -kô -nûn ilôhke kaci-ku i -kô...
 this-thing-TOP like:this take-CONN this-thing
65. K: ani i -kô -n mwô-i -a?
 no this-thing-TOP what-be-IND
66. H: kkûn
 belt
67. K: panpaci cu -la panpaci
 short:pants give-IMPER short:pants
68. H: panpaci -ka mac-nya nô -hanthe
 short:pants-NOM fit -INTER 2-DAT
69. K: wæ?
 why
70. H: ûm
 um
71. K: cak -ta -n yæki-i -a khû-ta -n yæki-i -a
 small-DECL-ATTR story -be-IND big -DECL-ATTR story-be-IND
72. H: cak -ci
 small-JUDG
- (H gives K a shirt)
73. K: ah ustoli?
 ah shirt
74. H: ûng.
 right
75. K: ah i -kô hancham cikûm sængkak-hæ-ss -ne
 ah this-thing for:a:while now thought -do -PFV-FR
76. H:

77. K: i -kô -l ôttôhke ... ôttôhke ôti -ka t.. tali-ka
 this-thing-ACC how... how where-NOM ent.. leg-NOM

- tûlôka-nûn te -nka ha-ku.
enter -ATTR pice-DUB do-COMP
78. panpaci -ka wæ an toe -lkka?
short:pants-NOM why not become-DUB
79. H: panpaci ip -ô po.. ip -ô po -læ -mûn
short:pants wear-CONN se.. wear-CONN see-PURP-COND
- ip -ô po -a
wear-CONN see-IND
80. panpaci -tu ôps -ô na-n sasil
short:pants-ADD not:exist-IND 1 -TOP in:fact
81. K: panpaci ôps -ûmûn suyôngpok-i -la -tu...
short:pants not:exist-COND swim:suit -be-IRREAL-ADD
- (K trying to put on H's short pants).
82. K: tûlôka-nûnte?
enter -CIRCUM
83. H: an mac-ûlkôl
NEG fit -PRESUM
84. K: wæ?
why
85. ni-ka na-pota khû-ci anh -na?
2 -NOM 1 -than tall -NOML NEG:do -INDET
86. nô hôli na-pota khû-ci anh -ô?
2 waist 1 -than big -NOML NEG:do -IND
- (Realizaing that the pants are too small)
87. ôhyu i -kô
gosh this-thing
88. H: mac-ni
fit -INTER
89. K: i -kô nômu yaha -ci anh -ô?
this-thing too showy-NOML NEG:so -IND

90. hhh, ai i -kô tto
hhh oh:dear this-thing again
91. ai sinkyông-ssû -i -ne
oh:dear nerve -spend -PASS-FR
92. H: pulphyôn -ha-ci anh -ô, kkok co -i -ôsô?
discomfort-do-NOML NEG:do -IND tightly tighten-PASS-CONN
93. K: cosim -hæ-ya toe -kess -ne i -kô.
carefulness-do-NECESS become-PROJ-FR this-thing
94. ahyu tto nômu yaha -ci anh -ô?
oh:dear again too revealing-NOML NEG:do -IND
95. H: nômu yaha -n kô kath -æ? hihi
too revealing -ATTR thing same-IND hihi
- (Pointing a mirror)
96. côi po -a
over:there see -IMPER
97. yaha -n kô -i -a?
recvealing -ATTR thing-be-IND
98. K: nômu yaha -n kô kath -æ
too revealing-ATTR thing same-IND
99. ya nô
hey 2
100. H: wæ?
why
101. K: hôli myôch -i -a?
waist how:much-be-IND
102. H: thuôni-nain
twenty-nine
103. K: mac-ûl kô kath -ûnte
fit -ATTR thing same-CIRCUM
104. na-tu kû -kô pakk-e an toe -nûnte
1 -ADD that-thing only -LOC NEG become-CIRCUM

(H seeing K having trouble)

105. H: wæ? an twæ?

why NEG become:IND

106. K: wæ coe -ci i -kô wæ?

why tighten-JUDG this-thing why

107. H: a kû -kô -nûn i-sip-phal-i -l kô -ta

ah that -thing -TOP 2-10 -8 -be-ATTR thing-DECL

108. K: ûûng

I:see

109. H: panpaci -ka ôps -ô na -tu

short:pants -NOM not:exist -IND 1 -ADD

110. panpaci sa -ya twæ

short:pants buy -NECESS become:IND

(Having put on the shortpants)

111. K: ûûng twæ -ss -û

I:see become-PFV-IND

112. næ-ka i -kô -l mwô ip -ku

1 -NOM this -thing-ACC what wear-CONN

ca -kess -ta -n yæki -n an -i -ni -kka

sleep-PROJ-DECL-ATTR story -TOP NEG -be-DET-INTER

113. twæ -ss -û

become-PFV-IND

(K Picking up the shirt)

114. na-l mwô -l cu -ôss -ci?

1 -ACC what -ACC give-PFV -JUDG

115. H: mwô lônning syassû iss -ûmûn

what running shirt exist -COND

ip -ûl philyo -ôps -ci mwô

wear-ATTR need -not:exist -JUDG what

116. kû -kôs -tu lônning syassû -nte

that -thing -ADD running shirt -CIRCUM

117. K: kûlsse wæ i -kô -l cu -ôss -ûlkka
well why this -thing -ACC give -PFV -DUB

cikûm sængkak -ûl ha -ku
now thought -ACC do -CONN

118. ahyu
oh:dear

(K going toward the computer)

119. cal iss -kuna mækhenthosi -nûn
well exist -ULM McIntosh -TOP

119. H: næ -ka hankûl iss -ta -n yæki hæ -ss -na?
1 -NOM Korean exist -DECL -ATTR story do -PFV -IND

120. K: yôki?
here

121. H: ûng
right

122. K: ani
no

123. H: an hæ -ss -ô?
NEG do -PFV -IND

124. hankûl iss -ci anh -a
Korean exist -NOML NEG:do -IND

125. K: po -ca -ku
see -PROP-COMP

(Having heard some sound, K going toward the stereo system)

