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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.

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. $, C, and CC, can occur in underlying representations, but only $ 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!):** p* s* t* c* k*
  - **Fortis (Q*):** p* s* t* c* k*
  - **Aspirated (Qh):** ph th ch kh
- **Sonorants**
  - **Nasals (N):** m n q
  - **Liquids (L):** l
  - **Glides**

Only these units will ordinarily be distinguished in the transcription of surface data. Note $ = [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 a = [e] and o = [ə, õ].

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 1 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( C_2 )</th>
<th>( C_1 )</th>
<th>( Q )</th>
<th>( n )</th>
<th>( m )</th>
<th>( l )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lQ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>l1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mQ*</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s*</td>
<td>s*</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tQ*</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>tQ*</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kQ*</td>
<td>qn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k*</td>
<td>k*</td>
<td>k*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Realizations of intervocalic \( C_1+C_2 \) where \( C_1 \) ends a verb stem and \( C_2 \) 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**: \( \text{in} \rightarrow \text{n} \).

**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 \( \text{lm, lk, lp, lph, lth, nc, ps} \). Intervocalically 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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UR</th>
<th>Occl</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Im+Q</td>
<td>ImQ</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>mQ*</td>
<td>mQ*</td>
<td>mQ*</td>
<td>mQ*</td>
<td>mQ*</td>
<td>mQ*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Im+n</td>
<td>Imn</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lk+Q</td>
<td>lkQ</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>kQ*</td>
<td>kQ*</td>
<td>kQ*</td>
<td>kQ*</td>
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<tr>
<td>lk+n</td>
<td>lkn</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>qn</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>qn</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>qn</td>
<td>qn</td>
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<tr>
<td>lp(h)+Q</td>
<td>lpQ</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lp(h)+n</td>
<td>lpn</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>1I</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lth+Q</td>
<td>ltn</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
<td>1Q*</td>
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<td>1I</td>
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<td>1I</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>nn</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ntn</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
<td>nQ*</td>
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<tr>
<td>nc+n</td>
<td>ntn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps+Q</td>
<td>ptQ</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
<td>pQ*</td>
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<td>pQ*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps+n</td>
<td>ptn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
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<td>mn</td>
<td>mn</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying stem</th>
<th>HSL</th>
<th>HJH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilk- &quot;read&quot;</td>
<td>llt*a</td>
<td>lq*n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palp- &quot;step on&quot;</td>
<td>palt*a</td>
<td>pam*n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halth- &quot;lick&quot;</td>
<td>halt*a</td>
<td>halm*n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Examples of verbs in LC combined with -ta (declarative) and -nin (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 because Cluster Reduction retains the second element of all LC clusters and does not destroy information necessary to Fortition.

The realization of CC+Q 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, q before any nasal, assumes an important role in the treatment of CC+Q 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Representation</th>
<th>Occlusion</th>
<th>Nasalization</th>
<th>Cluster Reduction (2b or 2c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lp(h)n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lmn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Systems 3 and 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Representation</th>
<th>Occlusion</th>
<th>Nasalization (vacuous)</th>
<th>Lateralization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lp(h)n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(4) lkn ltn ncn ptn | Underlying Representation
| Occlusion |

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 mnn 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
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 \(\perp\) 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: \(\perp\) was preferred over \(\perp\) in elicited utterances. In system 7 Lateralization would be bled to death and its presence in the system would be purely hypothetical.


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. Noun-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 1 acts like a consonant, not like a vowel, except for the selection of -lo in the alternation -lo-1£ (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 Cl = /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$. Secondly, Fortition is restricted to postobstruent contexts and must apply after Cluster Reduction. This ordering is necessary because underlying lQ 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
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.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Restructured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p, ph</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, th, c, ch</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k, kh, k*</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 s and c to represent a final coronal, but it is s 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>original</th>
<th>underlying</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>-i</th>
<th>-ıl</th>
<th>-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iph</td>
<td>&quot;leaf&quot;</td>
<td>iphı</td>
<td>iphı</td>
<td>-ıphı</td>
<td>-ıphe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puokh</td>
<td>&quot;kitchen&quot;</td>
<td>puoki</td>
<td>-puoki</td>
<td>-puoke</td>
<td>-puoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k*och</td>
<td>&quot;flower&quot;</td>
<td>k<em>ochi~k</em>osi</td>
<td>k<em>ości~k</em>ość</td>
<td>k<em>ości~k</em>ość</td>
<td>k<em>xiety~k</em>xiety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nac</td>
<td>&quot;day&quot;</td>
<td>naci~nasi</td>
<td>nasi</td>
<td>nasi</td>
<td>nacı~nasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k*ith</td>
<td>&quot;end&quot;</td>
<td>k<em>ithı~k</em>ısı</td>
<td>k<em>îstı~k</em>îstı</td>
<td>k<em>îstı~k</em>îstı</td>
<td>k<em>îstı~k</em>îstı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>path</td>
<td>&quot;field&quot;</td>
<td>pası~pathı</td>
<td>pası~pathı</td>
<td>pası~pathı</td>
<td>pası~pathı</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| salm "life, living" | salmi | salmi | salme |
| hîlk "earth, soil"  | hîkî  | hîkî  | hîke  |
| taik "chickern"      | taiki | taiki | taiki |
| kaps "price"         | kapsı~kapi | kapsı~kapi | kapsı~kapi |
| saks "salary, fare"  | saki~saksi | saki~saksi | saki~saksi |
| tols "anniversary"   | toli  | toli  | tole  |
| yotolp "8"           | yotoli | yotoli | yotoli |

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.


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, O 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C2 \ C1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>q!</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0^t</td>
<td>q!</td>
<td>q^tq*</td>
<td>n^nn</td>
<td>m^nm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l, ls</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lq!</td>
<td>lq^lq*</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m, lm</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mq!</td>
<td>mq^mq*</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nq!</td>
<td>nq^nq*</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p, ph, ps*</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pq!</td>
<td>pq^pq*</td>
<td>qn</td>
<td>qm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s, th, c, ch</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tq!</td>
<td>tq^tq*</td>
<td>nn</td>
<td>nm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k, kh, k*, ks*, lk</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kq!</td>
<td>kq^kq*</td>
<td>qn</td>
<td>qm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)$CO instead of (C)CSO). 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.

(9) \[
\text{inner cycle} \\
\langle\langle\text{salm}\rangle \langle\text{eps+nin}\rangle\rangle \\
\text{"life" "not existing"} \\
\downarrow \\
\langle\langle\text{sam}\rangle \langle\text{emmin}\rangle\rangle \\
\text{compound cycle} \\
\langle\text{sam+emmin}\rangle \\
\text{"lifeless, having no life"} \\
\downarrow \\
\langle\text{samemmin}\rangle
\]

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.
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) (a) inner cycle
<<tol(s)> <canchi>>
"anniversary" "party"
↓
<<tol> <canchi>>
compound cycle
<<tol+canchi> (I)
"anniversary party"
↓
<tolcanchi>

(b) inner cycle
<<tol(s)> <cip>>
"anniversary" "house"
↓
<<tol> <cip>>
compound cycle
<<tol+t+cip> (II)
"anniversary house/family"
↓
<tolcip>

(c) inner cycle
<<k*atak> <mol+i>]
"cause" "not knowing"
↓
<<k*atak> <moli>]
compound cycle
<<k*atak+mol+i> (I)
"of unknown cause"
↓
<k*ataqmoli>
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 \( qt \), 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 \( NN2 \), 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 \( R+Q > R_{t}Q \) (type II initialization) > \( R_{t}Q^* \) (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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Compounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>retention hierarchy</td>
<td>variable (6c)</td>
<td>not (6e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>order of Nas and CR</td>
<td>variable</td>
<td>moot</td>
<td>moot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>order of Fort and CR</td>
<td>Fort-CR</td>
<td>CR-Fort</td>
<td>Fort-CR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restructuring</td>
<td>none (?)</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postnasal fortition</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid coda loss</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>moot</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateralization</td>
<td>usual</td>
<td>moot</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 noncontinuants.

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
fails between \( \text{lm} \) and \( \text{lg} \), or between \( \text{in} \) and \( \text{it} \), or after any noncontinuant cluster.

We have represented this situation by means of a fixed noncontinuant hierarchy \(<q, m, k, p, n, t>\) into which \( \text{l} \) 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 \( \text{LC} \) 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 \((6a) = <1, q, m, n, k, p, n, t>\), 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 \((6c) = <q, m, n, k, l, p, n, t>\) 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 preconsonantally 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 1966-7 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.


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 Korean 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)

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
-ơ(yo) and -ta+ku. The verb suffix -ơ 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 -ơ, 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) nae-ka ŏli -ŏss -ŭl ttae il -i -ciman
    I -NOM young-PFV-ATTR time happening-be-CONCESS

    halapôci-nun maeil saepyŏk kū sŏngkyŏng-ŭl ilk -ŭsi -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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Narratives</th>
<th>Dialogues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>PS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lůl</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PragPrt</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comp</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gram.bare</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prag.bare</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 külöhke
2PL-country-NOM independence-do-POL-IND-INTER such
mul-öss -tæ ask-PFV-DECL:IND(HEARSAY)-DEF
(GPA:51)

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

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. For
example,
(3) **ku coh-ún halapóci-ui**  **ku ttús-úl acu tætælo**
like good-ATTR grandpa -GEN like will-ACC very for:all:ages:to:come

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

iluhke nül  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) **ků kacang cônthongcôk-i** -n  sinang-úl
like most  traditional -be-ATTR faith  -ACC

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

na-nůn iluhke sængkak-úl  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.'

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).

As far as we know, all nominals in compounds are abstract nominals, such as sîchön '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 cçik -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.
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 -iæ
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 database.

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

Five instances of grammatically and lexically motivated bare nominals are involved in particular grammatical constructions that preclude case marking. 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) künlæ uli kyohoe-ka mwô chukpok-úl pat -ki ... recently 1PL church -NOM what blessing-ACC receive-NOML

chukpok-man-úl pat -ki wihaesö [ ilühje cakkû üm blessing-only-ACC receive-NOML for:the:sake:of such over:and:over uhm

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

'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'. For example,

(11) öttôn yôca -lôl.. ôl -ûl cuî al -ko
which woman-ACC gain-ATTR way know-CONN
ni khi -e machu-ôsô sa -n kô -i -a
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 *molÔ-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 côntô -ka mo "tangsin yesu mit -ku
very the evangelism-NOM like you Jesus believe-CONN
chôntang ka-si -ô" kûlôn sik -ûl côntô -ka an -i -ko
heaven go-HONOR-IMPER such way-GEN evangelism-NOM NEG-be-CONN

"He didn't minister just by telling people just to "believe in Jesus and go to heaven""
The expression *yesu mit-ko chôntang 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 *chôntang* '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 ḍoph ñ ci -sla
    hm  hm    road go-INTERRUP fall:down-CONN become-IMPER

'Hum! Hum! 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 database 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL CONTEXTS</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>BARE NOMINALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrative Data:</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>163 (71.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue Data:</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>37 (40.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 interlocutors 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 -i -ô cu -lyôko o -ass -nûnte
1 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 phyônci 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 Norh Campus-LOC exist-ATTR brother look:for-CONN see-ATTR

sikan-to õps -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) nₚ₈-ka  hₚ₉₉ul iss  ta  -n  yₚ₈₉ki hₚ₈₉₇ 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. onₚ₉ul  -to  kₚ₉9yang  o  -n  ke  an  -i  -la
today -ADD just come-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONTRA=CONJ

b.  úₚ₉₉ye  -ka  oppa  -ka  cₚ₉₉ pₚ₉₉n  -e  uli  -tₚ₉₉l  sₚ₉₉₉₉hwa  -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  -nₚ₉₉n  kₚ₉  mal  -i  -a
Christmas tree -LOC hang-ATTR thing word-be-IND

d.  kₚ₉₉ kₚ₉ kaps com  pat  -a  tal  -lee.
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

ô -ass -ô
come -PFV -IND

'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.'