126. H: ûng?
what

127. mwô -ha -llaku?
what -do -PURP

128. K: ani cikûm yôki -sô soli -na -nûn kô an -i -a?
nothing now here -LOC sound -arise -ATTR thing NEG-be-IND

129. H: an -i -a
NEG-be -IND

130. K: nokûm -ha -nûn kô -i -a?
record -do -ATTR thing -be -IND

131. H: ûng
right

132. K: ûûng
I:see

133. H: næ [dæ:ɹa] com moû -nûlaku
1:GEN data a:little collect -due:to

134. K: a [dæ:ɹa]
ah [dæ:ɹa]

135. [dæ:ɹa]-la -ku -n kûlô -ci anh -ni?
[dæ:ɹa]-DECL-COMP-TOP call:so-NOML NEG:do-INTER

136. ôti -ka [dæ:ɹa]-la -ku kûlô -ci?
where-NOM [dæ:ɹa]-DECL-COMP call:so-JUDG

(K taking out a cigarette)

137. K: ilyôn-ûl phiu -ô po -si -lkka
cigar-ACC smoke-CONN see-HONOR-DUB

138. hankûl -i iss -ta -ni?
Korean-NOM exist -DECL-INTER

(H goes out to get an ash tray and comes back without finding one. K is holding a small paper box)

139. K: wæ? cættôli yôki iss -ta
why ash:tray here exist -DECL

140. H: iss -ô?
exist -IND

141. K: yôki -ta ha-mûn twæ
here-LOC do -COND become:IND

142. H: kû -kô an coh -a
that -thing NEG good -IND

143. K: yôki -ta ha -mûn twæ
here-LOC do -COND become:IND
144. hullyungha-n cættôli -ka toe -ci
wonderful -ATTR ash:tray-NOM become-JUDG
145. hankûl -i nao -ta -ni?
Korean-NOM come:out-DECL-INTER
146. H: hankûl
Korean
147. hankûl word processing
Korean word processing
148. K: nu -ka mantû-n kô -i -a?
who-NOM make -ATTR thing-be-IND
149. H: yôki iss -nûn salam -i mantûl- ôss -ci
here exist -ATTR person-NOM make -PFV-JUDG
150. K: ssiphal
shit
151. M: hyosang -a
Hyosang-VOC
152. H: yæ
Yes
153. M: cættôli
ash:tray
154. K: i -kô -i yôki iss -nûnte
this-thing -ACC here exist -CIRCUM
155. H: yôki -ta hæ
here-LOC do:IMPER
- (H showing K a key board illustration of Korean on the MacIntosh computer.)
156. H: ike phan an -i -a Hankûl phan.
this:nom board NEG-be -IND Korean board.
157. ca mwôl.. mwô -la -ku ssû -ku siph -ô?
well what what -INTRO-COMP write-CONN want -IND

158. K: sa -n kô -i -a kûlæsô?
bought-ATTR thing -be-IND so
159. H: ûng?
what
160. K: sa -n kô -i -a?
bought -ATTR thing-be-IND
161. H: ûûng
right
162. K: ôlma?
how:much
163. H: chil-sip-pul -i -nka
7 -10-dollar-be-DUB
164. K: ôlma?
how:much
165. H: chil-sip-pul
7 -10-dollar
166. K: ssi ah ilô -ni
shoot well be:so-DET
- cangsa -ka toe -kess -ô?
business -NOM become-PROJ-IND
167. chil-sip-pul -i -la
7 -10-dollar-be-INTROS
168. hankûl word processing-ûl uli -ka ôlma -e pha-na?
Korean word processing-ACC we -NOM how:much-LOC sell-INDET
- (K looking at the font selection)
169. K: sôul
Seoul
170. sôul phyocun -kûlca -i -a
Seoul standard -character-be-IND
171. H: ûng
right

172. K: kúlca moyang -ûn?
character shape -TOP
- (H typing some Korean characters)
173. K: ûûng kû -kô cham, kûlssi -che ...
I:see that -thing really calligraphy-style
174. H: i -kôs -tu iss -ku
this -thing -ADD exist-CONN
175. K: ceil ippû -n kô han pôn ...
most pretty -ATTR thing one time
176. H: i -ke ceil ippû -n kô -i -a
this -thing:NOM most pretty-ATTR thing -be-IND
177. kholian, i -ke ceil môncô nao -n
Korean this-thing:NOM most ahead come:out-ATTR
- kô -kôtun
thing-CORREL
178. kûnte i -ke kûlssi.. kûlssi moyang -i an
and:yet this-thing:NOM calligraphy calligraphy shape -NOM not
- ippô kaci -ku
pretty:CONN take -CONN
- i -kô -llu pakku -n kô -la -ku
this -thing-with change-ATTR thing -INTRO-COMP
179. K: ûûng, mo -a ssû -ki an -i -a
I:see gather -CONN write -NOML NEG-be-IND
180. H: i -kô -nûn ...
this-thing -TOP
181. næ-ka i -kô cotû -lûl ic -ô
1 -NOM this -thing code-ACC forget-CONN
- pô -li -ôss -na?
throw:away-CAUS-PFV-INDET
182. i -kô næ-ka ic -ô pôli -ôss -ta
this-thing I -NOM forget -CONN throw:away-PFV-DECL

183. K: hwamyôn -i nômu cak -kuna côngmal
screen -NOM too small -ULM really
184. H: i -kô hwamyôn-i com cak -ûn ke hûm -i -ci
this-thing screen -NOM a:little small-ATTR thing:NOM defect -be-JUDG
185. K: hwamyôn cak -ke mantû-n iyu -ka resolution -i an
screen small-RESUL make -ATTR reason-NOM resolution -NOM not

coh -asô kûlæ
good-CONN be:so:IND
186. H: khû-ke ha -myônûn an coh -ci anh -ni?
big -RESUL do -COND NEG good -NOML NEG:do -INTER
187. K: khû-ke ha -myônûn an coh -ci
big -RESUL do -COND NEG good-JUDG
188. kûh -ci
be:so -JUDG
189. kû -ni -kka cak -aya sônmyông-ha-ci anh -a?
be:so-DET-INTER small-NECESS clear -do-NOML NEG:do -IND
190. H: i -kô -n cikûm ccik..i -kô -llu ccik -ô kaci -ku
this-thing-TOP now prin.. this-thing-OBL print-CONN take -CONN

reduce -ha -n kô -kôtûn
reduce -do -ATTR thing-CORREL
191. K: ûûng
I:see
192. H: i -ke ince wônpon-i -ku
this -thing:NOM now original -be-CONN
193. i -kôs -tu wônpon-i -ku
this-thing-ADD original -be-CONN
194. K: i côngto-mûn phal-sip-pul ha-i man -ha-ci
this extent -COND 8 -10 -dollar do-ATTR worth-do-JUDG
195. H: i -ke a korean-i -ku
this-thing:NOM ah Korean -be-CONN

196. i -ke sôul -i -la -ku
this-thing:NOM Seoul -be-INTROS-COMP
197. K: ûông kûlôh -ci
I:see be:so -JUDG
198. i côngto nao -nûn PC -myôn uli -nala -esô -tu ...
this extent come:out-ATTR PC -COND 1PL-country-LOC-ADD
199. H:
.....
200. K: kûlô -ni -kka ssaum-ûl ha-llæ -ni -kka
be:so-DET-INTER fight -ACC do-PURP-DET-INTER
- phikon -ha-ci
tiredness-do-JUDG
201. minimôm sa -pæk -man. wôn côngto?
minimum four-hundred-ten:thousand won or:so
201. ilpan phissi nao -nûn kô ilpan phissi nao -nûn kô
general PC come:out-ATTR thing general PC come:out-ATTR thing
- i -pôn kô ... han sam -sip -man wôn
this-time thing around three-ten-ten:thousand won
- ton pæk -man wôn ha -na?
money hundred-ten:thousand won do-INDET
202. ton pæk -man wôn -tu an ha-ci
money hundred-ten:thousand won-ADD NEG do-JUDG
203. kûnte khwôlithi-ka kû -mankhûm chai -ka
and:yet quality -NOM that-as:much difference-NOM
- na -si -nûn kô -ci
come:into:existence-HONOR-ATTR thing-JUDG
204. kû -nikka sasil-ûn phissi -ka an -i -ci
that-because fact -TOP PC -NOM NEG-be-JUDG
205. kû -ni -kka uli -nûn picinissû khômphuthô-la -ku
that-DET-INTER 1PL-TOP business computer -INTROS-COMP

kûlô -ku ...
do:so-CONN

206. H: i -kô -nûn cikûm cô mwô -i -a?
this-thing-TOP now well what-be-IND

207. kû -kô -lûl sa kaci -ku
that-thing-ACC buy take-CONN

næ-ka yô..yôki -ta cip -ô nôh -ûn kô -la -ku
1 -NOM this here-LOC pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-INTROS-COMP

208. næ-ka ssû-nûn word processing program an -etaka
I1 -NOM use -TOP word processing program inside-LOC

hankuk-mal kû fongthû -lûl cip -ô nôh -ûn kô -i -a
Korea -language that font -ACC pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-be-IND

209. K: ôttôhke cip -ô nôh -nûn kô -i -a
how pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-be-IND

210. khotû-lûl cip -ô nôh -nûn kô -i -a
code -ACC pick:up-CONN insert -ATTR thing-be-IND

211. H: kû tto fongthû muvô -ka iss -ô
that again font mover-NOM exist-IND

212. K: kû -ni -kka ûûng
that-DET-INTERR aha

software -lûl cip -ô nôh -nûn kô -i -a?
software-ACC pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-be-IND

213. H: ûng
right

214. K: kû -kô -lûl uli -nûn card -lûl sim -ôss -ta i -kô -ci
that-thing-ACC we-TOP card-ACC plant-PRF-DECL this-thing-JUDG

215. card-lûl pha-n -ta i -kô -ci
card-ACC sell-NPST=UNB-DECL this-thing-JUDG

216. kû -kô -l image-lûl kaci-ku iss -nûn kô -l...
that-thing-ACC image-ACC take-CONN exist-ATTR thing-ACC

217. kûnte kûlcca -ka ...
then letter -NOM
218. H: kûlôh -ci
be:so-JUDG
219. kû -ni -kka hankûl -ûl .. hankûl -i ince ilôn disk an -e
that-DET-INTERR Korean-ACC Korean-NOM now such disk inside-LOC

iss -kôtûn
exist-CORREL
220. K: ûûng
l:see
221. H: kûnte software -lûl ilôn disk an -e nôh -ô
then software-ACC such disk inside-LOC insert-CONN

kaci -ku pha-n -ta -ku
take-CONN sell-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP
222. K: kû -ni -kka i -ccok main memory an -ûlu
that-DET-INTERR this-side main memory inside-toward

olm -ki -ô noh ...
move-CAUS-CONN put
223. H: kû -kô -l olm -ki -ô noh-ôya -ci
that-thing-ACC move-CAUS-CONN put -NECESS-JUDG
224. main... system file an -etaka næ hankûl kû -kô -lûl
main system file inside-LOC 1:GEN Korean that-thing-ACC

kac -taka cip -ô nôh -ôya -ci
take-INTERRUP pick:up-CONN insert-NECESS-JUDG
225. kûnte kû -kô -l cip -ô nôh -nûn ke tto
then that-thing-ACC pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing:NOM also

iss -ta -ku
exist-DECL-COMP
- (H holding his stomach)
226. H: ayu pæ -aph -ô
oh stomach-ache-IND

227. K: yak cu -kka?
medicine give-DUB

228. H: hwacangsil ka-nûn ke choeko-ci
bathroom go-ATTR thing:NOM best -JUDG

(H going into the bathroom)

229. nol -læ -mûn nol -a
play-PURP-COND play-IMPER

230. K: nol -a?
play-IND

231. cikyôp -ta ice -n
tiresome-DECL now-TOP

232. H: cikyôw -ô?
tiresome-IND

233. K: i -kô -lûl ahyu
this-thing-ACC Oo

(H goes into the bathroom).