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

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 -nunte -yo
go:out -PFV-CIRCUM -DEF

c. F: naka -ss -o?
go:out -PFV -IND

d. H: ne.
yes

e. ḏti -lu?
where -to

not:know -PROJ -IND -DEF

g. mwō kyohoe ka-n -ta kūlō-tō -nka
what church go-UNB=NPST-DECL do:so-RETROS-DUB

h. F: kyohoe?
church

i. F: kyohoe Cònnhwa-ponho a -ni?
church phone -number know-INTER

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.\(^\text{11}\) For example,

\begin{flushleft}
(23) \textit{mun tat} \text{-ass \-\(\partial\)} \text{-yo} \\
\text{door close-PFV-IND-DEF} \\
'Have you closed [the restaurant] yet?'
\end{flushleft}

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

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

\begin{flushleft}
(24) \textit{i} \text{-p\~{o}n-e} \text{paycheck pat} \text{-\(\tilde{\eta}my\~{o}n\)} \\
\text{this-time-LOC paycheck receive-COND} \\
'When I get a paycheck this time ....,' 
\end{flushleft}

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

\begin{flushleft}
(25) \textit{q\~{o}s} \text{phy\~{o}nha -ke ip} \text{-\(\~{o}la\)} \\
\text{clothes comfortable-RESUL put:on-IMPER} \\
'Why don't you change your clothes into something comfortable?'
\end{flushleft}

(26)a. \textit{H: ahyu} p\~{a}\text{e} \text{aph\~{o}.} \\
\text{oh} \text{stomach ache-IND} \\

b. \textit{K: yak} cu \text{-\(k\~{k}a\)?)} \\
\text{medicine give-DUB} \\
\end{flushleft}

\(\text{K&H: 226-227}\)
a. H: Oh dear, my stomach is upset.
b. K: Shall I give you some medicine?

In (25), os phyønhake ip-đa '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-lłæ -mûn him com ssû -ô-ya ha-nûnte assembling-do-PURP-COND strength a:little spend-NECESS do-CIRCUM

'Won't we have to **put out some energy** to assemble it?'

(K&H:15)
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 mûk-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 kwâil tam -nûn kwangcûli 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 -ûso
word-ACC hymn -ACC melody-ACC accompany-CONN

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

chansongka-kasa -lûl sângkyông 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, *kwâil* 'fruit' in (29) and *sângkyông* '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-nūn 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

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

"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.

The declarative suffix -ta plus the indicative -ő is phonologically contracted to -tő as in the example. It expresses 'hearsay' evidentials.

It is quite unnatural to have N1-ACC N2-ACC V(erb) when N2-V is a possible compound. For example (=4):

```
ků kacang cónthongcôk-i -n sinang-ül
such most traditional -be-ATTR faith -ACC
```
```
cônglip -ha-si -ci anh -ass -na
triangular:position-do-HONOR-NOML NEG-PFV-INDET
```
```
na-nûn ilûhke sêangkak-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 cónthongcôk-i -n sinang-ül
such most traditional -be-ATTR faith -ACC
```
```
cônglip -ül ha-si -ci anh -ass -na
triangular:position-ACC do-HONOR-NOML NEG-PFV-INDET
```
```
na-nûn ilûhke sêangkak-ûl ha-n -ta -ku
I -TOP so thought -ACC do-NPST-DECL-COMP
```

-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 særngkak '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 cuil 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 òps-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 -kō tto him - öl ssō -ya twæ tto
   this-thing again strength-ACC spend-NECESS become:IND again  (K&H:24)
"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),)

külæsö sängkyöng-úl ilk -nun te -sö öt -úsi -nun kú
so Bible -ACC read-ATTR place-LOC gain-HONOR-ATTR such

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

chansongka-kasa -lûl ilk -úm -úlossö öttöhan yôngkam -úl
hymn -words-ACC read-NOML-by some inspiration-ACC

öt -úsi -nun ke an -i -nka
gain-HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-DUB

næ-ka ilûkhe sängak-úl 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, sängkyöng '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-e satali pîkkôkpiikkôk
so take-CONN pear-tree -LOC ladder creak:creak

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

48
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 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.

References


Co-reference Constraints in the Relative Clause

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Linguistics, UCSB

June 1987
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 \( \theta \) truculent by refusing to promote \( \theta \)], but also an employee [you made \( \theta \) 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, [her friends loved $\emptyset$]

the woman; [she says [$\emptyset$ 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. The pronominalizer jang introduces the RC, as in

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

book red
Indonesian manifestation of CO is φ 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:

\[ \text{anak}_i \ [\text{jang } \phi_i \text{ memukul } \text{orang }] \]
\text{child} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{man}

\[ \text{anak}_i \ [\text{jang orang } \text{pukul } \phi_i ] \]
so that a form like

\[ \text{anak}_i \ [\text{jang dia}_i \text{ memukul saja }] \]
\text{3SG} \quad \text{me}

\[ \text{as "the child who hit me" is not grammatical, and a form like} \]
\[ \text{anak}_i \ [\text{jang dia}_i \text{ membantja buku-nja}] \]
\text{read} \quad \text{book-3SG}
\[ \text{can only mean "the child [whose book s/he read]". Even if the} \]
\[ \text{DO relativization is analyzed as a passive, the fact remains that} \]
\[ \text{"first possible" is a privileged site (now reserved for SBJ only), uniquely marked by Φ.} \]

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

\[ \text{phu ying}_i \text{kön } [\text{thi } \phi_i \text{ phop chan}] \]
\text{woman} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{met} \quad \text{me}
\[ "\text{the woman who met me"} \]

\[ \text{phu ying}_i \text{kön } [\text{thi chan phop } \phi_i ] \]
"the woman I met"

\[ \text{phu ying}_i \text{kön } [\text{thi thθ phop } \phi_i ] \]
\text{3SG}
"the woman s/he met"

\[ \text{phu ying}_i \text{kön } [\text{thi chan phop ngən thθ}_i ] \]
\text{money} \quad \text{3SG}
"the woman whose money I found"

But the striking difference between Thai and Indonesian is the
way φ as SBJ CO is protected: in the following

... [thi thɔŋ̃ phopφ ngən thɔŋ̃]
3SG  money  3SG

theoretically in the sense "the woman whose money s/he 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 - φ - och ta s - na
ASP 3SG enter into 3SG house
ABS  POSS
"s/he· entered his/her house"

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

li ?antz [ ?i - φ - och ta s - na]
the woman ASP 3SG enter in 3SG house
"the woman· who entered her house"
* "the woman· whose house she entered"

The 3SG Absolutive marked φ 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:

kū yōca - nūn alūmtap-ta "the woman is beautiful"
that woman TOP beautiful-DECL

kū yōca-nūn pae-lūl mōk-ōss-ta "the woman ate the pear"
pear-ACC eat-PRF-DECL

kū yōca-nūn ūisa-i-ta "the woman is a doctor"
doctor-be-DECL

kū yōca-nūn samusil-e iss-ta "the woman is in the office-LOC EXIST-DECL office"

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

kū yōca-nūn 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:

kū yōca-nūn [ne-ka chaek-ūl kacōkatta-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 ūisa-i-ta "the woman is a doctor" shows the complement ūisa "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 ūisa-ka an-i-ta "the woman is not a doctor"

   *ūisa-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 ūisa-ka toe-ōss-š-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 \( \Rightarrow \) LIE, WRITE+NOTE \( \Rightarrow \) 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. 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—

\[
\emptyset \quad \text{sosol-ul \quad ssu-nunn} \quad \text{ae}
\]

"the boy who writes novels"

\[
\emptyset \quad \text{kun} \quad \text{ae-ka} \quad \text{ssu-nunn} \quad \text{sosol}
\]

"the novel the boy writes"

\[
\emptyset \quad \text{ne-ka} \quad \text{ton-ul} \quad \text{ponae-n} \quad \text{yoca}
\]

"the woman you send money to"

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

\[
\emptyset \quad \text{Lee-ka} \quad \text{kyohoe-eso} \quad \text{yaeki-lul} \quad \text{haecu-nunn} \quad \text{ae-tul}
\]

"the children Lee tells stories for at church"
In relativization of the Genitive, ꆇ is preferred when inalienable possession is involved. But a pronominal CO is admitted for purposes of emphasis or clarification: e.g.---

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

where kae = the deictic ꆇ + 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 ꆇ "that" and its derivatives ꆇ salam "that man/he" and ꆇ yōca "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). But the fact remains that multiple & 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 [∅ ∅ tōph-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 [∅ ∅ kōkcōnga - l] chōcasik - i _ops - 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--

"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:

[halapoci-ka kyohoe-esō Ø yaeki-lūl haecu-nūn] sonyōn
"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 Ø—a pronominal form, for the most part some variant of kū "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

\[
[ \text{SBJ \ yesterday \ IO \ DO \ send-ATTR \ man} \]
\]
"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:

\[
[ \text{SBJ \ GEN \ brother-DAT \ book-ACC \ buy for-ATTR \ man} \]
\]
"the man, who bought a book for his 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.

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. 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 wonha- "want, desire" should illustrate the point. As (1a,b) indicate—

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

(b) Kim-i ŋ NY-e ka-ki-lūl wōnhanta
    Kim wants to go to New York:

wōnhanta- takes a nominalized complement clause (marked by -ki)
as its Object (marked by the accusative -lul). The unmarked interpretation of φ in (lb) is co-referential with the matrix Subject Kim. But φ is unemphatic; the following are emphatic reflexives:

(c) (i) Kim-i caki-ka NY-e ka-ki-lul wonhanta
(ii) Kim-i casin-i NY-e ka-ki-lul wonhanta
(iii) Kim-i kǔ-ka NY-e ka-ki-lui wonhanta

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

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

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

B: na-nūn ǔisa-ka toe - ko siph - ǔntae,
I-TOP doctor-NOM become want-CIRCUM

ōmma-nūn / pyŏnhosa-ka toe-ki-1 wonhae
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 wonhae can be φ-pronominalized by the discourse theme (na "I" above).
Now, in relative clauses built on wonha-, the pronoun ku cannot (even marginally) be understood as co-referential with the matrix Subject of wonha-, as it was in (ciii):

[ku-ka NY-e ka-ki-lūl wǒnhanũn] ku salam
3SG go want-ATTR the man
"the man who wants himself to go to New York"
"the man who wants him to go to New York"

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

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

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

*[Kim-i [φ NY-e ka-ki-l] wǒnhanũn] ku salam

It does not appear, then, that general discourse pronominalization (whether φ or the ku 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--

\[
[ \text{ev-in-de on-a rastlayan}] \text{ adam house-3sgGEN-LOC 3sg-DAT meet-SBJ man} \\
"\text{the man}_{\ i} \text{ who met him}_{\ j} \text{ at his}_{\ ij,k} \text{ house}"]
\]

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:

\[
[ \text{ev-in-de } \emptyset \text{-DAT rastladigi}] \text{ adam} \\
"\text{the man}_{\ i} \text{ he}_j \text{ met at his}_{\ ij,k} \text{ house}" \\
\]

then the \(\emptyset\)-DAT is taken as CO, but GEN reference is still open. Of course, we can force GEN as CO, as in

\[
[ \text{ev-in-de on-a rastladigi}] \text{ adam} \\
"\text{the man}_{\ i} \text{ at whose house he}_j \text{ met him}_{\ k}\text{ }" \\
\]

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

\[
\text{on-a ev-in-de rastladigi} \text{ adam} \\
\text{the interpretation is still }"\text{the man}_{\ i} \text{ at whose HOUSE he}_j \text{ met him}_{\ k} \text{ }". \\
\]

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.
REFERENCES


Nichols, J. "The grammatical marking of theme in literary Russian," in Issues in Russian Morphosyntax, ed. by M.S.
Review of:


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 -læ (which has several allomorphs), as in:

1. Max- nın luikhi- lìl chac- lìl hakkyo- e ka- nta
   '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 -lyako instead of the conjunctive complement -læ characterizing the VMT, as in:

2. maksì-nın luikhì-lìl manna-lyako tapang-e ka - nta
   '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 -lìl, traditionally considered the
'accusative' case particle, or with one of a set of locative/directional particles. Seeing that -l4l 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 -l4l should be taken as markers of the grammatical relation 'object'. He suggests instead that -l4l has two functions: -l4l marks 'objects', which are defined both by the appearance of -l4l and by their ability to pass certain syntactic tests, and -l4l2 serves a 'modalizing' function, similar to that of the topic marker -nin, 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 -l4l 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 -l4l, 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 phenemic representation, the third line is the...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. 13 yrs in U.S., narrated to her boyfriend.]

1. o?khei
   o khei
   O.K.

OK.

2. ... mm:... mënóhomæ:?,
   üm maen chôúm -e
   um very beginning-LOC

At the very beginning,

3. ... oni?... a]ös*iga in:inda?,
   ònú acôssi-ka iss -nûnte
   certain uncle -NOM exist-CIRCUM

there is a man,

4. ... ?khe?... pezi t* a?..mjönsö šišagil hæ.
   ilôhke pae -lûl tta -myônsö sicak -ûl ha-ô
   like:this pear-ACC pick-SIMUL beginning-ACC do-IND

and it starts with him picking pears.