[Translation]

1. K: It looks like the one that was here before (then what do you mean by you bought a bed for me?).
2. H: what?
3. K: It looks like the one that was here before.
4. H: Oh, that's the old one (I didn't mean that one).
5. K: I see.
(Now K sees H carrying a bag)
6. what's this?
7. H: A bed.
8. K: Hahaha, (you mean) a field bed (one...ZZZZ)
9. H: Huhhhhh
10. K: Hey, you don't have to worry about this kind of thing (Lit. it would be all right even if you don't give me such a thing.)
11. H: Hihi
12. K: Didn't I tell you that I prefer to sleep on the floor?
13. H: Well, I bought it for camping.
14. K: It would be nice to have this kind of thing, really.
(H begins unpacking the bag)
15. Wouldn't we have to put out a lot of strength for assembling it?

16. K: It seems like made-in-Japan, isn't it?
17. H: What? I don't think so.
18. K: It's not?
19. It looks like 'Yamaha' or something is written.
20. I'm experienced of such things as assembling.
(H and K assembles the bed)
21. K: You bought this be.. you were going to have this bed,
then didn't you also have to buy a tent which this bed could go in?
22. H: A tent?
23. Of course, I have to buy a tent too.
24. (As you might be thinking) We have to put forth out our strength for this.
25. K: Let me help by pressing.
26. H: It's all right.
27. K: I see (how it goes).
28. H: By the way, I think you wouldn't be able to use this.
29. K: Why?
30. H: It's too small
31. K: What d'you mean?
32. H: I bought one for my size.
33. K: Huhung, I see, wouldn't it be that my legs stick out of the bed?
34. Wouldn't it? Hhh.
35. Hey, how on earth could you buy one of your size when you don't know
what's going to happen? Uh?
36. Hey, Hyo Sang Lee!
37. You wouldn't know what kind of wife you will get, then how come you bought
one of your size?
- (K trying to assemble one of the legs)
38. Is this originally bent? (I suspect so)
39. H: Yes.
40. K: (Now I'm relieved but) I was scared.
41. I wondered if I were that strong (enough to bend the iron leg).
42. I see, we have to push it to this side (to make it right).
(Having finished assembling the bed.)
42. Ah, it's wonderful.
- (Now K sees what's written on the bed)
43. (Now I realize that) it was 'Handy Bed' that I saw written.
- (K trying to lie down on the bed)
44. K: Oh, dear.
45. H: Isn't it short?
46. K: Oh, dear, (against our expectation) it just fits me.
47. (You said it is for your size, but) It's not for your size.
48. I see.
49. I guess it wouldn't be O.K. for two people.
50. H: No way that two people can sleep on it.
51. K: Huhung.

52. H: It would be all right if one sleeps over the other.
53. K: Huhung, two people cannot sleep on i...
54. H: Why don't you change your clothes into something comfortable?
55. K: I don't have something comfortable.
56. H: You don't have comfortable clothes?
57. K: (Since I unfortunately have only one outfit, I feel it's ironic that) I was told to change my clothes into something comfortable.
58. H: You don't have anything?
59. K: No.
60. H: Try this one then.
61. K: I thought I had another (outfit), then...
62. H: I am afraid these would be too hot (so I wonder if you would mind),
63. K: I thought I had another (outfit), then
(I realized) I didn't put anything in this bag.
64. H: This one, we have to do it like this, and this thing...
65. K: Wait, what is this?
66. H: A belt (what would it be?).
67. K: Give me short pants, I mean, short pants.
68. H: Short pants wouldn't fit, for you (you are irrational to ask for my short pants).
69. K: Why not?
70. H: Um.
71. K: Are you saying they are too small or too big?
72. H: Of course they are too small.
(H gives K a shirt.)
73. K: Ah, a shirt?
74. H: Right.
75. K: Well, I've wondered quite a while (considering the simplicity of the matter to figure out)
76. H:
77. K: How.. How to put on this thin... where the legs go in.
78. Why wouldn't the short pants fit me (I still suspect they might fit in)?
79. H: If you want to try, go ahead.
80. I don't have enough short pants either, in fact.
81. K: If you don't have short pants, even a swim suit is fine....
(K trying for H's short pants)
82. K: It goes in (why you said it wouldn't fit).
83. H: I don't think it does.
84. K: Why?
85. Aren't you bigger than me?
86. Aren't you bigger than me in the waist?
(Realizing that the pants are a bit small)
87. Oh, dear, this thing...
88. H: Does it fit?
89. K: Don't you think this is too revealing?
90. huhuh, oh dear, this thing again ...

91. Oh dear, it makes me nervous.
92. H: Isn't it uncomfortable, because it's too tight?
93. K: I should be careful about this.
94. Oh dear, isn't it too revealing?
95. H: Do you think so, huhuh?
(Pointing a mirror)
96. Look over there.
97. Is it revealing?
98. K: I think it's too revealing.
99. Hey , you.
100. H: What?
101. K: What is your waist size?
102. H: 29.
103. K: (If it's 29, then) I think it would fit (then, I don't understand why it doesn't).
104. My waist is 29 too at most (then what's wrong).
(H seeing K having trouble with the pants)
105. H: What? It's not going in?
106. K: Why is this tightening, for what reason?
107. H: Ah, I think that's 28.
108. K: No wonder.
109. H: I don't have enough short pants, either.
110. I have to buy some.
(K having managed to put on the pants)
111. K: I see. It's all right.
112. It's not like I intend to sleep with this on.
113. It's all right.
(K picking up the shirt)
114. (I believe that you gave me something, then) What did you give me?
115. H: Well, if you have a sweat shirt,
you don't need it.
116. That's a sweat shirt, too.
117. K: Well, now I'm wondering why you gave me this.
118. Oh dear.
(K going toward the computer)
119. It looks all right, your MacIntosh.
119. H: Did I tell that this has Korean?
120. K: Here?
121. H: Right.
122. K: No.
123. H: I didn't?
124. Doesn't it have Korean?
125. K: Let's see.
(Having heard some sound, K going toward a stereo system)
126. H: Wait.
127. What are you trying to do?