5. ... kirsgaç? pênamu satari p"ik"skp"ik"c ol:a:]jgo:,
   külae kaci-ko pae -namu-e satali pikkôkppikkôk
   so take-CONN pear-tree -LOC ladder creak:creak
climb-CONN go-CONN take-CONN

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

6. ... ikhe mak pezi t*aningoa.
ilōhke mak pae -lūl tta -nūn kō -i -a
like:like this disorderly pear-ACC pick-ATTR thing-be-IND

like he’s sort of picking pears.

7. ... kinde?.. sothulginin sothunte tege jolis*imhi pezi t*a.
künte sōthul -ki -nūn sōthul -ũnte
by:by the way unskillful-NOML-TOP unskillful-CIRCUM
toeke yöllsimhi pae -lūl tta -ō
very diligently pear-ACC pick-IND

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

8. ... kirigajigu ikhe apĉhima ka inninde,
külae kaci-ko ilōhke aphchima-ka iss -nũnte
do:so:CONN take-CONN like:like this apron -NOM exist-CIRCUM

So then, he’s like wearing an apron,

9. ... kogi ikhe? apĉhima ċumoni ga tett*a?
kōki ilōhke aphchima-ka ċumoni-ka toe -ōss -ta
there like:like this apron -NOM pocket -NOM become-PFV-DECL

that thing is like, the apron became a pocket,

10. ... kirigechku ki ċumoni era hana k*at*i k tamanokkhū,
külae kaci -ko kū ċumoni-eta hana katūk
do:so:CONN take:possession-CONN that pocket -LOC chock full

tam -ō noh -ko
put:in-CONN leave-CONN

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

11. ... sadarizi? t*ō mak nejowagajigu
satali -lūl tto mak nae-li -ō o -ō 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/ izin moolu c'angon?...ji musin pezu c'anna izon kwangjiri ite'ana?

ilon muol-lo cca -n kō -nci
like what-INSTR weave-ATTR thing-SUSP

musun pe -lo cca -òss -na
which hemp:cloth-INSTR weave-PFV-INDET

ilon 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. ... kizoneda i?khe tam //pelil.
kūlōn te -eta ilohke tam -ō pae -lūl
such place-LOC like:this put:in-IND pear-ACC

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

14. (//kwangjir?)
kwangculi?
basket

//Basket?

15. ... iq i? i?khe tinin... kwail tamnin... we izin. kwangjir //is...\nűng ilohke tūl -nūn kwail tam -nūn wae ilōn 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 kwangjir? kathing?)
tae -namu kwangculi kath -ūn kō?
bamboo-tree basket same-ATTR thing

Something like a bamboo basket?
17. ... mollə monjinin hhm.
   molū -ō muōs-i -nci -nūn hhm
   not:know-IND what -be-SUSP-TOP hhm

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

18. ... kinds,
   kū -nte
   that-CIRCUM

   Anyway,

19. ... /XX/ iʔkhe tamənwa.
   ilōhke tam -ō noh -ō
   like:thi: put:in-CONN leave-IND

   like he puts them in and leaves them there

20. ... kisəndamə t*ō ije? ta thənənas*inik*ə t*ō olla kas t*ō
    t*ənəŋôja.

   kūlōn təm-e tto ice ta thōl -ō noh -ōss -ūnī -kka
   such next -LOC again now all shake:off-CONN leave-PFV-DET-INTER
   tto olū -ō ka-sō
   again climb-CONN go-CONN
   tto tta -nūn kō -i -ō
   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. ... kitzu in:iŋəp,
    kūlō -ko iss -nūnte
    do:so-CONN exist-CIRCUM

   While he is doing that,

22. ... oniʔ namjaŋga,
    ōnū namca-ae -ka
    a:certa:in male -child-NOM
23. ... kwenja ni khandanzo çaajo]gən thagə,
koengcanghi khɔtalal-ùn cacònkò-lùl thə-kə
remarkably big -ATTR bicycle -ACC ride-CONN
on a very big bicycle,

24. ... mak kəgi aphiĩ činagadaga,
mak kɔki aphi-ùl čina-ó ka-taka
disorderly there front-ACC pass-CONN go-INTERRUPT
is just then passing by,

25. ... Ĭkheʔ.. kigoi pondaʔ?
ilôhke kù-kò-ùl po-n-ta
like:this that-thing-ACC see-UNB=NPST-DECL
and he sees all this.

26. ... kindo ajoš*inọ mki wi alla to*aguis*ə.
kù -nte acośni-nùn kù wi-e olù-ó ka-só
that-CIRCUM uncle -TOP that top-LOC climb-CONN go-CONN
tta -ko iss-ó
pick-CONN exist-IND
But the man is in the tree, picking,

27. .. /XX/ molla.
molú -ó
not:know-IND
And he doesn't know.

28. ... ?neʔ kizhi lìkhe kwangjuːga pɛغا hana k*ət*ik ljeʔ?
mjok*wawajuːga is*inik*a,
kù -nte kù-kò-lùl ilôhke kwangculi-ka pæe-ka hana katûk ice
that-CIRCUM that-thing-ACC like:this basket -NOM pear-NOM chock full now
myôčh kwangculi-ka iss -ùni -kka
a:few basket -NOM exist-DET-INTER
Meanwhile, since there are several baskets, chockful of pears,

29. ... kigzil.. i?khe?.. hana?l kajga?agu,
kù -kó -lùl ilòhke hana-lùl kaci -ô ka-ûlyòko
that-thing-ACC like:this one -ACC take-CONN go -PURP

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

30. ... kizcagairin,
kóló -taka -nùn
do:so-INTERRUP-TOP

31. ... hol kajwicheiil,
hol kwangculi-chàe-lùl
whole basket -as:is-ACC

32. ... i?khe?.. tizcagaju òajongcapheda i?khe no?.. ething ke nokhu mak
kaningga.

ilòhke tùl-ô kaci -ko
like:this lift -CONN take:possession-CONN

càcònko aph-eta ilòhke noh.. õttòhke noh-ko
bicycle front -LOC like:this put somehow put -CONN

mak ka-nùn 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. ... i? kizgu kaninde,
ù kùló -ko ka-nùnte
uh be:so-CONN go-CIRCUM

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

34. ... ogisa i?khe òajongal than oun jaajaga,
còki -sò ilòhke càcònko-lùl tha-n onû yòca -àe -ka
over:there-LOC like:this bicycle -ACC ride-ATTR certain female-child-NOM

a girl riding a bike,
35. .. ič*ogiru wa:
   i -cook-úlo o -a
this-side -toward come-IND

is coming toward,

36. .. čagi mažin phjoniru.
caki mac-ūn phyón-úlo
self face -ATTR side -toward

like from the opposite direction.

37. ... kinde izikhe majučhinin .. izikhe s*ak.. či? činan:inde,
kũnte ilōhke macu -chi-nûn ilōhke 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 mojaga na:l:agat*a?
caki moca-ka nalû-ó ka-òss -ta
self hat -NOM fly -CONN go-PFV-DECL

then off flies his hat,

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

and then,

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

the moment he turns and looks behind him,

41. .. aphē tol? tose ḥike pakhwiga pudakōgaŋgu ča:jogga nomjígu
mo,
aph-e tol. tol -e ilōhke pakhwi-ka putakchi -ò
front-LOC roc.. rock-LOC like:this wheel -NOM hit:against-CONN
the wheel hits against a rock, and the bike falls over and so on,

42. ... ov khors ki? pega ta izerhhe s*izghi?. ki? t*orsjö?ö*ana t*ahe.
of course kù pæ -ka ta ilöhke ssüloci-- kù ttöci-ö
of course like pear-NOM all like: this fall-- that dropCONN

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

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

43. ... kinđe čmi.. sømjøg. namjae? čagi t*orhagu mo kiron ediri,
kùnte önú se -myöng namca-ae caki ttolæ -ha-ko mwö külön
then certain three-CL male -child self agemage-do-CONN what such

ae -túl-i
child-PL-NOM

44. ... /ta aninde/ č*om. nap*igsegøg edirińde,
ta a -nünte com nappü-ke søengki-n ae -túl-i -nte
all know-CIRCUM a:little bad -RESULT appear -ATTR child-PL-be-CIRCUM

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

45. ... algubonikka č*om čonédiriği.
al -ko po -ni -kka com coh -ün ae -túl-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. ... kizøgañgu,
kùlæ kaci -ko
be:so take:possession-CONN
So, they haphazardly help the kid up, and shake the dust off of him,

and then,

they stand the bike up,

haphazardly put the pears in,

and give them back to him.

And the boy goes on his way,
and the boys continue on their way.

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

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

So, as an indication of his gratitude,

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

... ?nik* a jenediti kigoi poku?

kū -ni -kkā yāe -ne -tūl-i kū-kōl po -ko
that-DET-INTERR this:child-side-PL-NOM that-thing see-CONN
59. ... pak*us mak mogimjons,  
pat -kosó  
receive-CONN  
mak môk-ûmyônsô  
haphazardly eat -SIMUL

60. hana? hansarami hana*sik mogimjonsó kiri ga:.  
hana han salam -i hana-srik môk-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. ... kinda  
kûnte  
then

So,

62. ... kiri oguìn:inde,  
kil -ûl o -ko iss -nûnte  
road-ACC come-CONN exist-CIRCUM  
they are coming down the road,

63. ... ki?.. ajos*iga kjesok t*adaga,  
kú acôssi-ka kyesok tta -taka  
like uncle -NOM continuously pick-INTERRUP  
meanwhile, the man has been picking pears,

64. ... t*agusgin inje o? kwamjul t*egajigu namuus  
nerjatt*oni  
tta -ko -sô -nûn  
pick-CONN-Sô-TOP
Having picked some, now it's time to move the baskets, so he comes down out of the tree,

65. kwangculi hanaga ops*jo*s*.
   kwangculi hana-ka ops -o ci -o*ss -o
   basket one -NOM not:exist-CONN become-PFV-IND

and discovers one basket is missing.

66. ... kinda,
   kunte
   then

So,

67. ... machim kot*ae,
   machim ko -ttae
   just:in:time that:DIMIN-time

just then,

68. ... ki se*my*ong-gui ae -tul-i mok-umyons*o
   that three-CL -GEN child-PL-NOM eat -SIMUL

69. ... ki aphl iikhe cinaganda?
   k*ui aph -ul ilokhe cina -o ka-n -ta
   that front-ACC like:this pass-CONN go -UNB=NPST-DECL

the three boys pass by, eating [pears].

70. ... ken*? moz*il
   kyi -ne -tul -un mol -ci
   that:child-side-PL-TOP not:know-JUDG

Of course they don't know,
71. ... mohanin pěnji
    mwô ha-nûn pæ -i -nci
    what do-ATTR pear-be-SUSP

where the pears came from.

72. ... f kægiga k*ichija/
    ūng kōki -ka kkûth-i -a
    well there-NOM end -be-IND

Well, that's the end.

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

That's the end, there?

74. .. //iŋ
    ūng
    yes

Yeah,

75. .. iŋ
    ūng
    yes
    yeah.
The Pear Stories

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

1. ... et' on nongbuga,
   öttôn nongpu-ka
   certain farmer -NOM

A certain farmer

2. ... kwailnamue ol'agayajugu kwaizit t'ajö.
   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. ... kwailit t'aninde injë,
   kwail-ûl tta -ënte ince
   fruit -ACC pick-CIRCUM now

he's picking fruit,

4. jogida icokhe ep*izonjëdë,
   yôki-etaka ilôhke ephûlon-i -nte
   here-LOC like:this apron -be-CIRCUM

meanwhile, there is an apron here.

5. .. khodaran ûmuniga icokhe tal'in ep*izoniya.
   khôtalah-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. kwaizit t*asc kogida cibonjë.
   kwail-ûl tta -sol
   fruit -ACC pick-CONN
He picks fruit,
and puts them in there.

7. ... kizagajyunjin,
kulæ kaci-ko -nun
dos:so:CONN take-CONN-TOP

After having done that,

8. .. kilu injé mani. t'agajyunj nzejwaso,
kù -ulo ince mahni tta -ó kaci-ko -n
that-INSTR now much pick-CONN take-CONN-TOP

naeli -ó o -asó
take:down-CONN come-CONN

having picked a lot in there,

9. .. kwangwiedaga ooda.
kwanguli-etaka ssot -a
basket -LOC pour:down-IND

he pours them down in a basket.