128. K: Well, isn't the sound coming from here?
129. H: No, it isn't.
(K sees the microphone is on)
130. K: Are you recording something?
131. H: Yah.
132. K: I see.
133. H: Because I want to collect some data [dæɾɑ]
134. K: Ah, [dæɾɑ].
135. Don't you ever say [dɑɾɑ]?
136. Where do they say [dɑɾɑ]?
(K taking a cigarette)
137. Let me try a cigar.
138. What d'you mean it has Korean.
(H goes out to get an ash tray, and comes back empty handed. K is holding a small paper box)
139. K: What? I got an ash tray.
140. H: You have one?
141. K: This thing is fine.
142. H: That's no good.
143. K: This is fine.
144. This makes a good ash tray.
145. What d'you mean it has Korean.
146. H: Korean (what else?)
147. Korean word processing.
148. K: Who made it?
149. H: Somebody here (in the U.S) did (of course).
150. K: Shit.
151. M: Hyo-Sang!
152. H: Yeah.
153. M: Ash tray...
154. K: Thing thing.. this is fine (then why do you bother?).
155. H: Use this one.
(H showing K a key board illustration of Korean on the Macintosh computer)
156. H: Isn't this the key board, the keyboard for Korean?
157. Let's see, what do you want me to write?
158. K: Did you buy it, this thing?
159. H: What?
160. K: Did you buy it?
161. H: Yes.
162. K: How much is it?
163. H: Was it about \$70?
164. K: How much?
165. H: \$70.
166. K: Shoot! How are we gonna do business against such a deal?

167. Hum, \$70.
168. For how much can we sell a Korean word processing program?
(K looking at the font selection list)
169. Seoul.
170. Is this the Seoul Standard characters?
171. H: Right.
172. K: What about the calligraphy?
(K watching H try some Korean characters)
173. K: I see. This is something... Calligraphy style...
174. H: There is another.
175. K: Give me the prettiest one.
176. H: This is the prettiest one.
177. Korean. This is the one that came out first.
178. Then, the calligraphy styl..this doesn't look nice,
so, they developed this later.
179. K: I see, isn't it automated writing?
180. H: This thing...
181. Have I forgot the code for this thing?
182. Boy, I forgot the code.
183. K: (I realized that) The screen is too small as I heard, really.
184. H: This thing, the small screen is one of the defects.
185. K: The screen is small because the resolution is no good.
186. H: Isn't it no good if it's big?
187. K: It is no good if it's big.
188. Right.
189. It has to be small in order to be clear, Hasn't it?
(H showing a printout)
190. H: Now this thing is print.. it was printed on here (the printer) and reduced.
191. K: I see.
(H showing the original)
192. H: This is the original.
193. This is original too.
194. K: It looks like it deserves \$80.
(H showing various printouts)
195. H: This is 'Korean',
196. and this is 'Seoul'.
197. K: I see, that's right.
198. A PC of this much quality can be, in our country too..
199. H:
200. K: So it is hard to compete on the market.
201. About 4,000,000 won (\$5,000) at minimum?
201. The general PC, the new one.. is about 300,000 won (\$450) or so, no, is it
about 1,000,000 won (\$1,200)?
202. It must be less than 1,000,000 won.
203. And yet, there is a difference in quality.

204. So in fact it is not a PC.
205. So we call it a 'business computer'...,
206. H: This is, uh, what is it?
207. I bought that thing,
and put it in here.
208. In the word processing program that I use, I inserted the Korean font.
209. K: How do you put it in?
210. Do you insert codes?
211. H: Well, there is such a thing called 'font mover'.
212. K: So, I see,
do you insert the software?
213. H: Right.
214. K: We call that 'planting cards'.
215. You mean they sell the cards?
216. The one that has the image?
217. But then the letters are...
218. H: Right.
219. So, Korean.. Korean.. it's on a disk like this.
220. K: I see.
221. H: Then, they sell the software which is stored on the disk.
222. K: So, you mean you have to transfer to the main memory here...
223. H: Right, you have to transfer.
224. Into the main system file, I have to insert my Korean thing.
225. But then, there is an another program that transfers it into the system.
(H holding his stomach)
226. H: Oh dear, I got a stomachache.
227. K: You want some medicine?
228. H: It is best to go to the bathroom.
(H going into the bath room)
229. Play with it, if you like to.
230. K: Play with it?
231. I'm tired of this.
232. H: You're tired of it?
233. K: This thing, oh dear.
(H goes into the bath room.)

Leah 1.

1. oppa -ya, na -i -a na
brother -VOC 1 -be -IND 1
2. næ-ka acu khûn mam môk-ko côm-sim-e chotæ -ha -lyôko
1 -NOM well big mind eat -CONN lunch -LOC invitation-do-PURP

o -ass -nûnte
come -PFV -CIRCUM
3. oppa -n côngmal un -i ôps -kun.
brother -TOP really luck -NOM not:exist -ULM
4. i'hi'hi' nach kancil -ô
huhhuh face itching -IND
5. sil -ûn kûke an -i -ku
fact -TOP such:NOM NEG-be-CONN

kangûi sikan -i 15 pun kalyang hu -e sicak -i -lasô
class time -NOM 15 minute or:so after -LOC begining -be-since

kûnyang o -a po -n kô -i -a
just come -CONN see -ATTR thing -be -IND
6. næ-ka wæ kwæ-nhi oppa -hanthe côm-sim-ssikina sa -ko
1 -NOM why without:reason brother-DAT lunch -even buy-CONN

kûlô -kess -ô ?
do:so-PROJ -IND
7. hing hing!
hing hing
8. coh -ûl -lyô -ta mal -ass -ci
good -IRREAL -GOAL -INTERRUP stop-PFV-JUDG
9. haciman oppa
however brother

ipôn -e paycheck pat -ûmyôn
this.time -LOC paycheck receive -COND

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

10. koman sucak-puli -ko
no:more trick -play -CONN

class nûc -ki côn -e ka po -aya -kess -ô
class late -NOML before -LOC go:CONN see -NECESS-PROJ -IND

11. atyu.
adieu.