10. ... odanokhu injé t'o sadakt'ari o:agagajigu,
ssot -a noh-ko
pour:down-CONN put -CONN

ince tto sataktali olu -ó ka-a kaci-ko
now again ladder climb-CONN go-CONN take-CONN

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

11. injé t'o kwaziil t'ajo.
ince tto kwail-ul tta -a -yo
now again fruit -ACC pick-IND-DEF

and picks fruit again.
12. ... kīsso han kwangjwisi t'anokhusonin,  
kūlæsō han kwangculi-lul tta -a noh-ko -sō -nūn  
so one basket -ACC pick-CONN put-CONN-CONN-TOP

So he picked one basket,

13. inje t'o tu kwangjwisi t'agu t'o ol:agas's.  
inje tto tu kangculi-lul tta -ko  
now again two basket -ACC pick-CONN

    tto olū -ō  ka-ss -ō  
again climb-CONN go-PFV-IND

picked another basket,  
and he went up there again.

14. ... t'o ol:aganinde inje,  
    tto olū -ō  ka-nunte ince
    again climb-CONN go-CIRCUM now

So now he's up there,

15. ... ṭen sonjoni,  
    őttön sonyon-i  
certain boy -NOM

and a certain boy

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

appears on a bike.

17. ... han. jōl s'āl mimanč'āriaigathē.  
    han yōl 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. ... kiran sonjini waso.
kulon sonyoun-i o -osu
such boy -NOM come-CONN

This boy comes,

19. ... kigol hangwaunjiril,
kuro -ko -l han kwangculi-lul
that-thing-ACC one basket -ACC

20. ... kajugusen,
kaci-ko -so -n
take-CONN-CONN-TOP

21. cajogasa itikhe sizogajugap.
cacinko-eta lubhe sit -o kaci-ko ka-o -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. (// humchogasajangga?//)
humchi-o kaci-ko ka-nun koo -i -a
steal -CONN take-CONN go-ATTR thing-be-IND

Is he stealing them?

23. humchoganinge anigogathe nanin,
humchi-o ka-nun ke an -i -n kotha na-nun
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. kinonglangal?.. kokathse
kuro nongcang ai -i -n kotha -a
that farm child-be-ATTR thing same-IND

He looks like a farm boy there.

25. humchogaminin sik*riki*im pogusenin,
humchi-o ka-myoonun
steal -CONN go -COND
If he is stealing them,
he would keep glancing sideways,

26. ... tomangagetčiman igon ajumč,

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

i -kō -n acu mwó
this-thing-TOP very what

and run away,
but this one is like,

27. ... chonchonhi kūnyang ha-öso
slowly just do-CONN

he does it very slowly,

28. ... sircajuga.
sit -ō kaci-ko ka-a
load-CONN take-CONN go-IND

and takes them away.

29. ... kūlosč nan ki kathin nonjane innin ainfarčo.
kūlasč na-n kū kath -ún nongcang-e iss -nūn
so l -TOP like same-ATTR farm -LOC exist-ATTR

ai -i -n cul al -ō
child-be-ATTR way know-IND

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

30. ... kūlesč inję kaninde,
kūlesč ince ka-nūnte
so now go-CIRCUM
So now he's going,

31. ... majino ageta sonjaiga,
   mac-ûn ccak-esó sonyo-ka
   face-ATTR side -LOC girl -NOM

and from the opposite side, a girl,

32. ... kotore sonjaiga cajongol thaguwa.
   ko -ttola saonyo-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. ... kirödaga izikhe inje,
   külö -taka ilöhke ince
   do:so-INTERRUP like:thi:now

Now going like that,

34. ... maju chinachiged anik*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. ... soro kogis inje,
   sólo kôki -só ince
   each:other there-LOC now

36. ... tishödaga,
   úisik -ha-taka
   consciousness-to -INTERRUP

and then they are paying slight attention to each other,

37. ... etiigeso?.. òcgî
   òttôhke ha-ôsô côki
   how do-CONN there

and somehow, uh..
38. ... moja ki sonjoni,
    mwô-i -a kû sonyôn-i
    what-be-IND that boy -NOM

what is it, the boy...

39. ... močazîl t*začthirjînnînde,
    mocâ-lût ttõlûtûli-ôss -nûnte
    hat -ACC drop -PFV-CIRCUM

drops his hat,

40. ... kâgje šîngjôns*idâbonîk*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 totil mol:jusonin,
    aph -e toi -ûl 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. ... čâjôngjôga ti:badaga:jîg čâjôngjôga s*íro:jî:
    cacônkô-ka túlî -pat -a kaci-ko
    bicycle -NOM regorously-butt-CONN take-CONN

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

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

43. ... kîronbaram kwaizj ki:njaj čôda hithôjok*ôdîn,
    kûlôn palam -e kwaij-i kûnyang coeta hûthûlôci -ôss -kôtûn
    such impetus-LOC fruit -NOM just all get:scattered-PFV-CORREL

So the fruit gets all scattered,
44. ... tʰɔɾɛjɔsɔ,
ttolɔci-ôsô
fall -CONN
having fallen.

45. ... kul:ɔs*ɔ,
kulû-ôss-ô
roll -PFV-IND
They are rolling over.

46. ... kindɛ iŋjɛ kogik iŋjɛ tʰɔ,
kûnte iŋce koki -e ince tto
then now there:DIMIN-LOC now also
Meanwhile, there are uh,

47. ... ki kathin tʰɔsonj səsi 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. ... kizegajigu ki sonjondizi pogusçnin,
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 kigɛl ðusɛdamajɔɔ.
o -ôsô
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. ... tamajwosc kwanguci inje širjosc,
tam -a cu -ôsô
put:in-CONN give-CONN

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

They put them in,
and put the basket back,

51. ... Je ki sonjoni,
ince kû sonyôn-i
now that boy -NOM

And so, the boy...

52. ... taši čomarškim kaninde,
tasi cô -mankhûm ka-nûnte
again that-as:much go-CIRCUM
goes on his way again,

53. ... ki sonjonî t*'cothtinh mojaga is*čk*cdn,
kû sonyôn-i ttłôttûli-n mocâ-ka iss -ôss -kötûn
that boy -NOM drop -ATTR hat -NOM exist-PFV-CORREL
then, they find the hat he has dropped.

54. ... ktimik*a horpharam! hwik puluscinin,
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:naïjusco 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. ... ʨʰ hᵉptʰazamɨl pulgu,
    ŭŋ hʷiphalam-úl pul -ko
    uh whistle -ACC blow-CONN

uh, whistles to him,

57. pul:coǎqjǔsaŋ ki mojazɨl ōo,
    pul -ō kaci-ko -sō-n kǔ moca-lidl cu -ō
    blow-CONN take-CONN-Sō-TOP that hat -ACC give-IND

he whistles to him,
and gives him the hat.

58. ... kʰ tɕʰi kuwil həʔ... čoɡoŋ... tʰɔʃtʰizin sonjɔni ōo.
    kǔ cóki kuwil hoɛ... có -kō -ha-n ttiɔtɔtuli-n
    that there fruit whis... that-thing-do-ATTR drop -ATTR
    sonyõn-úl cu -ō
    boy -ACC give-CONN

59. ... mojazɨl.
    moca-lidl
    hat -ACC

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

60. ... kɪnɪkʰ ɬan ki sonjɔni,
    kǔ -ni -kka -n kǔ sonyõn-i
    that-DET-INTER-TOP that boy -NOM

Then in response, the boy..

61. ... kɪ səaiantʰ ki kwɔziɬ hanašʰ ik ɕugəðin,
    kǔ se ai -hanthe kǔ kwaiɬ-úl hana-szik cu -kɔtǔn
    that three child-DAT that fruit -ACC one -each give-CORREL

gives the three boys one fruit each.

62. ... kɪtsɕə jɛnɛdiʒin kigol ɭu hanašʰ ik ɭiikhe ɰəgɪmjonə,
    kʊləsɔ gəe -ne -tʊl -uŋ kǔ -kõ -l acu hana-szik 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. onîngî ki. kwasuwônîn? kwasunamu innindêjo.
o -nûn kil -i kû kwasuwôn iss.. kwasu-namu iss -nûn
come-ATTR road-NOM what orchard exist fruit -tree exist-ATTR
tê -e -yo
place-be:IND-POL

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

65. ... kînde inje ki kwasuwe ôlagasô t'adin sâmî,
kûnte ince kû kwasu-e olû -ô ka-ôsô 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. ... inje,
ince
now

67. ... ñant'ik t'agajigu ñewasô,
canttûk tta -ô kaci-ko
to:capacity pick-CONN take-CONN
næli -ô o -ôsô
put:down-CONN come-CONN

has picked them in full,
and comes down,
68. ... s*odi:agu ponik*anin, 
   ssot -úlyóko po -ni -kka -n 
   pour:down-PURP see-DET-INTER-TOP

and he's come to put them down,

69. ... kwanjuri hanaga ops*cjos*c. 
   kwangculi hana-ka óps -ô -ci -òss -ô 
   basket one -NOM not:exist-CONN-become-PFV-IND

and he finds one basket is missing.

70. ... kitesc odo:uganna hagusconin isanhangá turibon kozininde, 
   kûlæsö ôti -lo ka-ass -na ha-ko -sô -nûn 
   so where-toward go -PFV-INDET do-CONN-?Sô -TOP 

   isanhangâ-ke tulipónkôli -nûnte 
strange -RESULT look:around-CIRCUM

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

71. .. i sonjon sesisö kwairíl mogimjonsö izikhe činaga. 
   i -sonyôn ses -i -sô kwail-ûl môk-ûmyûnsô 
   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. ... kînîk*anin, 
   kûlô -ni -kka -nûn 
   do:so-DET-INTER-TOP

Then,

73. .. kî? aju isanhan nunochoriudaga, 
   kû acu isanharga nun-choli -lotaka 
like quite strange -ATTR eye-outer:corner-INSTR

98
with mystified eyes...

74. ... ki șdizil,
kū æ -tūl -ūl
    that child-PL-ACC

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

he looks at the boys.

76. ... kūlōn cangmyŏn-i -a
    kūlōn cangmyŏn-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 nun in Korean, IULC Publication.

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

1. ne cúngcohalapőci-nun han-mati-lu sinang-ui
   2:GEN Greatgrandpa -TOP one-word-OBL faith -GEN
   silchônin -i -la -ku
   practitioner-be-DECL-COMP

2. hakkyo kyoyuk -úl an pat -ún nongpu-ciman
   school education-ACC NEG receive-ATTR farmer -CONCESS
   kúlisúto-úl côngsin-úlu ilsæang-úl silchônú.. sinang-úl silchôn -ha-nun
   Christ -GEN spirit -OBL life -ACC practice.. faith -ACC practice-do-ATTR
   kúnlôn pun -i -nte
   such person-be-CIRCUM

3. òlmankhûm chôlcô -ha-si -nka ha-mûnûn
   how:much strictness-do-HONOR-DUB do-COND
   kû pußangha-n salam -tûl-ûl cúngmal 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 sölû -n salam -tûl-ûl kkok wilo -ha-ku
   very grieved-ATTR people-PL-ACC surely consolation-do-CONN

6. musûn òlyû-u-n munce -lûl kaci -ko o -myônûn
   some hard -ATTR problem-ACC take-CONN come-COND
   kkok hækyöl -hæ cu -llaku æ -lûl ssû -si -ko
   surely solution-do:CONN give-PURP efforts-ACC spend-HONOR-CONN

7. simciô -nun kócî -ka chuu-n kyûul -e pakk -esô ca -myôn
   more:over-TOP beggar-NOM cold -ATTR winter-LOC outside-LOC sleep-COND

100
ол -ð uk-ulka pw-a
freeze-CONN die-DUB see-CONN
caki ipul sok -etaka cæu -nûn külôhke kû salang-ûl
self bed inside-LOC sleep:CAUS-ATTR such uh love -ACC
silchôn -ha-nûn külôhan 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 -ôsô
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 cónthongcôk-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 sãengkak-ûl ha-n -ta -ku
1 -TOP so thought -ACC do-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP

13. næ-ka òly -ôss -ûl ttæ il -i -ciman
1 -NOM young-PFV-ATTR time happening-be-CONCESS
14. halapoci -nůn maeil sāepyŏk kū sŏngkyŏng-ŭl ilk -ŭsi -ku
Grandpa-TOP everyday dawn like Bible -ACC read-HONOR-DECL