12. Have a nice Monday!

13. na ka
1 go:IND

14. 12 si 5 pun côn
12 o'clock 5 minute before

[Translation]

1. Brother! It's me.
2. I made a hard decision to come and invite you to lunch, but
3. I have to realize that you're not in luck.
4. huhhuh, my face is itching.
5. In fact, it is not that, but
the thing is since I have about 15 minutes before class,
I just dropped by.
6. why would I do such a thing as buying you lunch for no reason?
7. Hhhh
8. You almost got lucky.
9. But, my brother,
When I get a paycheck this time,
Maybe, just maybe, you will get a chance (hint! hint!).
10. I should stop teasing you,
and I gotta go before I am late for class.
11. Adieu.
12. Have a nice Monday!
13. I'm going.
14. Five minutes before 12 o'clock.

Leah 2.

1. oppa
brother
2. na walkman tol -li -ô cu -lyôko o -ass -nûnte
1 walkman turn-CAUSE-CONN give-PURP come-PFV -CIRCUM
3. too bad
too bad
4. kûnyang kaci -ki -lo hæ -ss - ô
just take -NOML-as do -PFV -IND
5. pulman ôps -ci
complaint not:exist -JUDG
6. oppa -ka ôps -ôss -ûni -kka
brother -NOM not:exist -PFV-DET-INTER

ha -l mal ôps -ûl kô -i -a
do -ATTR word not:exist -ATTR thing -be -IND
7. ihih
huhuh
8. Leah
Leah
9. suyoil 1:10 pm.
Wednesday 1:10 pm.

[Translation]

1. Hi, Brother,
2. I came to return your walkman, then,
3. Too bad.
4. I decided to keep it.
5. You don't have any complaint, do you?
6. You don't have anything to say because it's you who misseed me.
7. Huhuh
8. Leah
9. wednesday 1:10 pm.

Leah 3.

1. Hyo Sang oppa
Hyo Sang brother
2. It's me.
It's me.
3. How are ya?
How are ya
4. kamki kôly -ôsô kholokkôli -ci -n anh -kess -ci?
cold catch-CONN caught -NOML -TOP NEG:do-PROJ-JUDG
5. na -n po -ta -siphi al -ta -siphi muchôk papp -ô.
1 -TOP see-DECL-as know -DECL -as very busy -IND
6. i mom -i ocuk papû -myôn kathûn North Campus-e iss -nûn
this body -NOM how busy -COND same North Campus-LOC exist-ATTR

oppa chac -a po -l sikan -to ôps -ûlkka
brother look:for-CONN see-ATTR time -ADD not:exist-DUB
7. cikûm i sikan-e oppa -n class-e tûlôka-a
now this hour -LOC brother-TOP class-LOC enter -CONN

iss -kess -kun
exist-PROJ-ULM
8. onûl -to kûnyang o -n ke an -i -la
today -ADD just come-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-bet -CONTRA=CONJ

ûnhye -ka oppa -ka cô pôn -e uli -tûl sônghwa -e
Eunhye -NOM brother -NOM that time -LOC 1PL-PL push -LOC

mos iky -ô cumun-ha -n mokma iss -ci?
NEG(IMPOT) win -CONN order -DO-ATTR wooden:horse exist -JUDG
9. Christmas tree -e ta -nûn kô mal -i -a
Christmas tree -LOC hang-ATTR thing word-be-IND
10. kû kô kaps com pat -a tal -læ
that thing price a:little receive-CONN give -IMPER:IND
11. \$ 3.50.
\$ 3.50

12. Tax -kkaci cu -myôn tô coh -tæ
tax -even give -COND more good -HEARSAY
13. oppa -hanthe vo chokholes tu kæ cu -ko siph -ôsô
brother -from this chocolate two item give -CONN feel:like -REASON
- o -ass -ô
come -PFV -IND
14. kûlôm na ka -n -ta
then 1 go -UNB=NPST-DECL
15. Leah Lee
Leah Lee
16. 11/13 Tues. 1PM
11/13 Tues. 1 PM
17. P.S. i pôn cu anûlo po -ke toe -l kô -i -a
P.S. this time week within see-RESUL become -ATTR thing -be-IND

[Translation]

1. Brother Hyo Sang
2. It's me.
3. How are ya?
4. (I hope) You didn't catch a cold, did you?
5. I'm busy as you see and know.
6. Am I not so busy that I don't have time to see you even though we are on the same North Campus.
7. I guess you are in class at this hour.
8. I didn't come here today for nothing, but Eunhye .. , you remember the wooden horse you were pushed to order last time at our insistence?
9. I am talking about the kind of thing that you hang on a Christmas tree.
10. I've been told to collect the fee.
11. \$3.50.
12. I'm told that it's better if you pay even tax.
13. I came 'cause I wanted to give you these two pieces of chocolate.
14. Now I am going.
15. Leah Lee.
16. 11/13 Tues. 1PM.
17. P.S. I'll see you within this week.

Leah 4

1. oppa
brother
2. yocûm wæ kûlôhke an po -i -ô
recently why so NEG see-PASS-IND
3. papp -a?
busy -IND
4. na-tu sasil papp -a cuk -kess -ô
1 -ADD in:fact busy -CONN die -PROJ -IND
5. tu -ko po -a, hûng
leave -CONN see -IMPER, hm
6. kûlæ po -læ -ci
do:such see -IMPER-JUDG
7. ccokûman tongsång -ûl honca næpôli -ô tu -ko
little sister -ACC alone throw:away -CONN leave -CONN
8. pap -ûn cal cac -a môk -na
meal -TOP well find -CONN eat -INDET

kongpu -nûn cal ha -na
study -TOP well do -INDET

mwô philyo-ha-n kôs -ûn ôps -na
like need -do-ATTR thing -TOP not:exist -INDET

yocûm nao -n yônghwa-tûl -ûn ta po -ass -na
recently come:out -ATTR movie -PL -TOP all see-PFV -INDET

kungkûm-ha-ci -to ahn -a?
curiosity-do-NOML-ADD NEG:do -IND
9. pansông -ha -si -ko
repentance-do-HONOR-CONN

næ aph -e cacu nathana -l su iss -tolok
1:GEN front -LOC often show:up -ATTR way exist -INDUC

nolyôk-ha-si -tolok
efforts -do-HONOR -INDUC

10. kûliko yôthæ-kkaci na-l nôlp -ko hômakha-n
and now -till 1 -ACC spacious-CONN tough -ATTR

UCLA -e næpôly -ô tu -n coe -lo
UCLA -LOC throw:away -CONN leave-ATTR sin -as

taûm -e manna -myôn
next -IOC meet -COND

kako -ha-si -la -ku
self:determination-do-HONOR -IMPER -COMP

11. kûlôm annong annong!
then bye bye

12. pulssangha-n Leah
poor -ATTR Leah

13. 3/5 Tue. ohu 3 si pan
3/5 Tue. afternoon 3 o'clock half

[Translation]

1. Brother
2. Where you've been these days?
3. Are you busy?
4. I am also so busy that I feel like dying.
5. Hung, you will get what you deserve,
6. if you keep doing that.
7. How can you leave your little sis alone?
8. Aren't you even curious whether I eat well, study well, don't need anything, or have seen all the recent movies?
9. Repent and try to see me often.
10. And I am telling you that you should be ready for the next meeting 'cause you have left me alone in this tough UCLA.
11. Until then, bye bye
12. Your poor Leah
13. March 5, Tuesday 3:30 pm.

Leah 5.

1. oppa
brother
2. yo kûnchô -esô -to sa -l su iss -ûl kôs kath -a
this nearby -LOC -ADD buy -ATTR way exist -ATTR thing same-IND
3. næ-ka class-esô ppali nao -l su iss -nûn tæ -lo
1 -NOM class-LOC quickly come:out-ATTR way exist-ATTR situation-as

nao -ikke
come:out -VOL
4. 2 si 4 si -sai
2 o'clock 4 o'clock-between
5. Reading Room-e iss -ôya twæ, O.K?
Reading Room-LOC exist-NECESS become:IMPER O.K?
6. ôce oppa -ka na-l cac -a o -n sakôn -ûn
yesterday brotjer-NOM 1 -ACC look:for-CONN come-ATTR happening-TOP

na-l kamkyôk -sikhi -ko -to nam -ass -ô
1 -ACC strong:emotion-CAUSE-CONN-ADD leave-PFV-IND
7. a cokûman il -e -to kotcal hûngpun -ha-ko
ah little thing-LOC-ADD easily excitement-do-CONN

kamkyôk -ha-ko hinoælak -ûl kamchu -ci
strong:emotion-do -CONN joy:anger:sorrow:happiness -ACC hide -NOML

mos ha-nûn na-ûi yôliti yôli -n kamsusông-i -yô
NMEG(IMPOT) do-ATTR 1 -GEN weak weak-ATTR sensitivity -be-VOC
8. kamsusông-i yôli -n ca -eke -nûn pok -i iss -nani
sensitivity -NOM weak-ATTR person-DAT-TOP blessing-NOM exist-DET

chônkuk-i côhûi kôs -i -m -i -yo ôccôku côccôku
heaven -NOM 3:GEN thing -be -NOML-be-DEF bla bla
9. See!
see
10. na-l kamkyôk -sikhi -nûn ke ôlmana swiu -nci
1 -ACC strong:emotion -CAUSE-ATTR thing:NOM how:much easy -SUSP

al -ass -ci?
know -PFV -JUDG

11. sicak -ha-n kim -e t ô hæ po -si -nûn
beginning-do -ATTR initiation-LOC more do:CONN see-HONOR-ATTR

ke ôttô -lci
thing:NOM how:about -SUSP

12. ihihi
heeheehee

13. ittka po -a
later see -IMPER

14. annong annong
bye bye

15. Leah
Leah

16. suyoiil 11:50 AM
Wednesday 11:50 AM

[Translation]

1. Brother,
2. I think I can get it [the cloth] around here.
3. I'll get out of class as soon as I can
4. between 2 to 4
5. You got to be in the reading room, O.K?
6. Your visit yesterday more than touched my heart.
7. Oh How vulnerable my sensitivity is, that I get easily excited, and easily touched, and cannot hide my emotions.
8. For those who have vulnerable sensitivi, Heaven will be theirs ,.... bla bla
9. See?
10. You know now how easy it is to touch my heart.
11. Why don't you keep it up since you now started it.
12. Hee hee hee.
13. See you later.
14. Bye bye.
15. Leah.
16. Wednesday 11:50 AM.

Leah 6.