15. tto kŭlŏhke chansongka-lul cal ilk -ŭse -yo
also so hymns -ACC well read-HONOR:IND-DEF

16. kasa -lul chansongka-lul kokco -lul puchi -ŏsŏ
words-ACC hymn -ACC melody-ACC accompany-CONN
ilŭhke pulŭ-si -nŭn ke an -i -ku
such sing -HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONN

17. chansongka kasa -lul sŏngkyŏng ilk -nūn kŏ kachi
hymn words-ACC Bible read-ATTR thing like
ilk -ŭsi -n -ta -ku
read -HONOR-UNB=NPOST-DECL-COMP

18. kŭlaesŏ sŏngkyŏng-ŭl ilk -nūn te -sŏ ŏt -ŭsi -nūn kū
so Bible -ACC read-ATTR place-LOC gain-HONOR-ATTR such
kippŭm -ina machankaci -lu
pleasure-as being:the:same-OBL

19. sasil songkyŏng-ŭn mwŏ olăen acu han i-chŏn-nyŏn cŏn-e
in:fact Bible -TOP well long very around 2-1000-year ago-LOC
kilok -toe -n ilŏn munhŏn-i -nikka
recording-become-ATTR such literature-be-since
ulĭ -ka ihăeha -ki himt-ŭn kŏs -to iss -ciman
2PL-NOM understand-NOML hard-ATTR thing-ADD exist-CONCESS

20. chansongka-nůn hyŏntae -in -tŭl -i caki kū sinang-ŭl kancŏng
hymn -TOP modern-people-PL-NOM self such faith -GEN profession
tto sinang kù kopæk tto caki-ka kù ottôn yôngkam -úl 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


chansongka kasa -tu kù yôngkam -úl pat -asô hymn words-ADD such inspiration-ACC receive-CONN

kiloc -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-úl sôlmyông -ha-ku hananim-úl kù cûngô -ha-ku God -ACC explanation-do-CONN God -ACC such testimony-do-CONN ha-nûn te -sô -nûn
do-ATTR place-LOC-TOP

kùlûnîka hyôntæ-in -tûl -ûn ohilyô kù chansongka kasa -lûl therefore modern-people-PL-TOP rather such hymn words-ACC
cakku ilk -nûn ke repeatedly read-ATTR thing:NOM

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

hananim-úl 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-hanthesesô pæw-ôss -ta -ku 1 -TOP that -ACC Grandpa-from learn-PFV-DECL-COMP

24. kûliku halapôci-nûn kù ka -nûn te -mata kyohoe-lûl and Grandpa-TOP such go-ATTR place-every church-ACC
25. ㅜ kaphong -eso -tu kyohoe -lul ci -si -oss -ku
uh Kaphyong-LOC-ADD church -ACC build-HONOR-PFV-CONN

26. tto utu -e isa o -si -oss -tu kyohoe-lul
also Udoo-LOC move come-HONOR-CONN-ADD church -ACC

ci -si -oss -ciman,
built-HONOR-PFV-CONCESS

27. kyohoe-lul ci -si -nun koks -tu mwone nam -ui toum-ul
church -ACC build-HONOR-ATTR thing-ADD well other-GEN help -ACC

pat -ason ci -usi -nun ke an -i -ko
receive-CONN build-HONOR-ATTR thing:NOM NEG-be-CONN

28. caki cesan -ul ta thel -oss
self property-ACC all empty-CONN

29. caki son -ulu sonsu hulk-ul pic -ko
self hand-OBL for:himself soil -ACC mould-CONN

30. hulk-ul malu -ku
soil -ACC cut:out-CONN

31. cipung-ul mantul-ku
roof -ACC make -CONN

32. ilohke kyohoe-lul ci -n taum-e -nun conto -lul
like:this church -ACC build-ATTR after -LOC-TOP evangelism-ACC

ha-si -nunte
do-HONOR-CIRCUM

33. acu kuu conto -ka mo tangsin yesu mit -ku chontang
very the evangelism-NOM like 2 Jesus believe-CONN heaven

ka-si -o
go-HONOR-IMPER

kuiwon sik -ui conto -ka an -i -ko
such way-GEN evangelism-NOM NEG-be-CONN
34. kū salang-ūl pephul-ōsō
like love -ACC bestow-CONN

kū salam-ōl-i kū maūm-e kamtong-ūl pat-a kaci-ku
like people-PL-NOM like mind -LOC impression-ACC receive-CONN have-CONN

a cham có noin -kachi sa-ī su-man iss -tæ -myōnūn
ah really that old:man-like live-ATTR way-only exist-DECL-COND

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

ilōhke maūm-i tū -l mankhūm kū -mankhūm kū cham
such mind -NOM arise-ATTR as:much:as that-much like really

sængwal-ūl thonghan cónto -lūl culo ha-si -n kūlōhan
life -ACC through evangelism-ACC mainly do-HONOR -ATTR such

halapōci -la -ku
Grandpa-DECL-COMP

35. kūluku eh kūlōhke mulkōn-ūl cham ækki -se -yo
and uh so things -ACC well save -HONOR:IND-DEF

36. côlyak-ūl ha -si -nūnte
saving-ACC do-HONOR-CIRCUM

37. acu chōlcō -ha -ke ha-si -nūnte,
very strictness-do-RESULT do-HONOR-CIRCUM

38. kū kūluhke kil -ūl ka-taka -tu musūn có khong-ilētūnka
like such road-ACC go-INTERRUP-ADD some like bean -or

cō isak-ilētūnka ilōhan kū nongsanmul koksik-i ttang -e ttōlōci-n
millet ear -or such like farm:product grain -NOM ground-LOC drop -ATTR

kō -l po -si -myōnūn
thing-ACC see-HONOR-COND

kkok kūkō-l cus -ōsō cūmōni-eta nwō-sō kūkō-ūl
surely that -ACC pick:up-CONN pocket -LOC put -CONN that -ACC

kac -taka mo tak -tu cu -ku ilōhke ha-si -nūnte
bring-INTERRUP well chicken-ADD give-CONN as:such do-HONOR-CIRCUM
39. kūlæsō halapōci -ūi os -ūl ppal -ūlaku ha-myûn
so Grandpa-GEN clothes-ACC wash-PURP do-COND

cumõni sok -e kkok yōi -kaci koksik-i ta iss -ō -yo pocket inside-LOC for:sure various-kind grain -NOM all exist-IND-DEF

40. mwô co khong pyô ilûn kû phat ilûn o -kok -i ta cumõni-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 ilûh.. kil -ûl ka-si -taka kû kil -e ilôhke tol -ilastûnka
and like road-ACC go-HONOR-INTERRUP like street-LOC like rock-or

ilûn ke iss -ûmyûnûn
such thing:NOM exist-COND

ai -tûl -i cina -ka -ta nômôci -lkka 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. kûlõnikka halapōci-nûn caki-ûl wihæsō sa -n -ta -ku

ha -nûn kû potatu
do -ATTR thing than

chõltuchõlmi nam -ûl wihæsō sa -si -nûn pun -i -a
strictly others-ACC for:the:sake:of live-HONOR-ATTR person-be-IND

43. kûlõnikka i -kôs -i palu kû kûlisûto-ûi cõngsin-ûl
therefore this-thing-NOM just like Christ -GEN spirit -ACC

silchôn -ha-si -nûn pun -i an -i -kess -ō?
practice-do-HONOR-ATTR person-NOM NEG-be-PROJ-IND

44. e halapöci -nûn kûlûku kû kito -ûl manhi ha-si -nûnte uh Grandpa-TOP and:then like praying-ACC much do-HONOR-CIRCUM

45. kû kito -nûn kkok ūngtap -ûl pat -nûn kûlôn that praying-TOP for:sure response-ACC receive-ATTR such
yǒngkam -iss -nūn kūlōn kîto -lūl ha-si -n -ta -ku
inspiration-exist-ATTR such praying-ACC do-HONOR-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP

46. kūlæsō hwanca -lūl po -si -myōnūn
so sick:man-ACC see-HONOR-COND
kkok ka -sō ilūhke kito -lūl hae cu -si -nūnte
for:sure go -CONN like:this praying-ACC do:CONN give-HONOR-CIRCUM

47. halapōci-ka kîto -lūl ha-si -mūnūn
Grandpa-NOM praying-ACC do-HONOR-COND
kkok kū hwanca -ka nah -nūn -ta -ku
for:sure that sick:man-NOM heal-UNB=NPST-DECL-COMP

48. e kūluku halapōci-nūn ëkuksim-i ólmana kangha-si -nci
uh and Grandpa-TOP patriotism-NOM how strong -HONOR-SUSP

49. cham uli -na.. na-nūn 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 ilūhke mut -nūn -ta -mūn
who-NOM so ask -UNB=NPST-DECL-COND

palu n-ūl cūngcohalapōci-ta
right:away 2-GEN greatgrandpa -DECL

hanmati -lu na-nūn kot tætap -ha -l su iss -ō -yo
one:word-with 1 -TOP right:away answer-do -ATTR way exist-IND-DEF

50. halapōci-ka kū yesu -lūl mit -ke toe -n tongki -tu mwō
Grandpa-NOM like Jesus-ACC believe-RESULT become-ATTR motive-ADD well

yesu mit -ku -sō chōntang ka-n -tæ -tūnka
Jesus believe-CONN-CONN heaven go-UNB=NPST-DECL-or

yesu -lūl mit -ōsō pok -ūl pat -kess -ta -tūnka
Jesus-ACC believe-CONN blessing-ACC receive-PROJ-DECL-or

kūke an -i -ko
such:NOM NEG-be-CONN
51. sŏnkyosa -ka tangsin yesu mit -ūsi -o ilŏhke yŏki -ha -l
missionary-NOM 2 Jesus believe-HONOR-IMPER so telling-do-ATTR
cŏk -e
time -LOC
yesu -lŭl mit -ūmyŏn
Jesus-ACC believe-COND
uli -nala -ka toklip -ha -p -ni . -kka
1PL-country-NOM independence-do-POL-IND-INTER
kŭlŏhke mul-ŏss -tæ -yo
such ask -PFV-HEARSAY-DEF

52. kŭlæ -ss -tŭ -ni sŏnkyosa -nim -i
do:so-PFV-RETROS-DET missionary-lord-NOM
tangsin-i hananim aph -e kito -lŭl ha-si -mŭnŭn
2 -NOM God front-LOC prayer-ACC do-HONOR-COND
hananim-kkesŏ tŭl -ŏ cu -si -l kŏ -p -ni -ta
God -NOM(HONOR) hear-CONN give-HONOR-ATTR thing-POL-IND-DECL

53. tangsin-i hananim aph -e kancŏlhi wŏn.. kanku -lŭl ha -myŏnŭn
2 -NOM God front-LOC eagerly want.. request-ACC do-COND
tangsin nala toklip -ha-si -l su iss -ŭl
2 country independence-do -HONOR-ATTR way exist-ATTR
kŏ -p -ni -ta
thing-POL-IND-DECL

54. sŏnkyosa -ka ilŭhke tăetap -ha-ni -kka
missionary-NOM so answer-do-DET-INTER
halapŏci-ka uli -nala -ka
Grandpa-NOM 2PL-country-NOM
toklip -ha-n -tæ -mŭn
independence-do-UNB=NPST-HEARSAY-COND
nŏ-ka yesu mit -kess -o
1 -NOM Jesus believe-PROJ-SL
55. kūlæsö kyǒlkuk -ûn mo chōntang ka-ku pok pat -ki
as:such conclusion-TOP like heaven go -CONN blessing receive-NOML
wihæsø yesu -lûł mit -ûsi -n ke an i -ku
uli -lûł toklip -sikhi -ki wihæsø
2PL-ACC independence-CAUSE-NOML for:the:sake:of
yesu -lûł 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 tàathonglyông-i toe -nûn kô -i -a?
like president -NOM become-ATTR thing-be-IND

58. sasil toklip -haku amu sangkwan -tu õps -nûn ilôn chon
in:fact independence-with any interrelation-ADD NEG:exist-ATTR such peasant
noinne -ciman
old:man-CONCESS
nala -lûł salang-ha-nûn kû ttûkôu-n maûm-i
nation-ACC love -do-ATTR such hot -ATTR heart -NOM
cûngmallu yesu -lûł mit -ôsô toklip -i
really Jesus-ACC believe-CONN independence-NOM
toe -n -tæ -mûn
become-UNB=NPST-HEARSAY-COND
næ-ka yesu -lûł mit -kess -so ha-l mankhûm ilûhke cham
1 -NOM Jesus-ACC believe-PROJ-DECL do-ATTR as:much such really
chŏlcŏ -ha-si -ŏss -ta -ku
thoroughness-do -HONOR-PFV-DECL-COMP

59. kŭlŏsŏ kŭ 8.15 hæpang -i toe -ss -ŭl cŏk -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

twaę -ss -ta -ku ha-nŭn sosik-ŭl tŭlŭ -si -ku -sŏ
become-PFV-DECL-COMP do-ATTR news -ACC hear -HONOR-CONN-CONN

halapŏci-ka kyohoe -e matang-esŏ mak chum -ŭl
Grandpa-NOM church -LOC yard -LOC wildly dance-ACC

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

60. mwŏ tongne salam -tŭl chængphi-ha-ku mwŏ-ha-ku
what neighbor people-PL shame -do-CONN what-do-CONN

iŭn kŏs -tu molŭ -si -ku
such thing-ADD not:know-HONOR-CONN

mak chum -ŭl chu -si -nŭnte
widely dance-ACC dance-HONOR-CIRCUM

61. kŭlŏhke coh -a -ha-si -nŭn kŏ næ-ka cikŭm-to pŏlssŏ
such good-CONN-do-HONOR-ATTR thing 1 -NOM now -ADD already

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

nŏm -ŏss -ciman
pass:over-PFV-CONCESS

halapŏci-ka kŭ uli -nala -ka tokip -ha-n ke
Grandpa-NOM like 1PL-country-NOM independence-do-ATTR thing:NOM

kipp -ŏsŏ chum -chu -si -tŏ -n mosŭp -i
happy-CONN dance(n.)-dance(v.)-HONOR-RETROS-ATTR appearance-NOM

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

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 paksalatûnka kû oe yöloka.. kû aêkukca-tûl -i well Lee Seungman Dr. -or that besides variou.. such patriot -PL-NOM haeo -esô tolip untong-ûl hae-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 -ó 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 ottonttae -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

kū halapōci-ka nala -ūi toklip -ūl wihæsō ólmankhûm such Grandpa-NOM nation-GEN independence-ACC for:the:sake:of how:much


nunmul-ūl hûlî-myŏnsŏ kito -iūl ha-si -ŏss -ki -ttæmun -e tear -ACC she -SIMUL prayer-ACC do-HONOR-PFV-NOML-cause -LOC

kū kito -ūi kyŏlkwa-ka e onūl kū hankuk-ūl the prayer-GEN result -NOM uh today like Korea -ACC
toklip -sikhi -nūn ilûhan kū kū ŭngtap -ūl independence-CAUSE-ATTR such like like response-ACC

pat -ŭsi -n kŏ an -i -nka receive-HONOR-ATTR thing NEG-be-DUB

na-nûn ilûhke sængkak-ūl ha-ku 1 -TOP so thought -ACC do-CONN

67. kū halapōci-ka salang-ha-nûn kûci -ka hana iss -ŏss-nûnte like Grandpa-NOM love -do-ATTR beggar-NOM one exist-PFV-CIRCUM

68. kū chuŭ-myŏnnûn ipul-eta cæ -w -ŏ cu -ku ha-tŏ -n like cold -COND bed -LOC sleep-CAUS-CONN give-CONN do -RETROS-ATTR

i kûci -ka this beggar-NOM

69. næ-ka kū 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 Chunchŏn yŏk -e mak næli -nûnte take-CONN home-LOC go-PURP Chuncheon station-LOC just get:off-CIRCUM

yŏk -eso kū kûci -iūl nanna:ss -ta -ku station-LOC that beggar-ACC meet -PFV-DECL-COMP

70. a ŏttŏn kûci -ka na-hanthe tŏpsŏk tempi -myŏnsŏ ah certain beggar-NOM 1 -DAT sudenly turn:upon-SIMUL
halapóci soli -tu mos ha-ku
Grandpa sound-ADD NEG(IMPOT) do-CONN

halpae halpae halpae -ka ka po -ni -kka
Grandpa Grandpa Grandpa-NOM goCONN see-DET-INTER

öps -tù -lù -nùn kò -i -a
not:exist-RETROS-DECL-ATTR thing-be-IND

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

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

kôci -üi kù nun-esô nunmul-ùl cuk
beggar-GEN such eye-LOC tear -ACC continuously

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

73. kûlû -myônsô halapóci sanso-ka ötiss -nûnya mut -killae
do:so-SIMUL Grandpa grave-NOM where:exist-INTER ask -CONN

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

öps -ko
not:exist-CONN

75. sanso -ka öps -ku halapóci-nùn kù 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. kûlæsó kù kúci -ka nunmul-ùl hûli -nùn kò -l næ-ka
so the beggar-NOM tear -ACC shed-ATTR thing-ACC 1 -NOM

po -kusô
see-CONN
ullan halapoci-yamallu cham kulisuto-ui congsin-úl
1PL Grandpa-indeed really Christ -GEN spirit -ACC

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

cham olnama witae -ha-n salm-úl sal -usi -oss -nunka
really how greatness-do-ATTR life -ACC live-HONOR-PFV-DUB

77. yocum koci -üi nunmul-úl mantú-nun canglo-ka ótiss -ó ?
these:days beggar-GEN tear -ACC make -ATTR elder -NOM where:exist-IND

78. puhung kangsa -túl -i manhi wa -só yehwa -lúl túl -ciman
restoration speaker-pl -NOM many come-CONN example-ACC take-CONCESS

kú yehwa -nun mwó ton -úl manhi pöl -ósó sipilco-lúl cal
the example-TOP what money-ACC much gain-CONN tithing-ACC well

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

kú chukpok pat -nun yæki -túl -man ha -si -ciman
like blessing receive-ATTR story -PL-only do-HONOR-CONCESS

79. koci -üi nunmul-úl mantú-n canglo-üi yæki-lúl ha-nun kúlún
beggar-GEN tear -ACC make -ATTR elder -GEN story-ACC do-ATTR such

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

80. kúnløe uli kyohoe-ka mwó chukpok-úl pat -ki..
recently 1PL church -NOM what blessing -ACC receive-NOML..
chukpok-man -úl pat -ki wihasó iluhke cakkú ûm
blessing-only -ACC receive-NOMLing for:the:sake:of such over:and:over uhmm
chukpok chukpok ilù -ci mal-ko
blessing blessing do:so-NOML stop-CONN

81. congmal kulisuto-úi congsin-ün kú koci -üi nunmul-úl
really Christ -GEN spirit -TOP such beggar-GEN ear -ACC

mantú-n uli -üi halapoci -yamallu sunsu-ha-n salang-úl cham
make -ATTR 1PL-GEN Grandp -indeed purity -do-ATTR love -ACC really
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 Udoo.

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: có -nte -yo  
   1 -CIRCUM -DEF

3. F: ūng  
   Yes

4. H: hansangi -hanthe yön Lak óps -ôss -ô -yo?  
   Hansang -from contack not:exist -PFV -IND -DEF

5. F: óps -núnte  
   not:exist -CIRCUM

6. H: ūng i nyö sök öttöhke toe -n kó -ci?  
   eh-eh this fellow how become -ATTR thing -JUDG

7. F: ūng?  
   what?

8. H: öttöhke toe -n kó -ci?  
   how become -ATTR thing -JUDG

9. F: külöke mal -i -a  
   so word -be -IND

10. paru ka -ss -na?  
    directly go -PFV -INDET

11. H: kóki o -ci mal -la -ku cónhwa o -ass -núnte  
    there come -NOML stop-IMPER-COMP call come -PFV -CIRCUM

12. F: külöke mal -i -a  
    so word -be -IND

13. o -ci mal -la külö -núnte  
    come -NOML stop -IMPER do:so -CIRCUM

   mwô yön Lak -i toe -ya -ci  
   what contack -NOM become -NECESS -JUDG

14. H: ne --  
    I:see
[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?
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.
15. Have you closed [the restaurant] yet?
16. F: What?
17. H: Are you through?
18. F: Uhuh, almost
20. F: O.K.

1. H: yŏpo-se -yo
   2 -HONOR:IND -DEF

2. F: yŏpo-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 ilŏna -ss -ni?
   Hansang get:up -PFV -INTER

7. H: naka -ss -nŭnte -yo
   go:out -PFV -CIRCUM -DEF

8. F: naka -ss -ŏ?
   go:out -PFV -IND

   yes

10. F: ŏti -lu?
    where-OBL

    not:know -PROJ -IND -DEF

12. mwŏ kyohoe ka -n -ta kŭiŏ -tŏ -nka
    what church go -UNB=NPST -DECL do:so -RETROS-DUB

13. F: kyohoe?
    church

14. H: wŏ -yo?
    why -DEF
15. F: ani kuksu ·ka ttŏl ·ŏ ci ·ŏss ·nŭnte
no noodle-NOM run:out -CONN become -PFV -CIRCUM
kuksu yæki ·lŭl an ha ·ni...
noodle story -ACC NEG do -DET

16. H: al ·a ·yo?
know -IND -DEF

17. F: molŭ ·ci.
not:know -JUDG

18. kyæ ·ka óce cônhwa ·lŭl an hæ ·ss ·ta ·ku.
that:child -NOM yesterday phonw -ACC NEG do -PFV -DECL -COMP

19. na külæsŏ achim ·e kkæu ·ki ·ka..
1 be:so morning -LOC wake:up -NOML -NOM
nŏmu nûcke tŭl ·ŏ o ·n kŏ kath ·esŏ
too ate enter -CONN come -ATTR thing same-CONN
an kkæu ·ku
NEG wake:up-CONN

ci ·ka cônhwa ·ha ·ki ·l palæ ·ss ·ci.
self -NOM phone -do-NOML -ACC expect -PFV -JUDG

20. kyohoe cônhwa pŏnho a ·ni?
churhc phone number know -INTER

notLknow -PROJ -IND

22. mwŏ kyohoe .. kyohoe-nći mwŏ ŏcŏ ·nći cal
what church churhc -SUSP what blabla-SUSP well
molŭ ·kess ·nŭnte
not:know-PROJ -CIRCUM

23. F: kyohoe il ·lu naka ·n ·ta kûlæ?
churhc work -for go:ou -UNB=PRS -DECL do:so

24. H: talŭn salam ·hanthe cônhwa o ·myŏnŭn
other person-from call come -COND
25. F: ūūng kūlæ?
    I: see do:so

26. al -ass -ō kūlom
    know -PFV -IND then

27. H: onūl.. onūl sū-l kōs -tu òps -ō -yo?
    today today use -ATTR thing -ADD not:exist -IND -DEF

28. F: cikûm òps -ō hûhûhû
    now not:exist -IND huhhhh

    be:so

30. F: al -ass -ō
    know -PFV -IND

31. nae -ka hæ po -likke
    1 -NOM do see -VOL

32. H: ne.
    all:right

**[Translation]**

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?
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?
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, huhhh.
29. H: (Sympathetically) 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 -kō cön -puthō iss -tō -n kō kath -ûnte? this-thing before-from exist -RETROS-ATTR thing same-CIRCUM
4. H: ai kū -kō -nūn wônlae iss -nūn kō -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: chimtâe. bed
8. K: hahaha yacôn -chimtâe(hana,...) hahaha outdoor-bed (one.....)
9. H: huhhhh huhhh
10. K: ai ilôn kō an cu -ôtu toe -nûnte ai such thing NEG give-CONCESS become-CIRCUM
11. H: hihi hihi
14. K: ilôn ke hana iss -ümün coh -kess -ta cûngmal such thing:NOM one exist-COND good-PROJ-DECL really

(H begins unpacking the bag)

16. K: ilçe kath -ûnte ?
Japanese:product same-CIRCUM

what NEG-be-PRESUM

18. K: an -i -a ?
NEG -be-IND

19. yamaha òccô -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)
this bed -ACC NOM exist-PURP-COND

i chimtæ-ka túl -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 -cí
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

1 -NOM press-CONN give-INT
26. H: twae -ss -ǒ
   become-PFV-IND

27. K: ŭung
   I: see

28. H: kûnte an toe -kess -ta nô -nûn
   and: yet NEG become-PROJ-DECL 2 -TOP

29. K: wae?
   why

30. H: cak -ŏsŏ
    small-CONN

31. K: mwŏ-ka cak -ǒ
    what-NOM small-IND

32. H: nae khi -e machu-ŏsŏ sa -ss -kŏllang
    1: GEN height -LOC match -CONN buy-PFV-CORREL

33. K: hhng, ŭung 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. ŭng? hhh
    right hhh

35. nô, ŏ.. aph -nal -i òttŏhke toe -l cul al -ku
   2 wha.. future-day-NOM how become-ATTR way know-CONN

   ni khi -e machu-ŏsŏ sa -n kô -i -a tæche,
   2: GEN height-LOC match -CONN buy-ATTR thing-be-IND on: earth,