1. oppa
brother
2. chi
chee
3. tto ôps -ci anh -a
again not:exist -NOML NEG:do-IND
4. côngami nu -ka mwôlæ -to oppa -lang na-lang -ûn
really who-NOM say:otherwise-ADD brother-COM 1 -COM -TOP

thelephasi -ka cônhyô an thongha -na po -a
telepathy -NOM at:all NEG get:through -INDET see -IND
5. ilô -l su -ka iss -ô
be:such-ATTR way-NOM exist-IND
6. ei cæmi ôps -ôsô ka -ya -kess -ô
shoot fun not:exist -CONN go -NECESS-PROJ -IND
7. ôlyôun kôlûm-ûlo chac -a o -n ccokûman tongsæng -ûl
difficult step -with look:for-CONN come-ATTR little sister -ACC

ilôhke muncôn-paktæ-ha-ki -i -a côngmal?
as:such inhospitality -do-NOML-be-IND really
8. ei, moll -a moll -a
shoot not:know-IND not:know -IND
9. na côngmal hwa na -ss -ô
1 really anger arise-PFV -IND
10. ka -llæ
go -INT
11. hansangi oppa -hanthe sachon -tûl kan -e
Hansang brother-DAT cousin -PL between -LOC

ôlkul ic -ô pôli -nûn pikûk ilôna -ki côn -e
face forget -CONN throw:way -ATTR tragedy happen-NOML before -LOC

com tæchæk -ûl seu -ca -ko kkok côn hæ cu -ô
a:little solution -ACC build -PROP -COMP surely deliver:CONN give -IMPER

12. i -kô -n oppa -to nôkkûnhi hætang -toe -nûn soli -i -a
 this-thing-TOP brother-ADD enough subject:to-become-ATTR sound -be -IND
13. ice -n oppa -lûl campus -esô uyônhi manna -ke toe -l
 now -TOP brother -ACC campus -LOC by:chance meet -RESUL become -ATTR
- ttæ -kkaci an chac -a o -llæ
 time -till NEG look:for -CONN come -INT
14. ilæpo -ato caconsim sanghæ -ss -ta -ku
 see:such -CONCESS self:love hurt -PFV -DECL -COMP
15. hûng! hûng!
 hm hm
16. kil ka -taka ôph -ô ci -ôla -- Leah -ûi côcu
 road go -INTERRUP fall:down -CONN become-IMPER --Leah -GEN curse
17. hwayoil kûm -kathi kwiha -n 1 si 15 pun -e
 Tuesday gold -like precious -ATTR 1 o'clock 15 minute -LOC
18. hwa -ttakci na -n Leah
 anger -clot arise -ATTR Leah

[Translation]

1. Brother,
2. Chee
3. You are not here again.
4. It seems like we don't have telepathy between us.
5. Can you do this to me?
6. Shoot, I am going 'cause you're no fun.
7. You really treat your little sis like this when I made a sincere visit.
8. Shoot, nevermind, nevermind.
9. I got really angry.
10. I am going.
11. Please tell Brother Hansang that we should find a solution before we get to the tragedy that we forget each other's face among cousins.
12. This applies to you too.
13. I am not gonna visit you until I run into you on campus accidentally.
14. My feeling are hurt, you know.
15. Hm, hm.
16. Fall down on the road -- Leah's curse.
17. Tuesday at the golden hour 1:15.
18. Angry Leah.

Transcription and Abbreviations

For the sake of consistency, the following transcription conventions and abbreviations are used for the data texts.

1. Abbreviations.

ACC	accusative suffix
ADD	additive suffix ('too', 'even')
ATTR	attributive clause suffix
CAUS	causative suffix
CIRCUM	circumstantial suffix (indicates background circumstances)
CL	classifier
COND	conditional suffix
COM	comitative suffix
COMP	complementizer
CONCESS	concessive suffix
CONN	connective suffix
CONTRA=CONJ	contrastive conjunctive suffix (means 'rather', 'but, or 'instead'; it occurs only after a negative assertion, similar to <i>sondern</i> in German (Karen Wallace, personal communication))
CORREL	correlative suffix (indicates the existence of necessary (logical or causal) correlation.)
DAT	dative suffix
DECL	declarative suffix
DEF	deferential particle
DET	determinative (indicates that the proposition is a determined fact.)
DUB	dubitative suffix (indicates speaker's doubt on the proposition)
FR	factual realization suffix
GEN	genitive suffix
HEARSAY	'hearsay' evidential suffix
HONOR	reference honorific suffix
IMPER	imperative suffix
IMPOT	impotential
IND	indicative suffix
INDET	indeterminative suffix (indicates speaker's indeterminacy on the truth of the proposition)
INDUC	inducive (indicates that the content of the proposition is induced by another situation.)
INSTR	instrumental suffix
INT	intentional suffix
INTER	interrogative suffix
INTERRUP	interruptive suffix (indicates interrupted actions or events)
INTROS	introspective suffix (express the speaker's introspection)
JUDG	judgemental suffix (which indicates that the proposition is based on the speaker's judgement, not an objective fact)

LOC	locative suffix
NEG	negative particle
NECESS	necessitative suffix
NOM	nominative suffix
NOML	nominalizer
NPST	non-past
PASS	passive suffix
PFV	perfective suffix
PL	plural suffix
POL	polite suffix (shows politeness to the addressee)
PRESUM	presumptive suffix (indicates the speaker's presumption on the content of the proposition)
PROJ	projective (indicates projected ideas--i.e. not as facts-- by the speaker such as conjecture, volition, and wish)
PROP	proposative
PURP	purposive suffix
RESUL	resultative suffix
RETROS	retrospective suffix (indicates recalling of past experience)
SIMUL	simultaneous suffix
SG	singular
SUSP	suspensive suffix (expresses the speaker's suspicion on the content of the proposition.)
TOP	topic suffix
ULM	unassimilated suffix (marks unassimilated information)
UNB	unbounded (indicates that the speaker has only a partial access to a situation described --beginning, middle, end-point, or end-result of the situation)
1	first person
2	second person

2. Transcription.

For the transcription of the data texts, the Yale transcription system is used for consonants and McCune-Reischauer system is used for vowels, except that ^ is used for ~ for typing purpose for vowel marking. All the symbols basically represent the phonetic values of IPA symbols except for the following:

pp, tt, cc, kk, ss	= fortis consonants (c = ts or tʃ)		
ph, th, ch, kh	= aspirated consonants		
ng	= ŋ		
ô	= ɔ or ʏ	û	= i or u
oe	= ø	ae	= æ