   ŭng?
   hung

36. ŭng? i -hyo -sang?
    hey Lee-Hyo-Sang

37. òttŏn yŏca -lŭl.. ŏt -ŭl cul al -ku
    which woman-ACC gain -ATTR way know-CONN

   ni khi -e machu-ŏsŏ 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 wônlae hwi -ô iss -nôn kô -nka?
   this-thing-TOP originally bend-CONN exist-ATTR thing-DUB

39. H: üng
   yes

40. K: nollae -la
   be:surprised-INTROS

41. nae-ka tto ilôhke him -i se -nka hae-ass-ci
   again such strength-NOM strong-DUB do -PFV-JUDG

42. ûùng i -cok-ulu 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 túlôka-ne.
   oh:dear just enter -FR

47. nó -e machu -n kô -n an -i -nte
   you -LOC match -ATTR thing -TOP NEG -be-CIRCUM

48. ûùng
   I:see
49. tul -i ca -ki -n himtūl-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-chūng ca -mūn toe -ci
down up-floor sleep-COND become-JUDG

53. K: hhng tul -i mos ca -l kō kath....
hhng two-NOM not(IMPOT) sleep-ATTR thing sam...

54. H: os phyōnha -ke ip -ōla
clothes comfortable-RESUL wear-IMPER

55. K: phyōnha -ke ip -ūl os -i ìps -ō
comfortable-RESUL wear-ATTR clothes-NOM not:exist-IND

56. H: phyōnha -ke ip -ūl os -i ìps -ō?
comfortable-RESUL wear-ATTR clothes-NOM not:exist-IND

57. K: os phyōnha -ke ip -ūlæ
clothes comfortable-RESUL wear-IMPER:IND

58. H: ìps -ō?
not:exist-IND

59. K: ūng
yes

60. H: i -kō ip -ō kūlōm.
this-thing put:on-IMPER then

61. K: nē-ka iss -nūn cul al -ass -tū -ni ...
1 -NOM exist -ATTR way know-PFV-RETROS-DET

62. H: i -kō tōu-l thō -i -nte
this-thing hot-ATTR expectation-be-CIRCUM

63. K: iss -nūn cul al -ass -tū -ni
exist-ATTR way know-PFV-RETROS-DET
64. H: i -kô -nún 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 saengkak-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
tǔlōka-nūn te -nka ha-ku.
enter -ATTR plce-DUB do-COMP

78. panpaci -ka wāe an toe -lkka?
short:pants-NOM why not become-DUB

79. H: panpaci ip -ō po.. ip -ō po -lāe -mūn
short:pants wear-CNN se.. wear-CNN see-PURP-COND
ip -ō po -a
wear-CNN see-IND

80. panpaci -tu òps -ō na-n sasil
short:pants-ADD not:exist-IND 1 -TOP in:fact

81. K: panpaci òps -ūmūn suyōngpok-i -la -tu...
short:pants not:exist-COND swim:suit -be-IRREAL-ADD
(K trying to put on H's short pants).

82. K: tǔlōka-nūnte?
enter -CIRCUM

83. H: an mac-ūlkōl
NEG fit -PRESUM

84. K: wāe?
why

85. ni-ka na-pota khū-ci anh -na?
2 -NOML 1 -than tall -NOML NEG:do -INDET

86. nō höli na-pota khū-ci anh -ō?
2 waist 1 -than big -NOML NEG:do -IND
(Realizaing that the pants are too small)

87. ōhyu i -kō
gosh this-thing

88. H: mac-ni
fit -INTER

89. K: i -kō nōmu yaha -ci anh -ō?
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

    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. côki po -a
    over:there see -IMPER

97. yaha -n kô -i -a?
    revealing -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: hôi myôch -i -a?
    waist how:much-be-IND

102. H: thuônî-nain
    twenty-nine

103. K: mac-ul 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 - kō wæ?
   why tighten-JUDG this-thing why

   ah that - thing - TOP 2-10 - 8 - be-ATTR thing-DECL

108. K: ūúng
   I: see

109. H: panpaci - ka ēps - ē 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: ūúng twæ - ss - ē
    I: see become: PFV- IND

112. nē-ka i - kō - l mwō 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 - ē
    become: PFV- IND

   (K Picking up the shirt)
114. na- l mwō - l cu - ōss - ci?
    1 - ACC what - ACC give- PFV - JUDG

115. H: mwō lōnning syassū iss - ūmūn
    what running shirt exist - COND
    ip - ūl philyo - ōps - ci mwō
    wear- ATTR need - not: exist - JUDG what

116. kū - kōs - tu lōnning syassū - nte
    that - thing - ADD running shirt - CIRCUM
117. K: külisse wae i -kó -l cu -Öss -ülka
    well why this -thing -ACC give -PFV -DUB

    cikum saengkak -ül ha -ku
    now thought -ACC do -CONN

118. ahyu
    oh: dear

    (K going toward the computer)
119. cal iss -kuna mækenthosi -nun
    well exist -ULM McIntosh -TOP

119. H: nœ -ka hankül iss -ta -n yæki hæ -ss -na?
    1 -NOM Korean exist -DECL -ATTR story do -PFV -IND

120. K: yöki?
    here

121. H: ūng
    right

122. K: ani
    no

123. H: an hæ -ss -ō?
    NEG do -PFV -IND

124. hankül 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: ūng?
    what

127. mwö -ha -llaku?
    what -do -PURP

128. K: ani cikum yöki -sö soli -na -nun kó 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: ūng
    right

132. K: ūng
    I: see

133. H: nâe [dæa] com moû -nûlaku
    1:GEN data a:little collect -due:to

134. K: a [dæa]
    ah [dæa]

135. [dæa]-la -ku -n kûlô -ci anh -ni?
    [dæa]-DECL-COMP-TOP call:so-NOML NEG:do-INTER

136. ôti -ka [dæa]-la -ku kûlô -ci?
    where-NOM [dæa]-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: yŏki-ta ha-mun twae
   here-LOC do-COND become:IND

144. hullyungha-n caettŏli-ka toe-ci
    wonderful -ATTR ash:tray-NOM become-JUDG

145. hankŭl-i nao -ta -ni?
    Korean-NOM come:out-DECL-INTER

146. H: hankŭl
    Korean

147. hankŭl word processing
    Korean word processing

148. K: nu-ka mantŭ-n kŏ-i-a?
    who-NOM make -ATTR thing-be-IND

149. H: yŏki iss-nun salam-i mantŭl-ŏss-ci
    here exist -ATTR person-NOM make -PFV-JUDG

150. K: ssiphal
    shit

151. M: hyosang-a
    Hyosang-VOC

152. H: yae
    Yes

153. M: caettŏli....
    ash:tray

154. K: i-kŏ-i yŏki iss-nŭnte
    this-thing -ACC here exist -CIRCUM

155. H: yŏki-ta hae
    here-LOC do:IMPER

   (H showing K a key board illustration of Korean on the Macintosh computer.)

156. H: ike phan an-i-a Hankŭl phan.
    this:nom board NEG-be-IND Korean board.

157. ca mwŏl.. mwŏ-la -ku ssŭ-ku siph-ŏ?
    well what what -INTRO-COMP write-CONN want -IND
158. K: sa -n kō -i -a kūlæsô?
bought-ATTR thing -be-IND so

159. H: ūng?
what

160. K: sa -n kō -i -a?
bought -ATTR thing-be-IND

161. H: ūng
right

162. K: òlma?
how:much

163. H: chil-sip-pul -i -nka
7 -10-dollar-be-DUB

164. K: òlma?
how:much

165. H: chil-sip-pul
7 -10-dollar

166. K: ssi ah ilō -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. hankūl word processing-ūl uli -ka òlma -e pha-na?
Korean word processing-ACC we -NOM how:much-LOC sell-INDET

(K looking at the font selection)
169. K: sǒul
Seoul

170. sǒul phyocun -kūlca -i -a
Seoul standard -character-be-IND

171. H: ūng
right
172. K: kôlca moyang -ûn?
   character shape -TOP

   (H typing some Korean characters)

173. K: ūng 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 mônôcô 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: ūng, 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: hwamyŏn -i nŏmu cak -kuna cŏngmal
screen -NOM too small -ULM really

184. H: i -kŏ hwamyŏn-i com cak -ŭn ke hŭm -i -ci
this-thing screen -NOM a:little small-ATTR thing:NOM defect -be-JUDG

185. K: hwamyŏn cak -ke mantŭ-n iyu -ka resolution -i an
screen small-RESUL make -ATTR reason-NOM resolution -NOM not
coh -asŏ kŭlæ
good-CONN be:so:IND

186. H: khŭ-ke ha -myŏnŭn an coh -ci anh -ni?
big -RESUL do -COND NEG good -NOML NEG:do -INTER

187. K: khŭ -ke ha -myŏnŭn an coh -ci
big -RESUL do -COND NEG good-JUDG

188. kŭh -ci
be:so -JUDG

189. kŭ -ni -kka cak -aya sŏnmyŏng-ha-ci anh -a?
be:so-DET-INTER small-NECESS clear -do-NOML NEG:do -IND

190. H: i -kŏ -n cikŭm ccik.. i -kŏ -llu ccik -ŏ kaci -ku
this-thing-TOP now prin.. this-thing-OBL print-CONN take -CONN
reduce -ha -n kŏ -kŏtŭn
reduce -do -ATTR thing-CORREL

191. K: ŭung
I:see

192. H: i -ke ince wŏnpon-i -ku
this -thing:NOM now original -be-CONN

193. i -kŏs -tu wŏnpon-i -ku
this-thing-ADD orginal -be-CONN

194. K: i cŏngto-mŭn phal-sip-pul ha-l 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. 

이 죽이 서울이가 

이렇게 하기를

197. K: 엇갈리다

이게 보는 - JUDG

198. 이 콩토 나오 - 눌 PC - 폭 안 - 놓 - 가지 ... 

이렇게 했을 때 PC - CONDITION 1PL - country - LOCATION - 추가

199. H: ...........

...........


이렇게 하기 - INTER 

비교 - DET - INTER 싸움 - ACC - DO - PURPOSE - DET - INTER 

피곤하다 - ha-ci 

곤란하다-do-JUDG

201. 최소한의 사 - 패크 - 만 - 원 콩토?

최소한의 사 - 패크 - 만 - 원 콩토?

201. ilpan phissi 나오 - 눌 죽 ilpan phissi 나오 - 눌 죽 

일반 PC - come:out-ATTRIBUTE PC - GENERAL PC - come:out-ATTRIBUTE PC 

이렇게 했을 때 ... 한 시간 - 수 - 만원 

이렇게 했을 때 ... 하도 - 수 - 만원 

돈 패크 - 만 - 원 하지 않음? 

돈 패크 - 만 - 원 하지 않음? 

202. 돈 패크 - 만 - 원 - 두 안 하지 않음 

돈 패크 - 만 - 원 - 두 안 하지 않음

203. 쥐한 흐었다-야 죽 - 맨하름 chaque - ka 

단: 여 - NOM IQ가 - much difference - NOM 

나 - 시 - 눌 know - 경 - come:into:existence - HONOR - ATTRIBUTE PC - JUDG

204. 쥐 - 니끼 사실 - 눌 phissi - ka an - i - ci 

이렇게 했을 때 - Fact - TOP PC - NOM NEG - be - JUDG

205. 쥐 - 니 - kka util - 눌 picinissu 헴프루 - la - ku 

이렇게 했을 때 - DET - INTER 1PL - TOP Business computer - INTER - INTER - COMP

141
kǔlò -ku ...
do:so-CONN

206. H: i -kò -núŋ cikùm cò mwô -i -a?
this-thing-TOP now well what-be-IND

207. kù -kò -lūl sa kaci -ku
that-thing-ACC buy take-CONN

næ-ka yó.. yóki -ta cip -ô nôh -ün kò -la -ku
1 -NOM this here-LOC pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-INTROS-COMP

208. næ-ka ssú-núŋ word processing program an -etaka
11 -NOM use -TOP word processing program inside-LOC

hankuk-mal kù fongthů -lūl cip -ô nôh -ün kò -i -a
Korea -language that font -ACC pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-be-IND

209. K: óttôhke cip -ô nôh -núŋ kò -i -a
how pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-be-IND

210. khotû-lūl cip -ô nôh -núŋ kò -i -a
code -ACC pick:up-CONN insert -ATTR thing-be-IND

211. H: kù tto fongthů muvô -ka iss -ô
that again font -NOM exist-IND

212. K: kù -ni -kka üung
that-DET-INTERR aha

software -lūl cip -ô nôh -núŋ kò -i -a?
software-ACC pick:up-CONN insert-ATTR thing-be-IND

213. H: üung
right

that-thing-ACC we-TOP card-ACC plant-PRF-DECL this-thing-JUDG

215. card-lūl pha-n -ta i -kò -ci
card-ACC sell-NPST=UNB-DECL this-thing-JUDG

216. kù -kò -l image-lūl kaci-ku iss -núŋ kò -l...
that-thing-ACC image-ACC take-CONN exist-ATTR thing-ACC
217. künde külca -ka ...
then letter -NOM

218. H: külöh -ci
be:so-JUDG

219. kū -ni -kka hankül -ül .. hankül-i ince ilôn disk an -e
that-DET-INTERR Korean-ACC Korean-NOM now such disk inside-LOC
iss -kötün
exist-CORREL

220. K: üüng
I:see

221. H: künde software -lül 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: kū -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: kū -kô -l olm -ki -ô noh-ôya -ci
that-thing-ACC move-CAUS-CONN put -NECESS-JUDG

224. main... system file an -etaka næ hankül kū -kô -lül
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. künde kū -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

143
227. K: yak cu -kka?
    medicine give-DUB

228. H: hwacangsil ka-nūn ke choeko-ci
    bathroom go-ATTR thing:NOM best -JUDG

(H going into the bathroom)

229. nol -læ -mūn nol -a
    play-PURP-COND play-IMPER

230. K: nol -a?
    play-IND

231. cikyŏp -ta ice -n
    tiresome-DECL now-TOP

232. H: cikyŏw -ô?
    tiresome-IND

233. K: i -kŏ -lŭl 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?
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?
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?
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 bed.. 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 our strength for this.
25. K: Let me help by pressing.
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' 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)
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.
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?).
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. H: 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. K: I don't have enough short pants either, in fact.
81. H: 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. H: Aren't you bigger than me?
86. H: Aren't you bigger than me in the waist?
      (Realizing that the pants are a bit small)
87. H: Oh, dear, this thing...
88. H: Does it fit?
89. K: Don't you think this is too revealing?
90. H: 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?
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?
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 somethig, 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)
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?
132. K: I see.
133. H: Because I want to collect some data [dæə].
134. K: Ah, [dæə].
135. Don't you ever say [dæə]?
136. Where do they say [dæə]?
(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)
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).
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.
(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 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. nae-ka acu khun mam moek-ko comsim-e chotee -ha -lyoko
   1 -NOM well big mind eat -CONN lunch -LOC invitation-do-PURP

   o -ass -nuunte
   come -PFV -CIRCUM

3. oppa -n congmal un -i ops -kun.
   brother -TOP really luck -NOM not:exist -ULM

4. ihihih nach kancil -o
   huhuhuh face itching -IND

5. sil -un kuhe an -i -ku
   fact -TOP such:NOM NEG-be-CONN

   kangu sikan -i 15 pun kalyang hu -e sicak -i -laso
   class time -NOM 15 minute or:so after -LOC beginning -be-since

   kunyang o -a po -n koh -i -a
   just come -CONN see -ATTR thing -be -IND

6. nae-ka wae kwænhi oppa -hanthe comsim-ssikina sa -ko
   1 -NOM why without:reason brother-DAT lunch -even buy-CONN

   kul -kess -o ?
   do:so-PROJ -IND

7. hing hing!
   hing hing

8. coh -ul -lyo -ta mal -ass -ci
   good -IRREAL -GOAL -INTERRU stop-PFV-JUDG

9. haciman oppa
   however brother

   ipon -e paycheck pat -umyon
   this:time -LOC paycheck receive -COND
kanûngsông -i iss -ki -tu hae (amsi amsi) possibility -NOM exist -NOML -ADD do:IND (hint hint)

10. koman sucak-puli -ko
    no:more trick -play -CONN

    class nûc -ki còn -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 còn
    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.
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
   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 òps -ci
   complaint not:exist -JUDG

6. oppa -ka òps -ôss -ûni -kka
   brother -NOM not:exist -PFV-DET-INTER
   ha -l mal òps -ûl kô -i -a
   do -ATTR word not:exist -ATTR thing -be -IND

7. ihihi
   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 caugh -NOML -TOP NEG:do-PROJ-JUDG

5. na -n po -ta -sippi al -ta -sippi 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 có pûn -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 -tae
tax -even give -COND more good -HEARsay

13. oppa -hanthe vo chokholes tu kae cu -ko siph -ôsô
brother -from his chocolate two item give -CONN feel:like -REASON

o -ass -ô
come -PFV -IND

14. külôm 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 pön 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 beebe 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. yocūm wae kūlōhke an po -i -ō
   recently why so NEG see-PASS-IND

3. papp -a?
   busy -IND

4. na-tu sasii papp -a cuk -kess -ō
   1 -ADD in:fact busy -CONN die -PROJ -IND

5. tu -ko po -a, hûng
   leave -CONN see -IMPER, hm

6. kūlæ po -læ -ci
   do:such see -IMPER-JUDG

7. ccokûman tongsæng -ul honca næpôli -ō tu -ko
   little sister -ACC alone throw:away -CONN leave -CONN

8. pap -ôn cal cac -a mûk -na
   meal -TOP well find -CONN eat -INDET

   kongpu -nûn cal ha -na
   study -TOP well do -INDET

   mwô philyo -ha -n kôs -ôn óps -na
   like need -do-ATTR thing -TOP not:exist -INDET

   yocûm nao -n yônghwâ-tûl -ûn ta po -ass -na
   recently come:out -ATTR movie -PL -TOP all see-PFV -INDET

   kungkûm -ha -ci -to ahn -a?
   curiousity-do-NOML-ADD NEG:do -IND

9. pansông -ha -si -ko
   repentence-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. kúliko yóthæ-kkaci na-l nölp -ko hómakha-n
   and now -till 1 -ACC spacious-CONN tough -ATTR

   UCLA-e næpõly -ô tu -n coe -lo
   UCLA-LOC throw:away -CONN leave-ATTR sin -as

   taûm -e manna -myôn
   next -LOC 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 kūnchō -esō -to sa -l su iss -ūl kōs kath -a
   this nearby -LOC -ADD buy -ATTR way exist -ATTR thing same-IND

3. nāe-ka class-esō ppali nao -l su iss -nūn tae -lo
   1 -NOM class-LOC quickly come:out-ATTR way exist-ATTR situation-as
   nao -lke
   come:out -VOL

4. 2 si 4 si -sai
   2 o'clock 4 o'clock-between

5. Reading Room-e iss -ōya twæ, O.K?
   Reading Room-LOC exist-NECESS become:IMPER O.K?

6. ōce oppa -ka na-l cac -a o -n sakōn -ūn
   yesterday brother-NOM 1 -ACC look:for-CONN come-ATTR happening-TOP
   na-l kamkyōk -sikhi -ko -to nam -ass -ō
   1 -ACC strong:emotion-CAUSE-CONN-ADD leave-PFV-IND

7. a cokūman il -e -to kotcal hūngpun -ha-ko
   ah little thing-LOC-ADD easily excitement-do-CONN
   kamkyōk -ha-ko hinoealak -ūl kamchū-ci
   strong:emotion-do -CONN joy:anger:sorrow:happiness -ACC hide -NOML
   mos ha-nūn na-ūi yōlī yōli -n kamsusōng-i -yō
   NMEG(IMPOT) do-ATTR 1 -GEN weak weak-ATTR sensitivity -be-VOC

8. kamsusōng-i yōli -n ca -ske-nūn pok -i iss -nani
   sensitivity -NOM weak-ATTR person-DAT-TOP blessing-NOM exist-DET
   chōnkuk-i cōhūi kōs -i -m -i -yo ..... őccūku őcčūku
   heaven -NOM 3:GEN thing -be -NOML-be-DEF ..... bla bla

9. See!
   see

10. na-l kamkyōk -sikhi -nūn ke ōlmana swiu -nci
    1 -ACC strong:emotion -CAUSE-ATTR thing:NOM how:much easy -SUSP
Brother,
I think I can get it [the cloth] around here.
I'll get out of class as soon as I can
between 2 to 4
You got to be in the reading room, O.K?
Your visit yesterday more than touched my heart.
Oh How vulnerable my sensitivity is, that I get easily excited, and easily touched, and cannot hide my emotions.
For those who have vulnerable sensitivity, Heaven will be theirs ,... bla bla
See?
You know now how easy it is to touch my heart.
Why don't you keep it up since you now started it.
Hee hee hee.
See you later.
Bye bye.
Leah.

Wednesday 11:50 AM.

[Translation]
Leah 6.

1. oppa  
brother

2. chi ..........  
chee ........

3. tto ḍi anh -a  
again not:exist -NOML NEG:do-IND

4. cōngamī nu -ka mwōlæ -to oppa -lang na-lang -ūn -  
really who-NOM say:otherwise-ADD brother-COM 1 -COM -TOP

thelelphasi -ka cōnhyō an thongha -na po -a  
telepathy -NOM at:all NEG get:through -INDET see -IND

5. ilō -l su -ka iss -ō  
be:such-ATTR way-NOM exist-IND

6. ei cæmi ḍi -ōsō ka -ya -kess -ō  
shoot fun not:exist -CONN go -NECESS-PROJ -IND

7. őlyōun kōlūm-ülo chac -a o -n cōkūman tongsæng -ūl  
difficult step -with look:for-CONN come-ATTR little sister -ACC

ilōhke muncōnpaktæ-ha-ki -i -a cōngmal?  
as:such inhospitality -do-NOML-be-IND really

8. ei, moll -a moll -a  
shoot not:know-IND not:know -IND

9. na cōngmal hwa na -ss -ō  
1 really anger arise-PFV -IND

10. ka -llæ  
go -INT

11. hansangi oppa -hanthe sachon -tūl kan -e  
Hansang brother-DAT cousin -PL between -LOC

ōlkul ic -ō pōli -nūn pikûk ilōna -ki cōn -e  
face forget -CONN throw:way -ATTR tragedy happen-NOML before -LOC

com tæchæk -ul seu -ca -ko kkok cōnhæ cu -ō  
a:little solution -ACC build -PROP -COMP surely deliver:CONN give -IMPER
12. i -kô -n oppa -to nôkkûnhî hætang -toe -nûn soli -i -a this-thing-TOP brother-ADD enough subject:to-become-ATTR sound -be -IND

13. ice -n oppa -iûi 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


17. hwayoil kûm -kathi kwîha -n 1 si 15 pun -e Tuessay 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 accidently.
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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive suffix ('too', 'even')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>attributive clause suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIRCUM</td>
<td>circumstantial suffix (indicates background circumstances)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCESS</td>
<td>concessive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONN</td>
<td>connective suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRA=CONJ</td>
<td>contrastive conjunctive suffix (means 'rather', 'but, or 'instead'; it occurs only after a negative assertion, similar to sondern in German (Karen Wallace, personal communication))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORREL</td>
<td>correlative suffix (indicates the existence of necessary (logical or causal) correlation.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECL</td>
<td>declarative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>deferential particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>determinative (indicates that the proposition is a determined fact.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUB</td>
<td>dubitative suffix (indicates speaker's doubt on the proposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>factual realization suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEARSAY</td>
<td>'hearsay' evidential suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HONOR</td>
<td>reference honorific suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPER</td>
<td>imperative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPOT</td>
<td>impotential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>indicative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDET</td>
<td>indeterminative suffix (indicates speaker's indeterminacy on the truth of the proposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDUC</td>
<td>inducive (indicates that the content of the proposition is induced by another situation.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intentional suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>interrogative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERRUP</td>
<td>interruptive suffix (indicates interrupted actions or events)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTROS</td>
<td>introspective suffix (express the speaker's introspection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUDG</td>
<td>judgemental suffix (which indicates that the proposition is based on the speaker's judgement, not an objective fact)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
RESULT 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 context 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 tf)
ph, th, ch, kh = aspirated consonants
ng = ø
ó = o or ø
øe = ø
ae = æ